

## APPENDIX

This Appendix offers Results of the Survey of Public Opinion in the Republic of Belarus on November 8–14<sup>th</sup>, 2004. These results were obtained by “NOVAK” Laboratory, established by Dr. of Sociology, Prof. Andrei Vardomatski in 1992. The specializations of this laboratory are as follows: market surveys, business-to-business research, distribution check, outlet census, elite studies, media research, focus groups, commercial testing, etc. We are thankful to Prof. Andrei Vardomatski who has submitted these results for our issue.

### RESULTS OF THE SURVEY OF PUBLIC OPINION IN THE REPUBLIC OF BELARUS NOVEMBER 8–14TH, 2004. “NOVAK” LABORATORY

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Sample size: 1071 respondents

#### Q1. HOW WOULD YOU ASSESS THE CURRENT ECONOMIC SITUATION IN BELARUS?

	%
Very good .....	1.0
Good .....	14.1
Fair .....	48.7
Bad .....	23.6
Very bad .....	6.5
Can't say .....	5.3
No answer .....	0.9

*Appendix*

Q2. HOW WOULD YOU ASSESS YOUR HOUSEHOLD'S CURRENT STANDARD OF LIVING?

	%
Very good .....	0.4
Good .....	11.8
Fair .....	53.8
Bad .....	24.3
Very bad .....	7.4
Can't say .....	1.8
No answer .....	0.7

Q3. HOW, IN YOUR OPINION, HAS THE ECONOMIC SITUATION CHANGED IN BELARUS IN THE LAST MONTH?

	%
Improved .....	8.9
Remained the same .....	63.2
Worsened .....	16.8
Can't say .....	9.6
No answer .....	1.5

Q4. HOW DO YOU THINK YOUR HOUSEHOLD'S STANDARD OF LIVING HAS CHANGED IN THE LAST MONTH?

	%
Improved .....	8.0
Remained the same .....	66.0
Worsened .....	21.8
Can't say .....	3.2
No answer .....	1.0

Q5. HOW DID YOUR HOUSEHOLD'S FINANCIAL POSITION CHANGE IN THE LAST 6 MONTH?

	%
Improved .....	4.3
Somewhat improved .....	14.7
Didn't change .....	49.4
Somewhat worsened .....	16.8
Worsened .....	11.1
Hard to say .....	3.8

*Results of the Survey of Public Opinion in the Republic of Belarus*

Q6. IN YOUR OPINION, HOW WILL FINANCIAL POSITION OF YOUR HOUSEHOLD CHANGE IN THE NEXT 6 MONTH?

	%
It will improve .....	3.9
It will probably improve .....	17.4
It will no change .....	36.9
It will probably worsen .....	12.9
It will worsen .....	4.1
Hard to say .....	24.7

Q7. SPEAKING IN GENERAL ABOUT ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN THE COUNTRY, DO YOU THINK THE NEXT 12 MONTHS WILL BE GOOD OR BAD TIMES FOR COUNTRY'S ECONOMY?

	%
Good .....	6.9
Rather good .....	35.3
Rather bad .....	19.0
Bad .....	5.9
Hard to say .....	32.9

Q8. AND SPEAKING ABOUT THE NEXT 5 YEARS, DO YOU THINK THEY WILL BE GOOD OR BAD TIMES FOR COUNTRY'S ECONOMY?

	%
Good .....	6.9
Rather good .....	28.5
Rather bad .....	17.1
Bad .....	6.1
Hard to say .....	41.4

Q9. SPEAKING IN GENERAL ABOUT BIG PURCHASES FOR YOUR HOUSEHOLD (SUCH AS FURNITURE, REFRIGERATOR, CONSUMER ELECTRONICS, TV SET), DO YOU THINK IT IS NOW GOOD OR BAD TIME FOR MAKING THESE PURCHASES?

	%
Good .....	6.4
Rather good .....	24.0
Rather bad .....	27.4
Bad .....	21.6
Hard to say .....	20.7

*Appendix*

Q10. SPEAKING IN GENERAL DO YOU THINK IT IS NOW GOOD OR BAD TIME TO SAVE UP?

	%
Good .....	5.5
Rather good .....	22.0
Rather bad .....	26.5
Bad .....	26.9
Hard to say .....	19.2

Q11. OVERALL, HOW WOULD YOU ASSESS THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN BELARUS? IT IS...

	%
Safe .....	9.5
Peaceful .....	59.1
Tense .....	20.3
Critical, highly explosive .....	3.4
Can't say .....	5.8
No answer .....	1.9

Q12. IF NEW PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS WERE HELD IN BELARUS REPUBLIC SOON, WHO WOULD YOU VOTE FOR IN THE FIRST PLACE?

Q13. WHICH POTENTIAL CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENCY WOULD YOU NOT VOTE FOR IN ANY CASE?

	<b>12</b>	<b>13</b>
Lukashenko .....	42.6	25.0
Gaidukevich .....	1.7	0.5
Goncharik .....	1.2	1.3
Shushkevich .....	0.7	1.8
Lebedko .....	0.6	0.1
Opposition .....	0.5	0.9
Putin .....	0.4	0.0
Frolov .....	0.4	0.2
Statkevich .....	0.4	0.1
Masherova .....	0.3	0.0
Poznyak .....	0.3	3.0
Marinich .....	0.3	0.0
Chigir .....	0.2	0.2
Kebich .....	0.1	0.1

*Results of the Survey of Public Opinion in the Republic of Belarus*

Vecherko .....	0.0	0.4
Kalyakin .....	0.0	0.3
Belarusian Popular Front .....	0.0	1.3
Against all the rest .....	0.0	0.8
Other .....	1.2	1.3
None .....	6.0	3.2
Hard to say .....	38.1	51.1
No answer .....	5.1	8.6

Q14. HOW, IN YOUR OPINION, ARE MASS ACTIONS AGAINST PRICE RISE AND FALL OF LIVING STANDARD LIKELY TO TAKE PLACE IN YOUR TOWN (DISTRICT) NOW?

	%
Quite likely .....	14.9
Unlikely .....	72.4
Difficult to say .....	10.3
No answer .....	2.3

Q15. IF MASS MEETINGS, DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST PRICE RISE AND FALL OF LIVING STANDARD TAKE PLACE, WILL YOU PERSONALLY PARTICIPATE IN THEM?

	%
Most probably yes .....	16.5
Most probably no .....	71.4
Difficult to say .....	8.7
No answer .....	3.4

Q16. IF YOU DIDN'T PARTICIPATE IN VOTING EITHER ON THE ELECTIONS OR ON THE REFERENDUM, THEN WHY?

	%
Participated .....	81.2
I am not interested in politics .....	2.0
This will change nothing .....	4.7
Protest against the authorities .....	1.5
I don't count on the state and solve all my problems myself, elections and referendum are of no importance for me .....	2.0
Elections are unfair, no fair counting of votes .....	1.9
There is nobody to elect .....	1.5
For personal reasons (was ill, absent, no time) .....	3.8

*Appendix*

Hard to say .....	0.2
Refused to answer .....	1.2

Q17. IF YOU PARTICIPATED IN VOTING EITHER ON THE ELECTIONS OR ON THE REFERENDUM, WHICH MAIN MOTIVES DID YOU FOLLOW?

	%
Not participated .....	15.7
I think it my civic duty .....	48.9
I think my choice can influence the situation in the country ...	14.7
I was afraid of repressions in case of my non-participation ....	2.5
I was put pressure on (I was forced at the place of my work/ training) .....	4.3
I came to the polling station through habit, by tradition .....	9.1
Other .....	0.7
Hard to say .....	3.5
Refused to answer .....	0.7

Q18. IF YOU VOTED ON THE REFERENDUM QUESTION, HOW DID YOU VOTE – “FOR” OR “AGAINST”?

	%
Didn't vote .....	16.1
For .....	52.0
Against .....	22.7
Refused to answer .....	9.3

Q19. WHY DID YOU VOTE “FOR” ON THE REFERENDUM QUESTION?

	%
Didn't vote .....	16.1
I trust Lukashenko .....	22.2
I would have supported the other candidate but I don't see such candidate .....	10.9
I am afraid of changes and Lukashenko promises stability .....	8.1
I share both home and foreign policy pursued by Lukashenko .	5.1
Lukashenko ensures the standard of living which is, in my opinion satisfactory for me .....	3.5
Other .....	0.7
Voted against .....	22.7
DK/Hard to say/Refusal .....	10.7

*Results of the Survey of Public Opinion in the Republic of Belarus*

Q20. WHY DID YOU VOTE “AGAINST” ON THE REFERENDUM QUESTION?

	%
Didn't vote .....	16.1
I don't share either home or foreign policy pursued by Lukashenko	5.4
I don't like Lukashenko personality .....	2.2
I voted for Lukashenko earlier but there should be changing at the presidential post – 12 years are enough .....	3.4
One must not change the constitution for the needs of one person	6.8
Life presidential government is fraught with abuses, dictatorship	4.4
Other .....	0.1
Voted for .....	52.0
DK/Hard to say/Refusal .....	9.5

Q21. DO YOU THINK YOU HAD ENOUGH INFORMATION ABOUT THE CANDIDATES TO DEPUTIES OF THE RB NATIONAL ASSEMBLY FOR WHOM YOU HAD TO VOTE?

	%
Quite enough .....	13.8
Rather enough .....	28.6
Rather not enough .....	23.6
Absolutely not enough .....	23.8
DK/Hard to say .....	10.2

Q22. FROM WHICH SOURCES DID YOU MAINLY GET INFORMATION ABOUT THE CANDIDATES FOR DEPUTIES OF THE RB NATIONAL ASSAMBLY?

	%
National TV channel broadcasts (BT, ONT, STV, LAD) .....	10.6
Regional TV broadcasts .....	2.7
Belarusian state newspapers .....	7.3
Non-state Belarusian newspapers .....	3.3
Radio broadcasts .....	5.2
Meetings with deputies and persons empowered to act for them	9.5
Elections leaflets .....	47.2
Conversations with relatives, friends, colleagues .....	24.7
At the polling station, from the ballot-paper .....	2.9
Other .....	0.9
None .....	2.2
DK/Hard to say .....	9.9

*Appendix*

Q23. DO YOU THINK THE BELARUSIAN STATE TV CHANNELS MAINLY OBJECTIVELY COVERED THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN AND REFERENDUM, FULLY AND ACCURATELY TOLD ABOUT THE CANDIDATES AND THEIR OPPONENTS, REFERENDUM OR THE STATE TV CHANNELS MAINLY COVERED THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN NOT OBJECTIVELY, NOT FULLY AND NOT ACCURATELY IN A BIASED MANNER?

	%
Certainly objectively .....	12.3
Rather objectively .....	34.3
Rather not objectively .....	21.1
Certainly not objectively .....	16.7
Hard to say .....	15.8

Q24. WHICH TV CHANNELS – RUSSIAN OR BELARUSIAN – IN YOUR OPINION, COVERED THE LAST ELECTIONS AND REFERENDUM MORE OBJECTIVELY?

	%
Russian .....	31.3
Belarusian .....	31.4
Russian and Belarusian equally .....	19.9
No answer .....	17.4

Q25. ARE YOU AWARE OF THE OPPOSITION PROTEST ACTIONS AFTER THE REFERENDUM?

	%
Yes, I am aware .....	84.6
No, I am not aware .....	14.3
Refused to answer .....	1.0

Q26. WHAT IS YOUR ATTITUDE TO THE OPPOSITION PROTEST ACTIONS?

	%
Unaware .....	14.3
Fully approve .....	11.6
Rather approve .....	15.7
Rather disapprove .....	22.1
Fully disapprove .....	21.8
DK/Hard to say .....	10.4
Refused to answer .....	4.0



Q27. WHAT IS YOUR ATTITUDE TO THE ACTIONS OF THE AUTHORITIES IN RESPECT OF THE PARTICIPANTS OF THE PROTEST ACTIONS?

	%
Unaware .....	14.3
Fully approve .....	7.4
Rather approve .....	20.3
Rather disapprove .....	21.3
Fully disapprove .....	19.5
DK/Hard to say .....	12.8
Refused to answer .....	4.3

As we see, the public opinion of Belarusian society in November, 2004, positively enough estimated authority's policy and the current economic situation. It is necessary to notice that since 2004 dynamics of the public opinion were insignificant. Only since January, 2008, a growth of negative and protest estimations in Belarusian society is observed.