PUBLIC OPINION BAROMETER

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Headlines

In the year of 1994, The ***Soros Foundation for an Open Society*** has initiated the programme ***"The Public Opinion Barometer"***, an unique initiative in Central and Eastern Europe.

The features that determine the uniqueness of the Public Opinion Barometer are:

- it is carried out quarterly on the basis of the fixed questionnaire on a national representative sample;
- the results of each poll are made public;
- a jury, whose members include respected academics such as Professor Lazar Vlasceanu, Professor Sandu Dumitru, Professor Traian Rotariu, Professor Calin Anastasiu and Gheorghe Onut, assesed both the manner in which the researh is carried out and its results.

Among the tasks of the jury lies the appointment of those institutions to be charged to carry out the field research within the Publlic Opinion Barometer.

As a result of a public auction, ***The Institute for Life Quality of the Romanian Academy*** and the ***Center for Urban and Regional Sociology - CURS*** were selected for the 1995 researches.

The topics of the study concern:

- political options and the popularity for the major Romanian political parties and political personalities;
- standard of living and quality of life;
- evaluations of the social and economic policy of the Government;
- mass media audience;

The findings of the research will be publicly released as written reports (diagrams, tables, texts) in press conferences organised by each of the two agencies in charge.

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1. Do you think that in Romania things go in the right direction or in the wrong direction ?								
	March 1994 IMAS	**June 1994 IRSOP**	**Sept 1994 IMAS**	**Dec 1994 IRSOP**	**March 1995 ICCV**	**June 1995 CURS**	**Sept 1995 ICCV**	**Dec 1995 CURS**
The direction is right	29%	27%	29%	33%	37%	30%	37%	29%

The direction is wrong	57%	47%	56%	43%	46%	51%	41%	48%
Do not know	14%	26%	15%	24%	17%	19%	22%	23%

2. How satisfied are you with ... ?

		March 1994 IMAS	June 1994 IRSOP	Sept 1994 IMAS	Dec 1994 IRSOP	March 1995 ICCV	June 1995 CURS	Sept 1995 ICCV	Dec 1995 CURS
MEDICAL CARE	Dissatisfied	58%	65%	57%	52%	47%	47%	46%	49%
	Satisfied	39%	31%	38%	40%	52%	50%	53%	50%
YOUR JOB	Dissatisfied	22%	31%	28%	19%	13%	21%	14%	19%
	Satisfied	33%	26%	35%	29%	37%	36%	41%	36%
TRANSPORTATION	Dissatisfied	63%	60%	59%	49%	53%	49%	50%	51%
	Satisfied	28%	35%	31%	40%	44%	46%	46%	47%
THE MONEY YOU HAVE	Dissatisfied	76%	82%	79%	74%	69%	80%	74%	81%
	Satisfied	24%	15%	21%	24%	20%	20%	26%	18%
LOCAL CLEANLINESS	Dissatisfied	79%	74%	81%	68%	69%	69%	65%	66%
	Satisfied	20%	24%	18%	31%	30%	31%	35%	33%
NATIONAL POLITICAL LIFE	Dissatisfied	78%	72%	72%	60%	72%	75%	68%	73%
	Satisfied	14%	14%	14%	23%	20%	15%	22%	20%
YOUR DWELLING	Dissatisfied	---	---	---	---	24%	24%	21%	26%
	Satisfied	---	---	---	---	76%	76%	79%	74%
THE LOCALITY YOU LIVE IN	Dissatisfied	---	---	---	---	25%	24%	23%	23%
	Satisfied	---	---	---	---	75%	76%	77%	76%

3. Which are the things you fear most at present ?

	March 1994 IMAS	June 1994 IRSOP	Sept 1994 IMAS	Dec 1994 IRSOP	March 1995 ICCV	June 1995 CURS	Sept 1995 ICCV	Dec 1995 CURS
Prices	51%	60%	50%	52%	54%	56%	52%	61%
A war in the area	50%	35%	39%	39%	33%	34%	42%	31%
Health problems	32%	33%	34%	35%	30%	29%	36%	35%
Unemployment	25%	34%	30%	24%	28%	32%	27%	27%
Delinquency	17%	15%	22%	20%	18%	19%	17%	19%
Social unrest	12%	11%	9%	12%	11%	12%	9%	10%
Setting up of a new dictatorship	11%	8%	12%	9%	7%	6%	8%	9%

4. How satisfied are you with your living standard ?

	March 1994 IMAS	June 1994 IRSOP	Sept 1994 IMAS	Dec 1994 IRSOP	March 1995 ICCV	June 1995 CURS	Sept 1995 ICCV	Dec 1995 CURS
Very satisfied	2%	2%	2%	3%	5%	3%	4%	3%
Quite satisfied	36%	28%	32%	38%	37%	36%	47%	37%
Not very satisfied	47%	45%	42%	44%	48%	45%	41%	47%
Not at all satisfied	15%	25%	24%	15%	10%	16%	8%	13%

5. How do you consider your present life by comparsion to the one you had a year ago?

	March 1994 IMAS	June 1994 IRSOP	Sept 1994 IMAS	Dec 1994 IRSOP	March 1995 ICCV	June 1995 CURS	Sept 1995 ICCV	Dec 1995 CURS
Much better now	---	---	---	---	1%	2%	2%	2%
A little better now	---	---	---	---	16%	15%	18%	14%
About the same	---	---	---	---	41%	39%	44%	39%
A little worse now	---	---	---	---	33%	34%	30%	37%
Much worse now	---	---	---	---	8%	10%	6%	8%

6. How do you think your life will be one year from now on?

	March 1994 IMAS	June 1994 IRSOP	Sept 1994 IMAS	Dec 1994 IRSOP	March 1995 ICCV	June 1995 CURS	Sept 1995 ICCV	Dec 1995 CURS
Much better	1%	3%	1%	3%	3%	3%	2%	2%
A little better	27%	25%	27%	35%	33%	27%	31%	29%
About the same	36%	37%	34%	35%	31%	27%	35%	33%
A little worse	29%	25%	31%	19%	23%	25%	22%	25%
Much worse	6%	10%	7%	8%	6%	7%	5%	7%

7. How would you appreciate your family's income?

	March 1994 IMAS	Sept 1994 IMAS	March 1995 ICCV	June 1995 CURS	Sept 1995 ICCV	Dec 1995 CURS
We are ablw to buy we need without efforts	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%
We are able to buy expensive goods only by saving money	5%	5%	9%	7%	9%	8%
Enough for a decent life, but we are not able to buy expensive goods	23%	22%	23%	20%	27%	22%
Enough just for the basic needs	44%	40%	36%	41%	33%	39%
Not enough even for the basic needs	26%	32%	31%	31%	30%	30%

8. Newspaper reading the day before and over the last seven days (and the day before)

	March 1994 IMAS	June 1994 IRSOP	Sept 1994 IMAS	Dec 1994 IRSOP	March 1995 ICCV	June 1995 CURS	Sept 1995 ICCV	Dec 1995 CURS
Evenimentul Zilei	39.8%	36%	33%	29%	30%	29%	24%	24%
A local newspaper	36.9%	40%	38%	37%	37%	40%	36%	42%
Adevarul	16.4%	16%	12%	14%	15%	12%	13%	13%
Romania Libera	15.7%	12%	16%	11%	11%	11%	11%	11%
Gazeta Sporturilor	5.6%	12%	8%	11%	10%	7%	8%	6%
Sportul Romanesc	3.9%	8%	5%	6%	7%	4%	5%	4%
Tineretul Liber	2.4%	6%	3%	5%	5%	2%	2%	2%

Curierul National	2%	2%	2%	3%	3%	2%	2%	2%
Romaniayi Magyar Szo	1.9%	3%	1%	2%	2%	1%	1%	1%
Cotidianul	1.6%	2%	2%	2%	2%	1%	2%	1%
Cronica Romana	1%	1%	1.4%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%
Vremea	1%	2%	0.7%	1%	1%	1%	0.2%	1%
Jurnalul National	1%	2%	1.3%	2%	3%	3%	3%	4%
Dimineata	0.8%	2%	0.6%	1%	1%	1%	0.5%	0,5%
Azi	0.8%	2%	0.7%	1%	2%	1%	2%	1%
Vocea Romaniei	0.2%	1%	0.4%	1%	0.4%	1%	0.3%	0,5%
Ziua	---	---	1%	2%	3%	3%	4%	4%

9. Respondents having subscriptions for newspapers and magazines

	March 1995 ICCV	June 1995 CURS	Sept 1995 ICCV	Dec 1995 CURS
Only one publication	12%	11%	12%	13%
2 publications	3%	2%	4%	3%
3-7 publications	2%	1%	2%	1%
Not having subscription	82%	86%	82%	83%

10. Audience of the radio stations

	March 1994 IMAS	June 1994 IRSOP	Sept 1994 IMAS	Dec 1994 IRSOP	March 1995 ICCV	June 1995 CURS	Sept 1995 ICCV	Dec 1995 CURS
Romania-Actualitati (public)	71%	69%	66%	62%	67%	65%	60%	64%
Local public station	29%	19%	27%	28%	34%	28%	26%	25%
Romania-Tineret (public)	11%	10%	9%	12%	10%	9%	8%	6%
Local private station	10%	17%	13%	12%	15%	19%	15%	26%
A foreign language station	8%	8%	5%	7%	5%	6%	3%	5%
Romania-Cultural	7%	11%	6%	6%	11%	6%	6%	6%
Antena Satelor	6%	6%	2%	8%	7%	3%	5%	4%
Foreign station broadcasting in Romanian language	4%	7%	3%	4%	5%	5%	3%	6%
I have a radio	---	---	---	---	---	---	85%	88%

11. Audience of the TV stations

	March 1994 IMAS	June 1994 IRSOP	Sept 1994 IMAS	Dec 1994 IRSOP	March 1995 ICCV	June 1995 CURS	Sept 1995 ICCV	Dec 1995 CURS
TVR 1 (public)	85%	87%	85%	83%	88%	85%	83%	87%
TVR 2 (public)	18%	26%	19%	19%	32%	33%	26%	36%
Other foreign TV station	18%	20%	20%	22%	28%	30%	28%	26%
A neighboring country TV station	13%	15%	9%	15%	11%	11%	9%	8%
Local private station	8%	19%	8%	13%	19%	25%	22%	28%

Local public station	6%	7%	3%	6%	10%	12%	9%	10%
Provision with pick up systems	10%	19%	9%	10%	Room, outdoor, cellective antenna 57%	Room, outdoor, cellective antenna 54%	Room, outdoor, cellective antenna 51%	Room, outdoor, cellective antenna 53%
- room antenna	60%	73%	57%	64%				
- outdoor personal antenna - collective antenna	9%	10%	8%	5%				
- individual satellite antenna	3%	1%	2%	3%	Satellite antenna cable network 35%	Satellite antenna cable network 38%	Satellite antenna cable network 38%	Satellite antenna cable network 39%
- collective satellite antenna	4%	2%	5%	2%				
- cable network	14%	17%	19%	22%				

12. Which is your main source of information regarding the national political life?

	March 1995 ICCV	June 1995 CURS	Sept 1995 ICCV	Dec 1995 CURS
TV	61%	58%	59%	60%
Radio	20%	21%	17%	20%
Newspapers	7%	9%	8%	9%
Discutions wich acquaintances	5%	7%	6%	6%
Not interested in political life	7%	5%	10%	6%

13. Do you have a very good, a good, a poor or a very poor impression of...?

	March 1994 IMAS	June 1994 IRSOP	Sept 1994 IMAS	Dec 1994 IRSOP	March 1995 ICCV	June 1995 CURS	Sept 1995 ICCV	Dec 1995 CURS
poor, very poor (good, very good)								
A. Nastase	30(55)	34(61)	38(48)	28(64)	19(67)	27(60)	20(66)	26(60)
E. Constantinescu	42(49)	43(52)	40(52)	39(53)	43(47)	45(42)	39(48)	38(46)
N. Manolescu	38(33)	52(33)	42(31)	43(33)	26(24)	26(22)	22(26)	20(24)
I. Iliescu	52(44)	48(50)	51(45)	38(59)	33(64)	39(56)	35(60)	38(59)
P. Roman	51(41)	59(38)	56(36)	44(51)	43(49)	47(44)	41(49)	38(51)
C. Coposu	51(39)	57(37)	53(36)	61(33)	61(28)	54(32)	55(31)	---
O. Gherman	47(29)	48(41)	48(29)	42(33)	31(40)	34(35)	28(40)	34(38)
S. Cunescu	46(26)	54(28)	47(24)	51(26)	33(23)	30(18)	26(21)	21(21)
N. Vacaroiu	61(33)	62(36)	61(32)	43951)	50(44)	57(35)	46(46)	55(36)
Gh. Funar	62(25)	69(25)	70(18)	60(28)	54(30)	52(29)	48(31)	50(31)
C.V.Tudor	61(24)	60(33)	61(24)	53(35)	42(34)	42(36)	43(33)	49(30)
M. Bella	55(16)	64(19)	54(17)	52(22)	50(10)	47(9)	46(11)	38(10)
I. Verdet	71(13)	72(20)	68(13)	67(20)	38(18)	55(19)	53(17)	50(17)
N. Cerveni	---	---	---	---	18(11)	14(8)	12(10)	11(9)
H. Rusu	---	---	---	---	19(11)	15(9)	15(13)	15(10)
M.I. Quintus	---	---	---	---	---	---	18(29)	19(27)
T. Mohora	---	---	---	---	---	---	21(14)	22(12)
I. Diaconescu	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	19(26)

NOTE: Precentages of respondents who had no opinion are not shown.

14. Overall, how do you rate the activity of the following institutions?

	March 1994 IMAS	June 1994 IRSOP	Sept 1994 IMAS	Dec 1994 IRSOP	March 1995 ICCV	June 1995 CURS	Sept 1995 ICCV	Dec 1995 CURS
poor, very poor (good, very good)								
Government	74(25)	74(26)	72(26)	59(40)	65(32)	71(26)	60(37)	74(24)
Parliament	79(19)	76(24)	77(21)	66(33)	71(25)	78(18)	69(29)	77(21)
Justice	62(34)	60(38)	62(33)	52(45)	49(43)	56(36)	47(48)	54(42)
Army	---	---	---	---	6(91)	7(89)	5(92)	7(90)
Church	---	---	---	---	7(82)	12(89)	7(91)	9(90)
Local Government	---	---	---	---	53(46)	61(37)	51(48)	60(90)

15. Are you rather satisfied or rather dissatisfied with the performance of the Government in these domains ?

	March 1994 IMAS	June 1994 IRSOP	Sept 1994 IMAS	Dec 1994 IRSOP	March 1995 ICCV	June 1995 CURS	Sept 1995 ICCV	Dec 1995 CURS
dissatisfied (satisfied)								
Culture	64(30)	75(24)	61(33)	58(40)	56(40)	55(37)	49(45)	61(33)
Education	66(29)	79(20)	66(30)	58(40)	55(42)	54(40)	47(49)	64(31)
Health care	73(24)	77(22)	71(27)	66(34)	68(30)	65(33)	64(34)	68(30)
Agriculture	84(14)	86(14)	81(17)	76(23)	76(21)	77(20)	71(27)	83(16)
Industry	84(13)	92(8)	80(16)	83(16)	81(15)	79(14)	72(23)	80(14)
Salaries	87(12)	91(8)	88(10)	90(10)	90(10)	92(8)	88(10)	95(4)
Living standard	88(11)	93(7)	89(10)	86(13)	88(11)	90(10)	85(13)	93(7)
Jobs	88(10)	90(9)	86(11)	85(13)	87(11)	89(9)	83(14)	88(10)
Fight against delinquency	87(10)	87(13)	85(12)	81(18)	74(22)	73(22)	70(27)	72(25)
Fight against corruption	92(5)	92(7)	90(7)	88(11)	83(13)	86(11)	82(13)	86(12)

16. Which one of these opinions comes closer to what you think?

	March 1994 IMAS	June 1994 IRSOP	Sept 1994 IMAS	Dec 1994 IRSOP	March 1995 ICCV	June 1995 CURS	Sept 1995 ICCV	Dec 1995 CURS
1. Privatization should be quick and the role of state should decrease as fast as possible.								
2. Privatization should be slow and the role of the state should decrease as slow as possible.								
First opinion	66%	58%	58%	55%	53%	54%	54%	59%
Second opinion	31%	41%	38%	43%	40%	39%	39%	32%
Privatization shouldn't be done	---	---	---	---	2%	---	1%	---
No opinion	3%	1%	4%	2%	5%	7%	6%	9%

17. Do you think the Government is in favor or against privatization?

	March 1994 IMAS	June 1994 IRSOP	Sept 1994 IMAS	Dec 1994 IRSOP	March 1995 ICCV	June 1995 CURS	Sept 1995 ICCV	Dec 1995 CURS

It is 100% in favor	11%	17%	17%	21%	15%	13%	19%	20%
It is rather in favor	48%	48%	43%	49%	50%	43%	52%	43%
It is rather against	34%	28%	27%	25%	23%	28%	19%	24%
It is 100% against	7%	6%	9%	3%	5%	6%	4%	5%
No opinion	---	1%	4%	2%	7%	11%	6%	8%

18. Do you think that the Government's economic policy will have or will not have positive results over the next year?

	March 1994 IMAS	June 1994 IRSOP	Sept 1994 IMAS	Dec 1994 IRSOP	March 1995 ICCV	June 1995 CURS	Sept 1995 ICCV	Dec 1995 CURS
I think it will have positive results	30%	22%	27%	30%	33%	26%	29%	24%
I don't think it will have positive results	48%	46%	42%	32%	37%	43%	33%	41%
Don't know	22%	32%	31%	38%	30%	31%	38%	35%

19. Should elections be held now, would you vote ?

	March 1994 IMAS	June 1994 IRSOP	Sept 1994 IMAS	Dec 1994 IRSOP	March 1995 ICCV	June 1995 CURS	Sept 1995 ICCV	Dec 1995 CURS
Definitely yes	71%	71%	72%	72%	82%	77%	81%	75%
Probably yes	11%	12%	12%	12%	9%	10%	10%	11%
Probably no	4%	3%	4%	2%	2%	2%	1%	2%
Definitely no	9%	9%	9%	9%	4%	6%	5%	6%
I am not sure	5%	4%	3%	5%	3%	5%	3%	6%

20. Should elections be held now, which party would you vote for *?*

	March 1994 IMAS	June 1994 IRSOP	Sept 1994 IMAS	Dec 1994 IRSOP	March 1995 ICCV	June 1995 CURS	Sept 1995 ICCV	Dec 1995 CURS
P.D.S.R.	24%	22%	25%	25%	32%	28%	34%	30%
P.N.T.-C.D.	14%	14%	16%	12%	9%	12%	9%	16%
P.D.(F.S.N.)	10%	9%	5%	11%	12%	7%	9%	9%
U.D.M.R.	9%	6%	8%	7%	6%	7%	6%	6%
P.D.A.R.	6%	4%	4%	2%	4%	3%	3%	2%
P.N.L.-C.D.	6%	8%	8%	9%	4%	2%	1%	1%
P.U.N.R.	6%	2%	4%	3%	4%	5%	5%	5%
P.R.M.	5%	7%	4%	6%	5%	7%	6%	7%
P.S.M.	5%	7%	4%	3%	4%	5%	4%	3%
P.E.R.	5%	6%	4%	6%	6%	4%	1%	1%
P.A.C.	4%	7%	10%	6%	5%	7%	5%	3%
P.L.93	3%	4%	4%	3%	2%	2%	2%	2%
P.S.D.R.	2%	2%	1%	2%	1%	1%	2%	1%
PNL	---	---	---	---	---	---	3%	2%

PS	---	---	---	---	---	---	1%	1%
CDR (undifferentiated)	---	---	---	---	---	8%	7%	9,5%
Other political parties	1%	2%	3%	5%	6%	11%	2%	1,5%
Undecided or will not vote	17%	17%	21%	15%	21%	28%	16%	28%

21. Who is, in your opinion, the public personality that should be elected next as the president of Romania?

	March 1995 ICCV	June 1995 CURS	Sept 1995 ICCV	Dec 1995 CURS
Ion Iliescu	36%	32%	38%	37%
Emil Constantinescu	18%	18%	16%	19%
Adrian Nastase	9%	7%	5%	4%
Petre Roman	3%	4%	3%	4%
Gheorghe Funar	3%	3%	2%	2%
Theodor Melescanu	2%	1%	1%	2%
Ion Diaconescu	1%	2%	2%	---
Corneliu Vadim Tudor	1%	2%	2%	3%
Nicolae Manolescu	---	2%	1%	1%
Ion Ratiu	---	2%	1%	1%
Ilie Verdet	---	1%	---	---
Marko Bella	---	1%	---	---
Other personalities	5%	4%	6%	4%
There is no such a personality	2%	---	1%	---
Don't know / No answer	20%	21%	21%	23%

Methodology of the Opinion Survey

- **Sample size**: 1218 individuals, aged over 18 years;
- **Sampling method:** probability sampling, stratified, multistage;
- **Stratification criteria**: historical regions and type of locality;
- **Sampling points**: 103 electoral districts from 57 localities and 33 counties;
- **National representative** for the adult and non-institutionalized population: tolerated error for percentages on the total sample +/-2.8%;
    - The weighting of data was not necessary so the values shown both in tables and charts are those resulted directly from the field survey;
- **Method of interviews**: "door to door" interviews conducted by CURS' operators;
    - The audience refers to the "preceding day" and to the "7 days preceding";
    - The lists with political parties and public personalities were made by the jury and include political parties with parliamentary representation and the leaders of these parliamentary parties;
- **Field work**: 1-7 December, 1995.

Field work and data processing coordinator,

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- The Center for Urban and Regional Sociology (CURS) is a private research agency established on the basis of the former "Laboratory for Sociological Studies", thus having more than 20 years of experience in the field. Its research activities are carried out within the two departments:

Urban and Regional Research. Communities Development.

Public Opinion Polling and Marketing Research

- The clients of CURS are Romanian non governmental and governmental institutions, Romanian mass-media, as well as selected partners from Western Europe and United States of America.
- CURS' team (25 persons - sociologists, psychologists and economists) consists of specialists having an intensive and varied experience in the field of interdisciplinary research, high skilled professionals possessing a good knowledge of the Romanian realities. Among CURS' co-operators there are also respected academics from the Department of Sociology, University of Bucharest.
- CURS has a national network of well-trained interviewers (with a nucleus of 20 full-time operators at the main headquarters) who have worked in all the regions of Romania, with all of the different ethnic populations within the country.
- The issues currently addressed by CURS' research works are political behaviours, attitudes, perceptions and reactions towards the present economic, political and social changes, inter-ethnic relations, media and cultural consumption, consumer behaviour, product testing. These topics are approached by both qualitative and quantitative methodologies.
- Most of CURS studies have involved national representative samples (some of them achieved also for the Republic of Moldova). CURS uses multistage (a two or three stage method) probability sampling designs of households, comparable with the international methodology (Macro International, Arbitron, Nielsen).
- As concerns its material resources, CURS has a computer department properly equipped and a data base containing information on the various spheres of Romanian political, social and economic life, information included in its large work "The Social Map of Romania".

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