

POPULAR ATTITUDES TOWARDS MARKETS AND DEMOCRACY:  
RUSSIA AND UNITED STATES COMPARED 25 YEARS LATER

By

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## Popular Attitudes toward Markets and Democracy: Russia and United States Compared 25 Years Later

We repeat a survey we did in the waning days of the Soviet Union (Shiller, Boycko and Korobov, AER 1991) comparing attitudes towards free markets between Moscow and New York. Additional survey questions, from Gibson Duch and Tedin (J. Politics 1992) are added to compare attitudes towards democracy. Two comparisons are made: between countries, and through time, to explore the existence of international differences in allegiance to democratic free-market institutions, and the stability of these differences. While we find some differences in attitudes towards markets across countries and through time, we do not find most of the differences large or significant. Our evidence does not support a common view that the Russian personality is fundamentally illiberal or non-democratic.

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Public attitudes toward markets and toward democracy are fundamental to the well-functioning of an economy and a society. Attitudes toward markets and attitudes toward democracy are naturally connected: both are about individual freedoms, how they should be allowed, how the freedoms can be assured, or, on the other hand, how they should be limited.

In 1990, a year before the dissolution of the Soviet Union, while one of us, Boycko, lived in Moscow, and while the other, Shiller, lived in New Haven, in the greater New York area, we did a telephone survey of the general public in the respective cities (with Ukrainian survey expert Vladimir Korobov) about attitudes toward markets. Questions were about fair prices and income inequality, resistance to exchange of money, lack of appreciation for incentives, and hostility toward business, (see Shiller et al (1991)). The questions, as well as questions in our follow-up survey Shiller et al (1992), were identical as far as the translation between Russian and English would allow, and as far as our impressions of how the questions would be understood could be. We designed questions that would reveal the underpinnings of attitudinal differences between the countries, based on our personal impressions in our respective countries of the significant underlying differences. Our questions avoided direct use of abstract concepts, like “markets” or “capitalism”, as we were concerned that these may have subtly different meanings in the two countries, colored by culture, associations, prevailing senses of politically correct usage, etc. Instead we asked respondents about their behavior in, or evaluations of, imaginary scenarios that resemble real life situations that the respondents in both countries were likely familiar with.

In the same year, 1990, political scientists James Gibson, Raymond Duch and Kent Tedin, (1992) did a telephone survey in Moscow with questions about attitudes toward democracy. We felt their survey contained some of the same spirit as ours and similar methodology. Although Gibson et al (1992) did not provide an explicit comparison with US or another developed democracy, they largely avoided asking directly about “democracy”, “competition among political parties”, or “strong leader”.<sup>1</sup> Instead, their respondents were mostly asked to evaluate social rules applied to specific situations or scenarios. The questions probed attitudes to social norms, freedoms, rights consciousness, tolerance of minority views, support for dissent, etc.

<sup>1</sup> A good example of this more direct approach to measuring Russian political attitudes is Hale (2011). See Guriev et al 2008 and Treisman (2011, pp 377-388) for recent surveys of this literature.

In this paper, we report on a new survey that we have done in 2015, twenty-five years after these 1990 surveys. The script for the interviewer had as its first part the identical questions that we asked in 1990 (then called Questionnaire B), and in the identical order, followed by seven of the questions asked by Gibson et al, though not an exact ordered sequence of their question scripts. Since the Gibson et al. survey in 1990 was in Russian only, we did a retranslation of their original Russian questions into English, making slight improvements in the accuracy of the translation over the English translation of the questions that were presented in the Gibson et al. (1992) paper.<sup>2</sup>

Knowing that answers to questionnaires are influenced by framing, and by the previous questions asked, we wanted to make the procedure identical through time as much as possible, which is something we could do for the first part of the interviews. The details of the 1990 surveys are in Shiller et al. (1991) and Gibson et al. (1992). The 2015 Russian survey, carried out in Moscow in November 2015 by the Russian survey firm ADAPT, produced 301 responses, 151 from landline and 150 from mobile, while the United States survey, carried out in Greater New York City November 2015 by Survey Sampling Inc., produced 300 responses, 170 from landline and 130 from mobile. Additional characteristics of the five surveys are in Table A1 below.

## **I. Changes in Russia and in the United States over 25 Years**

Since 1990, Russia has experienced tectonic changes in its economic and political system, largely succeeding in building a market economy, but failing to develop a functioning democracy. The EBRD transition indicators index for Russia, that tracks progress in market reforms against standards of industrialized market economies along six dimensions, has increased from an average of 1.0 in 1990 to 3.3 in 2014 (the index range is from 1.0 to 4.3). The gains in the Polity2 index for Russia, that measures the level of democracy, were more modest: from 0 in 1990 to 4 in 2014 (the range is from -10 to 10).

A popular interpretation in recent years is that Russians' attitudes have been to blame for the lack of progress on democracy, that Russians understand the workings and advantages of free markets, but not of democracy. In 2004, Russian oligarch-turned-dissident Mikhail Khodorkovsky,

<sup>2</sup> We are grateful to Michael Gronas, professor of Russian language and literature at Dartmouth College, who helped verify the accuracy of these retranslations.

while serving his prison term, had the following to say about President Vladimir Putin: he “is probably neither liberal, nor democratic. But he is still more liberal and democratic than 70 percent of our country’s population”<sup>3</sup>.

While illiberal and non-democratic attitudes are certainly common in Russia, the question is how *frequent* they are compared to the same attitudes in developed democracies. Gibson et al (1992) showed that these frequencies were in fact low in 1990, generally comparable to those observed in developed countries with functioning democracies. An important objective of our 2015 surveys was to explore if the frequencies of non-democratic attitudes are still low in Russia and to compare them directly to United States.

Another recent development in Russia is massive and, admittedly, effective government propaganda effort<sup>4</sup>, which has a substantial anti-Western component. “Western democracy” is generally portrayed as dysfunctional, amoral, hypocritical, etc., which has likely damaged public perception of the concept of democracy, and might have affected the fundamental attitudes to it as well. We believe that in the current, “propaganda-intensive” environment, responses to the questions in our survey, mostly focused on social rules applied to specific situations, have a better chance of revealing fundamental public attitudes than the more direct questions about democracy.

In the United States, economic and political changes since 1990 appear less dramatic. In 1990 Ronald Reagan’s free market revolution was still new, but already suffering from concerns that deregulation had spawned a savings and loan crisis. By 2015, doubts about free markets were reinforced by the 2008 financial crisis. Doubts can be observed through social movements such as the Occupy Wall Street movement in 2011, the surge of concern with inequality as with Piketty (2014), the expressions of fears of dangers to working people from robotics destroying economic power of working people, and the enthusiastic reception to socialist Bernie Sanders of 2015.

Changes in the two countries over the 25 year period presented certain challenges for our survey methodology and data analysis. The proliferation of mobile phones in both countries required us to get representative samples of the users of the two kinds of telephones. Large shifts in the composition of the underlying populations of Moscow and New York necessitated additional attention to control variables. However, probit regressions with controls for age, sex, education

<sup>3</sup> As quoted in Myers (2015), p 253.

<sup>4</sup> See Pomerantsev (2014) for a lively journalistic account.

level, foreign origin, rural origin, and cell phone confirmed statistical significance of “large” differences between countries or over time with only a few exceptions.

When presenting our results below we report the frequencies of “anti-market” and “anti-democracy” responses. In calculating these frequencies we omit “No answer” responses from the denominator. Same-year differences between the two countries that in our probit regressions are statistically significant at 5% and at 1% are marked by “<sup>C</sup>” and “<sup>CC</sup>”, respectively; statistically significant differences within a country over time (between 1990 and 2015) are marked by “<sup>T</sup>” (at 5%) and “<sup>TT</sup>” (at 1%).

## II. Attitudes toward Free Markets

Our original conclusion from the 1990 survey was that attitudes toward markets were surprisingly similar between Russia and the United States. We find they are generally as similar in 2015, maybe even more so.

For example, in our 1990 survey we asked a question that referred to demand-induced increases of prices of flowers on holidays, implicitly alluding to the International Woman’s Day in Russia, when even in the Soviet times men routinely bought flowers for wives and girlfriends, and to Mothers’ Day in the U.S.:

B2. *“On a holiday, when there is a great demand for flowers, their prices usually go up. Is it fair for flowers sellers to raise their prices like this?”*

	<b>M90</b>	<b>NY90</b>	<b>M15</b>	<b>NY15</b>
No	66%	68% <sup>T</sup>	67% <sup>CC</sup>	55% <sup>TCC</sup>

We see that in both countries people are opposed to this outcome of free markets: higher prices are unfair. The only change here we observe in 2015 – relatively small in magnitude, but statistically significant – relates to New York, where tolerance to price hikes have actually increased, not decreased, as movements like Occupy Wall Street might suggest.

We sharpened the same question by removing any possible cost justification for increased prices, and still get similar results:

B11. “A small factory produces kitchen tables and sells them at \$1000 each. There is so much demand for the tables that it cannot meet it fully. The factory decides to raise the price of its tables by \$100, when there was no change in the costs of producing tables. Is this fair?”

	<b>M90</b>	<b>NY90</b>	<b>M15</b>	<b>NY15</b>
No	66%	70%	68% <sup>C</sup>	57% <sup>C</sup>

(Prices were indexed to inflation in both B11 and B7 below, and presented in local currency.)

A follow-up question asked about the policy implications of these fairness judgements:

B3. “Should the government introduce limits on the increase in prices of flowers, even if it might produce a shortage of flowers?”

	<b>M90</b>	<b>NY90</b>	<b>M15</b>	<b>NY15</b>
Yes	54% <sup>CC</sup>	28% <sup>CC</sup>	43% <sup>CC</sup>	22% <sup>CC</sup>

Here a significant difference remains between Russians and Americans, although now in both countries respondents are less supportive of government regulation.<sup>5</sup>

Another follow-up question was about whether the factory should have the right to increase prices:

B12. “Apart from fairness, should the factory have the right to raise the price in this situation?”

	<b>M90</b>	<b>NY90</b>	<b>M15</b>	<b>NY15</b>
No	43% <sup>TT</sup>	41%	53% <sup>TTCC</sup>	35% <sup>CC</sup>

In this case we register a statistically significant, even if not large, shift in attitudes in Moscow in the “anti-market” direction both over time and relative to New York.<sup>6</sup>

We also explored perception of speculation as a potential reason for price increases. In 1990, Russians were less likely than Americans to attribute a price increase in world markets to speculators’ efforts. Today, these attitudes have effectively reversed across countries: Russians

<sup>5</sup> The changes over time in both countries, however, are not statistically significant.

<sup>6</sup> Our probit regression reveals that education has stronger effect on responses to B12 than geography: those with education level of “some college” or higher are 20 percentage points less likely to answer “no” than the lesser educated part of the sample.



are more likely to hold speculators responsible, while Americans are skeptical of speculators' capabilities.

B6. *“If the price of coffee on the world market suddenly increased by 30%, what do you think is likely to be to blame? [Responses:] 1. Interventions of some government. 2. Such things as bad harvest in Brazil or unexpected changes in demand. 3. Speculators' effort to raise prices.”*

	<b>M90</b>	<b>NY90</b>	<b>M15</b>	<b>NY15</b>
<i>3. Speculators' effort to raise prices</i>	32% <sup>TTCC</sup>	51% <sup>TTCC</sup>	54% <sup>TTCC</sup>	33% <sup>TTCC</sup>

One of the differences that surprised us in the 1990 survey was that Americans were more intolerant than Russians of compensated price increases, including a compensated increase in the aggregate level of prices. Today the level of intolerance is the same in two countries, at about 65%.

B10. *“Suppose that economists have come to the conclusion that we could substantially improve our standard of living in the next year if we would be willing to accept a thirty percent inflation rate (increase in the prices of goods by 30%). This would mean that our incomes would rise by more than 30%. Then we could buy more goods at the new higher prices. Would you support such a proposal?”*

	<b>M90</b>	<b>NY90</b>	<b>M15</b>	<b>NY15</b>
No	53% <sup>C</sup>	72% <sup>C</sup>	63%	65%

Back in 1990 we found some evidence that Russians were, to a certain extent, less willing than Americans to accept exchange of money as a solution to problems. In 2015, we observe smaller differences between countries, although they remain statistically significant, as in responses to the question below:

B7. *“You are standing in a long line to buy something. You see that someone comes to the line and is very distressed that the line is so long, saying he is in a great hurry and absolutely must*

*make this purchase. A person at the front of the line offers to let him take his place in line for \$50. Would you be annoyed at this deal even though it won't cause you to wait any longer?"*

	<b>M90</b>	<b>NY90</b>	<b>M15</b>	<b>NY15</b>
No	69% <sup>TCC</sup>	44% <sup>CC</sup>	57% <sup>TCC</sup>	44% <sup>CC</sup>

In 1990 we were surprised to find only a small (and not statistically significant) difference between Russians and Americans in their level of concern about a possible future government confiscation of savings. Although soon after our survey people's savings in Russia were wiped out by the government printing money, this experience apparently had no lasting effect, as evidenced in responses to the following question:

B8. *"How likely is it, from your point of view, that the government in the next few years will take measures, in one way or another, to prevent those who have saved a great deal from making use of their savings? Is it quite likely, possible, unlikely or impossible that the government will do this?"*

	<b>M90</b>	<b>NY90</b>	<b>M15</b>	<b>NY15</b>
<i>"quite likely" + "possible"</i>	61%	52%	50%	54%

Still, at around 50%, the level of concern about confiscation of savings remains substantial in both countries, actually.

Another unexpected result of the 1990 study was Russians' relative willingness to make large risky investments in a business of a group of friends. Perhaps due to negative experience or improved investment opportunities this willingness has declined and there are no intercountry differences here anymore:

B5. *"Suppose that a group of your friends are starting a business that you think is very risky and could fail but might also make investors in that business rich. Would you be tempted to invest a substantial portion of your savings in it?"*

	<b>M90</b>	<b>NY90</b>	<b>M15</b>	<b>NY15</b>
No	59% <sup>TT</sup>	67%	71% <sup>TT</sup>	75%

Transition to a market economy improves labor incentives by making consumer goods and services available at market clearing prices, rather than through queues and other non-price rationing mechanisms. We see evidence of this in a sharp, 31-percentage point, increase in Russians’ willingness to work hard to earn more money, as documented below:

B9. “*Suppose that for certain reasons you are offered a 10% increase in the duties you perform at your work place with the following terms: your workweek will be increased by 1/10 (say, you will work an additional half a day) and your take-home pay will also increase by 10%. If you take this offer, this has no other effects on your prospects for promotion or relations with co-workers. Do you consider it attractive to have less free time, but more money, so that you would take this offer, or would you decide to reject it?*”

	<b>M90</b>	<b>NY90</b>	<b>M15</b>	<b>NY15</b>
<i>I will definitely reject the offer</i>	73% <sup>TTCC</sup>	51% <sup>CC</sup>	42% <sup>TTCC</sup>	58% <sup>CC</sup>

Americans willingness to work harder for money has slightly decreased over the period and they are now behind Russians in this respect<sup>7</sup>.

In responses to another work-related question, we document a moderate “anti-market” shift in Russians’ views of whether it is appropriate to take initiative at work:

B1. “*In your opinion, which of the following statements is closer to the truth? 1) An employee who works hard and has the best interests of the business at heart can be worth twice as much to his company as less well-motivated employee. 2) As a rule, an employee should generally do just what he is told- trying to do much more is likely to do more harm than help.* “

	<b>M90</b>	<b>NY90</b>	<b>M15</b>	<b>NY15</b>
2)	11% <sup>T</sup>	11%	20% <sup>TCC</sup>	10% <sup>CC</sup>

And today, as 25 years ago, Russians remain more interested than Americans in becoming wealthy through success in business:

<sup>7</sup> In 1990, only 2% of respondents in Moscow worked in private firms, while in 2015 42% did. In New York, the change was in the other direction: from 53% in 1990 to 43% in 2015.

B4. “Which of the following achievements would please you more?” [Response choices: 1) You win fortune without fame: you make enough money through successful business dealings so that you can live very comfortably for the rest of your life; 2) You win fame without fortune: for example, you win a medal at the Olympics or you become a respected journalist or scholar.]

	<b>M90</b>	<b>NY90</b>	<b>M15</b>	<b>NY15</b>
2)	35%	46%	33% <sup>CC</sup>	48% <sup>CC</sup>

As a general summary of these results, while there are differences, we see a basic similarity across countries and through time. Sometimes Russians have a dimmer view of free market outcomes and incentives, sometimes the Americans.

### **III. Attitudes toward Democracy**

In Table 1 below we present frequencies of “anti-democratic” responses to seven questions about democracy from Gibson et al (1992) in the three subsamples. The “anti-democratic” responses are “agree” or “completely agree” in questions B13, B14, B15, and B18, but “disagree” or “completely disagree” in B16, B17, and B19 (we reordered and renumbered Gibson’s questions)

In responses to three out of the seven questions (B13, B14, B15) we document an increase in anti-democratic attitudes in Moscow between 1990 and 2015<sup>8</sup> and these same attitudes are the only ones that appear substantially stronger in Moscow than in New York in 2015.

We observe a regrettable increase in Russians’ intolerance of minority views, as evidenced in responses to B13. But, at 37%, the frequency of this intolerance remains below 50% and not too far from that of Americans (29%).

In 1990, most Russians used to support the freedom of demonstrations by radical and extremist groups that may lead to disorder and destruction (question B14), in 2015 they no longer do. But in 2015 Russians may overreact to the words “radical” and “extremist” that are heavily employed by government propaganda, with its emphasis on discrediting “color revolutions” in neighboring countries. Nevertheless, the difference with Americans is large, at 31 percentage points.

<sup>8</sup> Strictly speaking, the results of our 2015 survey and those of Gibson et al (1992) are not directly comparable because of differences in survey methodology (telephone interviews vs. in-home interviews) and geography (Moscow vs. Moscow region). Significance tests reported in the table below for changes through time in their Moscow questions also do not account for any control variables.

Still, the largest difference with Americans that we found, of 41 percentage points in responses to question B15, relates to a preference for a society with strict order at the expense of some freedoms that may bring “destruction to the society”. This preference, at 76% in Moscow today, is not too different from 69%, recorded by Gibson et al (1992) 25 years ago.<sup>9</sup>

The other differences between Russians and Americans in attitudes toward democracy, as evidenced in responses to questions B16-B19 in Table 1, appear fairly small and unimportant, or go in the other direction.

Is the glass of Russians’ attitudes to democracy half-full or half-empty? While in several respects “pro-democracy” attitudes are not as strong in Russia today as 25 years ago and weaker than those of contemporary Americans, we find strong correlation between our survey results and those of Gibson et al (1992) who “... discovered far more support for democratic values in Moscow than [they] anticipated” (p. 360).

#### **IV. Interpretation of Results**

Back in 1990, before the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the launch of President Yeltsin’s market reforms, a common view in Russia was that ordinary Russians are “not ready” for the transition to a market economy, because they do not understand the markets and have different values. The impact of Shiller et. al. (1991), despite its finding of some interesting attitudinal differences between Russians and Americans, was to demonstrate that this view was really not supported by evidence. Today, after 25 years of development of markets in Russia, that old view sounds almost ridiculous. The new evidence presented in this paper, building on the earlier results of Gibson et al (1992), again uncovers some differences between Russians and Americans in their attitudes toward democracy. Yet on balance the evidence does not support a parallel common view that the Russian personality is fundamentally illiberal or non-democratic. Perhaps at some point in the future this view will sound ridiculous, too.

<sup>9</sup> One caveat that we have about this result is the accuracy of the translation: despite our best efforts to find the proper English equivalent, the formulation of the alternative to “strict order” in Russian may remain somewhat stronger-worded than in English: «Лучше жить в обществе со строгим порядком, чем дать людям так много свободы, что они смогут стать разрушителями общества».

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**Table 1: “Anti-Democracy” Attitudes in Moscow, 1990 and 2015, and in New York, 2015**

	M90	M15	NY15
B13. <i>Society shouldn't have to put up with people whose political views are fundamentally different from the views of majority.</i> [Agree]	22% <sup>TT</sup>	37% <sup>TTC</sup>	29% <sup>C</sup>
B14. <i>Because demonstrations frequently lead to disorder and destruction, radical and extremist political groups should be forbidden to demonstrate.</i> [Agree]	37% <sup>TT</sup>	59% <sup>TTC</sup>	29% <sup>CC</sup>
B15. <i>It is better to live in a society with strict order than to allow people so much freedom that they can bring destruction to the society.</i> [Agree]	69% <sup>T</sup>	76% <sup>TCC</sup>	36% <sup>CC</sup>
B16. <i>No matter what a person's political beliefs are, he should be provided with the same political rights and defense as anyone else.</i> [Disagree]	2%	3% <sup>CC</sup>	7% <sup>CC</sup>
B17. <i>It is necessary that everyone, regardless of their views, can express themselves freely.</i> [Disagree]	6%	8%	4%
B18. <i>If someone is suspected of high treason or other serious crimes he may be put to prison without trial.</i> [Agree]	18%	15%	19%
B19. <i>The press should be protected by the law from persecution by the government.</i> [Disagree]	2% <sup>TT</sup>	20% <sup>TTC</sup>	27% <sup>C</sup>

Note: The nature of “anti-democratic” response is shown in square brackets. Questions are from Gibson et al. (1992), retranslated from the original Russian. Results are shown from their Moscow survey 1990 and our Moscow and New York surveys in 2015. Statistical significance of difference through time for Moscow in this table are simple tests for equality of sample proportions, omitting control variables.

## Appendix

1. **U.S. Questionnaire, 2015**
2. **Russia Questionnaire, 2015**
3. **Table A1 : Characteristics of the Five Surveys: Moscow, 1990 and 2015; Moscow Oblast, 1990; New York, 1990 and 2015.**



Introduction:

Hi my name is\_\_\_ I am calling on behalf of Cowles Foundation for Research on Economics at Yale University. We are conducting a survey of public opinion of residents of the greater New York City area. Our interview touches on attitude to economic problems. We are not selling anything and your responses are strictly confidential and anonymous. Is this a good time to participate?

Agent note: terminate business phone numbers and dispose them accordingly in the sample.

QS1. Are you at least 18 years old?

1. Yes- continue to QB1
2. No- proceed to QS1\_1

Qs1\_1. Is there any other member in your household who is at least 18 years old?

1. Yes- loop back intro
2. No- callback

B1. In your opinion, which of the following statements is closer to the truth?

1. An employee who works hard and has the best interests of the business at heart can be worth twice as much to his company as less well-motivated employee.
2. As a rule, an employee should generally do just what he is told- trying to do much more is likely to do more harm than help.
3. No answer

B2. On a holiday, when there is a great demand for flowers, their prices usually go up. Is it fair for flowers sellers to raise their prices like this?

1. Yes
2. No
3. No answer

B3. Should the government introduce limits on the increase in prices of flowers, even if it might produce a shortage of flowers?

1. Yes
2. No
3. No answer

B4. Which of the following achievements would please you more?

1. You win fortune without fame: you make enough money through successful business dealing so that you can live very comfortably for the rest of your life.
2. You win fame without fortune: for example you win a medal at the Olympics or you become a respected journalist or scholar.
3. No answer

B5. Suppose that a group of your friends are starting a business that you think is very risky and could fail but might also make investors in that business rich. Would you be tempted to invest a substantial portion of your savings in it?

1. Yes
2. No
3. No answer

B6. If the price of coffee on the world market suddenly increased by 30%, what do you think is likely to be to blame?

1. Interventions of some government.
2. Such things as bad harvest in Brazil or unexpected changes in demand.
3. Speculators' effort to raise prices
4. No answer

B7. You are standing in a long line to buy something. You see that someone comes to the line and is very distressed that the line is so long, saying he is in a great hurry and absolutely must make this purchase. A person at the front of the line offers to let him take his place in line for \$50. Would you be annoyed at this deal even though it won't cause you to wait any longer?

1. Yes
2. No

3. No answer

B8. How likely is it, from your point of view, that the government in the next few years will take measures, in one way or another, to prevent those who have saved a great deal from making use of their savings? Is it quite likely, possible, unlikely or impossible that the government will do this?

1. Quite likely
2. Possible
3. Unlikely
4. Impossible
5. No answer

B9. Suppose that for certain reasons you are offered a 10% increase in the duties you perform at your work place with the following terms: your workweek will be increased by 1/10 (say, you will work an additional half a day) and your take-home pay will also increase by 10%. If you take this offer, this has no other effects on your prospects for promotion or relations with co-workers. Do you consider it attractive to have less free time, but more money, so that you would take this offer, or would you decide to reject it?

1. I will definitely reject the offer.
2. I will be more or less indifferent
3. I will definitely accept the offer
4. No answer

B10. Suppose that economists have come to the conclusion that we could substantially improve our standard of living in the next year if we would be willing to accept a thirty percent inflation rate (increase in the prices of goods by 30%). This would mean that our incomes would rise by more than 30%. Then we could buy more goods at the new higher prices. Would you support such a proposal?

1. Yes
2. No
3. No answer

B11. A small factory produces kitchen tables and sells them at \$1000 each. There is so much demand for the tables that it cannot meet it fully. The factory decides to raise the price of its tables by \$100, when there was no change in the costs of producing tables. Is this fair?

1. Yes
2. No
3. No answer

B12. Apart from fairness, should the factory have the right to raise the price in this situation?

1. Yes
2. No
3. No answer

Now I would like to read to you several statements and to ask if you completely agree, agree, disagree, or completely disagree with each of them.

B13. Society shouldn't have to put up with people whose political views are fundamentally different from the views of majority.

1. Completely agree
2. Agree
3. Undecided
4. Disagree
5. Completely Disagree
6. Don't know

B14. Because demonstrations frequently lead to disorder and destruction, radical and extremist political groups should be forbidden to demonstrate.

1. Completely agree
2. Agree
3. Undecided
4. Disagree
5. Completely Disagree
6. Don't know

B15. It is better to live in a society with strict order than to allow people so much freedom that they can bring destruction to the society.

1. Completely agree
2. Agree
3. Undecided
4. Disagree
5. Completely Disagree
6. Don't know

B16. No matter what a person's political beliefs are, he should be provided with the same political rights and defense as anyone else.

1. Completely agree
2. Agree
3. Undecided
4. Disagree
5. Completely Disagree
6. Don't know

B17. It is necessary that everyone, regardless of their views, can express themselves freely.

1. Completely agree
2. Agree
3. Undecided
4. Disagree
5. Completely Disagree
6. Don't know

B18. If someone is suspected of high treason or other serious crimes he may be put to prison without trial.

1. Completely agree
2. Agree
3. Undecided
4. Disagree
5. Completely Disagree
6. Don't know

B19. The press should be protected by the law from persecution by the government.

1. Completely agree
2. Agree
3. Undecided
4. Disagree
5. Completely Disagree
6. Don't know

Now I just have a few background questions to ask you.

Q21. What is your level of education?

1. Did not finish high school
2. Finished high school
3. Finished high school with special training (e.g. trade school)
4. Some college
5. Finished college
6. Finished graduate school
7. Don't Know / Refused

Q22. Which of the following best describes your job?

1. Student
2. Employed
3. Unemployed

4. Homemaker
5. Retired
6. Don't Know / Refused

Prognote: Ask Q23 only if Q22=2

Q23. Do you work in the government or in a business?

1. Government
2. Business
3. Don't know / refused

Q24. What is your age?

\_\_\_\_\_ in years; accept codes 18-98 ; code 99 for Don't Know / Refused

Q25. Did you grow up in the greater New York City Area?

1. Yes- skip to Q28
2. No- ask Q26
3. Don't Know / Refused- ask Q26

Q26. If not, did you come here:

1. From another city?
2. From a rural area?
3. From another country?
4. Don't Know / Refused

Q27. Record gender- DO NOT ASK. By Observation

1. Male
2. Female

Q28. Are you?

1. White
2. Black
3. Hispanic
4. Other
5. Don't Know / Refused

Q29. DO NOT ASK. By Observation.

Did the respondent have a foreign (not USA) accent?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't Know

Those are all the questions we have for you. Thank you for your time!



Добрый день (вечер). Вам звонят из исследовательской компании Адепт. Мы проводим опрос общественного мнения жителей Москвы.

Меня зовут \_\_\_\_\_

Сначала я хотел бы проверить, правильно ли я набрал(а) номер. Это номер \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_?

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*Внимание: следующий далее текст только для городских линий. При звонке на мобильный телефон переходите сразу ко второй странице анкеты.*

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**Ваш номер телефона был выбран случайным образом. Поэтому я не знаю, домашний это телефон или организация?**

(Если \_\_\_\_\_ организация, \_\_\_\_\_ то \_\_\_\_\_ конец \_\_\_\_\_ контакта)  
(Извините, мне нужны только домашние телефоны)

Как я уже сказал, мы проводим опрос общественного мнения жителей Москвы. Наше интервью касается отношения к экономическим проблемам.

Если вы не возражаете, я хотел бы опросить кого-нибудь из вашей семьи. Но для того, чтобы выбрать, с кем именно, мне необходимо знать, сколько всего людей старше 18 лет живет с вами?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 и более

(Интервьюеру: см. карточку отбора респондента)

Тогда мне необходимо побеседовать с \_\_\_\_\_ по возрасту.

**Он(а) сейчас дома?**

Да---> **Я мог бы побеседовать с ним (ней)?**

(Интервьюеру: если “да”- переходите к тексту анкеты.)

Нет ---> **когда мне лучше всего перезвонить?**

\_\_\_\_\_ день \_\_\_\_\_ час \_\_\_\_\_ мин.

\_\_\_\_\_ день \_\_\_\_\_ час \_\_\_\_\_ мин.

\_\_\_\_\_ день \_\_\_\_\_ час \_\_\_\_\_ мин.

Большое спасибо. Если у вас возникнут какие-либо вопросы, перезвоните мне по телефону \_\_\_\_\_.

(Интервьюеру: при повторном звонке устанавливайте контакт с нужным членом семьи и переходите к тексту анкеты.)

### **ОПРОС НА ТЕМУ: ВОСПРИЯТИЕ РЫНОЧНЫХ МЕХАНИЗМОВ**

Интервьюеру: прочитайте слово в слово текст, напечатанный **жирным шрифтом**, и классифицируйте ответы респондента по своему усмотрению. Не давайте никаких пояснений к вопросам. Если респондент не понимает вопрос, прочитайте его еще раз или классифицируйте результат как «затрудняюсь ответить».

**Здравствуйте, я провожу опрос общественного мнения для исследовательской компании Адепт. Ваш номер телефона был выбран случайным образом. Я хотел бы задать вам несколько вопросов о ваших взглядах на экономику. Наш опрос преследует чисто научные цели и мы гарантируем анонимность ваших ответов. Я займу не более десяти минут вашего времени.**

**V1. Как вы считаете, какое из следующих утверждений ближе к истине:**

- 1. работник, который усердно трудится и принимает близко к сердцу интересы дела, может быть в два раза более ценным для своей организации, чем менее усердный работник.**
- 2. как правило, работник должен делать только то, что ему велят - если он старается сделать намного больше, то это скорее принесет вред, чем пользу.**
- 3. нет ответа**

**V2. На праздники, когда спрос на цветы особенно велик, цены на них обычно возрастают. Справедливо ли, что продавцы цветов поднимают цены?**

- 1. да**
- 2. нет**
- 3. затрудняюсь ответить**

**V3. Должно ли государство вводить ограничения на рост цен на цветы, даже если в результате таких ограничений может возникать дефицит цветов?**

- 1. да**
- 2. нет**
- 3. затрудняюсь ответить**

**В4. Какое из следующих жизненных достижений принесло бы вам больше удовлетворения:**

- 1. вы становитесь богатым, но не знаменитым: в результате удачных деловых операций вы заработали достаточно денег, чтобы комфортно провести всю последующую жизнь.**
- 2. вы становитесь знаменитым, но не богатым: к примеру, вы завоевываете медаль на олимпийских играх или становитесь уважаемым журналистом или ученым.**
- 3. нет ответа**

**В5. Предположим, что группа ваших друзей открывает деловое предприятие, которое, с вашей точки зрения, весьма рискованно и может провалиться, но может также сделать богатыми тех, кто вложит в него деньги. Сочли бы вы заманчивым вложить в такое предприятие значительную часть своих сбережений?**

- 1. да**
- 2. нет**
- 3. затрудняюсь ответить**

**В6. Если цена на кофе на мировом рынке неожиданно поднимается на 30%, как вы думаете, что скорее всего стоит за этим?**

- 1. целенаправленные действия какого-нибудь государства**
- 2. такие причины, как неурожай в Бразилии, или непредвиденное изменение спроса**
- 3. стремление спекулянтов повысить цены**
- 4. не знаю**

**В7. Вы стоите в длинной очереди за какой-нибудь покупкой. Вы видите, как кто-то подходит к очереди и очень расстраивается, что очередь такая длинная, а он спешит, и ему совершенно необходимо купить эту вещь. Один из стоящих в начале очереди людей предлагаем ему уступить свое место за 3 тысячи рублей. Вызовет ли у вас раздражение такая сделка, даже если из-за этого вам не придется дольше ждать?**

- 1. да**
- 2. нет**
- 3. затрудняюсь ответить**

**В8. Насколько вероятно, с вашей точки зрения, что государство в ближайшие несколько лет предпримет какие-нибудь меры, чтобы так или иначе не дать**

**возможности тем, кто накопил большие сбережения, воспользоваться ими? Считаете ли вы, что это весьма вероятно, возможно, маловероятно или невозможно?**

1. весьма вероятно
2. возможно
3. маловероятно
4. невозможно
5. затрудняюсь ответить

**В9. Предположим, что по некоторым причинам вам предлагают увеличить на 10% ваши непосредственные обязанности на работе на следующих условиях. Продолжительность вашей рабочей недели возрастет на 1/10 (например, вы будете работать дополнительно полдня в неделю), одновременно ваша зарплата также повышается на 10%. Если вы примете предложение, это никак не отразится на перспективах вашего служебного роста и на ваших отношениях с коллегами. Сочтете ли вы заманчивым иметь меньше свободного времени, но больше денег, и примете это предложение или решите отказаться от него?**

1. я наверняка откажусь от такого предложения
2. мне будет более или менее все равно
3. я наверняка приму такое предложение
4. нет ответа

**В10. Предположим, что экономисты пришли к выводу, что мы сможем в будущем году значительно повысить наш уровень жизни, если согласимся на тридцатипроцентную инфляцию (повышение цена на 30%). Это означает, что наши доходы должны будут вырасти более, чем на 30%. Тогда мы сможем купить больше товаров при новых, более высоких ценах. Поддержали бы вы такое предложение?**

1. да
2. нет
3. затрудняюсь ответить

**В11. Небольшое предприятие производит кухонные столы и продает их по 40 тысяч рублей за штуку. Спрос на столы настолько велик, что предприятие не может его полностью удовлетворить. Предприятие решает поднять цены на 4 тысячи рублей, хотя его затраты на производство не изменились. Справедливо ли это?**

1. да
2. нет

3. затрудняюсь ответить

**В12. Если отвлечься от справедливости, должно ли предприятие иметь право поднять цены в такой ситуации?**

1. да
2. нет
3. затрудняюсь ответить

**Теперь я прочту Вам несколько различных высказываний. Пожалуйста, скажите, Вы полностью согласны, согласны, не согласны, или совсем не согласны с каждым из них?**

**В13. Общество не должно мириться с теми, чьи политические взгляды существенно отличаются от взглядов большинства.**

1. Полностью согласен
2. Согласен
3. Колеблюсь
4. Не согласен
5. Совсем не согласен
6. Затрудняюсь ответить

**В14. Поскольку демонстрации часто приводят к беспорядкам и разрушениям, радикальным и экстремистским политическим группам должно быть запрещено проведение демонстрации.**

1. Полностью согласен
2. Согласен
3. Колеблюсь
4. Не согласен
5. Совсем не согласен
6. Затрудняюсь ответить

**В15. Лучше жить в обществе со строгим порядком, чем дать людям так много свободы, что они смогут стать разрушителями общества.**

1. Полностью согласен
2. Согласен
3. Колеблюсь
4. Не согласен
5. Совсем не согласен
6. Затрудняюсь ответить

**В16. Равные юридические права и гарантии защиты должны быть предоставлены любому человеку независимо от его политических убеждений.**

1. Полностью согласен

2. Согласен
3. Колеблюсь
4. Не согласен
5. Совсем не согласен
6. Затрудняюсь ответить

**В17. Нужно, чтобы все, независимо от их взглядов, могли высказываться свободно.**

1. Полностью согласен
2. Согласен
3. Колеблюсь
4. Не согласен
5. Совсем не согласен
6. Затрудняюсь ответить

**В18. Если кто-то подозревается в государственной измене или в других серьезных преступлениях, он может быть посажен в тюрьму без суда.**

1. Полностью согласен
2. Согласен
3. Колеблюсь
4. Не согласен
5. Совсем не согласен
6. Затрудняюсь ответить

**В19. Пресса должна быть защищена законом от преследований властей.**

1. Полностью согласен
2. Согласен
3. Колеблюсь
4. Не согласен
5. Совсем не согласен
6. Затрудняюсь ответить

**Теперь, если можно, несколько вопросов о вас самих.**

**21. Ваш уровень образования**

1. незаконченное среднее
2. среднее
3. среднее специальное
4. незаконченное высшее
5. высшее
6. окончил аспирантуру
7. нет ответа

**22. Ваше социальное положение?**

1. Учащийся, студент
2. рабочий или служащий
3. безработный
4. занимаюсь домашним хозяйством
5. пенсионер
6. нет ответа

(Если респондент ответил, что он рабочий или служащий (ответ 2), то задайте вопрос 23, при прочих ответах переходите к вопросу 24)

**23. Вы работаете в государственной организации или в частной компании?**

1. в государственной организации
2. в частной компании
3. затрудняюсь ответить

**24. Ваш возраст?**

1. возраст \_\_\_\_\_ лет
2. нет ответа

**25. Являетесь ли вы коренным москвичом?**

1. да
2. нет
3. нет ответа

(при положительном ответе на этот вопрос - конец интервью)

**26. Если нет, то вы приехали в Москву**

1. из другого города
2. из сельской местности
3. из другой страны
4. нет ответа

27. Пол респондента:

1. мужской
2. женский

**Большое спасибо за вашу помощь.**

29. Говорил ли респондент с иностранным акцентом?

1. Да
2. Нет
3. Затрудняюсь ответить



**Table A1: Characteristics of the Five Surveys: Moscow, 1990 and 2015; Moscow Oblast, 1990; New York, 1990 and 2015.**

	<u>Moscow 2015</u>	<u>New York 2015</u>	<u>Moscow 1990</u>	<u>Moscow Oblast 1990</u> (GDI)	<u>New York 1990</u>
interview method	telephone	telephone	telephone	face to face, in home	telephone
questions about ...	markets and democracy	markets and democracy	markets	democracy	markets
sample size	301	300	137	504	120
Sex: % female	53%	56%	69%	53%	63%
education: % some college or higher	66%	76%	49%	38%	63%
age: % 55+	36%	43%	33%	16%	28%
origin: percent born in Moscow / New York	44%	63%	64%		66%
percent working in a private business	42%	43%	2%		53%