

## Appendix 1

**IMAS Survey March 1996 - Raw data**  
**Romanian sample**

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

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

		Worst	Worse	Same	Better	Best
A	<i>family members</i>	1.8	10.3	65.4	19.3	3.1
B	<i>neighbours</i>	1.1	8.0	75.6	14.1	1.0
C	<i>work colleagues</i>	1.2	8.2	65.6	13.5	2.0
D	<i>people in your locality</i>	1.1	8.6	76.8	12.5	0.5
E	<i>people with other nationality</i>	2.1	9.7	79.5	5.0	0.8

**Q 3** *Do you think that there are more or less misunderstandings now than before 1989 among :*

		More	Same	Less	Don't know
A	<i>The rich and the poor</i>	72.4	20.4	2.0	5.1
B	<i>The young and the elder</i>	62.8	31.8	2.3	3.1
C	<i>Romanians and Hungarians</i>	54.9	29.0	2.8	13.2
D	<i>Romanians and Rroma</i>	67.9	23.2	2.1	6.8
E	<i>Workers and intellectuals</i>	35.8	47.8	6.0	10.3

**Q 4** *There are many urgent problems that should be solved in Romania. How important seem the following problems to you ?*

		Very important	Important	Slightly important	Unimportant	Don't know
A	<i>Inflation</i>	74.7	19.4	1.8	0.6	3.3
B	<i>Unemployment</i>	76.6	18.8	2.6	0.7	1.3
C	<i>Privatization</i>	45.4	34.5	11.8	3.4	4.4
D	<i>Living standards</i>	83.3	15.0	0.8	0.2	0.5
E	<i>The relationships with Rroma</i>	25.6	32.5	26.1	10.1	5.4
F	<i>The relationships among Romanians and Hungarians</i>	28.9	35.6	21.2	7.1	6.9
G	<i>Productivity growth</i>	61.4	31.5	3.1	0.6	3.2
H	<i>Government change</i>	37.6	24.4	18.6	10.7	8.2
I	<i>Individual freedom</i>	51.8	31.0	9.9	3.6	3.3
J	<i>Corruption</i>	75.1	16.8	2.9	1.8	3.2
K	<i>The abolition of communist structures</i>	40.1	25.5	16.7	9.9	7.2

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

		More than it should	Enough	Less than it should	Don't know
A	<i>Minorities rights</i>	18.7	50.9	20.7	9.5
B	<i>Romanians in the Republic of Moldova</i>	12.3	34.5	38.3	14.6
C	<i>Romanians in Covasna, Harghita and Mures counties</i>	8.7	38.0	36.2	16.8

**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 completely agree	I partly agree	I partly disagree	I completely disagree	I am not interested	I don't know
1	2	3	4	5	6

A	<i>The state should guarantee employment for everyone.</i>	88.3
B	<i>The obedience towards the authorities is the most important thing to be learned by children.</i>	72
C	<i>The government should see to it that some people do not earn too much while others earn too little.</i>	69.7
D	<i>In our country, people can freely tell their opinions.</i>	90.2
E	<i>Generally speaking, you can trust most people.</i>	26.4
F	<i>There should be more foreign investment in our country.</i>	62.4
G	<i>Government should protect employment.</i>	90.7
H	<i>Certain political parties should be banned.</i>	57.1
I	<i>Government should control the prices of strict necessity products.</i>	93.0
J	<i>Common, working people are in a worst condition than others.</i>	88.4
K	<i>The heavy industry and the large enterprises should all be state property.</i>	59.5
L	<i>The Government should protect the late IAS.</i>	65.9
M	<i>The individual, rather than the state, is responsible for his own welfare.</i>	71.1
N	<i>For the society to develop there have to be significant differences among the earnings of different people.</i>	39.7
O	<i>No newspaper article should be banned due to political reasons.</i>	72.8
P	<i>The prices grow because of private commerce.</i>	45.0

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

**Q 7** After 1989 the relationships among different nationalities are:

Better	4.3
Unchanged	33.3
Worse	62.3

**Q 8** Between Romanians and Rroma :

Better	2.0
Unchanged	26.3
Worse	71.4

**Q 9 Between Romanians and Hungarians :**

Better	2.6
Unchanged	36.8
Worse	60.4

**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>I would accept one of them..</i>	<i>To be my husband ( wife )</i>	<i>To call on me - or me vice versa</i>	<i>To be my colleague or neighbour</i>	<i>To visit my locality</i>	<i>Neither of these</i>
<i>Romanian</i>	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Hungarian</i>	38.1	63.9	75.0	84.7	10.6
<i>German</i>	46.5	73.9	82.1	86.6	6.9
<i>Rroma</i>	6.7	19.0	31.7	46.4	51.0

**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 completely agree	I partly agree	I partly disagree	I completely disagree	I am not interested	I don't know
1	2	3	4	5	6

A	<i>In our country Romanians have more chances of succeeding than other Romanian citizens but not Romanian nationals.</i>	28.5
B	<i>In our country the religious affiliation is important in determining that person's success.</i>	32.7
C	<i>In our country citizens are equal before the law regardless of their nationality.</i>	88.2
D	<i>In Romanian each nationality group has the possibility of living according to its own traditions.</i>	92.7
E	<i>In Romania, nationality groups should have more rights than they do now.</i>	15.5
F	<i>The Romanian government really wants the Romanian - Hungarian reconciliation.</i>	74.2
G	<i>The Hungarian Government really wants the Romanian - Hungarian reconciliation.</i>	29.2
H	<i>UDMR really wants the Romanian -Hungarian reconciliation.</i>	24.2

( 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 be appropriate for the government to name Hungarian prefects for these areas?**

Yes	13.1
No	55.0
Not important	21.8
Don't know	10.0

Yes No Don't know

- Q 15** *Do you think that Romanian interests are sufficiently protected in these areas ?* 27.6 52.3 20.1
- Q 16** *Do you think that the Hungarian language should also be used in administration in these areas ?* 25.9 66.2 7.9
- Q 17** *Do Hungarian nationals know Romanian well enough ?* 15.7 65.9 18.4
- Q 18** *Should Romanians living in areas together with other nationalities be encouraged to learn their languages too ?* 34.8 53.9 11.3
- Q 19** *Do you think that in these areas, alongside the Romanian inscriptions there should also be Hungarian ones ?* 27.6 63.5 8.8

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

		Very good	Good	Neutral	Poor	Very poor
A	<i>P.D.S.R.</i>	5.9	22.6	41.3	20.0	9.5
B	<i>P.D.-F.S.N.</i>	3.8	24.9	46.8	19.0	4.0
C	<i>P.N.T.-C.D.</i>	8.3	29.7	44.3	13.6	3.2
D	<i>P.S.M.</i>	1.6	13.4	42.9	25.0	14.6
E	<i>P.A.C.</i>	3.0	19.6	54.2	16.6	3.7
F	<i>P.U.N.R.</i>	2.5	16.0	51.5	22.1	6.2
G	<i>P.L. '93</i>	1.5	14.8	56.1	19.9	4.6
H	<i>P.N.L.</i>	3.1	19.3	54.5	17.6	3.3
I	<i>U.D.M.R.</i>	0.2	4.4	38.9	33.9	21.3
J	<i>P.D.A.R.</i>	3.2	21.4	54.4	14.3	3.6
K	<i>P.R.M.</i>	4.0	14.5	42.5	20.8	15.6

**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
A	<i>P.D.S.R.</i>	58.5	14.3	27.0
B	<i>P.D.-F.S.N.</i>	58.3	9.5	32.1
C	<i>P.N.T.-C.D.</i>	59.5	8.9	31.4
D	<i>P.S.M.</i>	40.4	19.1	40.1
E	<i>P.A.C.</i>	48.5	10.7	40.4
F	<i>P.U.N.R.</i>	37.2	31.9	30.8
G	<i>P.L. '93</i>	44.4	11.9	43.4
H	<i>P.N.L.</i>	49.5	9.7	40.5
I	<i>P.D.A.R.</i>	47.9	10.8	41.0
J	<i>P.R.M.</i>	34.3	33.8	31.6

**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).* 2.20

**Q 33** *How much do you think U.D.M.R. contributes for solving local problems in the regions where there are many Hungarians ?*

a lot	28.2
just about right	29.3
a little	19.9
don't know	22.5

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

It is normal since there are many Hungarians here	27.1
Normally it should not exist but, given the circumstances, it is justified	16.4
There should be no parties based on nationalist criteria	45.3
Can't say	10.9

**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
A	<i>They only defend the interests of Hungarian nationals.</i>	57.0	24.7	5.6	12.6
B	<i>They undertake an anti-Romanian activity.</i>	35.1	30.5	13.1	20.9
C	<i>They have serious positions with regard to the matters being discussed.</i>	20.2	31.3	21.0	27.0
D	<i>They represent the politics of Hungary.</i>	41.2	24.2	9.6	24.9
E	<i>They defend the party's interests rather than the interests of their voters.</i>	46.1	24.0	7.7	21.9
F	<i>They honestly want the Romanian - Hungarian relationship to get better.</i>	11.2	26.8	41.8	19.9
G	<i>They are mainly interested in their own political career.</i>	54.4	22.0	4.9	18.4

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

Yes 30.8  
 No 49.1  
 Don't know 19.9

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

		Yes	No	Don't know
A	<i>Bulgaria</i>	1.6	79.1	18.6
B	<i>Yugoslavia</i>	4.4	75.8	19.0
C	<i>Hungary</i>	56.0	24.1	19.5
D	<i>Russia</i>	41.7	37.7	19.9
E	<i>Ukraine</i>	24.9	49.9	24.5

**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
A	<i>Hungary will never give up its claims upon Transylvania</i>	58.3	21.6	6.0	14.1
B	<i>It is normal for the Hungarian government to be interested in the situation of Hungarian nationals living in Romania.</i>	38.5	29.1	23.9	8.6
C	<i>Judging by its actions, the Hungarian government is not favorable to Romania.</i>	41.4	28.2	10.1	20.2
D	<i>Relationships would be better if certain people were not of ill faith.</i>	79.1	14.0	1.2	5.6
E	<i>In Hungary there is, generally, an anti-Romanian attitude.</i>	41.0	25.5	9.6	24.0
F	<i>In Hungary there are certain groups which, like in Romania, maintain the conflicts.</i>	68.3	16.9	1.7	12.8
G	<i>Hungary has exaggerated claims regarding the way in which Hungarian nationals living in Romania should be treated.</i>	67.8	15.4	3.7	12.9

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

It is reasonable 5.1  
 It is exaggerated 82.5  
 Don't know (VOL) 12.2

**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 1.5  
 It would make it worst 26.1  
 It would have no effect 25.0  
 It isn't the case 36.4  
 Don't know (VOL) 10.5

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

It is important	84.1
It is not important	4.9
Don't know (VOL)	10.5

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

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

Romanian	97.7	Romali	0.7
Hungarian	0.9	Other	0.3
German	0.2	Not answered	0.0

**Q 43** *Are you :*

not married	12.3	widow(er)	10.2
divorced	2.9	married	74.1

*If the subject is not married skip Q 44.*

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

Romanian	81.2	Rroma	0.6
Hungarian	1.6	Other	0.7

**Q 45** *What is (was) the nationality of your parents ?*

A. Mother	Romanian	97.1
B. Father	Romanian	97.1

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

Yes	56.2	No	43.8
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**Q 47** *Your main working place is :*

<i>In a unit with all registered capital or most of it belongs to the state</i>	32.3
<i>In a unit with mostly private registered capital</i>	4.4
<i>In a unit with entirely private registered capital</i>	16.4
<i>Farming</i>	1.2
<i>Other</i>	1.8

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

<i>-owner, manager, director, assistant director</i>	3.6
<i>-specialist, college graduate</i>	7.0
<i>-technician, teacher, foreman</i>	7.0
<i>-office worker</i>	6.3
<i>-trade worker</i>	5.3
<i>-qualified worker, handicraftsman</i>	15.8
<i>-unqualified worker</i>	2.3
<i>-farmer</i>	8.5
<i>-military</i>	0.4
<i>-other</i>	0.1

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

<i>Retired (age or sickness)</i>	26.0
<i>Pupil, Student</i>	3.5
<i>Housewife, maternity leave</i>	8.5
<i>Unemployed</i>	5.6

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

<i>less than 7 school years</i>	16.7
<i>7-8 school years</i>	15.5
<i>10 school years</i>	7.6
<i>professional school</i>	14.3
<i>secondary school</i>	27.3
<i>post secondary school</i>	6.9
<i>college/university studies</i>	10.6

**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    49.2    Female 50.8

**Q 55** *Locality*

**Q 56** *County*