PUBLIC OPINION BAROMETER

In 1994, The Soros Foundation for an Open Society has initiated The Public Opinion Barometer progrem, a unique initiative in Central and Eastern Europe.

As a result of a public auction, The Institute for Quality of Life and The Urban and Regional Center were selected for the 1995 research.

The topics of research concern

- political options, popularity and fame of the main Romanian political personalities
- living standard and quality of life
- social and economic policy of the Government
- mass-media audience

A jury, formed of Professor Catalin Zamfir, Professor Lazar Vlasceanu, Lecturer Gheorghe Onut, Professor Traian Rotariu and Calin Anastasiu, MP, will asses the manner in which the study will be carried out and its results.

The outcomes of the quarterly researches will be publicly released as written reports (diagrams, tables, text) in press conferences organized by each of the two institutions.

The final research report, which will asses the public opinion trend in 1995Romania, will be submitted to the Foundation Board in English and Romanian, and will be made public.

Program Coordinator, Ionel David

Public Opinion Barometer-1995 edition

Observations regarding the September 1995 edition:

- sample size: 1175 persons, aged over 18;
- stratified, probabilistic, multi-staged sample;
- stratification criteria: historical province, residential area and locality size;
- 101 sampling places in 61 localities (29 towns and 32 villages) belonging to 31 districts and Bucharest;
- selection of localities, polling stations and subjects was done by probabilistic means;
- national representativity for the adult population; error margin of ± 2.9%;
- the sample was controlled using the 1992 Census data;
- the values shown in tables and graphs are those resulting directly from the field survey;
- direct interviews at subjects' places were done by the operators of the Institute.
- the list of political parties and political personalities has been drawn up by the jury (the parties and leaders of parties with representatives in both Houses of the Parliament);
- mass-media audience refers to "the day preceding" and to "the 7 days preceding the interview;
- field survey during: September 15-22, 1995.

The edition from September 15-22, 1995 was conducted by the Institute for Quality of Life. The Institute, which was established in 1990, is an academic institution for scientific research.

The institute has the proper human and material resources that enable it to approach a wide range of research subjects in various fields such as: social, political, demographical, cultural, etc.

- 52 highly professionalized researchers, of which:

-1 member of the Romanian Academy;

-10 doctors in science (Ph.D.);
-12 doctorands;

- Department for survey and poll with a nuclei of 30 full-time operators at the main office and a network of field operators throughout the country;
- Computer department properly equipped for quick and highly accurate processing of the information;
- Database containing socio-economic and sociologic indicators of the quality of life.

General Objectives of the Institute for Quality of Life:

1. Development of theoretical and empirical knowledge in the quality of life and social policy fields;
2. Surveys of public opinion;
3. Consulting in social policies;
4. Assessment of social programmes.

The Institute for Quality of Life publishes the journal "Quality of Life" four times a year; two series of reports, namely, "Social Policies" and "Quality of Life", as well as scientific papers printers in volumes.

1. Do you think that in Romania things go in the right direction or in the wrong direction ?

	March	June	Sept	Dec	March	June	Sept
Do not know	14%	26%	15%	24%	17%	19%	22%
The direction is wrong	57%	47%	56%	43%	46%	51%	41%
The direction is good	29%	27%	29%	33%	37%	30%	37%

2. How satisfied are you with medical care ?

	March	June	Sept	Dec	March	June	Sept
Dissatisfied	58%	65%	57%	52%	47%	47%	46%
Satisfied	39%	31%	38%	40%	52%	50%	53%

3. How satisfied are you with your job ?

	March	June	Sept	Dec	March	June	Sept
Dissatisfied	22%	31%	28%	19%	13%	21%	14%
Satisfied	33%	26%	35%	29%	37%	36%	41%

4. How satisfied are you with local Government ?

	March	June	Sept	Dec	March	June	Sept
Dissatisfied	63%	67%	63%	54%	---	---	---
Satisfied	32%	28%	30%	37%	---	---	---

5. How satisfied are you with transportation ?

	March	June	Sept	Dec	March	June	Sept
Dissatisfied	63%	60%	59%	49%	53%	49%	50%
Satisfied	28%	35%	31%	40%	44%	46%	46%

6. How satisfied are you with the money you have ?

	March	June	Sept	Dec	March	June	Sept
Dissatisfied	76%	82%	79%	74%	69%	80%	74%
Satisfied	24%	15%	21%	24%	20%	20%	26%

7. How satisfied are you with local cleanliness ?

	March	June	Sept	Dec	March	June	Sept
Dissatisfied	79%	74%	81%	68%	69%	69%	65%
Satisfied	20%	24%	18%	31%	30%	31%	35%

8. How satisfied are you with national political life ?

	March	June	Sept	Dec	March	June	Sept
Dissatisfied	78%	72%	72%	60%	72%	75%	68%
Satisfied	14%	14%	14%	23%	20%	15%	22%

9. How satisfied are you with your dwelling?

	March	June	Sept	Dec	March	June	Sept
Dissatisfied	---	---	---	---	24%	24%	21%
Satisfied	---	---	---	---	76%	76%	79%

10. How satisfied are you with the locality you live in?

	March	June	Sept	Dec	March	June	Sept
Dissatisfied	---	---	---	---	25%	24%	23%
Satisfied	---	---	---	---	75%	76%	77%

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

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

12. How satisfied are you with your living standard ?

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

13. How do you think your life will be within one year from now?

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

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

	March	June	Sept	Dec	March	June	Sept
Evenimentul Zilei	39.8%	36%	33%	29%	30% (15%)	29%(11%)	24%(11%)
A local newspaper	36.9%	40%	38%	37%	37%(24%)	40%(20%)	36%(19%)
Romania Libera	15.7%	12%	16%	11%	11%(5%)	11%(4%)	11%(4%)
Adevarul	16.4%	16%	12%	14%	15%(6%)	12%(6%)	13%(6%)
Gazeta Sporturilor	5.6%	12%	8%	11%	10%(4%)	7%(3%)	8%(3%)
Sportul Romanesc	3.9%	8%	5%	6%	7%(3%)	4%(1%)	5%(2%)
Tineretul Liber	2.4%	6%	3%	5%	5%(1%)	2%(0.5%)	2%(1%)
Ora	2.1%	2%	---	---	---	---	---
Curierul National	2%	2%	2%	3%	3%(1%)	2%(1%)	2%(1%)
Romaniai Magyar Szo	1.9%	3%	1%	2%	2%(1%)	1%(0.6%)	1%(0.5%)
Cotidianul	1.6%	2%	2%	2%	2%(1%)	1%(0.5%)	2%(0.5%)
Ultimul Cuvint	1.6%	---	---	---	---	---	---
Cronica Romana	1%	1%	1.4%	1%	1%(0.3%)	1%(0.5%)	1%(0.5%)
Vremea	1%	2%	0.7%	1%	1%(0.5%)	1%(0.5%)	0.2%
Jurnalul National	1%	2%	1.3%	2%	3%(2%)	3%(2%)	3%(2%)
Dimineata	0.8%	2%	0.6%	1%	1%(2%)	1%(0.5%)	0.5%(0.25%)
Azi	0.8%	2%	0.7%	1%	2%(0.4%)	1%(0.5%)	2%(0.5%)
Ziua	---	---	1%	2%	3%(1%)	3%(1%)	4%(2%)
Meridian	0.3%	---	---	---	---	---	---
Vocea Romaniei	0.2%	1%	0.4%	1%	0.4%	1%(0.5%)	0.3%

15. Audience of the radio stations the day before and over the last seven days (and the day before the interview)

	March	June	Sept	Dec	March	June	Sept
Romania-Actualitati (public)	71%	69%	66%	62%	67%(48%)	65%(46%)	60%(40%)
Local public station	29%	19%	27%	28%	34%(18%)	28%(18%)	26%(15%)
Local private station	10%	17%	13%	12%	15%(7%)	19%(13%)	15%(11%)
Romania-Tineret	11%	10%	9%	12%	10%(5%)	9%(4%)	8%(4%)
Romania-Cultural	7%	11%	6%	6%	11%(6%)	6%(2%)	6%(3%)
A foreign language station	8%	8%	5%	7%	5%(3%)	6%(2%)	3%(6%)
Antena Satelor	6%	6%	2%	8%	7%(4%)	3%(1%)	5%(2%)
A foreign radio station	4%	7%	3%	4%	5%(2%)	5%(2%)	3%(2%)

16. Audience of TV stations the day before and over the last seven days (and the day before)

	March	June	Sept	Dec	March	June	Sept
TVR 1 (public)	85%	87%	85%	83%	88%(71%)	85%(67%)	83%(63%)
TVR 2 (public)	18%	26%	19%	19%	32%(22%)	33%(19%)	26%(17%)
Other foreign TV station	18%	20%	20%	22%	28%(19%)	30%(19%)	28%(19%)
A neighboring country TV station	13%	15%	9%	15%	11%(6%)	11%(5%)	9%(5%)
Local private station	8%	19%	8%	13%	19%(14%)	25%(15%)	22%(14%)
Local public station	6%	7%	3%	6%	10%(5%)	12%(5%)	9%(3%)

17. Provision with pick-up systems

	March	June	Sept	Dec	March	June	Sept
Room antenna	10%	19%	9%	10%	---	---	---
Outdoor personal antenna	60%	73%	57%	64%	57%	54%	51%
Collective antenna	9%	10%	8%	5%	---	---	---
Individual satellite antenna	3%	1%	2%	3%	---	---	---
Collective satellite antenna	4%	2%	5%	2%	35%	38%	38%
Cable network	14%	17%	19%	22%	---	---	---

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

	March	June	Sept	Dec	March	June	Sept
poor, very poor (good, very good)							
Adrian Nastase	30(55)	34(61)	38(48)	28(64)	19(67)	27(60)	20(66)
E. Constantinescu	42(49)	43(52)	40(52)	39(53)	43(47)	45(42)	39(48)
Ion Iliescu	52(44)	48(50)	51(45)	38(59)	33(64)	39(56)	35(60)
N. Manolescu	38(33)	52(33)	42(31)	43(33)	26(24)	26(22)	22(26)
Corneliu Coposu	51(39)	57(37)	53(36)	61(33)	61(28)	54(32)	55(31)
Oliviu Gherman	47(29)	48(41)	48(29)	42(33)	31(40)	34(35)	28(40)
Petre Roman	51(41)	59(38)	56(36)	44(51)	43(49)	47(44)	41(49)
Dinu Patriciu	46(28)	53(33)	47(26)	48(31)	------	------	------
Sergiu Cunescu	46(26)	54(28)	47(24)	51(26)	33(23)	30(18)	26(21)
Nicolae Vacaroiu	61(33)	62(36)	61(32)	43951)	50(44)	57(35)	46(46)
Marko Bella	55(16)	64(19)	54(17)	52(22)	50(10)	47(9)	46(11)
C.V.Tudor	61(24)	60(33)	61(24)	53(35)	42(34)	42(36)	43(33)
Gheorghe Funar	62(25)	69(25)	70(18)	60(28)	54(30)	52(29)	48(31)
Ilie Verdet	71(13)	72(20)	68(13)	67(20)	38(18)	55(19)	53(17)
Nicolae Cerveni	---	---	---	---	18(11)	14(8)	12(10)
Horia Rusu	---	---	---	---	19(11)	15(9)	15(13)

19. Over all how do you rate the activity of the following institutions ?

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

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

	March	June	Sept	Dec	March	June	Sept
dissatisfied (satisfied)							
Culture	64(30)	75(24)	61(33)	58(40)	56(40)	55(37)	49(45)
Education	66(29)	79(20)	66(30)	58(40)	55(42)	54(40)	47(49)

Health care	73(24)	77(22)	71(27)	66(34)	68(30)	65(33)	64(34)
Agriculture	84(14)	86(14)	81(17)	76(23)	76(21)	77(20)	71(27)
Industry	84(13)	92(8)	80(16)	83(16)	81(15)	79(14)	72(23)
Salaries	87(12)	91(8)	88(10)	90(10)	90(10)	92(8)	88(10)
Living standard	88(11)	93(7)	89(10)	86(13)	88(11)	90(10)	85(13)
Jobs	88(10)	90(9)	86(11)	85(13)	87(11)	89(9)	83(14)
Delinquency	87(10)	87(13)	85(12)	81(18)	74(22)	73(22)	70(27)
Corruption	92(5)	92(7)	90(7)	88(11)	83(13)	86(11)	82(13)

21. There are two types of opinion:

	March	June	Sept	Dec	March	June	Sept
1. Privatization should be quick and the role of state should decrease as soon as possible.							
2. Privatization should be slow and the role of the state should decrease as slowly as possible.							
First opinion	66%	58%	58%	55%	53%	54%	54%
Second opinion	31%	41%	38%	43%	40%	39%	39%
Privatization							
shouldn't be done	---	---	---	---	2%	---	1%
No opinion	3%	1%	4%	2%	5%	7%	6%

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

	March	June	Sept	Dec	March	June	Sept
100% against	7%	6%	9%	3%	5%	6%	4%
Rather against	34%	28%	27%	25%	23%	28%	19%
Rather in favor	48%	48%	43%	49%	50%	43%	52%
100% in favor	11%	17%	17%	21%	15%	13%	19%
No opinion	---	1%	4%	2%	7%	11%	6%

23. Do you think that over the next year the economic policy of the Government will have or will not have positive results ?

	March	June	Sept	Dec	March	June	Sept
I think it will have positive results	30%	22%	27%	30%	33%	26%	29%
I don't think it will have positive results	48%	46%	42%	32%	37%	43%	33%
Do not know	22%	32%	31%	38%	30%	31%	38%

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

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

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

	March	June	Sept	Dec	March	June	Sept
P.D.S.R.	24%	22%	25%	25%	32%	28%	34%

P.N.T.-C.D.	14%	14%	16%	12%	9%	12%	9%
P.D.(F.S.N.)	10%	9%	5%	11%	12%	7%	9%
P.N.L.-C.D.	6%	8%	8%	9%	4%	2%	1%
P.A.C.	4%	7%	10%	6%	5%	7%	5%
P.R.M.	5%	7%	4%	6%	5%	7%	6%
P.S.M.	5%	7%	4%	3%	4%	5%	4%
P.E.R.	5%	6%	4%	6%	6%	4%	1%
U.D.M.R.	9%	6%	8%	7%	6%	7%	6%
P.D.A.R.	6%	4%	4%	2%	4%	3%	3%
P.L.93	3%	4%	4%	3%	2%	2%	2%
P.S.D.R.	2%	2%	1%	2%	1%	1%	2%
P.U.N.R.	6%	2%	4%	3%	4%	5%	5%
CDR (undifferentiated)	---	---	---	---	---	---	7%
PNL	---	---	---	---	---	---	3%
PS	---	---	---	---	---	---	1%
Other parties	1%	2%	3%	5%	6%	11%	2%

June 1995-28% are undecided or would not vote

September 1995-16% are undecided or would not vote

For the first time, in September 1995 there has been mentioned specially the CDR (Democratic Convention). This question has been followed by a filter question for those who have chosen the CDR. The 7% who would vote for the CDR have expressed their preferences inside CDR as follows:

-CDR undifferentiated: 36%

-PNT-CD: 42%

-PNL: 13%

-PER: 5%

-PNL-CD: 4%

26. Do you consider that PUNR joining PDSR in forming the Government is rather a :

	March	June	Sept	Dec	March	June	Sept
Good step	---	---	23.5%	---	---	---	---
Bad step	---	---	35.1%	---	---	---	---
Do not know	---	---	41.3%	---	---	---	---

27. Recently, some of the trade unions decided to have agreements with various political parties. What is your opinion regarding this matter ?

	March	June	Sept	Dec	March	June	Sept
The trade unions may be politically involved	---	---	20%	---	---	---	---
The trade unions should not get politically involved	---	---	57%	---	---	---	---
Do not know	---	---	23%	---	---	---	---

28. What kinds of effects do you think that the mass-privatization program, presented this summer by the Government will have upon

	March	June	Sept	Dec	March	June	Sept

-*Your personal life*							
Negative	---	---	23.2%	---	---	---	---
Positive	---	---	21.2%	---	---	---	---
No effect	---	---	37.4%	---	---	---	---
Do not know	---	---	18.2%	---	---	---	---
-*National economy*							
Negative	---	---	25%	---	---	---	---
Positive	---	---	31%	---	---	---	---
No effect	---	---	18%	---	---	---	---
Do not know	---	---	26%	---	---	---	---

29. How do you appreciate the current income of your family ?

	March	June	Sept	Dec	March	June	Sept
We can have everything we need without saving much	2%	---	1%	---	1%	1%	1%
We can buy some expensive items but saving from other areas	5%	---	5%	---	9%	7%	9%
We manage a decent living, but we cannot afford more expensive items	23%	---	22%	---	23%	20%	27%
We can only afford what is strictly necessary	44%	---	40%	---	36%	41%	33%
We cannot even afford what is strictly necessary	26%	---	32%	---	31%	31%	30%

30. Which is your principal source of information regarding the national political life?

	March	June	Sept	Dec	March	June	Sept
TV	---	---	---	---	61%	58%	59%
Radio	---	---	---	---	20%	21%	17%
Discussions and acquaintances	---	---	---	---	5%	7%	6%
Newspapers	---	---	---	---	9%	9%	8%
Not interested in political life	---	---	---	---	7%	5%	10%

31. Respondents having subscriptions for newspapers and magazines:

	March	June	Sept	Dec	March	June	Sept
3-7 publications	---	---	---	---	2%	1%	2%
2 publications	---	---	---	---	3%	2%	4%
Only one publication	---	---	---	---	13%	11%	12%
Not having subscriptions	---	---	---	---	82%	86%	82%

32. How would you compare your present life to the one you had a year ago?

About the same	---	---	---	---	41%	39%	44%
A little worse now	---	---	---	---	33%	34%	30%
Much worse now	---	---	---	---	8%	10%	6%
A little better now	---	---	---	---	16%	15%	18%
Much better now	---	---	---	---	1%	2%	2%

33. In your opinion, who is the public personality that should be elected as the president of Romania?

	March	June	Sept	Dec	March	June	Sept
Ion Iliescu	---	---	---	---	36%	32%	38%
Emil Constantinescu	---	---	---	---	18%	18%	16%
Adrian Nastase	---	---	---	---	9%	7%	5%
Petre Roman	---	---	---	---	3%	4%	3%
Gheorghe Funar	---	---	---	---	3%	3%	2%
Theodor Melescanu	---	---	---	---	2%	1%	1%
Corneliu Coposu	---	---	---	---	1%	2%	2%
Corneliu Vadim Tudor	---	---	---	---	1%	2%	2%
Nicolae Manolescu	---	---	---	---	---	2%	1%
Marko Bella	---	---	---	---	---	1%	---
Ilie Verdet	---	---	---	---	---	1%	---
Other 24 personalities	---	---	---	---	5%	4%	6%
There isn't such a personality	---	---	---	---	2%	---	1%
Don't know/No answer	---	---	---	---	20%	21%	21%

The next research is going to be realized in December 1995 and will be presented on INTERNET on December 19, 1995, 9:30 GMT, simultaneously with the press conferences organized in Bucuresti, Brasov and Cluj.

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