#### Appendix 2

#### IMAS Survey March 1996 - Raw Data Hungarian sample

Q 1	Nationality	Romanian	1	Rroma	3
	of the subject	<u>Hungarian</u>	2	Other	4

**Q 2** Compared with the period previous to 1989 how are your relationships with :

		Worst	Worse	Same	Better	Best
Α	family members	0.8	9.7	72.5	16.3	0.6
В	neighbours	0.2	4.5	87.2	7.0	1.0
С	work colleagues	0.4	5.0	77.3	6.6	1.7
D	people in your locality	0.0	5.8	86.4	7.2	0.4
Е	people with other nationality	1.0	3.7	88.4	5.8	0.6

<b>Q3</b> Do you think that there are more or less misunderstandings now than before	ore 1989 among :
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		More	Same	Less	Don't
					know
Α	The rich and the poor	58.9	30.4	3.3	7.4
В	The young and the elder	42.1	48.3	3.7	5.6
С	Romanians and Hungarians	36.2	54.8	3.1	5.4
D	Romanians and Rroma	33.1	47.7	1.7	17.4
Е	Workers and intellectuals	26.2	56.6	4.5	12.6

## **Q4** There are many urgent problems that should be solved in Romania. How important seem the following problems to you ?

		Very important	Important	Slightly important	Unimpor- tant	Don't know
Α	Inflation	72.9	19.6	1.0	0.6	5.8
В	Unemployment	73.6	20.9	1.9	0.6	3.1
С	Privatization	36.4	39.7	13.2	2.3	8.5
D	Living standards	75.6	20.0	1.4	0.0	2.9
Е	The relationships with Rroma	11.8	28.1	31.6	17.6	10.5
F	The relationships among	37.6	39.7	10.7	7.0	4.5
	Romanians and Hungarians					
G	Productivity growth	62.0	30.2	3.1	0.8	3.7
Η	Government change	38.0	23.8	15.7	5.6	16.7
Ι	Individual freedom	57.9	28.7	6.2	2.9	4.3
J	Corruption	59.3	26.2	1.0	1.9	11.4
Κ	The abolition of communist	42.4	27.5	10.3	6.8	12.6
	structures					

		More than it should	Enough	Less than it should	Don't know
Α	Minorities rights	3.9	22.5	61.8	11.2
В	Romanians in the Republic of	18.4	32.0	14.9	33.9
	Moldova				
С	Romanians in Covasna, Harghita	20.5	40.5	13.2	25.2
	and Mures counties				

## **Q 5** According to you, is the Romanian Government concerned enough with each of the following problems?

### **Q 6** *I will read to you a few things people say when referring to the situation in Romania. Please tell me if you do or do not agree with each of the statements.*

I com	mpletely agree I partly agree I partly disagree I completely I am disagree		I am not interested	I don't know				
	1	2	3	4	5	6		
А	The state s	hould guarantee	employment for eve	rvone	83	5		
B				ost important thing to				
	taight to ch							
С	0		to it that some peopl	le do not earn too mu	c <b>h</b> 70	.9		
	while other	rs earn to little.						
D	In our cou	ntry, people can j	freely tell their opin	ions.	78.3			
Е	Generally s	speaking, you can	n trust most people.		30	30.0		
F	There shou	ld be more foreig	gn investment in ou	r country.	62	62.6		
G	Governmen	nt should protect	employment.		90	.5		
Н	Certain pol	litical parties sho	uld be banned.		50.2			
Ι	Governmen	nt should control	the prices of strict i	ecessity products.	90	.9		
J	Common, v	vorking people a	re in a worst conditi	ion than others.	84	.1		
Κ	The heavy	industry and the	large enterprises sh	ould all be state prop	erty. 49	.6		
L	The Govern	nment should pro	otect the late IAS.		57	.9		
Μ	The individual, rather than the state, is responsible for his own welfare.				.0			
Ν	For the society to develop there have to be significant differences among				<b>ong</b> 46	.5		
	the earning	gs of different pe	ople.					
0	No newspaper article should be banned due to political reasons. 76							
Р	The prices grow because of private commerce. 34.5					.5		

(The amounts represent the options: "I completely agree" + "I partly agree" )

#### **Q7** After 1989 the relationships among different nationalities are:

			Better Unchanged Worse	5.0 51.2 43.8
Q 8	Between Romanians and Rroma :	Better	2.7 Unchanged Worse	56.2 40.3
Q 9	Between Romanians and Hungarians :		Better Unchanged Worse	4.8 53.1 42.1

## **Q 12** Please tell me in which of the following situations you would accept the members of the following nationalities. Try not to think of a particular individual (nice or not). In the table circle all the codes to which the subject has answered yes.

I would accept one of them	To be my husband ( wife )	To call on me (or me vice versa)	To be my colleague or neighbour	To visit my locality	Neither of these
Romanian	70.5	94.4	97.1	97.3	0.4
Hungarian	-	-	-	-	-
German	65.9	93.8	96.3	97.3	1.0
Rroma	9.3	34.5	49.4	60.7	36.6

**Q 13** *I will read to you some things that might be said about what is happening in our country. Do you agree or do you not agree with these statements ?* 

I con	npletely agree	I partly agree	I partly disagree	I completely disagree	I am not interested	I don't know
	1	2	3	4	5	6
А			have more chances o It are not Romanian		51	9
В	<i>In our country the religious affiliation is important in determining</i> 23.6 <i>that person's success.</i>					.6
С	In our cour	ntry citizens are e	equal before the law	regardless of their no	ationality.72.3	
D	In Romani its own tra		ity group has the po	ssibility of living acco	ording to 73.5	
Е	In Romani	a, nationality gro	ups should have mo	ore rights than they do	<b>now.</b> 73	.7
F	The Roman reconciliati	0	really wants the Ro	manian - Hungarian	46.5	
G	The Hunga reconciliati		t really wants the R	omanian - Hungariai	<b>n</b> 66.9	

HUDMR really wants the Romanian -Hungarian reconciliation.72.6

(The numbers represent the "I completely agree" + "I partly agree" options)

- Q 14 -Q 19 As you know, in Romania there is an area where the majority of the population is of Hungarian nationality ( the Covasna, Harghita and Mures Counties ). The following questions refer to these areas. (all subjects are questioned )
- **Q 14** Do you think it would fit for the government to name Hungarian prefects for these areas?

Yes	67.8
No	5.2
Not important	19.2
Don't know	7.9

Q 15	Do you think that Romanian interests are sufficiently proected in these areas ?	<b>Yes</b> 72.9	<b>No</b> 5.6	<b>Don't know</b> 21.1
Q 16	Do you think that the Hungarian language should also be used in administration in these areas ?	85.5	6.8	7.6
Q 17	Do Hungarian nationals know Romanian well enough ?	26.9	54.1	18.8

3.55

- **Q 18** Should Romanians living in areas together with other 68.4 18.6 13.0 nationalities be encouraged to learn their languages too ?
- **Q 19** Do you think that in these areas, alongside the Romanian 84.5 5.6 9.9 inscriptions there should also be Hungarian ones ?

		Very good	Good	Neutral	Poor	Very poor
Α	<i>P.D.S.R.</i>	0.6	8.1	59.5	22.7	7.6
В	<b>P.DF.S.N.</b>	1.4	10.7	68.8	13.4	4.1
С	<i>P.N.TC.D.</i>	4.3	28.1	62.2	3.3	0.8
D	P.S.M	0.6	5.0	54.1	23.3	15.1
Е	<i>P.A.C.</i>	2.7	19.0	69.6	6.0	1.0
F	<b>P.U.N.R.</b>	0.4	5.0	35.3	23.1	34.3
G	P.L.'93	1.9	16.9	73.8	3.7	1.9
Н	<b>P.N.L.</b>	2.5	17.6	70.5	6.0	1.7
Ι	<i>U.D.M.R.</i>	12.8	41.5	38.2	4.5	1.9
J	<b>P.D.A.R.</b>	1.0	11.0	75.2	9.1	2.5
Κ	<i>P.R.M</i> .	0.6	3.3	40.7	25.0	29.1

**Q 24** What is your general opinion concerning the following parties ?

**Q 25** What position do you think the following parties hold concerning the relationships among the nationalities living in Romania ?

		A fair position	An unfair position	Don't know
Α	<i>P.D.S.R.</i>	16.3	31.0	52.1
В	<b>P.DF.S.N.</b>	19.2	22.5	57.6
С	<i>P.N.TC.D.</i>	33.5	11.0	55.2
D	<i>P.S.M.</i>	8.9	34.5	56.0
Е	<i>P.A.C.</i>	30.0	9.3	59.9
F	<b>P.U.N.R</b> .	5.0	58.3	36.2
G	P.L. '93	26.2	8.3	64.9
Η	<i>P.N.L.</i>	26.0	10.5	62.8
Ι	P.D.A.R.	18.2	15.9	65.3
J	<i>P.R.M.</i>	4.1	55.0	40.5

**Q 26** How would you appreciate U.D.M.R.'s position regarding this matter ? Please give a grade between 1 (the worst) and 5 (the best).

**Operator** : The questions Q 30 -Q 32 are asked only to Hungarian nationals.

**Q 30** How preoccupied do you think U.D.M.R. is with solving the following problems ?

		Very much	Much	A little	Not preoccupied	Don't know
А	Inflation	15.9	32.2	19.8	2.5	29.1
В	Unemployment	16.9	33.3	19.4	2.5	27.5
С	Privatization	16.9	34.5	16.1	2.5	29.3
D	Living standard	20.0	38.6	15.1	2.5	23.1
Е	The relationships with Gypsies	5.4	20.2	27.1	9.9	36.8
F	The relationships among Romanians	44.4	31.2	5.8	1.0	17.1
	and Hungarians					
G	Productivity growth	14.9	33.9	19.6	4.5	26.7
Η	Government change	19.0	31.6	11.8	4.1	33.1
Ι	Individual freedom	35.7	33.7	6.6	1.4	22.1
J	Corruption	24.8	28.5	11.6	3.9	30.6

Κ	The abolition of communist	27.3	25.4	12.2	5.2	29.5
	structures					

		I completely agree	I partly agree	I partly disagree	I completely disagree
А	UDMR should be more preoccupied with the	40.9	37.6	15.7	3.7
	concrete problems of Hungarians rather than				
	with the autonomy				
В	Without the autonomy requested by UDMR the	26.4	36.2	27.1	8.5
	problems of Hungarians can't be satisfactorily				
	solved				
С	Romanians will never accept the autonomy	44.6	28.5	15.7	8.3
	requested by UDMR				
D	The problems of Hungarian can only be solved	74.0	20.9	2.5	0.8
	in cooperation with Romanians				
E	UDMR should cooperate more with the	38.4	45.9	10.1	3.1
	opposition parties				
F	UDMR should cooperate more with the	24.4	38.2	23.1	12.2
	government and the allied leading forces				

#### **Q 32** To what extent do you or do you not agree with the following statements ?

For all subjects :

Q 33	How much do you think U.D.M.R. contributes for solving local a lot		26.2
	problems in the regions where there are many Hungarians ? just about right	40.9	
	a little		16.9
	don't know		15.7

#### **Q 34** How do you feel about the existence of a Hungarian party in Romania ?

It is normal since there are many Hungarians here	76.7
Normally it should not exist but, given the circumstances, it is justified	7.6
There should be no parties based on nationalist criteria	7.4
Can't say	8.1

#### **Q 35** How do you feel about the activity of the representatives of U.D.M.R. in parliament ?

		It is true	It is partly true	It isn't true	Can't tell
А	They only defend the interests of Hungarian	19.4	30.4	33.3	16.5
	nationals.				
В	They undertake an anti-Romanian activity.	3.5	6.8	70.5	18.6
С	They have serious positions with regard to the	51.0	19.6	3.7	25.0
	matters being discussed.				
D	They represent the politics of Hungary.	4.1	8.1	57.2	30.0
Е	They defend the party's interests rather than	15.7	24.4	35.3	24.2
	the interests of their voters.				
F	They honestly want the Romanian -	66.1	14.5	3.3	15.5
	Hungarian relationship to get better.				
G	They are mainly interested in their own	19.0	22.5	33.7	24.2
	political career.				

**Q 36** Do you think it is possible for Romania to have serious conflicts with some of its neighbours ?

Yes	13.87
No	64.7
Don't know	21.5

**Q 37** Should there be such a conflict, with whom would it be ?

		Yes	No	Don't know
Α	Bulgaria	3.9	68.0	27.3
В	Yugoslavia	6.2	65.7	27.5
С	Hungary	15.5	59.9	24.2
D	Russia	19.2	50.4	29.8
Е	Ukraine	14.7	53.5	31.2

**Q 38** Regarding the relationships between Romania and Hungary to what extent do you consider the following sentences to be true ?

		It is true	It is partly true	It isn't true	Can't tell
А	Hungary will never give up its claims upon	13.8	17.8	45.7	22.7
	Transylvania				
В	It is normal for the Hungarian government to	68.6	15.5	6.4	9.5
	be interested in the situation of Hungarian				
	nationals living in Romania.				
С	Judging by its actions, the Hungarian	10.1	19.8	40.7	29.1
	government is not favorable to Romania.				
D	Relationships would be better if certain people	82.0	6.4	2.1	9.5
	were not of ill faith.				
E	In Hungary there is, generally, an anti-	6.8	10.5	55.8	26.9
	Romanian attitude.				
F	In Hungary there are certain groups which,	53.3	15.3	6.2	25.2
	like in Romania, maintain the conflicts.				
G	Hungary has exaggerated claims regarding	10.7	12.2	55.0	22.1
	the way in which Hungarian nationals living				
	in Romania should be treated.				

**Q 39** Do you think the U.D.M.R. autonomy request to be reasonable or exaggerated ?

It is reasonable	58.1
It is exaggerated	18.4
Don't know	23.6

**Q 40** What effect do you think the local autonomy requested by U.D.M.R. would have on life in your locality ?

It would make it better	45.7
It would make it worst	5.8
It would have no effect	16.9
It isn't the case	11.2
Don't know	20.2

**Q 41** Do you think the signing of the neighborhood treaty with Hungary to be important or not ?

It is important	82.4
It is not important	5.2
Don't know	11.4

The following questions will help to the statistical processing of the results.

#### **Q 42** What language is spoken in your home ?

Romanian	9.1	Romali	0.0
Hungarian	90.1	Other	0.2
German	0.2	Not answered	0.4

#### Q 43 Are you :

not married	11.2	widow(er)	11.0
divorced	2.9	married	74.2

If the subject is not married skip Q 44.

**Q 44** Nationality of husband/wife :

Romanian	8.7	Rroma	0.0
Hungarian	76.7	Other	1.7

# Q 45What is (was) the nationality of your parents ?A. MotherHungarian93.8B. FatherHungarian94.0

Q 46	Are you currently working ?	For peasants working their land circle
		the codes: 3 from $Q$ 47 and 08 from $Q$ 48.

Yes 50.8 No 49.2

#### **Q 47** Your main working place is :

In a unit with all registered capital or most of it belongs to the state	25.0
In a unit with mostly private registered capital	5.8
In a unit with entirely private registered capital	15.9
Farming	1.0
Other	3.1

#### **Q 48** What is your position at work ?

-owner, manager, director, assistant director	6.4
-specialist, college graduate	6.4
-technician, teacher, foreman	5.8
-office worker	4.8
-trade worker	3.3
-qualified worker, handicraftsman	15.7
-unqualified worker	1.4
-farmer	4.5
-military	0.0
-other	2.1

#### **Q 49** What is your status ? (non working persons)

Retired (age or sickness)	31.8
Pupil, Student	1.9
Housewife, maternity leave	7.6

Unemployed 7.6

#### **Q 50** Last institution graduated :

less than 7 school years	16.3
7-8 school years	18.2
10 school years	7.4
professional school	18.4
secondary school	21.3
post secondary school	9.3
college/university studies	8.5

- **Q 51** How many people (including you) make up your family ?
- **Q 52** *How old are you ?*
- **Q 53** What was the total income of your household in February 1996?
- **Q 54** Sex Male 49.0 Female 51.0
- Q 55 Locality
- Q 56 County