

THE MOSCOW POLL[®]

**Conducted by:
GLS Research
and
The PBN Company**

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Moscow Poll[®] is the first scientific measure of the opinions of Moscow's foreign national community. The Soviet Center for Public Opinion and Market Research conducted the telephone interviews for GLS Research and The PBN Company over a two week period from September 5 through September 18, 1991. A total of 609 interviews were completed, which provides for a sampling error of no more than $\pm 4.1\%$ with a 95% confidence level.

Following is a summary of the key findings from the study:

QUALITY OF LIFE

- Foreign nationals were about equally divided as to whether the quality of their own lives in the Soviet Union was "better", the "same", or "worse" now than a year ago — but seven in ten respondents felt the quality of life for the average Soviet citizen was "worse."
- Foreign nationals were somewhat more optimistic about the quality of their own lives one year from now, with more than four in ten of them saying it will be "better."

They also expressed less pessimism — and even some optimism — about the future for the average Soviet citizen. While 42% still believe the quality of life for the average Soviet citizen will be worse one year from now, 31% believe it will be better.

- Compared to other places they have been, nearly two-thirds of foreign nationals said Moscow was "below average" as a "place to live."

Over six in ten foreign nationals also rated Moscow "below average" compared to other places as a "place to visit for a vacation."

Many foreign nationals (56%) felt Moscow was "below average" compared to other places as a "place to raise children," and a plurality of foreign nationals (48%) said Moscow was "below average" compared to other places as a "place to be single."

- We asked respondents to rate the severity of 14 big-city problems using a one-to-five scale where one represented "not so bad in Moscow" and five represented "very bad in Moscow." Foreign nationals perceived the three worst problems to be street and road conditions (mean rating of 4.3), air pollution (3.9), and alcoholism (3.8).

Other problems with above average mean ratings included water pollution (mean of 3.6), organized crime (mean of 3.6), litter (mean of 3.5), prostitution (mean of 3.5), crime in general (mean of 3.4), and traffic congestion (mean of 3.2).

- We also asked foreign nationals to rate 18 factors that could affect how well they live in Moscow. Respondents used a one-to-five scale where one rated Moscow "poor" in terms of that item and five rated Moscow "excellent."

Respondents gave Moscow highest ratings with regard to the availability of cultural entertainment (mean rating of 3.7), followed at some distance by spectator sports (mean of 3.3), availability of places of worship (mean of 3.1), parks and recreational facilities (mean of 3.1), and bookstores and libraries (mean of 3.0).

- Almost two-thirds of foreign nationals said they would seek treatment in another country if they suffered an injury or illness that was *not life threatening*.
- We asked foreign nationals how difficult it was for them to find certain personal services in Moscow. Respondents used a one-to-five scale where one represented "easy to find" and five represented "difficult to find." Dry cleaning or laundry services appear to be the most difficult to find (mean rating of 3.5). A maid or someone to do housecleaning (mean of 2.3) was the easiest service to find.
- All respondents were asked to rate their own embassy or consulate in terms of the services it provides. Respondents again used a one-to-five scale where one meant "poor" and five meant "excellent." Embassies were rated most highly in terms of visa services (mean rating of 3.8). However, on virtually every other service, the diplomats we spoke to gave high ratings to their embassy or consulate, while business people and media professionals gave relatively low ratings.

This difference was most notable with regard to assistance

in finding housing — a function that embassies and consulates often perform for their own employees but not for others. With regard to recreation and social services, even diplomats did not rate their embassies and consulates highly.

- Moscow is not known for an abundance of recreational facilities, so we asked foreign nationals how interested they would be in specific types of facilities, assuming that there would be a charge for using them. Respondents expressed greatest interest in swimming pools, followed by tennis courts, health clubs, and sailing. In general, diplomats were more likely than others to say they were "very" interested in all the recreational facilities.

BUSINESS ENVIRONMENT

- While a plurality (43%) of foreign nationals felt the business climate in the Soviet Union is "better" than it was a year ago, business people (31%) were significantly less likely to say so. In fact, the largest proportion of business people (45%) said they think the business climate is "worse" than it was a year ago.
- Nearly eight in ten foreign nationals agreed that the cost of living and doing business in the Soviet Union will increase over the next year.
- Forty-five percent (45%) of respondents said the gross national product (GNP) of the Soviet Union would decrease over the next year, but an equal proportion (45%) said they thought it would increase or remain the same.

Among those who thought the GNP would *increase*, just over one-third of respondents said they expected an increase of 5% or less, but four in ten respondents thought the increase would be 6% or more.

Among those who thought the GNP would *decrease*, three in ten respondents said they expect a decrease of 6% to 10%, and another three in ten expect a decrease of more than 10%.

- We asked foreign nationals how they would compare Moscow with other places as a place to work. About four in ten respondents said Moscow was "average," and a similar

proportion said "below average." Business people were more likely than diplomats or media professionals to say "below average."

- While many foreign nationals believe Moscow is "average" as a place to work, they tended to judge the city "below average" as a place to conduct or operate a business. Overall, 46% of respondents said Moscow was "below average" on this measure, with media professionals being especially critical.
- Interviewers read respondents a list of 21 business services and asked them to rate each on a one-to-five scale where one meant the service was "easy to find" and five meant "difficult to find."

Thirteen of the 21 business services received mean ratings above the 3.0 midpoint of the scale, meaning they are relatively difficult to find in Moscow.

Those services deemed most difficult to find were assistance in finding retail office space (mean score of 4.1), assistance in finding commercial office space (mean of 4.0), and banking services (4.0). The services which are easiest to find appear to be interpretation (mean of 2.4) and translation (mean of 2.5) services.

Business people seem to have a much easier time than diplomats or media professionals in finding legal services, conference and business meeting facilities, audio-visual equipment, printing services, international messenger or courier services, and limousine services.

- We asked respondents how interested they would be in paying for a service which would provide verbatim transcriptions of central, local, and Republic government laws, documents, and proceedings in a timely fashion. Nearly six in ten respondents said they were interested, with about half saying "very" and half saying "somewhat" interested.
- We also asked foreign nationals how interested they would be in purchasing an eight-page daily international news digest that would be delivered the same day it was published. Just over one-half of respondents said they "definitely" or "probably" would purchase the digest.

- Foreign nationals did not rate Soviet workers highly in terms of traits that most people consider important in an employee. Respondents used a one-to-five scale where one meant they judged Soviet employees as "poor" and five as "excellent" with regard to each trait.

Only two mean scores fell above the 3.0 midpoint of the scale and reflect positively on Soviet workers: trainability (mean of 3.3) and trustworthiness (mean of 3.1). Soviet workers were judged especially deficient in their ability to deal with the public (mean of 2.5) and their enthusiasm and pride in their work (mean of 2.7).

- We asked respondents to evaluate 10 services and agencies found in Moscow that they often have occasion to use. Respondents used a five-point scale where one meant they thought the service offered was "poor" and five meant "excellent."

Only the Moscow Metro (subway) received a high rating (mean of 4.2). The next most highly rated service was the public busses (mean of 3.1).

All other services received relatively low ratings, but especially Moscow taxis (mean of 1.9) and Aeroflot, the state airline whose international division (mean of 2.2) rated somewhat higher than its domestic counterpart (mean of 1.9).

- Nearly three-quarters of respondents felt they were overcharged by Soviets in buying goods and services. Business people were especially likely to say so.

POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT

- We asked foreign nationals if they thought the Soviet Union would break up into several independent countries or remain basically one country over the next several years. Forty-five percent (45%) of all respondents said they thought the Soviet Union would break up, but 37% believed it would remain one country. Both business people and media professionals were significantly more likely than diplomats to say the Soviet Union would break up.
- We asked foreign nationals how serious they thought the food shortages will be in the Soviet Union this winter. Almost two-thirds of respondents said they expect the shortages to be "very" or "somewhat" serious. Foreign nationals from western industrial nations appear to believe the food shortage will be more serious than do respondents from third world countries.
- We asked foreign nationals how likely they think it is that Western countries will offer the Soviet Union multi-billion dollar financial aid packages *by the end of 1991*). Almost equal proportions of respondents said they thought aid was "very" or "somewhat" likely (45%) and "not very" or "not at all" likely (47%).
- We asked respondents if they thought the failed *coup d'état* would greatly speed political and economic reform in the Soviet Union, slightly speed reform, have no effect, or slow down reform. Two-thirds of respondents thought it would greatly speed reform, and media professionals (82%) were especially likely to say so.
- We asked foreign nationals to rate the performance several Soviet and Russian agencies, institutions, and political bodies, using a one-to-five scale where one meant "performs poorly" and five meant "performs excellently."

Respondents rated five items above the 3.0 midpoint of the scale, with the office of the President of the Russian Republic (mean of 3.9) and the parliament of the Russian Republic (mean of 3.7) receiving the highest ratings. The Communist Party received the lowest rating, and it was extremely low — a mean of 1.8.

- We asked respondents if they had a generally favorable or unfavorable impression of eight political figures. Mikhail

Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin tied for top honors, with Yeltsin having a higher favorability rating among media professionals.

- We asked respondents if they thought Gorbachev would be elected president of the Soviet Union if elections were held "today" — that is, two weeks after the *coup*. Four in ten respondents said no, three in ten said yes, 16% were not sure and 14% gave no answer. Media professionals and business people were far more likely than diplomats to say Gorbachev would not be elected.

DEMOGRAPHICS

- We read respondents a list of reasons people live and work in Moscow, then asked them which reason best explained why they were in Moscow. Diplomats were most likely to say that Moscow just happened to be where they were sent by their employer or government. Business people and media professionals most often said they were in Moscow because they wanted to work or do business in the Soviet Union.
- Almost one-half of the foreign nationals we talked to said they spoke both Russian and English fluently. Notably, business people were most likely to say they were fluent in both languages, and media professionals were most likely to say they were fluent only in English or only in Russian.
- We read respondents a list of news sources and asked them which ones they regularly used for international news. By far, foreign nationals said they use Cable News Network (CNN) most often. Other frequently used sources of international news included TASS, *Newsweek*, wire services, *International Herald Tribune*, *Time*, and the *Financial Times*.

Except for the *Financial Times*, business people were generally less likely than diplomats or media professionals to say they used any of the sources.

- We also read respondents a list of local (Moscow) news sources and asked which they used regularly. Foreign nationals were most likely to say they used *Moscow News*, followed by *Commerzant*, TASS, *Moscow Guardian*, Radio Moscow, wire services, and *Moscow Magazine*. Less than

half of all respondents used the remaining sources.

With the exception of *Business In The USSR*, media professionals were significantly more likely than business people to use all sources of information.

- We asked respondents what television channels they watch regularly. Channel 1 was most popular, followed by the CNN Channel and Channel 2.
- Overall, the BBC is the radio station listened to most frequently, followed by Radio Moscow.
- All respondents were asked to volunteer the names of their two favorite restaurants in Moscow. The Peking and the Delhi were particularly popular with diplomats. Penta, Kropot-Kinskaya 36, and the Savoy were most popular with business people. The Peking, Penta, and Baku were popular with media professionals.
- Our sample of foreign nationals was largely male (87%), married (80%), and between the ages of 30 and 49 (69%).
- Three in ten respondents (31%) earn less than \$30,000 and five in ten (52%) earn less than \$70,000.
- Almost one-half of those we interviewed came from Europe (47%), 25% were Asian or Middle Eastern, 15% were North American, 9% were African, 2% were South American, and 2% were from Australia or New Zealand.
- About one-half (48%) of respondents live in an embassy or embassy compound, 43% live in an apartment, 4% live in a hotel, and 3% have other living arrangements.
- Most respondents (73%) live with their families.
- Forty-three percent (43%) of respondents have been in Moscow for a total of two years or less, and 73% have been there for five years or less. A clear indication of when *détente* truly began, 90% of North Americans have been in Moscow for five years or less.
- Just over one-half (53%) of respondents expect their current stay in Moscow to be two years or less.
- Three-quarters of respondents (75%) said their employer has had an office in Moscow for more than 10 years.

- Twenty-nine percent (29%) of respondents said their office and residence are in the same location.
- Most diplomats (91%) and media professionals (93%) said their business is registered with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Business people were most likely to mention the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations (50%) or some other agency (28%).
- Two in ten respondents (22%) describe themselves as non-drinkers, 43% call themselves light or very light drinkers, and 32% call themselves moderate drinkers.
- Nearly seven in ten respondents (68%) said they eat out one to five meals per week.
- Three-quarters of respondents (76%) personally own an automobile in Moscow.
- Overall, respondents were most likely to have a Visa card (39%) followed by American Express (27%).
- When diplomats (32%) and media professionals (20%) want to fly out of the Soviet Union, they are likely to use Aeroflot. Business people are most likely to use Finnair (16%), Lufthansa (15%), British Airways (10%), and Alitalia (10%).

INTRODUCTION

The Moscow Poll[®] is the first scientific measure of the opinions of Moscow's foreign national community. GLS Research and The PBN Company conducted this research among foreign nationals because . . .

- Foreign nationals have years of experience doing business and living in the Soviet Union.
- Foreign nationals need goods and services that the Soviet Union does not currently supply. They will be the first consumers in the new Soviet market economy.

The Moscow Poll[®] reports the attitudes of 609 diplomats, journalists, and business people with regard to a variety of issues including . . .

- The post-*coup* political and economic environment in Moscow and the Soviet Union.
- Where the Soviet Union is headed politically and economically.
- The quality of day-to-day life in Moscow.
- The availability and quality of goods and services in Moscow.

The Moscow Poll[®] also includes extensive demographic information on the foreign national community living in Moscow.

METHODOLOGY

The Moscow Poll[®] was conducted among individuals who are listed in the Summer 1991 edition of the *Information Moscow Directory*. The directory includes the names and telephone numbers of foreign business people, diplomats, and media professionals. The Soviet Center for Public Opinion and Market Research conducted the interviews for GLS Research and The PBN Company over a two week period from September 5 through September 18, 1991.

The *Information Moscow Directory* includes the names and telephone numbers of 3,752 individuals. The names were divided into groups by profession (business, diplomat, and news media) and by geography (United States, Europe, and other countries). Within each of the groups, we randomized the order of the names prior to sampling.

We determined quotas for completed interviews based on a sample size of approximately 600 and the proportions of people in each of the professional and geographic groupings. Sampling proceeded consecutively through each group until the number of completed interviews equalled that group's quota or until there were no longer any telephone numbers in that group that had not been used.

Interviewers made four attempts to reach each potential respondent and complete an interview with him or her. They made a total of 11,400 calls in order to complete 609 interviews. The interviews were conducted in either Russian or English, whichever the respondent preferred. The questionnaire required an average of almost 35 minutes to administer.

The final sample included interviews with 211 business people, 305 diplomats, and 93 media professionals. The proportions of people in each of these groups did not exactly correspond to the proportions of people in these groups in the population from which they were drawn. We then applied a weighting scheme to the sample to correct for these response rate differences and to make the sample representative of the entire population of foreign nationals living in Moscow.

A sample of 609 respondents randomly selected from a population of individuals assumed to be representative of foreign nationals living and working in Moscow provides for a sampling error of no more than $\pm 4.1\%$ with a 95% confidence level. This level of precision somewhat exceeds commonly accepted standards for precision in marketing and public opinion research.

Interviews were edited for completeness and accuracy, coded, and keypunched into a computerized database for analysis. The data was then analyzed using a statistical software package available to GLS Research on its PC-based computer network. The questionnaire administered to respondents is appended to this report in the form of marginal results.

The data analysis consisted of developing statistical profiles of the attitudes, opinions, and perceptions of respondents and identifying statistically significant subgroup differences in response patterns among respondents. We looked at the following breakdowns of the data:

- Respondent's profession, which fell into one of three categories — business, diplomatic, or news media.
- Respondent's country of origin, with the countries grouped in four categories:

North America (that is, the United States and Canada),

Europe (both Eastern and Western Europe),

The Middle East and Asia (including Japan, Australia, and New Zealand), and

Central America (including the Caribbean), South America, and Africa.

Throughout this report, proportions and means for the total sample are derived from the weighted data. The proportions and means for the subgroups are derived from unweighted data.

Details on the findings and conclusions of the survey are presented in the following sections of this report.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

QUALITY OF LIFE

Foreign nationals were about equally divided as to whether the quality of their own lives in the Soviet Union was "better" (34%), the "same" (29%), or "worse" (32%) now than a year ago (Figure 1). Business men (38%) were most likely to say the quality of their lives was "better," and news media professionals (41%) were most likely to say "worse."

FIGURE 1
Quality Of Life In The Soviet Union
Compared To A Year Ago
(For Yourself)

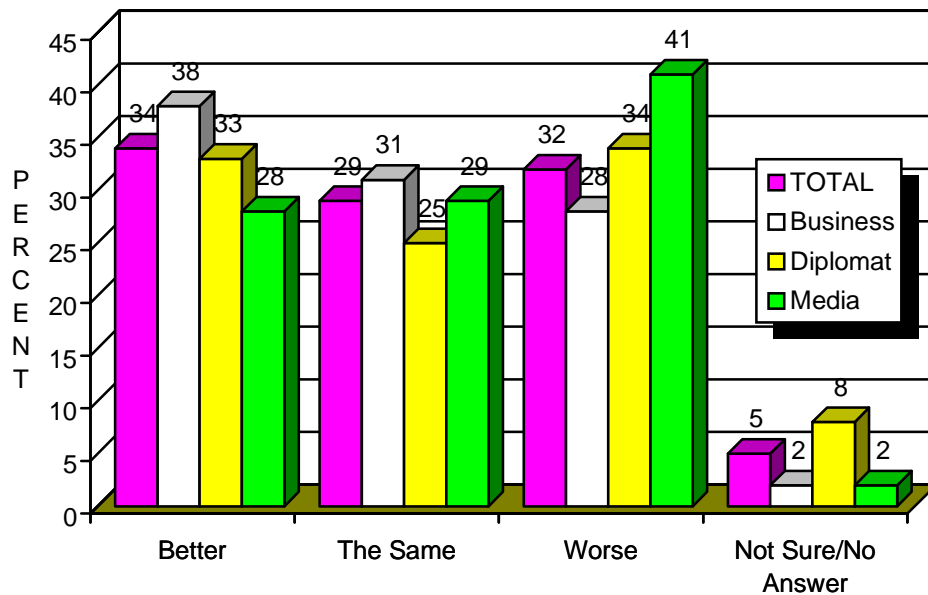
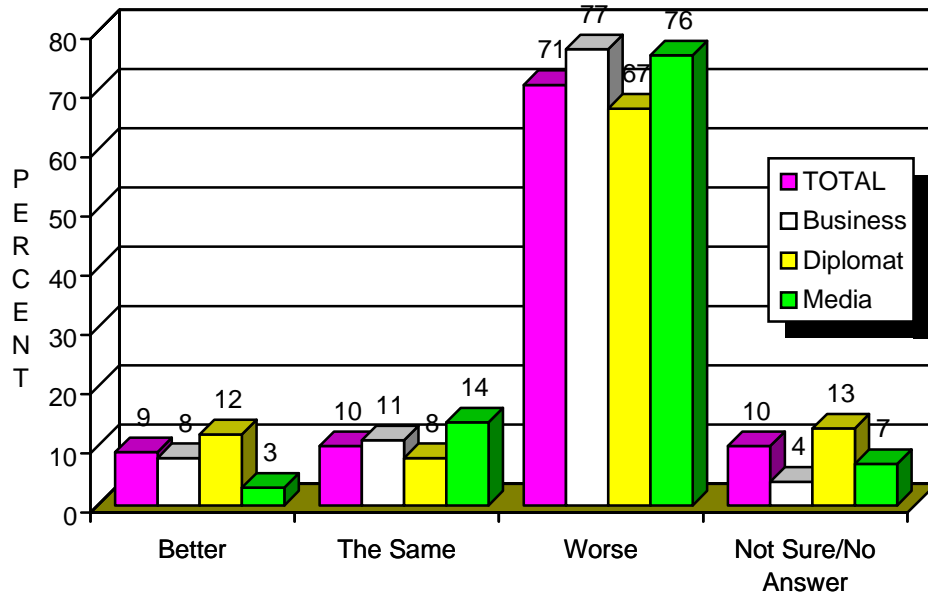


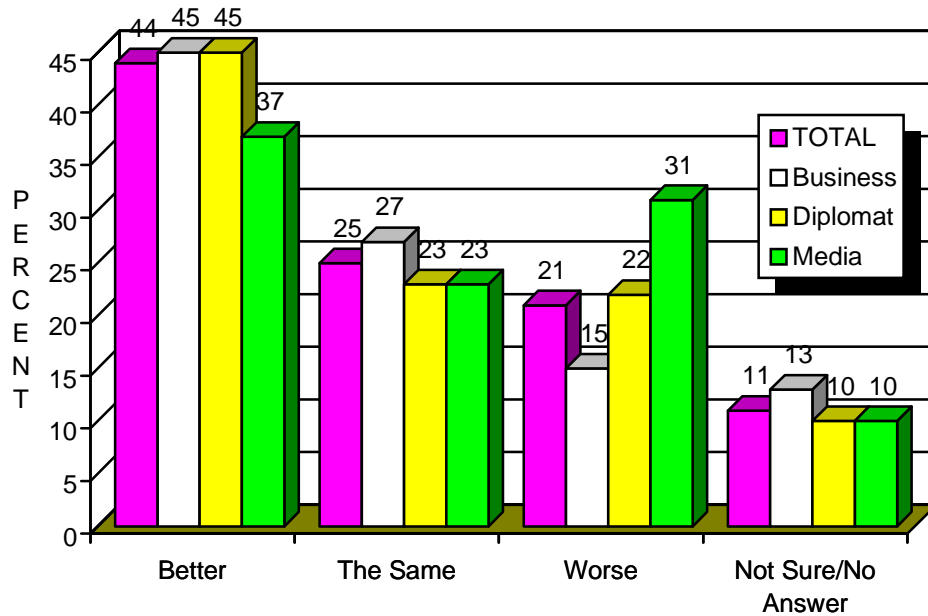
FIGURE 2
Quality Of Life In The Soviet Union
Compared To A Year Ago*
(For The Average Soviet Citizen)



A large proportion of foreign nationals (71%) felt the quality of life in the Soviet Union for the average Soviet citizen was "worse" now than a year ago (Figure 2). Diplomats (67%) were significantly *less* likely than businessmen (77%) or news media professionals (76%) to say "worse."

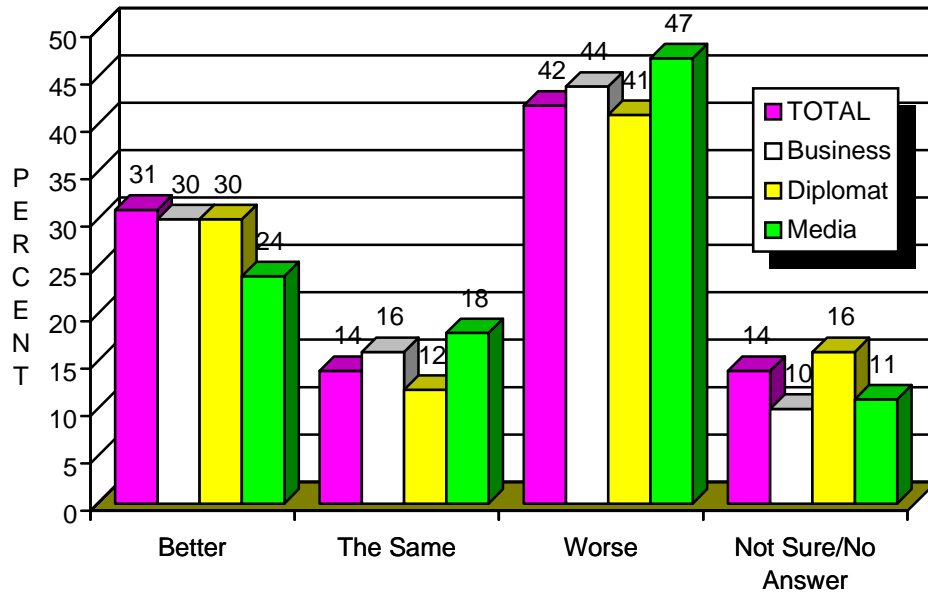
Respondents from Europe (77%) were significantly more likely than those from North America (66%), the Middle East and Asia (68%), or Central/South America and Africa (63%) to say the quality of life for the average Soviet citizen was worse now than a year ago.

FIGURE 3
Expected Quality Of Life In The
Soviet Union One Year From Now
(For Yourself)



Foreign nationals living in Moscow were somewhat more optimistic about the quality of their own lives one year from now, with more than four in ten (44%) of them saying it will be "better" (Figure 3). Media professionals were somewhat less likely than others to say the quality of their lives will be better (37%) in one year, and they were more likely than others to say it will be worse (31%).

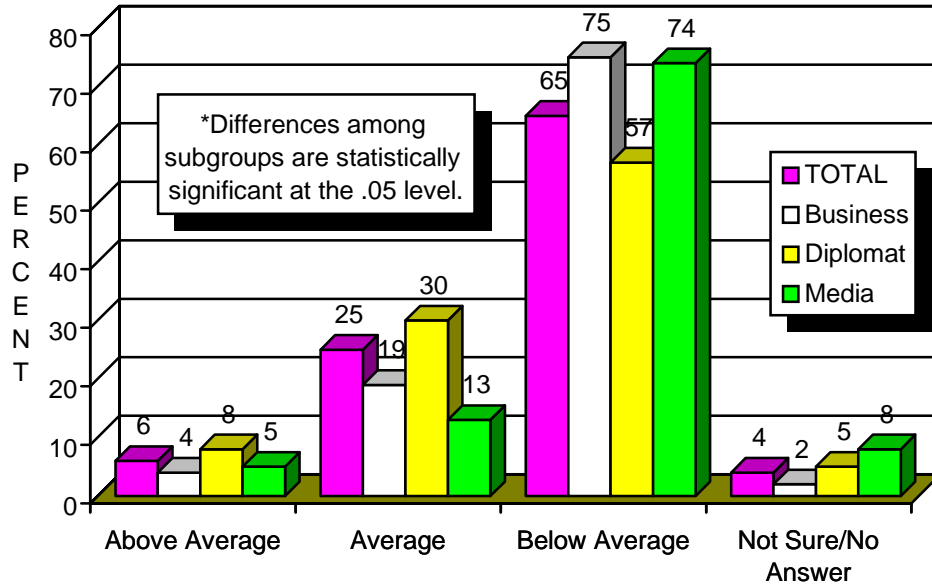
FIGURE 4
Expected Quality Of Life In The
Soviet Union One Year From Now
(For The Average Soviet Citizen)



Foreign nationals also expressed less pessimism — and even some optimism — about the future for the average Soviet citizen (Figure 4). While 42% still believe the quality of life for the average Soviet citizen will be worse one year from now, 31% believe it will be better. Business people, diplomats, and media professionals did not differ greatly in their opinions on this issue.

Respondents from Europe (25%) were much less likely than respondents from North America (36%), Middle East and Asia (34%), or Central/South America and Africa (36%) to say things were improving for the average Soviet citizen.

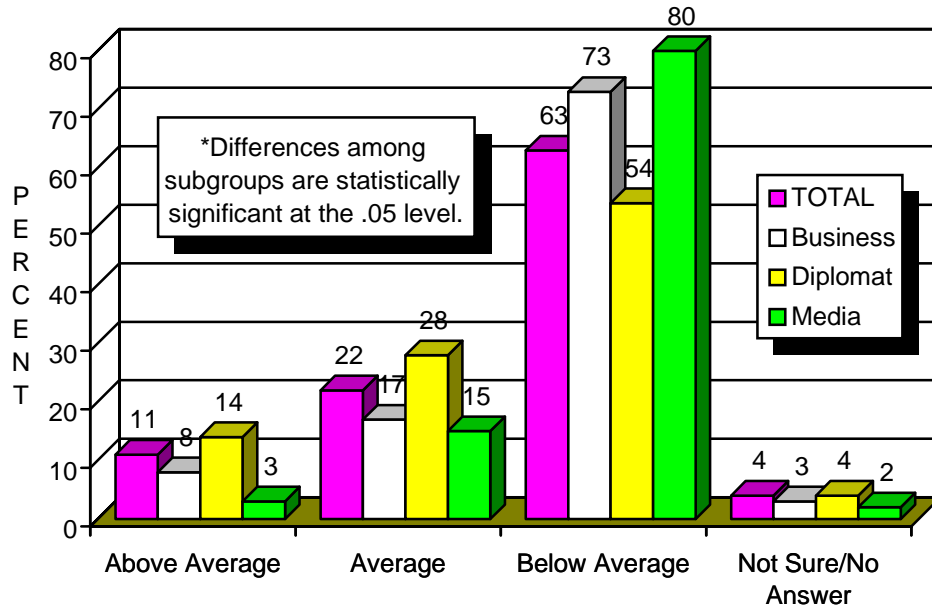
FIGURE 5
Moscow Compared To Other Places —
As A Place To Live



Compared to other places they have been, nearly two-thirds (65%) of foreign nationals said Moscow was "below average" as a "place to live" (Figure 5). Both business people (75%) and media professionals (74%) were significantly more likely than diplomats (57%) to say Moscow was "below average" on this measure.

Respondents from North America (68%) and Europe (79%) were much more likely than those from Middle East and Asia (44%) and Central/South America and Africa (54%) to say Moscow was "below average" on this measure.

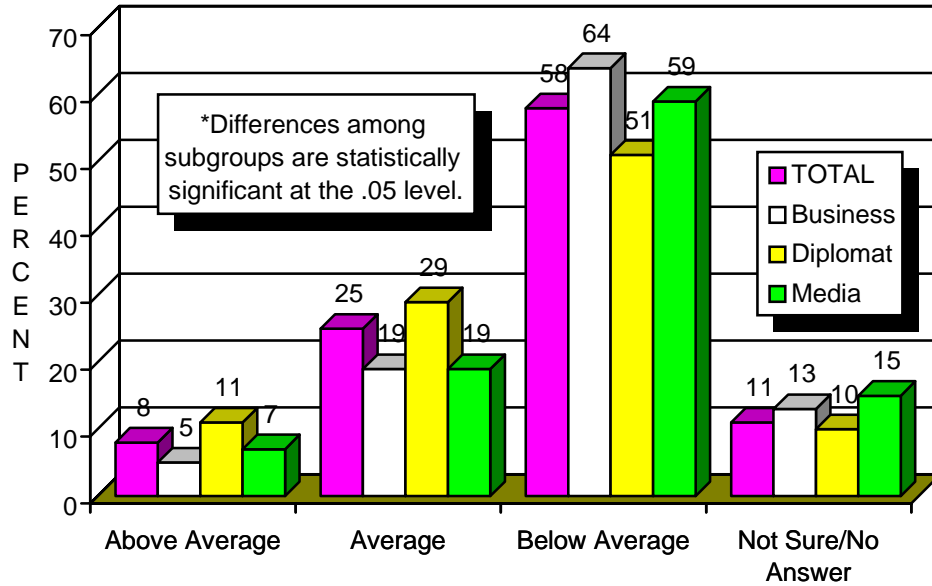
FIGURE 6
Moscow Compared To Other Places —
As A Place To Visit For A Vacation*



A majority foreign nationals (63%) also rated Moscow "below average" compared to other places as a "place to visit for a vacation" (Figure 6). Again, business people (73%) and media professionals (80%) were significantly more likely than diplomats (54%) to say Moscow was "below average" on this measure.

Again, respondents from North America (66%) and Europe (75%) were much more likely than those from Middle East and Asia (51%) and Central/South America and Africa (47%) to say Moscow was "below average" on this measure.

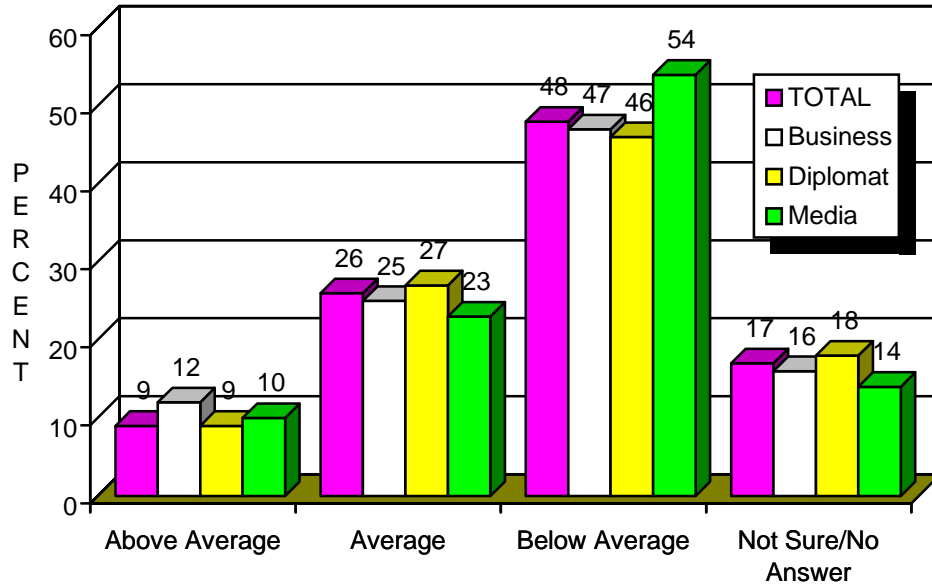
FIGURE 7
Moscow Compared To Other Places —
As A Place To Raise Children*



Many foreign nationals (56%) felt Moscow was "below average" compared to other places as a "place to raise children" (Figure 7). Business people (64%) were most likely to rate Moscow "below average" on this measure, followed by media professionals (59%) and diplomats (51%).

Once again, respondents from North America (68%) and Europe (63%) were much more likely than those from Middle East and Asia (46%) and Central/South America and Africa (44%) to say Moscow was "below average" on this measure.

FIGURE 8
Moscow Compared To Other Places —
As A Place To Be Single



A plurality of foreign nationals (48%) said Moscow was "below average" compared to other places as a "place to be single" (Figure 8). Media professionals (54%) were somewhat more likely than business people (47%) or diplomats (46%) to say Moscow was "below average" on this measure.

Confirming the pattern we have already seen, respondents from North America (56%) and Europe (51%) were much more likely than those from Middle East and Asia (37%) and Central/South America and Africa (49%) to say Moscow was "below average" on this measure.

We asked respondents to rate the severity of 14 big-city problems using a one-to-five scale where one represented "not so bad in Moscow" and five represented "very bad in Moscow" (Table 1). Nine of 14 problems received mean ratings above the 3.0 midpoint of the scale, with the three worst problems being street and road conditions (mean rating of 4.3), air pollution (mean of 3.9), and alcoholism (mean of 3.8). Other problems with above average mean ratings included water pollution (mean of 3.6), organized crime (mean of 3.6), litter (mean of 3.5), prostitution (mean of 3.5), crime in general (mean of 3.4), and traffic congestion (mean of 3.2).

Business people and media professionals were more likely than diplomats to give negative (high) ratings to street and road conditions, air pollution, water pollution, and litter. Media professionals were more likely than others to give negative ratings to alcoholism and less likely than others to give negative ratings to prostitution.

European respondents were generally more critical than others, showing higher mean scores for eight of 14 items: street and road conditions (4.6), air pollution (4.2), water pollution (3.9), organized crime (3.8), litter (3.8), sexually transmitted diseases (3.2), homelessness (3.1), and street harassment (2.9). Respondents from North America were more critical than others with regard to street and road conditions (mean of 4.6), air pollution (4.2), water pollution (3.8), and discrimination against ethnic and racial minorities (3.3). Respondents from Central/South America and Africa were more critical with regard to drug addiction (mean of 3.1).

TABLE 1
Social Problems Indicators*

	TOTAL	PROFESSION		
		Business	Diplomat	Media
Street and road conditions**	4.3	4.5	4.2	4.5
Air pollution**	3.9	4.1	3.8	4.0
Alcoholism**	3.8	3.7	3.7	4.1
Water pollution**	3.6	3.9	3.4	3.7
Organized crime	3.6	3.7	3.6	3.6
Litter**	3.5	3.7	3.4	3.9
Prostitution**	3.5	3.6	3.5	3.2
Crime in general	3.4	3.5	3.4	3.5
Traffic congestion	3.2	3.2	3.2	3.3
Sexually transmitted diseases	2.9	3.1	2.9	2.9
Homelessness	2.8	3.0	2.8	2.9
Drug addiction	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.7
Discrimination against ethnic and racial minorities	2.8	2.8	2.7	2.9
Street harassment	2.7	2.8	2.8	2.6
BASE	(609)	(211)	(305)	(93)

* On a one-to-five scale where one means "not so bad in Moscow" and five means "very bad in Moscow."

** Differences among subgroup means are statistically significant at the .05 level.

We also asked foreign nationals to rate 18 factors that could affect how well they live in Moscow (Table 2 on page 24). Respondents used a one-to-five scale where one rated Moscow "poor" in terms of that item and five rated Moscow "excellent." Only five items received average ratings at or above the 3.0 midpoint of the scale.

Respondents gave Moscow highest ratings with regard to

- The availability of cultural entertainment (mean rating of 3.7), followed at some distance by
- Spectator sports (mean of 3.3),
- Availability of places of worship (mean of 3.1),
- Parks and recreational facilities (mean of 3.1), and
- Bookstores and libraries (mean of 3.0).

Moscow was rated particularly low in terms of

- Availability of international telephone service (mean of 2.0),
- Availability of acceptable quality home repair services (mean of 2.1),
- Nightclubs where you can hear music or comedians (mean of 2.1),
- Places to eat (mean of 2.2),
- Availability of basic goods like food and clothing (mean of 2.2), and
- Quality of the local telephone service (mean of 2.3).

Diplomats tended to give higher ratings and media professionals lower ratings to almost every item. Business people tended to rate most items lower than diplomats but not as low as media professionals.

European and North American respondents were more critical than respondents from Central/South America, Africa, the Middle East, and Asia with regard to the local phone service, quality of the tap water, and the availability of resorts. Europeans were also more critical than others with regard to nightclubs.

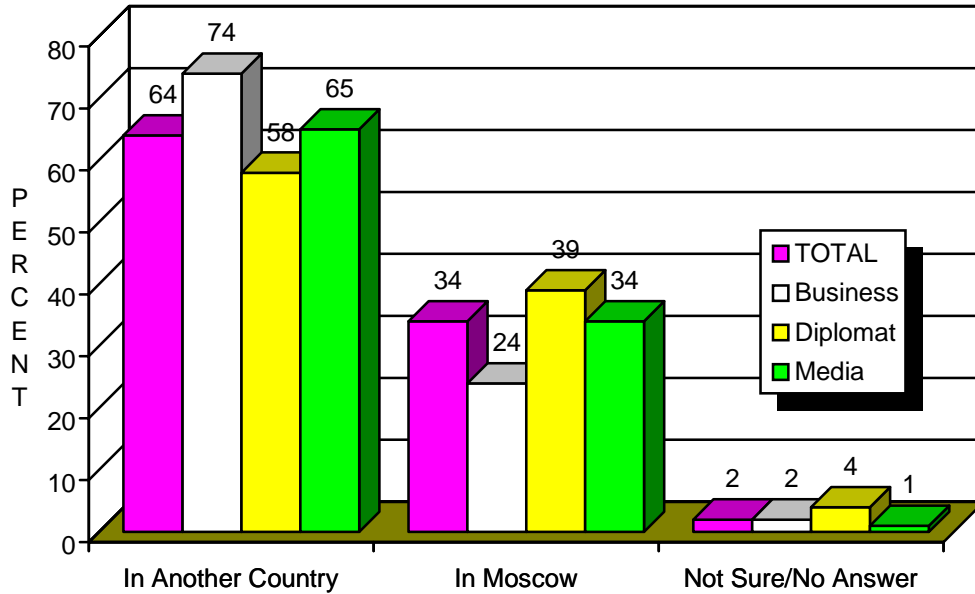
TABLE 2
Quality Of Life Indicators*

	TOTAL	PROFESSION		
		Business	Diplomat	Media
Availability of cultural entertainment like the theater, opera, ballet, and symphony**	3.7	3.7	3.8	3.4
Spectator sports**	3.3	3.2	3.4	3.0
Availability of places of worship	3.1	3.2	3.1	3.0
Parks and recreational facilities**	3.1	3.0	3.3	3.0
Bookstores and libraries**	3.0	2.8	3.2	2.8
Cost of living	2.9	2.7	2.9	2.8
Availability of resorts and places to vacation in the Soviet Union**	2.9	2.6	3.0	2.5
Availability of quality education for your children**	2.8	2.7	2.9	2.6
Availability of movies from the United States and Western Europe**	2.5	2.4	2.6	2.2
Availability of acceptable quality health care**	2.5	2.2	2.7	2.1
Tap water quality**	2.4	2.2	2.5	2.3
Availability of acceptable quality housing**	2.4	2.1	2.6	2.1
Quality of the local telephone service**	2.3	2.1	2.5	1.9
Availability of basic goods like food and clothing**	2.2	2.3	2.2	1.9
Places to eat**	2.2	2.2	2.2	1.7
Nightclubs where you can hear music or comedians**	2.1	2.1	2.2	1.7
Availability of acceptable quality home repair services**	2.1	2.0	2.2	1.8
Availability of international telephone service**	2.0	1.9	2.1	1.7
BASE	(609)	(211)	(305)	(93)

* On a one-to-five scale where one means "poor" and five means "excellent."

** Differences among subgroup means are statistically significant at the .05 level.

FIGURE 9
Where Would Seek Treatment For An Illness
Or Injury That Was Not Life Threatening



Almost two-thirds of foreign nationals (64%) said they would seek treatment in another country if they suffered an injury or illness that was *not life threatening* (Figure 9). Business people (74%) were most likely and diplomats (58%) least likely to say so.

Europeans (73%) and North Americans (64%) were significantly more likely than respondents from the Middle East and Asia (54%) or Central/South America and Africa (47%) to say they would seek treatment in another country.

We asked foreign nationals how difficult it was for them to find certain personal services in Moscow (Table 3). Respondents used a one-to-five scale where one represented "easy to find" and five represented "difficult to find." Dry cleaning or laundry services appear to be the most difficult to find (mean rating of 3.5), and all other services received mean scores below the 3.0 midpoint of the scale.

Both diplomats and media professionals appeared to have more difficulty than business people in finding a car and driver or a cook for the home. In general, European and North American respondents appeared to have an easier time finding almost all the services than did those from Middle East, Asia, Central/South America, and Africa

TABLE 3
Difficulty Of Finding
Personal Services In Moscow*

	TOTAL	PROFESSION		
		Business	Diplomat	Media
Dry cleaning or laundry	3.5	3.5	3.3	3.7
Babysitting or daycare for your children	2.7	2.7	2.7	3.0
A cook for your home**	2.7	2.5	2.7	3.0
A car and driver**	2.5	2.2	2.7	2.6
A maid or someone to do housecleaning	2.3	2.4	2.3	2.5
BASE	(609)	(211)	(305)	(93)

* On a one-to-five scale where one means " easy " and five means " difficult."

** Differences among subgroup means are statistically significant at the .05 level.

All respondents were asked to rate their own embassy or consulate in terms of the services it provides (Table 4). Respondents again used a one-to-five scale where one meant "poor" and five meant "excellent." Embassies were rated most highly in terms of visa services (mean rating of 3.8). However, on virtually every other service, the diplomats we spoke to gave high ratings to their embassy or consulate, while business people and media professionals gave relatively low ratings.

This difference was most notable with regard to assistance in finding housing — a function that embassies and consulates often perform for their own employees but not for others. With regard to recreation and social services, even diplomats (mean of 2.8) did not rate their embassies and consulates highly.

North American respondents (mean of 3.2) gave their embassies and consulates *much higher ratings* than others in terms of recreation and social services. Respondents from Central/South America and Africa tended to give higher ratings to most of the services. Since 89% of our respondents from these areas were diplomats, this finding is not surprising.

TABLE 4
Foreign Nationals' Ratings Of
Services Provided By Their
Own Embassies Or Consulates*

	TOTAL	PROFESSION		
		Business	Diplomat	Media
Visa services for you**	3.8	3.4	4.1	3.5
Visa assistance for Soviet citizens who want to visit or work in your country**	3.4	2.9	3.9	2.8
Providing opportunities for meeting other citizens of your country living in Moscow**	3.3	2.8	3.6	3.0
Support services for developing business and business contacts in the Soviet Union**	3.2	2.8	3.6	2.9
Assisting citizens of your country in dealing with government bureaucracies**	3.2	2.7	3.6	2.7
Emergency medical assistance**	3.1	2.8	3.3	2.2
Assistance in finding housing for you**	2.9	1.7	3.7	1.8
Assistance in finding housing for your family**	2.9	1.7	3.6	1.6
Recreation and social services**	2.6	2.1	2.8	2.3
BASE	(609)	(211)	(305)	(93)

* On a one-to-five scale where one means " poor " and five means " excellent."

** Differences among subgroup means are statistically significant at the .05 level.

Moscow is not known for an abundance of recreational facilities, so we asked foreign nationals how interested they would be in specific types of facilities, assuming that there would be a charge for using them (Table 5). Respondents expressed greatest interest (85%) in swimming pools, with 57% saying they would be "very" interested and 28% "somewhat" interested in having them available. Diplomats (62% "very" interested) appeared to have the strongest interest in swimming.

Foreign nationals showed somewhat less interest in tennis courts (72%), health clubs (67%), and boating and sailing (54%). Less than one-half of all respondents expressed interest in aerobics classes (38%) and golf courses (32%). Media professionals were particularly uninterested in golf courses, with 83% expressing lack of interest.

In general, diplomats were more likely than others to say they were "very" interested in all the recreational facilities. European respondents were least likely to say they were "very" interested and far more likely to say "somewhat" interested or not interested in all forms of recreation.

TABLE 5
Interest In Types Of Recreational Facilities

	TOTAL	PROFESSION		
		Business	Diplomat	Media
SWIMMING POOLS**				
<u>Interested</u>	<u>85%</u>	<u>85%</u>	<u>86%</u>	<u>86%</u>
Very Interested	57	52	62	56
Somewhat Interested	28	33	24	30
<u>Not Interested</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>13</u>
Not very interested	4	8	3	2
Not at all interested	9	6	10	11
Not sure/no answer	1	1	1	1
TENNIS COURTS				
<u>Interested</u>	<u>72</u>	<u>73</u>	<u>71</u>	<u>68</u>
Very Interested	44	43	47	36
Somewhat Interested	28	30	24	32
<u>Not Interested</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>31</u>
Not very interested	10	10	10	9
Not at all interested	17	16	17	22
Not sure/no answer	1	1	2	2
BASE	(609)	(211)	(305)	(93)

** Differences among subgroup proportions (excluding nets) are statistically significant at the .05 level.

(Continued on next page)

TABLE 5
(Continued/2)

INTEREST IN TYPES OF RECREATIONAL FACILITIES

	TOTAL	PROFESSION		
		Business	Diplomat	Media
<u>HEALTH CLUBS</u>				
<u>Interested</u>	<u>67%</u>	<u>62%</u>	<u>69%</u>	<u>59%</u>
Very Interested	31	25	35	23
Somewhat Interested	36	37	34	36
<u>Not Interested</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>39</u>
Not very interested	16	20	13	17
Not at all interested	15	16	15	22
Not sure/no answer	2	2	3	3
<u>BOATING AND SAILING</u>				
<u>Interested</u>	<u>54</u>	<u>52</u>	<u>55</u>	<u>49</u>
Very Interested	28	26	30	25
Somewhat Interested	26	26	25	24
<u>Not Interested</u>	<u>44</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>49</u>
Not very interested	18	19	17	18
Not at all interested	26	28	26	31
Not sure/no answer	2	1	2	2
<u>AEROBICS CLASSES</u>				
<u>Interested</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>32</u>
Very Interested	16	12	18	16
Somewhat Interested	22	20	21	16
<u>Not Interested</u>	<u>59</u>	<u>66</u>	<u>57</u>	<u>63</u>
Not very interested	15	20	14	15
Not at all interested	44	46	43	48
Not sure/no answer	3	2	3	4
<u>GOLF COURSES**</u>				
<u>Interested</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>13</u>
Very Interested	17	15	19	8
Somewhat Interested	15	20	14	5
<u>Not Interested</u>	<u>66</u>	<u>63</u>	<u>63</u>	<u>83</u>
Not very interested	19	19	16	23
Not at all interested	47	44	47	60
Not sure/no answer	3	1	3	4
BASE	(609)	(211)	(305)	(93)

** Differences among subgroup proportions (excluding nets) are statistically significant at the .05 level.

BUSINESS ENVIRONMENT

While a plurality (43%) of foreign nationals felt the business climate in the Soviet Union is "better" than it was a year ago, business people (31%) were significantly less likely to say so (Figure 10). In fact, the largest proportion of business people (45%) said they think the business climate is "worse" than it was a year ago.

European respondents were also more pessimistic than others, with 34% saying the business climate is "worse" and 37% saying "better." Respondents from North America (50% "better") and Central/South America and Africa (54% "better") were most positive.

FIGURE 10
Business Climate Now
Compared To A Year Ago*

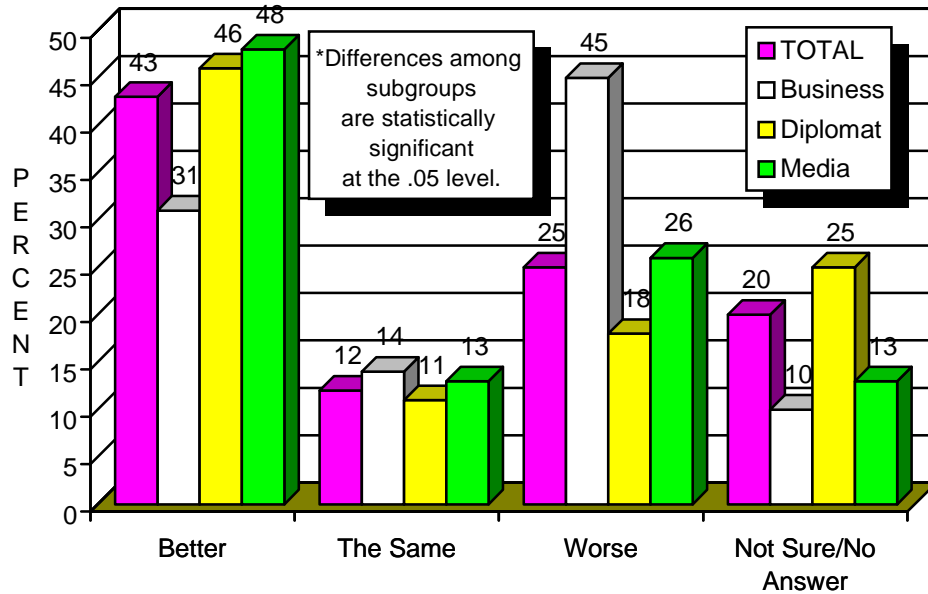
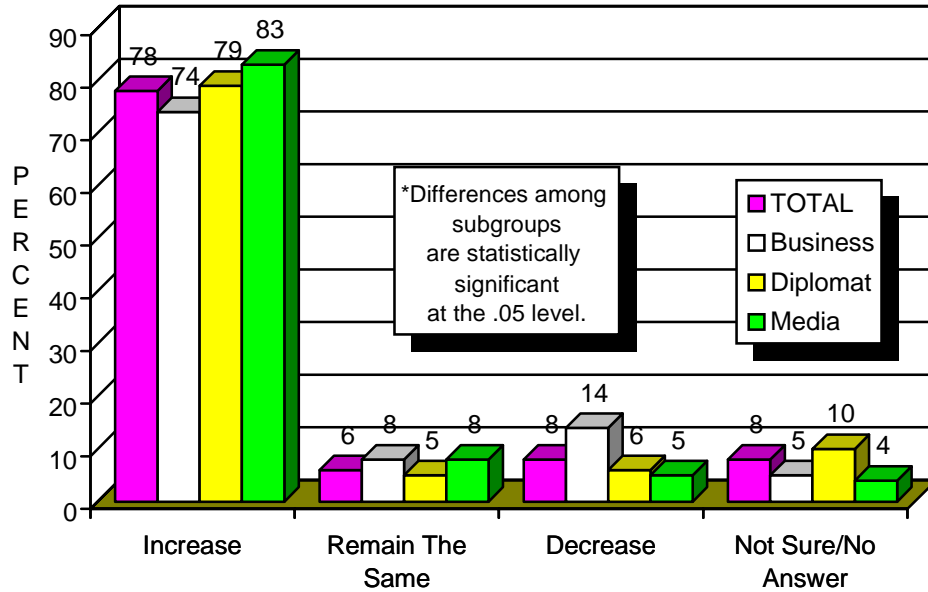
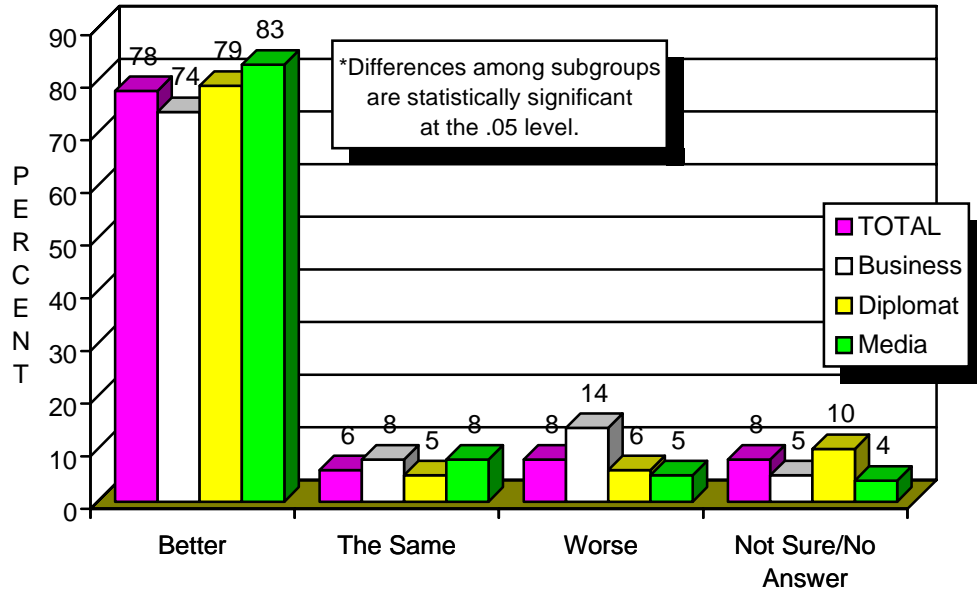


FIGURE 11
Expected Change In The Cost Of Living
And Doing Business Over The Next Year*



Most foreign nationals agreed (78%) that the cost of living and doing business in the Soviet Union will increase over the next year (Figure 11). Media professionals (83%) were more likely than diplomats (79%) or business people (74%) to expect an increase.

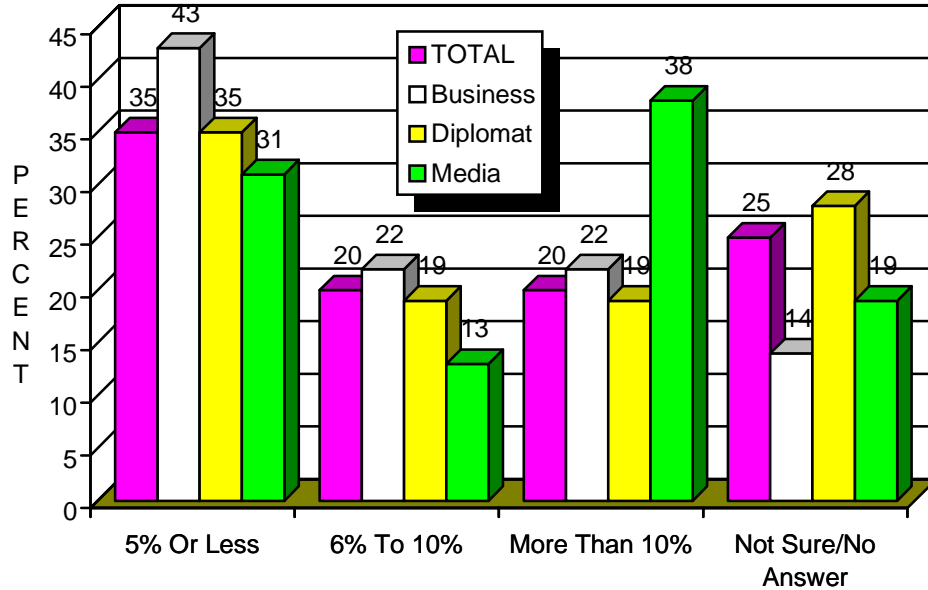
FIGURE 12
What Will Happen To The Gross National Product
In The Soviet Union Over The Next Year*



We asked respondents if they thought the gross national product (GNP) of the Soviet Union would increase, decrease, or remain the same over the next year (Figure 12). Forty-five percent (45%) of respondents said the GNP would decrease, but an equal proportion (45%) said they thought it would increase or remain the same. Interestingly, media professionals (65%) were *far more likely* than business people (46%) or diplomats (41%) to say the GNP would decrease, suggesting that the media may be giving a somewhat more negative view of the Soviet economy than is warranted.

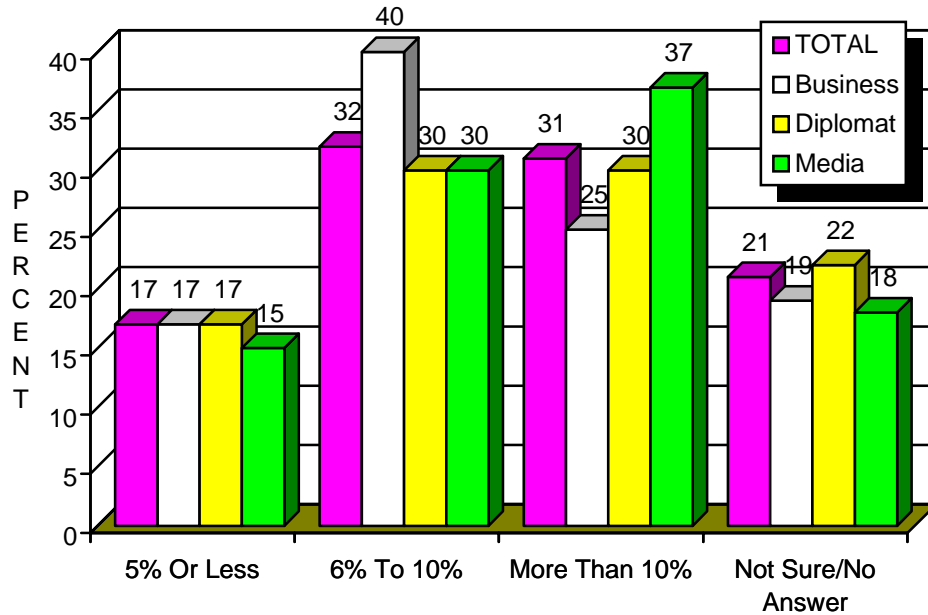
Europeans were far more likely than others to believe the Soviet GNP will stay the same (31%) and far less likely to believe it will increase (14%) over the next year.

FIGURE 13
How Much The Gross National Product Will Increase
(Among Those Who Think It Will Increase)



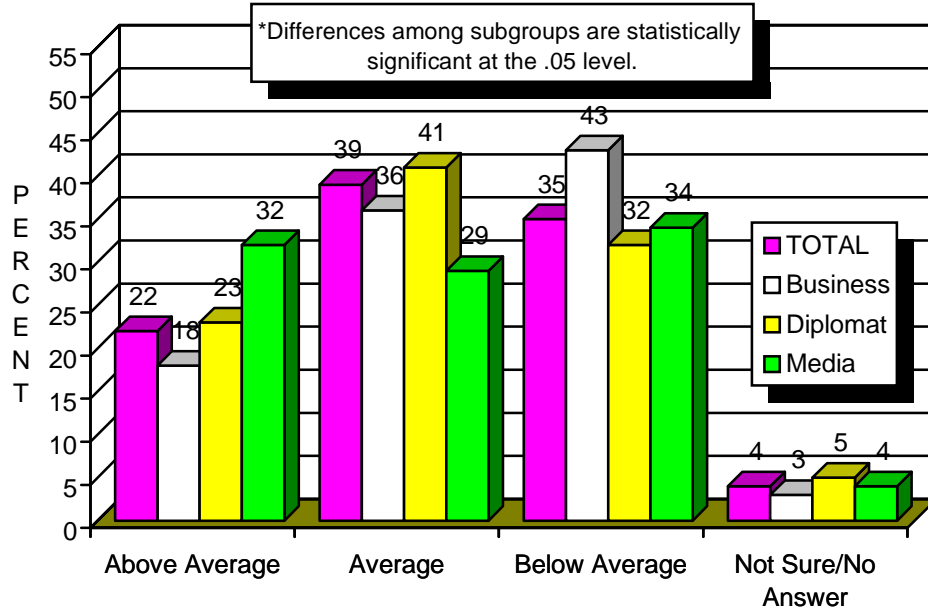
Respondents who said they thought the Soviet gross national product (GNP) would *increase* were asked how much they thought it would increase (Figure 13). Just over one-third of respondents (35%) said they expected an increase of 5% or less, but 40% of respondents thought the increase would be 6% or more. Media professionals who expect the GNP to increase were particularly optimistic, with 51% saying they expected an increase of 6% or more and 38% saying more than 10%.

FIGURE 14
How Much The Gross National Product Will Decrease
(Among Those Who Think It Will Decrease)



Respondents who said they thought the Soviet gross national product (GNP) would *decrease* were asked how much they thought it would decrease (Figure 14). Three in ten respondents (32%) said they expect a decrease of 6% to 10%, and another 30% expect a decrease of more than 10%. Business people (40%) who expect a decrease were most likely to forecast a 6% to 10% drop. Media professionals (37%) were most likely to say the decrease would be more than 10%.

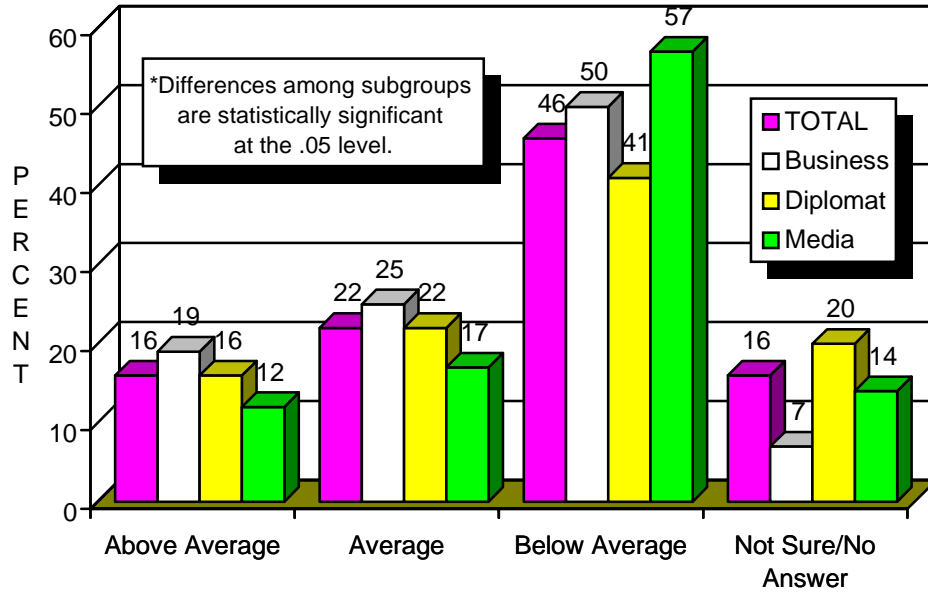
FIGURE 15
Moscow Compared To Other Places —
As A Place To Work*



We asked foreign nationals how they would compare Moscow with other places as a place to work (Figure 15). About four in ten respondents (39%) said Moscow was "average," and a similar proportion (35%) said "below average." Business people (43%) were more likely than diplomats (32%) or media professionals (34%) to say "below average."

Also, North American (44%) and European (42%) respondents were more likely than those from the Middle East and Asia (26%) or Central/South America and Africa (28%) to say "below average."

FIGURE 16
Moscow Compared To Other Places —
As A Place To Conduct Or Operate A Business*



While many foreign nationals believe Moscow is "average" as a place to work (see Figure 15), they tended to judge the city "below average" as a place to conduct or operate a business (Figure 16). Overall, 46% of respondents said Moscow was "below average" on this measure, with media professionals (57%) being especially critical.

Respondents from North America (64%) and Europe (52%) were significantly more likely than those from Middle East and Asia (34%) or Central/South America and Africa (39%) to say Moscow was "below average" as a place to conduct or operate a business.

We asked foreign nationals how difficult it is to find *reliable* business services in Moscow (Table 6). Interviewers read respondents a list of 21 business services and asked them to rate each on a one-to-five scale where one meant "easy to find" and five meant "difficult to find."

Thirteen of the 21 business services received mean ratings above the 3.0 midpoint of the scale, meaning they are relatively difficult to find in Moscow. Those services deemed most difficult to find were assistance in finding retail office space (mean score of 4.1), assistance in finding commercial office space (mean of 4.0), and banking services (4.0). The services which are easiest to find appear to be interpretation (mean of 2.4) and translation (mean of 2.5) services.

Media professionals gave higher ratings to almost all the services, suggesting that these services are more difficult for those professionals to find. Business people seem to have a much easier time than diplomats or media professionals in finding

- Legal services (mean of 3.2 for business people versus 3.6 for diplomats and 3.7 for media professionals),
- Conference and business meeting facilities (3.0 versus 3.3 and 3.9),
- Audio-visual equipment (2.8 versus 3.4 and 3.3)
- Printing services (2.9 versus 3.1 and 3.4)
- International messenger or courier services (2.4 versus 3.1 and 2.9), and
- Limousine services (2.3 versus 2.8 and 3.0).

It was relatively easier for respondents from North America and Europe than those from other areas to find translation and interpretation services, limousine services, and international messenger services. Europeans also found it easier than others to find insurance services. North Americans found it *more difficult* than others to locate audio-visual equipment.

TABLE 6
Difficulty Of Finding Business
Services In Moscow*

	TOTAL	PROFESSION		
		Business	Diplomat	Media
Assistance in finding retail office space	4.1	4.1	4.1	4.3
Banking services**	4.0	4.1	3.9	4.3
Assistance in finding commercial office space	4.0	4.1	3.9	4.2
Food catering**	3.7	3.6	3.7	4.1
Business travel services	3.6	3.6	3.5	3.7
Office supplies	3.6	3.5	3.6	3.6
Legal services**	3.5	3.2	3.6	3.7
Accounting services	3.4	3.3	3.4	3.7
Security services**	3.3	3.5	3.1	3.5
Insurance services	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.5
Conference and business meeting facilities**	3.3	3.0	3.3	3.9
Audio-visual equipment**	3.2	2.8	3.4	3.3
Printing services**	3.1	2.9	3.1	3.4
Janitorial services	3.0	3.0	2.9	3.4
Temporary employee services	3.0	2.9	3.0	2.8
Secretarial services	2.8	2.7	2.9	2.7
Local messenger or courier services**	2.8	2.7	2.8	3.2
International messenger or courier services**	2.8	2.4	3.1	2.9
Limousine services**	2.7	2.3	2.8	3.0
Translation services**	2.5	2.3	2.7	2.5
Interpretation services	2.4	2.3	2.5	2.3
BASE	(609)	(211)	(305)	(93)

* On a one-to-five scale where one means "easy" and five means "difficult."

** Differences among subgroup means are statistically significant at the .05 level.

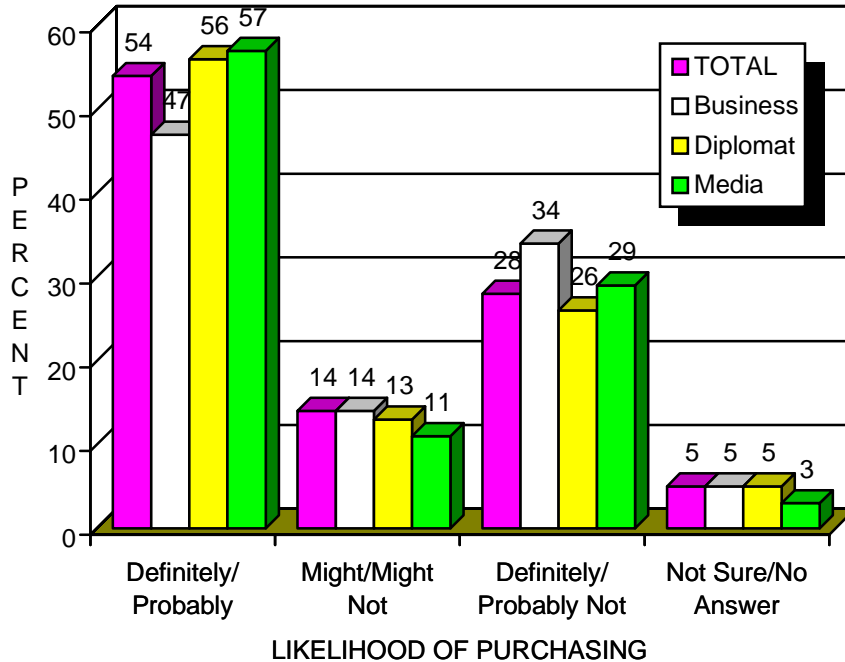
FIGURE 17
Interest In Verbatim Transcripts Of Soviet
Government Laws, Documents, And Proceedings*



Because the laws in the Soviet Union are changing at a rapid rate, we asked respondents how interested they would be in paying for a service which would provide verbatim transcriptions of central, local, and Republic government laws, documents, and proceedings in a timely fashion (Figure 17). Nearly six in ten respondents (59%) said they were interested, with 32% saying "very" and 27% saying "somewhat" interested. Not surprisingly, diplomats (37%) were significantly more likely than business people (28%) or media professionals (24%) to say they would be "very" interested in the transcripts.

Respondents from Central/South America and Africa (46%) and Middle East and Asia (38%) were far more likely than Europeans (28%) or North Americans (20%) to say they were "very" interested in the transcripts.

FIGURE 18
Purchase Interest In A
Daily International News Digest



We also asked foreign nationals how interested they would be in purchasing an eight-page daily international news digest that would be delivered the same day it was published (Figure 18). Just over one-half (54%) of respondents said they "definitely" or "probably" would purchase the digest. Diplomats (56%) and media professionals (57%) were significantly more likely than business people (47%) to show positive purchase interest in the news digest.

Purchase interest was lowest among Europeans (47%), highest among those from Central/South America and Africa (68%) and fairly high among North Americans (56%) and those from the Middle East and Asia (57%).

Foreign nationals did not rate Soviet workers highly in terms of traits that most people consider important in an employee (Table 7). Respondents used a one-to-five scale where one meant they judged Soviet employees as "poor" and five as "excellent" with regard to each trait.

Only two mean scores fell above the 3.0 midpoint of the scale and reflect positively on Soviet workers: trainability (mean of 3.3) and trustworthiness (mean of 3.1). Soviet workers were judged especially deficient in their ability to deal with the public (mean of 2.5) and their enthusiasm and pride in their work (mean of 2.7).

Except for trainability, media professionals gave lower overall ratings to Soviet workers on all traits. They were especially critical of Soviets in terms of their ability to deal with the public (mean of 2.2), their enthusiasm and pride in their work (mean of 2.4), and openness to new ideas (mean of 2.5).

TABLE 7
Ratings Of Traits
Of Soviet Employees*

	TOTAL	PROFESSION		
		Business	Diplomat	Media
Trainability	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.2
Trustworthiness**	3.1	3.0	3.2	2.9
Job skills**	3.0	2.8	3.0	2.8
Openness to new ideas**	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.5
Enthusiasm and pride in their work**	2.7	2.7	2.8	2.4
Ability to deal with the public**	2.5	2.7	2.5	2.2
BASE	(609)	(211)	(305)	(93)

* On a one-to-five scale where one means "poor" and five means "excellent."

** Differences among subgroup means are statistically significant at the .05 level.

We asked respondents to evaluate 10 services and agencies found in Moscow that they often have occasion to use (Table 8). Respondents used a five-point scale where one meant they thought the service offered was "poor" and five meant "excellent." Only the Moscow Metro (subway) — known worldwide for its chandeliers, artwork, cleanliness, and efficiency — received a high rating (mean of 4.2). The next most highly rated service was the public busses (mean of 3.1).

All other services received relatively low ratings, but especially these two:

- Moscow taxis (mean of 1.9) — unregulated, unmetered, in short supply, and out of control.
- Aeroflot, the state airline whose international division (mean of 2.2) rated somewhat higher than its notoriously inefficient domestic counterpart (mean of 1.9).

Media professionals tended to give lower ratings to all the services and agencies than did diplomats or business people.

North American respondents were more likely than respondents from other areas to give low ratings to Aeroflot International (mean of 2.0), Intourist (2.2), and customs services (2.4).

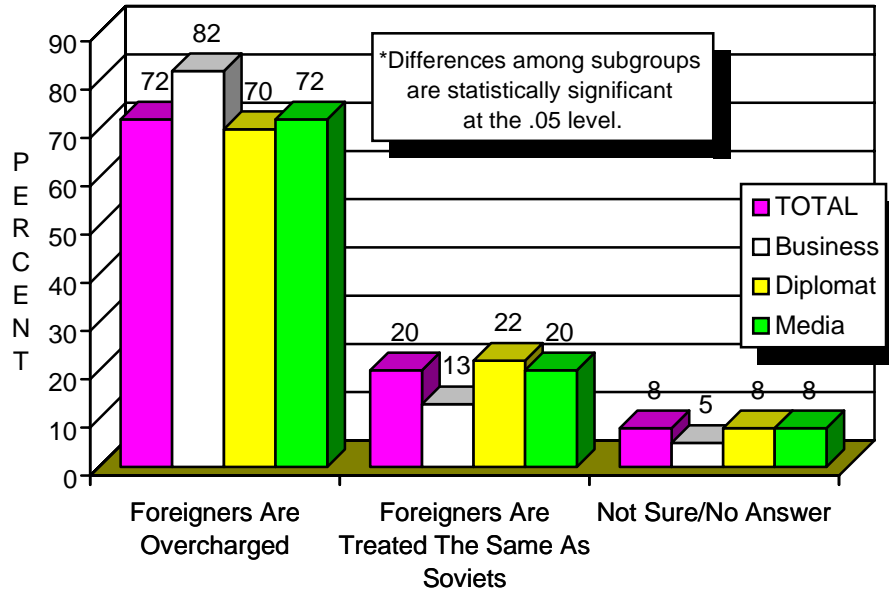
TABLE 8
Ratings Of Services And
Agencies Found In Moscow*

	TOTAL	PROFESSION		
		Business	Diplomat	Media
Metro (subway)**	4.2	4.0	4.3	4.0
Public bus service in Moscow**	3.1	2.7	3.3	2.6
Railroads**	2.9	2.6	3.0	2.6
GAI (State Auto Inspection)**	2.8	2.6	3.0	2.5
Customs service**	2.6	2.3	2.8	2.3
UPDK (Diplomatic Corps Administrative Bureau)**	2.4	2.2	2.5	2.0
Intourist**	2.4	2.1	2.6	1.8
Aeroflot International**	2.2	2.0	2.4	1.9
Aeroflot Domestic**	1.9	1.6	2.2	1.6
Moscow taxis**	1.9	1.6	2.0	1.6
BASE	(609)	(211)	(305)	(93)

* On a one-to-five scale where one means "poor" and five means "excellent."

** Differences among subgroup means are statistically significant at the .05 level.

FIGURE 19
How Foreigners Are Treated When Purchasing
Goods And Services In The Soviet Union*



We asked respondents if they felt they were treated the same as Soviets in buying goods and services or if they felt they were overcharged (Figure 19). Nearly three-quarters (72%) of respondents felt they were overcharged. Business people (82%) were especially likely to say so.

POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT

Since the recent, failed *coup d'état*, the republics which make up the Soviet Union have been questioning the fundamental nature of that union. Most republics have declared their independence of central authority, and the Baltic states have demanded — and been granted — total sovereignty. The remaining Soviet republics appear to be forming a much looser confederation, granting the republics many powers which used to reside with the central authority.

We asked foreign nationals if they thought the Soviet Union would break up into several independent countries or remain basically one country over the next several years (Figure 20). Forty-five percent (45%) of all respondents said they thought the Soviet Union would break up, but 37% believed it would remain one country. Both business people (54%) and media professionals (57%) were significantly more likely than diplomats (40%) to say the Soviet Union would break up.

Respondents from North America (50%) and Europe (52%) were significantly more likely than those from Middle East and Asia (43%) or Central/South America and Africa (35%) to believe the Soviet Union will break up.

FIGURE 20
What Will Happen To The Soviet Union*

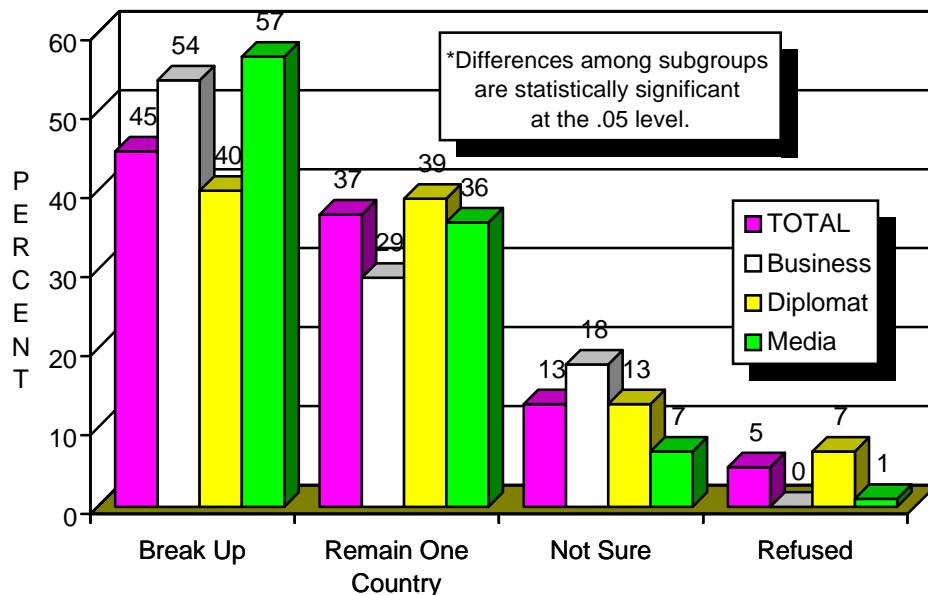
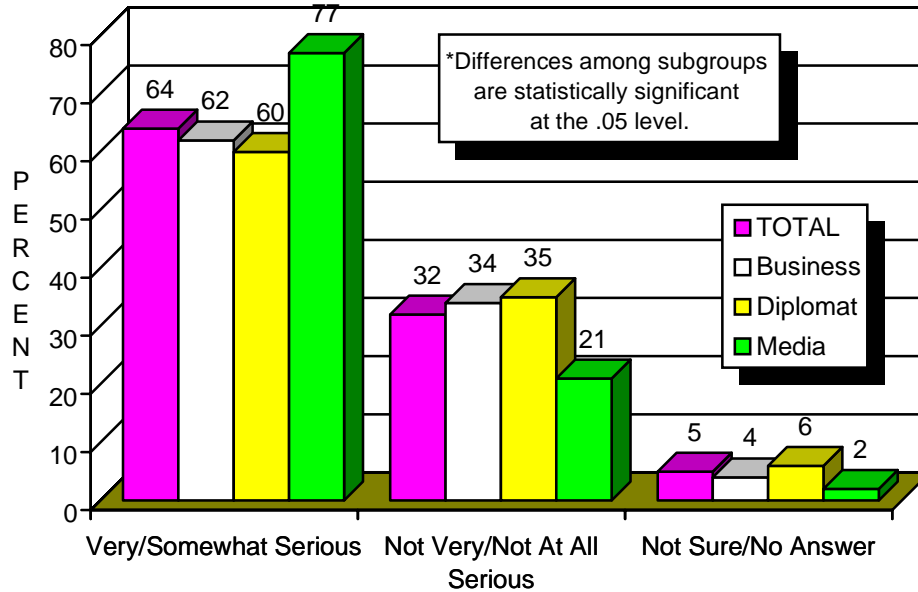


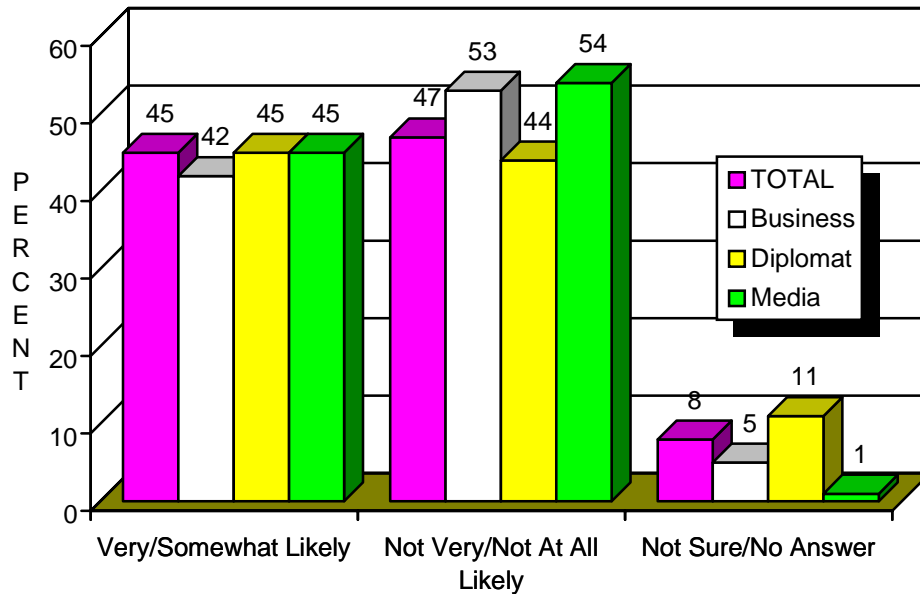
FIGURE 21
Seriousness Of Food Shortages This Winter*



Journalists have frequently reported that the people of the Soviet Union are facing a very difficult winter with massive food shortages, especially in the big cities. We asked foreign nationals how serious they thought the food shortages will be (Figure 21). Almost two-thirds (64%) of respondents said they expect the shortages to be "very" or "somewhat" serious. Interestingly, media professionals (77%) were significantly more likely to say so.

Foreign nationals from western industrial nations appear to believe the food shortage will be more serious than do respondents from third world countries. Specifically, North American (82%) and European (78%) respondents were far more likely than respondents from the Middle East and Asia (55%) or from Central/South America and Africa (46%) to say food shortages will be "very" or "somewhat" serious.

FIGURE 22
Likelihood Of Multi-Billion Dollar
Financial Aid From The West

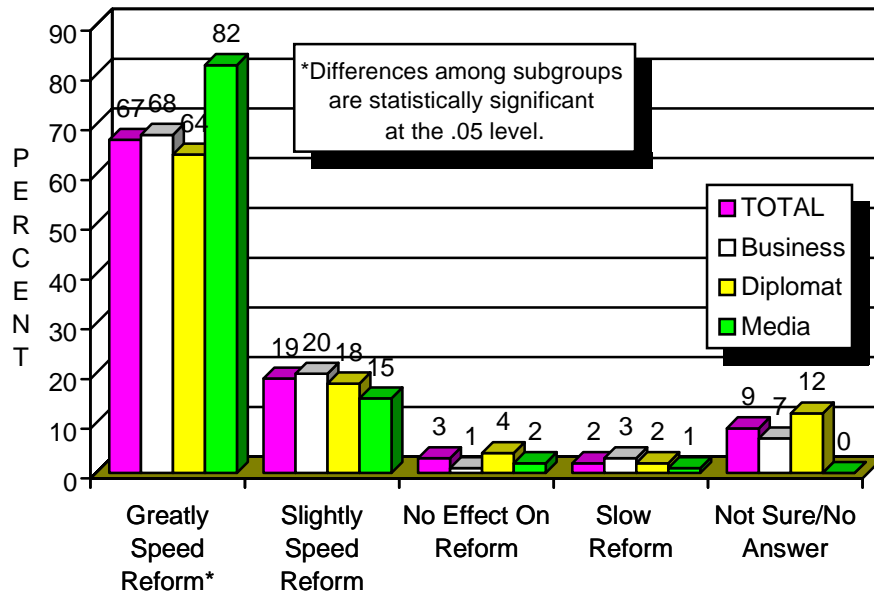


Because of the difficult economic problems the Soviet Union now faces, many people believe the country will survive — and democracy will thrive — only with a massive infusion of Western aid. We asked foreign nationals how likely they think it is that Western countries will offer the Soviet Union multi-billion dollar financial aid packages *by the end of 1991* (Figure 22).

Almost equal proportions of respondents said they thought aid was "very" or "somewhat" likely (45%) and "not very" or "not at all" likely (47%). Business people (53%) and media professionals (54%) were more likely than diplomats (44%) to say aid was not likely, though the difference among these subgroups is not statistically significant.

North Americans (56%) were more likely than respondents from Europe (42%), the Middle East and Asia (45%), or Central/South America and Africa (47%) to say multi-billion dollar aid was "very" or "somewhat" likely.

FIGURE 23
Effect Of Coup d'État On
Reform In The Soviet Union



We asked respondents if they thought the failed *coup d'état* would greatly speed political and economic reform in the Soviet Union, slightly speed reform, have no effect, or slow down reform (Figure 23). Two-thirds (67%) of respondents thought it would greatly speed reform, and media professionals (82%) were especially likely to say so.

We asked foreign nationals to rate the performance of several Soviet and Russian agencies, institutions, and political bodies, using a one-to-five scale where one meant "performs poorly" and five meant "performs excellently" (Table 9). Respondents rated five items above the 3.0 midpoint of the scale, with the office of the President of the Russian Republic (mean of 3.9) and the parliament of the Russian Republic (mean of 3.7) receiving the highest ratings. The Communist Party received the lowest rating, and it was extremely low — a mean of 1.8.

On virtually every item, diplomats gave significantly higher ratings than did business people or media professionals. These differences were broadest with regard to the following items, all of which represent the "old order":

- The office of the President of the USSR (mean of 3.4 among diplomats versus 2.9 among business people and 2.7 among media professionals).
- The armed forces (mean of 3.4 among diplomats versus 2.8 among business people and 2.8 among media professionals).
- The KGB (mean of 2.9 among diplomats versus 2.4 among business people and 2.5 among media professionals).
- The Supreme Soviet of the USSR (mean of 2.8 among diplomats versus 2.3 among business people and 2.3 among media professionals).
- The Central Government Ministries (mean of 2.8 among diplomats versus 2.3 among business people and 2.0 among media professionals)

All these representatives of the "old order" — and the Communist Party as well — tended to receive much higher ratings from respondents from third world countries than from Western respondents.

TABLE 9
Ratings Of Agencies,
Institutions, And Political Bodies*

	TOTAL	PROFESSION		
		Business	Diplomat	Media
Office of the President of the Russian Republic (Yeltsin)**	3.9	3.8	4.0	3.7
Parliament of the Russian Republic**	3.7	3.5	3.8	3.5
Mayor's office (Popov)	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.1
Office of the President of the USSR (Gorbachev)**	3.1	2.9	3.4	2.7
Armed Forces**	3.1	2.8	3.4	2.8
Moscow City Council (Mossoviet)	3.0	2.9	3.1	2.9
Local militia**	2.8	2.7	2.9	2.4
KGB**	2.7	2.4	2.9	2.5
Supreme Soviet of the USSR**	2.6	2.3	2.8	2.3
The District Authorities in Moscow**	2.5	2.4	2.6	2.3
Central Government Ministries**	2.5	2.3	2.8	2.0
Communist Party**	1.8	1.7	1.9	1.5
BASE	(609)	(211)	(305)	(93)

* On a one-to-five scale where one means "performs poorly" and five means "performs excellently."

** Differences among subgroup means are statistically significant at the .05 level.

We asked respondents if they had a generally favorable or unfavorable impression of eight political figures (Table 10). Mikhail Gorbachev (76% favorable) and Boris Yeltsin (75%) nearly tied for top honors, with Yeltsin having a higher favorability rating among media professionals. In fact, all individuals received highest favorability ratings from media professionals, at least partly because media people had the highest awareness of all the names mentioned. (The proportions of respondents who expressed an unfavorable opinion of any individual was quite small, though the proportion of respondents who expressed no opinion was often large.)

Other individuals also received large favorable ratings:

- Eduard Shevardnadze (73%) — who resigned his position as Soviet Foreign Minister in protest of Gorbachev's placating of hardliners; he then predicted that a *coup* was probable.
- Anatoly Sobchak (70%), the charismatic mayor of St. Petersburg (formerly Leningrad). He was especially popular with media professionals (93% favorable).
- Gavriil Popov (66%), mayor of Moscow.
- Ivan Silaev, former prime minister of the Russian Republic (65%).
- Nursultan Nazarbayev (62%), president of Azerbaijan, the third largest republic, and a powerful political force within the "new order."

Robert Strauss, the new U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union, received a favorability rating of 30% — low because 67% of respondents were not familiar with Strauss and did not express an opinion.

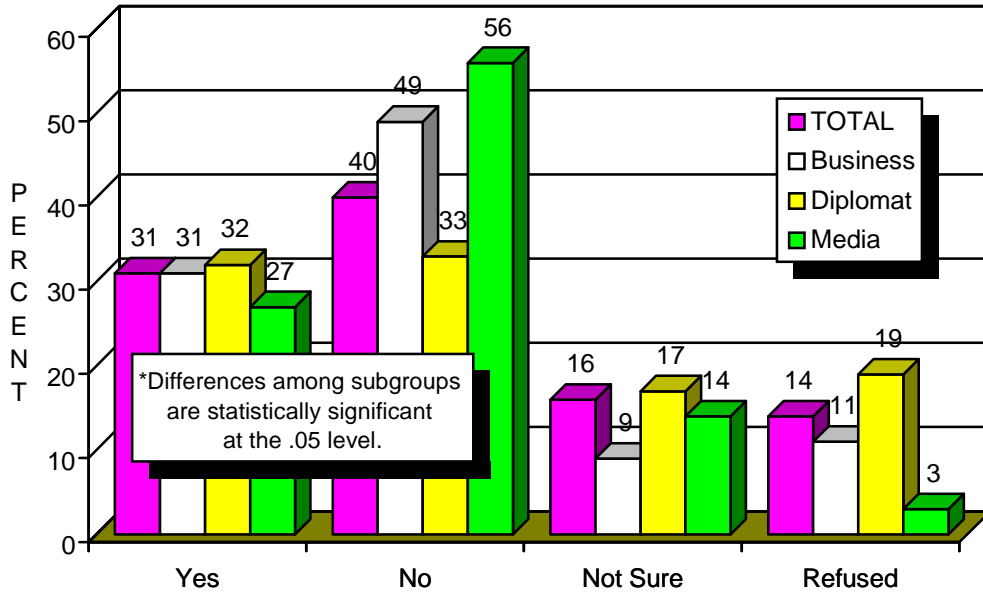
TABLE 10
Favorability Ratings*

	TOTAL	PROFESSION		
		Business	Diplomat	Media
Mikhail Gorbachev**	76%	79%	72%	85%
Boris Yeltsin**	75	80	69	89
Eduard Shevardnadze**	73	82	67	86
Anatoly Sobchak**	70	74	63	93
Gavriil Popov**	66	75	58	85
Ivan Silaev**	65	69	59	84
Nursultan Nazarbayev**	62	56	59	86
Robert Strauss	30	26	26	36
BASE	(609)	(211)	(305)	(93)

* This table shows the proportions of respondents who had a "very" or "somewhat" favorable opinion of each individual. Relatively few respondents expressed unfavorable opinions, but large proportions of respondents gave "don't know" responses for all the names listed. For instance, the "don't know" response for Robert Strauss averaged 67%.

** Differences among subgroup means are statistically significant at the .05 level.

FIGURE 24
Whether Gorbachev Would Be Elected
President If Elections Were Held Today*



We asked respondents if they thought Gorbachev would be elected president of the Soviet Union if elections were held "today" — that is, two weeks after the *coup* (Figure 24). Four in ten respondents (40%) said no, three in ten (31%) said yes, 16% were not sure and 14% gave no answer. Media professionals (56%) and business people (49%) were far more likely than diplomats (33%) to say Gorbachev would not be elected.

North American (46%) and European (50%) respondents were significantly more likely than respondents from the Middle East and Asia (32%) or from Central/South America and Africa (25%) to say that they did not think Gorbachev would be elected president.

DEMOGRAPHICS

We read respondents a list of reasons people live and work in Moscow, then asked them which reason best explained why they were in Moscow (Figure 25). Respondents were most likely to say Moscow just happened to be where they were sent by their employer or government (60%). This reason was especially valid for diplomats (78%). Business people (39%) and media professionals (44%) most often said they were in Moscow because they wanted to work or do business in the Soviet Union.

Respondents from Central/South America and Africa (78%), the Middle East and Asia (66%), and Europe (50%) were most likely to say their employer or government sent them to Moscow. North Americans were more equally divided, with 34% saying they were sent to Moscow, 38% saying they wanted to work in the Soviet Union, and 24% saying it was because their employer paid them well to work in Moscow.

FIGURE 25
Main Reason For Living And Working In Moscow*

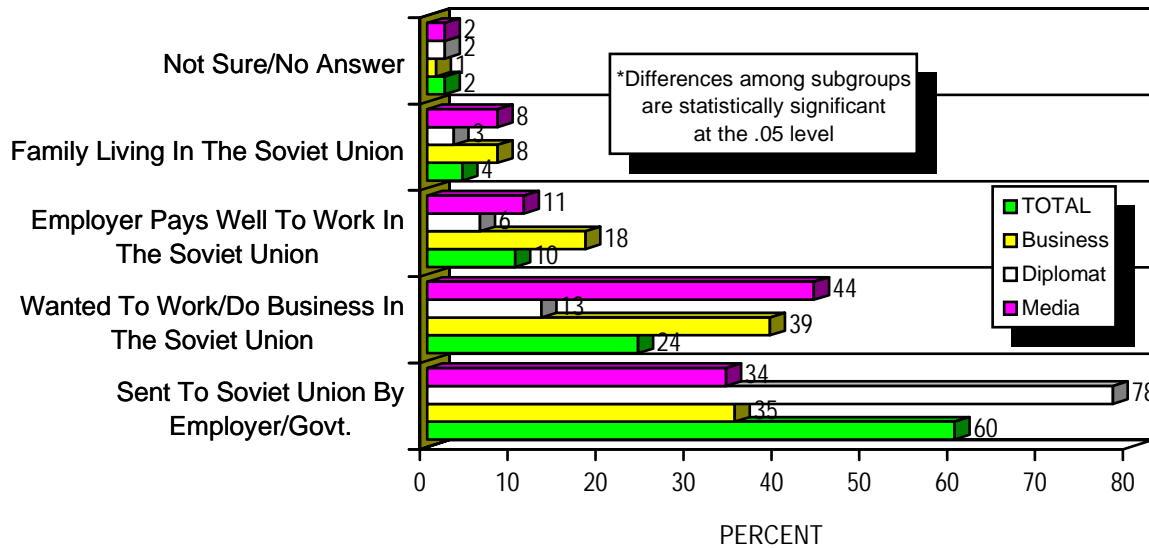
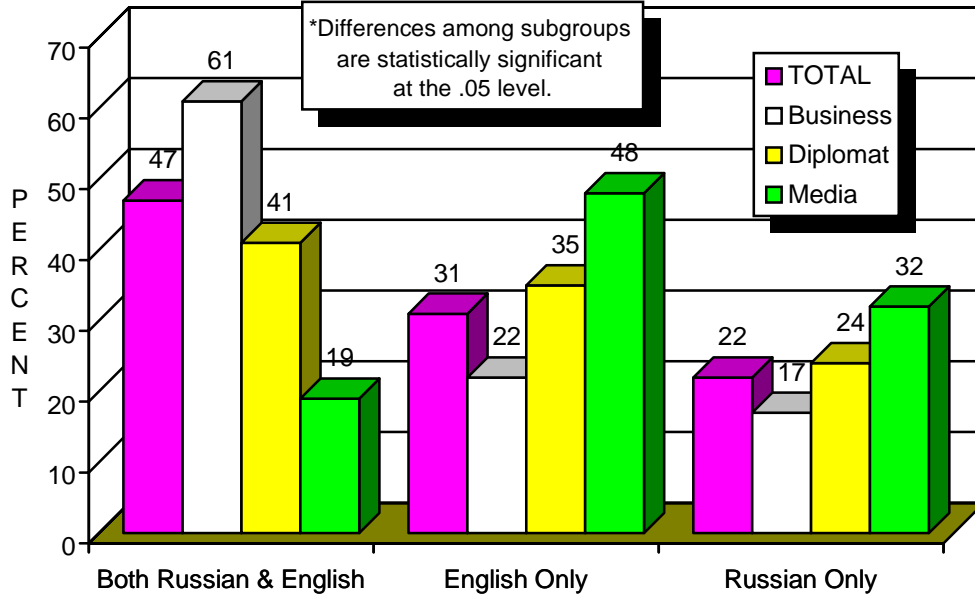


FIGURE 26
Languages Spoken Fluently*



Almost one-half (47%) of the foreign nationals we talked to said they spoke both Russian and English fluently (Figure 26). Notably, business people (61%) were most likely to say they were fluent in both languages, and media professionals were most likely to say they were fluent only in English (48%) or only in Russian (32%).

We read respondents a list of news sources and asked them which ones they regularly used for international news (Table 11). By far, foreign nationals (71%) said they use Cable News Network (CNN) most often. Other frequently used sources of international news included TASS (59%), *Newsweek* (56%), wire services (50%), *International Herald Tribune* (47%), *Time* (46%), and the *Financial Times* (45%).

Except for the *Financial Times*, business people were generally less likely than diplomats or media professionals to say they used any of the sources.

Use of these sources of information varied greatly by geography:

- Europeans (only 9%) were much less likely than others to use the *Wall Street Journal* and North Americans (22%) were much less likely to use the *Financial Times*.
- The *International Herald Tribune*, long the paper of the expatriate American, was especially popular among North Americans, 80% of whom said they used it.
- The Los Angeles *Times* news fax was most frequently mentioned by respondents from Central/South America and Africa (17%).
- *USA Today* was most frequently used by North Americans (40%) and those from Central/South America and Africa (36%).
- *Time* was popular with respondents from the Middle East and Asia (59%) and Central/South America and Africa (61%), and *Newsweek* was popular with Europeans (58%).
- North Americans (42%) are less likely than others to use TASS and far more likely than others to use the wire services (72%).

TABLE 11
Information Sources For International News*

	TOTAL	PROFESSION		
		Business	Diplomat	Media
CNN (Cable News Network)**	71%	65%	74%	67%
TASS**	59	42	65	74
Newsweek magazine**	56	39	61	59
Western news services like AP, UPI, and Reuters**	50	37	53	53
International Herald Tribune**	47	26	50	55
Time magazine**	46	35	52	42
Financial Times of London	45	47	49	37
USA Today	20	13	21	14
Wall Street Journal European edition**	19	12	22	17
Los Angeles Times news fax**	7	1	9	9
BASE	(609)	(211)	(305)	(93)

* This table shows the proportions of respondents who said they used each source "regularly."

** Differences among subgroup means are statistically significant at the .05 level.

We also read respondents a list of local (Moscow) news sources and asked which they used regularly (Table 12). Foreign nationals were most likely to say they used *Moscow News* (70%), followed by *Commersant* (67%), TASS (64%), *Moscow Guardian* (62%), Radio Moscow (59%), wire services (57%), and *Moscow Magazine* (51%). Less than half of all respondents used the remaining sources¹.

With the exception of *Business In The USSR*, media professionals were significantly more likely than business people to use all sources of information. Diplomats were significantly more likely than business people to use *Moscow News*, TASS, Radio Moscow, and wire services. Diplomats were less likely than others to use *Commersant*.

With regard to geographic differences, we see the following:

- North Americans were much more likely than others to use *Moscow Magazine* (72%), *Moscow Guardian* (84%), and the wire services (78%).
- Respondents from the Middle East and Asia and from Central/South America and Africa were much more likely than others to use *Moscow News* (81% and 78%), Radio Moscow (67% and 74%), and TASS (70% and 69%).
- Europeans (78%) were more likely than others to use *Commersant*.

¹ *Moscow News* is a weekly newspaper published in English, French, and Spanish. *Commersant* is an independent, weekly business and economics journal published in English and Russian. *Moscow Magazine* is a monthly magazine which includes articles, listings of events in and around Moscow, restaurant reviews and listings, etc.; it is published in English only. The *Moscow Guardian* is an eight-page weekly newsletter published in English and German as a joint venture between *Commersant* and *Moscow Magazine*. *Business In The USSR* is a bimonthly, Fortune-style business magazine published in French and Russian.

TABLE 12
Information Sources For Local News*

	TOTAL	PROFESSION		
		Business	Diplomat	Media
Moscow News**	70%	57%	73%	84%
Commersant**	67	81	58	89
TASS**	64	43	71	82
Moscow Guardian**	62	66	62	46
Radio Moscow**	59	40	65	62
Western news services like AP, UPI, and Reuters**	57	38	60	63
Moscow Magazine	51	47	51	54
Business In The USSR**	43	53	43	34
Flyers handed to you on the street**	25	12	26	47
Bulletin boards**	15	9	15	24
BASE	(609)	(211)	(305)	(93)

* This table shows the proportions of respondents who said they used each source "regularly."

** Differences among subgroup means are statistically significant at the .05 level.

We asked respondents what television channels they watch regularly (Table 13). Channel 1 was most popular (76%), followed by the CNN Channel (69%) and Channel 2 (66%)².

Media professionals were more likely than others to say they watched Channel 1 (94%), Channel 2 (88%), Channel 3 (59%), and Channel 4 (38%). Diplomats were more likely than others to say they watched the CNN Channel (73%).

Respondents from Central/South America and Africa were more likely than others to watch Channel 1 (83%) and Channel 4 (35%). Europeans were more likely than others to watch Channel 2 (71%). North Americans were *less* likely than others to watch Channel 3 (34%).

TABLE 13

Television Channels Watched Regularly*

	TOTAL	PROFESSION		
		Business	Diplomat	Media
Channel 1**	76%	75%	75%	94%
The CNN Channel**	69	61	73	63
Channel 2**	66	64	64	88
Channel 5	54	52	55	60
Channel 3**	48	46	47	59
Channel 4**	26	23	25	38
BASE	(609)	(211)	(305)	(93)

* This table shows the proportions of respondents who said they watch each channel "regularly."

** Differences among subgroup means are statistically significant at the .05 level.

² Channel 1 is a government-owned, all-union station which reaches about 90% of the Soviet Union. Channel 2 is privately owned by a Russian Republic television company and reaches about 50% to 60% of the Soviet Union. Channel 3 is a local, Moscow station which reaches only those living in Moscow and its suburbs. Channel 4 is educational and broadcasts classes and tutorials. Channel 5 is the St. Petersburg station which is more progressive and challenging than other Soviet television channels. It reaches people living in the northwestern part of the Soviet Union.

Overall, the BBC (42%) is the radio station listened to most frequently, followed by Radio Moscow (31%). Diplomats are more likely than others to listen to the BBC (52%), Radio Moscow (37%), and Voice of America (23%). Media professionals are more likely than others to listen to Mayak (34%), Echo of Moscow (33%), Channel 3 (27%), and Channel 1 (15%)³.

Europeans (17%) are less likely than others to listen to Radio Moscow. Respondents from the Middle East and Asia and from Central/South America and Africa are more likely than others to listen to the BBC (55% and 51%) and the Voice of America (28% and 35%).

TABLE 14

Radio Stations Listened To Regularly*

8	TOTAL	PROFESSION		
		Business	Diplomat	Media
BBC**	42%	26%	52%	43%
Radio Moscow**	31	15	37	23
Mayak**	19	18	17	34
Voice of America**	17	6	23	12
Echo of Moscow**	16	12	13	33
Europa Plus	15	19	15	10
Channel 3**	11	7	10	27
M Radio	7	6	9	5
Channel 1**	6	6	5	15
PC & C	0	0	1	0
Other	20	25	20	22
BASE	(609)	(211)	(305)	(93)

* This table shows the proportions of respondents who said they listened to each station "regularly."

** Differences among subgroup means are statistically significant at the .05 level.

3 Radio Moscow and Mayak offer news and entertainment, as well as a fair amount of propaganda directed at foreigners. Radio Moscow concentrates on local events, and Mayak provides national coverage. Echo of Moscow is a new, independent station which is particularly progressive and liberal. Europa Plus is a Soviet/French venture which provides mostly music with about three to five minutes of news every hour. M Radio is a Western-style, all-music station. Channels 1 and 3 are government stations. Like their television counterparts, Channel 1 is national and Channel 3 is local.

All respondents were asked to volunteer the names of their two favorite restaurants in Moscow. Table 15 shows the top ten choices. The Peking and the Delhi were particularly popular with diplomats. Penta, Kropot-Kinskaya 36, and the Savoy were most popular with business people. The Peking, Penta, and Baku were popular with media professionals.

TABLE 15
Top Ten Restaurant Choices*

8	TOTAL	PROFESSION		
		Business	Diplomat	Media
Peking (Chinese)	13%	8%	14%	11%
Delhi (Indian)	10	6	14	7
Penta (U Pirosmeni) (Western/Continental)	9	10	7	11
Kropot-Kinskaya 36 (Traditional Russian)	7	10	4	8
Tren-Mos (American)	7	5	7	3
Praga (Russian/Czech)	7	3	9	8
Savoy (Continental)	5	10	2	8
Baku (Azerbaijani, state-run)	5	1	5	12
Arlecchino (Italian)	4	7	2	7
Manila (Filipino)	4	3	3	1
BASE	(609)	(211)	(305)	(93)

* This table shows the proportions of respondents who said each restaurant was their first or second choice.

Table 16 on page 66 displays the demographics for the foreign nationals we interviewed.

- Our sample was largely male (87%), married (80%), and between the ages of 30 and 49 (69%). Respondents from the Middle East and Asia (91%) were more likely than others to be married.
- Three in ten respondents (31%) earn less than \$30,000 and five in ten (52%) earn less than \$70,000. Business people tend to earn more than diplomats or media professionals: 37% of business people earn less than \$60,000, but 35% of diplomats and 40% of media professionals earn less than \$30,000.
- Almost one-half of those we interviewed came from Europe (47%), 25% were Asian or Middle Eastern, 15% were North American, 9% were African, 2% were South American, and 2% were from Australia or New Zealand.
- About one-half (48%) of respondents live in an embassy or embassy compound, 43% live in an apartment, 4% live in a hotel, and 3% have other living arrangements.
- Most respondents (73%) live with their families. North American (66%) and European (69%) respondents were less likely than those from the Middle East and Asia (78%) and Central/South America and Africa (79%) to say their families were living with them.
- Forty-three percent (43%) of respondents have been in Moscow for a total of two years or less, and 73% have been there for five years or less. A clear indication of when détente truly began, 90% of North Americans have been in Moscow for five years or less.
- A fairly large proportion of media professionals (24%) and business people (17%) have been in Moscow for more than 10 years.
- Just over one-half (53%) of respondents expect their current stay in Moscow to be two years or less.
- Three-quarters of respondents (75%) said their employer has had an office in Moscow for more than 10 years. Not surprisingly, diplomats (86%) were most likely to say so.

- Twenty-nine percent (29%) of respondents said their office and residence are in the same location. Notably, 59% of media professionals said so.
- Most diplomats (91%) and media professionals (93%) said their business is registered with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Business people were most likely to mention the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations (50%) or some other agency (28%).
- Two in ten respondents (22%) describe themselves as non-drinkers, 43% call themselves light or very light drinkers, and 32% call themselves moderate drinkers. Business people (41%) and media professionals (36%) were more likely than diplomats (29%) to call themselves moderate drinkers. Notably, respondents from the Middle East and Asia (28%) and from Central/South America and Africa (28%) were far more likely than North Americans (18%) or Europeans (17%) to say they were non-drinkers.
- Nearly seven in ten respondents (68%) said they eat out one to five meals per week. Diplomats (30%) were most likely to say they do not eat out at all.
- Three-quarters of respondents (76%) personally own an automobile in Moscow. North Americans (68%) were least likely while Europeans (81%) and those from Central/South America and Africa (79%) were most likely to own an automobile.
- Overall, respondents were most likely to have a Visa card (39%) followed by American Express (27%). Business people were most likely to have each of the credit cards mentioned. As expected, North Americans were far more likely than others to carry American Express, Visa, or MasterCard. Europeans were more likely than others to carry a Eurocard.
- When diplomats (32%) and media professionals (20%) want to fly out of the Soviet Union, they are likely to use Aeroflot. Media professionals (14%) also use Lufthansa. Business people are most likely to use Finnair (16%), Lufthansa (15%), British Airways (10%), and Alitalia (10%).
- North Americans (38%) tended to favor Pan Am over other airlines. Respondents from Central/South America and Africa (57%) were especially likely to use Aeroflot.

TABLE 16
Demographics

	TOTAL	PROFESSION		
		Business	Diplomat	Media
<u>8</u>				
<u>GENDER</u>				
Male	87%	86%	88%	86%
Female	14	14	12	14
<u>MARITAL STATUS</u>				
Married	80	78	81	77
Single	16	15	15	18
Divorced/Widowed	3	6	3	3
No answer	1	1	1	1
<u>AGE</u>				
Less than 30	11	7	12	5
30 to 39	35	39	34	38
40 to 49	34	35	33	39
50 to 59	15	15	16	11
60 or older	4	3	3	7
No answer	2	1	2	1
<u>INCOME**</u>				
Less than \$10,000	13	7	15	17
\$10,000 to \$19,999	9	4	11	12
\$20,000 to \$29,999	9	5	9	11
\$30,000 to \$39,999	5	4	6	7
\$40,000 to \$49,999	6	10	4	4
\$50,000 to \$59,999	6	7	5	4
\$60,000 to \$69,999	4	6	2	3
\$70,000 to \$79,999	4	9	3	2
\$80,000 to \$99,999	3	7	1	1
\$100,000 or more	3	6	2	3
Not sure	8	8	8	12
No answer	31	29	33	24
<u>CONTINENT OF ORIGIN**</u>				
North America	15	5	12	15
Central/South America	2	1	3	2
Europe	47	74	38	57
Africa	9	0	15	3
Middle East/Asia	25	19	30	22
Australia/New Zealand	2	0	2	1
BASE	(609)	(211)	(305)	(93)

** Differences among subgroup proportions are statistically significant at the .05 level.

(Continued on next page)

TABLE 16
Demographics
(Continued/2)

	TOTAL	PROFESSION		
		Business	Diplomat	Media
<u>8</u>				
<u>LIVING ACCOMMODATIONS**</u>				
Embassy/compound	48%	24%	64%	20%
Apartment	43	55	33	66
Hotel	4	15	0	2
Other	3	7	1	7
No answer	1	0	1	5
<u>FAMILY LIVING IN MOSCOW</u>	<u>73</u>	<u>66</u>	<u>75</u>	<u>75</u>
<u>TOTAL YEARS SPENT IN MOSCOW**</u>				
Less than 1	10	5	12	7
1 to 2	33	28	35	25
3 to 5	30	31	31	32
6 to 10	15	19	16	11
More than 10	11	17	7	24
Not sure/no answer	1	0	1	2
<u>EXPECTED CURRENT STAY IN MOSCOW</u>				
Less than 1	16	15	17	13
1 to 2	37	32	38	32
3 to 5	27	28	26	31
6 to 10	1	2	1	2
More than 10	1	4	1	1
Not sure/no answer	18	19	18	21
BASE	(609)	(211)	(305)	(93)

** Differences among subgroup proportions are statistically significant at the .05 level.

(Continued on next page)

TABLE 16
DEMOGRAPHICS
(Continued/3)

	TOTAL	PROFESSION		
		Business	Diplomat	Media
<u>8</u>				
<u>HOW LONG EMPLOYER HAS HAD AN OFFICE IN MOSCOW**</u>				
Less than 1 year	2%	2%	0%	7%
1 to 2 years	5	7	2	13
3 to 5 years	5	10	1	13
6 to 10 years	10	17	7	12
More than 10 years	75	63	86	48
Not sure/no answer	5	1	5	8
<u>OFFICE AND RESIDENCE IN SAME LOCATION**</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>59</u>
<u>AGENCY WITH WHICH EMPLOYER IS REGISTERED OR ACCREDITED**</u>				
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	72	16	91	93
Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations	15	50	4	4
Other	9	28	2	1
Not sure/no answer	3	6	3	2
<u>SELF-DESCRIBED DRINKING HABITS**</u>				
Very light	17	10	21	8
Light	26	26	24	28
Moderate	32	41	29	36
Heavy	1	1	0	3
Non-drinker	22	20	22	24
Not sure/no answer	3	1	4	2
<u>MEALS EATEN OUT PER WEEK**</u>				
None	24	17	30	19
1 to 5	68	75	64	72
6 or more	5	9	7	9
Not sure/no answer	3	3	3	3
BASE	(609)	(211)	(305)	(93)

** Differences among subgroup proportions are statistically significant at the .05 level.

(Continued on next page)

TABLE 16
DEMOGRAPHICS
(Continued/4)

	TOTAL	PROFESSION		
		Business	Diplomat	Media
<u>8</u>				
<u>PERSONALLY OWN AN AUTOMOBILE IN MOSCOW</u>	<u>77%</u>	<u>76%</u>	<u>81%</u>	<u>75%</u>
<u>CREDIT CARDS OWNED</u>				
Visa**	39	53	31	39
American Express**	27	49	18	29
Eurocard**	14	28	7	20
MasterCard**	12	18	9	12
Diners Club**	6	14	3	5
Other	11	12	13	4
<u>AIRLINE USED MOST OFTEN TO FLY OUT OF THE SOVIET UNION**</u>				
Aeroflot	24	9	32	20
Lufthansa	9	15	6	14
British Airways	8	10	8	7
Pan Am	8	1	5	3
Finnair	5	16	1	4
Alitalia	5	10	5	4
Austrian Airlines	4	8	2	4
SAS	4	7	3	7
Air France	4	5	5	3
Japan Airlines	3	6	3	1
KLM (Royal Dutch Airlines)	3	1	4	4
Swissair	2	3	3	1
Iberia	0	0	0	0
Other	16	8	21	19
Not sure/no answer	4	2	4	8
BASE	(609)	(211)	(305)	(93)

** Differences among subgroup proportions are statistically significant at the .05 level.

CONCLUSIONS

The Moscow Poll[®] provides the first objective measures of the attitudes, opinions, and perceptions held by foreign nationals living and working in Moscow. This survey allows the dialog concerning the opportunities and constraints facing foreign nationals in Moscow to move from the realm of anecdotal information to factual data. It also establishes a baseline of comparative data for future evaluations of the living and working environment for foreigners in Moscow.

Currently the foreign national community perceives the quality of life in Moscow as being decidedly below average compared to other places in terms of basic needs. On the one hand cultural opportunities were rated highly, and recreational activities appear to be generally available. On the other hand, foreign nationals gave low ratings to the availability of acceptable quality health care and basic, every day needs like food and clothing, telephone service, and places to eat. Business people and media professionals, as well as people from Europe and North America, were especially likely to find many of these quality of life indicators to be lacking in Moscow.

Our survey revealed a general perception that the quality of life for foreigners in Moscow will improve over the next year. That expectation is likely grounded in the hope that the political and economic reforms currently underway in the Soviet Union will be rapid, opening trade barriers and allowing for an infusion of much needed consumer goods and services. However, if swift reforms do not occur, the quality of life is not likely to change very much in the near term, and foreigners — especially those from the West — will need to be prepared for hardships in day-to-day living.

Many foreign nationals perceived the current business climate in Moscow as better now than a year ago. But business people were more likely to believe the environment has actually deteriorated. Moscow is generally perceived as a below average place to conduct or operate a business compared to other places. In fact it is perceived as lacking many of the attributes of a basic business infrastructure such as access to retail and commercial office locations, banking services, and availability of office supplies. Lacking this basic infrastructure, foreign business people may find it difficult, if not impossible, to establish an enterprise in Moscow and take a long-term perspective on profitability.

Perceived discriminatory pricing and escalating costs place an added burden on foreigners developing businesses in Moscow. Specifically, foreign nationals believed overwhelmingly that the cost of living and doing business in the Soviet

Union will increase over the next year and that foreigners are generally overcharged for the goods and services they purchase in Moscow. These beliefs are likely to cause foreigners to reconsider or delay their decisions to establish an operation in Moscow.

Local government can take an active role in fostering a better business environment by allocating unused office space for business purposes, creating a realty board or other market mechanisms to facilitate the supply and demand for business locations, establishing basic banking services, discouraging dual (discriminatory) pricing, and reducing the endless red tape at customs. These few steps could go a long way toward encouraging foreign business people to invest for the long term in the Soviet Union generally, and Moscow in particular.

Foreigners are generally optimistic about the current political environment. Most people, particularly those from Western countries, believe the Soviet Union will break up into several independent republics over the next several years. They have decidedly favorable impressions of both local and Russian Republic political leaders and offices. This optimism is no doubt fueled by their belief that the recently failed *coup d'état* will greatly speed political and economic reform. Significant delays in such reforms will dampen this optimism.

The most menacing cloud on the political horizon is the prospect of serious food shortages this winter and the perceived likelihood of Western aid. Most foreigners (and journalists even more) believe there will be serious food shortages in Moscow this winter. However, they are nearly equally divided as to whether or not the West will provide significant aid before the end of 1991. The lack of significant aid coupled with an inability of the current political regime to "put food on the table" could prove to be a strong destabilizing force that could seriously impede or halt the movement toward democratic reforms and a full market economy. If this scenario were to unfold, the foreign national community would likely respond accordingly, curtailing business investment and retreating into foreign ghettos to be insulated from a failing Soviet economy.

The foreign national community in Moscow can be characterized as being comprised of mostly families headed by middle-aged men. They have the same basic needs as similar families in other countries — food, shelter, health care, education, etc. Our research has shown that currently many of these family necessities are severely lacking in Moscow. While there is optimism in the foreign community that recent and continuing political and economic reforms can lead to a long term resolution to these problems, there is also a realization that the near term will impose significant hardships. The ability of the Soviet Union to either provide these necessities or allow foreign companies to provide them will be of paramount importance over the next few years.