

# Index

- Abramovich, Roman, 84  
Abramowitz, Alan, 118  
Acquisti, Alessandro, 176n  
Agricultural workers, 149  
Albania, 36, 199  
Alcohol: alcoholism, 236, 238; lost taxes from, 63; tax hikes on, 67  
Anarchy, 232  
Antiwar protests, 230–31  
Armijo, Leslie Elliott, 6  
Attitudes toward reform, 146–49  
Avtovaz, 62–63
- Bankruptcy: coal mines, 70–71; failure to enforce, 57; incidence of unprofitability, 79n. 19; as perceived effect of protest, 191–92  
Banks, 71  
Barter. *See* Wage substitutes  
Berezovsky, Boris, 84, 240  
Biersteker, Thomas, 6  
*Biudzhethniki*, 55, 121, 125, 151  
Blame attribution: age differences in, 122, 125–26; and clarity of policy-making, 30, 86–88; and collective action theory, 22–27, 223–27, 234–35; Communist Party and, 120–21, 124–27, 208–10; as component of collective action frame, 195–97; and costs of collective action, 18–19, 132–34, 226; difficulty of, 29–34, 97–100; direction of causation with protest, 152–59; educational differences in, 122–23, 125–26; employment sector (*see* ownership and); feedback (*see* direction of causation with protest); gender differences in, 122, 125–26; and human behavior, 27–29; inconsistency of, 104–14; and information overload, 97–100; and issue difficulty, 16–22, 25, 228–35; and learned helplessness, 237–38; measurement of, 101–4; and mutual dependence theory, 163, 173–74, 220, 222; ownership and, 121–22, 124–27; partisanship and, 119–20, 124, 126–27; people's need for, 237; perceptions of, 21, 30, 53–54; political interest and, 118–20, 124–27; political opportunities and, 25–26, 211–12; as prior to efficacy, 192, 222; and protest, 131–51, 213–16, 218–21, 228–35; self-serving bias in, 105; trade unions and, 122–26, 204; and voting behavior, 28–29, 31. *See also* Causal responsibility; Treatment responsibility  
Blame-avoiding institutions and circumstances, 86–94, 98; collective bargaining structures, 92; federalism and the separation of powers, 86–88; interest in politics, 118; multipartism, 88–89; quasi-privatization, 89–91, 107–8, 121, 196; unavailability of data, 92–94, 107  
Blame-avoiding strategies, 76–85, 98, 122, 133; accommodating the aggrieved, 84–85; disconnecting power from titles, 84; empathizing publicly with victims, 80–81; finger-pointing, 76–79, 107; interest in politics, 118; pleading no way out, 79–80; rotating leaders, 82–84;

- Blame-avoiding strategies (*continued*)  
 taking ambiguous policy positions,  
 81–82
- Burbulis (Tripartite Commission  
 coordinator), 92
- Carmines, Edward G., 19–20, 230
- Causal responsibility, 21–22, 58, 70,  
 73, 103, 146. *See also* Blame attribu-  
 tion
- Central authorities: as accountable for  
 wage arrears, 54–58, 77, 104–13,  
 150; bankruptcy enforcement fail-  
 ures, 57; corruption accountability,  
 57–58; debts, 55–56; specifying indi-  
 viduals and institutions within,  
 72–75; tax collection failures, 56–57;  
 treatment responsibility of, 115
- Central Bank, 67, 71, 88, 115
- Chernomyrdin, Viktor, 59–60, 74, 78,  
 81–83, 109–11, 117, 119, 245
- Child care, 162, 165–68. *See also* Non-  
 wage benefits
- China, 229
- Chubais, Anatoly, 60, 74, 78, 81, 110,  
 167
- Coal industry, 59, 65–67, 70–71,  
 150–51
- Coal miners. *See* Miners
- Collective action: and blame attribu-  
 tion theory, 22–27, 223–27, 234–35;  
 costs associated with, 19, 132–34,  
 226; voting compared to, 31–32; and  
 workplace size, 212–13. *See also*  
 Protest
- Collective action frames, 24, 194–97
- Colombia, 232–33
- Communist Party: confidence in,  
 199–200; failures of, 15–16, 206–10,  
 215–18, 220–21; political knowledge  
 of, 118; and Primakov, 83–84; and  
 protest, 136–38, 141–42, 144, 206–10,  
 215–18, 220, 245; and specificity in  
 blame attribution, 120–21, 124–27;  
 treatment responsibility of, 116; and  
 weak party system, 89
- Company cafeteria, subsidized, 162,  
 165–68. *See also* Nonwage benefits
- Company store, subsidized, 166–69.  
*See also* Nonwage benefits
- Confidence in political officials, 110–12
- Constitution, 87
- Constitutional Court, 46, 57, 72, 87
- Cook, Linda, 184, 201, 203, 211n
- Corruption: central authorities’  
 accountability, 57–58; and criminal  
 organizations, 72; international  
 organizations’ role in, 65; managers’  
 role in, 62; oligarchs, 84; people’s  
 role in, 70; regional authorities’  
 accountability, 59–60; of trade  
 unions, 198
- Council of Ministers, 110–11
- Crime, 71–72
- Crowley, Stephen, 47–48, 151–52,  
 164n, 165n, 168n, 171n, 172–73. *See  
 also* Mutual dependence
- Dalenergo, 59, 78
- Day care. *See* Child care
- Defense industry. *See* Military
- Defense workers. *See* Military
- Democratization, threats to, 7, 223
- Demonstrations. *See* Protest
- Depression, 236–38
- Desai, Padma, 49, 53, 94, 164n, 175n,  
 179
- Destabilization, warnings of, 6–7,  
 223
- Dictatorships, 228
- Dmitrieva, Oksana, 68
- Doctors, 35, 55, 59, 136, 148, 150, 173,  
 186–87
- Dubin, Sergei, 71
- Duma: blame attributed to, 109–11;  
 budgetary failures, 74–75, 207;  
 delayed confirmation of Kirienko,  
 78; March 1997 protest, 81; political  
 knowledge of, 118; separation of  
 powers, 88; treatment responsibility  
 of, 115, 117; weak party system, 89
- Dyachenko, Tatyana, 84

- Earle, John S., 53, 94  
 Efficacy, 15, 180–92, 215–17, 220–22, 226  
 Elig, T. W., 101  
 Employment alternatives, 163–65. *See also* Mutual dependence  
 Enterprises. *See* Managers  
  
 Far East, 60  
 Federalism. *See* Blame-avoiding institutions and circumstances  
 Federation Council, 88  
 Federation of Independent Trade Unions (FNPR). *See under* Trade unions  
 Finifter, Ada, 97–98  
 Food allowances, 166–68. *See also* Nonwage benefits  
 Frames. *See* Collective action frames  
 Frieze, I. H., 101  
  
 Gaidar, Yegor, 74, 81n, 110  
 Gazprom, 58, 73–74  
 Germany, 231–32  
 Gimpelson, Vladimir, 53, 94  
 Gorbachev, Mikhail, 152  
 Goskomstat: accuracy of data, 44–47, 92–94; strike statistics, 37–39  
 Government statistics. *See* Goskomstat  
 Greskovits, Bela, 174n  
 Growth, economic, 64–65, 108, 153–54  
  
 Haggard, Stephen, 7, 65  
 Harvard Institute for International Development, 68  
 Health care. *See* Medical care  
 Hesli, Vicki, 97–98  
 Homegrown food, 174–76  
 Housing, 162, 165–68, 170–71, 214, 217. *See also* Nonwage benefits  
  
 Idson, Todd, 49, 53, 94, 164n, 175n, 179  
 Ilyukhin, Viktor, 240  
 Indonesia, 36, 199, 228–29  
  
 Informal economy. *See* Shadow economy  
 Information overload, 97–100  
 Information shortcuts, 99–100, 108–9, 225  
 Interenterprise debt, 62, 80, 95  
 Interest in politics. *See* Political interest  
 Interest rates, 64  
 International Monetary Fund, 57, 65–67, 75–76, 80  
 Iran, 229  
 Iyengar, Shanto, 101  
  
 Job alternatives. *See* Employment alternatives  
 Jordan, Bill, 66  
  
 Kara-Murza, Alexei, 83  
 Kaufman, Robert R., 7, 65  
 Kazakhstan, 194, 233–34  
 Kazakoil, 234  
 Kemerovo, 35, 59–60, 72, 201n  
 Khanty-Mansii Autonomous Okrug, 87  
 Khristenko, 60  
 Kimovsk, 179  
 Kirienko, Sergei, 78, 80–83, 103, 209, 245  
 Kislyuk, Mikhail, 59, 77  
 Knowledge. *See* Political knowledge  
 Kokh, Alfred, 62  
 Kopylov, Yuri, 78  
 Kostroma, 81  
 Krasnodar, 81  
 Krasnoyarsk Krai, 60  
 Kuzbass, 152, 186, 242  
 Kuzyakin, Aleksander, 87  
  
 Lanoue, David, 118  
 Learned helplessness, 236–38  
 Lebed, Alexander, 79, 116  
 Lehmann, Hartmut, 176n  
 Liberal Democratic Party (Russia), 116, 209  
 Lichbach, Mark, 27, 183

- Local authorities. *See* Regional authorities
- Lowenthal, Abraham, 6
- Makashov, Albert, 239
- Managers: as accountable for wage arrears, 61–63, 104–8; collective bargaining, 92, 198; corruption, 62; distrust of, 110–12; incompetence, 61; interenterprise debt, 62; and non-wage benefits, 163; paternalism, 61; penalties for nonpayment, 77; pension fund evasion, 63; privatization, 90–91; reliance of trade unions on, 198; tax evasion, 62–63; tax laws as excuse, 80; threats to workers over protest, 167, 170–72; treatment responsibility of, 115; unprofitability as excuse, 79–80
- Marshall Plan, 66, 75–76
- Maslyukov (Primakov's deputy), 83
- McGraw, Kathleen, 101
- Media coverage, 39–43, 106, 109–10, 152, 185n
- Medical care, 162, 165–68, 170, 214.  
*See also* Nonwage benefits
- Medical workers. *See* Doctors
- Melikhan, Yuri, 82
- Mickiewicz, Ellen, 97–98
- Military, 2, 45, 55, 63, 78, 80, 148, 150, 168
- Miller, Arthur, 97–98
- Miners, 34–35, 58, 64–65, 70–72, 77, 85, 136, 147, 149–52, 173, 182–84, 186–87, 189–91, 200, 205, 234
- Moldova, 194, 233–34
- Moonlighting. *See* Shadow economy
- Moscow, 60, 162, 238, 240
- Mutual dependence, theory of, 14, 47–49, 151, 162–73, 175, 220, 222.  
*See also* Crowley, Stephen; Non-wage benefits
- Nationalist movements, 228
- Nazdratenko, Yevgenii, 57, 77
- Nemtsov, Boris, 60, 74, 78, 81, 94, 107, 110
- Nizhnii Novgorod, 72
- Nonwage benefits, 161–74, 214–17, 220–21. *See also* Mutual dependence
- Norilsk Nickel, 62
- Nuclear energy workers, 148, 150, 189, 234
- Oligarchs, 84
- Opportunities. *See* Political opportunities
- Organization: blame attribution and, 16; dilemmas of, 15, 197–210, 215.  
*See also* Trade unions
- Our Home Is Russia (party), 81n, 116, 120, 199–200, 209
- Parties, 88–89, 116
- Partisanship, 89, 119–20, 124, 126–27, 136–37, 213, 215
- Partizansk, 150
- Party of power, 89
- Party system. *See* Parties
- Pastrana, Andres, 232
- Pension fund: Duma law, 75; regional debts to, 59; tax evasion and, 63
- Pension nonpayment/arrears: amount, 2, 59–60; Duma's role, 75; from tax evasion, 63; World Bank loan, 67n. 9; Yeltsin's promised payoff, 73
- Penza, 179
- Petukhov, Vladimir, 182
- Philippines, 229
- Police brutality, 229
- Political interest: effects on blame attribution, 118–20, 124–27; effects on protest, 136–38, 141–42, 144, 213–14, 216–18, 220
- Political knowledge, 118–19; about strikes and protests, 185–88; of trade unions, 199–200, 206
- Political opportunities, structure of: and blame attribution theory, 25–26; and Russian protest, 210–12
- Popkin, Samuel, 98, 115

- Poverty: intrafamily transfers to alleviate, 4, 174–76; related to wage arrears, 3–5, 175–76
- Primakov, Yevgenii, 82–84, 103, 115–16, 209–10, 245
- Primorskii Krai, 59, 148
- Primorskugol, 59, 78
- Privatization, 68, 74, 89–91, 107–8, 121, 196
- Propiska*, 162
- Protest: absence of collective action frame as deterrent, 195–97; in Belgrade, 234; Communist Party failures, 206–10, 215–18, 220–21; direction of causation with blame attribution, 152–59; ecological inference, 43, 47–49; effects of age, 136, 138, 142, 144–45, 216; effects of attitudes toward reform, 146–49; effects of blame attribution, 131–51, 213–16, 218–21, 228–35; effects of Communist sympathies, 136–37, 141–42, 144, 207–9, 216–18, 220; effects of education, 136, 138, 142–43, 145, 216; effects of gender, 136, 138, 142, 144–45, 216; effects of income, 136, 138, 142–43, 145, 216; effects of job position, 136; effects of ownership, 136–37; effects of partisanship, 136–37, 213, 215; effects of political interest, 136–38, 141–42, 144, 213–14, 216–18, 220; effects of treatment responsibility, 144–46; effects of urban/rural residence, 136, 138, 142–43, 145, 216; efficacy as possible deterrent, 180–92, 215–17, 220–21; fear of job loss as result of, 172–73; feedback (*see* direction of causation with blame attribution); Goskomstat statistics, 38–39; group responses, 148–51, 189; in Kazakhstan, 234; knowledge of, 185–88; in Kyrgyzstan, 234; managerial threats against, 167, 170–72; measures of, 129; in Moldova, 234; and mutual dependence theory (*see* nonwage benefits as possible deterrent); newspaper coverage, 39–43; nonwage benefits as possible deterrent, 161–74, 214–17, 220–21; “normal” amount, 34–38, 130–31, 139–40; occupational differences (*see* group responses); participation in, 130–31; partisanship and, 209; political opportunities and, 210–12; in Romania, 234; Russian culture as possible deterrent, 193–94; shadow economy as possible deterrent, 174–78, 215–17, 220–21; strategic unimportance of workers as possible deterrent, 188–92; strike incidence, 35–38; survey research, 43–44, 47, 49–50, 130–31; trade union failures, 197–204, 215–18, 220–21; in Ukraine, 234; unlikeliness in Russia of, 235–36; and wage arrears, 36–38, 130–32, 140–41; wage substitutes as possible deterrent, 178–81, 215–17, 220–21; worker disunity, 205–6; workplace interaction and, 199, 213; workplace size and, 212–13. *See also* Collective action
- Przeworski, Adam, 6, 235
- Pseudocertainty effects, 99–100
- Public sector workers. *See* *Biudzhetniki*
- Putin, Vladimir, 82
- Ramesh, Subha, 118
- Rational ignorance, 100, 225
- Regional authorities: as accountable for wage arrears, 58–61, 104–5; confidence in, 110–13; corruption accountability, 59–60; debts, 58–59, 79; misappropriation of federal funds, 59–60, 77; treatment responsibility, 115
- Reisinger, William, 97–98
- Repression, 229
- Residence permits. *See* *Propiska*
- Resource mobilization theory, and blame attribution, 23
- Ruble collapse, 71

- Russian culture, 193–94  
 Russian National Unity Party, 240  
 Russian People's Republican Party, 116, 199–200, 209  
 Russia's Choice (party), 81n
- Sabirianova, Klara Z., 53, 94  
 Sachs, Jeffrey, 68  
 Scapegoating, 239–41  
 Second income. *See* Shadow economy  
 Seleznev, 119  
 Separation of powers. *See* Blame-avoiding institutions and circumstances  
 Sevastyanov, Yevgenii, 59  
 Shadow economy: as possible deterrent to protest, 174–78, 215–17, 220–21; and tax evasion, 63; as wage substitute, 14–15  
 Shock therapy, 7, 74  
 Shokhin, Alexander, 66  
 Siberia, 60, 179  
 Sibneft Oil Company, 62  
 Sidanko Oil Company, 62  
 Sniderman, Paul, 113  
 Social Accord Pact, 92, 198  
 Social Democrats, 89  
 Social Insurance Fund, 198  
 Spain, 231  
 State Duma. *See* Duma  
 Stavropol, 81  
 Stepashin, Sergei, 82  
 Stimson, James A., 19–20, 230  
 St. Petersburg, 60, 81  
 Strikes. *See* Collective action; Protest  
 Student movements, 230  
 Suharto, 228–29  
 Sukarno, 229  
 Sysuev, Oleg, 59
- Taimirskii Autonomous Okrug, 60  
 Tarrow, Sidney, 181, 185n  
 Taxes: collection failures, 56–57; Constitutional Court ruling, 46, 57, 72; evasion by enterprises, 62–63; and shadow economy, 63, 175; as treatment for wage arrears, 116  
 Teachers, 3, 15, 35, 55, 59, 87, 136, 149–51, 173, 179, 186–87, 189, 234  
 Tikhonov, Alexander, 70  
 Tilly, Charles, 236  
 Trade unions: and blame attribution, 122–26; blaming Communists, 207; blaming Duma, 207; cooperation among unions, 206; failures of, 15, 197–204, 215–18, 220–21; independent trade unions, 200–204; Russian Federation of Independent Trade Unions (FNPR), 41, 57, 80, 197–201, 245; treatment attribution, 115  
 Transition period, 64–65, 104–5  
 Treatment responsibility: central authorities' failure, 58; as distinct from causal responsibility, 21–22, 146; and economic growth, 65; executive branch failure, 74; international organizations' failure, 66–67; lack of specificity in, 114–17; measurement of, 103, 116; people's lack of solutions, 70; and protest, 144–46, 220–21; Yeltsin's failures, 73. *See also* Blame attribution  
 Tripartite Commission, 92  
 Trust. *See* Confidence in political officials  
 Tula, 81  
 Tuleev, Aman, 58, 77, 242  
 Tyumen Oblast, 88
- Udmurtia, 238  
 Ukraine, 194, 233–34  
 Ulyanovsk, 81  
 Unemployment, 26, 28, 31, 64, 67, 69, 71, 94, 108, 130, 132, 153–54, 231  
 Unified Energy System, 63, 74  
 United States, 65, 66  
 U.S. Agency for International Development, 68  
 U.S. Information Agency (USIA), 6,

- 39, 43, 50, 101, 118–19, 189n, 243–44
- Vacation allowances, 162, 165–68. *See also* Nonwage benefits
- Vaughan-Whitehead, Daniel, 94
- Varov, Vladimir, 71
- Vietnam, 20, 230
- Vladivostok, 35, 59, 78, 81
- Volgograd, 179
- Vorkuta, 62
- Voting: and blame attribution, 28–29, 31; protest compared, 31–32
- Wadsworth, Jonathan, 176n
- Wage nonpayment/arrears: barter as compensation for (*see* wage substitutes as compensation for); blame avoidance, 76–94; central authorities' role, 54–58, 72–75, 104–13, 150; Constitutional Court ruling, 46, 57, 72; crisis, 2–3; difficulty in attributing blame, 34; enterprises' role (*see* managers' role); excuses for, 110–12; family dependence, 4; foreign governments' role (*see* international organizations' role); Goskomstat statistics, 45–47, 92–94; inconsistency of blame for, 104–14; inflation related to, 82, 85; international organizations' role, 65–68, 104–5; in Kazakhstan, 194, 233–34; and learned helplessness, 237–38; managers' role, 61–63, 104–8; of military personnel, 2, 45, 63, 78, 80; of miners, 183; in Moldova, 194, 233–34; named most serious problem, 4; and nonwage benefits, 165–66; occupational differences, 148–51; and participation in protest, 130–32, 140–41; people's role, 69–71, 104–6; poverty related to, 3–5; regional authorities' role, 58–61, 104–5; regional differences in, 60–61; shadow economy's effects, 174–78; specialists' explanations of, 94–95; strikes related to, 36–38; survival strategies, 4; of teachers, 3; transition period's role, 64–65, 104–5; in Ukraine, 194, 233–34; wage substitutes as compensation for, 179–80; worker differences, 48, 61. *See also* Pension nonpayment/arrears
- Wage substitutes, 178–81, 215–17, 220–21
- West: and blame, 65; investment in Russia, 66; lost aid to Russia, 68; and scapegoating, 241
- Women of Russia (party), 116
- World Bank, 57, 59, 65–68, 72, 76–77, 80
- Yabloko (party), 116, 199–200, 209
- Yamalo-Nenetsk Autonomous Okrug, 61, 87
- Yastrzhembskii, Sergei, 78
- Yavlinsky, Grigorii, 116
- Yeltsin, Boris, 60, 73, 77, 79, 81–85, 88–89, 100, 109–11, 115, 117, 120, 131, 147, 150, 184, 206, 245
- Zadornov, Mikhail, 60, 78, 80
- Zhirinovskiy, Vladimir, 89, 116, 242
- Zubov, Valerii, 79
- Zyuganov, Gennadi, 116, 240