Political and Economic Problems Russia 1994
### Map of questionnaire R/7/94

Region

Sub-regions (Oblast, Kray, Autonomies) are named by the sub-region's capitals in Latinic & Cyrillic.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>European part of Russian Federation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northern region</td>
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<tr>
<td>01 Arhangelsk/Архангельск</td>
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<td>02 Petrozavodsk/Петрозаводск</td>
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<td>Norht-West region</td>
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<td>03 Pskov/Псков</td>
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<tr>
<td>04 St-Petersburg (city only)/С-Петербург</td>
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<tr>
<td>Central region</td>
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<tr>
<td>05 Moscow (city only)/Москва</td>
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<td>06 Kaluga/Калуга</td>
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<td>07 Ivanovo/Iваново</td>
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<td>08 Jaroslavl/Ярославль</td>
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<td>09 Kostroma/Кострома</td>
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<td>Volga-Vjatskly region</td>
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<tr>
<td>10 Nijniy Novgorod/Нижний Новгород</td>
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<tr>
<td>11 Vjatka (KirovskaJa oblast)/Вятка (Кировская область)</td>
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<td>Central-Chernozemniy (Black-Earth) region</td>
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<td>12 Voronej/Воронеж</td>
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<td>13 Lipesk/Липецк</td>
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<tr>
<td>Volga region</td>
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<td>14 Volgograd/Волгоград</td>
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<td>15 Saratov/Саратов</td>
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<tr>
<td>16 Kazan (Tatarstan)/Казань (Татарстан)</td>
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<td>Northern Caucasus</td>
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<td>17 Rostov-on-Don/Ростов-на-Дону</td>
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<td>18 Krasnodar/Краснодар</td>
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<tr>
<td>19 Stavropol/Ставрополь</td>
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Ural, Siberia and Far East part of Russian Federation

| Ural region                          |  |
| 20 Ufa (Bashkortostan)/Уфа (Башкортостан) |  |
| 21 ChebJabinsk/Челябинск              |  |
| 22 Perm/Пермь                        |  |
| 23 Ijevsk (Udmurtia)/Ижевск (Удмуртия) |  |
| West Siberia region                  |  |
| 24 Omsk/Омск                          |  |
| 25 Kemerovo/Кемерово                  |  |
| 26 Novosibirsk/Новосибирск            |  |
| East-Siberia region                  |  |
| 27 Chita/Чита                        |  |
| 28 Krasnoyarsk/Красноярск             |  |
| Far-Eastern region                   |  |
| 29 Magadan/Магадан                    |  |
| 30 Juzno-Sachlinsk/Южно-Сахалинск      |  |
Q1. Have you been unemployed temporarily or permanently over the past year?
1. Yes
2. No

Q1a. How many weeks have you been unemployed over the past year?
01. One week

... 

... 

52. 52 weeks

Q1b. Did you have your governmental unemployment benefits/social insurance?
1. Yes
2. No

Q2. Have you been partly unemployed over the past year (i.e. you have had a part-time work day or been unemployed temporarily and had no salary but all the same considered employed?)
1. Yes
2. No

Q2a. How long did that unpaid or part-time job last?
01. One week

... 

... 

52. 52 weeks

Q2b. Have there been cases of your monthly salary being paid with delay or cut down?
1. There have been delays in paying salary
2. I have been payed a part of my salary
3. I have not been payed at all

Q3. Is your employer:
1. State enterprise
2. State budgetary institution (including army, inner force, etc.)
3. Former state-owned, now private enterprise
4. New private enterprise
5. Cooperative
6. Foreign owned company
7. Self-employed
8. State collective farm
9. Privatized collective farm
10. Higher educational institution, research institution
11. School, vocational or technical school
12. Medical institution
13. Other employers
14. Not employed
15. Difficult to answer

Q4. Let us suppose that you unexpectedly get a lot of money (e.g. come into a fortune or win a lottery). What would you do then?
1. Stay in my present job
2. Try to find a better job
3. Start your own business or buy a piece of land for your own farm
4. Stop working
5. Difficult to answer
Q5. Is your basic salary enough to cover your every day expenses?
1. Quite enough
2. Rather enough than not
3. Rather insufficient
4. Absolutely insufficient
5. Difficult to answer

Q6. Do you/your family members have a second job as a source of additional income?
1. Yes
2. No
3. Difficult to answer

Q7. Do you/your family members spend more than one hour a day in shop queues?
1. Yes
2. No
3. Difficult to answer

Q8. How much time does it take you to queue up in shops? (every day, an average)
1. 15 minutes
2. 30 minutes
3. 45 minutes
4. 1 hour
5. 1 hour 15 minutes
6. 1 hour 30 minutes
7. 2 hours and more
8. Difficult to answer

Q9. As compared with last year how much time you/your family members spend on these purposes:
1. More
2. Same
3. Less
4. Difficult to answer

Q10. What is the main thing for you/your family in case of your standard of living?
1. Working at the farm
2. Housekeeping
3. What we get by our bonds
4. What we get by our friends or relatives help
5. Buying goods for hard currency
6. Salary on second job
7. Accidental earnings
8. Basic job salary
9. Pension, unemployment benefits
10. Provision, services, your job benefits
11. Difficult to answer

Q11. What thing is for you on the second place?
1. Working at the farm
2. Housekeeping
3. What we get by our bonds
4. What we get by our friends or relatives help
5. Buying goods for hard currency
6. Salary on second job
7. Accidental earnings
8. Basic job salary
9. Pension, unemployment benefits
10. Provision, services, your job benefits
11. Difficult to answer
Q12.
Could your family during the last year to...
1. Put money aside
2. Hold out (without money accumulations and debts)
3. Lend money to somebody
4. Spend accumulated money and to lend some money
5. Difficult to answer

Q13.
Sometimes one is to renounce yourself from necessary things. How often during the last 12 months you were to renounce yourself from:

1. Never
2. Sometimes
3. Very often
4. Fully refused
5. Difficult to answer

Q13_a) Food
1. Never
2. Sometimes
3. Very often
4. Fully refused
5. Difficult to answer

Q13_b) Heating, electricity
1. Never
2. Sometimes
3. Very often
4. Fully refused
5. Difficult to answer

Q13_c) Fuel for a car
1. Never
2. Sometimes
3. Very often
4. Fully refused
5. Difficult to answer

Q13_d) Very important clothes
1. Never
2. Sometimes
3. Very often
4. Fully refused
5. Difficult to answer

Q13_e) Medical services
1. Never
2. Sometimes
3. Very often
4. Fully refused
5. Difficult to answer

Q13_f) Repairing
1. Never
2. Sometimes
3. Very often
4. Fully refused
5. Difficult to answer

Q13_g) Necessary acquisitions
1. Never
2. Sometimes
3. Very often
4. Fully refused
5. Difficult to answer

Q13_h) Attendance of theatres and cinemas
1. Never
2. Sometimes
3. Very often
4. Fully refused
5. Difficult to answer
Q13.1) Buying of newspapers
1. Never
2. Sometimes
3. Very often
4. Fully refused
5. Difficult to answer

Q14.
How soon you will reach that standard of living, through which you can be satisfied?
1. In 1 - 2 years
2. In 3 - 5 years
3. In 6 - 10 years
4. In more than 10 years
5. Never
6. Impossible to answer
7. I am already satisfied
8. Difficult to answer

(Look at the card number 100)
Here is a scale of economic systems work.

Q15.
Where would you place the 1989 socialist economy at this scale?
(write a number with "+" or "-").

Card N 100
Q.Q. NN 15-17
Q.Q. NN 27-29

99. +100 % the best/highest mark
90. + 90 %
80. + 80 %
70. + 70 %
60. + 60 %
50. + 50 % good enough
40. + 40 %
30. + 30 %
20. + 20 %
10. + 10 %

00. 0 % neither good, not bad
01. - 10 %
02. - 20 %
03. - 30 %
04. - 40 %
05. - 50 % bad enough
06. - 60 %
07. - 70 %
08. - 80 %
09. - 90 %
22. -100 % worst is impossible/lowest mark

Q16.
Where would you place our modern economic system?

Card N 100
Q.Q. NN 15-17
Q.Q. NN 27-29

99. +100 % the best/highest mark
90. + 90 %
80. + 80 %
70. + 70 %
60. + 60 %
50. + 50 % good enough
40. + 40 %
30. + 30 %
20. + 20 %
10. + 10 %

00. 0 % neither good, not bad
01. - 10 %
02. - 20 %
03. - 30 %
04. - 40 %
05. - 50 % bad enough
06. - 60 %
07. - 70 %
08. - 80 %
09. - 90 %
22. -100 % worst is impossible/lowest mark
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<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>03.</td>
<td>- 30 %</td>
<td>bad enough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04.</td>
<td>- 40 %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05.</td>
<td>- 50 %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06.</td>
<td>- 60 %</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>07.</td>
<td>- 70 %</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>08.</td>
<td>- 80 %</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>09.</td>
<td>- 90 %</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>-100 %</td>
<td>worst is impossible/lowest mark</td>
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Q17.
Where on that scale Russia’s economic system of 1998 could be placed?

Card N 100

Q,Q. NN 15-17
Q,Q. NN 27-29

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>99.</td>
<td>+100 %</td>
<td>the best/highest mark</td>
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<tr>
<td>90.</td>
<td>+ 90 %</td>
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<tr>
<td>80.</td>
<td>+ 80 %</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>70.</td>
<td>+ 70 %</td>
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<tr>
<td>60.</td>
<td>+ 60 %</td>
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<tr>
<td>50.</td>
<td>+ 50 %</td>
<td>good enough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.</td>
<td>+ 40 %</td>
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<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>+ 30 %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>+ 20 %</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>+ 10 %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>01.</td>
<td>0 %</td>
<td>neither good, not bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02.</td>
<td>- 10 %</td>
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<tr>
<td>03.</td>
<td>- 20 %</td>
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<tr>
<td>04.</td>
<td>- 30 %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05.</td>
<td>- 40 %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06.</td>
<td>- 50 %</td>
<td>bad enough</td>
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<tr>
<td>07.</td>
<td>- 60 %</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>08.</td>
<td>- 70 %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09.</td>
<td>- 80 %</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>-100 %</td>
<td>worst is impossible/lowest mark</td>
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</table>

Q18.
If to compare your family’s modern economical situation with your economical situation 5 years ago, could you say that it was...
1. Much better
2. Little bit better
3. Same
4. Little bit worse
5. Much worse
6. Difficult to answer

Q19.
The economic situation of your family now is...
1. Positive
2. Not bad
3. Not really happy
4. Very unfortunate
5. Difficult to answer

Q20.
How could you expect your family economic situation in 5 years?
1. Much more better
2. Little bit better
3. Same
4. Little bit worse
5. Much more worse
6. Difficult to answer
Q21. Who is to blame for your economic problems? And how much?

Q21_a) The Communists
1. A lot
2. Some
3. Little
4. No
5. Difficult to answer

Q21_b) Those who introduced reforms
1. A lot
2. Some
3. Little
4. No
5. Difficult to answer

Q21_c) The workers
1. A lot
2. Some
3. Little
4. No
5. Difficult to answer

Q21_d) Businessmen
1. A lot
2. Some
3. Little
4. No
5. Difficult to answer

Q21_e) Russian President personally
1. A lot
2. Some
3. Little
4. No
5. Difficult to answer

Q21_f) Russian government
1. A lot
2. Some
3. Little
4. No
5. Difficult to answer

Q21_g) E. Gaydar
1. A lot
2. Some
3. Little
4. No
5. Difficult to answer

Q21_h) Present Russian parliament
1. A lot
2. Some
3. Little
4. No
5. Difficult to answer

Q21_i) Former party nomenclature
1. A lot
2. Some
3. Little
4. No
5. Difficult to answer

Q21_j) Local authorities
1. A lot
2. Some
3. Little
4. No
5. Difficult to answer

Q21_k) Mafia
1. A lot
2. Some
3. Little
4. No
5. Difficult to answer
Q21.1) The Jews
1. A lot
2. Some
3. Little
4. No
5. Difficult to answer

Q21.2) Foreign governments
1. A lot
2. Some
3. Little
4. No
5. Difficult to answer

Q21.3) The Capitalists
1. A lot
2. Some
3. Little
4. No
5. Difficult to answer

Q21.4) We, Russians ourself
1. A lot
2. Some
3. Little
4. No
5. Difficult to answer

Q21.5) Disintegration of the USSR
1. A lot
2. Some
3. Little
4. No
5. Difficult to answer

Q22. The way things are going, do you feel that our country’s economic reform programme is going too fast, too slow or at about the right speed?
1. Too fast
2. Too slow
3. About the right speed
4. Difficult to answer

Q23. What do you think is the main task for the government this year?
Note very important, Important, not so Important and not at all important tasks.

1. Very important
2. Important
3. Not so important
4. Not at all important

Q23.a) Struggle against the price growth
Q23.b) Pension security
Q23.c) Budget deficit decrease
Q23.d) Rehabilitation of full employment
Q23.e) Struggle against corruption
Q23.f) Defence of Environment
Q23.g) Struggle with criminality
Q23.h) Improvement of public health

Q24. What is the main thing, making you to be anxious now? (Mark not more than three items)

01. Prices rise
02. Low salaries
03. Governmental lack of ability in effective solving of society’s key problems
04. Growing confrontation between various political groups
05. Possibility of civil war
06. Criminality growth
07. Ecological situation decline
08. The way other Republics are treating Russians
09. Russia’s place in the world today
10. Russian federation disintegration possibility
11. Medical services low level
12. Difficult to answer
Q25. How long do you think it will be before you are content with this country's system of government?
1. 1-2 years
2. 3-5 years
3. 6-10 years
4. More than 10 years
5. Never
6. Already content
7. Don't know

Q26. Look at the CARDS 1-6 to respondent 2 - 5.
Each pair of questions is presented and valued separately! You will find a lot of opposites in these cards. What sentence do you like most in each pair?

**But:**
1. You absolutely agree with that is written from the left
2. You are basically for that is written from the left
3. You are basically for that is written from the right
4. You absolutely agree with that is written from the right
5. Both left and right variant (voluntary)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N1</th>
<th>a) It will take years to make our political system to solve problems, inherited from communists</th>
<th>b) If our political system does not give good result soon we must find a new political system</th>
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<tr>
<th>N2</th>
<th>c) It is most important to save silence and order in our society</th>
<th>d) It is most important to have personal liberty, right to do all one wants without state interference</th>
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<tr>
<th>N3</th>
<th>e) Gowning of prices is the biggest threat for our family</th>
<th>f) Unemployment is the biggest threat for our family</th>
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<tr>
<th>N4</th>
<th>g) Our state must develop in Western Europe style</th>
<th>h) Our state must develop according to our traditions</th>
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<tr>
<th>N5</th>
<th>i) Our government should give priority to making Russia a world superpower</th>
<th>j) Our government should put first solution of our domestic problems</th>
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If the position of Russians in other parts of the former Soviet Union is threatened, which of these actions do you think would be better:

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<tr>
<th>N6</th>
<th>k) Government should use all means needed, economic and military, to protect the interests of Russians in the near abroad</th>
<th>l) Government should concentrate it's efforts on repatriating to Russia of Russian-speakers in the near abroad who want to come back</th>
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<tbody>
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Look at the CARD N 100
This is a scale of political structure and governmental system.
The highest mark is "+100", the lowest - "-100".

Q27.
Where would you place former communist regime?

Card N 100

Q.Q. NN 15-17
Q.Q. NN 27-29

99. +100 % the best/highest mark
90. + 90 %
80. + 80 %
70. + 70 %
60. + 60 %
50. + 50 % good enough
40. + 40 %
30. + 30 %
20. + 20 %
10. + 10 %
11. 0 % neither good, not bad
01. - 10 %
02. - 20 %
03. - 30 %
04. - 40 %
05. - 50 % bad enough
06. - 60 %
07. - 70 %
08. - 80 %
09. - 90 %
22. -100 % worst is impossible/lowest mark

Q29.
Where would you place our modern system with its free elections multi-party system?

Card N 100

Q.Q. NN 15-17
Q.Q. NN 27-29

99. +100 % the best/highest mark
90. + 90 %
80. + 80 %
70. + 70 %
60. + 60 %
50. + 50 % good enough
40. + 40 %
30. + 30 %
20. + 20 %
10. + 10 %
11. 0 % neither good, not bad
01. - 10 %
02. - 20 %
03. - 30 %
04. - 40 %
05. - 50 % bad enough
06. - 60 %
07. - 70 %
08. - 80 %
09. - 90 %
22. -100 % worst is impossible/lowest mark
Q30.  
Where would you place our 1999 political system?

Card No 100

Q. Q. No 15-17
Q. Q. No 27-29

99. +100 % the best/highest mark
90.  + 90 %
80.  + 80 %
70.  + 70 %
60.  + 60 %
50.  + 50 % good enough
40.  + 40 %
30.  + 30 %
20.  + 20 %
10.  + 10 %
11.  0 % neither good, not bad
01.  - 10 %
02.  - 20 %
03.  - 30 %
04.  - 40 %
05.  - 50 % bad enough
06.  - 60 %
07.  - 70 %
08.  - 80 %
09.  - 90 %
22. -100 % worst is impossible/lowest mark

Q32.  
Now about the differences between the system of government before 
perestroika and our modern system. Give answers on each question: Is it 
now better than during the communist period, or there is much the same, 
or it has become worse?
1. Better
2. Much the same
3. Worse
4. Difficult to answer

Q32_a. Everybody has a right to say that he thinks
1. Better
2. Much the same
3. Worse
4. Difficult to answer

Q32_b. One can join every organization he likes
1. Better
2. Much the same
3. Worse
4. Difficult to answer

Q32_c. One can move and live everywhere
1. Better
2. Much the same
3. Worse
4. Difficult to answer

Q32_d. People of my sort have an influence on government
1. Better
2. Much the same
3. Worse
4. Difficult to answer

Q32_e. One must not live being afraid of illegal arrest
1. Better
2. Much the same
3. Worse
4. Difficult to answer

Q32_f. Everybody has a right to have an interest in politics or not
1. Better
2. Much the same
3. Worse
4. Difficult to answer
Q32_g. Government is equally fair to all the people
1. Better
2. Much the same
3. Worse
4. Difficult to answer

Q32_h. Everybody has a right to choose his religion
1. Better
2. Much the same
3. Worse
4. Difficult to answer

Q31. Our modern political system is not unique. People say that another political system would be better for us. What is your mind? Here are some sayings. Say, with what saying are

Q31_a) It would be better to restore former communist system
1. Absolutely agreed
2. Rather agreed
3. Rather no
4. No
5. Difficult to answer

Q31_b) Army must rule the state
1. Absolutely agreed
2. Rather agreed
3. Rather no
4. No
5. Difficult to answer

Q31_c) We do not need neither parliament, nor elections, but a strong person who can find decisions and embody them in to life fast
1. Absolutely agreed
2. Rather agreed
3. Rather no
4. No
5. Difficult to answer

Q31_d) Experts, not parliament and government, must approve most important economic decisions
1. Absolutely agreed
2. Rather agreed
3. Rather no
4. No
5. Difficult to answer

Q31_e) Monarchy must be restored
1. Absolutely agreed
2. Rather agreed
3. Rather no
4. No
5. Difficult to answer

Q32. There are various social institutions in Russia such as legislative and executive bodies, government, court, militia. Please value in 7-mark scale how strong is your own confidence to that social institutions.

BUT:
1 - Means that YOU do not trust maximally
7 - Means that YOU trust maximally

a) President Yeltsin
b) parties
c) courts
d) militia
e) executive bodies
f) government
g) army
h) mass media
i) parliament
j) church
k) old trade unions
l) new trade unions
m) patriotic groups
n) private firms
o) peasant's organizations
p) foreign organizations and experts, consulting our government
Q33.
What state could be a threat for our national security?
1. Yes
2. Probably
3. No
4. Difficult to answer

Q33_a. Japan
Q33_b. China
Q33_c. Iran
Q33_d. Germany
Q33_e. USA
Q33_f. Poland
Q33_g. Belarus
Q33_h. Ukraine

Q34.
Some people say, that it would be better for government if parliament work is suspended and number of political parties is shortened. Is it possible in some years in Russia?
1. Surely yes
2. Yes
3. Not for sure
4. Absolutely impossible
5. Difficult to answer

Q35.
What is your mind if parliament was dissolved and parties were banned?
1. I am for that
2. I am partly for that
3. I am partly against that
4. I am against that
5. Difficult to answer

Q36.
If there are strikes and demonstrations against the price increase. will you join them or not?
1. Will join
2. Not
3. Do not know yet

Q37.
Do you prefer any definite political party or movement or not?

Yes, it is

01. Party of russian agrarians/Lapshin-Davydov-Zaveriukha
02. Future of Russia - New names/Lashevski-Sokolov-Mironov
03. "Russian choice"/Galda-Kovalov-Pamfiova
04. Citizens' union/Volski-Bekh-Vladislavlev
05. Democratic party of Russia (DPR)/N.Travkin-Govorukhin-Bogomolov
06. "Dignity and mercy"/Prolov-Gubenko-Grishin
07. Women of Russia/Fedulova-Lakhova-Gundareva
08. "Kedr"/Lymar-Lebed-Botchin
09. Communist party of RF/Ziuganov-Sevastianov-Iliukhin
10. Liberal-democratic party of Russia (LDP)/V.Zhirinovskii
11. Party for unity and consent of Russia/PRES/Shakhrai-Shokhin-Zatulin
12. Russian movement for democratic reforms/RDDR/A.Sobchak
13. Bloc: Yavlinskii-Boldyrev-Lukin
14. Anarchist
15. Russian National Unit
16. Socialist Party of Workers
17. Monarchist
18. Front of National Salvation

22. No
33. Do not know
44. Reject to answer
Q38. How close are you to that party?
1. Very close
2. A little bit
3. Not so close
4. Difficult to answer

Q39. Were you or your relatives the CPSU members?
1. Yes, I was a member of the CPSU
2. Yes, one or some of my relatives was
3. No

Q40. Have you taken part in new Russian parliament elections /December, 12, 1993? 
1. Yes
2. No
3. Do not remember

Q41. If you took part in the elections, what party /bloc/ representatives have you voted for?
[01] Party of Russian agrarians/Lapshin-Davydov-Zaverlukha
[02] Future of Russia — New names/Lashchevsky-Sokolov-Mironov
[03] "Russian choice"/Gaidar-Kovallov-Pamfiova
[04] Citizens' union/Volski-Bekh-Vladislavlev
[05] Democratic party of Russia (DPR)/N.Travykin-Goverukhin-Bogomolov
[06] "Dignity and mercy"/Frolov-Gubenko-Grishin
[07] Women of Russia/Peduleva-Lakhova-Gundareva
[08] "Kedr"/Lymar-Lebed-Botchkin
[09] Communist party of Russia/Zuyanov-Sevastianov-Illyukhin
[10] Liberal-democratic party of Russia(LDPR)/V.Zhirinovskii
[12] Russian movement for democratic reforms/RDDR/A.Sobchak

Q42. Why did you have not taken part in the elections?
1. Didn’t understand what was happening
2. Don’t believe promises of politicians
3. No party in Russia whose program corresponds to my convictions
4. Disapprove of course of modern Russian government
5. The party I prefer didn’t get into election list
6. Busy with my own affairs; no time to vote
7. I didn’t know the date of the election
8. I had no passion to go to the election station to vote
9. Difficult to answer

Q43. Who should be greater in Russian Federation — president or Congress/Parliament or should they have the same/equal rights?
1. President
2. Parliament
3. Equal rights
4. Difficult to answer

Q44. What was your vote on Russian Constitution project?
1. For
2. Against
3. Voted, don’t remember how
4. Did not vote

Q45. What do you think, can new Constitution of Russia ensure possibility of construction of state of justice in Russia?
1. Yes
2. No
3. Difficult to answer
Q46. Can the new Russian Constitution ensure unity and territorial safety of Russia?
1. Yes
2. No
3. Difficult to answer

Q47. If President does not find "common language" with deputies, what do you think he ought to do?
1. To dismiss the parliament
2. To resign
3. To look for compromise
4. Do not know

Q48. If a Presidential election was held the next month and the following names were on the ballot paper, who would you vote for?
1. Yeltsin
2. Gaidar
3. Zhirinovsky
4. Zuganov
5. Rutskoi
6. Chernomyrdin
7. Yavlinsky
8. Would not vote
9. Difficult to answer

Q49. If a Presidential election was held the next month and the following names without President Yeltsin were on the ballot paper, who would you vote for?
1. Gaidar
2. Zhirinovsky
3. Zuganov
4. Rutskoi
5. Chernomyrdin
6. Yavlinsky
7. Would not vote
8. Difficult to answer

Q50. Should B. Yeltsin resign or should he continue working at the post of the president of Russia Federation?
1. Resign
2. Continue
3. Difficult to answer

Q51. Should V. Chernomyrdin resign or should he continue working at the post of the Prime-minister of Russian Government?
1. Resign
2. Continue
3. Difficult to answer

Q52. What do you think, could the events of September-October 1993 repeat, when Supreme Soviet was liquidated by force?
1. Yes
2. No
3. Do not know

Q53. What do you think is military production in Russia to be...
1. Settled on today level
2. Increased
3. Cut
4. Difficult to answer
Q54. Are you proud of being Russian?
1. Yes. I am very proud
2. Yes. a little bit
3. Not any more
4. Not at all
5. Difficult to answer

Q55. What is your attitude to the following proposal: "It is necessary to liquidate all nuclear weapon entirely and in unilateral way and to announce Russia as a nuclear free zone"?
1. Absolutely agreed
2. Rather agreed
3. Rather no
4. No
5. Difficult to answer

Q56. We all hope that there will not be another war, but if it were to come to that, would you be willing to fight for our country?
1. Yes. definitely
2. Probably
3. Probably not
4. Definitely not
5. Difficult to answer

Q57. In December 1991 leaders of Russia, Belarus and Ukrain decided to liquidate the USSR and to found the CIS. What do you think of that now?
1. It was a right decision
2. It was a wrong decision
3. Difficult to answer

Q58. How did the disintegration of the USSR influence the Russian citizens financial situation?
1. It became better
2. It became worse
3. Did not change
4. Difficult to answer

Q59. With what republics of former USSR must Russia have a close union?
1. In union
2. Without union
3. Difficult to answer

Q59_a. Belarus
Q59_b. Ukrain
Q59_c. Moldavia
Q59_d. Latvia
Q59_e. Lithuania
Q59_f. Estonia
Q59_g. Uzbekistan
Q59_h. Tadzhikistan
Q59_i. Kirgizia
Q59_j. Kazakhstan
Q59_k. Turkmenistan
Q59_l. Georgia
Q59_m. Azerbaijan
Q59_n. Armenia

Q60. How much help do you think Russia should give other CIS-states?
1. As at present
2. More than today
3. Less than today
4. Difficult to answer

Q61. As you Know, 12 Western-European states form European Community. What is your impression from targets and work of European Community?
1. Good
2. Neutral
3. Bad
4. Do not know
5. Do not know what it is
Q62. Do you ever think of yourself not only as a citizen of Russia, but also as European? Does this happen:
1. Often
2. Sometimes
3. Never
4. Don’t know

Q63. If our country were to join the European Community as a full member in the future, would you feel:
1. Strongly in favour
2. Somewhat in favour
3. Somewhat opposed
4. Strongly opposed
5. (Do not read out) Do not know

Q64. Have you ever seriously considered going to work in a country in Western Europe?
1. Yes, I have considered
2. No, I have not considered
3. (Do not read out) Have already worked there
4. (Do not read out) Do not know

Q65. There has been a lot done to encourage the privatisation of major enterprises. Do you agree or not with the following statements:
1. Totally agree
2. Agree
3. Disagree
4. Totally disagree
5. Difficult to answer

Privatisation is likely to:
Q65_a. Make the economy more productive
1. Totally agree
2. Agree
3. Disagree
4. Totally disagree
5. Difficult to answer

Q65_b. Make a few people rich
1. Totally agree
2. Agree
3. Disagree
4. Totally disagree
5. Difficult to answer

Q65_c. Give everyone a material stake in state property
1. Totally agree
2. Agree
3. Disagree
4. Totally disagree
5. Difficult to answer

Q65_d. Increase unemployment
1. Totally agree
2. Agree
3. Disagree
4. Totally disagree
5. Difficult to answer

Q65_e. Appear a good thing for the managers
1. Totally agree
2. Agree
3. Disagree
4. Totally disagree
5. Difficult to answer

Q65_f. Put more goods in the shops
1. Totally agree
2. Agree
3. Disagree
4. Totally disagree
5. Difficult to answer
Q65_g. Increase prices
1. Totally agree
2. Agree
3. Disagree
4. Totally disagree
5. Difficult to answer

Q65_h. Mainly benefit foreigners
1. Totally agree
2. Agree
3. Disagree
4. Totally disagree
5. Difficult to answer

Q65_i. State will still look after the enterprise if it gets in real trouble
1. Totally agree
2. Agree
3. Disagree
4. Totally disagree
5. Difficult to answer

Q66. What did you do with your voucher?
1. Exchanged it for cash
2. Exchanged it for some goods
3. Exchanged it for shares in an enterprise where I work
4. Exchanged it for shares in investment fund
5. Exchanged it for shares in other enterprises
6. Kept it
7. Gave it to relatives
8. Never got a voucher

Q67. If exchanged voucher for shares, are you satisfied with your investment?
1. Yes, definitely
2. Fairly satisfied
3. Not very satisfied
4. Very dissatisfied
5. Difficult to answer
6. Have no shares

Q68. How likely do you think it is that your place of work will be privatized?
1. Already privatized, never state owned
2. Very likely
3. Some possibility
4. Little chance
5. No chance
6. Difficult to answer
7. Not employed

Q69. If your firm has been or does become privatized, do you think it will:
1. 1-st alternative
2. 2-nd alternative
3. Make no difference
4. Difficult to answer

Q69-a) Make your job more secure or less secure?
Q69-b) Make it easier OR harder to influence the managers?
Q69-c) Make you work harder OR make your work easier?
Q69-d) Lead to better pay OR worse pay?
Q69-e) Increase OR decrease my understanding of the enterprise's problems?
Q69-f) Improve the quality of what you produce OR make it worse?
Q69-g) Reduce OR increase the number of people who work there?
Q69-h) Increase OR decrease influence of workers on management of enterprise?
DEMOGRAPHY

a) Sex
1. feminine
2. masculine

b) How old are you?
01. 18-19
02. 20-24
03. 25-29
04. 30-34
05. 35-39
06. 40-44
07. 45-49
08. 50-54
09. 55-59
10. 60-64
11. 65-69
12. 70 and older

c) What area are you employed in?
01. Industry
02. Construction
03. Transportation (driver)
04. Trade, services
05. State institutions, communications, financial services
06. Education, science, arts
07. Medical services
08. Army (including Ministry of Home Affairs and KGB)
09. Statesman, General Director/Manager (or deputy-) of an organization/business or a sector (department, workshop, unit), etc.
10. New forms of employment (member of a cooperative, commercial business, self-employment, small business, joint venture, etc.)
11. Student
12. Pensioner (not employed)
13. Housewife (including nursing mothers)
14. Unemployed (including temporarily unemployed)
15. Another

d) If you are married: does your spouse work?
1. Yes, he/she does
2. No, he/she does not
3. Not married
4. Divorced
5. Widowed

e) What is your educational background?
1. Up to 6 years at school
2. Up to 9 years at school
3. High school (10-11 years at school)
4. Vocational school
5. Technical college
6. University (up to 3 years, without diploma)
7. University (university degree)
8. Post graduated degree

f) Do you live in an apartment?
1. municipal
2. communal
3. cooperative
4. privatized
5. halls of residence
6. private house
7. rented apartment

g) How many members of your family, including children live together?
1. -1
2. -2
3. -3
4. -4
5. -5
6. -6
7. -7 or more

h) How many persons in your household are employed?

1) How many children of up to 18 years of age live in your family?
1. -1
2. -2
3. -3
4. -4 or more
9. -no children
j) What is the present average monthly pro-capita income in your family?
1. up to 25,000 roubles per person
2. up to 50,000 roubles
3. up to 75,000 roubles
4. up to 100,000 roubles
5. over 100,000 roubles
6. over 250,000 roubles
7. over 500,000 roubles
8. no answer, unclear answer

k) Does your household have:
1. A car
2. A telephone
3. A dacha in country
4. Colour television
5. Home library (more than 100 books)

l) Your nationality
1. Russian
2. Ukrainian
3. Tartar
4. Other nationalities (Transcaucasian republics, Central Asia, Baltic republics, other republics of the FSU)
5. Jewish
6. another
7. Do not want to answer

m) Have you ever been abroad (outside the CIS states)?
1. Never
2. Once
3. Several times

n) Do you consider yourself religious?
1. Yes, I do.
2. Not much so
3. No, I am not.
4. Difficult to answer.

e) What place do you live in?
1. in a rural area
2. in small town (up to 100,000 inhabitants)
3. in middle town (100,000-500,000 inhabitants)
4. in large city (over 500,000 inhabitants)
5. in the capital city of a region, krai or republic