

FINAL ROMANIAN QUESTIONNAIRE
CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROBAROMETER NO. 3
(AUTUMN 1992)

Private and Confidential

2200	16	
1 - 4	5 - 6	7 - 10
SURVEY NO.	COUNTRY	INTERVIEW NO.

Good morning/afternoon/evening. I am..... from (OUR INSTITUTE). We are currently conducting a survey about current affairs. Could you spare a few minutes to give us your views?

SCREENING QUESTION

SECTION A:

- A. Firstly, can I confirm that you are permanently resident in (OUR COUNTRY).
 (11)
- 1 Yes - permanently resident-continue interview
 - 2 No - not permanently resident-close interview
 - 3 Don't know/not sure - close interview

1. In general, do you feel things in (OUR COUNTRY) are going in the right or in the wrong direction?
 (12)
- 1 Right direction
 - 2 Wrong direction
 - 3 DO NOT READ OUT - Don't know

2. Compared to 12 months ago, do you think the general economic situation in (OUR COUNTRY) has... (READ OUT TWICE)?
 (13)
- 1 Got a lot better
 - 2 Got a little better
 - 3 Stayed the same
 - 4 Got a little worse
 - 5 Got a lot worse
 - 6 DO NOT READ OUT - Don't know

3. And over the next 12 months, do you think the general economic situation in (OUR COUNTRY) will... (READ OUT TWICE)?
 (14)
- 1 Get a lot better
 - 2 Get a little better
 - 3 Stay the same
 - 4 Get a little worse
 - 5 Get a lot worse
 - 6 DO NOT READ OUT - Don't know

4. Compared to 12 months ago, do you think that the financial situation of your household has... (READ OUT TWICE)?
 (15)
- 1 Got a lot better
 - 2 Got a little better
 - 3 Stayed the same
 - 4 Got a little worse
 - 5 Got a lot worse
 - 6 DO NOT READ OUT - Don't know

5. And over the next 12 months, do you expect that the financial situation of your household will... (READ OUT TWICE)?
 (16)
- 1 Get a lot better
 - 2 Get a little better
 - 3 Stay the same
 - 4 Get a little worse
 - 5 Get a lot worse
 - 6 DO NOT READ OUT - Don't know

6. Do you personally feel that the creation of a free market economy, that is one largely free from state control, is right or wrong for (OUR COUNTRY'S) future?
 (17)
- 1 Right
 - 2 Wrong
 - 3 DO NOT READ OUT - Don't know

7. The way things are going, do you feel that (OUR COUNTRY'S) economic reforms are going... (READ OUT TWICE)?

(18)

- 1 Too fast
- 2 Too slow
- 3 About the right speed
- 4 There are no economic reforms
- 5 DO NOT READ OUT - Don't know

8. And do you think the process of privatising (OUR COUNTRY'S) state enterprises is going..... (READ OUT TWICE)

(19)

- 1 Too fast
- 2 Too slow
- 3 About the right speed
- 4 DO NOT READ OUT - Don't know

9. When you hold a strong opinion, do you ever find yourself persuading your friends, relatives or fellow workers to share your views? Does this happen... (READ OUT TWICE)

(20)

- 1 Often
- 2 From time to time
- 3 Rarely
- 4 Never
- 5 DO NOT READ OUT - Don't know

10. When you get together with friends, would you say you discuss political matters frequently, occasionally or never?

(21)

- 1 Frequently
- 2 Occasionally
- 3 Never
- 4 DO NOT READ OUT - Don't know

11. On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the way democracy is developing in (OUR COUNTRY)?

(22)

- 1 Very satisfied
- 2 Fairly satisfied
- 3 Not very satisfied
- 4 Not at all satisfied
- 5 DO NOT READ OUT - Don't know

12. How likely do you think it is, if at all, that a non-democratic dictatorship will exist in (OUR COUNTRY) within the next 12 months? Do you think it is.... (READ OUT TWICE)

(23)

- 1 Very likely
- 2 Quite likely
- 3 Quite unlikely
- 4 Very unlikely
- 5 DO NOT READ OUT - Already a dictatorship
- 6 DO NOT READ OUT - Don't know

13. Taking everything into account, do you think things are better for you now under the present political system or do you think things were better for you before under the previous political system?

(24)

- 1 Present system better
- 2 Previous system better
- 3 DO NOT READ OUT - Neither
- 4 DO NOT READ OUT - Don't know

14. How much respect is there for individual human rights nowadays in (OUR COUNTRY)? Do you feel there is... (READ OUT TWICE)

(25)

- 1 A lot of respect for individual human rights) ASK Q15
- 2 Some respect) ASK Q15
- 3 Not much respect) ASK Q15
- 4 No respect at all) ASK Q15
- 5 DO NOT READ OUT - Don't know - SKIP TO Q16

15. What are your reasons for saying that there is (ANSWER GIVEN AT Q14) nowadays in (OUR COUNTRY). And are there any other reasons? MULTIPLE RESPONSES. DO NOT SHOW OR READ ANSWER CATEGORIES GIVEN. WRITE IN ANSWERS IN FULL AND CODE

(26)

Positive Reasons

- 1 Good ethnic relations
- 2 Democracy restored/functions well
- 3 Freedom
- 4 More economic opportunities
- 5 Gaining independence for (OUR COUNTRY)
- 6 Ability to travel abroad
- 7 Other positive reasons

(32)

Negative Reasons

- (33) 1 Ethnic/nationalistic tension
- 2 Ethnic riots/trouble
- 3 Rise of right wing extremism
- 4 Economic hardship
- 5 Political problems
- 6 Rising crime/violence
- 7 Ex-communists in control/nothing changed
- (41) 9 Other negative reasons

- (42) 0 No reason given
- (43) 1 Don't know

ASK ALL

16. Bearing in mind everything happening in Central and Eastern Europe at the moment, some people say: "countries should stop breaking up because it creates too much instability in the region", while others say: "it is up to the people of each country to decide their own future". Which of these two viewpoints come closest to your own? (SHOWCARD ONE)

(44)

- 1 Countries should stop breaking up
- 2 Up to the peoples to decide
- 3 DO NOT READ OUT - Don't know

17. Would you say that you are generally very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with the amount of assistance that "Western" countries have given to (OUR COUNTRY) up to now?

(45)

- 1 Very satisfied
- 2 Somewhat satisfied
- 3 Somewhat dissatisfied
- 4 Very dissatisfied
- 5 DO NOT READ OUT - Don't know

18. I would like you to tell me whether you have, or have not heard of (READ OUT TWICE)

				Don't
				Yes No know

a) The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, or "CSCE"	1	2	3
--	---	---	---

(46)

b) The European Community, also known as the 'EC' or Common Market	1	2	3
--	---	---	---

(47)

c) The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, or 'EBRD'	1	2	3
--	---	---	---

(48)

19. As you might know, 12 states of "Western" Europe form together the "European Community". Would you say that your impressions of the aims and activities of the European Community are generally... (READ OUT TWICE)

(49)

- 1 Positive
- 2 Neutral
- 3 Negative
- 4 DO NOT READ OUT - Don't know

20. Do you happen to know in which city or cities, the major institutions of the European Community are located? **IF YES: In which city or cities?**
(WRITE IN ALL MENTIONS)

(50) _____

(51) _____

(52) _____

(53) _____

(54) _____

SHOWCARD TWO

21. As things now stand, with which of the following do you see **(OUR COUNTRY'S)** future most closely tied up?
(READ OUT ONCE AND CODE ONE ONLY)

- (55)
- 1 The United States of America
 - 2 The European Community
 - 3 Other European countries like Austria, Switzerland
Sweden and Finland
 - 4 Other Central and Eastern European countries
 - 5 Russia
 - 6 Turkey
 - 7 Japan/South Korea
 - 8 **DO NOT READ OUT - Germany**
 - 9 **DO NOT READ OUT - None of these**
 - 0 **DO NOT READ OUT - We should depend on
ourselves**
- (56) 1 **DO NOT READ OUT - Don't know**

22. How interested would you say you are in the European Community, its institutions and its policies? Are you interested.....
(READ OUT TWICE)

- (57)
- 1 A great deal
 - 2 To some extent
 - 3 Not very much
 - 4 Not at all
 - 5 **DO NOT READ OUT - Don't know**

23. Please tell me whether you have or have not heard anything about each of the following (SHOW CARD THREE - MARK ONLY IF HEARD):

24. (CONTINUE TO SHOW CARD THREE) And for each one, please tell me if you would be very interested, somewhat interested or not really interested in knowing more about... (READ OUT TWICE)

HEARD	VERY INTERESTED	SOMEWHAT INTERESTED	NOT REALLY INTERESTED	DON'T KNOW
An assistance programme, often called "PHARE", to (OUR COUNTRY) from the European Community (58)	1	2	3	4 (61)
EC (OUR COUNTRY) trade issues, and how (OUR COUNTRY'S) enterprises might benefit from them (59)	1	2	3	4 (62)
"Europe Agreements" for closer political, economic and cultural ties agreed or currently under negotiation between the European Community and Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Romania (60)	1	2	3	4 (63)

25. Irrespective of whether you have heard about it or not, are you in favour, or against this kind of associate membership "Europe Agreement" between the European Community and (OUR COUNTRY)?

- (64)
- 1 In favour
 - 2 Against
 - 3 DO NOT READ OUT - Don't know

26. If (OUR COUNTRY) were to join the European Community as a full member in the future, would you feel... (READ OUT TWICE)

- (65)
- 1 Strongly in favour
 - 2 Somewhat in favour
 - 3 Somewhat opposed
 - 4 Strongly opposed
 - 5 DO NOT READ OUT - Don't know

27. When, if ever, do you think (OUR COUNTRY) should become a full member of the European Community? Should it become a member... (READ OUT TWICE)

- (66)
- 1 Now
 - 2 In 5 years' time
 - 3 In 10 years' time
 - 4 Later
 - 5 Never
 - 6 DO NOT READ OUT - Don't know

28. What advantages, if any, do you feel there might be for (OUR COUNTRY) if it were to become a full member of the European Community? (PROBE FULLY) Any others? (MULTIPLE RESPONSES. DO NOT SHOW OR READ ANSWER CATEGORIES. WRITE IN ANSWERS IN FULL AND CODE)

-
- (67) 1 Improve living standards
 2 Improve trade
 3 Shortages will disappear
 (70) 4 No travel restrictions
 5 Help create free market
 6 Help democracy
 7 Improve security/defence
 8 Bring peace and stability within Europe
 9 More European political cooperation
 (76) 0 More European economic cooperation
 (77) 1 Financial and economic aid
 2 Other
 3 None
 (80) 4 Don't know

29. And what disadvantages, if any, do you feel there might be for (OUR COUNTRY) if it were to become a full member of the European Community? (PROBE FULLY) Any others? (MULTIPLE RESPONSES - DO NOT SHOW OR READ ANSWER CATEGORIES WRITE ANSWERS IN FULL AND CODE)

-
- (81) 1 Political domination
 2 Economic domination
 3 Increase in crime/decadence
 4 Loss of cultural identity
 5 Loss of recently-gained sovereignty
 6 Fall in living standards
 7 Unemployment
 8 Emigration
 9 Foreigners influx/buying up country
 (90) 0 Social inequalities
 (91) 1 Other
 2 None
 (93) 3 Don't know

30. Do you think the following are likely to benefit or lose out in (OUR COUNTRY) as ties between (OUR COUNTRY) and the European Community increase? What do you think will happen to.....(READ OUT TWICE)

	<u>Benefit</u>	<u>Lose out</u>	<u>No impact (SPON)</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
State enterprises (94)	1	2	3	4
Farmers	1	2	3	4
Private business	1	2	3	4
Civil servants	1	2	3	4
Manual workers	1	2	3	4
Health and social services	1	2	3	4
Educational system (100)	1	2	3	4
People living on low incomes (101)	1	2	3	4

31. Various international bodies are involved in trying to help resolve the conflict in former Yugoslavia. In your opinion do you feel that the following bodies have been on the whole, rather effective or rather ineffective, in trying to help resolve this conflict? (READ OUT EACH BODY TWICE AND CODE ONE ANSWER FOR EACH)

	<u>Have been effective</u>	<u>Have been ineffective</u>	<u>Neither (SPON.)</u>	<u>DK</u>
a. The United Nations (UN) (102)	1	2	3	4
b. The European Community (EC) (103)	1	2	3	4
c. The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE)(104)	1	2	3	4
d. NATO (105)	1	2	3	4

32. Some people believe that some of (OUR COUNTRY'S) trading partners use unfair practices that make it difficult for (OUR COUNTRY) to sell products there. From what you know or have heard, tell me if you think the following trade partners are fair or unfair to (OUR COUNTRY) when it comes to trade (READ OUT TWICE)?

	<u>Fair</u>	<u>Unfair</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
a) The European Community (106)	1	2	3
b) Japan (107)	1	2	3
c) United States of America (108)	1	2	3
d) Russia (109)	1	2	3

33. Here is a list of ways you might hear about the activities of the European Community its institutions and its policies. Which of them are your main sources of information about the European Community its institutions and its policies? (SHOW CARD FOUR - MULTIPLE RESPONSES)

- | | | |
|-------|---|---|
| (110) | 1 | (OUR COUNTRY'S) newspapers |
| | 2 | Western newspapers |
| | 3 | (OUR COUNTRY'S) television |
| | 4 | Western television |
| | 5 | (OUR COUNTRY'S) radio |
| | 6 | Western radio |
| | 7 | (OUR COUNTRY'S) periodicals |
| | 8 | Western periodicals |
| | 9 | School or university |
| (119) | 0 | At work |
| (120) | 1 | Official Government statements |
| | 2 | Publications from European Community institutions |
| | 3 | Other |
| (123) | 4 | None of them |

34. I would like to know how much trust you have in TV, radio and newspaper reporting of news and current affairs. For each category I read out please tell me how much trust you have in its news and current affairs coverage in terms of the categories on this card.

SHOWCARD FIVE

ASK IN TURN CATEGORIES A - F

	<u>Very much</u>	<u>A fair amount</u>	<u>TRUST Not very much</u>	<u>None at all</u>	<u>Don't Use</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
a) (OUR COUNTRY) TV (124)	1	2	3	4	5	6
b) Western TV services	1	2	3	4	5	6
c) (OUR COUNTRY) radio	1	2	3	4	5	6
d) Western radio	1	2	3	4	5	6
e) (OUR COUNTRY) newspapers	1	2	3	4	5	6
f) (OUR COUNTRY) magazines (129)	1	2	3	4	5	6

35. How much control, if any, do you feel the state should have over the following?

a) The Press in (OUR COUNTRY)? Do you think the state should have...? (READ OUT TWICE AND CODE ONE UNDER A BELOW)

b) Radio and television in (OUR COUNTRY)? Do you think the state should have...? (READ OUT TWICE AND CODE ONE UNDER B BELOW)

	<u>(130) A Press</u>	<u>(131) B Radio & TV</u>
A great deal of control	1	1
A fair amount of control	2	2
Not very much control	3	3
No control at all	4	4
DO NOT READ OUT - Don't know	5	5

36 Have you ever seriously considered going to work in a country in Western Europe?

COLUMN 134BLANK

(132)

- 1 Yes - have considered
- 2 No - have not considered
- 3 DO NOT READ OUT - Have already worked there
- 4 DO NOT READ OUT - Don't know

CEEB2 Q32 TREND MODIFIED

37. How likely is it that you will move to Western Europe to live and work? Do you think that you will...? (READ OUT TWICE)

(133)

- 1 Definitely move to Western Europe to live and work
- 2 Probably move to Western Europe to live and work
- 3 Probably not move to Western Europe to live and work
- 4 Definitely not move to Western Europe to live and work
- 5 DO NOT READ OUT - Don't know

SECTION B: (ALL EXCEPT MACEDONIA)

B1. As you may know, in (OUR COUNTRY) it is possible to listen to radio stations broadcasting from abroad, either direct, or, sometimes, on local stations in (OUR COUNTRY) or on local frequencies. I am going to read out a short list of some of these stations. For each one please tell me whether or not you have listened to it at all in the last three months. Remember, I am only interested in your listening during the last three months.

INTERVIEWER: ENTER ANSWERS IN THREE MONTH COLUMN. IF ANY STATION HEARD IN LAST THREE MONTHS, CONTINUE:

I would now like to know how often in the last three months you have heard the station(s) you mentioned. Please answer according to the categories on this card.

SHOWCARD SIX AND ASK IN TURN ABOUT EACH STATION HEARD

	HEARD IN LAST THREE MONTHS	REGULARITY					
		Yes	Most days (6-7 days per week)	Several (3,4,5) days per week	1 or 2 days per week	Less often	Don't know
a	Radio Free Europe in Romanian	1 (135)	1 (143)	2	3	4	5
b	Radio Free Europe in Hungarian	1	1	2	3	4	5
c	BBC in Romanian	1	1	2	3	4	5
d	VOA in Romanian	1	1	2	3	4	5
e	Deutsche Welle in Romanian	1	1	2	3	4	5
f	Radio France in Romanian	1	1	2	3	4	5
g	Radio France in French	1 (141)	1 (149)	2	3	4	5

COLUMN 143BLANK

COLUMN 150 BLANK

SECTION D: DEMOGRAPHICS

D1 In political matters, people talk of "the left" and "the right". How would you place your views on this scale? (SHOW CARD A - DO NOT PROMPT. IF CONTACT HESITATES, ASK TO TRY AGAIN)

(151)
 Left Right
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

(152)1 Refusal
 2 Don't know

D2 Are you yourself or is anyone else in your household a member of any trade union? IF YES: Are you personally a member of any trade union? WAIT FOR RESPONSE - and are any other people in your household members of a trade union? (CODE ALL MENTIONS)

(153)
 1 Yes, respondent
 2 Yes, someone else in the household
 3 Nobody in the household
 (156)4 DO NOT READ OUT - Don't know

D3 How old were you when you finished your full-time education?

(157)
 1 Up to 14 years
 2 15 years
 3 16 years
 4 17 years
 5 18 years
 6 19 years
 7 20 years
 8 21 years
 9 22 years and older
 0 Still studying

D4 What is the highest level of education that you have received? (SHOW CARD B)

(158)
 1 Up to elementary
 2 Some secondary but not completed
 3 Secondary - graduated
 4 Higher education
 5 DO NOT READ OUT - Don't know
 6 DO NOT READ OUT - Refused

D5 Sex:

(159)
 1 Male
 2 Female

D6 How old are you?
 (WRITE IN YEARS OF AGE)

/____/____/
 (160-161)

D7. We would like to analyse the survey results according to the income of the people we interviewed (SHOWCARD C). Here is an income scale; we would like to know in what group your household is, counting all wages, salaries, child allowances, pensions and any other income that comes in. Just give me the letter of the group your household falls into before tax and other deductions.

(162)

1	J	8	E	5	Z
2	S	9	B	6	M
3	A	0	Q	7	G
(163)					
4	C	1	R	8	T
5	K	2	O	9	F
6	U	3	N	0	L
(164)					
7	P	4	D	1	Refused
				2	Don't know

D8 What is your main present occupation?
 (WRITE IN AND CODE ONE ONLY)

(165)

 1 Senior management and professionals eg. Academic, writer, lawyer, scientist,
 2 Middle and lower management
 3 Secretarial/clerical
 4 Skilled worker
 5 Unskilled worker
 6 Farmer (inc. fishermen)
 7 Other paid work
 8 Pensioner
 9 Housewife not otherwise employed
 0 Student (all respondents still in education)
 (166)1 Temporarily not working, unemployed

D9 (TO THOSE WHO ARE IN PAID WORK;
CODES 1 TO 7 IN D8)

(167) Are you in...?

- 1 Government employment
- 2 State-owned enterprise
- 3 Cooperative
- 4 Private sector (employed)
- 5 Self-employed/independent
- 6 Foreign owned/joint venture
- 7 **RESPONDENT DOES NOT KNOW AND INTERVIEWER CANNOT CODE**

D10 Do you consider yourself as belonging to a particular religion? (IF YES): Which one?

- (168)
- 1 Jewish
 - 2 Protestant
 - 3 Orthodox
 - 4 Catholic
 - 5 Muslim
 - 6 Other
 - 7 **DO NOT READ OUT - No particular religion: Atheist: Agnostic**
 - 8 **DO NOT READ OUT - Don't know**

D11 (TO THOSE WITH CODE 1 TO 6 IN D10)
Do you participate in religious services several times a week, once a week, a few times a year, once a year or less, or never?

- (169)
- 1 Several times a week
 - 2 Once a week
 - 3 A few times a year
 - 4 Once a year or less
 - 5 Never
 - 6 **DO NOT READ OUT - Don't know**

D12 What nationality/ethnic background do you come from? (WRITE IN AND CODE ONE ONLY UNDER D12 BELOW)

D13 What is your mother tongue? IF RESPONDENT UNSURE, OR MORE THAN ONE ANSWER GIVEN ASK: What is the language that you primarily use within your household? (CODE ONE ONLY UNDER D13 BELOW)

	(170) D12	(174) D13
Albanian	1	1
Armenian	2	2
Azerbaijani	3	3
Belarussian	4	4
Bulgarian	5	5
Croat	6	6
Czech	7	7
Estonian	8	8
Gagauz	9	9
Georgian	0	0
	(171)	(175)
German	1	1
Greek	2	2
Gypsy (or national equivalent)	3	3
Hungarian	4	4
Italian	5	5
Jewish	6	6
Kurd	7	7
Latvian	8	8
Lithuanian	9	9
Macedonian	0	0
	(172)	(176)
Moldovan	1	1
Moravian	2	2
Muslim	3	3
Polish	4	4
Romanian	5	5
Russian	6	6
Serb	7	7
Slovak	8	8
Tartar	9	9
Slovene	0	0
Turk	1	1
	(173)	(177)
Ukrainian	2	2
Serbo-Croat	-	3
Other	3	4
Refused	4	5
Don't know	5	6

D14. Do you ever think of yourself as not only (YOUR NATIONALITY/ETHNIC BACKGROUND) but also as a European? Does this happen.....? (READ OUT TWICE)

- (178)
- 1 Often
 - 2 Sometimes
 - 3 Never
 - 4 DO NOT READ OUT - Don't know

D15 Do you feel disadvantaged, or not disadvantaged, in (OUR COUNTRY) because of your nationality/ethnic background?

- (179)
- 1 Disadvantaged
 - 2 Not disadvantaged
 - 3 DO NOT READ OUT - Don't know

D16. Are you, or are you not entitled to be, a citizen of (OUR COUNTRY)?: (CODE ONE ONLY)

- (180)
- 1 Yes - entitled to be a citizen
 - 2 No - not entitled to be a citizen
 - 3 DO NOT READ OUT - Don't know

D17 If there were a "General Election" today (SAY IF CONTACT UNDER VOTING AGE OR NOT ALLOWED TO VOTE "and you had a vote"), would you go and vote in the next "General Election"?

- (181)
- 1 Yes - would vote) ASK Q.D18
 - 2 No - would not vote) GO TO D19
 - 3 DO NOT READ OUT - Don't know/no answer) GO TO D19

IF CODE 1 AT Q.D17

D18 If there were a "General Election" today (SAY IF CONTACT UNDER VOTING AGE OR NOT ALLOWED TO VOTE: "and you had a vote"), which party, if any, would you vote for, or might you be inclined to vote for? (CODE ONE ONLY UNDER D18 BELOW)

IF CODE 2 OR 3 AT Q.D17
 D19 Although you have said that you will not or might not vote in the next general election, if there were a "general election" today (SAY IF CONTACT UNDER VOTING AGE OR NOT ALLOWED TO VOTE: "And if you had a vote") which party, if any, would you be inclined to support? (CODE ONE ONLY UNDER D19 BELOW)

	<u>D18</u>	<u>D19</u>
	(182)	(185)
Democratic Front of National Salvation	1	1
Romanian's National Unity Party	2	2
Democratic Union of the Hungarians from Romania	3	3
Christian and Democratic Peasantry Party	4	4
Labour Socialist Party	5	5
"Great Romania" Party	6	6
National-Liberal Party	7	7
National Salvation Front	8	8
Civic Alliance Party	9	9
Democratic Coalition	0	0
COLUMNS 183 AND 186 BLANK		
	(184)	(187)
Other party	1	1
Would vote blank/spoil vote	2	2
Depends on personality not party/independent	3	3
Would not vote	4	4
Don't know	5	5
No answer	6	6

