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Two Decades After the Wall's Fall
END OF COMMUNISM CHEERED BUT NOW WITH MORE RESERVATIONS

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Two Decades After the Wall's Fall

END OF COMMUNISM CHEERED BUT NOW WITH MORE RESERVATIONS

Nearly two decades after the fall of the Berlin Wall, publics of former Iron Curtain countries generally look back approvingly at the collapse of communism. Majorities of people in most former Soviet republics and Eastern European countries endorse the emergence of multiparty systems and a free market economy.

However, the initial widespread enthusiasm about these changes has dimmed in most of the countries surveyed; in some, support for democracy and capitalism has diminished markedly. In many nations, majorities or pluralities say that most people were better off under communism, and there is a widespread view that the business class and political leadership have benefited from the changes more than ordinary people. Nonetheless, self reported life satisfaction has risen significantly in these societies compared with nearly two decades ago when the Times Mirror Center¹ first studied public opinion in the former Eastern bloc.

The acceptance of – and appetite for – democracy is much less evident today among the publics of the former Soviet republics of Russia and Ukraine, who lived the longest under communism. In contrast, Eastern Europeans, especially the Czechs and those in the former

Approval of Change to Democracy

<i>% Approve of change to...</i>	<u>1991</u>	<u>2009</u>	<u>Change</u>
Multiparty system	%	%	
East Germany	91	85	-6
Czech Rep.	80	80	0
Slovakia	70	71	+1
Poland	66	70	+4
Hungary	74	56	-18
Lithuania	75	55	-20
Russia	61	53	-8
Bulgaria	76	52	-24
Ukraine	72	30	-42

Question 12.

Approval of Change to Capitalism

<i>% Approve of change to...</i>	<u>1991</u>	<u>2009</u>	<u>Change</u>
Market economy	%	%	
East Germany	86	82	-4
Czech Rep.	87	79	-8
Poland	80	71	-9
Slovakia	69	66	-3
Bulgaria	73	53	-20
Lithuania	76	50	-26
Russia	54	50	-4
Hungary	80	46	-34
Ukraine	52	36	-16

Question 13.

¹ The Times Mirror Center for the People & the Press (the forerunner of the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press) conducted the Pulse of Europe survey from April 15 to May 31, 1991. Interviews were conducted with 12,569 people in Britain, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Poland and Spain, as well as three republics of the Soviet Union: Lithuania, Russia and Ukraine. For more details, see the Survey Methods section of this report.

East Germany, are more accepting of the economic and societal upheavals of the past two decades. East Germans, in particular, overwhelmingly approve of the reunification of Germany, as do those living in what was West Germany. However, fewer east Germans now have *very* positive views of reunification than in mid-1991, when the benchmark surveys were conducted by the Times Mirror Center for the People & the Press. And now, as then, many of those living in east Germany believe that unification happened too quickly.

One of the most positive trends in Europe since the fall of the Wall is a decline in ethnic hostilities among the people of former communist countries. In a number of nations, fewer citizens say they hold unfavorable views of ethnic minorities than did so in 1991. Nonetheless, sizable percentages of people in former communist countries continue to have unfavorable views of minority groups and neighboring nationalities. The new poll also finds Western Europeans in a number of cases are at least as hostile toward minorities as are Eastern Europeans. In particular, many in the West, especially in Italy and Spain, hold unfavorable views of Muslims.

Concern about Russia is another sentiment shared by both Eastern and Western Europeans. A majority of the French (57%) and 46% of Germans say Russia is having a bad influence on their countries; this view is shared by most Poles (59%) and sizable minorities in most other Eastern European countries. The exceptions are Bulgaria and Ukraine, where on balance Russia’s influence is seen as more positive than negative.

As for the Russians themselves, there has been an upsurge in nationalist sentiment since the early 1990s. A majority of Russians (54%) agree with the statement “Russia should be for Russians”; just 26% agreed with that statement in 1991. Moreover, even as they embrace free market capitalism, fully 58% of Russians agree that “it is a great misfortune that the Soviet Union no longer exists.” And nearly half (47%) say “it is natural for Russia to have an empire.”

Opinions of German Reunification			
	1991*	2009	Change
	%	%	
East Germany			
Very positive	45	31	-14
Somewhat positive	44	50	+6
Somewhat negative	7	13	+6
Very negative	1	3	+2
Don't know	2	3	+1
West Germany			
Very positive	29	28	-1
Somewhat positive	50	49	-1
Somewhat negative	14	17	+3
Very negative	1	3	+2
Don't know	6	3	-3

Question 11.
* In 1991, the question wording was, “Overall, do you strongly approve, approve, disapprove or strongly disapprove of the unification of Germany?”

Nationalist Sentiment in Russia			
	Agree	Disagree	DK
	%	%	%
It is a great misfortune that the Soviet Union no longer exists	58	38	5
Russia should be for Russians	54	43	3
1991	26	69	6
It is natural for Russia to have an empire	47	35	18
1991	37	43	19

Questions 40f, 40i and 40k.

These are among the major findings of a new, 14-nation survey by the Pew Research Center’s Global Attitudes Project that was conducted Aug. 27 through Sept. 24 among 14,760 adults. The survey, which includes nations in Eastern and Western Europe, as well as the United States, reexamines many of the key issues first explored in the 1991 survey conducted by the Times Mirror Center, the predecessor of the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press.

Varied Reactions to Democracy and Free Markets

While the current polling finds a broad endorsement for the demise of communism, reactions vary widely among and within countries. In east Germany and the Czech Republic, there is considerable support for the shift to both a multiparty system and a free market economy. The Poles and Slovaks rank next in terms of acceptance. In contrast, somewhat fewer Hungarians, Bulgarians, Russians and Lithuanians say they favor the changes to the political and economic systems they have experienced, although majorities or pluralities endorse the changes. Ukraine is the only country included in the survey where more disapprove than approve of the changes to a multiparty system and market economy.

In Hungary, there is clear frustration with the current state of democracy, despite the public’s acceptance of the shift to a multiparty system. More than three-quarters of Hungarians (77%) are dissatisfied with the way democracy is working in their country. This may be due in part to an overwhelmingly dismal national mood: About nine-in-ten think the country is on the wrong track (91%) and that the economy is in bad shape (94%). Disenchantment with political elites is especially strong in Hungary, where only 38% believe voting gives them a say in politics. And even more than other publics included in the survey, Hungarians are frustrated by the gap between what they *want* from democracy – such as a free press, free speech and competitive elections – and what they believe they currently *have*.

Across virtually all of these former communist countries, with the notable exception of the former East Germany, the patterns of acceptance of political and economic changes mirror what was evident from the very start of the political and economic upheavals of two decades ago.

Age Gap on Change to Democracy and Capitalism					
% Approve of change to...	Age Group				Oldest-youngest gap
	18-29	30-49	50-64	65+	
Multiparty system	%	%	%	%	
Russia	65	60	46	27	-38
Bulgaria	56	61	51	37	-19
Czech Rep.	87	82	76	70	-17
Poland	76	76	65	60	-16
Lithuania	59	58	56	43	-16
Hungary	60	59	55	45	-15
Ukraine	34	39	22	20	-14
Slovakia	74	76	65	65	-9
East Germany	90	85	86	81	-9
Market economy					
Russia	63	56	39	27	-36
Bulgaria	66	60	49	32	-34
Slovakia	75	73	60	46	-29
Ukraine	48	43	24	20	-28
Poland	80	78	68	53	-27
Czech Rep.	83	87	76	63	-20
Hungary	51	47	48	36	-15
Lithuania	53	53	51	41	-12
East Germany	82	83	87	77	-5

Questions 12 and 13.

Younger, better educated and urban people tend to be more accepting of changes and register greater gains in life satisfaction than do older people, the less well educated and those living in rural areas.

In Russia, for example, majorities of those younger than 50 years of age approve of the changes to a multiparty system and a free market system. But older people are far less approving; among those ages 65 and older, just 27% express positive views of each of these changes. Similar disparities in acceptance are evident by education in Russia and among most of the other former communist publics surveyed.

That is not the case, however, in the former East Germany, where both older and younger people – as well as the better educated and less educated – overwhelmingly endorse the political and economic changes they have experienced. And while about as many east Germans say their former country was “overwhelmed” and “taken over” by West Germany as said this in 1991, an increasing proportion of east Germans say that reunification has improved their lives. Fully 63% of those questioned now say their lives are better as a result of unification; just 48% felt that way in 1991. Moreover, about eight-in-ten of those living in the former East Germany say they favor the unification of Germany. Those in the former West Germany are equally accepting of unification.

Life Gets Better Ratings

Opinions among east Germans about the impact of unification on their lives are consistent with one of the most striking trends observed in the new survey. People in former communist countries now rate their lives markedly higher than they did in 1991, when they were still coming to grips with the massive changes then taking place. This is true even in countries where overall levels of satisfaction with life – as well as positive assessments of political and economic changes – are significantly lower than in the most upbeat of the nations surveyed.

Czechs, Poles, Slovaks and east Germans report the most satisfaction with their lives and posted the greatest gains over the past two decades. Russians, Ukrainians and Lithuanians also judge their personal well-being much better than they once did, and they view their lives more positively than do Hungarians and Bulgarians. However, even those two downbeat publics show improvements in self-assessments of life compared with 1991.

Satisfied With Life			
	1991	2009	Change
% High (7-10)	%	%	
Poland	12	44	+32
Slovakia	13	43	+30
Russia	7	35	+28
Czech Rep.	23	49	+26
Lithuania	13	35	+22
Ukraine	8	26	+18
Bulgaria	4	15	+11
Hungary	8	15	+7
Germany	44	47	+3
<i>East</i>	15	43	+28
<i>West</i>	52	48	-4

“Here is a ladder representing the ladder of life. Let’s suppose the top of the ladder represents the best possible life for you; and the bottom, the worst possible. On which step of the ladder do you feel you personally stand at the present time?”
(Q2)

While the current survey finds people in former communist countries feeling better about their lives than they did in 1991, the increases in personal progress have been uneven demographically, as has been acceptance of economic and political change. There are now wide age gaps in reports of life satisfaction. In Poland, for example, half of those younger than age 30 rate their lives highly, compared with just 29% of those ages 65 and older. These gaps were not evident in 1991, when all age groups expressed comparably negative views of their lives. The same pattern is evident among all of the former communist publics surveyed.

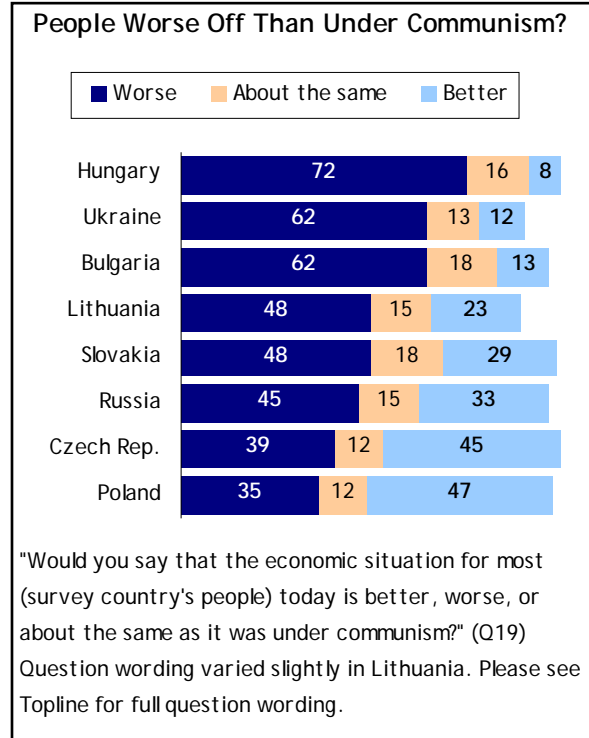
	Poland		Czech Rep.		Slovakia		Hungary	
	1991	2009	1991	2009	1991	2009	1991	2009
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
18-29	13	50	21	51	9	58	11	23
30-49	13	52	20	57	13	47	6	17
50-64	8	40	32	45	11	32	7	10
65+	15	29	19	38	NA*	28	7	9

	Bulgaria		Lithuania		Ukraine		Russia	
	1991	2009	1991	2009	1991	2009	1991	2009
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
18-29	3	28	14	44	7	39	8	41
30-49	3	15	17	35	6	27	9	40
50-64	4	13	8	30	11	16	6	28
65+	5	8	13	29	NA*	15	3	25

Question 2.
* Figures not shown because there are too few respondents in this age group.

An urban-rural gap also is evident in life satisfaction in two principal republics of the former Soviet Union included in the poll – Russia and Ukraine – as well as in Bulgaria and Hungary. In Ukraine, for example, 30% of urban dwellers express high satisfaction with their lives, compared with just 17% of those residing in rural areas. These disparities in reports of well-being were not apparent two decades ago. Then, on average, people were less happy, but there were no significant demographic differences in their opinions.

The demographic gaps in well-being among the publics of former Iron Curtain countries were suggested by reactions to the end of communism two decades ago. It was the young, the better educated and the urban populations who were cheering. How older, less well educated and rural people would adapt was then identified as one of the principal challenges to acceptance of democracy and capitalism. This remains the case, especially in Russia and



Ukraine, where people who now rate their lives well voice the strongest support for democratic values, while those less satisfied are the least disposed to the new values.

Indeed, the prevailing view in Russia, Ukraine, Lithuania, Slovakia, Bulgaria and Hungary is that people were better off economically under communism. Only in the Czech Republic and Poland do pluralities believe that most people are now better off. Furthermore, the consensus in many of these countries is that ordinary people have benefited far less than have business owners and politicians.

Nonetheless, many people in former communist countries broadly endorse the free market economy. This is particularly the case in countries where sizable numbers of people rate their lives better than they did in surveys two decades ago. But in countries where people do not register as much progress since 1991, there is much less unanimity about the benefits of the free market.

Acceptance of Democratic Values

The survey also shows substantial differences in acceptance of democratic values among people in former communist countries. While majorities in most countries approve of the transition to a multiparty system, it remains a rocky transition in many countries. The appeal of a

	Hun	Bul	Cze	Pol	Ukr	Lit	Slo	Rus
<i>% Very important</i>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Freedom of speech	65	58	47	50	43	38	39	37
Honest elections	70	61	57	51	53	39	43	41
Fair judicial system	79	81	78	64	67	59	57	69
Civilian-controlled military	36	27	36	29	30	20	21	27
Freedom of the press	59	61	66	52	49	50	42	37
Freedom of religion	66	58	46	62	51	47	47	47
MEDIAN	66	60	52	52	50	43	43	39

Questions 41a through 41f.

strong leader over a democratic form of government is evident in Russia, Ukraine, Bulgaria, Lithuania and Hungary. Only in Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and the former East Germany do most people believe that a democratic form of government is the best way to solve the country's problems.

The embrace of political rights and civil liberties is also varied and disparate across countries in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. On every dimension studied, more people say they value these rights and liberties than say they enjoy them.

A fair judiciary is the value most prized in the former communist countries surveyed. And in every country in the region, large numbers say that right does not prevail. Freedom of speech, a free press and even honest elections are given somewhat lower priority in most societies, especially Russia.

Frustrations with the democratic experience are clearly evident in a number of countries. In Hungary, relatively large numbers prize the ability to criticize the state and want press freedom and honest elections, but only small percentages say these conditions prevail. In Ukraine, where support for democracy is tenuous by many standards, very few say that honest elections or a fair judicial system describe their country well.

A general conclusion that can be drawn from the poll’s results suggests that Russians express the least enthusiasm for democratic values, while the most acceptance is expressed by those in the former East Germany, closely followed by the Poles and Czechs.

Corruption, Crime Concerns Widespread

There is a good deal of agreement across former Eastern bloc publics concerning the major problems facing their countries. As might be expected, large majorities express negative views of their economies, but this also is the case for Western Europeans and Americans. In fact, of the 14 publics included in the survey, the Poles render the most positive economic report: 38% describe their country’s economy as very or somewhat good.

Beyond the economy, crime, corruption and drugs are widely seen as major problems in each of the former communist countries surveyed. The environment, the poor quality of schools, and the spread of AIDS and other infectious disease are also common concerns in all countries.

Concerns about people leaving the country are especially high in the former East Germany, Bulgaria and Lithuania. Throughout Eastern Europe, people generally express more concern about emigration than immigration. However, relatively few Russians cite emigration as a major problem. The Russians express greater concern about terrorism than any other Eastern European public.

<u>Bulgaria</u>		%	<u>Czech Rep.</u>		%	<u>East Germany</u>		%
Corruption	76		Corruption	71		Illegal drugs	50	
Crime	76		Crime	55		Emigration	49	
Illegal drugs	74		Illegal drugs	51		Crime	47	
<u>Hungary</u>		%	<u>Lithuania</u>		%	<u>Poland</u>		%
Corruption	76		Corruption	78		Corruption	58	
Crime	69		Crime	76		Crime	49	
Pollution	58		Illegal drugs	66		Illegal drugs	49	
<u>Russia</u>		%	<u>Slovakia</u>		%	<u>Ukraine</u>		%
Illegal drugs	54		Crime	55		Corruption	70	
Corruption	52		Corruption	52		Pollution	64	
Pollution	52		Illegal drugs	46		Crime	56	

Questions 9a through 9j.
Percent citing each as a “very big problem” in their country; top three problems shown.

Views of Minorities and Ethnic Conflicts

Conflict among ethnic groups is viewed as a problem in several former communist countries, especially Russia, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia. These tensions are reflected in the relatively large percentages that hold unfavorable opinions of minority groups

within their countries. However, in almost all nations, less hostility is expressed toward most minority groups and other nationalities than in 1991.

The Roma, or Gypsies, continue to stand out as the most widely disliked ethnic group. More than eight-in-ten Czechs (84%) hold an unfavorable view of them, as do 78% of Slovaks and 69% of Hungarians. Many of the expressed antagonisms reflect historic enmity with neighboring peoples, or long-standing dislike of religious or ethnic minorities. In Hungary, 33% have an unfavorable opinion of Romanians, and 29% say they dislike Jews. Many

% Unfavorable					
Bulgaria	%	Czech Rep.	%	East Germany	%
Roma	56	Roma	84	Turks	36
Turks	28	Germans	26	Roma	33
Hungary	%	Lithuania	%	Poland	%
Roma	69	Jews	37	Russians	41
Romanians	33	Poles	21	Ukrainians	35
Russia	%	Slovakia	%	Ukraine	%
Chechens	60	Roma	78	Georgians	28
Georgians	53	Jews	27	Tajiks	18

Questions 22 series.
 Respondents were asked about key minority groups in their country.
 The two groups in each country that receive the highest unfavorable ratings are shown. For more complete results, see the Topline.

Poles have a negative opinion of Russians (41%), Ukrainians (35%) and Jews (29%). A sizable number of Lithuanians hold unfavorable views of Poles (21%), but many more dislike Jews (37%). More than one-in-four Slovaks (27%) express a negative opinion of Jews.

Czechs are well liked in Slovakia and vice versa. However, Czechs and Slovaks have differing views of the breakup of Czechoslovakia – on balance, Slovaks think the split was a good thing by a margin of 49% to 39%; Czechs, by a margin of 53% to 40%, mostly think it was a bad idea.

Ukrainians have an overwhelmingly positive view of Russians living in their country (84%), but many fewer like Georgians (54%). A significant number of Russians (32%) have an unfavorable view of Ukrainians residing in Russia, but even more give Georgians a negative rating (53%).

Dislike of minority groups is not limited to Eastern Europeans. Roughly a quarter of the French have an unfavorable opinion of North Africans, which is comparable to negative opinions of Muslims in Britain (27%) and Turks in Germany (30%). In the West, Italians hold the most negative views toward minority groups – 69% say they dislike Muslims and 84% have negative views of the Roma. Negative views toward these two groups run high in Spain as well – 46% have an unfavorable opinion of Muslims and 45% say this about Roma.

Concerns About Russia

Views of Russia differ widely across the surveyed countries. Many of Russia’s neighbors in Eastern Europe see its influence as a bad thing, perhaps reflecting concern over resurgent nationalism in Russia.

Nearly six-in-ten Poles (59%) see Russia’s influence as negative, the highest percentage of any country in the region. In the Czech Republic, Hungary and Lithuania, pluralities see the Russian influence on their countries as a bad thing. In contrast, more Bulgarians and Ukrainians see Russia’s impact as positive than negative. In Western Europe, the balance of opinion is that Russian influence is negative, although many in Spain and Britain have no opinion on the subject.

	Good		Neither/ Both		DK
	%	%	%	%	
Ukraine	46	25	20	9	
Bulgaria	45	17	24	14	
Slovakia	34	34	22	9	
Czech Rep.	24	44	26	6	
Lithuania	22	39	29	11	
Poland	18	59	17	7	
Hungary	15	42	30	14	
Germany	40	46	5	8	
<i>East</i>	41	40	7	13	
<i>West</i>	40	48	5	6	
France	36	57	3	2	
Italy	25	34	27	13	
Britain	22	38	14	27	
Spain	21	27	19	33	

Question 21a.

Wider Values Divides

The long-existing transatlantic divide in attitudes toward the role of the state in society has grown over the past two decades. In nine of the 13 European countries surveyed, fewer people today than in 1991 think that people should be free to pursue their life’s goals without interference from the state. Only in Britain and Italy have the proportions expressing this view increased. However, Italians and the British are still more supportive of an active role for the state in society than are Americans. The least support for a laissez-faire government is in Lithuania (17%) and in Bulgaria (23%).

Similarly, while Europeans are generally less fatalistic than they were in 1991, Americans remain far more individualistic than Europeans. Fewer than a third (29%) of Americans surveyed believe success in life is pretty much determined by forces outside their control.

	Agree		Disagree		DK
	%	%	%	%	
U.S.	29	68		3	
Italy	71	26		4	
France	52	47		0	
Spain	51	42		8	
Britain	41	55		4	
Germany	66	31		3	
<i>East</i>	67	30		4	
<i>West</i>	66	32		3	
Poland	62	31		7	
Bulgaria	61	32		7	
Russia	60	32		8	
Slovakia	55	38		7	
Czech Rep.	54	41		5	
Hungary	54	42		5	
Ukraine	49	36		16	
Lithuania	45	40		14	

Question 40d.

Majorities in 10 of the 13 European countries surveyed think they have little control over their fate. Publics in nine of the 13 European nations surveyed are more individualistic today than they were in 1991.

Views of the EU and NATO

European opinion of the European Union is generally good, but, in the wake of the recent economic crisis, there is some evidence of disgruntlement. While two-thirds of the Spanish (67%) and more than six-in-ten Germans (63%) and Poles (63%) think their country’s EU membership is a good thing, only a slim majority (54%) of the French and a plurality of the Italians (47%) agree.

Frustration with the EU is greatest in Hungary, where only one-in-five people (20%) think their country’s membership has been a good thing and about seven-in-ten (71%) say their economy has been weakened by European economic integration. A strong majority of Bulgarians (63%), as well as 55% in France, 54% in Britain, and a plurality in Italy (41%) agree that their country has been weakened economically by integration.

British wariness of the Brussels-based European Union persists and could be worsening. The British are evenly split on whether membership in the European club is a good thing. And the proportion of the British population that thinks the EU has had a good influence on the way things are going in their country is lower in 2009 than in 2002. That is also the case in France and Italy.

Since the 1991 Times Mirror Center survey, the European Union has grown from 12 nations to 27. Support for further enlargement among the publics in the 11 EU member states surveyed is mixed. Large majorities favor Iceland’s EU membership within the next decade. And backing of Croatia’s application is almost as strong. Smaller majorities or pluralities in most countries also support membership ambitions by Ukraine, Serbia and Georgia.

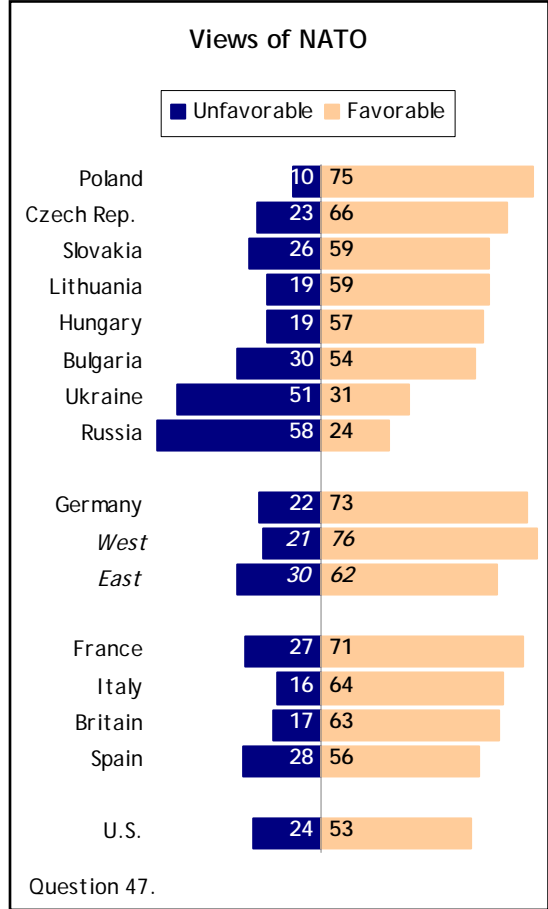
	A good thing %	A bad thing %	Neither %	(Vol) Both %	DK %
Poland	63	9	20	5	3
Slovakia	58	7	30	3	2
Bulgaria	54	11	30	2	3
Czech Rep.	45	15	37	2	1
Lithuania	44	8	30	13	5
Hungary	20	28	43	5	4
Germany	63	10	25	*	1
<i>West</i>	63	10	26	*	1
<i>East</i>	62	10	25	*	2
Spain	67	7	21	1	4
France	54	15	30	*	*
Italy	47	13	29	4	6
Britain	31	31	32	2	4
Question 8.					

The weakest backing and the strongest opposition is for Turkey’s long-standing effort to join the union. Notably, in Germany, the EU’s richest member and long the paymaster of EU enlargement, majorities oppose EU membership not only for Turkey but also for Georgia, Serbia and Ukraine.

NATO, the transatlantic security organization that celebrated its 60th anniversary this year, draws favorable reviews in the 12 NATO member countries surveyed.

Notably, slightly more than half of Americans (53%) express a favorable opinion of NATO – the lowest percentage among NATO countries surveyed.

Finally, while NATO is committed to eventual membership for Ukraine, majorities in only three of the 12 NATO members surveyed support such inclusion in the next 10 years. About half of Ukrainians (51%) themselves actually oppose joining. Also, majorities in both Ukraine (51%) and Russia (58%) express unfavorable opinions of NATO.



About the Pew Global Attitudes Project

The *Pew Research Center's Global Attitudes Project* conducts public opinion surveys around the world on a broad array of subjects ranging from people's assessments of their own lives to their views about the current state of the world and important issues of the day. The project is directed by Andrew Kohut, president of the Pew Research Center, a nonpartisan "fact tank" in Washington, DC, that provides information on the issues, attitudes, and trends shaping America and the world. The *Pew Global Attitudes Project* is principally funded by The Pew Charitable Trusts.

Since its inception in 2001, the *Pew Global Attitudes Project* has released 27 major reports, as well as numerous commentaries and other releases, on topics including attitudes toward the U.S. and American foreign policy, globalization, terrorism, and democratization.

Findings from the project are also analyzed in *America Against the World: How We Are Different and Why We Are Disliked* by Andrew Kohut and Bruce Stokes, international economics columnist at the *National Journal*. A paperback edition of the book was released in May 2007.

The *Pew Global Attitudes Project* is co-chaired by former U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright, currently principal, the Albright Stonebridge Group, and by former Senator John C. Danforth, currently partner, Bryan Cave LLP.

Pew Global Attitudes Project staff includes Richard Wike, Juliana Menasce Horowitz, Erin Carriere-Kretschmer, Kathleen Holzwart, Jacob Poushter and other Pew Research Center staff, including Elizabeth Mueller Gross, Jodie T. Allen, Carroll Doherty, Michael Dimock and Michael Remez. Additional members of the team include consultants Bruce Stokes; Mary McIntosh, president of Princeton Survey Research Associates International; and Wendy Sherman, principal at the Albright Stonebridge Group. The *Pew Global Attitudes Project* team regularly consults with survey and policy experts, regional and academic experts, journalists, and policymakers whose expertise provides tremendous guidance in shaping the surveys.

All of the project's reports and commentaries are available at www.pewglobal.org. The data are also made available on our website within two years of publication.

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Pew Global Attitudes Project Public Opinion Surveys		
<u>Survey</u>	<u>Sample</u>	<u>Interviews</u>
Summer 2002	44 Nations	38,263
November 2002	6 Nations	6,056
March 2003	9 Nations	5,520
May 2003	21 Publics*	15,948
March 2004	9 Nations	7,765
May 2005	17 Nations	17,766
Spring 2006	15 Nations	16,710
Spring 2007	47 Publics*	45,239
Spring 2008	24 Nations	24,717
Spring 2009	25 Publics*	26,397
Aug.-Sept. 2009	14 Nations	14,760

* Includes the Palestinian territories.

Roadmap to the Report

The first chapter examines how the publics of former communist countries view their lives, their sense of personal progress, and outlook for the futures. The next two chapters explore views toward democracy, while Chapter 4 looks at opinions about capitalism and other economic issues. Chapter 5 looks at Germans' attitudes toward the reunification of their country. Chapter 6 examines attitudes toward ethnic and religious minorities, while Chapter 7 focuses on nationalism in Russia and other nations. Chapter 8 investigates ratings for major countries and institutions. Chapter 9 looks specifically at opinions regarding the EU and NATO. Chapter 10 explores how respondents see conditions in their countries and how they rate national leaders. Finally, Chapter 11 examines religiosity and the role of religion in society. A summary of the survey's methodology, followed by complete topline results, can be found at the end of the report.

1. Rating Personal Well-Being

People in the former Eastern bloc countries now rate their lives markedly higher than they did in 1991 shortly after the fall of the Berlin Wall. Czechs, Poles and Slovaks report the highest levels of life satisfaction – and some of the greatest gains over the past two decades. Hungarians and Bulgarians are least likely to say they are highly satisfied with their lives, but both publics show sizeable increases since the earlier survey.

In 1991, relatively few reported high levels of satisfaction in any of these countries – and there was little variance across demographic groups. Today, young people are more likely to be satisfied with their lives than are older people, and the better educated tend to be more satisfied than the less educated.

Many Stepping Up on Ladder of Life
(Rating High 7-10)

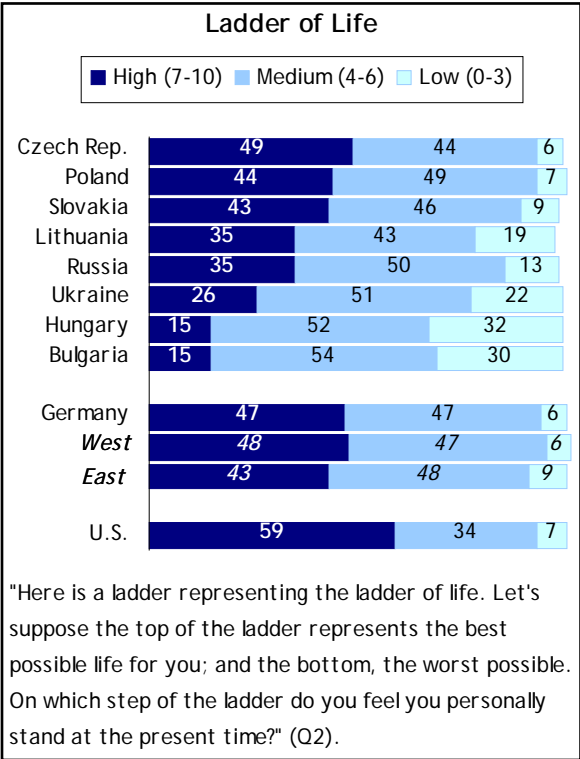
	1991	2009	Change
	%	%	
Poland	12	44	+32
Slovakia	13	43	+30
Russia	7	35	+28
Czech Rep.	23	49	+26
Lithuania	13	35	+22
Ukraine	8	26	+18
Bulgaria	4	15	+11
Hungary	8	15	+7
Germany	44	47	+3
<i>East</i>	15	43	+28
<i>West</i>	52	48	-4

Question 2.
Percent rating their lives at least 7 on a 10-point scale, with 10 being “the best possible life for you.”

On balance, the people in these nations appear to be more optimistic than pessimistic about their lives over the next five years, though in several instances, they are less optimistic than they were just two years ago.

Life Satisfaction Increases

When people are asked to place themselves on a “ladder of life,” where zero represents the worst possible life and 10 the best possible life, about half (49%) of those in the Czech Republic rate their lives at least a seven, as do 44% of Poles and 43% of Slovaks. At the other end of the spectrum, just 15% of Bulgarians and Hungarians give their lives a high rating. In both of those nations, about twice as many rate their lives at the low end of the ladder (30% in Bulgaria and 32% in Hungary rate their lives from zero to three). Still, the percentages giving their lives high rankings are significantly higher than in 1991, when only 4% of Bulgarians and 8% of Hungarians gave their lives a high rating.



At that time, an era of great social, political and economic uncertainty, the Eastern European nations all recorded relatively low levels of life satisfaction. In Poland, for example, just 12% rated their lives near the top of the ladder. That percentage has increased by 32 points. In Russia, just 7% rated their lives in the upper tier in 1991. Now, 35% say their life satisfaction rates in the top tier.

Ratings in Germany show both the relative stability of satisfaction levels in the country’s west and the large changes that have taken place in the east. Overall, 47% of Germans rate their lives at least a seven on the ladder, about the same as the 44% that did so in 1991. But in that earlier rating, the gap between east and west was large – 52% in the west rated their lives a seven or more, compared with 15% in the east. Today, 48% in the west rate their lives at least a seven, a decline of four points since 1991, while 43% in the east put their lives in that top tier, a jump of 28 points.

And, despite the global economic collapse of 2008, more people in the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland and Russia see themselves near the top end of the life satisfaction ladder than did so in 2007. In the Czech Republic, 42% rated their lives at seven or more in 2007, compared with 49% today. In Russia, 23% rated their lives at least a seven, compared with 35% now. In Poland, the increase was from 39% to 44%, while in Slovakia, it was from 36% to 43%. At the same time, in Ukraine, the percentage rating their lives a seven or more dropped from 32% in 2007 to 26%, while those rating their lives in the lowest group (zero to three) increased from 17% to 22%.

Larger Variations in Life Satisfaction

As the nations of the former Soviet bloc grappled with great change in the years immediately after the collapse of the Berlin Wall, small percentages in most expressed high satisfaction with their lives. In many cases, the differences among age groups, education levels, or rural and urban areas were narrow or nonexistent.

Today, there are sharp age gaps in life satisfaction, with younger people in most countries much more likely than older people to rate their lives at seven or higher on the ladder. The gap also has widened in many nations between those with some college education and those without it, with the better educated feeling better about their lives. And in several nations, including Russia, Ukraine, Hungary and Bulgaria, those who live in urban areas are more likely to rate their life satisfaction at high levels than are those in rural areas.

	2007 %	2009 %	Change
Russia	23	35	+12
Czech Rep.	42	49	+7
Slovakia	36	43	+7
Poland	39	44	+5
Ukraine	32	26	-6
Bulgaria	17	15	-2
Germany	48	47	-1
<i>West</i>	49	48	-1
<i>East</i>	46	43	-3
U.S.	65	59	-6

Question 2.
Percent rating their lives at least 7 on 10-point scale. For countries with 2007 comparison data.

In Poland, half (50%) of those ages 18 to 29 rate their lives at seven or higher, compared with just 29% of those 65 and older. Similar patterns are evident in most of the former Soviet bloc nations. In Russia, 41% of those younger than 30 rate their lives near the top of the scale, compared with 25% of those 65 and older. By comparison, in the United States, similar percentages among the youngest and oldest groups (59% and 62%, respectively) rate their life satisfaction at seven or more.

In 1991, the age groups in Eastern Europe had much more similar outlooks than they do today. For example, in Poland, 13% of those 18 to 29 gave their lives a top-tier rating, compared with 15% of those at least 65.

Younger, Better Educated Now More Satisfied								
% High (7-10)								
	Poland		Czech Rep.		Slovakia		Hungary	
	1991	2009	1991	2009	1991	2009	1991	2009
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
18-29	13	50	21	51	9	58	11	23
30-49	13	52	20	57	13	47	6	17
50-64	8	40	32	45	11	32	7	10
65+	15	29	19	38	NA*	8	7	9
Some col.+	21	62	NA*	63	NA*	54	17	31
No col.	11	41	NA*	48	NA*	41	7	13
	Bulgaria		Lithuania		Ukraine		Russia	
	1991	2009	1991	2009	1991	2009	1991	2009
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
18-29	3	28	14	44	7	39	8	41
30-49	3	15	17	35	6	27	9	40
50-64	4	13	8	30	11	16	6	28
65+	5	8	13	29	NA*	15	3	25
Some col.+	6	28	NA*	48	7	38	10	42
No col.	3	11	NA*	33	8	19	5	33

Question 2.
* Figures not shown because there are too few respondents in the category.

The new survey also shows a wide gap in the satisfaction levels of those who are better educated and those who are not. In 1991, in many countries, those with some college education and those with no college experience had similar levels of personal satisfaction. In Ukraine, 7% of those with at least some college rated their lives at least a seven on the ladder of life, compared with 8% of those with no college education. Today, the percentage of those with at least some college education who rate their lives highly (38%) is double the percentage for those with no college education (19%).

In Russia, Ukraine, Bulgaria and Hungary, there is a more pronounced gap in outlook between those living in urban and rural areas than there was in 1991. In Russia, for example, 38% of those living in urban areas rate their lives near the top of the ladder, compared with 28% in rural areas. In 1991, fewer than one-in-ten Russians in urban (8%) and rural (5%) regions expressed high levels of personal satisfaction.

Wider Urban-Rural Gap In Several Countries				
% High 7-10				
	Ukraine		Russia	
	1991	2009	1991	2009
	%	%	%	%
Urban	9	30	8	38
Rural	6	17	5	28
	Bulgaria		Hungary	
	1991	2009	1991	2009
	%	%	%	%
Urban	4	19	9	18
Rural	3	9	6	10

Question 2.

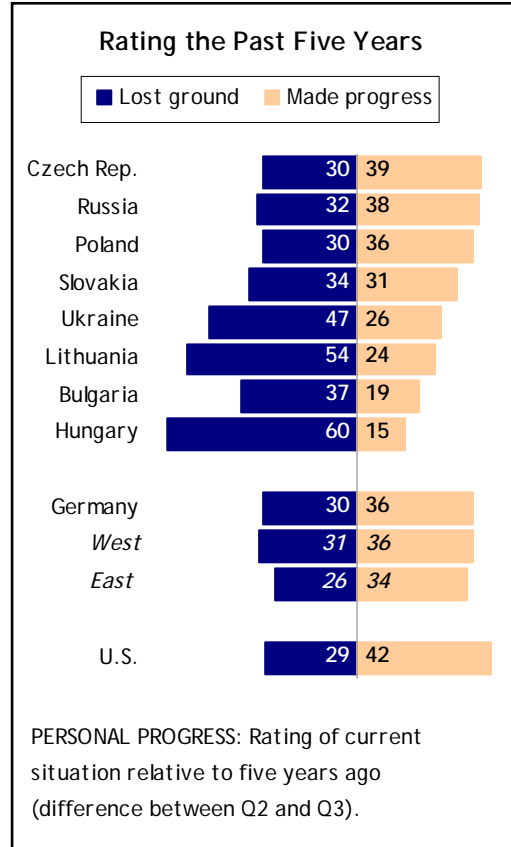
Numbers in Ukraine are similar. Today, 30% of those in urban areas say their lives are in the top tier, compared with 17% in rural areas. In 1991, the gap was three points (9% vs. 6%). In other nations, such as Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia, the divide remains relatively small. For example, in Poland, 14% of those in urban areas gave their lives a top rating in 1991, while 11% of those in rural areas did so. Today, 46% of Poles in urban areas say their lives are near the top of the scale, compared with 42% of those in rural areas.

Mixed Perceptions of Short-Term Progress

Overall, people in most of the Eastern European nations are divided over whether they are at a higher spot on the ladder of life than they were five years ago. About four-in-ten (39%) in the Czech Republic say they have made progress, while 30% say they have lost ground. Another 30% say they are at the same place on the ladder that they were five years ago. The balance is similar in Russia (38% made progress, 32% lost ground and 28% stayed the same).

Meanwhile, 60% in Hungary say they have lost ground in the past five years; only 15% say they have made progress. The balance among Lithuanians and Ukrainians also is negative. In Lithuania, 54% rate their lives five years ago at a higher rung on the ladder than their lives today.

In Germany, 30% say they have lost ground, while 36% say they have made progress and 34% say they are on the same rung of the ladder as five years ago. In the former West Germany, 31% say they have lost ground, while 36% say they have made progress. In the former East Germany, 26% say they have lost ground, while 34% say they have made progress.



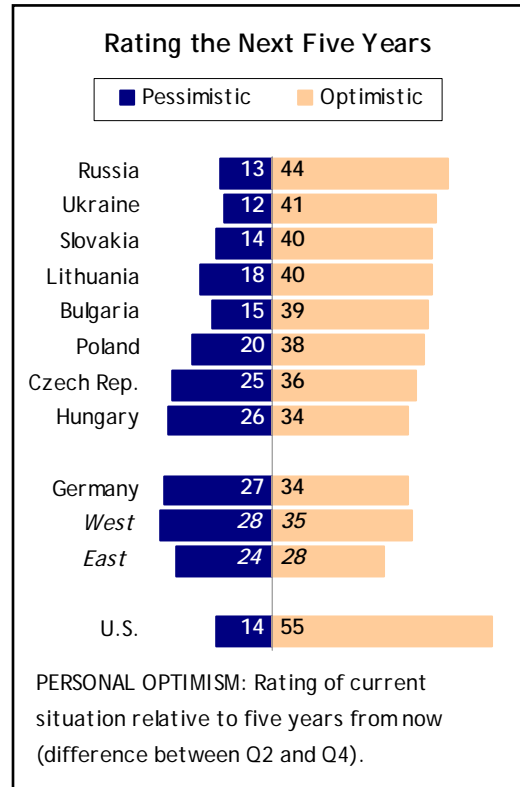
More Optimism Than Pessimism About Near Future

Pluralities in most of the former Eastern bloc nations expect to be at a higher point on the ladder of life five years from now. The one exception is east Germany, where 39% say they expect their lives to be about the same, 28% express optimism their lives will improve and 24% voice pessimism that their life satisfaction will decline.

Still, in all of the Eastern European countries also included in the 2007 survey but one – the Czech Republic – the levels of optimism are slightly lower today than two years ago. In the Czech Republic, optimism has increased from 32% to 36%.

In Slovakia, meanwhile, the percentage expressing optimism about their situation five years from now dropped from 51% to 40%. In Ukraine, it dropped from 49% to 41%, and in Poland it dropped from 49% to 38%. In the United States, the percentage that says their lives will improve in the next five years is unchanged at 55%.

In 2007, the people of Eastern Europe were not much different in their outlook than their counterparts in Western Europe. At that time, they were generally less optimistic about the next five years than peoples in Africa and much of Asia.



2. Democratic Values

Two decades after the end of communist rule, Eastern Europeans have largely embraced democratic values. Most want civil liberties, competitive elections and other tenets of democracy. However, throughout the region there is a significant gap between what people want and what they have, as relatively few believe the elements of democracy that they prize actually characterize their countries.

And even though they want democracy, most Eastern Europeans consider a prosperous economy even more important. They are not alone in this sentiment. In these difficult economic times, significant numbers in Western Europe and even the United States also say that if they had to choose between a good democracy and a strong economy, they would take the latter.

The belief that a strong leader would be better able to solve their countries' problems than a democratic government is shared by many in Eastern Europe, including majorities or pluralities in the former Soviet republics surveyed: Russia, Ukraine and Lithuania. In each of these three nations, opinions have shifted dramatically since 1991, when in the final days of the Soviet Union, people had far more confidence that democracy would solve society's ills.

Support for Democratic Institutions and Freedoms

In Eastern Europe, there is widespread support for specific features of democracy, such as a fair judiciary, honest elections, freedom of the press, freedom of religion, free speech and civilian control of the military. In all eight Eastern European nations surveyed, majorities say it is important to live in a country that has these key democratic institutions and values, and large numbers believe it is *very* important.

How Important Are Democratic Institutions and Freedoms?							
	Fair judiciary	Multiparty elections	% <i>Very important</i>			Civilian control of military	MEDIAN
	%	%	Free media	Free religion	Free speech	%	
			%	%	%		
Hungary	79	70	59	66	65	36	66
Bulgaria	81	61	61	58	58	27	60
Czech Rep.	78	57	66	46	47	36	52
Poland	64	51	52	62	50	29	52
Ukraine	67	53	49	51	43	30	50
Lithuania	59	39	50	47	38	20	43
Slovakia	57	43	42	47	39	21	43
Russia	69	41	37	47	37	27	39
MEDIAN	68	52	51	49	45	28	

Questions 41a through 41f.

In particular, there is consensus about the value of living in a nation with a judicial system that treats everyone in the same way. Majorities in all countries say this is very important; across the eight nations, the median percentage rating this as very important is 68%. Honest multiparty elections are also a priority, although views on this vary somewhat throughout the region. Seven-in-ten Hungarians think it is very important to live in a country with honest elections that are held regularly with a choice of at least two political parties. By contrast, 39% of Lithuanians rate this as very important.

Similarly, opinions about the value of a free press vary. Roughly two-thirds of Czechs (66%) say living in a country where the media can report the news without state censorship is very important, compared with 37% of Russians. Freedom of religion is particularly important to Hungarians (66% very important) and somewhat less critical to Czechs (46%). Hungarians also express the greatest support for free speech: 65% believe it is very important to live in a nation where you can criticize the government and openly say what you think. There is less intense support for this idea in Russia, where 37% say it is very important.

In every country, civilian control of the military is considered less important than the other values tested. A median of 28% in these eight nations say it is very important to live in a country where the military is under the control of civilian leaders. Hungarians and Czechs are especially likely to consider this an important feature of democracy (36% very important in both countries), while Lithuanians are somewhat less likely to hold this view (20%).

Overall, Hungarians stand out for their strong embrace of democratic values. In Hungary, looking across the six values tested, a median of 66% rate these features of democracy as very important. By this measure, Bulgaria is next, with a median of 60%, followed by the Czech Republic (52%), Poland (52%) and Ukraine (50%). Lithuania (43%) and Slovakia (43%) rate somewhat lower, while Russians (39%) are less likely than others to consider these elements of democracy very important.

As with many other questions about democracy, younger people, men, those with more education, and urban residents are often especially supportive of democratic values and institutions. One clear example of this is the age gap on the importance of free speech. Younger Eastern Europeans are consistently more likely than their older counterparts to say it is very important to live in a country where you can say what you want and criticize the government.

	% Very important				Oldest- youngest gap
	18-29	30-49	50-64	65+	
	%	%	%	%	
Poland	61	46	47	45	-16
Lithuania	49	33	36	34	-15
Ukraine	50	45	38	36	-14
Slovakia	46	40	37	32	-14
Czech Rep.	53	44	50	40	-13
Hungary	68	70	64	57	-11
Bulgaria	61	63	55	50	-11
Russia	41	35	37	36	-5

"How important is it to live in a country where you can openly say what you think and can criticize the state?" (Q41a).

The Democracy Gap

While most Eastern Europeans want democratic values and institutions, many are frustrated by the lack of these elements in their countries. There are substantial differences between support for certain elements of democracy and perceptions of how well countries are doing in ensuring those rights and freedoms.

	Do Democratic Principles Describe Our Country?							
	Fair <u>judiciary</u>	Multiparty <u>elections</u>	% <i>Very well</i>				Civilian control <u>of military</u>	MEDIAN
			Free <u>media</u>	Free <u>religion</u>	Free <u>speech</u>			
%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
Czech Rep.	5	48	17	59	27	12	22	
Poland	11	29	24	44	18	15	21	
Russia	19	16	15	43	22	12	18	
Slovakia	5	37	18	46	18	11	18	
Hungary	32	17	16	48	13	16	17	
Bulgaria	8	16	13	42	29	14	15	
Lithuania	5	14	14	44	15	9	14	
Ukraine	11	11	13	31	22	7	12	
MEDIAN	10	17	16	44	20	12		

Questions 42a through 42f.

Of all the democratic principles tested, freedom of religion is the one that Eastern Europeans are most likely to say applies to their country. Roughly six-in-ten Czechs (59%) say the phrase “you can practice your religion freely” describes their country *very well*, as do more than 40% in every other nation except Ukraine, where 31% hold this view.

For all of the other elements of democracy tested, fewer than half in each country say these things describe their country very well. The feature of democracy most prized by Eastern Europeans – a fair judicial system – is also the one they are least likely to believe characterizes their country. Only 5% of Slovaks, Czechs and Lithuanians think the phrase “there is a judicial system that treats everyone in the same way” describes their country very well.

Overall, Czechs and Poles give their countries somewhat better ratings. Across the six different elements of democracy tested, a median of 22% in the

A Democracy Gap			
	Very <u>important</u>	Very <u>well</u>	<u>Diff.</u>
MEDIAN	%	%	
Hungary	66	17	-49
Bulgaria	60	15	-45
Ukraine	50	12	-38
Poland	52	21	-31
Czech Rep.	52	22	-30
Lithuania	43	14	-29
Slovakia	43	18	-25
Russia	39	18	-21

Median of % saying “Very important” for Questions 41a through 41f and “Very well” for Questions 42a through 42f.

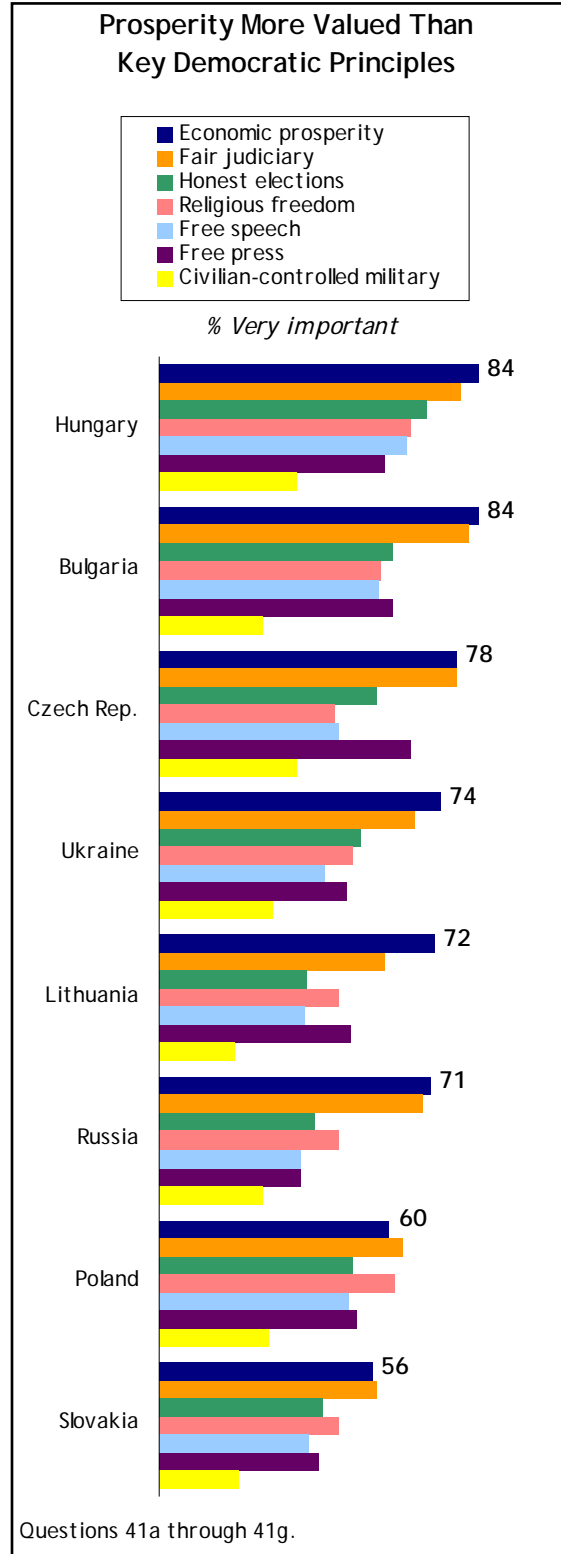
Czech Republic and 21% in Poland say these things describe their countries very well. At the other end, the medians from Bulgaria, Lithuania, and Ukraine are 15%, 14% and 12% respectively.

Taking the median percentage saying these values are *very* important in each country and comparing it with the median percentage saying these values describe their country *very well* gives us an overall democracy gap for each country. The gap is considerable throughout Eastern Europe, but is largest in two countries where views about national conditions and evaluations of the current state of democracy are especially poor: Hungary and Bulgaria. The gap is somewhat smaller in Slovakia and Russia.

More Want Economic Prosperity

While publics in the former Eastern bloc embrace the key principles of democracy, they value economic prosperity even more. In each country, more rate economic prosperity as a very important objective for their country than say the same about freedom of speech, freedom of the press, honest elections and a civilian-controlled military. And, with the exception of Poland, publics throughout the region are also more likely to say that it is very important for them to live in a prosperous country than it is to live in a country where they can practice their religion freely.

More than eight-in-ten Hungarians and Bulgarians say economic prosperity is very important (84% each), and more than seven-in-ten in the Czech Republic (78%), Ukraine (74%), Lithuania (72%) and Russia (71%) share that view. Smaller majorities in Poland (60%) and Slovakia (56%) rate prosperity as very important.



Few, however, believe they have prosperity. Only 5% of Hungarians say the phrase “there is economic prosperity” describes their country very or somewhat well. Just 13% of Lithuanians and 17% of Bulgarians hold this view. Russians are more likely than any other public to say that there is at least some economic prosperity in their country; 44% describe their country as very or somewhat prosperous, while 51% say Russia is not prosperous.

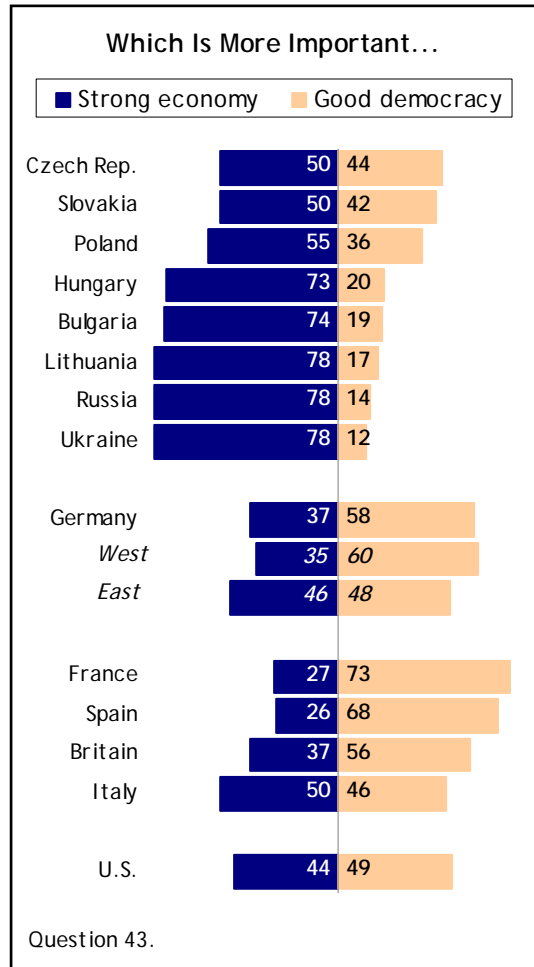
Democracy vs. a Strong Economy

In another sign of the significance most attach to prosperity, when asked which is most important, a good democracy or a strong economy, respondents in Eastern Europe lean toward the latter. In Ukraine (78%), Russia (78%), Lithuania (78%), Bulgaria (74%) and Hungary (73%), more than seven-in-ten say that if they had to choose, they would prefer a strong economy.

Poles (55%), Slovaks (50%) and Czechs (50%) are somewhat less likely than others to choose a strong economy, although in each of these countries at least half of those surveyed take this view. In the Czech Republic, the preference for a strong economy has become more common since 2002, when 38% held this opinion. Public opinion has moved in the opposite direction, however, in Poland, where 67% preferred a strong economy in 2002, compared with 55% today.

Overall, Germans favor a good democracy (58%), although there is a notable difference between east and west. Six-in-ten west Germans prefer a good democracy, but east Germans are divided on this question (48% good democracy, 46% strong economy).

Americans are also closely divided on this issue, with 49% choosing a good democracy and 44% a strong economy. This is a significant change from 2002, when 61% preferred a good democracy and just 33% said a strong economy.



Democracy vs. Strong Leader

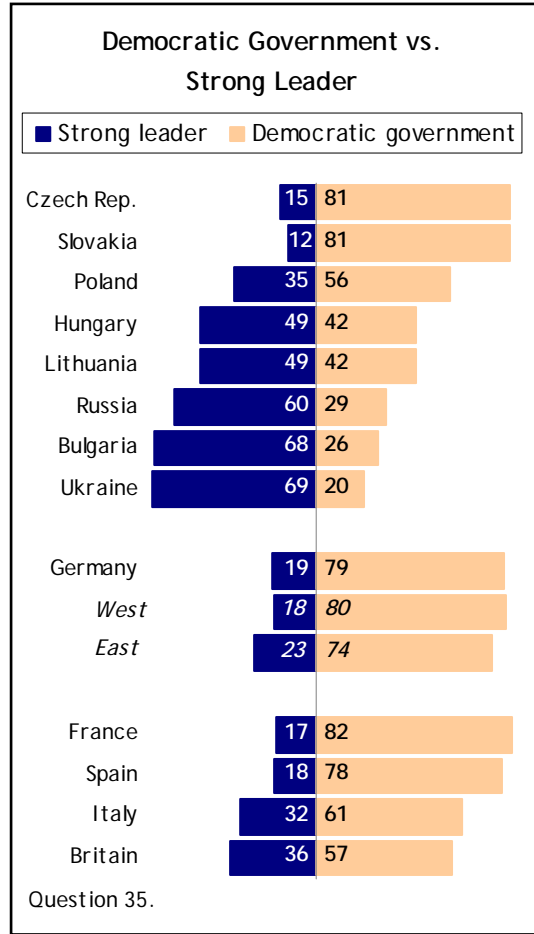
In Eastern Europe, views are mixed on the question of whether a democratic form of government or a strong leader is better able to solve a country’s problems. Roughly eight-in-ten Czechs (81%) and Slovaks (81%) endorse a democratic government, as do a smaller majority in Poland (56%).

Elsewhere, however, people tend to believe relying on a strong leader is the better approach. Slightly more than two-thirds of those in Ukraine (69%) and Bulgaria (68%) say a strong leader is better. Six-in-ten Russians agree, as do about half of Hungarians (49%) and Lithuanians (49%).

In Lithuania, Ukraine and Russia, this question was also included in the 1991 survey. In all three nations, confidence in democracy has waned since that time. The share of the public saying a democratic government can solve the country’s problems has fallen 37 percentage points in both Lithuania and Ukraine, and it has declined by 22 points in Russia.

Since 2002, there has been significant change on this question in both Poland and Bulgaria, although the two countries have moved in different directions. Seven years ago, 41% in both countries said democratic government was the best approach to their country’s problems – since then, this number has increased by 15 percentage points in Poland, while dropping by 15 points in Bulgaria.

Young people, those who have attended college, and urban dwellers tend to express more confidence in democratic government. Poland clearly illustrates this pattern: 64% of 18- to 29-year-olds choose a democratic government over a strong leader, compared with just 47% of those 65 and older; 70% of those with at least some college prefer a democratic government,



Fewer Prefer Democracy Over Strong Leader

	% Democratic form of government		
	1991	2009	Change
	%	%	
Lithuania	79	42	-37
Ukraine	57	20	-37
Russia	51	29	-22

“Some feel that we should rely on a democratic form of government to solve our country’s problems. Others feel that we should rely on a leader with a strong hand to solve our country’s problems. Which comes closer to your opinion?” (Q35).

compared with 54% of those with less education; and 60% of urban Poles select a democratic government, while only 50% of rural residents hold this view.

Individualism

Attitudes toward one of the key values often associated with democracy – individualism – are largely similar in Eastern and Western Europe. In both regions, public opinion on balance leans toward the position that success in life is decided by forces beyond an individual’s control.

In 12 of the 14 countries surveyed, majorities or pluralities agree that “success in life is pretty much determined by forces outside our control.” That includes solid majorities in former Eastern bloc nations, such as Poland (62%) and Bulgaria (61%), and Western European countries such as Italy (71%) and Germany (66%).

Large shifts have taken place in several former communist countries. The share saying “agree” in Lithuania has dropped by 19 percentage points since 1991, while large declines also have taken place in Ukraine (16 points), Bulgaria (13 points) and Hungary (13 points).

Residents of the former East Germany have moved in the other direction, becoming less individualistic over time. In 1991, 52% agreed that success in life is driven by outside forces; now, 67% hold this view.

The two English-speaking nations are the exceptions on this question. Only 41% in Britain think success is outside a person’s control, down from 51% in 1991.

	% Democratic form of government								
	Pol	Cze	Slo	Hun	Bul	E.Ger	Lit	Ukr	Rus
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
18-29	64	86	82	47	37	76	50	25	35
30-49	58	82	84	41	24	76	44	23	33
50-64	52	82	81	40	26	74	38	16	24
65+	47	74	75	42	19	69	34	12	18
Some college+	70	89	92	54	37	87	50	24	39
No college	54	80	79	41	22	71	40	18	26
Urban	60	83	83	47	29	74	45	22	29
Rural	50	79	79	32	20	74	36	17	29

Question 35.

	% Agree		
	1991	2009	Change
	%	%	
Lithuania	64	45	-19
Ukraine	65	49	-16
Hungary	67	54	-13
Bulgaria	74	61	-13
Slovakia	59	55	-4
Poland	65	62	-3
Russia	59	60	+1
Czech Rep.	52	54	+2
Germany	59	66	+7
West	61	66	+5
East	52	67	+15
Britain	51	41	-10
Spain	56	51	-5
France	57	52	-5
Italy	64	71	+7
U.S.*	40	29	-11

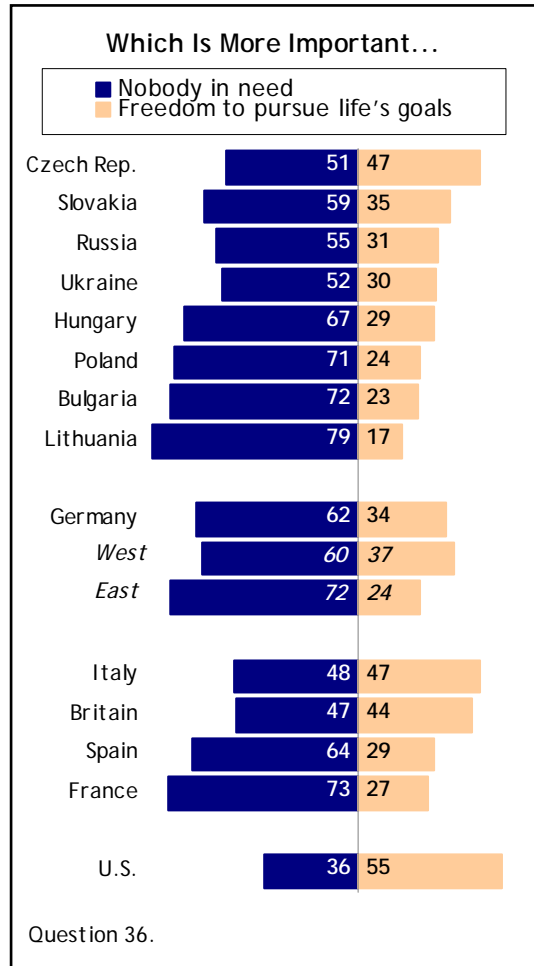
“For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it: Success in life is pretty much determined by forces outside our control.” (Q40d)
* Question was asked in May 1990.

Individualism is a value often associated with American exceptionalism, and true to form, the U.S. stands apart from the other nations surveyed – only 29% accept the view that success is controlled by outside forces, a drop of 11 percentage points from the early 1990s when four-in-ten held this view.

The transatlantic gap on individualism can also be seen on the issue of an individual’s relationship to the state. When asked which is more important, “that everyone be free to pursue their life’s goals without interference from the state” or “that the state play an active role in society so as to guarantee that nobody is in need,” just over half of Americans (55%) consider being free from state interference a higher priority.

In all other countries surveyed, majorities or pluralities say it is more important that the state ensure that no one is in need. Still, there are notable differences among Europeans. Just under half in Italy and Britain say guaranteeing no one is in need is more important, while in Lithuania, France, Bulgaria, east Germany and Poland, more than seven-in-ten take this position.

People in the three former Soviet republics now consider freedom from state interference much less of a priority than they did in 1991. In Ukraine, the percentage saying this is more important dropped by 24 points; similar declines occurred in Lithuania (23 points) and Russia (22 points).



3. Evaluating Democracy

Looking back at the profound political changes that took place 20 years ago, most Eastern Europeans express support for the switch to a multiparty system. However, enthusiasm for democracy has waned considerably in several countries. More than a third in Bulgaria, Russia and Hungary now say they disapprove of the change. In Ukraine, a majority feel this way.

At least part of this discontent stems from the perception that, while political and business leaders benefited greatly from the transition to democracy, ordinary citizens did not. Most doubt that politicians care what they think, and few believe the state is run for the benefit of all people in society.

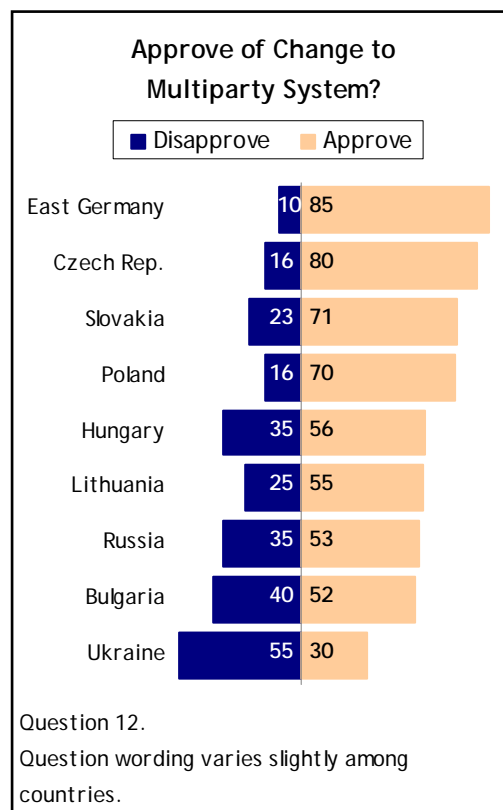
Given these frustrations, it is perhaps unsurprising that dissatisfaction with the current state of democracy is widespread in Eastern Europe. Majorities in many countries are unhappy with the way democracy is working in their countries, including roughly more than three-in-four in Hungary and Bulgaria.

Assessments are somewhat more positive in Poland, Slovakia and the Czech Republic – a majority of Poles are satisfied with democracy in their country, while Slovaks and Czechs are divided on this question. Satisfaction also tends to be higher among the young and the well-educated – groups that may be better positioned to take advantage of opportunities that have emerged from the transition to a more open society.

Less Enthusiasm for a Multiparty System

Majorities in seven of eight Eastern European countries and in the former East Germany approve of the changes that took place two decades ago, when they switched from one-party to multiparty systems. Large majorities in east Germany (85%), the Czech Republic (80%), Slovakia (71%) and Poland (70%) say they approve.

More slender majorities in Hungary (56%), Lithuania (55%), Russia (53%) and Bulgaria (52%) endorse the changes. And the share of the public that approves of the shift has declined significantly in all four nations, dropping by 24 percentage points in Bulgaria since 1991, 20 points in Lithuania, 18 points in Hungary, and eight points in Russia.



Discontent with the shift to a multiparty system is highest in Ukraine, where only 30% approve of the changes and 55% disapprove. Ukrainian views on this question are very different from 1991, when, in the final months of the Soviet Union, 72% endorsed efforts to establish a multiparty system.

The 1991 Times Mirror Center study generally found that support for democracy in Eastern Europe was highest among men, young people, the well-educated and urban dwellers. In 2009, approval for the shift to a multiparty system is consistently higher among these same groups.

	% Approve		
	1991	2009	Change
	%	%	
Ukraine	72	30	-42
Bulgaria	76	52	-24
Lithuania	75	55	-20
Hungary	74	56	-18
Russia	61	53	-8
East Germany	91	85	-6
Czech Rep.	80	80	0
Slovakia	70	71	+1
Poland	66	70	+4

Question 12.
Question wording varies slightly among countries.

Across much of Eastern Europe, men express more satisfaction with the move away from a one-party system. For instance, 78% of Polish men say they approve of the changes, compared with 63% of Polish women.

There is also a consistent relationship between age and views of multiparty democracy. In Russia, 18- to 29-year-olds (65%) are more than twice as likely as those 65 and older (27%) to approve of the change.

Approval of the switch to a multiparty system is consistently higher among people who have attended at least some college. For example, 80% of Hungarians with some college experience say they approve, while just 51% of those with less education hold that opinion. The gap between urban and rural areas is less consistent, although in Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Lithuania and Russia, urban residents express higher rates of approval.

	% Approve of change to multiparty system								
	E.Ger	Pol	Cze	Slo	Hun	Bul	Lit	Ukr	Rus
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Men	89	78	84	74	60	56	56	37	54
Women	82	63	76	68	52	50	53	25	52
18-29	90	76	87	74	60	56	59	34	65
30-49	85	76	82	76	59	61	58	39	60
50-64	86	65	76	65	55	51	56	22	46
65+	81	60	70	65	45	37	43	20	27
Some college+	90	86	89	82	80	72	72	41	67
No college	85	68	79	69	51	45	51	25	48
Urban	85	73	81	72	63	55	57	31	58
Rural	86	66	78	71	40	46	48	30	39

Question 12.
Question wording varies slightly among countries.

Changes Have Helped Business, Political Leaders

There is clear consensus in Eastern Europe that politicians and business owners have reaped more benefits from the fall of communism than have ordinary people. In all seven countries where this question was asked, more than 85% say politicians have benefited a great deal or a fair amount from the changes since the collapse of the communist system.

More than 80% in six of the countries say people who own businesses have benefited a great deal or a fair amount. The exception is Hungary, where a still sizable majority (63%) holds this view.

By contrast, relatively few think ordinary people have benefited from the changes. The Czech Republic is the only country in which a majority – a slim 53% majority – says ordinary people have benefited a great deal or a fair amount. About four-in-ten in Poland (42%) hold this view, while even fewer think average citizens have benefited in Russia (21%), Slovakia (21%), Hungary (17%), Bulgaria (11%) and Ukraine (10%).

Most Don't Think State Is Run for Benefit of All

The degree to which Eastern Europeans think the current political system benefits the few rather than the many is clear when they are asked whether they agree that, generally, “the state is run for the benefit of all the people.” The only former communist country in which a majority holds this view is the Czech Republic, where 70% agree, up nine percentage points since 1991.

The share of the public who agree with this statement has also increased in Poland (by nine points) and

Who Benefited from Changes Since 1989/1991?

	% Great deal/fair amount		
	Ordinary people	Business owners	Politicians
	%	%	%
Czech Rep.	53	86	94
Poland	42	85	92
Russia	21	85	86
Slovakia	21	81	97
Hungary	17	63	89
Bulgaria	11	82	94
Ukraine	10	82	92

Questions 20a, 20b, 20c.

Due to an administrative error, results for Lithuania are not shown. In Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and Bulgaria, respondents were asked about changes since 1989. In Ukraine and Russia, respondents were asked about changes since 1991.

The State Is Run for the Benefit of All People?

	% Agree		
	1991	2009	Change
	%	%	
Czech Rep.	61	70	+9
Poland	31	40	+9
Russia	27	37	+10
Slovakia	71	33	-38
Lithuania	48	23	-25
Ukraine	22	20	-2
Bulgaria	55	16	-39
Germany	42	41	-1
<i>West</i>	41	41	0
<i>East</i>	44	39	-5
Britain	52	52	0
Spain	52	51	-1
France	48	46	-2
Italy	12	33	+21
U.S.*	52	51	-1

“For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it: Generally, the state is run for the benefit of all the people.” (Q40e)

Due to an administrative error, results for Hungary are not shown.

* In the U.S., the question asked about the government rather than the state. Question was asked in May 1990.

Russia (10 points). Still, in both countries only about four-in-ten believe the state is run for the benefit of all.

Elsewhere in the region, there have been sharp declines in the share of the public who think the state is run for the good of everyone. Only 16% of Bulgarians now agree with this view, down from 55% in 1991. One-third of Slovaks take this view, down from 71% in 1991. And just 23% of Lithuanians think the government is run for the benefit of all, down from 48% in the 1991 survey.

Roughly four-in-ten Germans think the state is run to benefit all people. There is no significant difference between east and west on this question, and there has been little change in this assessment since 1991 in the country overall.

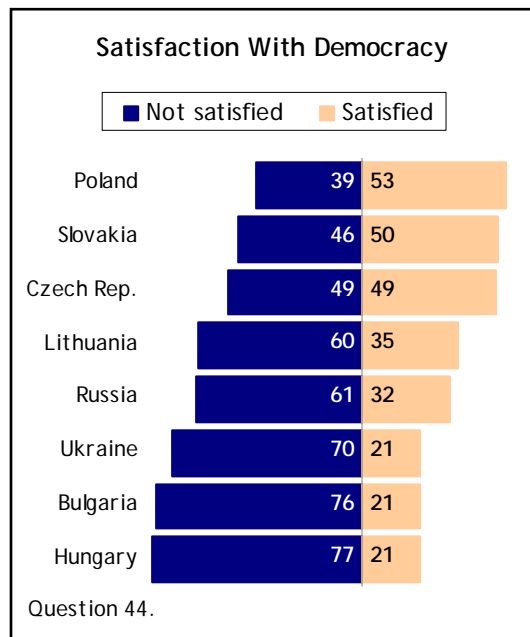
Western Europeans and Americans take somewhat more positive views of the state. About half in Britain (52%), Spain (51%) and the U.S. (51%), along with 46% in France, say the state is generally run for the benefit of all. Only 33% of Italians feel this way, although this is actually a significant improvement from 1991, when 12% held this view.

Dissatisfaction With How Democracy Is Working

Majorities in five of the eight nations that were asked to assess the current state of democracy say they are dissatisfied with how it is working in their country.

Discontent is especially common in Hungary (77% dissatisfied), Bulgaria (76%), and Ukraine (70%). About six-in-ten in both Russia (61%) and Lithuania (60%) also say they are dissatisfied.

Poles, Slovaks and Czechs see democracy working somewhat better in their countries. Poles are more likely to express satisfaction (53%) than dissatisfaction (39%), while opinions are divided in Slovakia (50% satisfied, 46% dissatisfied) and the Czech Republic (49% satisfied, 49% dissatisfied).



Younger people generally offer a more positive assessment. Those who were children or young adults when the Iron Curtain came down are more content than older people with the current state of democracy.

The Czech Republic illustrates this pattern: 63% of 18- to 29-year-olds say they are satisfied with democracy in their country, compared with 52% of those who are 30 to 49, 44% of those who are 50 to 64 and 38% of those 65 and older.

% Satisfied	18-29	30-49	50-64	65+	Oldest- youngest gap
	%	%	%	%	
Czech Rep.	63	52	44	38	-25
Lithuania	46	35	31	24	-22
Poland	61	59	47	43	-18
Russia	39	33	26	22	-17
Slovakia	58	50	47	42	-16
Bulgaria	30	23	18	14	-16
Ukraine	27	17	21	15	-12
Hungary	20	27	19	19	-1

Question 44.

Nonetheless, satisfaction is far from universal among young people. In fact, roughly four-in-ten or fewer 18- to 29-year-olds are happy with the way democracy is working in Russia (39%), Bulgaria (30%) and Ukraine (27%). And Hungarians under 30 see the situation about the same as those 65 and older. In both groups, only about one-in-five say they are satisfied.

In addition to an age gap, there is an education gap in several countries on satisfaction with democracy. Those who have attended college tend to be more satisfied with the way democracy is working than those who have not.

For example, 68% of Poles who have attended at least some college are satisfied, compared with 51% of those who have not attended college. In most cases, however, the gap is more narrow, while in Ukraine and Russia, the percentages in each group are about the same. For example, 32% of those in Russia with no college experience say they are satisfied with democracy, compared with 31% of those with at least some college.

Political Efficacy

As was the case in 1991, skepticism about politicians, and about the extent to which politicians listen to ordinary citizens, is pervasive in both Eastern and Western Europe. There is no country in which a majority agrees with the statement “most elected officials care what people like me think.” In fact, at just 39%, Britain registers the highest level of agreement with the statement, followed by the U.S. (38%) and Germany (37%).

The belief that politicians listen to ordinary people is especially rare in Eastern Europe. Even though Poles and Russians have become somewhat more likely to hold this view since 1991, only 37% in Poland and 26% in Russia think politicians care what they think.

Elsewhere, there is even greater skepticism. Only 23% of Ukrainians and 22% of Slovaks think political leaders care what they think. In Hungary, 22% have this view, down 10 percentage points from 1991.

Substantial declines have also taken place in the Czech Republic, Lithuania and Bulgaria. Just 18% of Czechs think elected officials care, down from 34% in 1991; 15% of Lithuanians hold this view, down from 30% in 1991; and 14% of Bulgarians have this opinion, a drop of seven percentage points.

By contrast, east Germans have become somewhat more likely to hold this view – 38% agree with the statement, compared with 29% in 1991. The share of Italians who believe elected officials are interested in what they think has also risen significantly, but even so, just 33% take this position.

While relatively few think politicians care what they think, most nonetheless believe that elections give ordinary citizens an opportunity to influence what government does. Majorities in most countries agree with the statement: “Voting gives people like me some say about how the government runs things.” However, in several nations these majorities are slim and in four countries less than a majority holds this view.

At least six-in-ten Bulgarians (66%), Czechs (61%) and Slovaks (60%) agree with the statement. In Slovakia the share of the public who agree has risen 14 percentage points since 1991.

“Most Elected Officials Care What People Like Me Think”

	% Agree		<i>Change</i>
	1991	2009	
	%	%	
Poland	24	37	+13
Russia	18	26	+8
Ukraine	22	23	+1
Hungary	32	22	-10
Slovakia	21	22	+1
Czech Rep.	34	18	-16
Lithuania	30	15	-15
Bulgaria	21	14	-7
Germany	30	37	+7
<i>East</i>	29	38	+9
<i>West</i>	31	36	+5
Britain	35	39	+4
Italy	14	33	+19
France	27	31	+4
Spain	25	28	+3
U.S.*	36	38	+2

“Voting Gives People Like Me Some Say About How the Government Runs Things”

	% Agree		<i>Change</i>
	1991	2009	
	%	%	
Bulgaria	76	66	-10
Czech Rep.	64	61	-3
Slovakia	46	60	+14
Lithuania	74	52	-22
Poland	41	47	+6
Ukraine	47	46	-1
Russia	47	44	-3
Hungary	49	38	-11
Germany	54	55	+1
<i>East</i>	42	53	+11
<i>West</i>	56	57	+1
France	77	75	-2
Spain	72	72	0
Italy	49	59	+10
Britain	55	56	+1
U.S.*	74	68	-6

Questions 40a and 40b.

* U.S. data from November 1991 and April 2009 surveys by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press.

Lithuanians have become much less enthusiastic about voting – 52% believe it gives them a say, compared with 74% in 1991. Less than half hold this view in Poland (47%), Ukraine (46%) and Russia (44%). Hungarians are the least likely to believe voting gives them a voice in government. Only 38% have this view, down from 49% two decades ago.

The French and Spanish express the most positive views about voting, with more than seven-in-ten in both countries saying it provides people a voice in politics. French and Spanish opinions are essentially the same on this question as they were two decades ago. About two-thirds (68%) of Americans think their vote allows them to have a say in politics, down slightly from 74% in 1991.

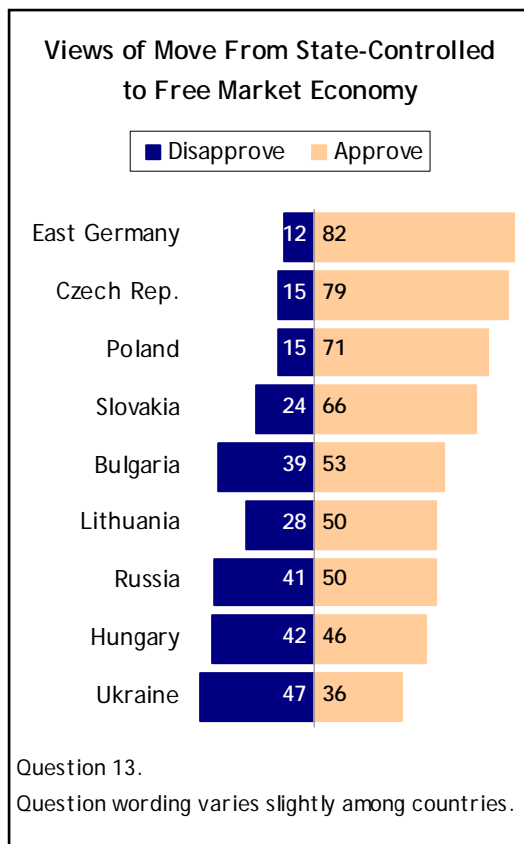
4. Economic Values

Most publics in the former Eastern bloc express support for the economic changes that have taken place in their countries since the collapse of communism, but views about the move from a state-controlled economy to a market economy are much more negative than they were in 1991. As was the case nearly two decades ago, younger and better educated respondents are generally more enthusiastic about the economic changes their countries have undergone, as are men and those who live in urban areas.

With the exception of Poland and the Czech Republic, majorities or pluralities in Eastern Europe say the economic situation of most people in their country is now worse than it was under communism. This view is particularly prevalent in Hungary, Bulgaria and Ukraine. (Those in the former East Germany were asked if their life is better off or worse off as a result of unification; see Chapter 5.)

When asked about their opinions of capitalism more generally, Eastern Europeans offer mixed views. Majorities in Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia say that people tend to be better off in a free market economy, even though some are rich and others are poor. In Hungary and Bulgaria, meanwhile, majorities disagree that free markets are better for most people. By comparison, people in the five Western European countries surveyed – including a majority of east Germans – endorse the free market approach.

The survey also finds that majorities or pluralities in all of the former Iron Curtain countries in the study say that it is true that the rich are getting richer while the poor are getting poorer, but this view is generally less widespread than it was in 1991. In east Germany, however, more see growing inequality today.



Declining Support for Move to Market Economy

About eight-in-ten in east Germany (82%) and in the Czech Republic (79%) approve of their country's move from a state-controlled economy to a free market economy. This view is also widely held in Poland (71%) and Slovakia (66%).

A slim majority of Bulgarians (53%) and half of Russians and Lithuanians support the economic changes that have taken place since the collapse of communism. Hungarians are nearly evenly split – 46% approve and 42% disapprove of the move to a market economy. And in Ukraine, just 36% are upbeat about the economic changes, while close to half (47%) express disapproval.

Publics in most of the former communist countries surveyed have much more negative opinions about the economic changes that have taken place in their country than they did in 1991. The drop in support for the move to a market economy has been especially steep in Hungary (34 percentage points), Lithuania (26 points), Bulgaria (20 points), and Ukraine (16 points). The drop has been modest, but still significant, in Poland (nine points) and the Czech Republic (eight points), where strong majorities continue to endorse the economic changes.

Demographic Gaps on Views of Economic Change

As was the case in 1991, women are generally less enthusiastic about the move from a state-controlled to a market economy. For example, 52% of Hungarian men approve and 38% disapprove of the economic changes that have taken place in their country since 1989. Hungarian women express more negative views – 41% approve and 45% disapprove of the changes. In Ukraine, just 30% of women approve of their country's move to a market economy, while a majority (52%) disapproves; Ukrainian men are nearly evenly split (44% approve and 41% disapprove).

In Russia, however, the gender gap on views about economic changes since the collapse of communism has evaporated. In 1991, Russian men and women were more divided than men and women in any other country surveyed – 64% of men approved of the changes, compared

Declining Support for Economic Changes

	1991	2009	Change
% Approve	%	%	
Hungary	80	46	-34
Lithuania	76	50	-26
Bulgaria	73	53	-20
Ukraine	52	36	-16
Poland	80	71	-9
Czech Rep.	87	79	-8
Russia	54	50	-4
East Germany	86	82	-4
Slovakia	69	66	-3

Question 13.
Question wording varies slightly among countries.

Gender Gap on Views of Move to Market Economy

	Men	Women	Gap
% Approve	%	%	
Poland	79	65	-14
Ukraine	44	30	-14
Hungary	52	41	-11
Bulgaria	57	49	-8
Lithuania	54	47	-7
Slovakia	70	62	-8
Czech Rep.	82	76	-6
East Germany	84	80	-4
Russia	49	50	1

Question 13.
Question wording varies slightly among countries.

with 46% of women. Today, about half of men (49%) and women (50%) express positive views of Russia’s move to a market economy.

Views about the move away from a state-controlled economy also vary by age, with those under 30 expressing considerably more positive views about the economic changes that have taken place in their country than those who are 65 or older. The generation gap is widest in Russia, where a clear majority (63%) of respondents under 30 say they approve of the move to a market economy. Fewer than three-in-ten (27%) of those 65 or older share that view. Similarly, 66% among young Bulgarians have positive views of the economic changes in their country, compared with about one-third (32%) of those 65 or older.

	18-29	30-49	50-64	65+	Oldest-youngest gap
	%	%	%	%	
Russia	63	56	39	27	-36
Bulgaria	66	60	49	32	-34
Slovakia	75	73	60	46	-29
Ukraine	48	43	24	20	-28
Poland	80	78	68	53	-27
Czech Rep.	83	87	76	63	-20
Hungary	51	47	48	36	-15
Lithuania	53	53	51	41	-12
East Germany	82	83	87	77	-5

Question 13.
Question wording varies slightly among countries.

In all of the Eastern European countries surveyed, those with at least some college education are more supportive – by double-digit margins – of the move from a state-controlled to a market economy than are those who did not attend college. In Hungary, about three-quarters (74%) of those who attended college approve of the changes, compared with 41% of those who did not. Among east Germans, however, support for the economic changes is about as high among those who did not attend college (82% approve) as it is among those who did (86%).

In some former communist countries, urban dwellers are more likely than those in rural areas to say they approve of the move to a market economy. This gap is especially evident in Hungary, where a slim majority of those in urban areas (52%) support the economic changes their country has undergone, compared with just one-third in rural areas. In 1991, majorities in both urban (83%) and rural (75%) parts of Hungary said they approved of the changes. By double-digit margins, urban residents also are more likely than rural residents to approve of the move away from a state-controlled economy in Bulgaria (16 percentage points), Russia (13 points), Lithuania (13 points) and Poland (10 points).

Many Say Economic Situation Is Worse Today

Majorities or pluralities in six of the eight Eastern European countries surveyed say the economic situation of most people in their country is worse today than it was under communism. Hungarians offer the most negative assessments – 72% say most in their country are worse off today. Majorities in Bulgaria and Ukraine share that view (62% each), as do about half of Lithuanians and Slovaks (48% each) and 45% of Russians.

Only in Poland and the Czech Republic do more respondents say that most people in their country are better off than say most are worse off. Nearly half of Poles (47%) and 45% of Czechs say that the economic situation is better today than it was under communism, while 35% and 39%, respectively, say it is worse.

	Better %	Worse %	About the same %	DK %
Poland	47	35	12	6
Czech Rep.	45	39	12	3
Russia	33	45	15	7
Slovakia	29	48	18	5
Lithuania*	23	48	15	14
Bulgaria	13	62	18	7
Ukraine	12	62	13	12
Hungary	8	72	16	5

"Would you say that the economic situation for most [survey country's people] today is better, worse, or about the same as it was under communism?" (Q19)
* Question wording varies slightly in Lithuania.

As is the case with opinions about the move from a state-controlled economy to a market economy, women, those who did not attend college and those who are 65 or older are generally more negative in their assessments of whether most people in their country are better off or worse off today than they were under communism. The views of those in urban or rural areas vary slightly, if at all.

In nearly every Eastern European country surveyed, those under 30 are much more likely than those 65 and older to say that the economic situation of most people in their country is better today than it was under communism. In Russia, 39% of those who were young children during the Soviet regime say people are better off today and one-third say people are worse off. Among those who are 65 and older, about six-in-ten (62%) say the economic situation of most Russians is worse today and just 20% say it is better than it was under communism. A similar pattern is evident throughout the region. In Ukraine, however, the young and old are about equally likely to say the economic situation is better (13% vs. 11%, respectively). At the same time, older Ukrainians are far more likely than young people to say the economic situation is now worse (75% vs. 50%).

Views of Free Markets

When asked whether they agree or disagree that most people are better off in a free market economy, even though some people may be rich while others are poor, Eastern European publics offer mixed views. Opinions are decidedly in favor of free markets in Poland (70%), the

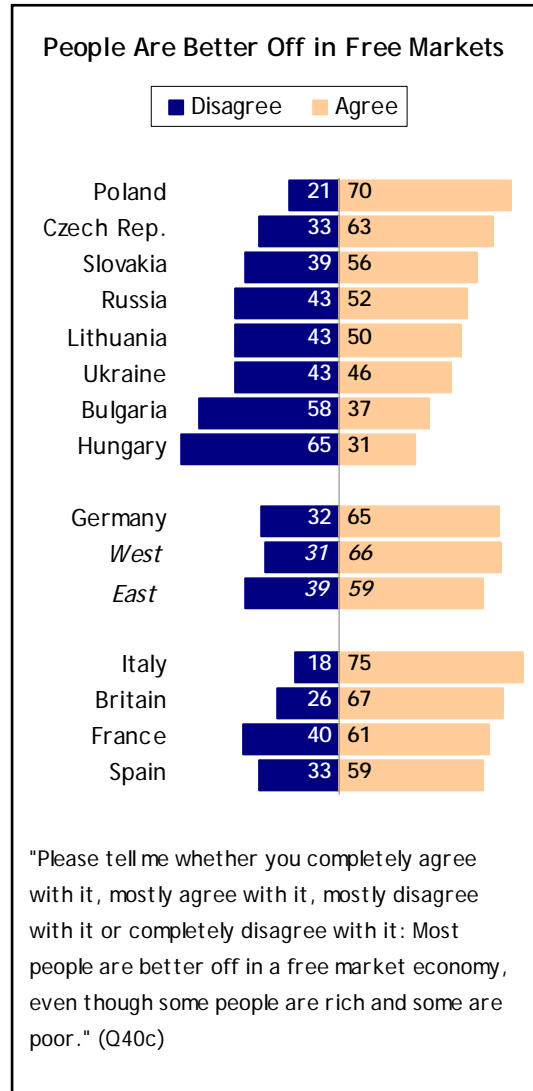
Czech Republic (63%) and Slovakia (56%). In Lithuania, half agree that people are better off in a free market economy, while 43% disagree. And in Ukraine, Bulgaria and Hungary, majorities or pluralities reject the notion that free markets are better, even if they produce inequalities (43%, 58% and 65%, respectively).

Views of free markets are, in large part, a reflection of opinions of how people have fared economically over the past two decades. For example, in Bulgaria, where overall support for free markets is low, more than seven-in-ten (73%) of those who say most people in their country are better off than they were under communism favor the free market model. Just 27% of those who say people are worse off today and 40% of those who say things are about the same for most people as they were under communism express support for free markets.

In comparison, majorities in all five Western European countries surveyed say that most people are better off in a free market economy. Support for free markets is highest among Italians (75%). And even in Spain, where fewer express positive views of free markets than in any other country in the region, about six-in-ten (59%) agree that most people are better off in a free market economy. Just one-third disagree.

Opinions about free markets are slightly more positive among those in the former West Germany than among those in the country's east. About two-thirds of west Germans (66%) agree that most people are better off in a free market economy, even though some are rich and some are poor; 31% disagree. In east Germany, 59% agree that free markets are better for most people, while 39% disagree.

Throughout Eastern Europe, younger respondents are much more likely than older ones to agree that most people are better off in a free market economy. For example, nearly six-in-ten Ukrainians under 30 (58%) endorse a free market approach, compared with just one-third of those 65 or older. In Russia, 62% in the younger group say that free markets are better for most people, while 42% in the older group agree.



Age is also related to views of free markets in Germany, Spain, Britain and Italy, but, in those countries, young people register the lowest levels of support. The gap is especially wide in Germany, where 55% of those under 30 agree that people are better off in a free market economy, compared with 71% of those 65 or older. This primarily reflects differences among young and older respondents in west Germany; in the east, those under 30 are just six percentage points less likely than those 65 or older to express support for free markets (54% vs. 60%).

Despite the current economic crisis, support for free markets in most of the former communist countries surveyed has changed little since 2007, when Eastern European countries were on better economic footing. For example, 63% in the Czech Republic now say they agree that most people are better off in a free market economy. That is virtually unchanged from 60% two years ago. More than half (52%) of Russians support free markets, about equal to the percentage that shared that view in 2007 (53%). In Ukraine, however, views of free markets are decidedly more negative today – 46% say most people are better off in a free market economy, compared with 66% two years ago.

Eastern Europeans See Less Inequality

Majorities or pluralities in the eight Eastern European countries surveyed say that “the rich just get richer while the poor get poorer.” Hungarians are the most likely to say that is the case – 77% agree – followed by Bulgarians (58%), Lithuanians (57%) and Poles (55%). About half in the Czech Republic (50%), Slovakia (49%), Ukraine and Russia (48% each) also say that the rich are getting richer while the poor are getting poorer.

Compared with 1991, publics in Russia, Ukraine, Slovakia, Poland and Bulgaria today are much less likely to say that there is growing inequality. The decline has been steepest in the former Soviet republics of Russia and Ukraine. Soon after the collapse of the Soviet Union, nearly seven-in-ten Russians (69%) and just slightly fewer Ukrainians (65%) said the rich were getting richer while the poor were getting poorer.

In Western Europe, publics in Germany – both east and west – and France are more likely than they were in 1991 to perceive inequality. In west Germany, 55% now say the rich are getting richer while the poor are getting poorer, compared

Today, It Is True That the Rich Get Richer and the Poor Get Poorer			
% Completely agree	1991 %	2009 %	Change
Russia	69	48	-21
Ukraine	65	48	-17
Slovakia	64	49	-15
Poland	70	55	-15
Bulgaria	69	58	-11
Lithuania	61	57	-4
Hungary	80	77	-3
Czech Rep.	51	50	-1
Germany West	40	56	+16
Germany East	37	55	+18
France	53	64	+11
Britain	36	35	-1
Italy	49	47	-2
Spain	51	41	-10

“For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it: Today it is really true that the rich just get richer while the poor get poorer.” (Q40j)

with just 37% in 1991; in east Germany, 63% say that is the case today, while 53% shared that view nearly two decades ago. By contrast, the percentage in Spain who agree that the rich are getting richer while the poor are getting poorer has dropped from 51% in 1991 to 41%. There has been virtually no change in Britain (36% then vs. 35% now) or Italy (49% vs. 47%).

5. Views of German Reunification

Nearly two decades after the unification of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) and the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), Germans in the east and the west continue to express positive opinions about their country's reunification, and a solid majority of east Germans say they are better off as a result of unification.

At the same time, more than eight-in-ten in the former East Germany and a smaller but solid majority in the former West Germany say those in east Germany have not achieved the same standard of living as those living in the west. And there is still a widespread feeling in the east that east Germany was overwhelmed and taken over by west Germany in the process of unification.

Positive Views of Unification

About eight-in-ten in east Germany (81%) and just slightly fewer in the west (77%) say they have a positive opinion of the reunification of 1990, but those in the former GDR are not as highly enthusiastic about the merger of the two Germanys as they were in 1991. Just months after Germany was officially reunified, more than four-in-ten east Germans (45%) said they *strongly* approved of the unification of Germany. Today, about three-in-ten (31%) say they have a *very* positive view of the reunification. The decline in enthusiasm among east Germans is evident across most demographic groups.

In both east and west Germany, those who are old enough to remember the sequence of events from 1989 through 1991 express somewhat more negative opinions of their country's reunification than do those who were not yet born or who were young children at that time. In east Germany, 17% of those between ages 30 and 49 and one-in-five of those who are 50 or older have a negative view of the reunification. By contrast, just 5% of those under 30 have a negative

	Very <u>positive</u> %	Somewhat <u>positive</u> %	Somewhat <u>negative</u> %	Very <u>negative</u> %	DK %
2009					
West Germany	28	49	17	3	3
East Germany	31	50	13	3	3
	Strongly <u>approve</u> %	<u>Approve</u> %	<u>Disapprove</u> %	Strongly <u>disapprove</u> %	DK %
1991					
West Germany	29	50	14	1	6
East Germany	45	44	7	1	2

"Overall, what is your opinion of the German reunification of 1990? Do you have a very positive, somewhat positive, somewhat negative, or very negative opinion of the reunification?" (Q11)
In 1991, the question wording was, "Overall, do you strongly approve, approve, disapprove or strongly disapprove of the unification of Germany?"

	Posi- <u>tive</u> %	Nega- <u>tive</u> %	DK %
West			
Total	77	19	3
18-29	85	12	3
30-49	73	26	1
50+	77	20	4
East			
Total	81	16	3
18-29	86	5	10
30-49	81	17	2
50+	79	20	1

Question 11.

view of the unification. Similarly, about a quarter (26%) of west Germans in the 30-to-49 age group and 20% of those 50 or older have a negative opinion of their country’s reunification, compared with 12% of those under 30.

Was Germany Unified Too Quickly?

Despite their overall positive views of their country’s reunification, Germans in both the east and the west are somewhat split when asked if Germany was unified too quickly or if it was important that Germany be unified as quickly as possible. Half in east Germany and about the same share in west Germany (52%) say it was important for unification to take place quickly; 46% and 44%, respectively, feel that unification happened too quickly.

Opinions about the pace of unification have changed considerably in east Germany since 1991, when 54% thought unification had happened too quickly and 40% said it was important for Germany to be unified as quickly as possible. The change is smaller in the west, where in 1991 48% thought the nation was unified too quickly and 42% said it was important to move quickly.

The shift in the east is especially notable among women. In 1991, nearly six-in-ten (58%) women in east Germany said the GDR and the FRG were merged too quickly, and just one-third said it was important for the two Germanys to be merged as quickly as possible. Today, women in east Germany are evenly split, with 47% offering each view.

The view that it was important for Germany to be unified as quickly as possible is widespread among those who were young children or who were born since reunification. In east Germany, nearly six-in-ten of those under 30 (59%) share that view, as do 69% of young west Germans. In contrast, fewer than half of those 50 or older in east Germany say it was important for unification to happen as quickly as possible (46%), as do half of those in the same group in the west.

Shifting Views of Pace of Unification Among East German Women

	Unified too quickly	Important to unify quickly	DK
	%	%	%
Total			
2009	46	50	4
1991	54	40	6
Men			
2009	45	53	3
1991	50	47	3
Women			
2009	47	47	6
1991	58	33	9

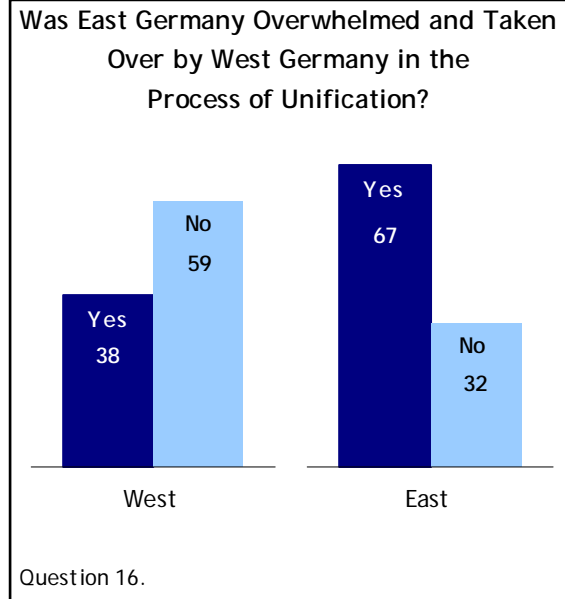
“Thinking back to 1990, do you feel that Germany was unified too quickly or do you feel that it was important that Germany be unified as quickly as possible?” (Q14)
Introduction “Thinking back to 1990” added in 2009.
Based on east Germans.

Most in East Germany Say GDR Was Overwhelmed

When asked if they think East Germany was overwhelmed and taken over by West Germany in the process of unification, those in the west and in the east express widely different views. Two-thirds of those in the east say that the former GDR was overwhelmed and taken over by West Germany, about the same share that said that was the case in 1991 (71%). By contrast, a

solid majority in the west (59%) says East Germany was *not* overwhelmed and taken over by West Germany, and 38% say it was (west Germans were not asked this question in 1991).

Young Germans are significantly less likely than those in older age groups to say that East Germany was taken over in the process of unification, and the generation gap is especially dramatic among east Germans. A majority of east Germans under 30 (56%) say they do not feel that East Germany was overwhelmed by West Germany, while solid majorities of those ages 30 to 49 (69%) and those 50 or older (74%) feel that East Germany was, in fact, overwhelmed and taken over when the two Germanys were unified.



Majorities of west Germans in all age groups say East Germany was not overwhelmed by East Germany in the process of unification, but the share of those under 30 who share that view is especially high. Seven-in-ten in the younger age group say the east was not overwhelmed by the west, compared with 53% of west Germans ages 30 to 49 and 59% of those 50 or older.

Standard of Living in East Germany

Views about the standard of living in east Germany are much more negative than the predictions Germans made in the year following reunification – and the predictions have fallen especially short in the east. More than eight-in-ten (86%) in east Germany currently say that those in the east have not achieved the same standard of living as those in the west, while just 12% say the standard of living is the same in the two regions. In 1991, more than nine-in-ten east Germans (93%) expected the east to achieve the same standard of living as the west within about a decade, and almost all (97%) thought it would happen within about 20 years.

Views of East Germans' Standard of Living Fall Short of Predictions

2009

<i>East has achieved same standard of living as west?</i>	West Germany %	East Germany %
Yes	33	12
No	63	86
Don't know	4	2

1991

How long until east achieves same standard of living as west?

	West	East
Less than 5 years	8	5
Around 5 years	34	39
Around 10 years	43	49
Around 20 years	9	4
More than 20 years	2	*
Don't know	4	3

"Since unification, do you think east Germany has achieved the same standard of living as those in west Germany?" (Q15)
 In 1991, respondents were asked, "How long do you think it will take for east Germans to achieve the same standard of living as enjoyed by west Germans?"

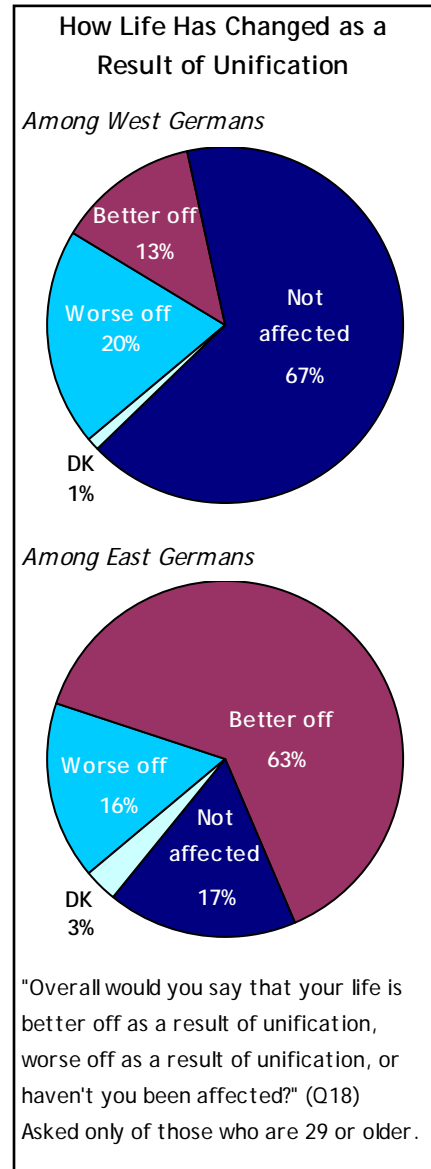
A majority of those in the west (63%) also say that their neighbors to the east have not achieved the same standard of living, but a substantial minority (33%) sees things differently. Nearly two decades ago, 85% in west Germany said they expected the standard of living in east Germany to catch up with that of west Germany within around 10 years, and 94% thought it would happen within around 20 years.

Life After Reunification

Despite the widespread opinion that east Germany has not achieved the same standard of living as west Germany, 63% in the east say they are better off as a result of unification; 16% say they are worse off, and 17% say their lives have not been affected.² In contrast, two-thirds (67%) in west Germany say that they have been unaffected, while 20% say unification has left them worse off and 13% say they are better off.

More in the east now say that their lives are better off as a result of reunification than did so in 1991. About half (48%) said that was the case 18 years ago, while 23% said they were worse off. The percentage in the west that says their lives have not been affected by unification is virtually unchanged from 1991 (67% vs. 70%).

Compared with 1991, east Germans across all demographic groups are now more likely to say their lives are better off as a result of unification, but the gains are especially large among women and people in rural areas. The share of women in the east who say they are better off has increased by 20 percentage points (62% now vs. 42% in 1991). By contrast, 65% of men in the east now say their lives are better off, compared with 55% in 1991. The same percentage in rural and urban parts of east Germany now say their lives are better off (63%); nearly two decades ago, just 39% in rural areas shared that view, while 51% of urban dwellers did so.



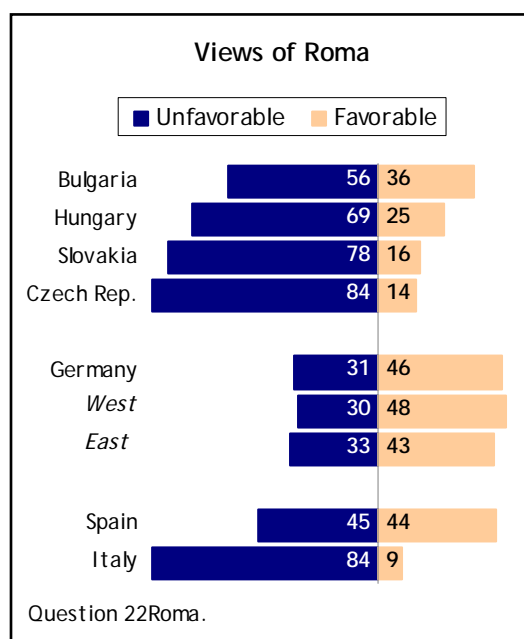
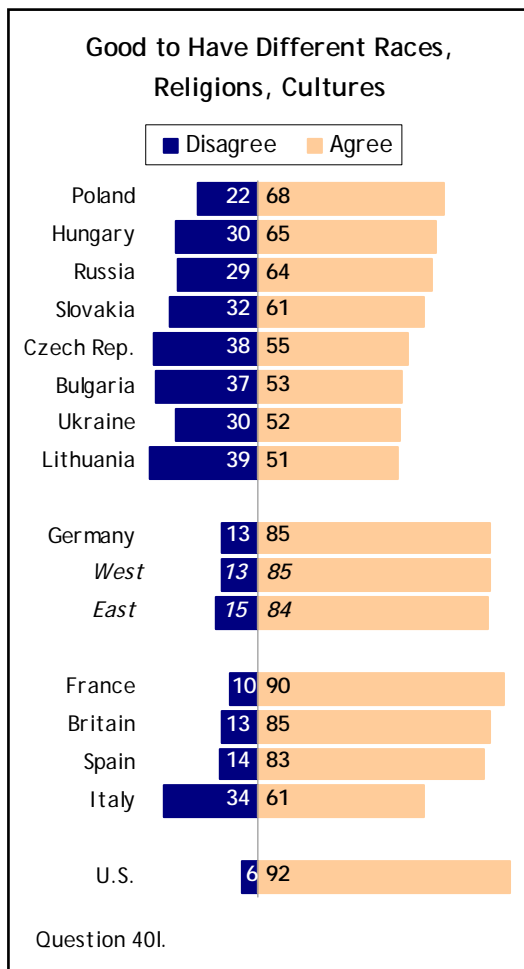
² In 2009, this question was asked only of those 29 or older; in 1991, it was asked of all German adults.

6. Opinions of Ethnic and Religious Minorities

One of the major findings from the 1991 Times Mirror Center study was the high level of antipathy toward ethnic and religious minorities in Eastern Europe. With communist rule over in most of the region, and in its final stages in the Soviet Union, long-simmering conflicts among groups within these societies were reemerging. Today, in many of these nations, tensions have decreased, and there is somewhat less hostility toward ethnic and religious minorities. Even so, negative attitudes persist, and, in some cases, have grown more prevalent since 1991.

In principle, most Eastern Europeans, as well as even larger numbers in Western Europe and the United States, believe in the idea of a pluralistic society. Majorities in every country surveyed agree that “it is a good thing for any society to be made up of people from different races, religions and cultures,” although in the Czech Republic (55% agree), Bulgaria (53%), Ukraine (52%) and Lithuania (51%) the majorities are far from overwhelming.

But when asked about specific groups in their countries, many in Eastern and Western Europe express negative opinions. Most notably, views toward the Roma (also known as Gypsies) are generally negative, even though they have improved somewhat since 1991. Solid majorities in the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and Bulgaria say they have an unfavorable view of the Roma, as do 84% of Italians. In Spain, opinions are divided (44% favorable, 45% unfavorable), while Germans are more likely to have an opinion that is favorable (46%) than unfavorable (31%).



Significant minorities in Eastern Europe, including more than one-quarter in five of the nations surveyed, continue to voice negative attitudes toward Jews. In Lithuania and Hungary, anti-Jewish sentiments are much more common now than in 1991.

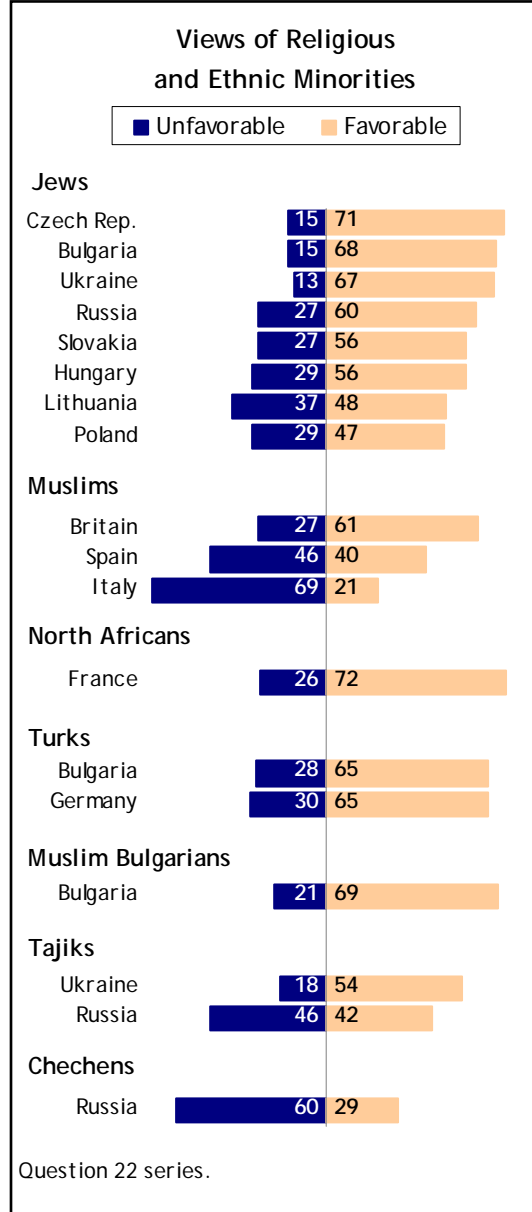
Negative reactions are directed at Muslims in several countries, both in Eastern and Western Europe. Roughly seven-in-ten Italians express a negative opinion of Muslims, as do nearly half in Spain. Negative views are less common in Britain.

The survey also measures attitudes toward several predominantly Muslim groups. In France, most have a positive view of North Africans, although a still sizable 26% minority expresses a negative opinion. Similarly, 30% of Germans assign an unfavorable rating to Turks, the largest minority group in Germany. In Bulgaria, Turks receive somewhat more negative ratings than do Muslim Bulgarians.

Russians express comparatively negative opinions about the Muslim groups tested there. They are divided in their view of Tajiks, a largely Muslim ethnic group from Central Asia (42% favorable, 46% unfavorable), while Chechens, a predominantly Muslim group from the Caucasus, receive mostly negative ratings (29% favorable, 60% unfavorable).

Eastern European Attitudes

Czechs and Slovaks have overwhelmingly positive views of each other, and these ratings have grown more positive since 1991, when Czechoslovakia still existed. Currently, only 9% in the Czech Republic have an unfavorable opinion of Slovaks, down from 32% in 1991. Just 3% of Slovaks express an unfavorable view of Czechs, down from 17% in the earlier survey.



	% Unfavorable		
	1991	2009	Change
Czech Republic			
Roma	91	84	-7
Germans	21	26	+5
Jews	14	15	+1
Slovaks	32	9	-23
Slovakia			
Roma	90	78	-12
Jews	33	27	-6
Germans	17	14	-3
Czechs	17	3	-14

Question 22 series.

While attitudes toward the Roma have grown slightly more positive in both nations, they remain overwhelmingly negative: fully 84% of Czechs and 78% of Slovaks say in the current survey they have an unfavorable view of Roma.

Slightly more than a quarter in Slovakia (27%) have a negative opinion of Jews, down six percentage points from 1991, while 15% of Czechs voice a negative view. Germans now receive a slightly more negative rating in the Czech Republic (26% unfavorable) than they did in 1991. Only 14% in Slovakia give Germans an unfavorable rating.

In Bulgaria, opinions of Roma and Turks have become less negative, although a majority (56%) continue to express an unfavorable view of Roma and more than one-quarter (28%) say this about Turks. About one-in-five (21%) have a negative opinion of Muslim Bulgarians, and 15% give Jews a negative rating, up slightly from 1991.

Since 1991, Poles' views of Germans have shifted dramatically – in 1991, nearly half (46%) had negative views about Germans, compared with 24% today. Unfavorable views of Ukrainians and Jews have declined slightly, although many continue to express negative opinions, including more than a third who feel this way about Ukrainians. Russians – who were not tested in 1991 – also get lukewarm reactions, as 41% of Poles say they have an unfavorable opinion of them.

	% Unfavorable		
	1991	2009	Change
Bulgaria			
Roma	71	56	-15
Turks	40	28	-12
Muslim Bulgarians	21	21	0
Jews	9	15	+6
Poland			
Russians	--	41	--
Ukrainians	41	35	-6
Jews	34	29	-5
Germans	46	24	-22
Lithuanians	18	18	0
Hungary			
Roma	79	69	-10
Romanians	31	33	+2
Jews	11	29	+18
Slovaks	12	27	+15

Question 22 series.

In Hungary, negative sentiments about Jews and Slovaks have increased – while roughly one-in-ten had an unfavorable view of these groups two decades ago, 29% now say they have a negative opinion of Jews and 27% say this about Slovaks. One-third continue to express negative views about Romanians, and even though there has been a decline in negative attitudes toward Roma, 69% still say their impression of the Roma people is unfavorable.

Attitudes in the Former Soviet Republics

In several instances, opinions of ethnic and religious minorities have become more negative since the end of communism in the three former Soviet republics surveyed. Notably, Russian views about the dominant ethnic groups in several former republics of the Soviet Union are more negative now than they were in 1991.

More Russians now hold negative opinions of Ukrainians – 32% feel this way, compared with 7% in 1991. Similarly, unfavorable ratings for Lithuanians have increased in Russia, from 28% in 1991 to 38% today.

Russian attitudes toward Georgians have also grown more negative: 46% expressed an unfavorable view of Georgians in 1991. Today, roughly one year after the military conflict between Russia and Georgia, 53% do so.

Chechens and Tajiks were not included in 1991, but currently many Russians hold negative views of these predominantly Muslim ethnic groups – 60% feel this way about Chechens and 46% say this about Tajiks.

Ukrainians tend to give positive ratings to the five ethnic groups tested there: Russians, Lithuanians, Jews, Tajiks and Georgians. Negative opinions about Jews have declined by nine percentage points to 13% since 1991.

In 1991, anti-Jewish sentiments were less prevalent in Lithuania than in Russia or Ukraine, but that is no longer the case. Currently, 37% of Lithuanians express a negative view of Jews, up 27 percentage points. Lithuanian attitudes toward Poles, meanwhile, have grown less negative (down nine points) since the earlier survey. Fewer than one-in-five hold negative views of Russians or Ukrainians.

	% Unfavorable		
	1991	2009	Change
Russia	%	%	
Chechens	--	60	--
Georgians	46	53	+7
Tajiks	--	46	--
Lithuanians	28	38	+10
Ukrainians	7	32	+25
Jews	26	27	+1
Ukraine			
Georgians	32	28	-4
Tajiks	--	18	--
Jews	22	13	-9
Lithuanians	13	11	-2
Russians	6	8	+2
Lithuania			
Jews	10	37	+27
Poles	30	21	-9
Russians	21	17	-4
Ukrainians	7	13	+6

Question 22 series.

German Attitudes

There has been a clear pattern in Germany over the past two decades: Attitudes toward minorities have become more positive. And this is in both the former East Germany and former West Germany.

Negative ratings for Turks, Roma and Poles have declined by double digits in the east and the west. And in west Germany, unfavorable ratings for Jews have dropped steeply, from 27% in 1991 to 9% today. Negative views toward Jews were already low in east Germany in 1991 and have decreased further to 7% in the current survey.

	% Unfavorable		
	1991	2009	Change
Total Germany	%	%	
Roma	60	31	-29
Turks	46	30	-16
Poles	50	23	-27
Jews	24	9	-15
West Germany			
Roma	60	30	-30
Turks	45	28	-17
Poles	49	23	-26
Jews	27	9	-18
East Germany			
Turks	51	36	-15
Roma	57	33	-24
Poles	54	21	-33
Jews	12	7	-5

Question 22 series.

Attitudes in Western Europe and the U.S.

Respondents in Western Europe and the United States were also asked about groups in their countries. In Britain, France and the U.S., the minority groups tested receive generally positive ratings, while in Italy and Spain views are less positive.

More than eight-in-ten in Britain express favorable opinions of Catholics (84% favorable) and Jews (81%) in their country. Hindus (69%) also receive generally favorable ratings, as do Muslims, although more than one-in-four in Britain (27%) have a negative view of Muslims in their country.

French attitudes toward Jews are overwhelmingly positive, as only 10% have a negative view. More express a negative opinion of North Africans (26%), although this view has become much less common since 1991, when 43% had an unfavorable opinion.

Different groups receive very different ratings in Italy. Roma (84% unfavorable) and Muslims (69%) receive largely negative ratings. About three-in-ten (29%) have an unfavorable view of Jews, while only 11% feel that way about Christians. Spanish public opinion is divided over both Roma and Muslims – 45% express a negative view of Roma, while 46% have a negative opinion of Muslims.

All groups tested in the current survey in the United States receive positive marks. Nearly nine-in-ten (89%) Americans have a favorable view of whites, who comprise a majority of the country, and about as many have a positive opinion of blacks (86%). Majorities also rate Asians (81%) and Hispanics (77%) favorably.

	Fav %	Unfav %	DK %
Britain			
Catholics	84	5	11
Jews	81	6	13
Hindus	69	15	16
Muslims	61	27	12
France			
Jews	87	10	3
North Africans	72	26	2
Italy			
Christians	81	11	8
Jews	52	29	19
Muslims	21	69	10
Roma	9	84	7
Spain			
Roma	44	45	11
Muslims	40	46	13
U.S.			
Whites	89	5	6
Blacks	86	8	7
Asians	81	8	10
Hispanics	77	15	8
Question 22 series.			

7. Nationalism

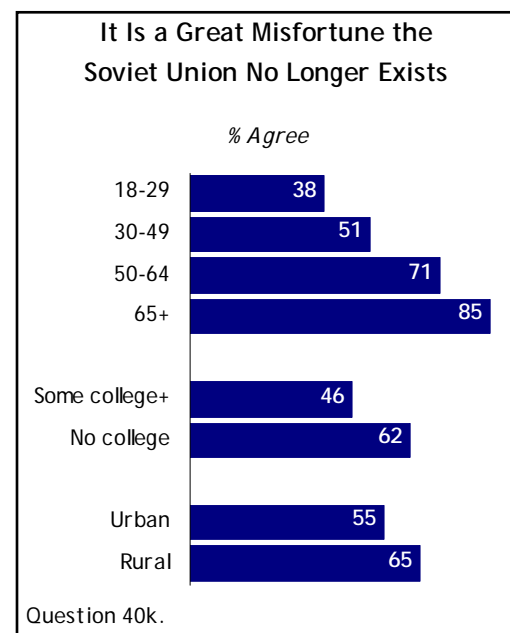
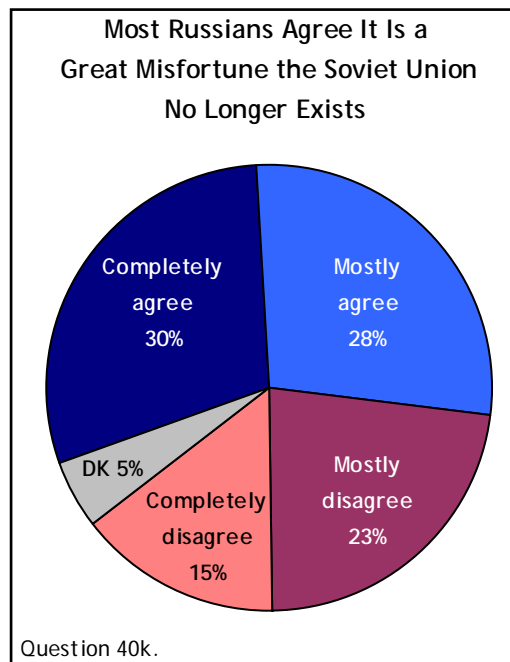
With the collapse of communist rule and the end of the Cold War, nationalism reemerged as a major issue throughout much of Eastern Europe in the 1990s. As the current survey highlights, nationalist sentiments have not disappeared, particularly in Russia. A majority of Russians consider the demise of the Soviet Union a great misfortune, and more now believe it is natural for Russia to have an empire than was the case in 1991. Large numbers in several European countries, as well as in Russia, think that parts of neighboring nations really belong to them.

Over the course of the past two decades, the European Union integrated many aspects of political and economic life in Europe. The EU also has spread eastward and has incorporated nations such as Lithuania that were formerly part of the Soviet Union. However, as this survey makes clear, no continent-wide identity has emerged to supplant national identities – people remain much more likely to think of themselves first as, say, Czechs, Poles or Italians than as Europeans.

Resurging Russian Nationalism

Even though on balance Russians tend to approve of the shifts to a multiparty system and a free market economy that took place in the early 1990s, there is still considerable nostalgia for the Soviet era. Nearly six-in-ten Russians either completely (30%) or mostly (28%) agree that “it is a great misfortune that the Soviet Union no longer exists.”

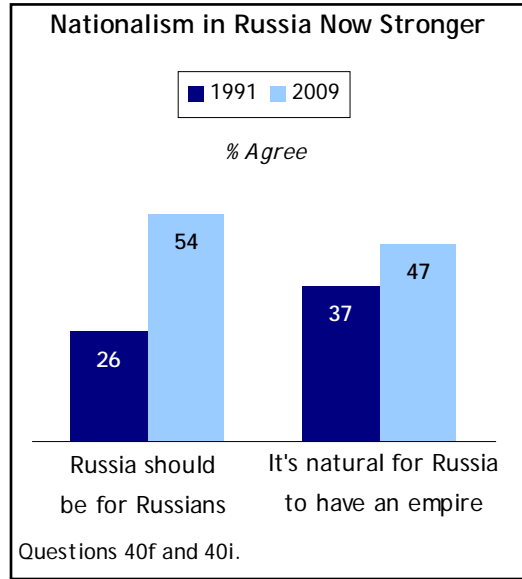
Views on this question vary considerably by age – 85% of Russians age 65 and older lament the disintegration of the Soviet Union, compared with 71% of those ages 50 to 64, 51% of 30- to 49-year-olds and just 38% of those under 30.



Those who have not attended college are more likely than those who have to hold this view (62% vs. 46%). And residents of rural areas (65%) express more regret about the demise of the Soviet Union than do urban dwellers (55%).

There also is evidence that Russian nationalism is on the rise. Just over half of Russians (54%) say they completely or mostly agree with the statement “Russia should be for Russians.” That is a sharp increase from 1991, when only 26% held that view.

In recent years, many observers have noted the Russian government’s continuing interest in its “near abroad” – neighboring nations that were once part of the Soviet Union – and many Russians believe it is normal for their country to project power beyond its borders. Nearly half (47%) agree that it is “natural for Russia to have an empire,” up from 37% in 1991.



Younger Russians may be less nostalgic than their older counterparts about the Soviet Union, but they are more likely to say an empire is natural for Russia. Just over half of 18- to 29-year-olds (53%) and 30- to 49-year-olds (52%) agree with that sentiment, compared with 42% of those ages 50 to 64 and 34% of those 65 and older.

Ukrainians are as likely as Russians to say it is natural for Russia to have an empire. Almost half of Ukrainians (48%) agree with this statement, a significant increase from 1991, when only 22% held this opinion. This is not necessarily an expression of support for a Russian empire; rather, it may simply reflect a perception among Ukrainians that Russia has a long imperial history.

In addition to rising nationalism in Russia, nationalist sentiments have become more common in Lithuania – 61% completely or mostly agree with the statement “Lithuania should be for Lithuanians,” up from 45% in 1991.

Claims on Neighboring Countries

The collapse of the Iron Curtain led to a redrawing of Europe’s political map, with the disintegration of such countries as the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, and the creation of nations such as Ukraine and Lithuania. The 1991 Times Mirror Center survey found that European political borders were still a matter of controversy. And as the current survey highlights, in the minds of many, these issues are still unsettled nearly two decades later.

Majorities in Bulgaria, Hungary, Russia and Poland completely or mostly agree that “there are parts of neighboring countries that really belong to us.” In Russia, the share of the public that agrees has more than doubled, rising from 22% in 1991 to 58%. In Bulgaria, roughly two-thirds (66%) express this opinion, up from 52% in 1991. Hungarians are somewhat less likely to agree today, although 61% still think there are parts of other countries that belong to Hungary. Similarly, Poles are less likely to agree, but approximately half (51%) still take this view. Four-in-ten Lithuanians and Czechs think parts of neighboring countries belong to them, while this view is less widespread in Slovakia (29%) and Ukraine (24%).

	Do Parts of Neighboring Countries Belong to Us?		
	% Agree		Change
	1991	2009	
	%	%	
Bulgaria	52	66	+14
Hungary	70	61	-9
Russia	22	58	+36
Poland	60	51	-9
Lithuania	46	40	-6
Czech Rep.	42	40	-2
Slovakia	34	29	-5
Ukraine	24	24	0
Germany	39	30	-9
<i>West</i>	43	31	-12
<i>East</i>	25	24	-1
Italy	29	48	+19
Spain	48	41	-7
Britain	20	29	+9
France	12	25	+13
Question 40g.			

Three-in-ten Germans think territory elsewhere really belongs to them, although this opinion has become much less common in the former West Germany, where 43% felt this way in 1991, compared with 31% now. In the former East Germany, views are basically unchanged – 25% agreed in 1991 and 24% do so now.

Among the Western European publics surveyed, Italians are the most likely to think parts of neighboring countries are really theirs – nearly half (48%) agree, up steeply from 29% in 1991. Fewer in Spain take this position than did so in 1991, although 41% still agree. Only 29% of the British feel this way, up from 20% in 1991. Similarly, just one-quarter in France believe parts of other countries belong to them, but this is up from 12% nearly two decades ago.

The Czechoslovakia Breakup

Looking back at their “Velvet Divorce” in 1993, Czechs and Slovaks express mixed feelings. More Czechs say the division of Czechoslovakia into two independent states was a bad thing (53%) than say it was a good thing (40%). In Slovakia, the opposite is true: By a margin of 49% to 39%, Slovaks say it was a good thing.

Opinion on this question varies by age. In both countries, the only age group in which majorities believe the breakup was a good thing are those under 30. The influence of age is particularly clear in the Czech Republic, where 53% of those ages 18 to 29 say “good thing,” compared with 44% of 30- to 49-year-olds, 28% of 50- to 64-year-olds and 31% of those 65 and older.

	Good thing %	Bad thing %	DK %
Czech Rep.	40	53	7
Slovakia	49	39	12

	Czech Rep. %	Slovakia %
18-29	53	57
30-49	44	46
50-64	28	50
65+	31	42

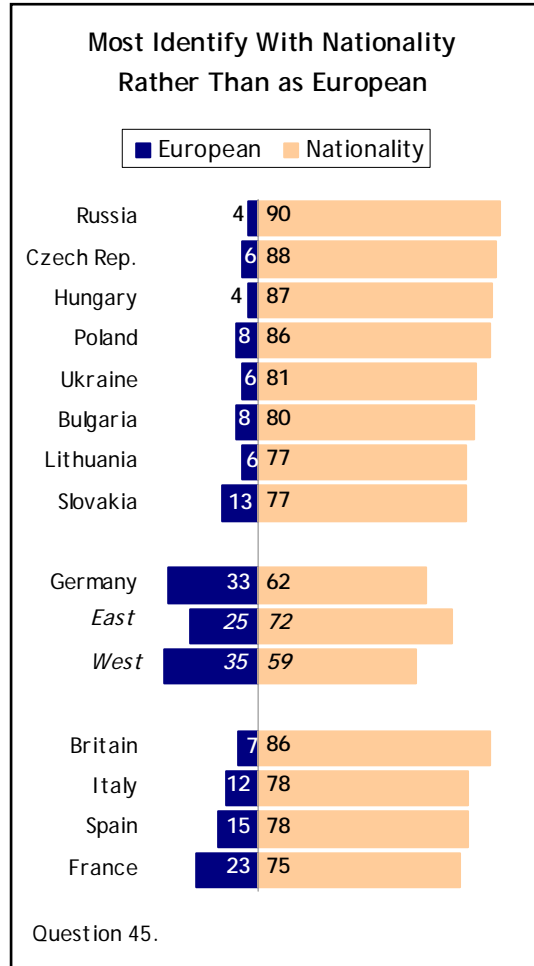
Question 33.

National vs. European Identity

When asked whether they think of themselves primarily in terms of their national identity or as European, large majorities in all 13 European nations surveyed say their national identity.

At 13%, Slovakia is the only country in Eastern Europe in which European identity breaks into double digits. European identity is low in the two nations that do not belong to the EU – Russia and Ukraine – but views in these countries do not differ substantially from those elsewhere in the region.

Germany is the nation with the highest level of identification with Europe: 33% think of themselves first as European, rather than as German. In west Germany, 35% identify themselves this way, compared with 25% in the east. European identity is especially strong among highly educated west Germans, who are basically divided on this issue: 48% identify primarily as German, while 47% identify primarily as European.



Fewer in the other Western European nations surveyed think of themselves mainly as European, although nearly a quarter in France (23%) feel this way.

Immigration

Throughout Eastern and Western Europe, as well as the United States, there is support for stronger controls on immigration. In 13 of 14 nations, majorities completely or mostly agree that “we should restrict and control entry into our country more than we do now.”

Support for immigration controls is particularly high in the Czech Republic, where 80% agree with this view, up from 63% in 1991. Russians are also much more supportive of tighter immigration restrictions now (70% agree) than they were then (45%). Support has also increased in Ukraine, rising from 32% to 55%.

Opinions on this issue are identical in Slovakia and Hungary – in both nations, the share of the public who agrees with the statement has declined by 13 percentage points to 55%. In both Poland and Lithuania, 54% endorse tougher restrictions on immigration, relatively unchanged from 1991. By far, Bulgarians are the least supportive of tighter immigration controls – only 32% agree, down slightly from 38%.

In Germany, 65% back stronger immigration controls, a five-point decrease from 1991. Most of the decline has occurred in west Germany, where support for immigration controls has dropped from 70% to 64%.

Elsewhere in Western Europe, where debates about immigration and assimilation have been common in recent years, there is widespread support for tighter restrictions. In Spain, the proportion agreeing that stricter immigration controls are needed has increased from 66% in 1991 to 80% now. In Italy and Britain, there has been no change; currently, 83% of Italians and 78% of the British express this view. In France, 64% back more restrictions, however, this view is much less prevalent than it was in 1991, when 86% took this position.

	% Agree		
	1991	2009	Change
	%	%	
Czech Rep.	63	80	+17
Russia	45	70	+25
Ukraine	32	55	+23
Slovakia	68	55	-13
Hungary	68	55	-13
Poland	58	54	-4
Lithuania	54	54	0
Bulgaria	38	32	-6
Germany	70	65	-5
<i>East</i>	70	69	-1
<i>West</i>	70	64	-6
Italy	84	83	-1
Spain	66	80	+14
Britain	80	78	-2
France	86	64	-22
U.S.*	--	74	--

“We should restrict and control entry into our country more than we do now.” (Q40h)
 * Data from Spring 2009 Pew Global Attitudes survey.

8. Views of Other Countries and Organizations

Concerns about Russia are common in both Eastern and Western Europe. Majorities in most countries worry about being too dependent on Russia for their energy supplies, and many say Russia is having a negative influence on their countries. Still, this unease is hardly universal. In Ukraine and Bulgaria, more people say Russia is having a positive influence than a negative one.

Both Germany and the European Union earn relatively positive reviews – people in both Eastern and Western Europe tend to believe that Germany and the EU exert positive influences in their countries. Reviews for the United States are more mixed, and assessments of America’s positive impact have declined somewhat since 1991. At that point, the Cold War was ending and U.S. influence was seen in a more favorable light.

Influence of Russia

In many of the former Eastern bloc nations surveyed, large numbers believe Russia is having a negative influence on the way things are going in their countries. This is especially true in Poland, where roughly six-in-ten (59%) say Russia is having a bad influence, as well as in the Czech Republic where 44% hold this view. Nearly as many Hungarians (42%) see Russian influence as negative, although this is down from 56% in the 1991 poll when the question was asked about the influence of the Soviet Union.

Negative assessments of Russian influence also have declined in Bulgaria – 31% described the Soviet Union’s influence as bad in 1991, compared with 17% now, the lowest percentage among the European nations surveyed.

Views about Russian influence are very different in Ukraine and Lithuania – both of which were part of the Soviet Union in 1991. On balance, Ukrainians see Russia’s influence positively (46% good, 25% bad), while Lithuanians take the opposite view (22% good, 39% bad).

	Good	Bad	(Vol) Neither	(Vol) Both	DK
	%	%	%	%	%
Ukraine	46	25	11	9	9
Bulgaria	45	17	19	5	14
Slovakia	34	34	18	4	9
Czech Rep.	24	44	20	6	6
Lithuania	22	39	20	9	11
Poland	18	59	13	4	7
Hungary	15	42	11	19	14
Germany	40	46	3	2	8
<i>West</i>	40	48	3	2	6
<i>East</i>	41	40	5	2	13
France	36	57	3	*	2
Italy	25	34	25	2	13
Britain	22	38	13	1	27
Spain	21	27	19	*	33

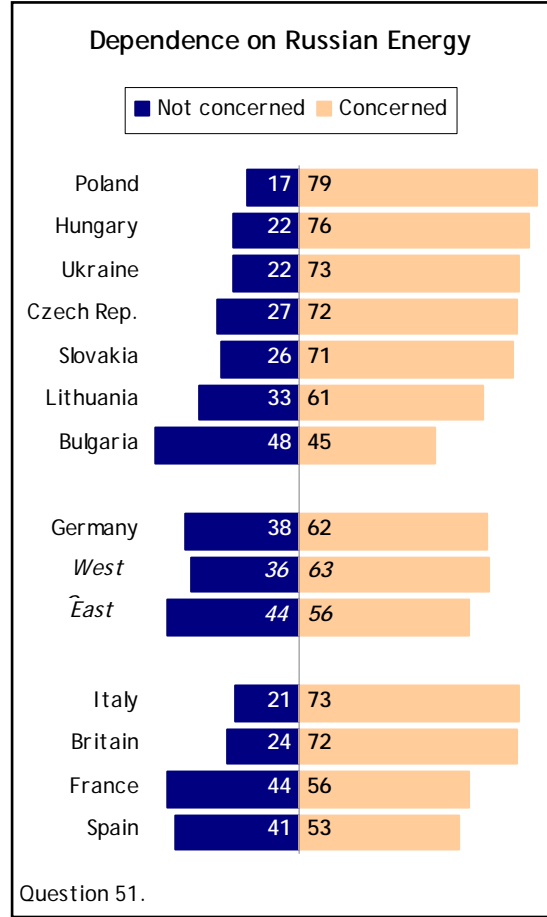
Question 21a.

	1991*	2009	Change
% <i>Bad</i>	%	%	
Germany	19	46	+27
Hungary	56	42	-14
Bulgaria	31	17	-14

Question 21a.
* In 1991, the question asked about the Soviet Union.

Many in Western Europe also express concerns about Russian influence, especially in France, where 57% say it is having a negative impact.

Across Europe, many are worried about being too reliant on Russia for their energy needs. More than seven-in-ten in Poland, Hungary, Ukraine, the Czech Republic and Slovakia express these concerns, along with about six-in-ten Lithuanians. Since 2007, worries about Russian energy have increased significantly in Slovakia (by 18 percentage points) and the Czech Republic (15 points). There also has been a 10-point increase in Ukraine, which has repeatedly clashed with Russia over energy issues in recent years. Concern is less prevalent among Bulgarians, who are divided on this question, although even here the share of the public saying they are worried has risen eight percentage points in the past two years.



Concerns about being too dependent on Russian energy are also common in Western Europe, especially in Italy and Great Britain, where more than seven-in-ten say they are worried about this issue.

Influence of the United States

American influence receives mixed reviews in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet republics. About half of Poles (52%) and Czechs (47%) say the U.S. is having a positive impact in their countries, but elsewhere fewer express this view, especially in Russia, where only 15% describe America’s influence as good and 62% say it is bad.

In all of the Eastern European nations surveyed, U.S. influence is viewed much less

	Good (%)	Bad (%)	(Vol) Neither (%)	(Vol) Both (%)	DK (%)
Poland	52	22	13	7	6
Czech Rep.	47	32	11	7	4
Lithuania	39	18	19	7	16
Bulgaria	36	25	17	6	17
Slovakia	35	37	14	6	8
Hungary	33	23	13	16	16
Ukraine	24	37	17	10	12
Russia	15	62	6	7	9
Germany	53	42	1	1	2
West	54	42	1	1	1
East	49	44	0	2	4
Italy	55	23	11	3	9
Spain	51	24	10	*	14
France	50	49	1	*	*
Britain	47	42	3	1	8

Question 21c.

positively than it was in 1991. For instance, in 1991 three-quarters of Hungarians said U.S. influence was good, compared with 33% today. Fully 60% of Ukrainians considered it good then, compared with 24% now.

Perceptions of American influence also vary in Western Europe. Assessments on balance are favorable in Germany (53% good, 42% bad), Italy (55% good, 23% bad) and Spain (51% good, 24% bad), while the French (50% good, 49% bad) and British (47% good, 42% bad) are split on this question.

These findings are largely consistent with results from the spring 2009 Pew Global Attitudes survey, which was conducted in 24 nations and the Palestinian territories. The survey found that, despite an improvement in the overall image of the U.S., publics in Europe and elsewhere tended to say the U.S. was having a negative influence in their countries. In particular, many felt the American economy was having a negative impact on their own national economies. *(For more findings from this survey, see “Confidence in Obama Lifts U.S. Image around the World; Most Muslim Publics Not So Easily Moved,” released July 23, 2009.)*

	1991 %	2009 %	Change
Hungary	75	33	-42
Ukraine	60	24	-36
Russia	49	15	-34
Bulgaria	66	36	-30
Slovakia	63	35	-28
Poland	77	52	-25
Lithuania	62	39	-23
Czech Rep.	65	47	-18
Germany	64	53	-11
<i>West</i>	66	54	-12
<i>East</i>	56	49	-7

Question 21c.

Influence of Germany

In all 12 countries in which the question was posed, majorities or pluralities say that Germany is having a good influence on the way things are going in their country.

In neighboring Poland, views about the impact of Germany have become more positive since 1991 – then, 41% of Poles described German influence as good; 52% do so today. However, in three other Eastern European nations, attitudes have moved in the opposite direction – the percentage saying German influence is good has declined by 20 points in Ukraine to 40%, 19 points in Bulgaria to 51%, and 18 points in Hungary to 50%.

	Good %	Bad %	(Vol) Neither %	(Vol) Both %	DK %
Slovakia	56	13	17	4	10
Czech Rep.	55	18	18	4	4
Poland	52	21	15	5	7
Bulgaria	51	8	20	3	18
Hungary	50	11	14	11	15
Russia	49	15	17	5	14
Lithuania	45	6	27	5	17
Ukraine	40	9	25	5	22
France	86	14	*	0	*
Spain	63	9	8	*	21
Britain	51	21	8	*	20
Italy	46	21	19	1	11

Question 21b.

Germany’s Western European neighbors express mostly positive views about its impact on their countries. The belief that Germany is having a good effect on the way things are going is widespread in France, where more than eight-in-ten (86%) take this view. Just over six-in-ten (63%) in Spain characterize German influence as positive, while somewhat fewer share this opinion in Britain (51%) and Italy (46%).

Influence of the European Union

The European Union receives high marks throughout much of Europe. Among Eastern European nations, large majorities say the EU is having a positive impact on their countries in Poland (77%), Slovakia (74%), the Czech Republic (65%), Bulgaria (63%) and Lithuania (62%). All are EU members. However, in Hungary, also an EU member state, assessments are less positive – only 36% describe the organization’s influence as good.

In the two former Soviet bloc countries that are not members of the organization – Ukraine and Russia – views about EU influence are mixed, and they have become less positive in recent years. Currently 40% of Ukrainians rate the EU’s impact as good, down sharply from 2002, when 63% said it was good. Russians also have become slightly less likely to characterize EU influence as a good thing – 45% felt this way in 2002, compared with 37% now.

In Western Europe, roughly three-quarters in Spain (75%) and Germany (73%) judge the influence of the Brussels-based institution as good. In France, most (64%) say the EU’s influence is positive, although this view is less common than it was in 2002, when 79% said it was positive. Similarly, 59% of Italians say the EU’s impact is good, but this represents a 13 percentage point drop since the 2002 poll. Among Western Europeans, the British are the least enthusiastic about the EU – 47% say it is having a good impact, down from 53% seven years ago.

Influence of China

Respondents in the three former Soviet Union countries surveyed were also asked about the influence of

			(Vol)	(Vol)	DK
	Good	Bad	Neither	Both	
	%	%	%	%	%
Poland	77	7	8	4	3
Slovakia	74	8	9	4	5
Czech Rep.	65	16	10	6	2
Bulgaria	63	11	11	5	10
Lithuania	62	8	12	7	11
Ukraine	40	15	21	7	18
Hungary	36	22	8	24	11
Russia	37	25	12	7	19
Germany	73	23	1	1	3
<i>West</i>	73	23	*	1	3
<i>East</i>	74	20	1	2	3
Spain	75	8	7	*	9
France	64	35	1	0	*
Italy	59	20	12	3	7
Britain	47	38	5	1	9

Question 21e.

			(Vol)	(Vol)	DK
	Good	Bad	Neither	Both	
	%	%	%	%	%
Russia	37	29	12	9	13
1991	34	5	17	9	34
Ukraine	22	22	29	8	19
1991	34	7	21	12	27
Lithuania	20	24	27	6	23
1991	10	10	32	1	47

Question 21d.

China, and in each of these nations, more now say China’s influence is negative than was the case in 1991.

Russians are still more likely to believe China is having a good influence than a bad one (37% good, 29% bad), but the share of the public saying China’s influence is bad has increased by 24 percentage points since 1991.

Ukrainians are now split on this question (22% good, 22% bad). In the earlier survey, 34% said China’s influence was good and just 7% described it as bad. In 1991, only one-in-five Lithuanians offered an opinion about Chinese influence; today, 20% say it is good, while 24% characterize it as bad.

Allies and Threats

When asked to name the countries they can most rely on as a dependable ally in the future, as well as the countries and organizations that pose the greatest threat, Eastern Europeans offer a variety of responses. Poland is the only nation in which the United States is considered the top ally, although even here only 18% name the U.S. That is down from 40% in 1991, when as the Cold War was ending, many in Poland and other parts of the region saw the U.S. as a key partner. By a wide margin, Poles pick Russia as the biggest threat (45%); similarly, in 1991 most Poles named the Soviet Union.

Czechs and Slovaks, who shared a country from 1918 until 1993, see each other as their top ally. By a slim margin, Czechs see Russia as their greatest threat (21%), while Slovaks name Hungary (34%). Hungarians, in turn, name Slovakia as their top threat (37%). These Hungarian-Slovak tensions may in part reflect controversies over a new law in Slovakia restricting the use of languages other than Slovak in official communications. The law has drawn protests from Slovakia’s Hungarian minority community.

In Bulgaria, the top three allies are the same as they were in the 1991 survey: Russia (then the Soviet

Allies and Threats				
	Closest allies	%	Biggest threats	%
Poland	U.S.	18	Russia	45
	Germany	13	Germany	9
	EU	12	Iraq	8
	DK	46	DK	36
Czech Republic	Slovakia	31	Russia	21
	EU	27	China	18
	Germany	23	Iran	18
	DK	22	DK	23
Slovakia	Czech Rep.	60	Hungary	34
	Poland	27	Al Qaeda	15
	EU	24	Iran	15
	DK	13	DK	24
Hungary	Germany	30	Slovakia	37
	U.S.	15	Romania	14
	Austria	12	Russia	11
	DK	55	DK	50
Bulgaria	Russia	38	Turkey	29
	Germany	28	U.S.	8
	U.S.	16	Iran	5
	DK	35	DK	56
Lithuania	EU	21	Russia	39
	Latvia	20	China	9
	U.S.	19	Belarus	9
	DK	18	DK	54
Ukraine	Russia	58	U.S.	27
	Belarus	40	Russia	19
	Poland	19	Iraq	9
	DK	17	DK	42
Russia	Belarus	34	U.S.	57
	China	23	Georgia	32
	Germany	19	Ukraine	20
	DK	24	DK	15
Germany	France	47	Iran	27
	U.S.	37	Iraq	21
	Britain	17	Russia	19
	DK	20	DK	23

Questions 38 and 39 series.
Multiple responses permitted.

Union), Germany and the U.S. And as was the case in 1991, Turkey is considered the leading threat.

On this question, Lithuanians and Ukrainians have very different perspectives on Russia. Roughly four-in-ten Lithuanians name Russia as one of their country's top threats (39%), while only 19% say this in Ukraine. Indeed, a majority of Ukrainians (58%) think of Russia as one of their nation's leading allies. More than one-in-four (27%) in Ukraine see the U.S. as one of their top threats. In Russia itself, neighboring Belarus is considered the top ally (34%), while most (57%) identify the U.S. as the greatest threat, followed by Georgia (32%).

As in the Times Mirror survey two decades ago, Germans name major NATO countries as their closest allies. Nearly half (47%) of Germans name France as one of their nation's most dependable allies, up slightly from 1991, when 41% said France. The U.S. comes in second at 37%, down from 46%. And 17% think of Britain as a dependable partner to Germany, compared with 26% in the earlier poll. Unlike the other European nations surveyed, Germans see their biggest threats in the Middle East – 27% name Iran and 21% mention Iraq. However, they do not solely look to the Middle East for threats – 19% say Russia could pose the greatest danger to Germany in the future.

9. Rating the EU and NATO

Many of the European Union member states surveyed believe that their country's membership in the institution is a good thing. Still, there is widespread concern that their national economies have been weakened as a result of the economic integration of Europe. Notably, attitudes toward the EU are most negative in Britain and Hungary.

Looking to the future, there is support among the EU member states surveyed to admit Iceland and Croatia into the organization in the next decade – but there is widespread opposition to Turkey's bid for membership.

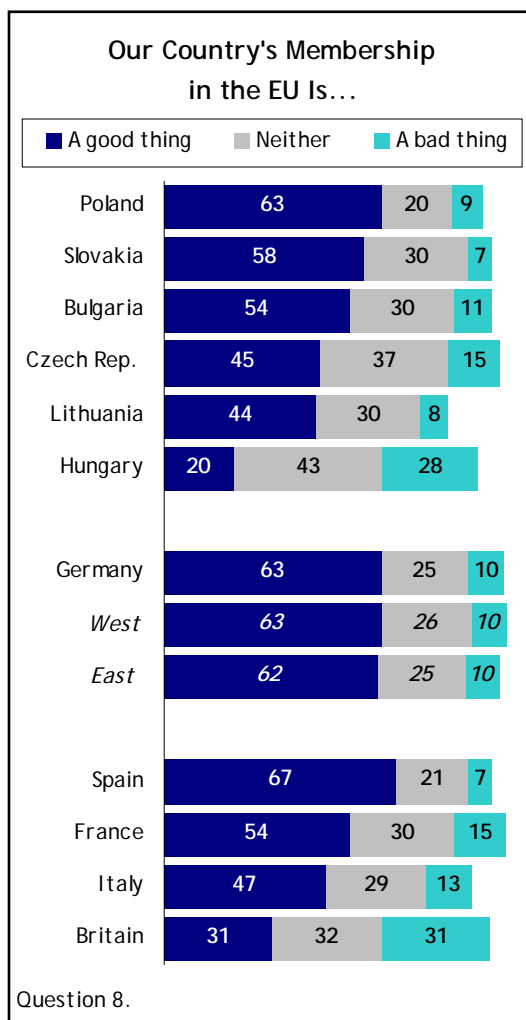
Similar to the EU, NATO receives positive marks among most of the countries surveyed – with the exception of Ukraine and Russia. And while more countries favor rather than oppose Ukraine joining NATO, a slim majority of Ukrainians oppose their own country's membership.

Membership in the European Union

Majorities or pluralities in nine of the 11 EU member states surveyed say that their country's membership in the organization is a good thing. In no country does a majority or plurality view membership in the EU as a bad thing. Many describe their country's membership as neither good nor bad.

In Eastern Europe, majorities in Poland (63%), Slovakia (58%) and Bulgaria (54%) all agree that their membership in the EU is a positive thing. Fewer in the Czech Republic (45%) and Lithuania (44%) agree. In Hungary, just 20% believe their country's membership in the EU is a good thing. A plurality (43%) of Hungarians believe that membership is neither good nor bad, but nearly three-in-ten (28%) consider it a bad thing.

Throughout the Eastern European member states, young people express more positive feelings than older people about their country's EU membership. For instance, in the Czech Republic, known for its Eurosceptic president Vaclav Klaus, those under the age of 30 are almost twice as likely as



those 65 and older to say that membership in the institution is a good thing (66% vs. 34%).

In Western Europe, majorities in Spain (67%), Germany (63%) and France (54%) and nearly half in Italy (47%) believe that their country’s membership is a good thing. Unlike their Western European counterparts, opinions in Britain are much more divided – 31% good, 31% bad, 32% neither.

Across all of the EU member states surveyed, the well-educated are more likely than those with less education to view their country’s membership in the organization positively. For example, more than six-in-ten in Italy (61%) with at least some college education believe that their country’s membership in the EU is a good thing, compared with 45% of those with no college education. This pattern is not limited to Western Europe. In Bulgaria 66% of those with some college education or more consider EU membership a positive thing, compared with 49% of those without a college education.

Economic Integration of Europe

In seven of the 11 EU member states surveyed, majorities or pluralities believe that their overall economy has been weakened as a result of the economic integration of Europe. In four nations, however, the balance of opinion is mostly positive.

Many EU member states in both Western and Eastern Europe express concern over the effects of economic integration, but anxiety is most common among the Hungarians and Bulgarians. Majorities in Hungary (71%) and Bulgaria (63%) say their economy has been weakened by the integration of Europe. Similarly, 55% in France believe their economy has been negatively affected by European economic integration.

Over the years, the British have grown more negative on this issue. In 1991, only 38% in Britain believed that their economy would be

Economy Strengthened or Weakened by the Economic Integration of Europe?				
	Strengthened	Weakened	(Vol) Neither	DK
	%	%	%	%
Poland	53	28	15	4
Slovakia	41	33	21	6
Czech Rep.	31	37	25	7
Lithuania	28	34	27	11
Bulgaria	14	63	16	7
Hungary	9	71	15	4
Germany	50	43	2	4
<i>West</i>	51	43	2	3
<i>East</i>	47	43	3	7
Spain	53	32	6	9
1991	53	18	7	22
France	43	55	1	*
1991	37	44	11	13
Italy	31	41	21	6
1991	43	32	15	10
Britain	29	54	5	12
1991	44	38	3	14

“In the long run, do you think that (survey country’s) overall economy has been strengthened or weakened by the economic integration of Europe?” (Q10)
 In 1991, the question asked “In the long run, do you think that (survey country’s) overall economy will be strengthened or weakened by the economic integration of Western Europe?”

weakened by the integration of Western Europe, compared with 54% today. Pluralities in Italy (41%), the Czech Republic (37%) and Lithuania (34%) also think that economic integration has weakened their national economies.

However, positive opinions of the economic union of Europe are more common among the Germans, Spanish and Poles. Half or more in Spain (53%), Poland (53%) and Germany (50%) view European integration as having strengthened their overall economies. In Slovakia, about four-in-ten (41%) agree that this process has been beneficial for their economy, while slightly fewer disagree (33%).

Regardless of overall opinion, throughout most Eastern European member states, young people are more likely to believe that their national economy has been strengthened through the integration of Europe.

EU Enlargement

Most people in the EU countries surveyed favor entry into the organization for Iceland and Croatia and to a lesser extent Ukraine and Serbia. At the same time, far fewer support EU membership for Georgia or Turkey.

Solid majorities across all of the member states included in the survey favor the accession of Iceland into the EU. In France and Germany, more than eight-in-ten (84%) support the inclusion of Iceland into the union. And with

the exception of Italy, majorities express support for the admission of Croatia in the next decade. Croatia is one of three candidate countries on track for membership.

Ukraine garners support for its possible accession into the EU from fellow Eastern European countries. More than six-in-ten in Lithuania (63%), Poland (62%) and Bulgaria (62%), as well as 53% in Slovakia favor admitting Ukraine. Only in Germany (58%) and Italy (51%) do majorities oppose Ukraine’s membership. Opposition is stronger in west Germany (61%) than east Germany (45%).

	% favoring admission into EU of...					
	Iceland	Croatia	Ukraine	Serbia	Georgia	Turkey
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Poland	69	70	62	49	48	46
Czech Rep.	75	79	47	47	42	42
Slovakia	63	81	53	53	48	42
Hungary	64	69	49	46	47	50
Bulgaria	64	64	62	63	49	33
Lithuania	71	52	63	40	51	38
Germany	84	66	39	42	32	29
<i>West</i>	84	66	36	41	31	29
<i>East</i>	87	68	50	46	36	31
Britain	68	51	47	39	40	48
France	84	67	55	54	53	33
Italy	55	43	33	26	39	23
Spain	69	58	52	51	47	46

Questions 46a through 46f.

Serbia, another potential candidate country, receives support for EU membership just across its border. More than six-in-ten in Bulgaria (63%) favor admitting their Balkan neighbor. Slim majorities in France (54%), Slovakia (53%) and Spain (51%) also support Serbia’s membership in the next 10 years. Italians and Germans are the strongest opponents of Serbia’s possible accession: 59% in Italy and 54% in Germany oppose letting Serbia join the EU.

When asked about the entry of Georgia into the EU, only in France (53%) and Lithuania (51%) do majorities favor admitting the country in the next decade. Nearly half in Bulgaria (49%), Poland (48%), Slovakia (48%), Spain (47%) and Hungary (47%) support accession for Georgia into the EU. Of the EU member states surveyed, Germans are the most likely to oppose membership for Georgia (61% oppose vs. 32% favor).

Turkey’s rocky formal membership negotiations with the EU are clearly reflected in these data. In none of the EU member states surveyed does a majority favor admitting Turkey into the EU in the next 10 years. Only in Hungary do half (50%) support a Turkey bid to gain full EU membership. Nearly half in Britain (48%), Spain (46%) and Poland (46%) favor the entry of the Muslim-majority country. However, opposition to Turkey’s accession into the EU is widespread throughout Germany (69% oppose), France (66%) and Italy (63%).

Views of NATO

Majorities in 12 of the 14 countries surveyed have a favorable opinion of NATO, while majorities in the two non-NATO countries surveyed – Russia (58%) and Ukraine (51%) – express an unfavorable view.

NATO is viewed in positive terms throughout the Eastern European nations included in the survey that are members of the alliance. Solid majorities in Poland (75%) and the Czech Republic (66%) – both of which joined NATO in 1999 during the first round of enlargement to include former communist countries – express favorable opinions of the organization. Nearly six-in-ten in Slovakia (59%), Lithuania (59%) and Hungary (57%) hold positive views of the organization. A narrow majority in Bulgaria (54%) say they have a favorable opinion. Notably, positive opinions of NATO among Czechs and Slovaks increased by six percentage points each since 2007.

Views of NATO			
	Favorable	Unfavorable	DK
	%	%	%
Poland	75	10	15
Czech Rep.	66	23	10
Lithuania	59	19	22
Slovakia	59	26	16
Hungary	57	19	24
Bulgaria	54	30	15
Ukraine	31	51	17
Russia	24	58	18
Germany	73	22	4
<i>West</i>	76	21	3
<i>East</i>	62	30	8
France	71	27	1
Italy	64	16	20
Britain	63	17	21
Spain	56	28	15
U.S.	53	24	23
Question 47.			

Favorable views of NATO are also common among Western Europeans. Over seven-in-ten (73%) in Germany feel favorably toward NATO, with respondents in west Germany expressing more favorable views than those in east Germany (76% vs. 62%). Elsewhere in Western Europe, views are positive of the Atlantic alliance in France (71%), Italy (64%), Britain (63%) and Spain (56%).

Currently, a slim majority in the U.S. (53%) hold a favorable view of NATO, while roughly one-quarter (24%) have an unfavorable view.

Given the longstanding tensions between NATO and Russia, it is not surprising that only about a quarter (24%) of Russians have a favorable opinion, compared with 58% who have an unfavorable opinion. Similarly, more in Ukraine express an unfavorable view rather than a favorable view (51% vs. 31%).

As with opinions of the EU, young people throughout much of Eastern Europe hold more favorable views of NATO than those who are older. For instance, in Slovakia more than six-in-ten (63%) of those under age 30 express a favorable view, compared with roughly four-in-ten (42%) of those 65 and older.

Should Ukraine Join NATO?

When respondents were asked whether Ukraine should join NATO in the next 10 years, majorities or pluralities in 10 of 14 countries favor admitting the former communist nation to the Atlantic alliance. Opposition to Ukraine’s admission into NATO is slightly more prevalent in the remaining four countries – including a slim majority of Ukrainians.

Similar to their support for Ukraine’s accession into the EU, majorities in Poland (64%), Lithuania (58%) and France (54%) favor Ukraine’s joining NATO in the next decade. On balance, there is support for Ukraine’s entry into NATO among Bulgarians (49%), Czechs (46%), the Spanish (46%), the British (44%), Slovaks (43%), and Hungarians (41%). In several of these nations, however, relatively large percentages do not offer an opinion. That includes 34% in Spain, 29% in Hungary and 28% in Bulgaria.

Favor or Oppose Ukraine Joining NATO?			
	Favor	Oppose	DK
	%	%	%
Poland	64	18	19
Lithuania	58	20	22
Bulgaria	49	23	28
Czech Rep.	46	37	16
Slovakia	43	34	23
Hungary	41	30	29
Ukraine	28	51	21
Russia	8	72	20
Germany	39	53	8
<i>West</i>	40	52	8
<i>East</i>	36	54	10
France	54	45	1
Spain	46	20	34
Britain	44	30	26
Italy	32	42	26
U.S.	46	22	32
Question 48.			

In Germany, 53% oppose Ukraine admission to NATO, while 39% support such a step. In Italy, more oppose Ukraine’s membership than support it (42% vs. 32%). About a quarter (26%) have no opinion.

Not surprisingly, the strongest opposition to Ukraine’s membership in the military alliance comes from Russians. More than seven-in-ten (72%) in Russia want to keep Ukraine out of NATO, and only 8% support that nation’s joining the alliance.

Among Ukrainians, a thin majority (51%) oppose their own country’s membership in the military organization. Just 28% are in favor. Respondents in Ukraine who identify their nationality as Russian are much more likely than those who identify as Ukrainian to oppose NATO membership (74% vs. 46%). Moreover, in terms of regional groupings, strong majorities in the east (72%) and the south (60%) – where the percentage of Russians tends to be higher than elsewhere in the country – oppose including Ukraine in NATO. Those under 30 in Ukraine are much less likely than those 30 and older to oppose the country’s gaining NATO membership.

Views in Ukraine: Join NATO?			
	Favor %	Oppose %	DK %
Total	28	51	21
Region			
Central	33	51	16
West	59	15	26
East	11	72	17
South	11	60	29
Nationality			
Ukrainian	33	46	21
Russian	6	74	19
Question 48.			

10. Rating Country Conditions and Leaders

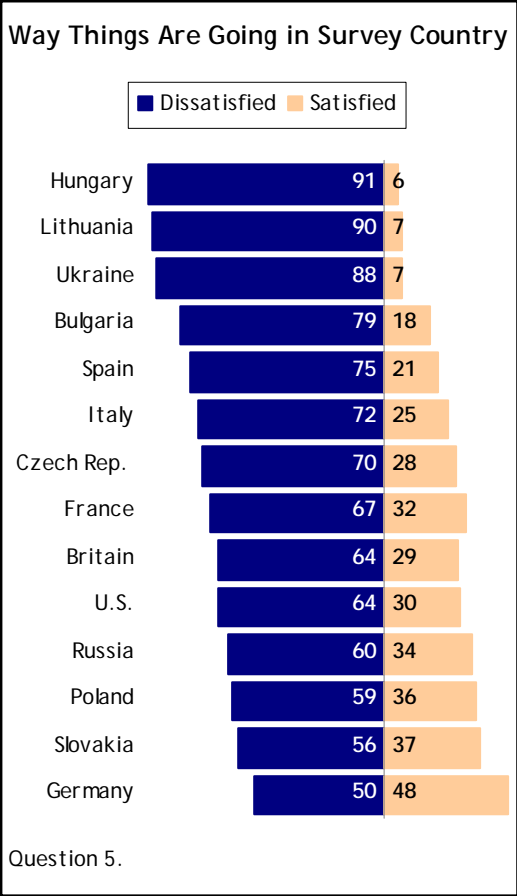
Most of the publics in the 14 nations included in the survey are dissatisfied – some by overwhelming margins – with the way things are going in their countries, and majorities in all see their economies as struggling. In most of the Eastern European and former Soviet countries surveyed, people see their nations plagued by corruption, crime and illegal drugs.

Despite some common perceptions about what they view as major national problems, the publics in the former Soviet bloc see their leaders in very different lights. For example, despite broad dissatisfaction with current conditions, 70% of Bulgarians say they approve of the performance of their new prime minister, Boiko Borisov, who took office in July. At the same time, 83% of Ukrainians disapprove of the job being done by their president, Viktor Yushchenko, the country’s leader during a time of economic trouble and continuing tensions with neighboring Russia.

Broad Dissatisfaction With National Conditions

Majorities in 13 of the 14 nations surveyed are dissatisfied with the way things are going in their countries. Dissatisfaction is pervasive among several Eastern European publics – Hungary (91%), Lithuania (90%), Ukraine (88%) and Bulgaria (79%). But it is also high in Western Europe, particularly in Spain (75%) and Italy (72%).

Two-thirds of those in France (67%), and 64% each in the United States and Britain also say they are dissatisfied, compared with 60% in Russia, 59% in Poland and 56% in Slovakia. Germany is the one country without a clear majority saying they are dissatisfied, though there is a gap between those in the former East Germany and those in the former West Germany. As a whole, 50% say they are dissatisfied, while 48% say they are satisfied. In the east, 56% say they are dissatisfied; 41% say they are satisfied. The west more closely reflects the nation as a whole: 49% on each side of the equation.



While the survey comes as many nations are grappling with the effects of the recent economic meltdown, the levels of satisfaction among former Eastern bloc nations, in most cases,

have changed little or even increased since 2007. For example, in Poland, 36% say they are satisfied with the way things are going there, up from 18% in 2007 and 9% in 2002. In Bulgaria, a relatively low 18% say they are satisfied, but that is up from 9% in 2007 and 4% in 2002.

In Germany, 48% say they are satisfied, compared with 33% that said the same in 2007 and 31% in 2002. In 2007, 35% of those in the west said they were satisfied with the country’s direction, compared with 23% in the east. In 2002, the gap was slightly wider: 35% of those in the west said they were satisfied, compared with 18% in the east.

Publics in other former communist nations show little or no change in recent years. In Ukraine, just 7% say they are satisfied with their country’s direction, compared with 9% in 2007 and 2002. In the Czech

Republic, 28% say they are satisfied, up slightly from 23% in 2007, but down from 36% in 2002.

In the current survey, Slovaks give their country one of the higher levels of satisfaction (37%). That is down from 46% in 2007, but up significantly from 11% in 2002. In Russia, 34% say they are satisfied, about the same as the 36% who said the same in 2007, but that is up from the 20% who said they were satisfied in 2002.

Among Western European nations, Spain shows a big drop in satisfaction, going from 51% in 2007 to 21% now, while the level in France increased from 22% in 2007 to 32%. The current level matches the 32% recorded in 2002. In Italy, 25% say they are satisfied, compared with 16% in 2007 and 24% in 2002. In the United States, 30% now say they are satisfied, compared with 25% in 2007 and 41% in 2002.

Troubled Economies

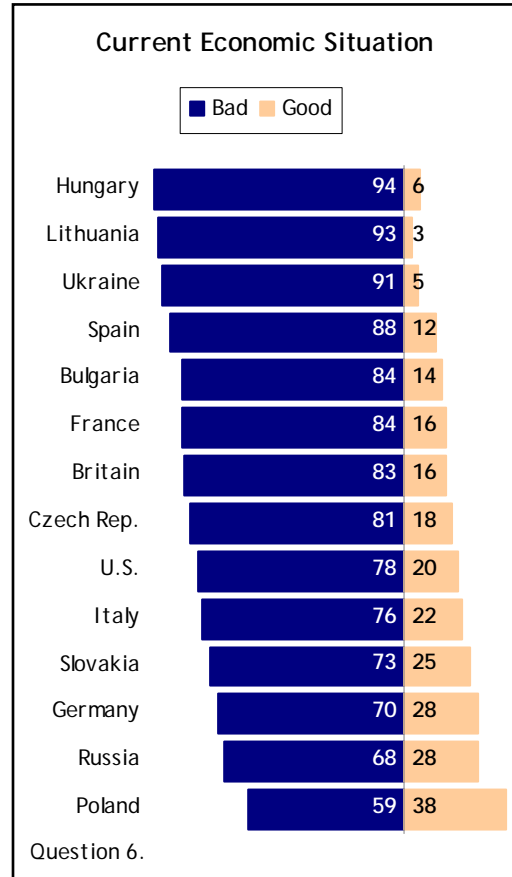
Majorities in all of the countries surveyed say the economic situation in their nation is bad. In several of the Eastern European and former Soviet nations, negative evaluations are nearly universal, including Hungary (94%), Lithuania (93%) and Ukraine (91%). Large majorities in the Western European countries also rate their economies as bad.

	% Satisfied							
	<u>2002</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2005</u>	<u>2006</u>	<u>2007</u>	<u>2008</u>	<u>2009</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Poland	9	--	--	13	--	18	42	36
Czech Rep.	36	--	--	--	--	23	--	28
Slovakia	11	--	--	--	--	46	--	37
Hungary	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	6
Bulgaria	4	--	--	--	--	9	--	18
Lithuania	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	7
Ukraine	9	--	--	--	--	9	--	7
Russia	20	27	26	23	32	36	54	34
Britain	32	46	38	44	35	30	30	29
France	32	44	32	28	20	22	29	32
Germany	31	25	20	25	29	33	34	48
Italy	24	29	--	--	--	16	--	25
Spain	--	45	--	51	50	51	50	21
U.S.	41	--	39	39	29	25	23	30

Question 5.

In those cases where there are trends, positive economic ratings have declined, in most instances significantly, since the spring of 2007, before the start of the current economic downturn. The one exception is Poland, where there has been no change compared with two years ago: 38% currently view the economic situation there positively, compared with 36% in 2007. That is up sharply from 7% rating the economy as good in 2002.

In several other countries where comparative data is available, the trends have been negative. In 2007, 19% of Ukrainians gave their country’s economy a positive evaluation; today, just 5% do so. There have been larger declines in positive views of the economies in the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Germany. In the Czech Republic, 18% describe the economy as good, down from 41% in 2007. In Slovakia, the percentage giving the economy a good rating dropped from 53% in 2007 to 25% this fall. In Germany, 63% gave the economy a positive rating in 2007; 28% do so today.



The 35-point decline in positive economic views in Germany is comparable to the 30-point drop in the United States; in 2007, 50% of Americans gave the economy a positive rating compared with just 20% today. In Britain, the decline has been even greater: from 69% in 2007 to 16% today, a decline of 53 points.

Corruption, Crime Viewed as Major Problems

Majorities in most of the Eastern European and former Soviet nations surveyed say that corrupt leaders are a very big problem in their country. The one exception is former East Germany, where 31% see such corruption as a very big problem for Germany. Large percentages in most of the nations also see crime and illegal drugs as very big problems within their borders.

In some nations, concerns about corruption have eased somewhat since 2002. Currently, 58% in Poland say they see corrupt leaders as a very big problem, compared with 70% who said the same in 2002. In Slovakia, there has been a drop from 79% in 2002 to 52%, while in Russia the percentage fell from 61% to 52%. And among those in what was East Germany, the percentage that says corrupt leaders are a very big problem is down 12 points from 43% in 2002.

Elsewhere, though, corruption concerns have grown. In Bulgaria, 76% now say corrupt leaders are a very big problem, up from 60% in 2002. The increases are smaller in Ukraine (63% to 70%) and the Czech Republic (65% to 71%). Though there are no trends for Lithuania and Hungary, large majorities in both (78% and 76%, respectively) say corrupt leaders are a very big problem in their country.

	Corrupt political leaders	Crime	Illegal drugs	Pollution	AIDS & disease	Emigration	Poor schools	Terrorism	Ethnic conflict	Immigration
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Bulgaria	76	76	74	62	34	51	42	31	16	9
Czech Rep.	71	55	51	36	36	21	22	24	32	25
Hungary	76	69	54	58	30	38	32	22	48	17
Lithuania	78	76	66	39	35	60	30	27	17	29
Poland	58	49	49	43	32	27	18	27	18	14
Russia	52	51	54	52	43	15	25	48	23	17
Slovakia	52	55	46	39	21	29	27	22	39	12
Ukraine	70	56	46	64	56	34	31	17	15	22
East Germany*	31	47	50	41	21	49	45	36	14	21

Questions 9a through 9j.
 Percent citing each as a “very big problem” in their country.
 * Asked in former East Germany about Germany as a whole.

Majorities in each of the nations except Poland also say that crime is a very big problem, with the highest percentages in Bulgaria (76%), Lithuania (76%) and Hungary (69%). The proportion saying crime is a very big problem is up significantly in Bulgaria from 60% in 2007. In 2002, 72% of Bulgarians said they saw crime as a serious problem.

Crime concerns have declined since 2002 in the other Eastern European nations where trend data is available. For example, 80% in Poland said they saw crime as a very big problem that year, compared with 49% today. In the Czech Republic, the percentage dropped from 66% in 2002 to 55%, similar to the drop in Ukraine (from 66% to 56%). Perceptions of crime as a very big problem in Russia have declined, going from 75% in 2002 to 51% this fall. In Slovakia, the percentage has fallen from 71% in 2002 to 55%. In the former East Germany, there has been no change since 2002, with 47% in each survey saying they think crime is a very big problem.

The publics in Bulgaria (74%) and Lithuania (66%) are most likely to say that illegal drugs are a very big problem, though close to half in each of the other countries surveyed agree. In Russia and the Czech Republic, there has been a 10-point decline since 2007 in the percentage saying drugs are a very big problem. Just over half of Russians (54%) and Czechs (51%) now say this is a very big problem for their country.

More than six-in-ten Ukrainians (64%) and Bulgarians (62%) say pollution is a very big problem for their country. Hungarians are not far behind at 58%. Views in Ukraine and Bulgaria are little changed from 2007, but, in the same time period, the percentage of Russians who say pollution is a very big problem has fallen from 61% to 52%, and the percentage of Slovaks expressing this view fell has declined 52% to 39%.

The spread of HIV/AIDS and other infectious diseases is less of a concern in most of the Eastern European nations, though almost six-in-ten (56%) in Ukraine say the spread of infectious diseases is a very big problem. Still, that is down from 66% in 2002. Concern in Russia has shown a larger decline, dropping from 63% in 2002 to 43%.

Among the nations in the survey, Lithuanians express the greatest concern about people leaving their country for jobs elsewhere, with six-in-ten (60%) saying that this is a very big problem. About half of Bulgarians (51%) agree, but the publics in the other nations generally see emigration as less of a problem.

A higher percentage of Russians voice concerns about terrorism than in the other nations; 48% say terrorism is a very big problem. But that is down from 65% in 2002. A large decline in recent years is also evident among Poles: 27% now see terrorism as a very big problem, compared with 45% in 2002. Among people in the former East Germany, the percentage that rank terrorism as a very big problem has dropped from 48% to 36%. But concerns over terrorism have increased in Bulgaria, where 31% now say terrorism is a very big problem, up 10 points from 2002.

More than four-in-ten Bulgarians (42%) and east Germans (45%) say the poor quality of schools is a very big problem in their country, higher than other nations in the survey and in both cases up from the percentage that cited school quality as a very big problem (23% and 38%, respectively) in 2002. Meanwhile, concerns about schools have dropped significantly since that time in the Czech Republic (41% then to 22%) and Slovakia (50% then to 27%).

Close to half of Hungarians (48%) say conflicts between ethnic and nationality groups are a very big problem in their country. Just to the north, about four-in-ten in Slovakia (39%) say conflicts between nationality groups are a very big problem in their country, possibly reflecting tensions over a new language law seen by the nation's ethnic Hungarians as discriminatory. Just 26% of Slovaks cited this as a very big problem in 2002; two-in-ten said it was a very big problem in mid-2007. In Russia, the percentage citing ethnic or nationality conflicts as a very big problem has dropped from 41% in 2002 to 28% in 2007 to 23% this year. In east Germany, that percentage has also dropped, from 32% in 2002 to 14% this year.

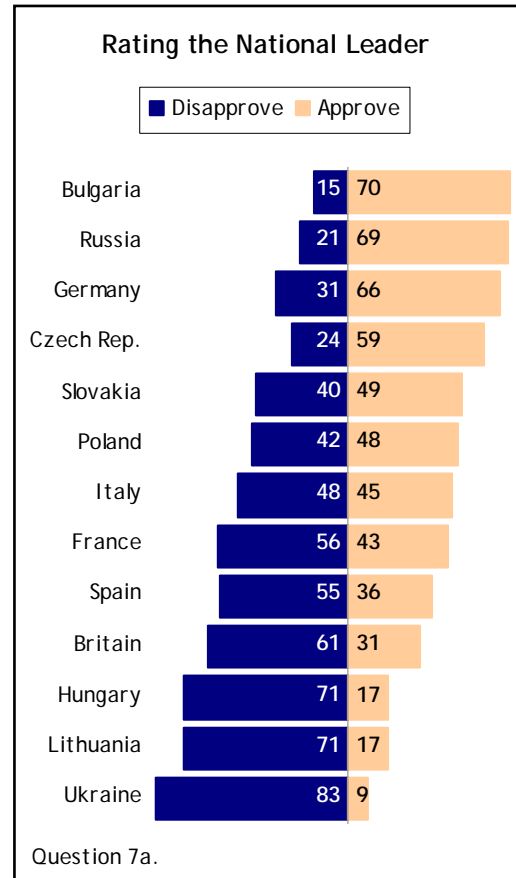
Relatively small percentages in each of the Eastern European and former Soviet nations rate immigration as a major problem. About three-in-ten (29%) Lithuanians say they see immigration as a very big problem in their country, the largest percentage in the survey. At the other end of the spectrum, just 9% of Bulgarians and 12% of Slovaks say immigration is a very big problem.

Mixed Ratings for National Leaders

Majorities in only four of the publics surveyed – Bulgaria, Russia, Germany and the Czech Republic – approve of the way their government’s leader is handling the job.

Approval ratings for the leaders in the Eastern European range from a high of 70% for new Bulgarian Prime Minister Boiko Borisov to just 9% for Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko. And with the exception of German Chancellor Angela Merkel (66%), all of the ratings for Western European leaders are more negative than positive.

About seven-in-ten Russians (69%) say they approve of the way the current head of state, President Dmitri Medvedev, is handling his job. Even more (78%) say they approve of the job being done by his predecessor and the current prime minister, Vladimir Putin.



Today’s Russian leaders get much higher approval ratings than their predecessors in 1991, during the final days of the Soviet Union. Until the end of that year, Mikhail Gorbachev was president of the Soviet Union, and Boris Yeltsin was president of the Russian Republic. At that time, just 22% of Russians approved of Gorbachev’s job performance, while 39% said they approved of the way Yeltsin was handling his job.

Today, only small percentages approve of the way Ukraine’s Yushchenko (9%) or Lithuanian Prime Minister Andrius Kubilius (17%) are handling their jobs. The numbers are down from 1991, when 36% approved of the job being done by Vitold Fokin, the prime minister of the Ukrainian Republic at the time, or Vytautas Landsbergis, who was the chairman of the Supreme Council of Lithuania.

At that time, Lithuanians and Ukrainians showed little support for Gorbachev (11% and 19% approval, respectively) in his role as president of the Soviet Union.

Meanwhile, Germans – both in the west and the east – rate Merkel’s performance more highly than they did Chancellor Helmut Kohl’s in 1991. Today, about two-thirds of Germans (66%) say they approve of the way Merkel is handling her job with little difference between the west (67%) and the east (65%). In 1991, about four-in-ten (41%) Germans approved of Kohl’s performance – 40% in the west and 44% in the east.

Approval ratings for the leaders of Britain, France and Spain are down from 1991. Currently, 31% approve of British Prime Minister Gordon Brown’s job performance, compared with 56% for John Major’s in 1991, 36% approve of Spain’s Prime Minister José Luis Rodriguez Zapatero; in 1991, 51% approved of Felipe González’s job performance; and French President Nicolas Sarkozy’s 43% approval rating is lower than François Mitterrand’s 51% rating in 1991.

	----- 1991-----		2009
	Pres. Gorb.	Pres. Yeltsin	Pres. Medvedev
	%	%	%
Russia	22	39	69
	Pres. Gorb.	Chairman Landsbergis	Prime Min. Kubilius
	%	%	%
Lithuania	11	56	17
	Pres. Gorb.	Prime Min. Fokin	Pres. Yushchenko
	%	%	%
Ukraine	19	36	9

Questions 7a, 7aa, 7ab and 7ac.
In 1991, Gorbachev was president of the Soviet Union, which included Russia, Lithuania and Ukraine.

	1991	2009	Change
% Approve	%	%	
Germany	41	66	+25
West	40	67	+27
East	44	65	+21
Italy	32	45	+13
Slovakia	43	49	+6
Poland	42	48	+6
Bulgaria	70	70	0
France	51	43	-8
Spain	51	36	-15
Hungary	34	17	-17
Czech Rep.	82	59	-23
Britain	56	31	-25

Questions 7a, 7aa, 7ab and 7ac.

11. Religiosity and the Role of Religion

Publics in most former communist countries generally express low levels of religious commitment. Majorities in the Czech Republic, Russia, Hungary, Bulgaria and the former East Germany say they seldom or never attend religious services, and few say religion is *very* important in their lives or that they pray at least once a day. Poles are the exception – 45% say they attend religious services weekly. About a third (32%) of Poles also pray at least once a day and about as many (33%) say religion is very important in their lives.

Religious commitment is similarly low among Western Europeans – only about a quarter in Germany, Italy and Spain, and somewhat fewer in Britain and France say religion is very important to them. By comparison, a majority of Americans say that religion is very important and that they pray at least once a day. Nearly four-in-ten (38%) say they attend religious services at least once a week.

Asked about the role of the church in the political life of their country, majorities in six of the eight Eastern European countries surveyed say the church’s influence is about right. In Poland, however, a majority say the church is playing too great a role in their country’s political life, while half in Bulgaria say religious institutions currently play too small a role.

Religious Commitment

Of the Eastern European publics surveyed, Poles express the highest levels of religious commitment. One-third of Poles say religion is very important in their lives, and about as many (32%) say they pray at least once a day.

Czechs are the least religious of the former communist publics surveyed. Fully 81% in the Czech Republic say religion is not too important (25%) or not at all important (56%) in their lives; just 7% describe religion as very important. Similarly, 82% say they seldom or never attend religious services, and 76% say they never pray.

Italians are among the most religious Western European publics – about a quarter (24%) considers religion to be very important. Three-in-ten say they pray

	Religion is very important	Pray once a day*	Attend services weekly*
	%	%	%
Poland	33	32	45
Russia	21	20	7
Ukraine	20	27	13
Slovakia	19	26	28
Lithuania	19	13	12
Hungary	15	17	10
Bulgaria	15	9	5
Czech Rep.	7	6	6
Germany	25	22	10
<i>West</i>	28	25	11
<i>East</i>	13	9	5
Italy	24	30	29
Spain	23	27	19
Britain	19	16	14
France	13	13	7
U.S.	55	55	38

Questions 57, 58 and 59.
* Or more often.

at least once a day and about as many (29%) attend religious services at least weekly. Among the French, the least religious of the Western publics surveyed, just 13% say religion is very important; 63% say it is not too important (27%) or not at all important (36%) in their lives. Six-in-ten in France seldom or rarely attend religious services, while 62% say they never pray.

Nearly three-in-ten (28%) in former West Germany say religion is very important in their lives, compared with just 13% in former East Germany. A quarter of west Germans say they pray at least once a day. In the east, 9% say they pray at least once a day, while two-thirds (66%) say they never pray.

Among the 14 countries surveyed, Americans place the most importance on religion and are the most likely to say they pray at least daily; 55% say religion is very important in their lives, and the same percentage say they pray daily. However, somewhat more Poles than Americans say they attend religious services, aside from weddings and funerals, at least once a week (45% vs. 38%).

Demographic Differences in Religious Commitment

In most countries surveyed, women are much more devout than men. For example, in Slovakia, 28% of women say that religion is very important in their lives, compared with 10% of men; in addition, more than twice as many women as men report that they pray daily (36% vs. 16%). The gender gap in church attendance is smaller but still significant – 34% of women say they attend religious services at least weekly, compared with 22% of men.

In Poland, 41% of women say religion is very important in their lives, compared with 24% of men. Similarly, more Polish women than men say that they attend religious services at least once a week (54% vs. 35%) and that they pray at least once a day (40% vs. 24%).

Older respondents also are generally more likely to say religion is very important to them and to say they pray and attend religious services often. Among Poles, 70% of those 65 and older say they attend weekly religious services, 64% say religion is very important to them and 57% report that they pray daily. By comparison, just 29% of Poles under 30 say they attend religious services every week, 16% consider religion to be very important and 15% say they pray at least once a day.

	Men	Women	Gap
% Very important	%	%	
Slovakia	10	28	+18
Poland	24	41	+17
Lithuania	11	25	+14
Hungary	9	21	+12
Ukraine	14	24	+10
Bulgaria	11	19	+8
Russia	17	24	+7
Czech Rep.	4	10	+6
Germany	22	28	+6
<i>West</i>	25	31	+6
<i>East</i>	11	14	+3
Italy	16	31	+15
Britain	14	24	+10
Spain	18	27	+9
France	12	15	+3
U.S.	48	61	+13
Question 58.			

Even in the Czech Republic, where respondents in all age groups express low levels of religious commitment, there are sizable age differences. Nearly four-in-ten (37%) of those 65 and older say religion is not at all important to them, compared with 67% of those under 30. And while most Czechs 65 and older (59%) say they never pray, 87% of those under 30 do not pray.

Urban-rural differences in religious commitment are not as pronounced. But in Eastern Europe, in particular, those who live in rural areas are considerably more religious than urban dwellers. This is especially the case in Poland. About four-in-ten Poles in rural areas say religion is very important to them (42%), compared with 28% in urban parts of the country.

And while 59% in rural areas report attending religious services at least once a week, just 36% of those in urban centers say the same.

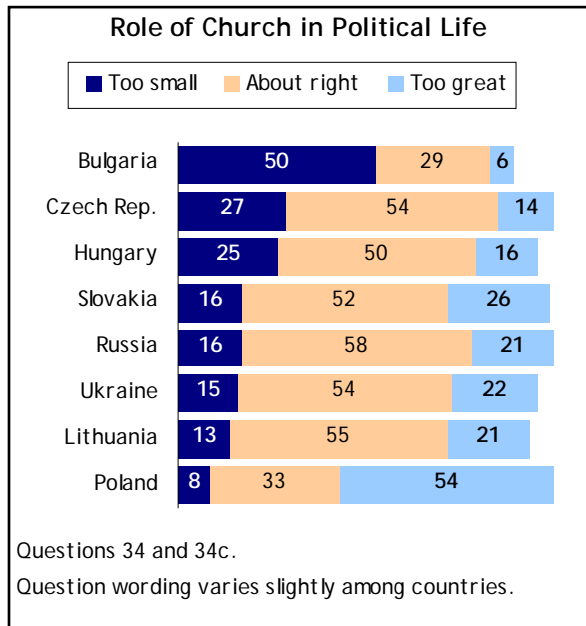
% Very important	18-29	30-49	50-64	65+	Oldest-Youngest Gap
	%	%	%	%	
Poland	16	27	39	64	+48
Lithuania	8	11	15	48	+40
Hungary	6	11	11	37	+31
Russia	15	20	17	40	+25
Slovakia	12	18	19	36	+24
Bulgaria	9	12	13	28	+19
Czech Rep.	3	6	6	16	+13
Ukraine	17	18	18	29	+12
Germany	19	18	23	41	+22
West	22	20	25	46	+24
East	11	10	11	19	+8
Spain	18	17	24	44	+26
Italy	13	19	25	38	+25
Britain	14	18	15	31	+17
France	15	11	10	19	+4
U.S.	40	57	57	67	+27

Question 58.

Religion and Political Life

Publics in six of the eight former Iron Curtain countries surveyed are satisfied with the extent to which religious institutions play a role in their country’s political life. Majorities in Russia (58%), Lithuania (55%), the Czech Republic (54%), Ukraine (54%) and Slovakia (52%) say churches play about the right role in their country’s politics, as do half of Hungarians.

In Bulgaria, however, half say that churches play too small a role in the political life of their country, while 29% say it is about right. This view is shared across demographic groups, although those who have attended college are more likely than those who have not to say that churches play too small a role in Bulgarian politics (59% vs. 47%).



By contrast, in Poland, where the Catholic Church's influence is evident in the country's strict anti-abortion laws and in its acceptance of religious teaching in public schools, 54% say churches play too great a role in Poland's political life, while 33% say they play about the right role. In 1991, more Poles (70%) said churches played too great a role in political life.

Survey Methods Overview

The current survey was conducted Aug. 27 to Sept. 24, 2009 among 14,760 respondents in Britain, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Lithuania, Poland, Russia, Slovakia, Spain, Ukraine and the United States. In each country, interviews were conducted in local languages with representative samples of the adult population (for details see Methods in Detail below).

The survey reexamines many key questions included in the “Pulse of Europe” survey, conducted April 15 to May 31, 1991, by the Times Mirror Center for the People & the Press (the forerunner of the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press). For that survey, interviews were conducted in local languages with 12,569 people in Britain, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Poland and Spain, as well as three republics of the Soviet Union: Lithuania, Russia and Ukraine. All samples were nationally representative, with the exception of Russia, which did not include respondents living east of the Ural Mountains.

Even though in 1991 Czechoslovakia was a single country, for the purposes of this report, we show the 1991 results for geographic areas that correspond to the present-day Czech Republic and Slovakia.

In 1991, Germany was a reunited country, but throughout the report we show the 1991 and 2009 results for geographic areas that correspond to the former East Germany and former West Germany.

For all questions included in both the 1991 and 2009 surveys, efforts were made to ensure that the 2009 study used the same translation that was used in 1991.

The following pages present the details on the methodologies for both the 1991 and 2009 surveys, including information on sample design, survey mode, the languages in which the interviews were conducted, fieldwork dates, sample sizes, and the margins of error.

Methodological Appendix
(August-September 2009 Pew Global Attitudes Survey)

<u>Country</u>	<u>Sample size</u>	<u>Margin of error (pct. points)</u>	<u>Field dates</u>	<u>Mode</u>	<u>Sample design</u>
U.S.	1,006	±4.0	Sept. 10 – Sept. 15	Telephone	National
Britain	1,000	±3.5	Sept. 1 – Sept. 11	Telephone	National
Bulgaria	1,000	±4.0	Aug. 27 – Sept. 19	Face-to-face	National
Czech Rep.	1,145	±3.5	Aug. 30 – Sept. 14	Face-to-face	National
France	1,002	±3.5	Sept. 8 – Sept. 15	Telephone	National
Germany	1,600	±4.0	Aug. 31 – Sept. 19	Telephone	National (east Germany oversample)
Hungary	1,000	±5.0	Aug. 31 – Sept. 13	Face-to-face	National
Italy	1,005	±4.5	Sept. 10 – Sept. 22	Face-to-face	National
Lithuania	1,000	±4.0	Sept. 3 – Sept. 19	Face-to-face	National
Poland	1,000	±4.0	Sept. 1 – Sept. 15	Face-to-face	National
Russia	1,000	±4.0	Aug. 28 – Sept. 24	Face-to-face	National
Slovakia	1,001	±4.0	Sept. 2 – Sept. 17	Face-to-face	National
Spain	1,001	±3.5	Aug. 31 – Sept. 16	Telephone	National
Ukraine	1,000	±4.0	Sept. 2 – Sept. 19	Face-to-face	National

Note: For more comprehensive information on the methodology of this study, see the “Methods in Detail” section.

Methods in Detail: August-September 2009 Pew Global Attitudes Survey

About the Survey

Results for the survey are based on telephone and face-to-face interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International. All surveys are based on national samples.

The descriptions below show the margin of sampling error based on all interviews conducted in that country. For results based on the full sample in a given country, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus the margin of error. In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

Country: **Britain**
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Telephone adults 18 plus
Languages: English
Fieldwork dates: Sept. 1 – Sept. 11, 2009
Sample size: 1,000
Margin of error: ± 3.5 percentage points
Representative: Telephone households (including cell phone only households)

Country: **Bulgaria**
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Bulgarian
Fieldwork dates: Aug. 27 – Sept. 19, 2009
Sample size: 1,000
Margin of error: ± 4.0 percentage points
Representative: Adult population

Country: **Czech Republic**
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Czech
Fieldwork dates: Aug. 30 – Sept. 14, 2009
Sample size: 1,145
Margin of error: ± 3.5 percentage points
Representative: Adult population

Country: **France**
Sample design: Quota
Mode: Telephone adults 18 plus
Languages: French
Fieldwork dates: Sept. 8 – Sept. 15, 2009
Sample size: 1,002
Margin of error: ± 3.5 percentage points
Representative: Telephone households (including cell phone only households)

Country: **Germany**
Sample design: Probability (east Germany oversample)
Mode: Telephone adults 18 plus
Languages: German
Fieldwork dates: Aug. 31 – Sept. 19, 2009 400 in west Germany and 400 in east Germany were re-contacted and asked questions Q2, Q3 and Q4. The 400 re-contacted respondents in the east were asked Q9a through Q9j (Oct. 2-7, 2009)
Sample size: 1,600
Margin of error: ±4.0 percentage points, ±4.5 percentage points in the west and the east
Representative: Telephone households (excluding cell phone only households – less than 5%)

Country: **Hungary**
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Hungarian
Fieldwork dates: Aug. 31 – Sept. 13, 2009
Sample size: 1,000
Margin of error: ±5.0 percentage points
Representative: Adult population

Country: **Italy**
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Italian
Fieldwork dates: Sept. 10 – Sept. 22, 2009
Sample size: 1,005
Margin of error: ±4.5 percentage points
Representative: Adult population

Country: **Lithuania**
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Lithuanian
Fieldwork dates: Sept. 3 – Sept. 19, 2009
Sample size: 1,000
Margin of error: ±4.0 percentage points
Representative: Adult population

Country: **Poland**
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Polish
Fieldwork dates: Sept. 1 – Sept. 15, 2009
Sample size: 1,000
Margin of error: ±4.0 percentage points
Representative: Adult population

Country: **Russia**
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Russian
Fieldwork dates: Aug. 28 – Sept. 24, 2009
Sample size: 1,000
Margin of error: ±4.0 percentage points
Representative: Adult population

Country: **Slovakia**
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Slovak
Fieldwork dates: Sept. 2 – Sept. 17, 2009
Sample size: 1,001
Margin of error: ±4.0 percentage points
Representative: Adult population

Country: **Spain**
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Telephone adults 18 plus
Languages: Spanish
Fieldwork dates: Aug. 31 – Sept. 16, 2009
Sample size: 1,001
Margin of error: ±3.5 percentage points
Representative: Telephone households (including cell phone only households)

Country: **Ukraine**
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Russian, Ukrainian
Fieldwork dates: Sept. 2 – Sept. 10, 2009
Sample size: 1,000
Margin of error: ±4.0 percentage points
Representative: Adult population

Country: **United States**
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Telephone adults 18 plus
Languages: English
Fieldwork dates: Sept. 10 – Sept. 15, 2009
Sample size: 1,006
Margin of error: ±4.0 percentage points
Representative: Telephone household in continental U.S. (including cell phone only households)

Methods in Detail: Spring 1991 Times Mirror Center Pulse of Europe Survey

About the Survey

Results for the survey are based on face-to-face interviews. The descriptions below show the margin of sampling error based on all interviews conducted in that country. For results based on the full sample in a given country, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus the margin of error. In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

Country: **Britain**
Sample design: Quota
Mode: Face-to-Face adults 16 plus
Languages: English
Fieldwork dates: May 2 – May 13, 1991
Sample size: 1,107 (Form A = 549, Form B = 558)
Margin of error: ± 4.0 percentage points total sample, ± 5.5 percentage points each form
Representative: Adult population

Country: **Bulgaria**
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Bulgarian
Fieldwork dates: May 8 – May 16, 1991
Sample size: 1,267
Margin of error: ± 4.0 percentage points
Representative: Adult population

Country: **Czechoslovakia**
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Czech
Fieldwork dates: May 10 – May 31, 1991
Sample size: 920 (Czech Republic = 638, Slovak Republic = 282)
Margin of error: ± 4.0 percentage points total sample, ± 5.0 percentage points in the Czech Republic, ± 7.0 percentage points in the Slovak Republic
Representative: Adult population (of Czechoslovakia)

Country: **France**
Sample design: Quota
Mode: Face-to-Face adults 18 plus
Languages: French
Fieldwork dates: April 22 – May 4, 1991
Sample size: 1,035 (Form A = 518, Form B = 517)
Margin of error: ± 4.0 percentage points total sample, ± 5.5 percentage points each form
Representative: Adult population

Country: **Germany**
Sample design: Probability (east Germany oversample)
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: German
Fieldwork dates: April 22 – May 31, 1991
Sample size: 1,480 (West = 760, East = 720)
Margin of error: ± 3.0 percentage points total sample, ± 4.0 percentage points in the west and the east
Representative: Adult population

Country: **Hungary**
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Hungarian
Fieldwork dates: May 10 – May 16, 1991
Sample size: 1,000
Margin of error: ± 4.0 percentage points
Representative: Adult population

Country: **Italy**
Sample design: Quota
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Italian
Fieldwork dates: April 30 – May 8, 1991
Sample size: 1,051 (Form A = 536, Form B = 515)
Margin of error: ± 4.0 percentage points total sample, ± 5.5 percentage points each form
Representative: Adult population

Country: **Lithuania**
Sample design: Probability; oversamples of Russians (68) and Poles (87)
Mode: Face-to-face adults 16 plus
Languages: Lithuanian, Russian
Fieldwork dates: April 26 – May 23, 1991
Sample size: 501
Margin of error: ± 6.0 percentage points
Representative: Adult population

Country: **Poland**
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Polish
Fieldwork dates: May 10 – May 20, 1991
Sample size: 1,496
Margin of error: ± 3.0 percentage points
Representative: Adult population

Country: **Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic**
Sample design: Probability; oversamples in Moscow (378) and Leningrad (215)
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Russian
Fieldwork dates: April 15 – May 5, 1991
Sample size: 1,123
Margin of error: ± 4.0 percentage points
Representative: Adult population in the European part of the Russian Republic

Country: **Spain**
Sample design: Quota
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Spanish
Fieldwork dates: April 25 – May 26, 1991
Sample size: 1,003 (Form A = 503, Form B = 500)
Margin of error: ± 4.0 percentage points total sample, ± 5.5 percentage points each form
Representative: Adult population

Country: **Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic**
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Russian, Ukrainian
Fieldwork dates: April 15 – May 5, 1991
Sample size: 586
Margin of error: ± 5.0 percentage points
Representative: Adult population

Pew Global Attitudes Project
August - September 2009 Survey
Topline Results

Countries included in the survey:

Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Lithuania, Ukraine, Russia, Britain,
France, Germany, Italy, Spain and the United States.

Methodological notes:

- Data based on national samples.
- Due to rounding, percentages may not total 100%. The topline “total” columns always show 100%, however, because they are based on unrounded numbers.
- The 2007, 2008, and 2009 Global Attitudes surveys use a different process to generate toplines than previous Global Attitudes surveys. As a result, numbers may differ slightly from previously published numbers.
- In the 1991 Pulse of Europe survey in Britain, France, Italy and Spain, the questionnaire was split into two forms, each of which was administered to approximately one-half of the sample. The following questions were asked of Form A respondents: Q10, Q22Roma, Q22NAfricans, Q36, Q40a, Q40d, Q40g, and Q40j. Form B respondents received these questions: Q40b, Q40e, and Q40h.
- Questions held for future release: Q1, Q49, Q50a, Q50b, and Q50c.

			Q2 Here is a ladder representing the ladder of life. Let's suppose the top of the ladder represents the best possible life for you; and the bottom, the worst possible. On which step of the ladder do you feel you personally stand at the present time? ¹				
			High (7-10)	Medium (4-6)	Low (0-3)	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Fall, 2009 --	Total	59	34	7	0	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	65	30	4	1	100
	May, 2005	Total	59	33	7	2	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	65	29	5	2	100
	January, 1989	Total	53	40	7	0	100
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	47	47	6	0	100
		West	48	47	6	0	100
		East	43	48	9	0	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	48	42	10	0	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	49	44	7	1	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	44	43	9	3	100
		West	52	39	6	3	100
		East	15	60	21	4	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	44	49	7	0	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	39	50	10	1	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	28	54	14	5	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	12	49	37	2	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	49	44	6	0	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	42	51	7	0	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	41	53	6	0	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	23	58	18	1	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	43	46	9	1	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	36	57	6	0	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	29	56	15	0	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	13	65	21	2	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	15	52	32	0	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	8	59	33	0	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	15	54	30	1	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	17	53	30	0	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	8	45	45	2	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	4	47	47	2	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	35	43	19	3	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	13	62	24	1	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	26	51	22	1	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	32	49	17	2	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	18	53	29	0	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	8	43	48	2	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	35	50	13	1	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	23	54	21	2	100
	May, 2005	Total	16	52	31	1	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	18	53	28	1	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	7	45	46	2	100

1. In the U.S. and Germany, the question read "Imagine a ladder with steps numbered from 0 at the bottom to 10 at the top. Suppose the top of the ladder represents the best possible life for you; and the bottom, the worst possible life for you. On which step of the ladder do you feel you personally stand at the present time? You can name any number between 0 and 10."

			Q3 On which step would you say you stood five years ago? ²				Total
			High (7-10)	Medium (4-6)	Low (0-3)	DK/Refused	
United States	Fall, 2009 --	Total	51	34	13	2	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	47	38	13	2	100
	May, 2005	Total	46	40	13	2	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	45	38	14	2	100
	January, 1989	Total	42	44	14	1	100
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	47	41	12	0	100
		West	49	40	11	0	100
		East	40	47	13	1	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	51	38	11	1	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	41	44	14	2	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	36	47	13	4	100
		West	39	45	12	4	100
		East	25	52	19	4	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	43	48	9	1	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	36	49	14	1	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	31	54	11	5	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	24	48	25	3	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	46	46	7	1	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	37	49	14	0	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	34	53	12	1	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	26	54	18	1	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	42	49	7	1	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	35	48	16	1	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	41	46	13	0	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	45	44	9	3	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	31	54	13	1	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	26	55	18	1	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	21	54	23	2	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	24	48	28	0	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	19	51	28	2	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	19	53	25	2	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	53	36	8	4	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	22	49	27	2	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	35	47	16	2	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	25	46	25	3	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	29	44	27	0	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	26	48	21	4	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	34	49	15	3	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	22	49	27	3	100
	May, 2005	Total	18	46	34	2	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	24	45	29	2	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	22	47	28	3	100

2. In the U.S. and Germany, the question read “And on which step would you say you stood five years ago? Zero is the worst possible life and 10 the best possible life.”

			PERSONAL PROGRESS: Rating of current situation relative to five years ago (difference between Q2 and Q3).				
			Made progress	Stayed the same	Lost ground	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Fall, 2009 --	Total	42	27	29	2	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	50	27	21	2	100
	May, 2005	Total	47	26	25	2	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	51	25	21	3	100
	January, 1989	Total	48	26	26	1	100
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	36	34	30	0	100
		West	36	33	31	0	100
		East	34	39	26	1	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	38	23	38	1	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	40	34	25	2	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	42	33	20	5	100
		West	44	34	17	5	100
		East	33	28	33	5	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	36	33	30	1	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	39	31	29	1	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	28	31	35	6	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	27	17	52	3	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	39	30	30	1	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	42	29	28	0	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	41	32	27	1	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	36	21	41	2	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	31	33	34	2	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	45	25	29	1	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	32	24	43	1	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	16	18	64	3	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	15	23	60	1	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	18	24	57	1	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	19	42	37	2	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	23	38	39	0	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	12	31	55	3	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	16	22	60	2	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	24	18	54	4	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	38	17	42	2	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	26	26	47	2	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	45	23	28	4	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	34	22	44	0	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	16	16	64	4	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	38	28	32	3	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	38	29	29	3	100
	May, 2005	Total	38	29	31	2	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	36	26	37	2	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	21	18	57	4	100

			Q4 Just as your best guess, on which step do you think you will stand in the future, say about five years from now? ³				
			High (7-10)	Medium (4-6)	Low (0-3)	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Fall, 2009 --	Total	73	14	7	6	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	78	10	4	8	100
	May, 2005	Total	70	12	7	10	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	79	8	4	8	100
	January, 1989	Total	70	18	7	5	100
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	52	33	11	3	100
		West	53	34	11	2	100
		East	47	31	14	9	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	52	24	13	11	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	53	25	10	13	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	59	24	6	11	100
		West	62	22	4	11	100
		East	46	32	10	12	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	48	33	8	12	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	52	30	9	9	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	36	31	16	17	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	23	26	28	23	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	51	30	9	10	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	46	30	15	8	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	44	34	11	10	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	38	32	13	17	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	49	29	7	15	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	54	28	10	8	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	44	28	18	10	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	15	37	26	22	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	23	35	27	16	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	16	30	34	20	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	27	35	21	17	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	34	28	22	16	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	19	26	32	22	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	21	38	35	6	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	40	25	11	24	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	37	27	14	21	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	35	22	14	29	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	43	21	15	20	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	42	23	27	8	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	22	32	30	16	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	45	28	8	18	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	43	26	15	16	100
	May, 2005	Total	34	26	24	16	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	36	26	18	21	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	19	28	33	20	100

3. In the U.S. and Germany, the question read “Just your best guess, on which step do you think you will stand in the future, say five years from now? Zero is the worst possible life and 10 is the best possible life.”

			PERSONAL OPTIMISM: Rating of current situation relative to five years from now (difference between Q2 and Q4).				
			Optimistic	No change	Pessimistic	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Fall, 2009 --	Total	55	24	14	6	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	55	28	9	8	100
	May, 2005	Total	48	29	12	11	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	61	23	7	9	100
	January, 1989	Total	55	25	15	5	100
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	34	36	27	3	100
		West	35	35	28	2	100
		East	28	39	24	9	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	40	29	20	11	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	35	34	19	13	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	46	30	12	12	100
		West	42	34	12	12	100
		East	62	16	8	14	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	38	30	20	12	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	49	25	16	9	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	36	28	19	17	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	36	17	24	23	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	36	30	25	10	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	32	32	28	8	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	34	30	25	10	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	46	16	21	17	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	40	31	14	15	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	51	24	17	8	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	45	21	23	10	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	30	13	35	22	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	34	24	26	16	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	26	20	34	20	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	39	29	15	17	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	43	25	15	16	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	35	22	21	23	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	53	19	23	6	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	40	17	18	24	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	51	13	15	21	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	41	18	12	29	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	49	16	15	21	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	50	25	17	8	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	45	14	25	16	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	44	25	13	18	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	48	24	11	17	100
	May, 2005	Total	45	22	16	17	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	43	23	13	21	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	39	16	24	20	100

			Q5 Overall, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in our country today?			
			Satisfied	Dissatisfied	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Fall, 2009 --	Total	30	64	7	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	36	61	3	100
	Spring, 2008	Total	23	70	6	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	25	71	4	100
	Spring, 2006	Total	29	65	6	100
	May, 2005	Total	39	57	5	100
	March, 2004	Total	39	55	6	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	41	55	4	100
Britain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	29	64	7	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	21	76	4	100
	Spring, 2008	Total	30	65	5	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	30	66	4	100
	Spring, 2006	Total	35	58	6	100
	May, 2005	Total	44	51	5	100
	March, 2004	Total	38	58	4	100
	May, 2003	Total	46	49	5	100
	March, 2003	Total	30	63	6	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	32	64	4	100
France	Fall, 2009 --	Total	32	67	0	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	27	73	0	100
	Spring, 2008	Total	29	71	0	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	22	78	0	100
	Spring, 2006	Total	20	80	0	100
	May, 2005	Total	28	71	0	100
	March, 2004	Total	32	68	0	100
	May, 2003	Total	44	56	0	100
	March, 2003	Total	31	67	2	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	32	67	1	100
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	48	50	2	100
		West	49	49	2	100
		East	41	56	3	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	43	54	3	100
	Spring, 2008	Total	34	63	3	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	33	66	2	100
	Spring, 2006	Total	29	67	5	100
	May, 2005	Total	25	73	2	100
	March, 2004	Total	20	78	2	100
	May, 2003	Total	25	73	2	100
	March, 2003	Total	18	79	3	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	31	66	3	100
Italy	Fall, 2009 --	Total	25	72	4	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	16	79	4	100
	May, 2003	Total	29	67	3	100
	March, 2003	Total	20	74	7	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	24	70	6	100
Spain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	21	75	3	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	21	77	2	100

			Q5 Overall, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in our country today?			
			Satisfied	Dissatisfied	DK/Refused	Total
Spain	Spring, 2008	Total	50	43	7	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	51	45	4	100
	Spring, 2006	Total	50	46	4	100
	May, 2005	Total	51	44	5	100
	May, 2003	Total	45	52	3	100
	March, 2003	Total	41	47	12	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	36	59	5	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	20	67	12	100
	Spring, 2008	Total	42	47	11	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	18	74	8	100
	May, 2005	Total	13	82	5	100
	March, 2003	Total	7	89	4	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	9	87	4	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	28	70	1	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	23	74	2	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	36	60	4	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	37	56	7	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	46	49	5	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	11	87	2	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	6	91	3	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	18	79	4	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	9	88	3	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	4	91	4	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	7	90	3	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	7	88	4	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	9	88	3	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	9	89	3	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	34	60	6	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	27	65	9	100
	Spring, 2008	Total	54	43	4	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	36	56	9	100
	Spring, 2006	Total	32	62	7	100
	May, 2005	Total	23	71	6	100
	March, 2004	Total	26	69	5	100
	May, 2003	Total	27	64	9	100
	March, 2003	Total	35	58	6	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	20	71	9	100

			Q6 Now thinking about our economic situation, how would you describe the current economic situation in (survey country) – is it very good, somewhat good, somewhat bad or very bad?					Total
			Very good	Somewhat good	Somewhat bad	Very bad	DK/Refused	
United States	Fall, 2009 --	Total	1	19	44	34	2	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	2	15	42	41	1	100
	Spring, 2008	Total	2	18	41	36	3	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	9	41	32	16	3	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	4	42	39	13	2	100
Britain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	2	14	45	38	2	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	1	10	38	49	2	100
	Spring, 2008	Total	2	28	47	20	2	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	13	56	20	8	3	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	8	57	24	8	4	100
France	Fall, 2009 --	Total	1	15	60	24	0	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	0	14	58	27	0	100
	Spring, 2008	Total	0	19	61	20	0	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	1	29	53	17	0	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	1	44	47	6	2	100
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	1	27	58	12	1	100
		West	1	27	57	13	1	100
		East	2	26	60	10	2	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	1	27	54	16	2	100
	Spring, 2008	Total	4	49	39	7	1	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	8	55	25	11	1	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	1	26	55	16	1	100
	Italy	Fall, 2009 --	Total	3	19	48	28	2
Spring, 2007		Total	1	24	56	14	5	100
Summer, 2002		Total	0	36	51	11	2	100
Spain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	1	11	43	45	1	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	1	12	38	47	2	100
	Spring, 2008	Total	1	34	43	19	3	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	9	56	29	5	1	100

			Q6 Now thinking about our economic situation, how would you describe the current economic situation in (survey country) – is it very good, somewhat good, somewhat bad or very bad?					Total
			Very good	Somewhat good	Somewhat bad	Very bad	DK/Refused	
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	2	36	47	12	3	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	2	27	50	15	6	100
	Spring, 2008	Total	3	49	36	6	6	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	0	36	48	13	3	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	0	7	40	51	2	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	1	17	49	32	0	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	4	37	43	15	1	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	1	39	48	11	1	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	2	23	53	20	2	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	2	51	38	7	1	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	0	7	53	39	0	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	1	5	44	50	1	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	0	14	40	44	2	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	0	19	40	37	4	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	0	8	29	62	1	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	0	3	50	43	2	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	2	3	32	59	3	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	3	16	46	29	6	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	0	10	41	47	1	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	3	25	50	18	4	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	2	18	55	21	5	100
	Spring, 2008	Total	5	47	37	6	4	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	3	35	45	11	6	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	0	13	57	26	4	100

			Q7a Do you strongly approve, approve, disapprove or strongly disapprove of the way _____ is handling her/his job as President/Prime Minister/Chancellor.....? ⁴					
			Strongly approve	Approve	Disapprove	Strongly disapprove	DK/Refused	Total
Britain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	3	28	37	24	8	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	7	49	22	8	15	100
France	Fall, 2009 --	Total	10	33	27	29	1	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	9	42	24	11	13	100
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	11	55	22	9	3	100
		West	12	55	22	9	3	100
		East	9	56	23	8	4	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	7	34	33	19	7	100
		West	7	33	33	20	7	100
		East	7	37	32	16	7	100
Italy	Fall, 2009 --	Total	8	37	26	22	8	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	5	27	25	27	16	100
Spain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	7	29	25	30	9	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	16	35	22	13	14	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	5	43	32	10	10	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	6	36	30	15	12	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	13	46	19	5	16	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	39	43	11	4	3	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	7	42	29	11	12	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	9	34	32	18	7	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	1	16	41	30	12	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	2	32	37	13	16	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	16	54	12	3	14	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	11	59	16	3	11	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	2	15	43	28	12	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	2	9	55	30	3	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	2	7	42	41	9	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	1	18	52	22	6	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	12	57	17	4	10	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	3	19	43	26	9	100

4. In 2009, in Britain we asked of Gordon Brown, Prime Minister; in France Nicolas Sarkozy, President; in Germany Angela Merkel, Chancellor; in Italy Silvio Berlusconi, Prime Minister; in Spain Jose Luis Rodriguez Zapatero, Prime Minister; in Poland Donald Tusk, Prime Minister; in the Czech Republic Jan Fischer, Prime Minister; in Slovakia Robert Fico, Prime Minister; in Hungary Gordon Bajnai, Prime Minister; in Bulgaria Boiko Borisov, Prime Minister; in Lithuania Andrius Kubilius, Prime Minister; in Ukraine Viktor Yushchenko, President; and in Russia Dmitri Medvedev, President.

In 1991, in Britain we asked of John Major, Prime Minister; in France Francois Mitterrand, President; in Germany Helmut Kohl, Chancellor; in Italy Giulio Andreotti, Prime Minister; in Spain Felipe Gonzalez, Prime Minister; in Poland Lech Walesa, President; in Czechoslovakia Vaclav Havel, President; in Hungary Jozef Antall, Prime Minister; in Bulgaria Dimitar Popov, Prime Minister; in Lithuania, Ukraine and in Russia Mikhail Gorbachev, President of the Soviet Union.

In 1991, a second question was asked in Lithuania of Vytautas Landsbergis, Chairman of the Supreme Council; in Ukraine Vitold Fokin, Prime Minister; and in Russia Boris Yeltsin, President.

			Q7aa Do you strongly approve, approve, disapprove or strongly disapprove of the way Boris Yeltsin is handling his job as President of the Russian Republic?					
			Strongly approve	Approve	Disapprove	Strongly disapprove	DK/Refused	Total
Russia	Spring, 1991	Total	6	33	32	15	14	100

			Q7ab Do you strongly approve, approve, disapprove or strongly disapprove of the way V. Fokin is handling his job as Prime Minister of the Ukrainian Republic?					
			Strongly approve	Approve	Disapprove	Strongly disapprove	DK/Refused	Total
Ukraine	Spring, 1991	Total	2	34	24	7	33	100

			Q7ac Do you strongly approve, approve, disapprove or strongly disapprove of the way V. Landsbergis is handling his duties as the Chairman of the Supreme Council of Lithuania?					
			Strongly approve	Approve	Disapprove	Strongly disapprove	DK/Refused	Total
Lithuania	Spring, 1991	Total	12	44	31	7	6	100

			Q7b Do you strongly approve, approve, disapprove or strongly disapprove of the way Vladimir Putin is handling his job as Prime Minister?					
			Strongly approve	Approve	Disapprove	Strongly disapprove	DK/Refused	Total
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	22	56	13	3	6	100

			Q8 Generally speaking, do you think our country's membership of the European Union is a good thing, a bad thing, or neither good nor bad?					
			Good thing	Bad thing	Neither	Both (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total
Britain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	31	31	32	2	4	100
France	Fall, 2009 --	Total	54	15	30	0	0	100
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	63	10	25	0	1	100
		West	63	10	26	0	1	100
		East	62	10	25	0	2	100
Italy	Fall, 2009 --	Total	47	13	29	4	6	100
Spain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	67	7	21	1	4	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	63	9	20	5	3	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	45	15	37	2	1	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	58	7	30	3	2	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	20	28	43	5	4	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	54	11	30	2	3	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	44	8	30	13	5	100

			Q9a Now I am going to read you a list of things that may be problems in our country. Please tell me if you think it is a very big problem, a moderately big problem, a small problem or not a problem at all: a. crime ⁵					
			Very big problem	Moderately big problem	Small problem	Not a problem at all	DK/Refused	Total
East Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	47	44	9	0	1	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	47	43	9	0	1	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	49	40	9	1	1	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	50	46	3	0	0	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	80	18	1	0	1	100
Czech Rep	Fall, 2009 --	Total	55	38	6	1	0	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	58	36	5	0	1	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	66	30	3	0	0	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	55	38	6	1	0	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	49	42	6	2	0	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	71	26	2	1	0	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	69	27	3	0	0	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	76	21	1	0	1	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	60	36	2	1	1	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	72	26	1	0	1	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	76	22	1	0	1	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	56	37	4	2	0	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	45	43	9	0	1	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	66	29	4	0	0	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	51	41	6	1	1	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	64	31	4	0	0	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	75	23	2	0	0	100

5. Asked of 400 respondents in East Germany in 2009.

			Q9b Now I am going to read you a list of things that may be problems in our country. Please tell me if you think it is a very big problem, a moderately big problem, a small problem or not a problem at all: b. conflict between (ethnic/nationality) groups ⁶					
			Very big problem	Moderately big problem	Small problem	Not a problem at all	DK/Refused	Total
East Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	14	47	30	8	1	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	32	40	19	7	2	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	18	29	34	15	4	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	15	36	34	11	4	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	19	32	32	10	8	100
Czech Rep	Fall, 2009 --	Total	32	44	19	4	1	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	22	42	29	6	1	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	26	42	25	5	1	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	39	35	16	8	2	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	20	41	29	9	1	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	26	37	27	9	1	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	48	34	14	5	0	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	16	20	32	28	4	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	8	20	44	25	4	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	10	15	42	26	7	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	17	26	33	19	5	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	15	22	34	19	10	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	18	27	36	14	5	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	24	26	31	18	1	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	23	44	23	6	3	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	28	41	24	4	3	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	41	39	13	2	5	100

6. In Bulgaria and Ukraine, the question asked about conflict between ethnic groups. In the Czech Republic, Lithuania, Poland and Slovakia, the question asked about conflict between nationality groups. In Hungary and Russia, the question asked about conflict between ethnic and nationality groups. In East Germany, the question asked about conflict between religious and nationality groups.

Asked of 400 respondents in East Germany in 2009.

			Q9c Now I am going to read you a list of things that may be problems in our country. Please tell me if you think it is a very big problem, a moderately big problem, a small problem or not a problem at all: c. corrupt political leaders ⁷					
			Very big problem	Moderately big problem	Small problem	Not a problem at all	DK/Refused	Total
East Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	31	41	21	3	3	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	43	41	11	3	2	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	58	29	8	1	3	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	61	29	6	1	3	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	70	24	1	0	4	100
Czech Rep	Fall, 2009 --	Total	71	24	3	0	1	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	78	17	4	1	1	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	65	26	5	2	2	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	52	37	8	1	2	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	66	25	5	1	2	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	79	17	2	1	1	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	76	20	3	1	1	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	76	18	2	1	3	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	64	26	3	0	6	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	60	28	3	1	8	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	78	18	2	0	2	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	70	23	2	1	4	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	63	27	5	2	2	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	63	28	6	1	2	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	52	33	8	3	5	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	53	29	11	1	5	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	61	27	6	1	6	100

7. Asked of 400 respondents in East Germany in 2009.

			Q9d Now I am going to read you a list of things that may be problems in our country. Please tell me if you think it is a very big problem, a moderately big problem, a small problem or not a problem at all: d. terrorism ⁸					
			Very big problem	Moderately big problem	Small problem	Not a problem at all	DK/Refused	Total
East Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	36	46	14	3	0	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	48	38	10	4	0	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	27	27	30	13	3	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	35	30	22	10	3	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	45	25	19	8	4	100
Czech Rep	Fall, 2009 --	Total	24	27	32	16	1	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	16	26	40	16	2	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	31	27	31	10	1	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	22	26	30	19	3	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	17	17	42	23	2	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	28	24	30	17	1	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	22	19	42	16	2	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	31	21	24	16	8	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	24	18	31	21	7	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	21	19	27	20	14	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	27	23	26	21	4	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	17	22	28	25	9	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	23	22	26	26	3	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	33	23	19	23	2	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	48	36	11	3	2	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	48	36	13	2	1	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	65	27	6	1	0	100

8. Asked of 400 respondents in East Germany in 2009.

			Q9e Now I am going to read you things that may be problems in our country Please tell me if you think it is a very big problem, a moderately big problem, a small problem or not a problem at all: e. the spread of HIV/AIDS and other infectious diseases ⁹					
			Very big problem	Moderately big problem	Small problem	Not a problem at all	DK/Refused	Total
East Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	21	54	20	3	2	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	39	37	23	1	1	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	32	38	23	3	3	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	39	39	16	2	4	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	37	44	16	1	2	100
Czech Rep	Fall, 2009 --	Total	36	38	23	2	2	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	30	40	24	3	3	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	38	37	20	3	1	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	21	34	32	9	4	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	24	29	39	5	3	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	28	36	31	4	1	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	30	28	34	6	3	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	34	36	18	4	8	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	34	38	19	0	8	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	30	38	20	3	8	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	35	38	17	3	7	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	56	34	5	2	5	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	58	34	3	1	2	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	66	25	6	2	1	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	43	39	11	3	4	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	55	33	8	1	2	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	63	29	6	1	2	100

9. Asked of 400 respondents in East Germany in 2009.

			Q9f Now I am going to read you a list of things that may be problems in our country. Please tell me if you think it is a very big problem, a moderately big problem, a small problem or not a problem at all: f. poor quality schools ¹⁰					
			Very big problem	Moderately big problem	Small problem	Not a problem at all	DK/Refused	Total
East Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	45	37	12	3	2	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	38	39	12	6	4	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	18	37	28	11	7	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	19	30	38	8	6	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	14	37	30	10	9	100
Czech Rep	Fall, 2009 --	Total	22	35	27	12	3	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	26	38	23	9	3	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	41	42	11	3	2	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	27	39	22	8	4	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	28	43	20	6	2	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	50	35	8	4	3	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	32	31	23	9	5	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	42	35	13	2	8	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	29	44	15	2	10	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	23	37	17	6	18	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	30	40	17	8	6	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	31	34	18	8	9	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	31	38	18	8	4	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	33	38	20	5	3	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	25	38	21	7	9	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	30	31	24	9	6	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	29	33	21	11	6	100

10. Asked of 400 respondents in East Germany in 2009.

			Q9g Now I am going to read you a list of things that may be problems in our country. Please tell me if you think it is a very big problem, a moderately big problem, a small problem or not a problem at all: g. immigration ¹¹					
			Very big problem	Moderately big problem	Small problem	Not a problem at all	DK/Refused	Total
East Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	21	44	22	11	1	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	30	43	13	13	0	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	14	29	39	15	4	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	13	31	37	14	4	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	12	29	38	12	8	100
Czech Rep	Fall, 2009 --	Total	25	37	30	7	1	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	21	35	33	11	1	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	29	36	25	9	1	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	12	25	41	18	4	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	11	30	41	16	2	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	14	33	36	15	2	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	17	21	39	19	4	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	9	15	34	36	7	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	6	14	32	33	15	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	5	20	32	26	17	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	29	33	27	7	5	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	22	30	22	12	12	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	17	25	31	19	8	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	19	26	30	20	6	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	17	31	30	13	9	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	20	26	32	12	9	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	14	26	32	17	11	100

11. Asked of 400 respondents in East Germany in 2009.

			Q9h Now I am going to read you things that may be problems in our country. Please tell me if you think it is a very big problem, a moderately big problem, a small problem or not a problem at all: h. people leaving our country for jobs in other countries ¹²					
			Very big problem	Moderately big problem	Small problem	Not a problem at all	DK/Refused	Total
East Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	49	35	11	5	0	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	62	24	7	6	1	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	27	41	20	10	2	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	45	33	15	7	1	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	21	31	24	18	5	100
Czech Rep	Fall, 2009 --	Total	21	30	28	20	2	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	21	26	27	26	0	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	15	25	27	30	2	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	29	29	27	14	1	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	38	30	16	15	1	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	41	31	13	14	1	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	38	30	20	10	1	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	51	29	10	8	2	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	39	33	14	7	8	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	58	29	6	3	4	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	60	27	7	4	2	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	34	36	14	11	5	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	24	30	24	17	6	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	39	29	16	16	2	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	15	24	29	22	9	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	19	24	32	18	7	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	12	21	34	26	7	100

12. Asked of 400 respondents in East Germany in 2009.

			Q9i Now I am going to read you a list of things that may be problems in our country. Please tell me if you think it is a very big problem, a moderately big problem, a small problem or not a problem at all: i. illegal drugs ¹³					
			Very big problem	Moderately big problem	Small problem	Not a problem at all	DK/Refused	Total
East Germany	Fall, 2009 –	Total	50	32	12	2	4	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 –	Total	49	33	13	2	2	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	49	42	7	1	1	100
Czech Rep	Fall, 2009 –	Total	51	33	13	1	2	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	61	27	8	2	1	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 –	Total	46	35	13	4	2	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	51	38	8	2	1	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 –	Total	54	28	14	2	2	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 –	Total	74	21	2	0	3	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	71	20	3	0	6	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 –	Total	66	25	4	1	4	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 –	Total	46	37	8	2	9	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	45	36	11	3	6	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 –	Total	54	34	6	3	3	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	64	25	6	1	3	100

13. Asked of 400 respondents in East Germany in 2009.

			Q9j Now I am going to read you a list of things that may be problems in our country. Please tell me if you think it is a very big problem, a moderately big problem, a small problem or not a problem at all: j. pollution ¹⁴					
			Very big problem	Moderately big problem	Small problem	Not a problem at all	DK/Refused	Total
East Germany	Fall, 2009 –	Total	41	47	11	1	0	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 –	Total	43	41	13	1	2	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	44	41	12	1	2	100
Czech Rep	Fall, 2009 –	Total	36	46	15	2	0	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	40	44	14	1	0	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 –	Total	39	39	16	5	1	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	52	38	8	1	1	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 –	Total	58	32	8	2	1	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 –	Total	62	30	5	1	2	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	60	31	6	0	4	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 –	Total	39	41	15	2	3	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 –	Total	64	29	5	1	0	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	67	29	2	1	2	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 –	Total	52	37	8	2	1	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	61	31	7	1	1	100

14. Asked of 400 respondents in East Germany in 2009.

			Q10 In the long run, do you think that (survey country's) overall economy has been strengthened or weakened by the economic integration of Europe? ¹⁵				Total
			Strengthened	Weakened	Neither (VOL)	DK/Refused	
Britain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	29	54	5	12	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	44	38	3	14	100
France	Fall, 2009 --	Total	43	55	1	0	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	31	44	11	13	100
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	50	43	2	4	100
		West	51	43	2	3	100
		East	47	43	3	7	100
Italy	Fall, 2009 --	Total	31	41	21	6	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	43	32	15	10	100
Spain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	53	32	6	9	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	53	18	7	22	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	53	28	15	4	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	31	37	25	7	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	41	33	21	6	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	9	71	15	4	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	14	63	16	7	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	28	34	27	11	100

15. In 1991, the question asked "In the long run, do you think that (survey country's) overall economy will be strengthened or weakened by the economic integration of Western Europe?"

			Q11 Overall, what is your opinion of the German reunification of 1990? Do you have a very positive, somewhat positive, somewhat negative, or very negative opinion of the reunification?					Total
			Very positive	Somewhat positive	Somewhat negative	Very negative	DK/Refused	
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	28	49	16	3	3	100
		West	28	49	17	3	3	100
		East	31	50	13	3	3	100

			Q11 TREND FOR COMPARISON Overall, do you strongly approve, approve, disapprove or strongly disapprove of the unification of Germany					Total
			Strongly approve	Approve	Disapprove	Strongly disapprove	DK/Refused	
Germany	Spring, 1991	Total	32	49	12	1	5	100
		West	29	50	14	1	6	100
		East	45	44	7	1	2	100

		Q12 Starting in late 1989, we changed from a country where there was just one party to a country with a multiparty system. Overall, do you strongly approve, approve, disapprove or strongly disapprove of this change in (survey country)? ¹⁶					
		Strongly approve	Approve	Disapprove	Strongly disapprove	DK/Refused	Total
East Germany	Fall, 2009 --	34	51	9	1	5	100
	Spring, 1991	52	39	4	1	5	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	25	45	12	4	13	100
	Spring, 1991	23	43	13	6	16	100
Czech Rep	Fall, 2009 --	34	46	12	4	4	100
	Spring, 1991	41	39	9	5	6	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	22	49	18	5	6	100
	Spring, 1991	28	42	19	4	6	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	14	42	22	13	10	100
	Spring, 1991	18	56	15	4	7	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	12	40	32	8	7	100
	Spring, 1991	27	49	14	2	9	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	11	44	20	5	20	100
	Spring, 1991	30	45	12	5	9	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	9	21	38	17	15	100
	Spring, 1991	21	51	14	3	10	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	12	41	27	8	12	100
	Spring, 1991	21	40	19	7	13	100

16. In East Germany question read “Starting in late 1989, East Germany moved from having one-party rule to a multiparty system. Overall, do you strongly approve, approve, disapprove or strongly disapprove of this change in East Germany?” In 1991, the question asked “I’d like your opinion about a number of changes that have occurred with the unification. Overall, do you strongly approve, approve, disapprove or strongly disapprove of the change from a one party system to a multiparty democracy?”

In Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, and Bulgaria in 1991, the question asked “Overall, do you strongly approve, approve, disapprove or strongly disapprove of the change in (survey country) to a multiparty system?”

In Lithuania, Russia, and Ukraine question read “After the dissolution of the Soviet Union...” In 1991, the question asked “Overall, do you strongly approve, approve, disapprove or strongly disapprove of efforts to establish a multiparty system in our country?”

		Q13 Again thinking back to 1989/1991, do you strongly approve, approve, disapprove or strongly disapprove that our country moved from having a state controlled economy to having a market economy? ¹⁷					Total
		Strongly approve	Approve	Disapprove	Strongly disapprove	DK/Refused	
East Germany	Fall, 2009 --	34	48	11	1	6	100
	Spring, 1991	36	50	8	1	5	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	26	45	11	4	13	100
	Spring, 1991	25	55	7	4	9	100
Czech Rep	Fall, 2009 --	28	51	12	3	5	100
	Spring, 1991	42	45	4	3	6	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	18	48	20	4	10	100
	Spring, 1991	19	50	11	3	17	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	9	37	27	15	13	100
	Spring, 1991	22	58	9	1	10	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	10	43	31	8	8	100
	Spring, 1991	23	50	13	2	12	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	9	41	23	5	22	100
	Spring, 1991	26	50	8	2	13	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	11	25	33	14	17	100
	Spring, 1991	12	40	26	8	13	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	10	40	32	9	10	100
	Spring, 1991	15	39	24	9	13	100

17. In East Germany question read, “Again thinking back to 1989, do you strongly approve, approve, disapprove or strongly disapprove that East Germany moved from having a state controlled economy to having a market economy?” In 1991, the question asked “I’d like your opinion about a number of changes that have occurred with the unification. Overall, do you strongly approve, approve, disapprove or strongly disapprove of the change to a free market economy?”

In Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, and Bulgaria question read “Again thinking back to 1989...” In 1991, the question asked “Overall, do you strongly approve, approve, disapprove or strongly disapprove of efforts to establish a free market economy in...?”

In Lithuania, Russia, and Ukraine question read “Again thinking back to 1991...” In 1991, the question asked “Overall, do you strongly approve, approve, disapprove or strongly disapprove of efforts to establish a free market economy in...?”

			Q14 Thinking back to 1990, do you feel that Germany was unified too quickly or do you feel that it was important that Germany be unified as quickly as possible? ¹⁸			
			Unified too quickly	Important to unify quickly	DK/Refused	Total
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	45	52	4	100
		West	44	52	4	100
		East	46	50	4	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	49	42	9	100
		West	48	42	9	100
		East	54	40	6	100

18. Introduction “Thinking back to 1990” added in 2009.

			Q15 Since unification, do you think east Germany has achieved the same standard of living as those in west Germany?			
			Yes	No	DK/Refused	Total
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	28	68	4	100
		West	33	63	4	100
		East	12	86	2	100

			Q16 In some ways do you feel that East Germany was overwhelmed and taken over by West Germany in the process of unification? ¹⁹			
			Yes	No	DK/Refused	Total
Germany	Fall, 2009--	Total	44	53	3	100
		West	38	59	3	100
		East	67	32	1	100
	Spring, 1991	East	71	22	7	100

19. In 1991, the question was asked only in East Germany.

			Q18 Overall would you say that your life is better off as a result of unification, worse off as a result of unification, or haven't you been affected? ²⁰					
			Better off	Worse off	Not affected	DK/Refused	Total	N
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	22	19	57	2	100	1410
		West	13	20	67	1	100	697
		East	63	16	17	3	100	713
	Spring, 1991	Total	15	21	61	4	100	1480
		West	6	20	70	4	100	760
		East	48	23	26	3	100	720

20. In 2009, the question was asked only of those 29 and older. In 1991, the question was asked of all German adults.

			Q19 Would you say that the economic situation for most (survey country's people) today is better, worse, or about the same as it was under communism? ²¹				
			Better	Worse	About the same	DK/Refused	Total
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	47	35	12	6	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	45	39	12	3	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	29	48	18	5	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	8	72	16	5	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	13	62	18	7	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	23	48	15	14	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	12	62	13	12	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	33	45	15	7	100

21. In Lithuania the question read "Would you say that the economic situation for most Lithuanians today is better, worse, or about the same as it was prior to 1989 when we were under communist rule?"

			Q20a How much have _____ benefited from the changes since 1989/1991 - a great deal, a fair amount, not too much, or not at all? a. Ordinary people ²²					
			Great deal	Fair amount	Not too much	Not at all	DK/Refused	Total
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	9	33	36	19	2	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	11	42	33	13	1	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	3	18	48	29	2	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	4	13	36	44	3	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	1	10	22	67	1	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	1	9	20	65	5	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	3	18	22	54	3	100

22. In Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia the question asked about changes since 1989. In Russia and Ukraine the question asked about changes since 1991. Due to an administrative error, results for Lithuania are not shown.

			Q20b How much have _____ benefited from the changes since 1989/1991 - a great deal, a fair amount, not too much, or not at all? b. People who own businesses ²³					
			Great deal	Fair amount	Not too much	Not at all	DK/Refused	Total
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	38	47	8	1	7	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	38	48	10	2	3	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	29	52	14	2	3	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	18	45	23	9	5	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	27	55	12	3	3	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	46	36	10	3	6	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	49	36	7	4	4	100

23. In Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia the question asked about changes since 1989. In Russia and Ukraine the question asked about changes since 1991. Due to an administrative error, results for Lithuania are not shown.

			Q20c How much have _____ benefited from the changes since 1989/1991 - a great deal, a fair amount, not too much, or not at all? c. Politicians ²⁴					
			Great deal	Fair amount	Not too much	Not at all	DK/Refused	Total
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	74	18	4	0	4	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	72	22	4	1	2	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	68	29	2	0	1	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	70	19	4	3	4	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	86	8	2	1	2	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	76	16	2	1	6	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	61	25	4	3	7	100

24. In Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia the question asked about changes since 1989. In Russia and Ukraine the question asked about changes since 1991. Due to an administrative error, results for Lithuania are not shown.

			Q21a And what about the following countries or organizations, how would you rate the kind of influence they are having on the way things are going in (survey country): a. Russia ²⁵							
			Very good influence	Mostly good influence	Mostly bad influence	Very bad influence	Neither good or bad (VOL)	Both good and bad (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total
Britain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	2	20	32	6	13	1	27	100
France	Fall, 2009 --	Total	1	35	50	7	3	0	2	100
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	2	38	41	5	3	2	8	100
		West	2	38	42	6	3	2	6	100
		East	2	39	37	2	39	37	3	5
	Spring, 1991	Total	9	46	16	3	11	10	5	100
		West	8	47	15	3	12	9	4	100
East		11	41	17	3	9	10	9	100	
Italy	Fall, 2009 --	Total	3	22	26	8	25	2	13	100
Spain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	0	21	20	7	19	0	33	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	2	16	44	15	13	4	7	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	1	8	41	17	19	4	10	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	2	22	33	11	20	6	6	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	3	10	27	23	15	15	7	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	4	30	29	5	18	4	9	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	3	21	23	10	17	17	9	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	3	12	33	9	11	19	14	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	2	17	42	14	7	7	11	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	9	36	12	5	19	5	14	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	13	34	22	9	7	5	11	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	4	18	31	8	20	9	11	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	18	28	13	12	11	9	9	100

25. In 1991, the question asked about the Soviet Union.

			Q21b And what about the following countries or organizations, how would you rate the kind of influence they are having on the way things are going in (survey country): b. Germany							
			Very good influence	Mostly good influence	Mostly bad influence	Very bad influence	Neither good or bad (VOL)	Both good and bad (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total
Britain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	5	46	17	4	8	0	20	100
France	Fall, 2009 --	Total	16	70	11	3	0	0	0	100
Italy	Fall, 2009 --	Total	4	42	16	5	19	1	11	100
Spain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	7	56	7	2	8	0	21	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	6	46	18	3	15	5	7	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	2	39	25	7	10	7	10	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	8	47	15	3	18	4	4	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	8	45	8	3	11	17	8	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	7	49	12	1	17	4	10	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	5	51	8	2	13	14	7	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	8	42	9	2	14	11	15	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	17	61	4	0	2	4	10	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	12	39	6	2	20	3	18	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	17	53	4	0	4	3	20	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	4	41	5	1	27	5	17	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	4	42	9	2	19	2	22	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	7	33	6	3	25	5	22	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	9	51	4	0	6	13	16	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	8	41	10	5	17	5	14	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	9	43	6	2	7	9	23	100

			Q21c And what about the following countries or organizations, how would you rate the kind of influence they are having on the way things are going in (survey country): c. The United States							
			Very good influence	Mostly good influence	Mostly bad influence	Very bad influence	Neither good or bad (VOL)	Both good and bad (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total
Britain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	8	39	31	11	3	1	8	100
France	Fall, 2009 --	Total	6	44	35	14	1	0	0	100
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	7	46	36	6	1	1	2	100
		West	7	47	36	6	1	1	1	100
		East	6	43	37	7	0	2	4	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	12	52	12	4	6	9	6	100
		West	13	53	11	5	7	9	4	100
East		9	47	16	2	3	9	14	100	
Italy	Fall, 2009 --	Total	11	44	17	6	11	3	9	100
Spain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	4	47	17	7	10	0	14	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	8	44	19	3	13	7	6	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	15	62	5	1	5	5	7	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	8	39	23	9	11	7	4	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	15	50	4	2	7	11	10	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	5	30	29	8	14	6	8	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	12	51	4	0	11	15	6	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	5	28	16	7	13	16	16	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	18	57	4	1	4	3	14	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	8	28	16	9	17	6	17	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	21	45	7	1	2	3	19	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	4	35	15	3	19	7	16	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	11	51	7	1	11	4	15	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	6	18	19	18	17	10	12	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	11	49	6	1	6	13	15	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	2	13	35	27	6	7	9	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	8	41	6	3	6	14	22	100

			Q21d And what about the following countries or organizations, how would you rate the kind of influence they are having on the way things are going in (survey country): d. China							
			Very good influence	Mostly good influence	Mostly bad influence	Very bad influence	Neither good or bad (VOL)	Both good and bad (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	2	18	19	5	27	6	23	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	0	10	6	4	32	1	47	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	5	17	12	10	29	8	19	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	2	32	6	1	21	12	27	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	4	33	20	9	12	9	13	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	3	31	4	1	17	9	34	100

			Q21e And what about the following countries or organizations, how would you rate the kind of influence they are having on the way things are going in (survey country): e. The European Union							
			Very good influence	Mostly good influence	Mostly bad influence	Very bad influence	Neither good or bad (VOL)	Both good and bad (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total
Britain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	6	41	27	11	5	1	9	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	10	43	27	13	8	0	0	100
France	Fall, 2009 --	Total	7	57	27	8	1	0	0	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	16	63	15	5	1	0	0	100
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	13	60	20	3	1	1	3	100
		West	13	60	20	3	0	1	3	100
		East	13	61	18	2	1	2	3	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	14	58	20	4	4	0	0	100
Italy	Fall, 2009 --	Total	13	46	16	4	12	3	7	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	20	52	16	4	7	1	0	100
Spain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	12	63	6	2	7	0	9	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	23	54	6	1	8	4	3	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	6	42	26	6	20	0	0	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	15	50	13	3	10	6	2	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	10	52	28	5	4	1	0	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	21	53	6	2	9	4	5	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	13	65	14	3	4	1	0	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	6	30	15	7	8	24	11	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	20	43	8	3	11	5	10	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	15	48	12	2	23	1	0	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	15	47	6	2	12	7	11	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	8	32	10	5	21	7	18	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	17	46	12	7	18	0	0	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	6	31	16	9	12	7	19	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	4	41	13	6	35	1	0	100

			Q22Jews I'd like you to rate some different groups of people in (survey country) according to how you feel about them. Please tell me whether your opinion is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable or very unfavorable: Jews						
			Very favorable	Mostly favorable	Mostly unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total	
Britain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	24	57	4	2	13	100	
France	Fall, 2009 --	Total	21	66	7	3	3	100	
	Spring, 1991	Total	14	58	11	3	14	100	
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	20	58	7	2	14	100	
		West	19	58	7	2	13	100	
		East	22	57	6	1	14	100	
	Spring, 1991	Total	6	47	18	6	24	100	
		West	6	45	20	7	23	100	
		East	4	55	10	2	29	100	
Italy	Fall, 2009 --	Total	6	46	21	8	19	100	
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	6	41	23	6	23	100	
	Spring, 1991	Total	2	38	26	8	26	100	
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	15	56	12	3	14	100	
	Spring, 1991	Total	7	45	10	4	34	100	
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	14	42	21	6	17	100	
	Spring, 1991	Total	10	33	23	10	24	100	
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	10	46	20	9	15	100	
	Spring, 1991	Total	10	58	9	2	21	100	
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	22	46	11	4	17	100	
	Spring, 1991	Total	11	52	8	1	27	100	
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	5	43	26	11	15	100	
	Spring, 1991	Total	9	72	9	1	9	100	
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	16	51	10	3	20	100	
	Spring, 1991	Total	8	61	18	4	9	100	
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	10	50	17	10	13	100	
	Spring, 1991	Total	10	50	18	8	15	100	

			Q22Catholics I'd like you to rate some different groups of people in (survey country) according to how you feel about them. Please tell me whether your opinion is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable or very unfavorable: Catholics					
			Very favorable	Mostly favorable	Mostly unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Britain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	29	55	4	1	11	100

			Q22Muslims I'd like you to rate some different groups of people in (survey country) according to how you feel about them. Please tell me whether your opinion is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable or very unfavorable: Muslims					
			Very favorable	Mostly favorable	Mostly unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Britain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	15	46	17	10	12	100
Italy	Fall, 2009 --	Total	2	19	37	32	10	100
Spain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	2	38	37	9	13	100

			Q22Hindus I'd like you to rate some different groups of people in (survey country) according to how you feel about them. Please tell me whether your opinion is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable or very unfavorable: Hindus					
			Very favorable	Mostly favorable	Mostly unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Britain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	17	52	10	5	16	100

			Q22Blacks I'd like you to rate some different groups of people in (survey country) according to how you feel about them. Please tell me whether your opinion is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable or very unfavorable: Blacks					
			Very favorable	Mostly favorable	Mostly unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Fall, 2009 --	Total	32	54	6	2	7	100

			Q22Whites I'd like you to rate some different groups of people in (survey country) according to how you feel about them. Please tell me whether your opinion is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable or very unfavorable: Whites					
			Very favorable	Mostly favorable	Mostly unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Fall, 2009 --	Total	35	54	3	2	6	100

			Q22Hispanics I'd like you to rate some different groups of people in (survey country) according to how you feel about them. Please tell me whether your opinion is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable or very unfavorable: Hispanics					
			Very favorable	Mostly favorable	Mostly unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Fall, 2009 --	Total	26	51	11	4	8	100

			Q22Asians I'd like you to rate some different groups of people in (survey country) according to how you feel about them. Please tell me whether your opinion is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable or very unfavorable: Asians					
			Very favorable	Mostly favorable	Mostly unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Fall, 2009 --	Total	27	54	6	2	10	100

			Q22Christians I'd like you to rate some different groups of people in (survey country) according to how you feel about them. Please tell me whether your opinion is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable or very unfavorable: Christians					
			Very favorable	Mostly favorable	Mostly unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Italy	Fall, 2009 --	Total	27	54	8	3	8	100

			Q22Roma I'd like you to rate some different groups of people in (survey country) according to how you feel about them. Please tell me whether your opinion is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable or very unfavorable: Roma					
			Very favorable	Mostly favorable	Mostly unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	6	40	27	4	23	100
		West	6	42	26	4	22	100
		East	8	35	29	4	24	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	2	17	36	24	21	100
		West	3	17	36	24	20	100
		East	0	17	37	20	26	100
Italy	Fall, 2009 --	Total	0	9	28	56	7	100
Spain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	2	42	36	9	11	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	8	29	29	21	14	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	1	13	41	43	2	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	1	5	25	66	3	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	3	13	38	40	6	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	2	5	15	75	2	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	7	18	33	36	6	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	1	13	32	47	6	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	12	24	31	25	8	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	6	15	32	39	8	100

			Q22NAfricans I'd like you to rate some different groups of people in (survey country) according to how you feel about them. Please tell me whether your opinion is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable or very unfavorable: North Africans					
			Very favorable	Mostly favorable	Mostly unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
France	Fall, 2009 --	Total	15	57	20	6	2	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	7	42	31	12	9	100

			Q22Poles I'd like you to rate some different groups of people in (survey country) according to how you feel about them. Please tell me whether your opinion is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable or very unfavorable: Poles					
			Very favorable	Mostly favorable	Mostly unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	13	58	20	3	7	100
		West	12	59	20	3	6	100
		East	14	56	19	2	8	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	3	28	34	16	19	100
		West	4	29	33	16	19	100
		East	1	28	37	17	17	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	8	61	18	3	10	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	7	54	26	4	9	100

			Q22Turks I'd like you to rate some different groups of people in (survey country) according to how you feel about them. Please tell me whether your opinion is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable or very unfavorable: Turks					
			Very favorable	Mostly favorable	Mostly unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	12	53	25	5	6	100
		West	13	54	24	4	6	100
		East	8	47	29	7	8	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	3	32	32	14	19	100
		West	3	35	32	13	16	100
		East	1	21	34	17	28	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	21	44	20	8	7	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	14	39	29	11	8	100

			Q22Czechs I'd like you to rate some different groups of people in (survey country) according to how you feel about them. Please tell me whether your opinion is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable or very unfavorable: Czechs					
			Very favorable	Mostly favorable	Mostly unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	48	47	3	0	1	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	13	69	15	2	1	100

			Q22Slovaks I'd like you to rate some different groups of people in (survey country) according to how you feel about them. Please tell me whether your opinion is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable or very unfavorable: Slovaks					
			Very favorable	Mostly favorable	Mostly unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	37	51	6	3	3	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	14	52	28	4	2	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	13	46	19	8	14	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	8	53	10	2	28	100

			Q22Germans I'd like you to rate some different groups of people in (survey country) according to how you feel about them. Please tell me whether your opinion is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable or very unfavorable: Germans					
			Very favorable	Mostly favorable	Mostly unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	9	54	20	4	13	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	2	37	36	10	16	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	13	57	22	4	5	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	9	55	17	4	14	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	21	61	13	1	5	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	12	56	16	1	15	100

			Q22Romanians I'd like you to rate some different groups of people in (survey country) according to how you feel about them. Please tell me whether your opinion is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable or very unfavorable: Romanians					
			Very favorable	Mostly favorable	Mostly unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	9	42	25	8	15	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	6	42	23	8	21	100

			Q22Ukrainians I'd like you to rate some different groups of people in (survey country) according to how you feel about them. Please tell me whether your opinion is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable or very unfavorable: Ukrainians					
			Very favorable	Mostly favorable	Mostly unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	5	43	29	6	17	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	2	30	33	8	28	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	8	64	10	3	15	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	8	70	6	1	15	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	9	50	21	11	9	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	19	65	6	1	8	100

			Q22Lithuanians I'd like you to rate some different groups of people in (survey country) according to how you feel about them. Please tell me whether your opinion is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable or very unfavorable: Lithuanians					
			Very favorable	Mostly favorable	Mostly unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	6	52	15	3	25	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	5	50	16	2	27	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	15	47	8	3	27	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	15	64	11	2	7	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	6	37	25	13	19	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	9	53	18	10	10	100

			Q22Russians I'd like you to rate some different groups of people in (survey country) according to how you feel about them. Please tell me whether your opinion is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable or very unfavorable: Russians					
			Very favorable	Mostly favorable	Mostly unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	4	40	32	9	15	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	10	65	15	2	9	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	8	67	18	3	4	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	39	45	6	2	9	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	23	67	6	0	3	100

			Q22Muslimbulg I'd like you to rate some different groups of people in (survey country) according to how you feel about them. Please tell me whether your opinion is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable or very unfavorable: Muslim Bulgarians					
			Very favorable	Mostly favorable	Mostly unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	24	45	15	6	10	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	14	48	17	4	17	100

			Q22Tajiks I'd like you to rate some different groups of people in (survey country) according to how you feel about them. Please tell me whether your opinion is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable or very unfavorable: Tajiks					
			Very favorable	Mostly favorable	Mostly unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	12	42	13	5	28	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	5	37	29	17	12	100

			Q22 Georgians I'd like you to rate some different groups of people in (survey country) according to how you feel about them. Please tell me whether your opinion is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable or very unfavorable: Georgians					
			Very favorable	Mostly favorable	Mostly unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	13	41	19	9	18	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	5	56	28	4	7	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	5	32	33	20	10	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	6	39	32	14	8	100

			Q22 Chechens I'd like you to rate some different groups of people in (survey country) according to how you feel about them. Please tell me whether your opinion is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable or very unfavorable: Chechens					
			Very favorable	Mostly favorable	Mostly unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	4	25	30	30	11	100

			Q33 Overall, was the break-up of Czechoslovakia into two independent states a good thing or a bad thing?				
			Good thing	Bad thing	DK/Refused	Total	
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	40	53	7	100	
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	49	39	12	100	

			Q34 What's your impression, do the Churches play too great a role in the political life of this country today, too small a role in its political life or about the right role? ²⁶					
			Too great	Too small	About right	DK/Refused	Total	
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	54	8	33	6	100	
	Spring, 1991	Total	70	1	26	3	100	
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	14	27	54	5	100	
	Spring, 1991	Total	21	9	60	10	100	
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	26	16	52	6	100	
	Spring, 1991	Total	50	3	42	5	100	
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	16	25	50	9	100	
	Spring, 1991	Total	27	8	59	6	100	
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	6	50	29	15	100	
	Spring, 1991	Total	17	25	38	20	100	
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	21	13	55	11	100	
	Spring, 1991	Total	31	16	46	7	100	

26. In Lithuania and Poland, question read "What's your impression, does the Church..."

			Q34c What's your impression, does the Church play too great a role in the life of this country today, too small a role in its life or about the right role?				Total
			Too great	Too small	About right	DK/Refused	
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	22	15	54	9	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	5	32	55	8	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	21	16	58	6	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	6	32	53	10	100

			Q35 Some feel that we should rely on a democratic form of government to solve our country's problems. Others feel that we should rely on a leader with a strong hand to solve our country's problems. Which comes closer to your opinion?				Total
			Democratic form of government	Strong leader	DK/Refused	Total	
Britain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	57	36	7	100	
France	Fall, 2009 --	Total	82	17	0	100	
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	79	19	2	100	
		West	80	18	2	100	
		East	74	23	3	100	
Italy	Fall, 2009 --	Total	61	32	7	100	
Spain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	78	18	4	100	
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	56	35	9	100	
	Spring, 2007	Total	57	33	9	100	
	Summer, 2002	Total	41	44	16	100	
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	81	15	4	100	
	Spring, 2007	Total	85	13	2	100	
	Summer, 2002	Total	91	7	2	100	
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	81	12	7	100	
	Spring, 2007	Total	88	10	2	100	
	Summer, 2002	Total	86	12	2	100	
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	42	49	9	100	
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	26	68	5	100	
	Spring, 2007	Total	41	47	11	100	
	Summer, 2002	Total	41	44	15	100	
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	42	49	9	100	
	Spring, 1991	Total	79	15	6	100	
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	20	69	11	100	
	Spring, 2007	Total	39	52	8	100	
	Summer, 2002	Total	31	67	2	100	
	Spring, 1991	Total	57	29	13	100	
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	29	60	11	100	
	Spring, 2008	Total	33	57	10	100	
	Spring, 2007	Total	27	63	11	100	
	Spring, 2006	Total	29	61	10	100	
	May, 2005	Total	28	66	6	100	
	Summer, 2002	Total	21	70	9	100	
	Spring, 1991	Total	51	39	10	100	

			Q36 What's more important in _____ society that everyone be free to pursue their life's goals without interference from the state or that the state play an active role in society so as to guarantee that nobody is in need? ²⁷			
			Freedom to pursue life's goals without interference	Nobody in need	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Fall, 2009 --	Total	55	36	9	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	58	34	8	100
	July, 1991	Total	52	36	12	100
Britain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	44	47	9	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	33	61	5	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	33	59	8	100
France	Fall, 2009 --	Total	27	73	0	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	36	62	2	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	44	51	5	100
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	34	62	4	100
		West	37	60	4	100
		East	24	72	4	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	39	57	4	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	47	47	7	100
		West	52	41	7	100
		East	26	68	7	100
Italy	Fall, 2009 --	Total	47	48	6	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	24	71	5	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	34	64	2	100
Spain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	29	64	7	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	34	57	9	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	24	71	5	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	31	64	4	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	22	73	4	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	47	51	2	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	40	58	2	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	52	35	13	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	35	59	5	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	27	70	2	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	43	51	7	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	29	67	4	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	28	64	8	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	23	72	5	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	29	67	5	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	32	60	8	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	17	79	4	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	40	47	13	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	30	52	17	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	24	76	1	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	54	37	9	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	31	55	14	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	22	74	3	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	53	34	14	100

27. In Britain, the question read, "everyone is free to pursue..."

			Q38Ger What countries can Germany most rely on as dependable allies in the future? (OPEN-END; ACCEPT UP TO THREE RESPONSES) ²⁸						
			Austria	France	Great Britain	United States	EU	DK/Refused	Total
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	10	47	17	37	14	20	100
		West	10	48	17	38	15	19	100
		East	9	41	16	34	10	25	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	12	41	20	46	0	23	100
		West	10	39	19	46	0	23	100
		East	20	46	26	44	0	24	100

28. Only top five allies shown.

			Q39Ger What countries pose the greatest threat to Germany in the future? (OPEN-END; ACCEPT UP TO THREE RESPONSES) ²⁹						
			China	Russia	Iran	Iraq	Afghanistan	DK/Refused	Total
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	17	19	27	21	15	23	100
		West	18	21	28	21	15	22	100
		East	13	11	26	20	17	30	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	4	11	0	0	0	52	100
		West	4	12	0	0	0	50	100
		East	5	10	0	0	0	59	100

29. Only top five threats shown. In 1991, respondents named the Soviet Union instead of Russia.

			Q38Pol What countries can Poland most rely on as dependable allies in the future? (OPEN-END; ACCEPT UP TO THREE RESPONSES) ³⁰						
			France	Germany	Great Britain	United States	EU	DK/Refused	Total
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	9	13	12	18	12	46	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	25	10	14	40	0	49	100

30. Only top five allies shown.

			Q39Pol What countries pose the greatest threat to Poland in the future? (OPEN-END; ACCEPT UP TO THREE RESPONSES) ³¹						
			Germany	Russia	al Qaeda	Iran	Iraq	DK/Refused	Total
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	9	45	5	7	8	36	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	49	52	0	0	0	31	100

31. Only top five threats shown. In 1991, respondents named the Soviet Union instead of Russia.

			Q38Cze What countries can the Czech Republic most rely on as dependable allies in the future? (OPEN-END; ACCEPT UP TO THREE RESPONSES) ³²						
			Germany	Poland	United States	Slovakia	EU	DK/Refused	Total
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	23	12	22	31	27	22	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	36	2	47	0	0	32	100

32. Only top five allies shown.

			Q39Cze What countries pose the greatest threat to the Czech Republic in the future? (OPEN-END; ACCEPT UP TO THREE RESPONSES) ³³						
			China	Russia	al Qaeda	Iran	Iraq	DK/Refused	Total
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	18	21	17	18	17	23	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	7	41	0	0	0	43	100

33. Only top five threats shown. In 1991, respondents named the Soviet Union instead of Russia.

			Q38Slo What countries can Slovakia most rely on as dependable allies in the future? (OPEN-END; ACCEPT UP TO THREE RESPONSES) ³⁴						
			Austria	Germany	Poland	Czech Republic	EU	DK/Refused	Total
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	19	18	27	60	24	13	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	25	29	2	0	0	35	100

34. Only top five allies shown.

			Q39Slo What countries pose the greatest threat to Slovakia in the future? (OPEN-END; ACCEPT UP TO THREE RESPONSES) ³⁵						
			Hungary	Russia	al Qaeda	Iran	Iraq	DK/Refused	Total
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	34	13	15	15	13	24	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	22	27	0	0	0	51	100

35. Only top five threats shown. In 1991, respondents named the Soviet Union instead of Russia.

			Q38Hun What countries can Hungary most rely on as dependable allies in the future? (OPEN-END; ACCEPT UP TO THREE RESPONSES) ³⁶						
			Austria	Germany	Great Britain	Poland	United States	DK/Refused	Total
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	12	30	5	6	15	55	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	28	47	3	2	27	33	100

36. Only top five allies shown.

			Q39Hun What countries pose the greatest threat to Hungary in the future? (OPEN-END; ACCEPT UP TO THREE RESPONSES) ³⁷						
			Romania	Ukraine	Russia	Slovakia	Serbia	DK/Refused	Total
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	14	5	11	37	5	50	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	42	0	20	0	0	44	100

37. Only top five threats shown. In 1991, respondents named the Soviet Union instead of Russia.

			Q38Bul What countries can Bulgaria most rely on as dependable allies in the future? (OPEN-END; ACCEPT UP TO THREE RESPONSES) ³⁸						
			France	Germany	United States	Russia	EU	DK/Refused	Total
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	13	28	16	38	14	35	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	21	39	30	38	0	23	100

38. Only top five allies shown. In 1991, respondents named the Soviet Union instead of Russia.

			Q39Bul What countries pose the greatest threat to Bulgaria in the future? (OPEN-END; ACCEPT UP TO THREE RESPONSES) ³⁹						
			Greece	Turkey	United States	Iran	Iraq	DK/Refused	Total
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	4	29	8	5	5	56	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	3	48	3	0	0	38	100

39. Only top five threats shown.

			Q38Lit What countries can Lithuania most rely on as dependable allies in the future? (OPEN-END; ACCEPT UP TO THREE RESPONSES) ⁴⁰						
			United States	Latvia	Russia	Baltic Republics (Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania together)	EU	DK/Refused	Total
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	19	20	18	19	21	18	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	21	1	5	1	0	35	100

40. Only top five allies shown. In 1991, respondents named the Soviet Union instead of Russia.

			Q39Lit What countries pose the greatest threat to Lithuania in the future? (OPEN-END; ACCEPT UP TO THREE RESPONSES) ⁴¹						
			China	Russia	Belorussia	Iran	Iraq	DK/Refused	Total
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	9	39	9	7	8	34	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	2	69	0	0	0	27	100

41. Only top five threats shown. In 1991, respondents named the Soviet Union instead of Russia.

			Q38Ukr What countries can Ukraine most rely on as dependable allies in the future? (OPEN-END; ACCEPT UP TO THREE RESPONSES) ⁴²						
			Poland	United States	Russia	Belorussia	EU	DK/Refused	Total
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	19	11	58	40	12	17	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	0	21	0	0	0	61	100

42. Only top five allies shown. In 1991, respondents named the Soviet Union instead of Russia.

			Q39Ukr What countries pose the greatest threat to Ukraine in the future? (OPEN-END; ACCEPT UP TO THREE RESPONSES) ⁴³						
			China	United States	Russia	al Qaeda	Iraq	DK/Refused	Total
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	7	27	19	7	9	42	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	5	10	1	0	0	75	100

43. Only top five threats shown. In 1991, respondents named the Soviet Union instead of Russia.

			Q38Rus What countries can Russia most rely on as dependable allies in the future? (OPEN-END; ACCEPT UP TO THREE RESPONSES) ⁴⁴						
			China	France	Germany	Belorussia	EU	DK/Refused	Total
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	23	10	19	34	10	24	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	5	10	19	0	0	62	100

44. Only top five allies shown.

			Q39Rus What countries pose the greatest threat to Russia in the future? (OPEN-END; ACCEPT UP TO THREE RESPONSES) ⁴⁵						
			China	United States	Ukraine	Baltic Republics (Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania together)	Georgia	DK/Refused	Total
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	16	57	20	10	32	15	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	5	11	.00	0	0	71	100

45. Only top five threats shown.

			Q40a For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it: a. Most elected officials care what people like me think					
			Completely agree	Mostly agree	Mostly disagree	Completely disagree	DK/Refused	Total
Britain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	4	35	40	18	3	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	3	32	38	23	4	100
France	Fall, 2009 --	Total	6	25	39	29	0	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	6	21	37	33	3	100
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	4	33	49	14	1	100
		West	3	33	49	14	1	100
		East	4	34	47	14	2	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	6	24	47	16	7	100
		West	7	24	46	17	6	100
		East	5	24	52	10	8	100
Italy	Fall, 2009 --	Total	5	28	33	30	4	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	3	11	35	49	3	100
Spain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	2	26	48	20	3	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	7	18	33	34	7	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	9	28	34	25	5	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	6	18	49	20	8	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	2	16	34	46	2	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	6	28	46	18	3	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	2	20	39	34	4	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	2	19	51	24	4	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	8	14	31	47	1	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	7	25	44	19	5	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	3	11	36	46	3	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	5	16	40	25	14	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	1	14	25	58	2	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	4	26	38	27	5	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	8	15	28	44	6	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	3	19	54	17	7	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	6	20	36	35	4	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	4	14	46	26	10	100

			Q40b For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it: b. Voting gives people like me some say about how the government runs things					
			Completely agree	Mostly agree	Mostly disagree	Completely disagree	DK/Refused	Total
Britain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	13	43	29	13	3	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	15	40	27	16	2	100
France	Fall, 2009 --	Total	32	43	14	11	0	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	35	42	13	8	3	100
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	13	42	29	13	2	100
		West	15	42	28	13	2	100
		East	8	45	33	12	2	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	11	43	28	11	7	100
		West	12	44	26	11	6	100
		East	6	36	38	11	10	100
Italy	Fall, 2009 --	Total	16	43	26	14	1	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	18	31	22	25	4	100
Spain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	16	56	18	8	2	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	39	33	11	9	7	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	11	36	29	20	3	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	6	35	36	16	7	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	17	44	22	15	2	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	23	41	22	10	4	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	14	46	25	13	2	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	14	32	31	16	7	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	14	24	27	34	1	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	17	32	29	15	7	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	23	43	18	12	4	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	44	32	8	4	12	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	10	42	23	21	4	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	35	39	13	8	6	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	15	31	23	27	4	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	13	34	35	12	6	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	10	34	28	26	3	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	13	34	21	22	9	100

			Q40c Please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it: c. Most people are better off in a free market economy, even though some people are rich and some are poor					Total
			Completely agree	Mostly agree	Mostly disagree	Completely disagree	DK/Refused	
Britain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	15	52	20	6	7	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	17	49	19	9	7	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	17	55	16	8	4	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	20	46	20	6	7	100
France	Fall, 2009 --	Total	21	40	22	18	0	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	16	41	26	17	0	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	18	38	23	21	0	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	21	40	23	11	5	100
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	16	49	26	6	2	100
		West	17	49	25	6	2	100
		East	11	48	33	6	2	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	12	49	27	9	2	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	14	51	22	11	2	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	22	47	20	9	2	100
	Italy	Fall, 2009 --	Total	21	54	15	3	7
Spring, 2007		Total	21	52	12	4	11	100
Summer, 2002		Total	20	51	14	4	11	100
Spain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	10	49	25	8	7	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	10	47	31	9	4	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	14	53	20	6	7	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	23	47	16	5	9	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	16	49	23	6	6	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	15	53	20	6	6	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	15	29	32	19	6	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	12	51	22	11	5	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	17	42	30	8	2	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	19	43	25	11	2	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	12	44	29	10	5	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	14	39	34	11	2	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	13	38	32	15	2	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	9	22	36	29	4	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	8	29	34	24	5	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	8	34	28	18	12	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	9	22	32	30	7	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	14	36	25	18	6	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	12	34	26	17	10	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	23	43	20	8	6	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	29	35	24	11	1	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	12	40	26	17	4	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	15	36	29	12	7	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	17	36	28	12	7	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	13	32	33	18	4	100

			Q40d For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it: d. Success in life is pretty much determined by forces outside our control					
			Completely agree	Mostly agree	Mostly disagree	Completely disagree	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Fall, 2009 --	Total	6	23	43	25	3	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	10	29	38	22	2	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	7	26	41	23	3	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	9	23	39	26	3	100
	May, 1990	Total	11	29	39	18	3	100
Britain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	10	31	38	17	4	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	13	34	36	15	2	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	11	31	40	16	3	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	14	34	31	17	4	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	16	35	30	12	7	100
France	Fall, 2009 --	Total	20	32	27	20	0	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	16	37	31	17	0	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	18	34	26	22	0	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	20	35	30	14	2	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	23	34	23	13	7	100
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	18	48	22	9	3	100
		West	18	48	23	9	3	100
		East	18	49	22	8	4	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	21	48	21	8	2	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	23	47	24	7	0	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	23	45	25	7	1	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	12	47	29	4	8	100
		West	13	48	29	4	6	100
		East	11	41	29	4	14	100
Italy	Fall, 2009 --	Total	15	56	20	6	4	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	22	49	20	4	5	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	17	49	25	6	3	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	15	49	18	13	5	100
Spain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	10	41	32	10	8	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	13	39	33	9	5	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	14	39	29	10	8	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	27	29	19	10	15	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	16	46	24	7	7	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	18	50	24	5	4	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	17	51	24	6	3	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	20	43	21	8	9	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	24	41	22	4	8	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	11	43	31	10	5	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	11	38	39	9	3	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	10	37	37	11	5	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	12	40	27	11	10	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	12	43	32	6	7	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	12	32	40	12	4	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	10	39	35	13	4	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	14	45	19	7	14	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	23	31	21	21	5	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	28	39	19	8	5	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	22	39	24	8	7	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	20	38	25	6	11	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	13	40	22	6	19	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	42	32	12	3	12	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	8	37	27	13	14	100

			Q40d For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it: d. Success in life is pretty much determined by forces outside our control					
			Completely agree	Mostly agree	Mostly disagree	Completely disagree	DK/Refused	Total
Lithuania	Spring, 1991	Total	23	41	14	6	16	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	15	34	23	13	16	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	17	40	26	12	5	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	27	35	22	13	4	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	20	45	22	3	10	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	17	43	20	12	8	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	18	43	25	8	6	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	20	39	26	7	8	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	16	36	27	9	12	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	18	41	20	9	12	100

			Q40e For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it: e. Generally, the state is run for the benefit of all the people ⁴⁶					
			Completely agree	Mostly agree	Mostly disagree	Completely disagree	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Fall, 2009 --	Total	11	40	33	14	2	100
	May, 1990	Total	10	42	35	10	3	100
Britain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	9	43	30	15	3	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	9	43	30	17	2	100
France	Fall, 2009 --	Total	13	33	30	24	0	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	13	35	33	17	2	100
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	5	36	44	14	2	100
		West	5	36	43	13	3	100
		East	4	35	45	15	1	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	7	35	39	10	10	100
		West	7	34	40	10	9	100
		East	5	39	36	7	13	100
Italy	Fall, 2009 --	Total	5	28	39	25	4	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	2	10	34	52	2	100
Spain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	6	45	35	11	2	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	19	33	23	18	8	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	8	32	40	15	4	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	4	27	43	12	13	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	24	46	22	6	2	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	28	33	28	9	2	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	5	28	40	23	4	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	33	38	23	3	3	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	3	13	39	44	2	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	20	35	28	12	6	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	3	20	29	44	4	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	12	36	30	15	6	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	8	12	30	45	5	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	4	18	47	25	5	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	7	30	35	23	4	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	7	20	39	27	7	100

46. In the U.S., the question asked about the government rather than the state. Due to an administrative error, results for Hungary are not shown.

			Q40f For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it: f. Russia (Lithuania) should be for Russians (Lithuanians)					
			Completely agree	Mostly agree	Mostly disagree	Completely disagree	DK/Refused	Total
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	21	40	21	13	5	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	27	18	23	31	1	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	23	31	27	16	3	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	13	13	26	43	6	100

			Q40g For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it: g. There are parts of neighboring countries that really belong to us					
			Completely agree	Mostly agree	Mostly disagree	Completely disagree	DK/Refused	Total
Britain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	6	23	31	29	11	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	10	28	28	26	7	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	4	16	29	35	17	100
France	Fall, 2009 --	Total	7	18	31	43	2	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	5	20	30	41	4	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	3	9	18	47	23	100
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	7	23	32	33	5	100
		West	7	24	33	31	4	100
		East	6	18	27	42	6	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	9	24	23	39	5	100
		Spring, 1991	Total	14	25	26	24	10
	Spring, 1991	West	16	27	24	22	10	100
		East	7	18	34	31	11	100
Italy	Fall, 2009 --	Total	9	39	20	14	18	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	13	29	25	17	17	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	9	20	17	32	22	100
Spain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	9	32	29	14	16	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	28	20	12	17	23	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	14	37	22	10	16	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	19	40	19	8	15	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	27	33	15	7	18	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	11	29	24	17	20	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	10	24	35	23	8	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	20	22	20	16	23	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	7	22	30	19	22	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	11	31	33	18	6	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	15	19	15	19	32	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	34	27	15	19	5	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	40	30	11	12	7	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	31	35	11	6	17	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	25	29	13	6	25	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	33	19	15	8	24	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	10	30	20	19	22	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	24	22	15	19	20	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	5	19	21	30	25	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	10	15	26	36	13	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	8	16	21	23	32	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	19	39	19	10	13	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	26	38	14	4	19	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	10	12	22	26	30	100

			Q40h For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it: h. We should restrict and control entry into our country more than we do now					Total
			Completely agree	Mostly agree	Mostly disagree	Completely disagree	DK/Refused	
United States	Spring, 2009	Total	46	28	16	8	2	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	44	31	15	8	3	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	46	35	12	4	3	100
Britain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	50	28	13	7	2	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	52	28	11	8	1	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	40	35	15	7	3	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	47	32	12	5	3	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	52	28	14	3	4	100
France	Fall, 2009 --	Total	30	34	21	14	0	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	30	31	19	20	0	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	33	35	19	12	0	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	40	35	14	10	1	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	61	25	6	5	3	100
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	30	35	21	14	1	100
		West	29	35	21	15	1	100
		East	33	36	20	9	2	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	26	35	23	14	1	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	34	32	20	13	0	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	29	38	19	12	2	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	31	39	16	8	7	100
		West	34	36	15	8	6	100
		East	21	49	16	6	7	100
Italy	Fall, 2009 --	Total	40	43	11	4	3	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	48	39	8	2	3	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	48	32	12	5	3	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	48	36	5	4	7	100
Spain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	33	47	13	5	2	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	31	46	15	6	3	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	29	48	15	3	4	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	41	25	10	8	16	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	17	37	27	12	7	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	20	38	30	7	5	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	14	39	32	8	8	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	16	44	25	5	10	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	26	32	23	10	9	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	37	43	14	3	2	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	42	33	18	6	1	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	49	33	13	5	0	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	31	32	19	10	8	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	15	40	29	8	7	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	25	39	26	8	2	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	36	38	19	6	1	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	40	28	15	7	10	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	27	28	18	24	4	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	37	31	16	9	6	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	6	26	28	25	15	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	23	30	21	12	14	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	15	33	20	12	20	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	20	18	26	21	15	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	11	43	27	11	8	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	25	29	17	18	11	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	17	38	18	13	14	100

			Q40h For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it: h. We should restrict and control entry into our country more than we do now					
			Completely agree	Mostly agree	Mostly disagree	Completely disagree	DK/Refused	Total
Ukraine	Spring, 2007	Total	27	36	22	10	6	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	29	33	19	16	3	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	11	21	23	18	28	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	31	39	16	8	6	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	41	34	18	4	4	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	35	37	19	4	6	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	34	38	15	4	9	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	20	25	18	16	21	100

			Q40i For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it: i. It is natural for Russia to have an empire					
			Completely agree	Mostly agree	Mostly disagree	Completely disagree	DK/Refused	Total
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	21	27	18	17	17	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	4	18	26	29	24	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	16	31	23	12	18	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	18	19	25	18	19	100

			Q40j For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it: j. Today it is really true that the rich just get richer while the poor get poorer					
			Completely agree	Mostly agree	Mostly disagree	Completely disagree	DK/Refused	Total
Britain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	35	36	22	5	3	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	36	36	17	9	2	100
France	Fall, 2009 --	Total	64	25	6	4	0	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	53	26	15	3	3	100
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	56	31	9	3	1	100
		West	55	33	9	3	1	100
		East	63	26	7	2	1	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	40	40	11	2	7	100
		West	37	40	13	3	7	100
		East	53	37	5	0	5	100
Italy	Fall, 2009 --	Total	47	44	6	2	2	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	49	30	13	8	1	100
Spain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	41	41	14	3	2	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	51	24	13	8	4	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	55	33	8	2	3	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	70	24	3	1	2	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	50	37	11	1	1	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	51	32	12	4	1	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	49	40	8	1	2	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	64	28	4	2	3	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	77	15	5	2	1	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	80	14	3	1	2	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	58	33	6	2	1	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	69	21	4	1	5	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	57	30	6	4	3	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	61	31	5	1	2	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	48	36	10	3	3	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	65	28	4	1	2	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	48	34	12	4	2	100
	Spring, 1991	Total	69	22	4	2	4	100

			Q40k For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it: k. It is a great misfortune that the Soviet Union no longer exists					
			Completely agree	Mostly agree	Mostly disagree	Completely disagree	DK/Refused	Total
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	30	28	23	15	5	100

			Q40I Please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it: I. It is a good thing for any society to be made up of people from different races, religions, and cultures ⁴⁷					
			Completely agree	Mostly agree	Mostly disagree	Completely disagree	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Fall, 2009 --	Total	56	36	4	2	2	100
Britain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	40	45	8	5	3	100
France	Fall, 2009 --	Total	60	30	6	4	0	100
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	35	50	10	3	2	100
		West	35	50	10	3	2	100
		East	33	51	12	3	2	100
Italy	Fall, 2009 --	Total	17	44	27	7	5	100
Spain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	28	55	12	2	3	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	20	48	17	5	9	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	12	43	30	8	7	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	14	47	25	7	8	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	29	36	21	9	6	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	15	38	24	13	11	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	10	41	28	11	10	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	21	31	19	11	18	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	23	41	22	7	7	100

47. In Germany question read "It is a good thing for any society to be made up of people from different ethnicities/ethnic backgrounds, religions, and cultures."

			Q41a How important is it to you to live in a country where: a. you can openly say what you think and can criticize the state? Is it very important, somewhat important, not too important or not important at all?					
			Very important	Somewhat important	Not too important	Not at all important	DK/Refused	Total
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	50	41	7	1	2	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	55	35	4	1	5	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	47	40	11	2	1	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	65	24	8	3	1	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	39	42	13	4	2	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	58	26	12	3	1	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	65	28	4	2	1	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	58	31	7	2	2	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	48	38	8	3	5	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	38	43	11	4	3	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	43	39	10	4	3	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	59	29	8	2	1	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	37	44	12	5	2	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	30	46	16	6	2	100

			Q41b How important is it to you to live in a country where: b. honest elections are held regularly with a choice of at least two political parties? Is it very important, somewhat important, not too important or not important at all?					
			Very important	Somewhat important	Not too important	Not at all important	DK/Refused	Total
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	51	38	6	1	3	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	56	34	3	1	5	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	57	33	7	2	1	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	71	19	6	3	1	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	43	41	10	3	2	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	73	18	7	2	1	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	70	25	3	1	1	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	61	27	7	2	3	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	51	33	6	4	5	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	39	43	11	3	4	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	53	32	8	4	4	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	64	24	9	3	1	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	41	42	10	4	3	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	37	40	16	5	3	100

			Q41c How important is it to you to live in a country where: c. there is a judicial system that treats everyone in the same way? Is it very important, somewhat important, not too important or not important at all?					
			Very important	Somewhat important	Not too important	Not at all important	DK/Refused	Total
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	64	29	4	1	3	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	69	23	3	1	4	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	78	19	2	1	1	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	84	11	3	1	1	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	57	24	10	7	2	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	81	12	5	1	1	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	79	17	2	1	0	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	81	11	3	2	2	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	79	14	1	1	5	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	59	29	5	3	4	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	67	23	5	2	3	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	82	13	4	1	1	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	69	24	5	1	1	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	68	29	2	0	1	100

			Q41d How important is it to you to live in a country where: d. the military is under the control of civilian leaders? Is it very important, somewhat important, not too important or not important at all?					
			Very important	Somewhat important	Not too important	Not at all important	DK/Refused	Total
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	29	40	14	5	12	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	29	32	16	7	17	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	36	38	14	6	7	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	33	31	21	11	4	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	21	35	23	8	13	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	34	28	25	10	3	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	36	26	20	9	9	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	27	25	18	10	20	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	21	25	18	8	27	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	20	37	20	7	16	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	30	25	18	12	14	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	38	29	17	8	8	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	27	32	19	9	13	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	20	33	21	13	13	100

			Q41e How important is it to you to live in a country where: e. the media can report the news without state censorship? Is it very important, somewhat important, not too important or not important at all?					
			Very important	Somewhat important	Not too important	Not at all important	DK/Refused	Total
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	52	40	4	1	3	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	50	37	7	1	6	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	66	29	4	1	1	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	71	19	7	2	1	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	42	40	11	3	4	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	66	20	9	4	1	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	59	29	7	3	3	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	61	25	8	2	4	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	56	29	5	1	10	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	50	38	7	2	4	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	49	34	10	3	5	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	64	26	7	2	2	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	37	41	14	4	4	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	31	44	14	6	5	100

			Q41f How important is it to you to live in a country where: f. you can practice your religion freely? Is it very important, somewhat important, not too important or not important at all?					
			Very important	Somewhat important	Not too important	Not at all important	DK/Refused	Total
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	62	31	5	1	1	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	62	31	3	0	4	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	46	37	11	5	1	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	48	27	12	11	1	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	47	40	9	3	1	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	60	21	15	5	0	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	66	23	6	4	1	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	58	31	7	2	2	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	49	33	9	4	5	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	47	37	9	3	3	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	51	35	7	3	3	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	56	25	14	5	1	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	47	37	9	4	3	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	35	42	13	7	3	100

			Q41g How important is it to you to live in a country where: g. there is economic prosperity? Is it very important, somewhat important, not too important or not important at all?					
			Very important	Somewhat important	Not too important	Not at all important	DK/Refused	Total
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	60	33	4	1	2	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	69	22	4	2	3	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	78	21	1	0	0	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	72	24	3	1	0	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	56	28	10	4	1	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	77	17	4	1	0	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	84	11	2	2	1	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	84	11	2	1	2	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	89	7	0	0	3	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	72	20	2	1	4	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	74	19	4	2	2	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	87	9	2	0	2	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	71	22	4	2	1	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	79	19	1	0	2	100

			Q42a I am going to read you the same list. Does (read from list below) describe our country very well, somewhat well, not too well or not well at all? a. you can openly say what you think and can criticize the state					
			Very well	Somewhat well	Not too well	Not well at all	DK/Refused	Total
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	18	48	24	6	3	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	25	54	14	2	4	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	27	48	18	6	1	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	32	46	17	5	1	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	18	46	26	8	1	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	22	44	27	6	1	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	13	25	40	21	1	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	29	39	20	9	3	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	26	51	13	3	7	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	15	41	28	11	4	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	22	45	20	9	5	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	33	39	18	8	2	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	22	45	23	5	4	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	20	53	15	5	7	100

			Q42b I am going to read you the same list. Does (read from list below) describe our country very well, somewhat well, not too well or not well at all? b. honest elections are held regularly with a choice of at least two political parties					
			Very well	Somewhat well	Not too well	Not well at all	DK/Refused	Total
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	29	47	13	5	5	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	26	47	15	3	9	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	48	38	9	4	1	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	58	30	8	3	1	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	37	43	14	4	1	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	42	33	16	6	3	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	17	28	37	15	2	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	16	31	31	18	3	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	21	55	15	2	8	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	14	41	26	14	5	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	11	19	24	38	7	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	21	32	27	17	3	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	16	38	27	15	5	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	15	42	22	12	9	100

			Q42c I am going to read you the same list. Does (read from list below) describe our country very well, somewhat well, not too well or not well at all? c. there is a judicial system that treats everyone in the same way					
			Very well	Somewhat well	Not too well	Not well at all	DK/Refused	Total
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	11	33	32	19	5	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	14	21	37	22	7	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	5	19	38	36	1	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	5	24	46	23	2	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	5	21	40	30	3	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	5	13	51	29	2	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	32	45	17	4	2	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	8	7	26	54	4	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	5	9	36	40	10	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	5	17	36	39	4	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	11	15	19	49	5	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	23	20	33	20	5	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	19	22	28	26	4	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	20	19	25	28	8	100

			Q42d I am going to read you the same list. Does (read from list below) describe our country very well, somewhat well, not too well or not well at all? d. the military is under the control of civilian leaders					
			Very well	Somewhat well	Not too well	Not well at all	DK/Refused	Total
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	15	46	19	5	15	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	12	41	17	5	25	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	12	36	24	12	15	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	16	40	27	7	9	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	11	33	25	12	19	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	14	44	26	8	8	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	16	24	28	11	21	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	14	21	27	13	25	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	8	35	19	4	33	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	9	33	25	12	20	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	7	20	28	21	24	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	13	32	21	19	15	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	12	32	26	12	18	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	12	30	28	11	19	100

			Q42e I am going to read you the same list. Does (read from list below) describe our country very well, somewhat well, not too well or not well at all? e. the media can report the news without state censorship					
			Very well	Somewhat well	Not too well	Not well at all	DK/Refused	Total
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	24	46	20	6	5	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	20	47	21	2	10	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	17	42	27	12	2	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	28	47	19	4	2	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	18	52	20	6	5	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	19	49	24	5	3	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	16	25	32	19	7	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	13	37	30	12	8	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	17	41	23	4	16	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	14	42	27	9	6	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	13	36	27	14	10	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	27	40	20	9	4	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	15	40	28	10	7	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	14	44	22	8	13	100

			Q42f I am going to read you the same list. Does (read from list below) describe our country very well, somewhat well, not too well or not well at all? f. you can practice your religion freely					
			Very well	Somewhat well	Not too well	Not well at all	DK/Refused	Total
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	44	44	8	2	1	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	39	50	7	1	3	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	59	37	3	0	2	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	58	34	6	1	2	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	46	43	6	3	2	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	56	37	5	2	1	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	48	34	8	7	2	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	42	42	9	4	3	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	42	47	2	1	9	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	44	41	7	3	4	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	31	49	8	6	7	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	50	35	6	4	5	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	43	40	9	4	5	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	35	53	5	1	6	100

			Q42g I am going to read you the same list. Does (read from list below) describe our country very well, somewhat well, not too well or not well at all? g. there is economic prosperity					
			Very well	Somewhat well	Not too well	Not well at all	DK/Refused	Total
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	6	29	39	24	3	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	9	14	25	49	3	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	6	25	38	28	3	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	6	49	39	5	1	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	6	28	40	22	4	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	4	18	53	23	2	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	3	2	20	74	1	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	7	10	24	57	3	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	5	7	14	68	6	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	5	8	27	56	4	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	15	12	17	52	4	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	24	13	24	37	3	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	18	26	28	23	4	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	19	20	29	26	6	100

			Q43 If you had to choose between a good democracy or a strong economy, which would you say is more important?			Total
			A good democracy	A strong economy	DK/Refused	
United States	Fall, 2009 --	Total	49	44	7	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	61	33	6	100
Britain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	56	37	7	100
France	Fall, 2009 --	Total	73	27	0	100
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	58	37	5	100
		West	60	35	5	100
		East	48	46	6	100
Italy	Fall, 2009 --	Total	46	50	5	100
Spain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	68	26	6	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	36	55	9	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	30	56	14	100
	May, 2005	Total	23	69	8	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	21	67	12	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	44	50	6	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	54	42	3	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	59	38	3	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	42	50	9	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	49	46	5	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	39	59	3	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	20	73	7	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	19	74	7	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	23	67	10	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	16	74	10	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	17	78	5	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	12	78	10	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	19	76	5	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	16	81	3	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	14	78	7	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	15	74	11	100
	May, 2005	Total	14	81	5	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	11	80	8	100

			Q44 How satisfied are you with the way democracy is working in our country – very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, not too satisfied or not at all satisfied?					Total
			Very satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Not too satisfied	Not at all satisfied	DK/Refused	
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	6	47	32	7	7	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	4	45	37	12	1	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	6	44	36	10	4	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	2	19	46	31	1	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	0	21	44	32	3	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	2	33	38	22	5	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	4	17	38	32	10	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	3	29	38	23	7	100

			Q45 Do you think of yourself first as (name of country's people) or first as European?					
			(Country's people)	European	Both equally (VOL)	Other (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total
Britain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	86	7	0	6	0	100
France	Fall, 2009 --	Total	75	23	2	1	0	100
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	62	33	3	1	1	100
		West	59	35	4	1	1	100
		East	72	25	1	1	1	100
Italy	Fall, 2009 --	Total	78	12	9	0	1	100
Spain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	78	15	3	3	1	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	86	8	5	0	1	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	88	6	5	1	0	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	77	13	8	1	0	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	87	4	8	0	0	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	80	8	9	1	2	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	77	6	12	3	2	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	81	6	7	3	3	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	90	4	5	0	1	100

			Q46a Now I am going to read you a list of countries. For each one, please tell me whether you would favor or oppose admitting it into the European Union in the next ten years: a. Georgia				
			Favor	Oppose	DK/Refused	Total	
Britain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	40	41	20	100	
France	Fall, 2009 --	Total	53	46	1	100	
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	32	61	6	100	
		West	31	63	6	100	
		East	36	55	9	100	
Italy	Fall, 2009 --	Total	39	40	21	100	
Spain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	47	22	31	100	
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	48	29	23	100	
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	42	44	14	100	
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	48	31	21	100	
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	47	29	24	100	
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	49	21	30	100	
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	51	28	21	100	

			Q46b Now I am going to read you a list of countries. For each one, please tell me whether you would favor or oppose admitting it into the European Union in the next ten years: b. Croatia			
			Favor	Oppose	DK/Refused	Total
Britain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	51	34	15	100
France	Fall, 2009 --	Total	67	33	0	100
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	66	31	3	100
		West	66	32	2	100
		East	68	26	6	100
Italy	Fall, 2009 --	Total	43	41	16	100
Spain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	58	19	23	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	70	10	20	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	79	15	6	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	81	8	11	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	69	14	17	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	64	10	25	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	52	20	28	100

			Q46c Now I am going to read you a list of countries. For each one, please tell me whether you would favor or oppose admitting it into the European Union in the next ten years: c. Turkey			
			Favor	Oppose	DK/Refused	Total
Britain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	48	39	13	100
France	Fall, 2009 --	Total	33	66	0	100
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	29	69	2	100
		West	29	70	1	100
		East	31	65	4	100
Italy	Fall, 2009 --	Total	23	63	15	100
Spain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	46	34	20	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	46	33	21	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	42	49	9	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	42	41	17	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	50	31	19	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	33	46	21	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	38	35	27	100

			Q46d Now I am going to read you a list of countries. For each one, please tell me whether you would favor or oppose admitting it into the European Union in the next ten years: d. Ukraine			
			Favor	Oppose	DK/Refused	Total
Britain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	47	38	15	100
France	Fall, 2009 --	Total	55	45	0	100
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	39	58	3	100
		West	36	61	3	100
		East	50	45	5	100
Italy	Fall, 2009 --	Total	33	51	16	100
Spain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	52	24	24	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	62	20	18	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	47	44	9	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	53	32	16	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	49	33	19	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	62	15	23	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	63	17	20	100

			Q46e Now I am going to read you a list of countries. For each one, please tell me whether you would favor or oppose admitting it into the European Union in the next ten years: e. Serbia			
			Favor	Oppose	DK/Refused	Total
Britain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	39	44	17	100
France	Fall, 2009 --	Total	54	46	0	100
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	42	54	3	100
		West	41	56	2	100
		East	46	47	7	100
Italy	Fall, 2009 --	Total	26	59	16	100
Spain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	51	26	23	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	49	26	25	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	47	42	12	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	53	29	18	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	46	36	18	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	63	16	21	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	40	30	30	100

			Q46f Now I am going to read you a list of countries. For each one, please tell me whether you would favor or oppose admitting it into the European Union in the next ten years: f. Iceland			
			Favor	Oppose	DK/Refused	Total
Britain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	68	21	11	100
France	Fall, 2009 --	Total	84	16	0	100
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	84	13	3	100
		West	84	14	3	100
		East	87	8	5	100
Italy	Fall, 2009 --	Total	55	27	17	100
Spain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	69	9	22	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	69	10	22	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	75	16	9	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	63	18	19	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	64	16	20	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	64	7	29	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	71	10	20	100

			Q47 Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of NATO, that is, North Atlantic Treaty Organization?					
			Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Fall, 2009 --	Total	11	42	14	10	23	100
Britain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	22	41	11	6	21	100
France	Fall, 2009 --	Total	12	59	20	7	1	100
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	14	59	18	4	4	100
		West	16	60	17	4	3	100
		East	9	53	25	5	8	100
Italy	Fall, 2009 --	Total	11	53	14	2	20	100
Spain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	7	49	20	8	15	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	17	58	8	2	15	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	15	57	13	4	11	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	13	53	20	3	10	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	9	51	29	7	5	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	7	52	22	4	16	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	7	46	30	8	9	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	6	51	17	2	24	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	14	40	21	9	15	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	18	36	18	9	19	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	9	50	14	5	22	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	10	21	24	27	17	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	7	27	24	30	12	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	4	20	36	22	18	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	5	25	28	20	22	100

			Q48 Please tell me whether you favor or oppose Ukraine joining NATO in the next ten years.			
			Favor	Oppose	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Fall, 2009 --	Total	46	22	32	100
Britain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	44	30	26	100
France	Fall, 2009 --	Total	54	45	1	100
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	39	53	8	100
		West	40	52	8	100
		East	36	54	10	100
Italy	Fall, 2009 --	Total	32	42	26	100
Spain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	46	20	34	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	64	18	19	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	46	37	16	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	43	34	23	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	41	30	29	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	49	23	28	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	58	20	22	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	28	51	21	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	8	72	20	100

			Q51 How concerned are you, if at all, that (survey country) has become too dependent on Russia for its energy resources? Are you very concerned, fairly concerned, not too concerned, or not at all concerned?					Total
			Very concerned	Fairly concerned	Not too concerned	Not at all concerned	DK/Refused	
Britain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	35	37	18	6	4	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	30	40	22	7	2	100
	Spring, 2008	Total	26	41	23	6	4	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	27	39	21	7	6	100
France	Fall, 2009 --	Total	18	38	26	18	0	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	16	39	29	16	0	100
	Spring, 2008	Total	19	39	29	13	0	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	17	36	29	18	0	100
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	22	40	30	8	1	100
		West	23	40	29	7	1	100
		East	20	36	33	11	1	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	27	39	26	6	1	100
	Spring, 2008	Total	24	38	30	7	2	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	25	33	30	11	1	100
	Italy	Fall, 2009 --	Total	20	53	17	4	6
Spring, 2007		Total	20	51	15	4	10	100
Spain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	15	38	25	16	6	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	19	31	26	22	3	100
	Spring, 2008	Total	9	37	29	18	7	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	10	28	31	23	9	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	32	47	14	3	4	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	26	45	20	3	5	100
	Spring, 2008	Total	21	45	24	5	7	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	22	53	17	3	5	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	27	45	20	7	2	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	10	47	31	10	2	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	31	40	17	9	3	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	13	40	31	14	2	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	39	37	18	4	1	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	15	30	27	21	7	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	10	27	27	26	9	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	23	38	25	8	6	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	42	31	13	9	4	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	26	37	20	14	3	100

			Q57 People practice their religion in different ways. Outside of attending religious services, do you pray several times a day, once a day, a few times a week, once a week or less, or never?							
			Several times a day	Once a day	A few times a week	Once a week or less	Never	DK/Refused	Total	
United States	Fall, 2009 --	Total	36	19	15	14	13	3	100	
	Spring, 2009	Total	34	19	16	17	12	1	100	
	Spring, 2008	Total	33	21	17	14	11	3	100	
	Spring, 2007	Total	36	21	15	15	11	3	100	
	Summer, 2002	Total	32	23	17	16	8	3	100	
Britain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	7	9	9	27	45	2	100	
	Spring, 2009	Total	8	10	10	22	48	3	100	
	Spring, 2008	Total	5	12	9	26	46	2	100	
	Spring, 2007	Total	7	11	10	23	47	2	100	
France	Fall, 2009 --	Total	6	7	9	15	62	1	100	
	Spring, 2009	Total	7	6	12	16	59	1	100	
	Spring, 2008	Total	5	5	10	19	60	1	100	
	Spring, 2007	Total	6	7	9	17	61	0	100	
Summer, 2002	Total	5	7	11	18	59	1	100		
	Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	7	15	7	34	36	2	100
		West	8	17	7	38	28	2	100	
		East	3	6	4	19	66	1	100	
Spring, 2009	Total	7	14	8	28	41	2	100		
Spring, 2008	Total	7	12	9	36	33	3	100		
Spring, 2007	Total	8	15	8	31	35	2	100		
Summer, 2002	Total	9	13	7	32	37	2	100		
Italy	Fall, 2009 --	Total	9	21	18	21	27	5	100	
	Spring, 2007	Total	7	19	18	26	25	5	100	
	Summer, 2002	Total	11	17	13	29	25	5	100	
Spain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	9	18	12	21	39	1	100	
	Spring, 2009	Total	9	18	9	17	47	1	100	
	Spring, 2008	Total	8	17	10	18	45	1	100	
	Spring, 2007	Total	7	12	9	19	50	3	100	
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	12	20	13	38	7	9	100	
	Spring, 2009	Total	12	21	16	34	9	9	100	
	Spring, 2008	Total	10	22	16	32	10	10	100	
	Spring, 2007	Total	12	25	16	28	8	12	100	
	Summer, 2002	Total	15	21	15	39	4	5	100	
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	2	4	4	12	76	1	100	
	Spring, 2007	Total	4	7	3	16	68	1	100	
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	9	17	13	27	29	6	100	
	Spring, 2007	Total	14	22	8	24	32	1	100	
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	5	12	9	25	48	2	100	
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	4	5	5	36	44	5	100	
	Spring, 2007	Total	2	5	4	34	45	10	100	
	Summer, 2002	Total	2	7	6	37	41	7	100	
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	3	10	10	35	36	6	100	
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	12	15	9	23	32	10	100	
	Spring, 2007	Total	9	13	9	31	25	12	100	
	Summer, 2002	Total	15	17	7	30	29	2	100	
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	10	10	8	20	45	8	100	
	Spring, 2009	Total	8	9	7	26	42	8	100	
	Spring, 2008	Total	8	8	10	27	37	10	100	
	Spring, 2007	Total	8	9	7	24	45	7	100	
	Summer, 2002	Total	7	9	6	20	55	3	100	

			Q58 How important is religion in your life – very important, somewhat important, not too important, or not at all important?					
			Very important	Somewhat important	Not too important	Not at all important	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Fall, 2009 --	Total	55	27	8	9	1	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	53	29	8	9	1	100
	Spring, 2008	Total	55	27	9	7	2	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	56	26	9	8	1	100
	Spring, 2006	Total	54	29	10	6	1	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	59	25	8	6	1	100
Britain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	19	26	23	31	1	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	21	25	22	31	1	100
	Spring, 2008	Total	18	24	23	34	1	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	18	24	24	34	1	100
	Spring, 2006	Total	25	37	26	13	1	100
France	Fall, 2009 --	Total	13	24	27	36	0	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	13	24	23	39	1	100
	Spring, 2008	Total	10	27	26	36	0	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	12	26	27	36	0	100
	Spring, 2006	Total	13	31	25	30	0	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	11	27	28	33	1	100
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	25	32	18	24	1	100
		West	28	34	18	19	1	100
		East	13	24	18	45	1	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	24	32	18	25	1	100
	Spring, 2008	Total	22	35	21	21	0	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	24	32	20	24	1	100
	Spring, 2006	Total	30	30	20	21	0	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	21	28	25	25	0	100
Italy	Fall, 2009 --	Total	24	47	20	8	2	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	25	45	19	8	3	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	27	42	21	8	1	100
Spain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	23	32	21	24	1	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	23	29	19	28	1	100
	Spring, 2008	Total	19	27	23	30	1	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	18	26	24	31	1	100
	Spring, 2006	Total	25	23	24	27	1	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	33	46	14	3	4	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	30	50	14	3	3	100
	Spring, 2008	Total	29	50	14	2	4	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	38	44	13	3	3	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	36	52	9	1	2	100

			Q58 How important is religion in your life – very important, somewhat important, not too important, or not at all important?					Total
			Very important	Somewhat important	Not too important	Not at all important	DK/Refused	
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	7	11	25	56	1	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	10	14	28	47	0	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	19	34	26	18	3	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	27	29	24	20	0	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	15	22	30	31	1	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	15	36	26	19	3	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	13	37	32	15	3	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	13	38	27	20	3	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	19	42	27	10	2	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	20	41	22	12	6	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	24	40	20	9	8	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	35	38	16	11	1	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	21	32	25	17	5	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	20	40	24	9	6	100
	Spring, 2008	Total	18	39	24	14	5	100
	Spring, 2007	Total	16	34	33	14	4	100
	Spring, 2006	Total	17	43	29	11	2	100
	Summer, 2002	Total	14	33	28	21	4	100

			Q59 Aside from weddings and funerals how often do you attend religious services... more than once a week, once a week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, seldom, or never? ⁴⁸							Total
			More than once a week	Once a week	Once or twice a month	A few times a year	Seldom	Never	DK/Refused	
United States	Fall, 2009 --	Total	15	23	15	19	14	13	1	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	16	24	15	18	16	11	1	100
Britain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	4	10	9	22	21	33	1	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	4	11	9	23	22	31	1	100
France	Fall, 2009 --	Total	1	6	6	28	14	46	0	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	1	6	6	28	15	43	1	100
Germany	Fall, 2009 --	Total	2	8	9	30	24	27	1	100
		West	2	9	9	33	25	21	1	100
		East	1	4	6	18	23	47	1	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	2	9	10	24	28	27	0	100
Italy	Fall, 2009 --	Total	4	25	16	22	16	16	1	100
Spain	Fall, 2009 --	Total	4	15	10	17	23	29	1	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	4	16	8	13	23	35	1	100
Poland	Fall, 2009 --	Total	5	40	17	17	12	4	5	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	6	39	14	20	12	4	6	100
Czech Republic	Fall, 2009 --	Total	1	5	3	9	24	58	0	100
Slovakia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	8	20	10	17	20	23	2	100
Hungary	Fall, 2009 --	Total	2	8	8	18	26	37	1	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009 --	Total	1	4	7	31	29	25	3	100
Lithuania	Fall, 2009 --	Total	1	11	17	37	24	8	1	100
Ukraine	Fall, 2009 --	Total	3	10	11	25	27	21	3	100
Russia	Fall, 2009 --	Total	2	5	9	19	31	32	3	100
	Spring, 2009	Total	1	4	8	22	37	25	2	100

48. In Spring 2009, this question was asked of non-Muslim respondents only. In Fall 2009, this was asked of all respondents, including Muslims.