



Centrul de Sociologie Urbană și Regională

CURS

Str. Tudor Arghezi nr. 21, sector 2, București
Tel/fax: +4021-317.88.88 Tel: +4021-317.88.88 e-mail: office@curs.ro web: www.curs.ro

„The Influence of Media on Electoral Behavior”

Final Report

September - October 2007

Beneficiary

The National Audio-Visual Council

This study is part of the project “Enhancement and development of the professional expertise of the Romanian audiovisual sector (RO 2004/016-772.03.15.01)”, financed from the EC General Budget

The content of this paper doesn't represent necessary the formal position of EU.

For Phare information contact: cfcu.phare@mfinante.ro

Novembre 2007.

This study benefited from the invaluable contribution of the following CURS team:

Dr. Dorel Abraham	Project coordinator
Dr. Augustin Stoica	Expert Methodology
Sociologist Ionela Șufaru	Expert marketing and media audience
Mircea Caproș	Expert IT
Vladimir Crețoiu	Fieldwork coordinator
Dr. Marin Burcea	Expert qualitative research

Contents:	Pag.
Vol. 1	
A. Methodology	4
1. Main objectives of the study	4
2. The sample	4
2.1. Selection of the settlements	5
2.2. Selection of the sampling points (primary sampling units).	5
2.3. Random selection of the households.	6
2.4. The selection of the respondents interviewed	6
3. Fieldwork	6
3.1. Pre-testing	6
3.2. Conducting interviews	7
3.3. Control	7
4. Data processing	7
4.1. Data entry	7
5. The questionnaire	8
B. Main results and findings	9
1. The Mass-media audience.	10
1.1. Media audience	10
1.2. Press audience. (Reading newspapers and books)	12
2. The main leisure activities.	22
3. The population perception about the activity of different TV and radio channels and their levels of trust and about the objectivity of the news broadcasted by different TV and radio channels and their levels of trust.	37
4. Interest in politics and political behavior	54
4.1. Interest in politics	54
4.2. Taking the vote decision	55
4.3. The interest for television debates	56
5. Influence of the media on civic attitude and civic behavior.	76
6. The impact of the publishing of the public opinion polls	84
7. The assessment of the performances of the TV political talk-shows moderators.	92
8. The population awareness and level of trust in NAC	97
Vol. 2	100
Appendix 1	101
Appendix 2	105

A. Methodology

1. The main objectives of the study

- Assessment of the audience of different types of programs (news, talk-show, debates etc);
- Assessment of the perception of TV and radio programs` objectivity;
- Assessment of the perception of moderators` objectivity;
- Assessment of the viewers` and listeners` expectations regarding electoral campaigns;
- The interest for politics;
- The impact of the polls results on political behavior of the people;
- The awareness of NAC.

2. The sample

The planed sample size was 2000 individuals aged 18 and over from household with TV. The achieved sample size was of 2003 individuals, but the three questionnaires were dropped out. The sample was stratified in accordance with the structure of the population on urban-rural areas and on eight regions.

The maximum tolerated error for this sample is +/- 2.2% at a 95% level of confidence. In order to assess the tolerated error of representatively, the sample was probability one. Random selection of individuals is assuring proportional representation for gender, age, education, social status etc.

The sample was stratified by region (8), as in the map bellow), size of urban settlements (4) and the type of rural settlements (village center, non-center village). The 2000 cases of planed sample are distributed along the stratification cells (see table bellow). Comparing to the achieved sample one can notice that the differences are included in the tolerated margin of error of +/-2.2%.

The correction through weighting procedures was not necessary.

	Planed			Achieved			Differences		
<i>Residence</i>	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total
<i>Region</i>									
Transilvania	12.2%	7.8%	20.0%	11.7%	7.8%	19.5%	0.5%	0.0%	0.5%
Oltenia	4.9%	5.9%	10.7%	5.0%	5.8%	10.8%	-0.1%	0.1%	-0.1%
Muntenia	8.7%	12.0%	20.7%	9.0%	12.0%	21.0%	-0.3%	0. 0%	-0.3%
Moldova	9.9%	11.6%	21.5%	9.8%	11.8%	21.6%	0.1%	-0.2 %	-0.1%
Dobrogea	3.0%	1.5%	4.5%	3.0%	1.5%	4.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0. 0%
Crisana MM	4.6%	4.4%	9.0%	4.7%	4.3%	9.0%	-0.1%	0.1%	0.0%
Bucuresti	9.0%	0.0%	9.0%	9.0%	0.0%	9.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0 .0%
Banat	2.8%	1.8%	4.6%	2.8%	1.8%	4.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Total	54.9%	45.1%	100.0%	55.0%	45.0%	100.0%	-0.1%	0 .1%	0.0%

2.1. Selection of the settlements

In each cell a number of settlements were randomly selected as to have around 10-30 respondents in each settlement, except for Bucharest which had more. The names of the settlements were listed for each stratum (cell) and electronic random selection was applied in order to get the target number of settlements. If there was only one settlement in one cell then all the cases were allocated in that settlement. The total number of settlements reached over 100.

2.2. Selection of the sampling points (primary sampling units).

Once the settlements selected, in each urban settlement a number of voting districts (sampling points) were randomly selected as to have around 10 respondents allocated in each voting district. Also the selected voting districts were spread all if the case over the city are as to capture downtown area and outskirts. In the case of rural settlements usually one village correspond to one voting district. As villages were selected in the first stage, one voting district covering the village area was also selected, in accordance with the split between core villages and peripheral villages. The total number of sampling points reached over 150.

2.3. Random selection of the households.

In each of the selected voting district or polling station a **Random Route** method was used for the selection of the households.

In accordance with the instructions which was elaborated for the field operators, in each voting district one standing point (address; street and number) was chosen and one statistical interval was set in order to count number of a street and number of apartments in a multi-family building. The statistical interval for the selection of households was calculated by dividing the total number of households from a voting district by the number of interviews to be conducted in that voting district.

2.4. The selection of the respondents interviewed

From each selected households a person was interviewed. The person who was interviewed has been selected in accordance with the most recent birthday (the first person who celebrates the birthday in the current year). No substitution of a selected person by another member of the household was allowed and minimum 2 calls-back was required. The substitution of households was done systematically following the instructions and was recorded in the interviewers' fieldwork sheets.

3. Fieldwork

3.1. Pre-testing

A number of 30 interviews were conducted prior to start of the actual fieldwork in order to test the questions. The interviews were conducted in urban and rural locations, with different socio-demographic categories. Pretest results were discussed with the client and incorporated in the final version of the questionnaire.

3.2. Conducting interviews

The interviewers were trained at central and in regional locations prior to the start of the fieldwork. The interviews were conducted face –to-face at respondents' residence. The replacement of respondents was allowed in the following cases:

- Respondent could not be contacted after two-visits in different days at different hours. (250 cases)

- Respondent refused to participate in the survey. (20 cases)
- Respondent didn't fulfill screening condition (TV set). (10 cases)

Interviewers were filling in the fieldwork sheets with name and addresses of respondents. Fieldwork sheets were available for control.

3.3. Control

After fieldwork is completed, 15% of the total number of interviews was randomly controlled. The 15% interviews were distributed along different interviewers. Control consisted of checking:

- selection of respondents (including use of replacements) – 3 cases of wrong selection were met but the statistical interval could be changed by objective reasons.
- interview effectively conducted – 3 cases of incomplete interviews were dropped out.
- tracking answers to 4-5 factual questions – the time for 12 interviews were under 15 minutes, but is a matter of subjective assessment.

4. Data processing

4.1. Data entry

Specialized people conducted data entry and punching. The hardcopy questionnaires were processed in electronic format (using ACCESS program of data entry). The database is available for analyses in SPSS format.

5. The questionnaire

In accordance with the topics (minimum requirements) specified in TOR, the questionnaire included specific questions regarding viewing and listening behaviors indicators such as:

- The audience of different types of programs (news, talk-show, debates etc);
- The perception of TV and radio programs` objectivity;
- The perception of news and political news objectivity and trust in different news programs;
- Viewers' and listeners' expectations regarding electoral campaigns;
- The interest for politics;
- The perception of the influence of the last electoral campaign on respondents' decision on how to vote;
- The effect of published polls on the decision to vote;
- The assessment of the political talk-shows moderators.

B. Main results and findings

The main types of results are in accordance with the interviewed population answers to the main groups of questions. Thus, the data are presented and analyzed in accordance with the following dimensions:

1. Mass-media audience and cultural consumption
2. Leisure activities
3. The population assessment of the degree of objectivity and trust on different TV channels and radio stations
4. The population interest on politics and EU elections
5. The assessment of the impact of social campaigns on civic behavior
6. The impact of the publishing of opinion polls
7. The assessment of the performance of TV political talk-shows moderators
8. The awareness and trust of the population in NAC.

Therefore, the results are showed in these chapters.

1. The Mass-media audience.

1.1. Media audience

A first group of questions are focused on media audience (watching TV programs, listening to radio and using the Internet).

The survey data regarding the TV audience show that the population aged 18 years and over is not a typified consumer of television. From the point of view of the frequency with which people watch TV programs, the graph *“How often do you watch television programs ...?”* shows that there are three types of viewers: those watching TV programs more than three hours a day, on average, covering 36% of the population; those watching TV programs between one and three hours a day, on average, covering 46% of the population and those watching TV programs less than one hour a day, on average, covering 18% of population aged 18 years and over.

Therefore one can speak about one category of dependent viewers (especially those watching TV programs more than four hours a day), the balanced TV viewers that watch TV between 1 hour and 3 hours a day, and occasionally TV viewers that pay less attention to TV programs (less than one hour a day, on average, most of them not watching daily).

The data regarding the radio stations audience show that 68% of the population aged 18 years and over listen to radio.

From the point of view of the frequency with which people listen to radio, there are also different categories of public.

The public listening to radio more than three hours a day, on average, covering 23% of the population. The public listening to radio between one and three hours a day, on average, covering 24% of population. The public listening to radio less than one hour a day, covering 22% of population and people that never listen to radio, covering 31% of the interviewed population.

Data regarding the using of the Internet show that 27% of the population owning at least one television set access the Internet.

On the whole, the consumption of these media products takes a lot of time daily. Thus, TV programs are watched 160 minutes daily (two hours and 34 minutes a day) on

average, the radio has a public who is listening, on average, two hours and 14 minutes a day, and the Internet is being used, on average, one hour and 49 minutes a day.

Of course watching TV programs, listening to radio and using the Internet imply different consumption behaviors in terms of the time of the day and place where these activities are developed, and these audience behaviors lead to different cultural consumption patterns.

As the graph regarding the period of time when people watch TV and listen to radio shows, the television is watched by 81% of the population in the evening, comparing to the radio which is listened by 47% of its public in the morning. (*see the graph “When do you usually watch, listen ...?”*)

The site where these cultural consumption activities are taking place is not identical. 99% of the viewers use to watch TV programs at home compared to only 75% of the radio consumers that listen to radio at home, and compared to 64% of the Internet users who use to access the Internet at home. (*see the graph “Usually where do you watch, listen to, use...?”*)

Besides these cultural consumption indicators, the population was also asked about the types of TV programs they often watch (*see the graph “Which of the following TV programs do you frequently watch? In the first place and in the second place?”*)

The survey data show that both in the first place and in the second place, the most watched TV programs are the news. The news are followed by movies, sport programs and talk shows. TV programs about ethnic minorities, children/teenagers programs, TV games, social and religious programs occupy the last places.

1.2. Press audience. (Reading newspapers and books)

As the survey data show, less than two thirds of the population aged 18 and over read newspapers and less than half of the population use to read books. Therefore, 37% and respectively 53% of the interviewed population has never read newspapers or books.

The proportion of “heavy” newspapers and books readers, those who read newspapers and books more than three hours a day is only 2% for each of them, on average.

As the data show in the graph “*How often do you ...?*”, 38% of the population never read newspapers and 52% never read books. 26% read newspapers less than daily. But it is important that about 18% of the population read newspapers daily more than one hour a day and other 18% read newspapers daily less than one hour a day.

The books are read less than daily by 28% of the population. Daily but less than 1 hour a day by 9% and daily but more than 1 hour a day by 10% of the population.

It is significant anyway that 1 out of 10 individuals use to read books daily, more than 1 hour a day, on average, and that almost 2 out of 10 individuals use to read books daily.

On average, the readers of newspapers give 50 minutes daily for newspapers and the book readers allocate 37 minutes per day for this activity.

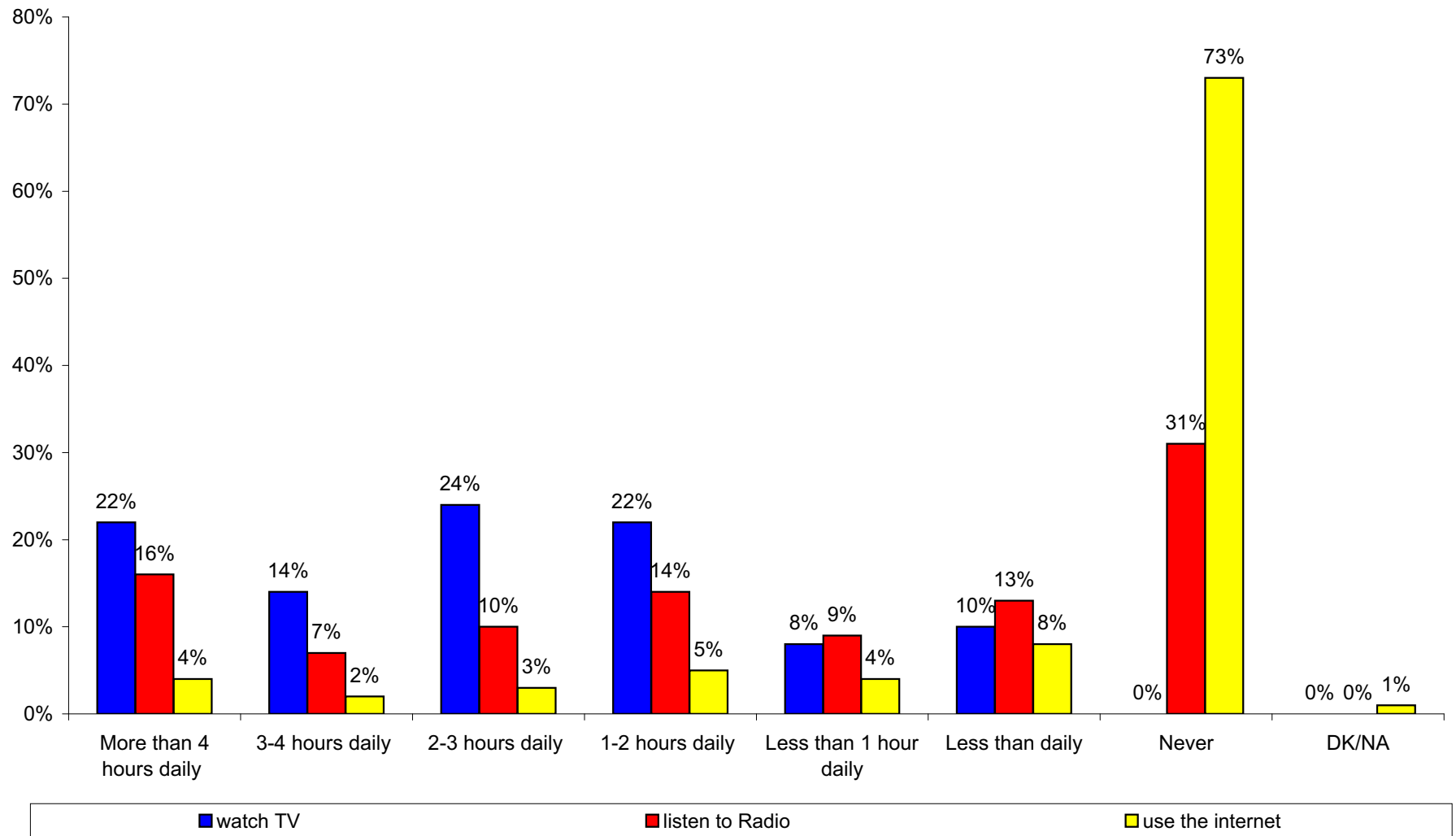
As a role, these activities take place at home for 85% of the book readers and for 75% in the case of newspapers readers.

It is significant that a quarter of the population uses to read newspapers in other places than home, mainly at the work place.

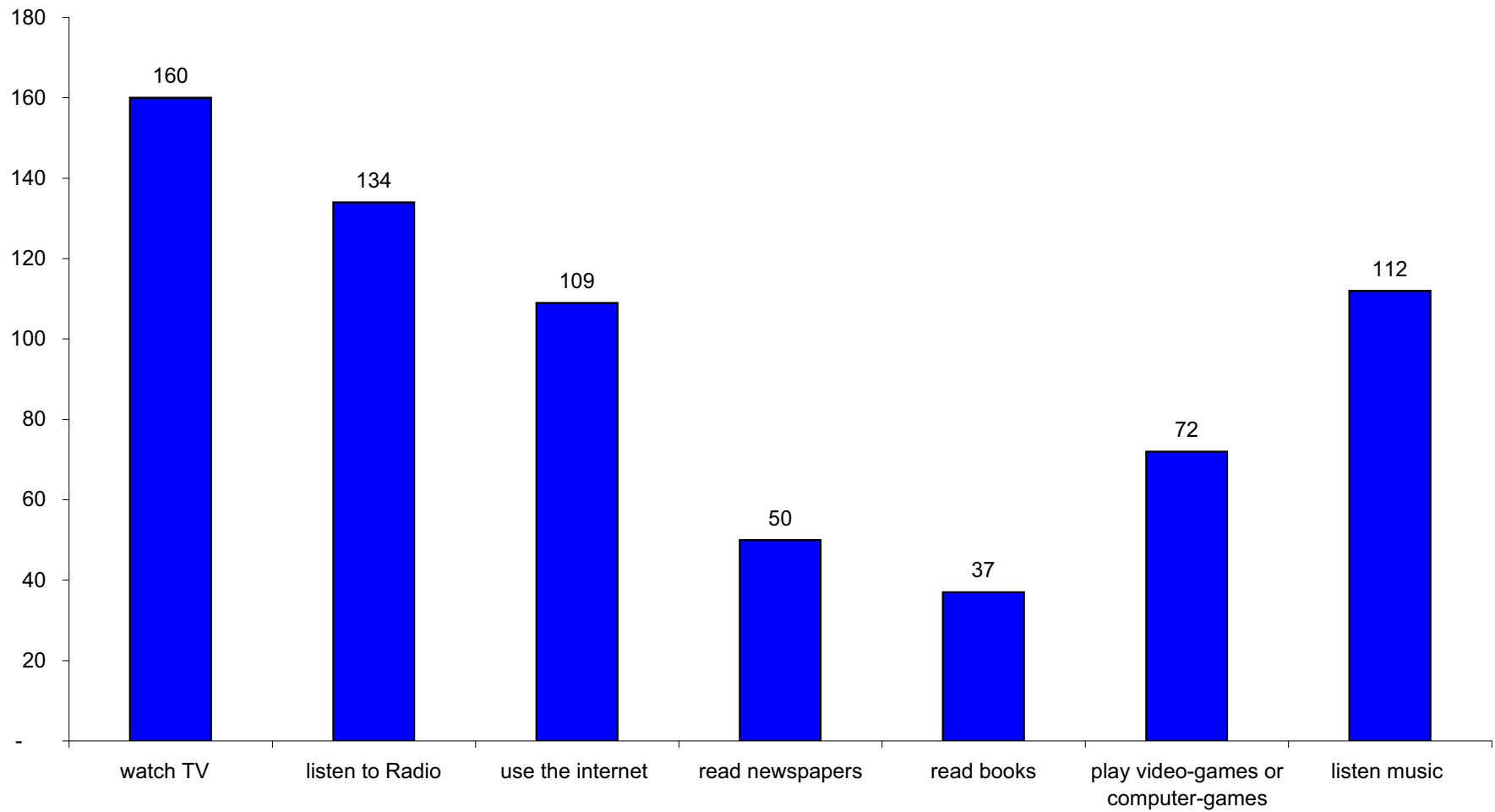
Most of the newspaper readers, about 85% of them, use to buy the newspapers, 14% have a subscription and 20% borrow them.

Data regarding the mass-media consumers profile by gender, education, residence etc. could be processed and may be provided by request.

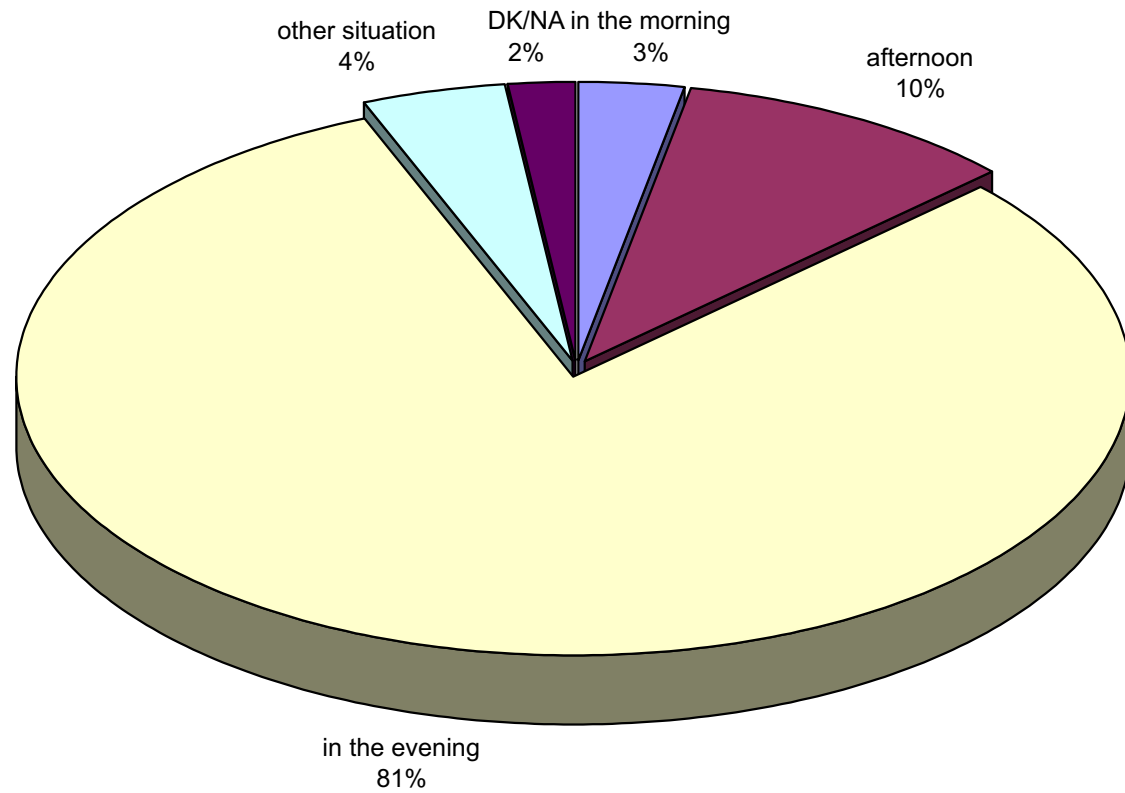
How often do you...



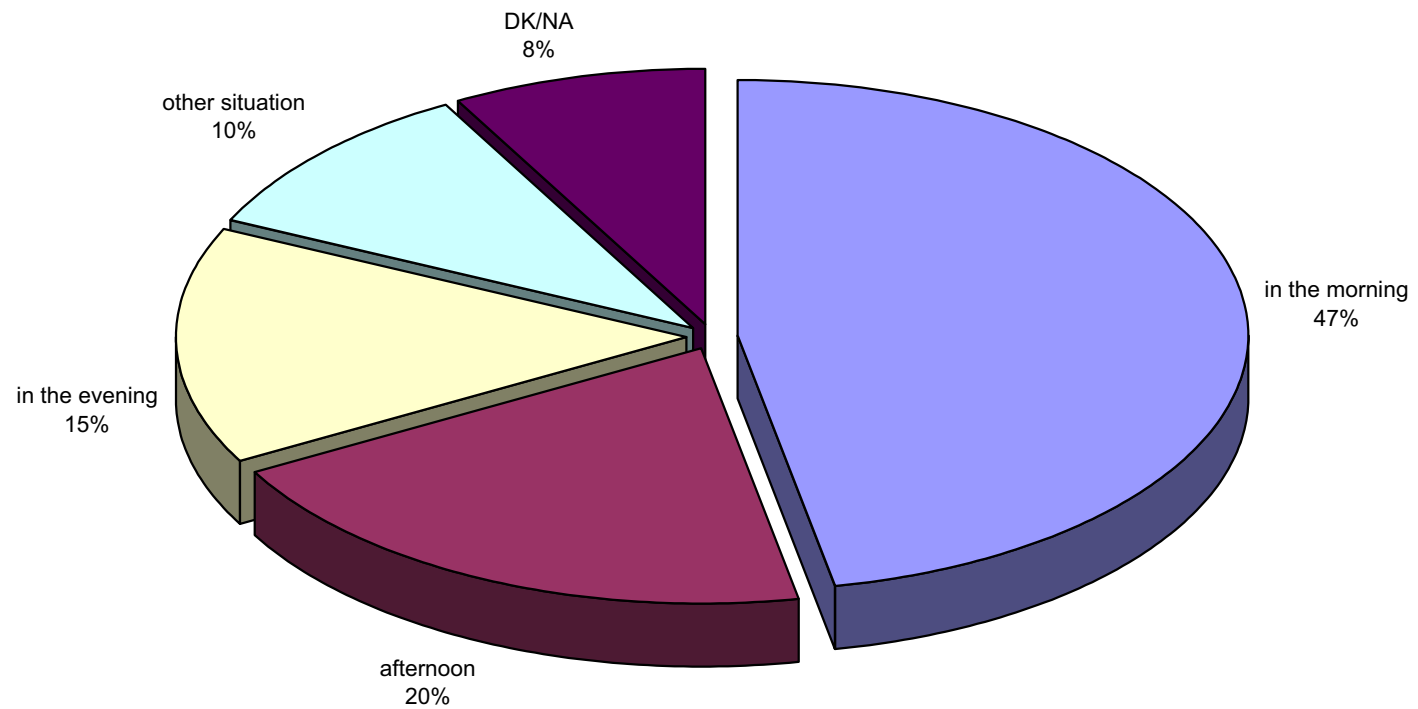
**The average consumption of those using the product
- figures represent minutes/day**



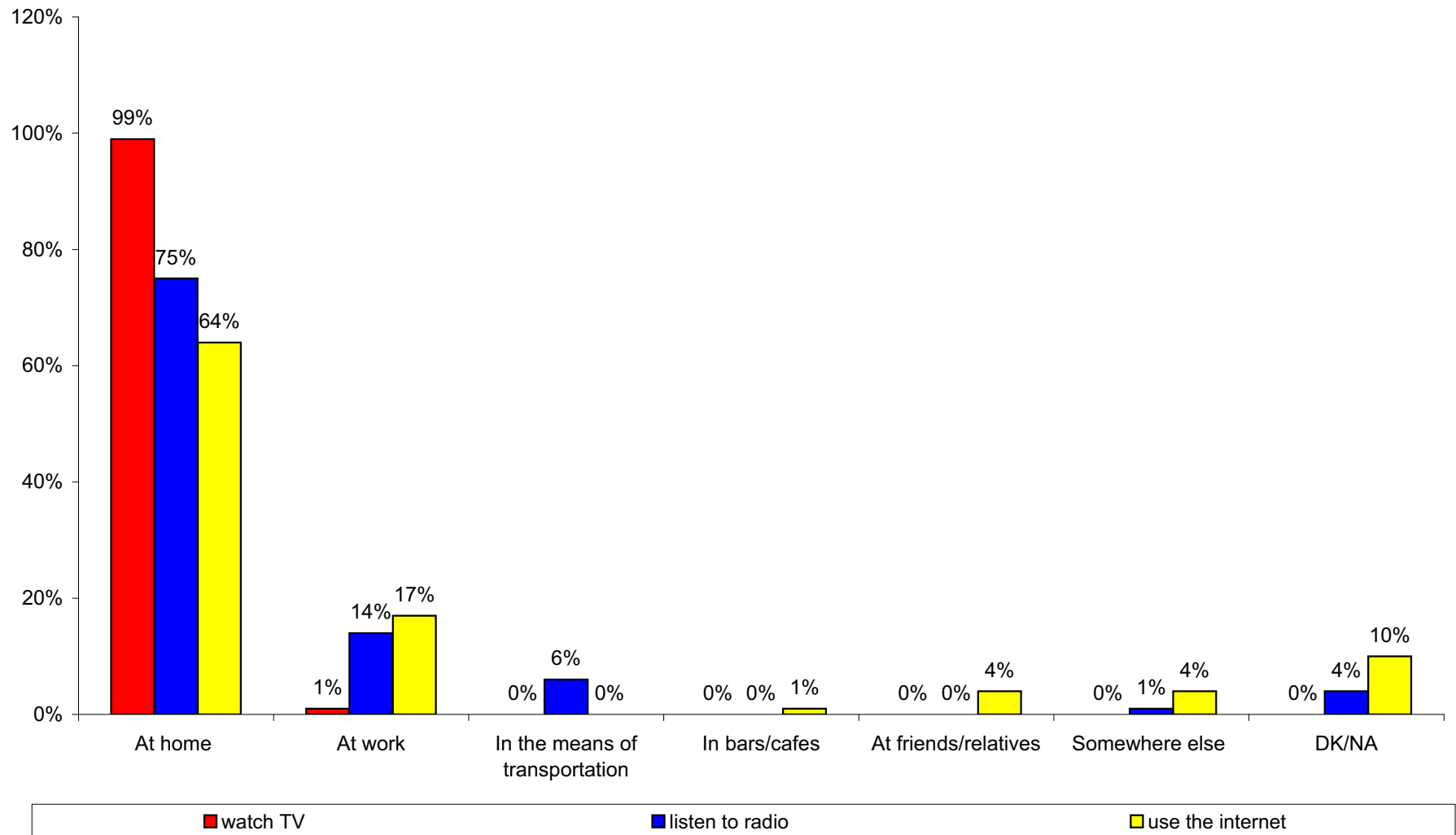
When do you usually watch TV programs?



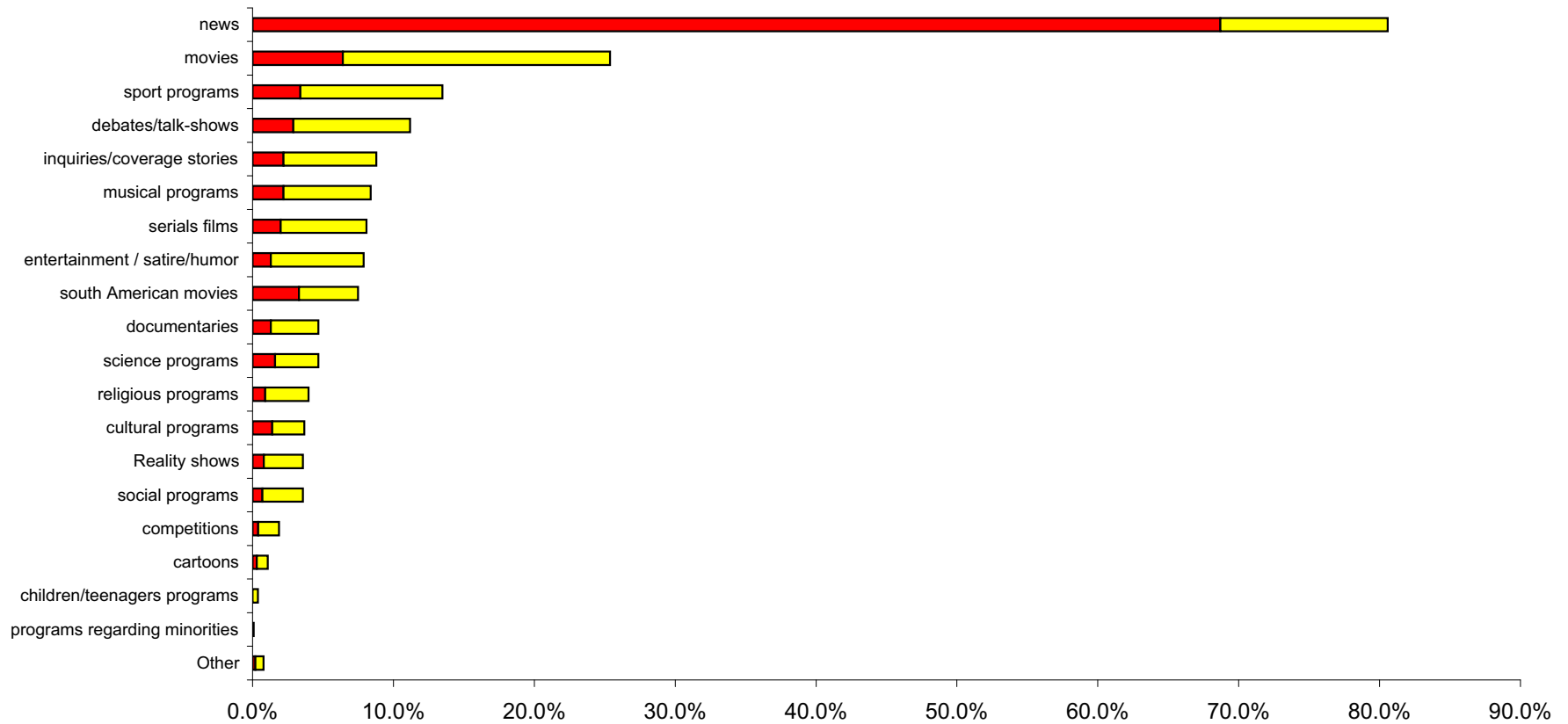
When do you usually listen radio programs?



Usually where do you watch/listen/read?

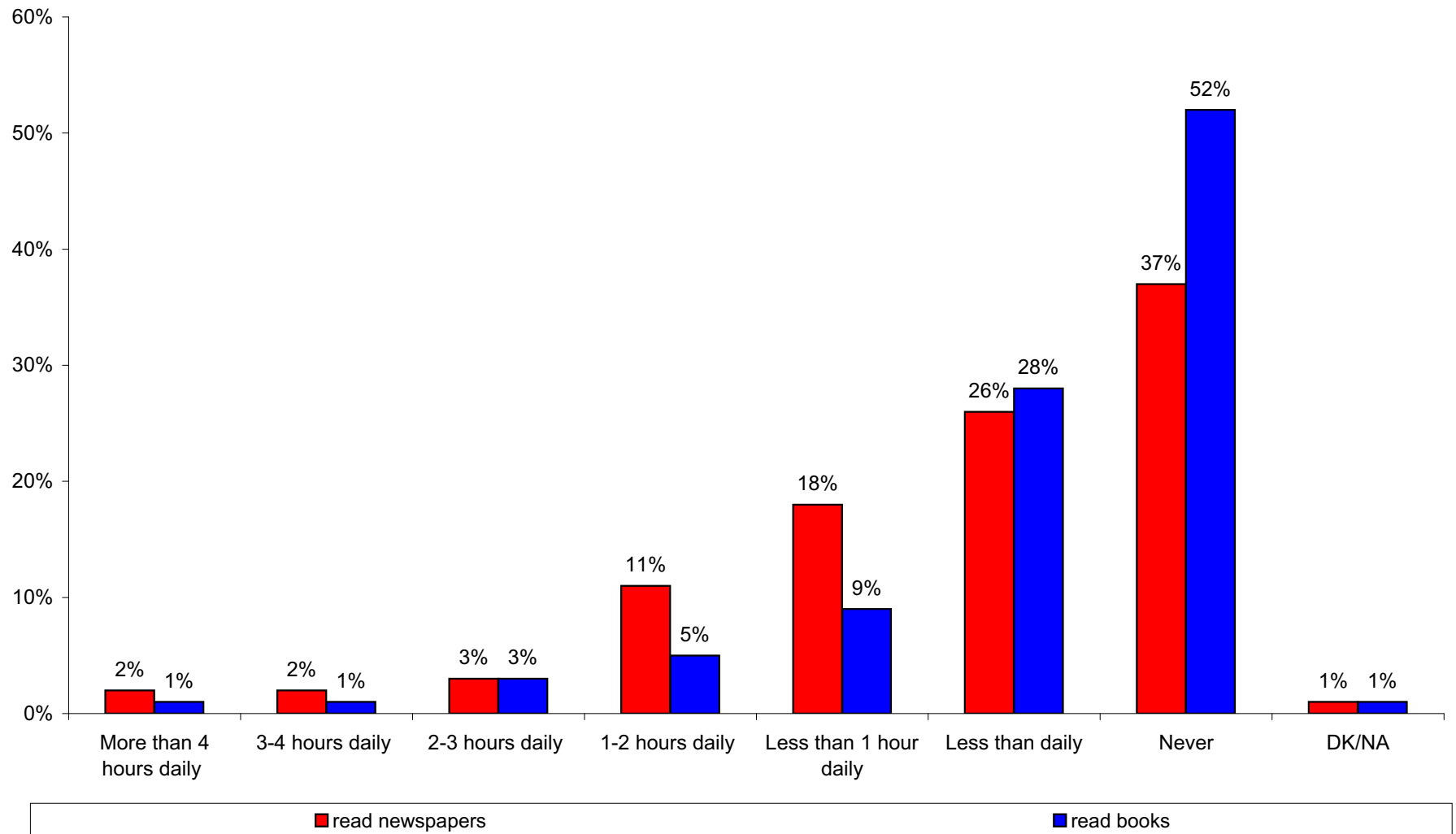


Which of the following TV programs do you frequently watch?

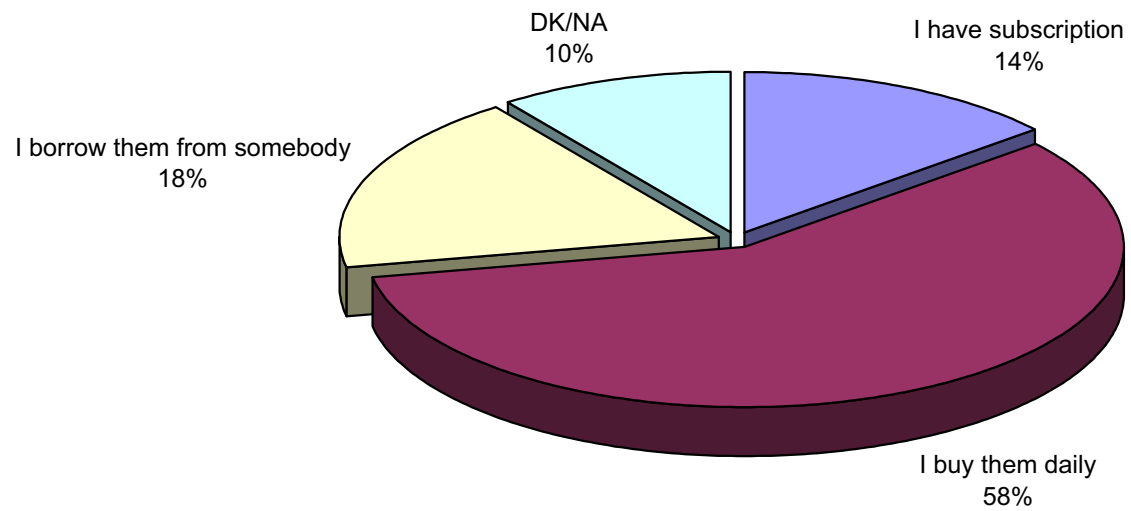


	Other	programs regarding minorities	children/teenagers programs	cartoons	competitions	social programs	Reality shows	cultural programs	religious programs	science programs	documentaries	south American movies	entertainment / satire/humor	serials films	musical programs	inquiries/coverage stories	debates/talk-shows	sport programs	movies	news
in the second place	0.6%	0.1%	0.4%	0.8%	1.5%	2.9%	2.8%	2.3%	3.1%	3.1%	3.4%	4.2%	6.6%	6.1%	6.2%	6.6%	8.3%	10.1%	19.0%	11.9%
in the first place	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.3%	0.4%	0.7%	0.8%	1.4%	0.9%	1.6%	1.3%	3.3%	1.3%	2.0%	2.2%	2.2%	2.9%	3.4%	6.4%	68.7%

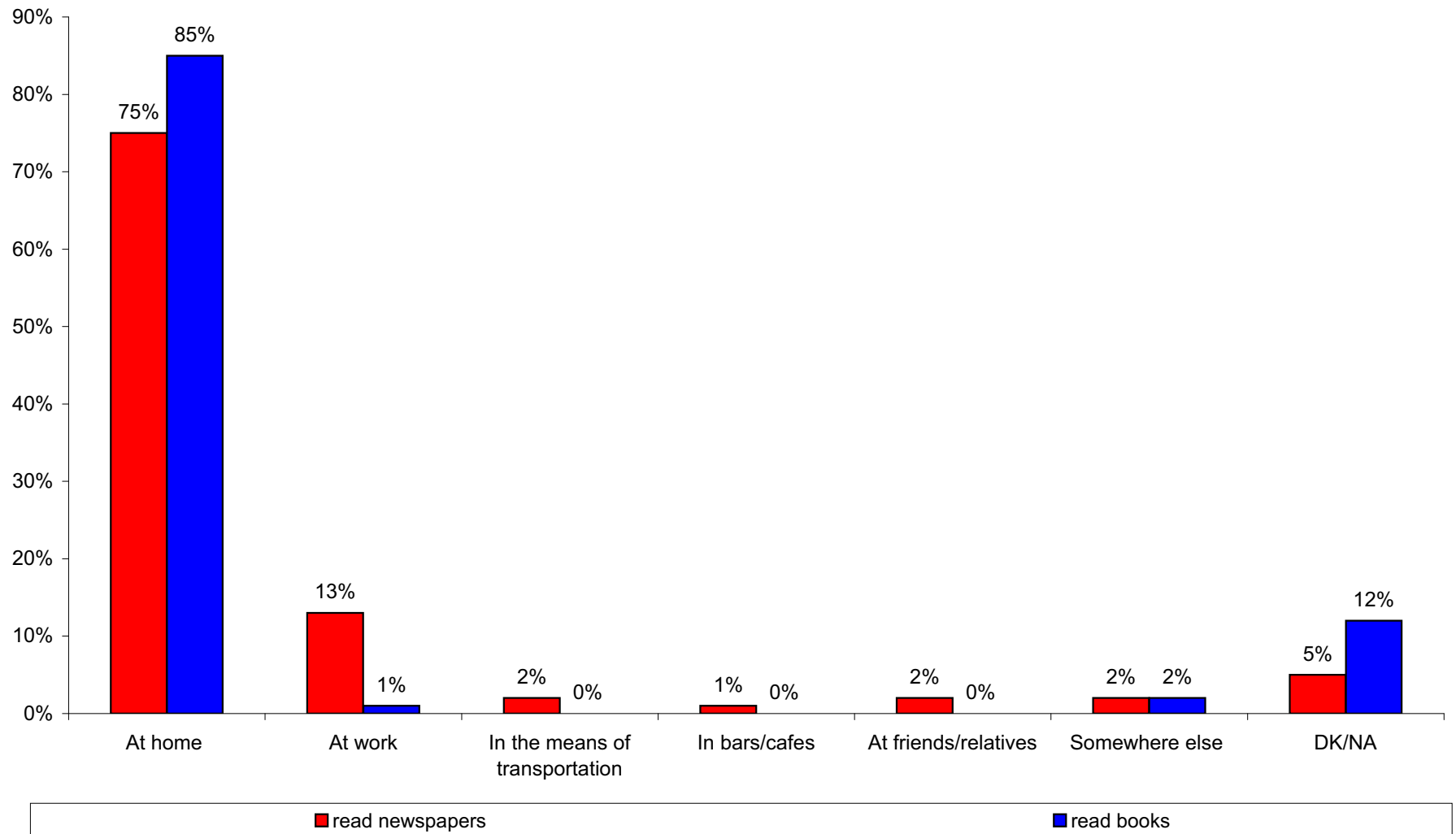
How often do you...



Usually how do you get the newspapers?
% for those who read newspapers only



Usually where do you watch/listen/read?



2. The main leisure activities.

A second group of questions is focused on leisure behavior of the population. (Mass-media consumption activities are not included here, but others like shopping appear which do not belong to this category of activities).

The dimensions and the indicators taken into account for assessing this type of population behavior are: visiting the church, visiting the cinema, visiting the opera/concerts, visiting the theatre, visiting disco/clubs, visiting musical shows, visiting local shows (festivals), visiting museums/expositions, playing video/pc games, listening to the music (regardless which and where).

As the data survey included in the graph “*Usually, how often do you go to...?*” show, the size and frequency of the mentioned activities are very low, except for some activities such as going to church, going to shopping and visiting friends and relatives.

The church has a significant impact on the population. The church is addressed, more or less, by over 90% of the population aged 18 years and over.

The data included in the graph “*Usually, how often do you go to church?*” show that from the point of view of the religion participation, there are at least four categories of the population.

One category is that of faithful population, who use to go to church often, that means “almost daily”, “several times a week” and “several times a month”. The weight of this category is 38% of the total interviewed population. Inside of this category there is a hard nucleus of 7% of the total who go to church several times a week.

Another category of population can include those who go to church, on average, “once a month”. It is about a population which find itself “in transition” from the religious point of view. Maybe they believe in the institution of church but don’t have time to go to church often, so they keep a relative distance in relation to the church. The weight of this category in the total population is about 20%.

A third category of the population is not faithful from the point of view of the church visiting. These people are “occasionally Christians” for whom going to the church

doesn't hold the praying as a motivation. This represents a group of people which cover 33% of the population (a third of population).

The fourth category of population doesn't ever use to go to church, but this doesn't mean that all of them are automatically unfaithful people. They cover 10% of the population.

Regarding visiting the cinema, opera/concerts, theatre, museum/expositions there are the classical indicator for cultural index development) the survey data show that the weight of those who never visit this cultural artifacts or don't answer to this question are about 90% (except visiting museum/exposition where the percentage is about 80%).

This means that a small part of the population uses to address to this cultural institutions. As the survey data included in the graph "*Usually, how often do you go to ...?*" show, most of the population uses to go to these institutions, once or several times a year. The declining of this type of cultural consumption deserves a specific study focused on motivations etc.

In this category of poor cultural consumption we can include other activities such as playing video games and visiting disco/clubs, but here the explanation is related to age (see corresponding graph "*Usually, how often do you ...?*")

The other types of activities such as listening to music, visiting musical shows, local "festivals", pull more population but the frequency is low as well, except for listening to music.

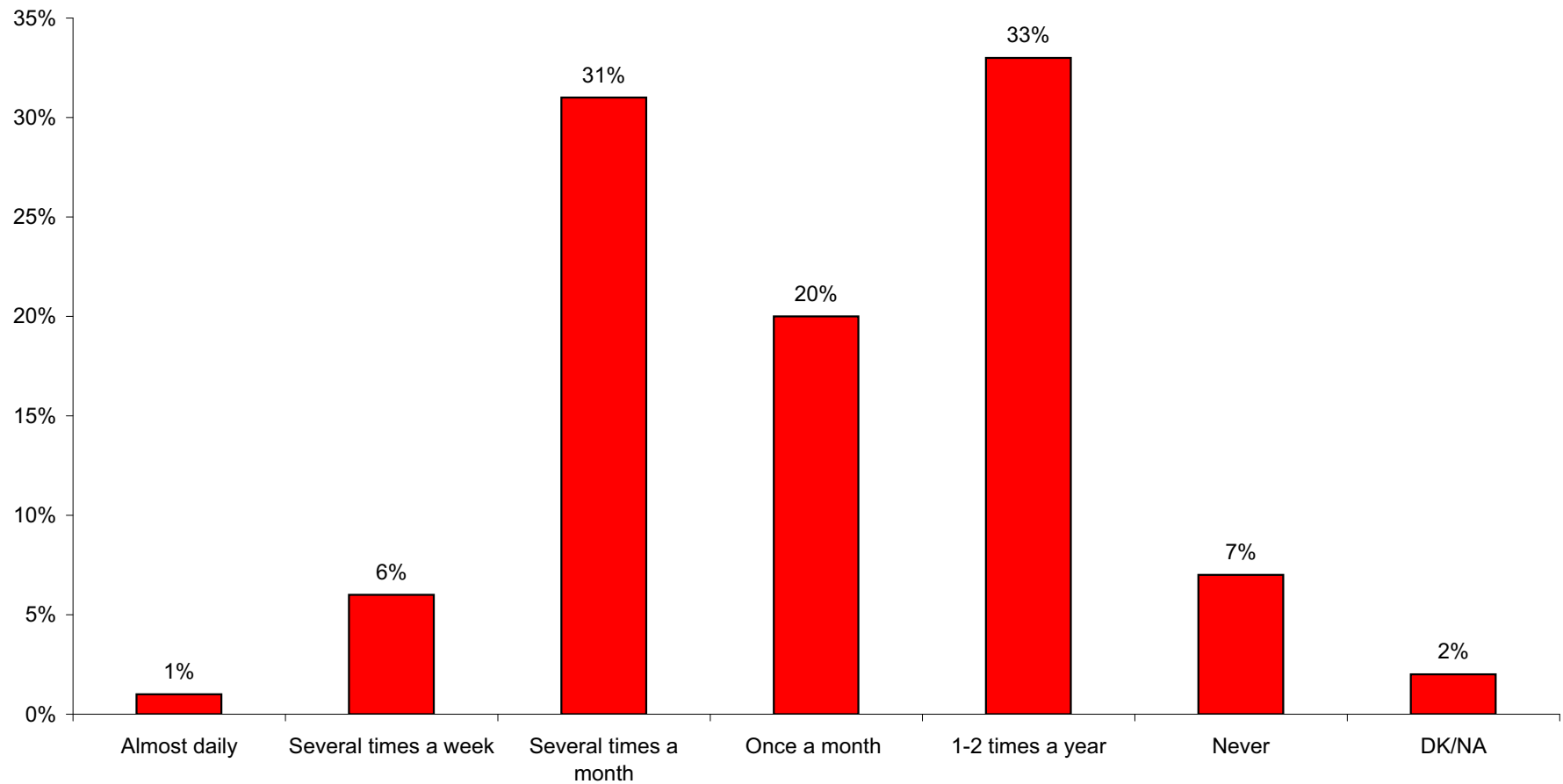
Thus, as the survey data included in the graph "*Usually, how often do you go ...?*" show, only music is more addressed (70% of the population), the other as visiting musical, entertainment shows and local shows pull only a part (30%-55%) of the population and only once or two times a year.

On the other hand there are two types of activities: shopping and visiting friends and relatives which hold significant weights in the overall population behavior, mainly from the point of view of their frequency.

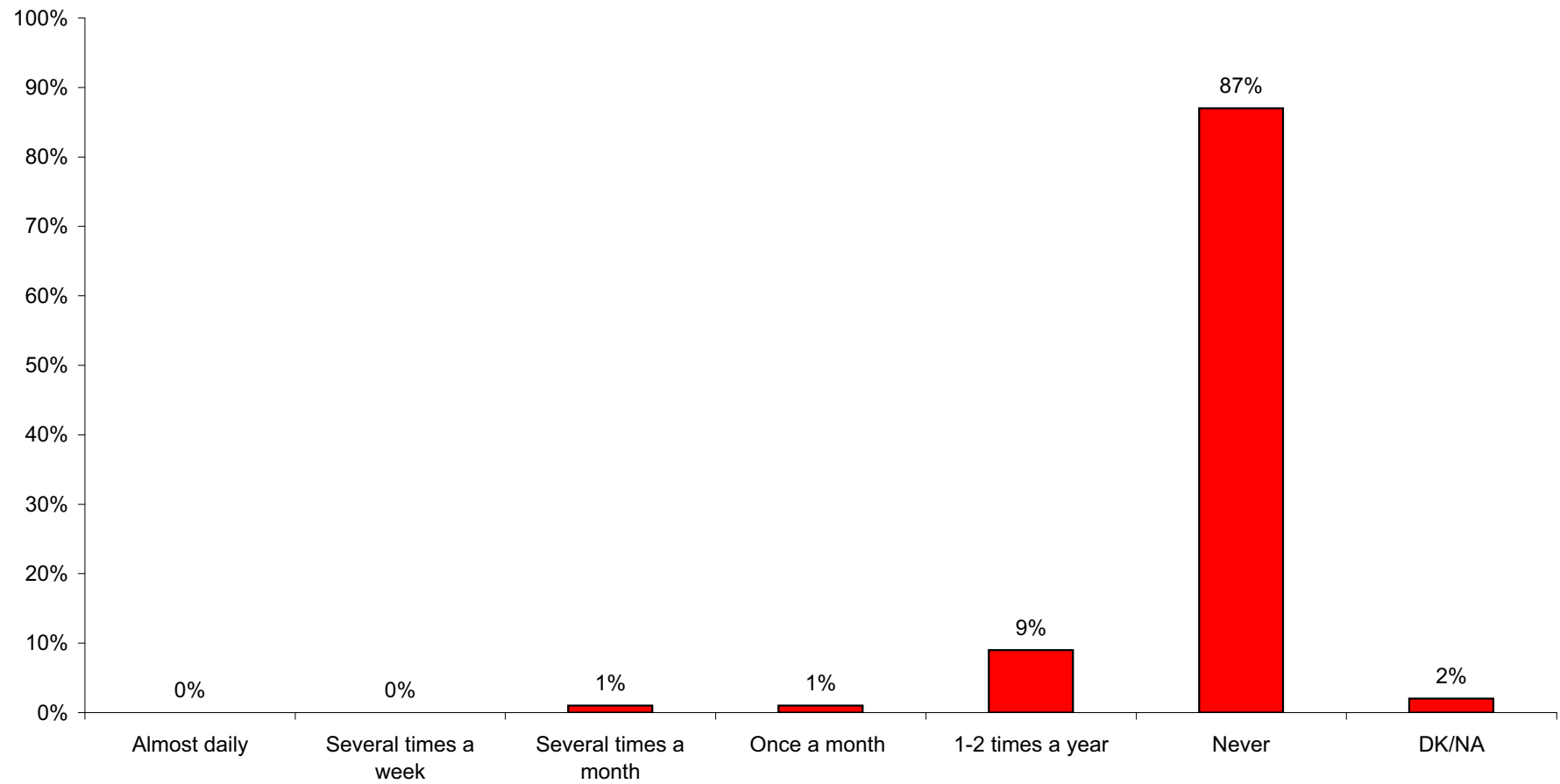
Thus, as the survey data included in graph show, almost 62% of the population use to do shopping at least once a month (42% more often) (see "*Usually, how often do you go to shopping/mall and friends/relatives?*"). More than this, over three quarters of the population use to go to friends/relatives once a month or more often (57% more often

than twice a month and 24% more often than weekly). These data show that there is a high social capital (informal one) at the level of the Romanian population.

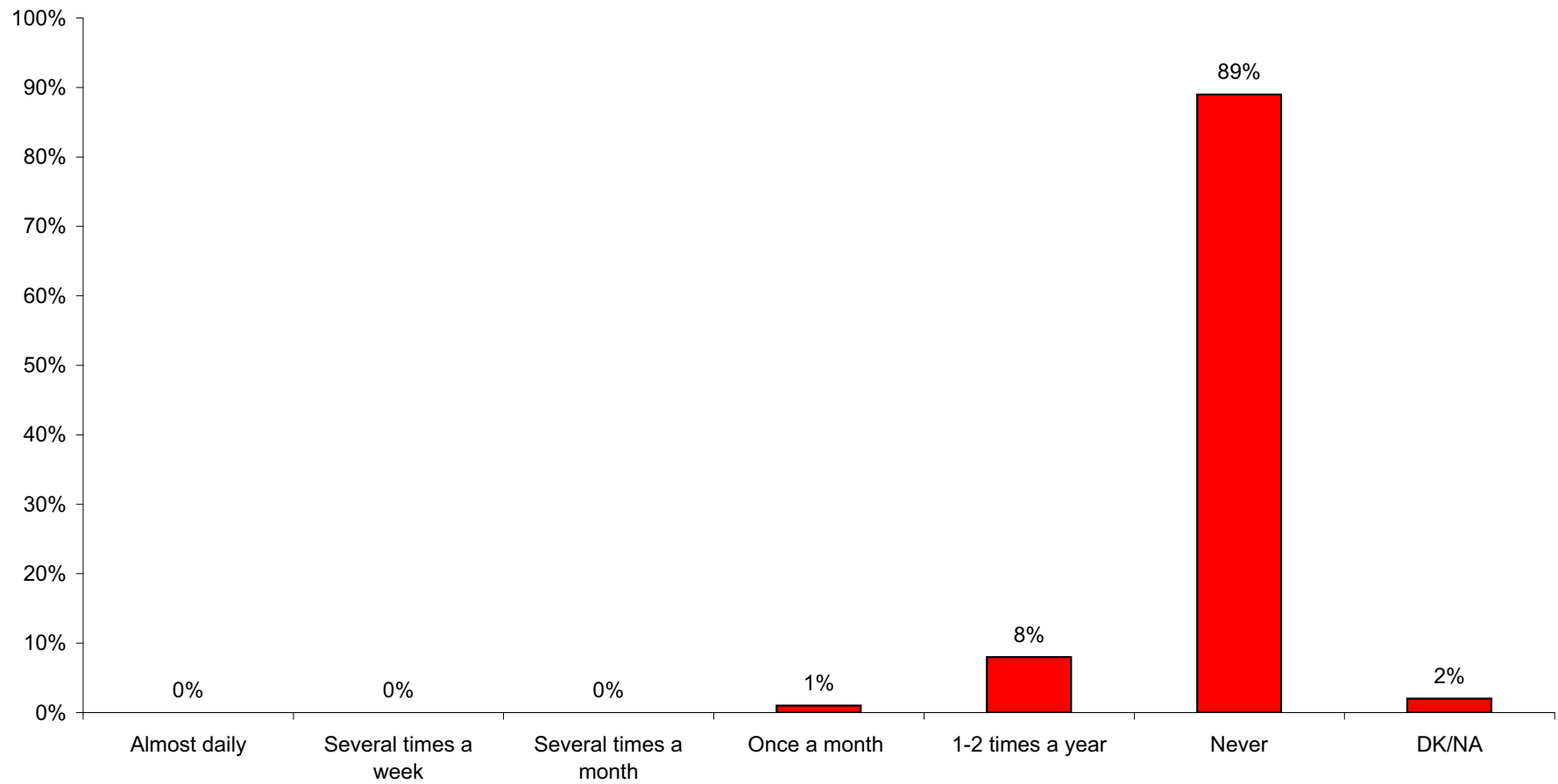
Usually, how often do you go to church?



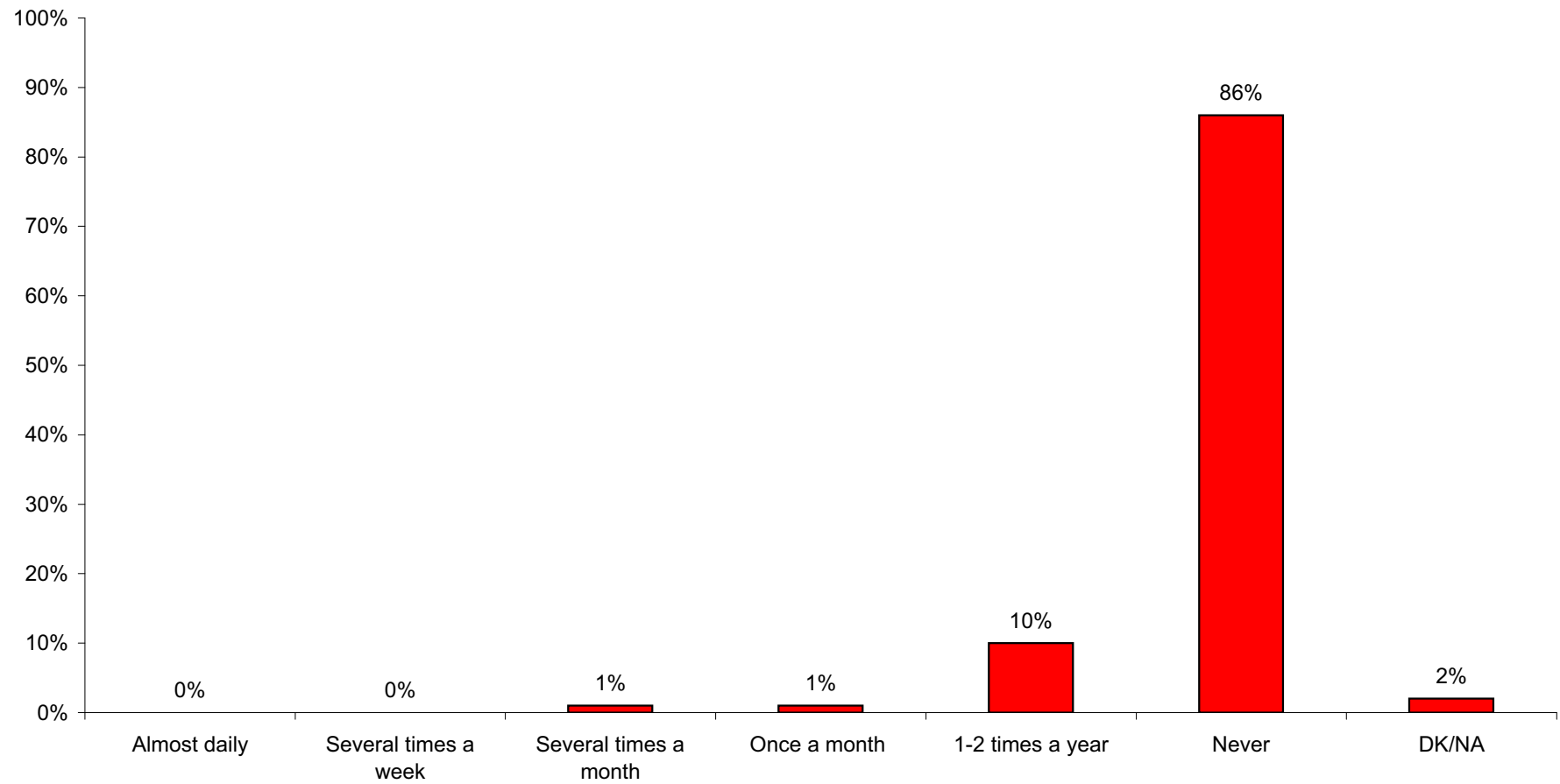
Usually, how often do you go to the cinema?



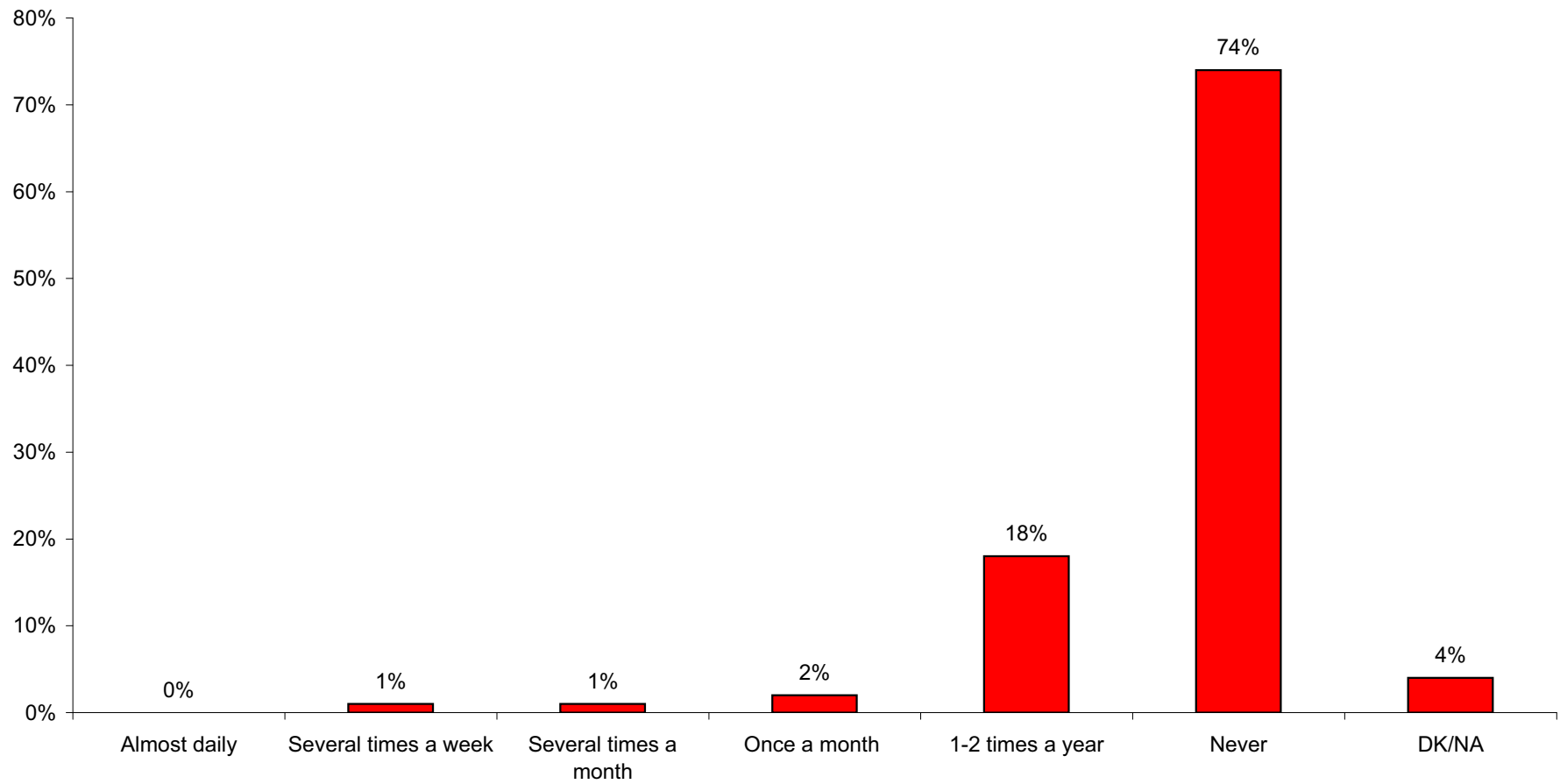
Usually, how often do you go to the opera/ concerts?



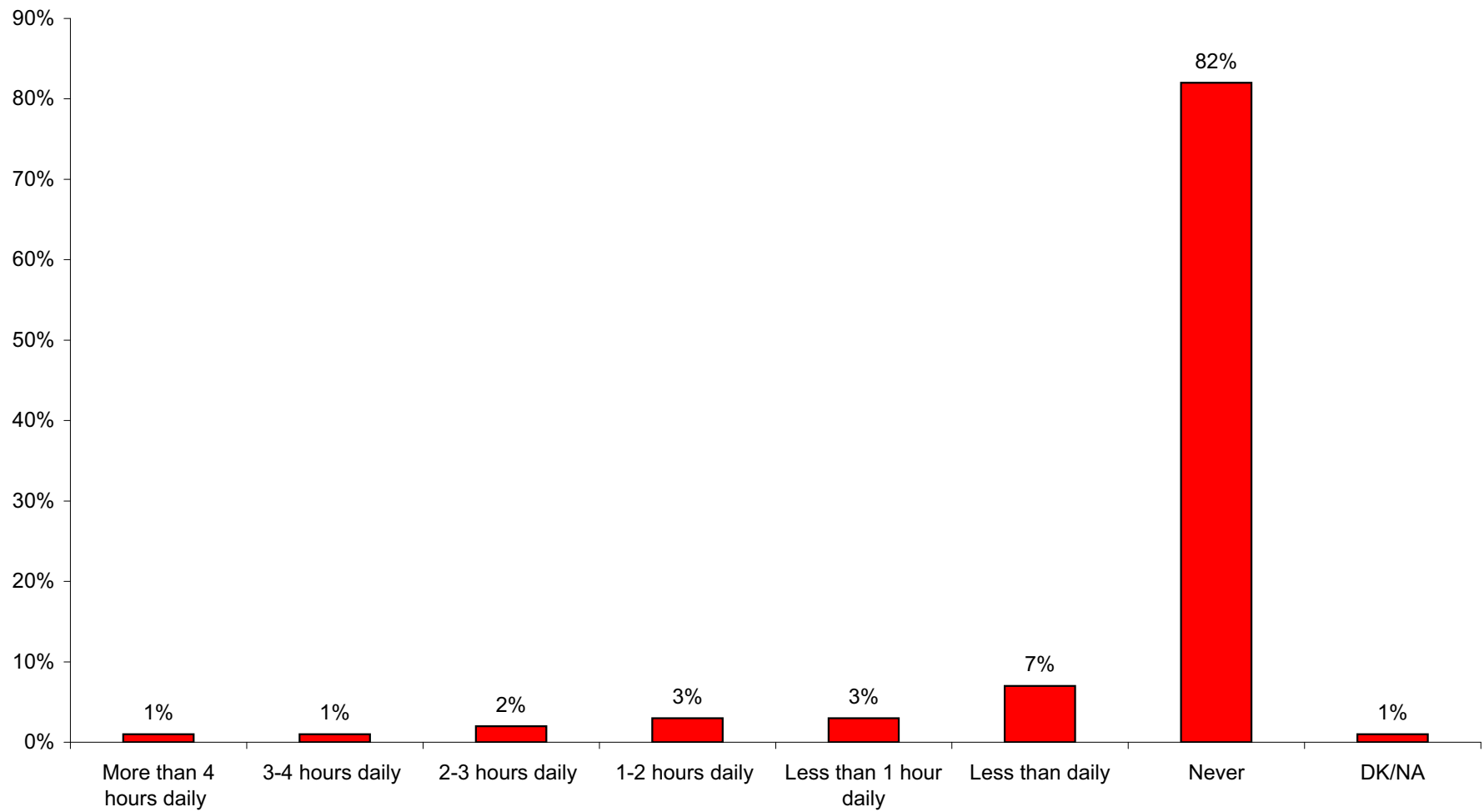
Usually, how often do you go to the theatre?



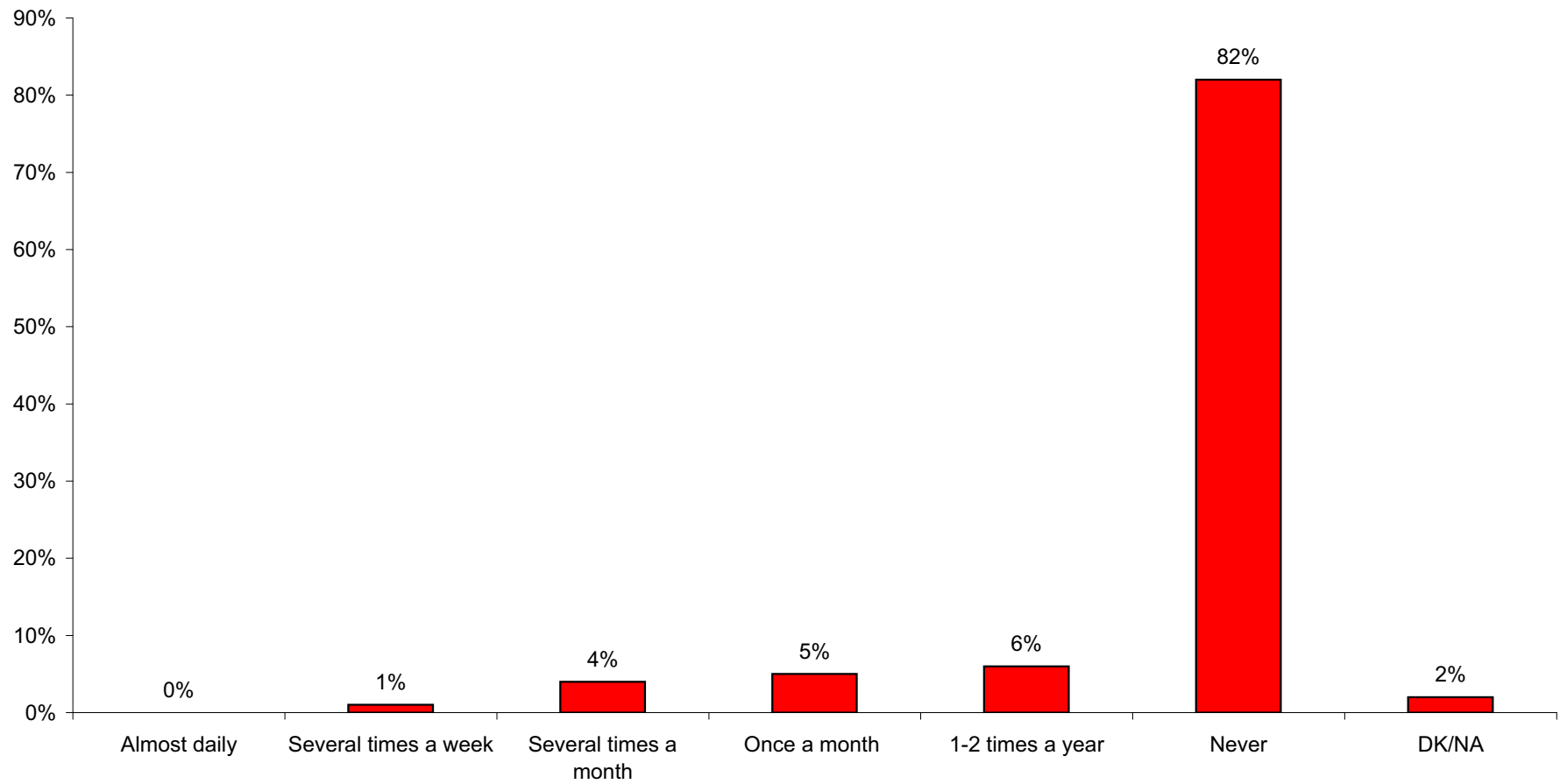
Usually, how often do you go to museum / expositions?



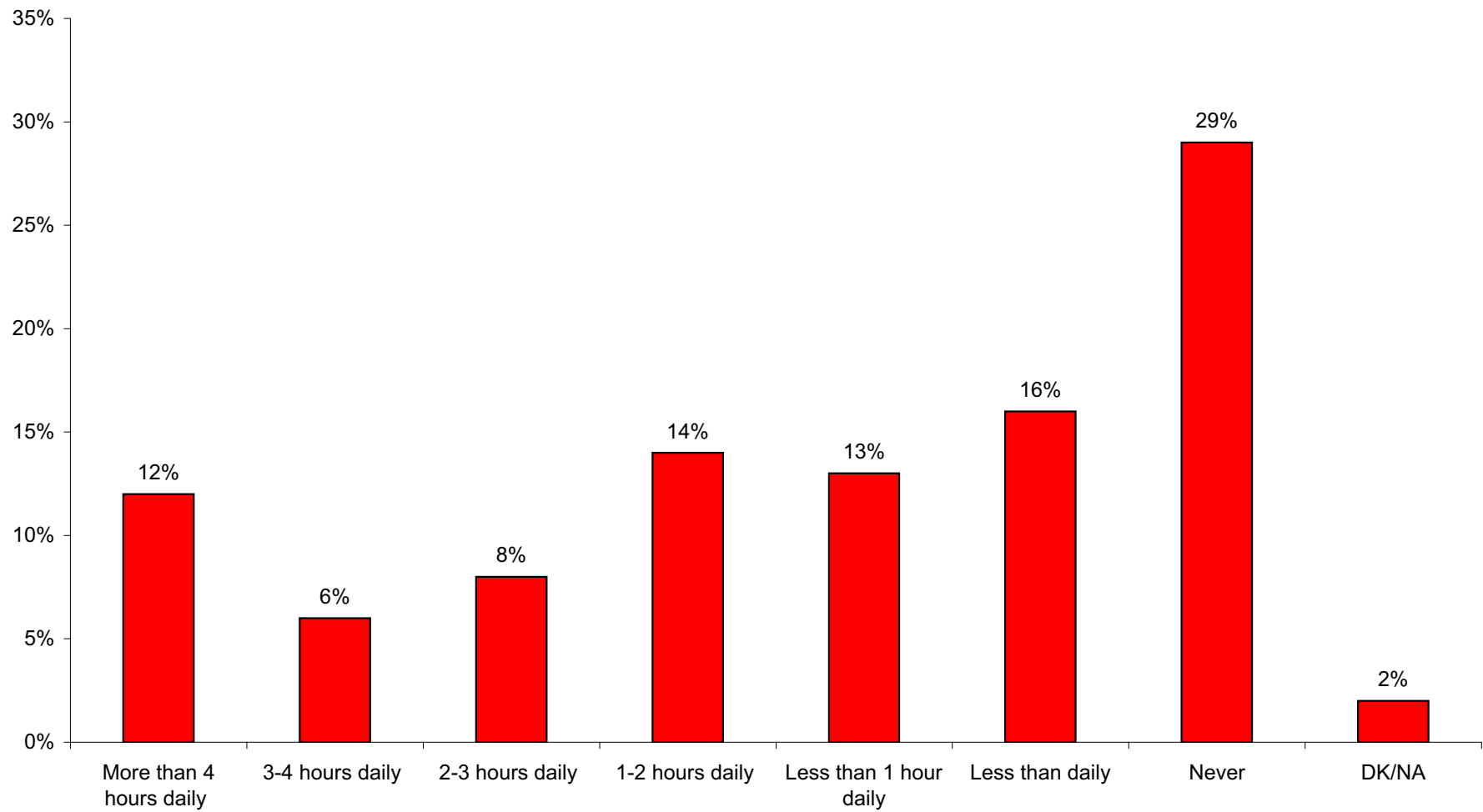
How often do you play video-games or computer-games



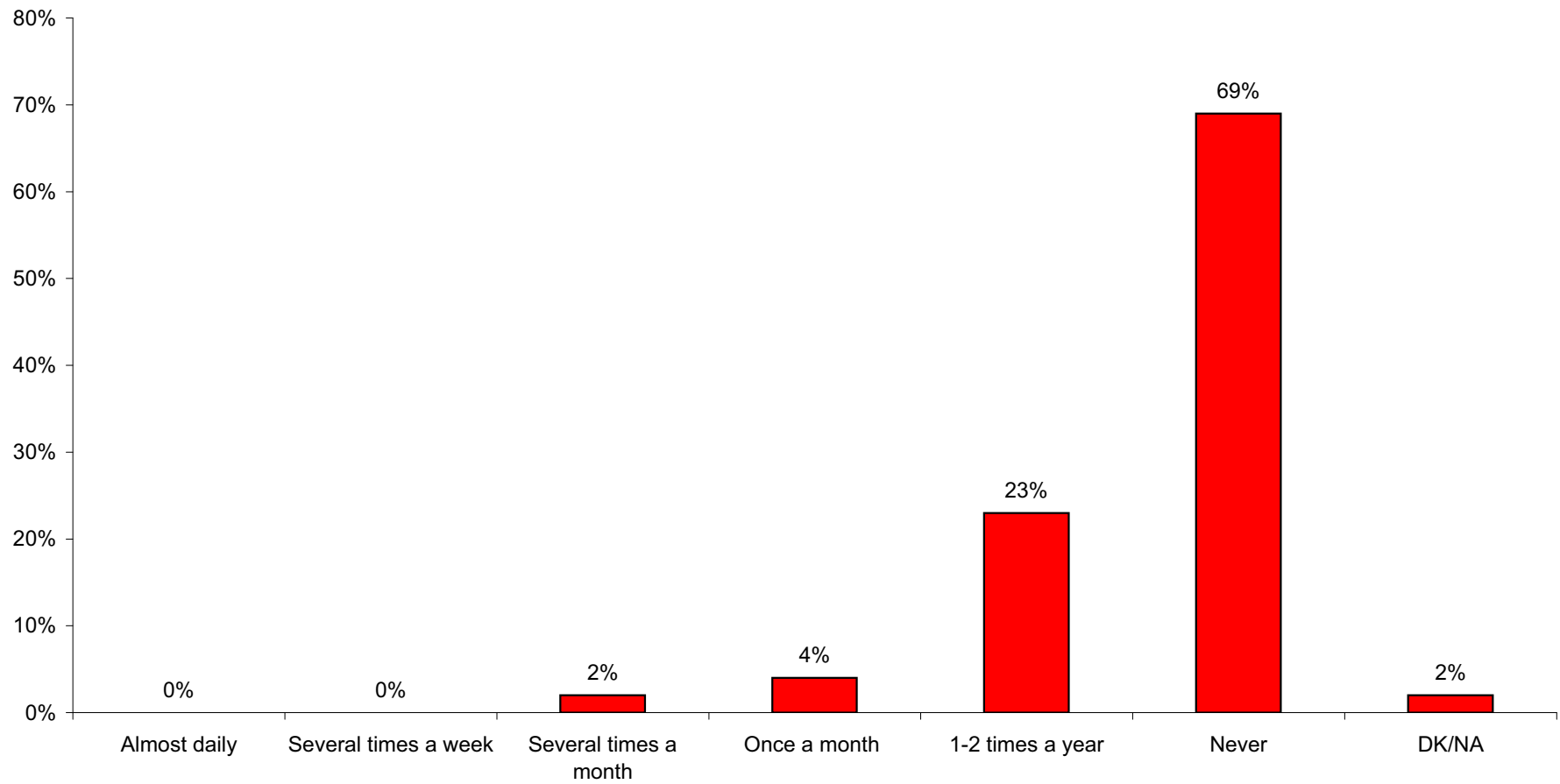
Usually, how often do you go to disco/clubs?



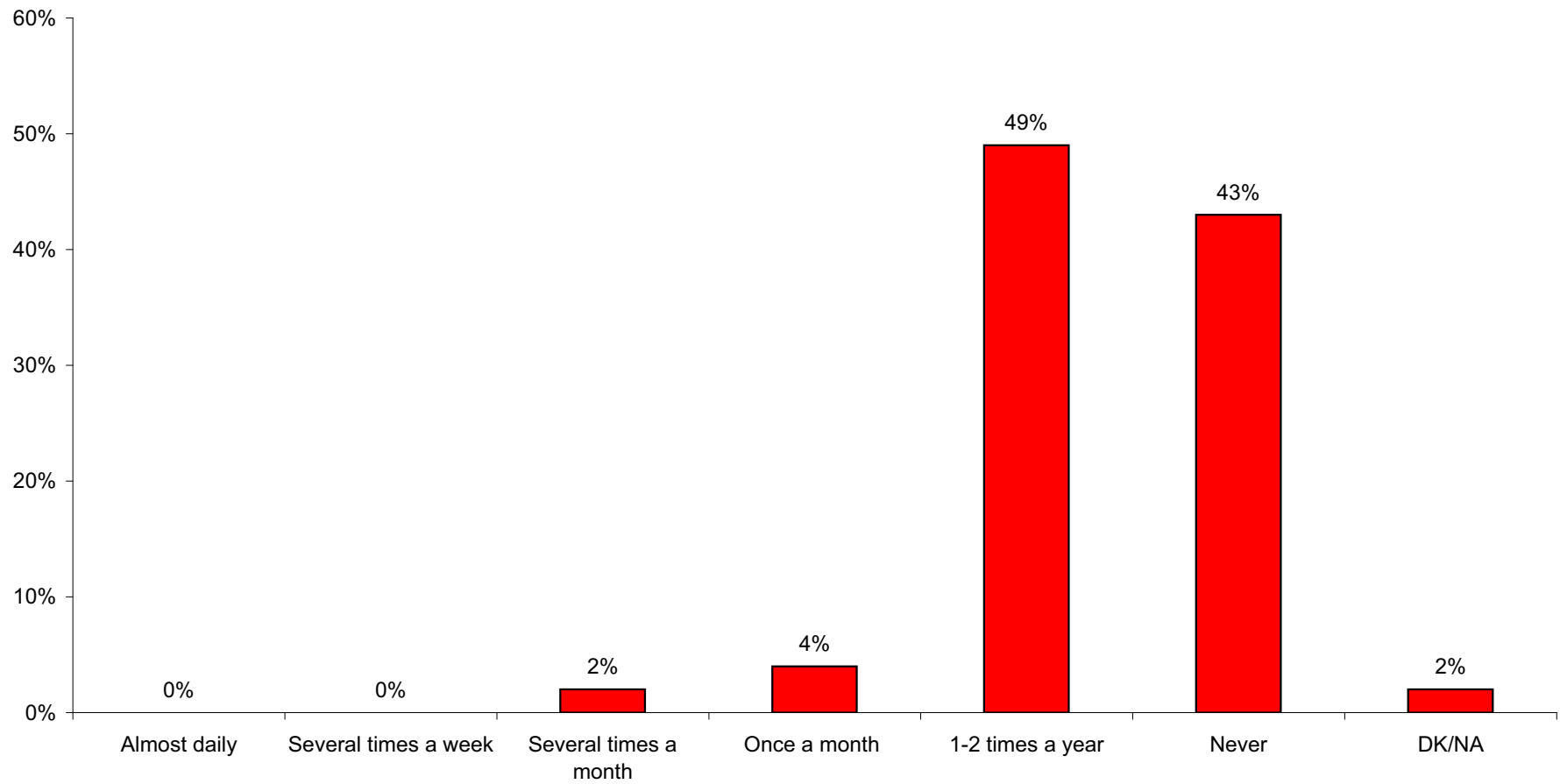
How often do you listen music



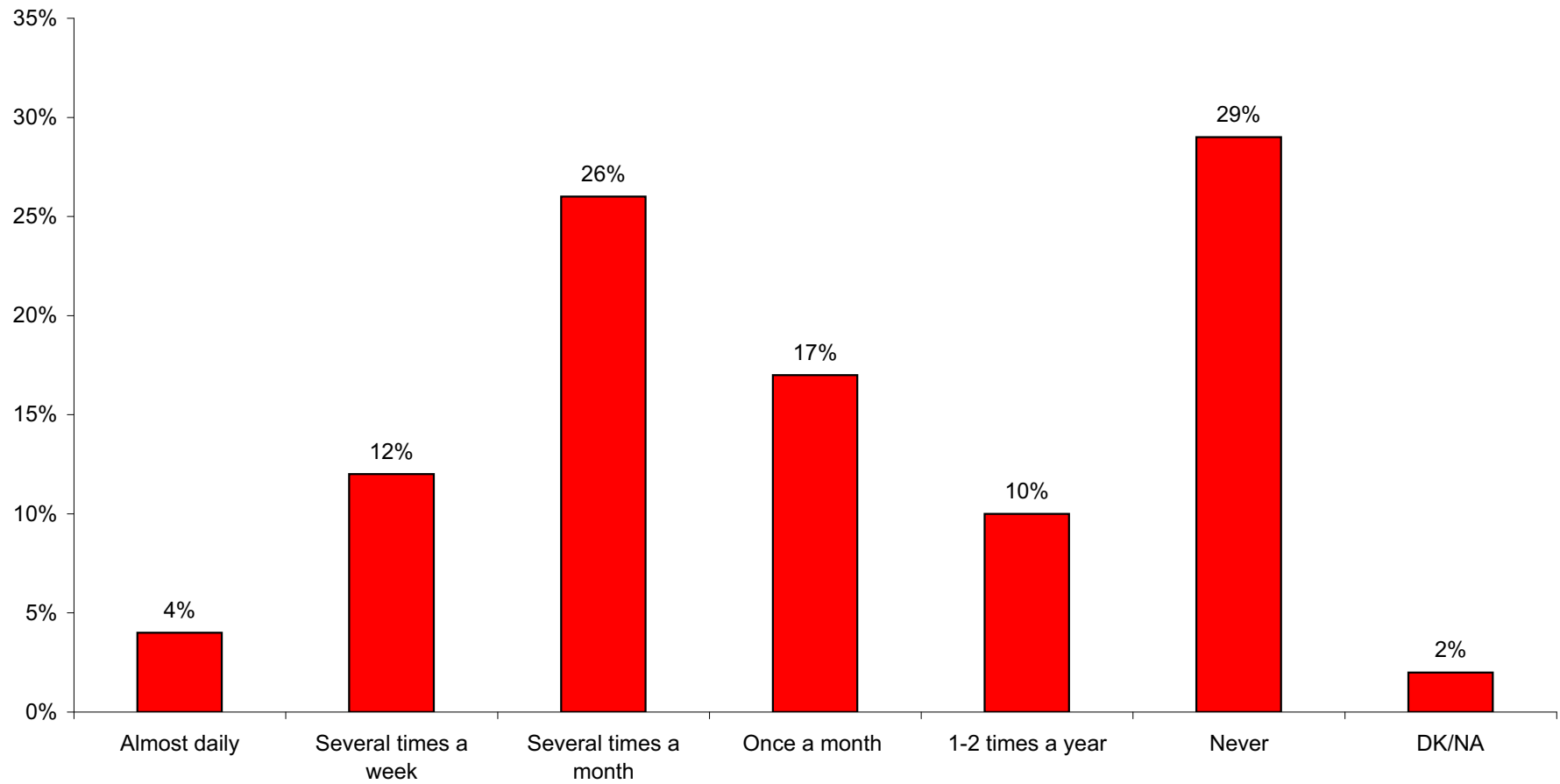
Usually, how often do you go to entertainment show /music?



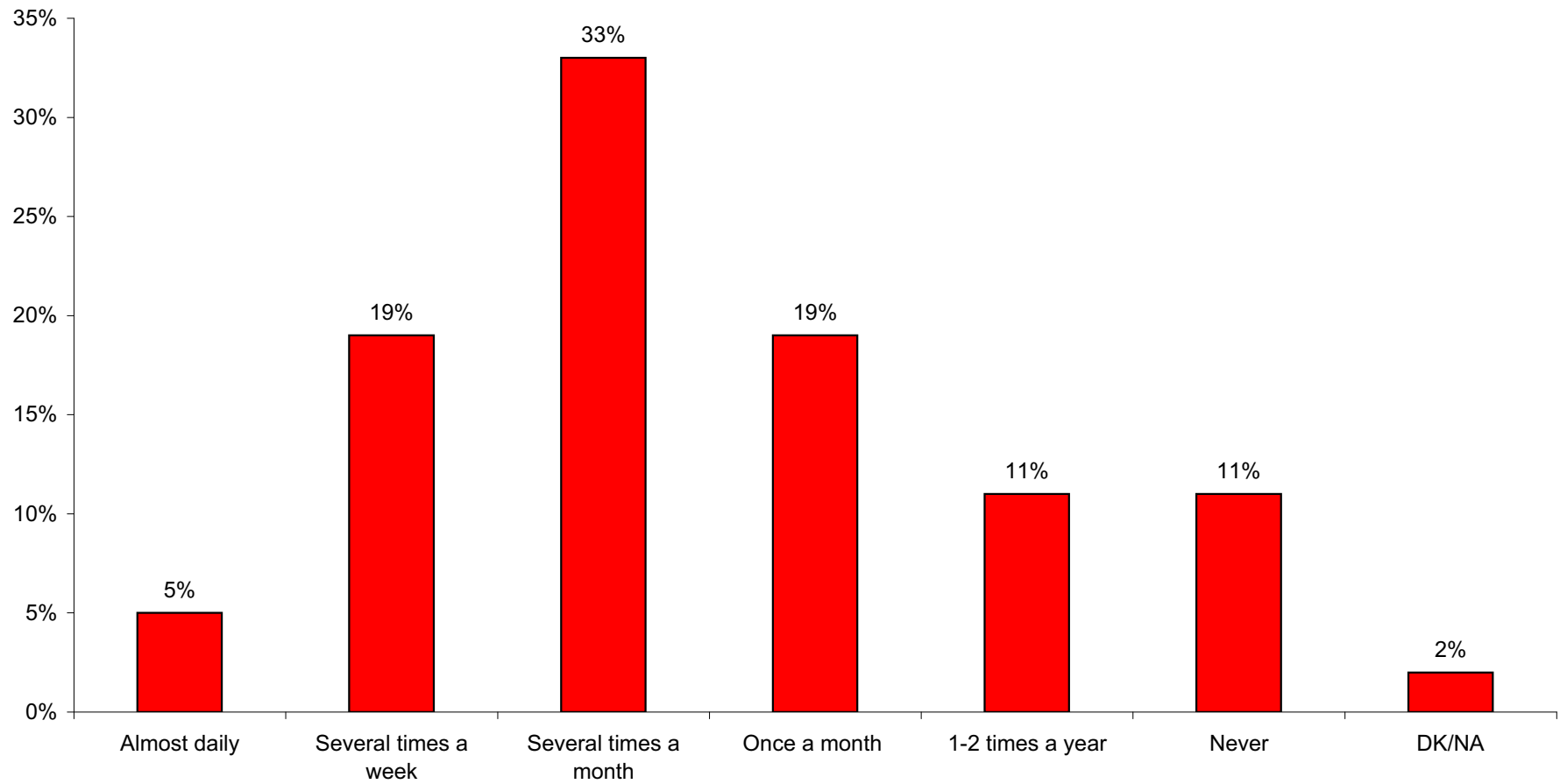
Usually, how often do you go to local festivals/events?



Usually, how often do you go to shopping/ malls?



Usually, how often do you go to friends/relatives?



3. The population perception about the activity of different TV and radio channels and their levels of trust and about the objectivity of the news broadcasted by different TV and radio channels and their levels of trust.

A specific group of questions is focused on the assessment, on one hand, of the degree of the objectivity (the most objective and the most subjective) TV and radio channels and, on the other hand, of the interest of the population regarding TV and radio news programs, of the population preferences and trust in political news shown on different TV channels and radio stations.

On the whole, the TV political programs are perceived as less objective. 45% of the population says that these kinds of programs are less objective (34% say they are less objective and 11% say they are not at all objective). Only over a third of the population (36%) assess that political programs are objective (34%) and very objective (2%).

About 20% of the population cannot or don't know to evaluate this topic. (*see the graph "Generally, in your opinion, how objective the TV programs are?"*)

Regarding the assessment of the degree of the objectivity and subjectivity of different TV channels from the point of view of political programs, the data survey lead us to make the following findings (statements):

- There is a big weight, between 30% -52% of these which cannot assess (don't have an opinion) about the most subjective TV channels;
- The hierarchy of the TV channels from the point of view of their degree of objectivity and subjectivity show small differences;
- The trend is that on the first places, both from the point of view of the objectivity and subjectivity will be placed the TV channels with the highest notoriety index. (*see graphs "Generally, which TV channel is the most objective/independent?" and "Which TV channel is the most subjective?"*)

In spite of this unclear situation, over half of the population named the parties that they perceived as being encouraged the most and the less by different TV channels.

PD is named on the first place as the most encouraged and PRM as the less

encouraged from this point of view. (see graphs “*Generally, which parties do you think do TV channels encourage the most?*” and “*Generally, which parties do you think do TV channels encourage the less?*”).

Regarding the assessment of the degree of objectivity and subjectivity of the radio political programs, half of the population doesn't have a point of view and about a third perceived them as objective. (see graphs “*Generally how objective the political radio programs look like?*”).

The hierarchy of the radio stations with the most objective and the most subjective political programs is not significant because the weight of those who cannot do an assessment is between 63% and 88% of the population.

In this context, the most known radio stations (Radio România Actualități and Europa FM) are those named as being the most objective and subjective.

The news, as the survey data show, are the most watched TV programs.

The population is more interested in politics (28%) than in social problems and social events.

But the other news, as daily events, weather, sports and about economy get significant percentage as being the most important for the population (between 3%-7%, see graph “*Speaking of news, about what are you more interested?*”).

We should mention that a significant size of the population (16%) is interested in the news, “all the same”.

The political news programs most preferred by the population are: PRO TV news (25%), Observator Antena 1 (22%), Jurnal TVR 1 (16%), Realitatea TV News (13%), Antena 3 News (7%) and OTV Real News (5%).

It is interesting that a sharp competition for the first place from this point of view continues to take place between PRO TV and Antena 1.

The other TV channels, older or new, seem to be not so important in this competition.

The population assessment of the TV channels from the point of view of the most trustful news and political news show the same hierarchy, with PRO TV, Antena 1 and TVR 1 on the first three places but in within the margin of error of the sample.

That means the hierarchy can be easily change but these channels will remain in the top 3 from this point of view.

The next places are occupied by Realitatea TV and Antena 3, again one can say that other TV channels, except OTV and Prima TV, doesn't matter in the "mental life" of the population. (see graph "*In your opinion what TV channels present the most trustful news?*" And "*political news?*")

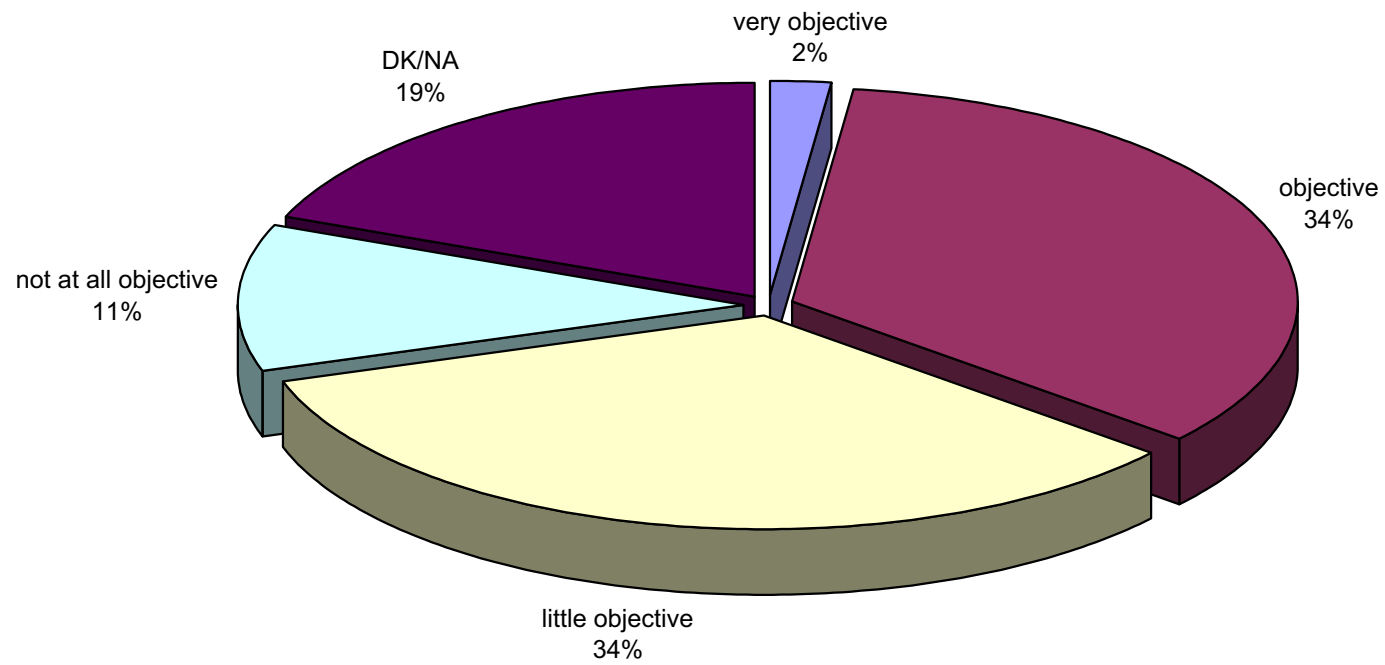
Regarding the assessment of the radio station from the point of view of political news broadcast, the survey data show that the population listen more and assess like most trustful political news that broadcast by Radio România Actualități (32% and 31%), Europa FM (14% and 16%), Pro Fm (6% and 9%).

The main conclusion of this chapter is that based on population perception and assessment, on the whole, doesn't result a clear hierarchy of the objectivity and subjectivity and of the most trustful news and political news broadcast by different TV and radio channels.

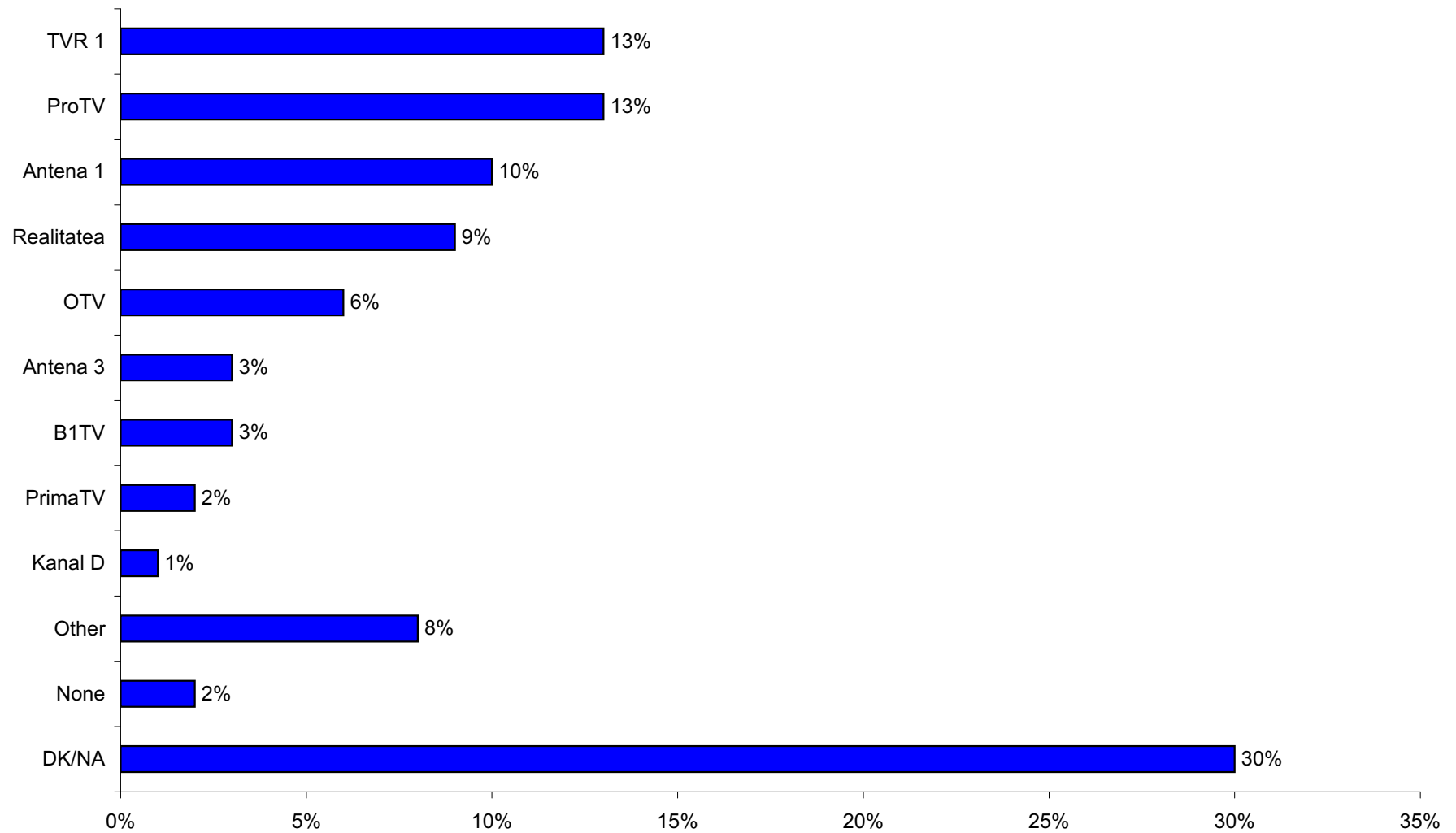
One can say rather that there is a group of three televisions which fight for getting the preferences and trust of the population without that one of them to get clear the first place. May be that the political subjectivity of the population itself influence this situation.

In this context one can say that TV influence on the population political behavior is not in the same direction but rather there are, to extant the TV channels are subjective, many influences on different groups of population (it is known that population has a selective reception of the political information by their interests). This means that TV channels lead to political diversity and makes different intensions of manipulation to reduce their impact.

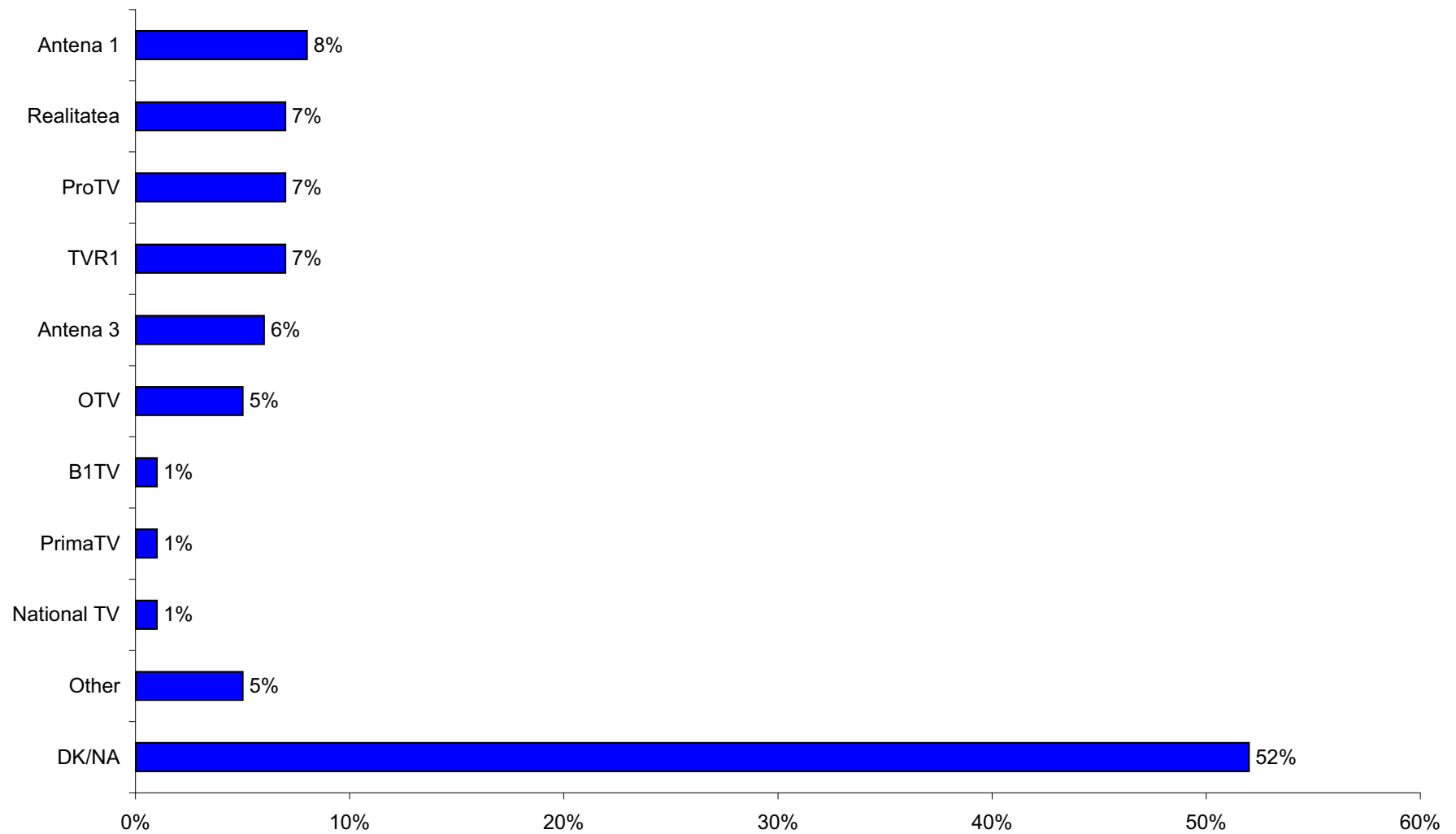
Generally, in your opinion how objective the TV political programs look like/are?



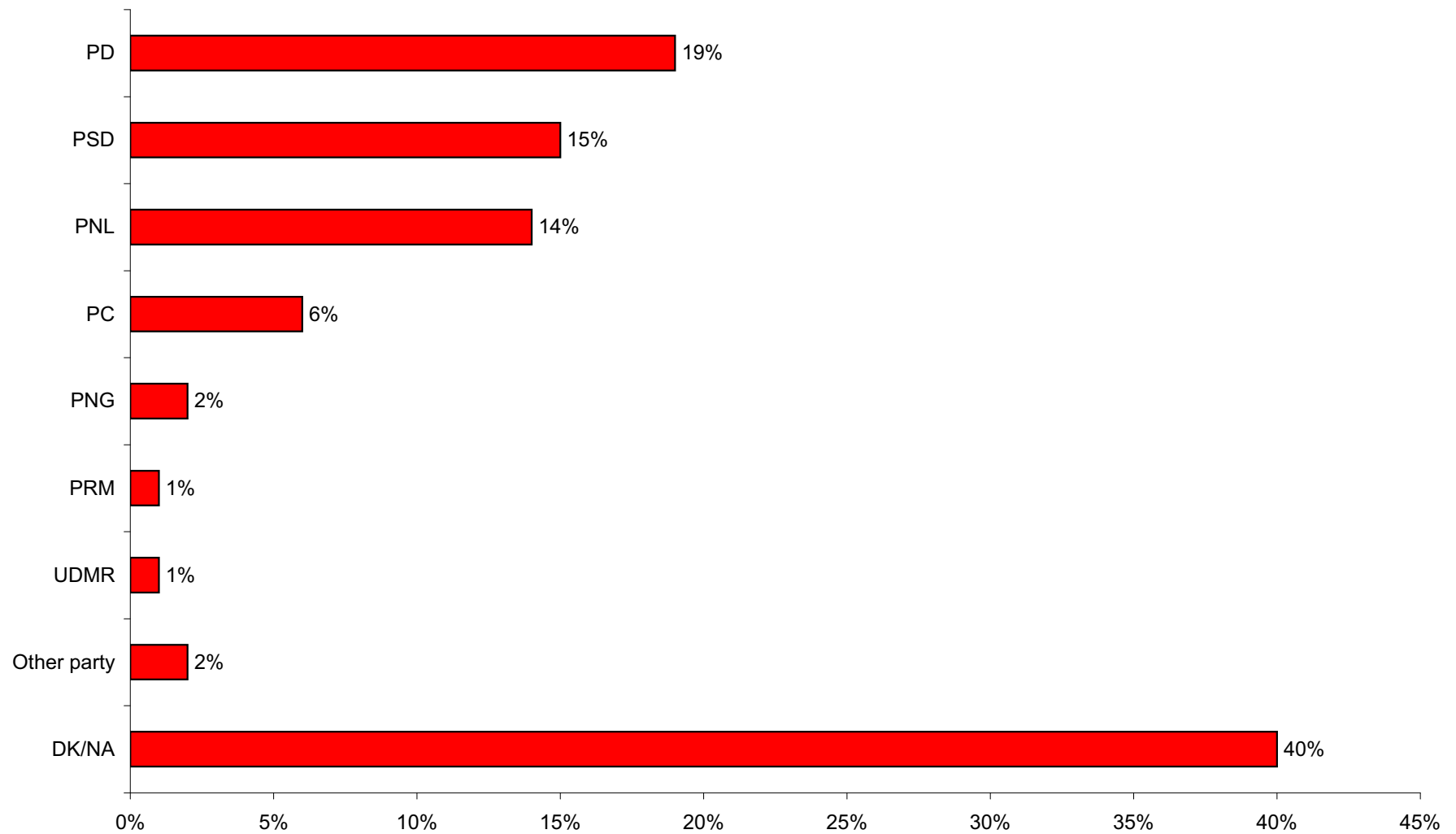
Generally, which TV channel is the most objective/independent?



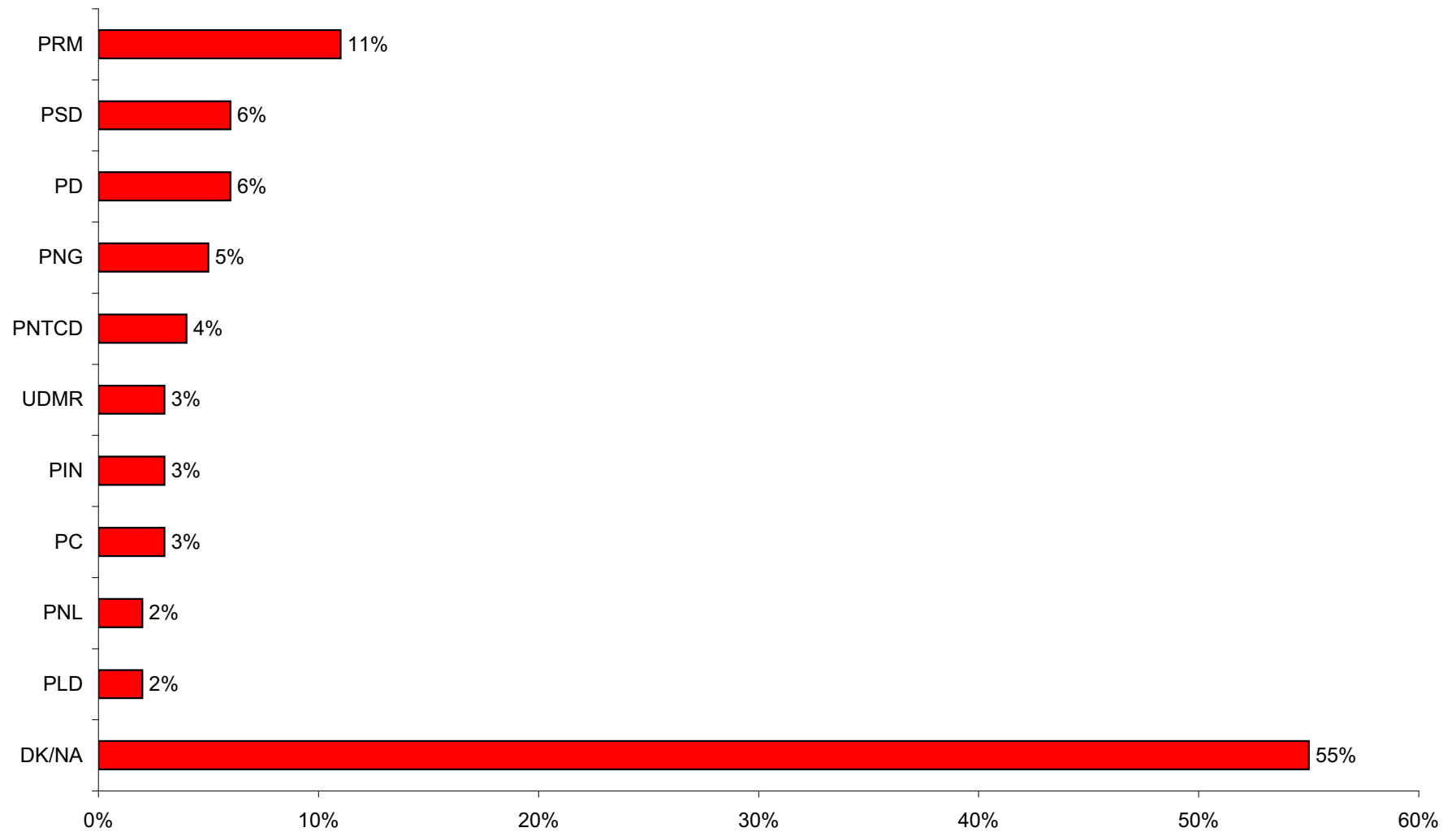
Generally, which TV channel is the most subjective?



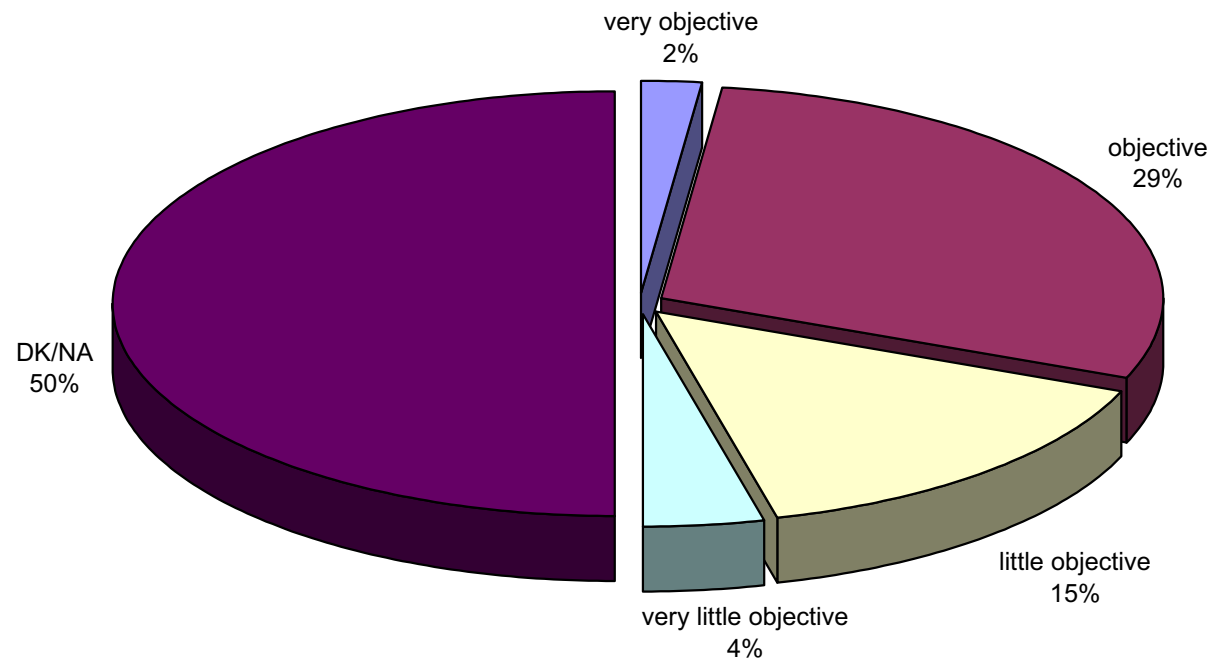
Generally, which parties do you think TV channels encourage the most?



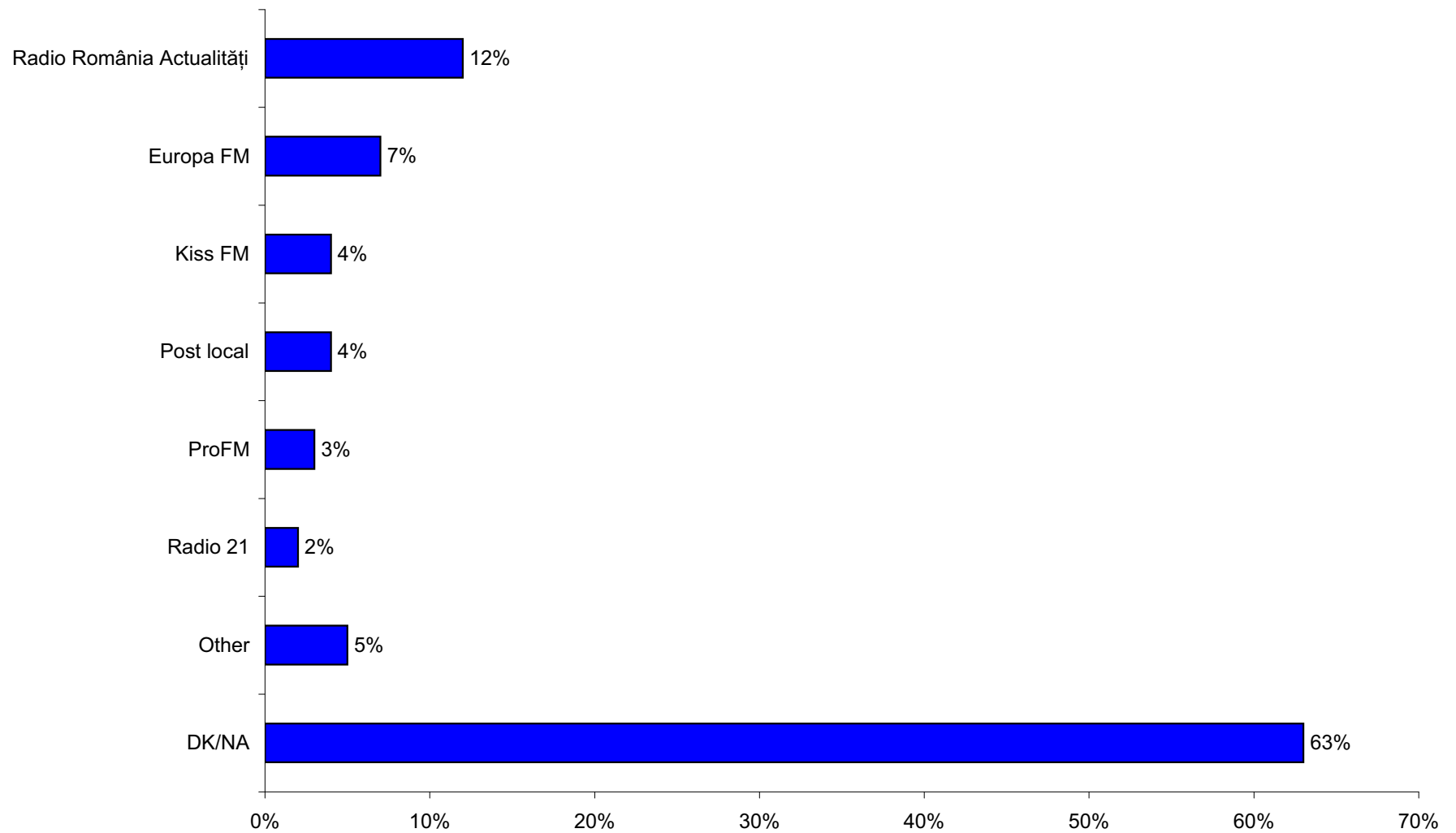
Generally, which parties do you think do TV channels encourage the less?



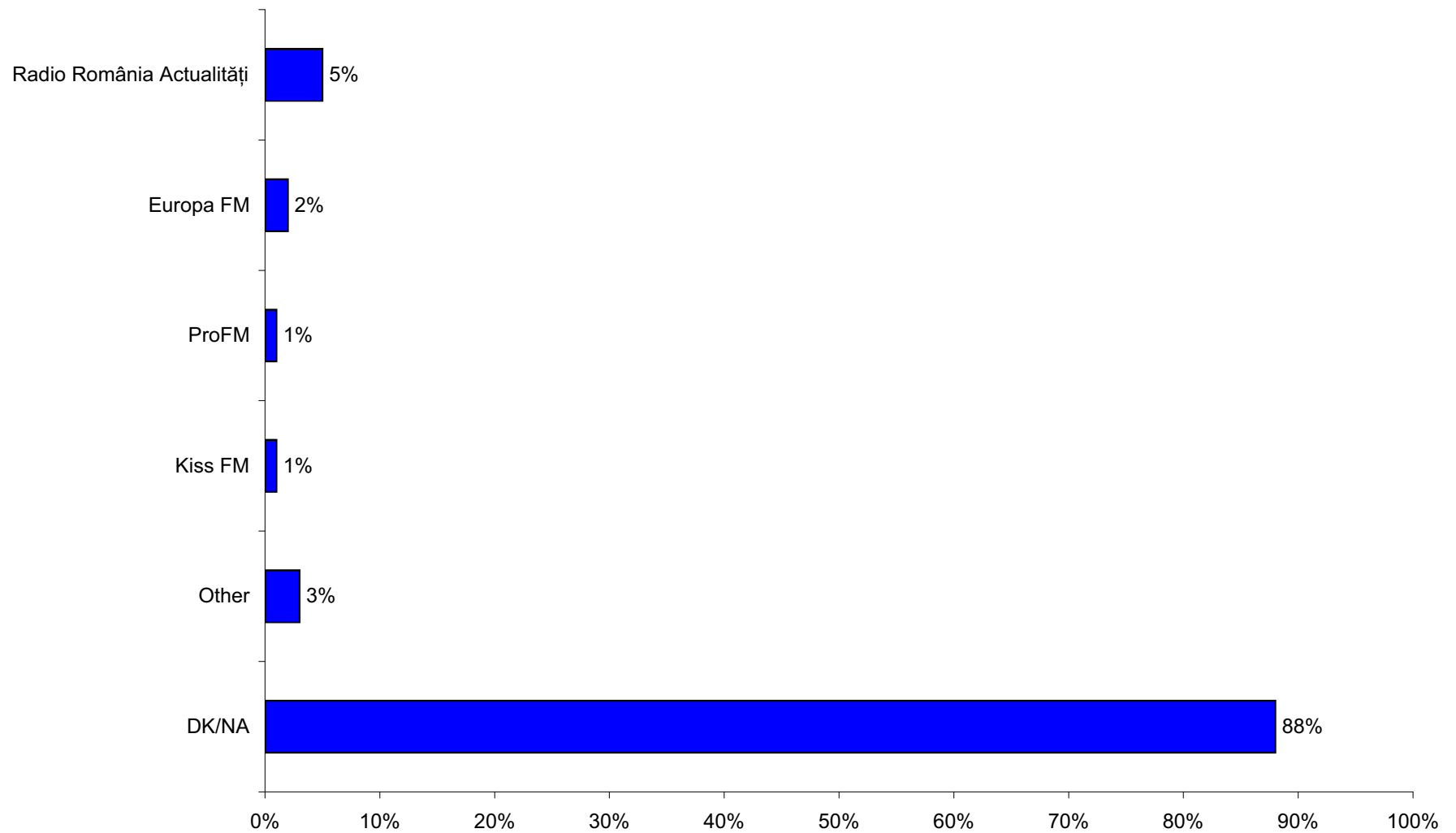
Generally, how objective the political programs broadcast by radio seem to you?



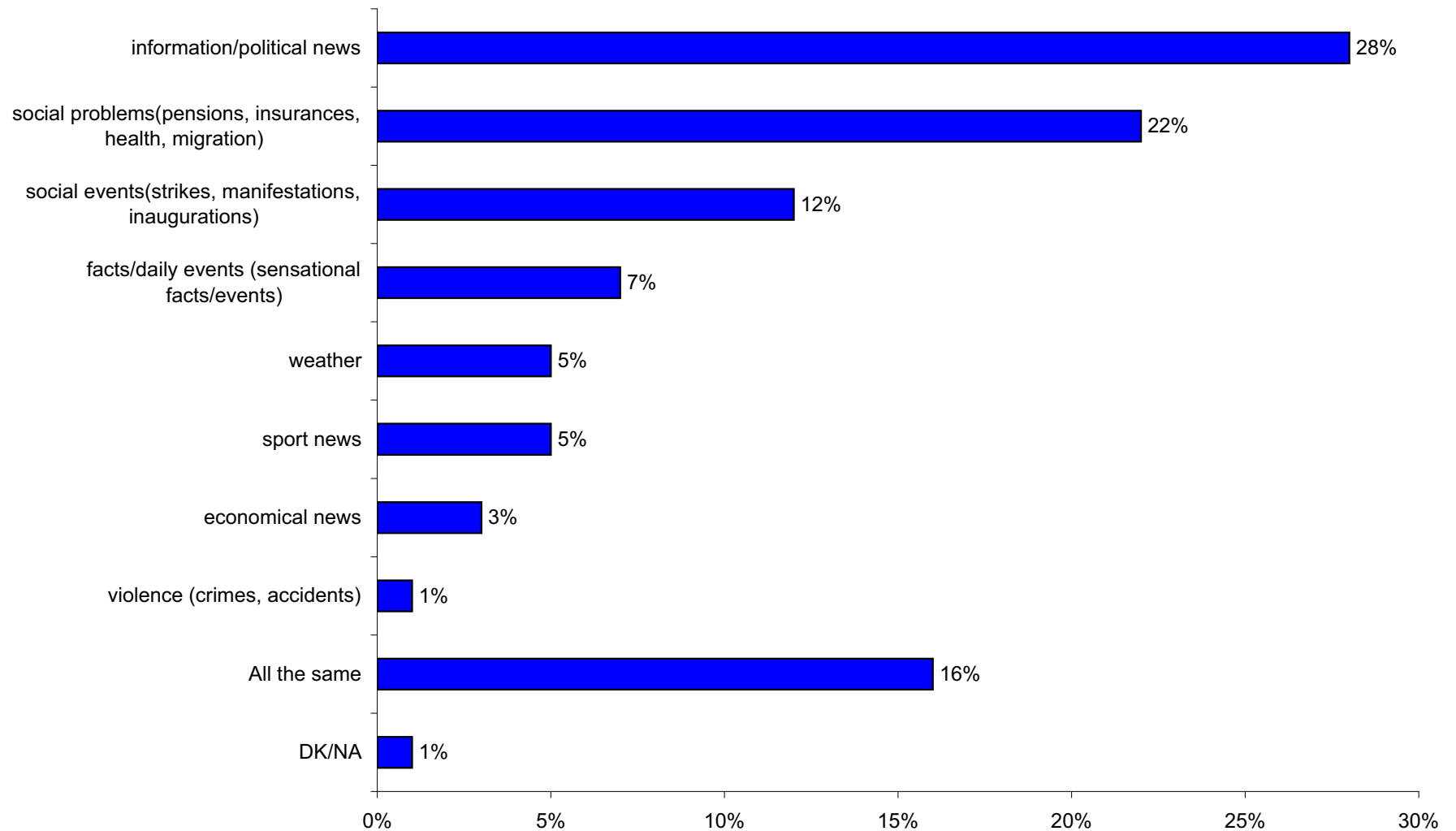
Generally, which radio channels seem to you the most objective?



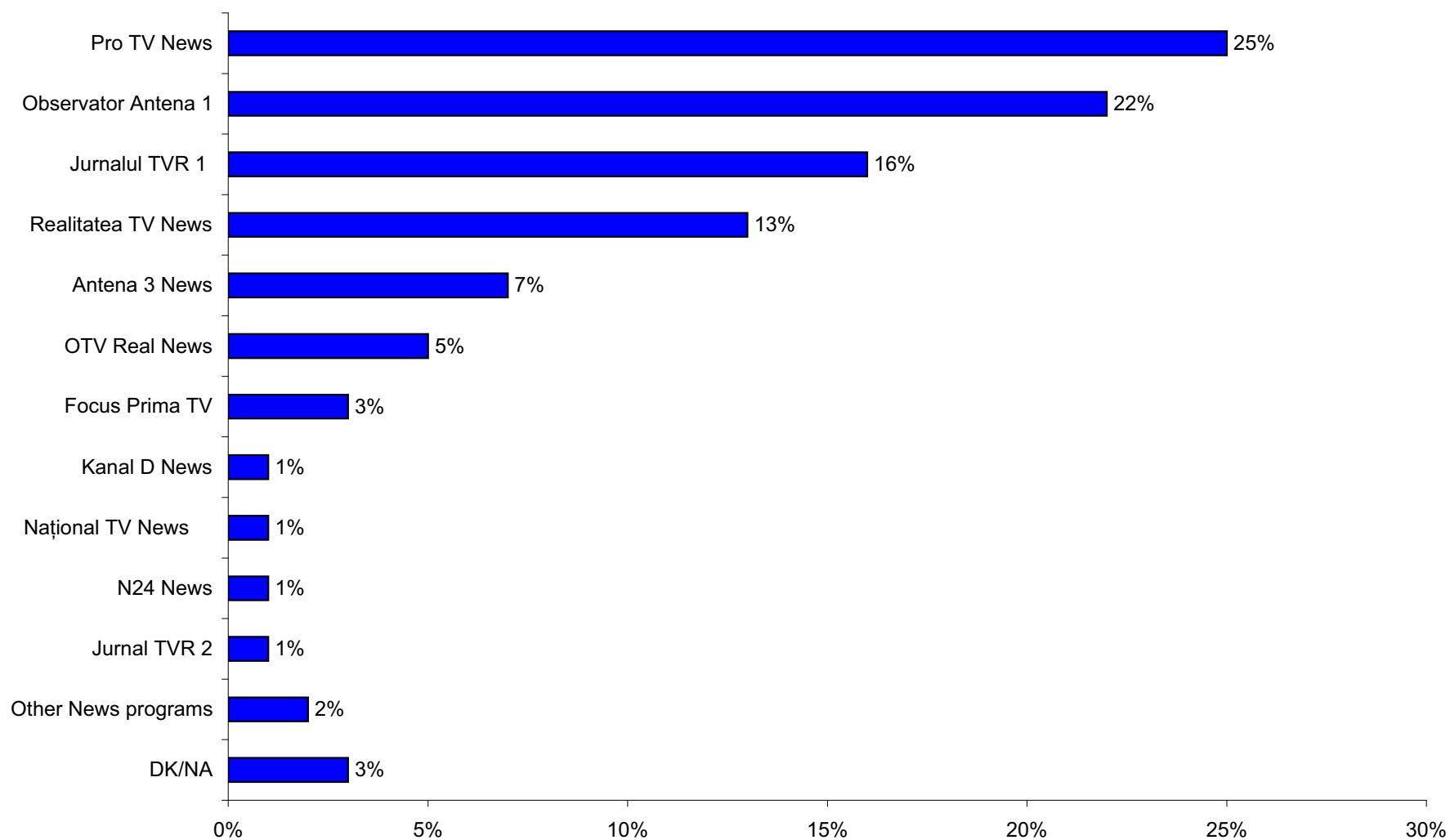
Generally, which radio channels seem to you less objective?



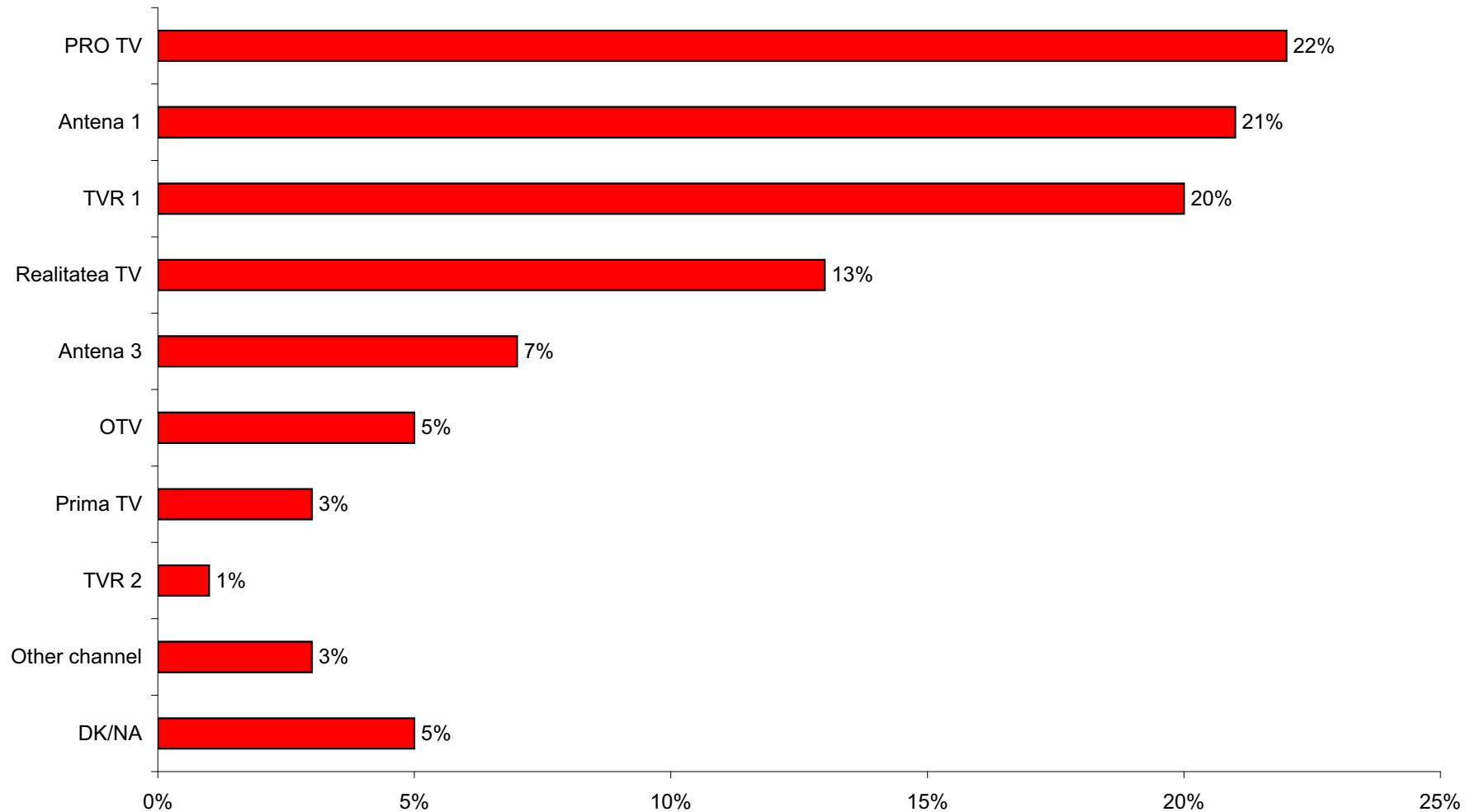
Speaking of news, about what are you more interested?



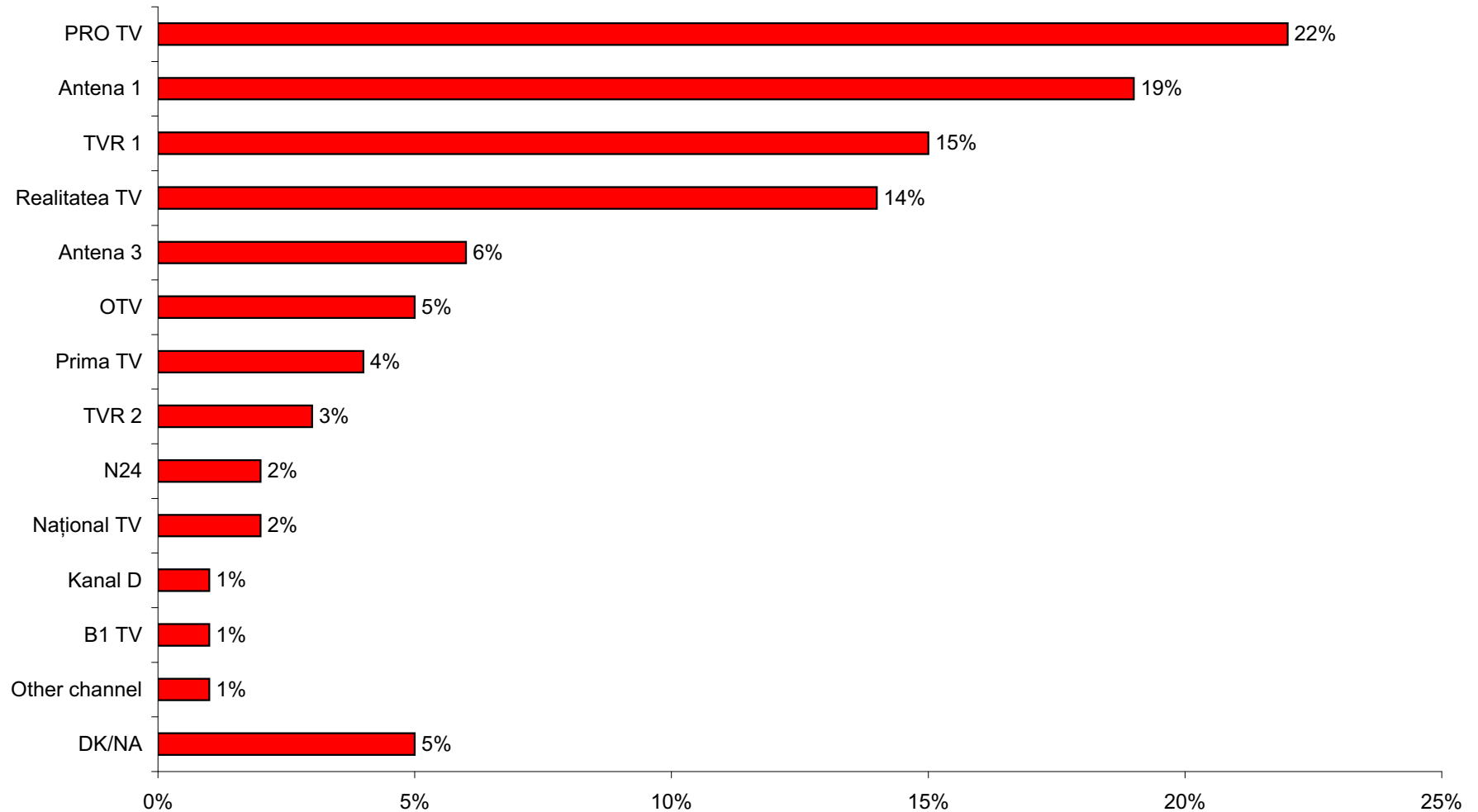
On which of the following news programs do you prefer to watch the political news?



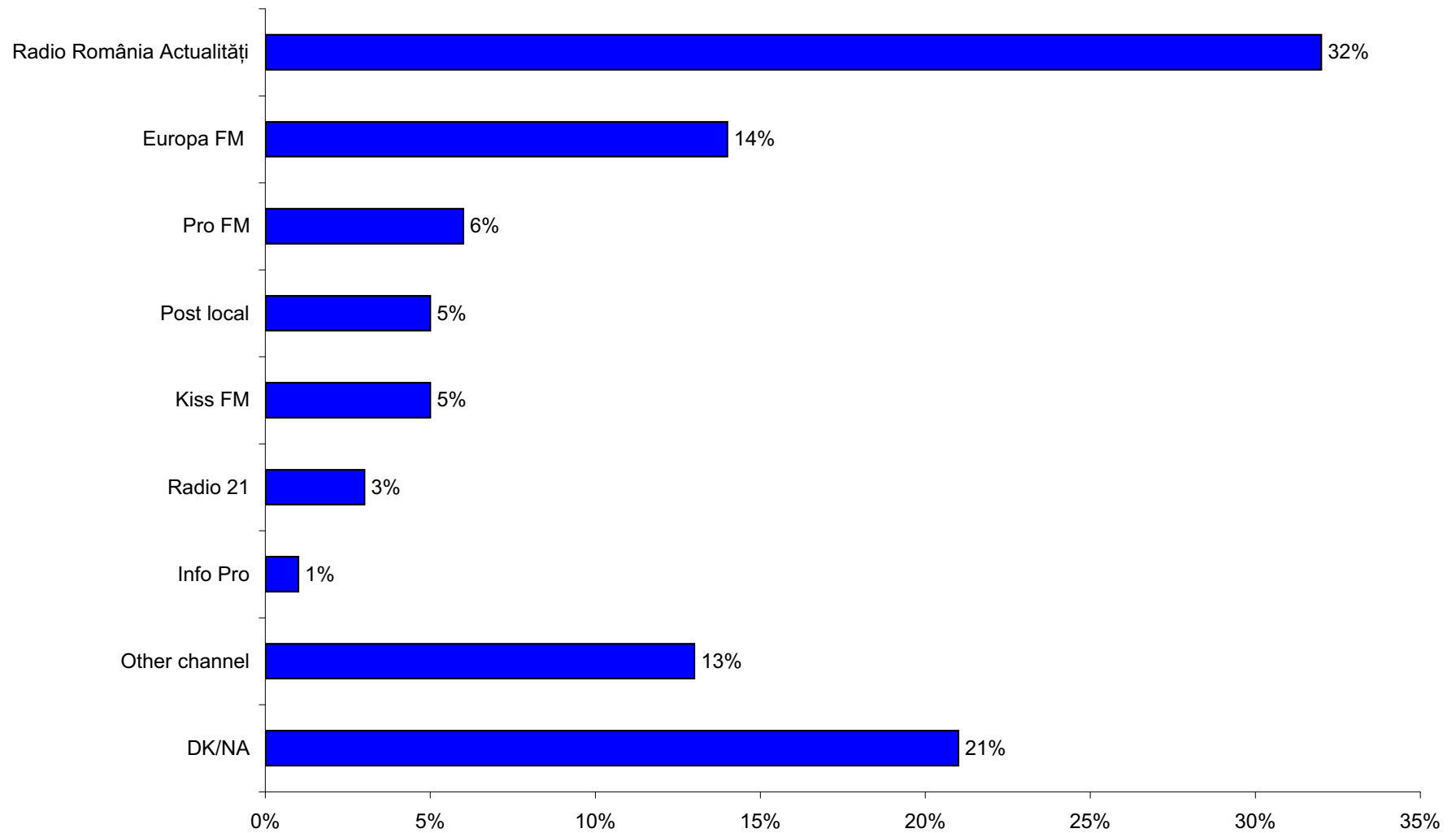
In your opinion, which is the TV channel that presents the most trustful news? (news that you trust the most)?



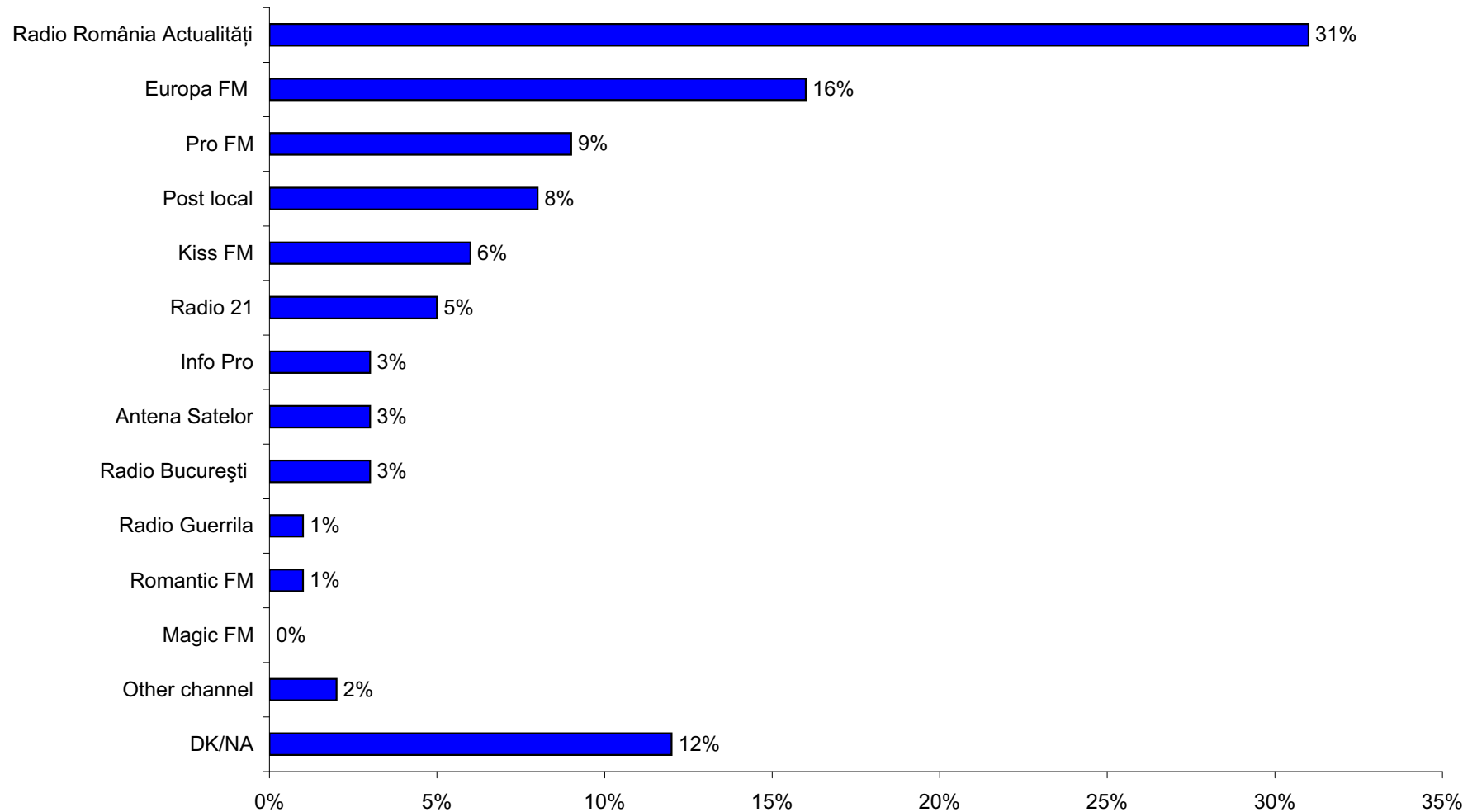
Which of the following TV channel do you think is showing the most trustful political news?
- multiple choice



On which radio station do you usually listen political news?



Which of the following radio stations do you think are broadcasting the most trustful political news?
- multiple choice



4. Interest in politics and political behavior

4.1. Interest in politics

In this chapter there are included the results based on the answers received to a group of questions regarding the population interest in politics, the population interest in the electoral campaigns, about the topics which should be included in the agenda of electoral campaigns. The population opinions regarding taking vote decision in relation to watching electoral campaigns is analyzed as well.

In addition to this, the population perception of the most important source of information and the test of two steps flow of information, hypothesis regarding the reception of the information are added as well.

As the data survey show, the population interest in politics is low. Both in 2007 and in 2004 only 215 respectively 22% of the population is highly interested in politics (this means “to a large extent” and “to a very large extent”).

In 2007 small and very small interest is showed by 49% and 38% of the population (in 2004 the similar percentages were 40% respectively 36%). The similar results test, in a way the fidelity of the used methodology. (see graph *“To what extent are you interested in politics?”*).

In spite of this, when the population is directly asked about its interest in the next (2008) campaigns for local, parliamentary and presidential elections, the weights of those “interested” and “very interested” in them increased both in 2007 and in 2004.

The percentage of interest for the next local elections is 49% in 2007 and was 58% in 2004 (when the elections were closer, in three months the same year).

The percentage of interest for the next parliamentary elections is 44% in 2007 compared to 56% in 2004 and for the future presidential election it is 50% in 2007 compared to 61% in 2004.

The interest for EU parliamentary elections was in September 2007 small, the percentage for those interested and very interested was of 37%. The percentage for those who intend to vote is 52% but that is usually overestimated in the polls.

The opinion of the population is that the electoral campaigns should include to a very large extent/large extent the following topics: living standard/incomes, education/health care, youth situations, citizens' security, unemployment/jobs and corruption.

Less interest is shown for the parties' political programs and parties' experience (see graph *"To what extent should parliamentary elections campaigns TV include the following...?"*).

4.2. Taking the vote decision

It seems to be surprising that 48% of the voters were decided whom to vote at the fieldwork time (September 2004) for the EU parliamentary elections. The data are in accordance with those provided by other surveys and with other from this study, where the population is asked when the decision to vote was taken for the last elections.

The survey data regarding the answers to the questions about the date when the vote decision was taken at the last parliamentary and presidential, round 1 elections from 2000 and 2004 show that in 2004, 54% of the voters decided whom to vote for before the electoral campaign and in 2000, 42% of the voters decided whom to vote for before the electoral campaign for the Parliament. The percentages are similar in the case of the elections for the president. (see graph *"In the last elections (2004 and 2000) for the Parliament, when did you decide whom to vote for?"*)

Thus, one can say that about 50% of the voters are decided whom to vote for before the electoral campaigns (other polls, conducted just before electoral campaigns start show that about 60% of the voters are already decided whom to vote for at that time.)

If we take into account the fact that less of the decided voters change their intention during the electoral campaigns one can say that the electoral campaign influence is focused on about 40-50% of voters who go to vote but are undecided yet whom to vote for, at that time.

As the data included in the graphs regarding the period the vote decision is taken for the parliamentary elections, the 2004 survey show that in 2000 42% of the voters take the vote decision during the electoral campaign and 16% of the voters take this decision after TV and radio electoral debates finished.

In accordance with the 2007 survey, 27% of the voters take the vote decision during the electoral campaign and 19% after the electoral debates finished.

Regarding the elections for the President, the 2004 survey, round 1, shows that 40% of the voters take the vote decision during the electoral campaign and 18% after TV and radio debates finished.

In accordance with the 2007 survey, 24% of the voters take the vote decision during the TV and radio electoral campaign and 24% after TV and radio electoral debates will be finished (they expect the final debates).

4.3. The interest for television debates

In spite of the fact that about half of the population decided whom to vote for before the electoral campaigns, the interest for political debates during the election campaigns is big involving the most of people.

As the survey data show, the TV electoral debates about/among parties for parliamentary elections were watched almost daily in 2004 and 2007 by 37% and 36% of the voters, several times a week by 49% and 50% of the voters and several times a month by 12% of the attracted voters. (see graph *“How often did you watch the TV debates for parliament elections with or between parties in 2000 and 2004 campaign?”*).

The interest for TV debates with candidates for presidential elections was bigger. As the data survey included in the graph regarding the watching of TV debates show, most of the people watched these debates (65% in 2004 and 10% didn't remember).

The television debates about and with candidates for President in 2000 and 2004 campaign (round 1) were watched almost daily by 36% and 38%, several times a week by 50% and 48%, several times a month by 11% of the attracted voters.

One can say that TV influence on electoral behavior, mainly on decided people (as the different studies show) was significant. There is a direct correlation between the position assessments of the TV candidates' performances and the increasing and declining in the vote intensity. A famous example was in 2000, round 1, when the TV electoral debates helped C V Tudor candidate, who placed third or fourth in polls before the campaign started, get the second place in the polls conducted during the campaign and pass in the

final round. Likely that without television, and without TV electoral debates this thing couldn't had happened.

This finding is based also on the fact that, as the data from 2007 and 2004 surveys showed, the television is perceived as the main source of political information for 80% (2007) and 78% (2004) of the population.

Radio, newspapers, neighbors/friends seem to have a similar influence, they being named as the main source of information by 5%-6% of the population.

About two third of the population say, both in 2007 and 2004, that they use the TV as the main source of information daily or almost daily.

Those who watch the TV programs more (over 3 hours daily) use the TV as the main source of information more than others (84% in 2007 compared with 78% the percentage for those who watched TV programs less than 3 hours a day, on average).

The "heavy" TV consumers are those who watch political debates more during the electoral campaign and they are, likely, the most influenced by television in their electoral behavior, including the vote decision. (see Appendix *The cross tabulation between the profile of the TV public and the data regarding the main source of political information, watching the electoral debates and the assessment of the TV positive and negative effects*).

The two steps flow of information hypothesis that refers to the way the population receives primary information, in the first stage, from the mass-media and to whom they asked for understanding and clarification the confused information, in the second stage, was tested by this survey.

Thus, the answers to the specific question show that the most of the respondents who are confused about the received information look for clarification from the same sources (55% in 2007 and 59% in 2004). That means, to come back to the information from newspapers, radio and mainly the television.

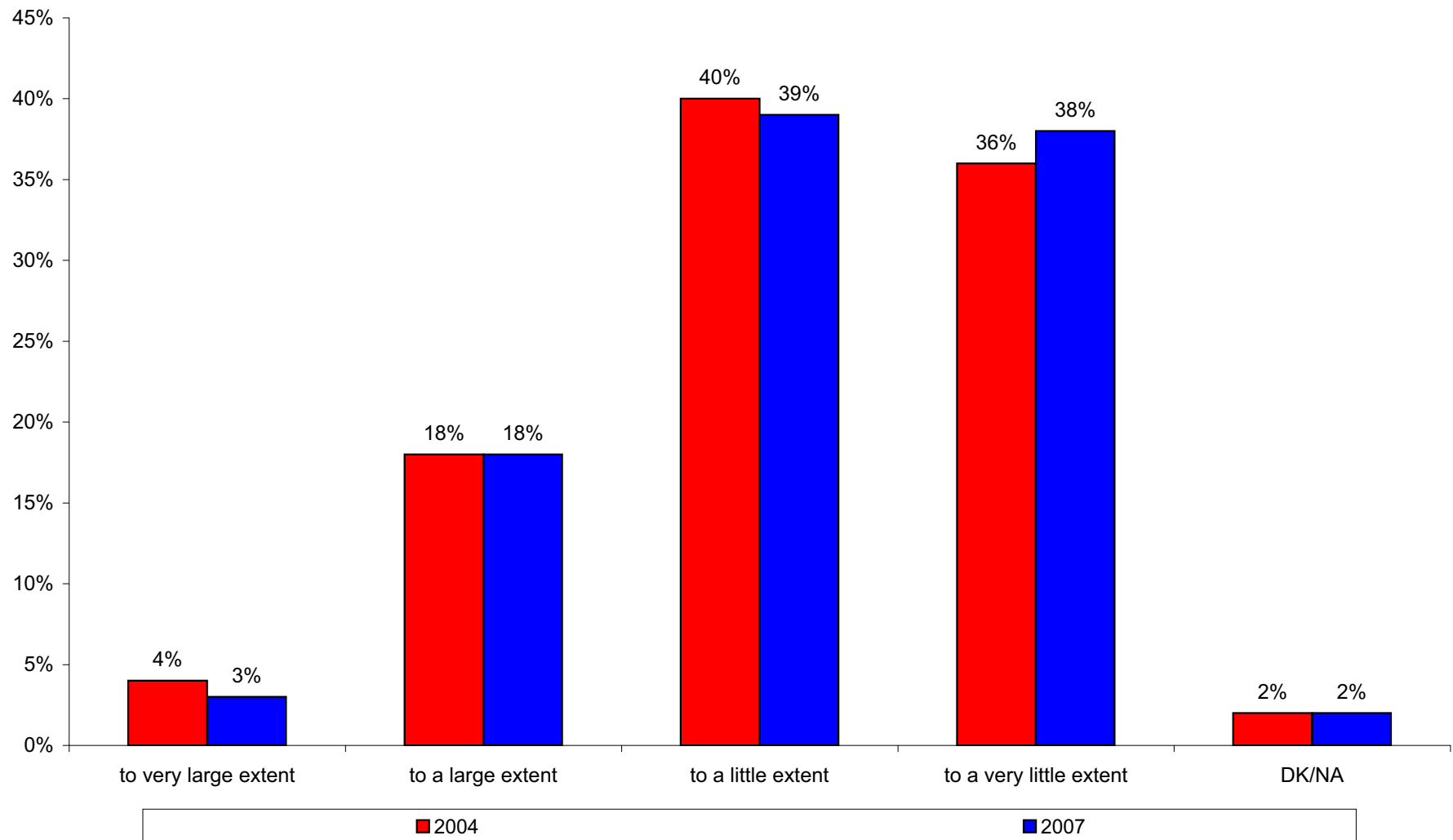
But looking for other sources, in the second step increased in 2007 compared to 2004.

This means that the population tries to clarify itself by checking the confused or untrustfully information by other sources, mainly by watching at what the opinion leaders say about the unclear topic.

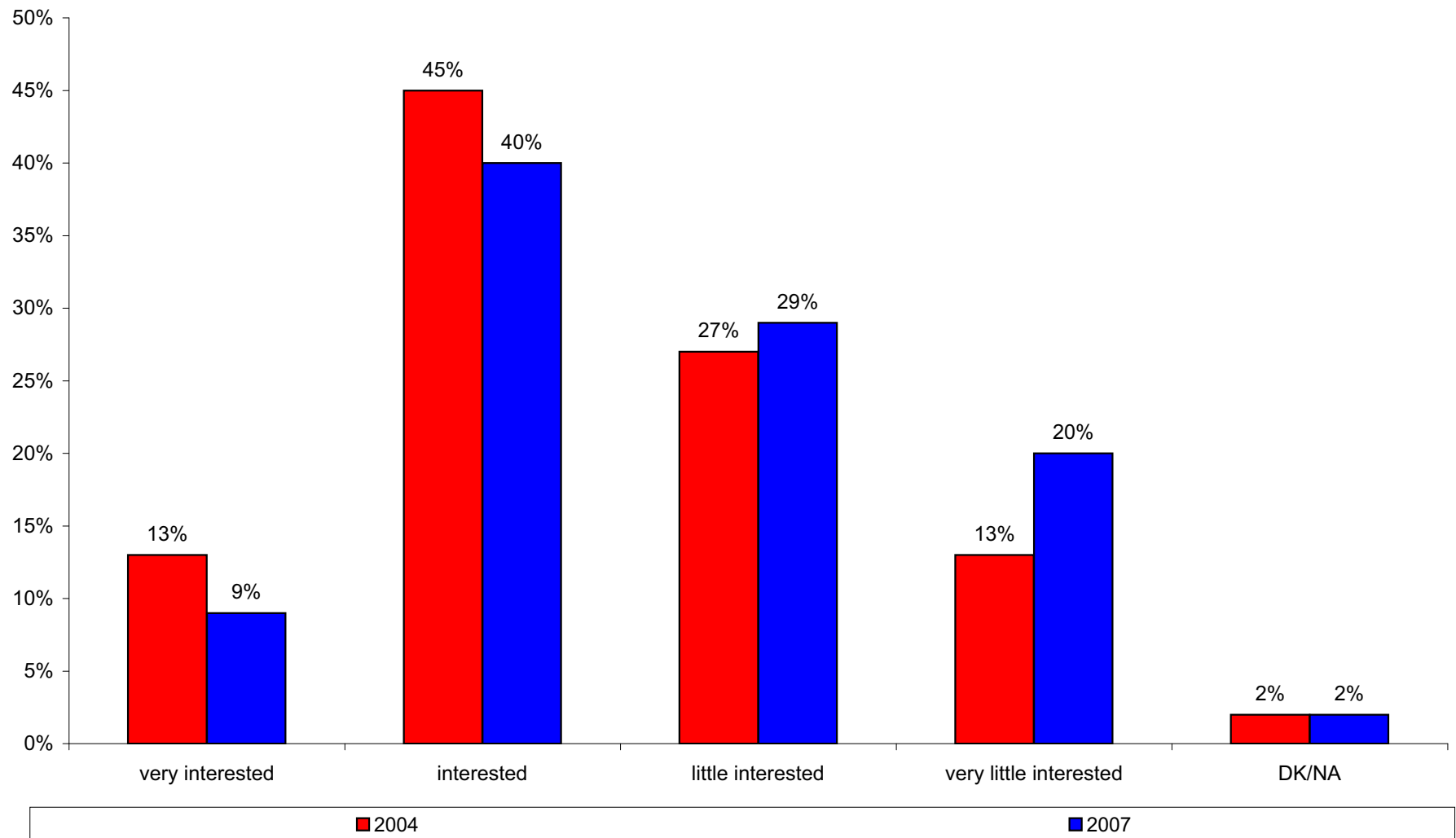
Thus, the data from the 2007 survey show that the population in this situation look for, in the second step other sources (21%), opinion leaders (13%) and others (like friends, colleagues,, family etc. 65).

In conclusion the hypothesis begins to be confirmed, more in 2007 than in 2004, and the role of the public opinion leaders (mainly political analysts) increased. As a matter of fact the coming back to mass-media which provide the unclear information mean, in many cases, looking for opinion leaders' point of view, who use to analyze the information the population is interested in.

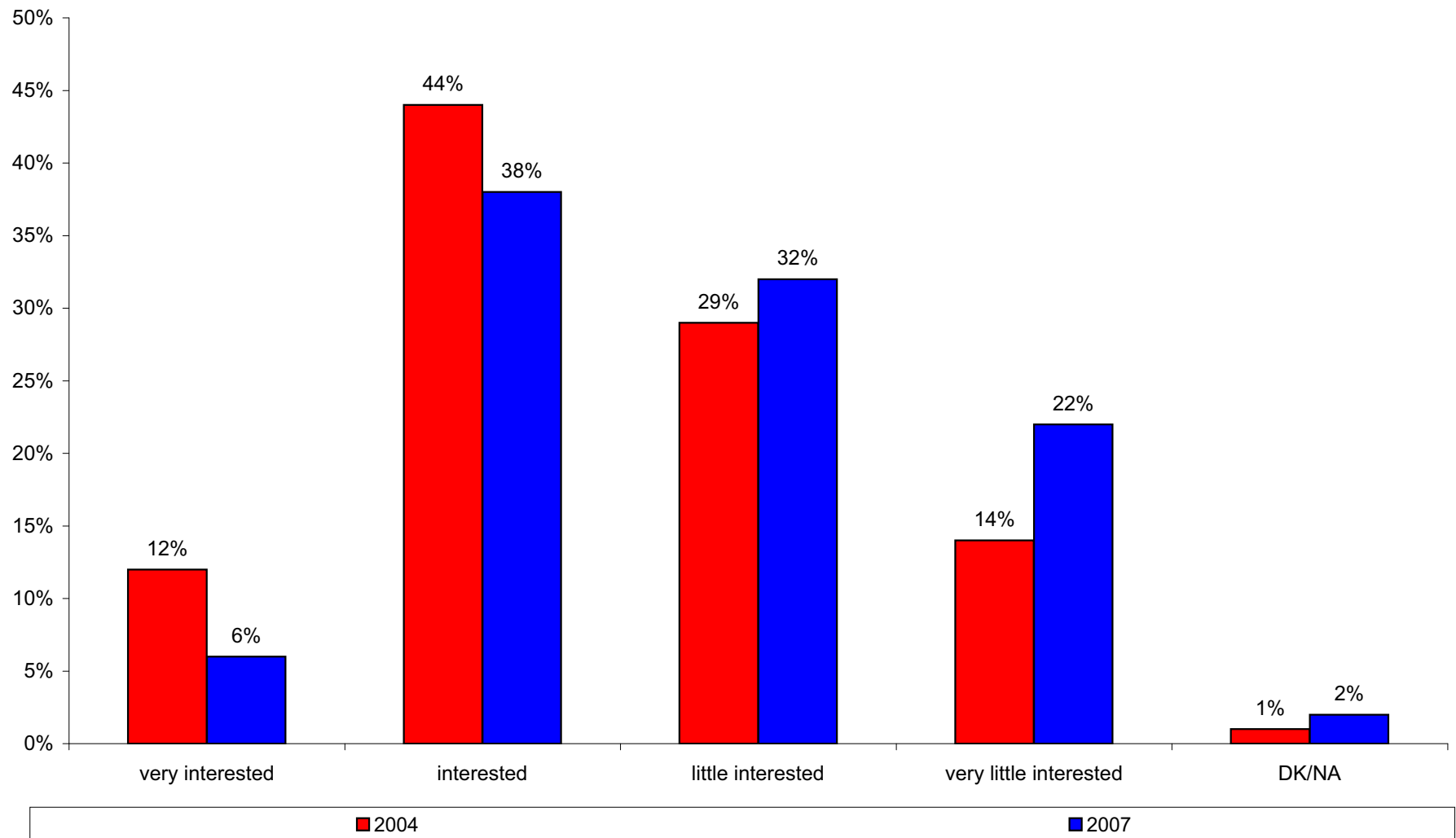
To what extent are you interested in politics?



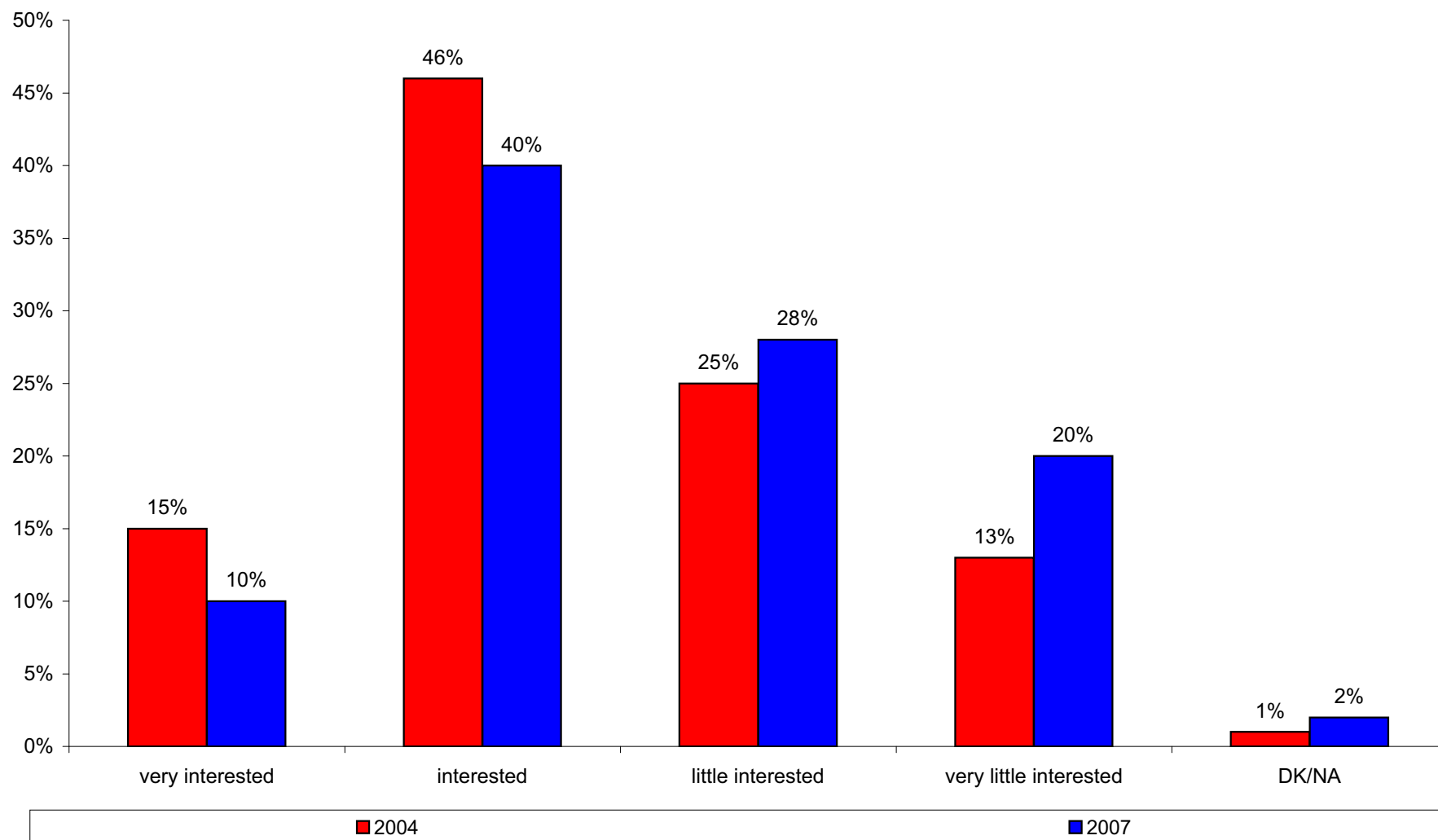
How interested are you with the next local elections campaign (2008)?



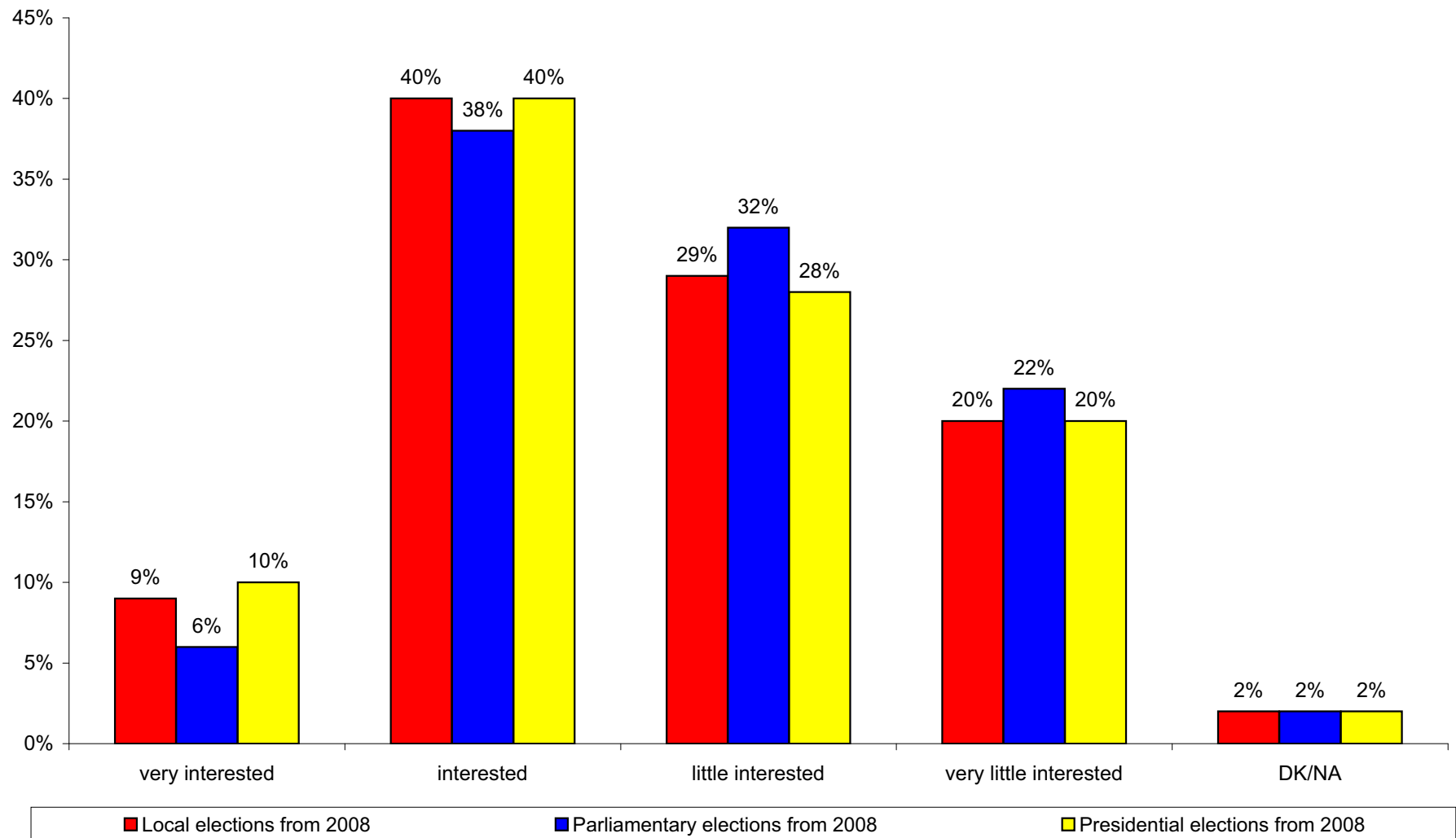
How interested are you with the next parliamentary elections campaign?



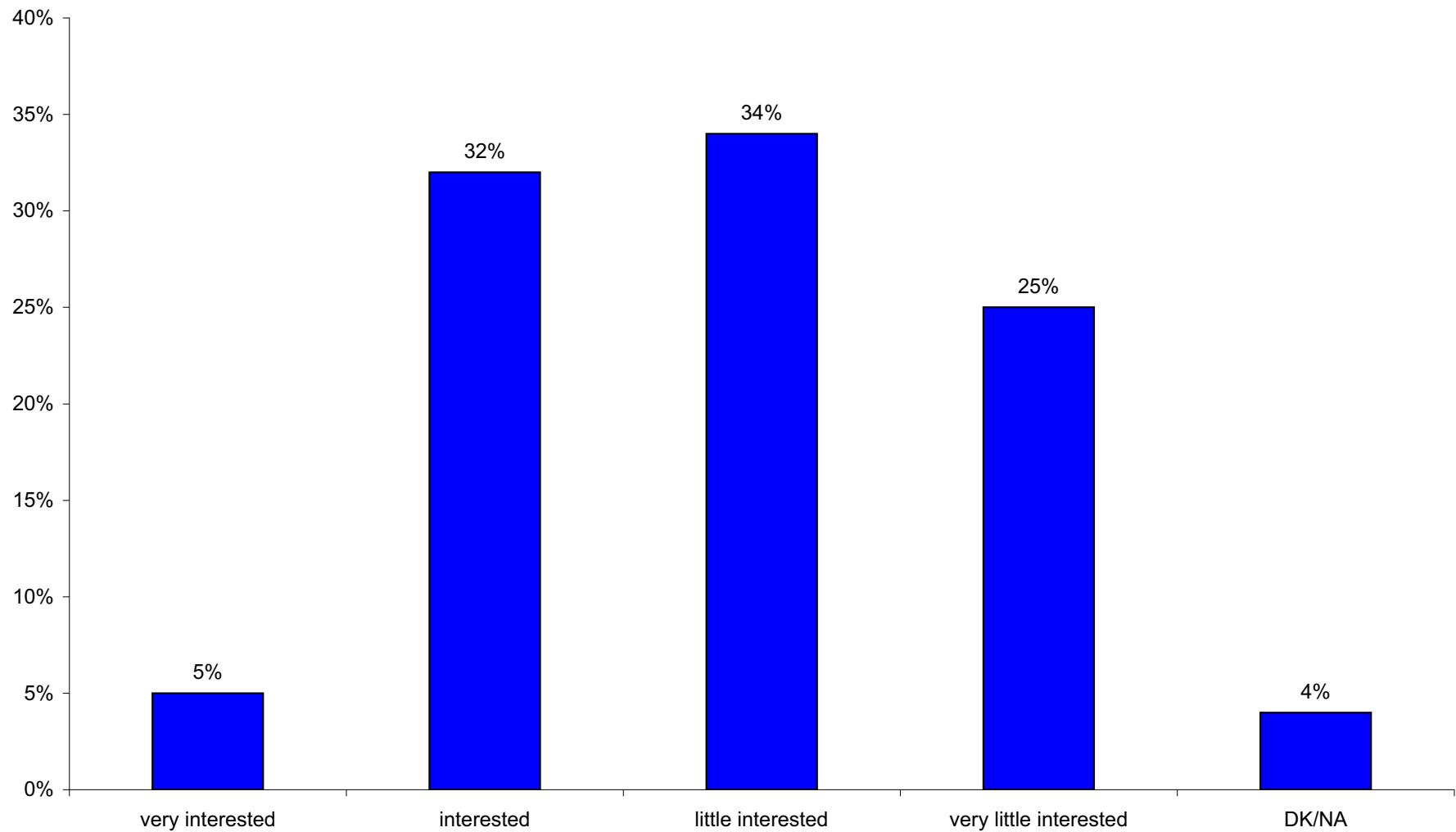
How interested are you with the next presidential elections campaign?



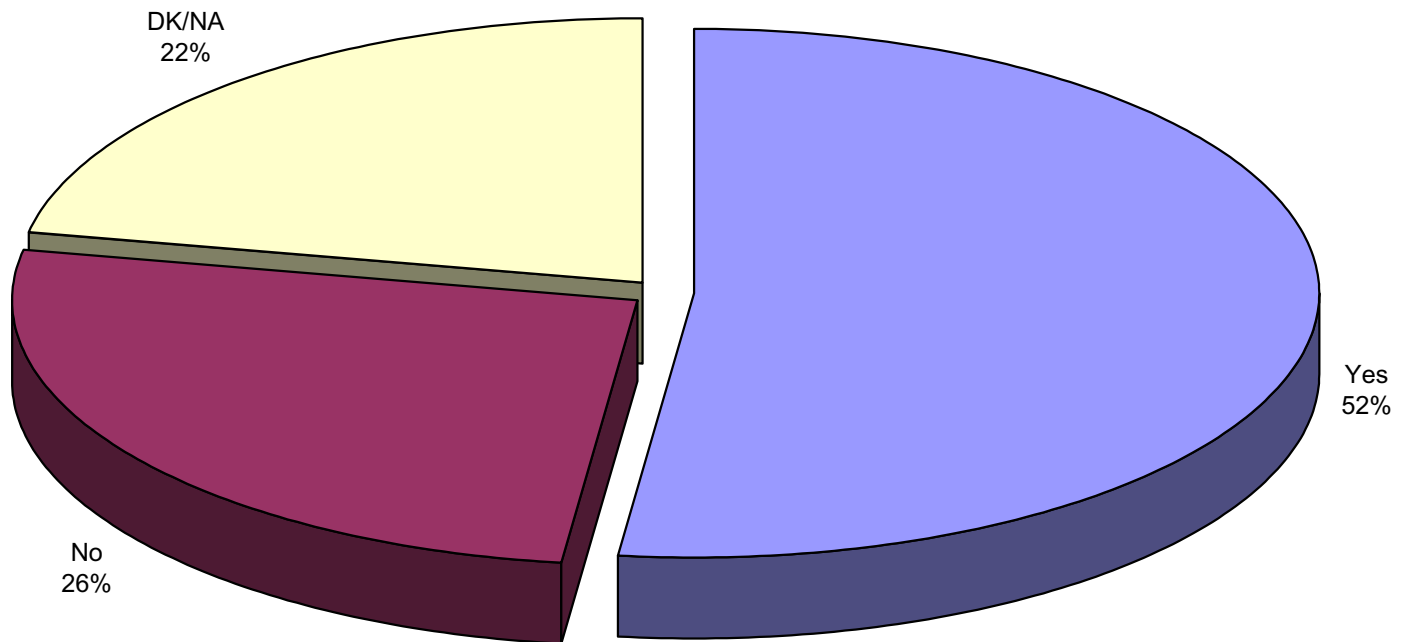
How interested are you with the next campaign for ...



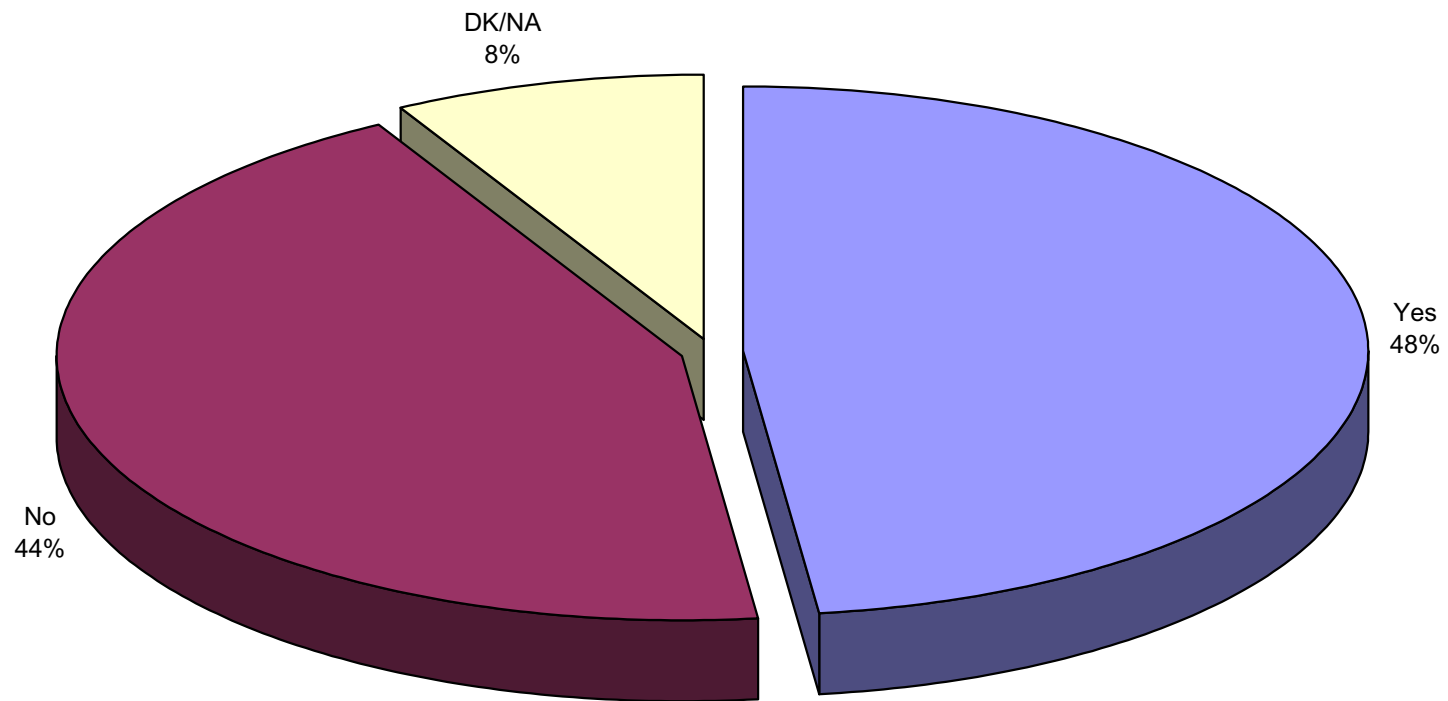
How interested are you with the European Parliamentary elections?



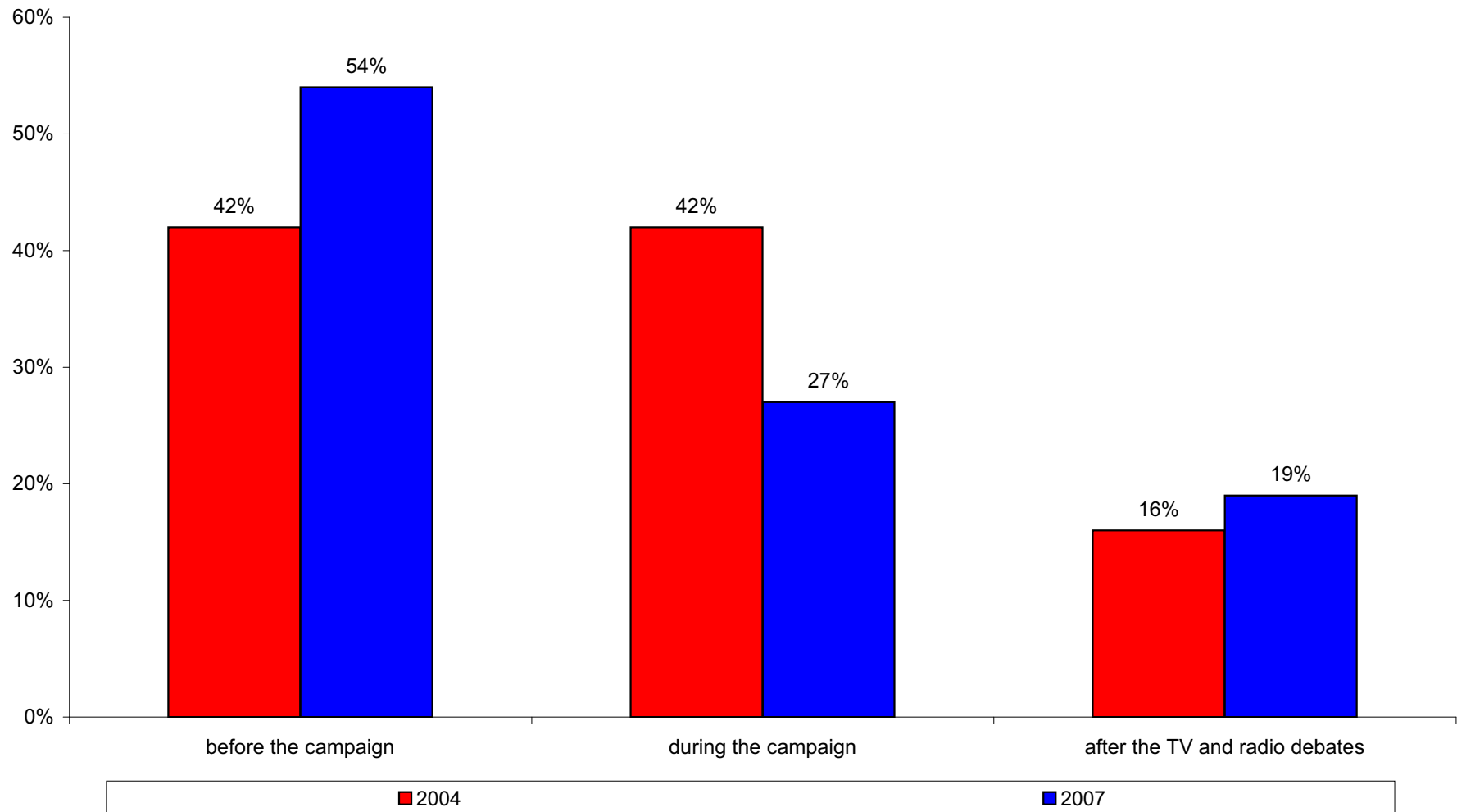
Do you intend to vote in the European Parliamentary elections?



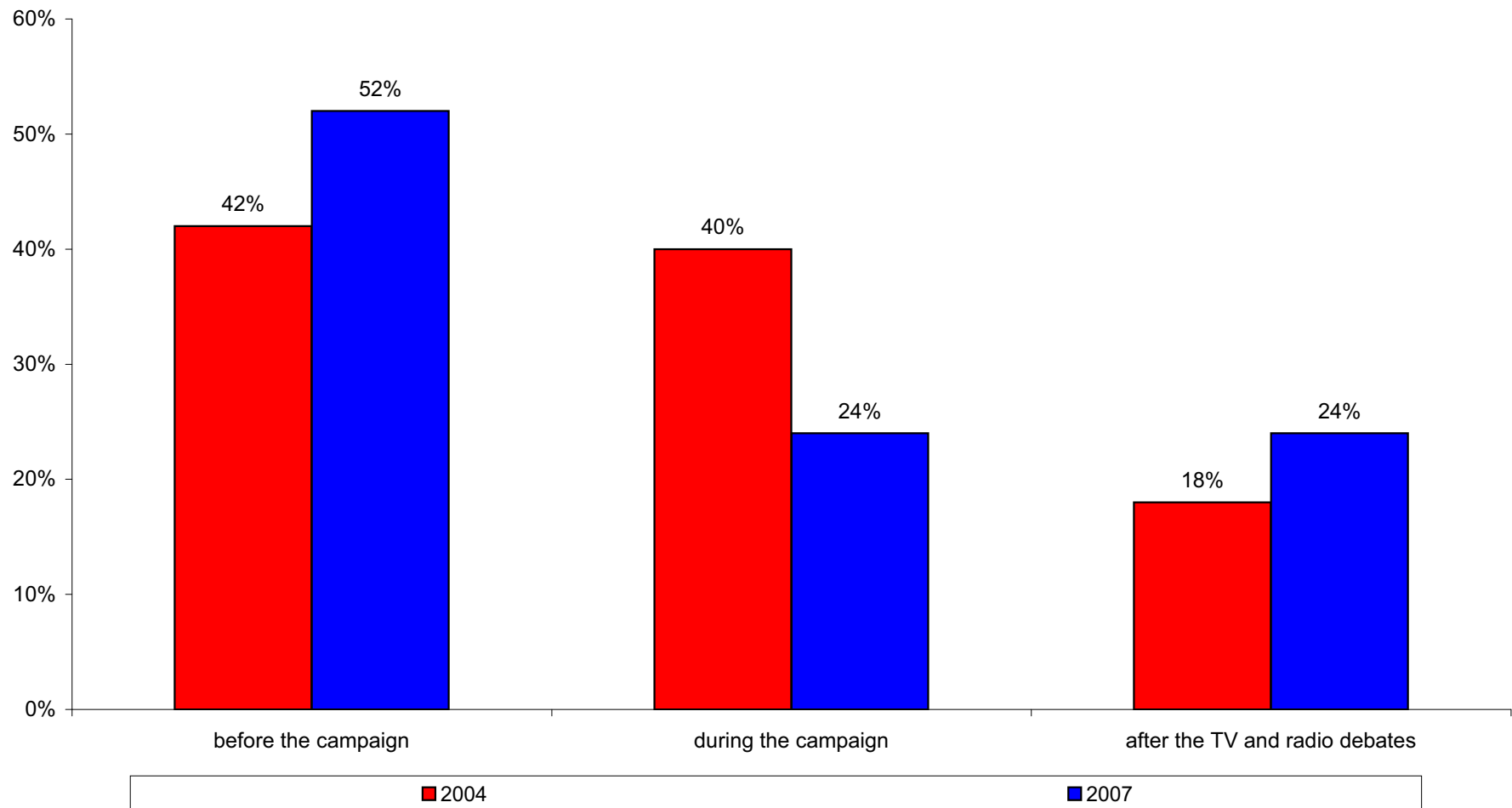
In this moment are you decided whom to vote for?
% of those who are going to vote



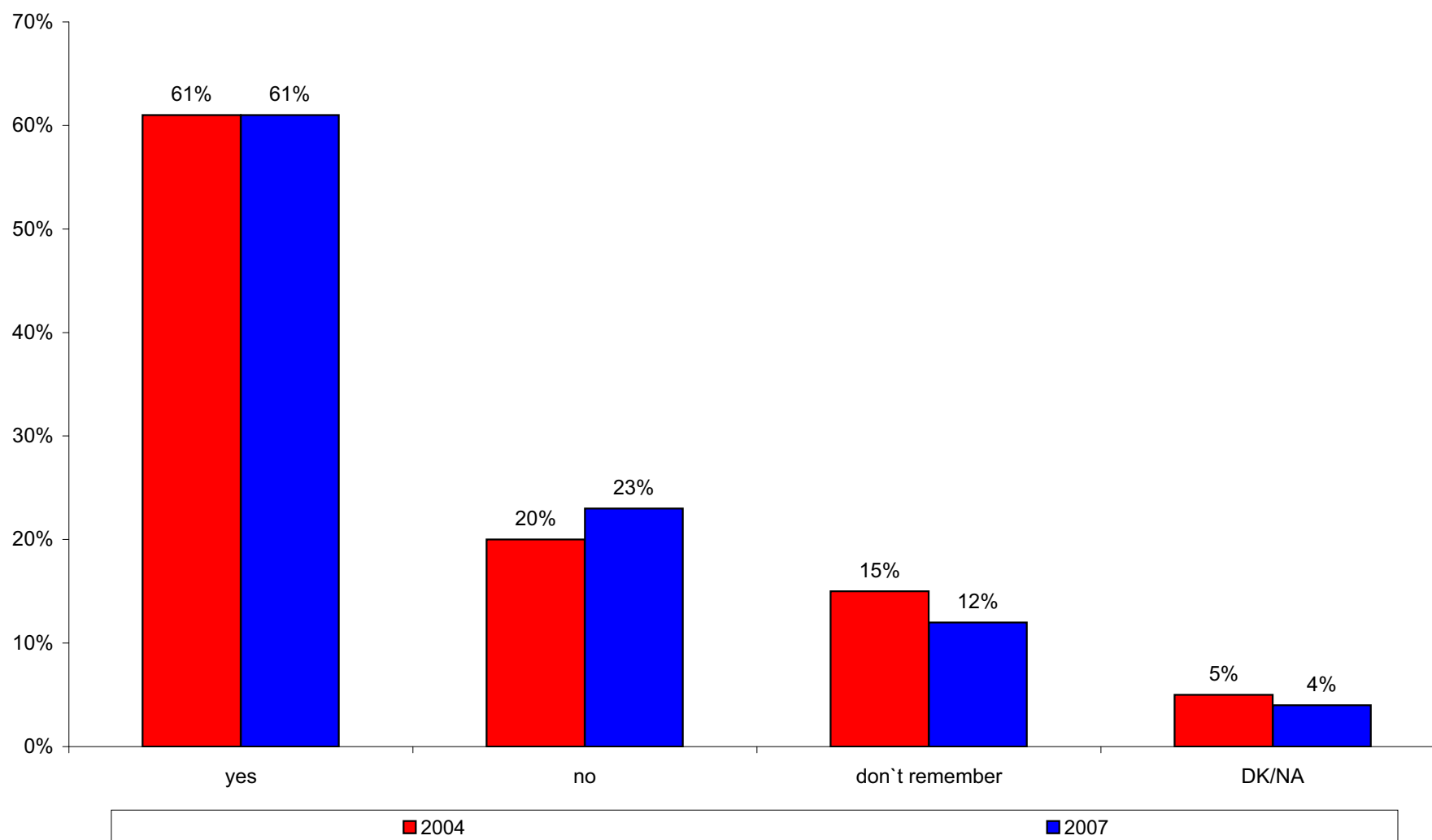
In the last parliamentary elections (2000-2004), when you decided whom to vote for?
% of those who voted



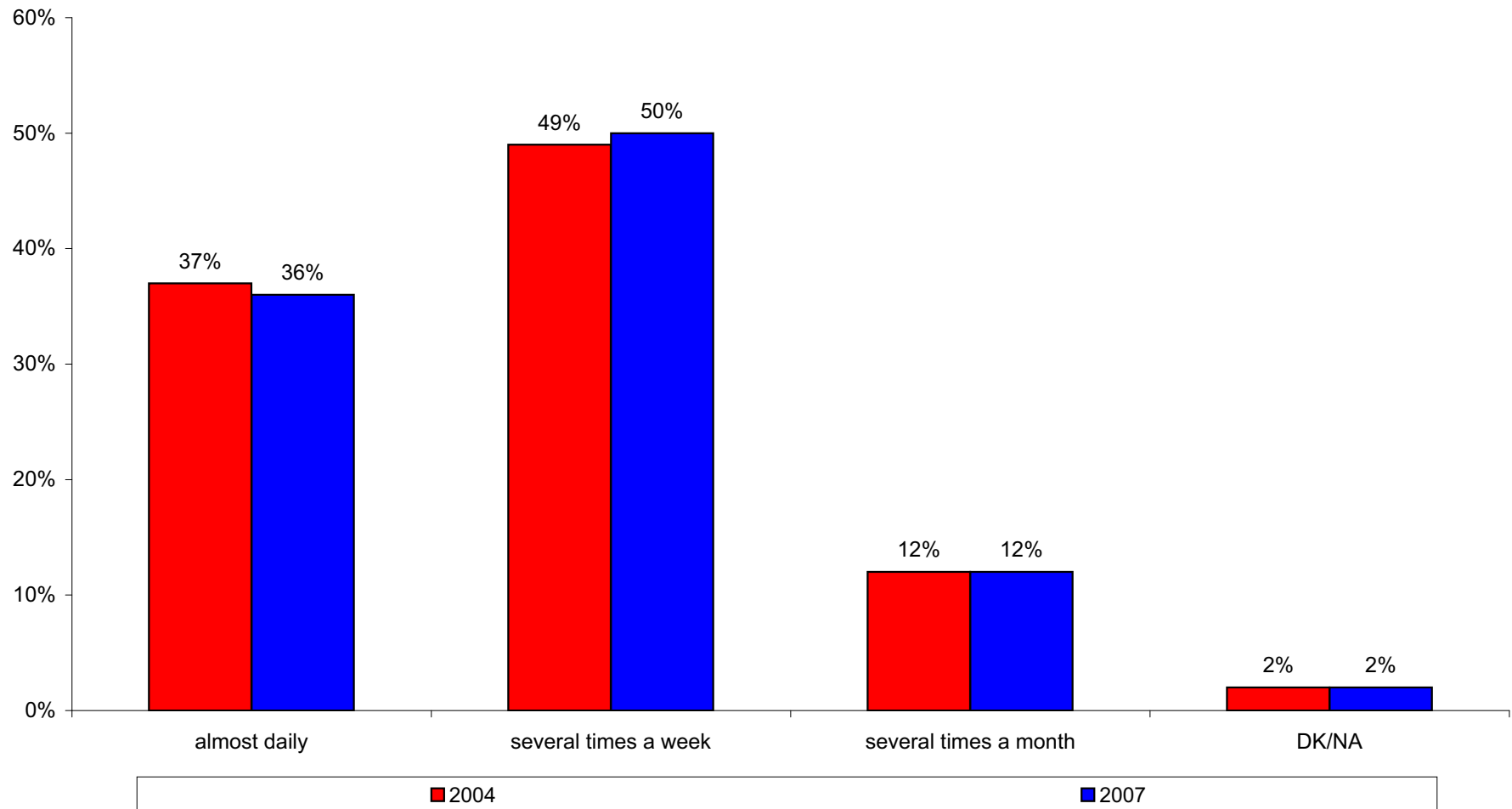
In the last presidential elections (2000-2004, round I), when you decided whom to vote for?
% of those who voted



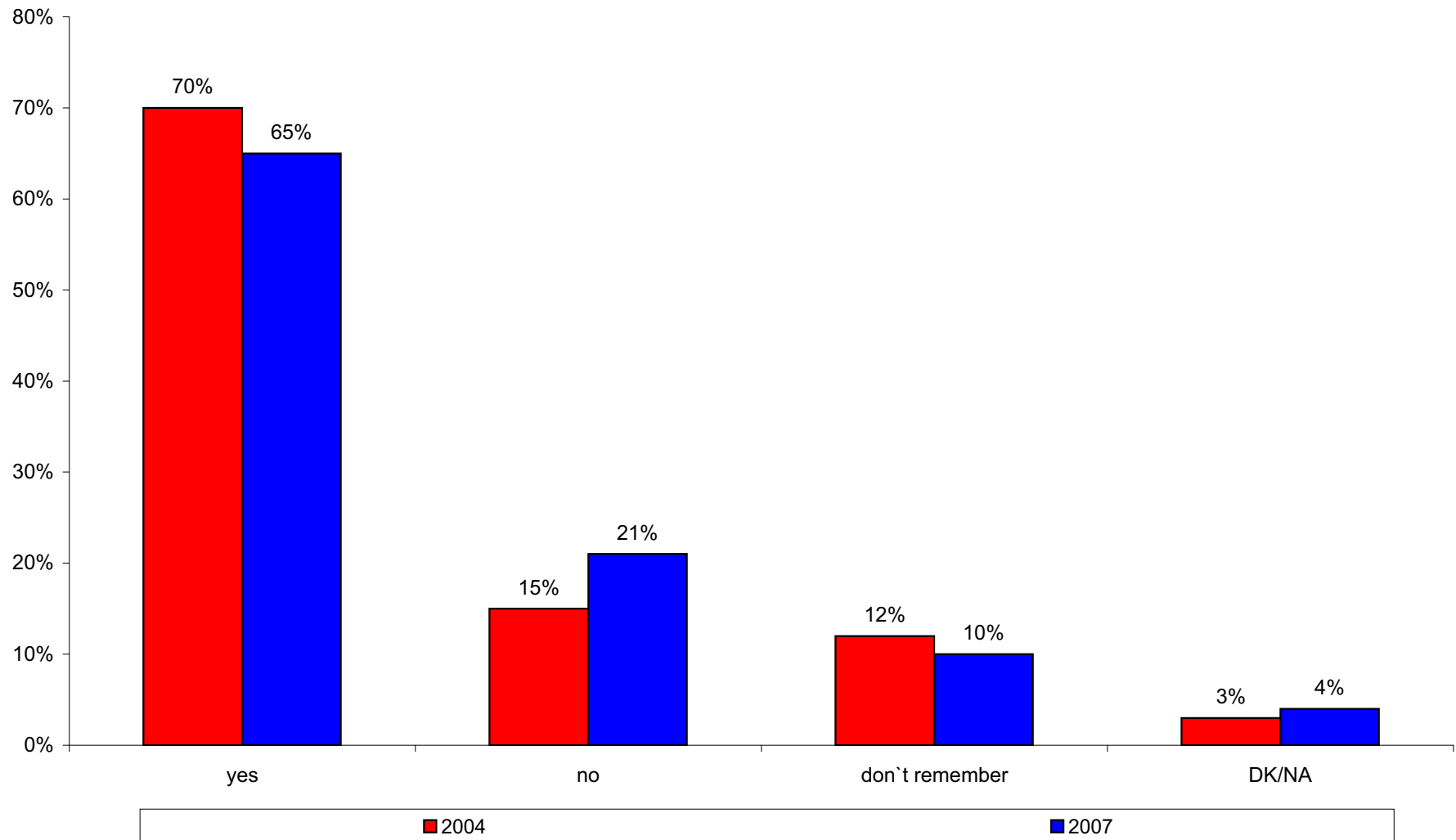
Did you watch the TV debates with or between parties in 2000, respectively 2004 campaign?



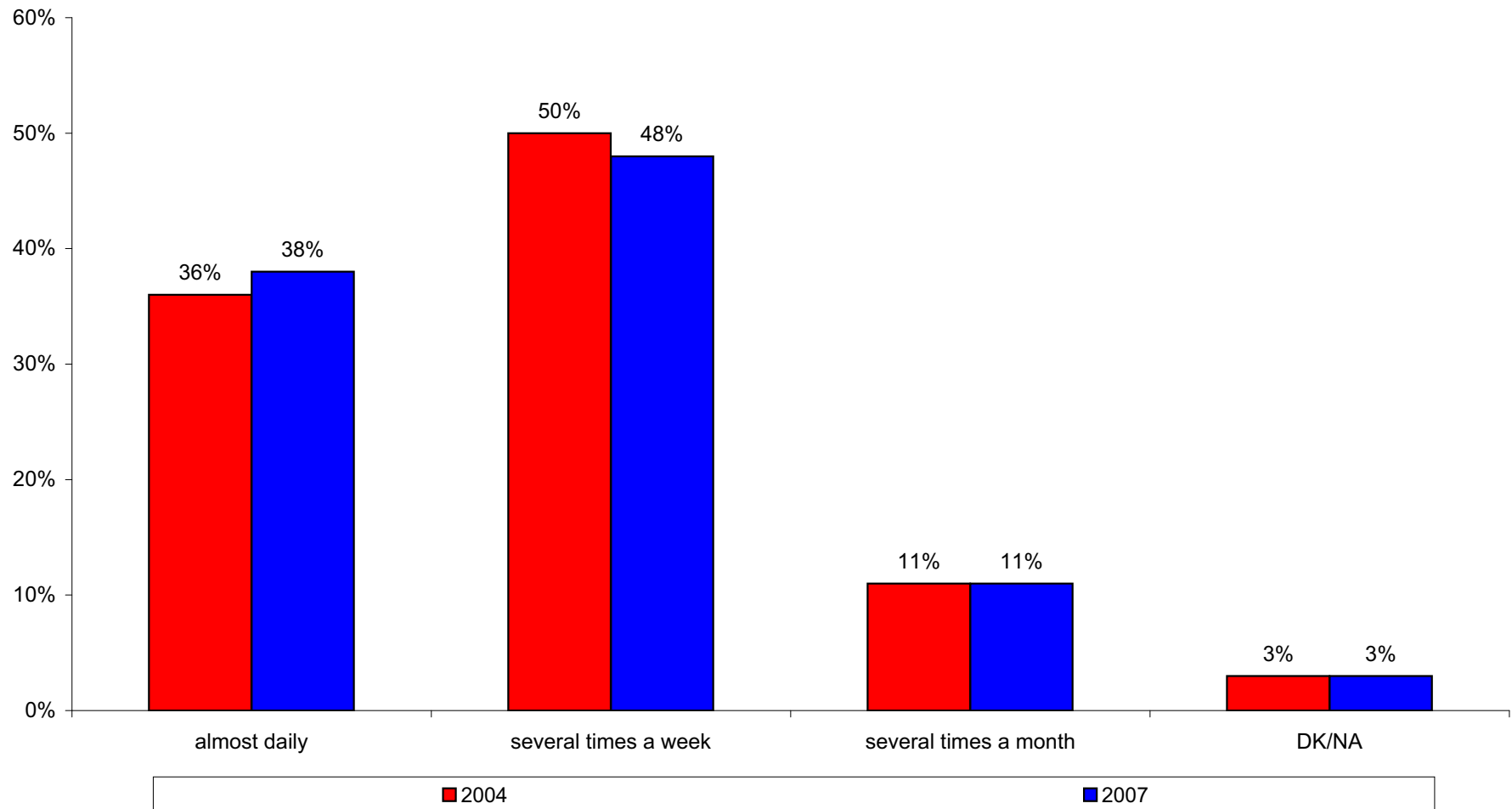
**How often did you watched the TV debates with or between parties in 2000, respectively 2004
campaign?**
% of those who wathced



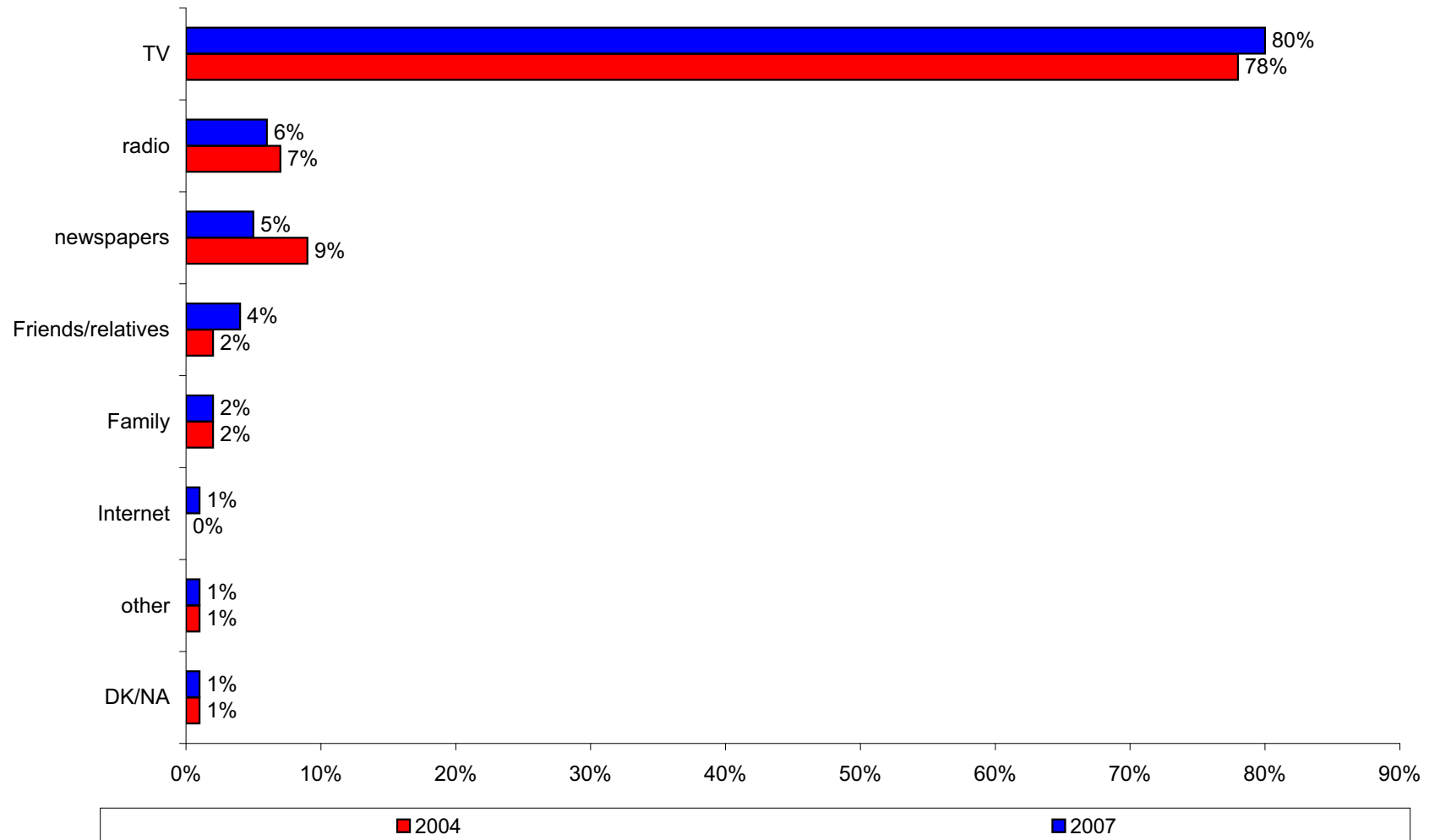
Did you watch the TV debates with candidates for president in 2000, respectively 2004 campaign?



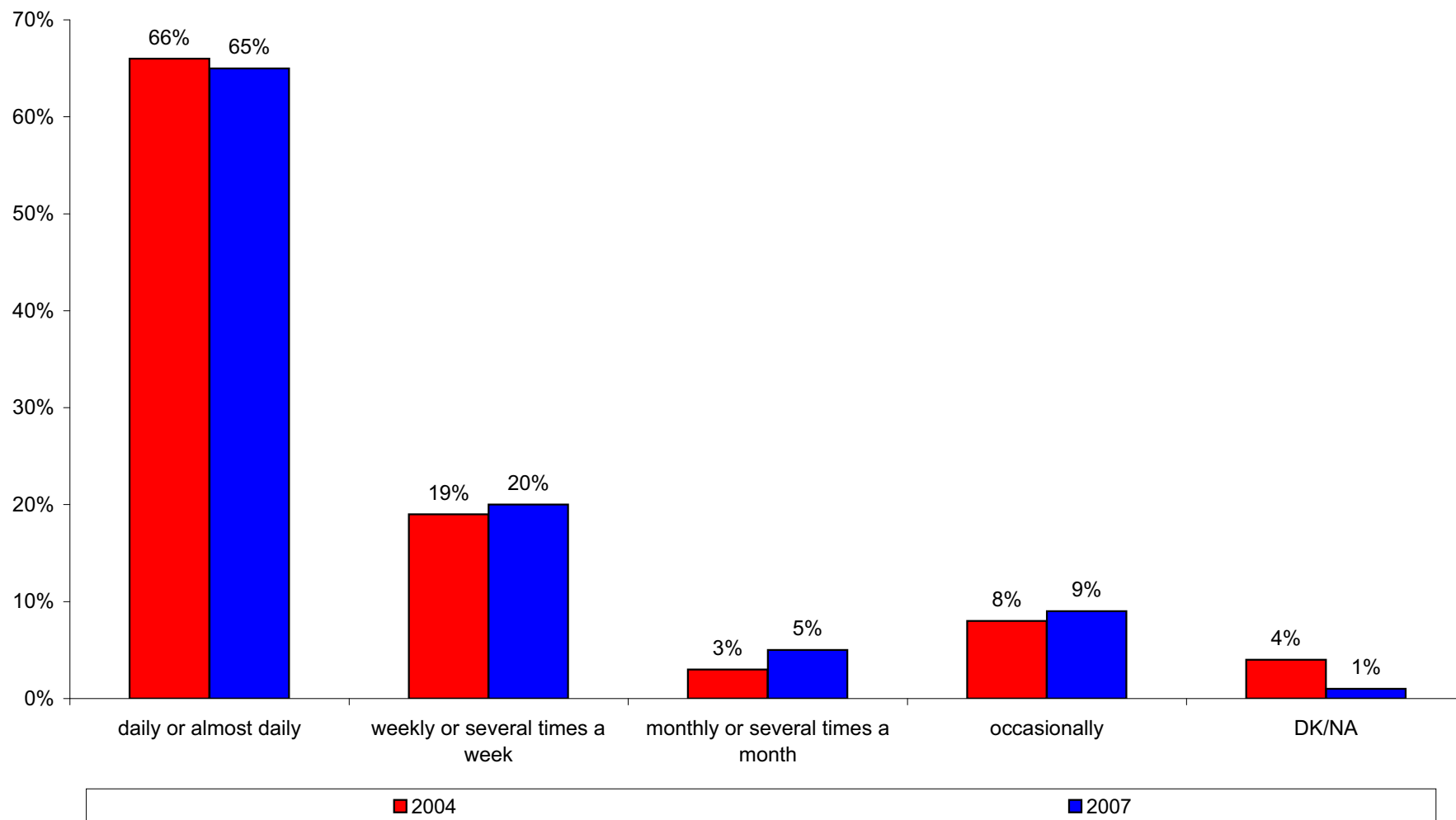
**How often did you watched the TV debates with or between candidates for president in 2000,
respectivly 2004 campaign??**
% of those who watched



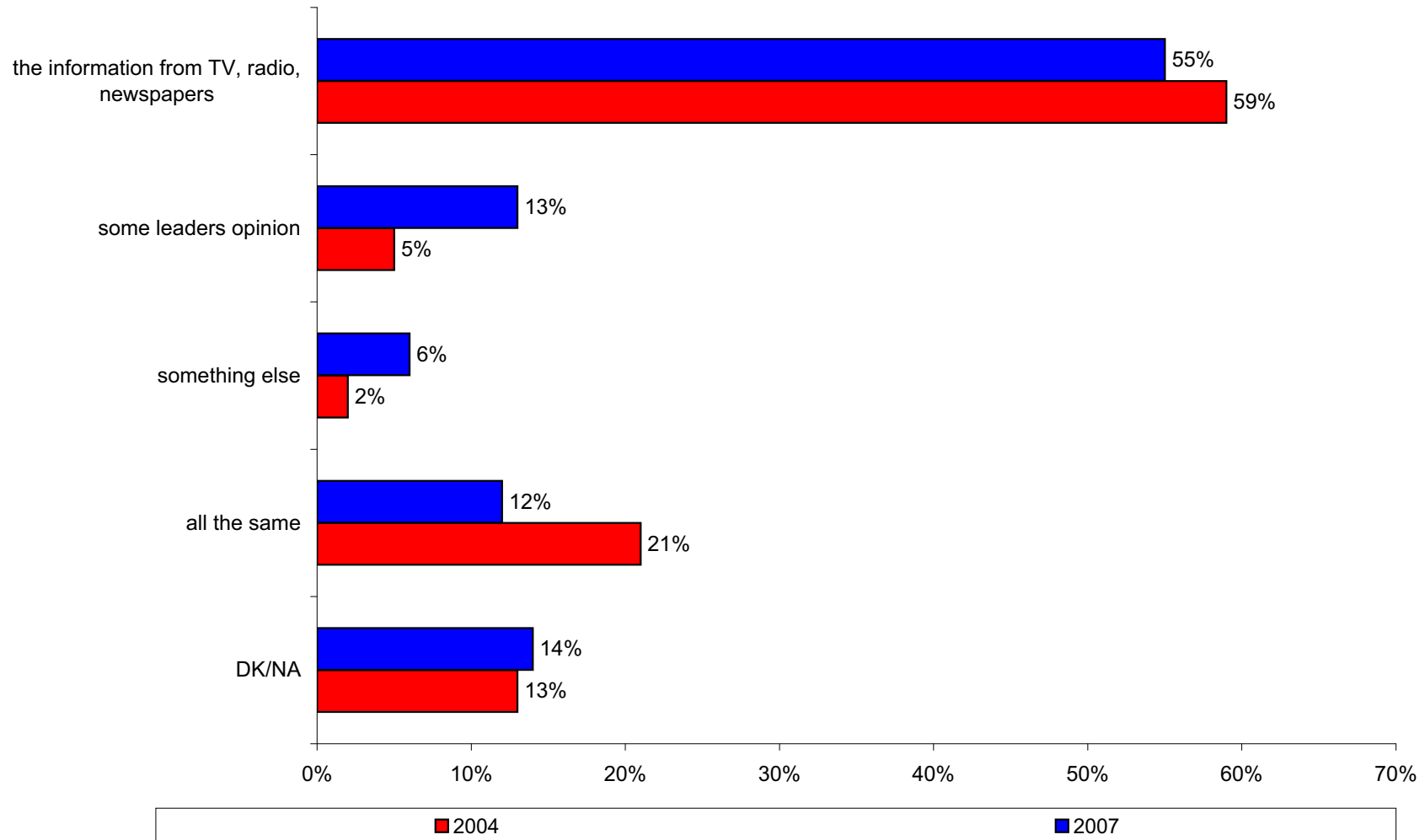
Which is the most important source you use for your political information?



How often you use the source of information you consider the most important?
% of those having a main source of information



If you are confused and/or undecided about some issues presented in mass media what do you do to reach clarification. Do you access...?



5. Influence of the media on civic attitude and civic behavior.

A special group of questions are focused on matching some TV and radio social campaign and the interest for the social campaign, also on the assessment of their influence of the population behavior.

In addition to these questions regarding the impact of some social campaign, some sociologic interest about the positive and negative influence of the television was tested as well.

As the survey data show (see graph “Do you watch social campaigns conducted in media regarding...?”) the audience of these is big.

About 87% of the population aged 18 years and over watch these social campaigns more or less often. Almost 50% use to watch the campaigns frequently and 38% sometimes. Comparing to 2004 when a NAC survey asked similar questions, the percentage of those watching social campaigns is higher (in 2004 was 85%).

The weights of those watching social campaigns to avoid exciding consumption of sugar, salt and fats and exciding consumption of alcohol are similar.

As the survey data regarding the population assessment of the importance of these social campaigns (see graph “To what extent do you believe these campaigns are useful/helpful?”) show that almost three quarters say they are useful to a large extent (45%) and to very large extent (27%).

The degree of the population perception of these social campaigns usefulness is similar in 2007 and 2004.

Regarding the impact of social campaigns on the population behavior the survey data show that this is significant and involve three levels: perception, learning and persuasion. In order to assess the impact of the social campaigns CURS employed the Moriarty's Domain Scale which measures the hierarchy of effects of advertising messages.

Thus, the survey data (see graph “What kind of impact they had on you?”) show that social campaigns influence the population at the level of perception (arousal, retention) in a extent of 51% (31% got their attention and 20% memorized or retained their messages), at the level of education (comprehension, learning) in a extent of 34% (27% understood what happened and 7% learned about the medium they live) and at the level

of persuasion (attitudes, behaviors) in an extent of 13% (10% were convinced to have an attitude against these negative phenomena and 3% were convinced to act, to try to help other people to drop to these negative behaviors.

Comparing to 2004 one can see that in 2007 the level of comprehension increased but the effect of persuasion decreased, although it remained, anyway, significant.

The population interest of other social campaigns regarding the health care and the education is big (as the data included in the graph *“To what extent you would be interested to watch other social campaigns regarding ...?”*). Over 80% of the population would be interested “to a very large extent” (45%) and “to a large extent” (36%) in these social campaigns. That is the people expect television to achieve this social education role. The interest for this kind of social campaigns easily decreased compared to 2004 but it is still at a high level.

The positive and negative influence of the television on its public was assessing by population agreement with some sentences that measure the TV types of effects on population.

As the survey data show (see graph *“To which of the following statements do you agree and to which do you disagree?”*) the population opinion seem to show rather a split and a confusion regarding some effects and a passive assessment regarding others.

Thus, the population is split and easily disagrees with the sentences: “The TV programs make me feel insecure and restless with respect to Romania future” and “TV programs are offering a low quality entertainment”.

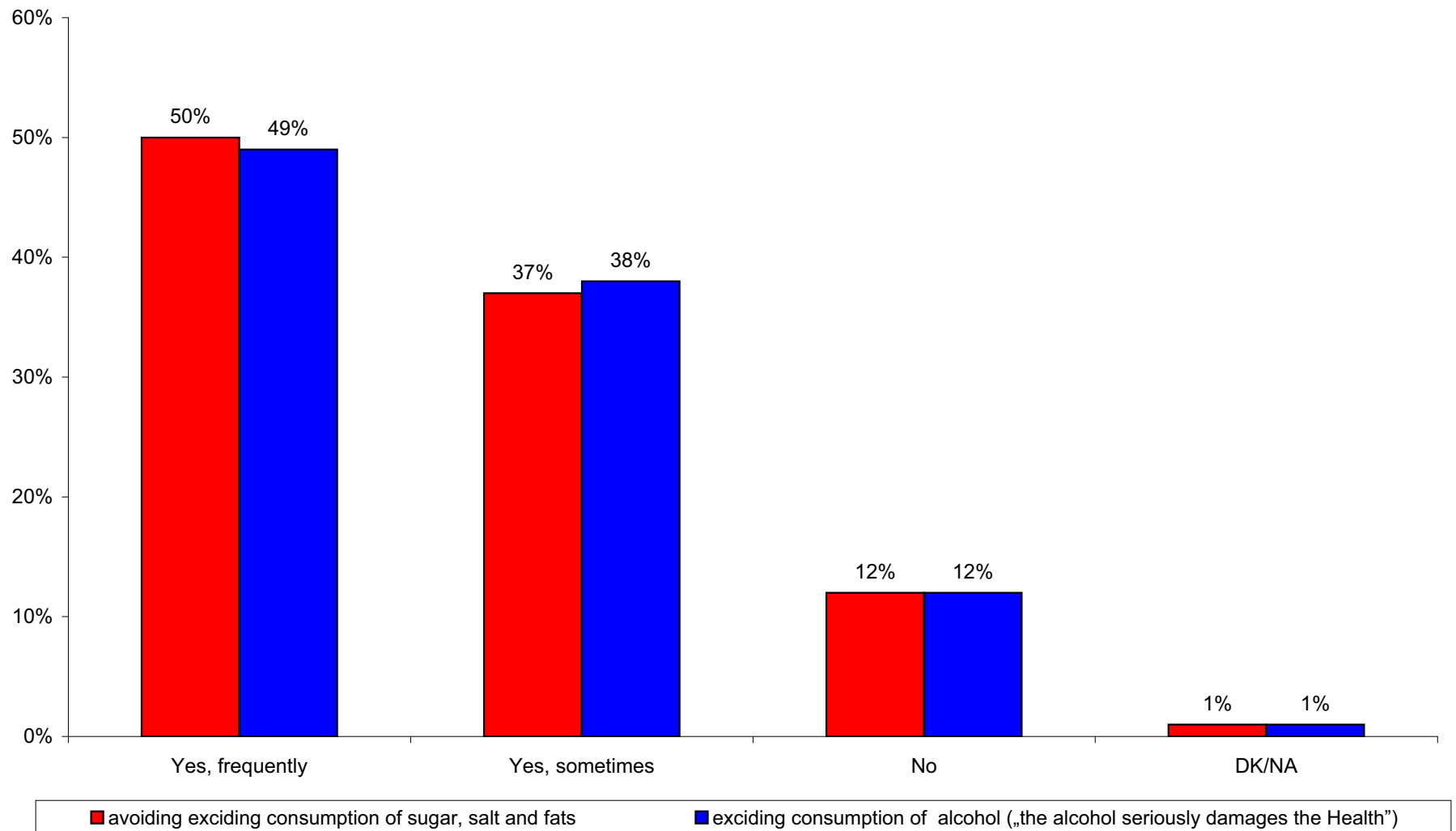
But, even so, 50% and 54% of the population rather disagree with these statements while 48% and 46% of the population would rather agree with these statements showing how confused the population is.

The population rather agrees to a large extent with sentences underling the passive role of television such as “The TV programs enrich my general knowledge” and “TV programs help me to understand what is happening in the Romanian society”.

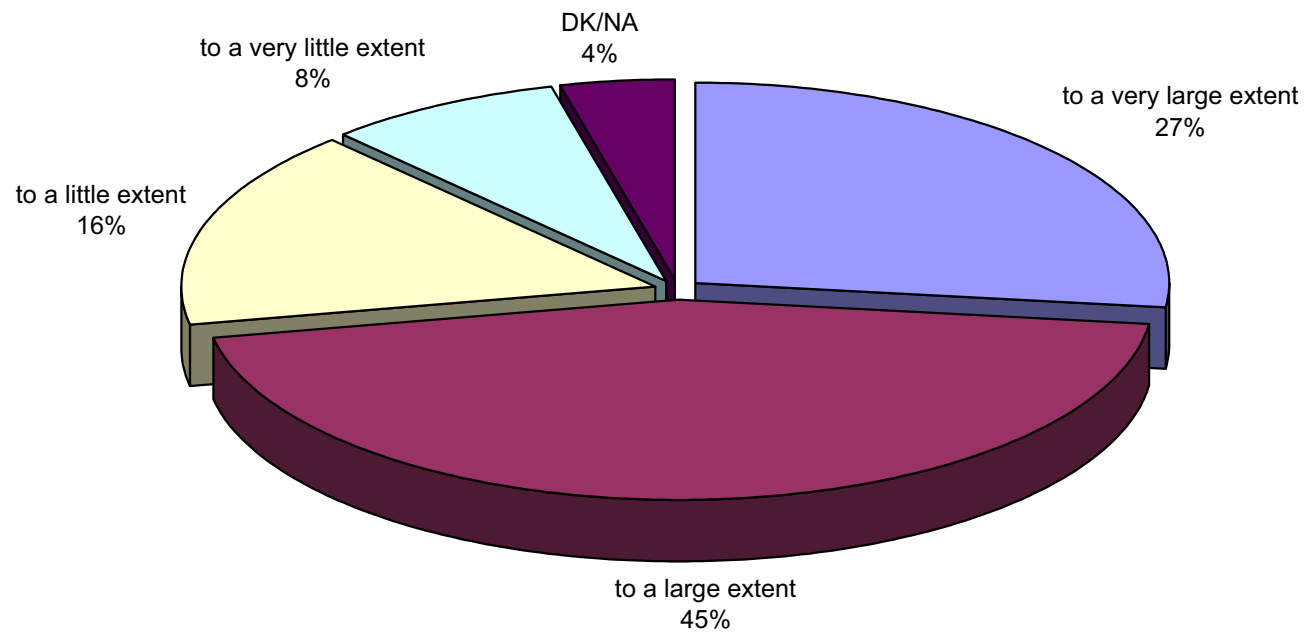
The percentage of 79% and 90% of the population that agree with these sentences is a population aware about the cultural and educational role of the television.

The population rather disagrees with the sentence “The TV programs increase my interest on politics and political life” which is in accordance with the low interest of the population in politics.

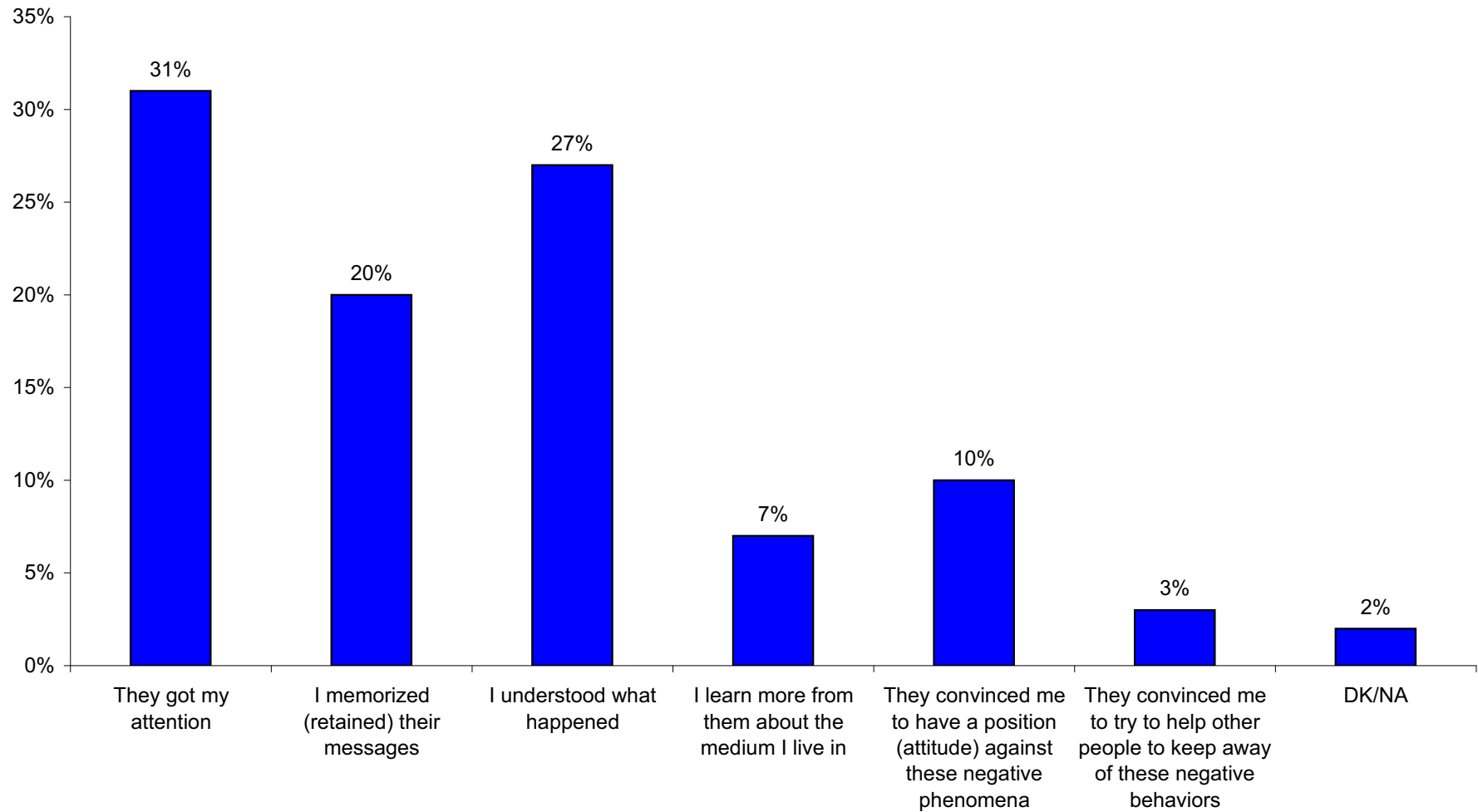
Do you watch social campaigns conducted in media regarding ...



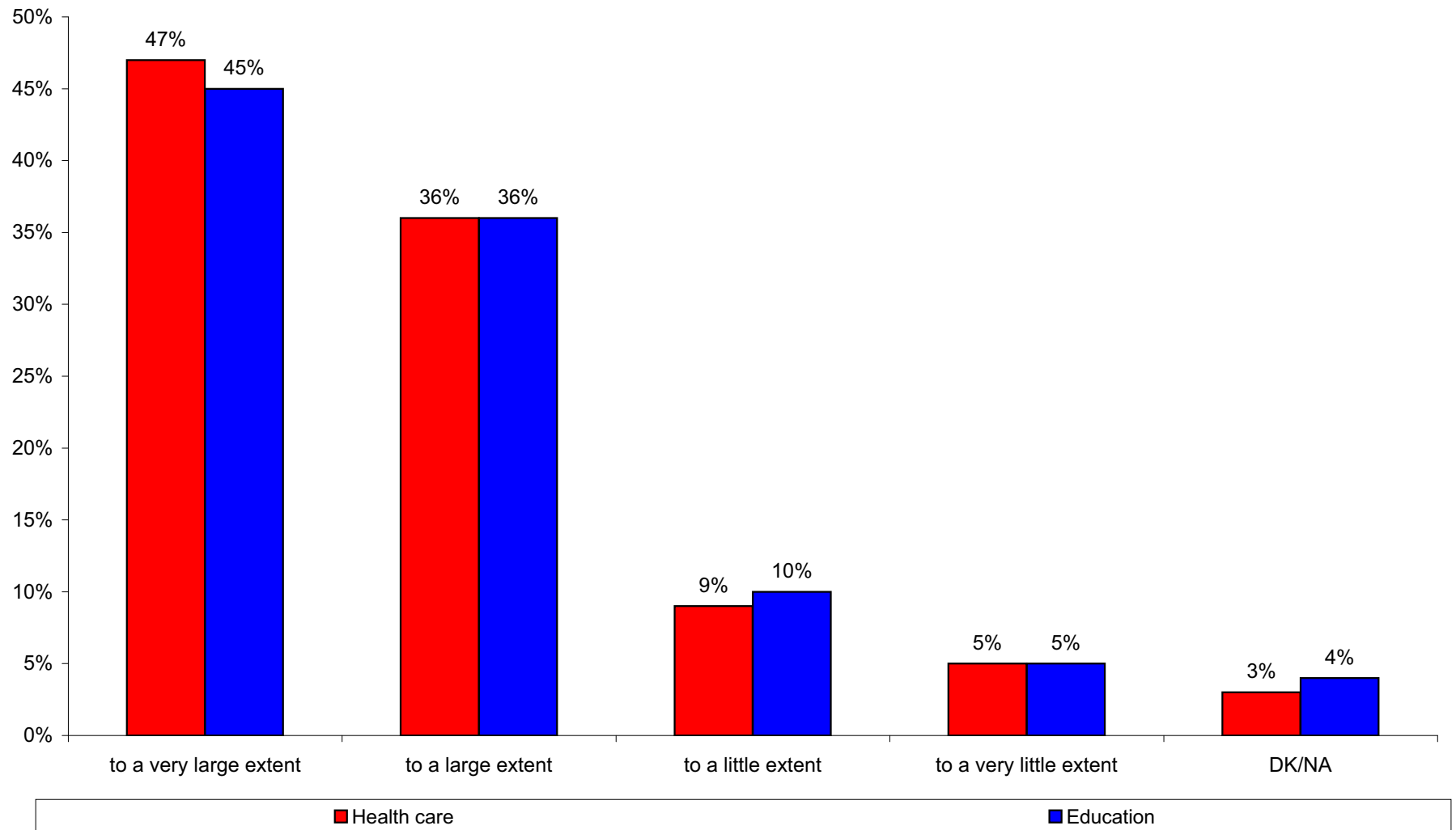
To what extent do you believe these campaigns are useful/helpful?
% of those watching the campaigns conducted in media



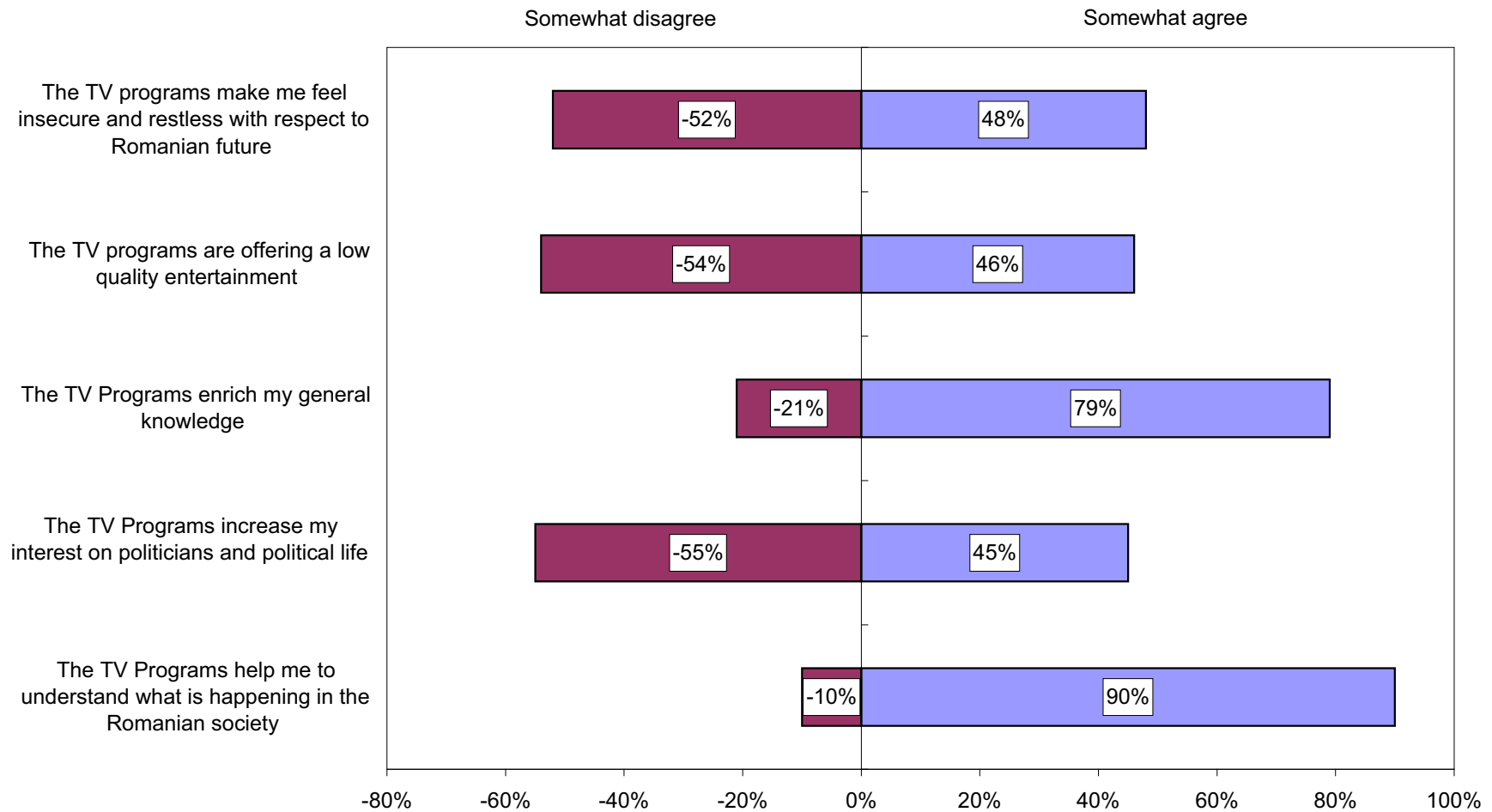
What kind of impact they had on you?
% of those who are watching only



To what extent you would be interested to watch other social campaigns regarding...?



To which of the following statements do you agree and to which do you disagree?



6. The impact of the publishing of the public opinion polls

As in 2004, in 2007 survey, some questions were asked about in order to received some valid and loyal answers regarding the effects of published polls on the population vote behavior. The questions target the awareness of the opinion polls, the assessment of the media release of public opinion polls and two types of effects the publishing polls can have (if the influence to vote for the winner – bandwagon effect, or to vote for the loser-underdog effect).

As the data survey show only a part of the population knows something about polls, that means they have read, heard or watched the results of opinion polls (this doesn't mean that population memorized the published results. As a matter of fact the answer to a question asked to see to what extent the population knows the political polls results, for the main parties showed that only about 20% merely knew such results.

The data show that 57%, in 2007 and 56% in 2004, of the population have never read, heard or watched the results of the opinion polls. About 40% say that they didn't hear about them and 3% don't know. (see graph *“Do you read, hear or watch the results of opinion polls?”*)

Thus, the political influence of published opinion polls on the voting behavior can be measured only for that part of the population (in other surveys such as Public Opinion Barometer conducted by FSD, the weight of this group of population is under 60% as well).

As we expected, from the overall of those knowing something about opinion polls, only a part take them into account when they vote.

The answer of the population to a specific question regarding self assessment of the polls influence show that both in 2007 and in 2004 only 4% of this category of population, let's name it “informed population” assess that they take polls result into account when they vote “to a very large extent”. Therefore is likely for them to be strong influenced in their vote decision. But, the most of the population are less influenced.

They perceive themselves like being influenced “to a large extent” (31%), “to a little extent” (31%) and “to a very little extent” (31%).

This means that is not about a decisive influence as the population self perceive it. (see graph “*To what extent do you take them into account when you decide whom to vote for?*”)

Respondents think that rather others not themselves are more influenced in the decision whom to vote for. Thus, the answer to a similar question about the others show that 8% of the population think that other people are influenced by published polls results “to a very large extent” (see graph “What about the other voters, to what extent do you think they take them into account when they decide whom to vote for?”)

Therefore, supposing that the perception is true, and indeed the data from 2007 confirmed those from 2004, one can say that 4% of the “informed voters” that is about 2% of the overall population is strong influenced by polls results in their decision whom to vote for.

Of course, not all of the voters are influenced in a similar way. For instance, the decided voters, the voters decided whom to vote for before the electoral campaign are more influenced by polls results (5%) then those undecided, who decide whom to vote for during the campaign (3%).

If we accept this influence, that is 4% of the “informed” voters and about 2% of the overall population remains to see how they are influenced.

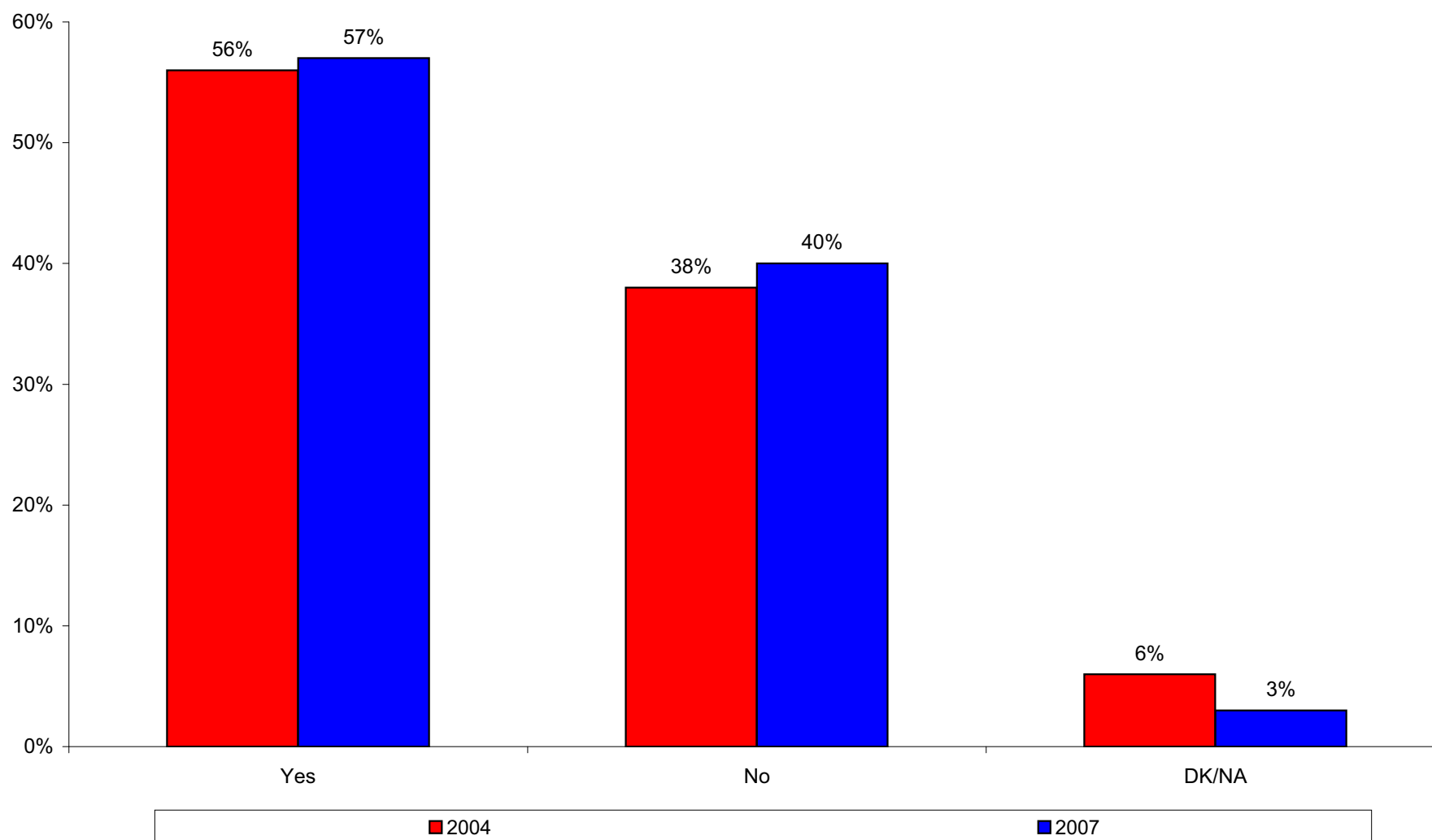
As the survey data show the respondents who are influenced much and very much by the polls results think they were influenced to vote for the winner (57% in 2007 and 77% in 2004), that is the bandwagon effect and only 7% in 2007 and 10% in 2004 were influenced to vote for the loser from polls, that is an underdog effect.

About 36% in 2007 and 13% in 2004 don’t know how they were influenced. If we take into account that a quarter of those influenced neutralized each others. So the net result of the impact of published polls on voting decision is, at the level of overall population between 1% and 2% of the voters.

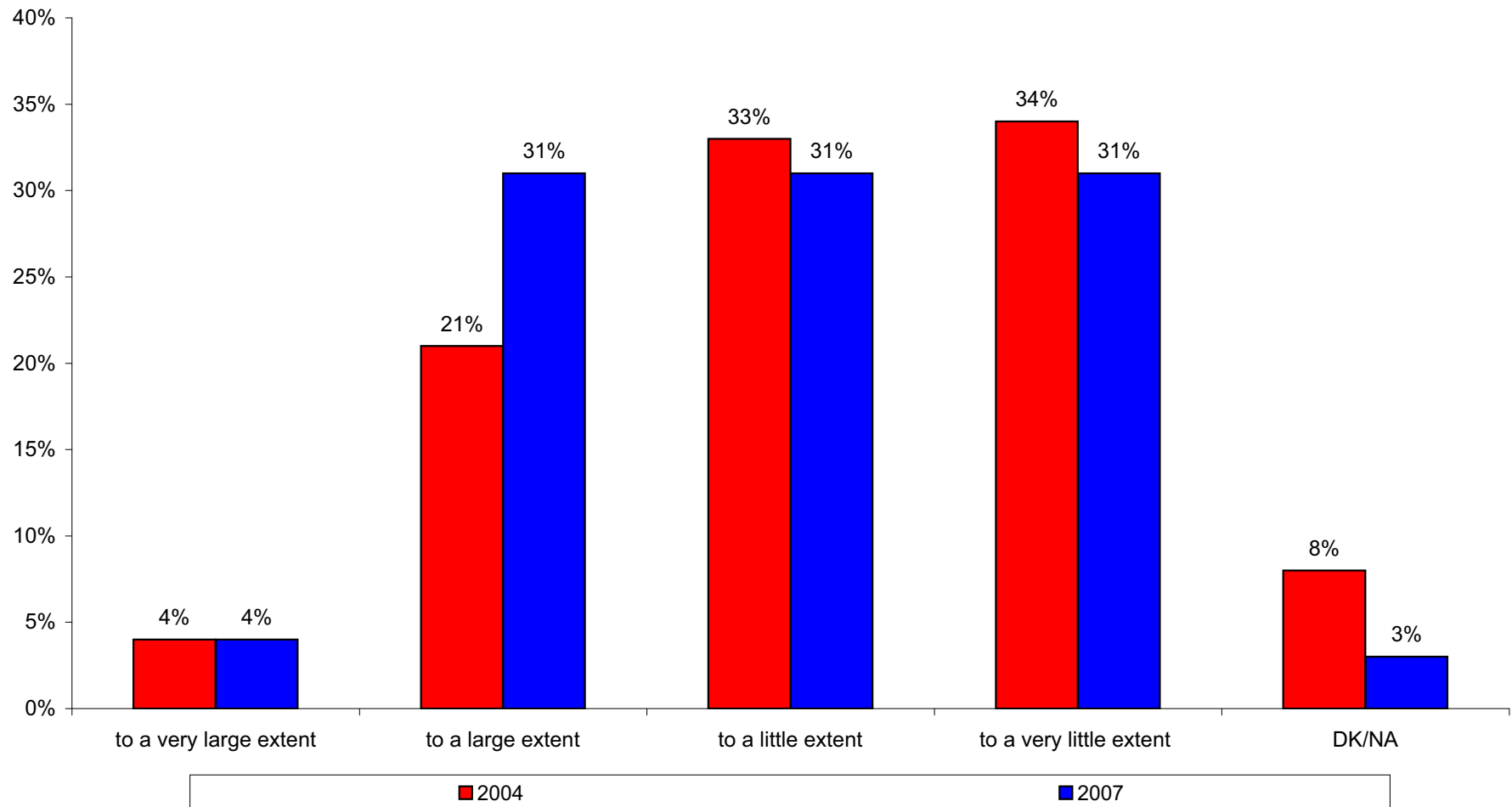
This is statistically insignificant and besides, nobody knows if the decision to vote of those 1%-2% voters is based on polls results only. The decision making theory shows that usually this is a process in which many factors are competing.

The conclusion is that the theory of direct influence and manipulation by opinion polls results is not confirmed.

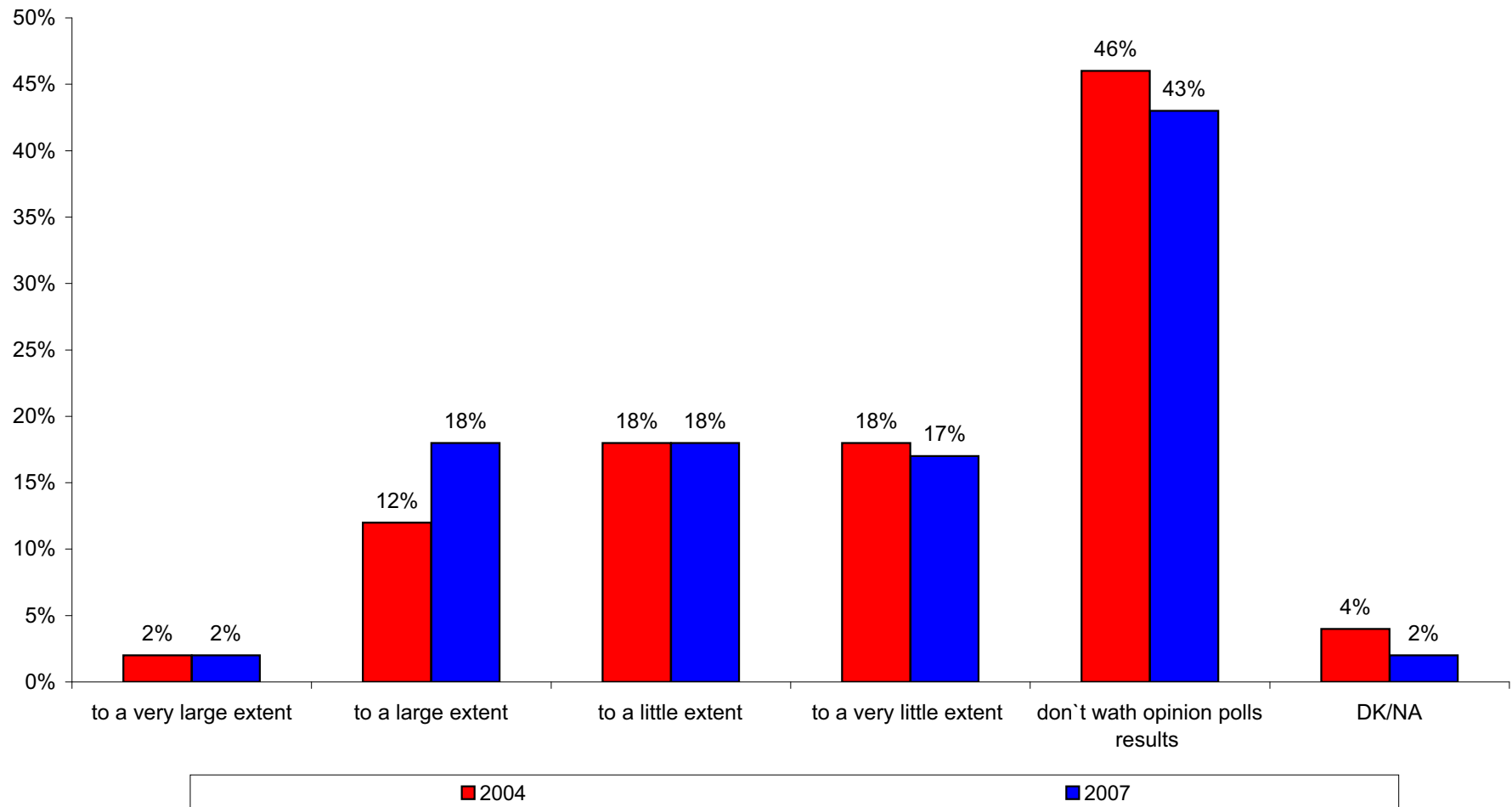
Do you read, hear or watch the results of opinion polls?



To what extent do you take them into account when you decide whom to vote for?
% of those watching opinion polls results

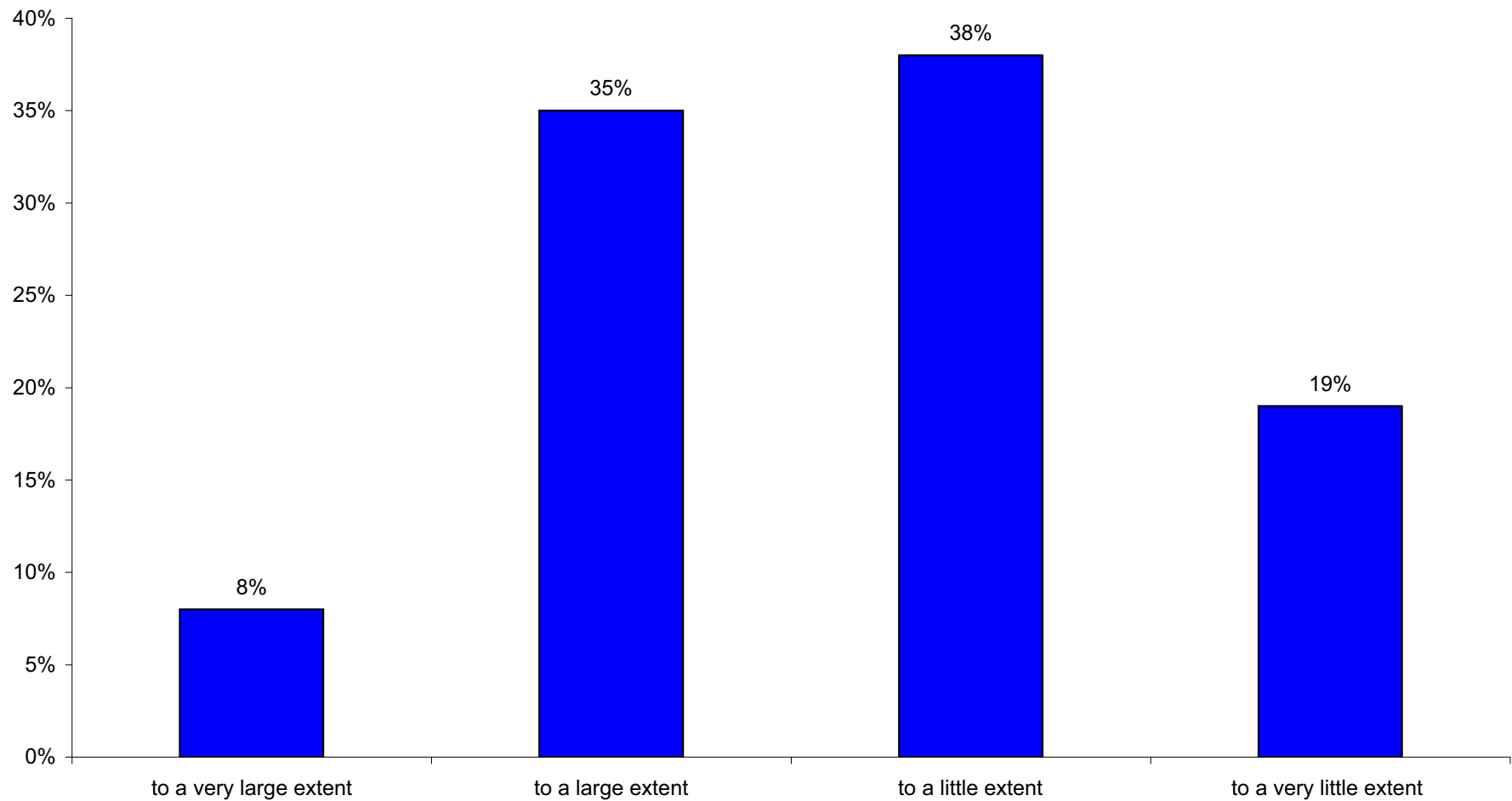


To what extent do you take them into account when you decide whom to vote for?
 % of entire population



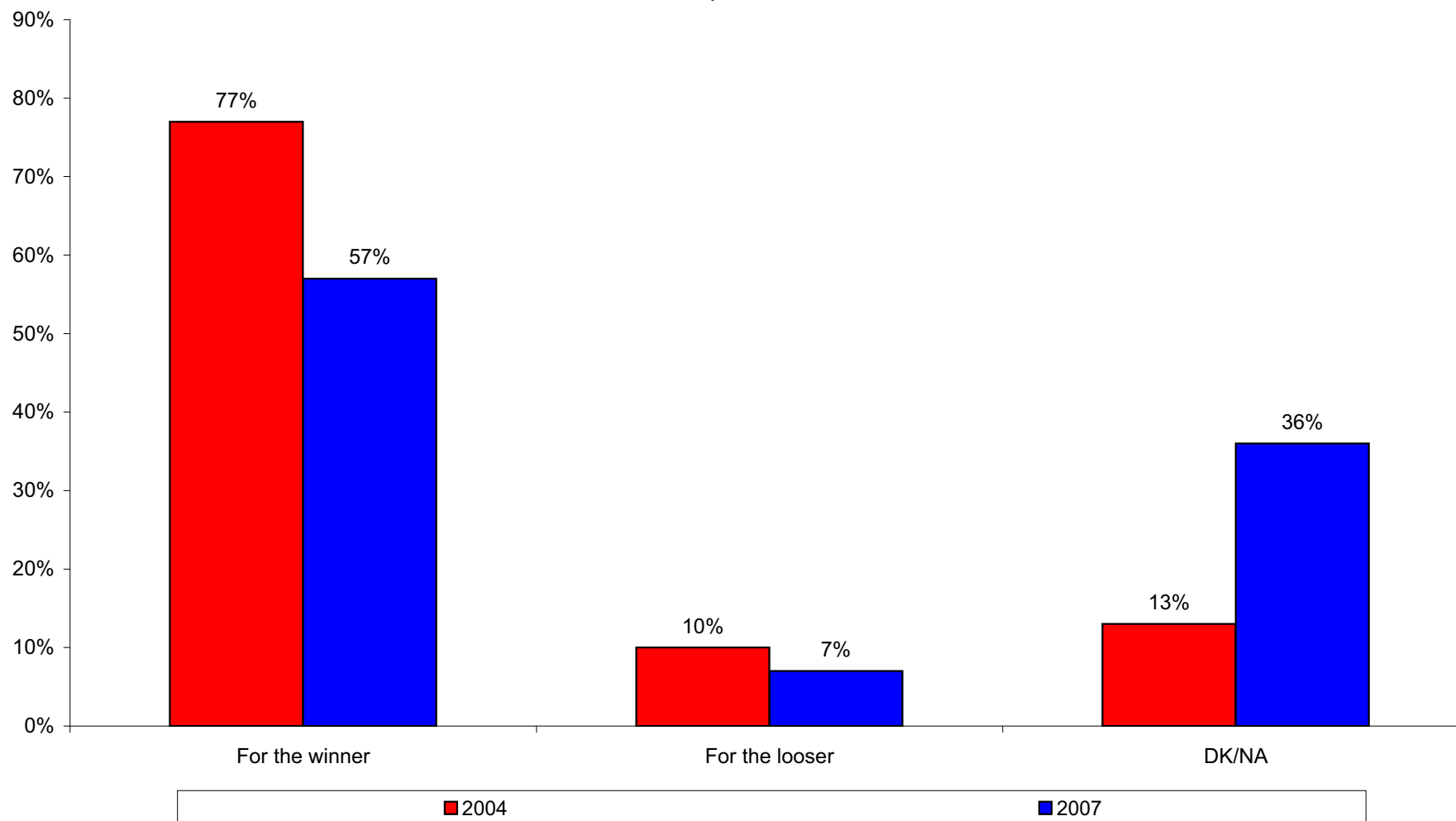
What about the other voters, to what extent do you think they take them into account when they decide whom to vote for?

% of those with an opinion and watching opinion polls results



Do these polls' results make you more or less likely to vote for the winner from polls or for the loser from polls?

% of those who are taking into account "to a very large extent" and "to a large extent" the results of opinion polls



7. The assessment of the performances of the TV political talk-shows moderators.

The assessment of the TV personalities performances and of the quality of the TV programs becomes, beyond of the ratings and shares indexes (which is a quantitative measurement) a new task for marketing and research agencies.

The 2007 survey had, among others, the objective to assess the performance of the TV political programs moderators.

In order to do this assessment (a debated task because of the political issues subjectivity) a scale validated by CURS in the surveys conducted on behalf of NAC in 2004 and 2006 was used.

Thus, instead of the scale use by American Marketing Evaluations Institute (is about a scale with 6 point scale starting with 1 corresponding to “is my favorite” continue with “a very good”, “good”, “bad” job) CURS adapted and tested the following scale¹:

1. Is that which I like the most/is my favorite
2. Is one of those I like the most/ is one of my favorite
3. Doesn't matter for my/neither good nor bad
4. Is one of those I don't like
5. Is that I don't like at all
6. Don't know him, don't watch, no answer

This scale tries to answer of two exigencies:

- the scale takes into account the TV consumers' feelings. These feelings (sensibilities, emotions) are much linked with moderators' performance and can be positives or negatives, attraction, rejections or indifference feelings. Thus, compared with the quality of the TV program, the assessment of the TV personalities implies the consumers'

¹ The scale was adapted by Dorel Abraham from CURS to be used instead of the Marketing Evaluations Institute scale and was tested and validated for Romania which provided good results regarding the assessment of the TV personalities' performance in previous studies. (1999, 2004, 2006)

subjectivity and for this version can imply the state of indifference or of neutrality feelings regardless if the program is good or bad assessed.

- the scale is balanced on the continuum positive-negative in accordance with the rule that the favorable items must be equals with the unfavorable items and to have in the middle, if is possible, a core point. In this case, there are two positive and two negative points on the scale and one neutral point between them. (the Marketing Evaluations scale has three points for the positive side and only two for the negative side).

The analysis of the results obtained by using this scale comparing to the quality programs scale and with the ratings show that there is a positive correlation between quantitative indexes and qualitative or performance indexes but there is also a lot of significant differences. As a rule, the increasing of the level of sympathy and feelings involvement of the consumers caused of the personality leads to the increasing of watching TV programs (including advertising) these personalities induce.

By using the CURS scale regarding the assessment of the TV political debates moderators (the list was agreed by the Client) two indexes or scores were computed: notoriety score and performance score.

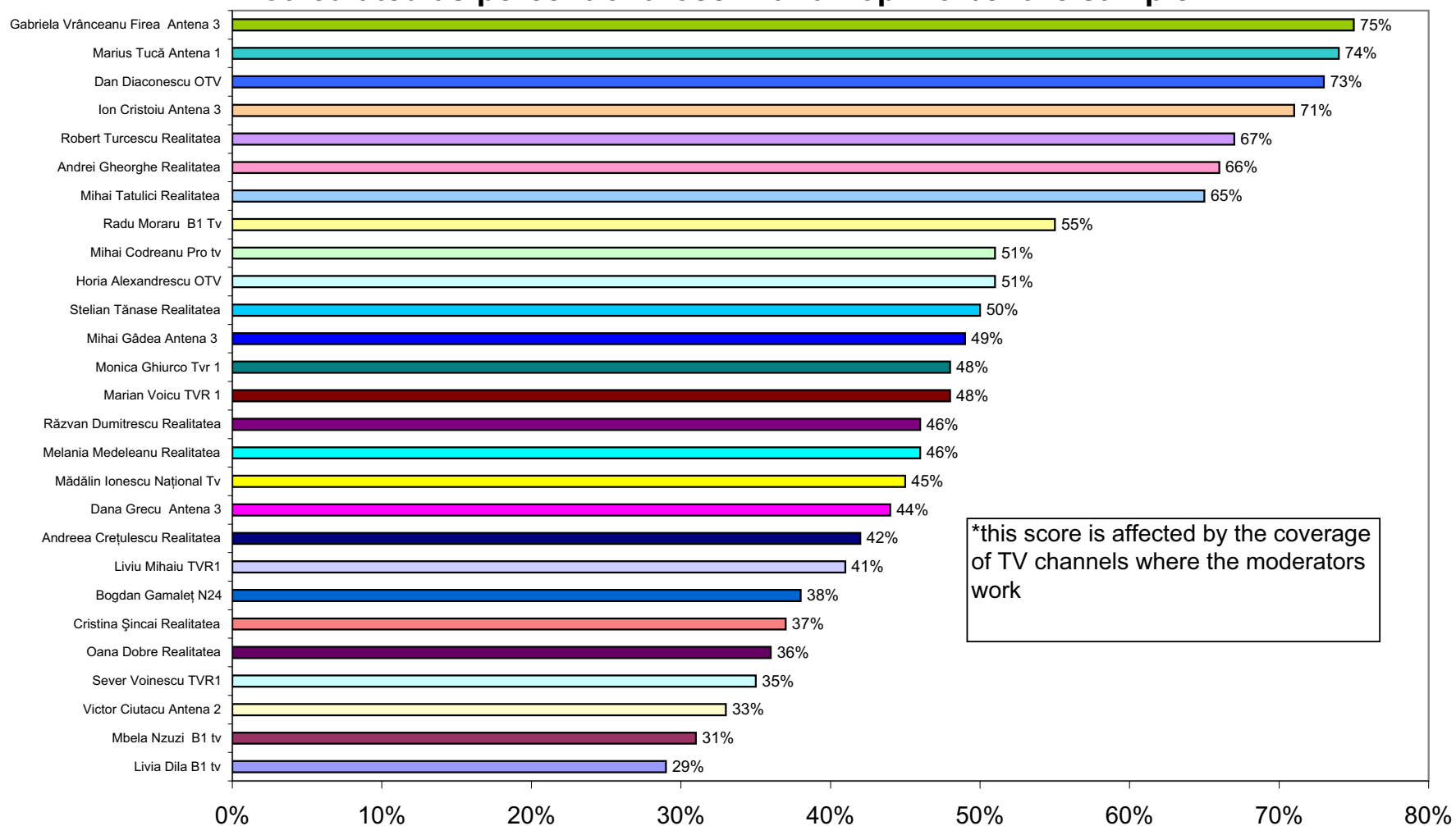
The notoriety score was computed as the percentage ratio between the people who did assessment (had an opinion) and the overall interviewed population (total sample) and the performance score computed as the percentage ratio between the people with favorable opinions (point 1 and 2 on the scale) and all people with opinions (who did assessments).

The data facilitate the building of other indexes which can give the hierarchy of the favorites, indifferent personality etc. and the values of different indexes for different groups of people as well.

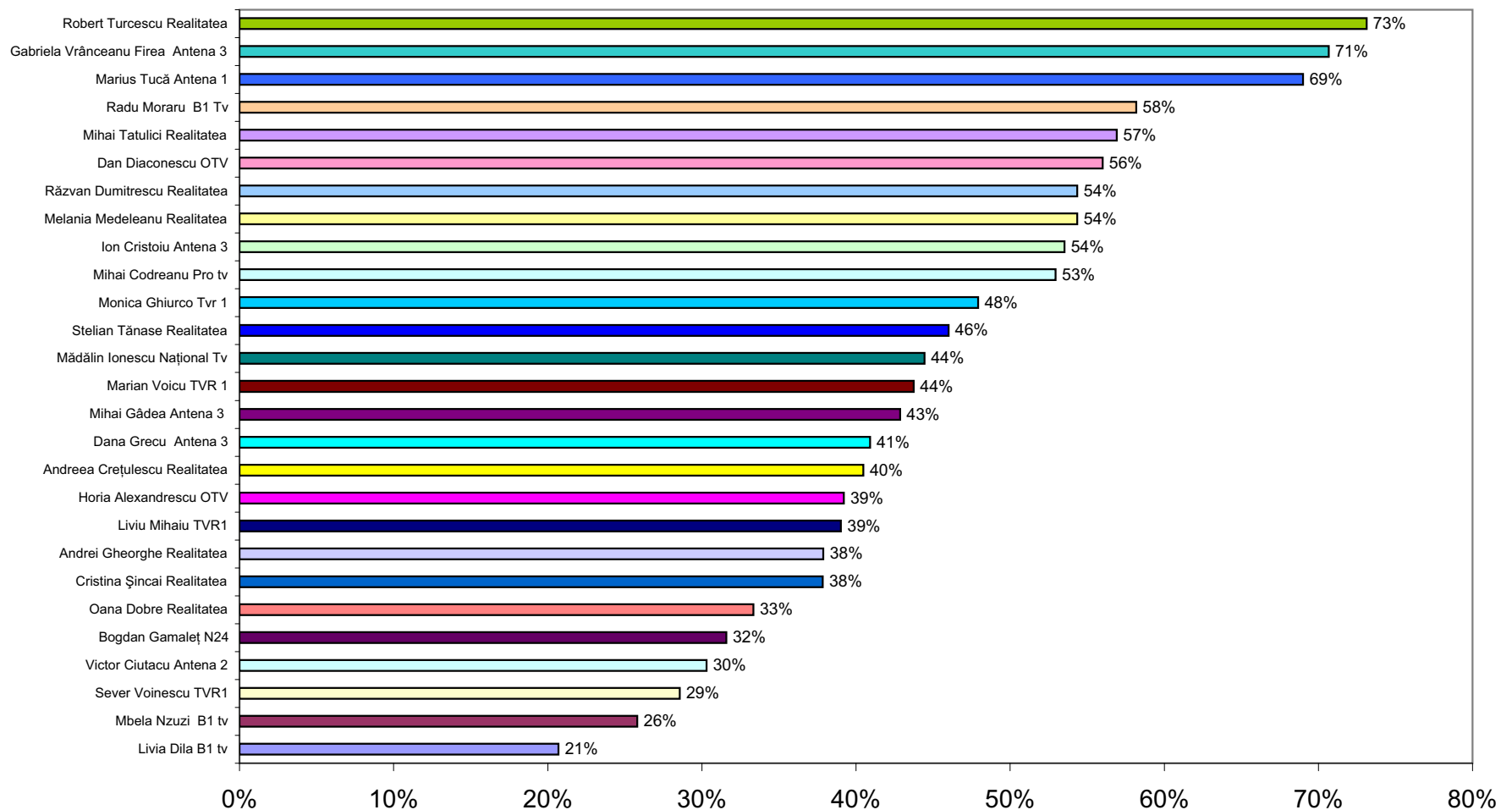
Here is show only the notoriety and performance scores for TV political talk/shows moderators. It is noticeable that between the two scores there is a correlation but there are a lot of difference which is showing that the notoriety score don't leads automatically to the performance score but it is known that performance score leads finally to a great notoriety.

Notoriety score*

Calculated as percent of those with an opinion/entire sample



Performance score
calculated as percent of those with faorable opinions/those with an opinion

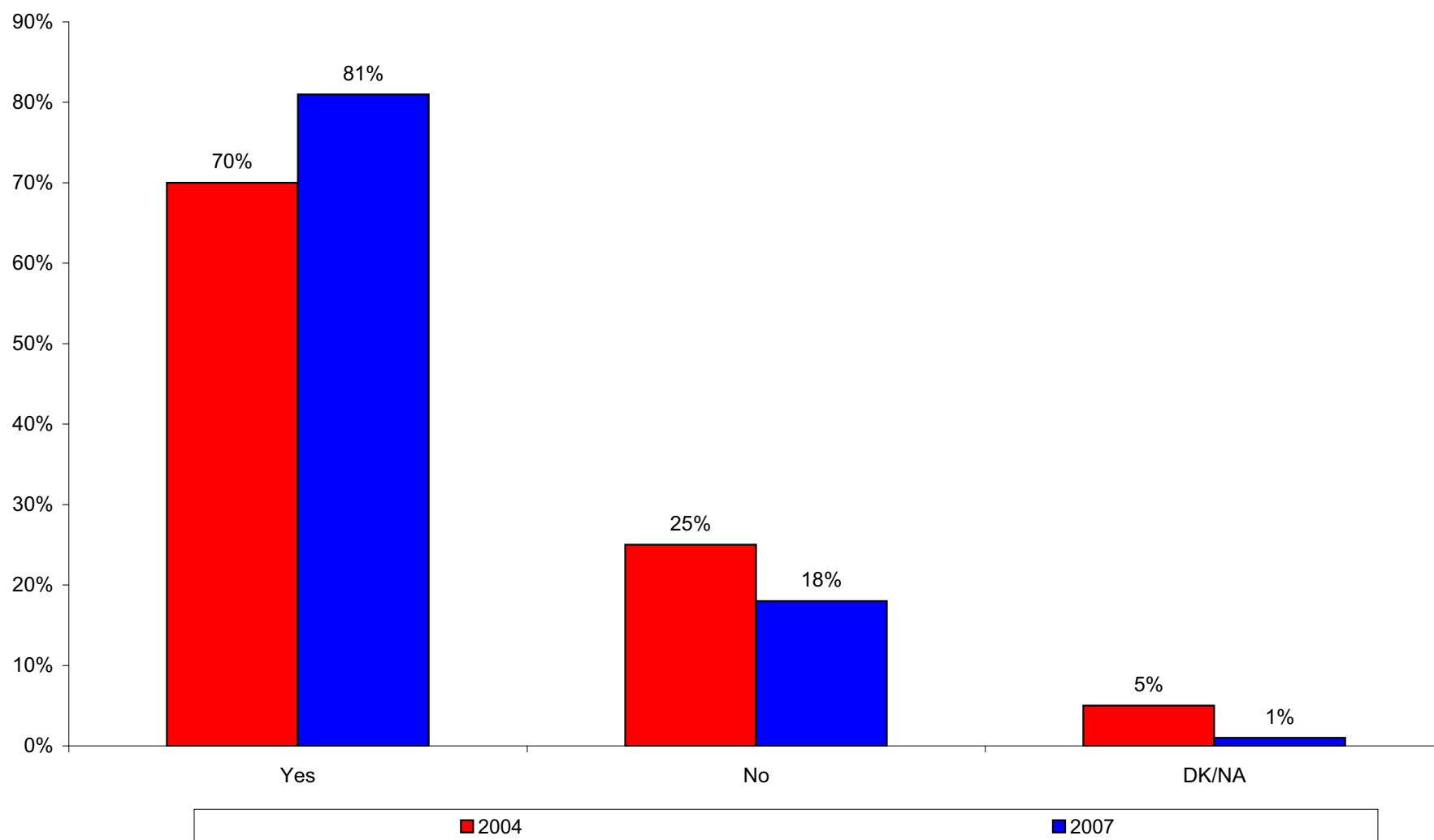


8. The population awareness and level of trust in NAC

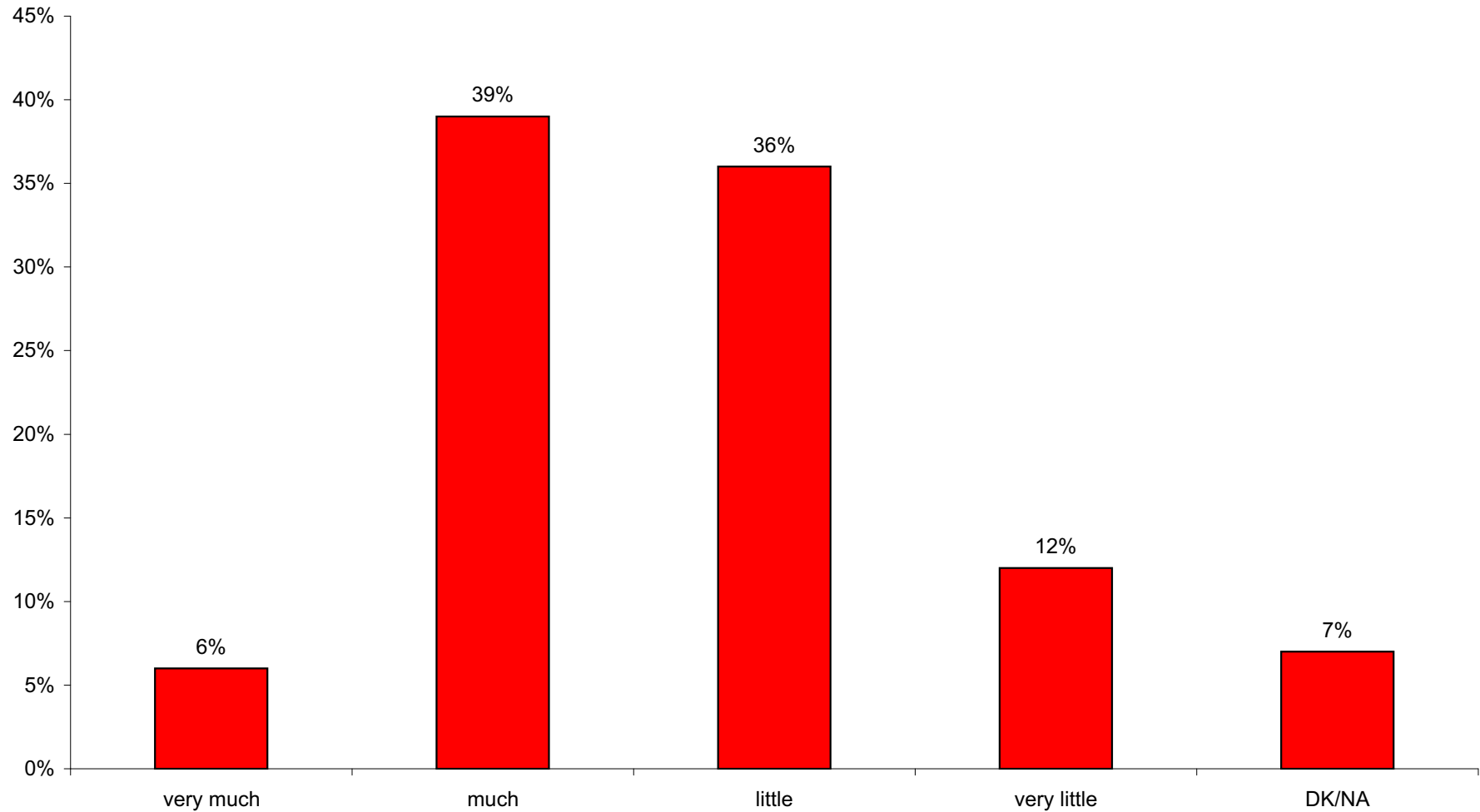
The degree of NAC's awareness among Romanian population is very high. Population awareness about NAC increased in 2007 compared to 2004. The survey data show that more than 80% of the interviewed population heard about NAC in 2007. In 2004, to a similar question, 70% of the population answered that they have been heard about NAC. (see graph "*Have you heard about NAC?*").

Regarding the population level of trust in NAC, the survey data show that Romanians who heard about NAC are split in two halves. About one half trust "very much" and "much" in NAC, and the other half trust "little" and "very little" in NAC. (see graph "*How much do you trust NAC?*")

Have you heard about NAC?



How much do you trust NAC?
% of those who heard about NAC





Centrul de Sociologie Urbană și Regională
CURS

Str. Tudor Arghezi nr. 21, sector 2, București
Tel/fax: +4021-317.88.88 Tel: +4021-317.88.88 e-mail: office@curs.ro web: www.curs.ro

„The Influence of Media on Electoral Behavior”

Final Report

Volume 2

September - October 2007

Beneficiary

The National Audio-Visual Council

This study is part of the project “Enhancement and development of the professional expertise of the Romanian audiovisual sector (RO 2004/016-772.03.15.01)”, financed from the EC General Budget

The content of this paper doesn't represent necessary the formal position of EU.

For Phare information contact: cfcu.phare@mfinante.ro

Novembre 2007.

Appendix 1

Crosstabs between mass media audience indicators and consumers profiles.

		How often do you watch the TV programs?	
		Morte than 3 hours daily	less than 3 hours daily
		Col %	Col %
Which is the most important source you use for your political information?	newspapers	4%	5%
	radio	4%	7%
	TV	84%	78%
	others	7%	9%
	dk, na	1%	1%
In the last elections (2004) for the Parliament, when you decided whom to vote for?	before the campaign	59%	52%
	during the campaign	22%	30%
	after the TV debates	18%	18%
	after the radio debates	1%	1%
Did you watch the TV debates with or between parties in 2004 campaign?	yes	67%	58%
	no	20%	25%
	don`t remember	10%	12%
	dk, na	3%	5%
In the last elections (2004, round I) for the president, when you decided whom to vote for?	before the campaign	56%	50%
	during the campaign	19%	26%
	after the TV debates	15%	15%
	after the radio debates	10%	8%
Did you watch the TV debates with candidates for president in 2004 campaign?	yes	71%	60%
	no	17%	24%
	don`t remember	8%	11%
	dk, na	3%	4%
Are you agree or disagree with the statement "The TV Programs help me to understand what is happening in the Romanian society"?	somewhat agree	93%	89%
	somewhat disagree	7%	11%
Are you agree or disagree with the statement "The TV Programs increase my interest on politicians and political life?"	somewhat agree	51%	42%
	somewhat disagree	49%	58%
Are you agree or disagree with the statement "The TV Programs enrich my general knowledge"?	somewhat agree	82%	78%
	somewhat disagree	18%	22%
Are you agree or disagree with the statement "The TV programs are offering a low quality entertainment?"	somewhat agree	43%	48%
	somewhat disagree	57%	52%
Are you agree or disagree with the statement "The TV programs make me feel insecure and restless with respect to Romanian future?"	somewhat agree	48%	48%
	somewhat disagree	52%	52%

		Gender	
		male	female
		Col %	Col %
Which is the most important source you use for your political information?	newspapers	5%	5%
	radio	7%	5%
	TV	81%	79%
	others	6%	9%
	dk, na	1%	1%
In the last elections (2004) for the Parliament, when you decided whom to vote for?	before the campaign	58%	51%
	during the campaign	25%	28%
	after the TV debates	16%	20%
	after the radio debates	1%	1%
Did you watch the TV debates with or between parties in 2004 campaign?	yes	65%	58%
	no	21%	26%
	don't remember	11%	12%
	dk, na	4%	5%
In the last elections (2004, round I) for the president, when you decided whom to vote for?	before the campaign	55%	50%
	during the campaign	22%	25%
	after the TV debates	14%	16%
	after the radio debates	9%	9%
Did you watch the TV debates with candidates for president in 2004 campaign?	yes	68%	61%
	no	19%	23%
	don't remember	9%	11%
	dk, na	4%	4%
Are you agree or disagree with the statement "The TV Programs help me to understand what is happening in the Romanian society"?	somewhat agree	89%	91%
	somewhat disagree	11%	9%
Are you agree or disagree with the statement "The TV Programs increase my interest on politicians and political life?"	somewhat agree	47%	43%
	somewhat disagree	53%	57%
Are you agree or disagree with the statement "The TV Programs enrich my general knowledge"?	somewhat agree	80%	78%
	somewhat disagree	20%	22%
Are you agree or disagree with the statement "The TV programs are offering a low quality entertainment?"	somewhat agree	44%	48%
	somewhat disagree	56%	52%
Are you agree or disagree with the statement "The TV programs make me feel insecure and restless with respect to Romanian future?"	somewhat agree	46%	50%
	somewhat disagree	54%	50%

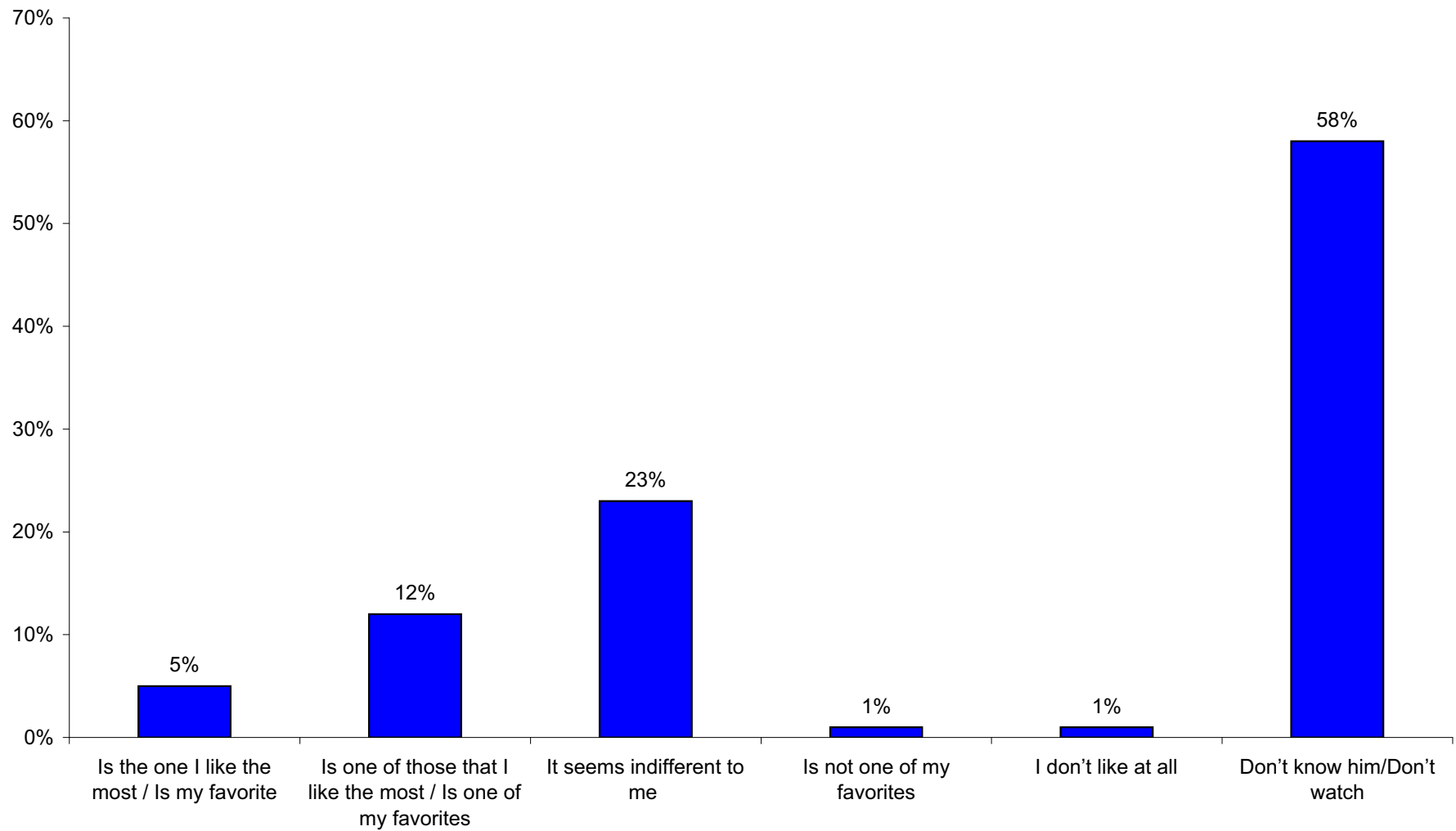
		Age categories		
		between 18-30 years old	between 31-55 years old	56 years and over
		Col %	Col %	Col %
Which is the most important source you use for your political information?	newspapers	7%	4%	5%
	radio	4%	6%	7%
	TV	75%	83%	79%
	others	13%	7%	7%
	dk, na	1%	1%	2%
In the last elections (2004) for the Parliament, when you decided whom to vote for?	before the campaign	57%	54%	54%
	during the campaign	25%	28%	26%
	after the TV debates	16%	17%	19%
	after the radio debates	1%	1%	1%
Did you watch the TV debates with or between parties in 2004 campaign?	yes	42%	66%	64%
	no	38%	21%	19%
	don`t remember	11%	10%	13%
	dk, na	9%	3%	4%
In the last elections (2004, round I) for the president, when you decided whom to vote for?	before the campaign	42%	54%	55%
	during the campaign	21%	26%	23%
	after the TV debates	11%	14%	18%
	after the radio debates	26%	6%	5%
Did you watch the TV debates with candidates for president in 2004 campaign?	yes	45%	70%	68%
	no	35%	19%	18%
	don`t remember	12%	8%	12%
	dk, na	9%	4%	3%
Are you agree or disagree with the statement "The TV Programs help me to understand what is happening in the Romanian society"?	somewhat agree	83%	90%	93%
	somewhat disagree	17%	10%	7%
Are you agree or disagree with the statement "The TV Programs increase my interest on politicians and political life"?	somewhat agree	37%	47%	48%
	somewhat disagree	63%	53%	52%
Are you agree or disagree with the statement "The TV Programs enrich my general knowledge"?	somewhat agree	75%	82%	78%
	somewhat disagree	25%	18%	22%
Are you agree or disagree with the statement "The TV programs are offering a low quality entertainment"?	somewhat agree	53%	46%	42%
	somewhat disagree	47%	54%	58%
Are you agree or disagree with the statement "The TV programs make me feel insecure and restless with respect to Romanian future"?	somewhat agree	49%	48%	49%
	somewhat disagree	51%	52%	51%

			Education level		
			less than high school	high school	university degree
			Col %	Col %	Col %
Which is the most important source you use for your political information?	newspapers		3%	4%	11%
	radio		7%	6%	5%
	TV		80%	83%	74%
	others		9%	6%	9%
	dk, na		2%	1%	1%
In the last elections (2004) for the Parliament, when you decided whom to vote for?	before the campaign		53%	53%	62%
	during the campaign		27%	29%	20%
	after the TV debates		19%	17%	16%
	after the radio debates		1%	1%	1%
Did you watch the TV debates with or between parties in 2004 campaign?	yes		59%	63%	64%
	no		23%	23%	23%
	don't remember		13%	10%	11%
	dk, na		4%	5%	2%
In the last elections (2004, round I) for the president, when you decided whom to vote for?	before the campaign		50%	51%	62%
	during the campaign		27%	22%	18%
	after the TV debates		15%	16%	13%
	after the radio debates		8%	11%	7%
Did you watch the TV debates with candidates for president in 2004 campaign?	yes		63%	65%	69%
	no		22%	22%	19%
	don't remember		12%	8%	10%
	dk, na		4%	5%	3%
Are you agree or disagree with the statement "The TV Programs help me to understand what is happening in the Romanian society"?	somewhat agree		94%	91%	79%
	somewhat disagree		6%	9%	21%
Are you agree or disagree with the statement "The TV Programs increase my interest on politicians and political life?"	somewhat agree		48%	46%	36%
	somewhat disagree		52%	54%	64%
Are you agree or disagree with the statement "The TV Programs enrich my general knowledge"?	somewhat agree		82%	81%	70%
	somewhat disagree		18%	19%	30%
Are you agree or disagree with the statement "The TV programs are offering a low quality entertainment?"	somewhat agree		41%	45%	64%
	somewhat disagree		59%	55%	36%
Are you agree or disagree with the statement "The TV programs make me feel insecure and restless with respect to Romanian future?"	somewhat agree		50%	47%	42%
	somewhat disagree		50%	53%	58%

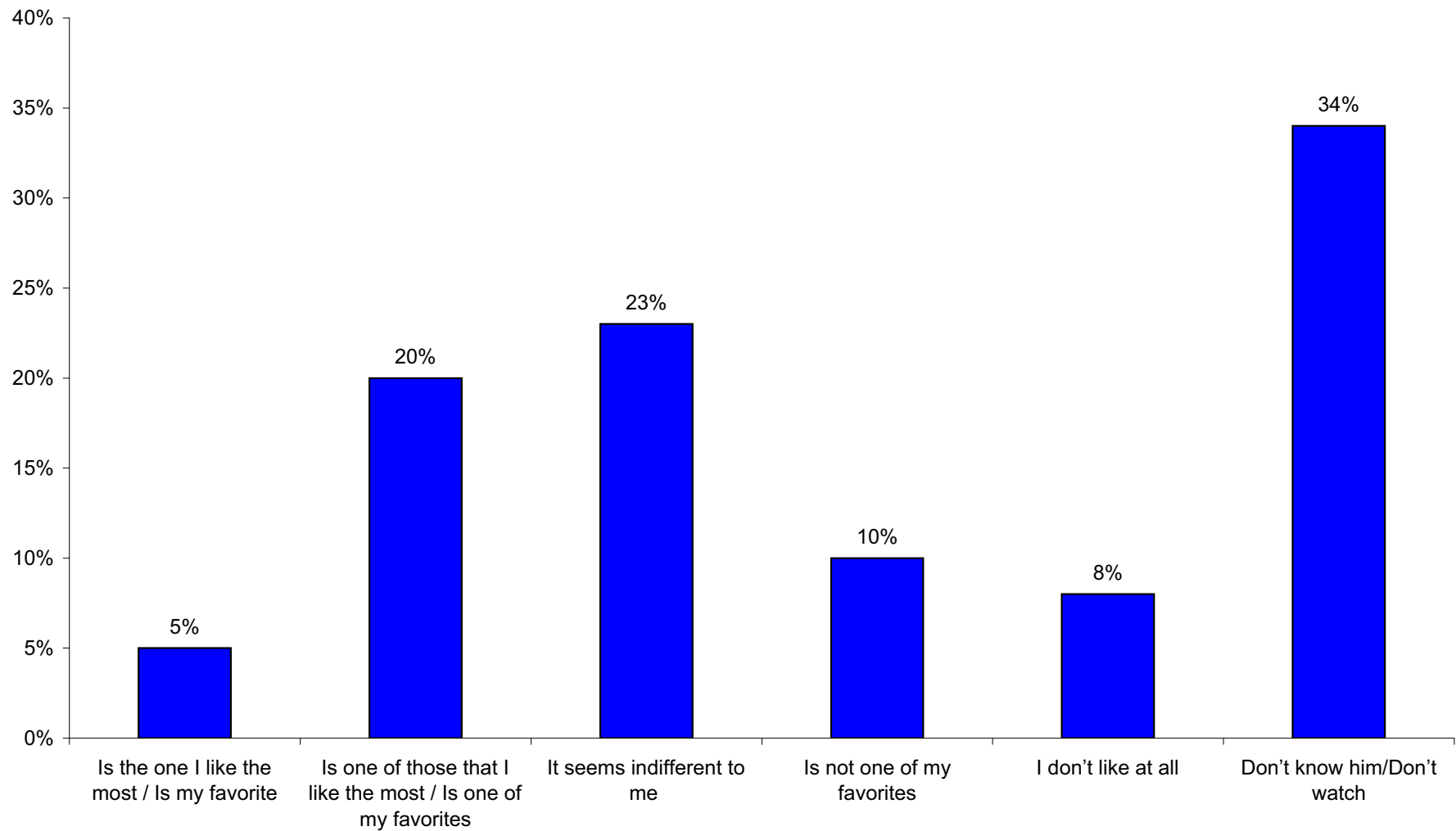
Appendix 2

Respondents' assessment regarding each political talk-shows moderators.

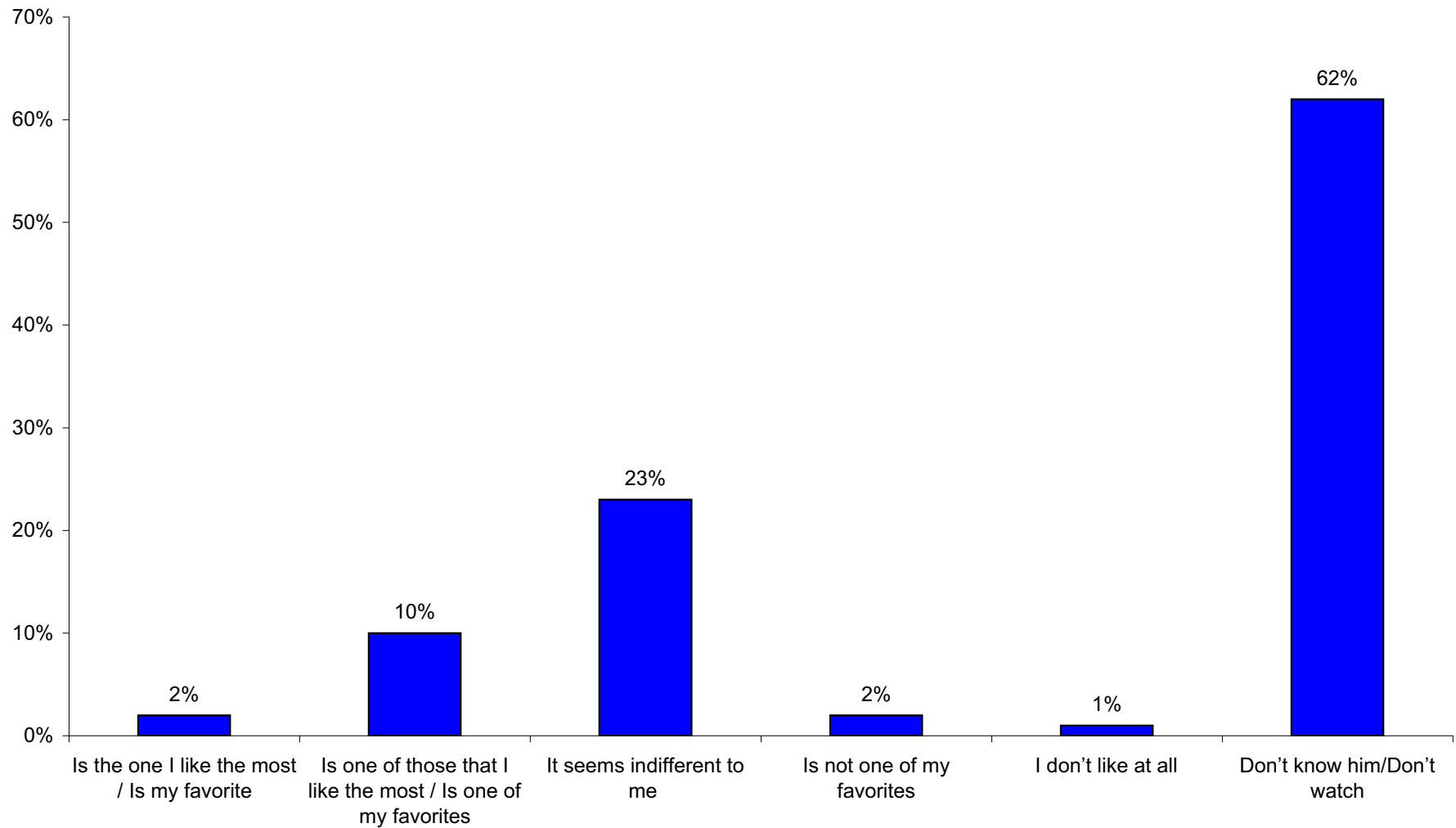
What is your opinion about Andreea Crețulescu - Realitatea?



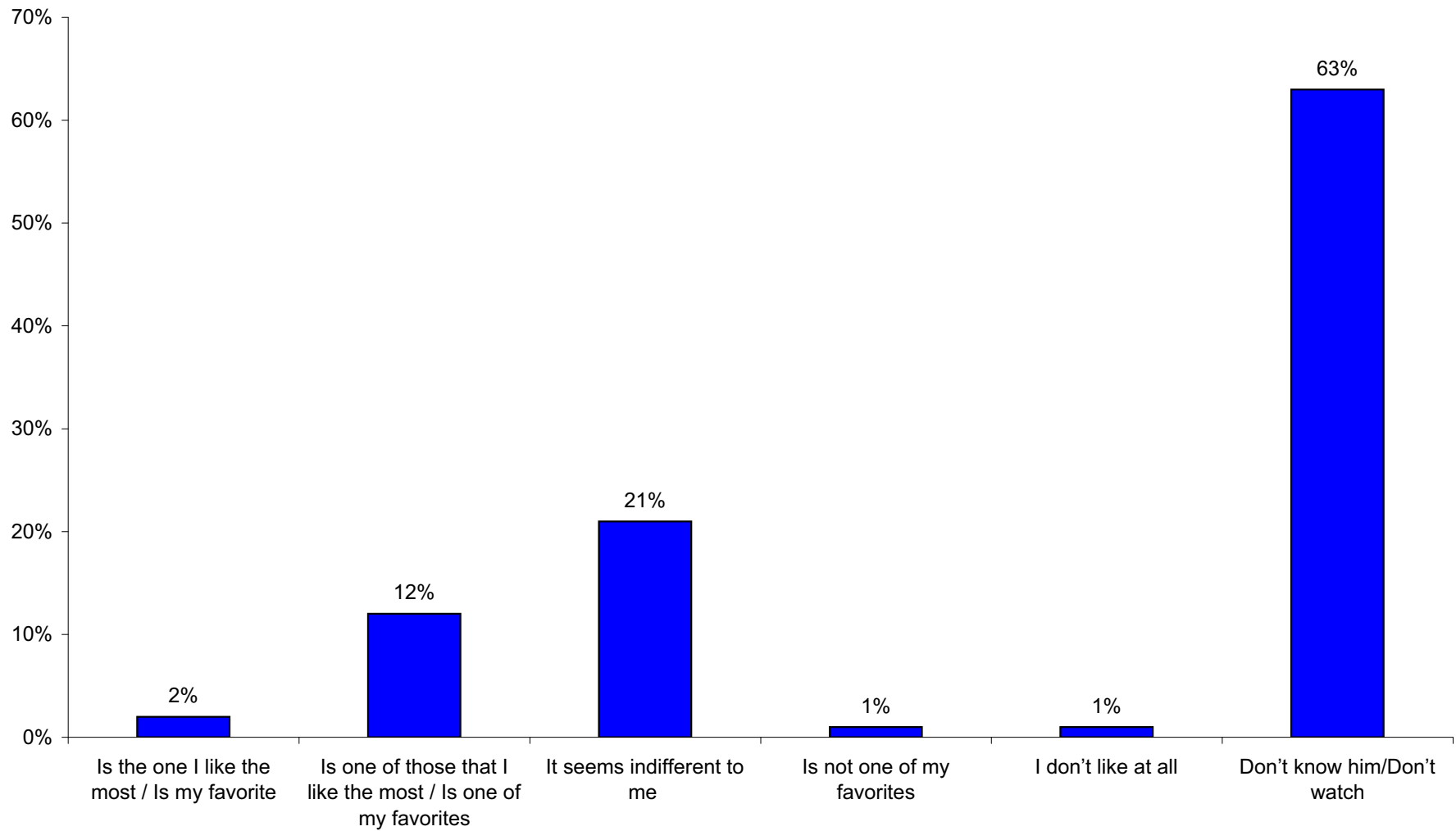
What is your opinion about Andrei Gheorghe - Realitatea?



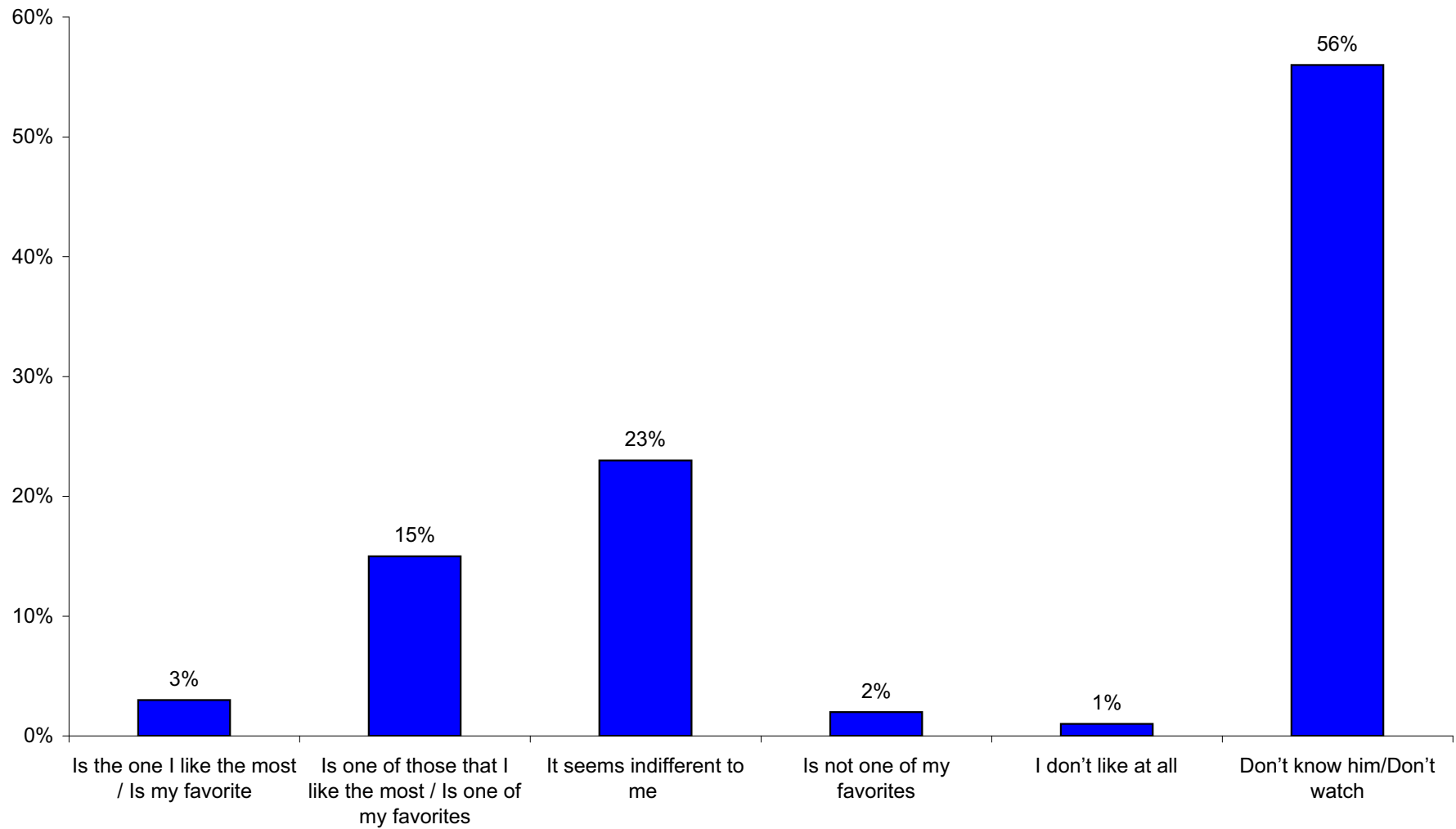
What is your opinion about Bogdan Gamalet - N24?



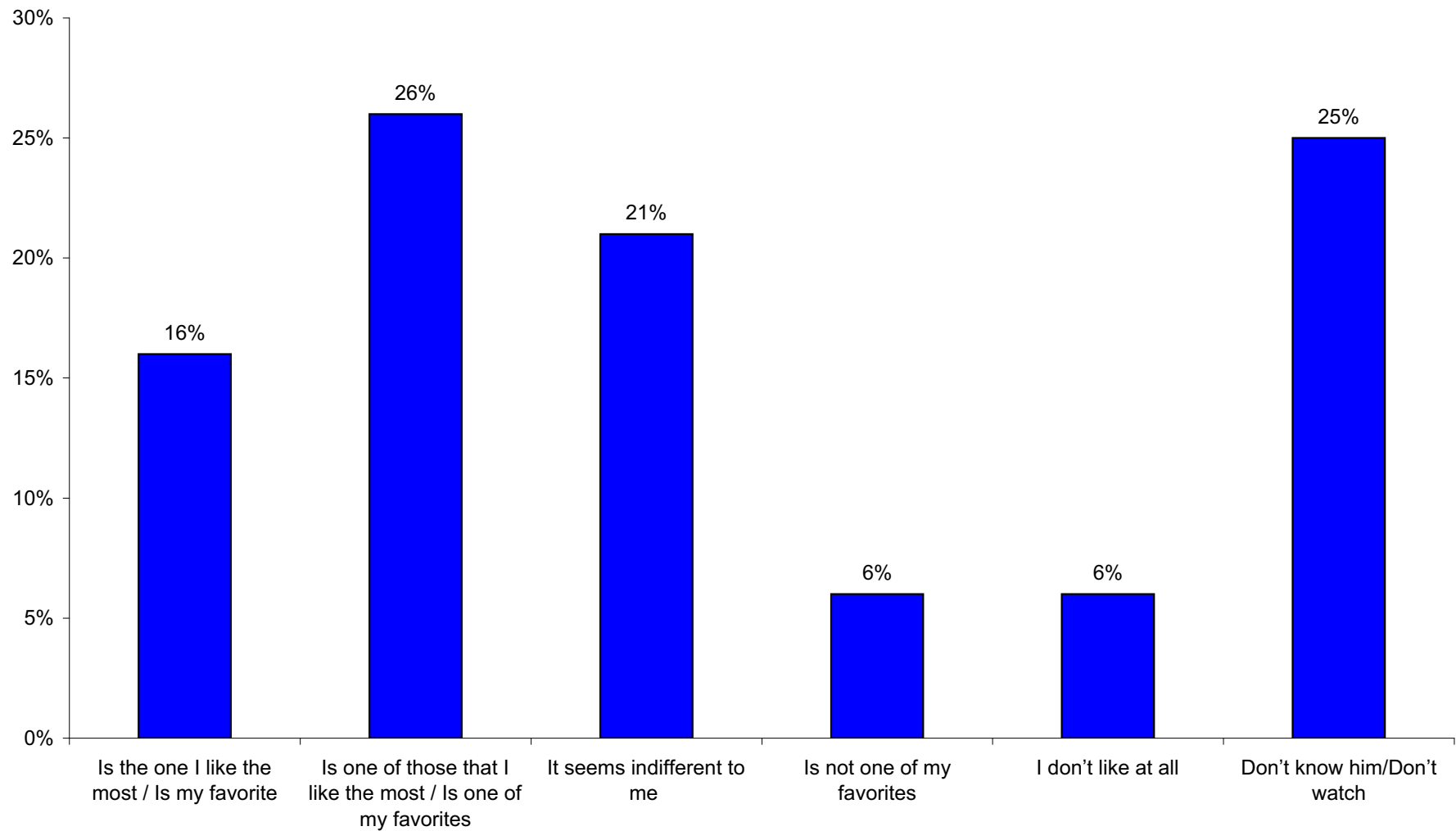
What is your opinion about Cristina Șincai - Realitatea?



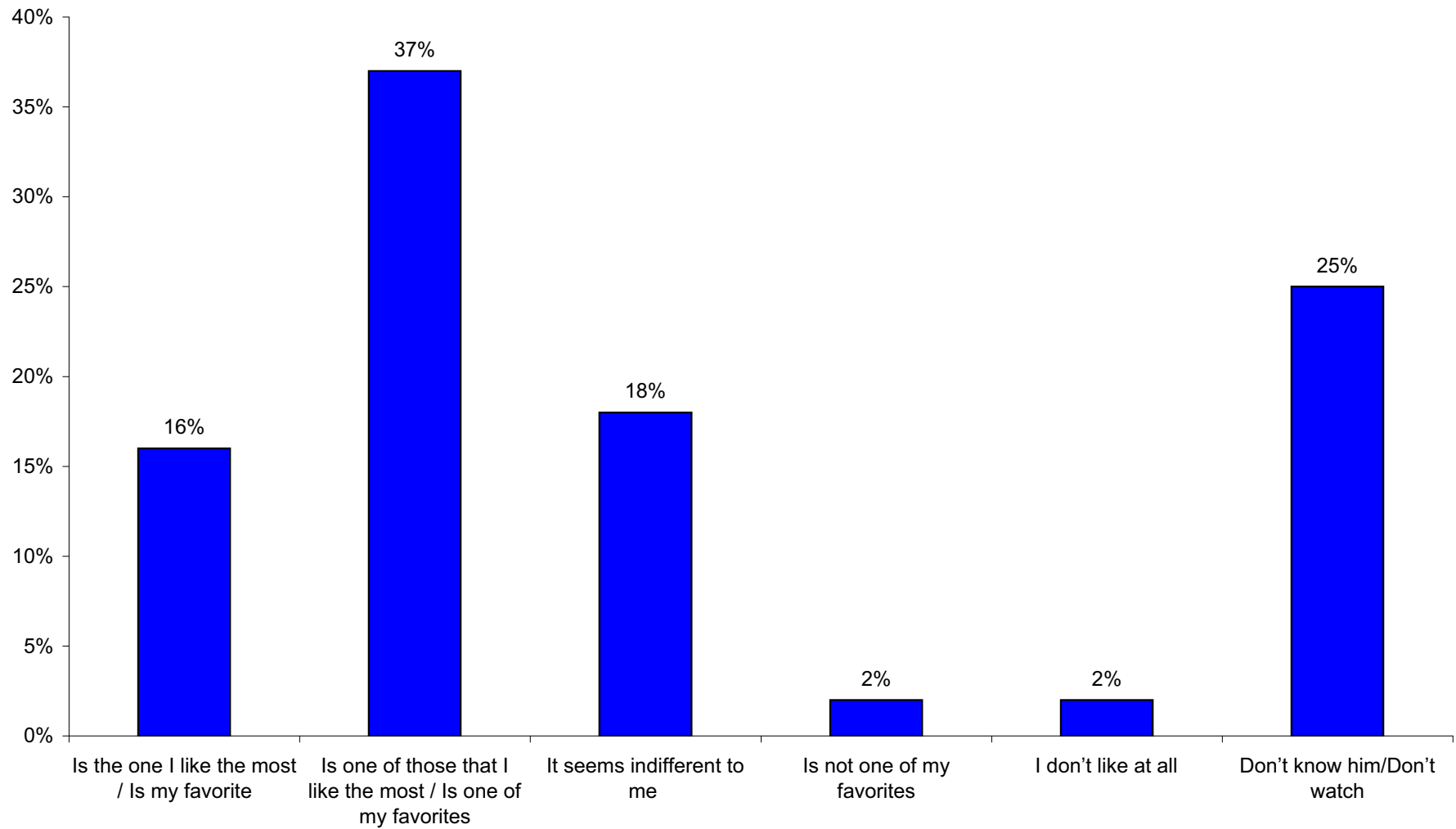
What is your opinion about Dana Grecu - Antena 3?



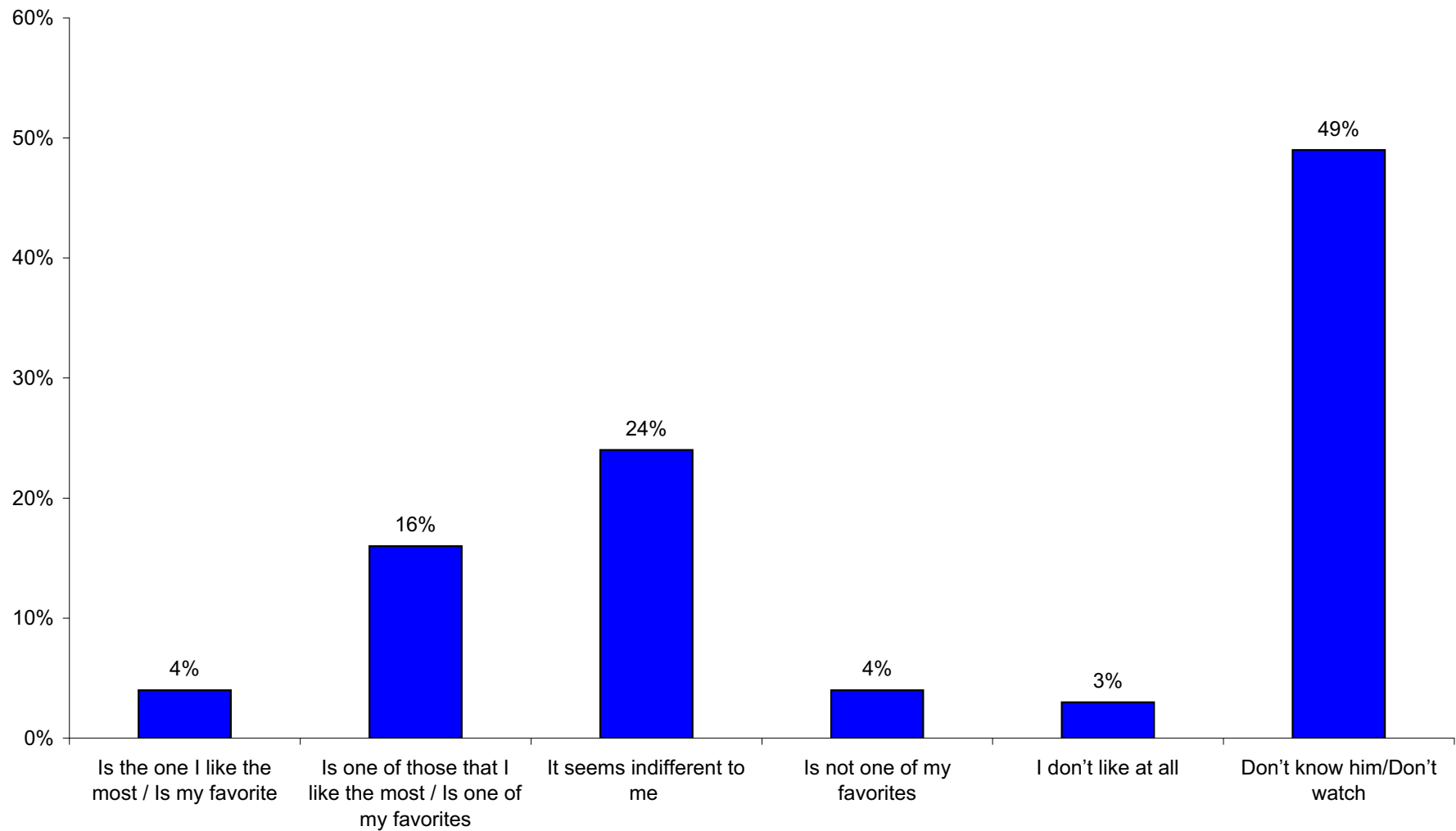
What is your opinion about Dan Diaconescu - OTV?



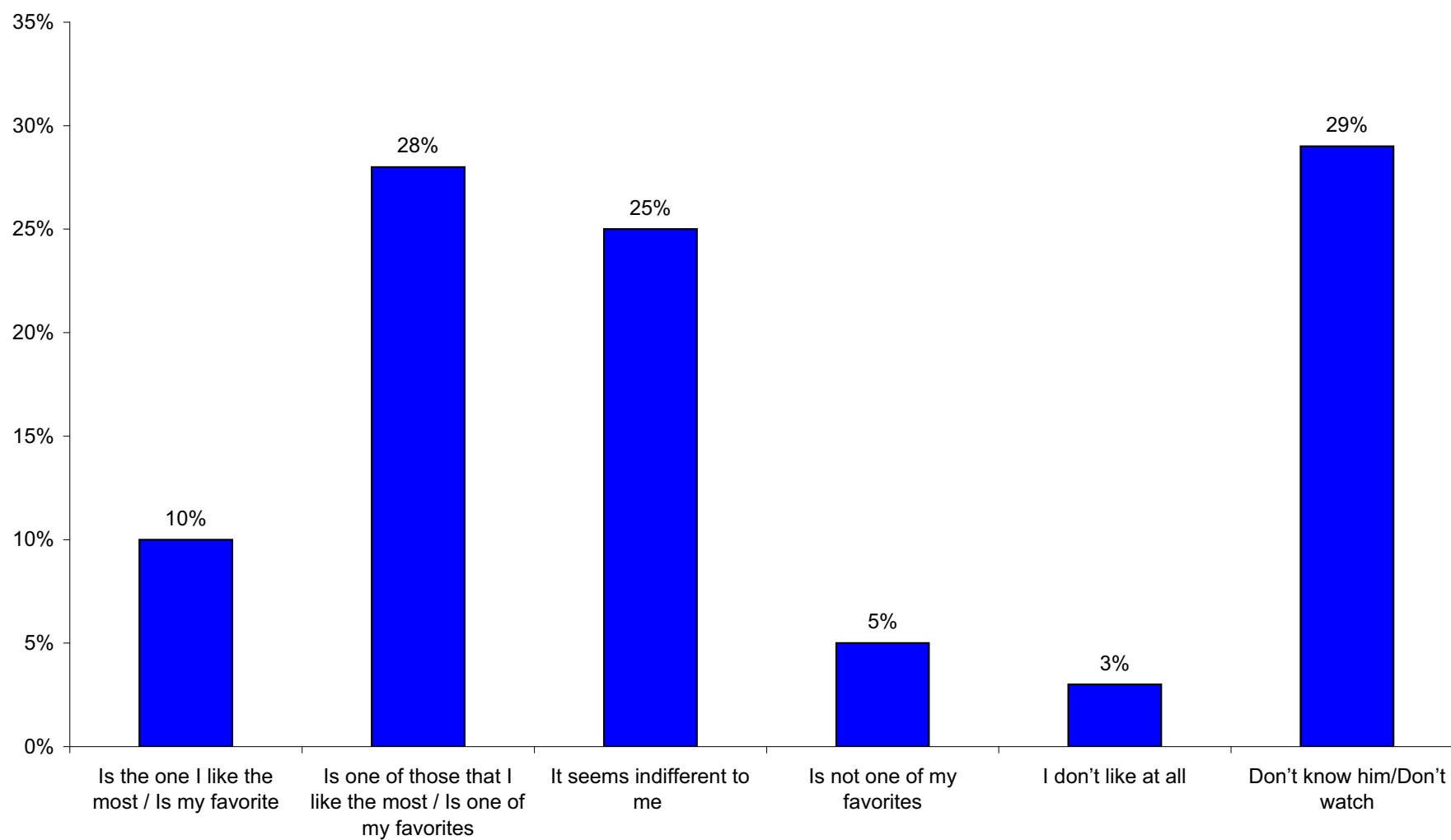
What is your opinion about Gabriela Vrânceanu Firea - Antena 3?



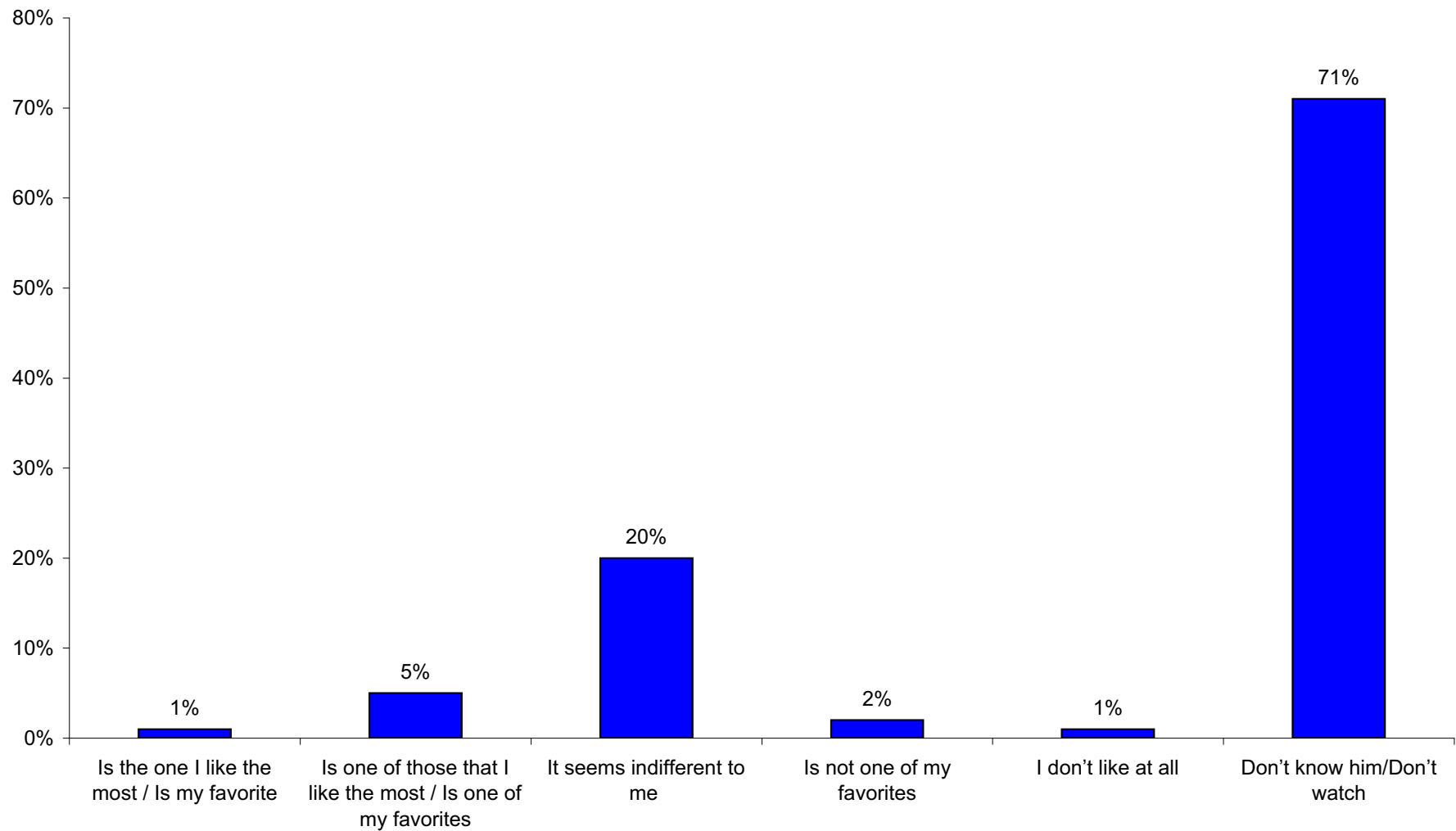
What is your opinion about Horia Alexandrescu - OTV?



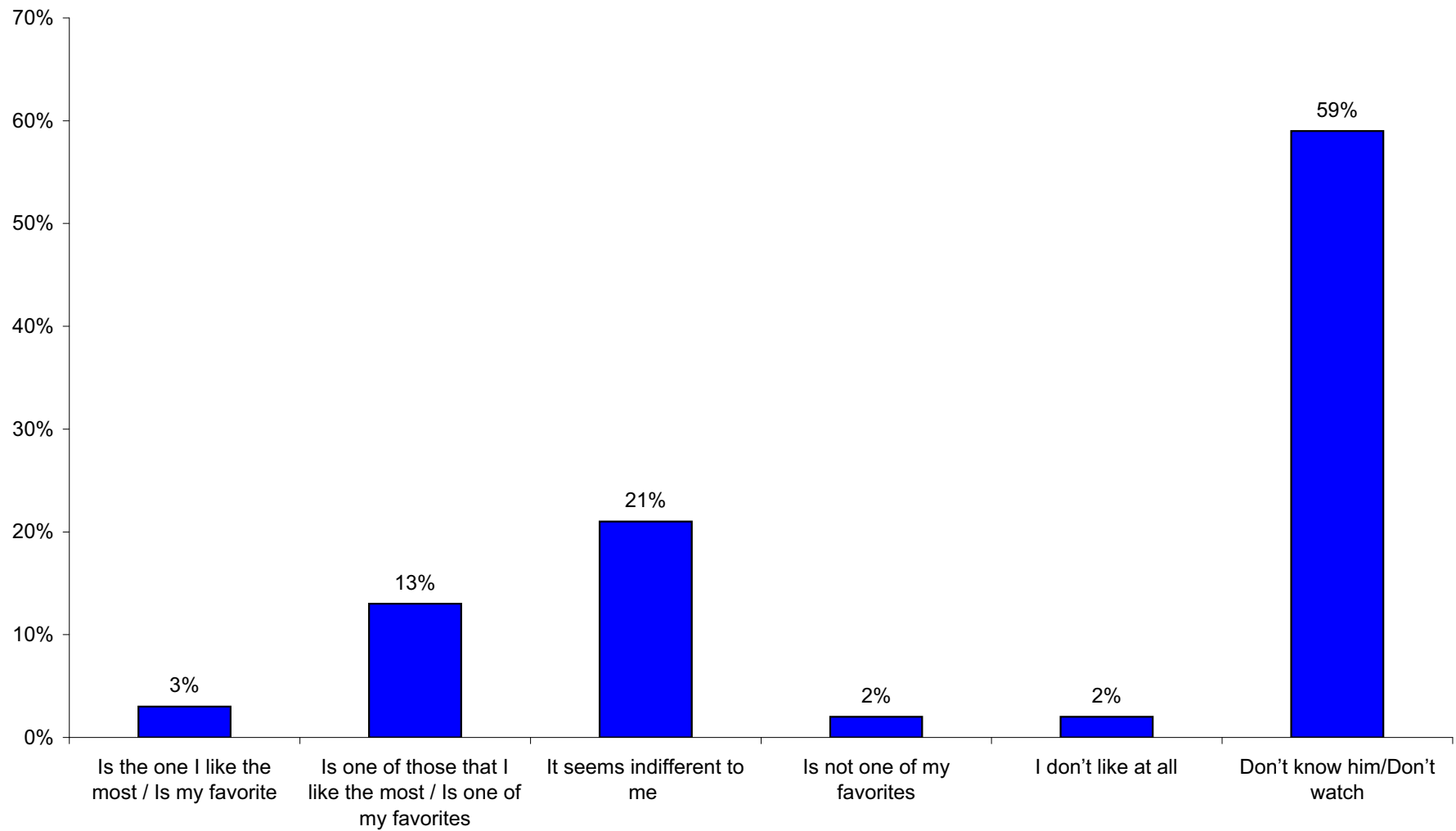
What is your opinion about Ion Cristoiu - Antena 3?



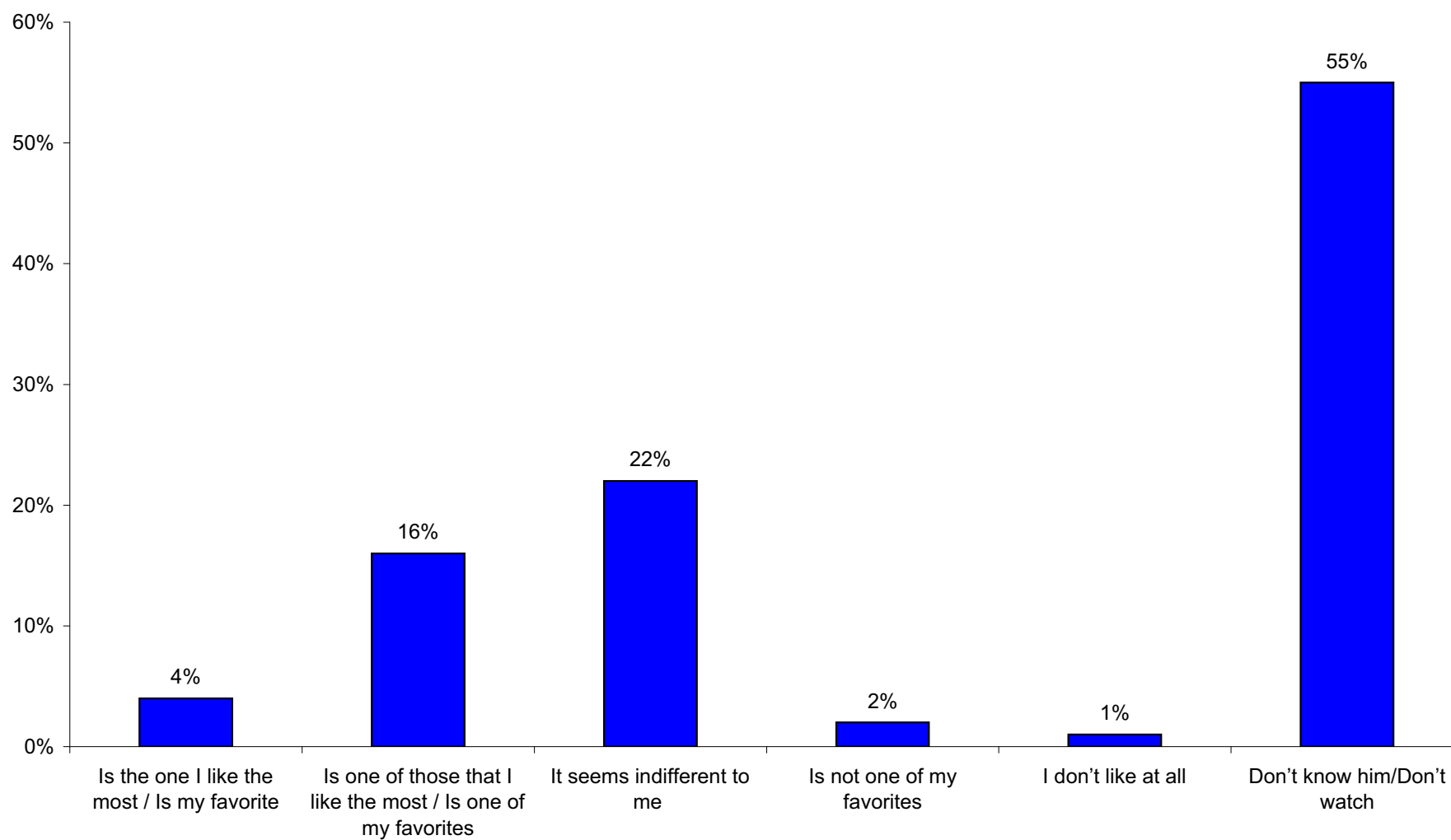
What is your opinion about Livia Dila - B1 TV?



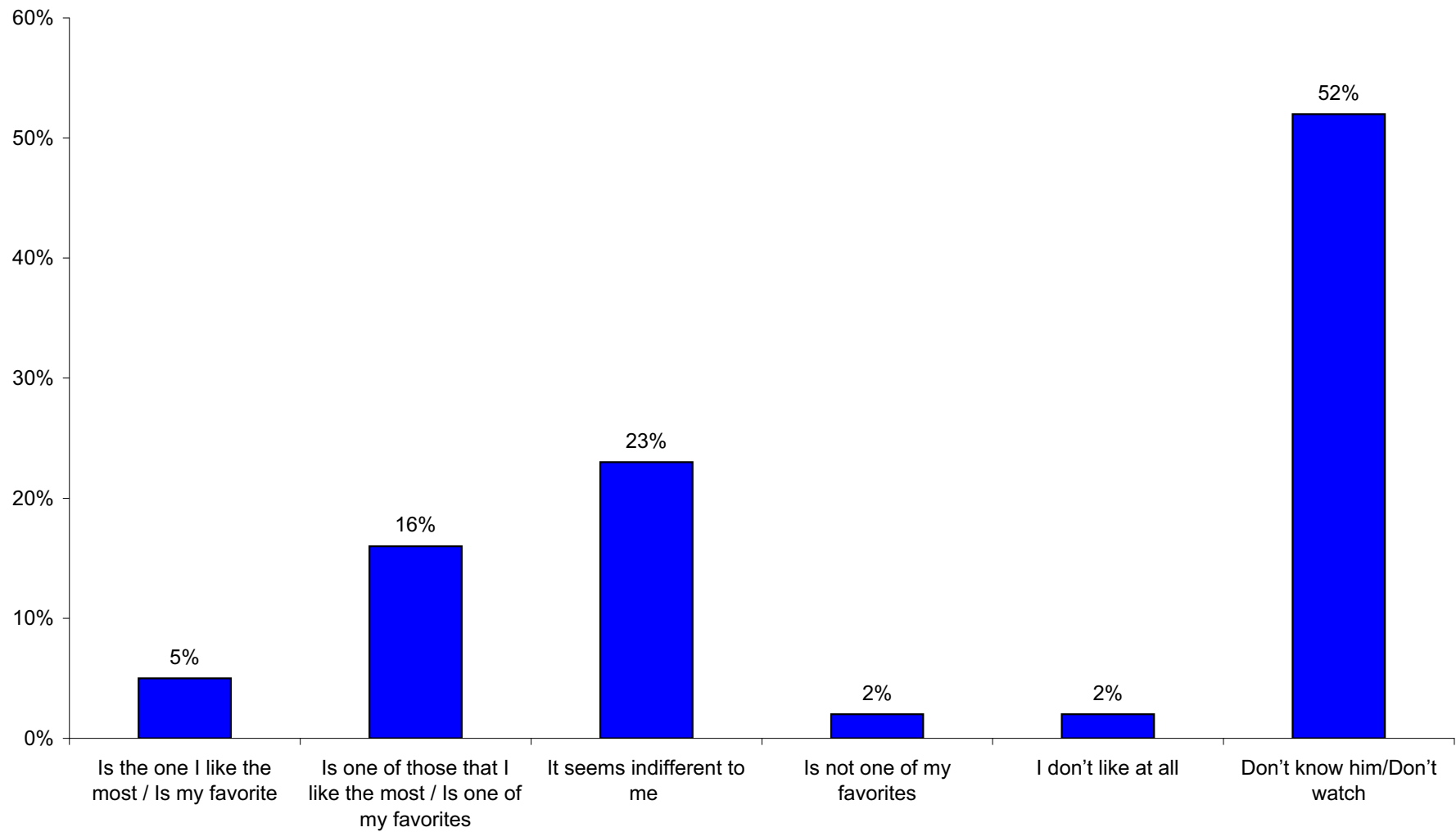
What is your opinion about Liviu Mihaiu - TVR1?



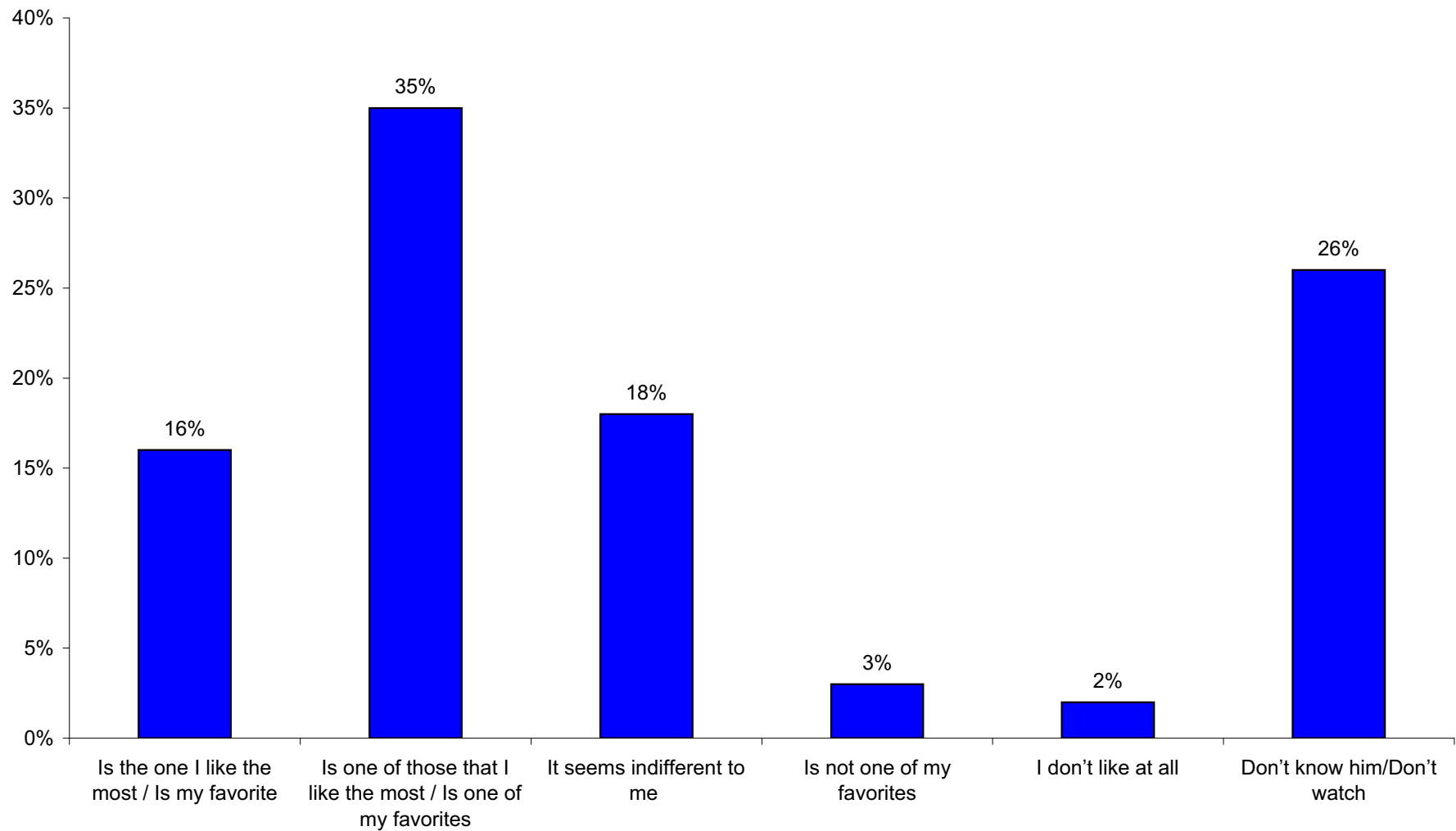
What is your opinion about Mădălin Ionescu - Național TV?



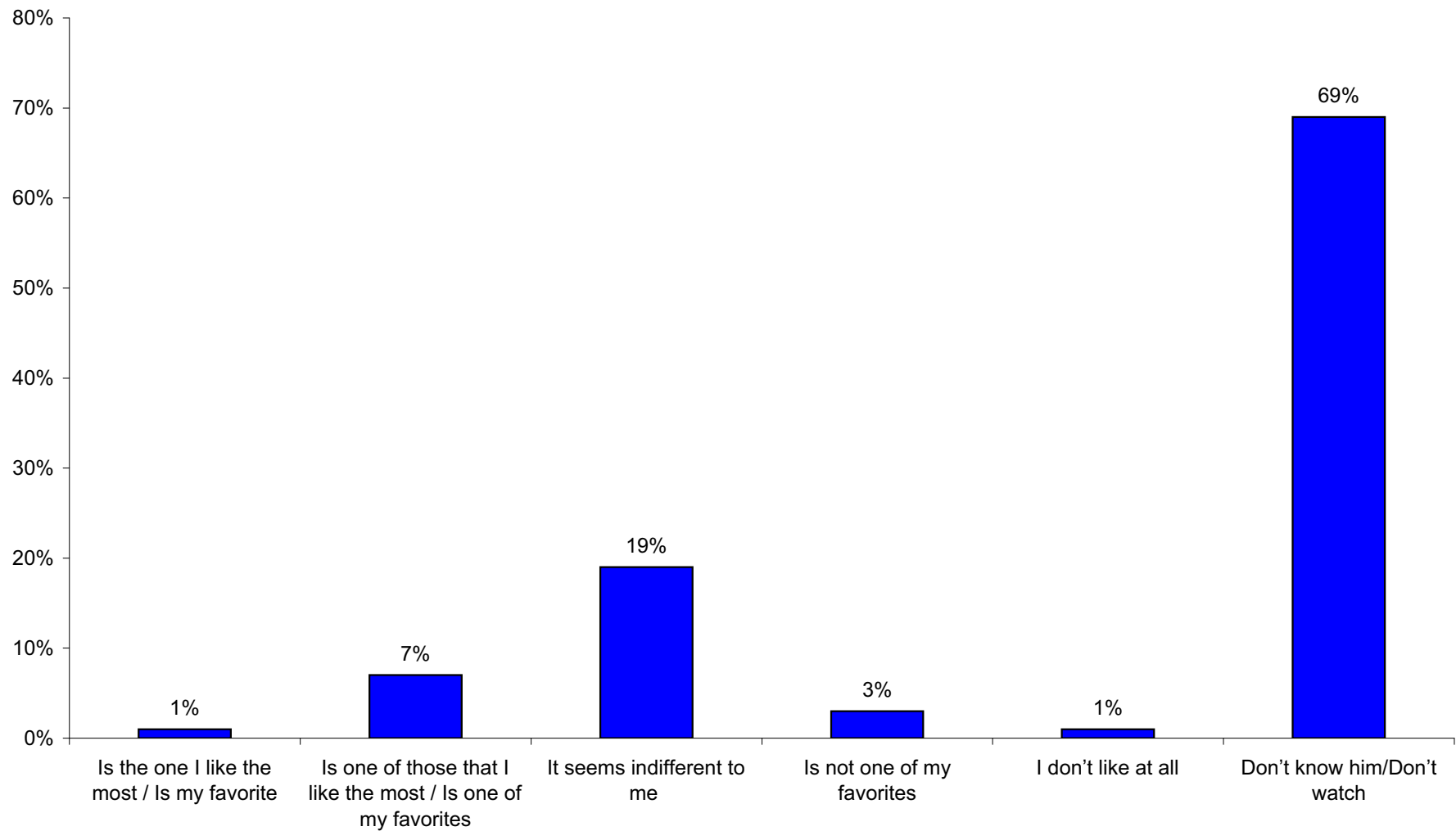
What is your opinion about Marian Voicu - TVR 1?



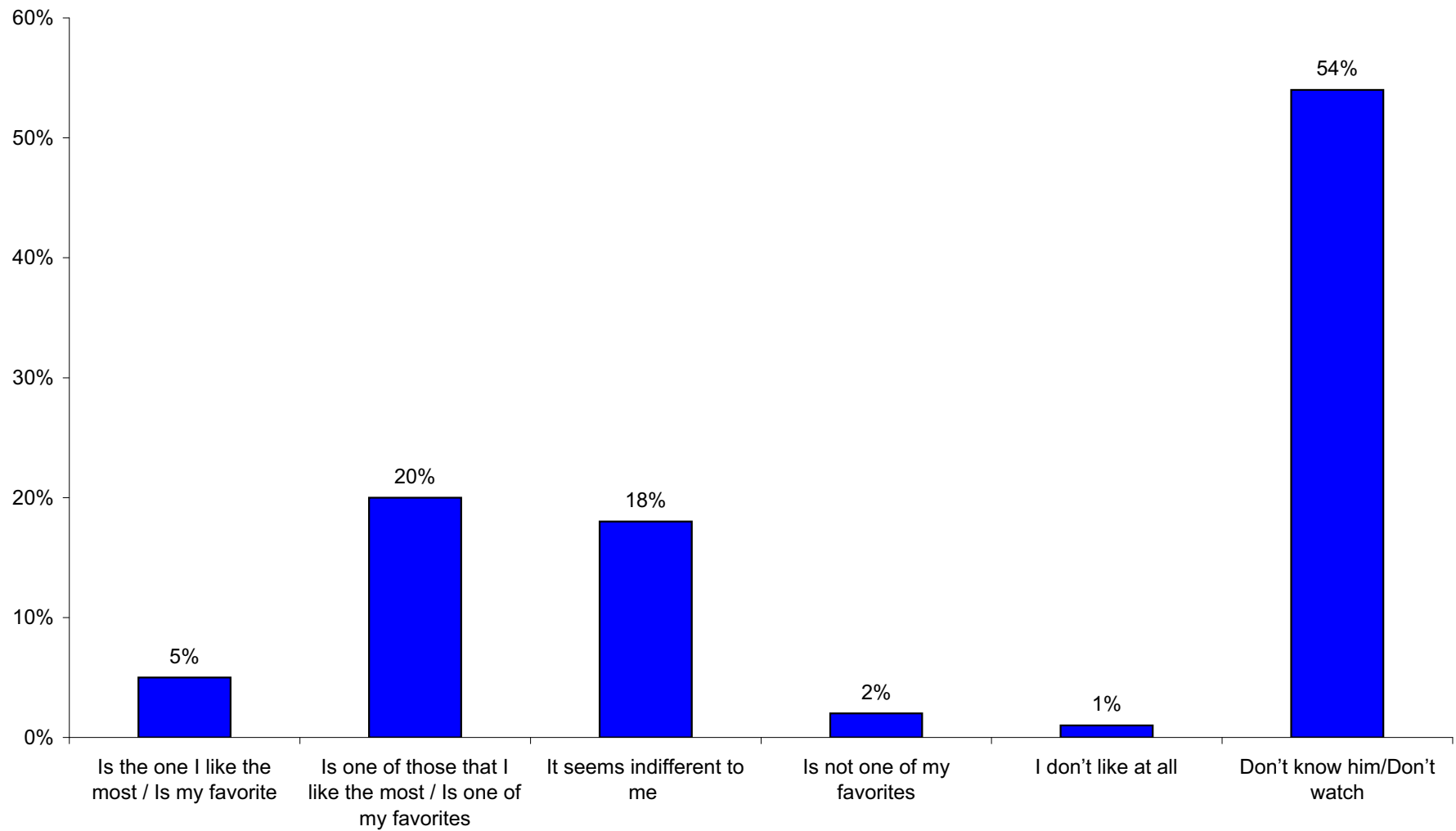
What is your opinion about Marius Tucă - Antena 1?



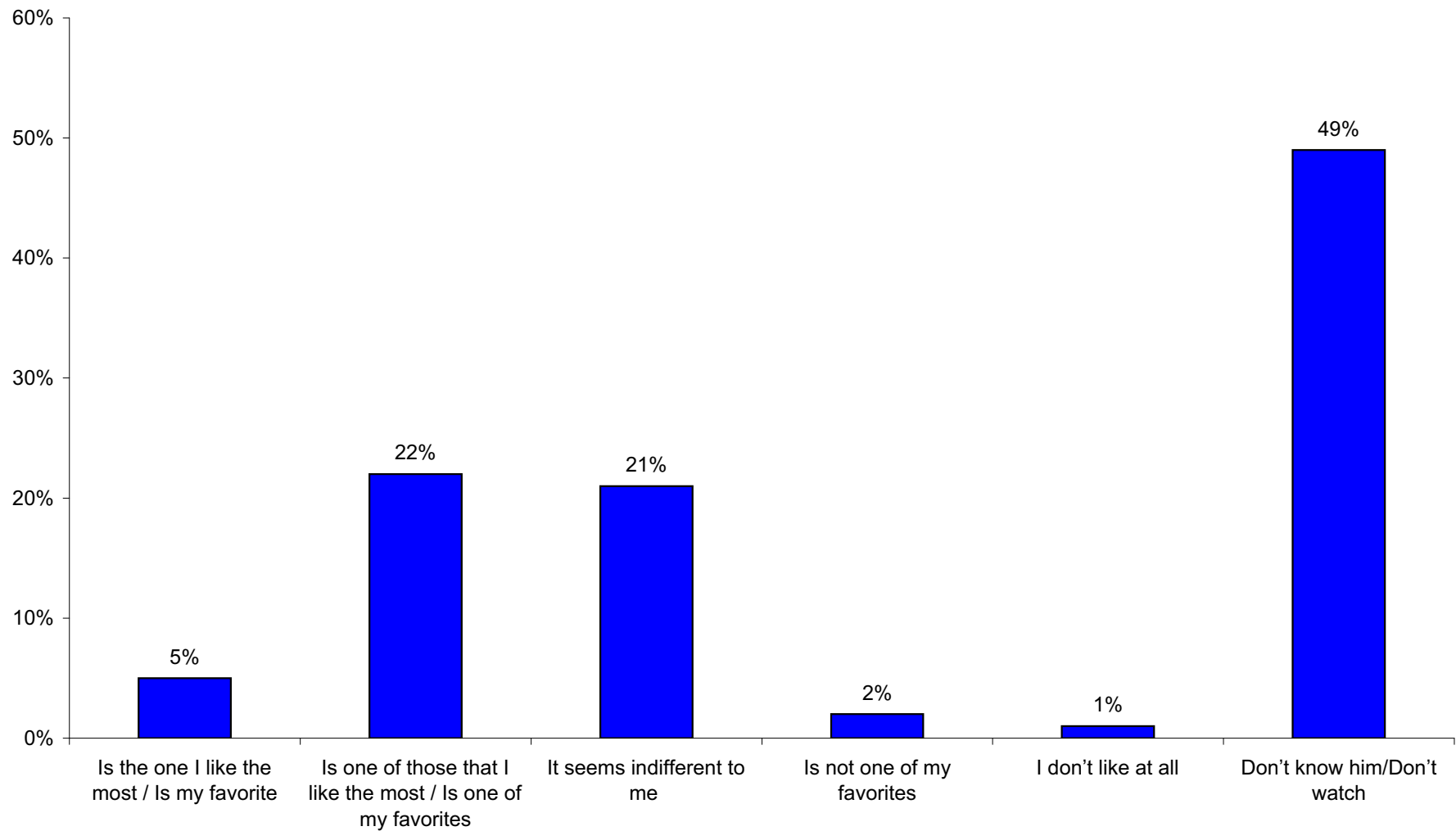
What is your opinion about Mbela Nzuzi - B1 TV?



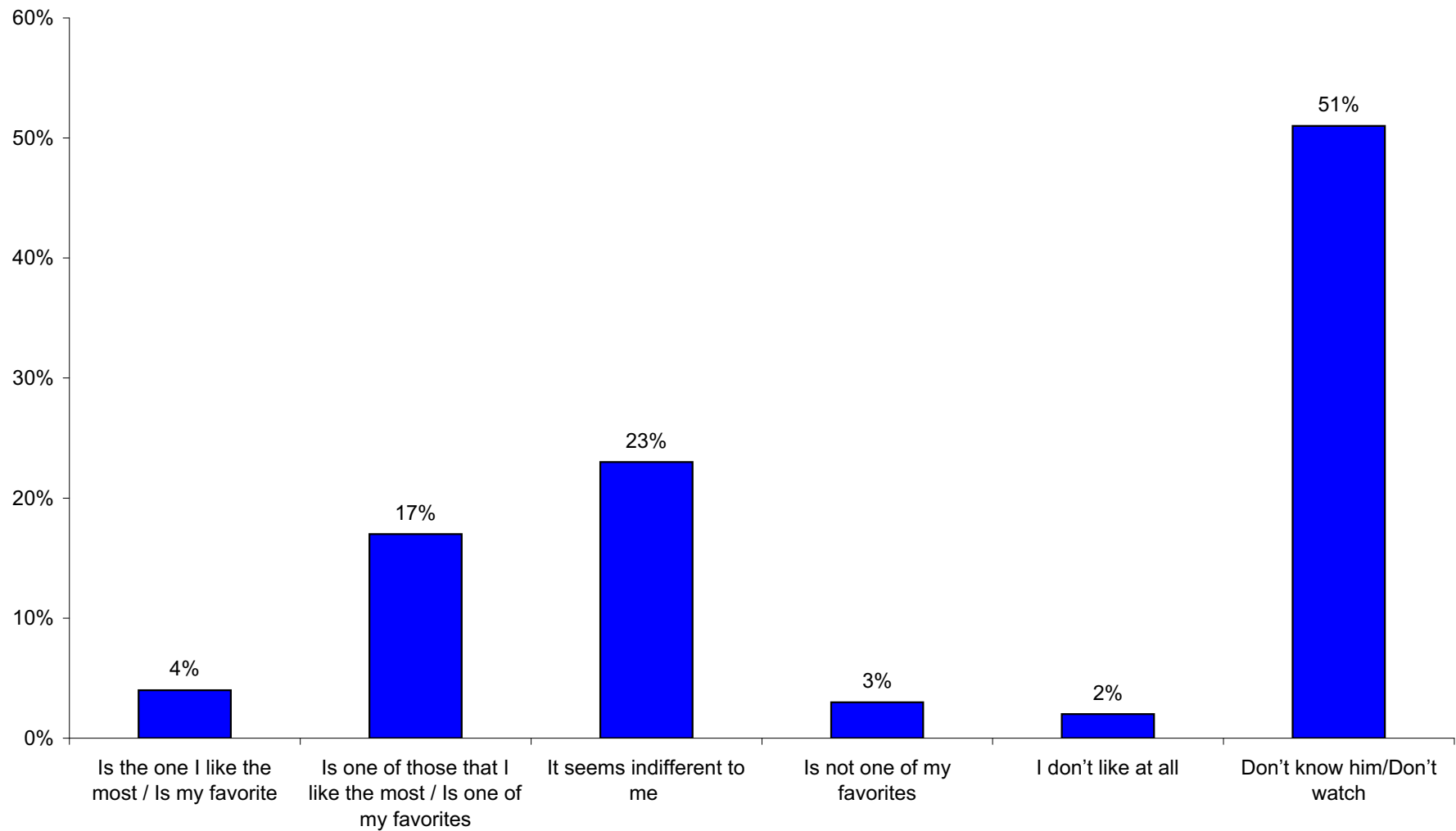
What is your opinion about Melania Medeleanu - Realitatea?



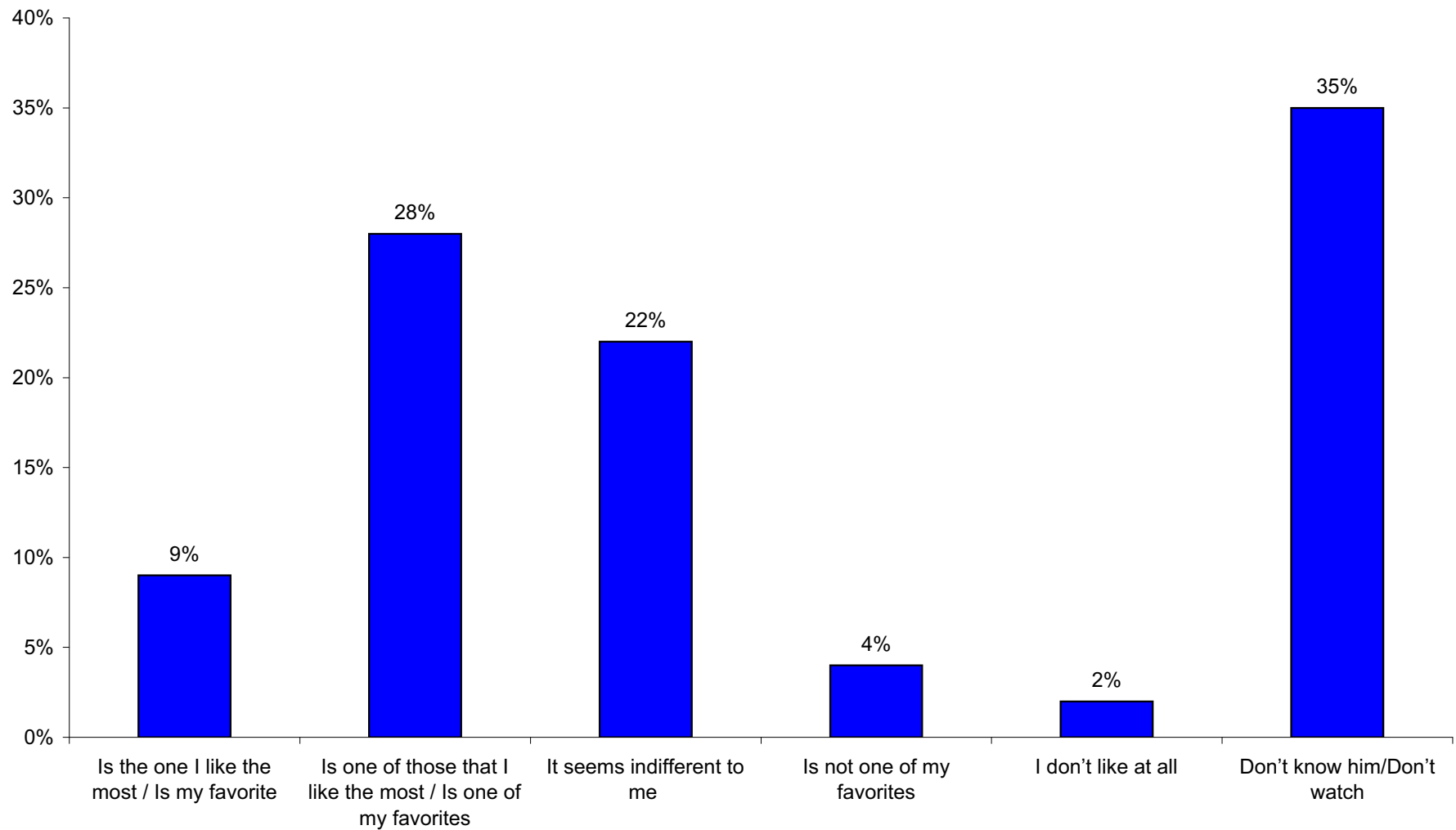
What is your opinion about Mihai Codreanu - Pro TV?



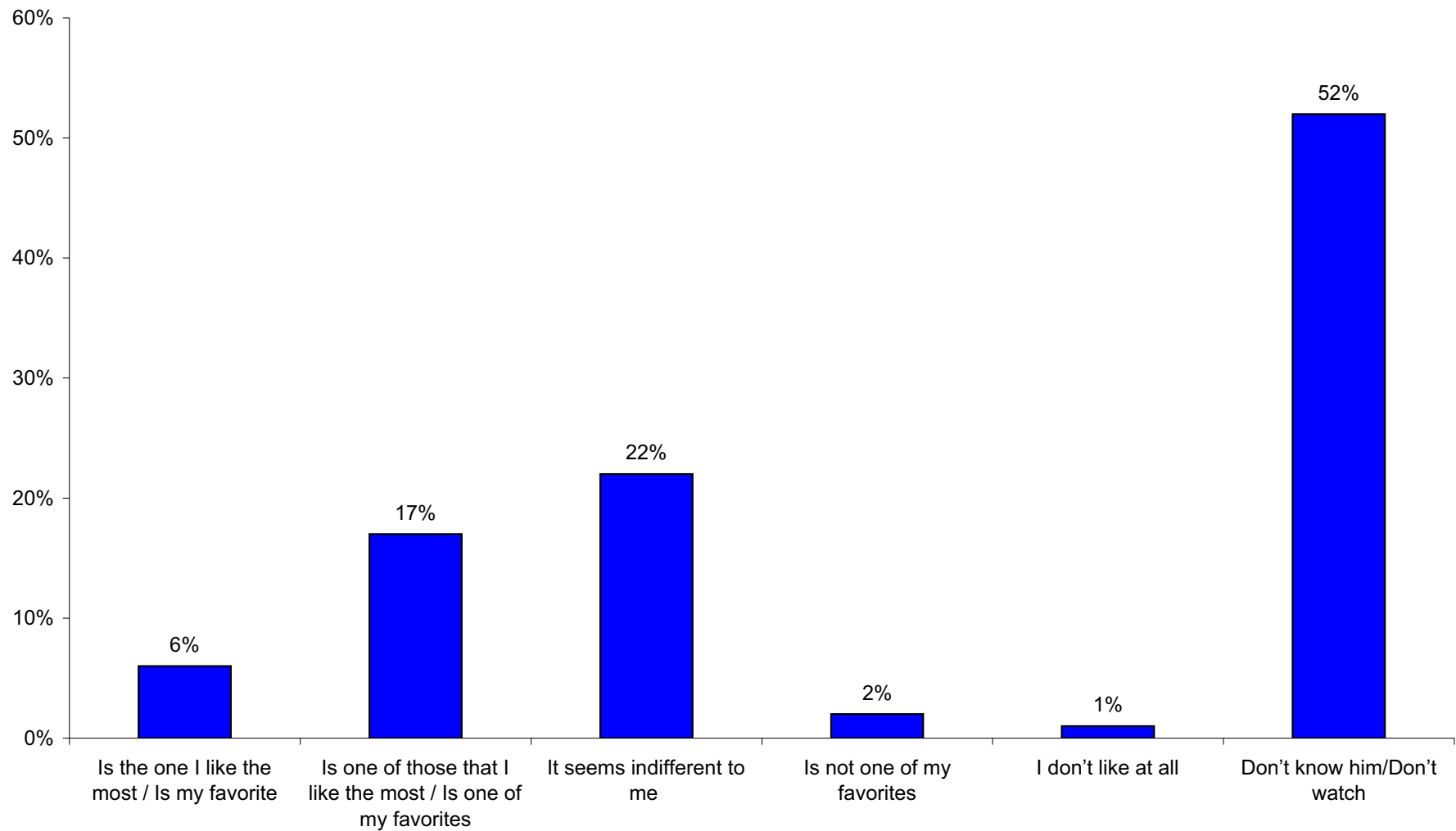
What is your opinion about Mihai Gâdea - Antena 3 ?



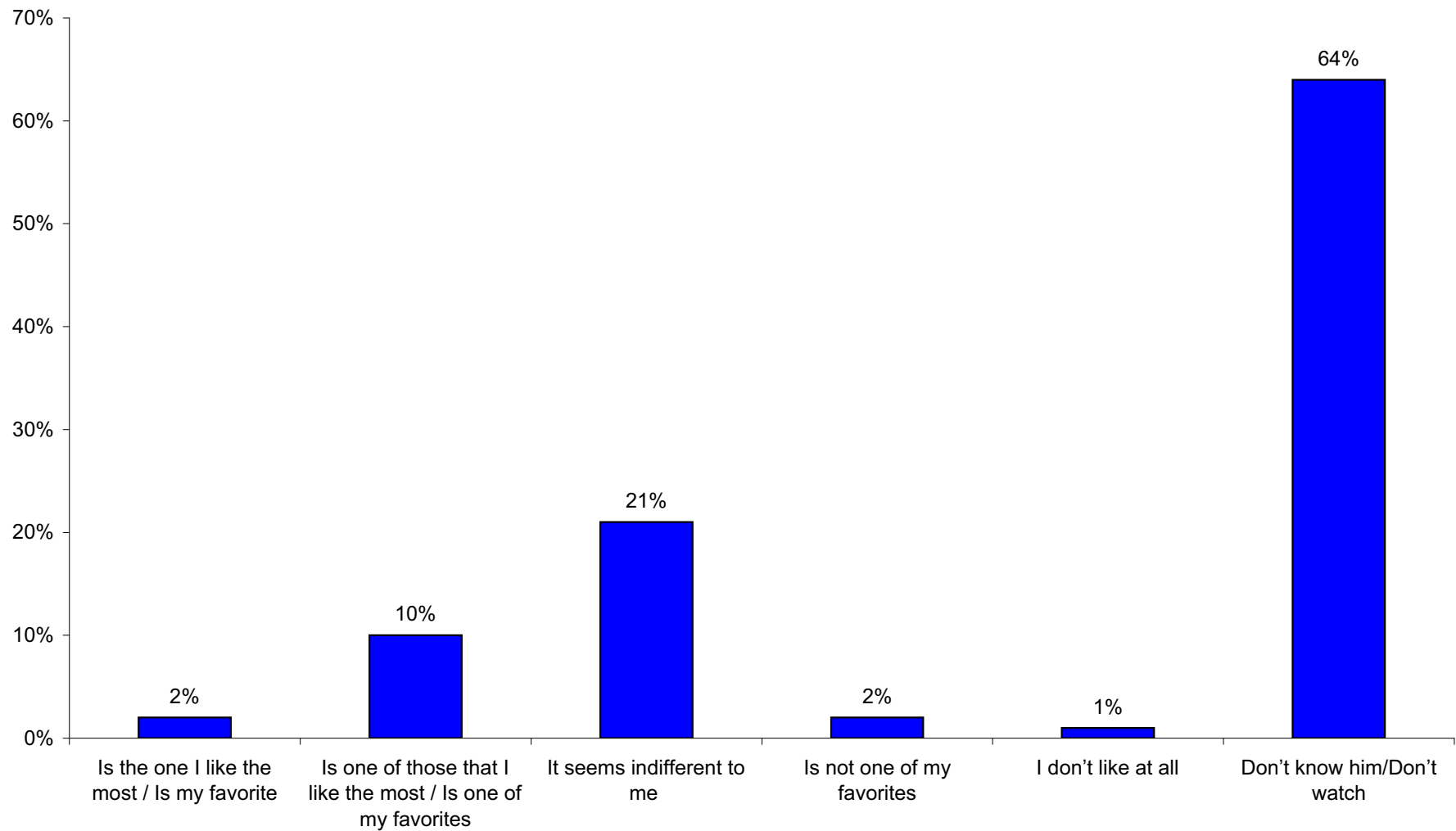
What is your opinion about Mihai Tatulici - Realitatea?



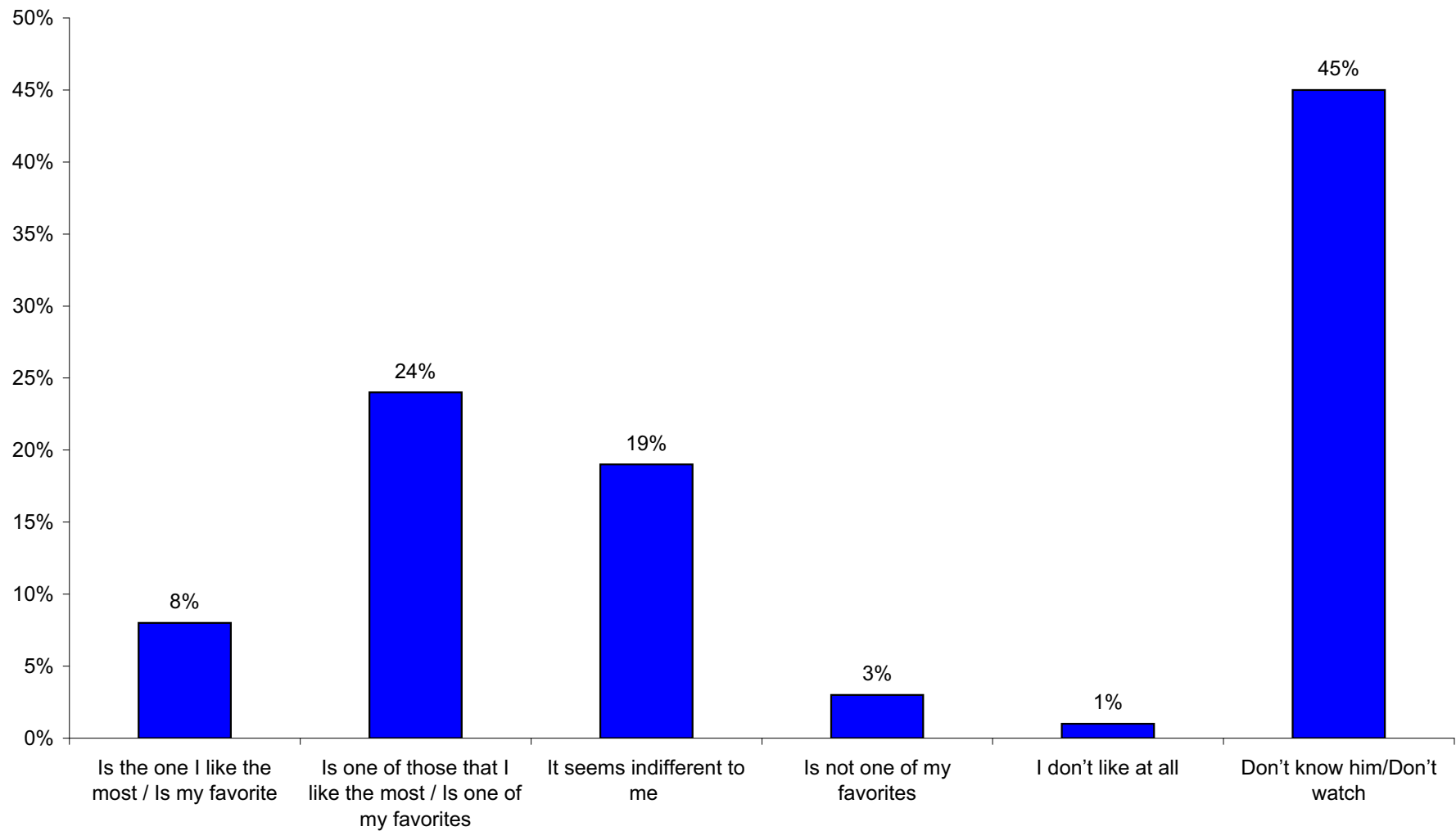
What is your opinion about Monica Ghiurco - TVR 1?



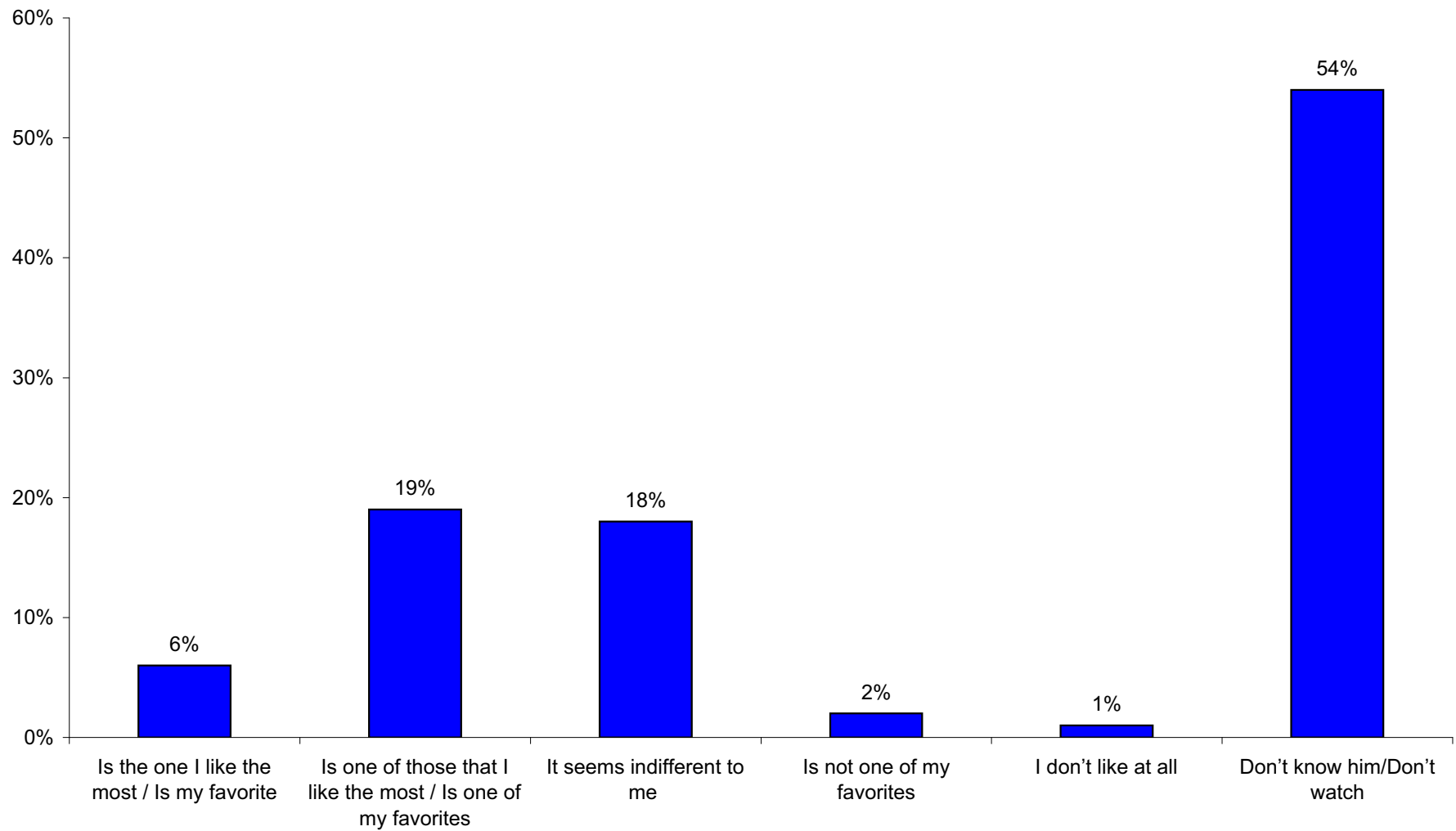
What is your opinion about Oana Dobre - Realitatea?



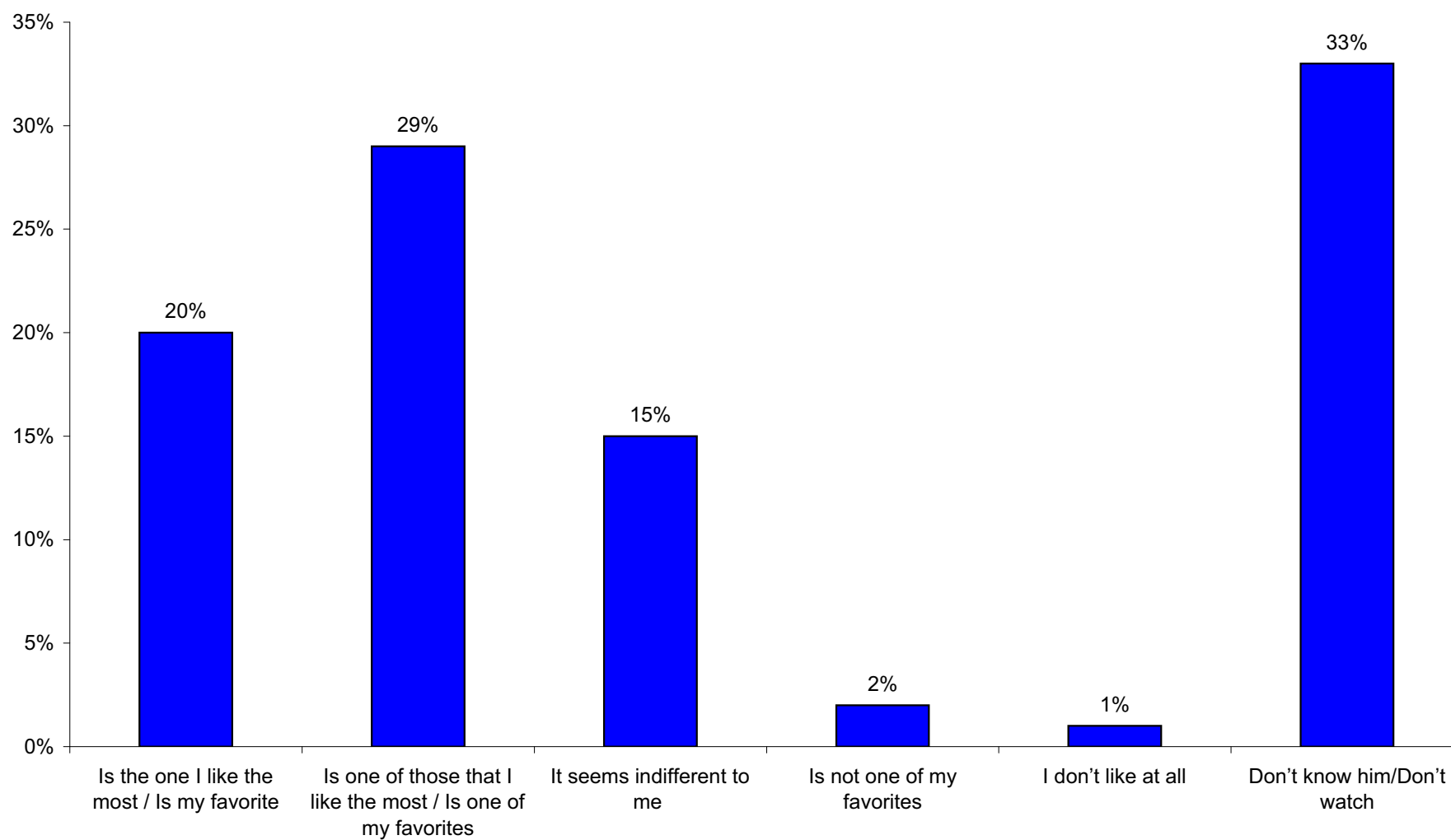
What is your opinion about Radu Moraru - B1 TV?



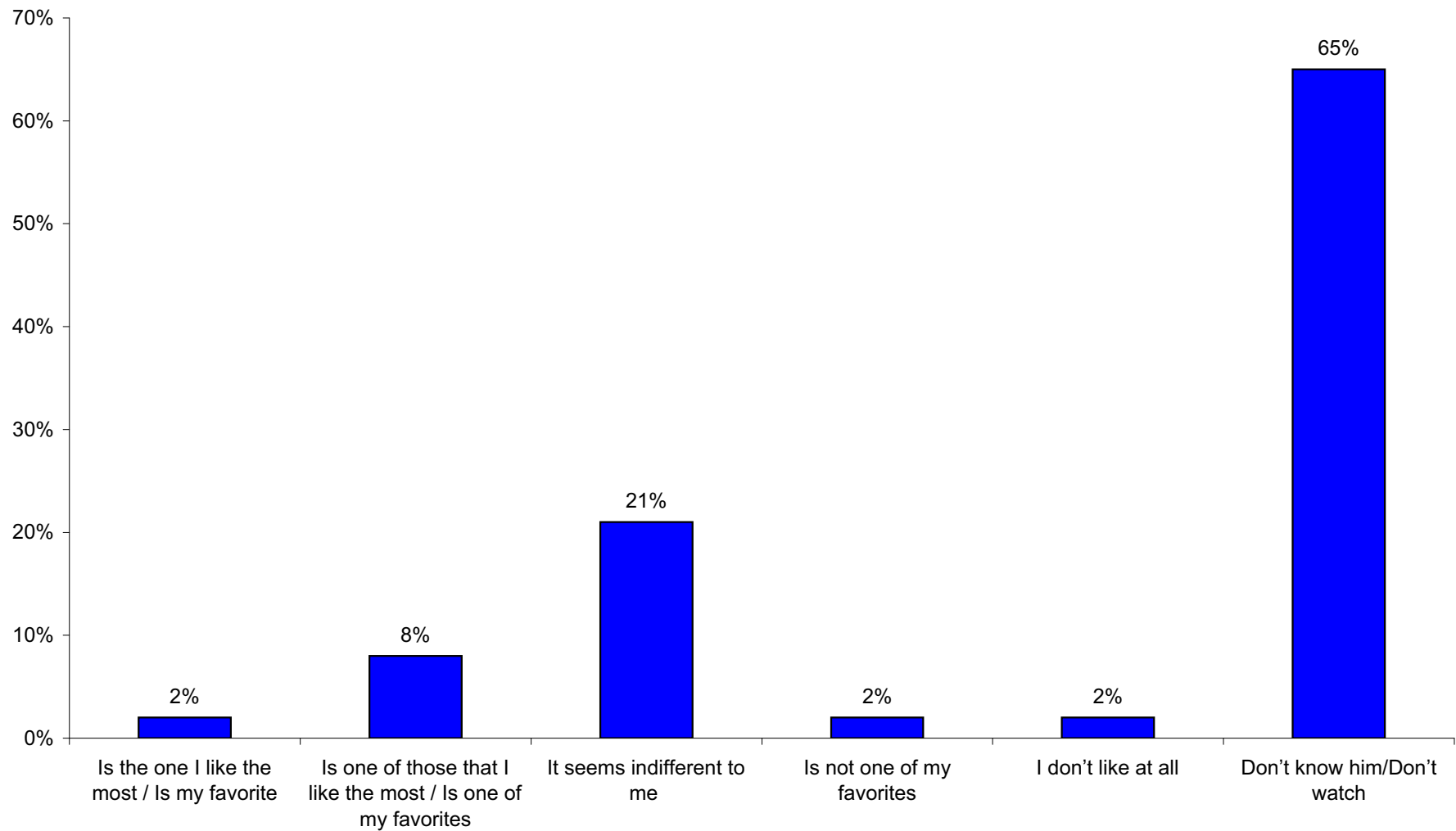
What is your opinion about Răzvan Dumitrescu - Realitatea?



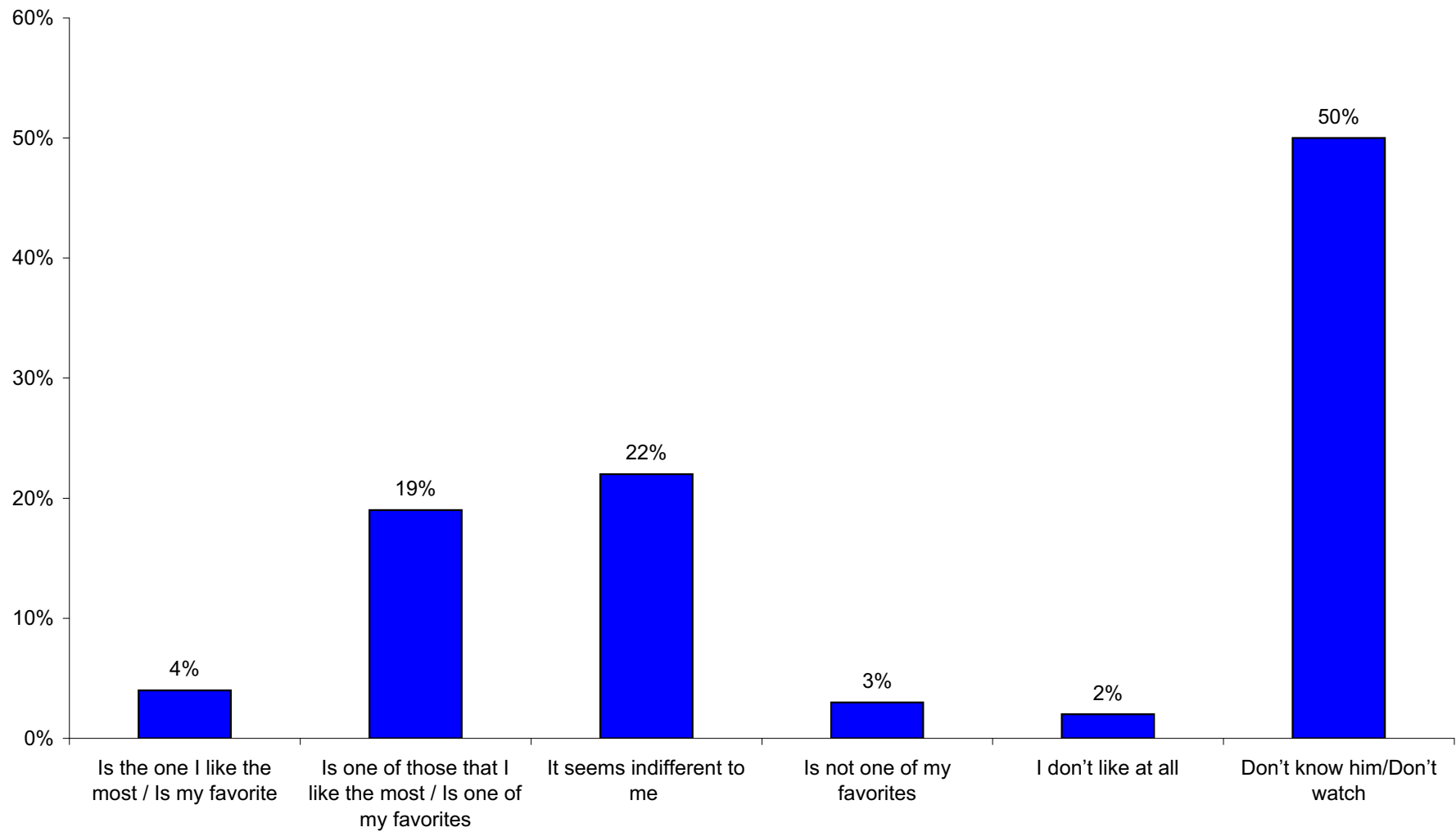
What is your opinion about Robert Turcescu - Realitatea?



What is your opinion about Sever Voinescu - TVR1?



What is your opinion about Stelian Tănase - Realitatea?



What is your opinion about Victor Ciutacu - Antena 2?

