

EDB INTEGRATION BAROMETER 2012

Report 4
2012



EDB Integration Barometer 2012



Eurasian Development Bank

Centre for Integration Studies

Saint Petersburg

2012

UDC 316.44:(327+339)
BBC 65.7.65.04.60.524.60.522

Editor-in-Chief of the series of reports:	E. Vinokurov, PhD
Managing Editor:	K. Onishchenko
Translated from Russian:	I. Mischenko
Proofreader:	T. Iordan
Graphic design:	A. Zhdanov
Layout by:	A. Bayankin

Exponent:
International Research Agency “Eurasian Monitor”
Team of contributors:
Igor **Zadorin**
Victor **Moysov**
Elena **Khalkina**
Project coordinators:
Ekaterina **Glod** (EDB Centre for Integration Studies)
Vladimir **Pereboev** (PhD, EDB Centre for Integration Studies)

EDB Integration Barometer 2012 – Saint Petersburg, 2012. – p. 68

ISBN 978-5-9903368-5-8

The report presents the results of a comprehensive research study of public attitudes towards integration in the post-Soviet space. The report is based on monitoring surveys of public opinion in former Soviet Union countries on a diverse range of issues, such as multilateral economic cooperation, interstate political relations, social and business contacts and cultural interactions. A detailed picture of public attitudes, including the dynamics, fundamental regularities and forecasts of future developments in integration processes, as well as public evaluation of the degree of integration between the post-Soviet countries are presented in the report.

Key words: Eurasian integration, post-Soviet space, public opinion, public attitudes

UDC 316.44:(327+339)
BBC 65.7.65.04.60.524.60.522

ISBN 978-5-9903368-5-8

© Eurasian Development Bank, 2012

EDB Centre for Integration Studies
7 Paradnaya street, St. Petersburg, 191014, Russia
Tel.: +7 (812) 320 44 41 E-mail: centre@eabr.org

Design, layout and publishing: Airoplan design studio. www.airoplan.ru, Sredny 77/2, Saint Petersburg, Russia, 199106
Printing: PSP-print printing house.

All rights reserved. Any part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise on the condition providing proper attribution of the source in all copies. Points of view or opinions in this document are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of Eurasian Development Bank.

The electronic version of the report is available at www.eabr.org

CONTENTS

LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS	4
SUMMARY	5
INTRODUCTION	13
BRIEF REVIEW OF PREVIOUS WORKS	15
RESEARCH TECHNIQUE	17
Measurement Techniques	17
Organizing and Conducting the Surveys	17
Analytical Report Structure	19
Instrumentalisation of the Concept “Integration Preferences”	19
1. ECONOMIC INTEGRATION	22
1.1. Inter-Country Distance Indicators	22
1.2. Indicators of the Attitude toward the Economic Unions	32
2. POLITICAL INTEGRATION	37
2.1. Inter-Country Distance Indicators	37
2.2. The Future of the Integration Processes	45
3. SOCIO-CULTURAL INTEGRATION	47
3.1. Inter-Country Distance Indicators	47
3.2. Self-Identification in the Post-Soviet Space	61
4. GENERALIZATION OF INTEGRATION INDICATORS	63
4.1. Index Construction Scheme	63
4.2. Indices of Attraction to the Group of Countries	65
4.3. Mutual Attraction Indices	68
5. SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC DIFFERENTIATION OF INTEGRATION PREFERENCES	73
APPENDIX. CROSS-NATIONAL SURVEY DATA	78
REFERENCE LIST	98

LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

EDB – Eurasian Development Bank

EDB CIS – EDB Centre for Integration Studies

EM – Eurasian Monitor

EU – European Union

SES – Single Economic Space of Belarus, Kazakhstan and Russia

PSS – Post-Soviet space. In this report, the post-Soviet space refers to 12 countries – former USSR republics. The three Baltic states are classified herein as EU countries and are not included in PSS

CIS – Commonwealth of Independent States

USSR – Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

USA – United States of America

CU – Customs Union of Belarus, Kazakhstan and Russia

Summary

In April-May 2012, the Eurasian Monitor International Research Agency, in conjunction with the Centre for Integration Studies of the Eurasian Development Bank (EDB) and with its support, studied the integrating orientations of the population in post-Soviet states. A large-scale study of public opinion on the issues of post-Soviet integration (the establishment of economic and cooperation relations, social and business contacts, cultural cooperation) was conducted. As a result, **a detailed picture of CIS citizens' preferences in terms of various aspects of integration and cooperation in the region is presented.**

It should be underlined that the research of a similar scale was conducted for the first time. A comprehensive understanding of the population's attitude to the integration processes is essential for successful integration. That is why the relevant **comprehensive studies are expected to be carried out within the EDB Integration Barometer project annually**, which will make it possible to assess long-term trends in the public opinion of the citizens of the countries in question.

The aforesaid project included a nationwide survey in 10 CIS countries and in Georgia. **The total number of respondents is over 13,000 people** (from 950 to 2,000 in each country). The sampling population in each country represents the adult population, sampled by sex, age and type of settlement.

The research enables us to establish a number of regularities reflecting public opinion in post-Soviet states:

1. **Generalizing regularities** of post-Soviet states attraction to major geopolitical clusters (Post-Soviet States, EU Countries, Other Countries), identified based on the results of analysis of responses to the cross-cutting questions (9 questions involving selection of country out of the list of countries and put forth in each country):

- In **political sphere**, almost all countries involved in EDB Integration Barometer refer to the post-Soviet space as the priority direction of integration, except for Georgia (Other Countries cluster).

- In **economics**, the orientation towards the European Union, characteristic of the six countries (Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, Russia, Ukraine), prevails. Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan in the economic sphere are attracted more to the post-Soviet states, and Other Countries are the priority for Azerbaijan and Uzbekistan.

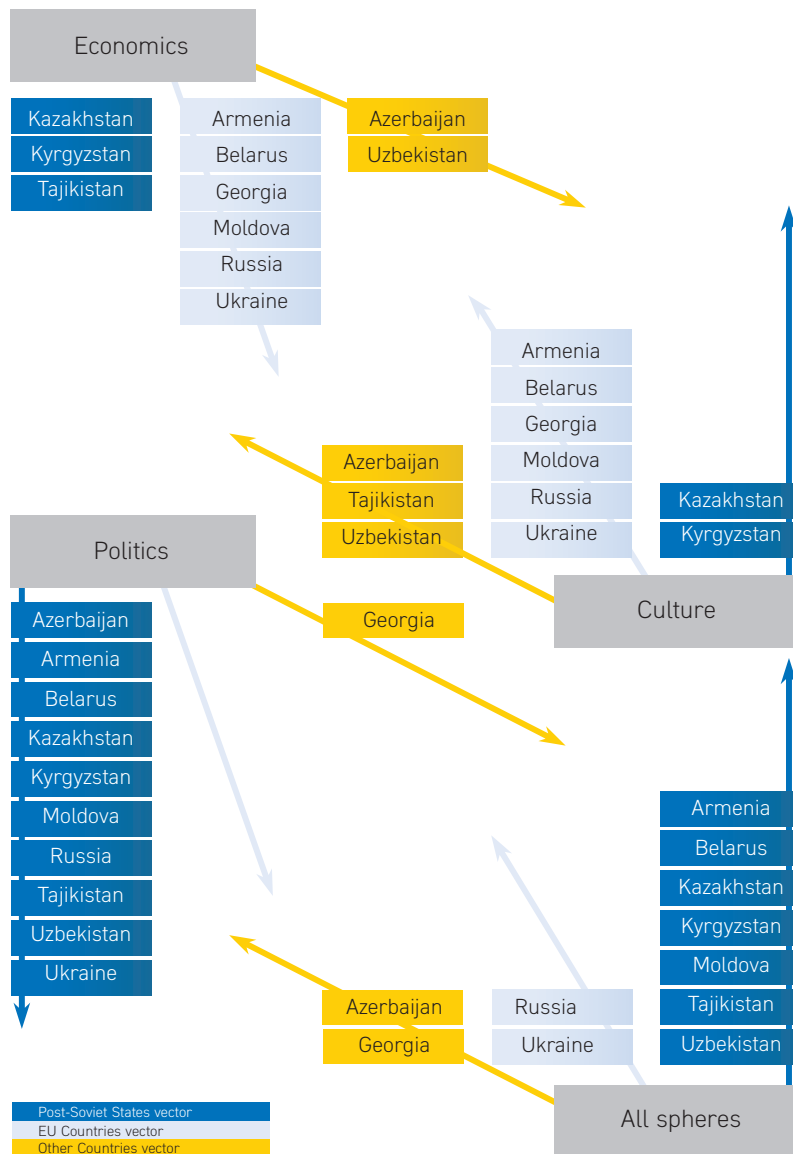
- The regularities similar to the economic sphere are characteristic of the **socio-cultural sphere**. The only difference is the position of Tajikistan, which is in this case attracted to other countries rather than to post-Soviet space. At the same time, with respect to the entire list of questions in the questionnaire (including those not used in calculating the index generalizing), the population of Tajikistan proved to be much stronger than that of other countries, oriented towards the post-Soviet space (in particular, towards Russia).

- On the strength of the three factors – **economics, politics, and culture** – the post-Soviet space is the priority attraction for most countries participating in the project.

SUMMARY

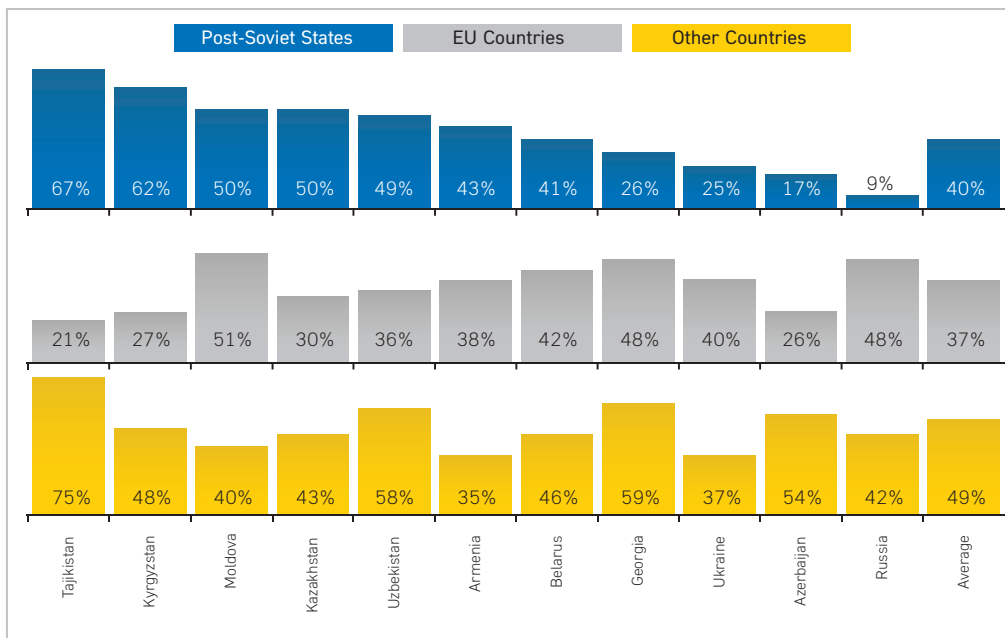
- Two countries – Azerbaijan and Georgia – are oriented on the strength of the factors towards other countries.
- Ukraine and Russia are of greatest interest among post-Soviet countries for the population of the former USSR. At the same time, **in Ukraine and Russia the population is focused on the European Union rather than on the post-Soviet space.**

Grouping of the countries based on priority geopolitical vectors



2. Some particular regularities:

- Almost all of the issues revealed low significance of peripheral (i.e., without the participation of Russia, main attractor) preferences in the post-Soviet space. Both the practical and educational interests of the post-Soviet population, if focused within this area, were directed at Russia, as a rule.
- Within the post-Soviet space, Russia and Ukraine hold, as a rule, the leading positions in the conditional ranking of the *objects* of **cultural, educational or practical** interest, and at the same time are last in the ranking of the *subjects* of this interest. That is, Russia and Ukraine have the maximum percentage of respondents who have not named any post-Soviet state of interest to them. In other words, **Russia and Ukraine are of greatest interest to the population of other countries, but at the same time other post-Soviet countries are of the least interest to the residents of Russia and Ukraine.** Russia and Ukraine are mentioned more often than other post-Soviet countries and simultaneously provide the largest percentage of answers about the lack of interest in other countries.
- In the questions on **economics**, the average response percentages attributable to each of the three major geopolitical clusters – Post-Soviet States, EU States, Other Countries – are, as a rule, very close. That is, none of the cluster has the average priority, but there are permanently reproducible deviations in particulars. Thus, the deviation towards the post-Soviet space is characteristic of Central Asian countries and Moldova; towards the European Union – of Russia, Georgia and Moldova (this country is attracted to both Russia and Romania); and towards other countries – of Azerbaijan and Tajikistan. For Azerbaijan, Turkey is a priority, and for Tajikistan – various countries depending on the question (China, USA, Turkey). The following diagram represents the typical illustration (percentages are read as follows: “Whether any country out of the group of countries is named” – for example, 67% of respondents in Tajikistan mentioned at least one post-Soviet state):

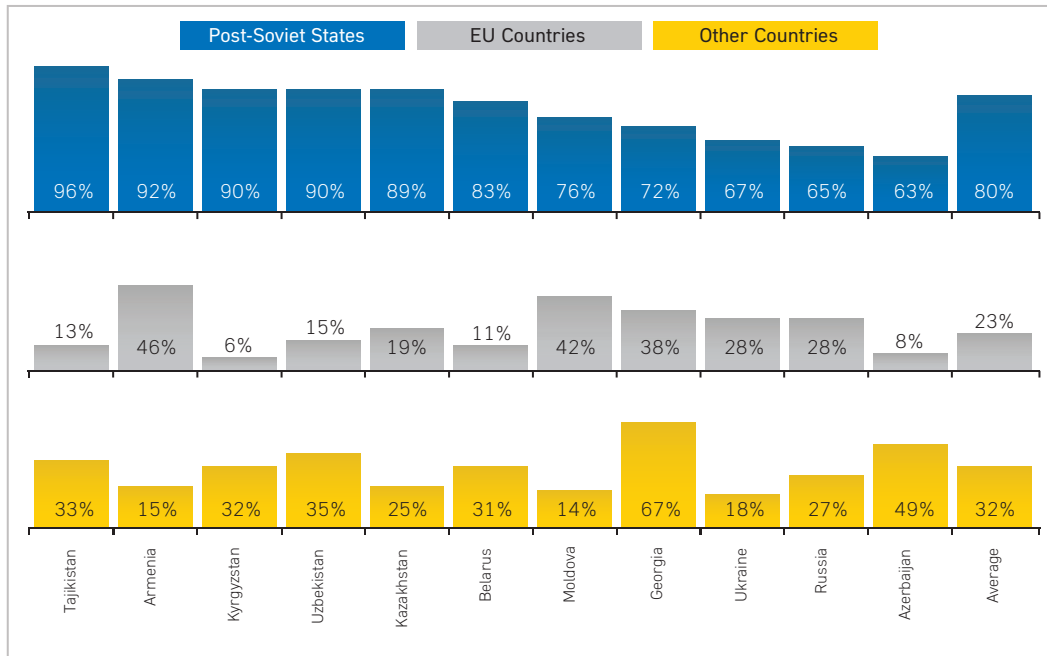


Which countries would you prefer to be the source of capital and investment inflow? The companies, entrepreneurs and businessmen from which countries should establish their businesses in our countries? [Responses are classified into three categories]

SUMMARY

• In **political** issues, the average response percentages are notably shifted towards the post-Soviet states (both in the positive sense – for example, in the question about the friendly countries, and in the negative one – as in the question about the unfriendly countries). Georgia is the only country whose population is focused on military and political support from outside the post-Soviet space. In all of the countries participating in the project, the Post-Soviet States group of responses turned out to be most filled, which is clearly demonstrated in the following chart.

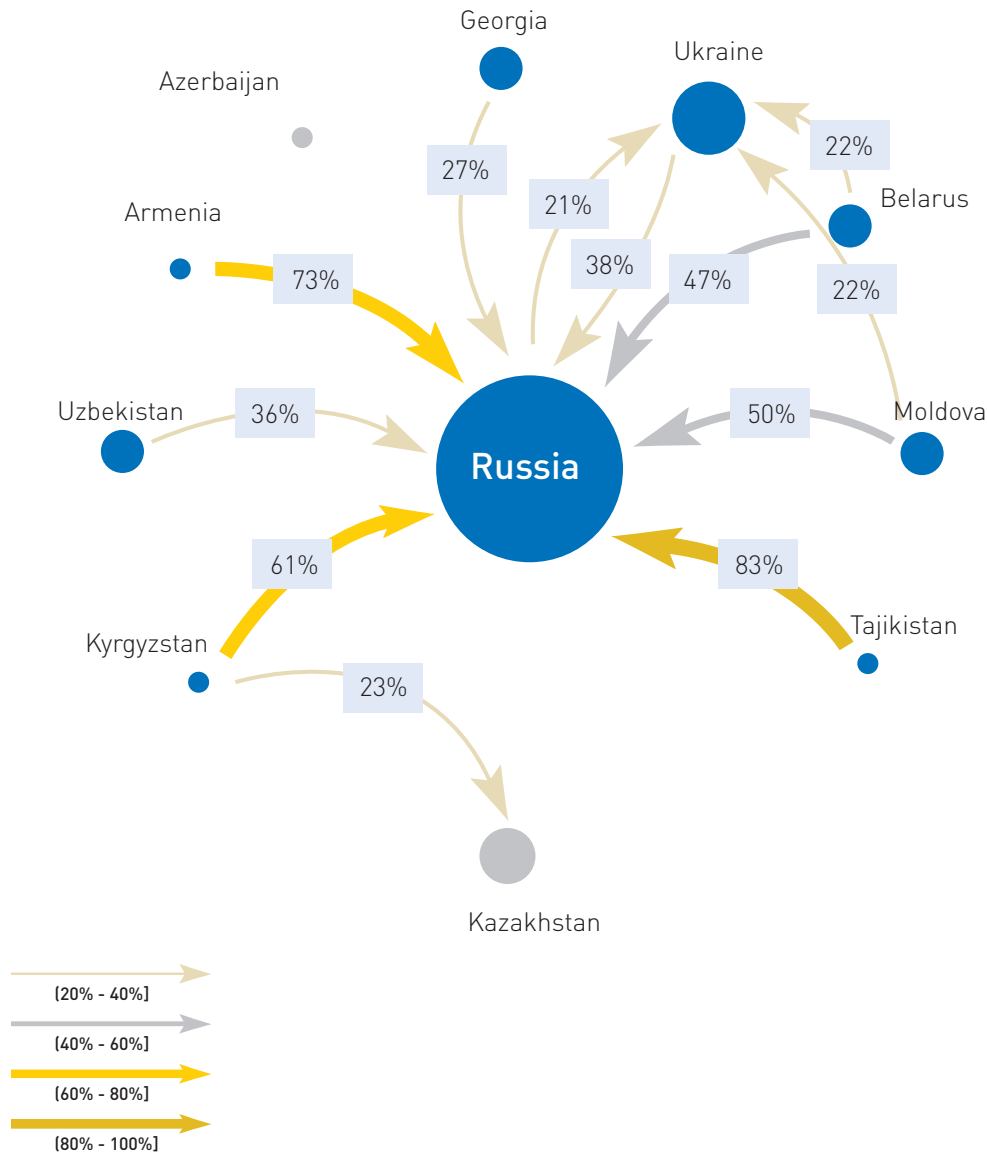
In which countries do you have relatives, close friends, colleagues you keep in touch with (personally, by mail, by phone, etc.)? [preferences within former Soviet Union]



• The regularities of **socio-cultural interest** are similar to the regularities of economic cooperation – Central Asian countries are oriented towards the post-Soviet space and, to a lesser extent, towards China and Islamic countries; Moldova is oriented both towards Russia and Romania; Georgia – towards the European Union and the United States; Azerbaijan – towards Turkey; Russia and Ukraine’s orientation towards the post-Soviet space is below average, and the level of their attraction to the European Union and other countries corresponds to the average values over the countries. However, the mutual socio-cultural attraction of CIS countries is characterized by high rates in real *practical* interests, for example, in active communication with family members, relatives and colleagues residing in other countries. On average, in nine countries where the question about the presence of close correspondents was posed, 57% of respondents indicated that they have such ties in the post-Soviet states. Thus, in five countries (Tajikistan, Armenia, Kyrgyzstan, Belarus and Moldova) more than half of the adult population has such ties. Relevant data are shown in the figure below. Peripheral communications are also available, although they are less significant. Thus, 22% of Moldovans and 22% of Belarussians have regular contacts in Ukraine and 23% of Kyrgyz citizens have such contacts in Kazakhstan.

- Question was posed
- Question was not posed

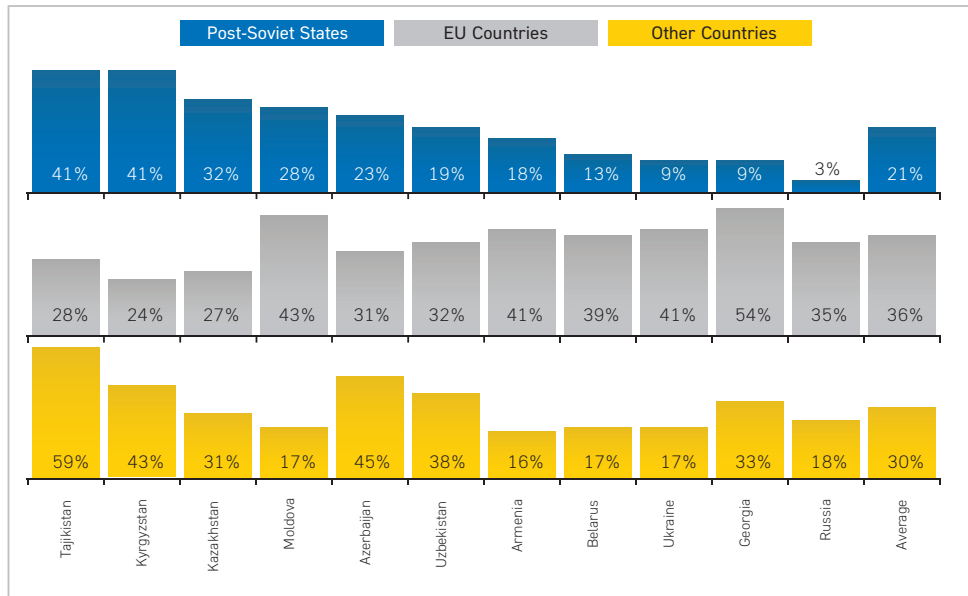
In which countries do you have relatives, close friends, colleagues you keep in touch with (personally, by mail, by phone, etc.)? [preferences within former Soviet Union]



• Another significant indicator of socio-cultural proximity between the two countries is **the need for getting education abroad**. In this respect, the post-Soviet space does not have any special competitive advantage over the EU or other most frequently mentioned world countries, which is reflected in the diagram below.

SUMMARY

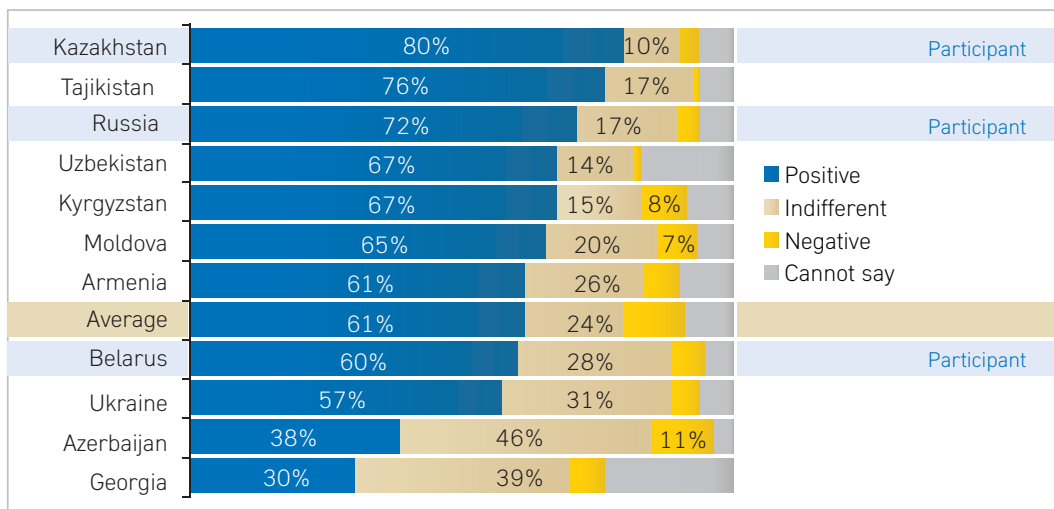
Which countries would you select for your education or your children's education? [Countries are classified into three categories]



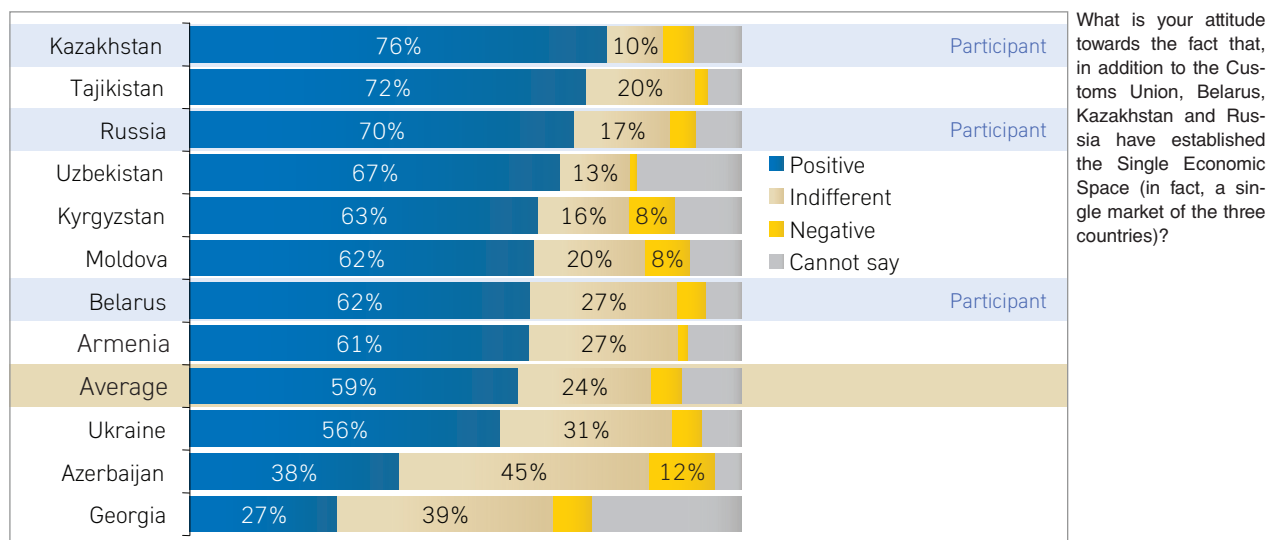
3. The attitude of the post-Soviet population to the establishment of the Customs Union and Single Economic Space is found to be positive. **The participating countries highly support CU** – 80% in Kazakhstan, 72% in Russia and 60% in Belarus.

It is noteworthy that the CU and the SES are supported not only by the participating countries. **The high rate of positive responses is also characteristic of Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Moldova** – the countries the populations of which is focused mostly on economic cooperation with post-Soviet states.

What is your attitude towards the fact that the economies of Belarus, Kazakhstan and Russia are united in the Customs Union (which made trade between those countries free)?



Both unions are also supported by Moldova and Armenia, which do not border with the CU and the SES and, therefore, cannot experience the benefits of hypothetical accession. Partially, this level of attraction is related with the history of labor migration from these countries, the intensity of this flow can be illustrated by the fact that three-quarters of Armenians and every second resident of Moldova communicate regularly with their relatives and friends in Russia.



Strong support for the Customs Union was typical for the population of the two countries – potential CU participants, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan.

The fact of the strong support for integration unions in Uzbekistan is of great interest, despite the notable isolationist attitudes of the population, which is evident in the responses to other questions.

The list contains only two countries (Azerbaijan and Georgia) where the rate of positive assessments of the SES and the CU does not exceed 50%. Perhaps, the unresolved territorial conflicts involving these countries took their toll.

4. The vast majority of the population in each country believes that **in the next five years the post-Soviet states will not grow apart**, the percentage of responses “Countries will grow apart” does not rank first in any country. In Tajikistan and Kazakhstan, the rate of respondents who believe that in the next five years the post-Soviet states will get closer exceeds 50%.

5. **Integration preferences of the population are related with age**, and this relation has two varieties. The first one is characteristic of Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Azerbaijan and in a somewhat less pronounced form – of Kazakhstan; in the older age category, the attraction to the Post-Soviet States cluster is significantly higher than in the entire sampling, and the attraction to EU Countries and Other Countries cluster is significantly lower.

SUMMARY

Another type of integration preference depending on age is typical for Georgia, Armenia, Moldova, Ukraine, Belarus and Russia – the younger the age, the more often EU countries and other world countries are mentioned, while the percentage of references to post-Soviet states stays virtually unchanged. The key difference between the listed countries and the Central Asian countries and Azerbaijan is that there **older respondents do not differ greatly in their integration preferences from the representatives of the middle and younger age category**. Therefore, the older generation of the Central Asian countries is experiencing greater attraction to the post-Soviet states.

At the same time, it should be noted that the attitude toward the integration associations is likely to be generated based not on the feasibility and effectiveness of the associations, but rather on the conservatism of certain groups of the population, especially the older age groups, and based on a positive recollection of the USSR. Consequently, **the success of the integration processes in the post-Soviet space is directly proportional to the attractiveness of these processes for today's youth**, whose view will dominate in the public opinion in the change of generations.

Introduction

The post-Soviet space is an arena of close economic, technological, political and cultural interaction. The integration between the post-Soviet states is pre-determined by objective factors (geographical proximity, unity of economic links, infrastructure, and a common historical past) and economic-based factors. Over the past period, the Eurasian integration cooperation has become an essential element in the formation of economic relations, which contributes to economic and social stability in the region, and has turned into the effective institute for comprehensive regional cooperation.

State agencies, inter-governmental and business structures and the community of experts are in need of reliable and systematic sociological data, reflecting the state of the integration process and including the analysis of post-Soviet citizens' relation to the integration and integration institutions. More intense economic integration within the Customs Union and Single Economic Space reinforces the need for a systematic and highly qualified work of this kind.

At the same time, foreign policy within the post-Soviet space is subject to public opinion, and integration or disintegration efforts cannot but take into account the mass consciousness and mass attitudes. External likes and dislikes of ordinary citizens are also a significant factor in domestic politics.

Almost all post-Soviet states nowadays have public and private research companies conducting various research and surveys. However, until recently, the post-Soviet space had no institutions that conducted regular studies focused on the assessment of public preferences in foreign policy, foreign economics and other integration preferences. EDB Integration Barometer intends to fill in this gap through the development of relevant methodology and annual sociological research on this issue.

The purpose of the research is the monitoring study of the population's integration preferences (10 CIS countries and Georgia), in particular:

- The development of a sociological monitoring methodology and assessment by the population of the current interaction process between the countries in the economic, political and socio-cultural spheres;
- assessment by the population of Eurasian countries' integration level;
- identification of integration process dynamics at the level of public consciousness and behaviour of Eurasian citizens and determination of its fundamental regularities;
- forecast for integration processes development at the level of public consciousness and behaviour of the Eurasian citizens.

Thus, EDB Integration Barometer is focused on the study of the objective attitude of CIS citizens to the specific aspects and forms of interstate integration. At the same time, not only economic and political aspects of integration are considered, but also their human perspective at the level of social interaction and culture. Data, obtained

INTRODUCTION

from the survey, reveal the actual preferences of the population of the specified region regarding integration processes occurring therein.

Given the importance of the long-term forecasting regarding public perception of integration processes in the region in question, it is supposed to conduct annual research within the EDB Integration Barometer project. In the future, the project can also be supplemented with the study of integration preferences of the business elite.

Brief Review of Previous Works

A large number of analytical studies and publications are devoted to the issues of integration processes in post-Soviet space. The urgency of the problems of forming a new integration policy in the post-Soviet space has contributed to the establishment and operation of many research centres specializing in relevant topics and issues. Thus, the analysts focus on the political (including military-political) and economic aspects of integration. Perhaps the issues of economic integration, considered to be the basis for everything else, are worked at most accurately (see, e.g. Borko, 2003, Vinokurov, 2009, and Spartak, 2011 in the reference list).

However, it should be noted that, until recently, the social and cultural (human) aspects of integration, as well as comprehensive sociological studies of ordinary post-Soviet citizens' attitude towards the integration, were given little attention. This was due to the traditional underestimation of public attitudes when addressing foreign policy issues, inherent in virtually all post-Soviet elites. Moreover, in contrast to the relatively advanced systems of business entities' economic behaviour accounting, which make it possible to assess the level and nature of economic relations in different countries, until recently CIS countries had no permanent institutions for measuring public attitudes.

Eurasian Monitor was launched in 2004, within the framework of the Big Four (Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus), and since 2007 it has been uniting 14 post-Soviet countries. It is intended to measure the various indicators of social attitudes and public opinion of post-Soviet citizens, including their integration orientations and preferences (see Zadorin, 2010).

In recent years, more than 16 national surveys have been conducted, the results of which are open (see www.eurasiamonitor.org) and were presented to the general public and experts in various forms. First of all, we should highlight the projects reflecting different aspects of human integration and its crucial factors: *"The Russian language in the new independent states"* (2007), *"The mutual interests of CIS citizens as the basis for integration: what brings us together and makes us interesting to each other"* (2008), *"The attitude of the population of the new independent states towards the common history of the Soviet and post-Soviet period"* (2009), *"International media environment in post-Soviet space"* (2011) and others.

The results of the national Eurasian Monitor surveys, conducted in the paradigm of single technique comparative social studies became the basis for many scientific publications (see (Zadorin, 2006) (Zadorin, 2008), (Zadorin, 2010).

These studies have shown that many ideas of post-Soviet integration attitudes, considered to be obvious, are not supported by empirical research any longer. The change of generations significantly weakens the factor of historical and cultural affinity, and the attraction and orientation change their directions.

Overall, these preliminary studies necessitated a kind of audit (inventory) of mutual socio-cultural and economic interests of CIS citizens in order to identify their content, direction, priorities and target (most interested in approaching) socio-demographic groups, to identify the similarities and differences in the integration aspirations of the residents of

different countries based on common human interests. Such an inventory should result in the new post-Soviet “cartography” based on measuring the proximity of socio-cultural and economic interests of their populations, as well as cross-country attracting force. However, two or three questions regularly included in EM surveys by the project participants were not enough to provide a complete and comprehensive picture.

Eurasian Monitor studies revealed the need for an interdisciplinary study of integration issues. It became obvious that the survey data were not enough for the correct interpretation of sociological data, and the data of a different nature (including economic statistics, demographic and cultural information, information about the media environment and political situation in the countries in question) had to be involved.

In addition, the studies have shown that in some countries the integration orientations are very sensitive to changes in foreign policy, and a proper understanding of the changes requires regular monitoring to enable tracking of the dynamics of integration attitudes.

It should be mentioned that most of the major Eurasian Monitor studies have been financially supported by various funds (“Eurasia Heritage”, “National Club”, and the CIS Interstate Fund for Humanitarian Cooperation). At the same time, integration orientations were monitored at the initiative and at the expense of consortium participants, which sometimes resulted in “drop-out” of certain countries during the monitoring and in the loss of important dynamic data.

Thus, the research experience that the non-profit partnership Eurasian Monitor has obtained over the past years obviously led to a conclusion for the need to measure CIS populations’ integration attitudes on a regular basis. The major components of the study should be as follows: *complexity* of integration preferences measurement (a large number of questions on various integration aspects), *monitoring nature* of measurement, provided by sustainable and long-term *financial support*, *inter-disciplinary in nature*, related to involving the specialists in different fields to survey data interpretation.

The relevant opportunities become available upon the implementation of the **EDB Integration Barometer** project by the Eurasian Monitor consortium, initiated by the EDB Centre for Integration Studies.

Research Technique

Measurement Techniques

A mass survey of the population from the eleven post-Soviet states with representative sampling was used as the data-collection method. The surveys were conducted in the form of face-to-face formal interviews based on the questionnaire.

The number of processed questionnaires totalled 13,063 units.

Eurasian Monitor submitted the questionnaires in the Russian language to the national executors. The executor translated the questionnaire into the native language on its own.

Organizing and Conducting the Surveys

The mass representative surveys of the adult population in the eleven post-Soviet states, listed in the statement of work, were conducted with the involvement of the executors experienced in conducting the surveys in these countries and well-proven during the previous Eurasian Monitor waves. The list of executors having participated in the Eurasian Monitor (No. 17) is presented in table No. 1.

ANO “Zadorin’s Sociological Workshop” (CIRCON Group, Moscow, Russia) developed survey tools, performed data analysis and prepared the reporting documents.

Country	Regional executor	Amount of questionnaires / projected	Amount of questionnaires / actual
Azerbaijan	International Centre for Social Research	1,000	1,001
Armenia	MPG	1,050	1,147
Belarus	NOVAK laboratory	1,050	1,078
Georgia	The Institute for Polling and Marketing	1,000	1,000
Kazakhstan	Strategy Center of Social and Political Studies	1,050	1,057
Kyrgyzstan	EI-Pikir Public Opinion Study Centre	1,000	1,000
Moldova	CBS-AXA Centre for Sociological Investigations and Marketing	1,050	1,092
Russia	ANO “Zadorin’s Sociological Workshop” (CIRCON Group)	1,600	1,607
Tajikistan	Korshinos Center for Socio-Political Studies	1,000	954

Table No.1
The list of national surveys executors and sampling scope

RESEARCH TECHNIQUE

Country	Regional executor	Amount of questionnaires / projected	Amount of questionnaires / actual
Uzbekistan	Ekspert Fikri Center for Social & Marketing Research	1,050	1,050
Ukraine	Research & Branding Group	2,000	2,077

Note. In Tajikistan, the number of completed questionnaires amounted to 1051, but some of them were not included in common data to ensure data comparability (in Tajikistan, the national survey is conducted among the population aged over 15).

To ensure the representativeness of the survey conducted among the adult population (aged 18 and older), a representative sampling population was formed in each country, which complied with the results of the last population census. The sampling population in each country represents the adult population, sampled by sex, age and type of settlement.

The questionnaire in each country included from 12 to 20 issue-related questions out of the proposed questionnaire, up to 10 questions of social attitudes monitoring, implemented in the framework of the Eurasian Monitor, as well as socio-demographic questions.

Table 2 represents the data on the number of questions included in the national questionnaires.

Table No.2
Number of questions included in the national questionnaires

Country	Number of EM monitoring questions	Number of issue-related questions
Azerbaijan	0	12
Armenia	10	20
Belarus	7	20
Georgia	10	20
Kazakhstan	10	13
Kyrgyzstan	10	20
Moldova	10	20
Russia	9	16
Tajikistan	10	20
Uzbekistan	9	20
Ukraine	10	16

The following data-collection control requirements were established:

- Absolute visual control over the questionnaires;
- Random survey quality control by telephone (40% of the total number of collected questionnaires for respondents who have indicated a phone number (mobile, office, landline) in the route chart). For the respondents who have not provided a telephone number for whatever reason (no telephone, refusal to provide), 20%-control (of the

total number of collected questionnaires) was performed by means of the personal re-visit with due regard to the control over each interviewer.

- Absolute array control based on data entry.

All regional executors submitted route charts in electronic form and the control lists with the inspection report.

The survey data were entered by the national survey operator. Upon completion of surveys, Eurasian Monitor submitted data arrays in electronic form. Then, the consolidated array was formed, which has been examined in terms of data entry quality and prepared for further processing and analysis.

Analytical Report Structure

Regional integration is seen as a multilevel process, which, together with economic cooperation, involves the issues of politics, security and socio-cultural interaction. Therefore, the EDB Integration Barometer social study represents a system of comprehensive monitoring and evaluation of the Eurasians' integration preferences. In this respect public opinion on a range of issues relating to various aspects of regional cooperation is being examined. This approach makes it possible to single out 3 sets of survey questions: economic, political and socio-cultural. The structure of the report corresponds with this issue-related division – the first three sections describe the integration preferences in economic, political and socio-cultural spheres, respectively. In addition, certain report sections are devoted to the construction of consolidated indicators (indices) that characterize the integration preferences of the Eurasians, and to the description of certain demographic regularities in integration preferences.

Instrumentalisation of the Concept “Integration Preferences”

In accordance with the statement of work, the **EDB Integration Barometer** study aims at examining the integration preferences of the post-Soviet population (the citizens of 10 CIS countries and Georgia). Below is given the interpretation of “integration preferences”, which has become the conceptual basis of designing research tools.

It is well known that the integration study faces a terminological problem associated with the need to distinguish between cooperation (cooperation of the states aimed at achieving common goals) and integration (the interdependence of economies, common “rules of the game” for economic agents, single cultural environment). However, it is impossible to design mass survey tools based on the subtle differences between these concepts; simple and unambiguous wordings are required in such studies. Therefore, for the purposes of this study, it is proposed to put the sign of a conditional identity between the concepts of “integration preferences” and “the attraction between the two countries, which exists in the views of the nations”. “Attraction” combines both probable co-operation and integration, and even kind feeling for the population of certain countries. Such a solution, involving the definition of the subject area, makes it possible to avoid the need for its artificial limiting by the terminological framework.

Thus, the objective of the study is to evaluate the degree of economic, political and

humanitarian proximity of the CIS countries (and Georgia), expressed in terms of the attitude of these countries' population towards other post-Soviet states (except for the Baltic States) and some other world countries. Respondents' attitudes towards other countries is reflected in a number of indicators used in the questionnaire. The assumption that integration preferences of certain country's population are described based on the following features: integration potential, its vector and sign – was used during the development of specific indicators of economic and cultural proximity.

1. Potential. This feature indicates the population's readiness for the processes of integration and the presence of an isolationist mood in public attitudes.

2. Vector. This feature characterizes the direction of the attraction (direction of the probable implementation of integration potential) and consists of the following components:

- Country (the country where the attraction exists).
- Sphere (the sphere where the attraction may occur – politics, economics, or culture).

This part (“vector”) of the subject area study model reproduces the approach used in the System of EDB Eurasian Integration Indicators – integration processes in the region are reviewed as aggregate integration processes within dyads (pairs of countries), and each country in question is assigned a value (index) describing its integration status in relation to the other country in question.

3. Sign is the characteristic of the subject-object relationship in each dyad. The measurement of this feature makes it possible to answer the question of who is attracted to whom in each pair of countries. The following responses are possible:

The country attracts (in the population's view, “we attract”).

The country is attracted (in the population's view, “we are attracted”).

The countries are partners, and the integration takes place on a parity basis.

The above features adequately describe the proposed model of the concept of “integration preferences”.

In accordance with the described model, the executor has developed the expanded list of questions – the indicators of integration preferences.

Each survey question reflects an appropriate indicator of the respondent's economic, political and socio-cultural distance to the various countries. At the same time, the respondent records both his personal disposition with respect to the listed countries and his country's disposition desirable for him. The set of questions were formed largely based on the Bogardus Social Distance Scale.

The questions of the basic issue-related unit are designed as follows: the respondents are asked to select the country from the list given in accordance with certain criteria for the country's belonging to a certain type (friendly/unfriendly, familiar/unfamiliar, interesting/uninteresting, etc.), i.e., a dichotomous scale of appropriate indicator (feature) recording is used. The specified list of answers enables the formation of three groups of conclusions based on the responses to each question – on the integration

preferences within the post-Soviet space, on the integration attraction beyond the limits of this space and on the degree of a country's public opinion orientation towards its autonomy (to be called "attractive" countries based on the negative responses).

The questionnaire included 17 questions, designed based on the dichotomous principle, and three additional questions about the attitude towards the SES and the UC, and about the perception of integration opportunities in the post-Soviet space.

1. Economic Integration

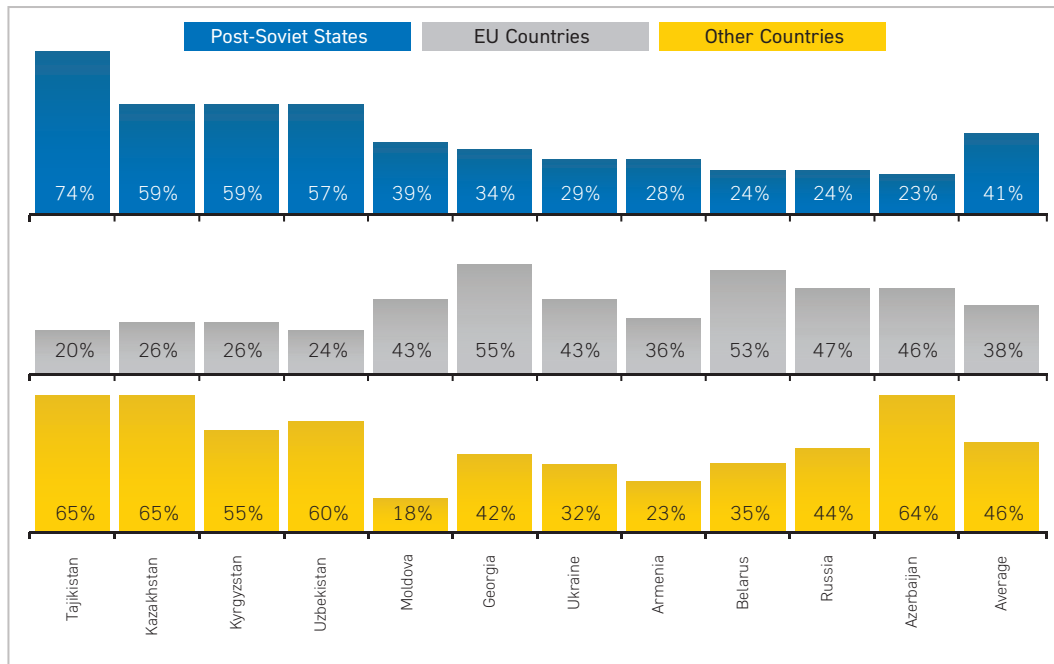
This section contains two sub-sections. The first describes the distribution of responses to the questions designed based on the dyadic principle (selection of the country from the list). The second provides the distribution of responses to the questions about the attitude of the post-Soviet population to two economic unions established on the territory of the former Soviet Union.

1.1. Inter-Country Distance Indicators

One of the forms of a population’s economic behavior, which perfectly characterizes the guidelines and stereotypes existing in this area, is the consumer choice behavior.

On average across the countries, none of the three geopolitical clusters (Post-Soviet Space, European Union and Other Countries) has priority; each of them is referred to in approximately 40% of responses (see Figure 1.1). When reviewing partial distributions, one can observe the orientation of the population of Georgia and Belarus towards EU products, of the population of Tajikistan – towards goods from the post-Soviet states, and of the population of Azerbaijan towards goods from other countries (in particular, Turkey). In each of these cases, the corresponding cluster has a significantly higher share compared to the other two.

Figure No.1.1. Products from which countries do you prefer to buy? What products do you trust more? [Countries are classified into three categories]¹



³ Here and below, on the charts of this type (grouped into Post-Soviet States, EU Countries and Other Countries categories), the percentages are calculated as the proportion of the respondents who named at least one country from the appropriate category. For example, here 74% of the Tajikistan population has mentioned at least one post-Soviet state, 20% - at least one EU country, and 65% - at least one country from the Other Countries category.

Within the post-Soviet space, Russia is the most attractive area of the origin of goods (Figure 1.2) – it was mentioned by 20% to 70% of respondents in each country, except for Ukraine (here, Russia was mentioned by less than 20% of respondents).

The population of the Central Asian region is foremost oriented towards Russian goods – here, Russia was mentioned more often than in other countries participating in the project (from 49% to 70%).

The only country, other than Russia, where products are preferred by over 20% of the population of any other country participating in the research, is Belarus (it was mentioned by 20% of respondents in Russia).

Another feature characterizing the distribution of responses is a very low significance of peripheral (i.e., without the participation of the main attractor – Russia) consumer preferences in the post-Soviet space. If Russia was mentioned by 37% of respondents of other countries, the average percentage of the second-most attractive country reference (in various countries Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan ranked second) accounted for only 7%.

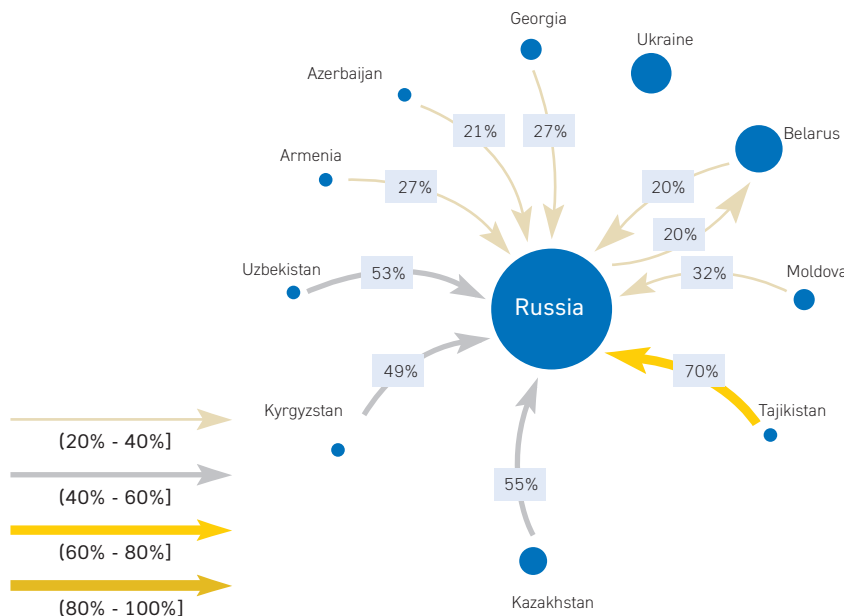


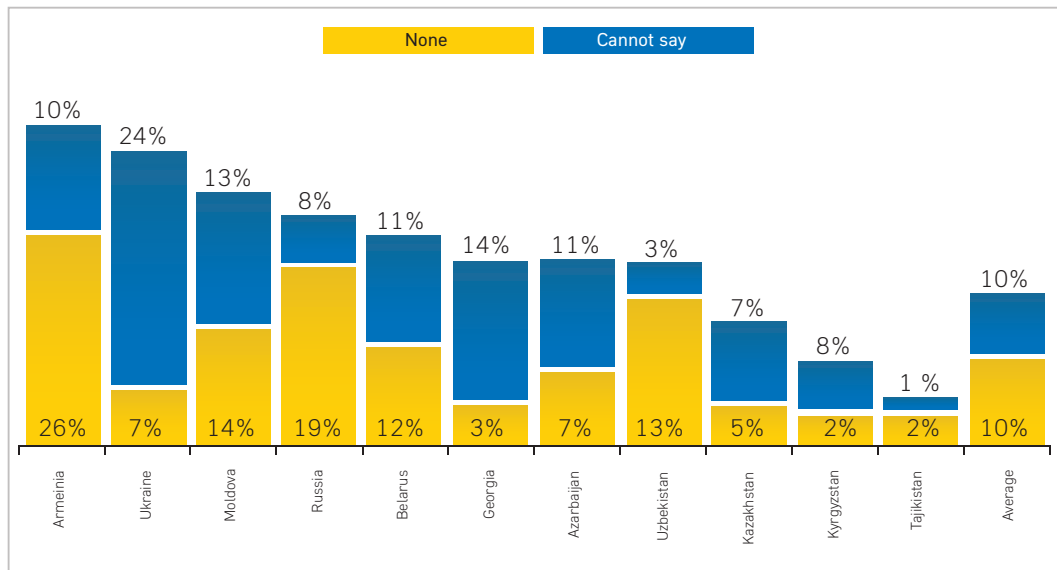
Figure No.1.2. Products from which countries do you prefer to buy? What products do you trust more? [Preferences within the former USSR] ²

⁴ Here and below, the charts of this type ("preferences within the former USSR") contain data about the percentage of responses above a lower level. This level is indicated in the legend of the chart (in this case it makes up 20%).

The arrow from Country 1 to Country 2 means that n% of respondents in Country 1, when responding to this question, mentioned Country 2: for example, in response to this question, 27% of the respondents in Armenia mentioned Russia. The size of each data point is proportional to the average percentage of references to the country, calculated with respect to all countries.

About 20% of respondents refused to name any country where products are preferred (Figure 1.3). The percentage of such refusals may be interpreted as the degree of the population's orientation towards the domestic market (in this case – consumer market). As one can see, the highest levels of refusals are in Armenia, Ukraine, and Moldova; the lowest – in Tajikistan and other countries of Central Asia.

Figure No.1.3.
From which countries do you prefer to buy foodstuffs? Which products do you trust more? [Indicators of autonomy]



Another feature describing the personal dispositions of the post-Soviet population in their economic behaviour is the intention regarding temporary work. On average, none of the general vectors dominates: each of the three main temporary employment destinations was referred to by 24% - 25% of respondents (see Figure 1.4).

Particular deviations from the average rates:

- Towards greater focus on the post-Soviet states – Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova.
- Towards greater focus on the European Union – Belarus, Moldova, Russia.
- Towards greater focus on other countries – Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan.

Within the former Soviet Union, Russia is the most preferred location for temporary work. It is highly attractive for residents of Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Moldova (Figure 1.5). No significant peripheral preference vectors in the estimated rates were observed.

For many people, migration to another country, even temporarily, is far beyond their ordinary behaviour, so the responses to this question naturally contained a high percentage of refusals, which averaged 42% (Figure 1.6). Residents of Russia, Uzbekistan and Ukraine turned out to be most focused on the internal labor markets of their countries.

ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

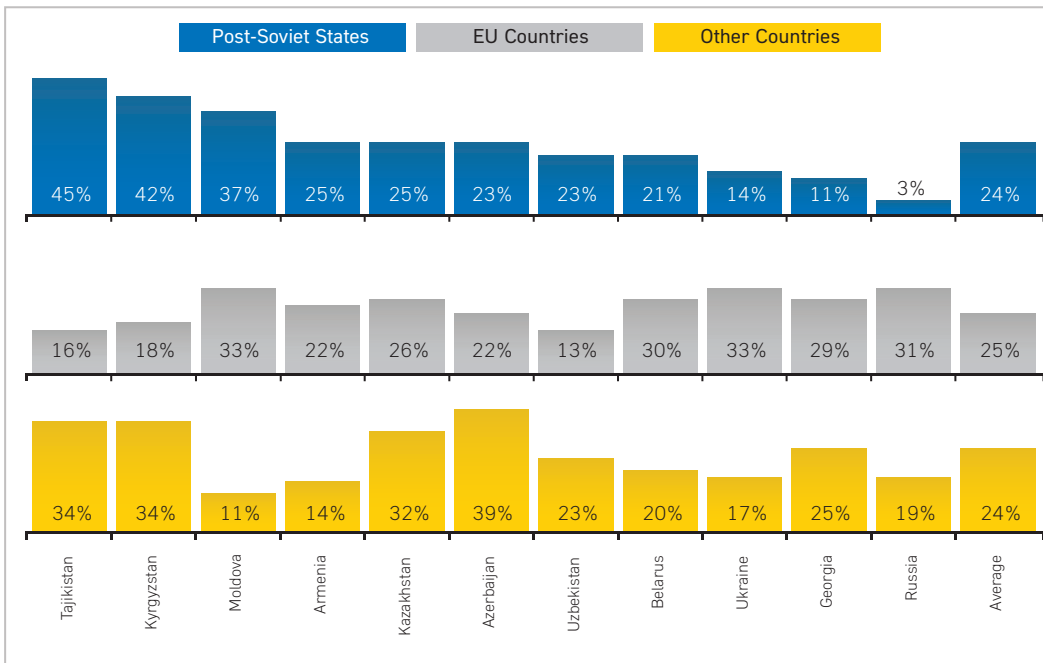


Figure No.1.4.

In which countries would you prefer to work temporarily if you had such an opportunity? [Countries are classified into three categories]

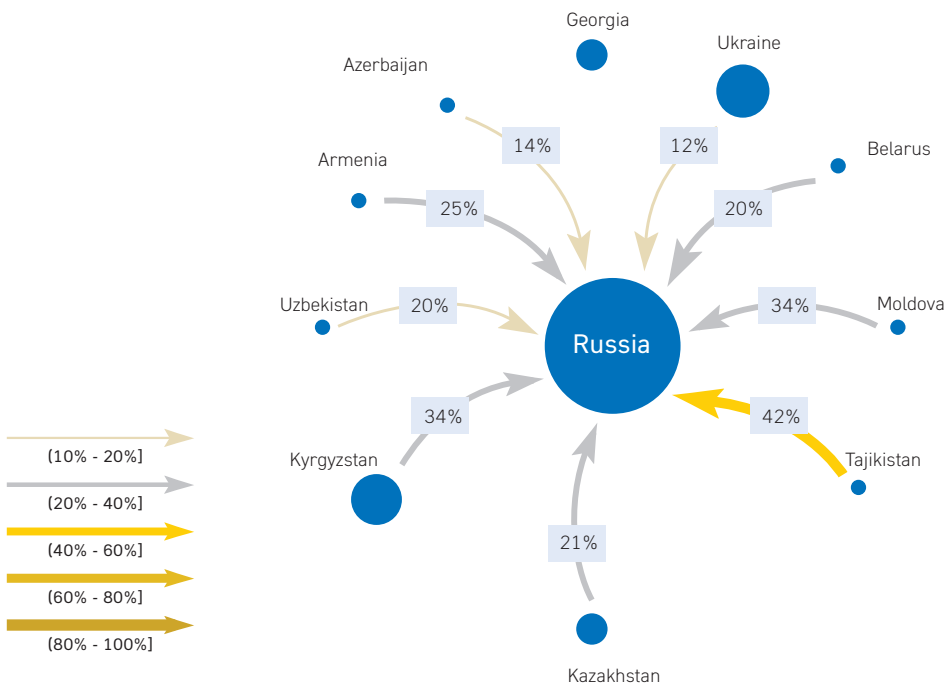


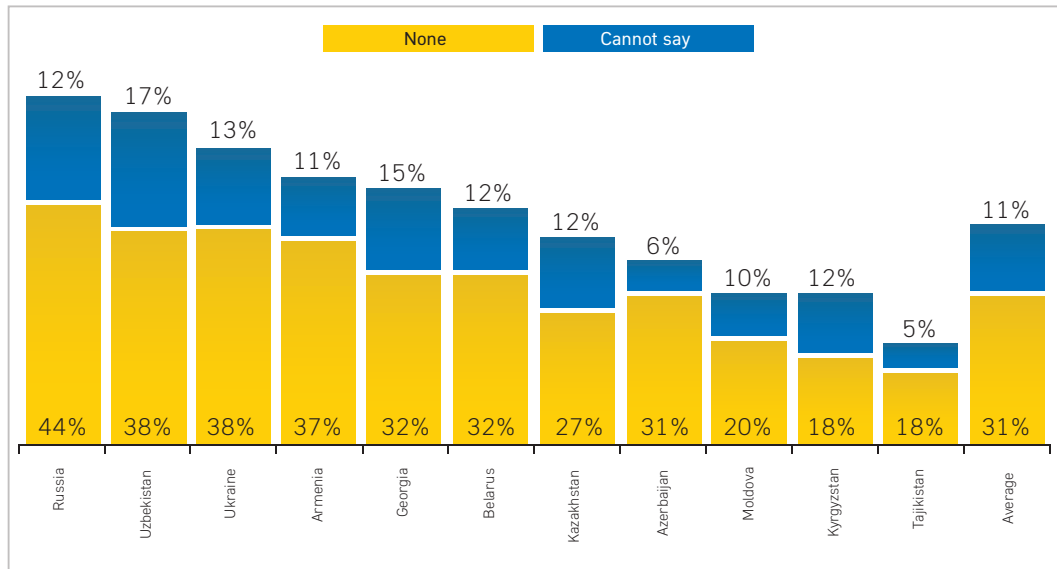
Figure No.1.5.

In which countries would you prefer to work temporarily if you had such an opportunity? [Preferences within the former USSR]

ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

Figure No.16.

In which countries would you prefer to work temporarily if you had such an opportunity? [Indicators of autonomy]



The feature “Desire to move to the permanent place of residence” continues the issue of the personal dispositions of the post-Soviet population in their economic behavior. On average, each of the three main hypothetical destinations was referred to by 12% -15% of respondents (see Figure 1.7).

Particular deviations from the average rates:

- The residents of Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova and Kazakhstan consider the post-Soviet states to be most attractive for migration.
- The residents of Russia and Ukraine consider the European Union to be a more attractive place of residence than the post-Soviet space (apart from their own counties) or other countries. In Moldova, the percentage of reference to the European Union (in particular, Romania) is above average, but still it is less than the percentage of reference to the post-Soviet states.
- The Other Countries category is not popular in any survey areas. Two countries (Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan) actually contributed to the high average rate of said indicator due to more frequent reference to the USA, Turkey and Islamic countries.

Russia is the most preferred destination for migration within the post-Soviet space. Russia is especially attractive for the residents of Tajikistan, Moldova, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan (Figure 1.8). Again, no significant peripheral preference vectors in the estimated rates were observed – none of the post-Soviet states, except Russia, has received more than 3% of the references in the national sampling.

The percentage of refusers in responses to this question was the highest among the 17 dyadic questions – an average of 65% (Figure 1.9). Unwillingness to consider even the hypothetical possibility of migration was observed in Uzbekistan, Georgia and Russia. The lowest percentage of refusals (though still very large) was in Russia-oriented Tajikistan, Moldova, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan.

ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

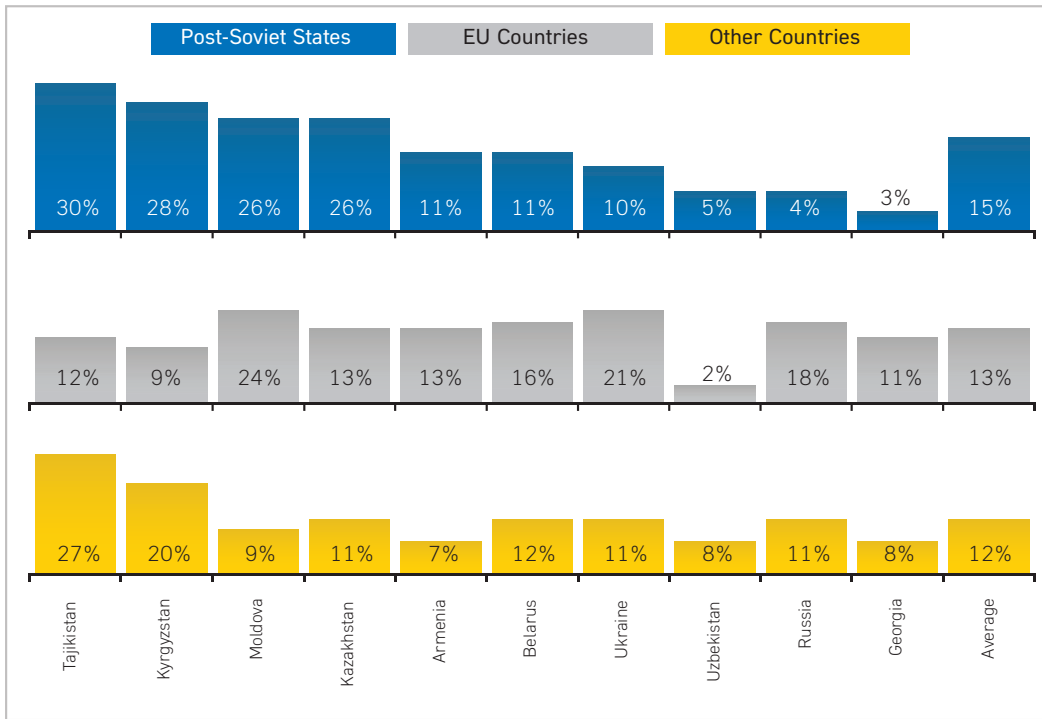


Figure No.1.7. Which countries would you prefer to migrate to if you had such an opportunity? [Countries are classified into three categories]

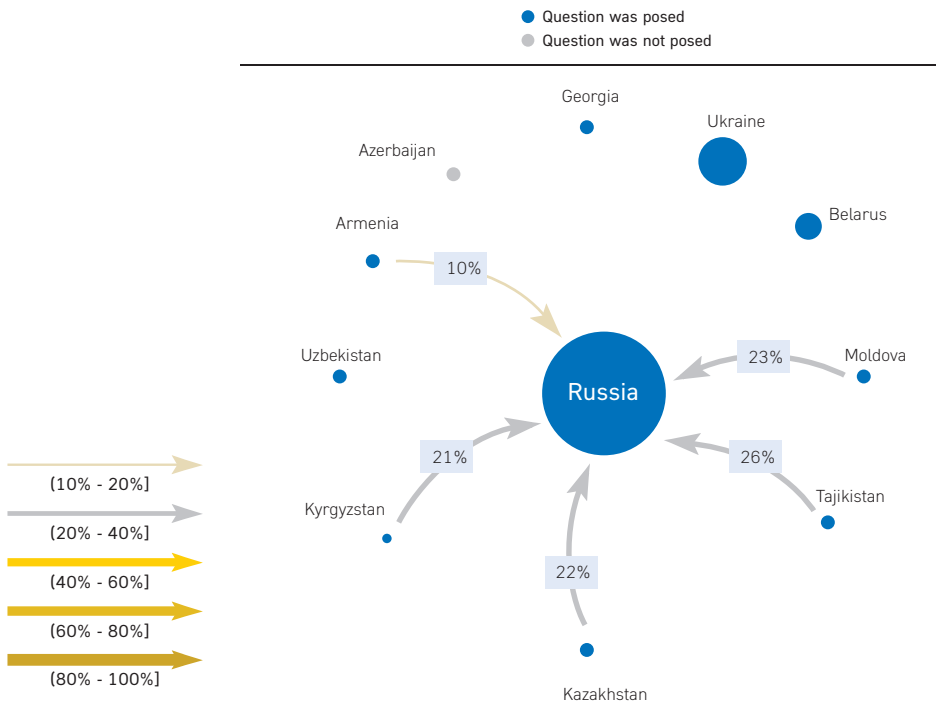
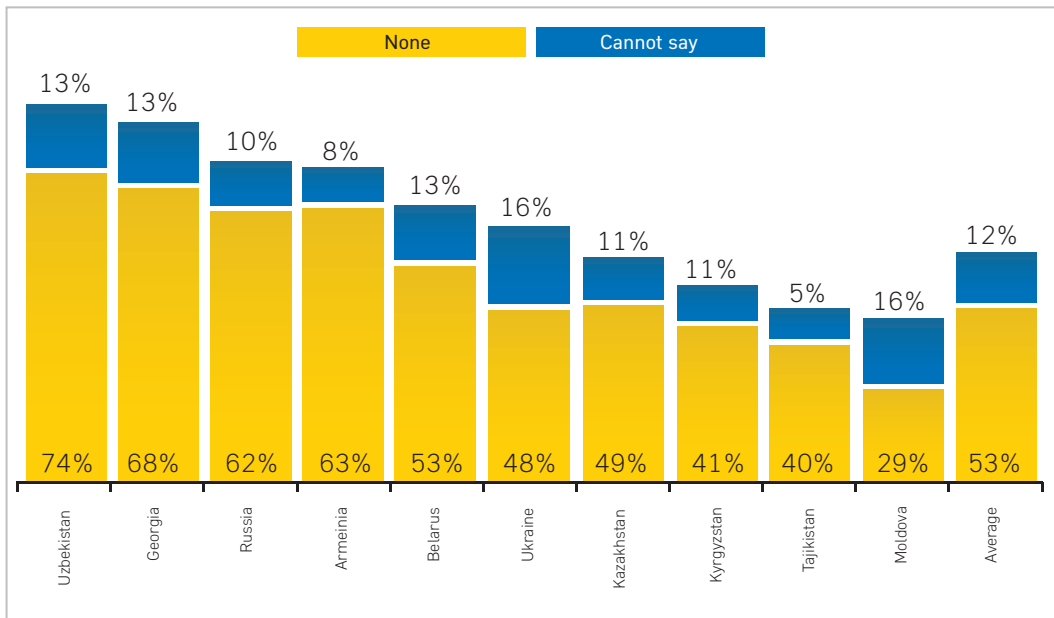


Figure No.1.8. Which countries would you prefer to migrate to if you had such an opportunity? [Preferences within the former USSR]

ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

Figure No.19.

Which countries would you prefer to migrate to if you had such an opportunity? [Indicators of autonomy]



Another set of questions was devoted to identifying the preferences of respondents of countries with regard to the flow of personnel, capital and exchange of scientific and technical information.

When considering the responses to the question of the desirable sources of labour migration with a grouping into the three categories, one can observe that in Moldova, Armenia and Georgia EU Countries became the most popular response (Figure 1.10).

In Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan, the Post-Soviet States category was the most popular.

Belarus and Uzbekistan are oriented towards other world countries. In Belarus, the USA, Japan and China were mentioned more frequently, and Japan in Uzbekistan.

When analysing the relationships within the post-Soviet space, one can observe the reproduction of tendencies discussed based on the examples of the previous questions:

- Russia is the most attractive country.
- Russia is highly attractive (in this case, as a hypothetical source of labor) for the residents of Tajikistan, Moldova, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan.
- No significant (comparable to the centripetal) peripheral preference vectors in the estimated rates were observed.

In Ukraine, Russia and Uzbekistan the population is apparently oriented towards the internal human resources (Figure No.1.11). The lowest rate of refusal (5%) is in Tajikistan. With regard to all countries, the amount of these responses averages one third.

The feature “Desirable sources of capital, investment and business inflow” continues the issue of the dispositions of the countries desirable for respondents in the economic sphere.

ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

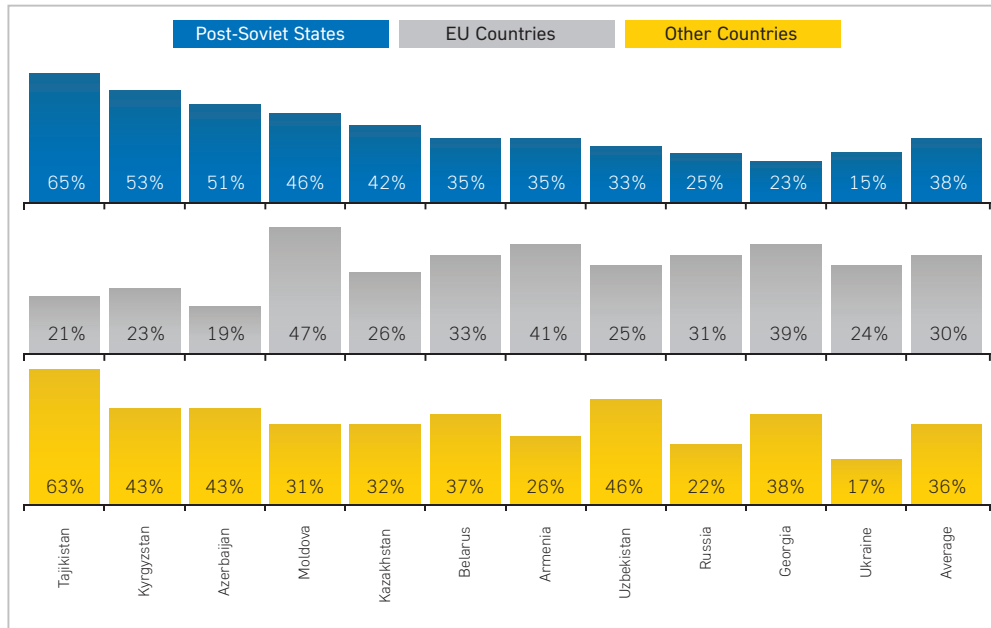


Figure No. 1.10.

From which country would workers, students and specialists (temporary or permanent) be desirable in our country? [Countries are classified into three categories]

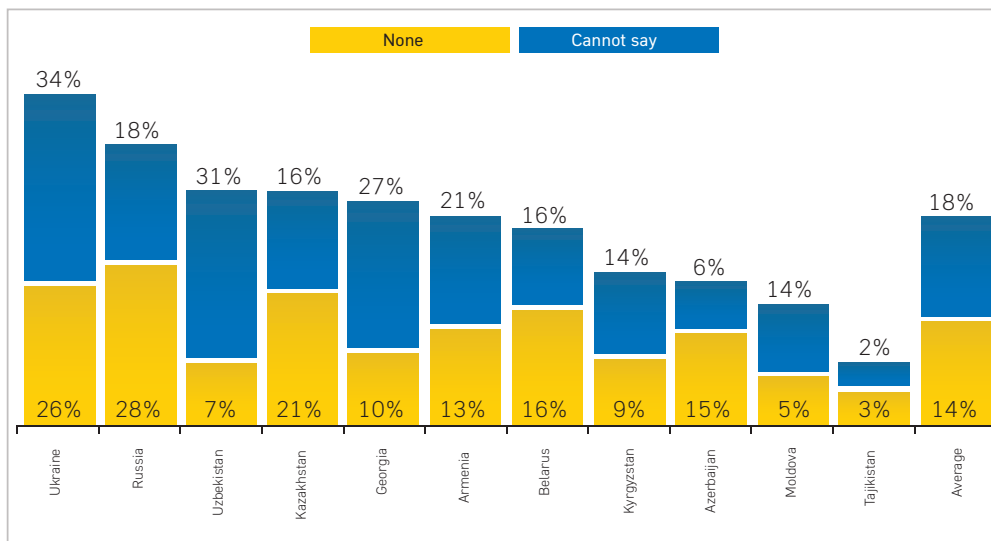


Figure No. 1.11.

From which country would workers, students and specialists (temporary or permanent) be desirable in our country? [Indicators of autonomy]

On average, the Other Countries category, that is the countries outside the European Union, became the most attractive source – 49% of references (see Figure 1.12). Tajikistan (75%), Georgia (59%), Uzbekistan (58%) and Azerbaijan (54%) made the largest contribution to this percentage. For Tajikistan, China was the main Other Country in this issue, for Georgia – the USA, for Uzbekistan – Japan, for Azerbaijan – Turkey.

It is notable that in Tajikistan the responses “Post-Soviet States” and “Other Countries” rank first. And this is not a sign of a split in society, as one might expect, - almost 50% of respondents in the country gave simultaneous answers relating to both categories.

ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

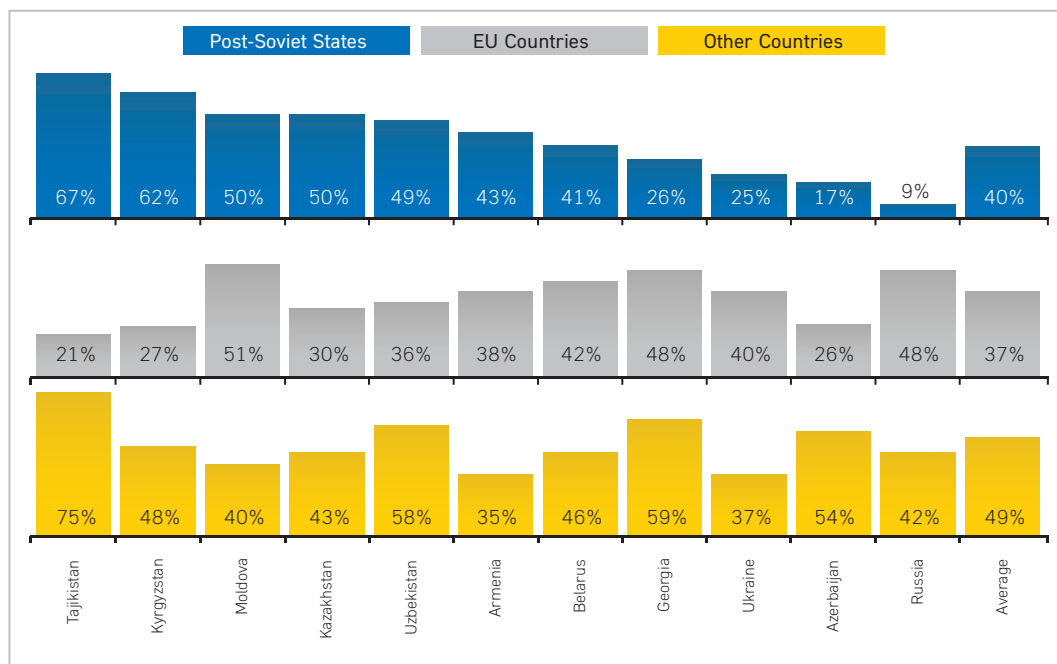
Moreover, in Tajikistan there are no demographic irregularities (that is, no age, gender, educational or income groups that would differ significantly in their responses from the population as a whole) in distribution of responses between the Post-Soviet States and Other Countries.

EU Countries category became the most frequent group of responses in the three countries – the residents of Moldova, Ukraine and Russia were oriented towards this direction. Post-Soviet states were more frequently mentioned by the respondents from the Central Asian region.

Russia is most frequently mentioned within the post-Soviet space. There are no peripheral preference vectors, comparable with centripetal, in the estimated rates. In Georgia, Russia does not rank first in terms of its attractiveness. There Ukraine ranks first among the post-Soviet states; it was mentioned in 13% of cases (to compare, the USA got 49% of responses to this question).

The share of refusals in response to the question about the sources of capital averages about one-fifth (Figure 1.13). Such responses were given mostly by the residents of Ukraine and Russia.

Figure No.1.12. Which countries would you prefer to be the source of capital and investment inflow? Companies, entrepreneurs and businessmen from which countries should establish their businesses in our countries? [Countries are classified into three categories]



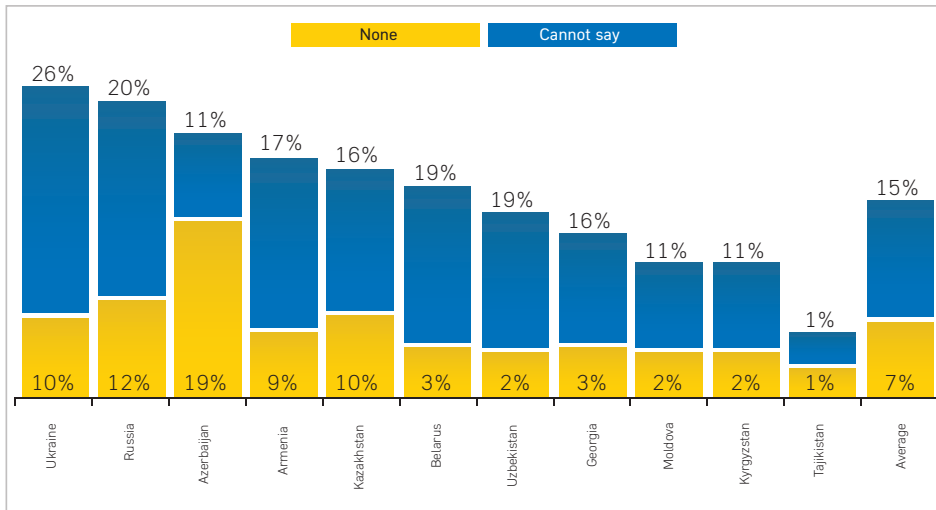


Figure No.1.13. Which countries would you prefer to be the source of capital and investment inflow? Companies, entrepreneurs and businessmen from which countries should establish their businesses in our countries? [Indicators of autonomy]

At the end of the sub-section we will refer to another economics-related question, in which the respondents were asked to name the countries and cooperation with whom would be useful for their own countries in the field of science and technology.

On average, the Other Countries category is the most attractive partner in the field of science and technology – 56% of responses, Figure 1.14. This is significantly higher than the percentage of Post-Soviet States and EU Countries responses (41% each). This shift can be explained by the fact that in all countries Japan was mentioned frequently as a desirable scientific and technical partner. The greatest percentage of references to Japan is in Russia (48%), Uzbekistan (42%), Kazakhstan (41%) and Belarus (40%).

The high percentage of “EU countries” response in Russia, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine is pre-determined mainly by the frequent reference to Germany, included in this category. Post-Soviet States response to this question was popular only in the Kyrgyzstan national sampling.

The analysis of relationships within the post-Soviet space (Figure 1.14) does not suggest the unexpected conclusions. Russia is the most attractive country, peripheral relationships are rather undeveloped. The only country where Russia was referred to by less than 20% of the respondents (i.e. 8%) is Georgia.

The idea that cooperation with any country in the field of science and technology is useless is uncharacteristic of the post-Soviet population. On average, only 15% of respondents were undecided or replied “None”. The highest percentages of such responses are in Azerbaijan, Ukraine and Armenia.

ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

Figure No.1.14.

With which countries would cooperation be beneficial for our country and companies (cooperation in science and technology - joint research, exchange of research, technology, scientific ideas)? [Countries are classified into three categories]

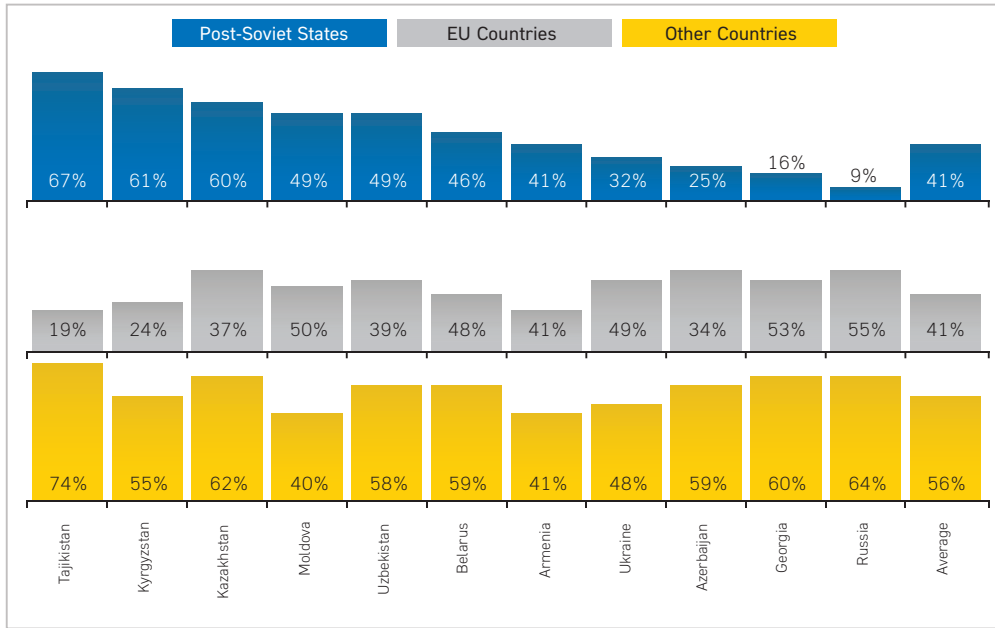
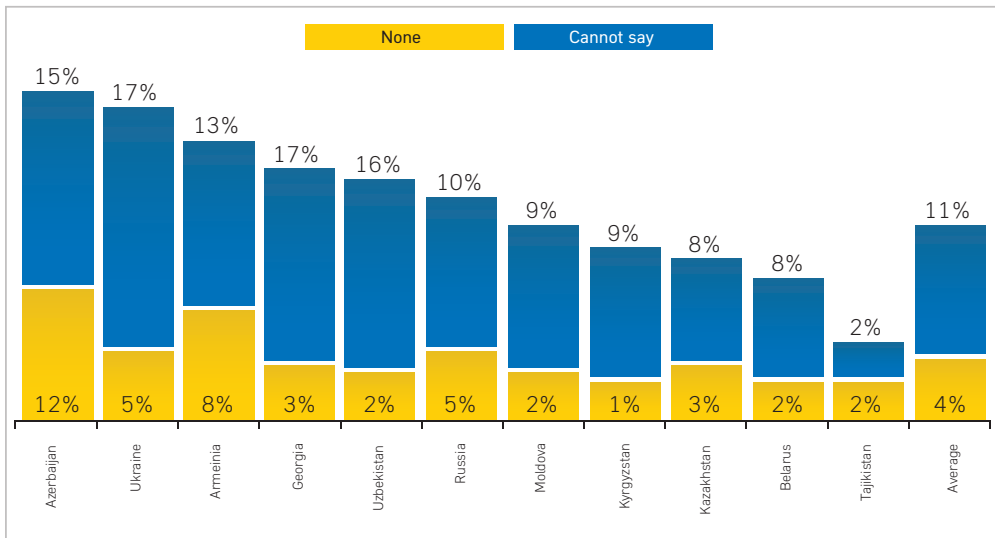


Figure No.1.15.

With which countries would cooperation be beneficial for our country and companies (cooperation in science and technology - joint research, exchange of research, technology, scientific ideas)? [Indicators of autonomy]



1.2. Indicators of the Attitude toward the Economic Unions

The research tools included two questions about the attitude of the population of the countries participating in the project to the establishment of two economic integration associations – the Customs Union and Single Economic Space – in the territory of the former USSR. Distribution of responses to these questions is shown in Figure 1.16-1.17.

The general attitude to the establishment of these associations was rather positive – such

responses were given by more than half of the respondents in all countries. It is noteworthy that the establishment of integration associations is perceived positively not just in the countries participating in these associations. The high percentage of positive responses is also characteristic of Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Moldova, where populations are more oriented towards economic cooperation with the post-Soviet states, and above all with Russia (section 1.1).

It is noteworthy that the high support for the Customs Union was characteristic of two potential participants – Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan.

The level of support for both integration associations is above average in Moldova and Armenia, which do not border the CU and SES territories and, therefore, cannot benefit from the hypothetical membership. Partially, this attraction level is related to the labour migration history from these countries, the fact that three-quarters of Armenian residents and every second resident of Moldova keep in touch regularly with their relatives and friends in Russia can serve vivid evidence thereof (corresponding data is given in Figure 3.2, p. 48).

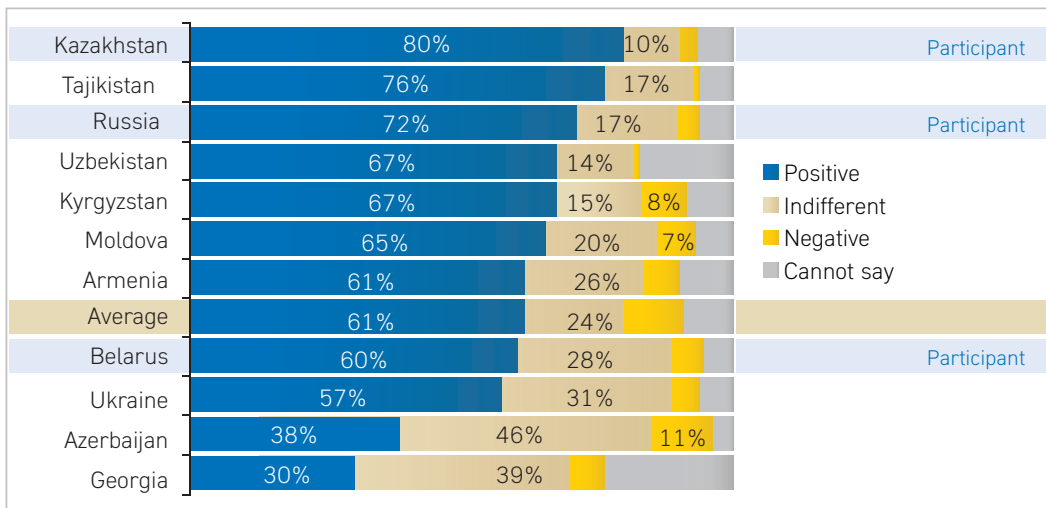


Figure No.1.16. What is your attitude towards the fact that the economies of Belarus, Kazakhstan and Russia united in the Customs Union (which made the trade between those countries free)?

ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

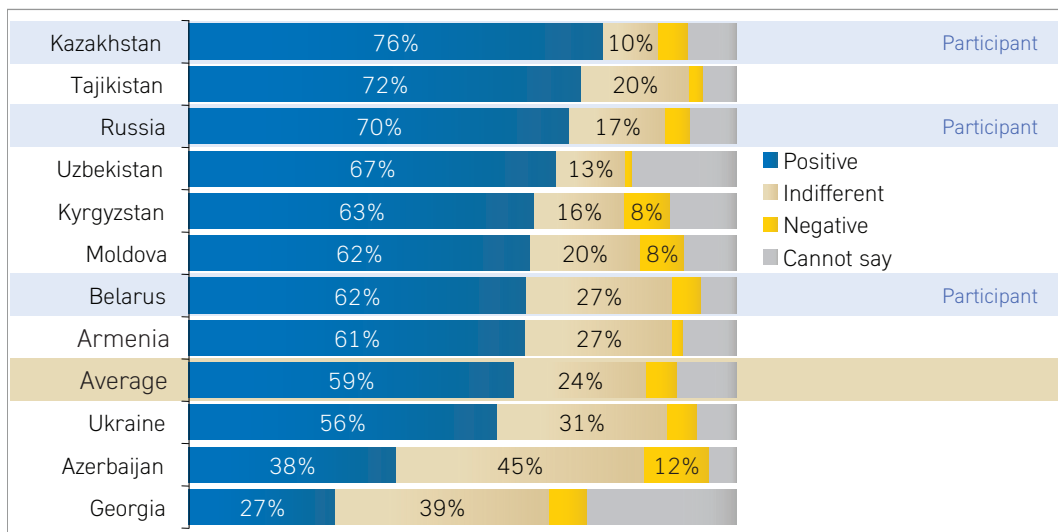
Another interesting fact is the high support for the integration associations in Uzbekistan, despite the population's isolationist mood, obvious from the responses to other questions.

Of the three CU and SES members, Belarus is the one that rates low its participation in the Customs Union and Single Economic Space. Customs Union rate turned out to be even lower than the average over all counties. Probably, these results are the traces of the emotional discussions on tariffs and export duties that have accompanied the process of Belarus entry into the Customs Union. However, the percentage of positive ratings in Belarus is still over 50%.

The list contains only two countries – Azerbaijan and Georgia – where the rate of positive responses does not exceed 50%. The nature of Georgians' integration preferences has, apparently, changed significantly after the conflict in 2008 (followed by the withdrawal from the CIS); therefore, the population of this country is not expected to rate highly integration associations involving Russia. Regarding Azerbaijan, one can say the resulting vector of the population's integration preferences is directed outside the post-Soviet space, namely towards Turkey. Thus, residents of Azerbaijan, when responding to dyadic questions (selection of countries from the list), ranked Turkey first in eight cases out of nine.

Figure No.1.17.

What is your attitude towards the fact that, in addition to the Customs Union, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Russia have established the Single Economic Space (in fact, a single market of the three countries)?



The prospective attitude of the post-Soviet population to the integration associations in this area can be estimated by analysing the age regularities of this attitude formation. The idea that in the change of generations the view of the youth will dominate in the public opinion is the basic assumption for said analysis. Figure 1.18 shows the average rate of attitude to the Customs Union with respect to the countries and age groups.

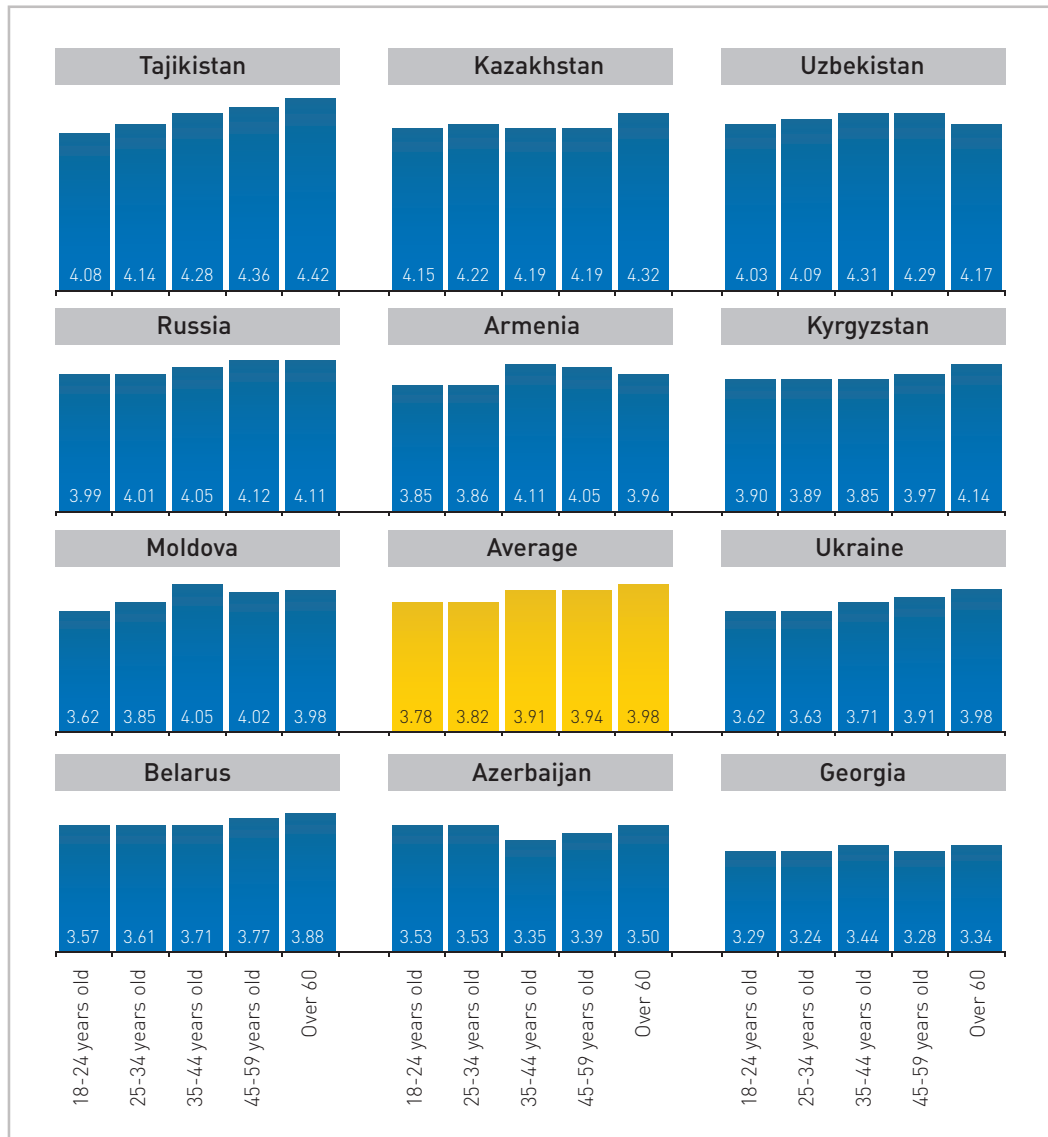
The SES chart is not provided since it illustrates the same tendency – in almost all countries the average rating increased with the increase of respondents' age. That is, the attitude to the integration associations is likely to be generated based not on the feasibility and effectiveness of the associations, but rather on the conservatism of certain groups of the population, especially the older age groups, and based on a positive recollection of the USSR. Consequently, the success of the integration processes in the former Soviet Union is directly proportional to the attractiveness of these processes for its youth.

Other demographic regularities in the integration preferences of the post-Soviet population are described in section 5, page 5.

ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

Figure No.1.18.

What is your attitude towards the fact that the economies of Belarus, Kazakhstan and Russia united in the Customs Union (which made the trade between those countries free)? [average values according to the five-grade scale with age-based grouping]



2. Political Integration

The scheme of this section reproduces the scheme of the Economic Integration section: the section contains two subsections, the first of which describes the distribution of the responses to dyadic questions (selection of the country from the list), while the second provides additional data enabling assessment of the prospects of the integration processes.

2.1. Inter-Country Distance Indicators

The first indicator of political proximity is the idea of friendly countries. Distribution of the responses to the relevant question with the grouping into three categories of countries is shown in Figure 2.1. As one can see, the ratio of responses is significantly different from the ratios for questions on Economic Integration. On average over the countries, none of the three economic integration vectors (Post-Soviet States – EU Countries – Other Countries) has priority; the percentage rates have comparable values. When it comes to friendly countries, we can observe a significant shift in the direction of the Post-Soviet States vector – average 80% of references over the countries. In all of the countries participating in the project, Post-Soviet States response turned out to be most complete.

The most significant upward deviations from the average rate for the other two general integration vectors:

- EU Countries were mentioned more often by respondents in Armenia, Moldova and Georgia, herewith, in Armenia France is deemed to be a friendly EU country, in Moldova – Romania, and in Georgia – France and Germany, in equal proportions.
- Other Countries were mentioned more often by respondents in Azerbaijan and Georgia. For the residents of Azerbaijan, Turkey is the key country out of Other Countries, and for the residents of Georgia – the USA.

Within the post-Soviet space, Russia is mentioned more frequently as the friendly country - 66% (Figure 2.2). The highest rates of those who consider Russia a friendly country are recorded in Armenia, Moldova and the Central Asian countries. The lowest rate is recorded in Georgia, where the percentage of references to Russia as a friend is, for obvious reasons, very low and amounts to 5%.

Another difference between the results obtained and the distribution of answers to economics-related questions is the presence of peripheral correlations, comparable in their significance to the centripetal. For example, in Georgia, Azerbaijan and Ukraine were mentioned more often, while in Ukraine – Belarus.

Russia and Ukraine are the most autonomous countries; that is, they are least reliant upon the friendliness of any country whatsoever (Figure 2.3). The aggregate share of the responses “None” and “Cannot say” in these countries constitutes a quarter of all responses, while on average over 11 countries this rate is twice lower (13%).

POLITICAL INTEGRATION

Figure No.2.1.

Which countries are, in your opinion, friendly for our country (can be relied upon in time of need)? [Countries are classified into three categories]

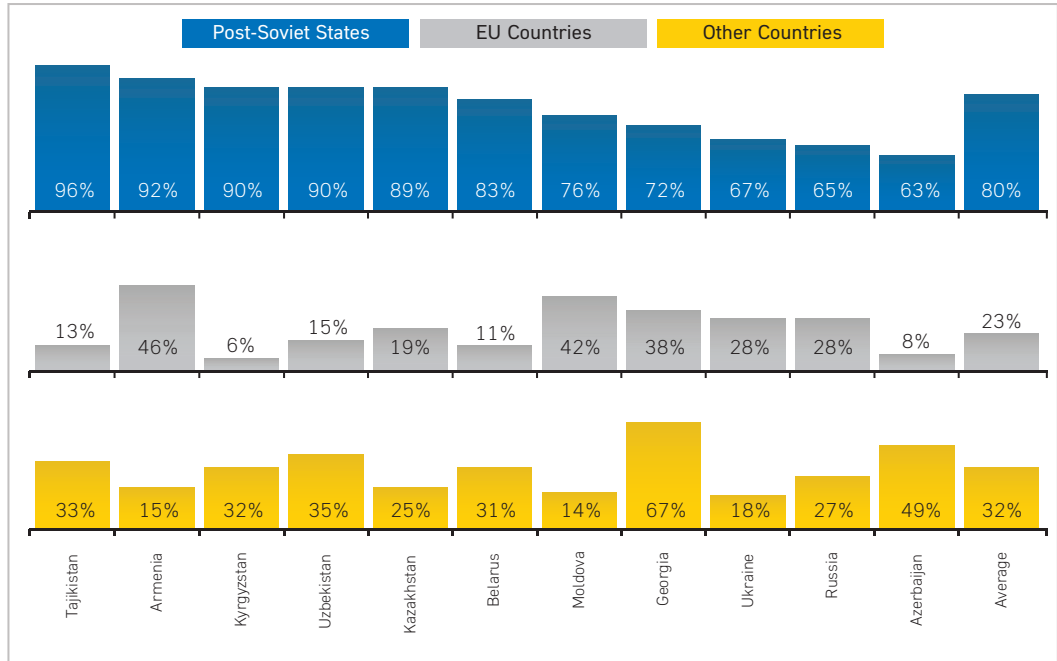
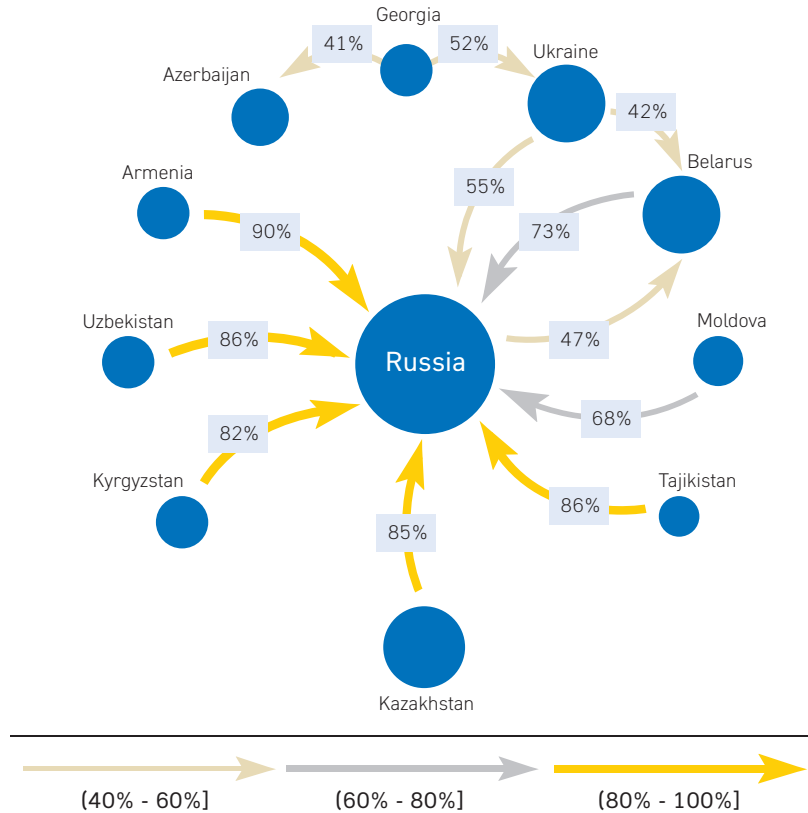


Figure No.2.2.

Which countries are, in your opinion, friendly for our country (can be relied upon in time of need)? [Preferences within the former USSR]



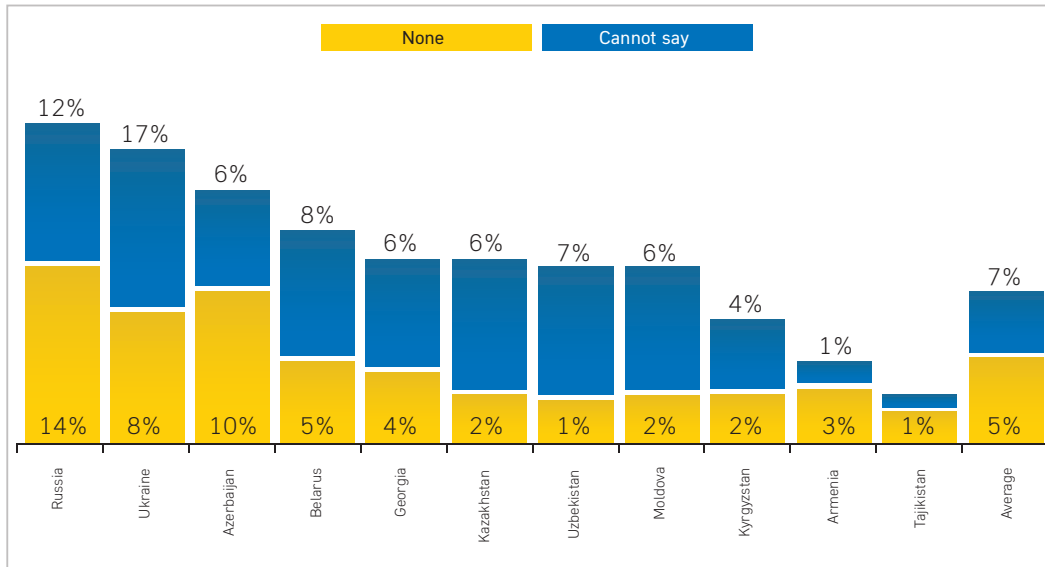


Figure No.2.3. Which countries are, in your opinion, friendly for our country (can be relied upon in time of need)? [Indicators of autonomy]

Another question, opposite to the previous one, was raised in seven of the eleven countries. And the distribution of responses on the sources of threat was shifted in the same direction as the distribution of the responses on the friends, that is, towards the Post-Soviet States group (2.4). Each of the seven countries, except for Belarus, has a threat agent (some of them – two threat agents) of different hazard levels within the former Soviet Union.

The “nominal” list of threat agents is provided in Figure 2.5. The relative significance of each conflict that took place over the last 20-25 years in the post-Soviet space can be easily determined based on interconnection lines. The most heated conflicts were between Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia, and South Ossetia and Georgia; a less acute set of mutual claims took place in Central Asia; and, finally, quite noticeable, but not dominant in the public opinion of Moldova, are the echoes of the Trans-Dnistr conflict and, perhaps, the actions of the Russian Rospotrebnadzor (the Russian consumer rights watchdog)

Only Belarus does not have any enemy within the post-Soviet space, here, the rate of references to the post-Soviet states is in the range of 0% to 4%.

Some countries, asked the above question, indicate the presence of hostile forces among other countries:

- For Armenia, such a hostile force is represented by Turkey (71% of answers).
- For Kyrgyzstan – by the USA (15%) and China (11%).
- For Belarus – by the USA (36%) and major EU countries: UK, Germany and France were referred to in 10%-13% of responses as threat agents.

Moldova is the least involved in conflicts, here, more than half of respondents reported a lack of enemies (Figure 2.6). The most uncompromising country is Armenia. Here, the aggregate share of responses “None” and “Cannot say” makes up only 1%.

POLITICAL INTEGRATION

Figure No.2.4.

Which countries are, in your opinion, unfriendly for our country (our country is conflicting with or the relations with which threaten our country)? [Countries are classified into three categories]

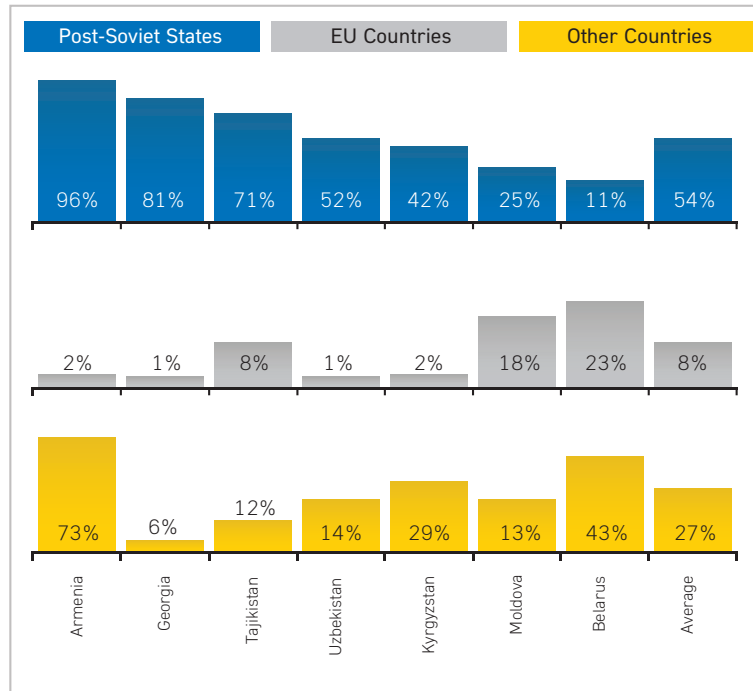
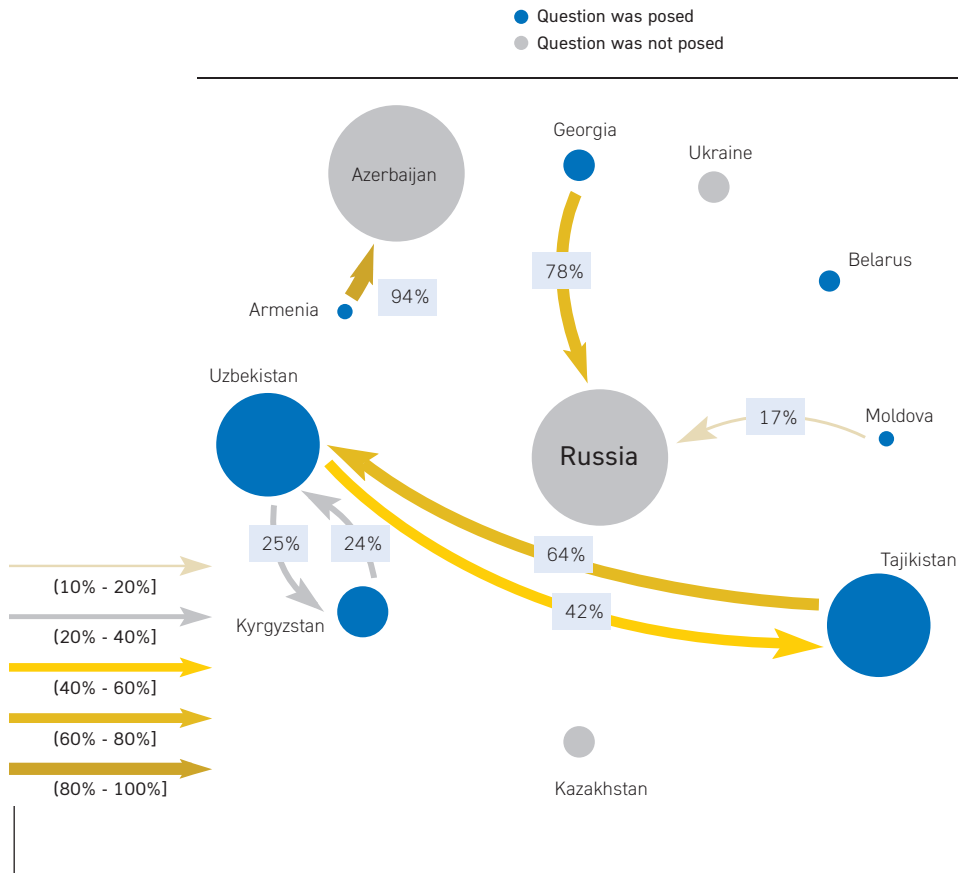


Figure No.2.5.

Which countries are, in your opinion, unfriendly for our country (our country is conflicting with or the relations with which threaten our country)? [Preferences within the former USSR]



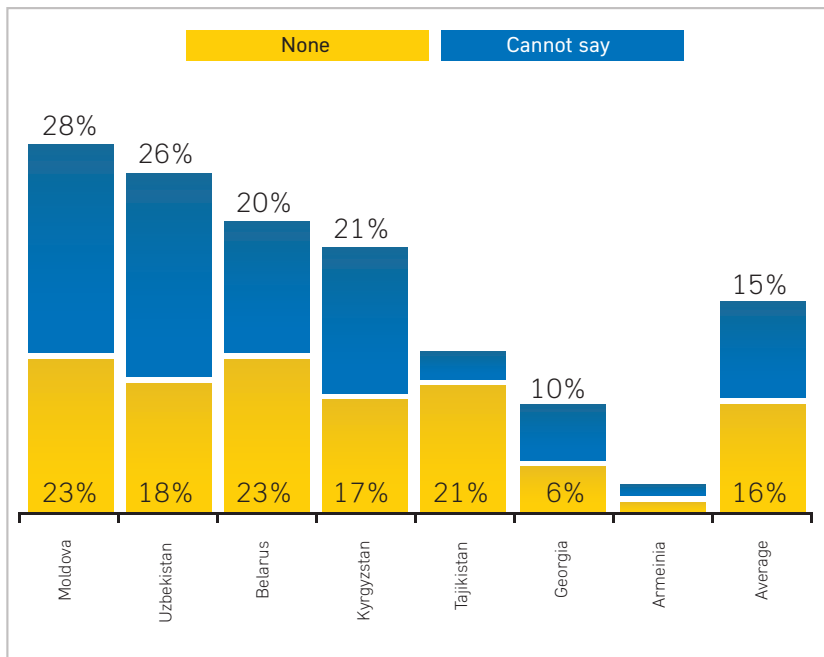


Figure No.2.6. Which countries are, in your opinion, unfriendly for our country (our country is conflicting with or the relations with whom threaten our country)? [Indicators of autonomy]

Another important component of political proximity between the two countries is the possibility of military support. The study examined two aspects of military cooperation – “Who can we help?” and “From whom can we accept help?”

In the issues of military support the post-Soviet states are oriented almost exclusively towards the former Soviet Union (Figure 2.7). EU countries are hardly mentioned as the objects of military support, countries outside the former Soviet Union and European Union countries were referred to only in Azerbaijan (Turkey, 40%), Georgia (the USA, 16%) and Tajikistan (China, 10%; USA, 12%).

Georgia is the only country where the percentage of Post-Soviet States responses is rather different from the first ranking. In this country (as well as in Moldova and Kyrgyzstan) the percentage of responses “None” and “Cannot say” turned out to be rather high (Figure 2.9). Apparently, the respondents in these countries have rated low not the desirability of military assistance to anyone else, but the possibility of such assistance.

Most often, Russia was mentioned as the object of military support within the former Soviet Union (Figure 2.8). One cannot but notice on the same chart a large amount of significant peripheral interconnections. If such issues were settled by public opinion, then such countries as Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan would not remain without military support – each of these countries has more than one incoming line of hypothetical support.

POLITICAL INTEGRATION

Figure No.2.7.

When it comes to political and military assistance (weapons, military forces, political support at the international level, etc.), to which countries would our country provide such assistance? [Countries are classified into three categories]

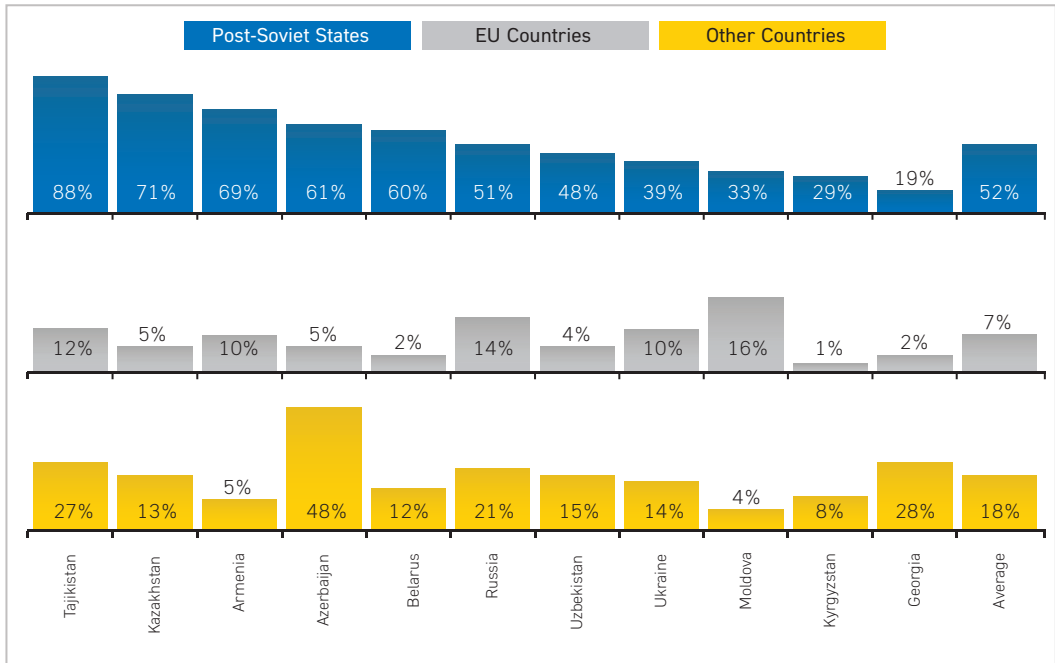
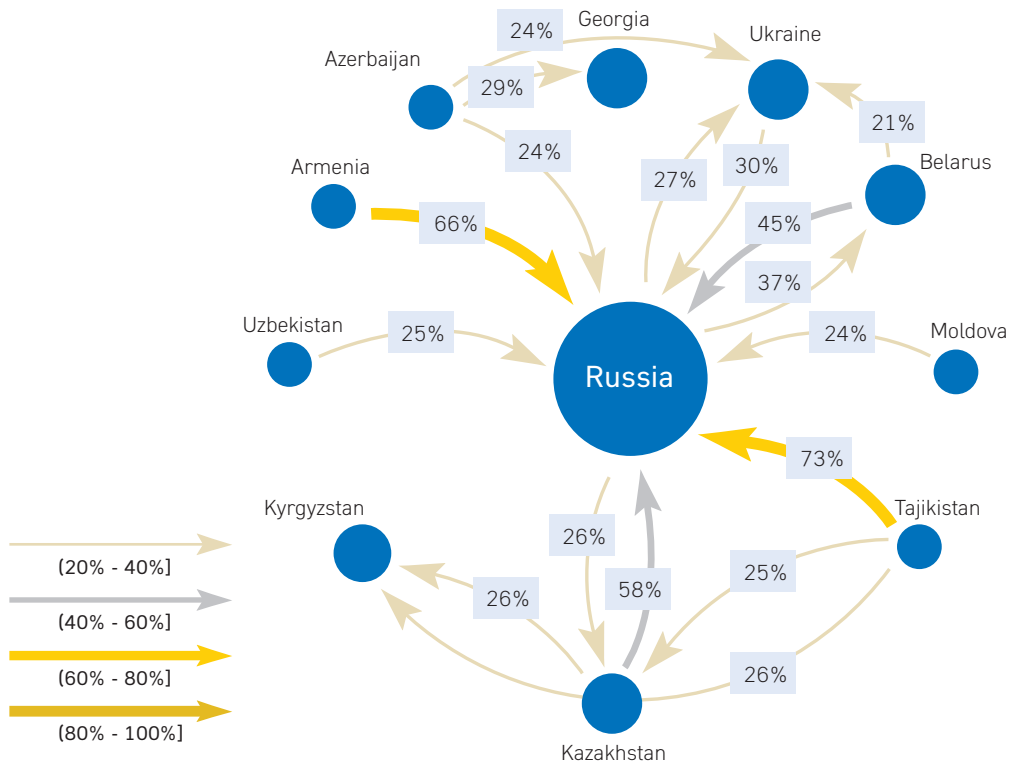


Figure No.2.8.

When it comes to political and military assistance (weapons, military forces, political support at the international level, etc.), to which countries would our country provide such assistance? [Preferences within the former USSR]



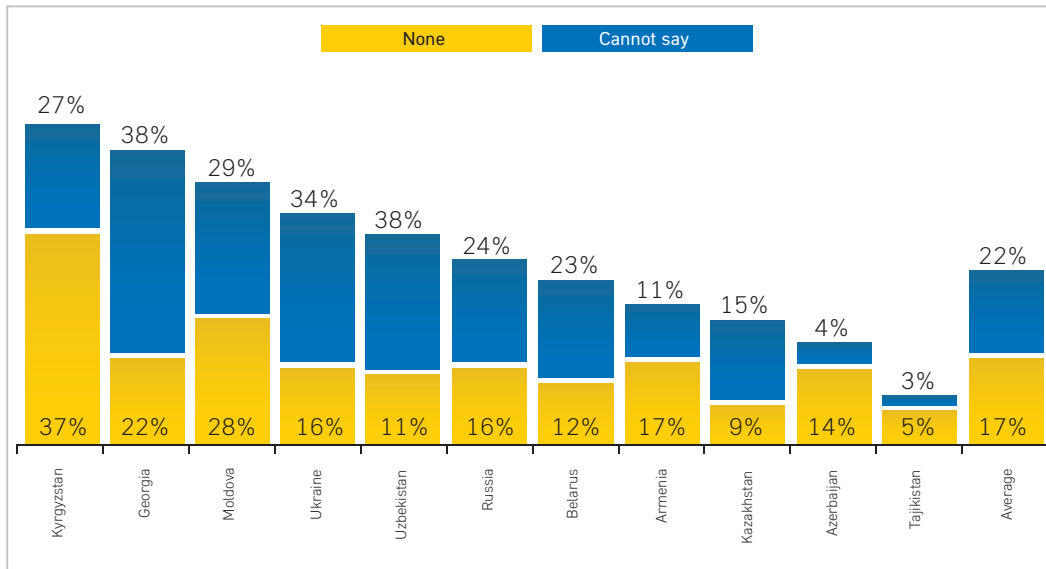


Figure No.2.9. When it comes to political and military assistance (weapons, military forces, political support at the international level, etc.), to which countries would our country provide such assistance? [Indicators of autonomy]

To the question “From whom can we accept military and political assistance?” the population of the countries participating in the project turned out to be even more oriented inside the former Soviet Union – on average, 69% of responses belong to the Post-Soviet States category (Figure 2.10). However, the direct comparison of average data regarding the questions “Who to help” and “Who will help” is not quite correct, since the questions were asked in a different number of countries.

Georgia is the only country where the population is focused on military and political support from outside the post-Soviet space. Almost two-thirds of the respondents in this country, when asked about the desired subject of the military support, mentioned the United States.

Within the post-Soviet states, Russia was often referred to as the subject of military support (Figure 2.11). Also, this chart reflects a large number of peripheral interconnections, but their significance is much lower than that of the centripetal ones. Interestingly, the structure of these interconnections corresponds to the current composition of the Collective Security Treaty Organization (Moldova to be added), and the ratio of the influence of Russia and other countries coincides with this ratio in the CSTO (for example, in the issues of labour force structure maintenance, where Russia’s contribution amounts to 50%).

Apart from Russia (the average reference rate is 63%), Ukraine (average 9%) and Kazakhstan (average 9%) were most frequently mentioned as desirable subjects of military and political support. For comparison, the average reference rate of the USA amounted to 16%.

The aggregate share of responses “None” and “Cannot say” was highest in Uzbekistan and Georgia (Figure 2.12). In these countries, the autonomy rate is 30% or more, whereas the average rate in other countries is about 20%.

POLITICAL INTEGRATION

Figure No.2.10.

From which countries could our country accept military and political assistance? [Countries are classified into three categories]

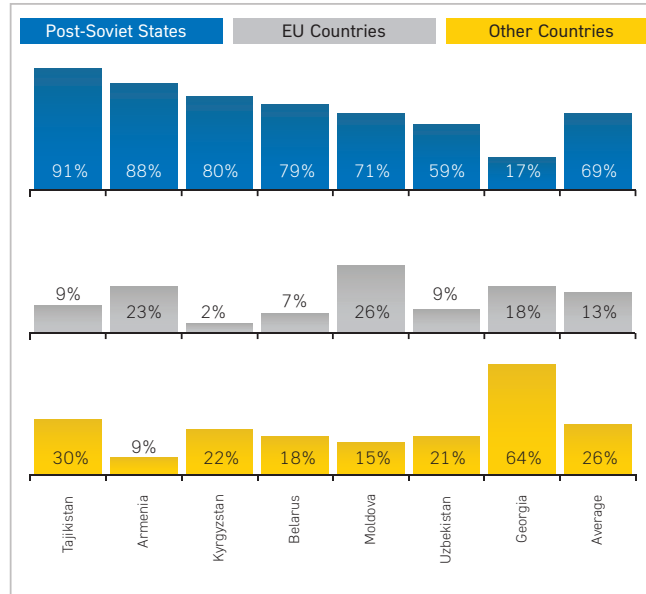
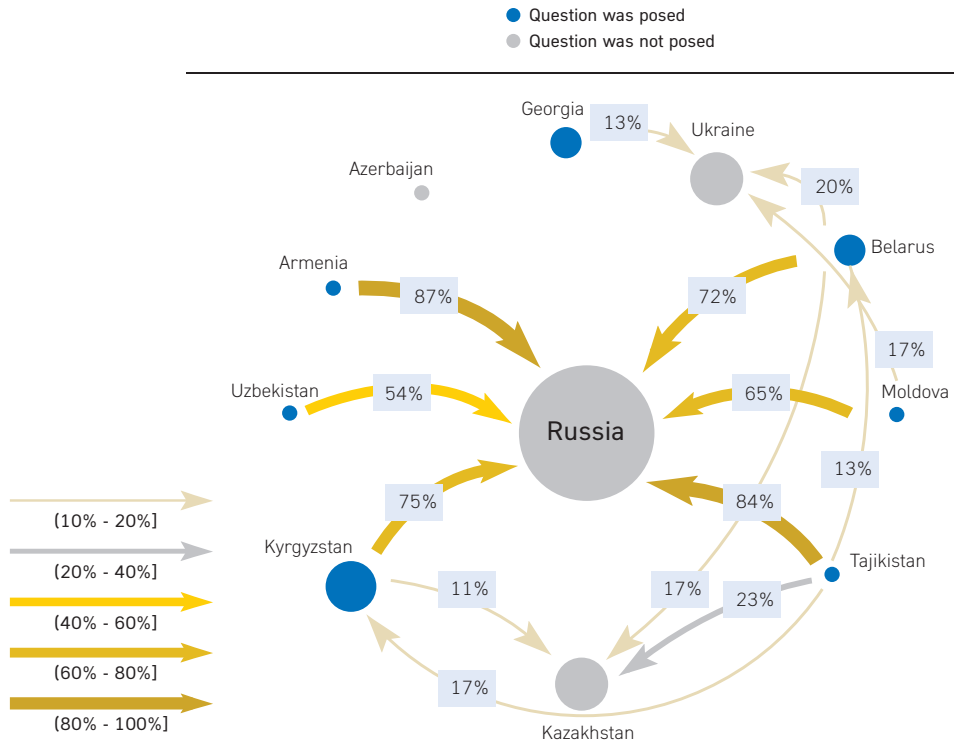


Figure No.2.11.

From which countries could our country accept military and political assistance? [Preferences within the former USSR]³



³ In order to avoid misinterpretation, we remind you that the arrows demonstrate the direction of the population's sympathies and preferences – that is, an arrow from Country 1 to Country 2 means that n% of respondents in Country 1 when responding to this question mentioned Country 2: for example, in response to this question 77% of the respondents in Armenia mentioned Russia.

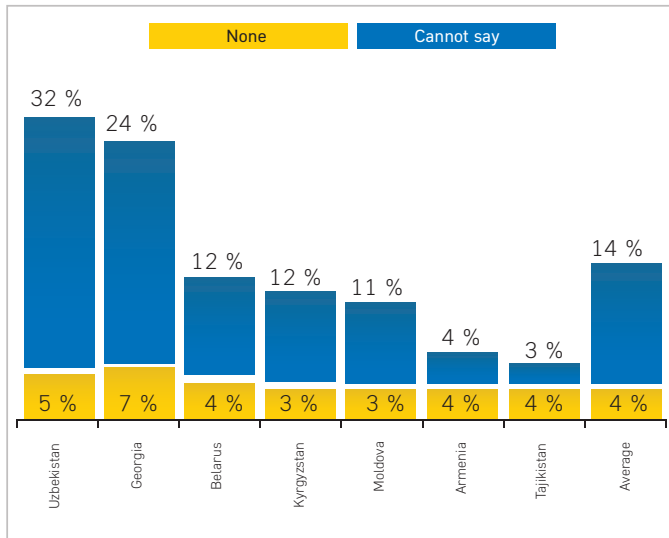


Figure No.2.12. From which countries could our country accept military and political assistance? [Indicators of autonomy]

2.2. The Future of the Integration Processes

Only in two countries – Tajikistan and Kazakhstan – does the percentage of respondents who believe that in the next five years the post-Soviet states will approach each other exceed 50% (Figure 2.13). However, the percentage of responses “Countries will drift apart” does not rank first in any country, and only in Azerbaijan does it exceed the percentage of responses on approach.

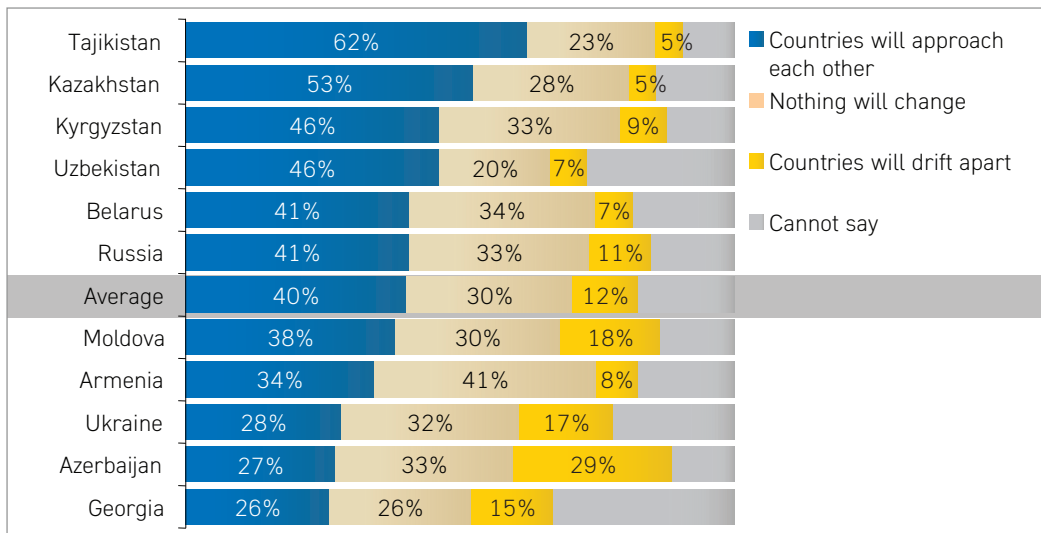


Figure No.2.13. Will, in your opinion, CIS countries approach each other or drift apart in the next five years?

Figure 2.14 shows the average rates of the possibilities of approaching and drifting apart according to the countries and age groups. Virtually in all countries the average rates increase with the increase in the age of the respondents. That is, even the optimism inherent in the youth cannot significantly influence its idea of the future integration. Figure 2.14 shows the average rates of the possibilities of approaching and drifting apart according to the countries

POLITICAL INTEGRATION

and age groups. Virtually in all countries the average rates increase with the increase in the age of the respondents. That is, even the optimism inherent in the youth cannot significantly influence its idea of the future integration processes. This means that the approaching processes are not considered by the youth to be positive events. For comparison, the percentage of responses “Better” to the question of how their family will live in a year in the category “18-24 years old” in each of the countries is 1.5-3 times higher than the percentage of similar responses among the population over 60. That is, in the questions regarding the assessment of the future prospects the reasonable assessment of one’s own prospects is replaced by pure optimism in most cases. However, such substitution is not observed during the assessment of integration prospects.

Figure No.2.14. Will, in your opinion, CIS countries approach each other or drift apart in the next five years? [average values based on three-point grading scale, where 1 corresponds to the response “Will drift apart”, and 3 – to “Will approach” with the grouping according to age]



3. Socio-Cultural Integration

This section, like the previous ones, contains two subsections: the first one describes the indicators of socio-cultural distance between the countries, calculated based on the respondents' answers to dyadic questions, and the second one provides additional data to assess the dynamics and prospects of integration processes.

3.1. Inter-Country Distance Indicators

Socio-cultural attraction between the countries consists, first of all, of the population's cognitive interests in other countries (i.e., in the fields of culture, the arts, etc.) and, secondly, of the real practical interest in other countries – for example, the desire to visit these countries or interest in receiving an education abroad. The indicators of practical interest should include actual communication with their families, relatives and colleagues residing in other countries. On average, over nine countries where the question about close correspondents was posed, 57% of respondents indicated that they have such relations in the post-Soviet states (Figure 3.1). In five countries – Tajikistan, Armenia, Kyrgyzstan, Belarus and Moldova – over half of the adult population has such relations.

The share of “EU countries” answer considerably exceeds the average values in the three countries – Armenia, Moldova and Georgia:

- the residents of Armenia keep in touch with France (15%);
- the residents of Moldova – with Romania (17%) and Italy (21%);
- the residents of Georgia – with Italy and Greece (6% each).

Only Armenia has a large diaspora outside the post-Soviet space and Europe – almost one fourth of the residents of this country over 18 years old keeps in touch with correspondents in the USA.

Tajikistan (83% of respondents keep in touch with family or colleagues in Russia), Armenia (73%) and Kyrgyzstan (61%) have the biggest diasporas in Russia (as related to the country's population). The corresponding data are shown in Figure 3.2.

Peripheral communications are also available, although they are less significant. Thus, 22% of Moldovans and 22% of Belarusians have regular contacts in Ukraine, and 23% of the adult residents of Kyrgyzstan – in Kazakhstan.

Russia, Uzbekistan, Ukraine and Georgia are the most autonomous countries, that is, they are the least involved in communication with residents of other countries (Figure 3.3). Tajikistan is opposite of these countries, since there, only every tenth adult has no regular contacts outside the country.

SOCIO-CULTURAL INTEGRATION

Figure No.3.1.

In which countries do you have relatives, close friends and colleagues with whom you keep in touch (in person, by mail, phone, etc.)? [Countries are classified into three categories]

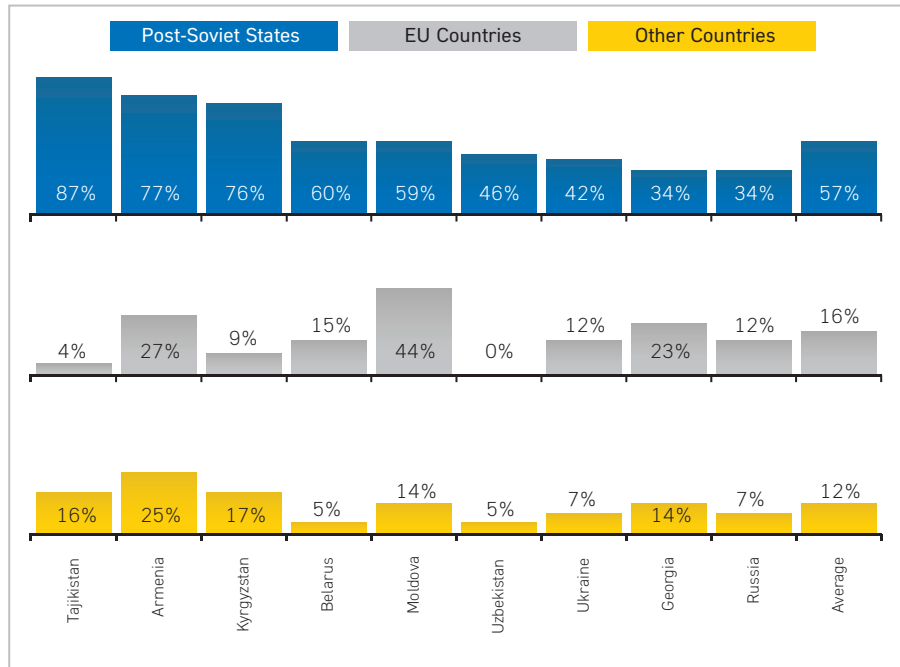
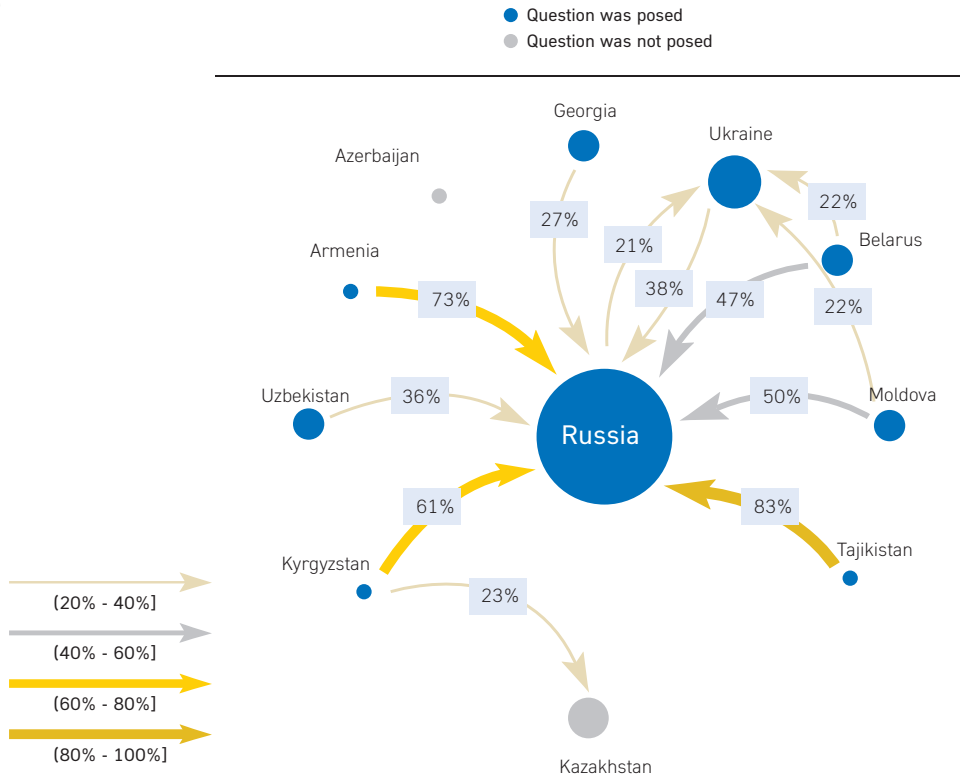


Figure No.3.2.

In which countries do you have relatives, close friends and colleagues with whom you keep in touch (in person, by mail, phone, etc.)? [Preferences within the former USSR]



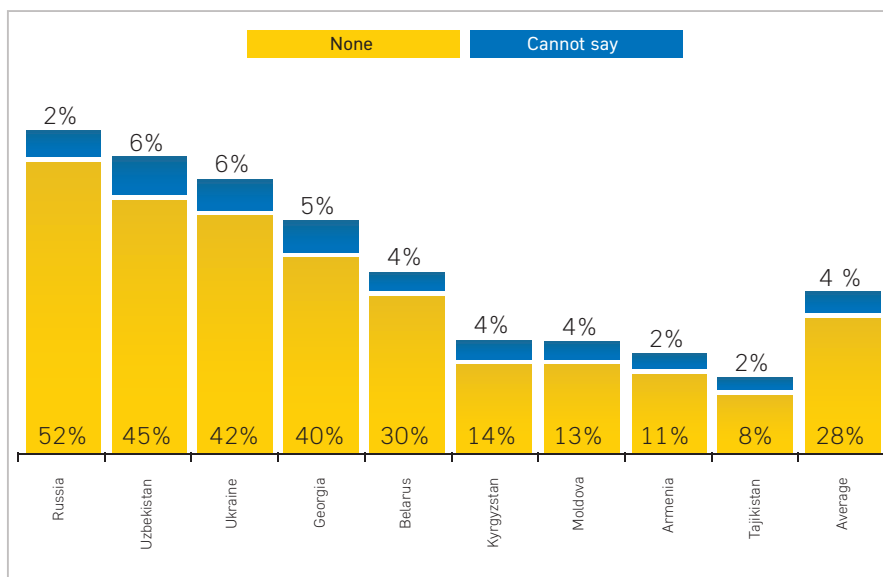


Figure No.3.3. In which countries do you have relatives, close friends and colleagues with whom you keep in touch (in person, by mail, phone, etc.)? [Indicators of autonomy]

The following two indicators of socio-cultural proximity of the countries are the rates of the actual and cross-border mobility of the post-Soviet population, which characterize the current humanitarian interests of the population and the extent of their implementation.

On average over the countries, 30% of the population has visited at least one post-Soviet state over the past five years (Figure 3.4). This rate is the highest in Moldova, Belarus and Kyrgyzstan; in these countries, almost every second person has recently visited another post-Soviet state. The lowest cross-border mobility in the direction of the CIS is recorded in Georgia, only 8%.

In Moldova, almost every fourth resident over 18 has attended at least one EU country (in 15% of cases out of 23% this was Romania) over the past five years. This rate is considerably higher than in other countries participating in the project.

On average over the countries, only 7% of respondents have managed to visit other countries over the past five years. In Russia (13%) and Georgia (12%) the percentage is relatively higher, and in both cases the most visited country is Turkey.

Within the former Soviet Union, the main targets of cross-border mobility are Russia and Ukraine. Temporary migration flows from all countries except Georgia are directed towards Russia; from Russia, Belarus and Moldova – towards Ukraine (see Figure 3.5).

In response to the question of actual mobility, a high percentage of the responses “None” and “Cannot say” is quite natural – average 63% over the countries (Figure 3.6). The most autonomous nations are Uzbekistan and Georgia, where about 80% of the population have no recent experience of traveling abroad.

SOCIO-CULTURAL INTEGRATION

Figure No.3.4.

Which countries have you visited over the past 5 years for personal, business or tourism purposes? [Countries are classified into three categories]

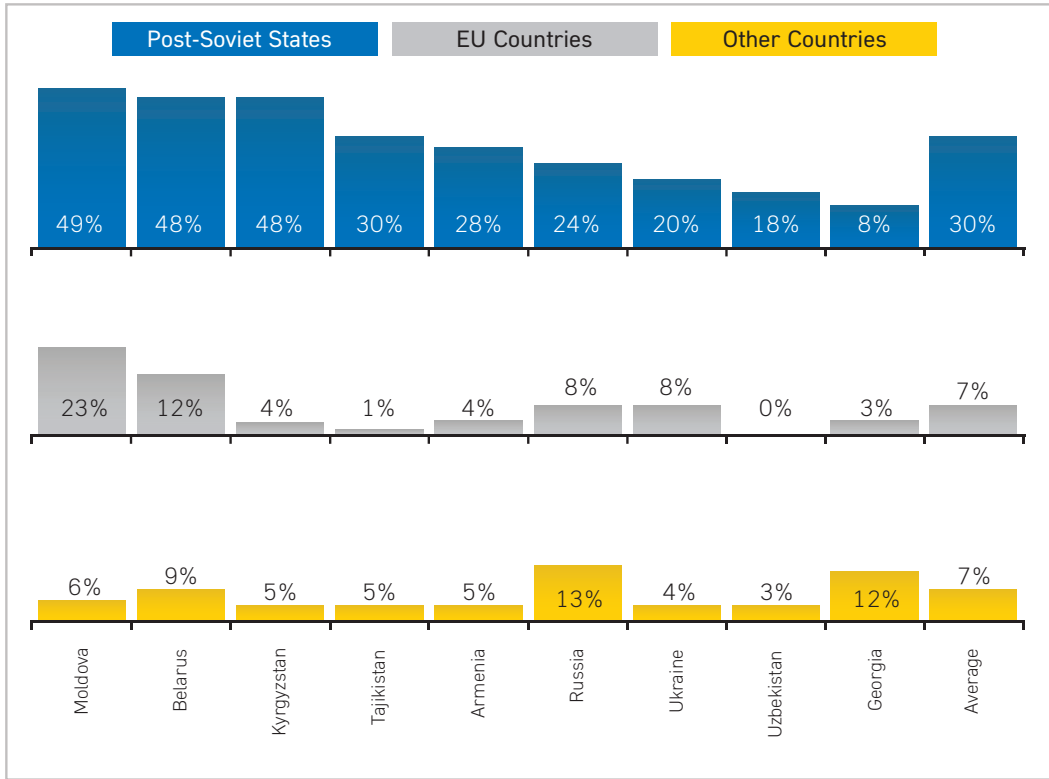
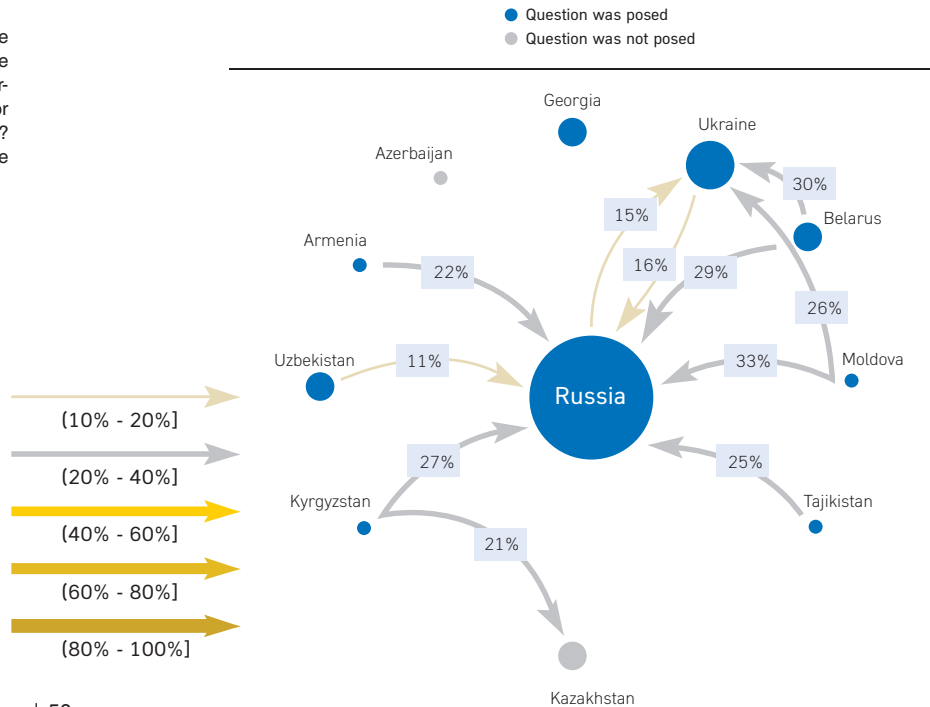


Figure No.3.5.

Which countries have you visited over the past 5 years for personal, business or tourism purposes? [Preferences within the former USSR]



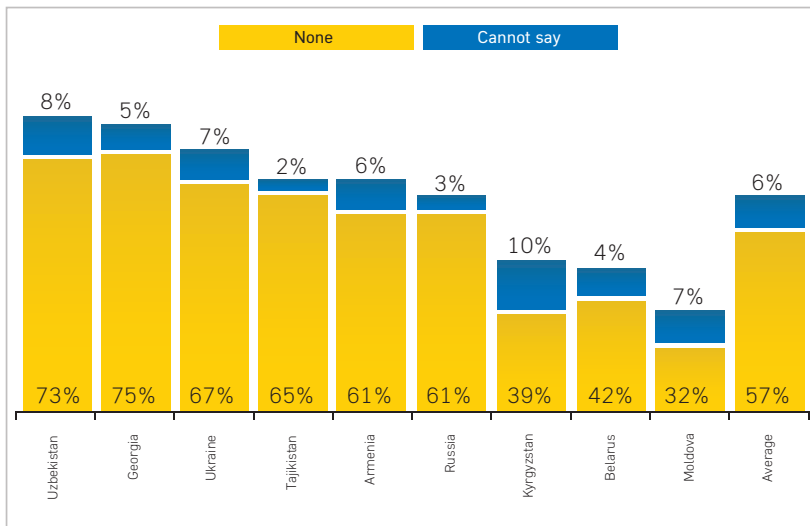


Figure No.3.6. Which countries have you visited over the past 5 years for personal, business or tourism purposes? [Indicators of autonomy]

The structure of the desirable tourism destinations significantly differs from that of actual migration (Figure 3.7). The average percentage of references to the European Union or other world countries is considerably higher than the average percentage of references to the post-Soviet states. The population of Georgia, Armenia and Moldova were expressing their wish to travel to any EU country more frequently than others. In the first two cases, the most attractive country was France, and for Moldavians, Romania was the main object of attraction in the European Union.

The desire to visit other world countries is most characteristic of the residents of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. In both cases it is mainly Turkey.

Post-Soviet countries failed to become the most attractive tourism destination for a hypothetical trip in any national sampling. And one can hardly assume that the low attractiveness of this area is due to the fact that the interest in it has already been satisfied (and now people want to see distant countries). In contrast, the percentage of those desiring to visit the post-Soviet states is the highest in Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova and Belarus, that is in the countries where the percentage of those already having the experience of visiting the post-Soviet space is the highest.

Within this space, attraction lines are located traditionally, that is, above all towards Russia (Figure 3.8). The residents of Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Armenia have the greatest interest in Russia. Judging from the above-listed countries, we can assume that the point is not only and perhaps not so much in the interests of tourism, but in the idea of labour migration.

On average across the countries, about 20% of the population did not wish to travel anywhere even for tourist purposes (Figure 3.9). The highest percentage of refusals is in Russia and Ukraine (about one-third of the adult population). This is partially due to the relatively high conservatism of the older generation – in the “over 60” category 54% of Russians and 65% of Ukrainians did not want to go anywhere, whereas in other countries this rate averages only 38%.

SOCIO-CULTURAL INTEGRATION

Figure No.3.7.

Which countries would you like to visit on vacation or for tourism?
[Countries classified into three categories]

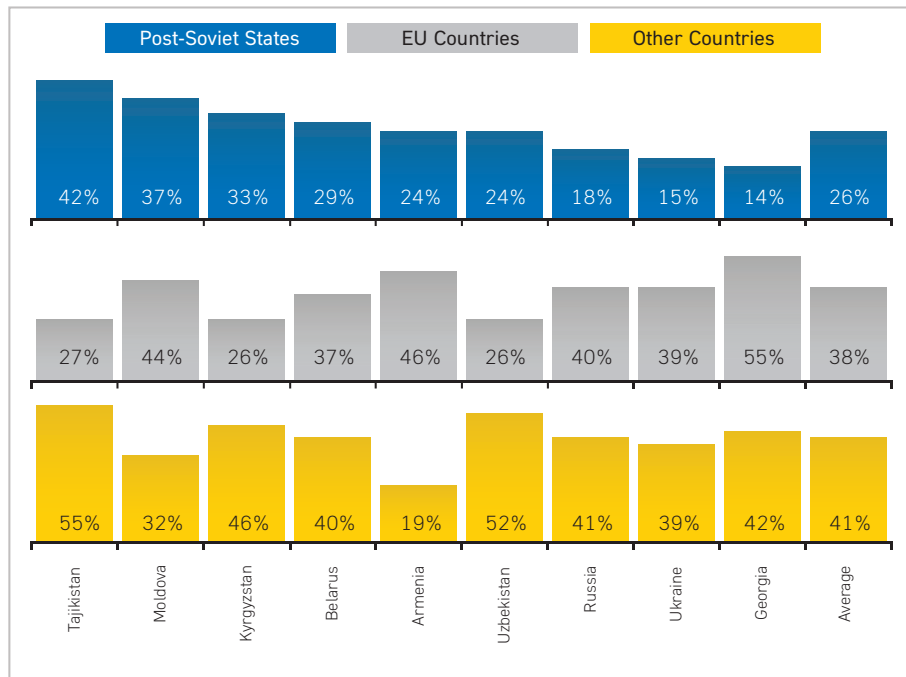
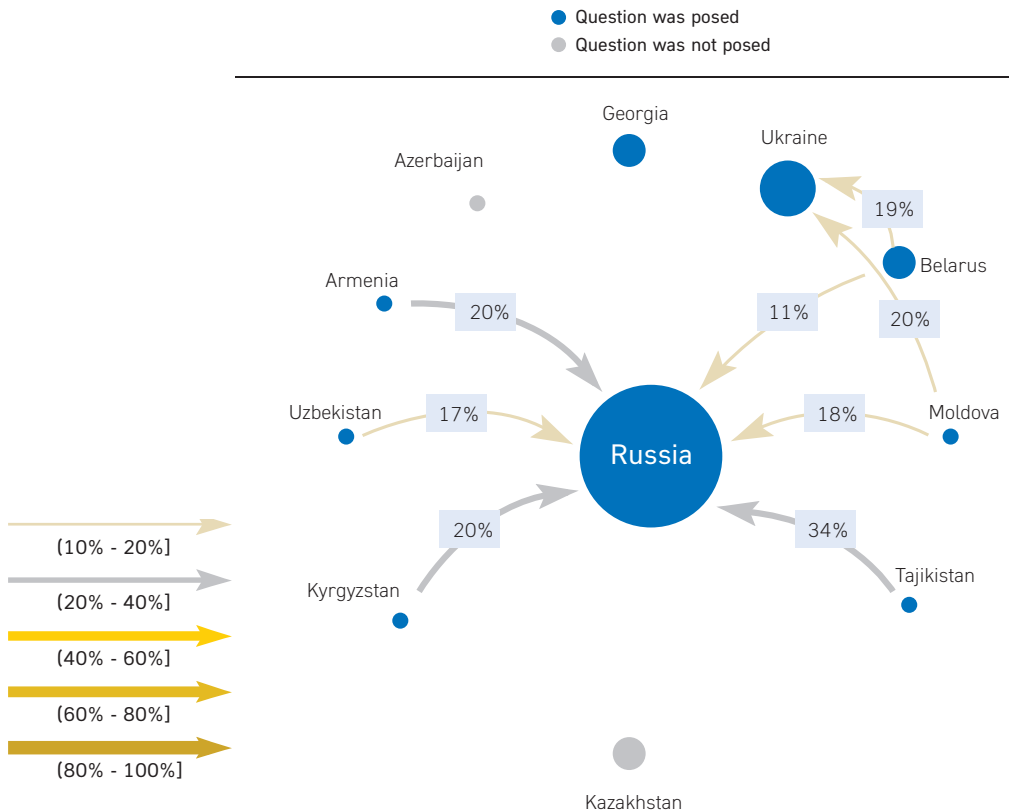


Figure No.3.8.

Which countries would you like to visit on vacation or for tourism?
[Preferences within the former USSR]



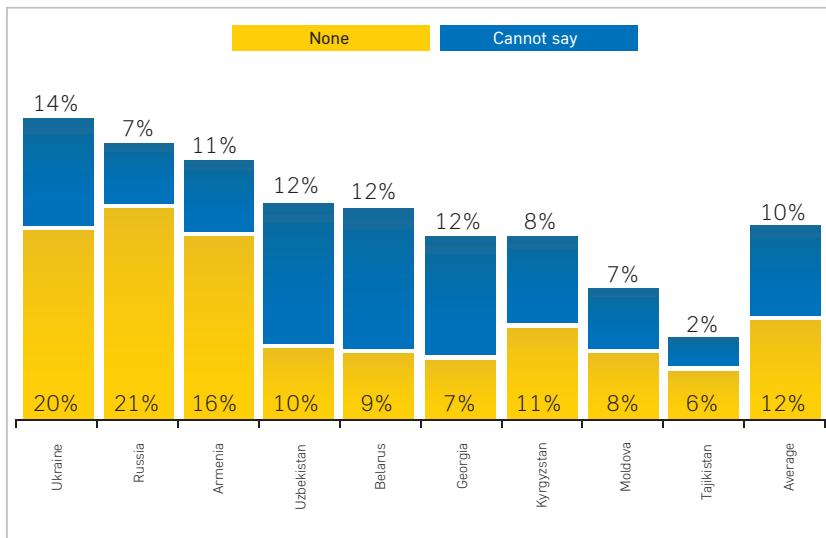


Figure No.3.9.
Which countries would you like to visit on vacation or for tourism? [Indicators of autonomy]

In the question about the attractiveness of the inflow of tourists none of the geopolitical clusters (Post-Soviet States – EU Countries – Other Countries) has priority; each received about 50% of references (Figure 3.10). When considering the particular distributions, the following deviations from the average rate may be observed:

- In Moldova, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan the average orientation towards the inflow of tourists from outside the post-Soviet space is slightly above average.
- In Moldova, as well as in Georgia and Armenia the willingness to accept tourists from the EU countries is above average. Moldova is focused primarily on Romania (35% of references), the residents of Georgia and Armenia do not have an interest in any particular country.
- The residents of Georgia and Tajikistan are oriented towards the inflow of tourists from the countries outside the post-Soviet space and the European Union. For Georgia, the absolute priority is the USA (49% of references) and for Tajikistan – the USA and China (24%).

In the post-Soviet space, the most popular tourists are the Russians (Figure 3.11) and, to a lesser extent, the residents of Kazakhstan, Ukraine and Belarus. Tajikistan and Moldova frequently mentioned Russia as a desirable source of tourists.

Interestingly, the percentage of respondents who have mentioned Russia and Georgia was relatively high (29%). This is not only significantly higher than the percentage of the Georgians, who themselves would like to visit Russia (6%), but in general the highest percentage of reference to Russia by the respondents from Georgia from the set of 17 questions, except, of course, the question of hostility (78% of respondents consider Russia to be a threat agent). That is, after the relations became cooler, the residents of Georgia have not rejected the possibility of cooperation with Russia, but desire to cooperate in areas that are economically beneficial to Georgia.

The residents of Uzbekistan demonstrated the greatest closeness – 36% of respondents did not mention any country attractive as a source of tourist flow (Figure 3.12). Over the countries, the share of refusals averages 20%.

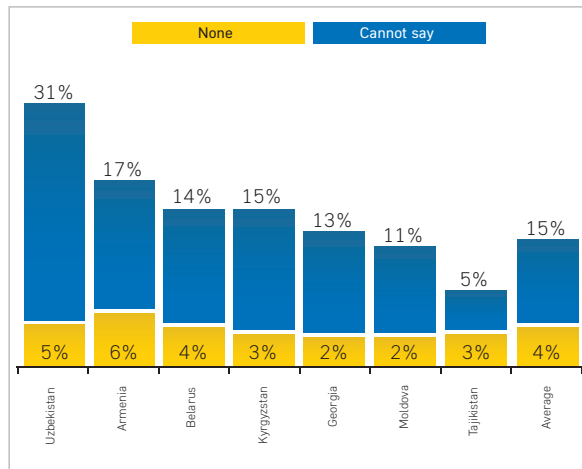


Figure No.3.12. Tourism from which countries would be beneficial for our country? [Indicators of autonomy]

According to the degree of cognitive interest over the countries, the three general geopolitical clusters are virtually indistinguishable – each of them received a third of references (see Figure 3.13). However, there are some significant fluctuations within the average values. Thus, Moldova and Georgia significantly differ from the others in terms of the level of interest in the EU Countries cluster. For Moldova, Romania is the main representative of this cluster (15% of references), and for Georgia – France (32% of references).

Residents of Central Asian countries, as well as of Moldova and Belarus, traditionally express the greatest interest in Russia. Other Countries were more frequently mentioned by the respondents from Tajikistan, Azerbaijan and Georgia.

Within the post-Soviet space, Russia and Ukraine are the most attractive countries. Peripheral (without the participation of Russia and Ukraine) connections, formed by the cultural interests of the population, were not very intense – almost all other countries do not have the “incoming” lines of interest of at least 10%. Uzbekistan is the only exception; it was referred to by 10% of respondents in Tajikistan.

Russia and Ukraine, ranking first among the objects of cultural interest, rank last among the subjects of such interest: 53% and 49% of respondents in Ukraine and Russia said they were interested in the history, culture and geography of none of the countries from the questionnaire (Figure 3.15). In other words, Russia and Ukraine are most interesting for the population of other countries, but are the least interested in those countries.

SOCIO-CULTURAL INTEGRATION

Figure No.3.13.

Which countries are you interested in (in terms of their history, culture, geography, nature)? [Countries are classified into three categories]

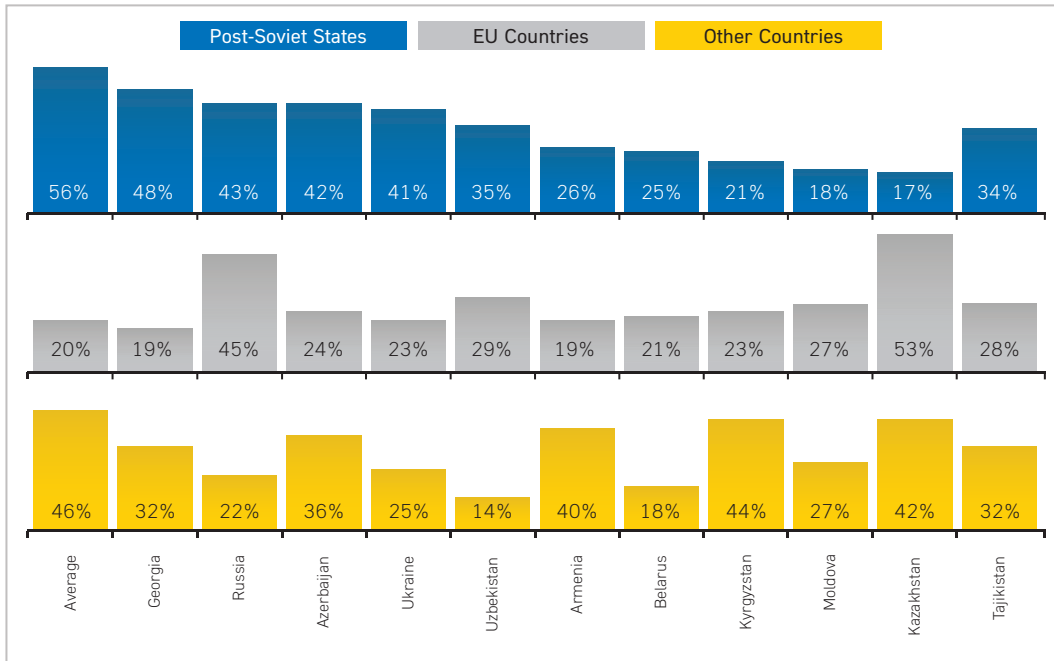
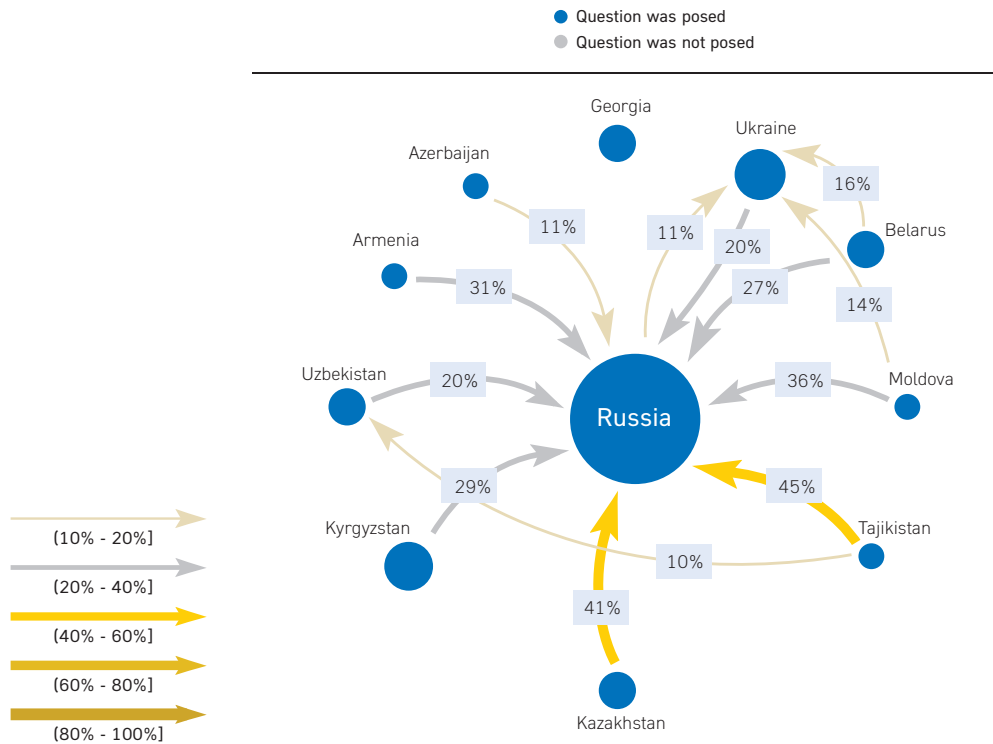


Figure No.3.14.

Which countries are you interested in (in terms of their history, culture, geography, nature)? [Preferences within the former USSR]



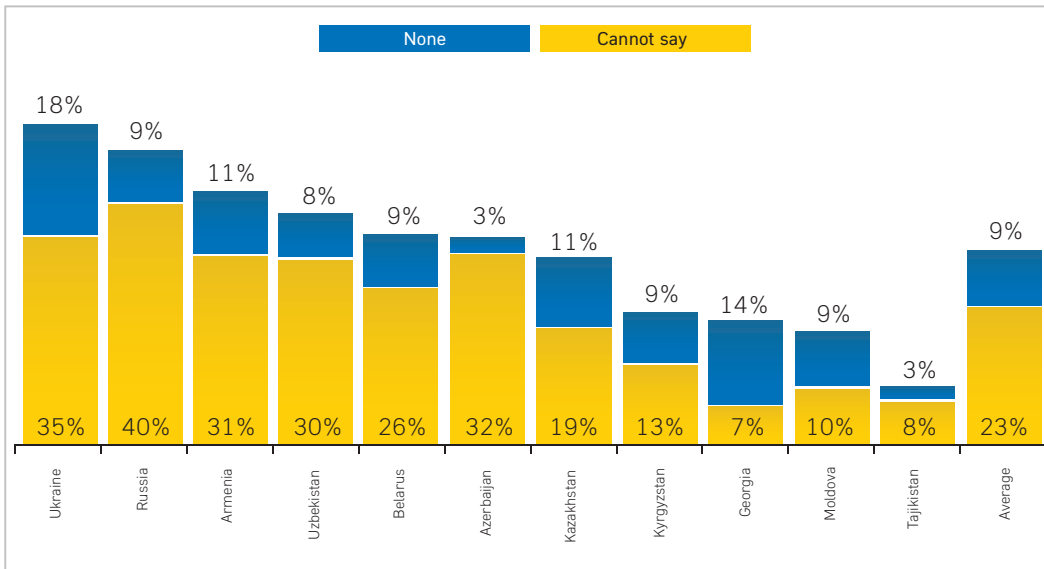


Figure No.3.15. Which countries are you interested in (in terms of their history, culture, geography, nature)? [Indicators of autonomy]

The interest of post-Soviet residents in the supply of creative goods and services was primarily directed inside the post-Soviet space – the share of reference to the Post-Soviet States category averaged 56% over the countries (Figure 3.16). Such a vector of interest is typical mostly for the residents of Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan, and to a lesser extent – for the residents of Georgia.

The populations of Moldova, Georgia and Armenia are more interested than others in the import of creative goods and services from the European Union. The residents of Moldova mentioned Romania most often (37% of responses), while the respondents from Georgia and Armenia mentioned France (36% of references in each of the two countries).

The residents of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan are focused on the culture and art from other world countries more than others. In Tajikistan, 36% of respondents referred to Turkey; in Uzbekistan, India became the most referred to country in the Other Countries category (31%).

In the post-Soviet space, Russia and Ukraine look more attractive as the potential suppliers of artists, writers, actors and works of art (Figure 3.17). The culture of the latter attracts the respondents in Georgia, Belarus and Moldova. Also the Central Asian cluster of mutual interest lines is indicated in the chart.

The cultural needs of the respondents from Kyrgyzstan and Moldova turned out to be most diverse – each country has three important lines of outgoing cultural interest. The residents of Kyrgyzstan are interested in the supply of culture from Russia and from their closest neighbours, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. The population of Moldova is culturally oriented towards the Slavic group of countries – Russia, Ukraine and Belarus.

Armenia became the country with the highest share of “None” and “Cannot say” replies. (34%, Figure 3.18).

SOCIO-CULTURAL INTEGRATION

Figure No.3.16.

From which countries, in your opinion, should artists, writers and actors be invited to our country? Where should our country buy books, movies, music and other cultural products? [Countries are classified into three categories]

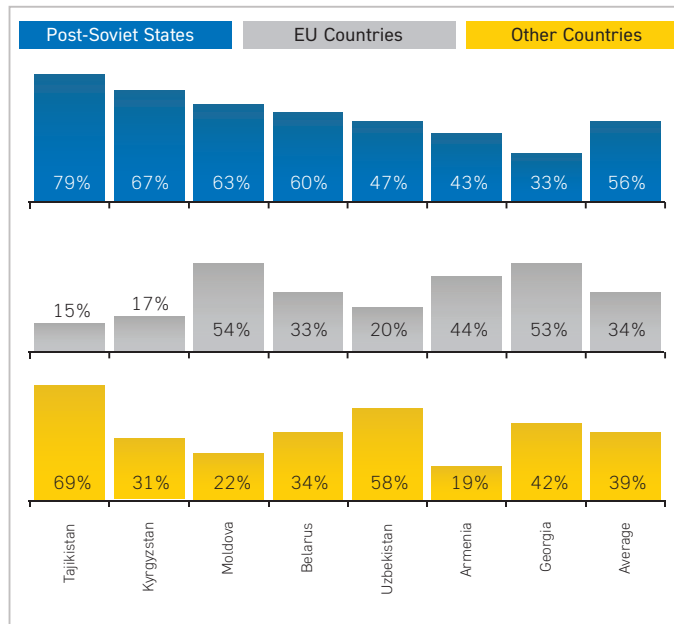
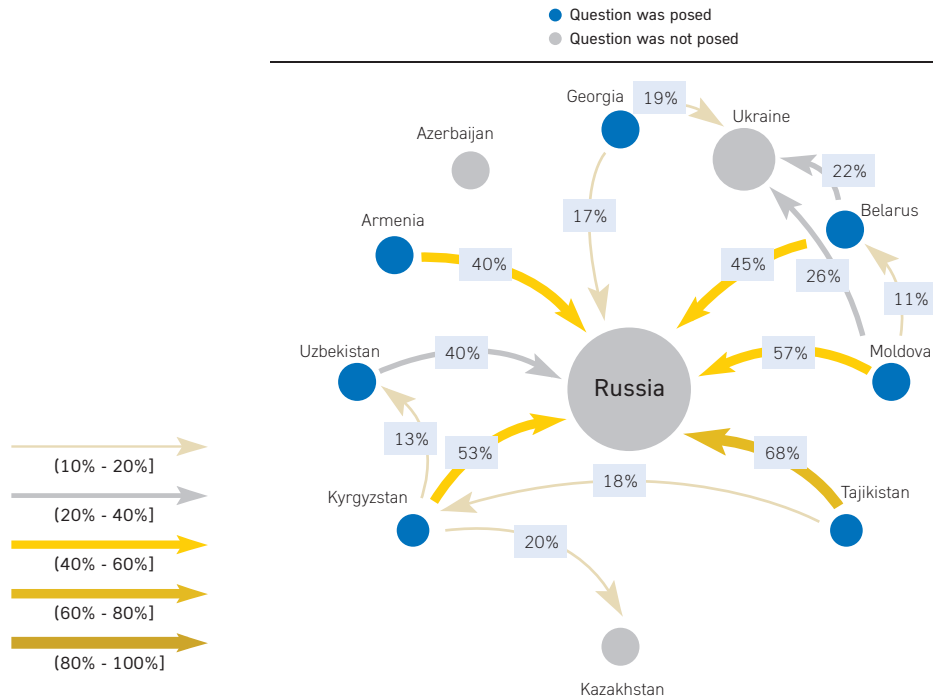


Figure No.3.17.

From which countries, in your opinion, should artists, writers and actors be invited to our country? Where should our country buy books, movies, music and other cultural products? [Preferences within the former USSR]⁵



⁵ In order to avoid misinterpretation, we remind you that the arrows show the direction of a population's sympathies and preferences – that is, an arrow from Country 1 to Country 2 means that n% of respondents in Country 1 when responding to this question mentioned Country 2: for example, in response to this question 40% of the respondents in Armenia mentioned Russia.

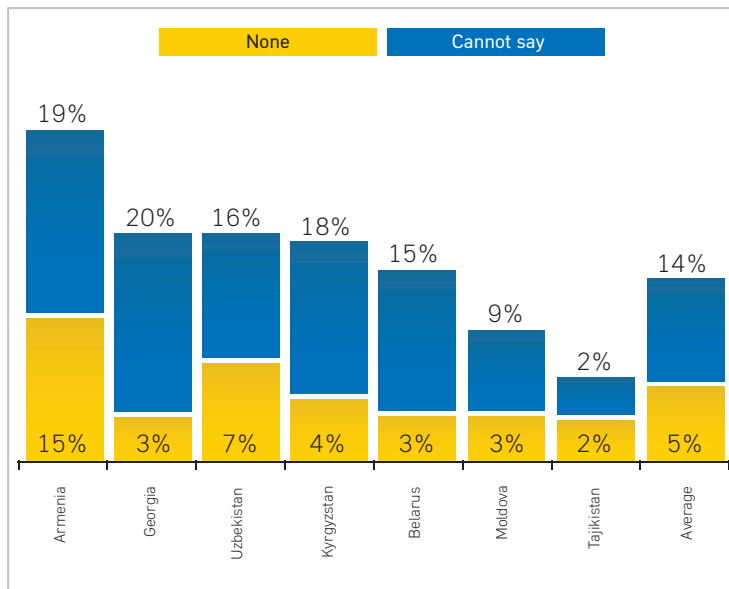


Figure No.3.18. From which countries, in your opinion, should artists, writers and actors be invited to our country? Where should our country buy books, movies, music and other cultural products? [Indicators of autonomy]

The last indicator of socio-cultural proximity between the countries, used in the current study, is the desire to study abroad or to send children to study abroad. Here, the post-Soviet space does not have any special competitive advantage to the European Union or most frequently-mentioned world countries (Figure 3.19). Only in one country (Kazakhstan) does the share of Post-Soviet States responses exceed the share of responses in the other two categories, but this is not statistically significant.

European Union countries – on average the most mentioned category of responses – were most often mentioned by the respondents from Moldova (43% of response; 17% of them are in Romania) and Georgia (54% of responses; the most popular response in the category is Great Britain, 31%).

The desirable educational trajectory of the respondents from Tajikistan, Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan goes outside the post-Soviet space and the European Union. The residents of Azerbaijan prefer Turkey, three other countries – the United States. In Tajikistan, the USA is referred to in 44% of responses, and this is the highest rate in the respondents’ answers to the question of education across all countries. The second most frequent response is also recorded in Tajikistan, the residents of which mentioned Russia (36%). That is, Tajikistan has two opposite “educational groups”. The frequency of references to the USA is higher in the extreme age categories of population (“18-24” and “over 60”), the frequency of references to Russia is higher in the middle age categories (“35-44”).

In general, the post-Soviet space turned out to be not very attractive as a place for receiving education. In fact, Russia was the only country mentioned in this context (Figure 3.20); the share of reference to any other country did not exceed 5%.

On average across the countries, about one-third of the population does not consider any option for getting education abroad (Figure 3.21). The highest percentage of refusals is in Russia and Ukraine (about every other).

SOCIO-CULTURAL INTEGRATION

Figure No.3.19.

To which countries would you personally travel or send your children for education?
[Countries are classified into three categories]

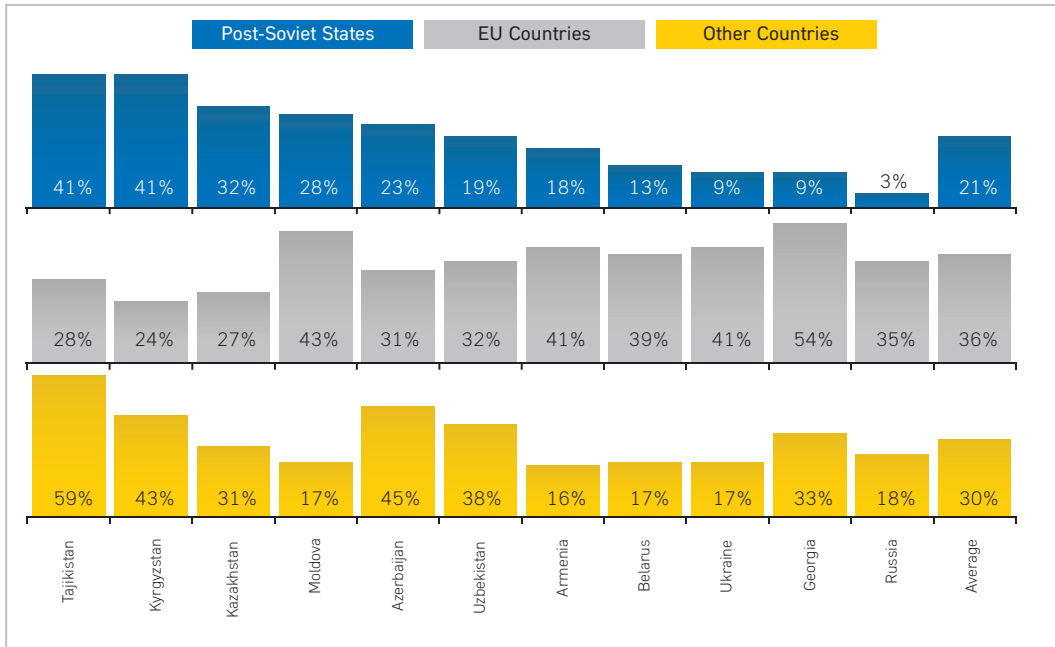
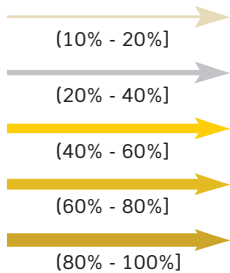
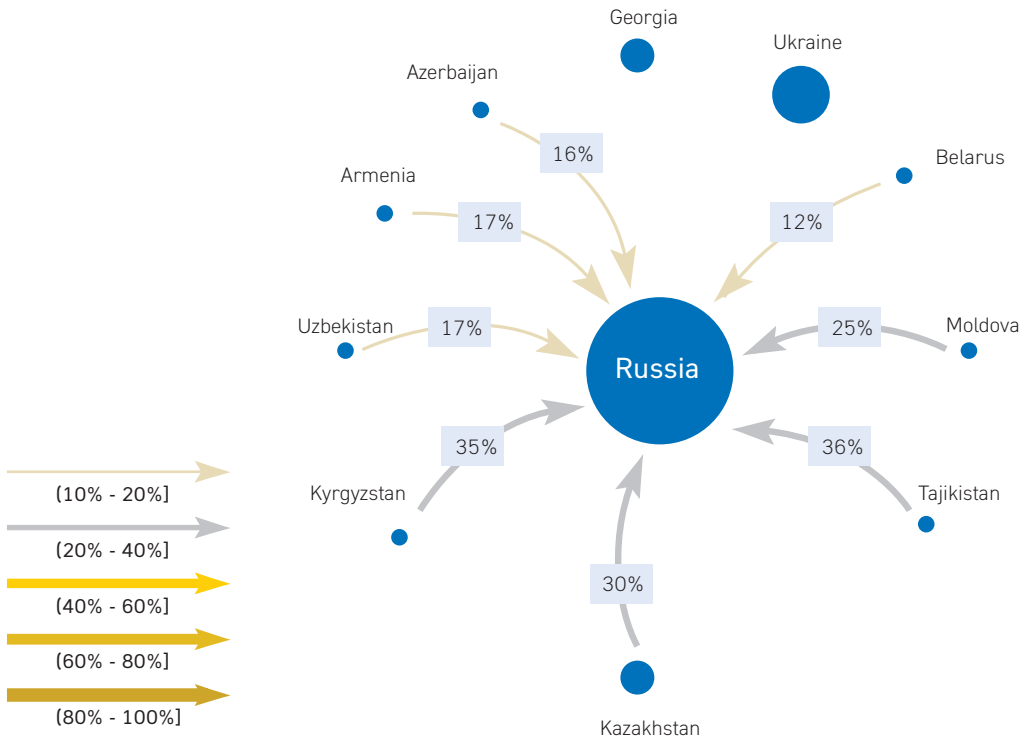


Figure No.3.19.

To which countries would you personally travel or send your children for education?
[Countries are classified into three categories]



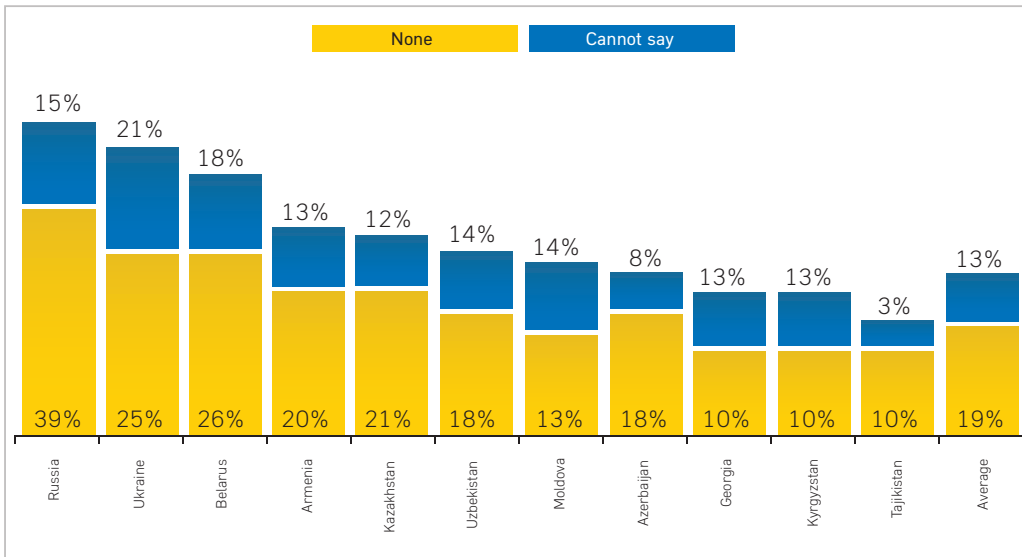


Figure No.3.21.
To which countries would you personally travel or send your children for education? [Indicators of autonomy]

3.2. Self-Identification in the Post-Soviet Space

The structure of the post-Soviet population’s self-identity is one of the indirect signs of the readiness for integration. The higher the percentage of respondents who realize they belong to the supranational entities, compared to the percentage of the citizens belonging to their country, city, village, the greater is the integration potential of the country.

The data in Figure 3.22 show that the vast majority of the population of the countries participating in the project is “closed” within their own countries.

The index, the values of which are distributed in Figure 3.23, is calculated as follows: the numerator is represented by the sum of the shares of the responses about external self-identification (“Citi-

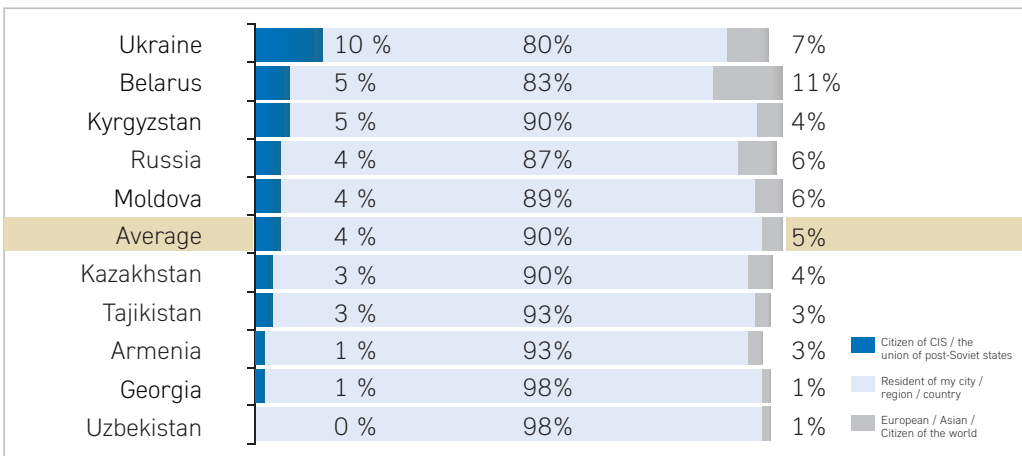


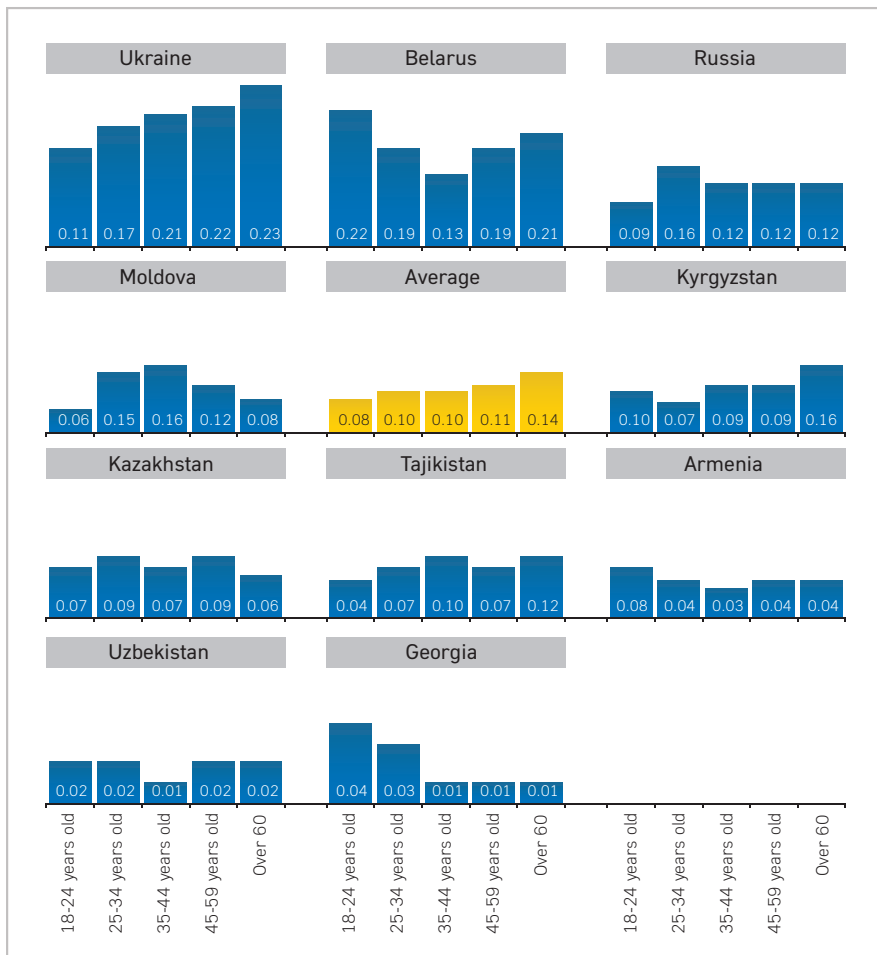
Figure No.3.22.
Look though the list and indicate whom you consider yourself to be above.

SOCIO-CULTURAL INTEGRATION

zen of the CIS, former Soviet Union” + “The European, citizen of Europe” + “Asian, citizen of Asia” + “Citizen of the World, a resident of the planet Earth”); the denominator contains the sum of the shares of the responses about the internal self-identification (“A resident of the city, village, town, district” + “A resident of the region (region, area, republic)” + “A resident, a citizen of your country”). That is, the higher the index value in any group of respondents, the more this group is oriented towards the supranational entities (and the greater integration potential is possesses).

On average over the countries, the index increases with the increase of the respondents' age. Practically, this means that the Soviet identity and the memory about the USSR is the basic socio-cultural integration factor in the post-Soviet space. However, this general rule has some exceptions. In Belarus and Armenia, the index has a minimum value in the middle age group and increases in the extreme points: in the older age groups due to the increased share of “the post-Soviet citizens”, and in the younger age groups – due to the increased share of “Europeans” and “citizens of the world”. In Moldova, the opposite regularity is observed – the index is reduced in the extreme points of the age scale. Both young people and older people in Moldova have a strong national self-identification.

Figure No.3.23.
Index of external orientation and self-identification with grouping according to age



4. Generalization of Integration Indicators

In order to present summarized data, several groups of indices, characterizing integration potential, were calculated.

4.1. Index Construction Scheme

Upon index construction, only the questions, designed based on the dichotomous principle (suggesting the selection of a country or a group of countries from the list) were taken into account, namely only those that were posed in all countries. Table 4.1 provides a list of such questions with their classification according to the spheres.

Sequence number	Number in questionnaire	Question	Sphere		
			Politics	Economics	Socio-cultural
1	T1	Which countries are, to your mind, friendly for our country (can be relied upon in time of need)?	✓		
2	T3	When it comes to political and military assistance (weapons, military forces, political support at the international level, etc.), to which countries would our country provide such assistance?	✓		
3	T7	Which countries are you interested in (in terms of their history, culture, geography, nature)?			✓
4	T9	TO BE ANSWERED BY RESPONDENTS UNDER 35. Which countries would you personally travel to for education? TO BE ANSWERED BY THE RESPONDENTS AGED 35 AND OVER. Which countries would you like to send you children for education?			✓
5	T10	Which countries would you like to travel to for work should you have such an opportunity?		✓	

Table No.4.1.
List of the questions, used in index calculation

GENERALIZATION OF INTEGRATION
INDICATORS

Sequence number	Number in questionnaire	Question	Sphere		
			Politics	Economics	Socio-cultural
6	T14	From which countries would workers, students and specialists (temporary or permanent) be desirable in our country?		✓	
7	T15	Which countries would you prefer to be the source of capital and investment inflow? From which countries should companies, entrepreneurs and businessmen establish their businesses in our countries?		✓	
8	T16	With which countries would cooperation be beneficial for our country and companies (cooperation in science and technology - joint research, exchange of research, technology, and scientific ideas)?		✓	
9	T17	Products from which countries do you prefer to buy? What products do you trust more?		✓	

Based on the above questions, two types of indices were calculated:

- Indices of attraction to the group of countries (to the geopolitical cluster) – to the post-Soviet states, the European Union or other countries. Calculated as the average (over all question) ratio of the percentage of reference to at least one country from the cluster to the total percentage of the remaining responses (including the response “None”). The index can range from 0 to 1 (in theory), the actual range of values was [0.3, 0.69].
- Mutual attraction indices are the rates of mutual attraction of each country dyad. Calculated as the average percentage of mutual choice. For example, if in their responses to the question the Ukrainians referred to Belarus in 12% of the responses, and the residents of Belarus mentioned Ukraine in 34% of the responses, then mutual choice makes up 12%. Thus, this indicator is cleared from the inevitable asymmetry in terms of attraction of non-equilibrium countries.

Since the base for calculating indices contains at least two questions from each sphere (economics, politics, socio-cultural connections), it makes it possible to calculate not only the general indices for the entire data array, but also particular indices, which demonstrate the degree of countries’ attraction in the sphere of economics, politics and culture. Both particular indices of attraction to the group of countries and dyadic indices of mutual attraction are calculated according to the spheres.

4.2. Indices of Attraction to the Group of Countries

The numerical values of the indices of attraction to the geopolitical clusters are given in Table 4.2. For clarity, these values are illustrated by the charts in Figure 4.1; the charts clearly show the priorities of every country. For example, the Politics chart demonstrates that the Post-Soviet States cluster is a priority for all countries except for Georgia – the population of this country has chosen the Other Countries cluster as their priority (the yellow graph at Georgia point is located above the green graph). Another illustration of index values is shown in Figure 4.2 – here, the countries are divided into different groups depending on the priority of a particular cluster.

Thus, attraction index values are presented in three different forms: a table of values (Table 4.2), charts (see Figure 4.1), and classifications (Figure 4.2).

In the political sphere, the post-Soviet space is a priority for nearly all countries. Georgia is the only exception, since it is oriented towards the United States (Other Countries cluster). The orientation toward the European Union, which is characteristic of the six countries – Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, Russia and Ukraine – dominates in the economic sphere.

Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan are attracted in the economic sphere to the post-Soviet space, and the Other Countries cluster is a priority for the population of Azerbaijan and Uzbekistan. For Azerbaijan, Turkey is the key orientation (it was referred to by 28% of the respondents in Azerbaijan who answered economic questions), and Uzbekistan is oriented towards Japan (21% of references in the economic questions).

The socio-cultural sphere has almost the same regularities as the economic sphere:

- Orientation towards the European Union prevails in 6 countries, a list of which coincides with that given above for the economic indices.
- Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan are attracted to the post-Soviet space.
- The Other Countries cluster is a priority for the population of Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan.

Thus, the only difference is the position of Tajikistan, which has shifted from the fraction of attraction to the post-Soviet space to the fraction of the priority attraction to other world countries (without special priority in this cluster – 17% of references to the USA, 13% of references to India and Turkey, and 11% of references to China). However, it should be noted that Russia was mentioned in 42% of responses of the Tajikistan population to the question of socio-cultural unit, which exceeds the share of references to other countries. Socio-cultural attraction to the Other Countries cluster, revealed with respect to Tajikistan based on the calculation of indices, can account for the high percentage of references to these other countries in response to the question about education abroad (it is worth recalling that socio-cultural indices were calculated based on the data of the questions about education and the degree of cognitive interest in the country, see the wording of questions T7 and T9 in Table 4.1).

GENERALIZATION OF INTEGRATION INDICATORS

Table No.4.2.

Average indices of attraction of the post-Soviet states to the three geopolitical clusters

	Azerbaijan	Armenia	Belarus	Georgia	Kazakhstan	Kyrgyzstan	Moldova	Russia	Tajikistan	Uzbekistan	Ukraine	Average
Economics												
Post-Soviet States cluster	0.22	0.29	0.26	0.18	0.34	0.42	0.35	0.12	0.42	0.31	0.21	0.28
EU Countries cluster	0.23	0.30	0.32	0.36	0.22	0.18	0.36	0.36	0.13	0.21	0.35	0.27
Other Countries cluster	0.41	0.23	0.30	0.36	0.34	0.35	0.21	0.32	0.41	0.37	0.27	0.32
Politics												
Post-Soviet States cluster	0.48	0.63	0.67	0.33	0.69	0.54	0.49	0.49	0.66	0.63	0.52	0.56
EU Countries cluster	0.05	0.20	0.06	0.12	0.09	0.03	0.26	0.17	0.09	0.08	0.18	0.12
Other Countries cluster	0.38	0.07	0.19	0.38	0.16	0.18	0.08	0.21	0.22	0.22	0.16	0.20
Culture												
Post-Soviet States cluster	0.19	0.25	0.25	0.11	0.35	0.36	0.32	0.09	0.37	0.20	0.17	0.24
EU Countries cluster	0.23	0.35	0.31	0.48	0.20	0.21	0.40	0.31	0.18	0.23	0.33	0.29
Other Countries cluster	0.38	0.15	0.20	0.33	0.28	0.34	0.18	0.22	0.39	0.35	0.18	0.27
General attractions indices												
Post-Soviet States cluster	0.27	0.36	0.35	0.20	0.42	0.43	0.37	0.20	0.46	0.36	0.27	0.34
EU Countries cluster	0.19	0.29	0.26	0.33	0.19	0.15	0.34	0.31	0.13	0.18	0.30	0.24
Other Countries cluster	0.39	0.18	0.25	0.36	0.28	0.31	0.18	0.27	0.36	0.33	0.23	0.29

GENERALIZATION OF INTEGRATION INDICATORS

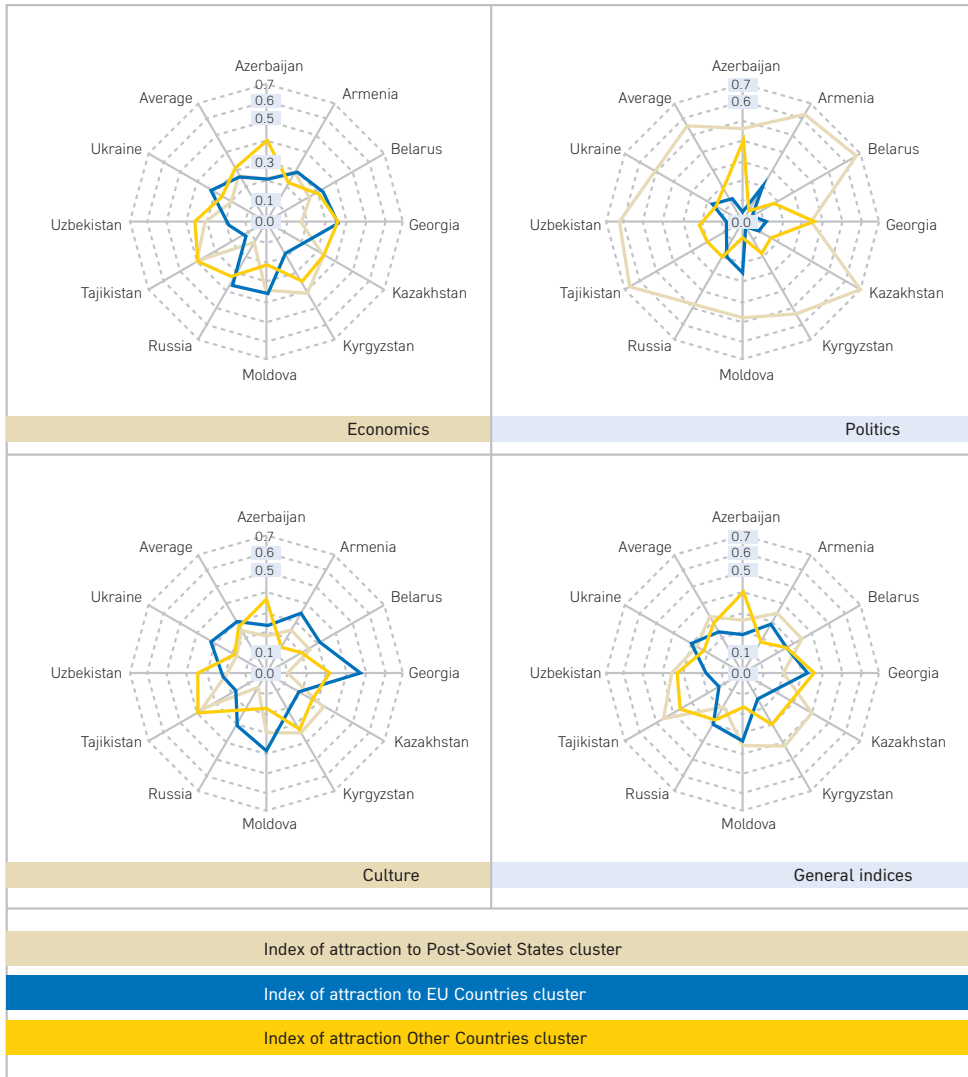


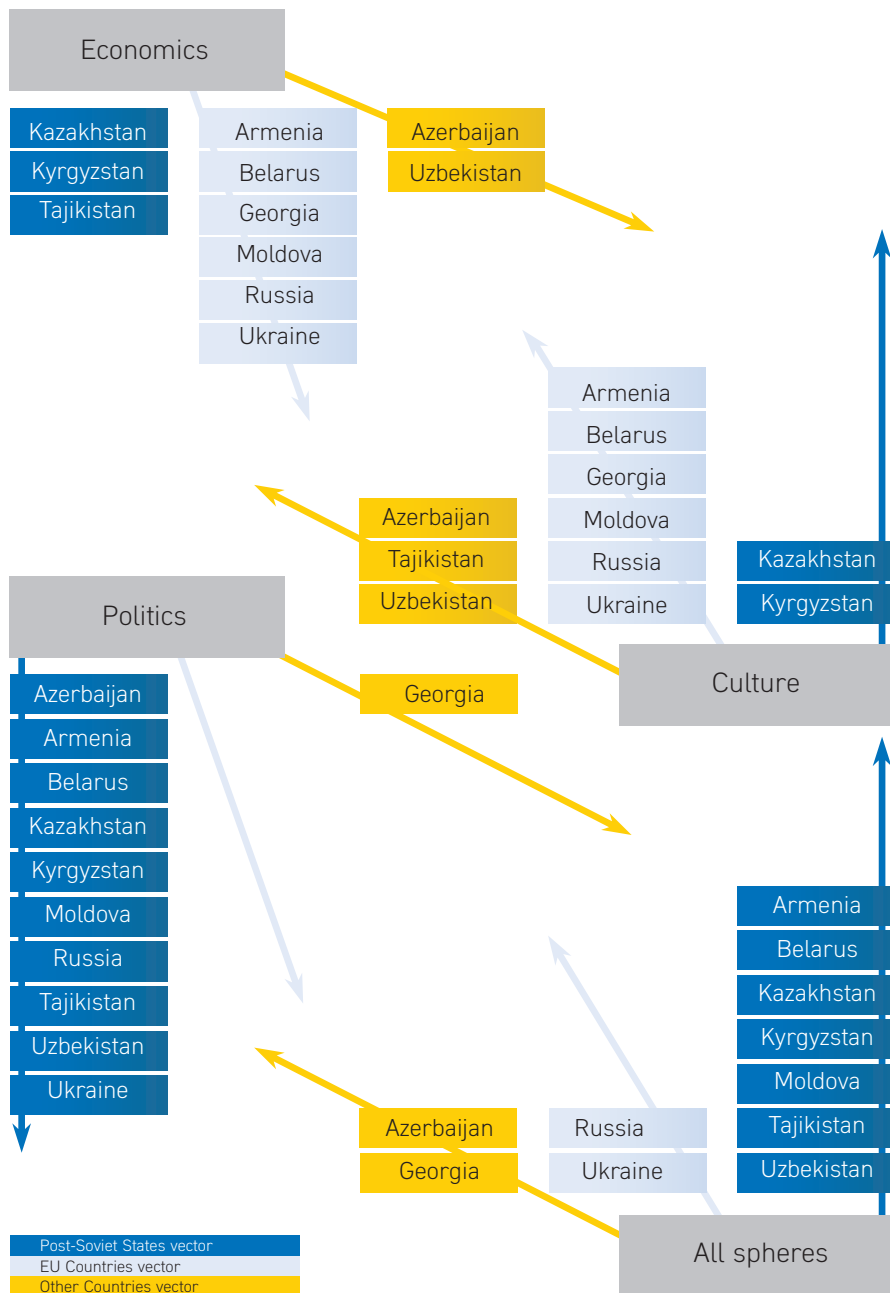
Figure No.4.1. Average indices of attraction of the post-Soviet states to the three geopolitical clusters

The classification of countries in terms of priority geopolitical vectors, made on the basis of indice calculation results, is represented in the chart in Figure 4.2. As one can see, on the strength of all factors (economics, politics, culture), the post-Soviet space is a priority attraction vector for a relative majority of countries, and politics is a key factor in this classification. Armenia, Belarus, Moldova and Uzbekistan found themselves in this group only because they gave absolute priority to the post-Soviet states in response to the two questions from the sphere of politics (of the friendly countries and likely military allies). In the cultural and economic sphere, these countries have other priorities.

The populations of the two key countries (Russia and Ukraine), which are of greater interest to the residents of other post-Soviet countries, were focused on the European Union rather than the post-Soviet space.

GENERALIZATION OF INTEGRATION INDICATORS

Figure No.4.2.
Classification of countries according to the priority geopolitical vectors



4.3. Mutual Attraction Indices

Figure 4.3-4.6 contains charts demonstrating the distribution of mutual interest indices in post-Soviet states. The countries in each pair are arranged alphabetically (a country, located above in the alphabetical list, is indicated on the left), neither country has a priority.

GENERALIZATION OF INTEGRATION INDICATORS

As one can see, mutual attraction in politically-related questions is much greater than in economics- and culture-related questions. On the strength of the three factors, the population of the three Slavic countries (Russia, Belarus and Ukraine) has the greatest mutual interest in each other. If the cut-off threshold of the upper part of the list is lowered, one can say the greatest mutual attraction is observed between the SES counties and Ukraine.

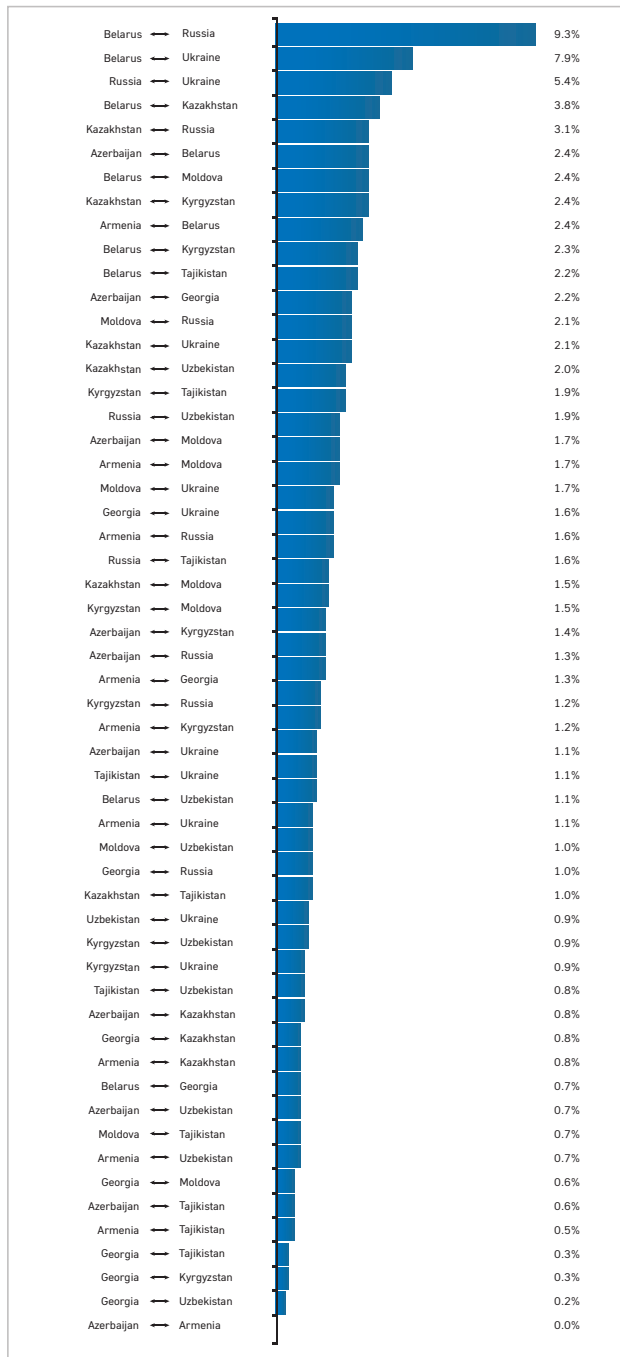
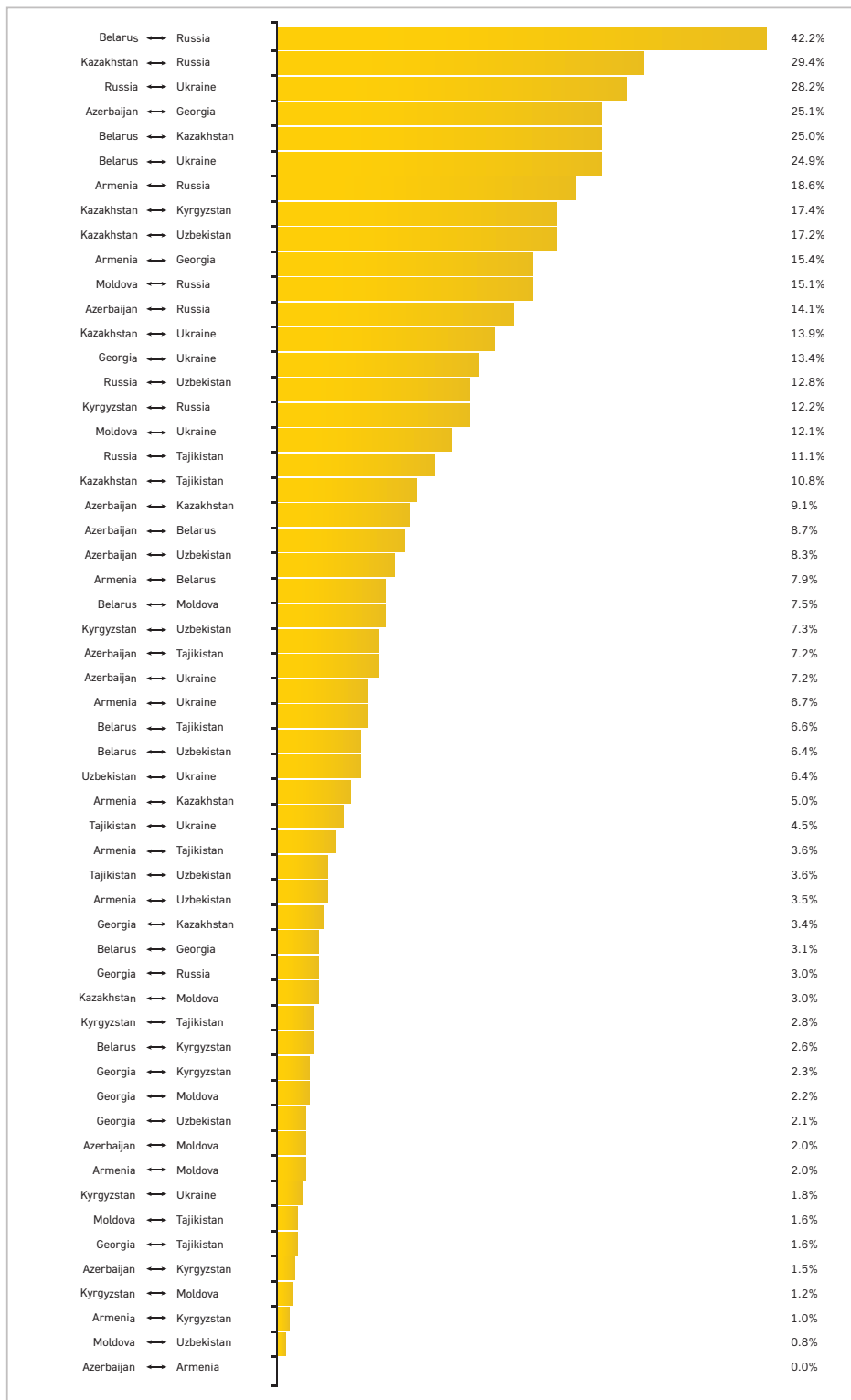


Figure No.4.3.
Average mutual attraction shares in the post-Soviet space [economics]

GENERALIZATION OF INTEGRATION INDICATORS

Figure No.4.4.
Average mutual attraction shares in the post-Soviet space [politics]



GENERALIZATION OF INTEGRATION INDICATORS

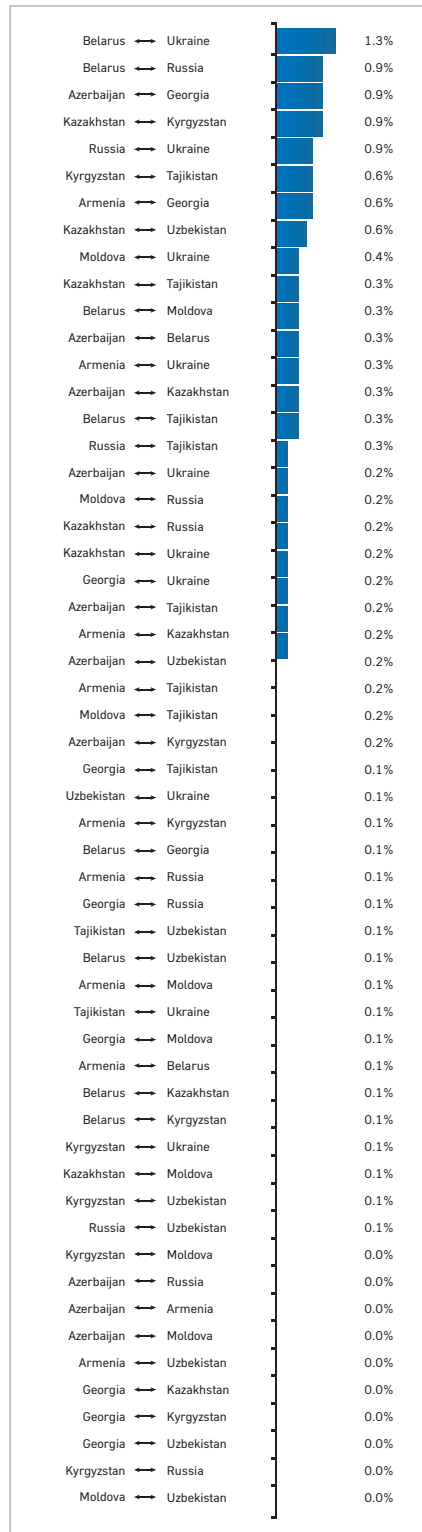
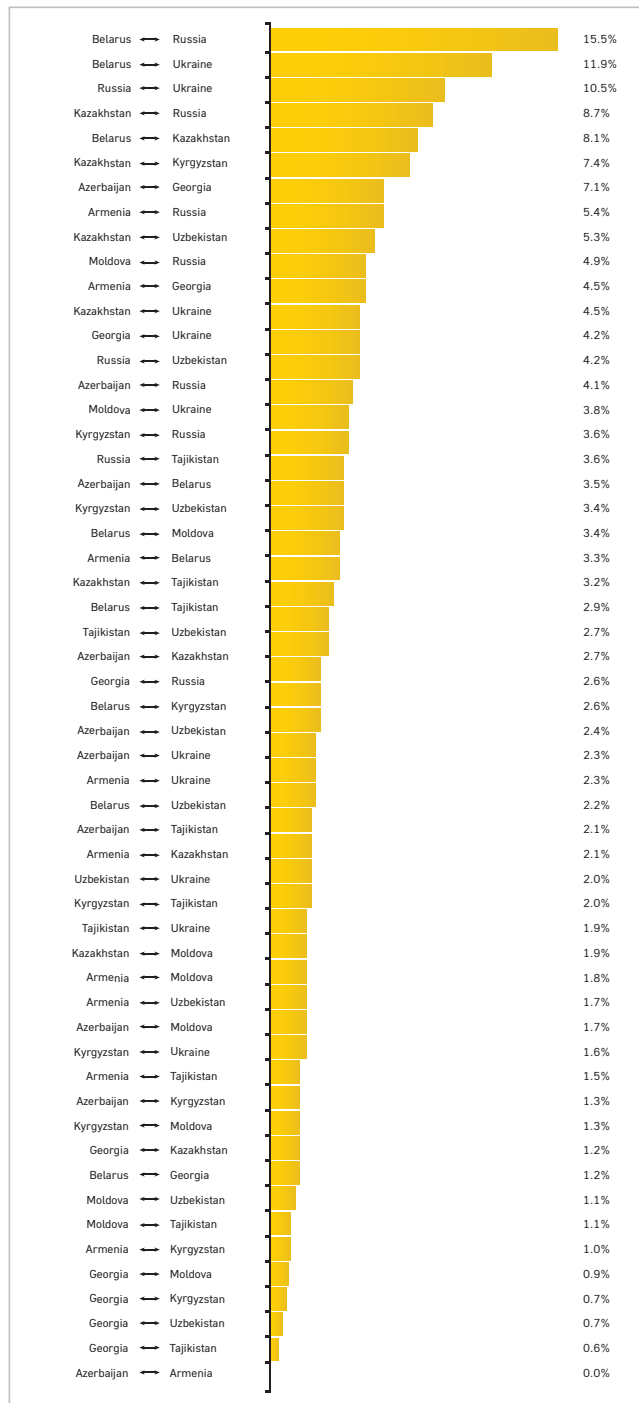


Figure No.4.5.
Average mutual attraction shares in the post-Soviet space [culture]

GENERALIZATION OF INTEGRATION INDICATORS

Figure No.4.6.
Average mutual attraction shares in the post-Soviet space [in all spheres]



Note. The chart contains the reference data about the composition of some supranational unions in the post-Soviet space.

5. Socio-Demographic Differentiation of Integration Preferences

The questionnaire in every country included the unit of socio-demographic questions – sex, age, education, income level, and type of settlement. In addition, some questions were posed in order to identify respondents' adaptation level (life satisfaction) and optimism (future expectations). These data make it possible to analyse some regularities of integration preferences defined by the respondent's belonging to any particular category.

There are no gender differences in integration preferences, the responses of men and women do not have statistically significant differences in all countries. Tajikistan is the only exception. Here, the responses of men and women to the question of labour migration differ significantly (Figure 5.1).

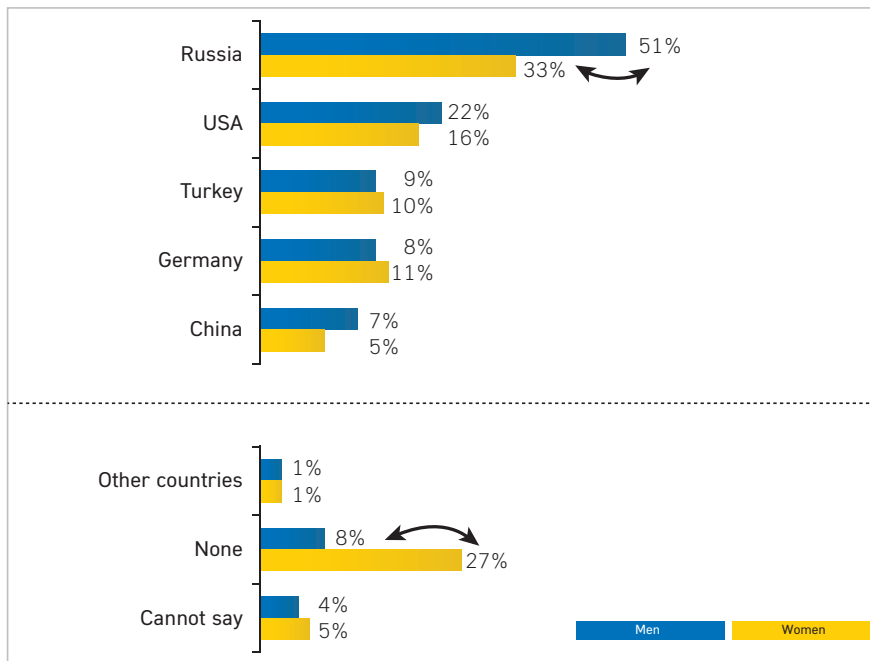


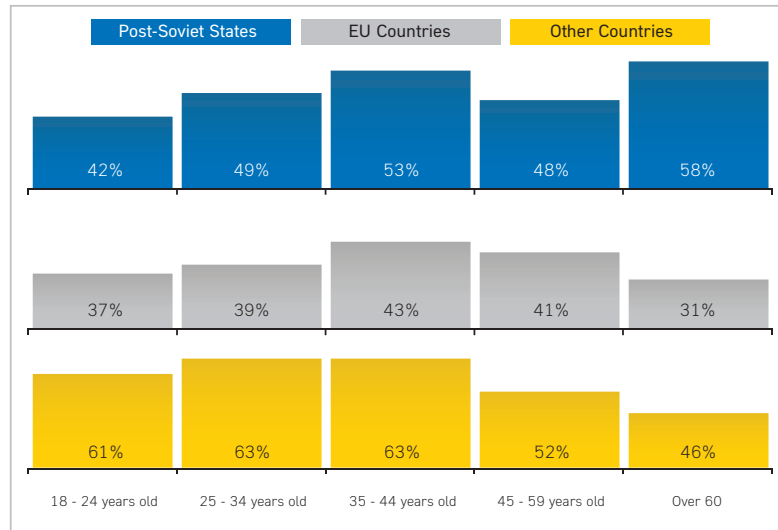
Figure No.5.1. Which countries would you like to travel to for work should you have such an opportunity? [data of survey in Tajikistan]

There are two types of integration preferences' age-dependence. The first one is characteristic of Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Azerbaijan and, in a somewhat less pronounced form, of Kazakhstan; the percentage of Post-Soviet States responses in the older age group was significantly higher than in the entire sampling and significantly lower than the percentage of EU Countries and Other Countries responses. This regularity is demonstrated on Figure 5.2, which shows the distribution of responses to one of the questions posed to the residents of Uzbekistan. The responses are classified into three geopolitical clusters, at least one reference to the relevant group of countries serves as grounds for inclusion in the cluster (for example, in the Over 60 category, 58% of respondents mentioned at least one post-Soviet country).

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC DIFFERENTIATION OF INTEGRATION PREFERENCES

Figure No.5.2.

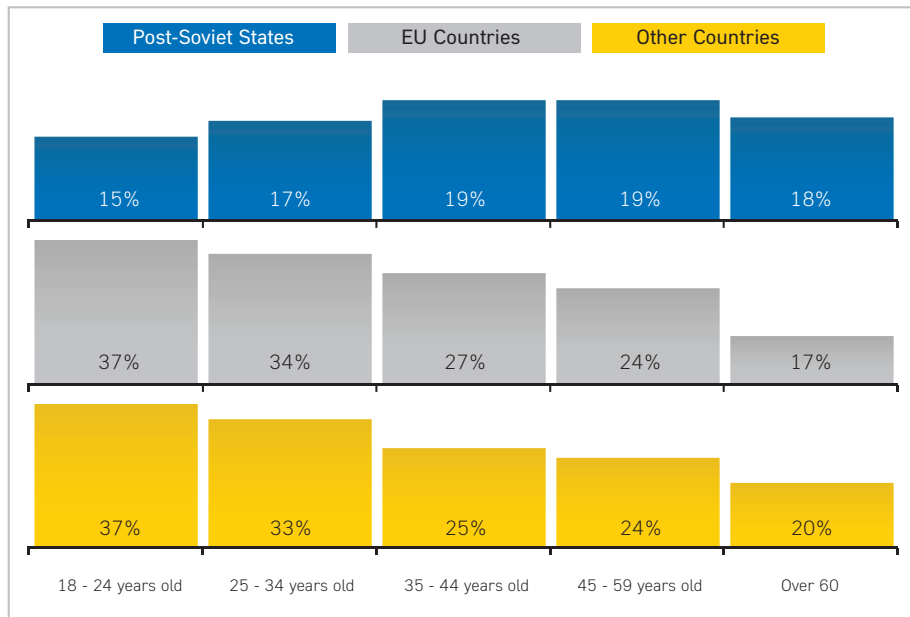
With which countries would cooperation be beneficial for our country and companies (cooperation in science and technology - joint research, exchange of research, technology and scientific ideas)? [data of survey in Uzbekistan]



Another type of integration preferences' age-dependence is typical for Georgia, Armenia, Moldova, Ukraine, Belarus and Russia – with a decrease in age the percentage of references to the EU countries and other countries significantly increases, while the percentage of references to the post-Soviet states remains unchanged. This thesis is illustrated in Figure 5.3 (distribution of responses to one of the Russian survey questions).

Figure No.5.3.

Which countries are you interested in (in terms of their history, culture, geography, nature)? [data of survey in Russia]



That is, the key difference between these countries and the Central Asian countries and Azerbaijan lies in the fact that the older generation is not attracted to the post-Soviet states.

The level of education does not have any interdependence with the nature of integration preferences, which would be reproduced in each country. The most popular tendency embraces four countries – Armenia, Russia, Belarus and Moldova; the higher is the education level, the higher is the percentage of references to the EU countries and other countries, and the lower is the percentage of references to the post-Soviet states. One of the most characteristic examples is the answers to the question of a possible labour migration, obtained in Moldova (see Figure 5.4).

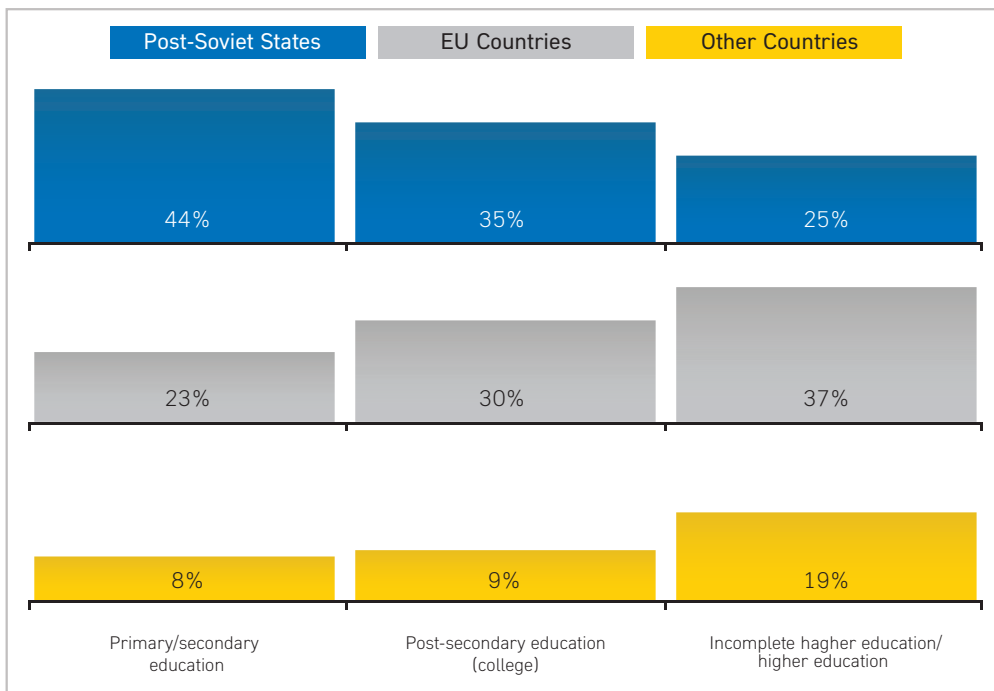


Figure No.5.4.
Which countries would you like to travel to for work should you have such an opportunity? [data of survey in Moldova]

The general regularity of integration preferences related to the income of populations has not been identified. For example, in Russia, the percentage of references to other world countries increases with an increase of the respondent’s income (in the answers to different questions); in Kazakhstan, the percentage of references to the post-Soviet states decreases with an increase of respondent’s income; in Uzbekistan, there is no statistically significant interdependence between the indicators.

The higher is the level of settlement urbanization (“Rural settlement” → “Regional centre, town, urban village” → “Oblast centre” → “Capital”), the stronger is the attraction of the population to other countries. This rule is true in all countries and in respect of all directions of attraction. The data illustrating this interdependence are shown in Table 5.1. As one can see, the residents of more urbanized areas show a greater diversity of ideas of other countries and give a greater number of responses (this is evident from the values in Total line).

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC DIFFERENTIATION OF INTEGRATION PREFERENCES

Table No.5.1.

Which countries are, in your opinion, friendly for our country (can be relied upon in time of need)? [data of survey in Azerbaijan]

	Capital	Oblast center	Area center, town	Rural settlement, village
Number of respondents	277	64	181	479
Azerbaijan	0%	0%	0%	0%
Armenia	0%	0%	0%	0%
Belarus	25%	14%	20%	9%
Georgia	57%	35%	21%	19%
Kazakhstan	38%	19%	19%	9%
Kyrgyzstan	18%	11%	10%	3%
Moldova	10%	19%	18%	10%
Russia	51%	29%	21%	15%
Tajikistan	14%	10%	13%	3%
Turkmenistan	30%	19%	17%	4%
Uzbekistan	32%	22%	16%	6%
Ukraine	48%	34%	23%	14%
Great Britain	3%	5%	0%	0%
Germany	6%	8%	1%	1%
France	4%	4%	0%	0%
Other EU countries	3%	2%	6%	4%
India	5%	0%	3%	0%
China	8%	0%	0%	0%
USA	10%	0%	0%	0%
Turkey	90%	35%	26%	20%
Japan	5%	0%	0%	0%
Islamic countries (Middle East and North Africa)	35%	10%	11%	11%
Other countries	1%	2%	2%	0%
None	1%	7%	8%	17%
Cannot say	0%	7%	8%	8%
Total	495%	293%	245%	154%

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC DIFFERENTIATION OF INTEGRATION PREFERENCES

One of the hypotheses put forward upon conducting the demographic analysis was the assumption that the people who failed to adapt to a new life after the collapse of the Soviet Union, are not satisfied with this life and in fact oriented towards the past are attracted mostly to the post-Soviet states. This hypothesis was not confirmed. There are only a few statistically significant differences between the integration preferences of the adapted and not adapted citizens, and general regularities and rules cannot be formed based on the facts of such differences (for example, in Moldova the citizens who are satisfied with life are more attracted to the EU countries, and in Tajikistan those who are not satisfied mention the Other Countries cluster less frequently).

Another feature is the level of optimism. The respondents in each country are divided into three groups depending on the answers to the question “In your opinion, will you (your family) have a better or poorer life in a year?” The most characteristic interdependence between the answers to this question and integration preferences lies in a relatively higher degree of isolationism, inherent to the pessimists. This interdependence is illustrated by the charts in Figure 5.5 – as one can see, in each of the three questions the responses of the pessimists are significantly shifted towards “None” and “Cannot say” responses.

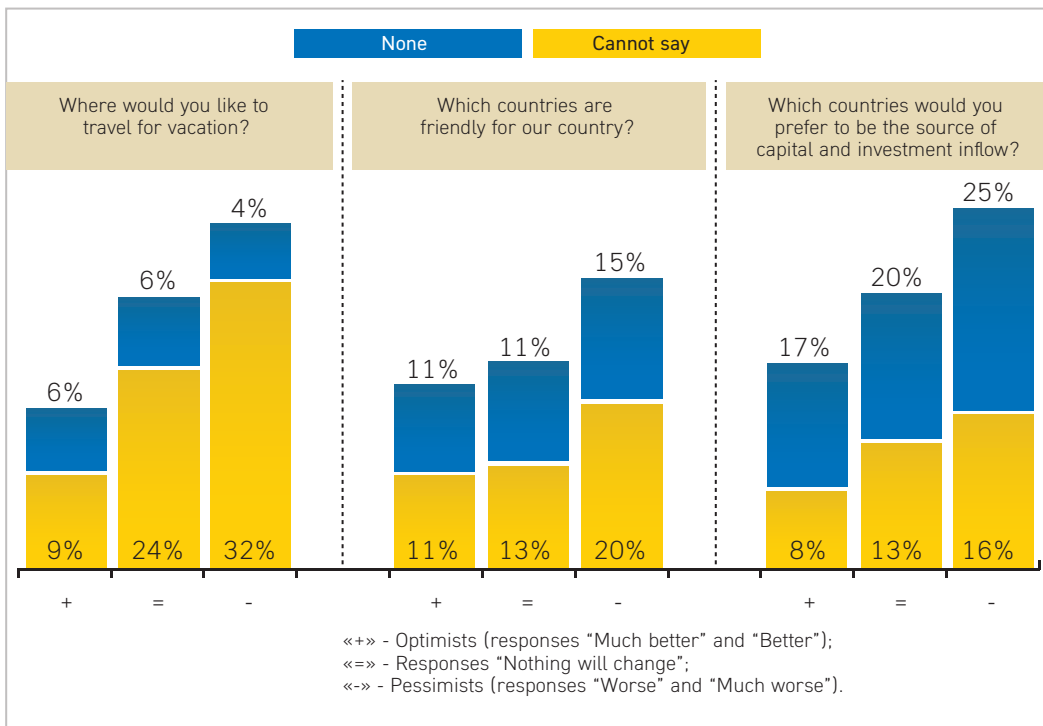


Figure No.5.5. Indicators of autonomy based on three questions [data of survey in Russia]

APPENDIX

CROSS-NATIONAL SURVEY DATA

		Number of questionnaires after weighting											Average in 11 countries	
		1001	1147	1078	1000	1057	1000	1092	1607	954	1050	2077		
		Azerbaijan	Armenia	Belarus	Georgia	Kazakhstan	Kyrgyzstan	Moldova	Russia	Tajikistan	Uzbekistan	Ukraine		
M6.	Nowadays, some countries think they should unite with others, whilst other countries think they should retain independence. If it were up to you to decide on such matters, with which countries indicated below should our country unite?													
1	Azerbaijan		0%	2%	15%	5%	1%	2%	13%	2%	3%	5%	5%	
2	Armenia			2%	9%	4%	1%	2%	16%	2%	2%	5%	5%	
3	Belarus		2%		1%	25%	8%	8%	41%	13%	4%	34%	15%	
4	Georgia		4%	2%		3%	2%	2%	10%	3%	2%	8%	4%	
5	Kazakhstan		1%	7%	2%		29%	5%	27%	22%	18%	17%	14%	
6	Kyrgyzstan		0%	2%	1%	10%		1%	11%	12%	5%	4%	5%	
7	Moldova		0%	3%	2%	4%	2%		18%	1%	1%	8%	4%	
8	Russia		59%	42%	19%	70%	70%	49%		67%	49%	48%	53%	
9	Tajikistan		0%	2%	0%	4%	2%	1%	10%		4%	4%	3%	
10	Turkmenistan		0%	2%	1%	4%	4%	1%	9%	7%	8%	5%	4%	
11	Turkey		0%	1%	4%	8%	14%	0%	8%	12%	3%	4%	6%	
12	Uzbekistan		2%	3%	1%	9%	10%	1%	13%	7%		5%	6%	
13	Ukraine		11%	12%	19%	17%	4%	9%	33%	5%	5%		13%	
14	European Union		26%	26%	41%	24%	12%	22%	18%	8%	6%	26%	21%	
15	Our country should not unite with any of the above countries and unions		1%	17%	32%	15%	17%	27%	26%	18%	35%	20%	21%	
99	Cannot say		7%	11%	5%	8%	3%	3%	9%	1%	11%	7%	7%	
	Total		1115%	136%	152%	209%	177%	133%	264%	181%	156%	202%	172%	

		Number of questionnaires after weighting											Average in 11 countries			
		1001	1147	1078	1000	1000	Georgia	Kazakhstan	Kyrgyzstan	Moldova	Russia	Tajikistan	954	1050	2077	
T1.	Which countries are, to your mind, friendly to our country (or can be relied on in time of need)?															
1	Azerbaijan		0%	12%	41%	11%	2%	4%	14%	13%	14%	9%	12%	9%	12%	
2	Armenia	0%	10%	24%	9%	1%	3%	19%	7%	12%	9%	9%	12%	9%	9%	
3	Belarus	16%	12%	6%	35%	4%	14%	47%	21%	11%	11%	42%	21%	21%	21%	
4	Georgia	31%	19%	8%	6%	5%	5%	32%	40%	37%	19%	11%	11%	11%	11%	
5	Kazakhstan	20%	6%	32%	4%	25%	5%	11%	28%	7%	6%	10%	10%	10%	10%	
6	Kyrgyzstan	9%	4%	10%	3%	24%	2%	15%	3%	6%	17%	8%	8%	8%	8%	
7	Moldova	12%	6%	9%	8%	3%	3%	68%	86%	55%	66%	66%	66%	66%	66%	
8	Russia	27%	90%	73%	5%	85%	82%	2%	10%	5%	7%	6%	6%	6%	6%	
9	Tajikistan	8%	4%	7%	2%	11%	2%	2%	9%	14%	8%	9%	9%	9%	9%	
10	Turkmenistan	15%	4%	8%	4%	12%	3%	2%	1%	13%	8%	9%	9%	9%	9%	
11	Uzbekistan	16%	4%	9%	3%	19%	11%	1%	29%	6%	21%	23%	23%	23%	23%	
12	Ukraine	26%	11%	28%	52%	20%	3%	32%	4%	8%	8%	5%	5%	5%	5%	
13	Great Britain	1%	4%	3%	11%	6%	2%	4%	19%	4%	12%	11%	11%	11%	11%	
14	Germany	3%	7%	7%	21%	15%	4%	10%	7%	15%	7%	10%	12%	13%	11%	
15	France	1%	45%	4%	28%	9%	2%	7%	4%	4%	7%	10%	10%	12%	12%	
16	Other EU countries	4%	1%	3%	5%	0%	0%	37%	4%	0%	19%	7%	7%	7%	7%	
17	India	2%	3%	5%	2%	6%	2%	1%	10%	8%	10%	3%	5%	5%	5%	
18	China	2%	5%	25%	4%	13%	13%	3%	13%	19%	20%	6%	11%	11%	11%	
19	USA	3%	10%	1%	58%	4%	10%	9%	6%	6%	11%	10%	12%	12%	12%	
20	Turkey	41%	1%	4%	25%	16%	15%	3%	6%	7%	7%	5%	5%	5%	5%	
21	Japan	1%	3%	3%	4%	6%	4%	1%	7%	1%	16%	5%	5%	5%	5%	
22	Islamic countries (Middle East and North Africa)	18%	1%	5%	1%	2%	2%	0%	3%	1%	13%	2%	4%	4%	4%	
23	Other countries	1%	1%	4%	0%	0%	0%	0%	2%	3%	0%	2%	1%	1%	1%	
24	None	10%	3%	5%	4%	2%	2%	2%	14%	1%	1%	8%	5%	5%	5%	
25	Cannot say	6%	1%	8%	6%	6%	4%	6%	12%	1%	7%	17%	7%	7%	7%	
	Total	274%	246%	284%	318%	326%	202%	221%	323%	292%	334%	305%	284%	284%	284%	

		Number of questionnaires after weighting											Average in 11 countries
		1001	1147	1078	1000	1057	1000	1092	1607	954	1050	2077	
		Azerbaijan	Armenia	Belarus	Georgia	Kazakhstan	Kyrgyzstan	Moldova	Russia	Tajikistan	Uzbekistan	Ukraine	
T2.	Which countries are, in your opinion, unfriendly to our country (our country is in conflict relations with or which threaten our country)?												
1	Azerbaijan		94%	1%	1%		2%	3%		3%	1%		15%
2	Armenia			1%	4%		2%			2%	1%		2%
3	Belarus		0%		0%		2%	1%		1%	1%		1%
4	Georgia		6%	4%			2%	1%		3%	1%		3%
5	Kazakhstan		0%	1%	0%		5%	1%		2%	4%		2%
6	Kyrgyzstan		0%	1%	0%			1%		3%	25%		5%
7	Moldova		0%	1%	1%		0%			1%	1%		1%
8	Russia		1%	3%	78%		3%	17%		2%	1%		15%
9	Tajikistan		1%	0%	1%		7%	2%			42%		9%
10	Turkmenistan		7%	1%	0%		2%	2%		3%			2%
11	Uzbekistan		0%	0%	0%		24%	2%					15%
12	Ukraine		1%	2%	0%		2%	3%		1%	1%		2%
13	Great Britain		1%	10%	0%		1%	1%		4%	0%		3%
14	Germany		0%	13%	0%		1%	2%		3%	1%		3%
15	France		1%	10%	0%		1%	1%		3%	1%		2%
16	Other EU countries		0%	7%	0%		0%	16%		0%	0%		3%
17	India		0%	0%	1%		1%	1%		0%	0%		1%
18	China		0%	1%	0%		11%	1%		2%	0%		2%
19	USA		3%	36%	2%		15%	6%		9%	3%		11%
20	Turkey		71%	2%	2%		1%	1%		1%	10%		12%
21	Japan		0%	1%	0%		1%	0%		0%	0%		1%
22	Islamic countries (Middle East and North Africa)		1%	6%	1%		3%	5%		0%	1%		3%
23	Other countries		0%	1%	1%		1%	2%		0%	0%		1%
24	None		1%	23%	6%		17%	23%		21%	18%		16%
25	Cannot say		0%	20%	10%		21%	28%		2%	26%		15%
	Total		190%	145%	111%		127%	121%		131%	139%		138%

		Number of questionnaires after weighting											Average in 11 countries	
		1001	1147	1078	1000	1057	1000	1092	1607	954	1050	2077		
		When it comes to political and military support (weapons, military forces, political support at the international level, etc.), to which countries could our country render assistance?												
1	Azerbaijan		0%	5%	7%	1%	0%	14%	1%	2%	5%	4%		
2	Armenia	0%	6%	7%	4%	1%	1%	18%	2%	2%	5%	4%		
3	Belarus	15%	6%	0%	15%	1%	3%	37%	9%	2%	18%	11%		
4	Georgia	29%	13%	6%	3%	1%	1%	11%	2%	2%	9%	8%		
5	Kazakhstan	16%	4%	19%	3%	9%	1%	26%	25%	16%	9%	13%		
6	Kyrgyzstan	8%	3%	7%	2%	26%	1%	13%	26%	18%	3%	11%		
7	Moldova	12%	3%	6%	1%	3%	1%	16%	2%	2%	7%	5%		
8	Russia	24%	66%	45%	1%	58%	18%	24%	73%	25%	30%	36%		
9	Tajikistan	8%	3%	6%	1%	11%	4%	1%	12%	15%	4%	6%		
10	Turkmenistan	14%	3%	5%	1%	9%	2%	1%	12%	10%	4%	6%		
11	Uzbekistan	14%	3%	6%	1%	16%	4%	0%	13%	3%	5%	6%		
12	Ukraine	24%	4%	21%	9%	9%	1%	10%	27%	6%	11%			
13	Great Britain	1%	1%	1%	0%	1%	0%	0%	6%	2%	2%	2%		
14	Germany	2%	1%	1%	1%	3%	0%	1%	8%	2%	4%	3%		
15	France	1%	10%	1%	3%	3%	0%	7%	6%	2%	3%	3%		
16	Other EU countries	3%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	3%	0%	0%	6%	3%		
17	India	2%	1%	1%	1%	3%	0%	8%	6%	4%	2%	3%		
18	China	2%	1%	5%	0%	3%	1%	8%	10%	6%	3%	3%		
19	USA	2%	2%	0%	2%	2%	1%	4%	12%	6%	8%	5%		
20	Turkey	40%	1%	0%	3%	3%	1%	4%	4%	2%	1%	6%		
21	Japan	2%	1%	1%	3%	3%	0%	5%	1%	5%	3%	2%		
22	Islamic countries (Middle East and North Africa)	17%	1%	5%	3%	3%	5%	0%	0%	4%	4%	4%		
23	Other countries	1%	2%	2%	0%	0%	0%	2%	2%	0%	1%	1%		
24	None	14%	17%	12%	22%	9%	37%	28%	5%	11%	16%	17%		
25	Cannot say	4%	11%	23%	38%	15%	27%	29%	3%	38%	34%	22%		
	Total	251%	157%	186%	128%	207%	116%	123%	302%	212%	181%	187%	186%	

		Number of questionnaires after weighting											Average in 11 countries
		1001	1147	1078	1000	1057	1000	1092	1607	954	1050	2077	
T4.	When it comes to political and military support (weapons, military forces, political support at the international level, etc.), from which countries could our country accept such support?												
1	Azerbaijan		0%	5%	5%		0%	1%		1%			2%
2	Armenia			4%	2%		0%	1%		1%			2%
3	Belarus		6%		0%		1%	5%		2%			5%
4	Georgia		9%	4%			3%	1%		1%			3%
5	Kazakhstan		3%	17%	0%		11%	0%		23%			9%
6	Kyrgyzstan		3%	6%	0%			0%		17%			5%
7	Moldova		3%	4%	0%		1%			1%			2%
8	Russia		87%	72%	2%		75%	65%		84%			63%
9	Tajikistan		3%	4%	0%		1%	1%		0%			2%
10	Turkmenistan		2%	4%	0%		2%	0%		5%			2%
11	Uzbekistan		3%	5%	0%		5%	0%		1%			2%
12	Ukraine		4%	20%	13%		1%	17%		3%			9%
13	Great Britain		1%	4%	5%		1%	3%		2%			3%
14	Germany		3%	6%	10%		2%	5%		5%			5%
15	France		22%	3%	12%		0%	3%		4%			7%
16	Other EU countries		0%	3%	1%		0%	22%		0%			4%
17	India		1%	2%	0%		0%	0%		5%			2%
18	China		2%	13%	1%		6%	1%		14%			6%
19	USA		7%	3%	61%		9%	13%		10%			16%
20	Turkey		1%	1%	6%		7%	1%		6%			4%
21	Japan		2%	2%	3%		2%	0%		1%			3%
22	Islamic countries (Middle East and North Africa)		0%	2%	0%		1%	0%		1%			1%
23	Other countries		1%	2%	1%		0%	1%		1%			1%
24	None		4%	4%	7%		3%	3%		4%			4%
25	Cannot say		4%	12%	24%		12%	11%		3%			14%
	Total		172%	202%	155%		143%	154%		206%			172%

		Number of questionnaires after weighting											Average in 11 countries	
		1001	1147	1078	1000	1057	1000	1092	1607	954	1050	2077		
		Azerbaijan	Armenia	Belarus	Georgia	Kazakhstan	Kyrgyzstan	Moldova	Russia	Tajikistan	Uzbekistan	Ukraine		
T5.	Which countries have you visited over the past 5 years for private, business or tourism purposes?	1001											113%	
1	Azerbaijan		0%	0%	1%		1%	0%	1%	1%	0%	0%	1%	
2	Armenia		0%	0%	2%		1%	1%	1%	0%	0%	0%	1%	
3	Belarus		0%		0%		1%	2%	6%	1%	0%	3%	2%	
4	Georgia		9%	1%			1%	0%	2%	1%	0%	1%	2%	
5	Kazakhstan		0%	1%	0%		21%	0%	4%	2%	6%	1%	4%	
6	Kyrgyzstan		0%	0%	0%			0%	1%	2%	1%	0%	1%	
7	Moldova		0%	1%	0%		0%		1%	1%	1%	2%	1%	
8	Russia		22%	29%	3%		27%	33%		25%	11%	16%	21%	
9	Tajikistan		0%	0%	0%		2%	0%	1%		2%	0%	1%	
10	Turkmenistan		0%	0%	0%		1%	0%	1%	1%	0%	0%	0%	
11	Uzbekistan		0%	1%	0%		6%	0%	1%	4%		0%	1%	
12	Ukraine		2%	30%	2%		1%	26%	15%	1%	1%		10%	
13	Great Britain		1%	0%	0%		0%	1%	1%	0%	0%	1%	1%	
14	Germany		1%	4%	1%		3%	3%	5%	1%	0%	2%	2%	
15	France		1%	1%	1%		1%	3%	2%	0%	0%	1%	1%	
16	Other EU countries		2%	11%	1%		0%	20%	3%	0%	0%	5%	5%	
17	India		0%	0%	0%		0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	
18	China		0%	1%	0%		2%	0%	2%	2%	1%	0%	1%	
19	USA		2%	1%	1%		1%	2%	1%	1%	0%	0%	1%	
20	Turkey		2%	6%	11%		2%	3%	7%	1%	1%	2%	4%	
21	Japan		0%	0%	0%		1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	
22	Islamic countries (Middle East and North Africa)		0%	0%	0%		1%	0%	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%	
23	Other countries		1%	3%	1%		1%	2%	3%	1%	0%	1%	1%	
24	None		61%	42%	75%		39%	32%	61%	65%	73%	67%	57%	
25	Cannot say		6%	4%	5%		10%	7%	3%	2%	8%	7%	6%	
	Total		111%	135%	105%		120%	137%	124%	112%	105%	113%	118%	

		Number of questionnaires after weighting											Average in 11 countries
		1001	1147	1078	1000	1057	1000	1092	1607	954	1050	2077	
T6.	In which countries do you have relatives, close friends or colleagues with whom you keep in touch regularly (by means of personal contact, by post, by phone, etc.)?												
1	Azerbaijan		0%	0%	4%		0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	1%
2	Armenia			1%	2%		0%	1%	1%	1%	0%	0%	1%
3	Belarus		2%		1%		1%	3%	9%	2%	0%	0%	7%
4	Georgia		8%	1%			1%	0%	3%	1%	0%	1%	2%
5	Kazakhstan		1%	1%	0%		23%	1%	6%	3%	8%	1%	5%
6	Kyrgyzstan		0%	0%	0%		0%	0%	1%	2%	1%	0%	1%
7	Moldova		1%	2%	0%		2%		2%	1%	0%	3%	1%
8	Russia		73%	47%	27%		61%	50%		83%	36%	38%	52%
9	Tajikistan		0%	0%	0%		2%	1%	1%		4%	0%	1%
10	Turkmenistan		1%	0%	0%		1%	0%	1%	2%	1%	0%	1%
11	Uzbekistan		1%	2%	0%		7%	0%	3%	12%		1%	3%
12	Ukraine		11%	22%	7%		2%	22%	21%	2%	1%		11%
13	Great Britain		3%	1%	2%		2%	4%	1%	1%	0%	1%	2%
14	Germany		8%	5%	8%		6%	7%	9%	3%	0%	4%	6%
15	France		15%	1%	4%		2%	7%	2%	1%	0%	1%	4%
16	Other EU countries		9%	11%	15%		0%	38%	2%	0%	0%	8%	9%
17	India		0%	0%	0%		1%	0%	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%
18	China		0%	0%	0%		4%	0%	1%	4%	1%	0%	1%
19	USA		23%	3%	7%		7%	9%	4%	7%	3%	4%	7%
20	Turkey		1%	0%	7%		5%	2%	1%	6%	1%	0%	3%
21	Japan		0%	0%	0%		1%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%
22	Islamic countries (Middle East and North Africa)		1%	0%	0%		2%	0%	0%	2%	1%	1%	1%
23	Other countries		2%	2%	1%		0%	4%	2%	1%	0%	3%	2%
24	None		11%	30%	40%		14%	13%	52%	8%	45%	42%	28%
25	Cannot say		2%	4%	5%		4%	4%	2%	2%	6%	6%	4%
	Total		172%	132%	130%		147%	169%	126%	146%	110%	123%	139%

		Number of questionnaires after weighting											Average in 11 countries		
		1001	1147	1078	1000	Georgia	Kazakhstan	1000	Kyrgyzstan	1092	1607	954	1050	2077	
		Azerbaijan	Armenia	Belarus	Georgia	Kazakhstan	Kyrgyzstan	Moldova	Russia	Tajikistan	Uzbekistan	Ukraine			
T7.	Which countries do you find interesting (in terms of history, culture, geography or nature)?														
1	Azerbaijan	0%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	1%	1%	1%	2%	
2	Armenia	0%	2%	2%	2%	2%	1%	3%	3%	3%	1%	1%	1%	2%	
3	Belarus	2%	1%	5%	1%	3%	3%	3%	8%	2%	2%	7%	2%	3%	
4	Georgia	5%	4%	3%	0%	3%	7%	2%	3%	1%	3%	3%	1%	3%	
5	Kazakhstan	2%	1%	3%	0%	4%	2%	2%	4%	5%	3%	2%	3%	3%	
6	Kyrgyzstan	1%	1%	2%	0%	2%	2%	2%	2%	4%	1%	0%	1%	2%	
7	Moldova	1%	1%	3%	1%	2%	2%	3%	3%	1%	2%	2%	2%	2%	
8	Russia	11%	31%	27%	7%	41%	29%	36%	45%	20%	20%	20%	27%	27%	
9	Tajikistan	1%	1%	2%	1%	2%	2%	1%	2%	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%	
10	Turkmenistan	2%	1%	2%	0%	2%	4%	1%	2%	2%	0%	2%	2%	2%	
11	Uzbekistan	2%	1%	2%	1%	3%	5%	1%	10%	2%	1%	3%	2%	3%	
12	Ukraine	3%	3%	16%	9%	5%	3%	14%	11%	4%	7%	7%	7%	7%	
13	Great Britain	5%	10%	7%	18%	8%	9%	9%	9%	6%	6%	6%	8%	8%	
14	Germany	9%	11%	10%	19%	11%	12%	13%	15%	10%	13%	8%	12%	12%	
15	France	8%	20%	10%	32%	9%	11%	14%	14%	10%	11%	8%	13%	13%	
16	Other EU countries	16%	7%	7%	14%	0%	0%	29%	6%	0%	10%	8%	10%	8%	
17	India	4%	4%	7%	10%	9%	6%	7%	10%	19%	14%	5%	9%	9%	
18	China	2%	3%	6%	6%	11%	11%	5%	8%	7%	12%	4%	7%	7%	
19	USA	7%	6%	5%	19%	8%	9%	7%	7%	9%	8%	6%	8%	8%	
20	Turkey	22%	1%	5%	6%	12%	12%	6%	5%	18%	10%	3%	9%	9%	
21	Japan	5%	1%	8%	9%	8%	6%	5%	10%	4%	13%	4%	7%	7%	
22	Islamic countries (Middle East and North Africa)	15%	0%	3%	7%	5%	8%	0%	4%	5%	3%	6%	6%	6%	
23	Other countries	3%	3%	3%	3%	0%	1%	3%	4%	1%	0%	2%	2%	2%	
24	None	32%	31%	26%	7%	19%	13%	10%	40%	8%	30%	35%	23%	23%	
25	Cannot say	3%	11%	9%	14%	11%	9%	9%	9%	3%	8%	18%	9%	9%	
	Total	159%	153%	172%	188%	178%	165%	184%	179%	178%	172%	150%	171%	171%	

		Number of questionnaires after weighting											Average in 11 countries	
		1001	1147	1078	1000	1057	1000	1092	1607	954	1050	2077		
		Azerbaijan	Armenia	Belarus	Georgia	Kazakhstan	Kyrgyzstan	Moldova	Russia	Tajikistan	Uzbekistan	Ukraine		
T8.	Which countries would you like to visit for holidays or tourism?													
1	Azerbaijan		0%	1%	1%		0%	1%	2%	2%	1%	1%	1%	
2	Armenia			2%	1%		1%	2%	3%	0%	1%	1%	1%	
3	Belarus		2%		0%		1%	2%	6%	2%	1%	4%	2%	
4	Georgia		5%	3%			2%	2%	3%	1%	1%	3%	2%	
5	Kazakhstan		2%	1%	0%		6%	1%	2%	2%	2%	1%	2%	
6	Kyrgyzstan		2%	1%	0%			1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	
7	Moldova		2%	3%	0%		2%	2%	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%	
8	Russia		20%	11%	6%		20%	18%		34%	17%	10%	17%	
9	Tajikistan		2%	1%	0%		1%	1%	1%		1%	1%	1%	
10	Turkmenistan		2%	1%	0%		3%	2%	1%	0%	0%	1%	1%	
11	Uzbekistan		2%	1%	0%		3%	0%	1%	3%		1%	1%	
12	Ukraine		4%	19%	6%		2%	20%	10%	2%	5%		9%	
13	Great Britain		13%	9%	16%		7%	7%	12%	6%	7%	12%	10%	
14	Germany		14%	14%	16%		13%	13%	18%	14%	12%	13%	14%	
15	France		33%	20%	34%		13%	18%	24%	17%	17%	20%	22%	
16	Other EU countries		13%	14%	14%		1%	23%	10%	1%	0%	20%	10%	
17	India		3%	12%	7%		5%	4%	10%	17%	11%	9%	9%	
18	China		2%	9%	3%		11%	3%	8%	8%	7%	5%	6%	
19	USA		11%	11%	20%		14%	10%	9%	17%	13%	11%	13%	
20	Turkey		2%	18%	8%		17%	16%	17%	24%	16%	19%	15%	
21	Japan		1%	12%	6%		7%	4%	11%	4%	11%	9%	7%	
22	Islamic countries (Middle East and North Africa)		2%	3%	5%		12%	1%	6%	6%	16%	7%	6%	
23	Other countries		3%	0%	4%		0%	4%	7%	1%	0%	4%	3%	
24	None		16%	9%	7%		11%	8%	21%	6%	10%	20%	12%	
25	Cannot say		11%	12%	12%		8%	7%	7%	2%	12%	14%	10%	
	Total		167%	186%	170%		160%	168%	191%	172%	161%	186%	173%	

		Number of questionnaires after weighting											Average in 11 countries		
		1001	1147	1078	1000	1057	1000	1092	1607	954	1050	2077			
		Azerbaijan	Armenia	Belarus	Georgia	Kazakhstan	Kyrgyzstan	Moldova	Russia	Tajikistan	Uzbekistan	Ukraine			
T9A.	DO BE ANSWERED BY THE RESPONDENTS UNDER 35.														
To which countries would you like to travel for education?															
T9B.	DO BE ANSWERED BY THE RESPONDENTS AGED 35 AND OVER 35.														
To which countries would you like to send your children for education?															
1	Azerbaijan	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	
2	Armenia	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	
3	Belarus	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	1%	2%	0%	1%	1%		
4	Georgia	3%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	1%		
5	Kazakhstan	1%	1%	0%	0%	5%	5%	0%	0%	2%	1%	0%	1%		
6	Kyrgyzstan	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	5%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%		
7	Moldova	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	25%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
8	Russia	16%	17%	12%	4%	30%	35%	0%	36%	17%	8%	20%	20%		
9	Tajikistan	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
10	Turkmenistan	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	2%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%		
11	Uzbekistan	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
12	Ukraine	5%	1%	1%	3%	1%	1%	3%	1%	3%	1%	2%	2%		
13	Great Britain	18%	18%	19%	31%	17%	8%	11%	18%	9%	13%	21%	17%		
14	Germany	12%	11%	20%	26%	13%	15%	11%	17%	15%	20%	18%	16%		
15	France	4%	21%	8%	13%	6%	6%	12%	9%	11%	5%	9%	10%		
16	Other EU countries	8%	4%	5%	3%	0%	0%	21%	3%	0%	0%	12%	5%		
17	India	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	1%	0%	1%	14%	2%	0%	2%		
18	China	1%	1%	1%	0%	8%	13%	0%	2%	24%	5%	1%	5%		
19	USA	18%	15%	15%	30%	18%	19%	14%	14%	44%	23%	14%	20%		
20	Turkey	24%	0%	0%	2%	5%	16%	1%	1%	13%	5%	1%	6%		
21	Japan	2%	0%	2%	1%	4%	9%	1%	3%	5%	12%	2%	4%		
22	Islamic countries (Middle East and North Africa)	9%	0%	0%	0%	2%	4%	0%	1%	3%	2%	1%	2%		
23	Other countries	1%	1%	1%	0%	0%	0%	1%	1%	1%	0%	2%	1%		
24	None	18%	20%	26%	10%	21%	10%	13%	39%	10%	18%	25%	19%		
25	Cannot say	8%	13%	18%	13%	12%	13%	14%	15%	3%	14%	21%	13%		
	Total	152%	126%	127%	139%	142%	163%	130%	124%	197%	137%	136%	143%		

		Number of questionnaires after weighting											Average in 11 countries	
		1001	1147	1078	1000	1057	1000	1092	1607	954	1050	2077		
		Azerbaijan	Armenia	Belarus	Georgia	Kazakhstan	Kyrgyzstan	Moldova	Russia	Tajikistan	Uzbekistan	Ukraine		
T10.	To which countries would you like to travel for work if you had such an opportunity?													
1	Azerbaijan	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Armenia	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
3	Belarus	1%	1%	0%	0%	1%	1%	0%	1%	1%	0%	2%	1%	1%
4	Georgia	6%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	1%
5	Kazakhstan	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%	6%	0%	0%	1%	3%	0%	1%	1%
6	Kyrgyzstan	1%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%
7	Moldova	1%	0%	1%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%
8	Russia	14%	25%	20%	5%	21%	34%	34%	0%	42%	20%	12%	23%	23%
9	Tajikistan	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%
10	Turkmenistan	1%	0%	0%	0%	1%	1%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	1%	1%
11	Uzbekistan	1%	0%	0%	0%	1%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
12	Ukraine	6%	1%	2%	4%	1%	1%	4%	1%	2%	0%	0%	2%	2%
13	Great Britain	9%	6%	9%	6%	10%	5%	6%	9%	5%	3%	10%	7%	7%
14	Germany	13%	9%	19%	15%	17%	11%	13%	21%	10%	9%	17%	14%	14%
15	France	4%	13%	7%	9%	8%	5%	10%	10%	5%	4%	7%	7%	7%
16	Other EU countries	6%	3%	7%	7%	0%	0%	14%	4%	0%	0%	15%	5%	5%
17	India	0%	0%	1%	0%	3%	1%	0%	1%	3%	1%	0%	1%	1%
18	China	1%	1%	1%	0%	5%	11%	0%	2%	6%	3%	1%	3%	3%
19	USA	9%	13%	15%	20%	16%	14%	8%	12%	19%	12%	12%	14%	14%
20	Turkey	22%	0%	2%	4%	7%	12%	1%	2%	9%	5%	1%	6%	6%
21	Japan	2%	0%	3%	0%	6%	6%	0%	4%	2%	6%	3%	3%	3%
22	Islamic countries (Middle East and North Africa)	10%	0%	1%	0%	3%	3%	0%	1%	3%	1%	1%	2%	2%
23	Other countries	1%	1%	1%	1%	0%	1%	2%	1%	1%	0%	2%	1%	1%
24	None	31%	37%	32%	32%	27%	18%	20%	44%	18%	38%	38%	31%	31%
25	Cannot say	6%	11%	12%	15%	12%	12%	10%	12%	5%	17%	13%	11%	11%
	Total	148%	124%	136%	122%	142%	146%	126%	127%	133%	122%	136%	133%	

		Number of questionnaires after weighting											Average in 11 countries	
		1001	1147	1078	1000	1057	1000	1092	1607	954	1050	2077		
		Azerbaijan	Armenia	Belarus	Georgia	Kazakhstan	Kyrgyzstan	Moldova	Russia	Tajikistan	Uzbekistan	Ukraine		
T11.	In which countries would you consider seeking permanent residence ?													
1	Azerbaijan		0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Armenia		0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
3	Belarus		0%	0%	0%	1%	1%	0%	1%	1%	0%	3%	1%	0%
4	Georgia		0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
5	Kazakhstan		0%	0%	0%	0%	3%	0%	0%	1%	1%	0%	1%	0%
6	Kyrgyzstan		0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
7	Moldova		0%	0%	0%	1%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
8	Russia		10%	9%	2%	22%	21%	23%	0%	26%	4%	8%	14%	0%
9	Tajikistan		0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
10	Turkmenistan		0%	0%	0%	1%	1%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%
11	Uzbekistan		0%	0%	0%	1%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
12	Ukraine		1%	2%	1%	2%	0%	3%	1%	1%	0%	0%	1%	0%
13	Great Britain		2%	4%	3%	4%	2%	3%	4%	4%	0%	4%	3%	0%
14	Germany		4%	8%	4%	9%	4%	8%	10%	5%	1%	10%	6%	0%
15	France		7%	4%	3%	4%	3%	7%	5%	4%	1%	5%	4%	0%
16	Other EU countries		3%	4%	3%	0%	1%	12%	4%	0%	0%	10%	4%	0%
17	India		0%	1%	0%	0%	1%	0%	1%	4%	0%	0%	1%	0%
18	China		0%	1%	0%	1%	3%	0%	1%	2%	0%	1%	1%	0%
19	USA		6%	9%	6%	6%	5%	5%	6%	13%	4%	7%	7%	0%
20	Turkey		0%	0%	1%	4%	5%	0%	1%	7%	1%	0%	2%	0%
21	Japan		0%	1%	0%	1%	3%	0%	2%	2%	1%	1%	1%	0%
22	Islamic countries (Middle East and North Africa)		0%	0%	0%	1%	4%	0%	0%	4%	1%	1%	1%	0%
23	Other countries		1%	1%	0%	0%	0%	4%	2%	1%	0%	2%	1%	0%
24	None		63%	53%	68%	49%	41%	29%	62%	40%	74%	48%	53%	0%
25	Cannot say		8%	13%	13%	11%	11%	16%	10%	5%	13%	16%	12%	0%
	Total		106%	109%	105%	121%	112%	112%	112%	125%	104%	116%	112%	11%

		Number of questionnaires after weighting											Average in 11 countries
		1001	1147	1078	1000	1057	1000	1092	1607	954	1050	2077	
		Azerbaijan	Armenia	Belarus	Georgia	Kazakhstan	Kyrgyzstan	Moldova	Russia	Tajikistan	Uzbekistan	Ukraine	
T12.	From which countries, to your mind, should we invite more artists, writers or actors, or buy and translate books, films, music and other cultural items?												
1	Azerbaijan		0%	6%	4%		6%	6%		4%	7%		5%
2	Armenia			6%	3%		5%	7%		1%	3%		4%
3	Belarus		5%		1%		8%	11%		2%	2%		5%
4	Georgia		9%	8%			9%	7%		2%	3%		6%
5	Kazakhstan		3%	7%	0%		20%	5%		5%	3%		6%
6	Kyrgyzstan		3%	5%	0%			5%		2%	1%		3%
7	Moldova		4%	7%	1%		7%			2%	2%		4%
8	Russia		40%	45%	17%		53%	57%		68%	40%		46%
9	Tajikistan		3%	5%	0%		5%	4%			2%		3%
10	Turkmenistan		2%	4%	1%		8%	4%		6%	2%		4%
11	Uzbekistan		2%	5%	0%		13%	4%		18%			7%
12	Ukraine		7%	22%	19%		6%	26%		6%	3%		13%
13	Great Britain		19%	15%	23%		7%	15%		5%	8%		13%
14	Germany		20%	17%	25%		9%	20%		10%	13%		16%
15	France		36%	20%	36%		6%	24%		6%	12%		20%
16	Other EU countries		9%	6%	9%		0%	39%		0%	0%		9%
17	India		4%	10%	7%		5%	7%		33%	31%		14%
18	China		4%	9%	2%		10%	7%		5%	16%		8%
19	USA		16%	18%	34%		10%	14%		12%	13%		17%
20	Turkey		1%	6%	3%		13%	6%		36%	22%		12%
21	Japan		4%	12%	5%		4%	6%		3%	18%		7%
22	Islamic countries (Middle East and North Africa)		1%	5%	2%		6%	3%		19%	11%		7%
23	Other countries		1%	2%	1%		0%	1%		9%	0%		2%
24	None		15%	3%	3%		4%	3%		2%	7%		5%
25	Cannot say		19%	15%	20%		18%	9%		2%	16%		14%
	Total		229%	259%	217%		234%	292%		258%	234%		246%

		Number of questionnaires after weighting											Average in 11 countries
		1001	1147	1078	1000	1057	1000	1092	1607	954	1050	2077	
		Azerbaijan	Armenia	Belarus	Georgia	Kazakhstan	Kyrgyzstan	Moldova	Russia	Tajikistan	Uzbekistan	Ukraine	
T13.	From which countries would tourists be desirable for our country?	From which countries would tourists be desirable for our country?											
1	Azerbaijan		0%	16%	15%		9%	17%		3%	11%		10%
2	Armenia			16%	14%		9%	19%		2%	10%		12%
3	Belarus		7%		7%		11%	23%		5%	10%		11%
4	Georgia		8%	17%			10%	19%		1%	10%		11%
5	Kazakhstan		4%	18%	7%		21%	17%		7%	9%		12%
6	Kyrgyzstan		4%	15%	5%			15%		4%	8%		9%
7	Moldova		5%	16%	7%		10%			2%	9%		8%
8	Russia		37%	39%	29%		40%	52%		47%	29%		39%
9	Tajikistan		4%	15%	5%		8%	16%			8%		9%
10	Turkmenistan		4%	15%	6%		11%	15%		4%	9%		9%
11	Uzbekistan		4%	15%	6%		11%	16%		3%			9%
12	Ukraine		10%	29%	35%		12%	34%		8%	11%		20%
13	Great Britain		30%	34%	34%		15%	35%		19%	22%		27%
14	Germany		37%	41%	44%		22%	43%		28%	32%		35%
15	France		48%	37%	41%		19%	42%		15%	29%		33%
16	Other EU countries		7%	17%	6%		0%	38%		0%	0%		10%
17	India		7%	19%	9%		7%	17%		15%	20%		14%
18	China		8%	20%	6%		15%	19%		24%	25%		17%
19	USA		26%	28%	49%		24%	31%		24%	22%		29%
20	Turkey		3%	17%	14%		18%	19%		9%	16%		14%
21	Japan		9%	24%	14%		14%	19%		7%	27%		16%
22	Islamic countries (Middle East and North Africa)		3%	13%	7%		11%	11%		5%	16%		10%
23	Other countries		3%	10%	0%		0%	3%		1%	0%		2%
24	None		6%	4%	2%		3%	2%		3%	5%		4%
25	Cannot say		17%	14%	13%		15%	11%		5%	31%		15%
	Total		291%	489%	376%		315%	532%		244%	371%		374%

		Number of questionnaires after weighting											Average in 11 countries
		1001	1147	1078	1000	1057	1000	1092	1607	954	1050	2077	
		Azerbaijan	Armenia	Belarus	Georgia	Kazakhstan	Kyrgyzstan	Moldova	Russia	Tajikistan	Uzbekistan	Ukraine	
T14.	Workers, students and specialists (temporary or permanent) from which countries would be desirable in our country?												
1	Azerbaijan		0%	4%	3%	2%	3%	4%	3%	2%	2%	1%	2%
2	Armenia	0%		5%	2%	2%	3%	4%	3%	2%	2%	1%	2%
3	Belarus	11%	4%		1%	5%	5%	8%	14%	4%	2%	5%	6%
4	Georgia	16%	5%	4%		2%	6%	4%	2%	1%	1%	2%	4%
5	Kazakhstan	10%	2%	7%	1%		12%	4%	7%	13%	4%	2%	6%
6	Kyrgyzstan	6%	2%	5%	0%			3%	3%	8%	3%	1%	3%
7	Moldova	11%	3%	5%	1%	2%	5%		6%	1%	2%	2%	4%
8	Russia	21%	33%	26%	9%	37%	38%	41%		51%	25%	14%	30%
9	Tajikistan	6%	2%	4%	1%	2%	4%	4%	5%		3%	1%	3%
10	Turkmenistan	8%	2%	4%	1%	2%	8%	4%	3%	8%	6%	1%	4%
11	Uzbekistan	7%	2%	4%	0%	4%	7%	4%	5%	3%		1%	4%
12	Ukraine	16%	5%	12%	14%	4%	4%	17%	12%	4%	4%		9%
13	Great Britain	6%	21%	13%	16%	11%	7%	20%	12%	7%	11%	8%	12%
14	Germany	15%	28%	25%	28%	22%	15%	30%	24%	14%	19%	14%	21%
15	France	4%	33%	16%	19%	8%	10%	22%	12%	6%	14%	7%	14%
16	Other EU countries	6%	5%	5%	2%	0%	0%	24%	5%	0%	0%	11%	5%
17	India	2%	5%	6%	3%	2%	7%	4%	2%	18%	13%	2%	6%
18	China	2%	7%	13%	2%	6%	13%	10%	5%	29%	17%	4%	10%
19	USA	9%	16%	20%	30%	12%	14%	21%	9%	15%	16%	10%	16%
20	Turkey	29%	1%	5%	4%	8%	15%	6%	3%	12%	8%	2%	8%
21	Japan	7%	10%	18%	9%	14%	11%	14%	13%	10%	22%	6%	12%
22	Islamic countries (Middle East and North Africa)	11%	1%	4%	1%	4%	8%	4%	1%	4%	7%	1%	4%
23	Other countries	3%	2%	3%	0%	0%	0%	1%	1%	2%	0%	1%	1%
24	None	15%	13%	16%	10%	21%	9%	5%	28%	3%	7%	26%	14%
25	Cannot say	6%	21%	16%	27%	16%	14%	14%	18%	2%	31%	34%	18%
	Total	227%	221%	240%	185%	188%	220%	274%	196%	221%	218%	156%	213%

		Number of questionnaires after weighting											Average in 11 countries	
		1001	1147	1078	1000	1057	1000	1092	1607	954	1050	2077		
		Azerbaijan	Armenia	Belarus	Georgia	Kazakhstan	Kyrgyzstan	Moldova	Russia	Tajikistan	Uzbekistan	Ukraine		
T15.	Which countries would you prefer to be the source of capital and investment inflows? Companies, entrepreneurs and business people from which countries should establish their businesses in our country?													
1	Azerbaijan	0%	0%	4%	5%	1%	2%	3%	1%	1%	1%	2%	2%	
2	Armenia	0%		3%	3%	1%	2%	3%	2%	0%	1%	2%	2%	
3	Belarus	2%	5%		1%	6%	4%	6%	5%	3%	2%	7%	4%	
4	Georgia	1%	4%	3%		1%	4%	3%	1%	1%	1%	2%	2%	
5	Kazakhstan	3%	2%	6%	3%		12%	3%	3%	5%	4%	4%	4%	
6	Kyrgyzstan	1%	2%	4%	1%	1%		3%	1%	1%	1%	2%	2%	
7	Moldova	1%	2%	3%	1%	2%	2%		2%	1%	2%	2%	2%	
8	Russia	13%	41%	37%	12%	47%	50%	48%		60%	47%	22%	38%	
9	Tajikistan	1%	2%	3%	1%	1%	2%	3%	1%		0%	2%	2%	
10	Turkmenistan	1%	2%	4%	1%	1%	4%	3%	1%	3%	1%	1%	2%	
11	Uzbekistan	1%	2%	3%	1%	1%	4%	3%	2%	1%		2%	2%	
12	Ukraine	2%	5%	10%	13%	4%	3%	11%	4%	3%	3%		6%	
13	Great Britain	10%	19%	22%	22%	15%	8%	23%	21%	7%	14%	17%	16%	
14	Germany	17%	26%	33%	37%	26%	20%	39%	39%	13%	31%	27%	28%	
15	France	6%	30%	18%	25%	11%	8%	25%	22%	8%	15%	15%	17%	
16	Other EU countries	10%	3%	7%	3%	0%	0%	18%	9%	0%	0%	21%	6%	
17	India	1%	3%	7%	3%	2%	4%	4%	4%	8%	4%	4%	4%	
18	China	6%	8%	19%	3%	15%	16%	10%	14%	45%	22%	10%	15%	
19	USA	18%	25%	28%	49%	20%	18%	32%	23%	19%	25%	25%	26%	
20	Turkey	24%	2%	7%	7%	12%	18%	6%	4%	23%	12%	3%	11%	
21	Japan	15%	11%	20%	17%	19%	16%	14%	22%	15%	35%	16%	18%	
22	Islamic countries (Middle East and North Africa)	12%	1%	5%	2%	5%	6%	3%	3%	3%	5%	3%	4%	
23	Other countries	2%	1%	4%	0%	0%	0%	1%	2%	1%	0%	2%	1%	
24	None	19%	9%	3%	3%	10%	2%	2%	12%	1%	2%	10%	7%	
25	Cannot say	11%	17%	19%	16%	16%	11%	11%	20%	1%	19%	26%	15%	
	Total	179%	222%	272%	231%	218%	217%	274%	217%	224%	245%	227%	230%	

		Number of questionnaires after weighting											Average in 11 countries	
		Azerbaijan	Armenia	Belarus	Georgia	Kazakhstan	Kyrgyzstan	Moldova	Russia	Tajikistan	Uzbekistan	Ukraine		
		1001	1147	1078	1000	1057	1000	1092	1607	954	1050	2077		
T16.	Cooperation with which countries would be beneficial for our country and companies in our country (cooperation in science and technology - joint research projects, exchange of researches, technologies, scientific ideas)?													
1	Azerbaijan		0%	4%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	0%	0%	2%	1%	
2	Armenia	0%		3%	1%	1%	1%	2%	2%	0%	0%	2%	1%	
3	Belarus	3%	4%		0%	6%	3%	5%	5%	3%	1%	10%	4%	
4	Georgia	3%	4%	3%		1%	2%	2%	1%	0%	0%	3%	2%	
5	Kazakhstan	2%	2%	6%	0%		10%	2%	3%	3%	3%	4%	3%	
6	Kyrgyzstan	1%	2%	3%	0%	1%		1%	1%	1%	0%	2%	1%	
7	Moldova	2%	2%	3%	0%	2%	2%		1%	1%	1%	2%	2%	
8	Russia	21%	40%	43%	8%	57%	51%	47%		60%	47%	29%	40%	
9	Tajikistan	1%	2%	3%	0%	1%	1%	1%	1%		0%	2%	1%	
10	Turkmenistan	1%	2%	3%	0%	1%	2%	1%	1%	2%	0%	2%	1%	
11	Uzbekistan	1%	2%	3%	0%	2%	4%	2%	1%	1%		2%	2%	
12	Ukraine	4%	4%	10%	7%	3%	2%	7%	4%	3%	2%		5%	
13	Great Britain	15%	16%	19%	14%	11%	5%	14%	20%	3%	11%	17%	13%	
14	Germany	24%	26%	36%	42%	29%	18%	37%	41%	14%	32%	32%	30%	
15	France	8%	23%	14%	17%	8%	7%	20%	20%	4%	13%	14%	13%	
16	Other EU countries	9%	3%	4%	2%	0%	0%	15%	7%	0%	0%	20%	5%	
17	India	0%	4%	6%	1%	3%	2%	2%	5%	6%	3%	4%	3%	
18	China	10%	12%	26%	5%	19%	17%	12%	21%	45%	20%	13%	18%	
19	USA	26%	19%	31%	34%	22%	14%	24%	27%	17%	20%	26%	24%	
20	Turkey	23%	2%	5%	4%	9%	16%	4%	3%	14%	9%	4%	8%	
21	Japan	28%	25%	40%	37%	41%	27%	22%	48%	26%	42%	32%	33%	
22	Islamic countries (Middle East and North Africa)	13%	1%	3%	0%	3%	4%	1%	1%	3%	2%	2%	3%	
23	Other countries	7%	1%	4%	1%	0%	0%	1%	2%	1%	0%	2%	2%	
24	None	12%	8%	2%	3%	3%	1%	2%	5%	2%	2%	5%	4%	
25	Cannot say	15%	13%	8%	17%	8%	9%	9%	10%	2%	16%	17%	11%	
	Total	228%	217%	282%	196%	229%	197%	234%	234%	211%	227%	246%	227%	

		Number of questionnaires after weighting											Average in 11 countries	
		1001	1147	1078	1000	1057	1000	1092	1607	954	1050	2077		
		Azerbaijan	Armenia	Belarus	Georgia	Kazakhstan	Kyrgyzstan	Moldova	Russia	Tajikistan	Uzbekistan	Ukraine		
T17.	Goods from which countries would you prefer to buy or put more trust in?													
1	Azerbaijan	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	
2	Armenia	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	1%	0%	
3	Belarus	2%	1%	8%	1%	3%	5%	20%	5%	1%	15%	6%	6%	
4	Georgia	1%	1%	0%	0%	1%	0%	1%	4%	8%	1%	3%	1%	
5	Kazakhstan	1%	0%	0%	0%	9%	0%	3%	1%	1%	8%	1%	3%	
6	Kyrgyzstan	1%	0%	0%	0%	6%	0%	1%	1%	1%	0%	1%	1%	
7	Moldova	1%	1%	0%	0%	1%	2%	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	
8	Russia	21%	27%	20%	27%	55%	49%	32%	70%	53%	20%	37%	37%	
9	Tajikistan	1%	1%	1%	0%	0%	1%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	
10	Turkmenistan	0%	1%	0%	0%	1%	2%	0%	1%	0%	0%	1%	1%	
11	Uzbekistan	1%	0%	0%	0%	2%	3%	0%	1%	1%	0%	1%	1%	
12	Ukraine	5%	1%	6%	10%	5%	1%	9%	6%	2%	4%	5%	5%	
13	Great Britain	11%	9%	11%	10%	4%	4%	5%	10%	3%	4%	10%	7%	
14	Germany	26%	22%	37%	47%	22%	19%	33%	35%	13%	20%	29%	28%	
15	France	16%	17%	14%	14%	7%	8%	13%	15%	6%	6%	10%	11%	
16	Other EU countries	20%	5%	15%	6%	0%	0%	6%	7%	0%	0%	16%	7%	
17	India	2%	1%	1%	0%	8%	2%	1%	3%	5%	3%	1%	2%	
18	China	6%	4%	6%	1%	17%	17%	3%	12%	16%	15%	5%	9%	
19	USA	15%	9%	12%	19%	7%	13%	8%	10%	14%	9%	11%	12%	
20	Turkey	40%	7%	8%	8%	40%	21%	4%	13%	39%	39%	7%	21%	
21	Japan	18%	7%	16%	20%	15%	20%	5%	23%	16%	19%	15%	16%	
22	Islamic countries (Middle East and North Africa)	15%	0%	0%	0%	1%	3%	0%	1%	3%	1%	2%	2%	
23	Other countries	3%	1%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	2%	1%	0%	2%	1%	
24	None	7%	26%	12%	3%	5%	2%	14%	19%	2%	13%	7%	10%	
25	Cannot say	11%	10%	11%	14%	7%	8%	13%	8%	1%	3%	24%	10%	
	Total	223%	151%	175%	184%	212%	191%	150%	195%	203%	202%	179%	188%	

		Azerbaijan	Armenia	Belarus	Georgia	Kazakhstan	Kyrgyzstan	Moldova	Russia	Tajikistan	Uzbekistan	Ukraine	Average in 11 countries
		1001	1147	1078	1000	1057	1000	1092	1607	954	1050	2077	
		Number of questionnaires after weighting											
T18.	What is your attitude towards the fact that the economies of Belarus, Kazakhstan and Russia have united in the Customs Union (which has relieved the trade between those countries from customs tariffs)?												
1	Positive	27%	39%	20%	9%	45%	37%	36%	41%	45%	51%	30%	35%
2	Rather positive	11%	22%	40%	21%	35%	30%	29%	31%	31%	17%	27%	27%
3	Indifferent	46%	26%	28%	39%	10%	15%	20%	17%	17%	14%	31%	24%
4	Rather negative	3%	2%	5%	5%	4%	6%	5%	3%	1%	1%	3%	3%
5	Negative	8%	1%	1%	1%	1%	3%	2%	2%	0%	0%	2%	2%
6	Cannot say	4%	10%	6%	24%	6%	9%	7%	6%	6%	18%	6%	9%
	Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
T19.	What is your attitude towards the fact that, in addition to the Customs Union, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Russia have established the Common Economic Space (in fact, a common market between the three countries)?												
1	Positive	26%	40%	20%	8%	40%	33%	33%	37%	41%	51%	30%	33%
2	Rather positive	12%	22%	42%	19%	36%	30%	29%	32%	31%	17%	26%	27%
3	Indifferent	45%	27%	27%	39%	10%	16%	20%	17%	20%	13%	31%	24%
4	Rather negative	3%	1%	5%	5%	4%	6%	6%	3%	2%	1%	4%	4%
5	Negative	9%	1%	1%	2%	2%	3%	2%	1%	0%	0%	2%	2%
6	Cannot say	5%	10%	6%	27%	9%	12%	9%	8%	6%	19%	7%	11%
	Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
T20.	In your opinion, in the next 5 years will CIS countries come closer to each other or drift further apart?												
1	Countries will come closer to each other	27%	34%	41%	26%	53%	46%	38%	41%	62%	46%	28%	40%
2	Nothing will change	33%	41%	34%	26%	28%	33%	30%	33%	23%	20%	32%	30%
3	Countries will drift apart	29%	8%	7%	15%	5%	9%	18%	11%	5%	7%	17%	12%
4	Cannot say	11%	17%	18%	33%	14%	12%	13%	15%	9%	27%	22%	17%
	Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

REFERENCE LIST

- Borko, Y. (2003) *From the European Idea to the Single Europe*. Moscow: "Delovaya Literatura".
- Burlakov, V. (2007) *Prospects for Integration in the Northeast Asia: Neo-Functional Approach*. Available at: <http://www.ifpc.ru/index.php?cat=162>.
- Ermolayev, A., Klimenko, I., Zhalilo, Y., Pelagesha, N. (2011) *Prospects of Ukraine's relations with the Customs Union of the Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation*. Kiev: "NISI".
- Expert Group "Development of economic and social integration in the post-Soviet space" (2011) *Objectives and Directions of Further Economic Integration of the CIS countries*. Available at: [http://2020strategy.ru/data/2011/07/13/1214718072/Аналитический материал 21 группы-2.pdf](http://2020strategy.ru/data/2011/07/13/1214718072/Аналитический_материал_21группы-2.pdf).
- Markov, V. (1998) Central Asian integration: step or alternative of CIS countries integration. *Central Asia*. No.4.
- Spartak, A. (2011) *Post Soviet Integration: Hopes and Limitations*. Available at: [http://www.hse.ru/data/2011/02/28/1211520870/A. Спартак \(материал для открытого доступа группы 21\).pdf](http://www.hse.ru/data/2011/02/28/1211520870/A_Spartak_(материал_для_открытого_доступа_группы_21).pdf)
- Vinokurov, E., Libman, A., Lombarde, F., Maqsimchook, N., Moldabekov, Y., (2009) *EDB's System of Indicators of Eurasian Integration 2009*. Almaty: "RUAN".
- Zadorin, I. (2008) Integration Orientations of the CIS Countries Population: Dynamics and Prospects. *"Politia"*. No.3.
- Zadorin, I. (2008) Are We of Interest to Each Other? (Humanitarian communication in CIS countries as the third base of integration). *"Politia"*. No.4.
- Zadorin, I. (2010) *Eurasian Monitor Project and New Opportunities of Social Control in the Post-Soviet Space*. Available at: <http://www.zircon.ru/upload/File/russian/publication/1/100505.pdf>.
- Zadorin, I. (2006) *Integration in Eurasia. The Elites and Population of SES Countries*. Ed. by Zadorin I.V. Moscow: "Europe".
- Zadorin, I. (2008) *Integration in Eurasia: sociological dimension*. Ed. by Zadorin I.V. Moscow: "INES".
- Zadorin, I. (2010) *Integration in Eurasia: sociological dimension*. Moscow: "Eurasian Monitor".

EDB Centre for Integration Studies

The regional economic integration processes, boosted by the establishment of the Customs Union (CU) and the Common Economic Space (CES) of Belarus, Kazakhstan and Russia, are in need of robust analytical support. The EDB Centre for Integration Studies was founded in 2011 with this very purpose in mind. The Centre has been assigned with organising research, preparing reports, and formulating recommendations for the governments of the EDB member states on the subject of regional economic integration.

Priority research areas include:

- economic integration, including assessment of the economic effects of the CU and CES as well as issues related to the harmonisation of applicable legislation and corporate integration;
- measures aiming at the establishment of the Eurasian Economic Union;
- monetary and financial integration, including stock market integration and banking expansion as well as common and settlement currencies;
- conceptualisation of Eurasian integration based on theories of regional integration; promotion of the idea of Eurasian integration, publishing a series of analytical publications (a series of EDB Reports and policy papers, 'Journal of Eurasian Economic Integration', 'EDB Eurasian Integration Yearbook', etc.)

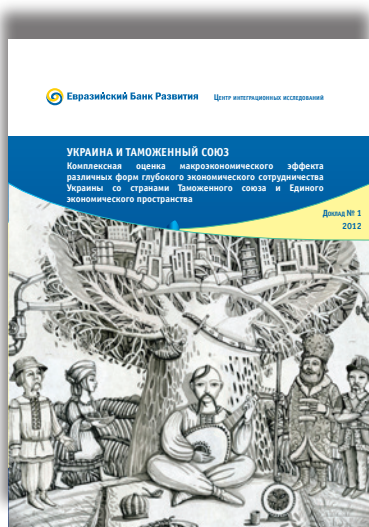
EDB Centre for Integration Studies:

7 Paradnaya Street, St. Petersburg, 191014, Russia

Tel.: +7 (812) 320 44 41

E-mail: centre@eabr.org

EDB Centre for Integration Studies Publications 2012



Comprehensive assessment of the macroeconomic effect of different forms of intensive economic cooperation by Ukraine with the member states of the Customs Union and the Common Economic Space within the framework of the Eurasian Economic Community (EEC)

The authors of the report indicate that on-going development of the largest economies within the post-Soviet area (Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan) is associated with structural change, whereas the potential for significant economic growth based on raw exports and outdated manufacturing industries is nearing exhaustion. For the first time in the last 20 years, the study formulates an inter-industry set of analytical-forecasting models for the region's four leading countries. The notable merit of the work lies in the fact that it applies a single methodology to its inter-industry analysis.

Taking such an approach has allowed the authors to model common economic dynamics and structural changes, as well as to obtain sound assessments of possible integration scenarios throughout the post-Soviet area.

Available in Russian and English.

www.eabr.org/r/research/analytics/centre/projects/ukraine/



Studies of Regional Integration in the CIS and in Central Asia: A Literature Survey

This work by Alexander Libman represents a high quality and detailed critical review of the research literature on post-soviet integration that has been published in the last 20 years. Being affiliated with research institutions in Frankfurt am Maine, Moscow and Shanghai, the author of the review is a reputed and active researcher of post-Soviet integration. He tries to look at the subject from both the outside and the inside, which is especially important in the context of the work. The author analysed the major trends of research of the regional integration processes in the post-Soviet region and Central Asia that have been carried out by both the Russian and international academic communities.

Available in Russian and English.

www.eabr.org/r/research/analytics/centre/projects/CIS_CentralAsia/



Assessment of the economic, institutional and legal impact of labour migration agreements within the framework of the Common Economic Space

The report presents an analysis of two agreements that entered into force on January 1, 2012 within the framework of the CES shared by Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan: “Agreements on the Legal Status of Migrant Workers and Their Family Members” and the “Agreements on Cooperation to Counteract Illegal Labour Migration from Third Countries.” These documents are evaluated from the standpoint of legal novations, impact on the existing contractual and legal framework surrounding the issue of labour migration, and the furtherance of effective protection for the rights and social guarantees of migrant workers. The report contains an analysis of the economic effect of

the adopted agreements and their impact on the intensity of labour-migration processes, on the labour market and labour productivity, on economic development in the region, and on the strengthening of regional economic ties. The report focuses particular attention on an assessment of the effects of agreement adoption on migratory flows from Central Asia

www.eabr.org/r/research/analytics/centre/projects/labour_migration



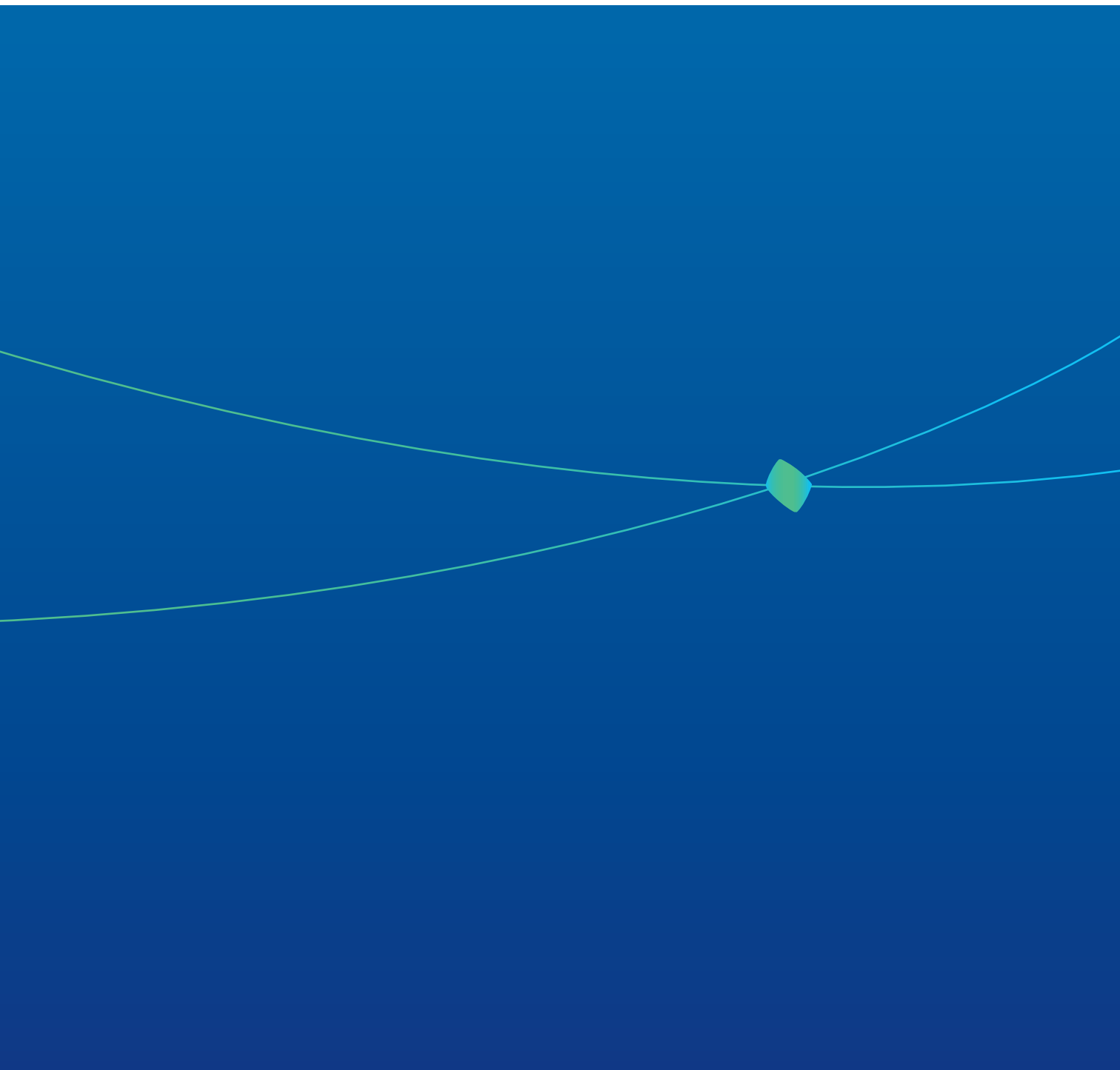
Eurasian Continental Integration (in Russian) Evgeny Vinokurov and Alexander Libman

“Vinokurov and Libman have pulled together a tremendous range of information and insight about Eurasian economic integration. Their eminently readable book tackles an important and timely topic, which lies at the heart of global economic and political transformation in the 21st century.”

Johannes Linn, Brookings Institute

www.eabr.org/r/research/analytics/centre/projects/Eurasian_integration

ISBN 978-5-9903368-5-8



2012
SAINT PETERSBURG