

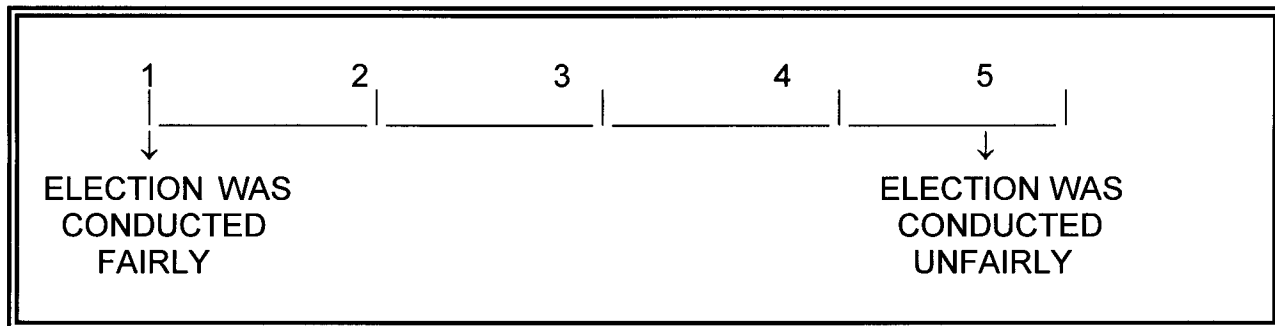


**Q1. In general, concerning the way in which democracy functions in our country, are you:**

1. Satisfied      2. Somewhat Satisfied      3. Not too satisfied      4. Not Satisfied  
8.NR

**Q2. (Show Diagram 1: Below) In some countries, people believe that elections are conducted fairly. In other countries, people believe that elections are conducted unfairly. If you think about the election we just had in Romania, please give it a grade between 1 and 5, where 1 means that the election was conducted fairly, and 5 means that the election was not conducted fairly.**

8. NR



**Q3. Please tell me if there exists a political party to which you feel close.**

1.YES



**Q3a. Which party is that?**

*(Write each mentioned)*

- 1. First party mentioned: .....
- 2. Second party mentioned: .....
- 3. Third party mentioned: .....
- 8. No Response



**Filter 1**

- 1. If a party alliance bloc was mentioned: go to Q3a(1)
- 2. If only one party was mentioned: go to Q3e
- 3. If more than one party was mentioned: go to Q3b



**Q3a(1). Which is the party in (NAME ALLIANCE) do you feel closest?**

- 1. First party mentioned: .....
- 2. Second party mentioned: .....
- 3. Third party mentioned: .....

8. No party was mentioned

**Filter 2 (Referring to response given to Q3a1)**

- 1. If no party was mentioned in Q3a1: go to Q3e
- 2. If a single party was mentioned: go to Q3e
- 3. If more than one party was mentioned: go to Q3b.



**Q3b: Which is the party that you feel closest to? .....**

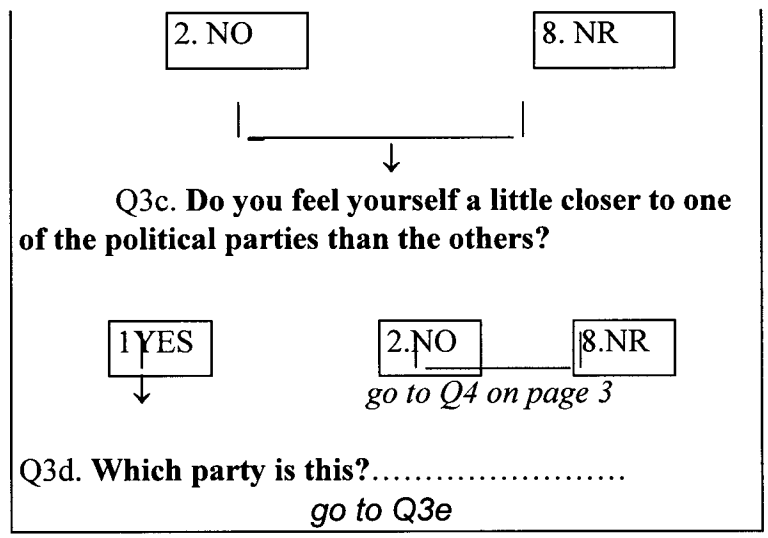
*(Note the party name and continue to Q3e)*

**Q3e: Do you feel very close, somewhat close, or not very close to this political party?**

- 1. Very Close
- 2. Somewhat Close
- 3. Not Very Close
- 8.NR

**Q4: (Show Diagram 2: Below) Some people say that political parties in Romania care about what ordinary people think. Others say that political parties in Romania do not care about what ordinary people think. Using the scale on this diagram (where 1 means that political parties care about what people think, and 5 means that they do not care about what people think), where would you place yourself?**

8. NR





a. The Democratic Party?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	96	98
b. The Romanian Party of Social Democracy?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	96	98
c. The National Liberal Party?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	96	98
d. The National Peasant and Christian Democratic Party?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	96	98
e. The Greater Romania Party?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	96	98
f. The Romanian Party for National Unity?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	96	98
g. The Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	96	98
h. The Liberal Party--1993?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	96	98
i. The Civic Alliance Party?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	96	98

Q8. (Show diagram 4: Below) I would like to ask you what opinion you have concerning some political leaders. Please rate each on a scale between 0 and 10, the same as before, where 0 means that you strongly dislike this person, and 10 means that you strongly like this person. If you have not heard of a person on the list, please tell me.

Where would you place on this scale...												DK	NR
a. Gyorgy Frunda ?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	96	98
b. Emil Constantinescu?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	96	98
c. Gheorghe Funar?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	96	98
d. Ion Iliescu?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	96	98
e. Mircea Ionescu-Quintus?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	96	98
f. Petre Roman?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	96	98
g. Corneliu Vadim Tudor?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	96	98

Q9. What is your opinion about the current state of the economy in Romania?

1. Very Good    2. Good                      3. Neither Good or Bad  
4. Bad                      5. Very Bad    8. NR

Q10. Do you think that over the past twelve months the economic situation in Romania has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?

1. Gotten Worse



2. Stayed the same

3. Gotten Better



8. NR

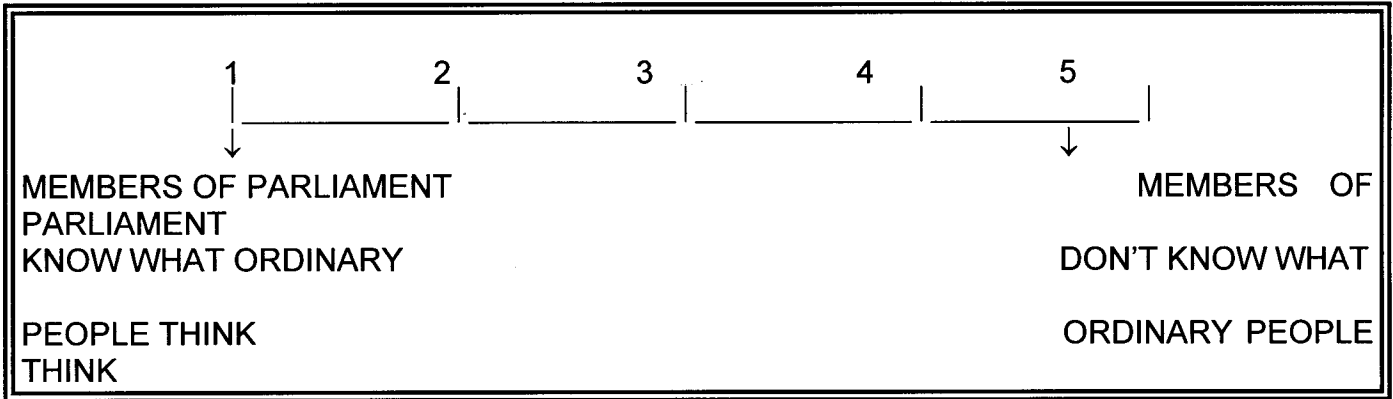


1. Much Better	2. Somewhat Better	8. NR
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1. Much Worse	2. Somewhat Worse	3. NR
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Q11. (Show diagram 5: Below) Some people say that members of Parliament know what ordinary people think. Others say that members of Parliament do not know what ordinary people think. Using this scale (where 1 means that members of Parliament know what ordinary people think, and 5 means that members of Parliament do not know what people think) where would you place yourself?

8. NR



Q12. In the last twelve months, have you had any contact with a member of Parliament?

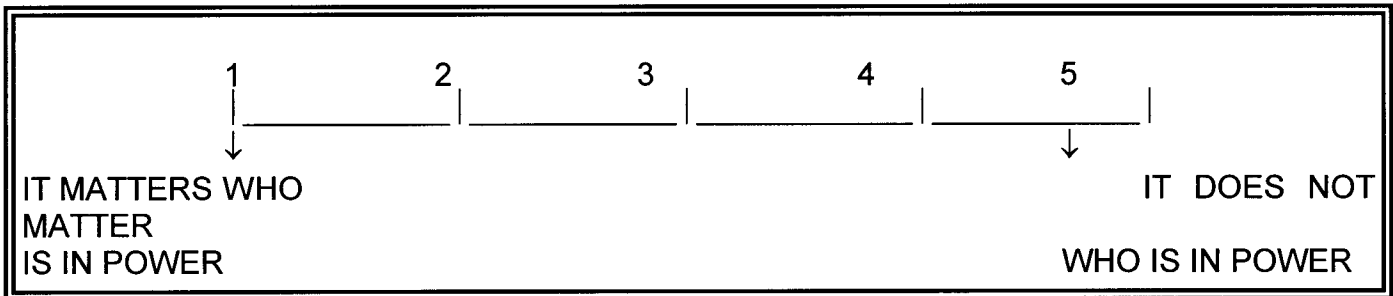
1. YES

2. NO

8. DK / NR

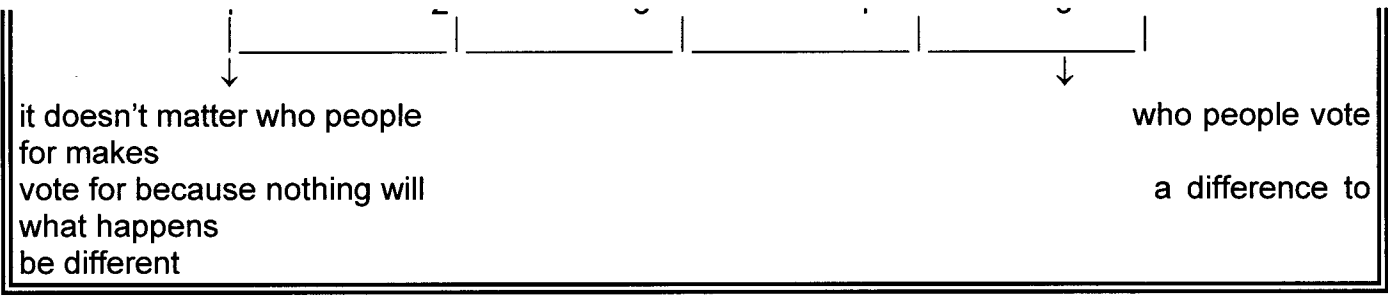
Q13. (Show diagram 6: Below) Some people say that it is important who is in power. Others say that it does not matter who is in power. On a scale from one to five (where 1 means that it is important who is in power and 5 means that it does not matter who is in power), where would you place yourself?

8. NR



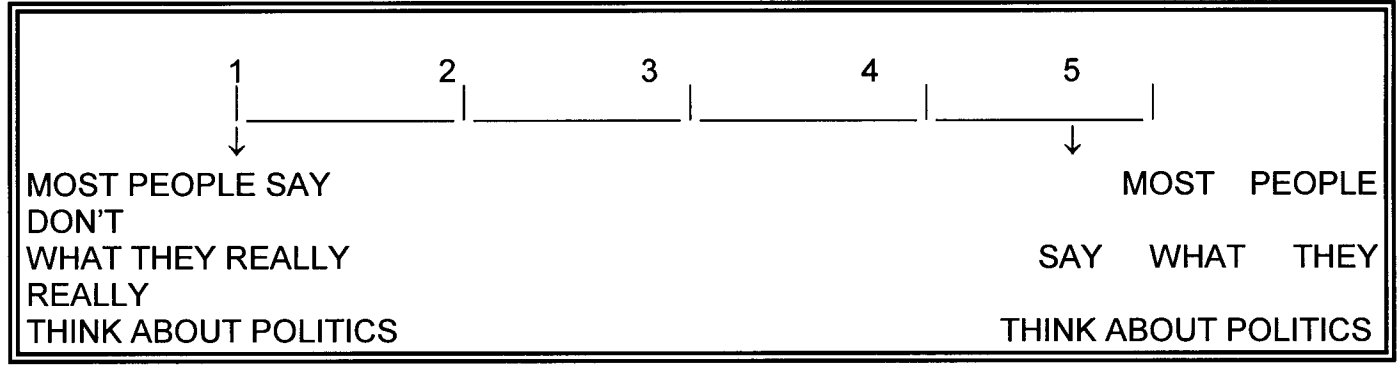
Q14. (Show diagram 7: Below) Some people say that no matter who people vote for, it won't make a difference to what happens. Others say that who people vote for can make a difference to what happens. On a scale from one to five (where one means that voting won't make a difference to what happens, and five means that voting can make a difference), where would you place yourself?

8. NR



Q15. (Show diagram 8: Below) When people are asked to express an opinion, do you think that most people in Romania usually say what they think about politics or do you believe that most people usually hide what they really think about politics? Using the scale on this diagram (where 1 means that most people usually say what they think about politics and 5 means that most people usually hide what they really think about politics), where would you place yourself?

8. NR



Q16. (Show diagram 4: Below) In politics, people sometimes speak of left and right. Where would you place yourself on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means the left and 10 means the right?

Where, on the scale, would you place...	L											R	DK	NR
a. YOURSELF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	96	98	
b. The Democratic Party?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	96	98	
c. The Romanian Social Democratic Party?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	96	98	
d. The National Liberal Party?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	96	98	
e. The National Peasant and Christian Democratic Party?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	96	98	
f. The Greater Romanian Party	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	96	98	
g. The Romanian Party for National Unity	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	96	98	
h. The Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	96	98	

Q17. I am going to read a list of activities in which some people take part and others do not. For each, please tell me if you have ever participated in such an activity, or if you would consider taking part in such an activity.

a. Have you ever written or telephoned a newspaper, radio station, or television station?

S

If 2 or 3 ask: Would you ever consdier.....  
1. YES 2. NO 3. DK / NR

b. Have you ever signed an appeal or petition?

1.YE  
S

2. NO 3. DK / NR  
If 2 or 3 ask: Would you ever consdier.....  
1. YES 2. NO 3. DK / NR

c. Have you ever participated, after 1989, in a legal protest, march, or demonstration?

1.YE  
S

2. NO 3. NS / NR  
If 2 or 3 ask: Would you ever consdier .....  
1. YES 2. NO 3. DK / NR

d Have you ever prepared and distributed materials during a campaign for a candidate or political party?

1.YE  
S

2. NO 3. NS / NR  
If 2 or 3 ask: Would you ever consdier .....  
1. YES 2. NO 3. DK / NR

e. Have you ever personally contacted, written, or telephoned an important person from your locality in order to solve a problem?

1.YE  
S

2. NO 3. NS / NR  
If 2 or 3 ask: Would you ever consdier .....  
1. YES 2. NO 3. DK / NR

Q18. In general, what is your interest in politics?

1.very great 2.great 3.little 4.very little 5.NR

Q19. Some people discuss politics with family, friends, or colleagues. Others prefer not to discuss politics. Normally, do you discuss politics frequently, sometimes, seldom, or never?

1. frequently 2. sometimes 3. seldom 4. never 5. NR

Q20. How often do other people ask you for your opinion about various aspects of politics?

1. frequently 2. sometimes 3. seldom 4. never 5. NR

Q21. What do think is the most important problem currently facing our country?

(Open-ended question)

99: NR

[Empty box for answer to Q21]

Q22. Please tell me how important you think each of the following problems are to Romania currently. Rate each on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 means the problem is very important and 5 means that the problem is not so important.

98: NR

	VI				NI	NR
a. prices/inflation	1	2	3	4	5	98
b. unemployment	1	2	3	4	5	98

d. corruption	1	2	3	4	5	98
e. guarantees for individual freedom	1	2	3	4	5	98
f. Romania's position in the world	1	2	3	4	5	98

Q23. During the period before the last election, how often did you try to convince friends or acquaintances to vote for a certain party or candidate?

1. many times      2. a few times    3. never      4. no response

Q24. a. Are you a member of any organization that is not obligatory, but where you spend your free time?

1. YES      2. NO      3. DK / NR

b. If Yes, what organization, and its primary activity? *Open-ended*



c. If No or DK/NR ask:

When I say organization, I am thinking of sports groups, business associations, religious groups, ecological groups, and non-governmental organizations, for example. Do you belong to any of these?

1. YES      2. NO      3. DK/NR



If YES, ask (b).

Q25a. Some people think that the problems now facing Romania should be solved by the state. Other people think that the problems can be solved in other ways, for example, through groups of people working together, non-governmental organizations, private firms, etc. For each of the following problems, please tell me if it should be solved by the state or through some other way. Please rate each problem on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 means the state is completely responsible for solving this problem, and 5 means that this problem is the responsibility of individuals, organizations, etc.

	VI				NI	NR
a. prices/inflation	1	2	3	4	5	98
b. unemployment	1	2	3	4	5	98
c. Romanian and Hungarian ethnic relations	1	2	3	4	5	98
d. corruption	1	2	3	4	5	98
e. guarantees for individual freedom	1	2	3	4	5	98
f. Romania's position in the world	1	2	3	4	5	98

Q25b. I will read the list of problems again, for each please tell me how well the state has been addressing this problem, satisfactory or not satisfactory.

	VS				NS	NR
a. prices/inflation	1	2	3	4	5	98
b. unemployment	1	2	3	4	5	98
c. Romanian and Hungarian ethnic relations	1	2	3	4	5	98
d. corruption	1	2	3	4	5	98
e. guarantees for individual freedom	1	2	3	4	5	98

Q26. Last year, Romania and Hungary conducted negotiations concerning a treaty between the two.



b. (Refer only to the party named in Q3e)

Referring to the political party that you mentioned before that you prefer, do you remember their position concerning the Romanian-Hungarian treaty? Please tell me their position on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 means that they were strongly in favor of the treaty, and 5 means they were strongly opposed to the treaty.

1....2....3....4....5

8: NR

c. Please tell me the name of a party, different from the one above, which opposed the signing of such a treaty.

8. NS/NR

Q27. As you probably know, voting is not compulsory in Romania, some people vote, others do not. Did you vote...

a. in the first round of the general election?

1. Yes                      2. No      8. NR/DK

(If yes to Q27a, go to 1.1 and 1.2; otherwise go to Q27b)

1.1. with what party for the Chamber of Deputies? \_\_\_\_\_ 99.NR/DK

1.2. with what party for the Senate? \_\_\_\_\_ 99.NR/DK

b. in the second round of the general election?

1. Yes                      2. No      8. NR/DK

(If yes to Q27b, go to 1.3; other wise go to Q28)

1.3. with what candidate for president in the second round? \_\_\_\_\_ 99. NR/DK

Q28: In 1992, did you vote...

a. in the first round of the general election?

1. Yes                      2. No      8. NR/DK

(If yes to Q28a, go to 2.1; otherwise go to Q28b)

2.1. with what party (the party of the candidate)? \_\_\_\_\_ 99. NR/DK

b. in the second round of the presidential election?

1. Yes                      2. No      8. NR/DK

(If yes to Q28b, go to 2.2; otherwise go to Q29)

2.2. with what candidate for president? \_\_\_\_\_ 99. NR/DK

Q29. The last general election changed the government. How satisfied are you with the current government?

1. very satisfied                      2. satisfied                      3. somewhat satisfied

4. somewhat dissatisfied      5. very dissatisfied      8. NR/DK

Q30. Do you think that the new government will be much better, somewhat better, about the same, somewhat worse, or much worse than the previous government?

1. much better                      2. somewhat better                      3. about the same

4. somewhat worse      5. much worse                      8. NR/DK

1. Age (in years): \_\_\_ 98. NR

2. Sex: 1. Male 2. Female 98. NR

3. Completed education of respondent:

- |                                   |   |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| 1. none                           | 6. graduated high school                  |
| 2. some primary school            | 7. post-secondary vocational/trade school |
| 3. graduated primary school       | 8. some university                        |
| 4. post-primary vocational school | 9. graduated university                   |
| 5. some high school               | 98. NR                                    |

4. Completed education of your father? (code as in 3) \_\_\_

5. Completed education of your mother? (code as in 3) \_\_\_

6. Marital Status

- |  |                        |
|--|------------------------|
| 1. married or living together<br>as if married | 4. single, not married |
| 2. widowed                                     | 5. Don't Know          |
| 3. divorced or separated                       | 6. No Response         |

7. Are you a member of a union? 1. Yes 2. No 3. DK 4. NR

8. Is anyone in your household a member of a union? 1. Yes 2. No 3. DK 4. NR

9. Are you a member of a political party? 1. Yes 2. No 3. DK 4. NR

9a. If Yes, which party is that? \_\_\_\_\_

10. Currently, are you employed?

- |  |                                   |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Yes, full time (> 32 hours per week)  | 7. Pensioner (retired)            |
| 2. Yes, part time (15-32 hours per week) | 8. Homemaker                      |
| 3. Yes, less than 15 hours per week      | 9. Handicapped (not able to work) |
| 4. Care for an infirmed family member    | 10. Other (non-volunteer)         |
| 5. Unemployed                            | 11. Don't Know                    |
| 6. Student                               | 12. No Response                   |

11. What is your principle occupation? *Open-ended response* 99=NR

12. Do you work in...

1. state (public) administration
2. a state-owned a firm/enterprise
3. a privately owned firm or other non-governmental organization
4. a firm with mixed ownership (with private and state capital)
5. entrepreneurship (work for yourself)
8. Don't Know

**13. Do you work in...**

- 1. The primary sector: agriculture, forestry, fishing.
- 2. The secondary sector: industry, mining, energy, chemicals, engineering, metal works, industrial production, construction.
- 3. The tertiary sector: transportation, telecommunications, commerce, service, banking, insurance, finance, public administration, culture, education, tourism, research, sports.
- 4. Other
- 8. Don't Know
- 9. No Response
- 0. Not Applicable

**14. What is the principle occupation of the chief wage-earner in your household?**

*If this is the respondent, and he/she is married, then ask for the occupation of the spouse. Open-ended Response.* 99: NR

**15. What was the total income of your household last month? (in thousands of lei)**

- 1. under 50
- 2. 50 - 100
- 3. 100 - 150
- 4. 150 - 200
- 5. 200 - 300
- 6. 300 - 400
- 7. 400 - 500
- 8. 500 - 700
- 9. over 700
- 98. DK/NR

**16. What is the number of persons in your household?   \_\_ \_\_**

**17. What is the number of persons in your household who are under the age of 18?   \_\_ \_\_**

**18. How often do you attend religious services?**

- 1. Never
- 5. two or more times per month
- 2. Once per year
- 6. once per week
- 3. 2-11 times per year
- 8. Don't Know
- 4. once per month
- 9. No Response

**19. Do you consider yourself to be...**

- 1. not religious at all
- 4. very religious
- 2. not very religious
- 8. Don't Know
- 3. somewhat religious
- 9. No Response

**20. What religion are you?**

- 1. Orthodox
- 6. Atheist
- 2. Roman Catholic
- 7. Agnostic
- 3. Greek Catholic
- 8. Don't Know
- 4. Reformist
- 9. No Response
- 5. Other religion. *Write name*.....

**21. What language do you usually speak at home?**

- 1. Romanian
- 3. Romani / Tiganeasca
- 98. No Response
- 2. Hungarian
- 4. Other language *Which*.....

**22. What nationality are you?**

- |                  |   |
|------------------|---|
| 1. Romanian      | 4. German                               |
| 2. Hungarian     | 5. Other nationality <i>Which</i> ..... |
| 3. Gypsy / Rroma | 98. No Response                         |

**23. Were you born in...**

1. a rural area
2. an urban area
3. DK/NR

**24. How long, in years, have you lived in this locality? \_\_\_\_\_**

98: NR

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**TO BE COMPLETED BY THE INTERVIEWER CONCERNING EACH RESPONDENT**

1. Locality:
2. Judet (county):
3. Telephone number of the respondent:
4. Time the interview ended:
5. Length of interview:
6. Date of interview: