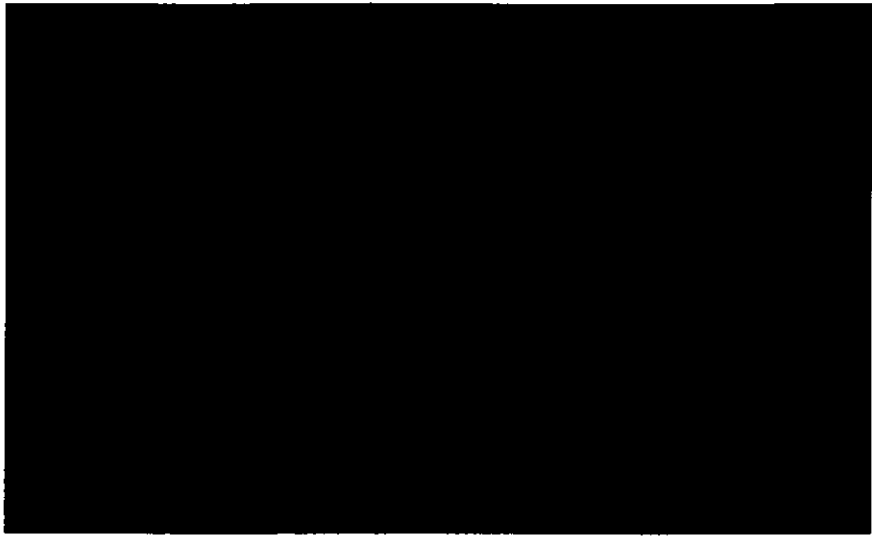


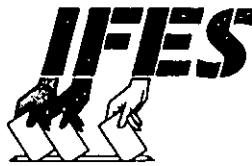
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International Foundation for Election Systems

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OVERVIEW: RUSSIA NATIONAL SURVEY

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News Release

INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTORAL SYSTEMS

FOR RELEASE
SEPTEMBER 28, 1995

CONTACTS: WASHINGTON - LEANNE MCDONALD
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IFES POLL: RUSSIA'S VOTERS SUSPECT ELECTORAL FRAUD; LARGELY ILL INFORMED ABOUT NEW ELECTORAL PROCESS

Presidential contenders Lebed, Yavlinsky have apparent advantage

(MOSCOW, RUSSIA) A national survey released today by the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) shows the majority of Russia's electorate is suspicious that election fraud was committed during the 1993 parliamentary election and constitutional referendum (56%). Somewhat less of the electorate (48%) sees fraud as likely in the 1995 parliamentary elections.

However, despite the widespread perception of past and future fraud, very few voters report witnessing violations of the election law or any type of fraudulent voting act. For example, only 14% of voters observed people voting in groups instead of by secret ballot. Indeed, egregious acts considered fraudulent, such as offering financial or other material incentives in return for votes, were observed by only 2% of voters in 1993 elections.

"Our research demonstrates that a lack of voter information tends to promote skepticism about the integrity of Russia's electoral process," said IFES Russia Program Manager Michael Caputo, who has worked on three US presidential campaigns. "The survey clearly shows those who are less informed are more likely to say the elections were or will be fraudulent."

According to the poll, 51% of respondents have heard or read nothing about the Central Election Commission and a majority (60%) know nothing about the new election laws. In addition, 75% are not familiar with their legal voting rights. The current lack of knowledge is a continuing trend, since just under half (49%) feel they had enough information to understand the process before the elections of 1993.

"If the government of Russia wants to begin clearing the air about the election process, one good answer is apparent -- a well-designed, targeted and communicated voter education program," Caputo said.

(more)

IFES RUSSIA POLL

September 28, 1995

Page 2

The IFES survey, which was concluded in late July, shows only two parties enjoying double digit support, the Communist Party (14%) and Women of Russia (11%). Yabloko (9%) and Russia's Democratic Choice (7%) are not far behind, followed by the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (4%) and Our Home Russia (3%). Still more respondents (40%) chose none of the parties or did not know their choice yet. [REPORTER'S NOTE: THE CONGRESS OF RUSSIAN COMMUNITIES PARTY WAS FOUNDED DURING THE INTERVIEWING PROCESS AND WAS THUS NOT INCLUDED ON THE QUESTIONNAIRE.]

Russia's political parties are at an important crossroads according to the IFES survey. A clear majority (69%) of Russia's voters say political parties are necessary for democracy and a plurality (42%) believe that, ideally, there should be several parties. Despite this, few are party members (6%) and 41% say there are not clear differences in party platforms.

In fact, voters who select "pro-reform" parties display a division of opinion about fundamental issues of governance. Yabloko, Our Home Russia, and Russia's Democratic Choice voters are nearly evenly split within each party on support for continued reform or a return to state control of the economy.

Further, whether a candidate is affiliated with a political organization or not is not a clear advantage for the December elections. Only 24% say they are more likely to support a candidate that is a member of a party, while 27% are more likely to support an independent candidate. Even more respondents (35%) say party affiliation makes no difference.

The survey shows potential presidential candidates Alexander Lebed (14%) and Grigory Yavlinsky (12%) narrowly leading a still wide-open race. Prime Minister Victor Chernomyrdin (10%) was third, followed by Boris Yeltsin (7%), Gennady Zyuganov (6%), Vladimir Zhirinovskiy (6%), Alexander Rutskoi (5%) and Alexander Solzhynitzen (5%). Twenty-three percent of the electorate do not know who they will vote for as president.

"Lebed and Yavlinsky have an apparent advantage over other presidential candidates," said pollster Gary Ferguson, who, as vice president of Alexandria, Virginia-based American Viewpoint, has done polling for three US presidential and many US Congressional campaigns. "Voters have fewer negative preconceptions about them as compared to other potential presidential candidates. They still have more room to grow as they build name identification with voters who are not yet familiar with them. Their opponents have less room to maneuver, and already trail them in our survey. Also, Lebed and Yavlinsky voters are among the most interested in politics and government."

IFES RUSSIA POLL

September 28, 1995

Page 3

"Strategically, it's important to note that both Lebed and Yavlinsky have strong favorable ratios among supporters of other presidential candidates, including Yeltsin, Chernomyrdin, Solzhenitsyn and Ruskoi," Ferguson said. "This increases their potential to draw supporters from other voting blocs."

The survey also reveals the vast majority voters (74%) clearly support computerization of the election process. In addition, those who think the elections will be free and fair (85%) and those who think there will be fraud (76%) both strongly favor computerization.

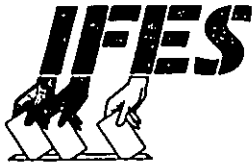
In addition, more than 25% of voters oppose private campaign contributions and 65% back a ceiling on the amount of such contributions. Finally, a majority (65%) support a minimum threshold of participating voters for validation of the elections.

A description of the methodology used to conduct the IFES survey of Russia's electorate is included in the summary of findings. The survey was conducted by a partnership of IFES, Ferguson and Anna Andreenkova of the Institute for Comparative Social Research (CESSI), a Moscow-based polling firm.

IFES is a Washington, DC based non-profit foundation dedicated to supporting and strengthening democratic election systems around the world. Since its founding in 1987, IFES has worked in more than 50 countries. The foundation has worked in Russia since 1990, and has maintained an office in Moscow since 1993. IFES worked closely with the Central Election Commission of the Russian Federation during the 1993 elections, and continues this relationship today through technical election assistance provided under a cooperative agreement with the Commission. IFES' work in Russia is funded by a grant from the US Agency for International Development (USAID).

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SUMMARY

Political Environment

- Voters are extremely dissatisfied with the current situation in Russia. Overall, 87% are dissatisfied and 75% say they are very dissatisfied.
- The economy is seen as the number one problem facing the country. Other perceived problems include quality of life issues, peace, lack of political leadership, and ethnic conflicts.
- Other concerns that receive a substantial number of mentions include inflation, crime, standard of living, the situation in Chechnya, unemployment, general instability in the country, economic decline, and social and moral decay.
- Overall, the electorate displays a low level of interest in politics and government. Fewer than one in three voters (32%) are interested in such matters while 66% say they are not.
- Voters are pessimistic about both the political and economic situations over the next two or three years and a plurality say these areas will worsen during that period.
- Concerns about the economy result in 52% saying that the country should return to a system where the state controls much of the economy while only 17% call for the reform process to continue.
- A plurality of voters, led by young people, now view Russia as a democracy (47%). Many (41%) do not, however, and this sentiment is the main view among those age 45 and older. Further, only 3% say the country is primarily a democracy.
- Voters are divided on the subject of whether political power in Russia should be centralized (33%) or decentralized (34%).
- The United States (13%) is the number one foreign country Russians look to as a model for the nation's development. A plurality (30%) say that Russia serves as its own best model. Another 7% look to the Soviet Union as a model for development.
- Voters say that Russia would benefit more from an orientation toward the West (28%) than the East (7%). However, 32% say Russia would not benefit from either orientation.

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- The media will play a key role in the upcoming elections. A majority of voters (53%) rely on the media for their voting information and National Channel One (87%) and Channel Two (81%) are perceived as being the most useful. Newspapers (69%) are also seen as an important source.

Institutions and Officials

- Voters are extremely skeptical about the interests, motivations, and actions of elected officials and about government in general. More than half (54%) say that official corruption is common and 56% say that officials in Moscow are not capable of making any improvements in their lives. Only 5% think that elected officials are genuinely interested in "improving our lives" while 60% think officials are only interested in "helping themselves."
- High levels of dissatisfaction do not bode well for incumbent officials and President Yeltsin has problems on a number of key variables. Overall, only 19% have a favorable perception of him and 72% are unfavorable. His job approval stands at 21% while 69% disapprove. Further, 52% disapprove intensely. Finally, he receives just 7% in the presidential ballot test.
- A majority also disapprove of the job performance of the State Duma (23% approve - 52% disapprove) and the Federation Council (19% approve - 40% disapprove) also has a negative ratio.

Attitudes Toward the Electoral System

- There is a great deal of skepticism regarding free and fair elections in Russia. However, the view is somewhat more optimistic about the future than about the past. That is, 56% believe there was at least some election fraud in the December 1993 elections and constitutional referendum and 48% think there will be fraud in the 1995 parliamentary elections.
- Those who believe fraud will occur divide the responsibility between a variety of entities:
 - 16% Central Election Commission
 - 9% Local executive authorities
 - 9% Local candidate organizations
 - 8% The executive branch
 - 7% Political parties
 - 5% Other central authorities

IFES Russian National Survey

24% All of these
11% Don't know

- However, despite the widespread opinion that fraud occurred in the past and will occur again in the future, very few voters have witnessed any type of fraudulent voting act. The most prominent act reported is people voting in groups without a secret ballot (14%). Group voting appears to be more prevalent among younger voters. Very few have witnessed more egregious acts such as monetary or other incentives being offered to voters (2%), and officials (4%) or poll watchers (4%) trying to influence voting. Further, very few voters experienced any kind of external pressure with regard to how they voted.
- Few voters know anything about the Central Election Commission. Only 7% have seen, read or heard even a "fair amount" and 51% have seen or heard absolutely nothing about the CEC. Still, the job approval ratio of the CEC (25% well done - 27% poorly done) among those who have any level of information is better than that given to the President, the State Duma, or the Federation Council.
- Voters widely support the computerization of elections (73%). Voters are highly supportive of computerization regardless of their view of the political environment or reform process. For example, those who say that official corruption is very common and those who say it is very rare are equally in favor of computerization (74%). Similarly, those who think the 1995 elections will be free and fair (85%) and those who think there will be election fraud (76%) both strongly favor the computerization of elections.
- Further, voters oppose private campaign contributions and favor a ceiling on the amount of such contributions.
- Voters support a minimum threshold for the validation of national elections.
- Voters were asked if they would prefer to elect more candidates from party lists, more from single mandate constituencies, or if they would prefer to keep things the way they are. In response, 22% would like more representatives from party lists, 7% would have more from single mandate constituencies, and 30% would prefer to keep things the way they are.
- A 61% majority say the Federation Council should be directly elected while 11% prefer indirect election and 5% think it should be appointed by the President.

IFES Russia National Survey

Voting Patterns

- Despite this pessimism, most people say they are likely to vote in both the State Duma elections (74%) and the presidential election (76%).
- Of course, turnout may be overstated (as past voting is over-reported). Older voters are more likely to vote than younger people and men generally express more interest in politics, awareness of candidates, and higher likelihood of voting than women. As a result, a variety of turnout models could be drawn that would indicate quite different electoral outcomes.
- Like other recent polls, this survey shows a presidential race that is wide open. No candidate receives more than 14% of the vote and the three leading candidates are within four points of each other. The next grouping finds five candidates with total support ranging from 7% to 5%. In the third tier, seven candidates have 1-2% support each. More voters (23%) are undecided than support any candidate. As mentioned earlier, no candidate has emerged as the clear leader in this race and it is far too early to count anyone out of this contest.
- On the other hand, it does appear that the current leaders, Yavlinsky and Lebed, have room for growth that may not be available to many of the other candidates. Each has less than 80% name awareness (as opposed to 90+ percent for many of the other contenders) and both have far better favorable ratios than any except Solzhenitsyn. Unlike a number of candidates who have high negatives, they have an excellent opportunity to build favorable name awareness - and electoral support - across various population groups that do not have preconceived ideas about them.

Political Parties

- Political parties are at an important crossroads. A clear majority (69%) say that political parties are necessary for democracy and a 42% plurality say that, ideally, there would be several parties rather than one (17%) or many (10%). However, few belong to a party (6%) and 41% say there are not clear differences between the platforms of the various parties. Still, a majority (58%) believe that the parties speak to the issues that concern the Russian electorate.
- Nevertheless, only 24% say they are more likely to support a candidate who is affiliated with a political party while 27% are more likely to support a non-affiliated candidate and 35% say party affiliation makes no difference.
- Further, party support is extremely fragmented as of the end of July. The party

IFES Russia National Survey

preference question on the State Duma ballot test shows that only two parties, the Communist Party (14%) and Women of Russia (11%) have double-digit support. Yabloko (9%) and Russia's Democratic Choice (7%) are not far behind, and a cluster of other parties are currently below the 5% threshold. A 21% plurality support none of the parties and 19% are undecided. Of 20 parties tested, only seven have awareness levels of 50% or higher. By design, party leaders' names were omitted from party awareness questions.

Voter Education

- Findings in this research underscore the need for continued voter education efforts in Russia.
 - ✓ Only 15% are very or somewhat familiar with their voting rights.
 - ✓ Less than half of all respondents (49%) feel they received enough information from election officials so that they understand the election process while 33% do not feel they received enough information.
 - ✓ An overwhelming majority (73%) agree with the statement: "I don't have enough information about my rights with regard to the authorities."
 - ✓ Three out of four voters say they have inadequate information about the democratic process. That is, only 2% say they have a great deal of information about the democratic process of the Russian Federation while 16% say they have a fair amount, 53% not very much and 22% none at all. Not a single subgroup has even 10% who say they have a "great deal" of information.
 - ✓ Only one voter in three had enough information about the candidates or parties to make a good choice between the candidates for the State Duma in December, 1993 Parliamentary elections.
 - ✓ Better than one in five voters say they didn't have sufficient information on how to check the voter registry or on means of alternative voting.

IFES Russia National Survey

- ✓ There are several widely-held misunderstandings regarding voting rights. More than one-third (34%) believe that a family member may vote on your behalf. Also, a majority of voters (51%) incorrectly believe that prisoners may vote and nearly four in ten believe that those who do not currently reside in Russia may not vote. In addition, 28% say that those who do not speak Russian may not vote and 10% say that those who are not of Russian ancestry may not vote. However, nearly all voters have the correct understanding of voting rights with regard to minimum age, Russian citizenship, the need to hold office or be of a certain religious faith, and the rights of students and military away from home.

Parting Thoughts

- In many ways, young people hold the key to these elections because of their lower probability of voting as compared with older voters. Just 29% of those age 17-35 say they are certain to vote whereas 55% of those 55 and older say they are certain to go to the polls. Low turnout by young voters will result in higher percentages for the Communist and Agrarian parties while higher turnout would likely benefit Russia's Democratic Choice, Yabloko, and Women of Russia. Low turnout also benefits a number of presidential candidates including Zyuganov and Rutskoi. Other candidates' support is more evenly distributed by age.
- The electorate's desire for stability and control is apparent. A majority want state control of the economy and a substantial number of supporters of pro-reform parties also express this sentiment.
- A contrast to the pessimism exhibited about elections and elected officials is the optimism expressed about the impact of voting on their lives. A 53% majority say that by voting people can "change something in the life of our country" while 40% say that change is not possible. Further, a majority of all age groups feel that voting can change things. This high efficacy is also expressed by the huge majorities who plan to go to the polls.
- However, a lack of information about rights and process tends to promote the kind of skepticism about the integrity of the process that is seen throughout this survey. That is, those who possess less information are more likely to say that elections were, or will be, fraudulent.

IFES Russia National Survey

- Further, a lack of information may affect turnout and voting. If 250 parties are successful in getting on the ballot, voters face - and may turn away from - the daunting task of sifting through a ballot that, in all probability, will take booklet form. Therefore, parties will have to devise a means of informing voters about their location on the ballot.
- As a result of these factors, one thing is certain. There is clear need for a continuing voter education program that is well designed, highly targeted, and effectively communicated.

IFES Russia National Survey

METHODOLOGY

The International Foundation for Electoral Systems commissioned this survey of the Russian electorate as part of its voter education program. The project was a joint effort of researchers and policy experts in Russia and the United States. The project director and data analyst was Gary Ferguson, Vice President of American Viewpoint, Inc., who designed the questionnaire in conjunction with the IFES team led by Catherine Barnes.

The field test in Russia was led by Richard Raquet, Vice President of the Response Center in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Sampling, interviewing and data entry were conducted by the Institute for Comparative Social Research (CESSI). The project director in Russia was Anna Andreenkova of CESSI. In all, 4,070 personal interviews were conducted by CESSI during the month of July 1995.

The sample includes an over sample of those ages 17-35. A total of 1,736 interviews were conducted with respondents age 17-35. The main sample consists of 3,560 interviews. All surveys are subject to errors caused by interviewing a sample of persons rather than the entire population. At the 95 confidence level, the margin of error for a random sample of 3,560 interviews is plus or minus 1.7 percentage points. The margin of error for 1,736 interviews is plus or minus 2.4 percentage points.

The sample was weighted by sex, age, and region and is representative of the population by those characteristics. The following table displays the sample characteristics.

Sample Characteristics

	17-35	36-44	45-54	55-64	65+	Male	Female
North/Northwest	39%	18%	10%	15%	17%	47%	53%
Center	37	19	14	16	14	50	50
Centralno-Chernozemnyi	38	19	15	14	13	44	56
Volgo-Vyatsky	35	20	15	17	13	49	51
Volga	40	19	13	14	13	45	55
North Caucasus	32	17	24	17	10	66	34
Ural	41	16	14	14	16	45	55
East Siberia	48	22	19	6	5	54	46
West Siberia	43	14	13	13	16	44	56
Far East	44	14	10	14	17	42	58

APPENDIX A SAMPLING DESIGN

The Russian national sample consists of 51 sampling points across the country to represent its population of 149 million people. Each sampling point thus represents about 3 million people, except for Moscow (9 million) and St. Petersburg (5 million). The sample was created using Kish's (1965) area probability methods for national surveys.

The units of selection in this multi-stage cluster sampling scheme are described below in decreasing order of generality. In the first stage, the primary sampling units (PSUs) were districts (rayons) or major cities, with probabilities of selection based on their population size (PPS).

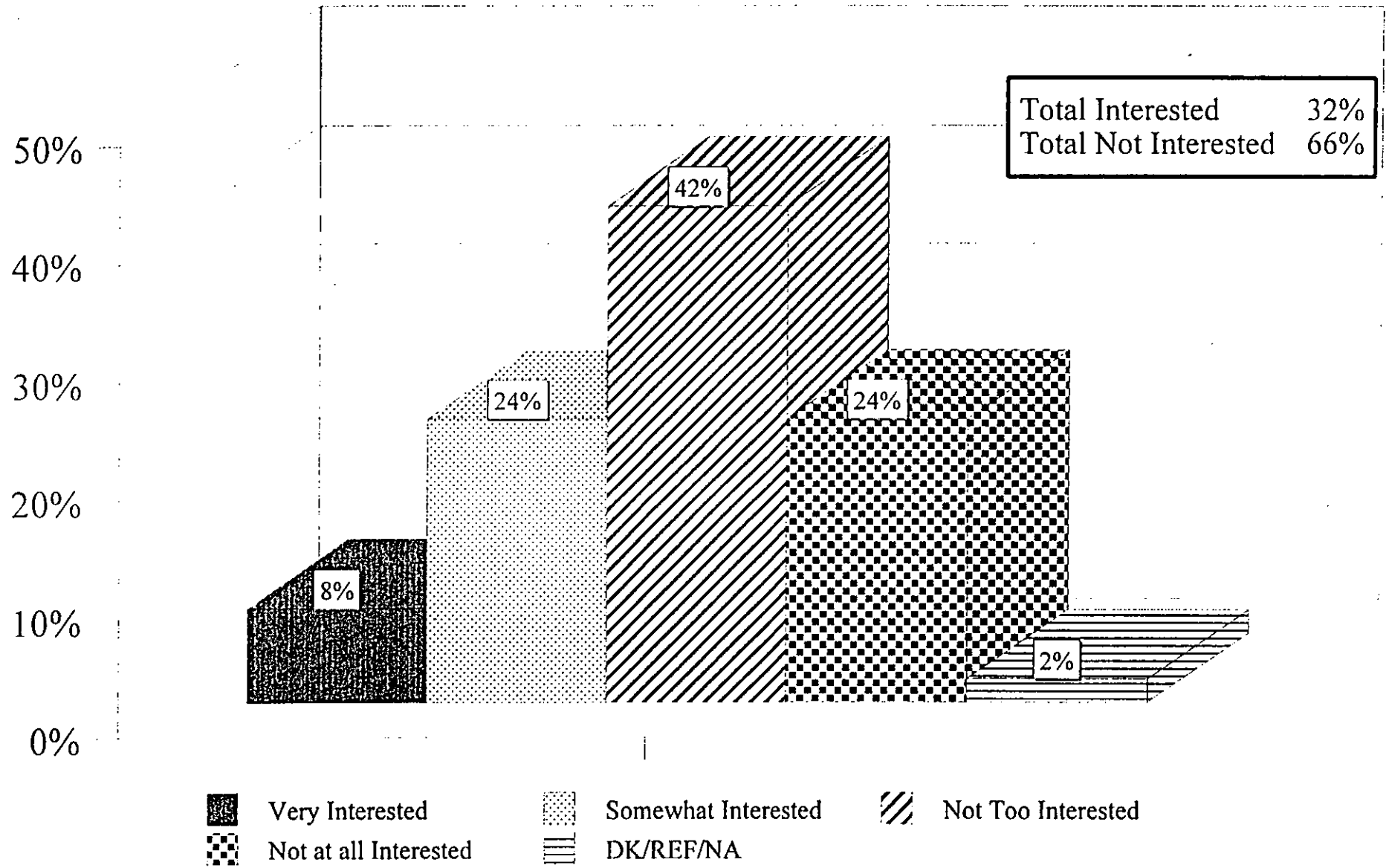
In the second stage, the municipalities and rural Soviets (grouping of several smaller communities) within these rayons were selected, again based on population size. Since both Moscow and St. Petersburg are large communities with more than 3 million population, they were automatically included in the sample.

The units for the third stage of selection were the electoral districts within these municipalities and rural communities (selected randomly from the list of electoral districts for each city). In each of these first three stages, then, sampling units had probabilities of selection proportionate to unit size.

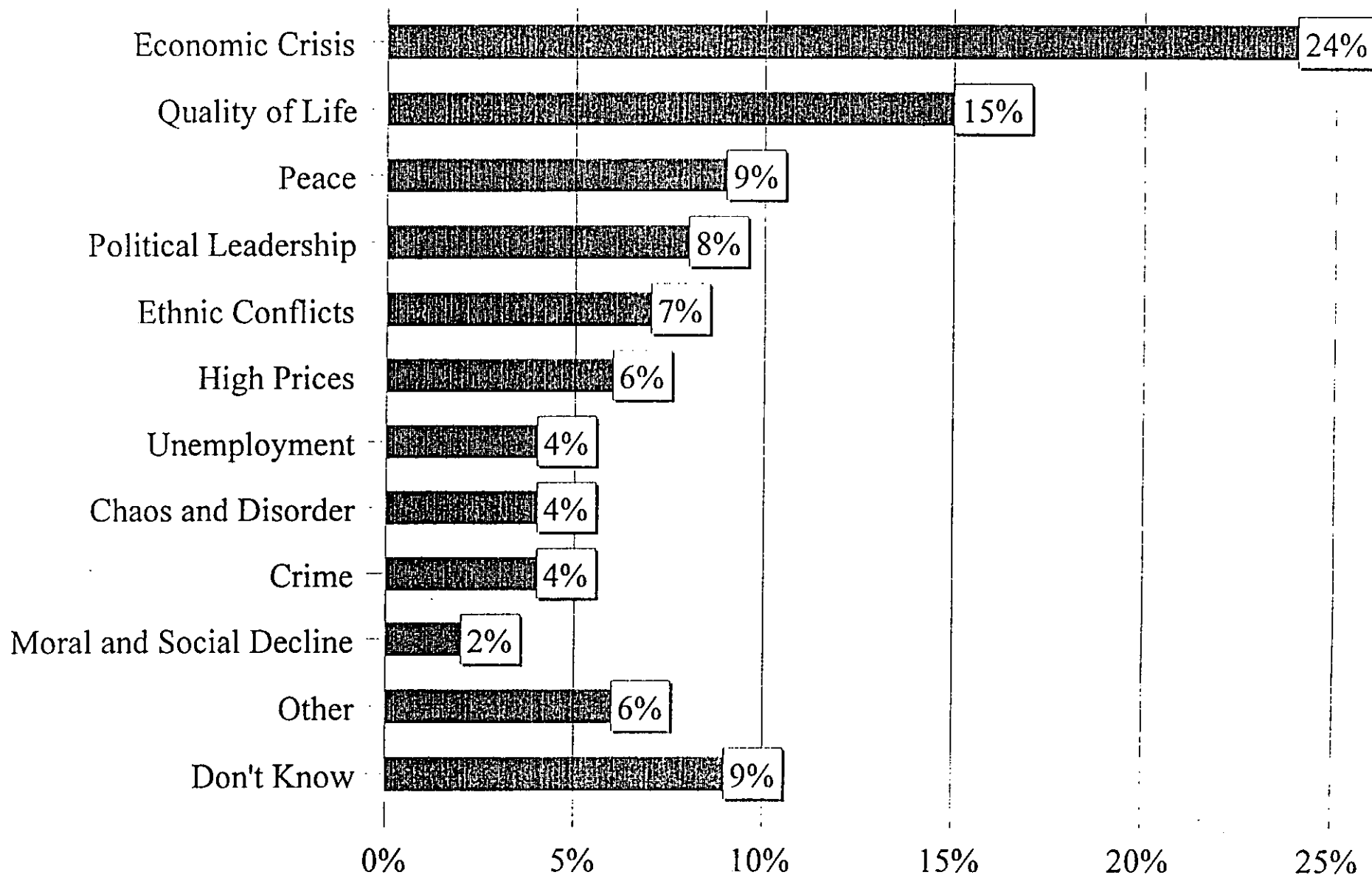
In the fourth stage of selection, individual households are listed and randomly selected within electoral districts, while in the fifth stage, individual respondents are selected within these households. In these last two stages, households and individual respondents within households are selected randomly according to standard Kish procedures.



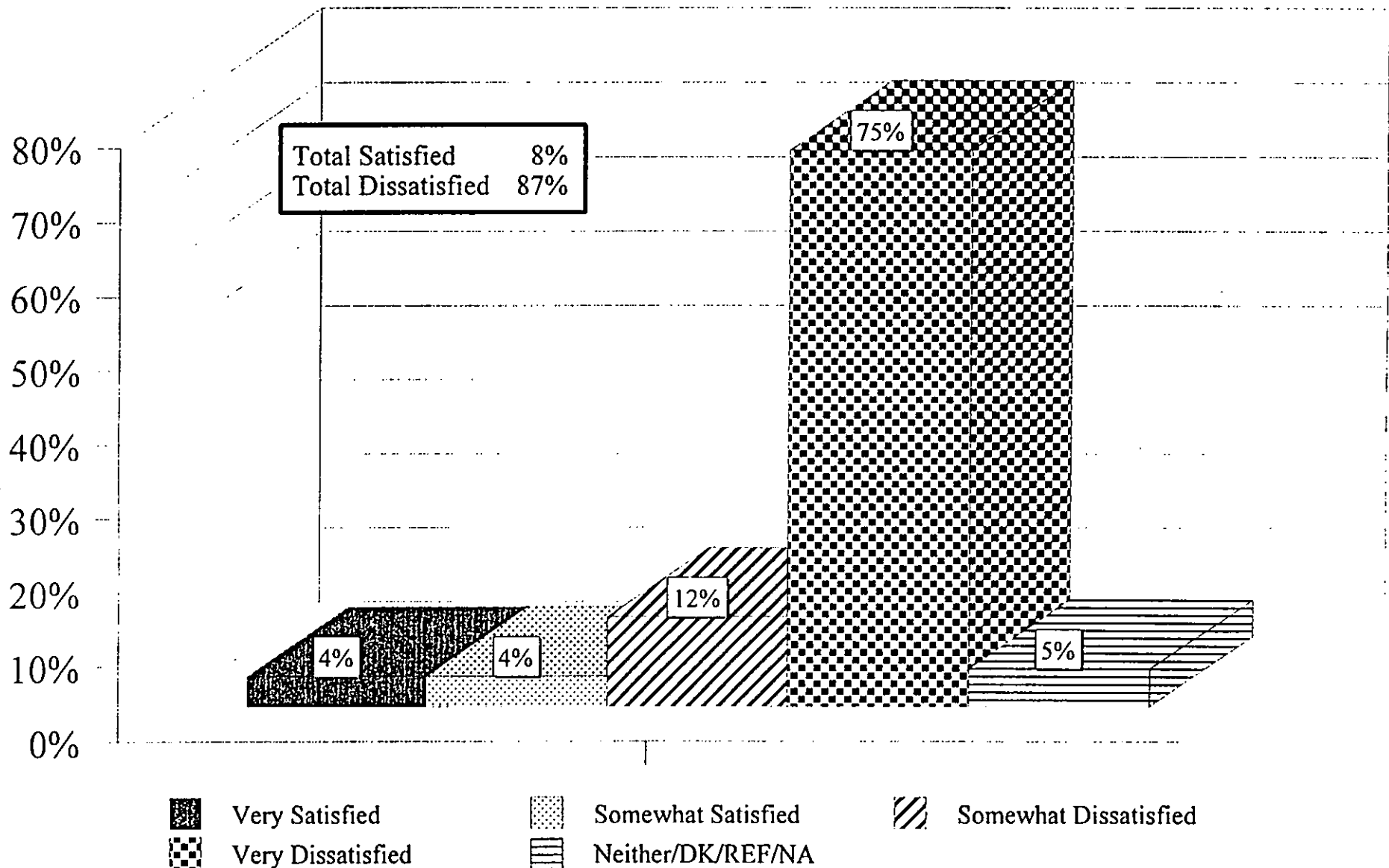
INTEREST IN POLITICS



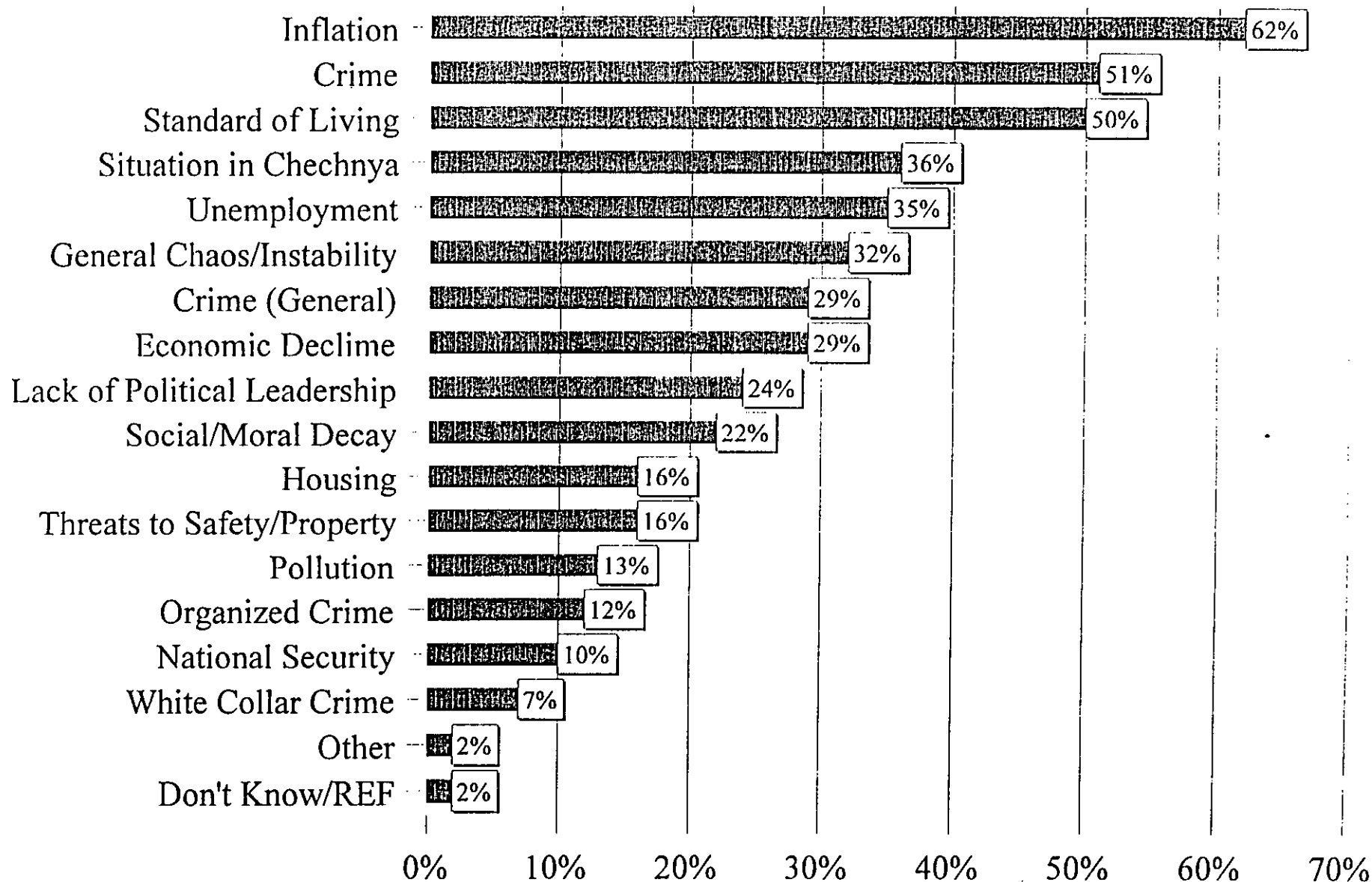
What is the most important problem facing the Russian Federation today?



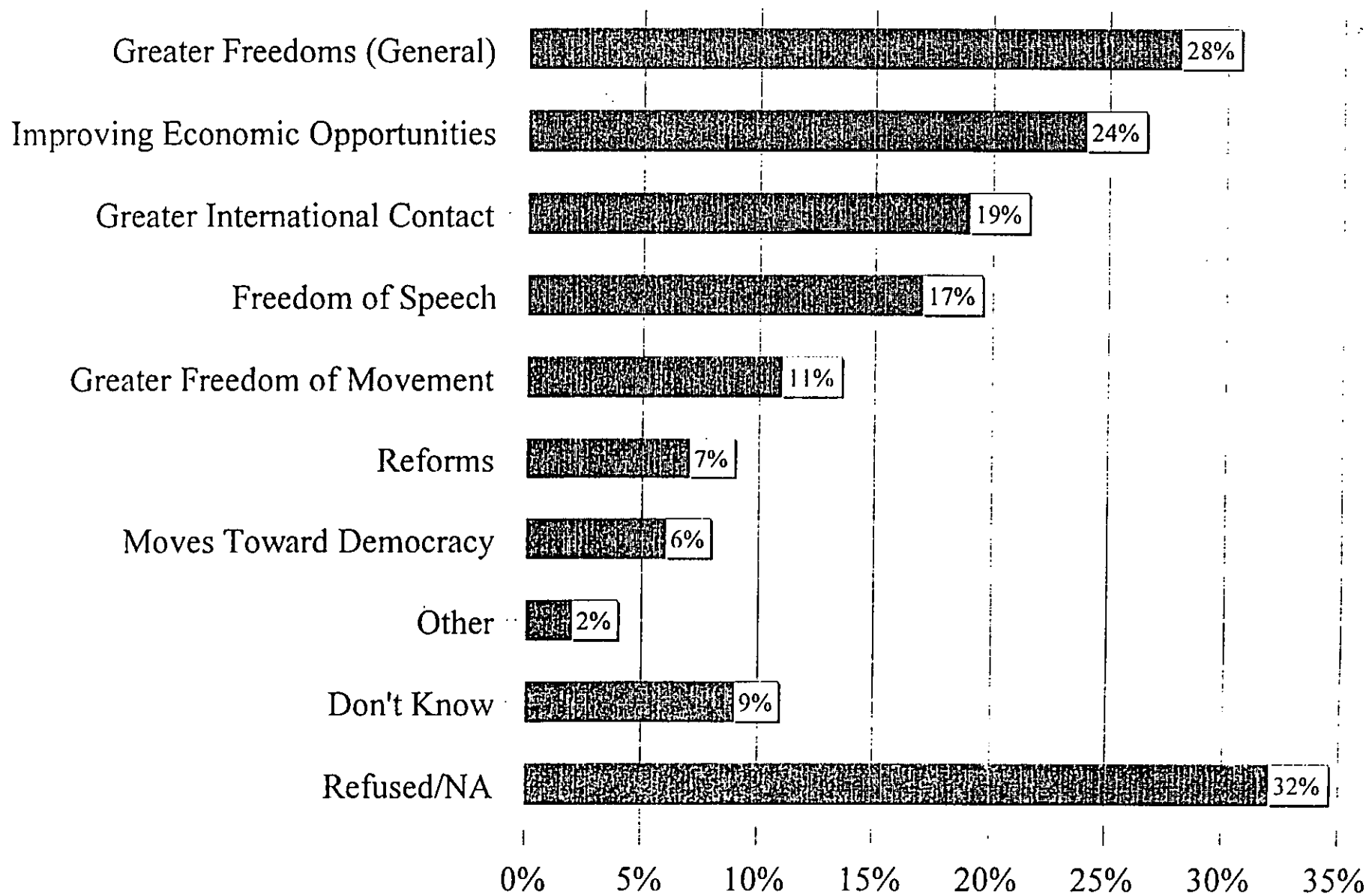
Are you satisfied with the situation in the Russian Federation today?



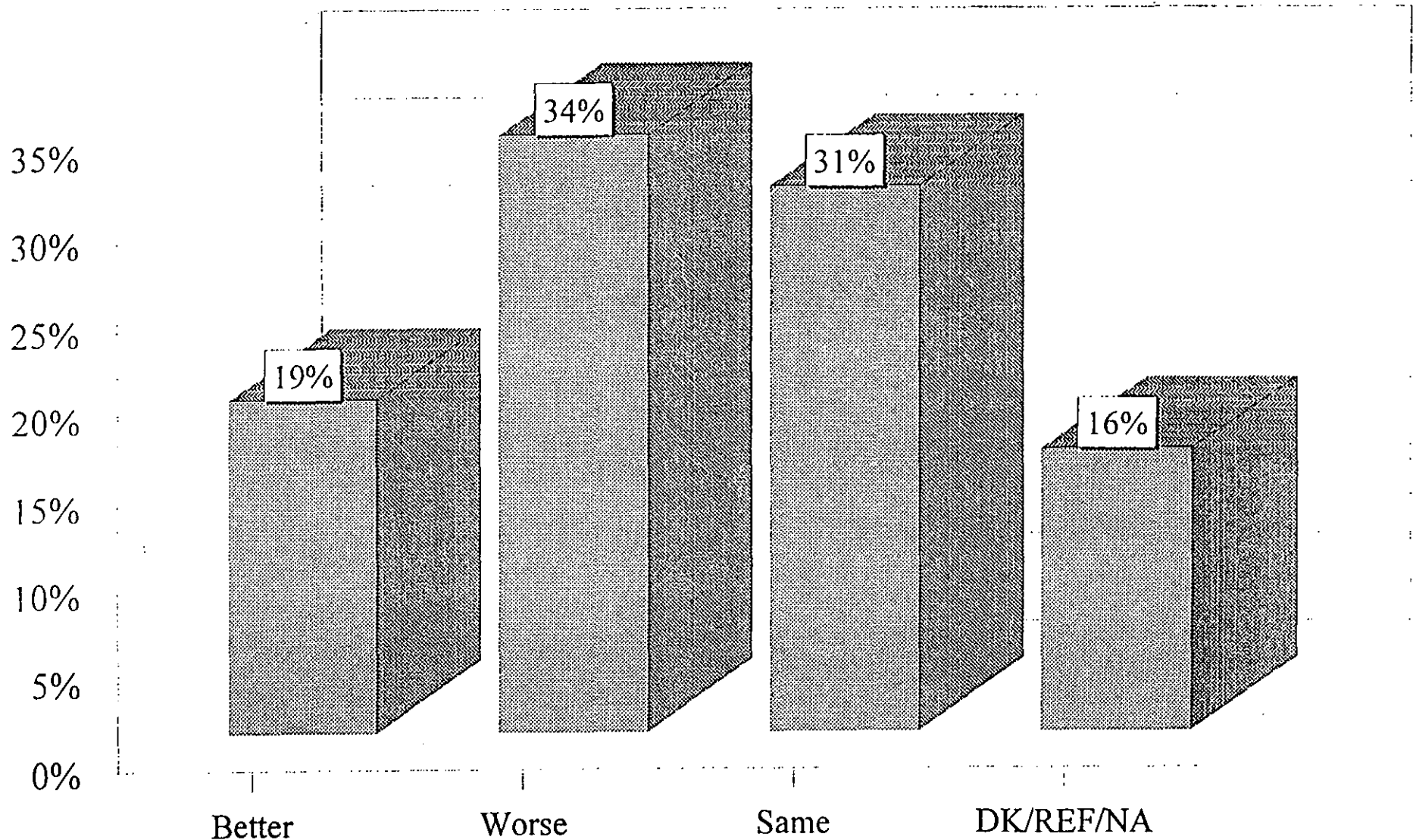
*What are some of the reasons you are unsatisfied with the situation in Russia? *Multiple responses allowed*



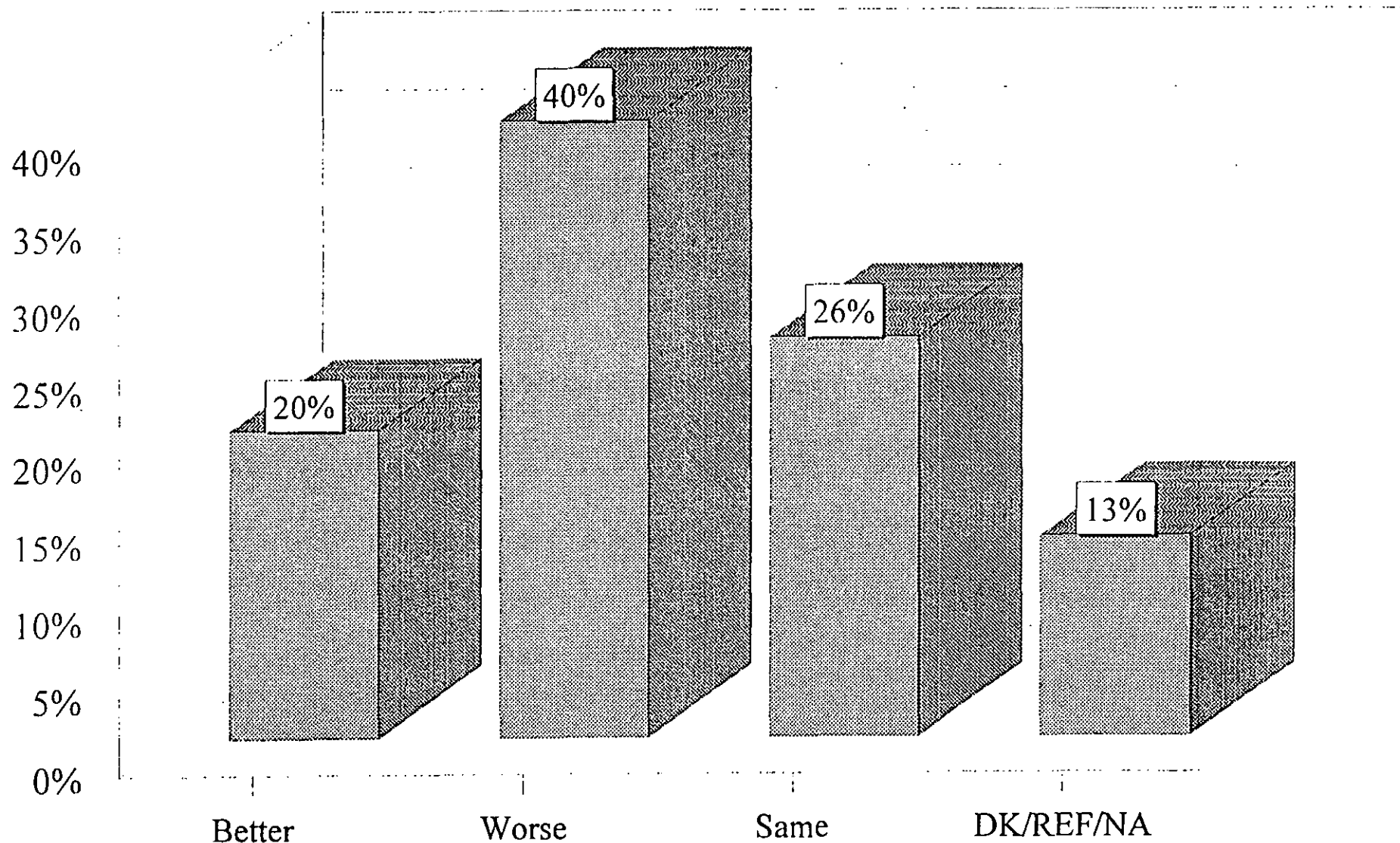
*What are some of the reasons you are satisfied with the situation in Russia? *Multiple responses allowed*



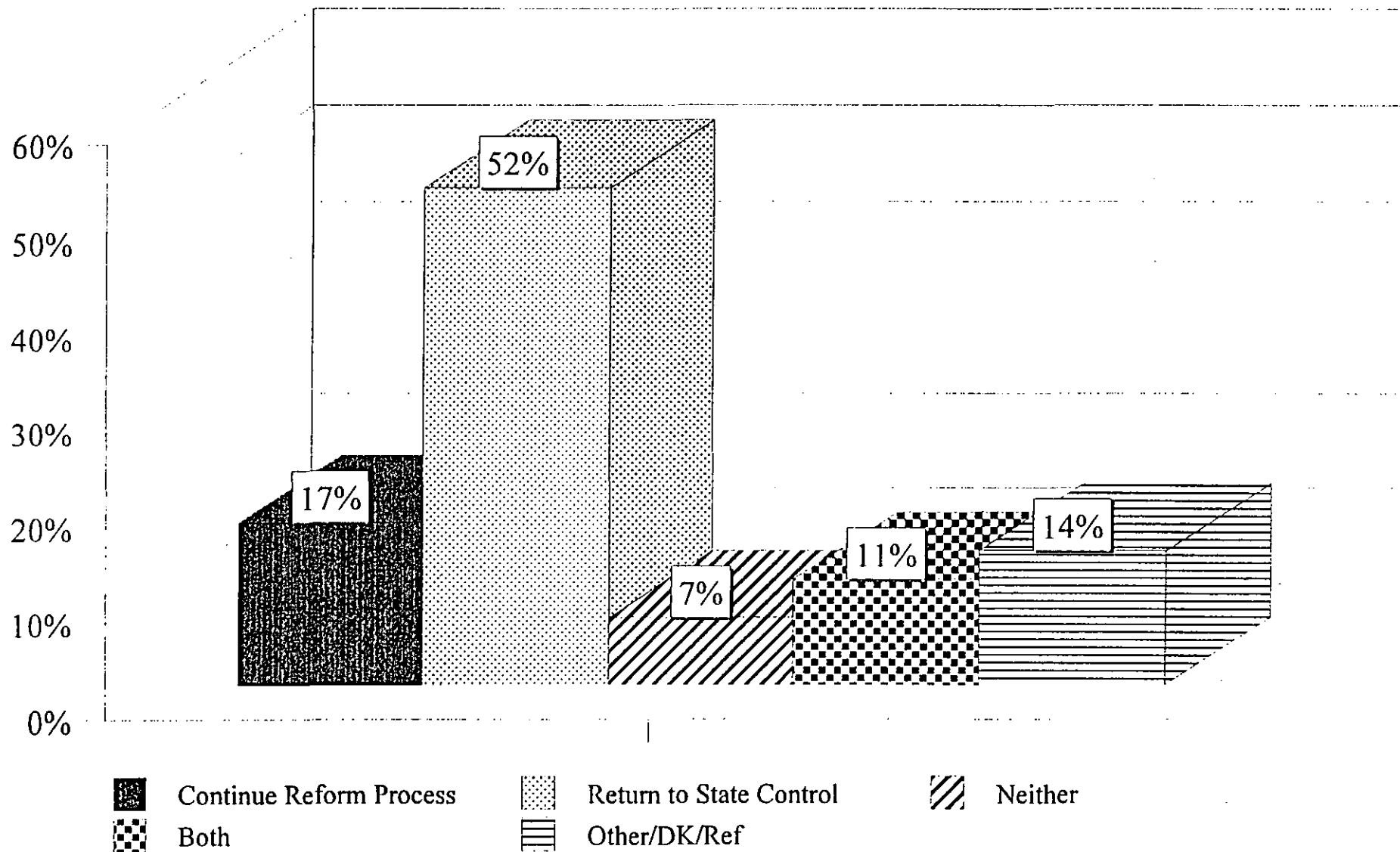
Do you expect that in two or three years from now, the political situation will be better, worse or about the same as it is now?



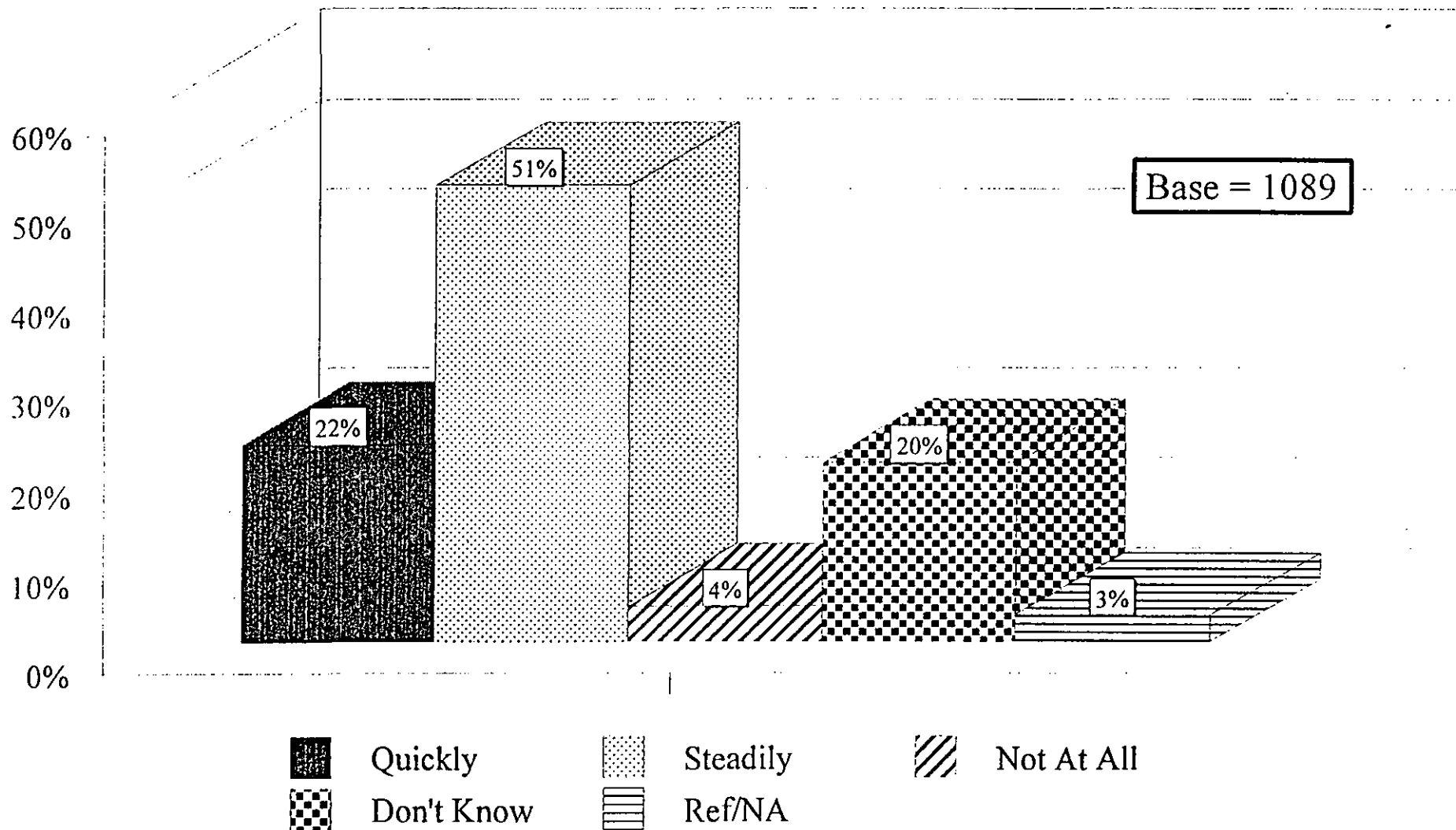
Do you expect that in two or three years from now, the economic situation will be better, worse or about the same as it is now?



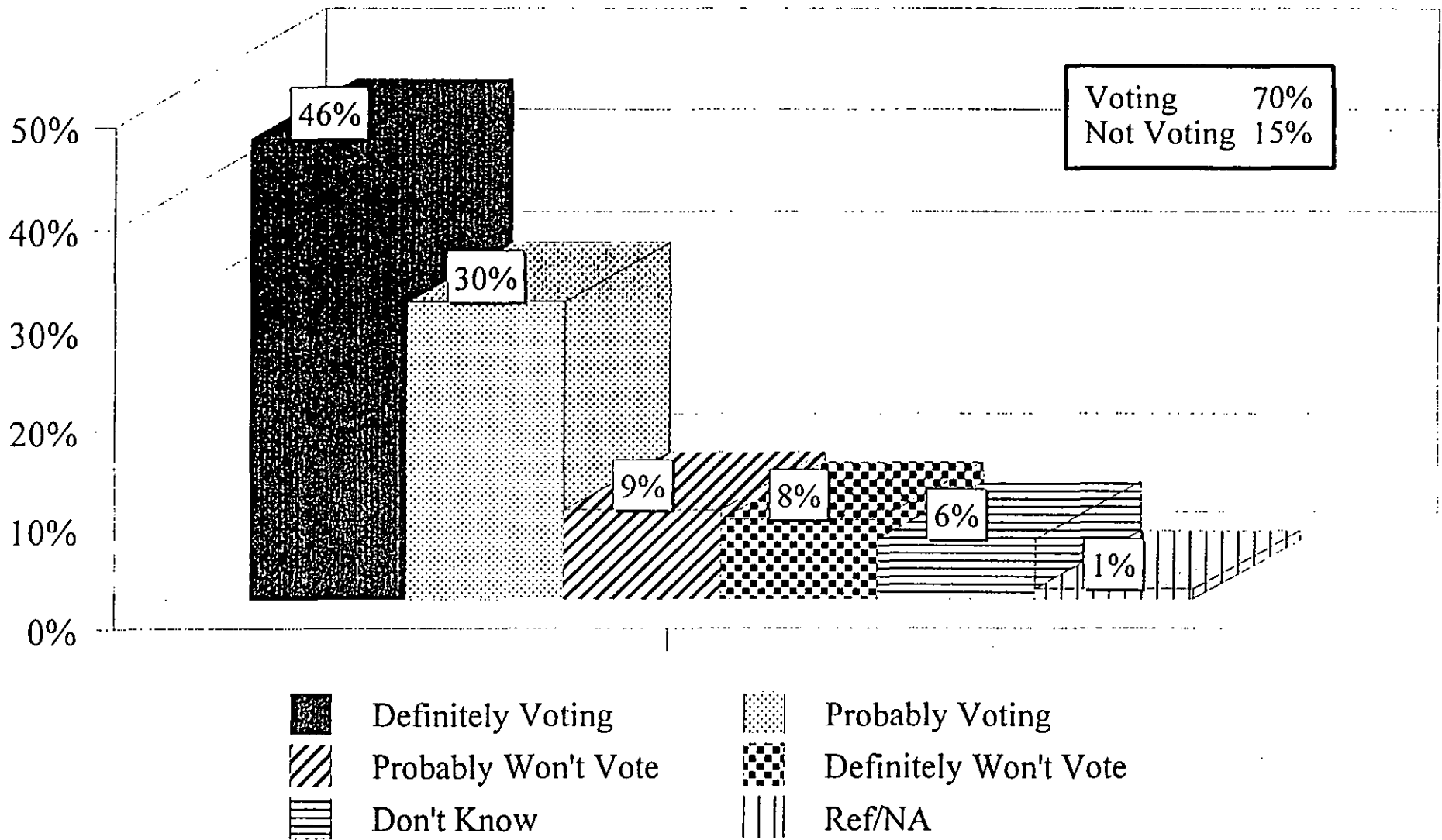
Should Russia continue the process of reducing the state's Role in running the economy or should we return to a System where the state controls much of the economy?



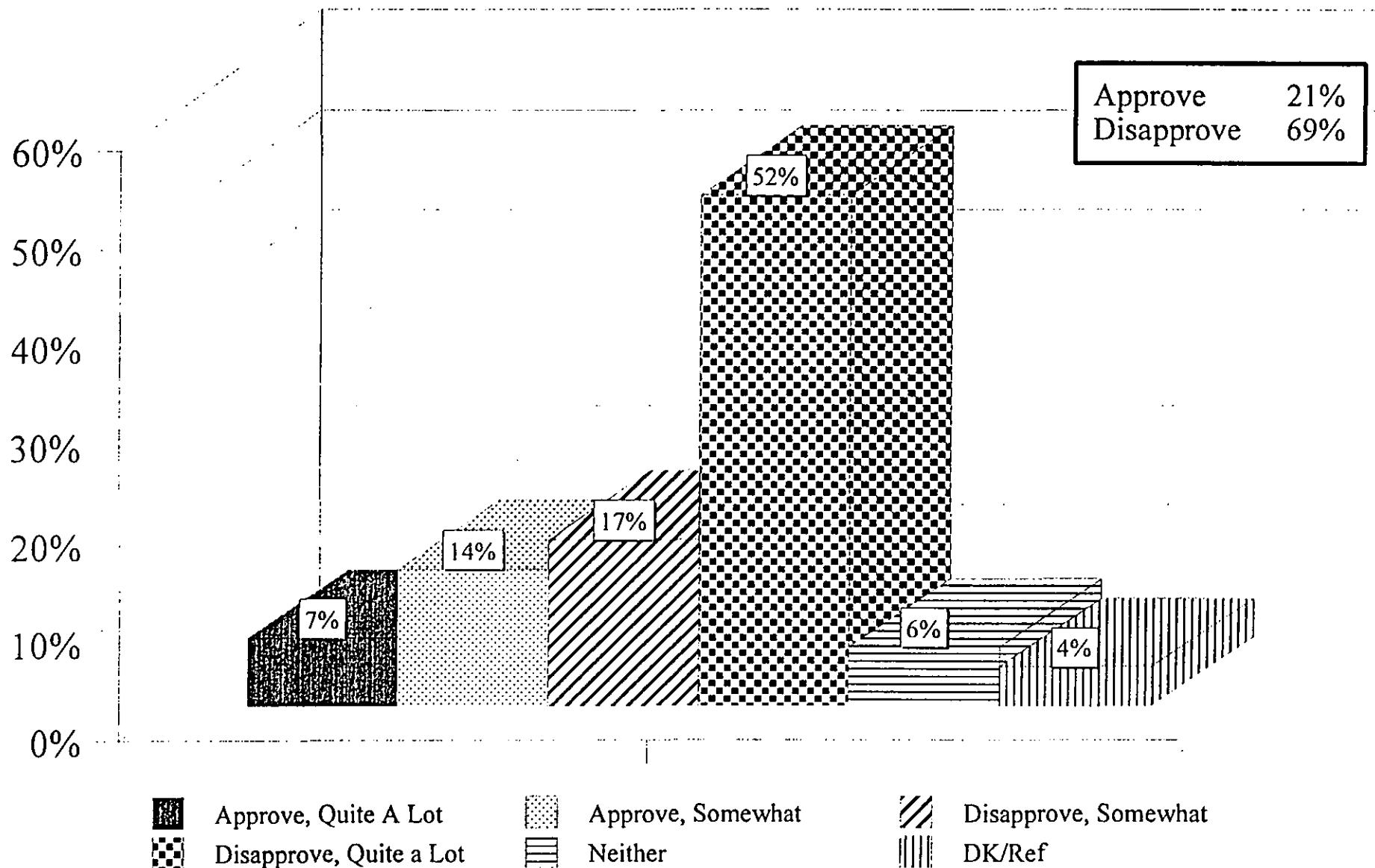
*When it comes to our economic development, should we
 Get to a free economy as quickly as possible, should we work
 Toward a free economy with steady but smaller reforms,
 Or should we not pursue a free market economy at all?*



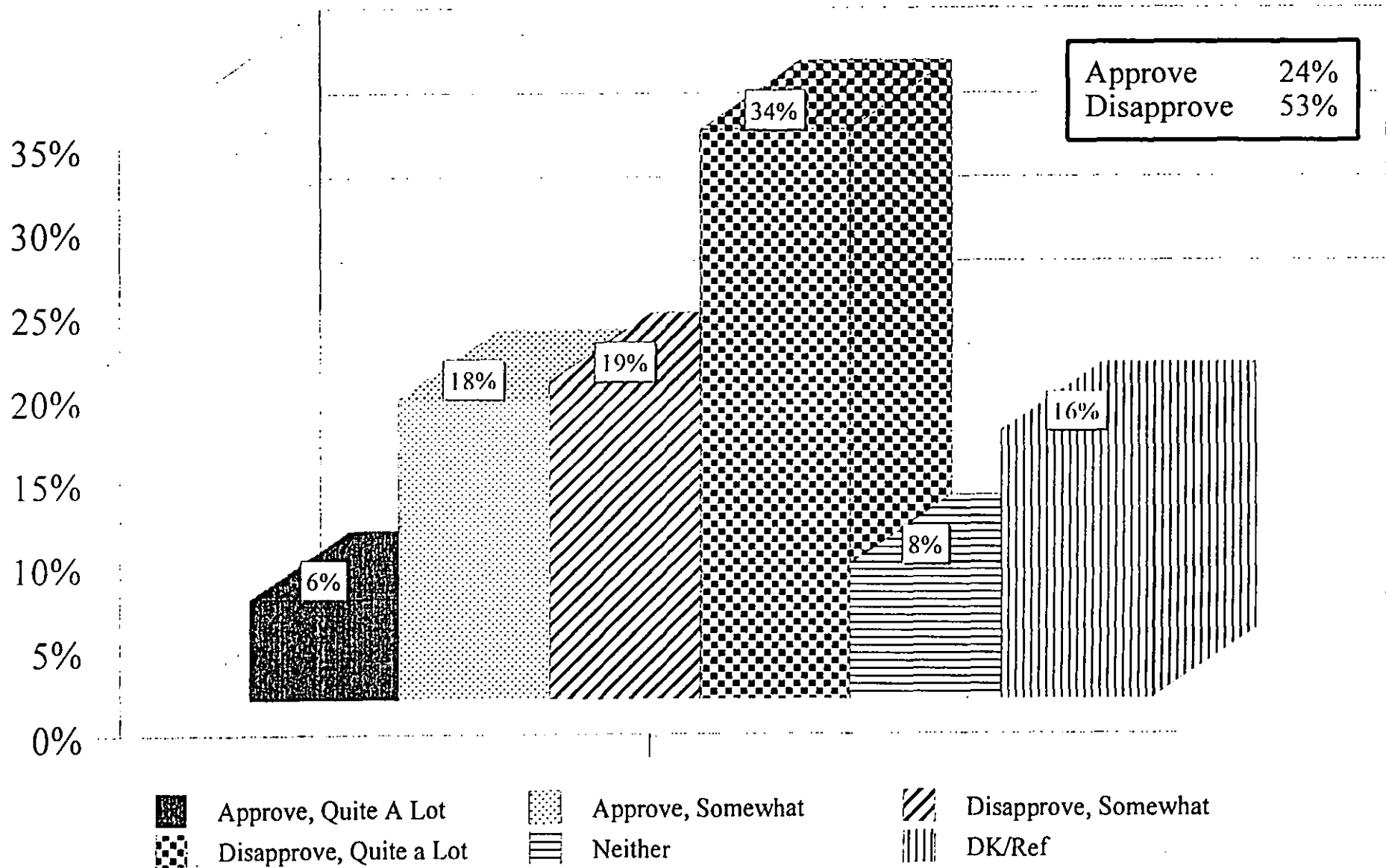
Would you say that you definitely will vote, probably will Vote, probably won't vote, or definitely won't vote in the Presidential election scheduled for 1996?



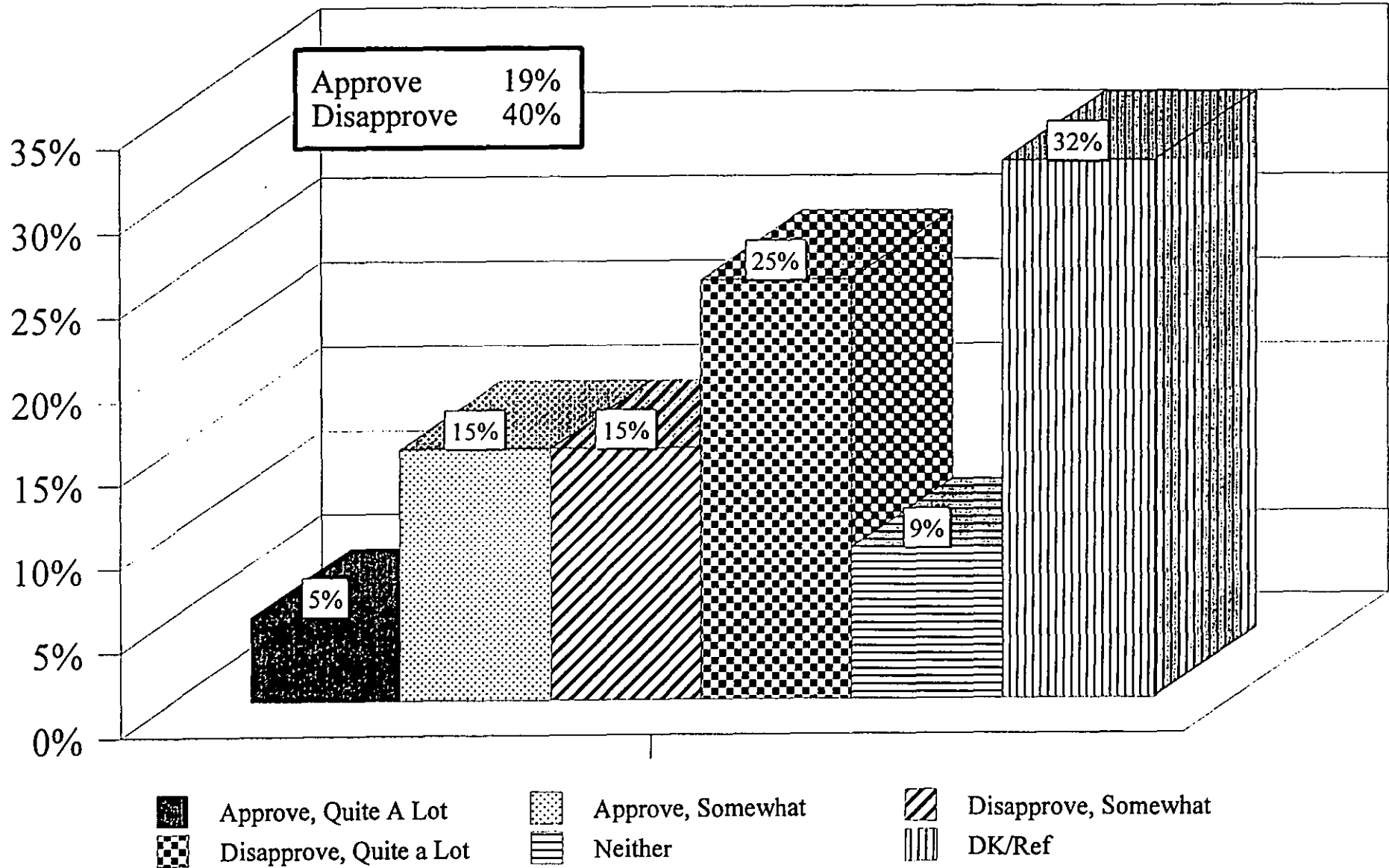
Do you approve or disapprove of how President Yelstin Is doing his job so far?



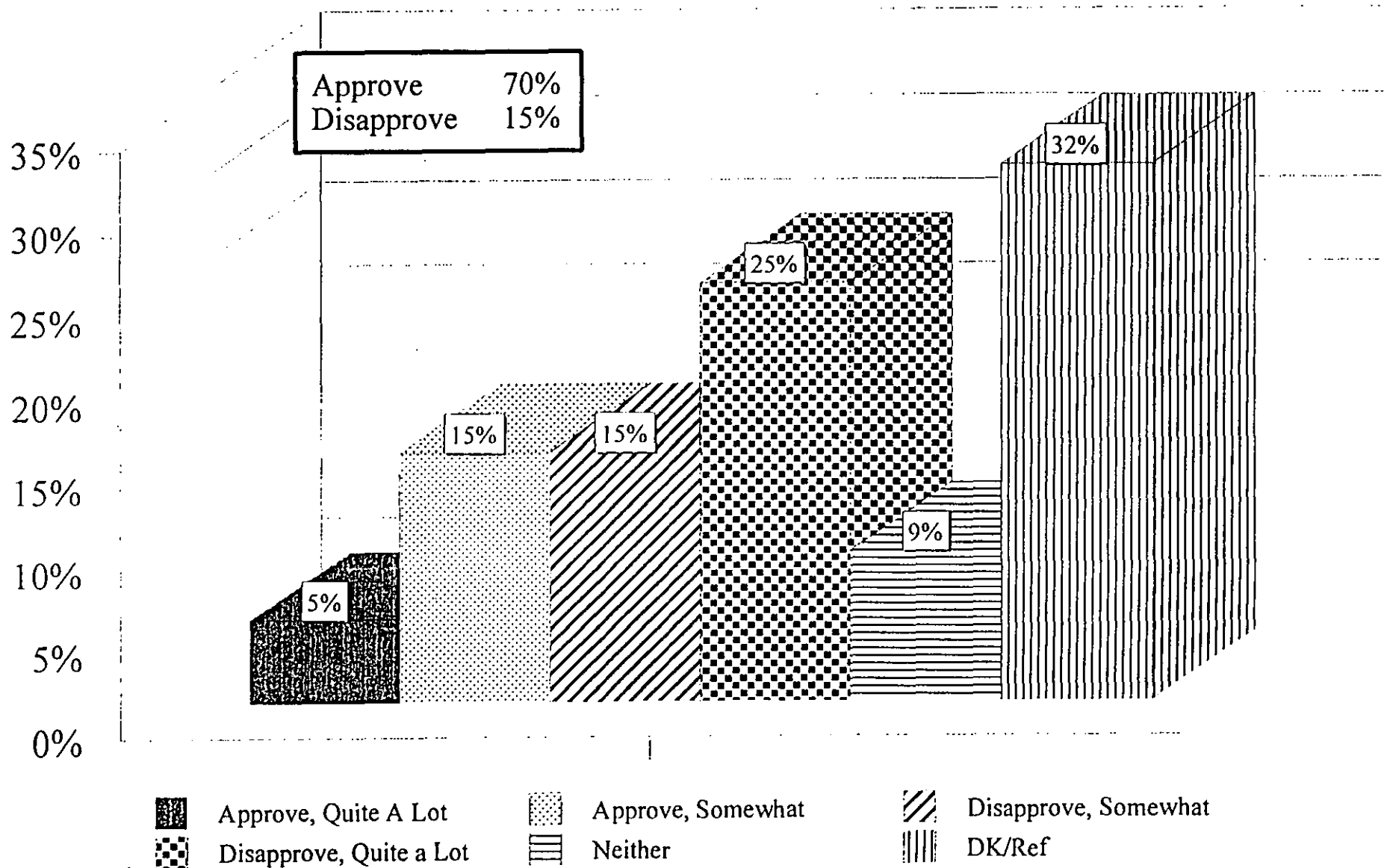
Do you approve or disapprove of how the State Duma Is doing its job so far?



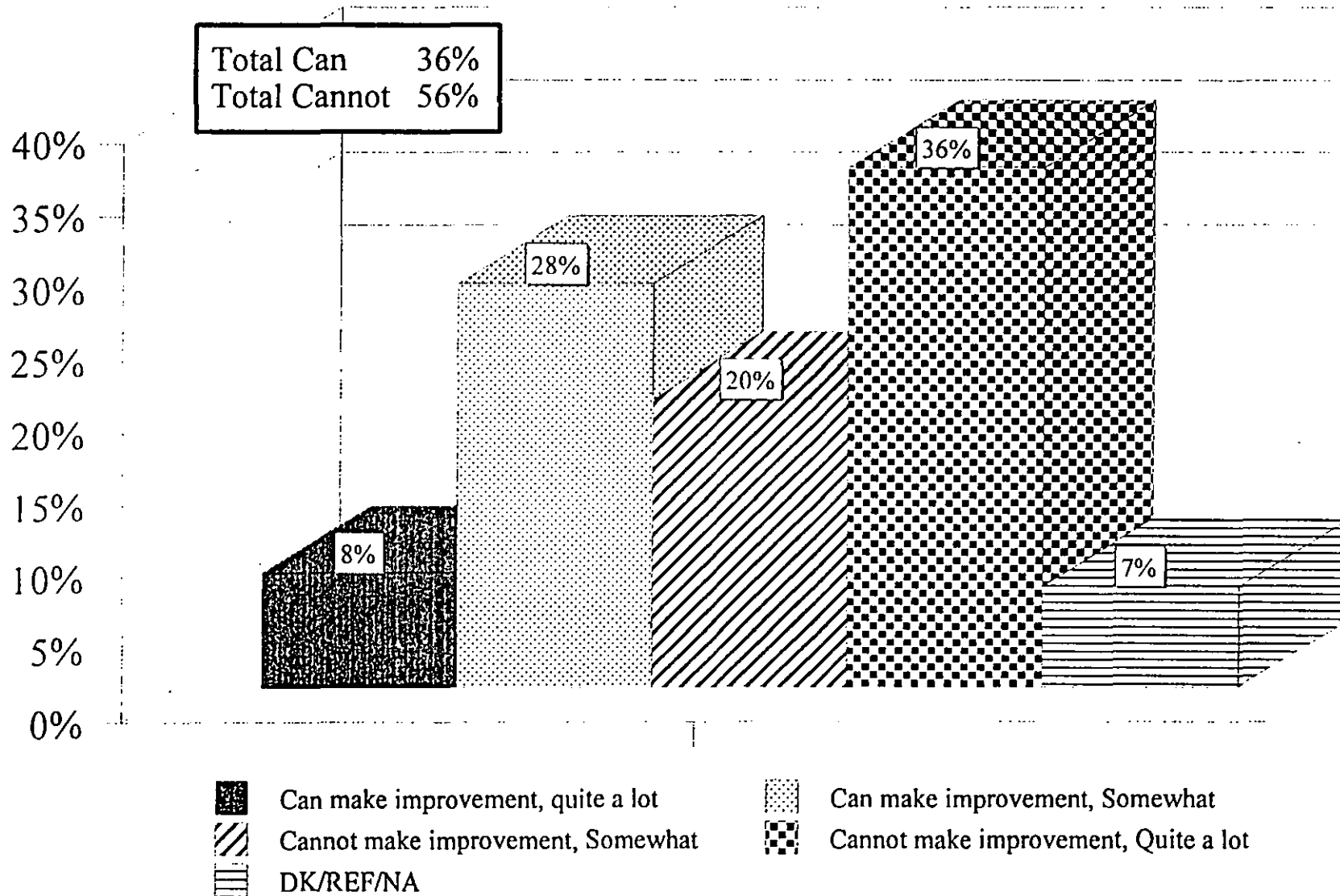
Do you approve or disapprove of how the Federation Council Is doing its job so far?



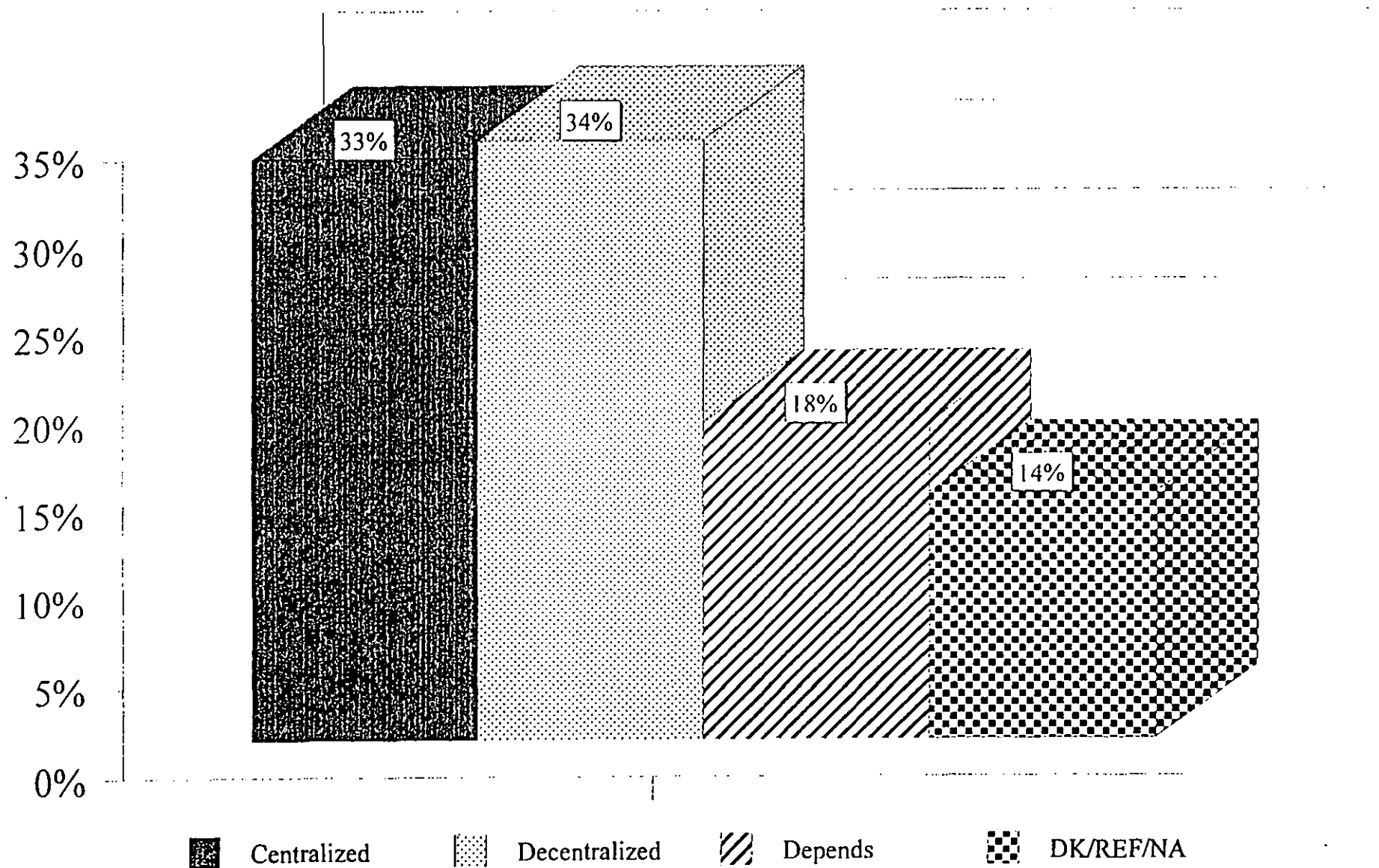
Do you approve or disapprove of how the Federation Council Is doing its job so far?



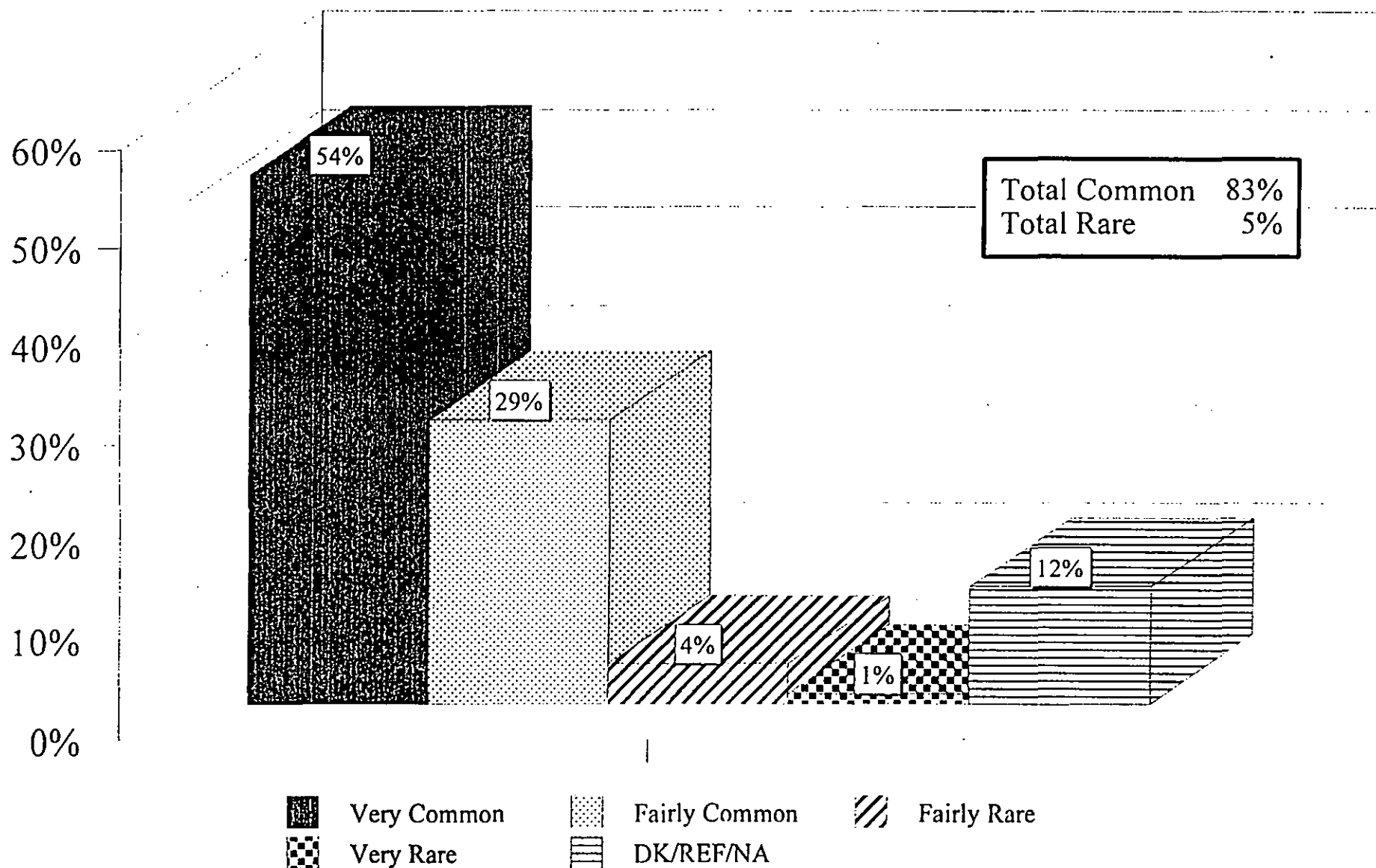
Do you believe that your elected officials in Moscow are capable or not capable of making any real improvement in your circumstances?



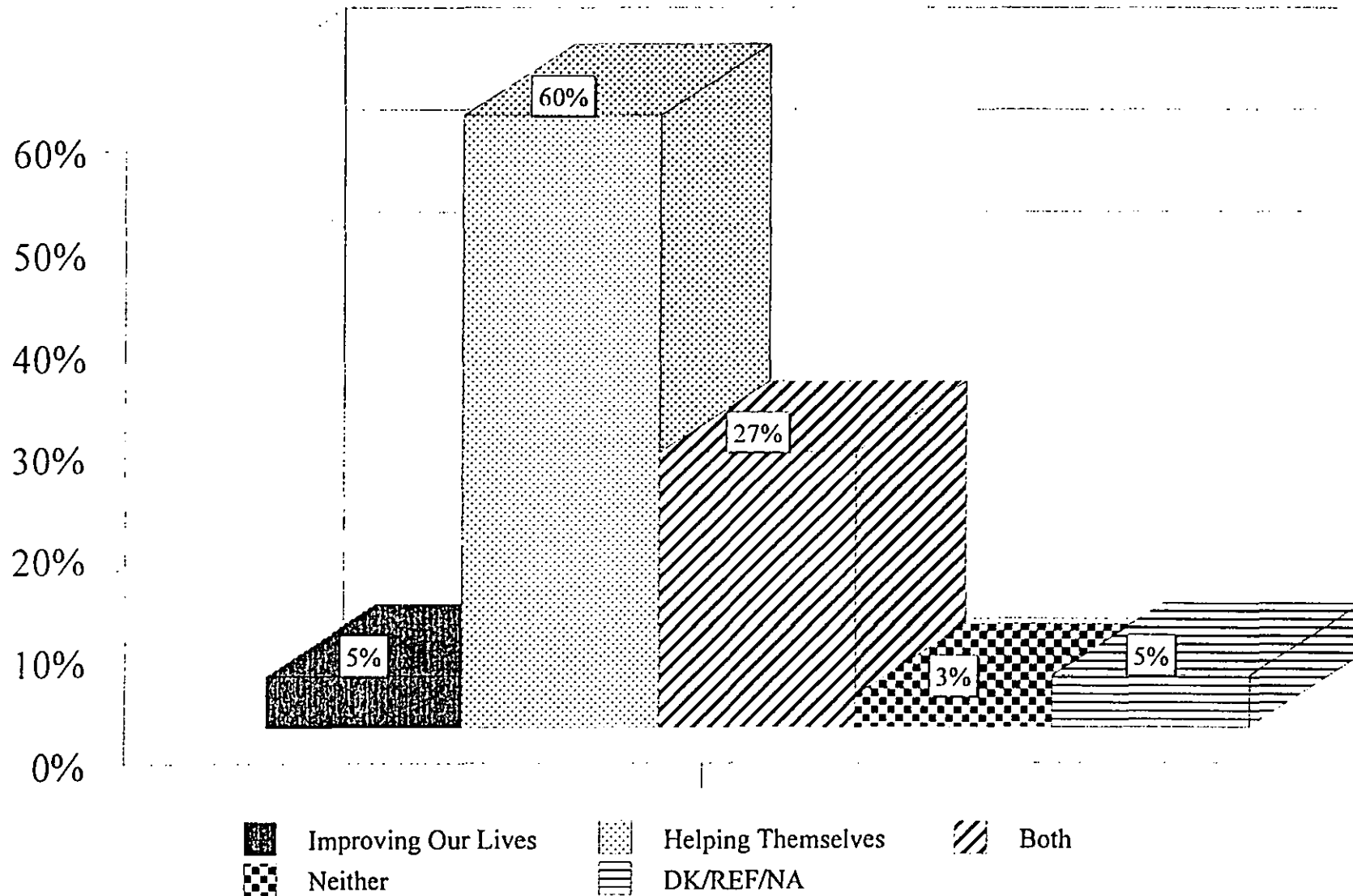
*In general, do you think that political power in Russia
Should be centralized or decentralized?*



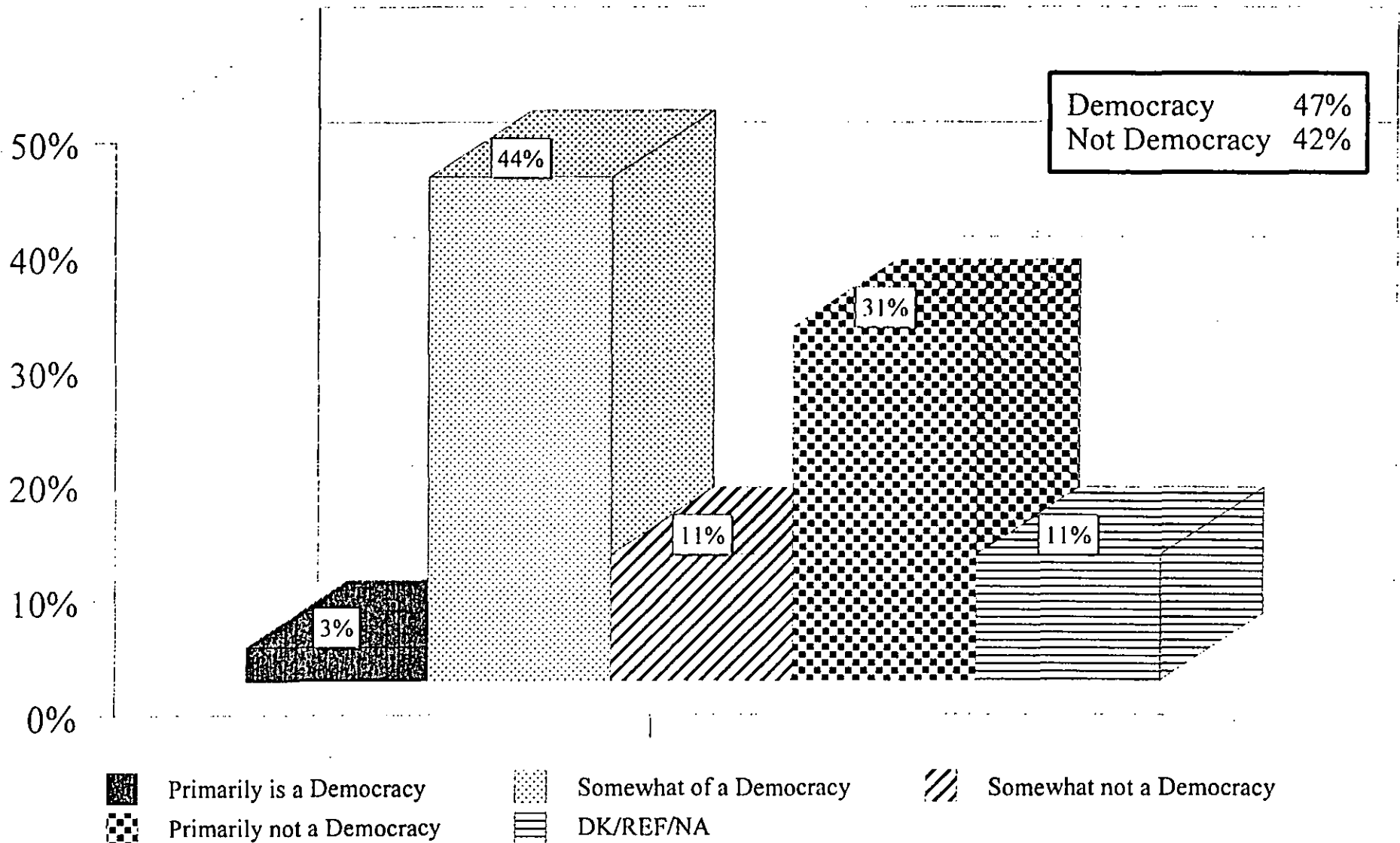
How common is the problem of official corruption?



*Are our elected officials in Moscow genuinely interested
In improving the quality of our lives in Russia or are
They just interested in helping themselves?*



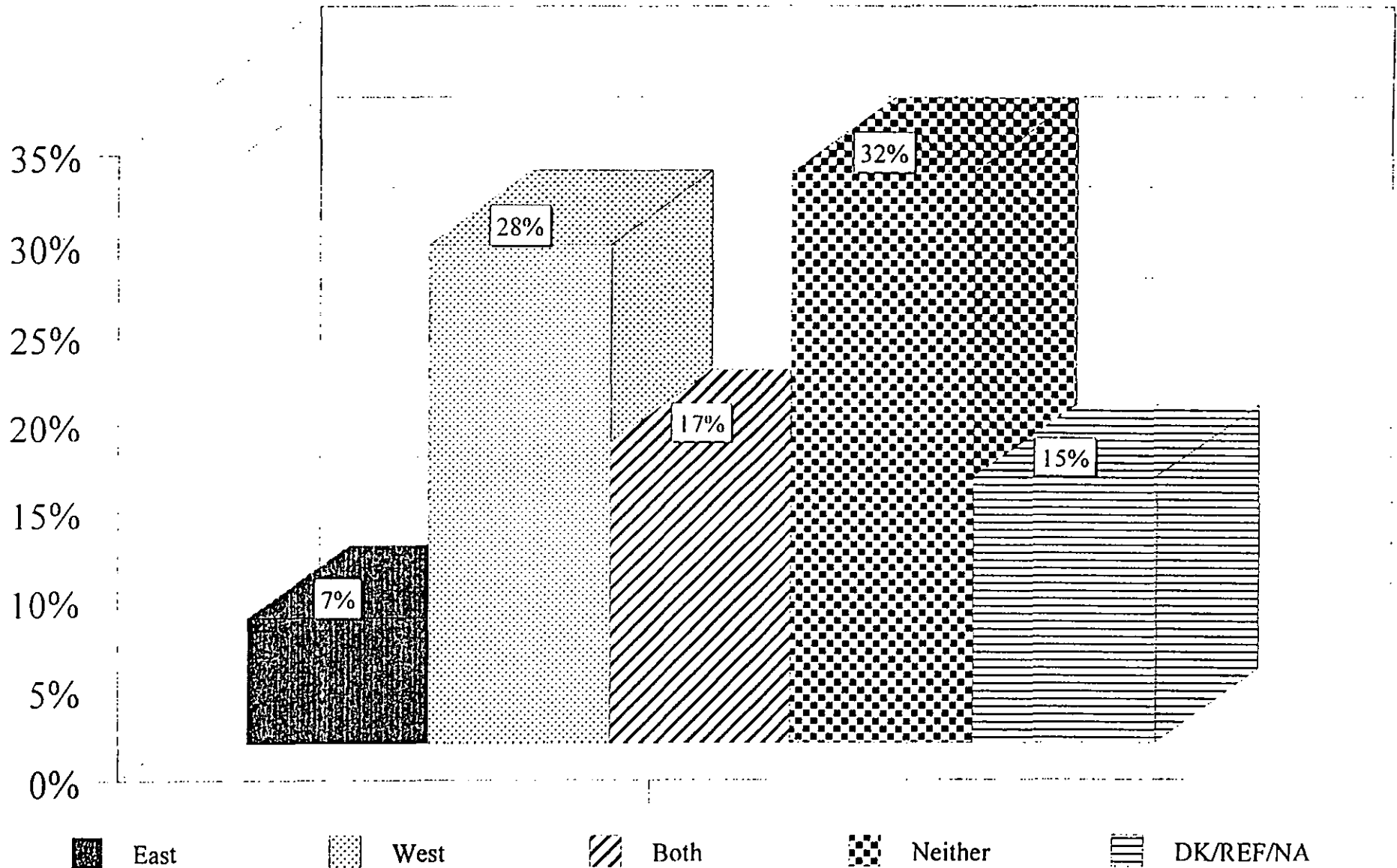
Would you say that Russia is primarily a democracy, Somewhat a democracy, somewhat not a democracy, Or primarily not a democracy?



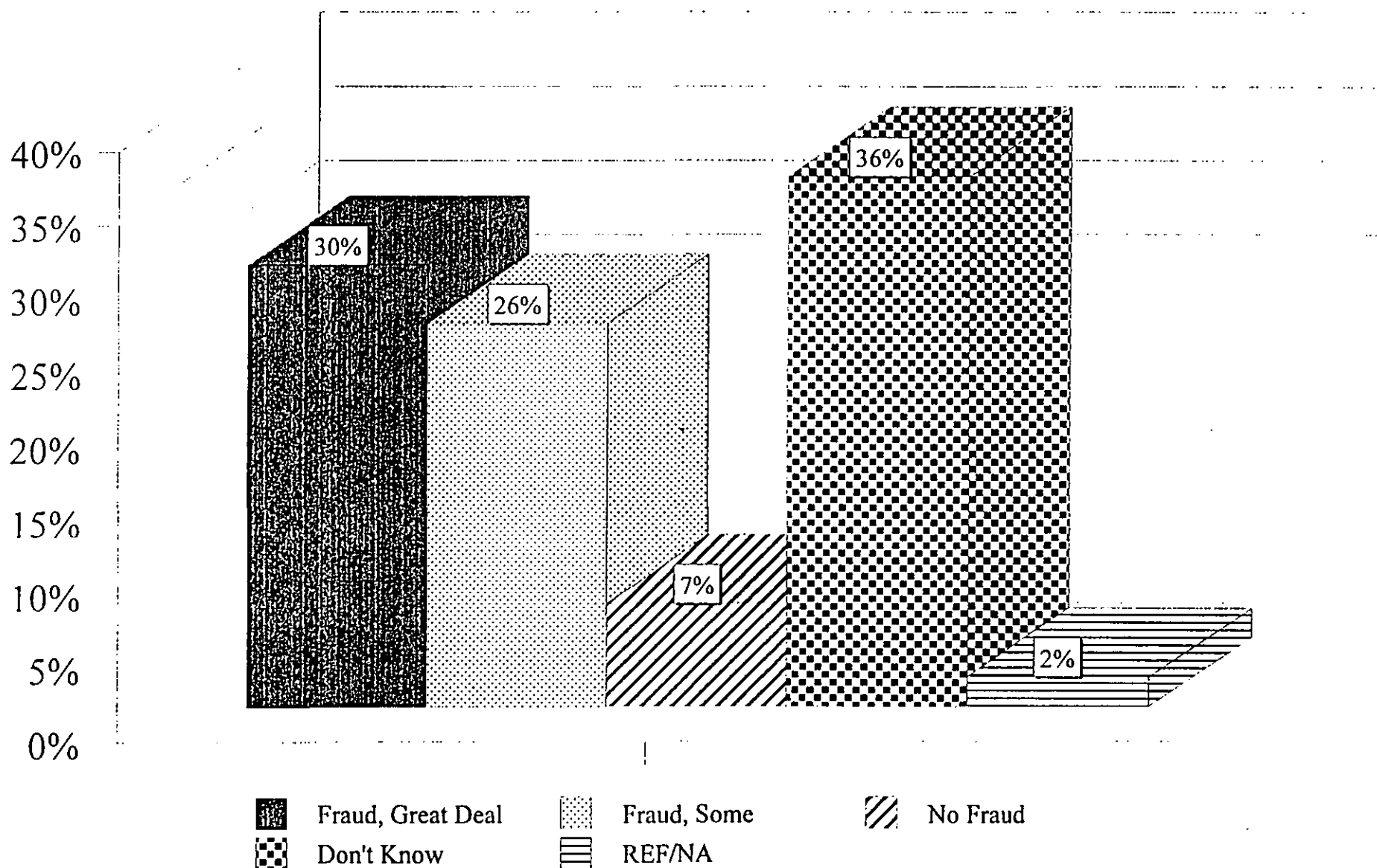
Is there any foreign country which you think could be a model for Russia's development? [ASK AS OPEN END DO NOT READ LIST – Allow only one answer]

30%	Russia
13%	USA
7%	Soviet Union
7%	Sweden
6%	Germany
4%	Switzerland
4%	Japan
2%	Finland
2%	China
1%	Britain
1%	France
1%	Canada
4%	Other
6%	None
12%	Don't Know
*	Refused/No Answer

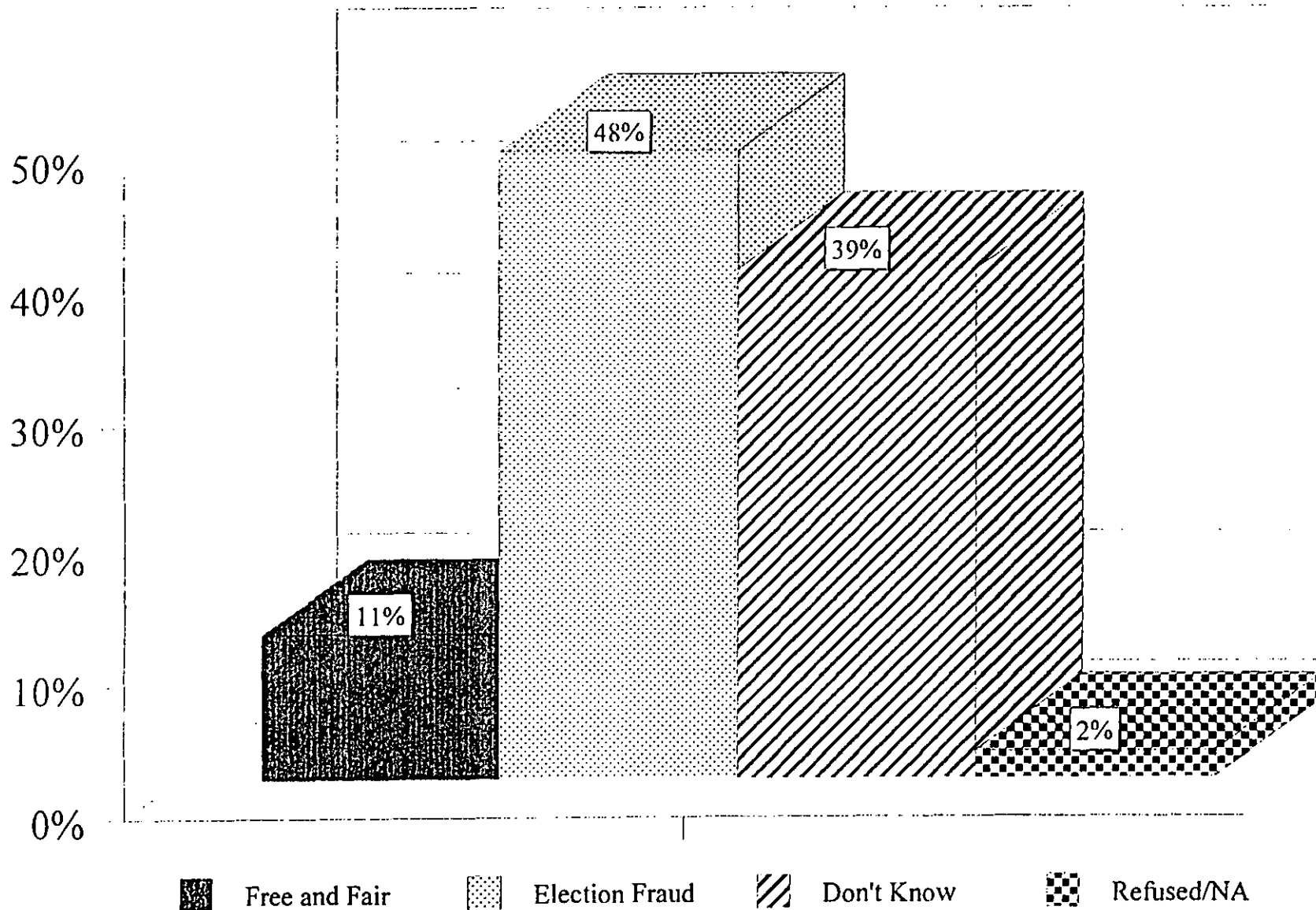
*For our future, do you think Russia would benefit
From an orientation toward the East or toward the West?*



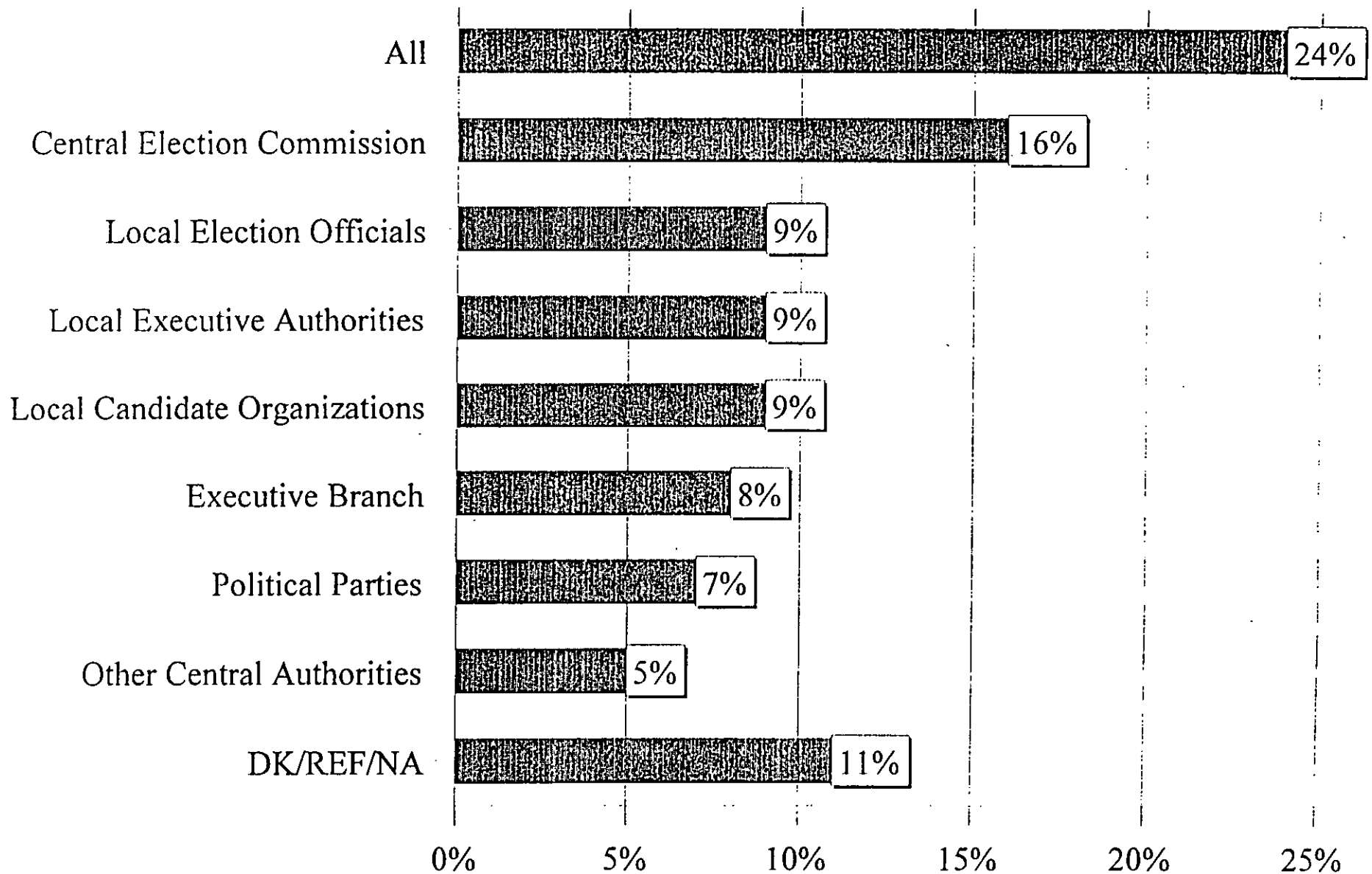
In your opinion, was there fraud or no fraud in the December 1993 parliamentary elections and referendum?



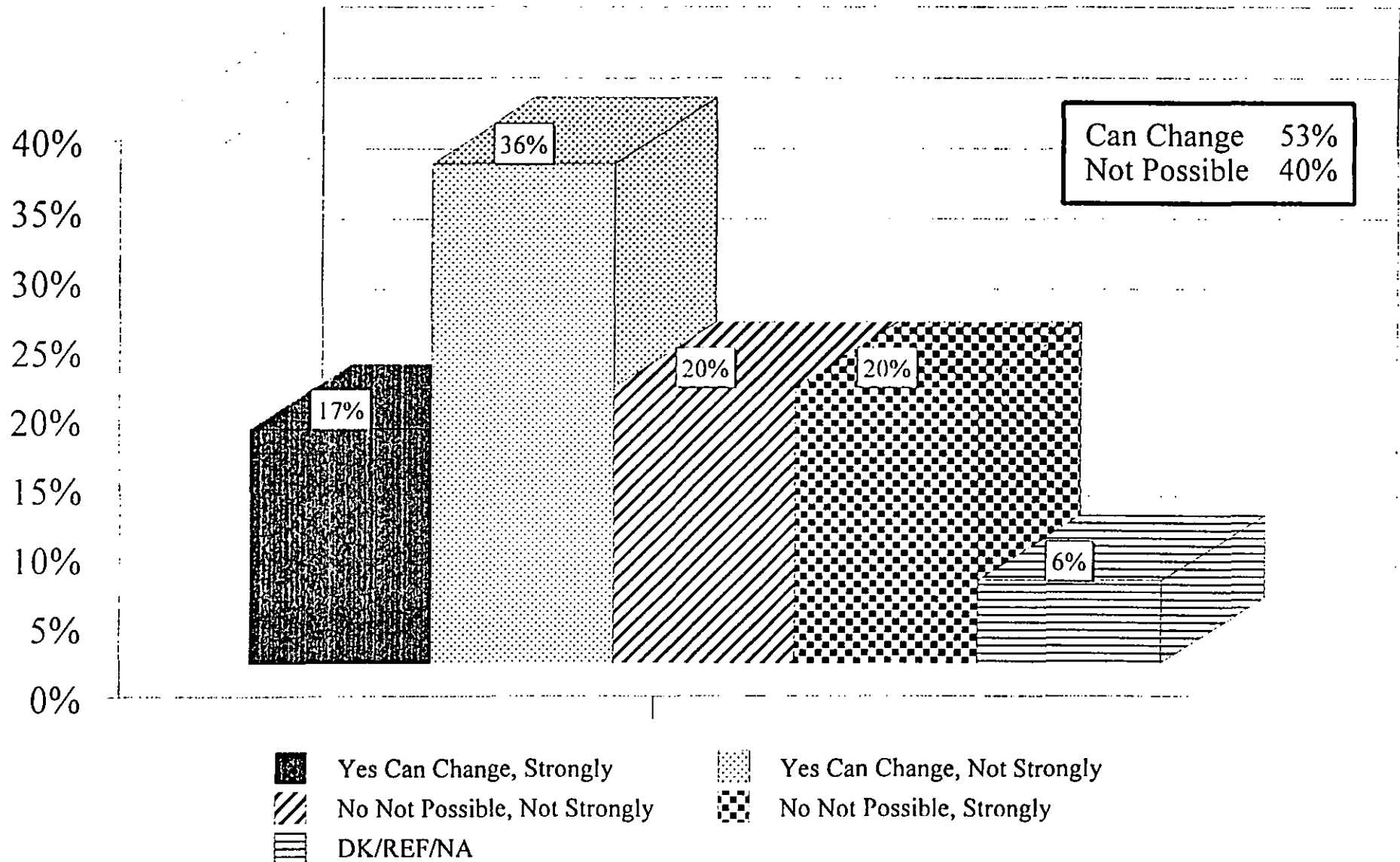
Do you have confidence that the 1995 Parliamentary elections will be free from election fraud or not?



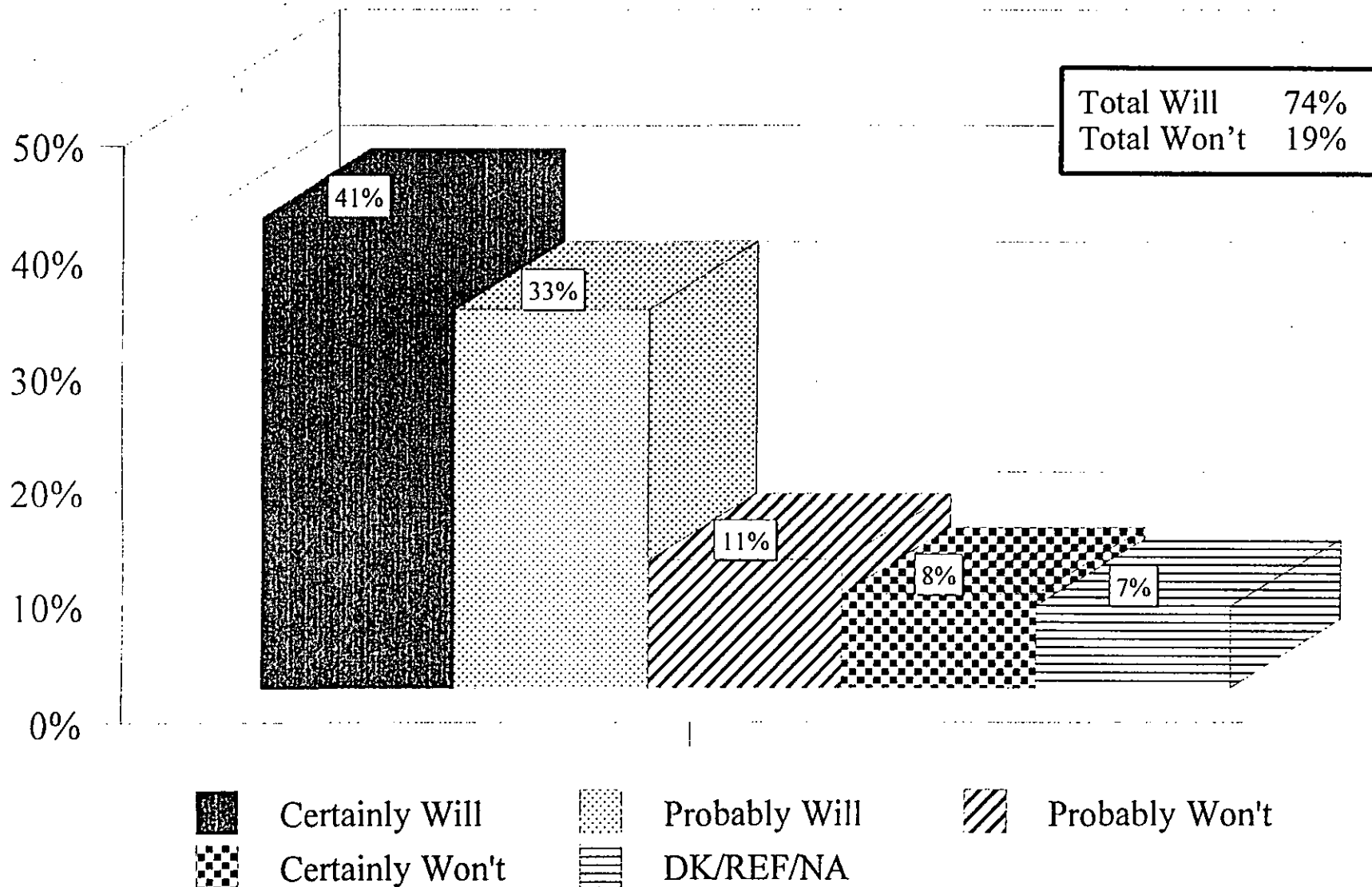
*Where do you think fraud is most likely to occur?
(Base=Those who say there will be election fraud)*



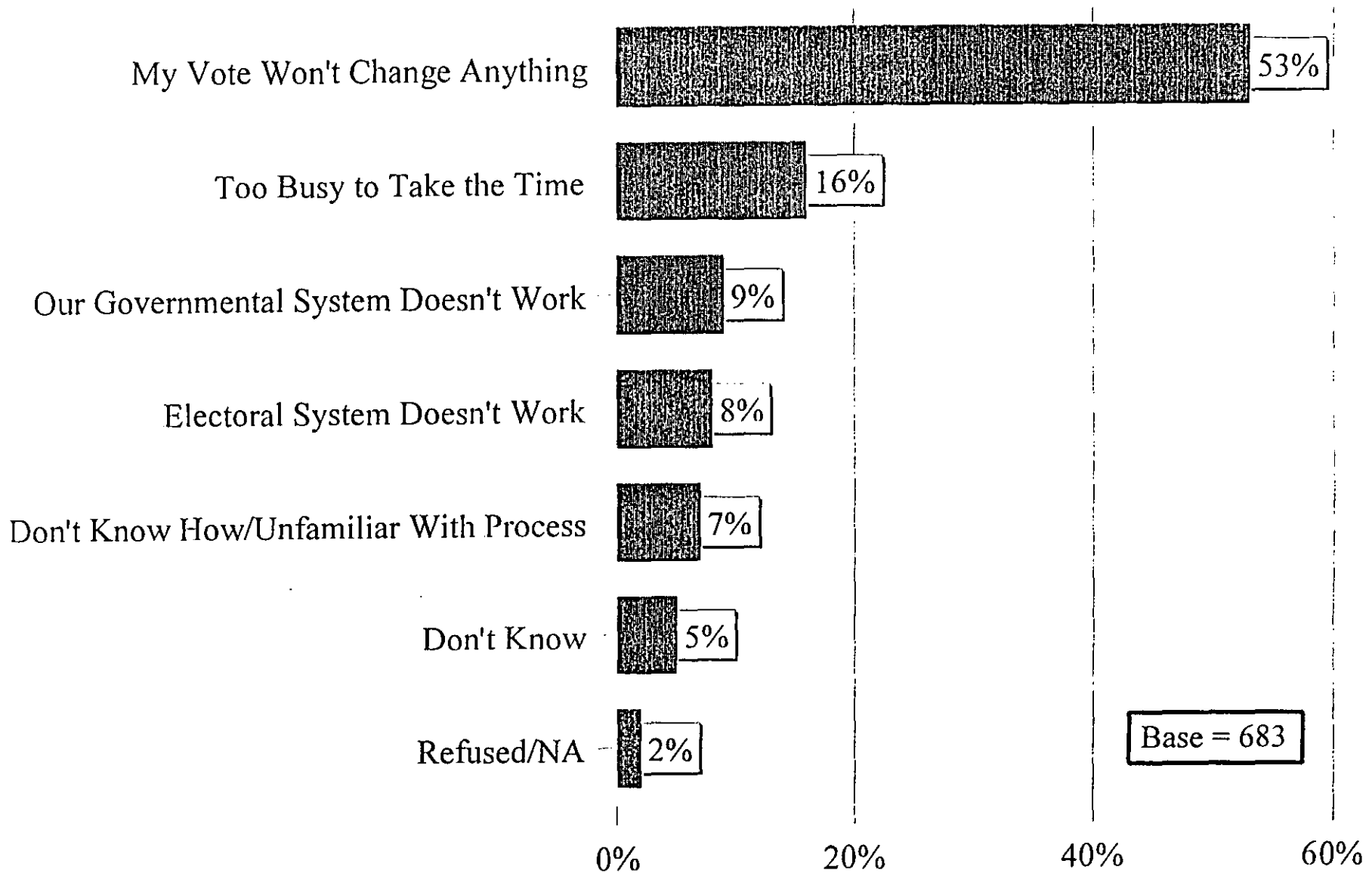
By voting, can people actually change something in the life of our country, or is this not possible?



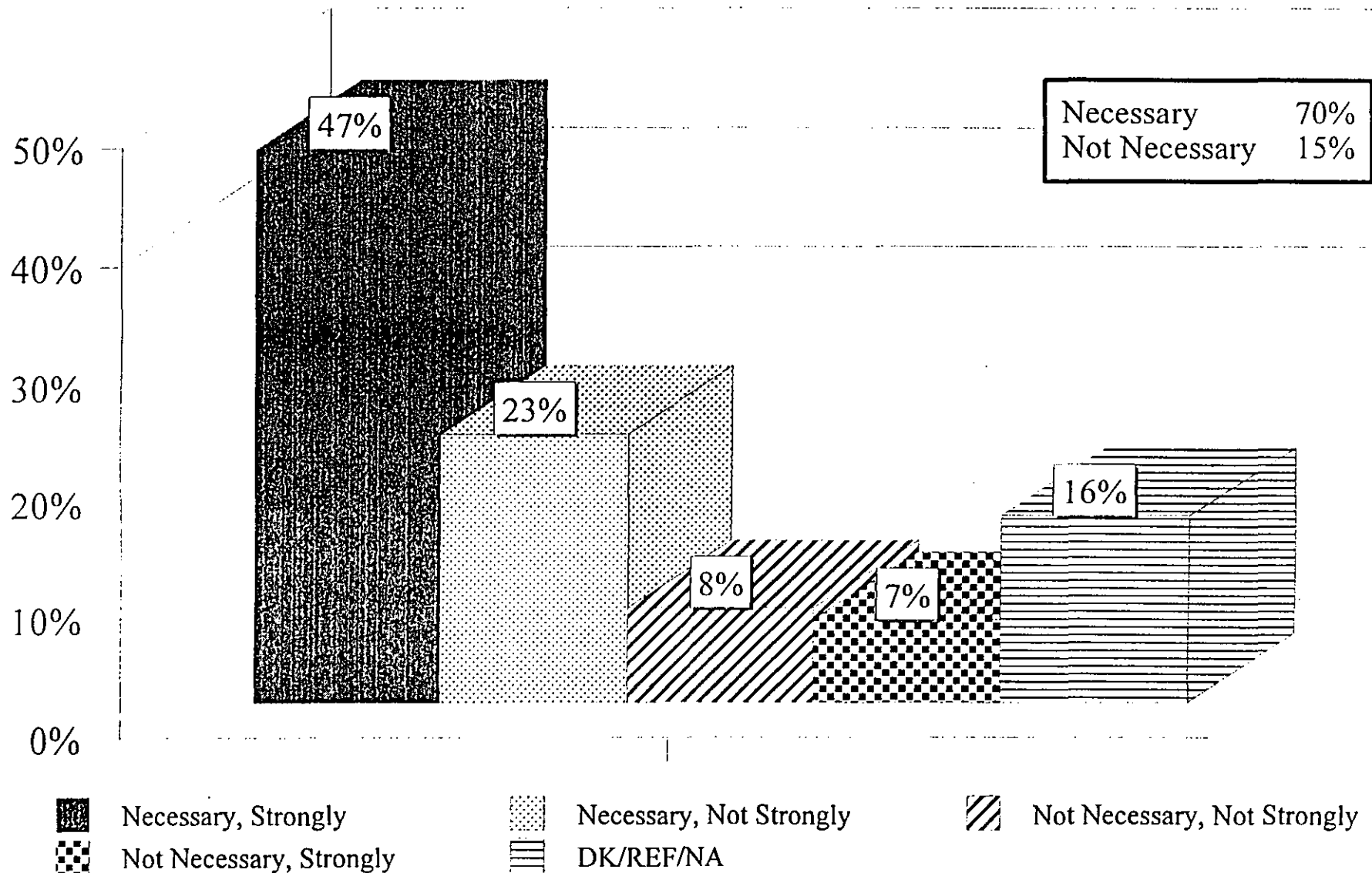
Do you intend to vote in the State Duma elections of 1995?



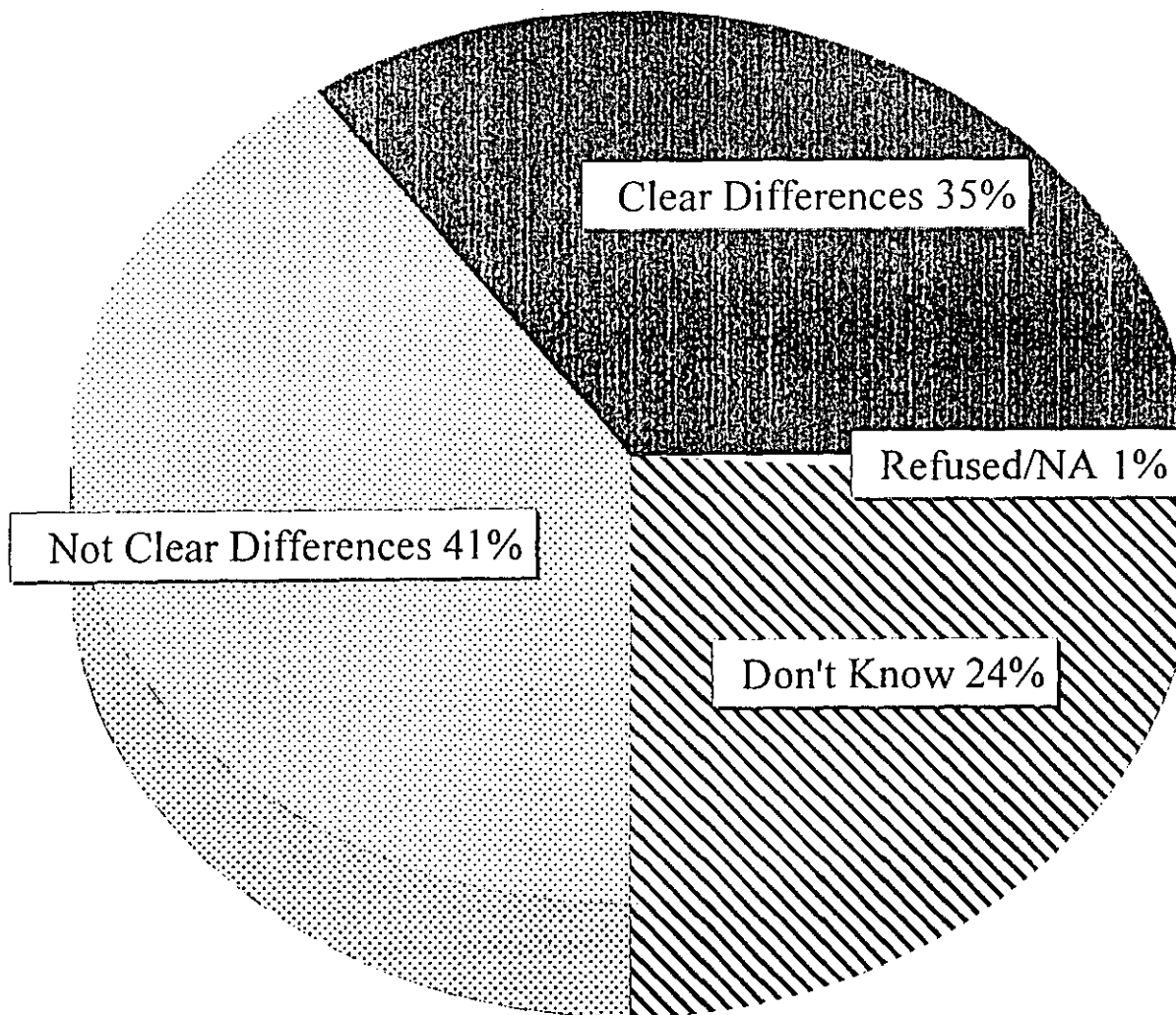
Which of the following reasons best summarizes your reason for not voting?



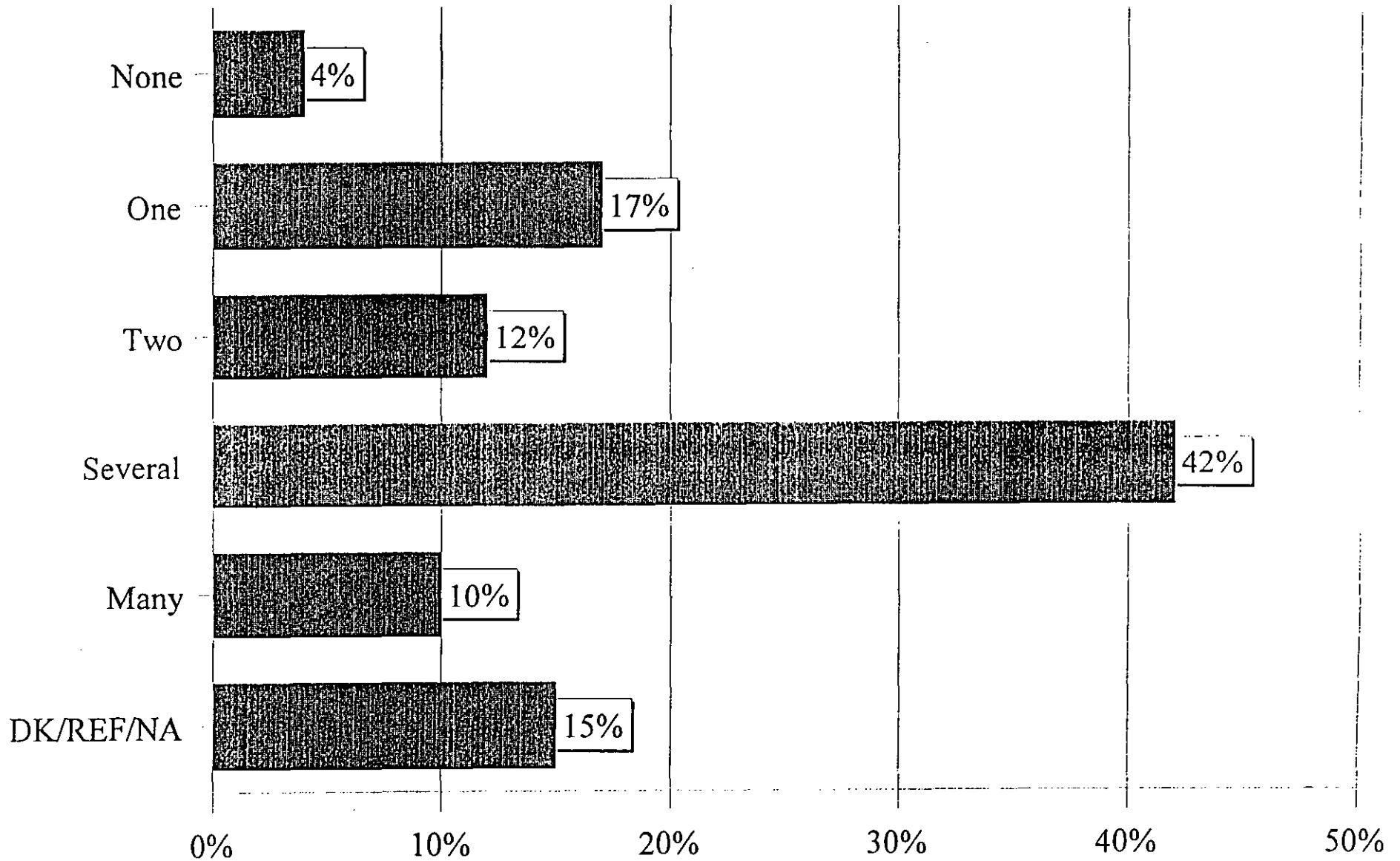
Do you believe that political parties are necessary for Russian democracy or not?



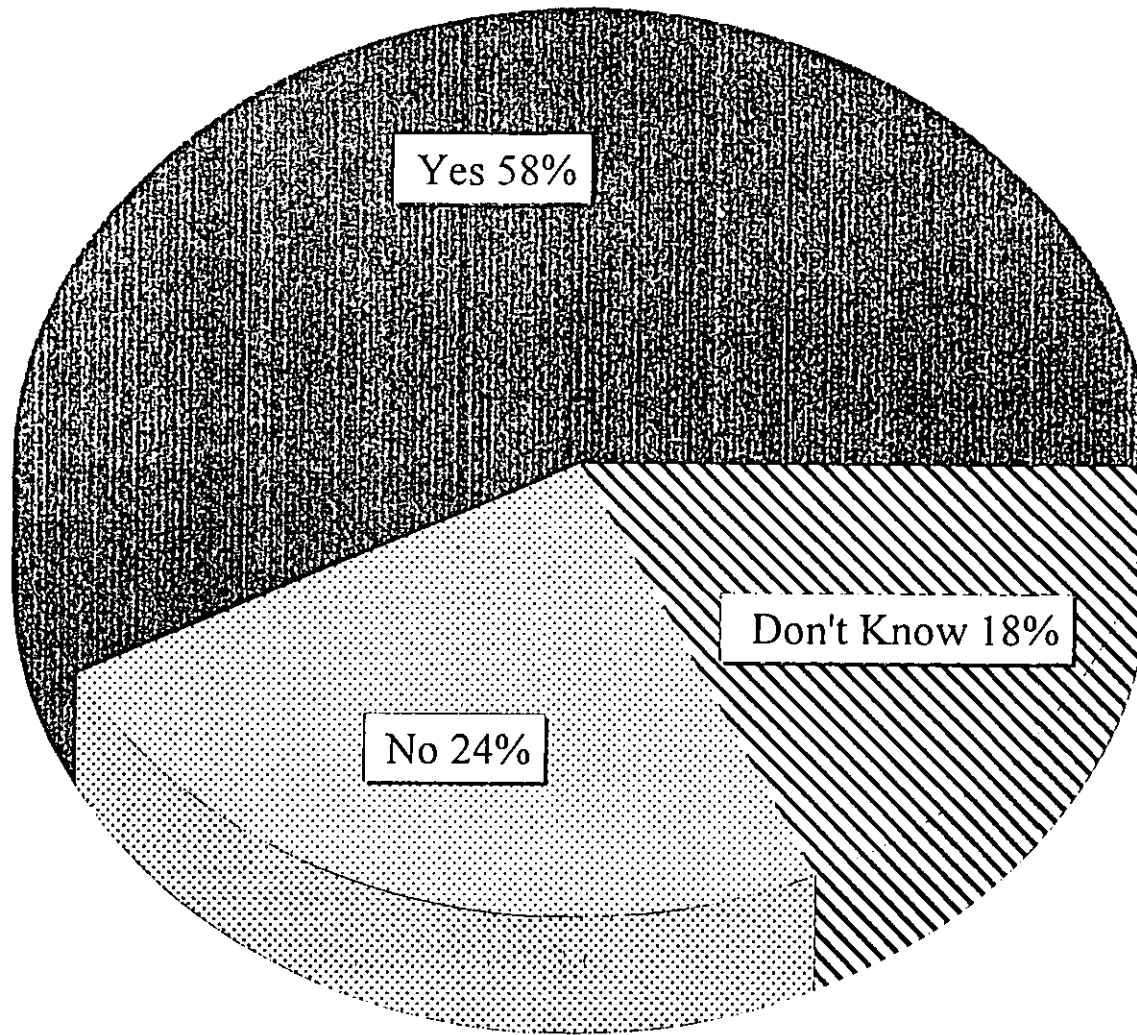
Are there clear differences between the various political parties in how they would solve the important problems facing Russia?



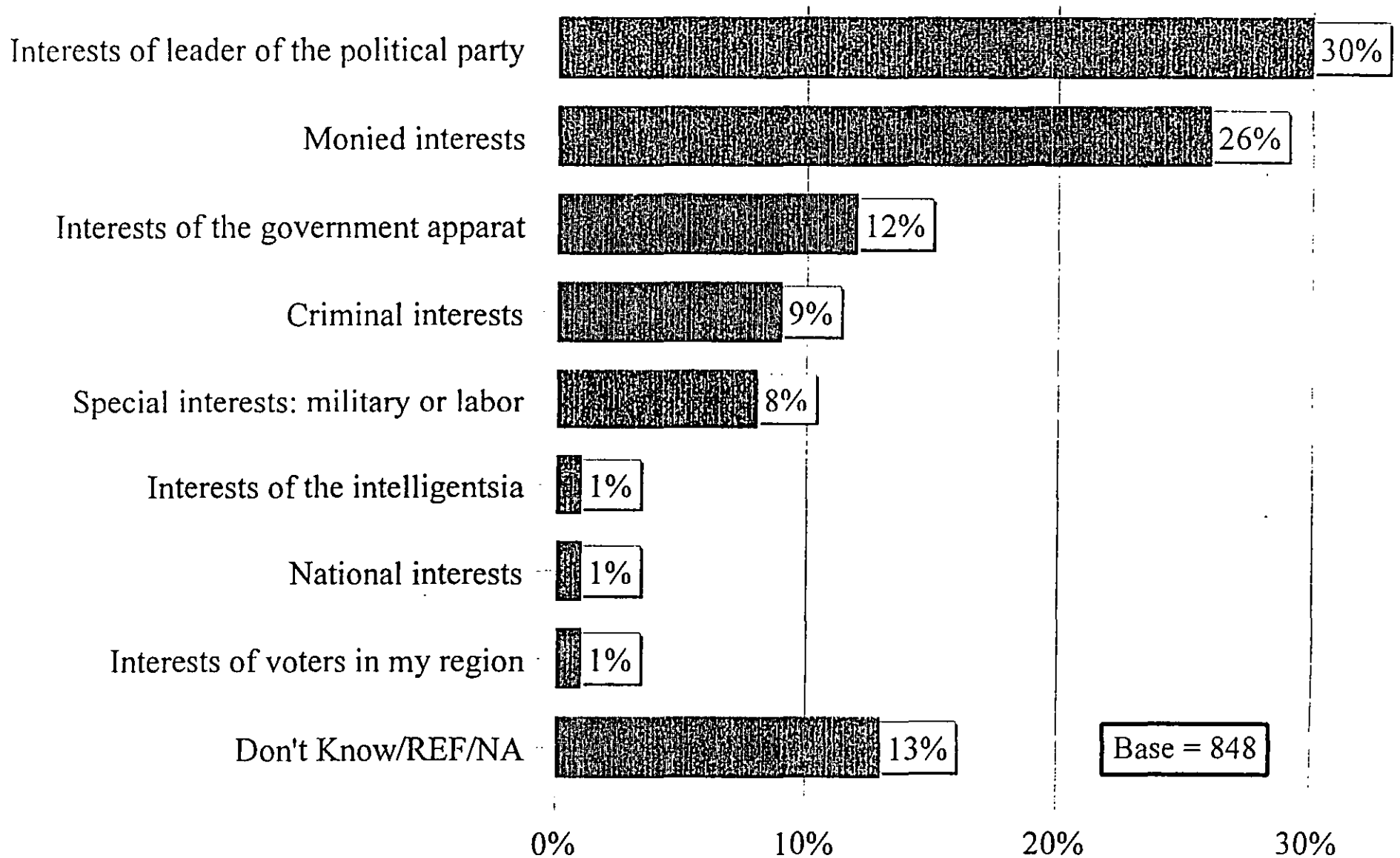
What would be the ideal number of political parties to have?



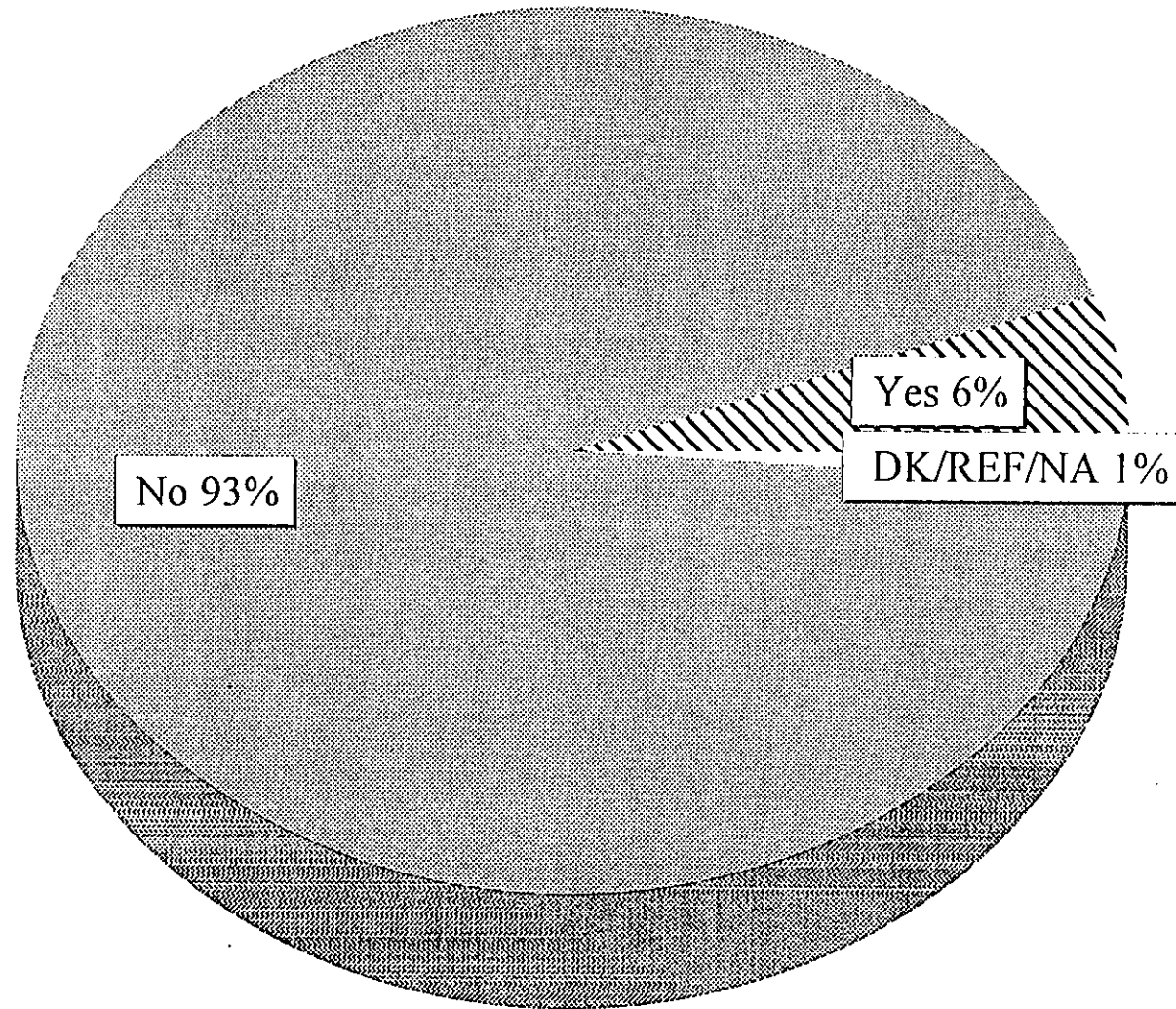
Do you feel that political parties speak to the issues that concern the Russian electorate or not?



Which one of the following do you think most accurately reflects the interests of Russian political parties?



*Do you consider yourself to be a member
of a political party?*

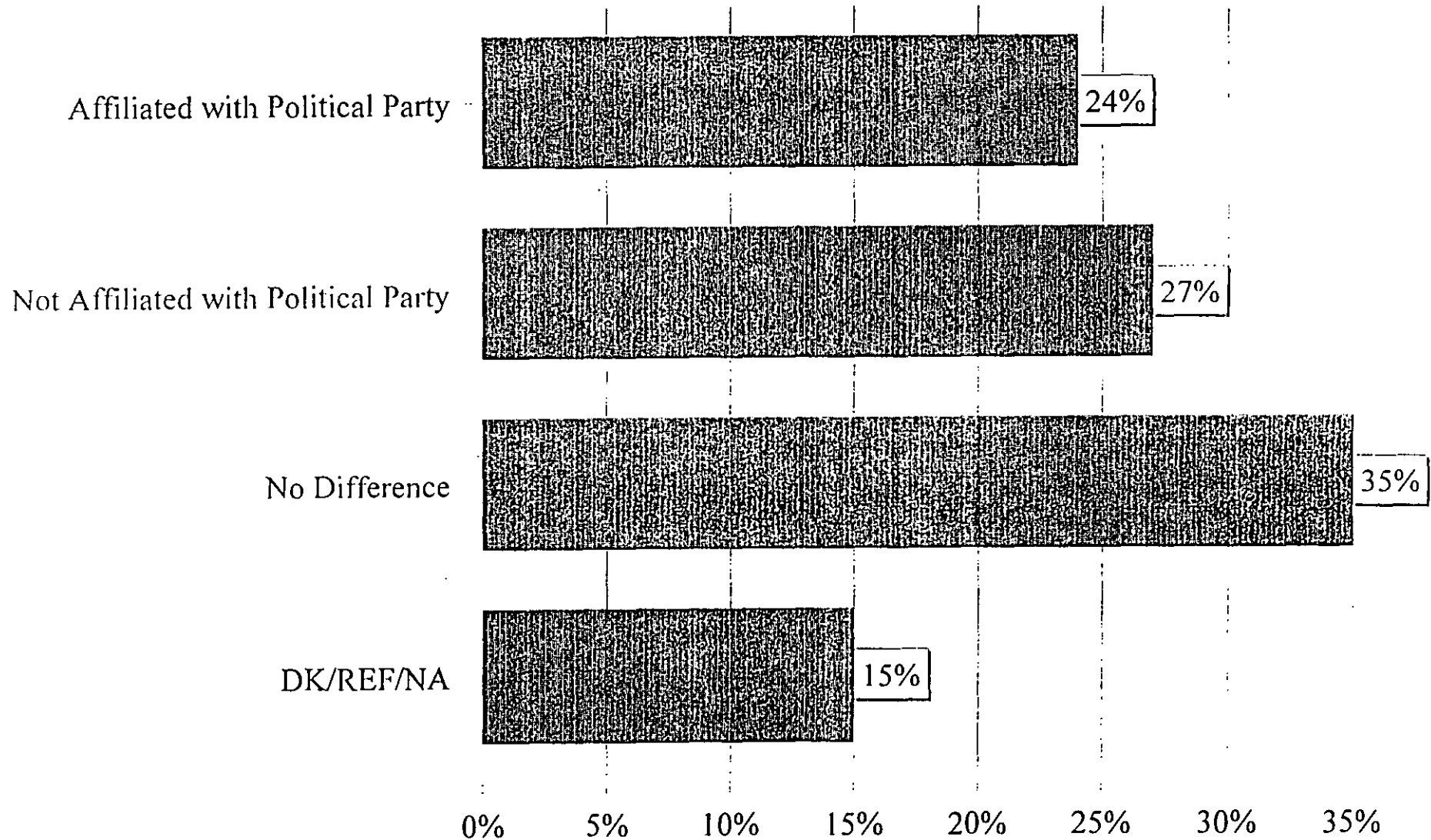


If you consider yourself a member of a political party, which one?

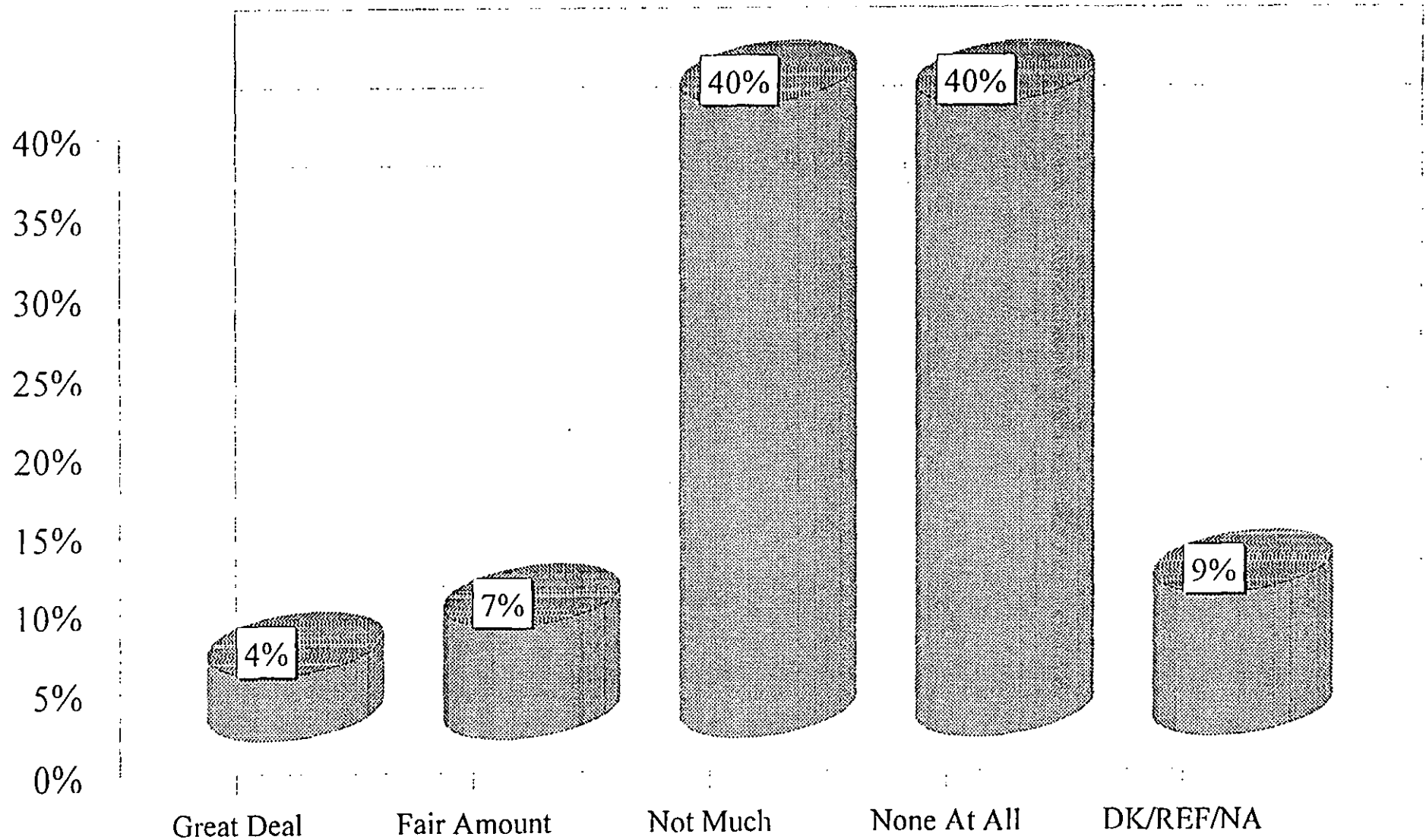
BASE = 203

51%	Communist Party
8%	Russia's Democratic Choice
7%	Women of Russia
7%	Liberal Democratic Party
5%	Agrarian Party
4%	Yabloko
4%	Our Home Russia
3%	Democratic Party of Russia
3%	Beer Lover's Party
2%	Russian Party of Unity and Accord
1%	Party of Self Government
*	Russia Patriotic Front
*	Stable Russia
*	Russian Christian Democratic Union
0%	Federal Party of Democratic Russia
0%	Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms
0%	Republican Party
0%	Forward Russia
0%	Derzhava Movement
0%	Party of Economic Freedom
2%	OTHER [PLEASE SPECIFY] _____
2%	Refused/No Answer

In general, are you more likely to support a candidate who is affiliated with a political party or a candidate who is not affiliated with a political party?



How much confidence do you have in the court system to treat people with fairness and justice?



Now I'm going to read you the names of several individuals who are active in politics and government today. After I read each one, please tell me whether you are aware or not aware of that person. For those of whom you are aware, tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable impression of that person. If you are not aware of that person, just say so and we will go on to the next question.

ROTATE LIST	Aware	Not Aware	Very Favor	Some-what Favor	Some-what Unfav	Very Unfav	DK/No Opin	Ref/NA
a. Boris Yeltsin	99%	1%	2%	17%	36%	36%	7%	1%
b. Vladimir Zhirinovskiy	96%	4%	3%	12%	23%	50%	7%	1%
c. Yegor Gaidar	92%	8%	3%	24%	28%	24%	12%	1%
d. Grigory Yavlinsky	76%	24%	7%	35%	14%	6%	13%	1%
e. Alexander Rutskoi	87%	13%	7%	25%	22%	16%	15%	2%
f. Victor Chernomyrdin	92%	8%	8%	38%	22%	12%	11%	1%
g. Alexander Lebed	72%	18%	18%	28%	8%	4%	13%	1%
h. Vladimir Shumeiko	72%	28%	2%	17%	19%	14%	18%	1%
i. Galina Staravoitova	54%	46%	3%	15%	10%	10%	14%	1%
j. Alexander Solzhenitsyn	84%	16%	16%	34%	11%	7%	14%	1%
k. Ivan Rybkin	64%	36%	3%	20%	15%	7%	17%	1%
l. Gennady Zyuganov	66%	34%	6%	16%	17%	13%	12%	1%
m. Sergei Shakhrai	76%	24%	3%	26%	18%	11%	16%	1%
n. Pavel Grachev	83%	17%	1%	9%	19%	41%	11%	1%
o. Anatoly Chubais	75%	25%	2%	14%	19%	25%	14%	1%
p. Andrei Kozyrev	74%	26%	5%	28%	13%	11%	16%	1%

Now I'm going to read you the names of several organizations which are active in politics and government today. After I read each one, please tell me whether you are aware or not aware of that organization. For those of whom you are aware, tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable impression of that organization. If you are not aware of that organization, just say so and we will go on to the next question.

	<u>Aware</u>	<u>Not Aware</u>	<u>Very Favor</u>	<u>Some-what Favor</u>	<u>Some-what Unfav</u>	<u>Very Unfav</u>	<u>DK/No Opin</u>	<u>Ref/NA</u>
ROTATE								
a. Russia's Democratic Choice	68%	32%	3%	23%	17%	11%	12%	2%
b. Agrarian Party	53%	47%	4%	21%	11%	4%	12%	0
c. Liberal Democratic Party	74%	26%	2%	10%	19%	33%	8%	0
d. Yabloko	58%	42%	6%	27%	10%	4%	10%	0
e. Women of Russia Party	70%	30%	9%	36%	9%	3%	12%	0
f. Communist Party	83%	17%	10%	21%	19%	16%	15%	0
g. Democratic Party of Russia	50%	50%	2%	18%	11%	5%	12%	0
h. Party of Economic Freedom	26%	74%	1%	7%	6%	4%	6%	0
i. Russian Party of Unity and Accord	25%	75%	1%	8%	5%	4%	6%	0
j. Federal Party of Democratic Russia	13%	87%	*	3%	3%	2%	3%	0
k. Russian Christian Democratic Union	14%	86%	1%	3%	3%	2%	4%	0
l. Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms	18%	82%	*	5%	4%	3%	4%	0
m. Republican Party	13%	87%	*	3%	3%	2%	4%	0
n. Forward Russia	12%	88%	1%	3%	3%	2%	3%	0
o. Russia Patriotic Front	11%	89%	1%	2%	2%	3%	0%	0
p. Derzhava Movement	14%	86%	1%	4%	3%	3%	3%	0
q. Our Home Russia	33%	67%	2%	10%	6%	5%	7%	0
r. Stable Russia	7%	93%	*	2%	2%	1%	2%	0
s. Party of Self Government	7%	93%	*	1%	1%	1%	2%	0
t. Beer Lovers Party	27%	73%	5%	6%	4%	4%	8%	0

If the 1996 election for President of the Russian Federation were being held today and the candidates were [ROTATE LIST]...for whom would you be voting?

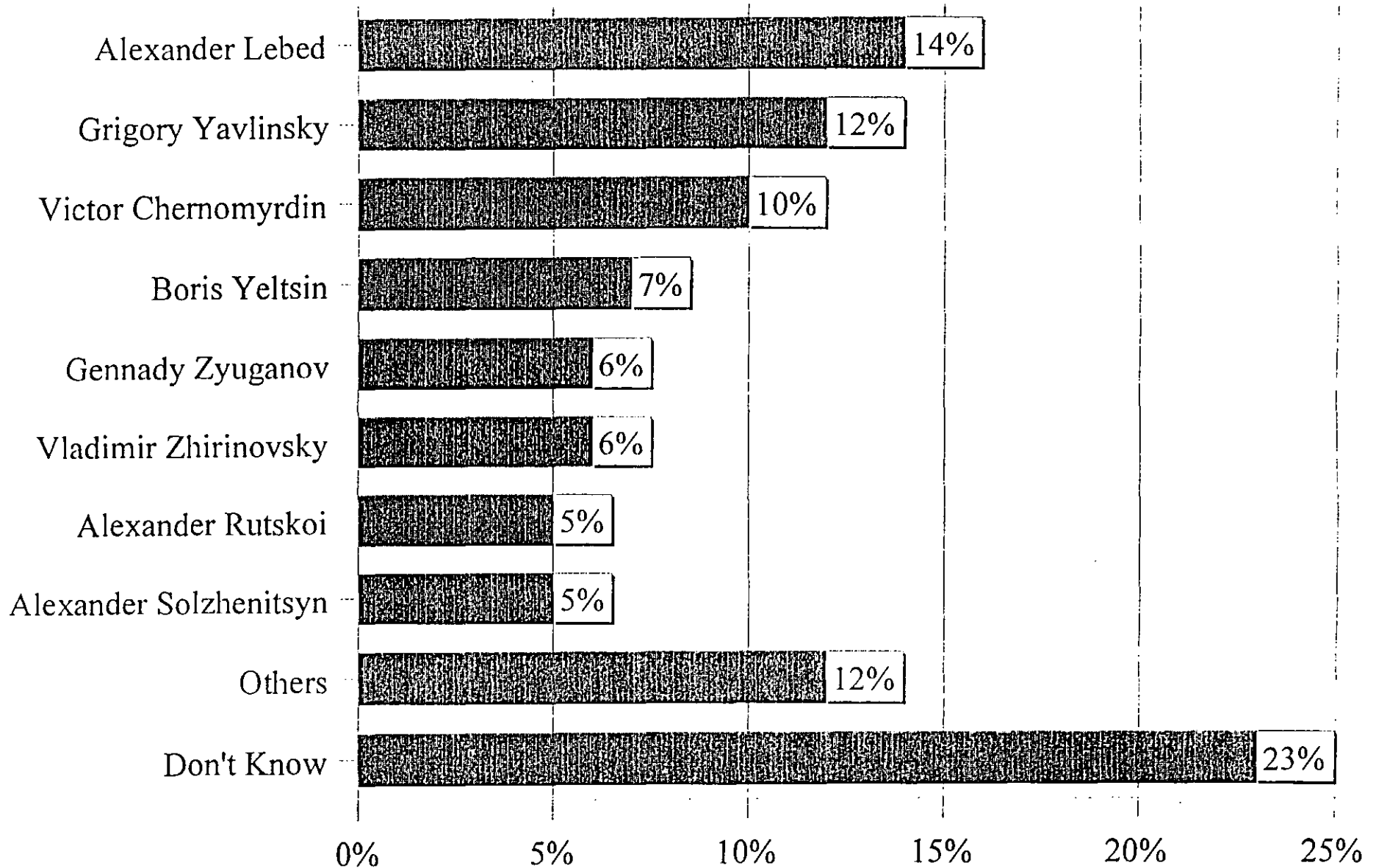
[IF CANDIDATE NAMED ASK:] Would you definitely be voting for [Candidate Named], probably be voting for [Candidate Named], or are you just leaning toward [Candidate Named]?

[IF DON'T KNOW ASK:] Which candidate are you leaning toward?

ROTATE LIST — TOTALS INCLUDE DON'T KNOW/LEAN

14%	Total Voting Alexander Lebed
12%	Total Voting Grigory Yavlinsky
10%	Total Voting Victor Chernomyrdin
7%	Total Voting Boris Yeltsin
6%	Total Voting Gennady Zyuganov
6%	Total Voting Vladimir Zhirinovskiy
5%	Total Voting Alexander Rutskoi
5%	Total Voting Alexander Solzhenitsyn
3%	Total Voting Yegor Gaidar
2%	Total Voting Galina Staravoitova
2%	Total Voting Andrei Kozyrev
2%	Total Voting Sergei Shakhrai
1%	Total Voting Anatoly Chubais
1%	Total Voting Ivan Rybkin
1%	Total Voting Vladimir Shumeiko
*	Total Voting Pavel Grachev
23%	Don't Know

If the 1996 election for President of the Russian Federation were being held today, for whom would you be voting?

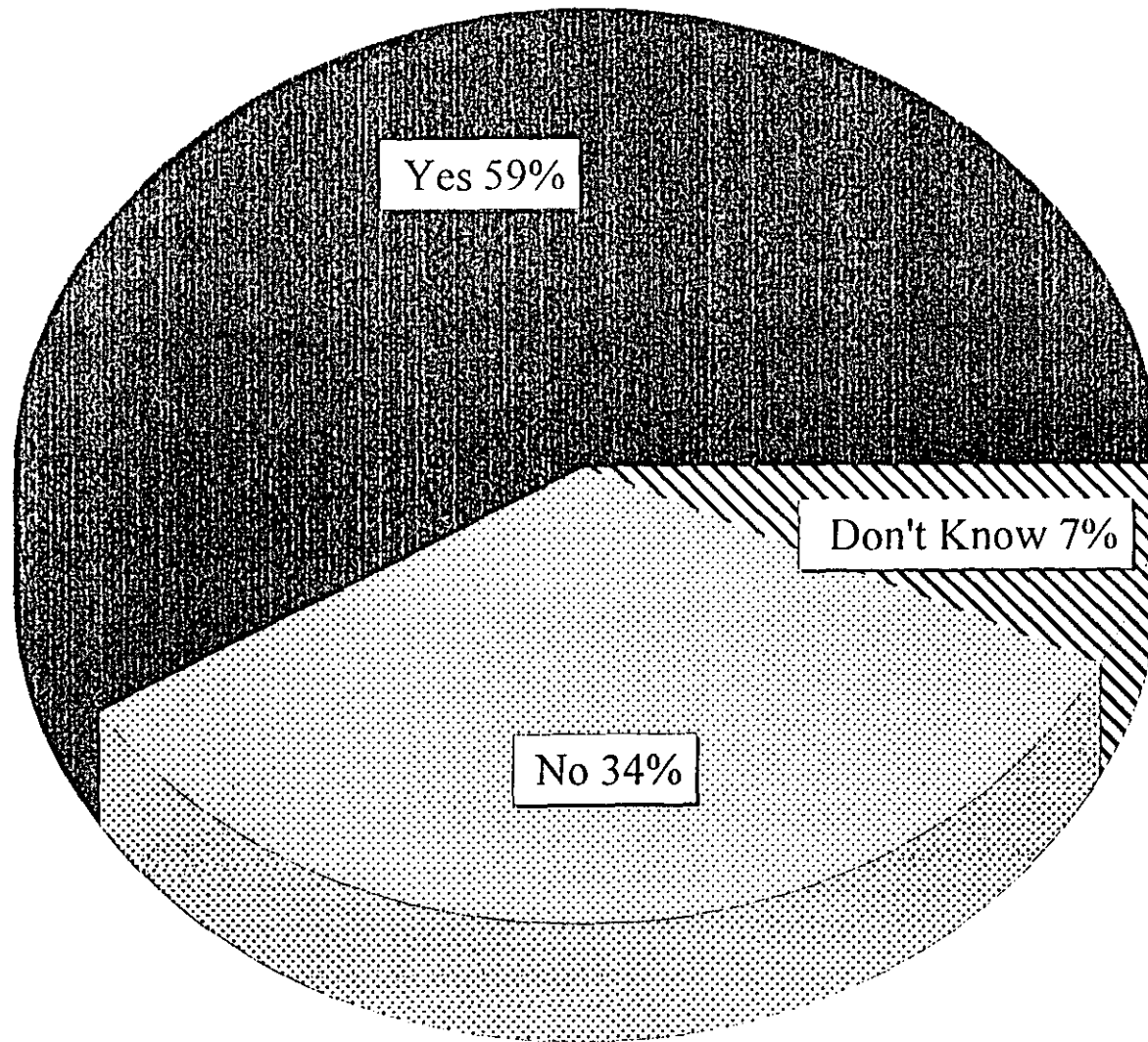


If the State Duma elections were being held today, which political party would you favor?

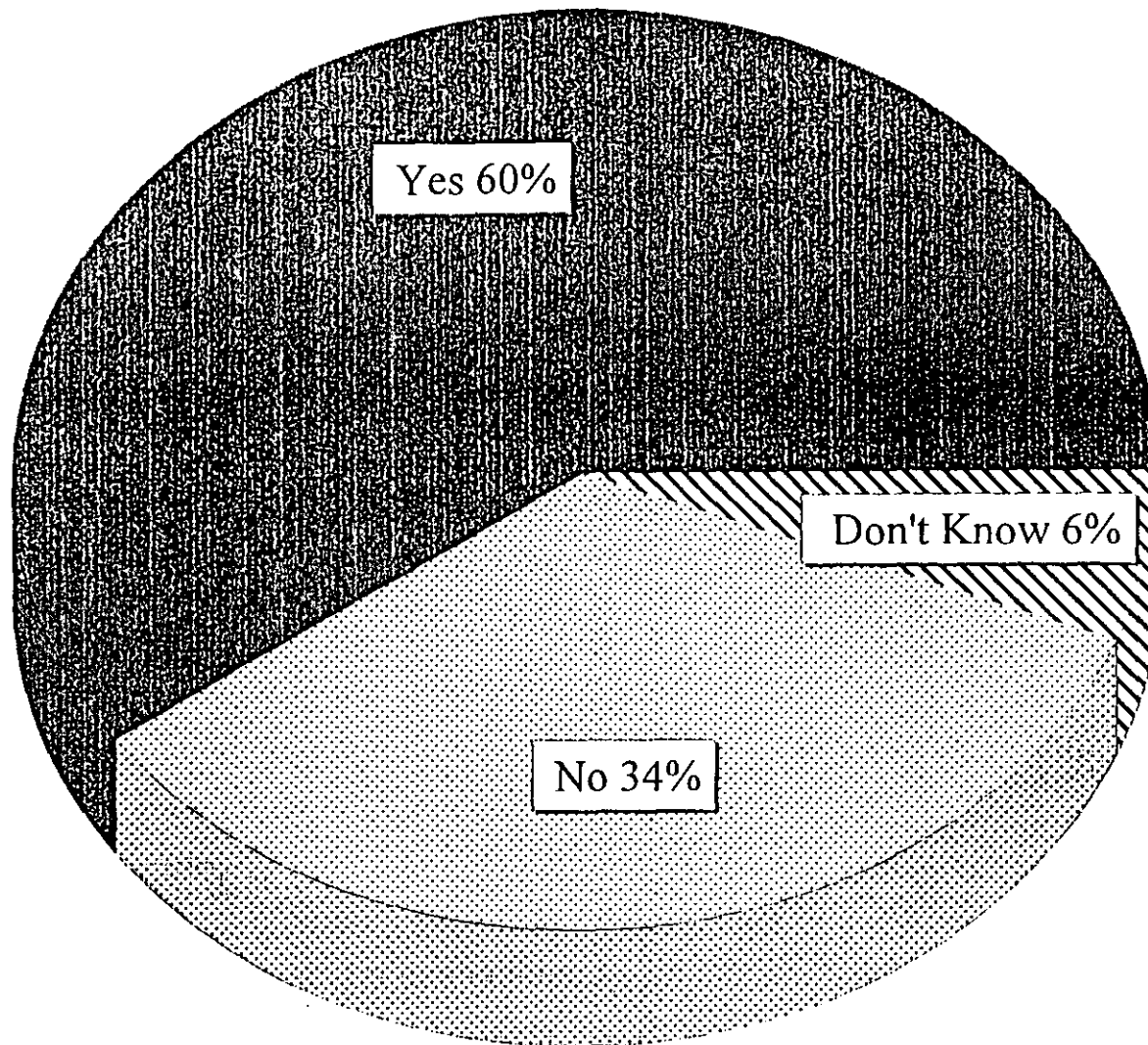
[ONE ONLY]

14%	Communist Party
11%	Women of Russia
9%	Yabloko
7%	Russia's Democratic Choice
4%	Liberal Democratic Party
3%	Our Home Russia
2%	Agrarian Party
2%	Democratic Party of Russia
1%	Party of Economic Freedom
1%	Russian Party of Unity and Accord
1%	Derzhava Movement
1%	Forward Russia
*	Russia Patriotic Front
*	Federal Party of Democratic Russia
*	Russian Christian Democratic Union
*	Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms
*	Republican Party
*	Stable Russia
*	Party of Self Government
*	OTHER [PLEASE SPECIFY] _____ [DO NOT READ]
21%	NONE [DO NOT READ]
19%	Don't Know
1%	Refused/NA

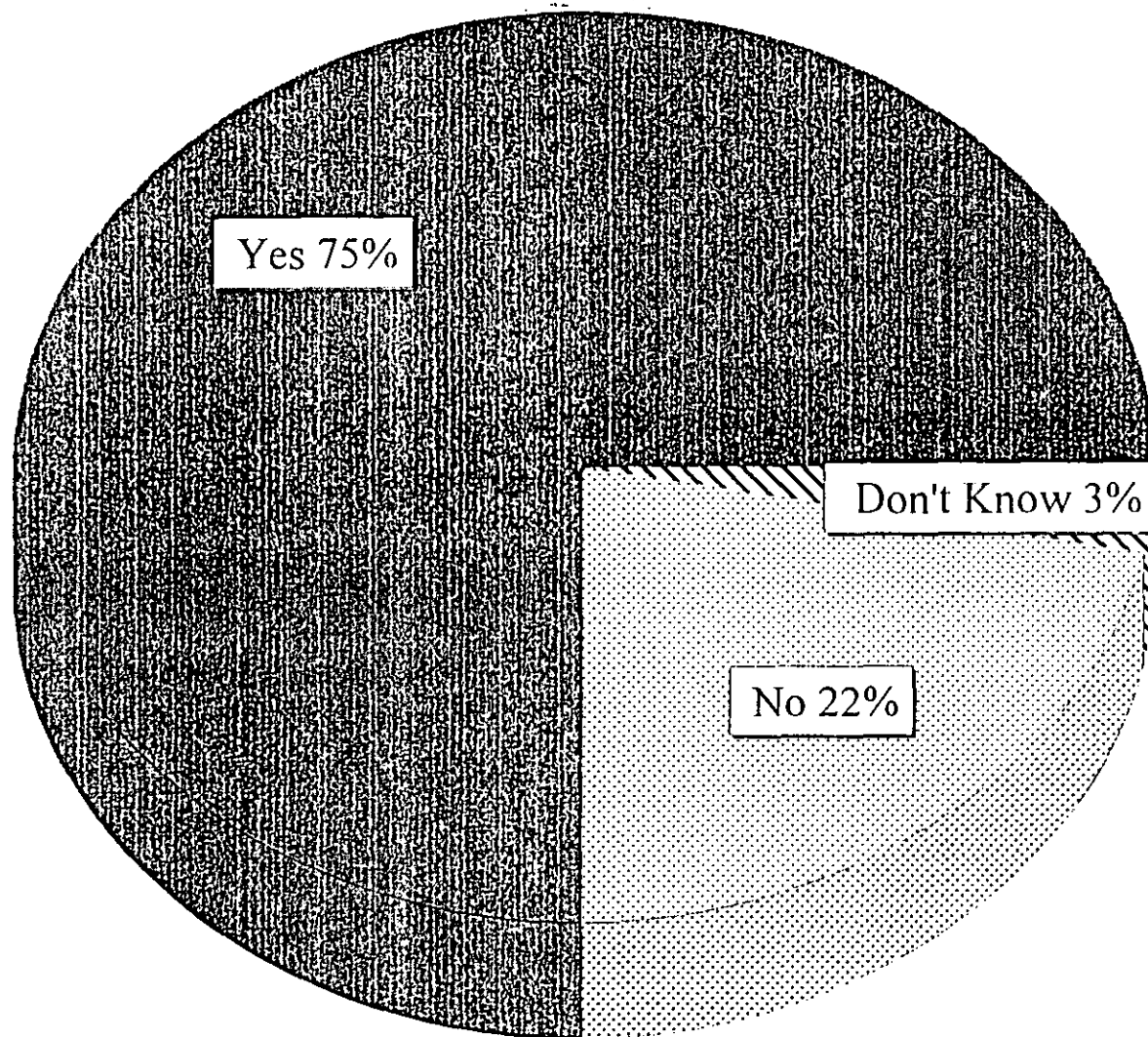
Did you vote in the April 1993 referendum?



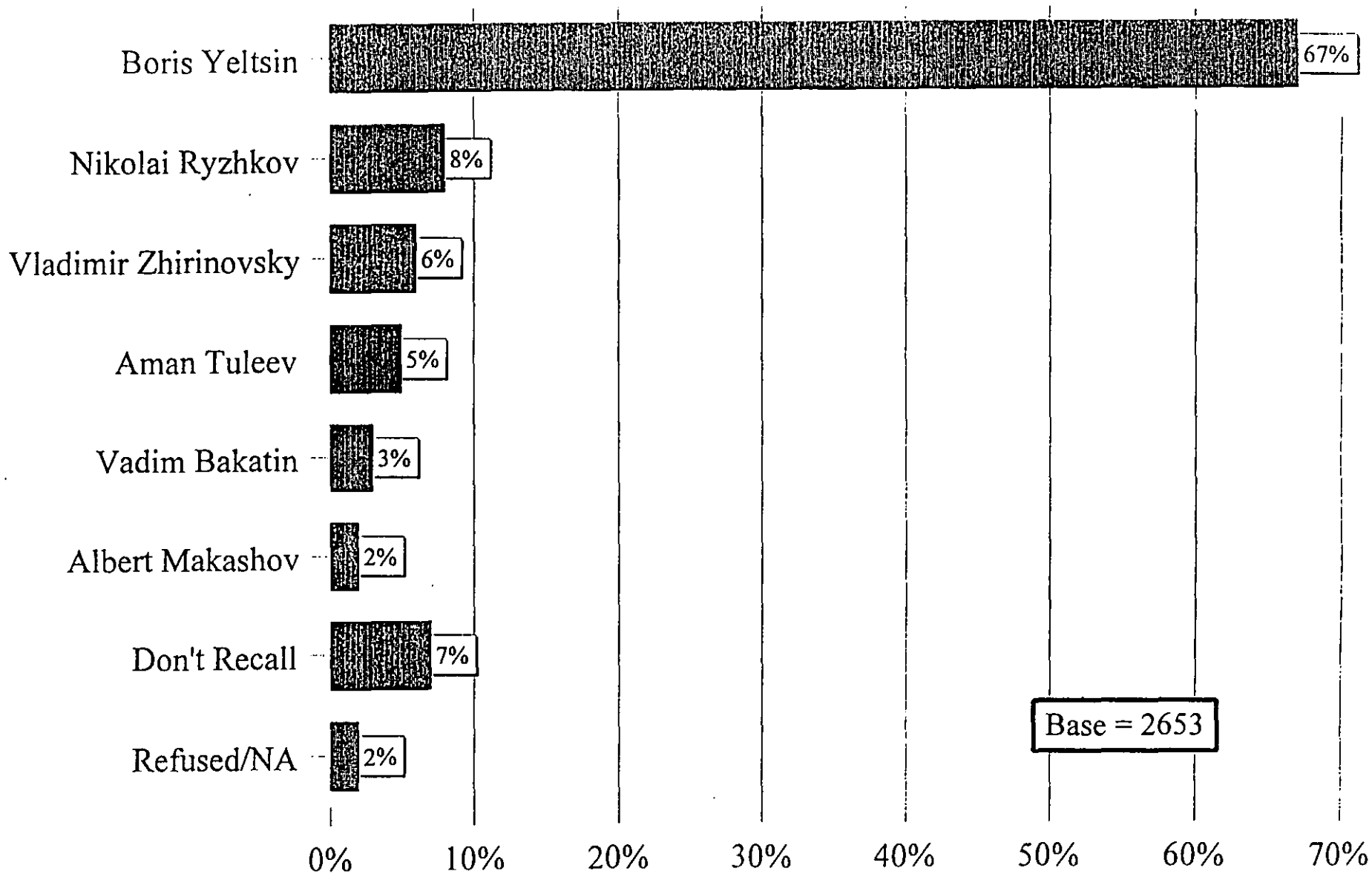
Did you vote in the parliamentary election and constitutional referendum of December 1993?



Did you vote in the Presidential election of 1991?



For whom did you vote in the Presidential election of 1991?



[IF DID NOT VOTE IN ANY ELECTION] On this card [SHOW CARD] are a number of reasons other people have given for why they did not vote. Please take this card and circle every reason for why you did not vote. If there was another reason not on this list, please tell me what that was.

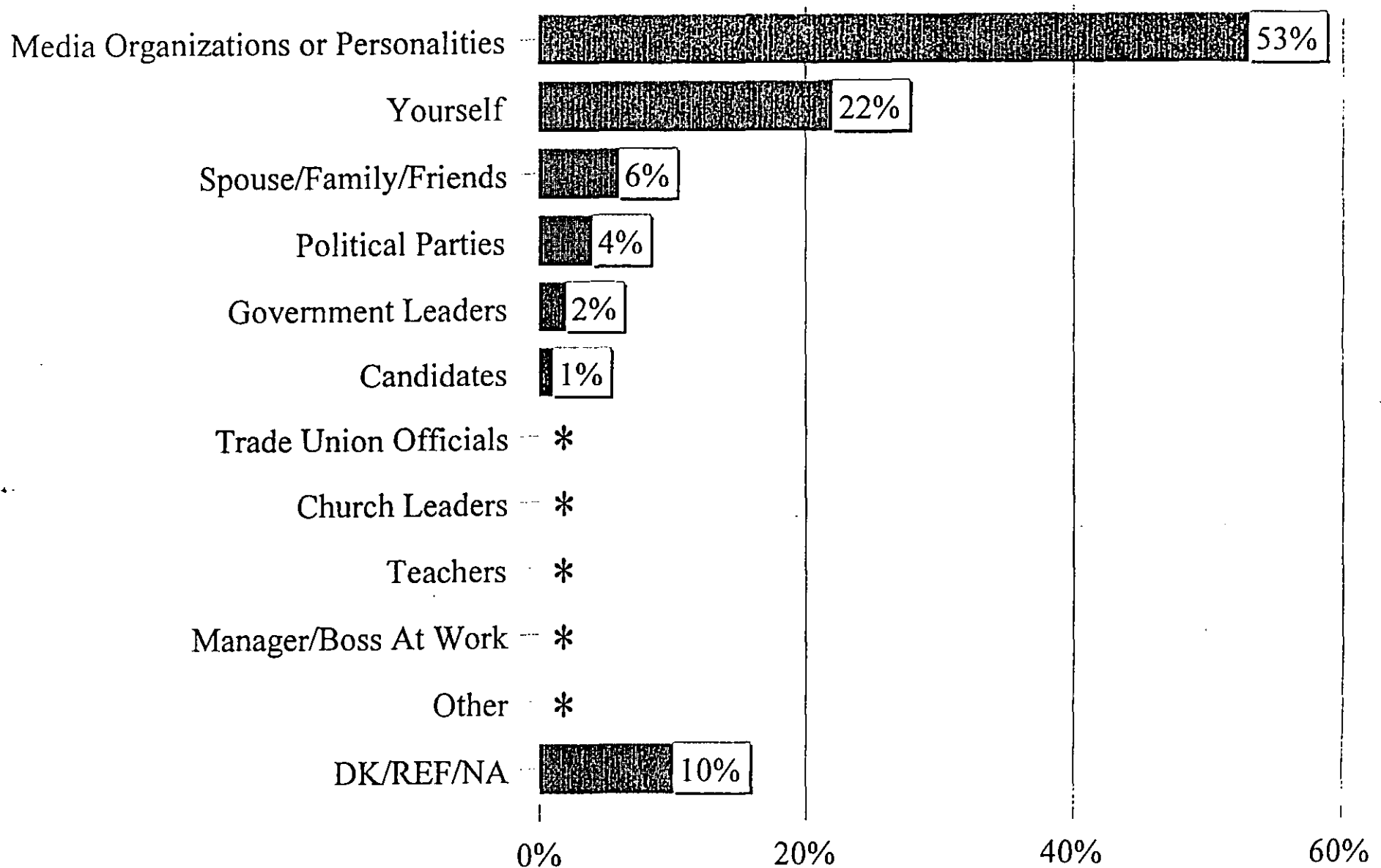
- | | |
|-----|---|
| 27% | I was younger than 18 years. |
| 19% | I did not vote because there are too many elections and the process is confusing. |
| 16% | I did not vote because I am dissatisfied with the government. |
| 13% | I chose not to vote because I did not like any of the candidates. |
| 7% | I chose not to vote because I did not have enough information about the candidates. |
| 6% | I chose not to vote because I am not competent in election matters. |
| 5% | I was not able to get to the polling place to vote. |
| 5% | I didn't want to. |
| 5% | I chose not to vote because I felt like I was being told what to do again. |
| 3% | I didn't live in Russia. |
| 1% | I was in bad health. |
| 1% | I tried to vote, but I wasn't allowed to. |
| 1% | I was registered as a voter in a different place from where I now reside. |
| 0% | The polling place was not open when it was supposed to be. |
| 8% | Don't Know |
| 3% | Refused/NA |

IF VOTED IN 1991 or 1993 ASK] On this card [SHOW CARD] are several reasons other people have given for why they voted in these elections. Please take this card and circle the reason or reasons that you voted. If there was another reason not on this list, please tell me what that was.

BASE = 2817

- | | |
|-----|---|
| 40% | I voted because I feel I have a duty to vote. |
| 28% | I voted for change in the way things in the country are run. |
| 21% | Voted because I wanted to express opinion on what should happen in the country. |
| 19% | I voted because I liked one of the candidates. |
| 14% | I voted because I knew there was a turnout requirement to make the elections valid. |
| 11% | I felt I needed to vote, because if I didn't something bad would happen. |
| 7% | I voted because I wanted to have a choice about the leaders that represent me. |
| 4% | If many people voted, my city or town would get favors from government officials. |
| 4% | I was pressured or coerced to vote. |
| 3% | I voted because I am a supporter of one of the political parties. |
| * | Other |
| 6% | Don't Know/Refused/NA |

When making decisions about who to vote for, who do you look to most for information?



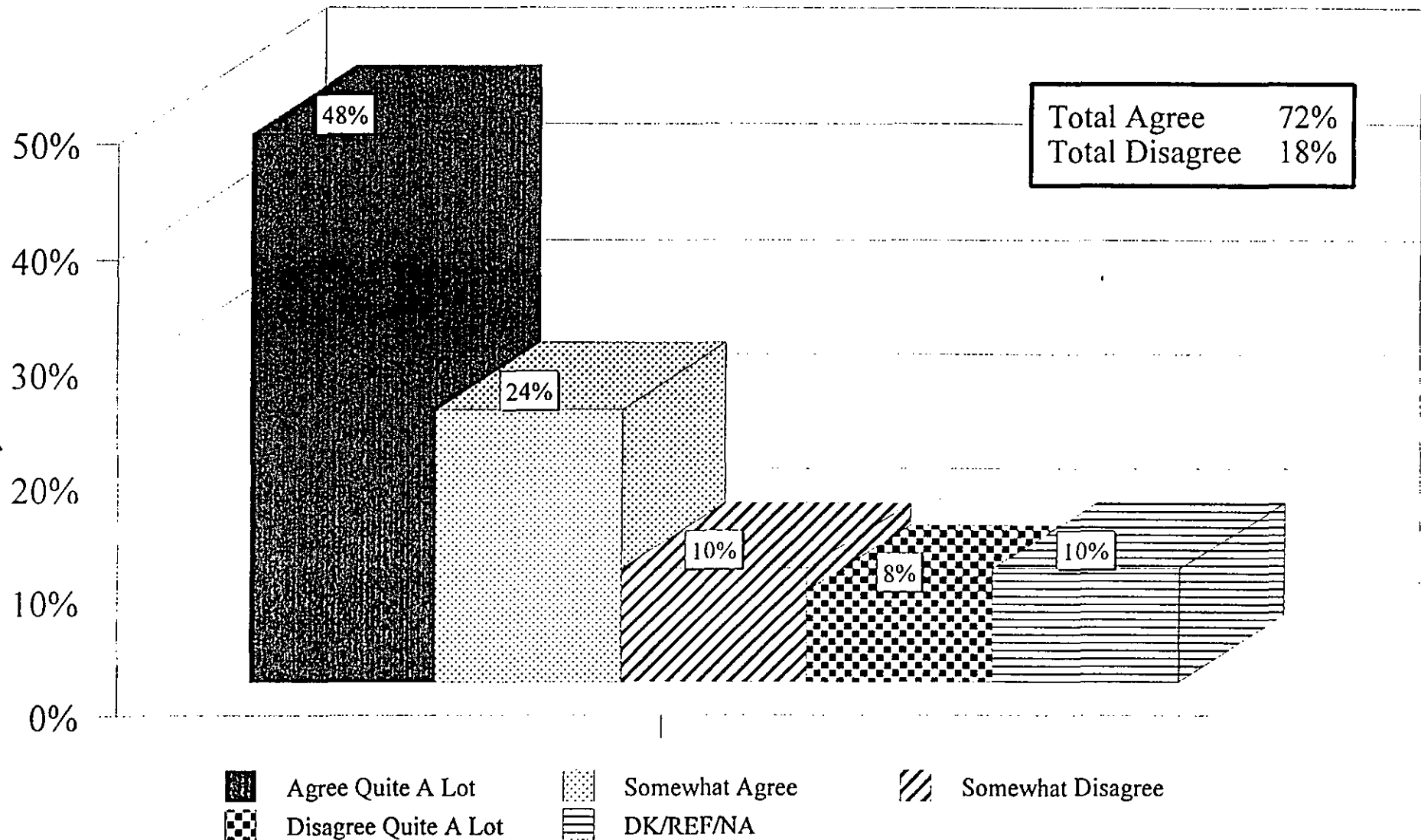
Next, on this card are a number of sources from which you might have gotten information about the candidates running for President or the State Duma. Please take this card and circle those sources that gave you information you thought was USEFUL.

		Don't Read/Watch				
		Not Useful	Listen. Useful	Don't Partic.	Don't Know	No Answer
A.	Programs on National Channel 1	87%	6%	3%	3%	1%
B.	Programs on Russian Channel 2	81%	7%	7%	4%	1%
C.	Educational Channel 4	14%	12%	62%	9%	3%
D.	Local television programs	53%	14%	25%	6%	2%
E.	Other television programs	28%	11%	49%	10%	3%
F.	Radio 101	13%	8%	69%	7%	3%
G.	Radio Maximum	6%	9%	76%	7%	3%
H.	Europa Plus	14%	12%	65%	7%	2%
I.	Nostalgia	7%	11%	72%	7%	3%
J.	Local radio programs	54%	10%	29%	5%	2%
K.	Other radio programs	34%	9%	47%	8%	2%
L.	Newspaper articles	69%	6%	20%	4%	1%
M.	Magazine articles	44%	8%	41%	5%	2%
N.	Mailings from candidates or parties	8%	19%	60%	10%	3%
O.	Leaflets	15%	23%	50%	9%	2%
P.	Posters	23%	25%	41%	8%	2%
Q.	Meeting a candidate in person	35%	10%	47%	6%	2%
R.	A speech or other public meetings	20%	10%	59%	8%	3%
S.	Discussions with friends, family,	64%	12%	17%	5%	2%
T.	Things my boss told me	8%	30%	49%	9%	4%

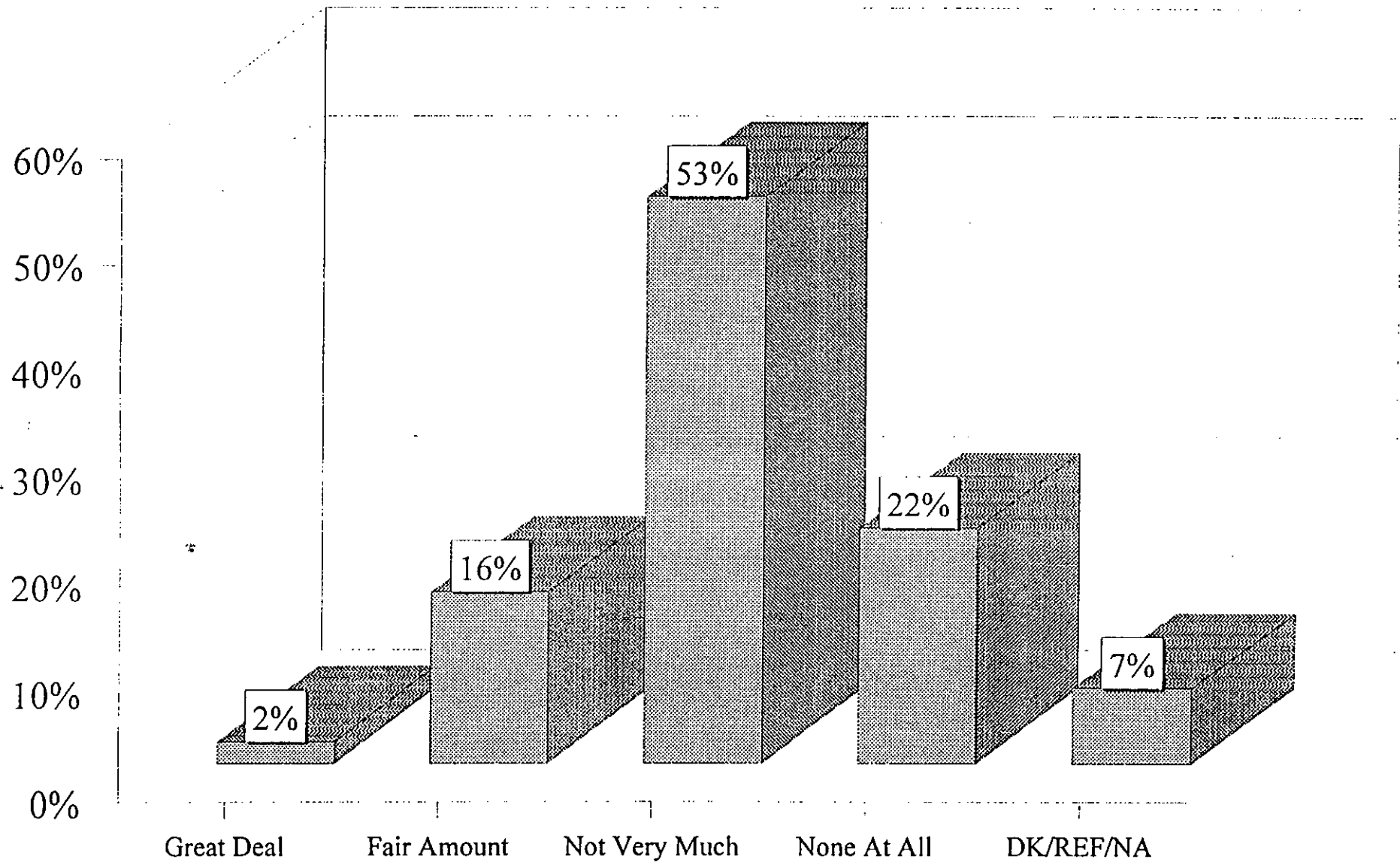
And which ONE of these sources was most important in helping you decide how you would vote?

38%	Programs on National Channel 1
12%	Programs on Russian Channel 2
10%	Educational Channel 4
10%	Discussions with friends, family or neighbors
9%	Newspaper articles
4%	Meeting a candidate in person
3%	Local television programs
2%	Local radio programs
1%	Other television programs
1%	Radio 101
1%	Other radio programs
1%	A speech or other public meetings I attended
*	Europa Plus
*	Nostalgia
*	Magazine articles
*	Things I received in the mail from candidates or parties
*	Leaflets
*	Posters
*	Things my boss told me
*	Radio Maximum
12%	Don't Know
4%	Refused/NA

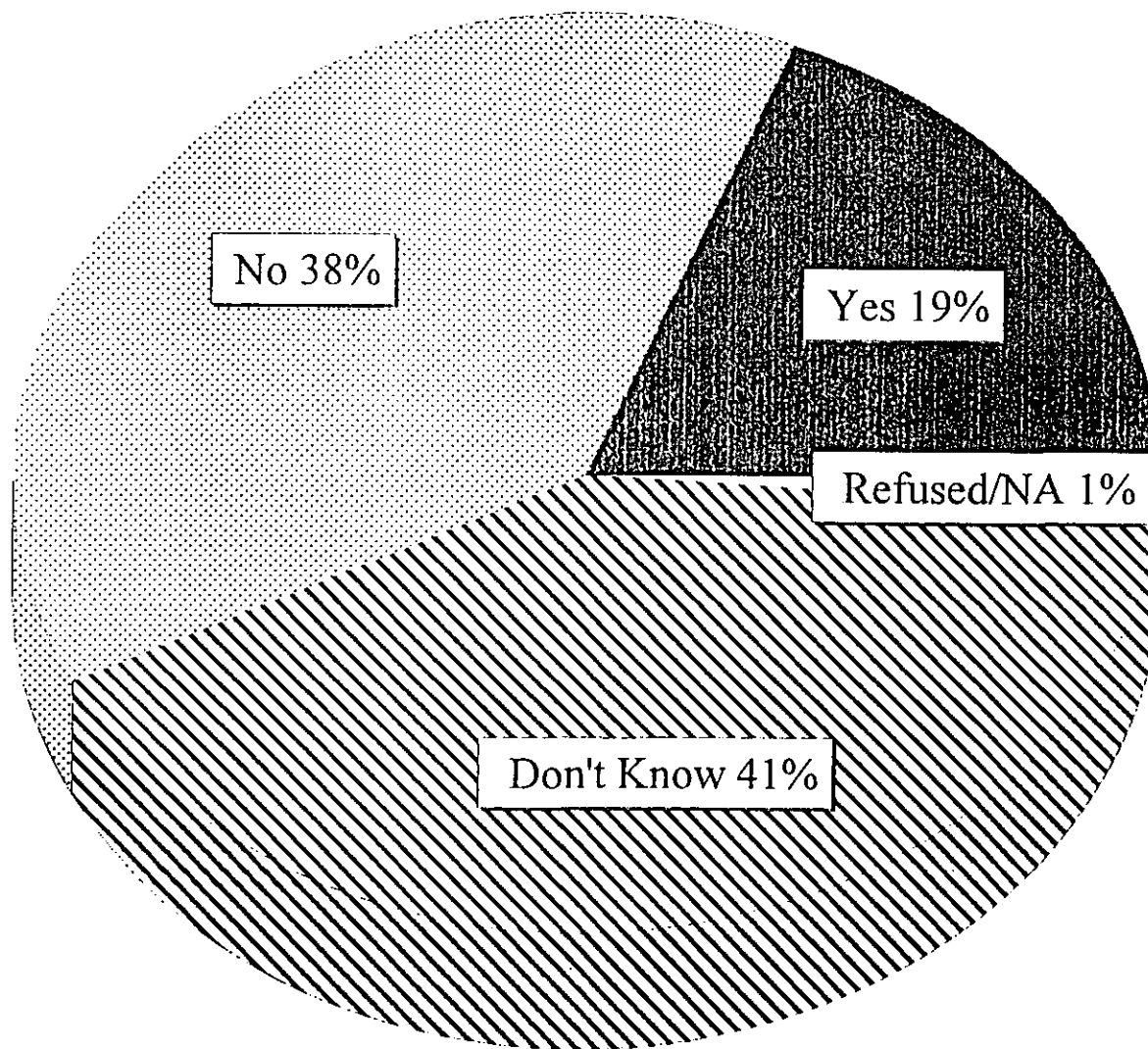
Do you agree or disagree with the statement: "I don't have enough information about my rights with regard to the authorities."



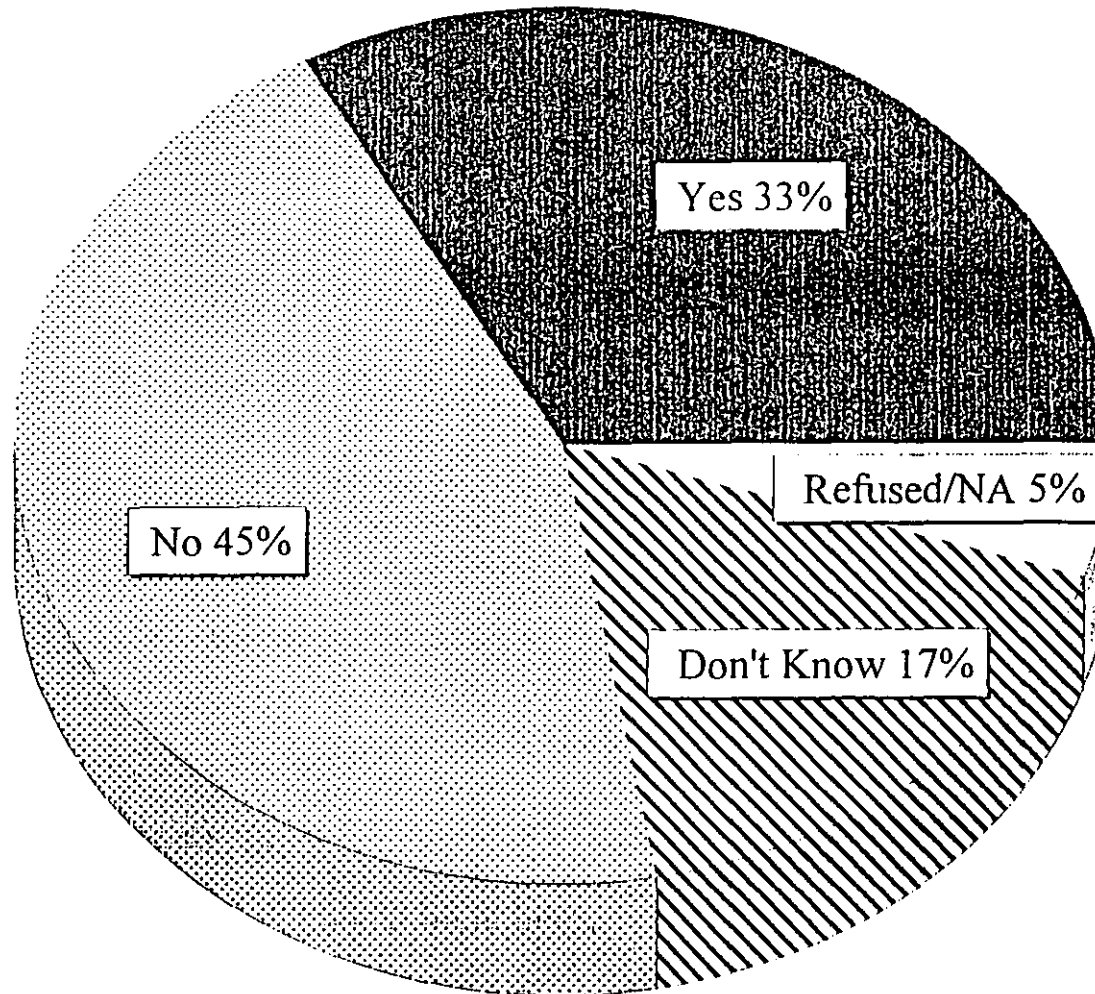
How much information do you feel you have about the democratic process of the Russian Federation?



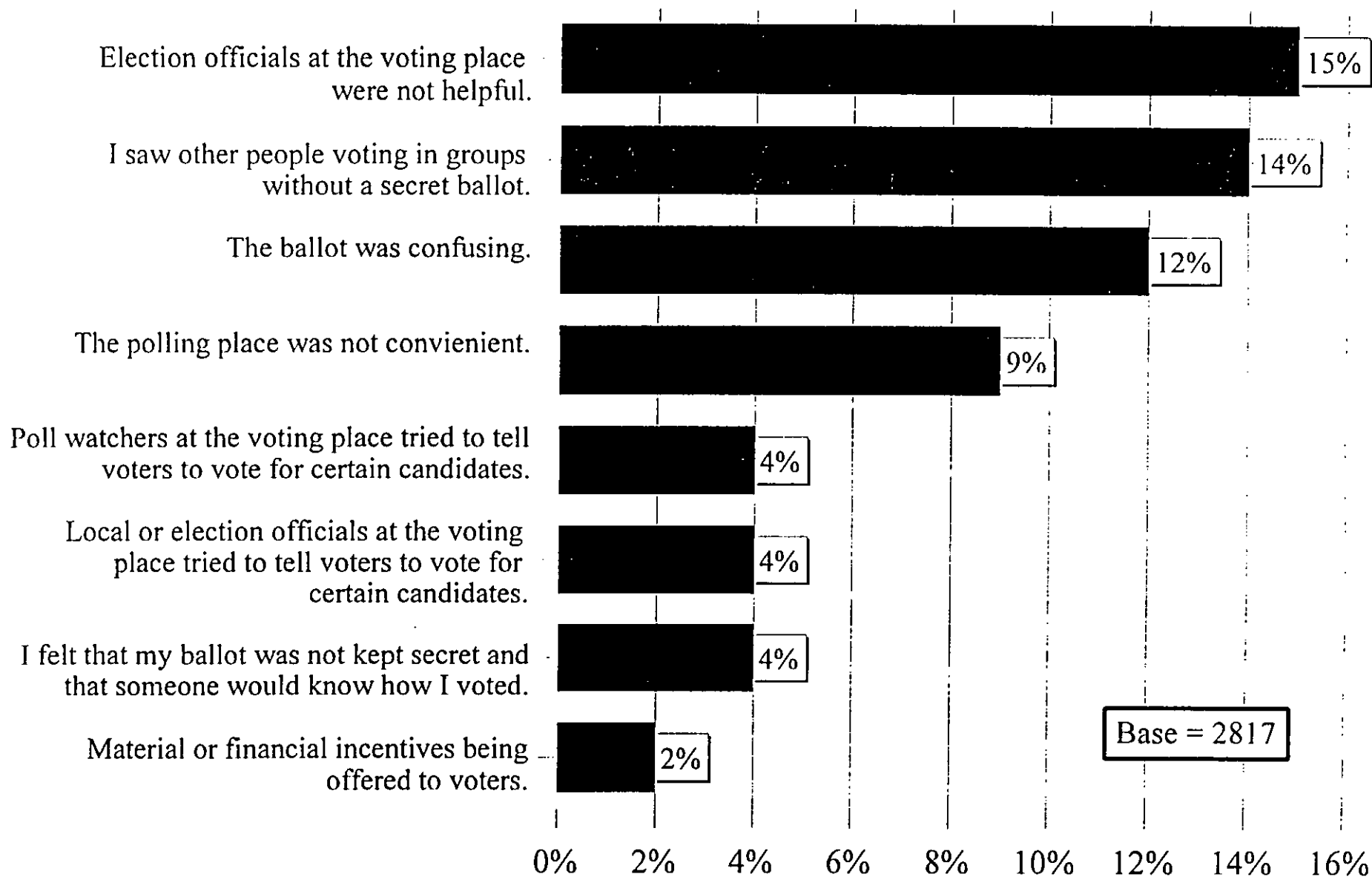
Has the deputy representing your constituency to the State Duma been back here to meet with the voters since he/she was elected or not?



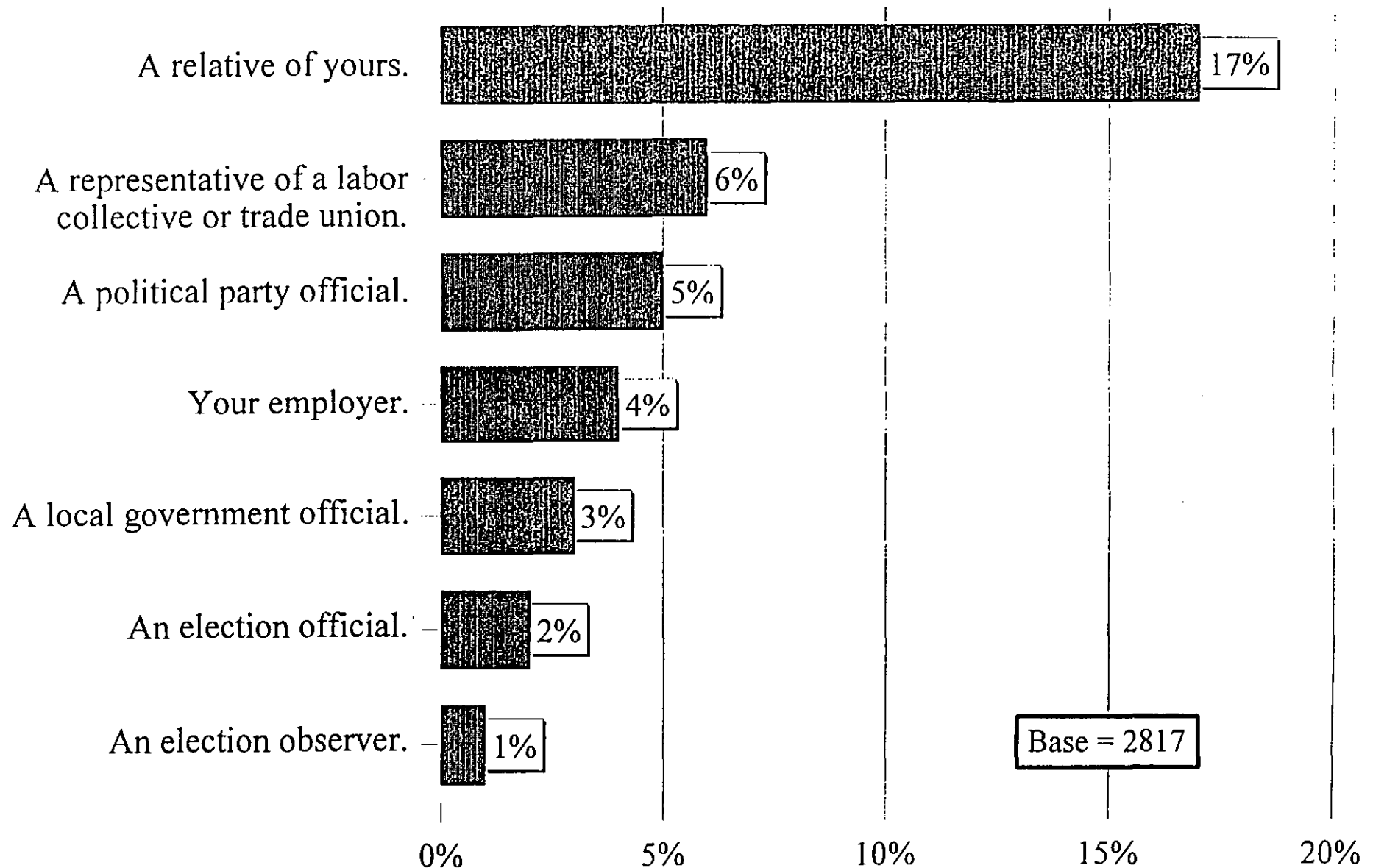
Do you feel that you received enough information about the candidates or parties to make a good choice between the candidates for the State Duma in the December 1993 parliamentary elections?



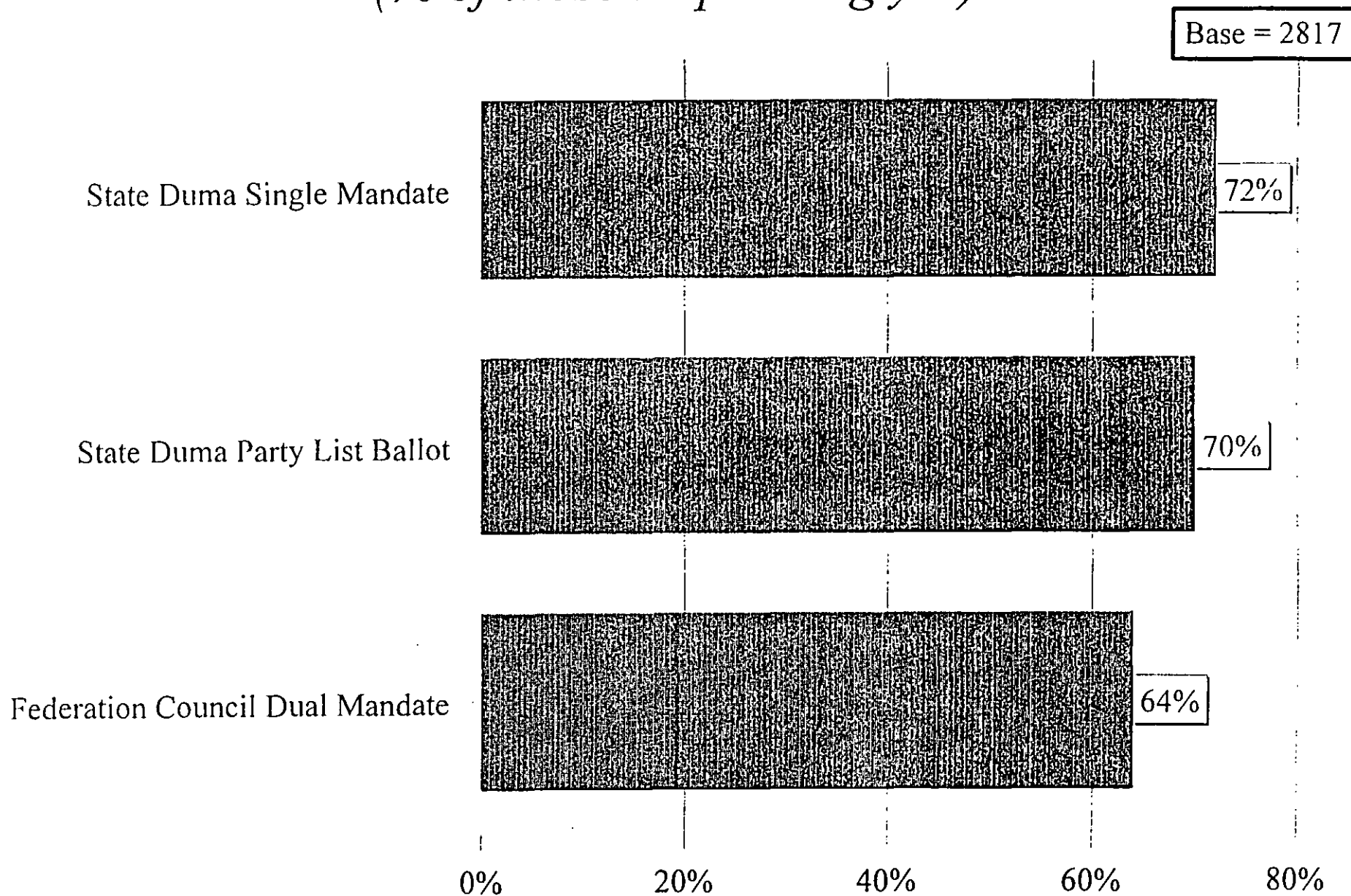
Did you encounter or observe any of the following problems when you voted? (% of those responding yes)



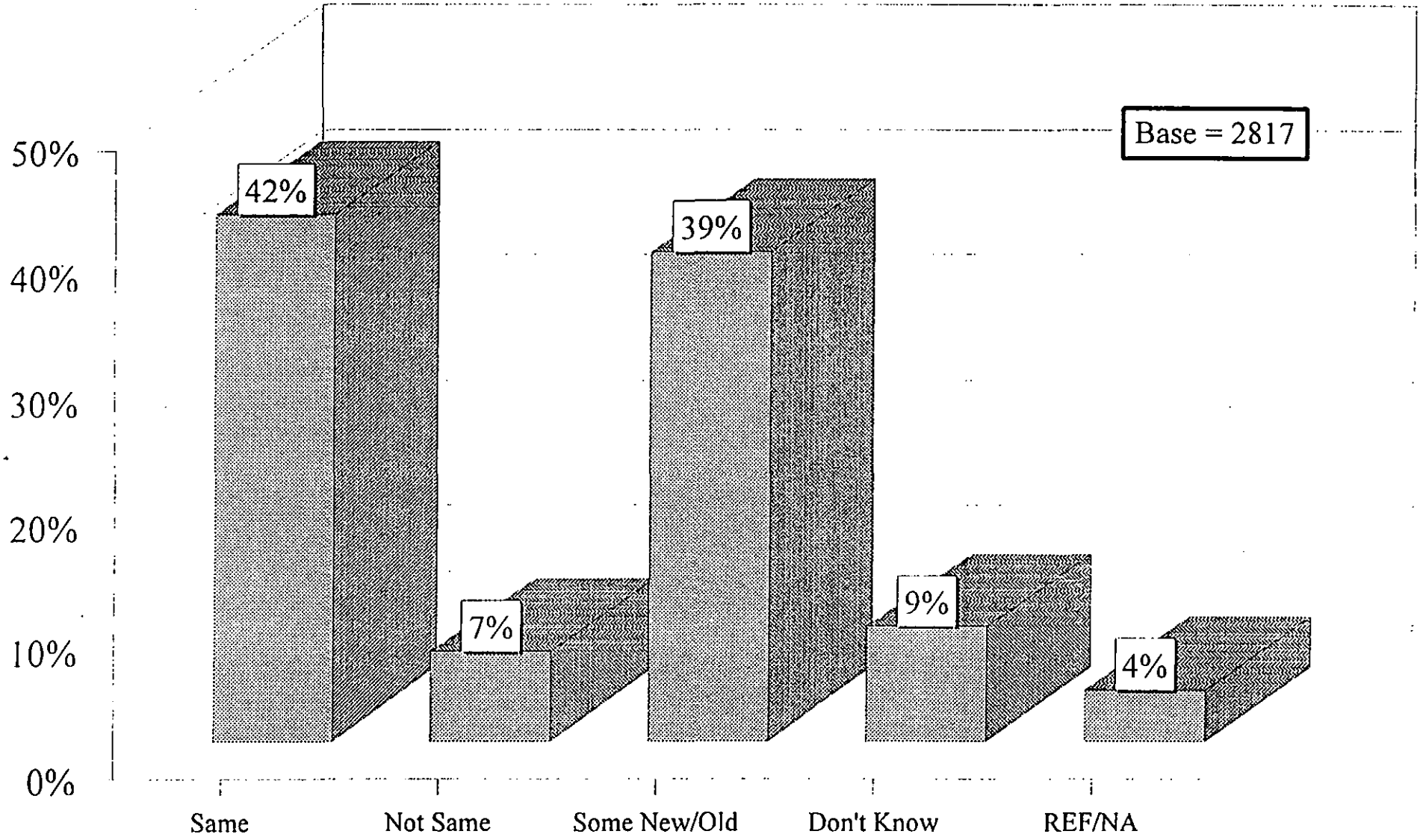
Which of the following people, if any, tried to pressure you to vote a certain way in any of the elections? (% of those responding yes)



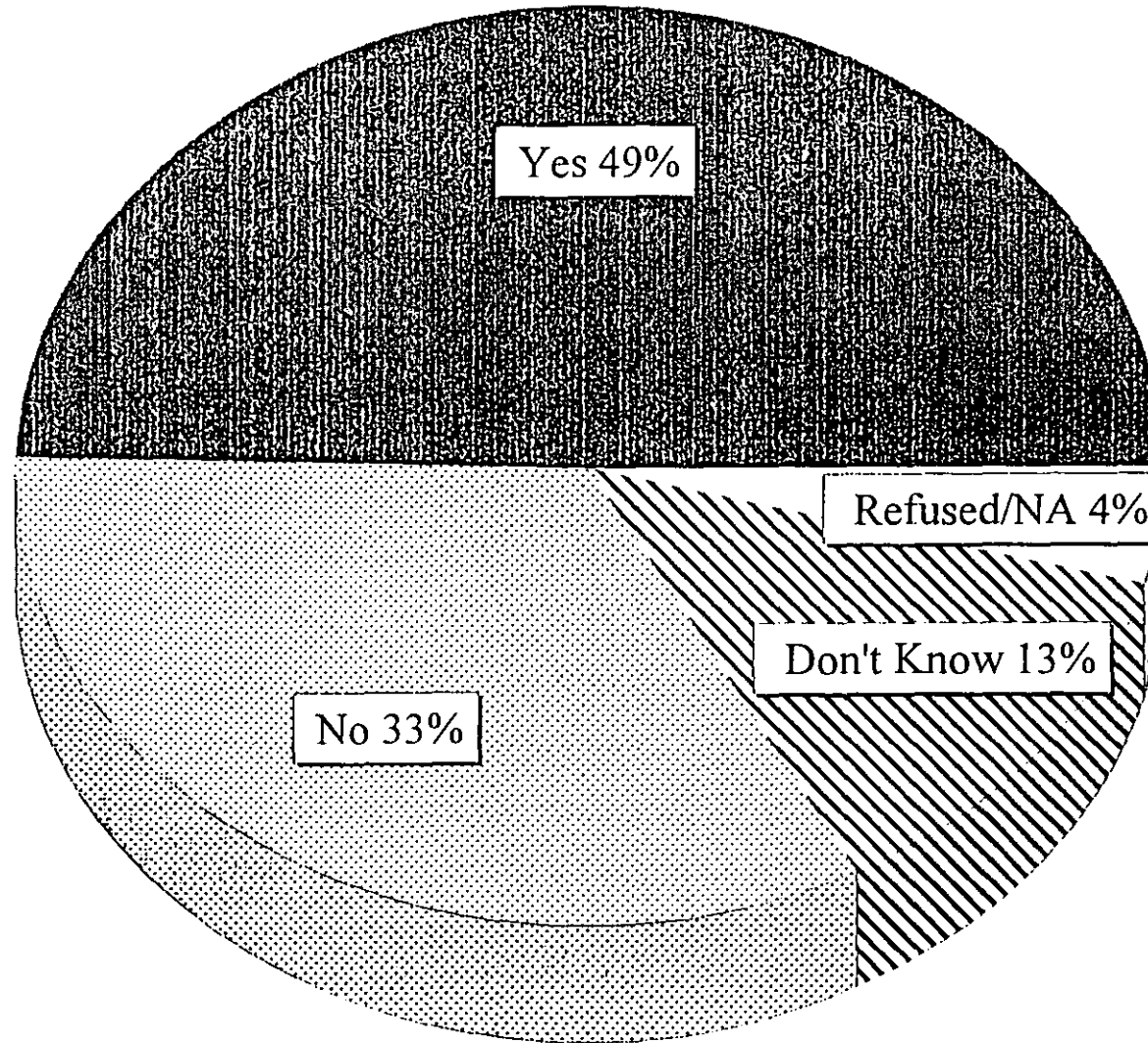
*Were the following ballots understandable or not?
(% of those responding yes)*



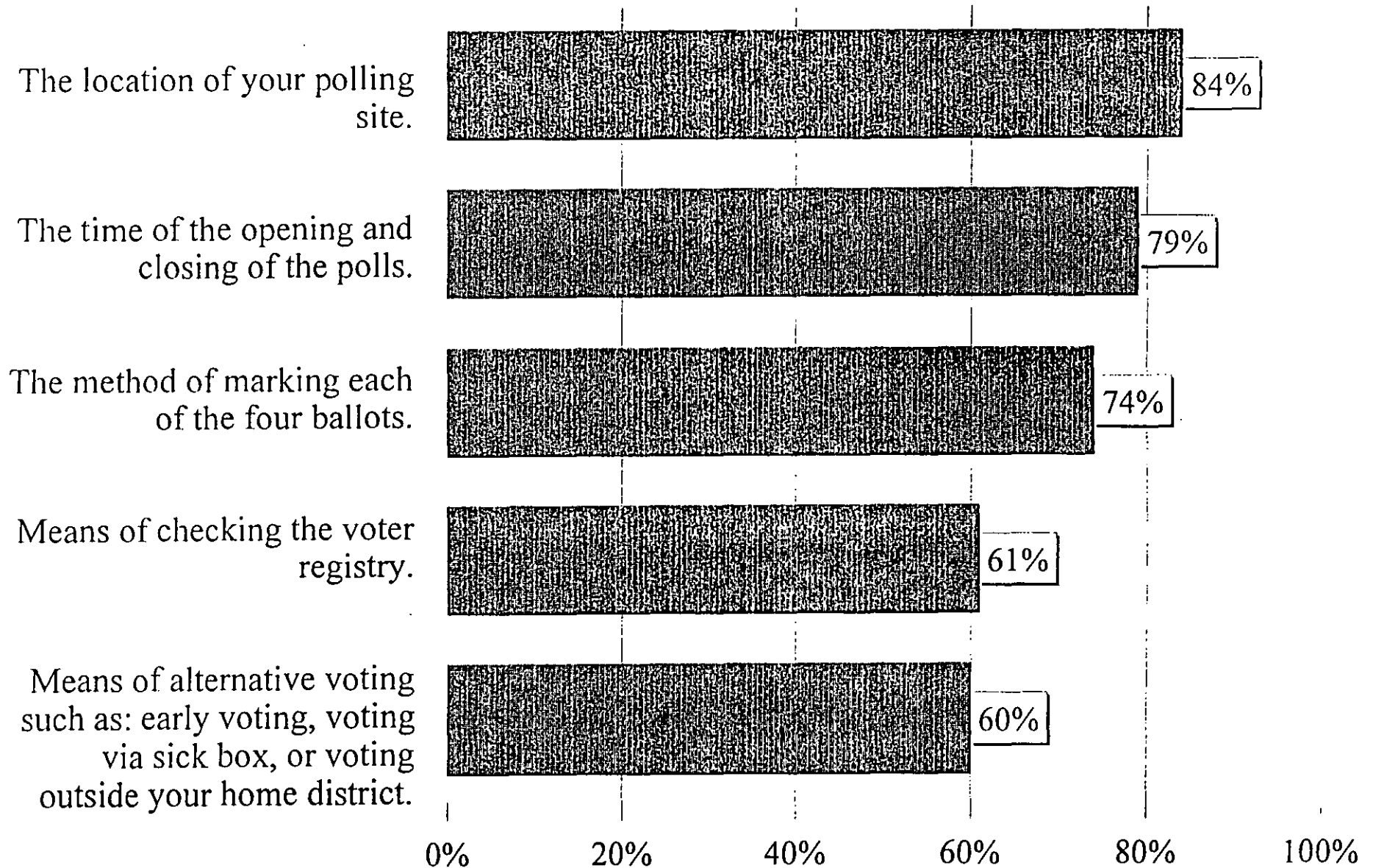
Does it seem to you that the people who ran these elections are pretty much the same people who have always been running things in our society, or are the election officials not the same people?



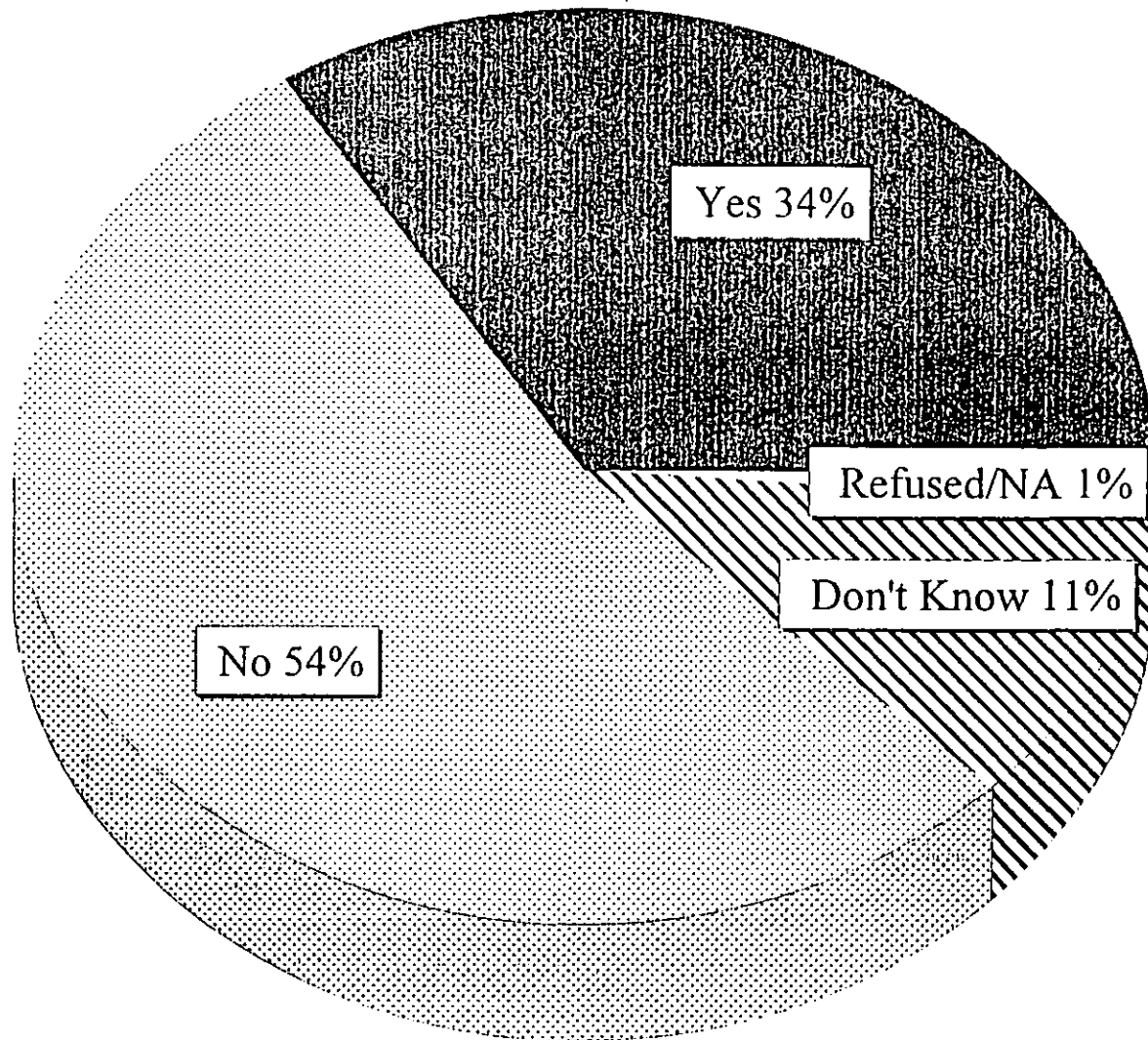
Do you feel that you received enough information from election officials so that you understood the election process?



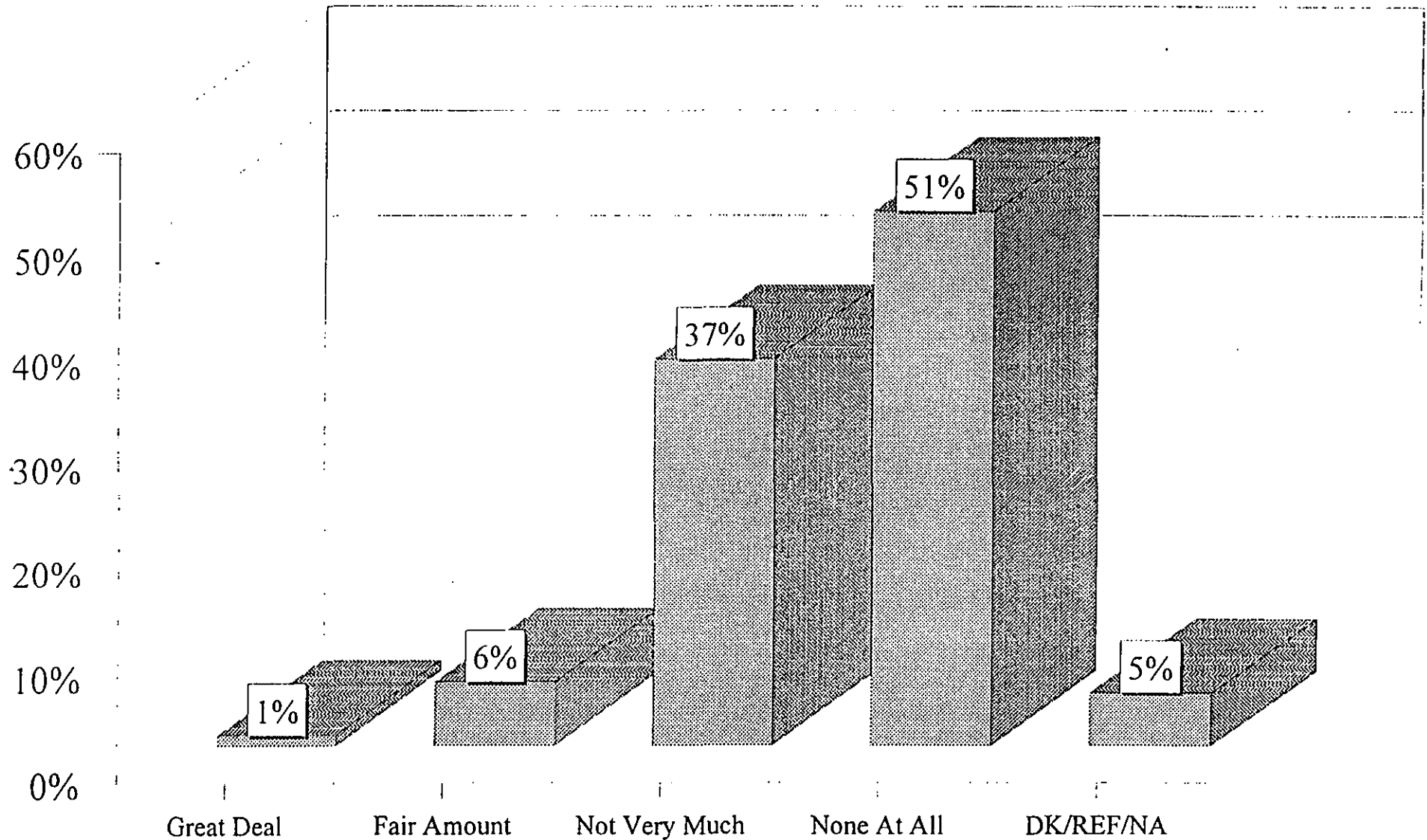
For the 1993 elections, were you provided with sufficient information on each of the following items or not? (% of those responding yes)



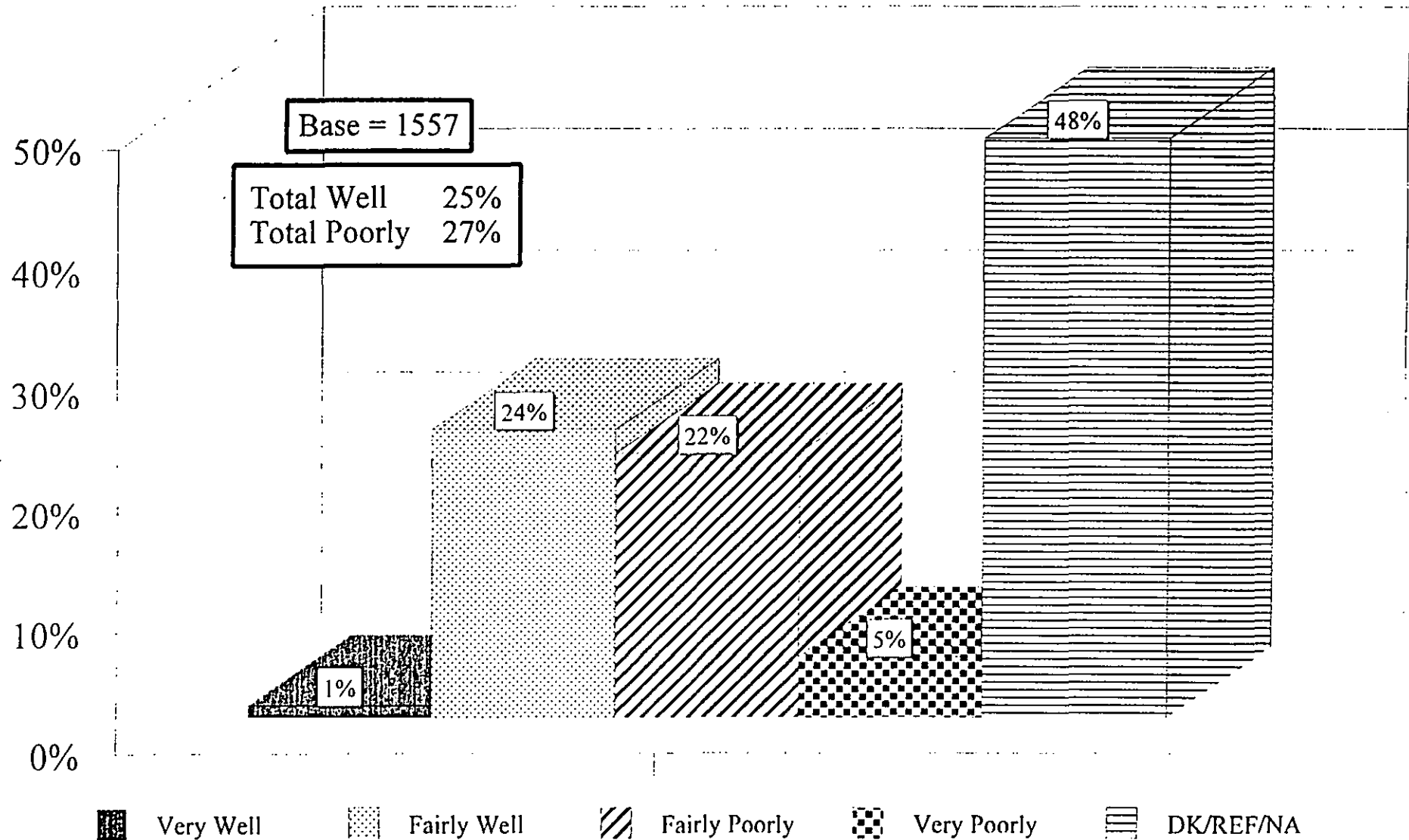
Can a member of your family vote on your behalf if he or she presents your passport?



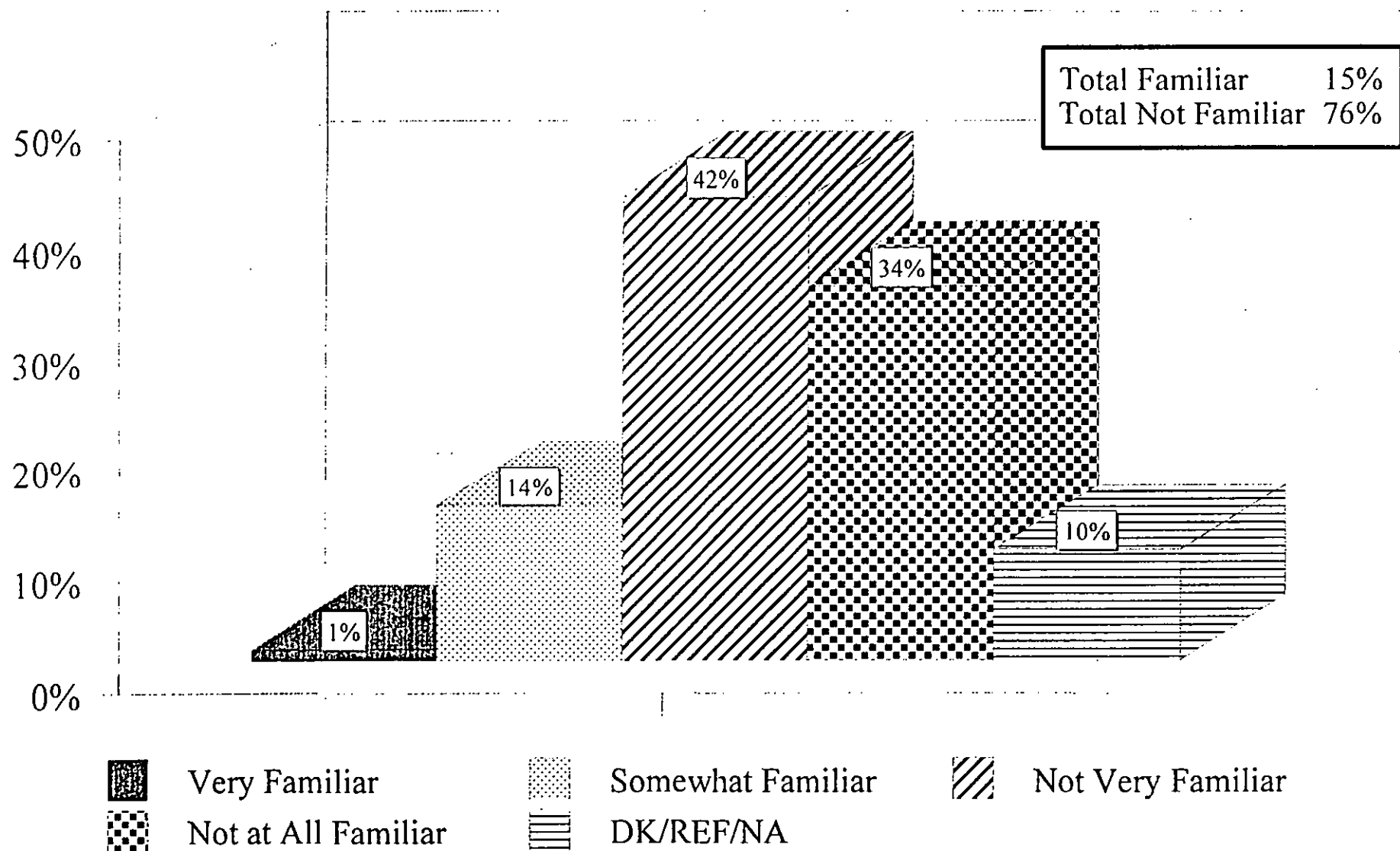
How much have you heard or read about the Central Election Commission in Moscow?



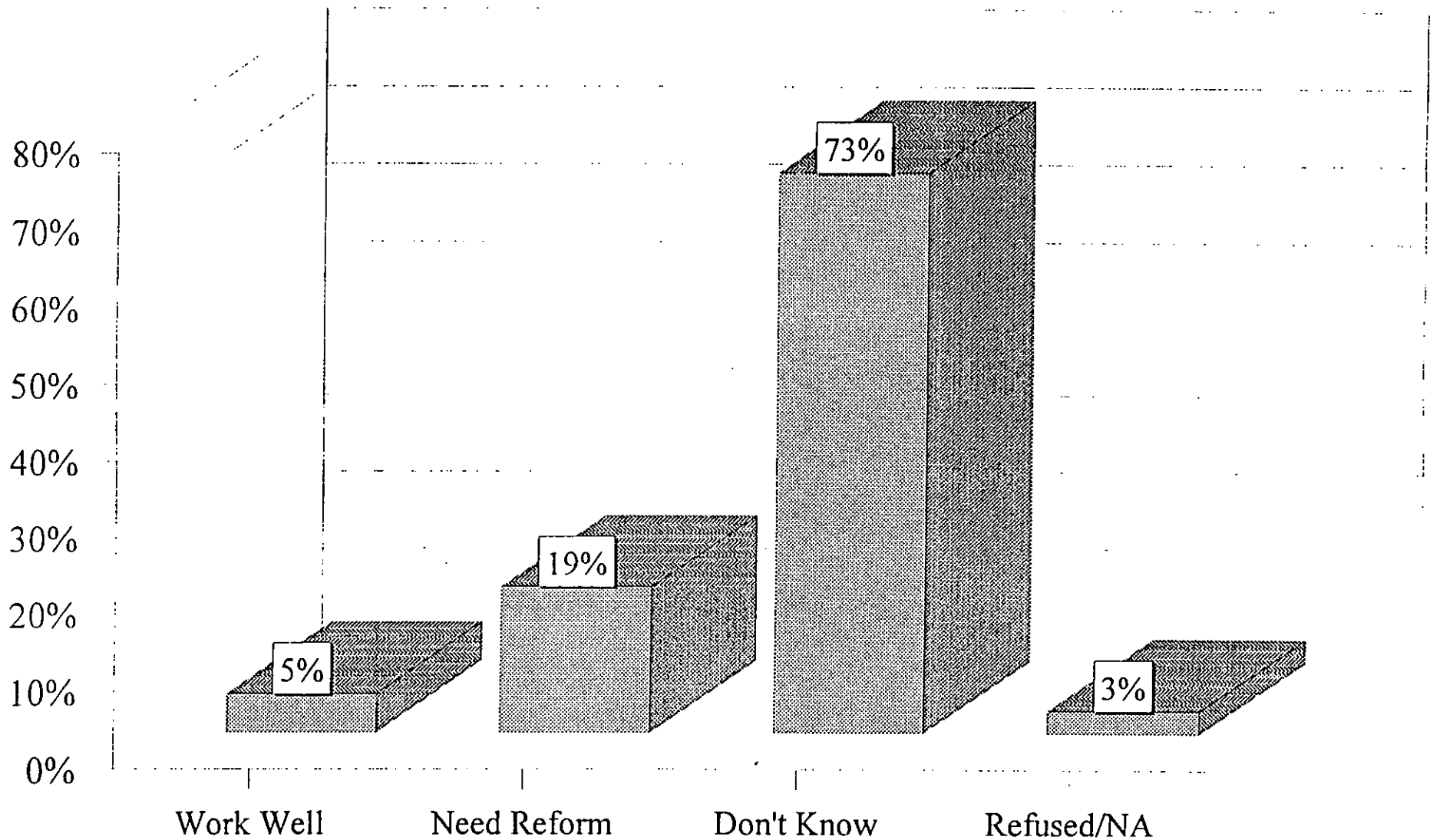
What is your overall opinion of how well the Central Election Commission does its job?



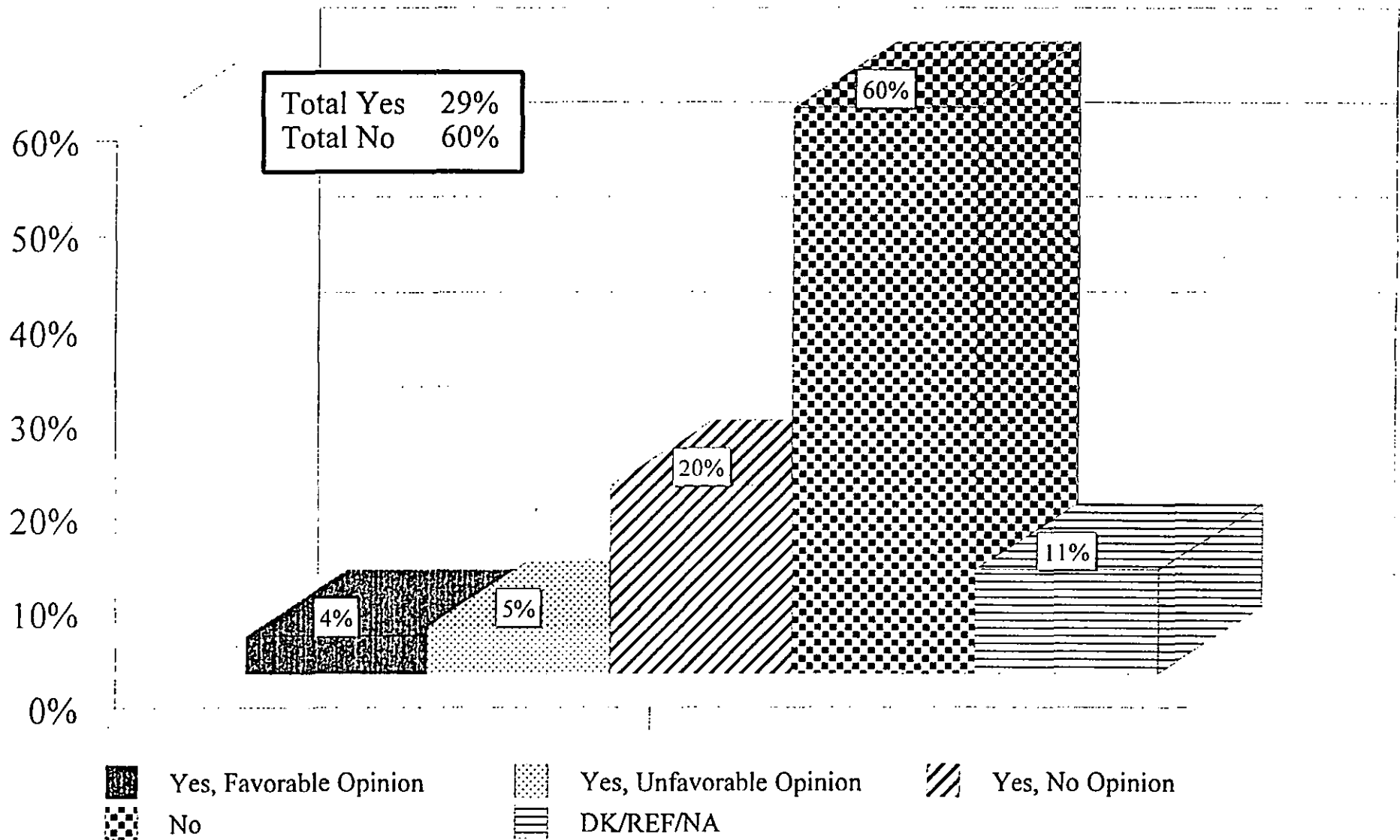
How familiar are you with your voting rights as outlined in the federal law on the Basic Guarantees of Electoral Rights of the Citizens of the Russian Federation?



What is your overall opinion of the new election laws of Russia? Does it seem to you that they work well or that they are in need of reform?



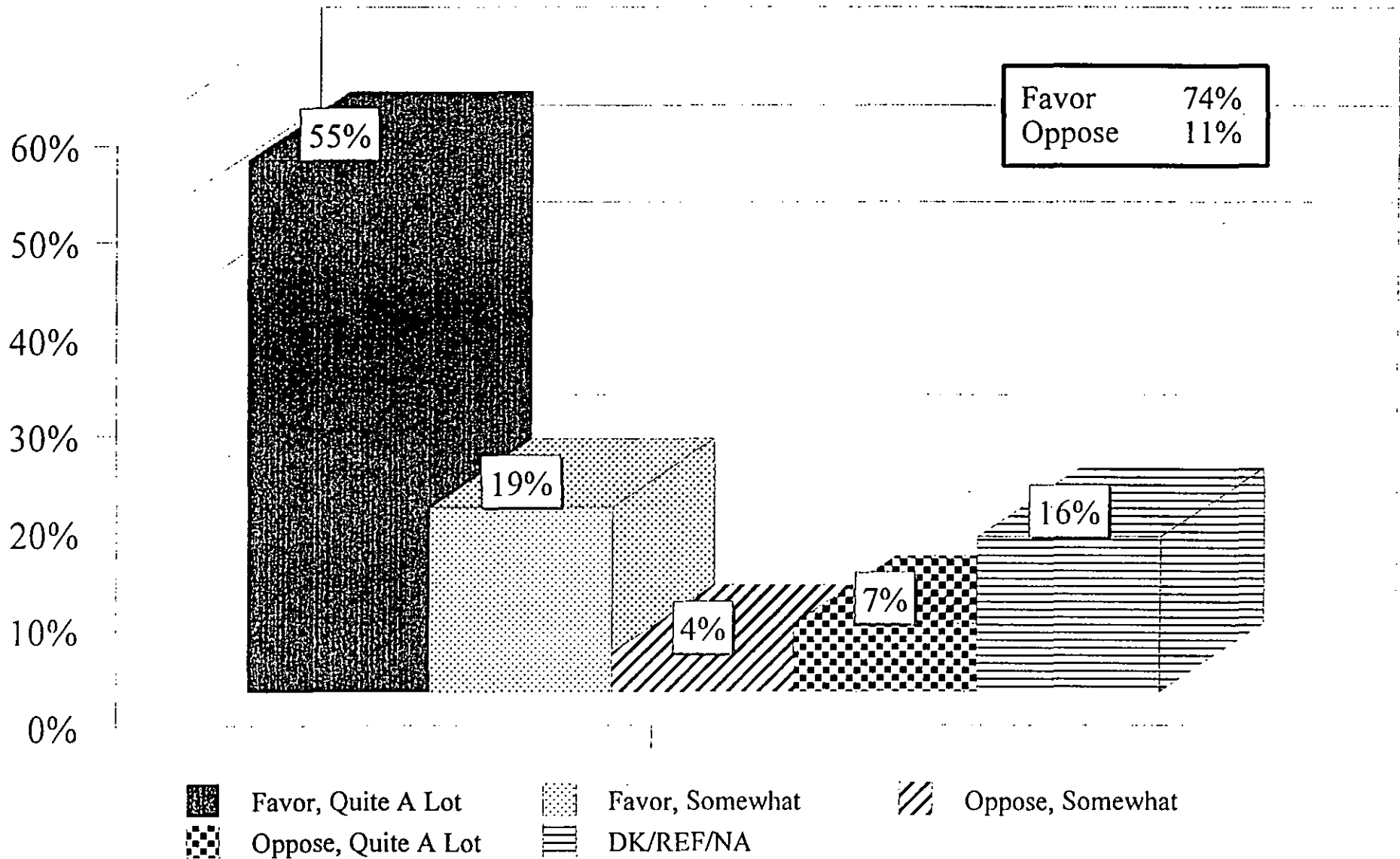
Have you seen, read, or heard anything about the new legislation on elections to the State Duma and the Russian Presidency?



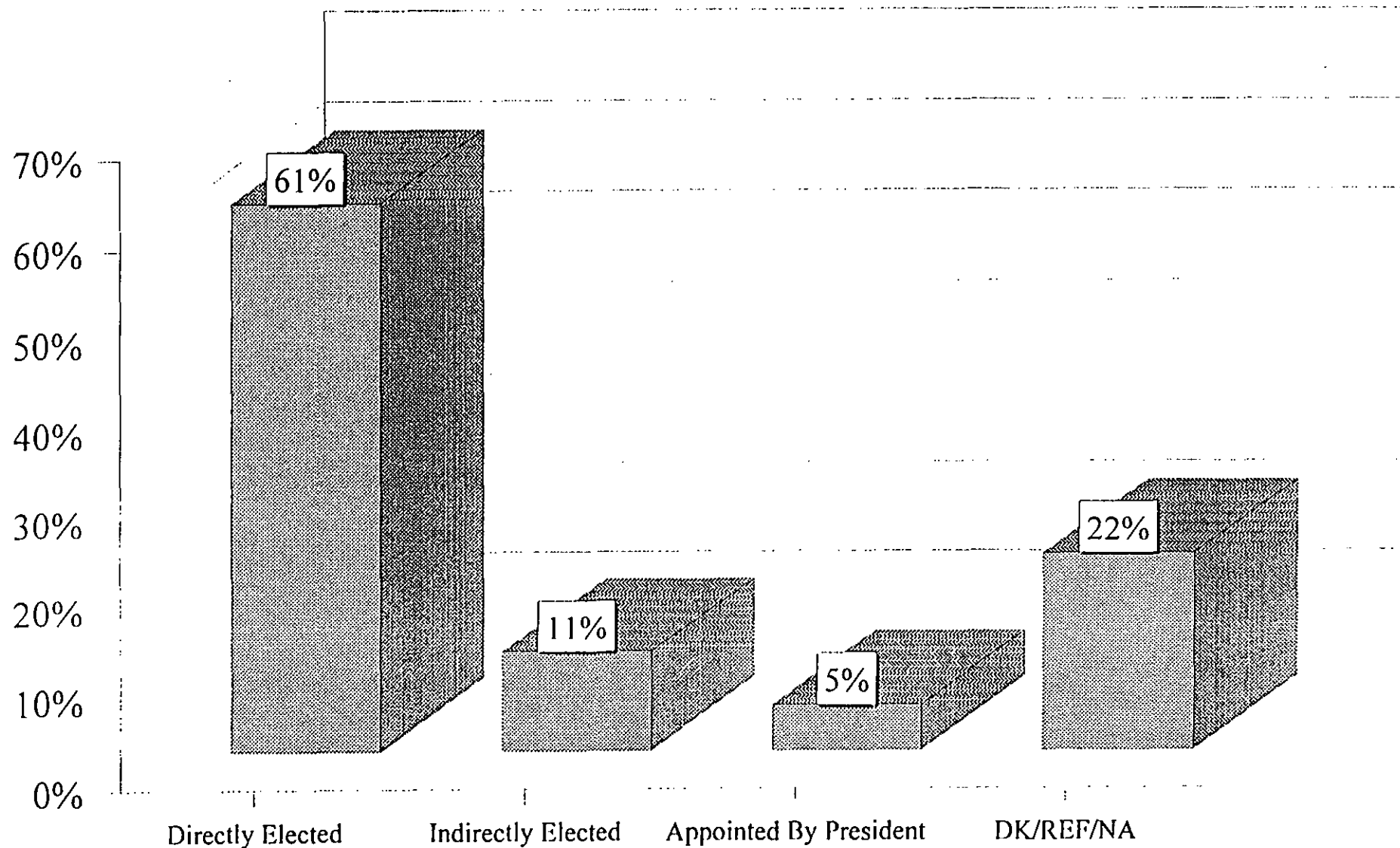
I'm going to read you a list of types of people and I'd like you to tell me if they have the right to vote or don't have the right to vote according to the federal law on the Basic Guarantees of Electoral Rights of the Citizens of the Russian Federation. First, what if the person (read first choice from list), would they have the right to vote or not? If the person:

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>REF/NA</u>
a. Is under 18 years of age.	8%	88%	3%	*
b. Is not a Russian citizen.	4%	91%	5%	*
c. Does not speak Russian.	62%	28%	9%	1%
d. Is not of Russian ancestry.	84%	10%	5%	1%
e. Does not currently reside in Russia.	47%	38%	14%	1%
f. Is not a state official.	91%	2%	6%	1%
g. Is not a believer in the Russian Orthodox faith.	94%	2%	4%	1%
h. Is serving time in prison.	51%	34%	14%	1%
i. Is a student residing outside of his or her home district.	87%	3%	9%	*
j. Is in the military and assigned outside of his or her home district.	88%	4%	7%	*

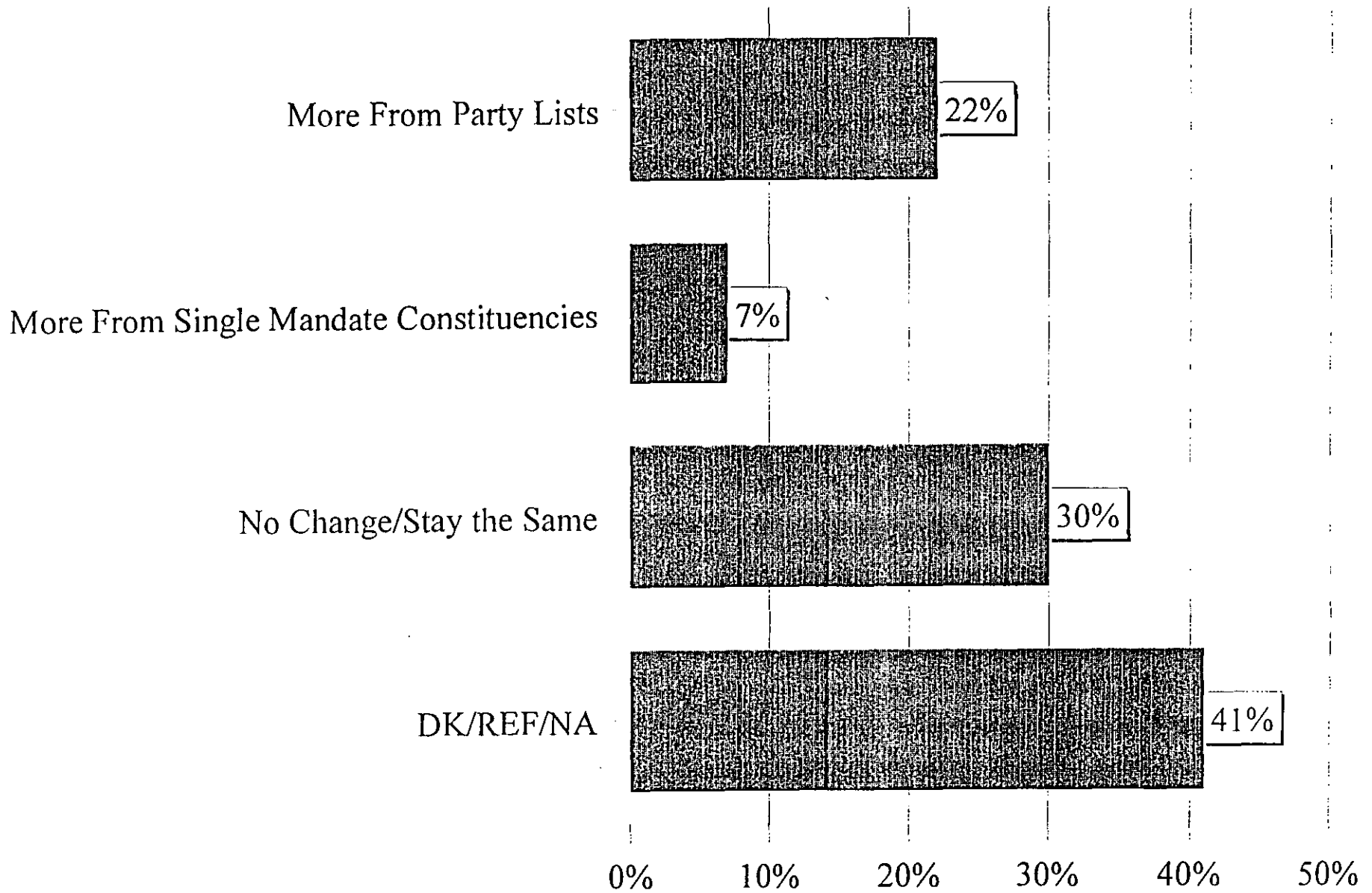
In general, do you favor or oppose the computerization of elections?



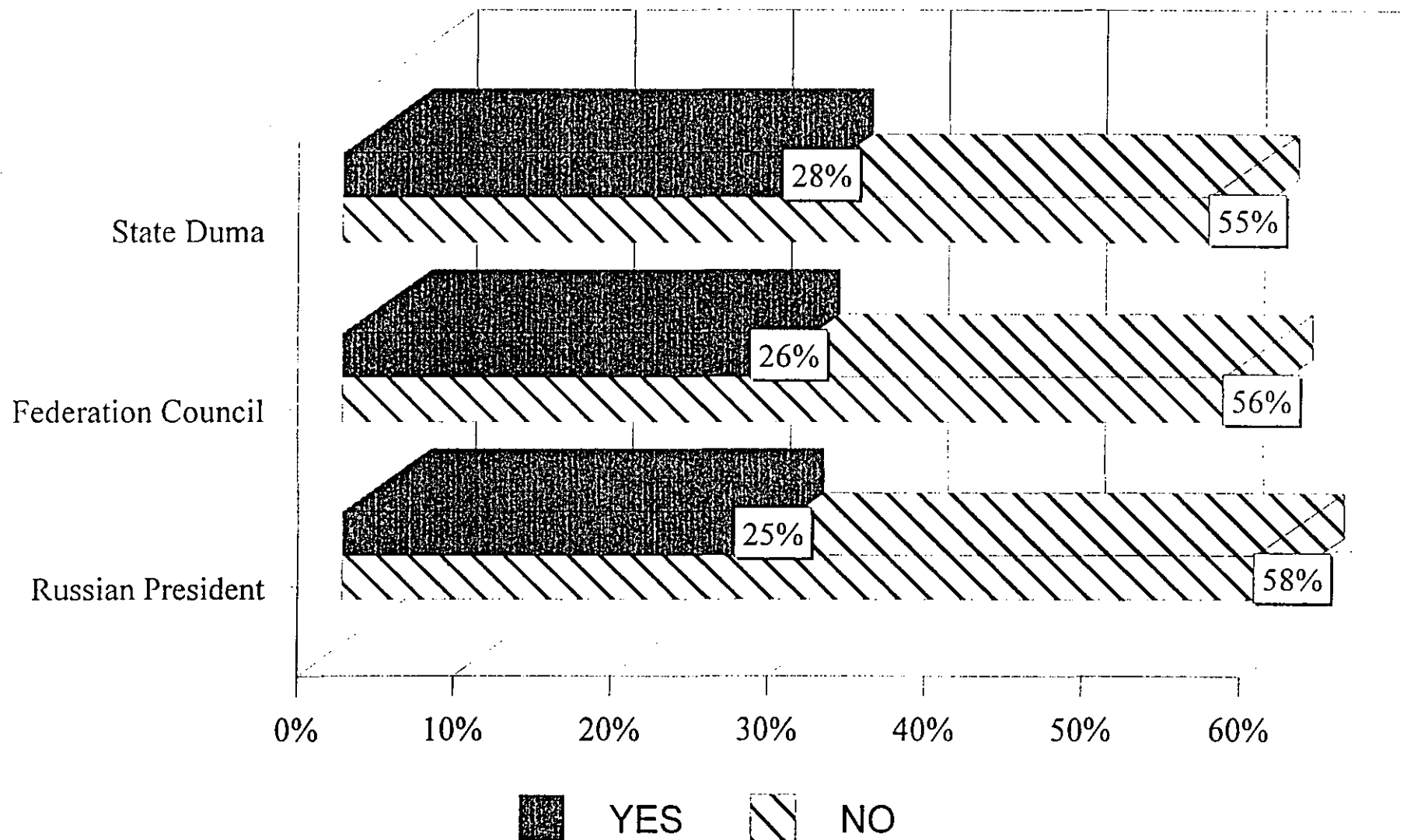
Should the Federation Council be directly elected, indirectly elected, or appointed by the President?



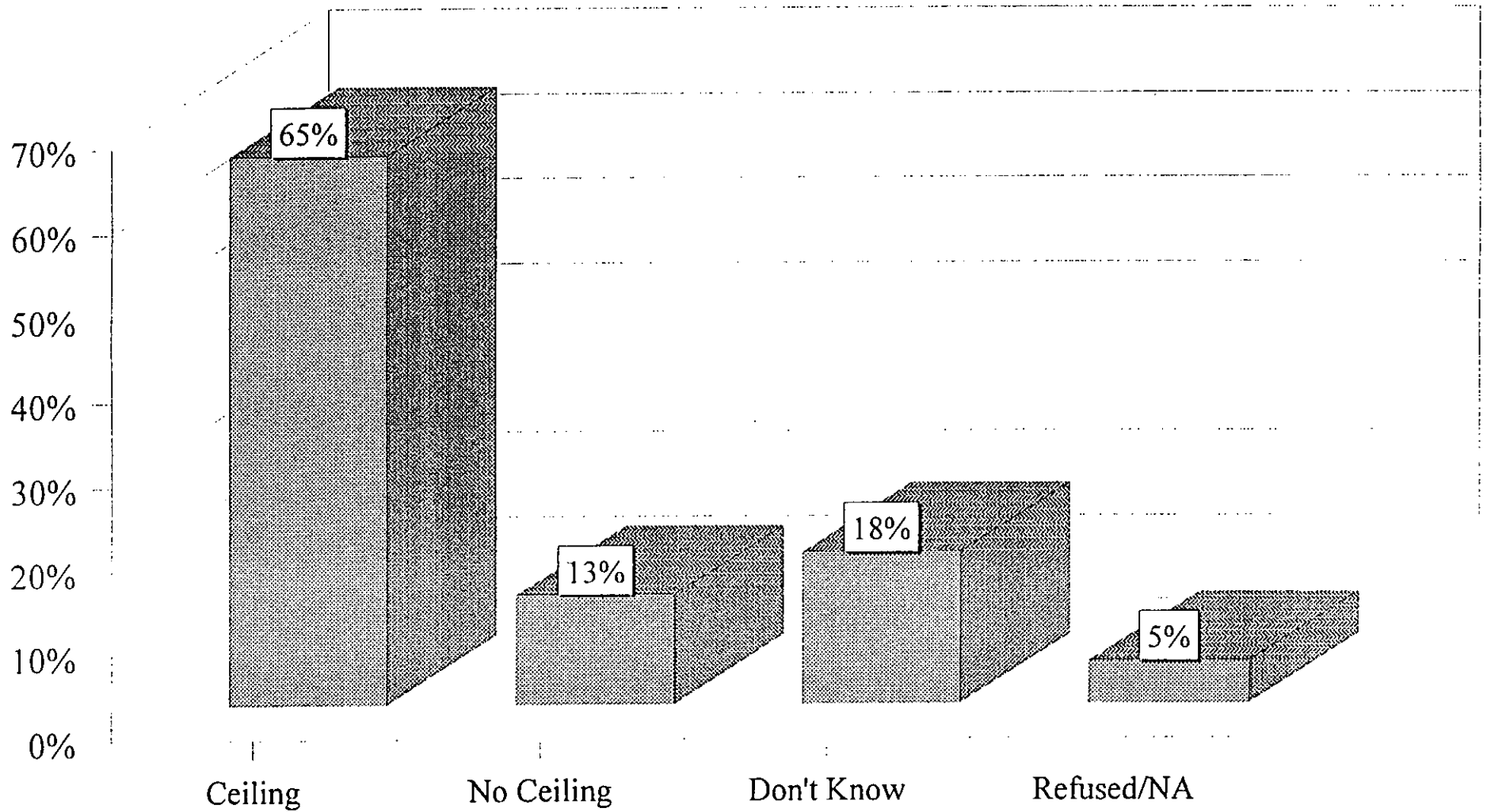
How should the State Duma be selected?



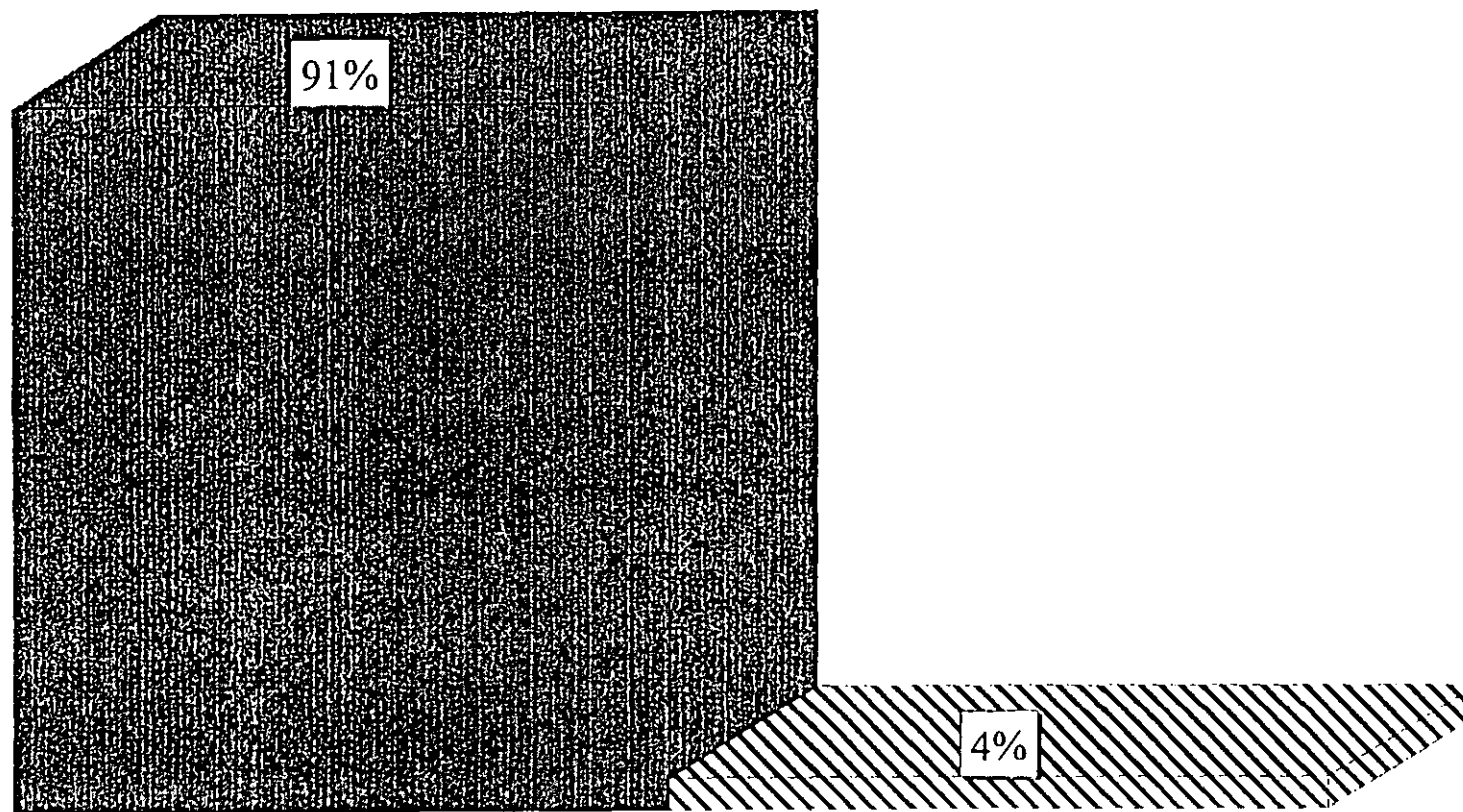
Should candidates running for each of the following offices be allowed to accept private campaign contributions to help pay for their campaigns?



should candidates be allowed to spend as much as they want on their campaigns from private contributions or should candidates be allowed to spend as much as they want on their campaigns from private contributions?



One must present one's passport or some other form of identification in order to receive a ballot on election day, even if his or her name appears in the voter registry.

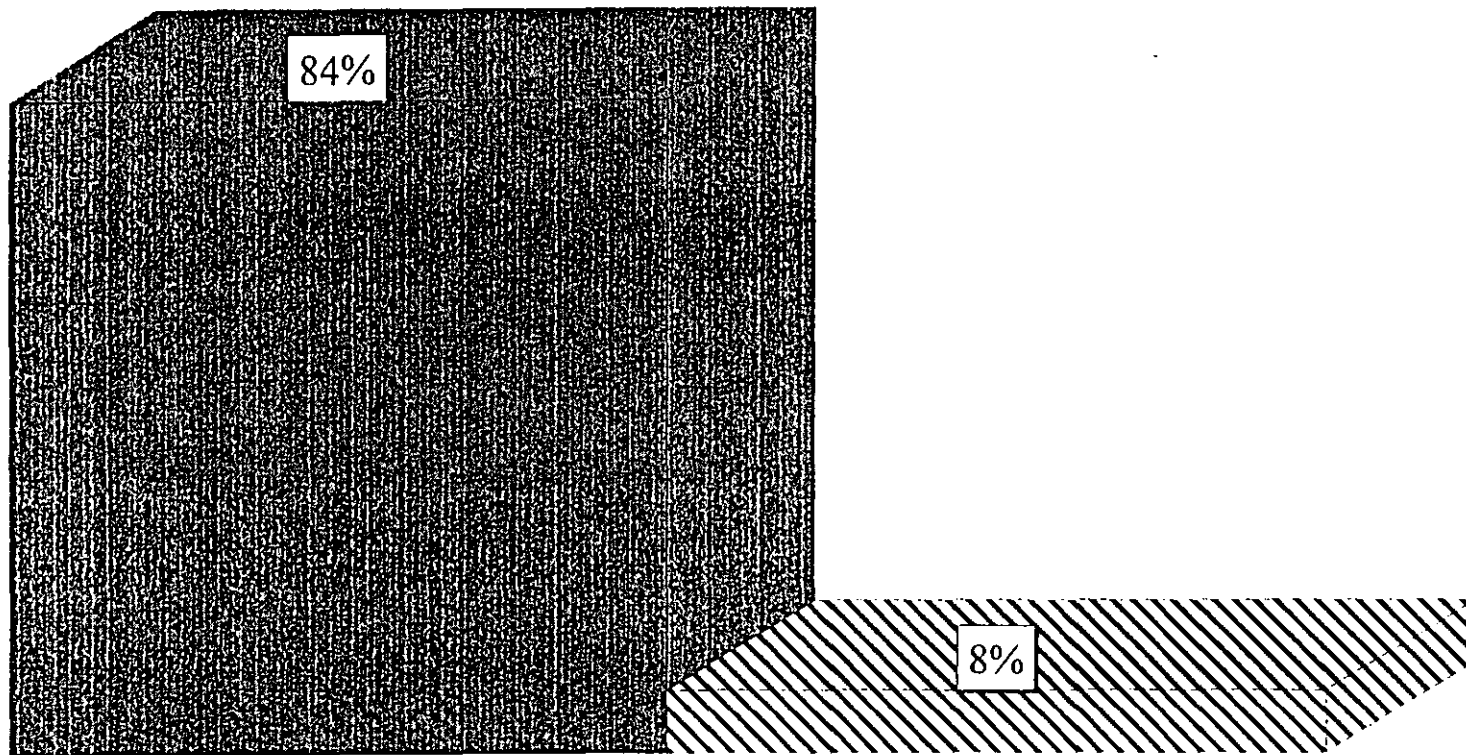


TRUE



FALSE

Voters MUST be inside the ballot booth when they fill out their ballot.

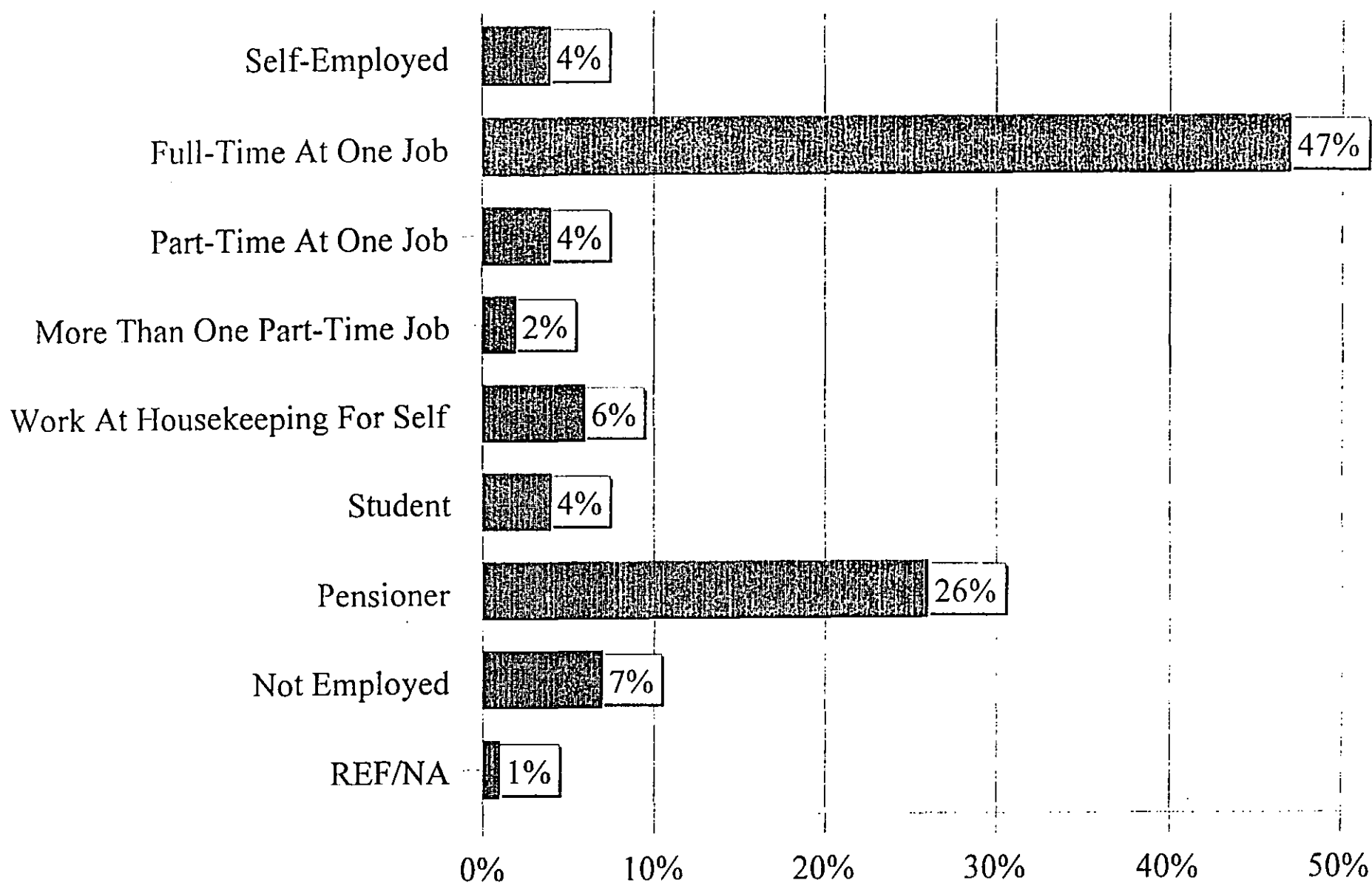


TRUE

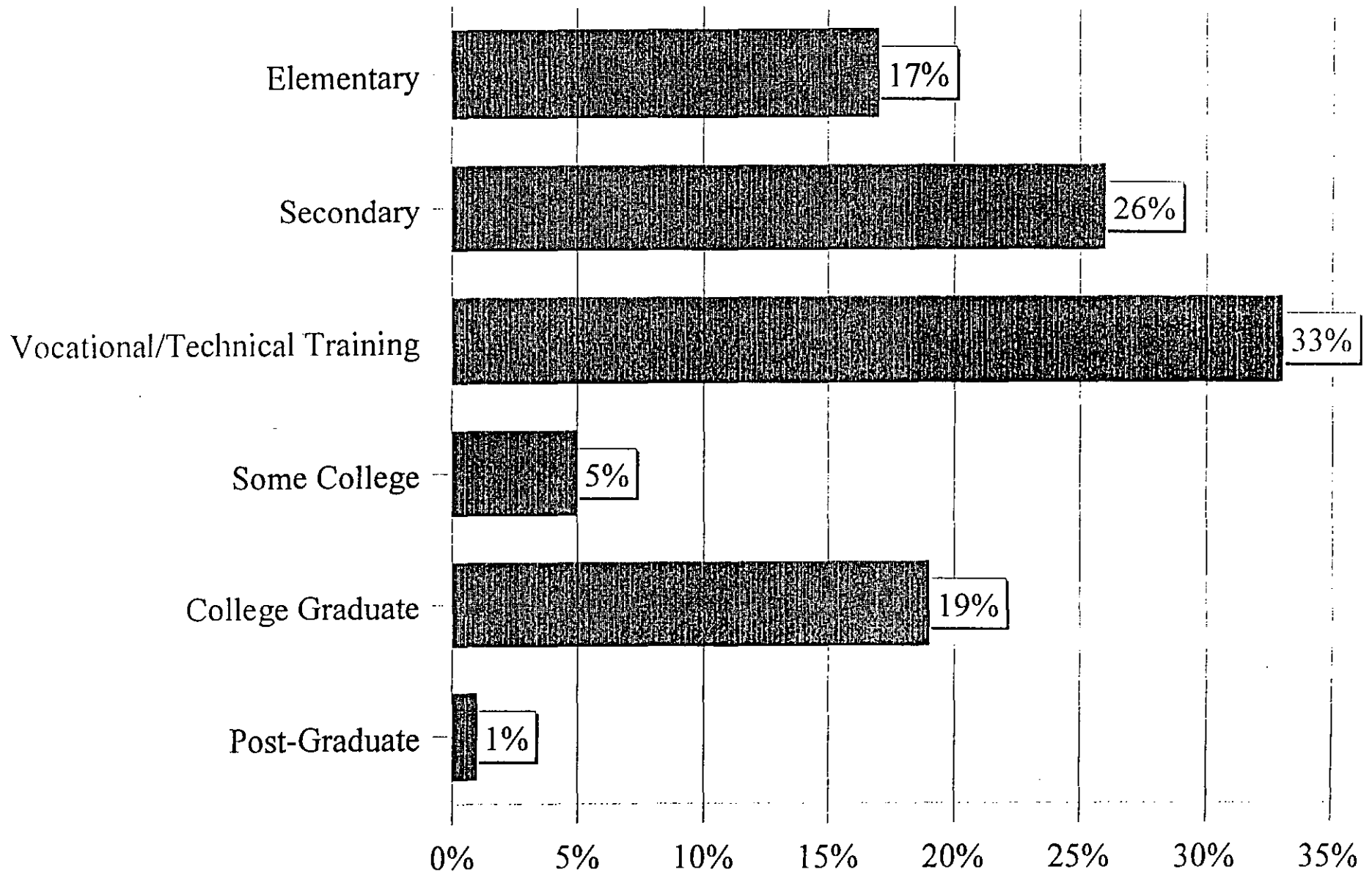


FALSE

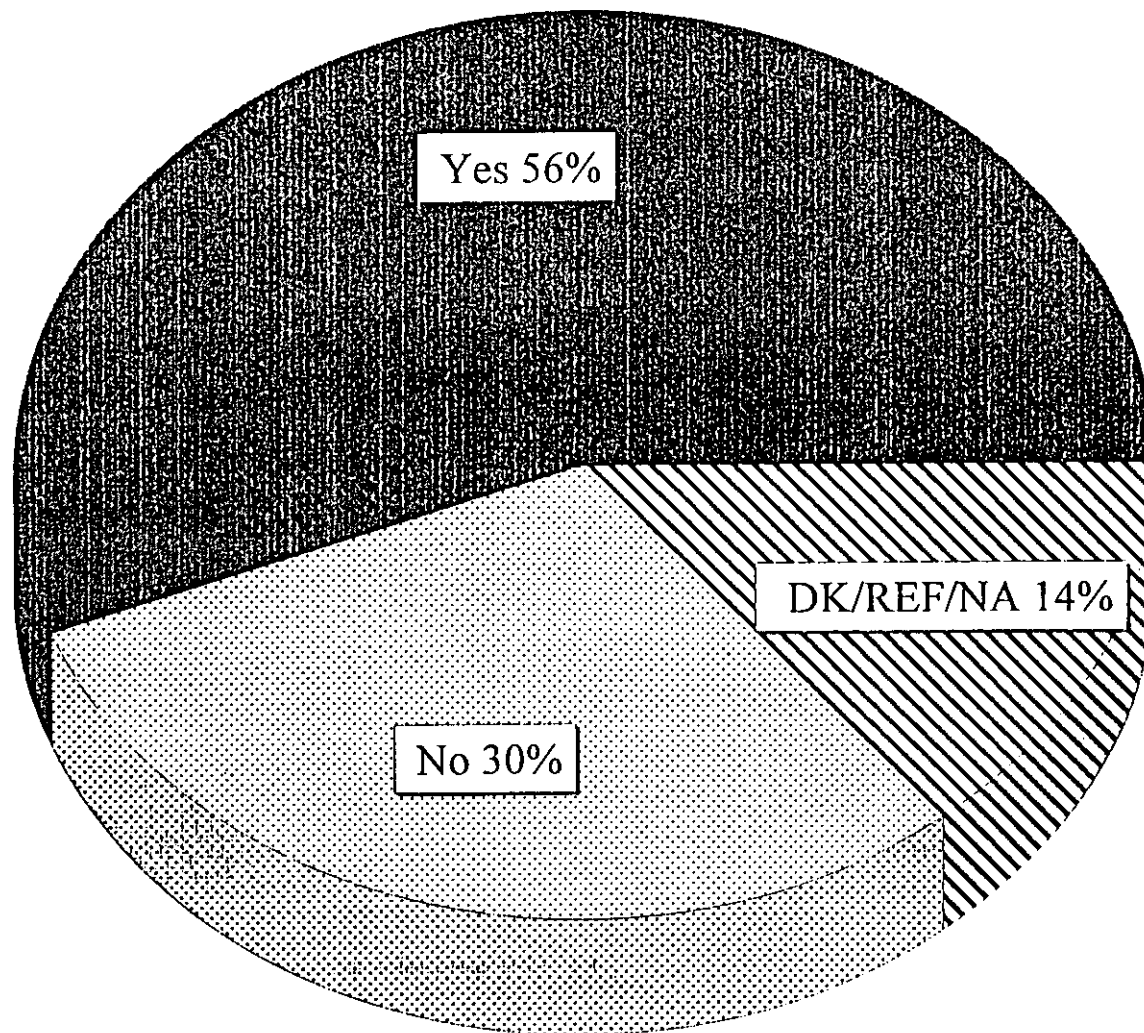
What is your current employment situation?

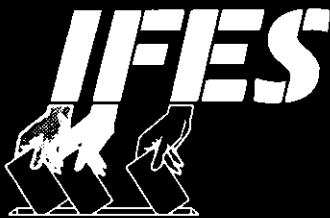


What is the highest level of education you completed?



Do you believe in God or not?





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