

STUDII

FEMINISTE

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CARE FOR DEMOCRACY:

WOMEN'S POLITICAL INTERESTS

IN 2024



Care for democracy
Women's political interests in 2024

Barbu Mateescu and Claudiu Tufiş

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Introduction

Within the context of a historical electoral year, which includes the unfolding of four election rounds, **the moment has come for women's voices to find their well-deserved place in building the future of our society. Romanian women cannot be asked for their vote without having their interests represented.** They cannot only be seen as a part of the electorate, but must also have power in the decisional process. The time has come for the pledges to gender equality to be more than just empty words, but rather be transformed into concrete actions and into real commitment to building a better future for all of us.

The FILIA Centre is publishing the “Care for democracy: The political interests of women 2024” study and highlights the perspectives and the voices of Romanian women, voices that are oftentimes absent from the political agenda. This is the first nationally representative research in the last 16 years and is focused on the political interests of women, their electoral profile, legislative and budgetary priorities, and their opinions regarding political representation.

The female electorate, constituted by approximately 52% of the Romanian population, represents a segment with a major impact on the results of elections, a segment that cannot be neglected when elaborating the electoral agenda.

Democracy means representing the interests of all citizens, including women. Addressed not only to the political parties, but also to the general population, this study offers valuable information that contributes to a better understanding of the political interests of women and to gender inequality awareness. This research represents a starting point in an ample dialogue at society level for the development of efficient policies that come as a response to the realities of female citizens of Romania.

Set against the European context in which preoccupation with gender equality is perpetually growing, Romania is in a definitory moment of its social and political evolution. The statistics at the European level point out the fact that, despite some registered progress, our country is situated on the last place in the European Union according to the European Index for Gender Equality. Bearing this in mind, it becomes crucial that we attentively investigate the opinions and preoccupations of Romanian women, taking into account their crucial impact in shaping a more equitable and more inclusive future.

I thank Oana Băluță and Cristian Pârvulescu for the observations they made upon carrying out the research. I thank the IPSOS Romania team for their professionalism and dedication.

Last but not least, I personally thank my colleagues, Miruna Pantel, Andreea Bragă, Cristina Praz and Adela Alexandru for the work they put into publishing this study.

Andreea Rusu, executive director of the FILIA Center

Methodology

The present research was conducted based on a face-to-face survey, with the beneficiary of the data being the Center for Curriculum Development and Gender Studies: FILIA. The data was collected between November 20, 2023, and January 12, 2024, by the company IPSOS SRL.

The target population of the research consisted of adult women residing in Romania, who were not institutionalised. The sample was selected to ensure its representativeness in relation to the development regions, residential environment, and the size of the locality.

Data collection was carried out through face-to-face interviews conducted by operators from the IPSOS network. Since the study included only female respondents, data collection was carried out only by female interviewers, with a minimum of three years of experience, who also participated in a training section based on the questionnaire.

The sample consisted of 1313 respondents grouped in 59 localities in Romania. In each locality, depending on its size, there were between two and five starting points for the final selection of respondents, using random walk with statistical step. An exception was the municipality of Bucharest, where there were 17 starting points. In total, the sample comprised

150 starting points, where between eight and ten questionnaires were conducted.

The interviewed person was randomly selected from all adult women in the household. The average interview duration was approximately 24 minutes, with variations ranging from 18 minutes to 39 minutes. Data quality verification was conducted internally by the company that collected the data, according to its own procedures.

The questionnaire was developed by the FILIA Center team, in collaboration with Barbu Mateescu and Claudiu Tufiş. The relative frequency distribution for the survey questions is available in the last section of this volume. The study database (in SPSS format) and the questionnaire will be published on the website of the Center for Curriculum Development and Gender Studies: FILIA (<https://centrulfilia.ro/>).

Who are the respondents?

Before discussing the political interests of women in 2024, it is important to have a slightly clearer picture of who the women of Romania are in 2024, those who have agreed to respond to our questions. We build this picture in this chapter, discussing how participants in our study differ based on a series of socio-demographic characteristics that can influence how each of us structures our opinions, attitudes, and beliefs regarding political issues.

The characteristics we consider are varied: age, education, occupation, income, marital status, number of children, household size, religious belief, preferred political party, or migration experience. It is unlikely that each of these characteristics will modify all of our opinions, attitudes, and beliefs, but each of them contributes, to a greater or lesser extent, to how we perceive reality, how we interpret an issue, or the solutions we pursue.

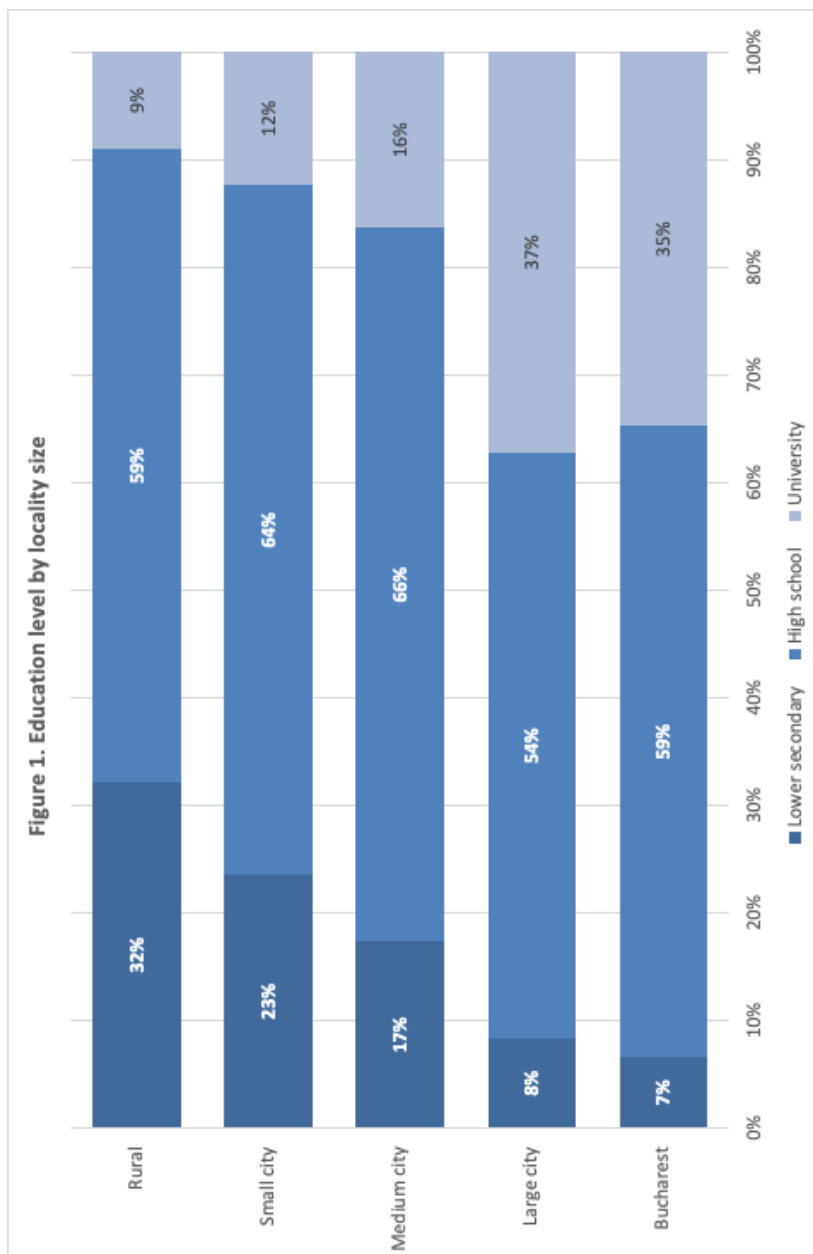
According to data from the National Institute of Statistics, the average age of women in Romania is just over 44 years old, across the entire population. In our sample, the average age is slightly higher, at approximately 46 years old. The age of the respondents is important because it indicates not only the passage of time but also the experiences that women have had, as well as those they have not had and those they are yet to have. Women aged 18–25 are either at the beginning of their professional careers or continuing their education with

undergraduate or master's studies. By the age of 30, their professional careers gain momentum, and personal relationships solidify. Between 30 and 44 years old, the focus shifts more towards family, children, and profession, and less on education. After the age of 45, priorities change: professionally, they reach the peak of their careers, retirement approaches, children have become adults, likely moving out to their own homes and on the verge of starting their own families. Finally, after 65, life seems to revolve mainly around retirement, grandchildren, and health. Different ages mean different interests, as we will see several times in this volume.

Regarding the distribution of respondents by age categories, the sample is balanced and reflects their distribution in the population: 17% are aged between 18 and 29, 31% are aged between 30 and 44, 35% are aged between 45 and 64, and the remaining 17% are aged 65 and over.

The level of education is the second important characteristic that significantly influences who we are and how we think. Although the idea circulates frequently in the public space that Romania has too many university graduates, in reality, Romania ranks among the last in the European Union countries regarding this indicator, and this is reflected in our data: only 17% of respondents have higher education, while the majority, 61%, have only completed high school, and the remaining 22% have only completed secondary education.

However, Romanian society is not homogeneous in terms of the regional distribution of education. As seen in Figure 1, large urban areas attract educated women.



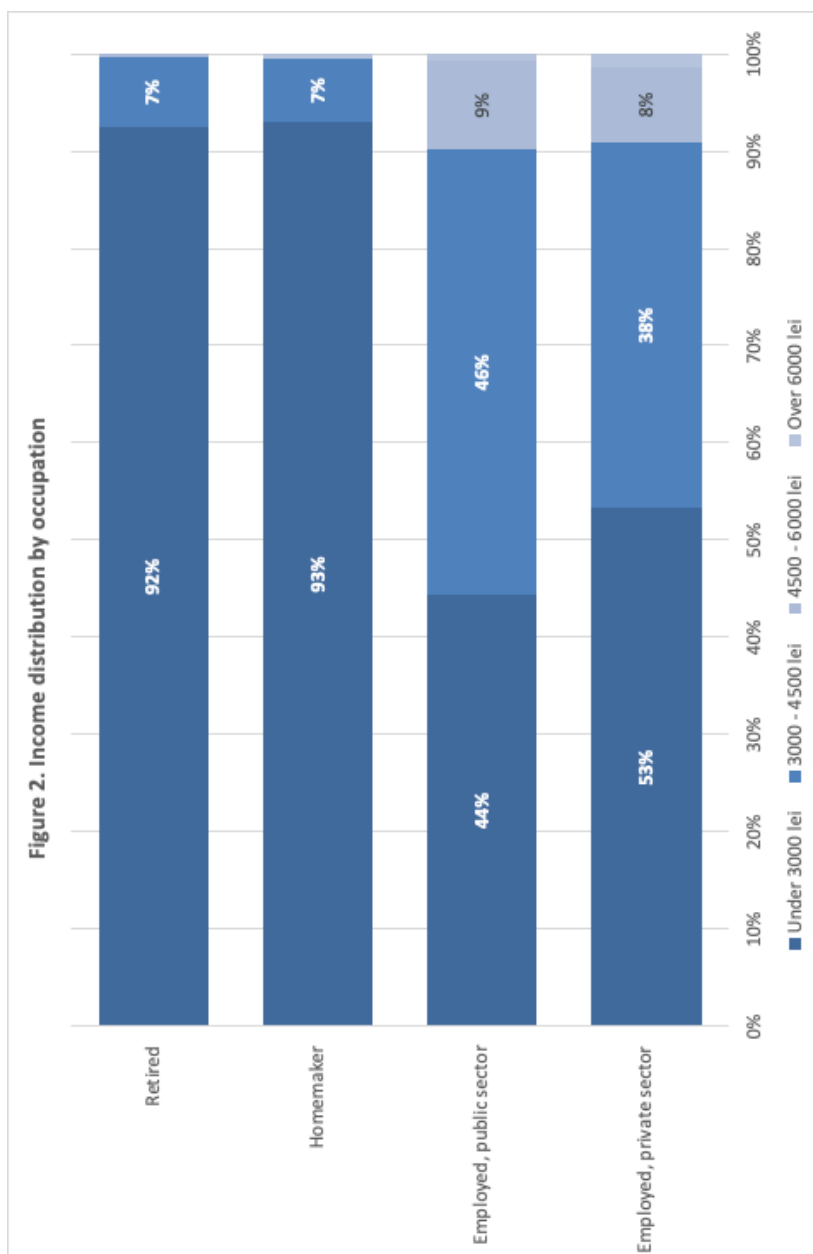
If across mass-population 17% of women have higher education, the percentage is over twice as high in Bucharest (35%) and in large cities, with over 200,000 inhabitants (37%). Conversely, in small towns, with less than 50,000 inhabitants, only 12% of women have higher education, and the situation in rural areas, where half of the women live, is even worse, with only 9% of those having higher education.

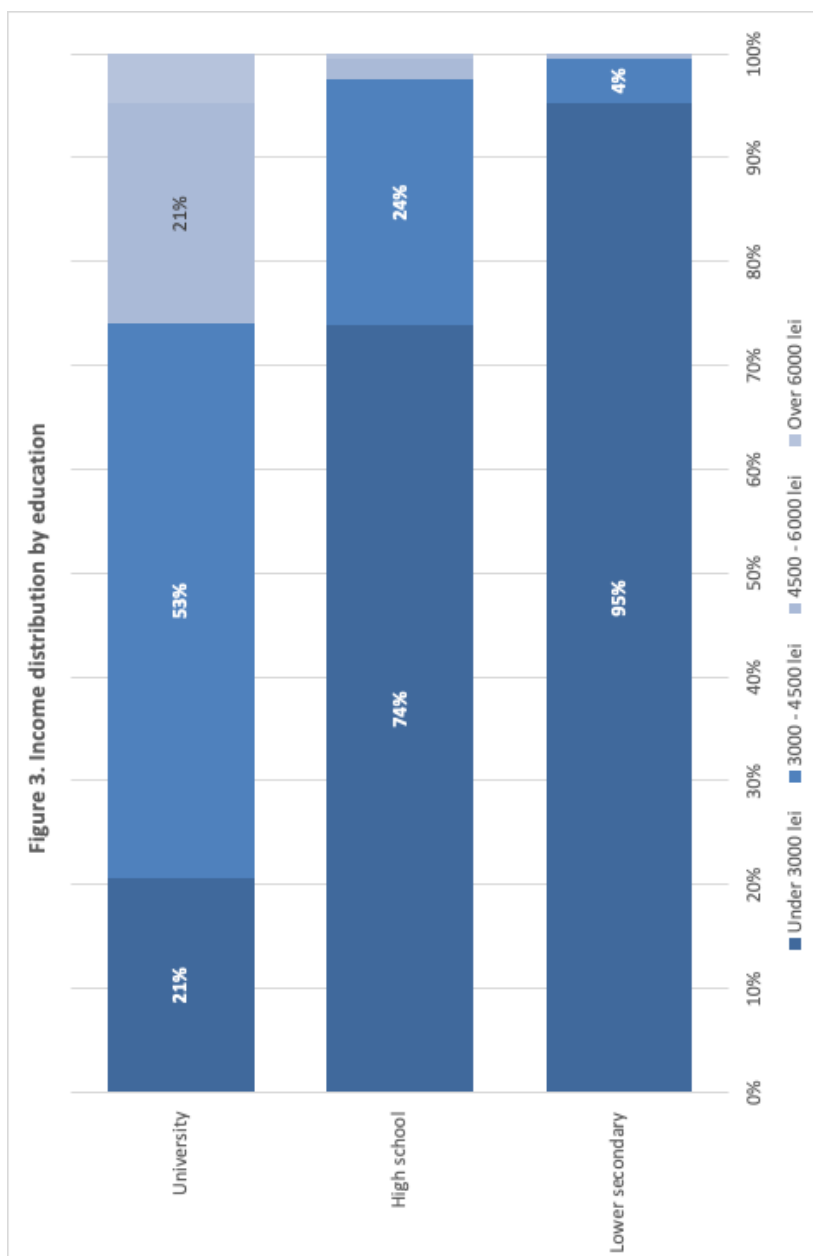
As an additional observation regarding the percentage of women with higher education in rural areas: in reality, this is significantly lower than the data show. If we were to exclude the communes around major cities (Bucharest, Cluj Napoca, Iași, Sibiu, Timișoara, etc.), which are actually extensions of these cities and are not representative of the socio-economic context typically associated with rural areas, then the percentage of women with university degrees living in rural areas would be closer to 6%-7%.

Naturally, when discussing education, we must also discuss occupation and income. Just over half of the respondents have a job: 41% are employed in the private sector, and another 11% are employed in the public sector. Additionally, there are 23% who are retired, 17% who are stay-at-home women, and 8% who are in other situations.

Regarding income, 69.5% of the entire sample have a monthly net income of less than 3000 lei, and another 24.5% have a monthly income between 3000 and 4500 lei. Only 5% have a monthly income between 4500 and 6000 lei, and in the category of those with the highest income, over 6000 lei per month, only 1% of respondents fall.

Figures 2 and 3 show the distribution of incomes depending on occupation and level of education, suggesting that the overall picture across the entire population is misleading, covering various cases and situations.





In terms of occupational status, retirees and stay-at-home women have similar monthly incomes: 92% – 93% of them have a monthly net income of less than 3000 lei, and only 7% have an income between 3000 and 4500 lei. This situation is not surprising, as the average monthly pension in January 2024 was 2244 lei, according to data from the National House of Public Pensions. Among employed women, the situation is different, though not necessarily much better. Among employees in the private sector, 53% have a monthly net salary of less than 3000 lei, 38% have a salary between 3000 and 4500 lei, and only 9% have a monthly net salary higher than 4500 lei. For employees in the public sector, the proportion with a salary of less than 3000 lei is lower (44%), with the difference being found in the category of those with a salary between 3000 and 4500 lei (46%). The percentage of those with a salary higher than 4500 lei is similar to that of employees in the private sector: 9%.

The differences in income generated by educational differences (Figure 3) are very clear: 95% of individuals who have completed at most eight grades have a monthly net salary of less than 3000 lei, and only 4% have a higher salary. The percentage of those with low salaries decreases for high school graduates from 95% to 74%, and in the case of those with higher education, only 21% have a salary of less than 3000 lei. Half (53%) have a salary between 3000 and 4500 lei, 21% have a salary between 4500 and 6000 lei, and 4% have a monthly net salary higher than 6000 lei.

While significant variations among respondents were observed for the characteristics mentioned earlier, there are also characteristics that depend less on the individual and more on

the dominant cultural patterns in Romania, and in these cases, the degree of homogeneity in the population is higher.

Thus, the data regarding the marital status of women in Romania show a high degree of uniformity, with the minor variations observed being associated with age: 77% of women are married or have a partner, 16% are widowed or divorced, and 7% are unmarried. The distribution of the number of children a woman has is as follows: 17% have no children, 32% have one child, 37% have two children, and 14% have three or more children. Young women are overrepresented among those who do not yet have children (and we say yet, because we will see later that the percentage of those who do not want children is very low), while individuals with three or more children are mostly found among the older age groups, indicating a different cultural pattern characterized by delaying the birth of the first child and reducing the number of children to no more than two.

The size of the household in which the respondents live is also associated with the number of children and the respondent's age. Thus, 12% of women live alone, this category consisting of elderly women, widows, but also young women who have moved out of their parents' home, perhaps in search of employment or for studies, but have not yet formed their own family. Approximately 30% of women live in households consisting of only two people. Again, we have two sub-categories: young couples who do not yet have children, but also elderly couples whose children have moved out into their own homes. A quarter of respondents live in households with three people, and another 22% live in households with four

people. This mainly includes couples with one or two children, but the category may also include mature couples who take care of one of the parents in the same household. Finally, 11% of respondents live in households with five or more people, which may include couples with three or more children but also multi-generational households, albeit with a lower probability.

Uniformity is also evident when it comes to the faith of the respondents: 87% declare themselves to be Orthodox Christian, 7% Catholic, and 5% Protestant or Neo-Protestant.

In this section, we've seen some of the aspects that differentiate women in Romania, which should convince anyone that one cannot speak about "women in Romania" or "Romanian women" in general except as a statistical construct. In reality, the category of "women in Romania" is a generic one, including multiple groups defined by the intersection of all variables we've discussed here and others. In the following chapters, we will focus on the attitudes, opinions, and beliefs of women about certain political issues or topics strongly influenced by politics. Whenever necessary, we'll discuss less about the statistical category of "Romanian women" and draw attention to the multiple subgroups defined by multiple socio-demographic characteristics.

Before that, however, we'll briefly discuss media consumption and internet usage among women.

Media and internet consumption

Across the entire sample, 79% of women declare that they use the internet, while 21% declare that they do not use it. There are two socio-demographic categories where internet usage is a minority: only 49% of women with primary school studies and only 33% of women over the age of 64 use the internet. The usage is significantly below the national average level among women with incomes below 3000 lei per month (only 68% use it).

Regarding media consumption, we have observed the following for various types of media channels that can be used to obtain information:

The percentage of women who frequently watch generalist TV channels is 71%. This means that watching this type of TV channel is common among the majority of women in all regions of Romania, except for Bucharest-Ilfov. The likelihood of a woman frequently watching generalist television increases with age, decreases with formal education level, and with income (in other words, a woman with low income and advanced age is almost certain to be a frequent viewer of generalist television). Students and self-employed women/female business owners are the only socio-professional categories where frequently watching generalist TV channels is not a majority activity.

News channels on TV are frequently watched by two-thirds of respondents, 66%. The profile of those who frequently watch news channels does not differ significantly from those who

frequently watch generalist channels, which means that in this case, the communication medium (TV channel) is more important than the content (generalist channel versus news channel).

Facebook and WhatsApp are the most commonly used social media applications: both are frequently used by 63% of respondents. The likelihood of a woman frequently using Facebook decreases with age, with the majority of frequent users being under the age of 45. There is no socio-demographic group where frequent use of WhatsApp is a minority phenomenon, except for individuals over the age of 64.

YouTube is frequently used by 39% of women. This information medium is frequently used especially by women (especially non-Protestants) in Transylvania. The likelihood of a woman frequently using YouTube decreases with age. Retirees and stay-at-home women are the only socio-professional categories where frequent access to YouTube is not a majority phenomenon.

Radio shows are frequently listened to by 32% of women. The percentage of women in Bucharest-Ilfov who frequently listen to the radio is 9% below the national average. Frequent radio consumption is more common among women under 30 and among students than among women of other ages or occupations, although the differences are moderate.

TikTok is used frequently by 30% of women. The percentage of people who frequently use TikTok in the Bucharest-Ilfov area is 6% below the national average. The likelihood of a woman frequently using TikTok decreases with age. Among students

and women under the age of 30, those who frequently use TikTok are in the majority.

Facebook groups are frequently used by 30% of respondents. This information medium is frequently used especially by women in the Bucharest-Ilfov area. The likelihood of frequently accessing Facebook groups is directly correlated with the level of formal education, being very high among women with higher education, moderate among those with secondary education, and low for women who have completed a maximum of eight grades. The majority of women under the age of 30 and most students use this application frequently.

Instagram is used frequently by 26% of women. The application is frequently used especially by women in Transylvania and by women with incomes of at least 4600 lei/month. The majority of women under the age of 30 and almost all students use this application frequently.

Finally, Telegram and Telegram groups are used frequently by only 5% of respondents. The relatively few people who frequently use this means of communication are primarily students and/or individuals under 30 years old, with incomes of at least 4600 lei/month.

Public agenda

Politics can be interpreted in many ways. Some say that politics is the exercise of power. Others say that politics is the negotiation game for the distribution of the limited resources we have. However, before reaching negotiation or power, politics cannot function in the absence of a public agenda: only through debate, only through dialogue can we be convinced that the decisions we make are the right ones or those desired by the majority of the population.

Note that here we quickly moved from politics to politics in democracy. We chose this because Romania is, after all, a democracy, albeit imperfect, and because in an authoritarian or totalitarian regime, the force of arms ensures public order. In democracies, however, the right to freedom of expression is fundamental, it is the first brick in the democratic construction. Through the exercise of this right, the topics that are important to the population at a given moment in time are aggregated, forming the public agenda.

It is precisely for this reason that we start the discussion with the public agenda. The respondents were asked to imagine that they were responsible for setting Romania's budget for the year 2024 and to tell us in which domain they would invest the largest sum of money. As mentioned before: the resources we have at our disposal are limited, the needs are multiple, and such a question can indicate to us which topics are at the top of the public agenda when it comes to funding from the state budget.

Table 1. Public agenda by age			
18 – 29 years	30 – 44 years	45 – 64 years	65+ years
Education 27%	Health 26%	Health 37%	Health 53%
Jobs 19%	Education 25%	Income 16%	Income 17%
Health 18%	Jobs 18%	Education 15%	Education 8%

Table 2. Public agenda by region			
Bucharest	Transylvania	Moldova	Muntenia
Health 37%	Health 31%	Health 29%	Health 40%
Education 28%	Education 17%	Education 21%	Income 17%
Income 10%	Income 17%	Jobs 20%	Education 16%

Table 3. Public agenda by party preference			
PSD	PNL	USR	AUR
Health 33%	Health 31%	Education 32%	Health 28%
Income 18%	Income 18%	Jobs 24%	Education 20%
Education 17%	Education 15%	Health 16%	Income 18%

The data from Tables 1–3 show both points of convergence, as well as points of divergence regarding the areas that respondents would fund using the state budget. Across the entire population, 33% would prioritise healthcare, 19%

education, 15% would increase allowances/pensions/salaries, 14% would fund new job opportunities, and 5% would invest in roads and infrastructure. All other domains mentioned by respondents - economy, nursing homes for the elderly, nurseries/kindergartens, agriculture, housing, industry - were considered “priorities” by less than 5% of respondents.

These responses reflect a greater importance given to those domains with which respondents have interacted, are currently interacting with, or will certainly interact with: healthcare, education, allowances/pensions/salaries, or jobs. Domains for which it is more difficult to establish a direct link with individual problems or individual well-being - industry, agriculture, economy - were chosen to a lesser extent as investment priorities.

The data also show that the importance given to domains depends on personal circumstances: young women between 18-29 are much more concerned about the state of education and the job market than healthcare. The importance of healthcare increases significantly with age: while only 26% of women between 30 and 44 would prioritise healthcare, the percentage rises to 37% among women between 45 and 64, and to 53% among women aged 65 and over.

At the level of historical regions, women in Moldova stand out, with a larger proportion (20%) considering jobs to be a priority for the state budget. In other regions, the ranking is the same: healthcare, education, allowances/pensions/salaries.

It should be noted that the responses of women to this question are fully justified. According to Eurostat data, in 2020 Romania

allocated 6.3% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) to healthcare, placing it second to last among EU countries, surpassing only Luxembourg (Luxembourg, however, has the highest GDP across UE, and a population of only 650.000). Similarly, education was a domain neglected for years by all Romanian governments, which led to a drastic decline of the Romanian education system. In 2021, according to Eurostat data, Romania funded education using only 3.2% of the GDP, enough to rank it second to last, ahead of Ireland (Ireland, however, has a funding of 3% of the GDP, considering that Ireland's GDP, per capita, is 3.3 times higher than Romania's).

In terms of political preferences and considering only the main political parties according to survey data, women who support USR differ from those who support PSD, PNL, or AUR. While the public agenda for the latter groups is similar to that of the entire population, for those who support USR, education is the top priority (32%), followed by jobs (24%), and health is only in third place (16%). Of course, much of this difference stems from the fact that women who support USR are, on average, younger and better educated than those who support other parties.

There are other differences that arise punctually, for certain sub-categories of the population, but which demonstrate that respondents evaluate reality and establish political priorities based on the local, individual context in which they find themselves. Thus, women over 65, those living alone, and those who are widowed or divorced consider to a significantly greater extent than others that nursing homes and facilities for the elderly should be prioritised for state budget funding. The choice is perfectly rational and reflects one of the main

concerns faced by women in these categories, especially considering the public scandals concerning the abuse and neglect found in some of these institutions. In the context of demographic and cultural changes in Romania, this issue will become increasingly important.

Similarly, infrastructure and roads are fifth in the ranking made by women living in rural areas, chosen by 10% of respondents in this category. In this case as well, we can speak of a rational choice: although significant progress has been made in improving infrastructure in rural areas, the problem of easy access to the nearest city, which involves not only roads but also public transportation, is still unresolved. Infrastructure is also the fourth most important domain for women living in Bucharest: 8% of them chose infrastructure investments as a priority. In this case as well, investments have been and are being made, funded either nationally or locally, but Bucharest's infrastructure lags behind the size of the city and, especially, its horizontal development towards neighboring communes.

In addition to the question regarding the public agenda, respondents were asked to indicate the top three issues they are currently facing. Thus, we move from evaluating issues on a community and social level to evaluating individual problems.

A first observation is that 14.3% of respondents answered that they have no problem worthy of mention. Another 16.5% mentioned that they are facing only one problem, while 21.7% mentioned only two problems, not three as requested. Thus, on one hand, we have 14.3% of women who are currently not facing any problems, and on the other hand, we have 48.3% of

women who are facing at least three problems they consider worthy of mention.

Table 4. Main problems faced by women

Problem	Percentage
Lack of money / low income	55,7%
Health	37,3%
The uncertainty of tomorrow	31,4%
Money for household maintenance	28,3%
Buying medication	20,6%
Finding a job	14,1%
Stress at the workplace	13,4%
Buying a home	12,3%
Lack of free time	9,5%
Other problems	16,5%

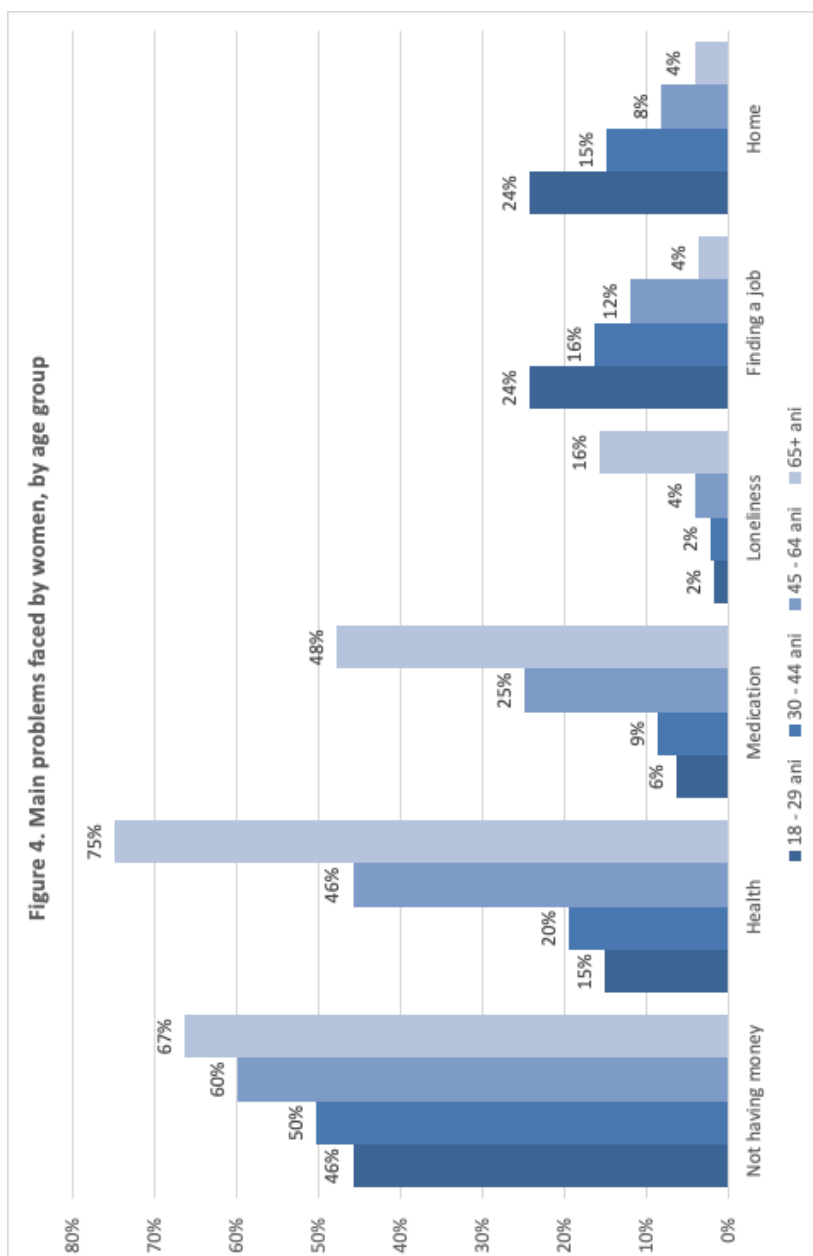
Note: the total does not add up to 100% due to the fact that it represents the percentages of mentions, not of respondents

In relation to the entire sample, the problems can be grouped into three major categories: financial issues (lack of money, low income, household maintenance expenses, purchase of a home, purchase of medication), health problems (illnesses, health, purchase of medication), and work-related issues (finding a job, workplace stress, lack of free time).

Obviously, these three categories are strongly interconnected: low salaries are associated with lack of money, workplace stress or stress generated by lack of money affects health, poor health reduces work capacity, and increases spendings on medication.

Of course, the problems faced by the respondents are strongly associated with age (see Figure 4): financial issues are among the most important, regardless of age, but among women aged

18-29, they are mentioned by less than half of the respondents (46%), while among women over 65, they are mentioned by more than two-thirds (67%), demonstrating that current pensions are insufficient for a decent living for those whose main source of income is the pension.



The positive association with age is even stronger when the mentioned problems are related to health - three-quarters of women over 65 mentioned health as a problem they face - or when they concern both health and financial situation - almost half of women over 65 have difficulty buying necessary medication. Last but not least, loneliness is a significant problem for elderly people: while the percentage of those mentioning this problem does not exceed 5% among women under 65, among those over 65, the percentage jumps to 16%. For women under 30, important issues are not related to health or medication, but to those aspects that concern anyone at that age: finding a job or buying/building a home. The importance of these issues decreases with age.

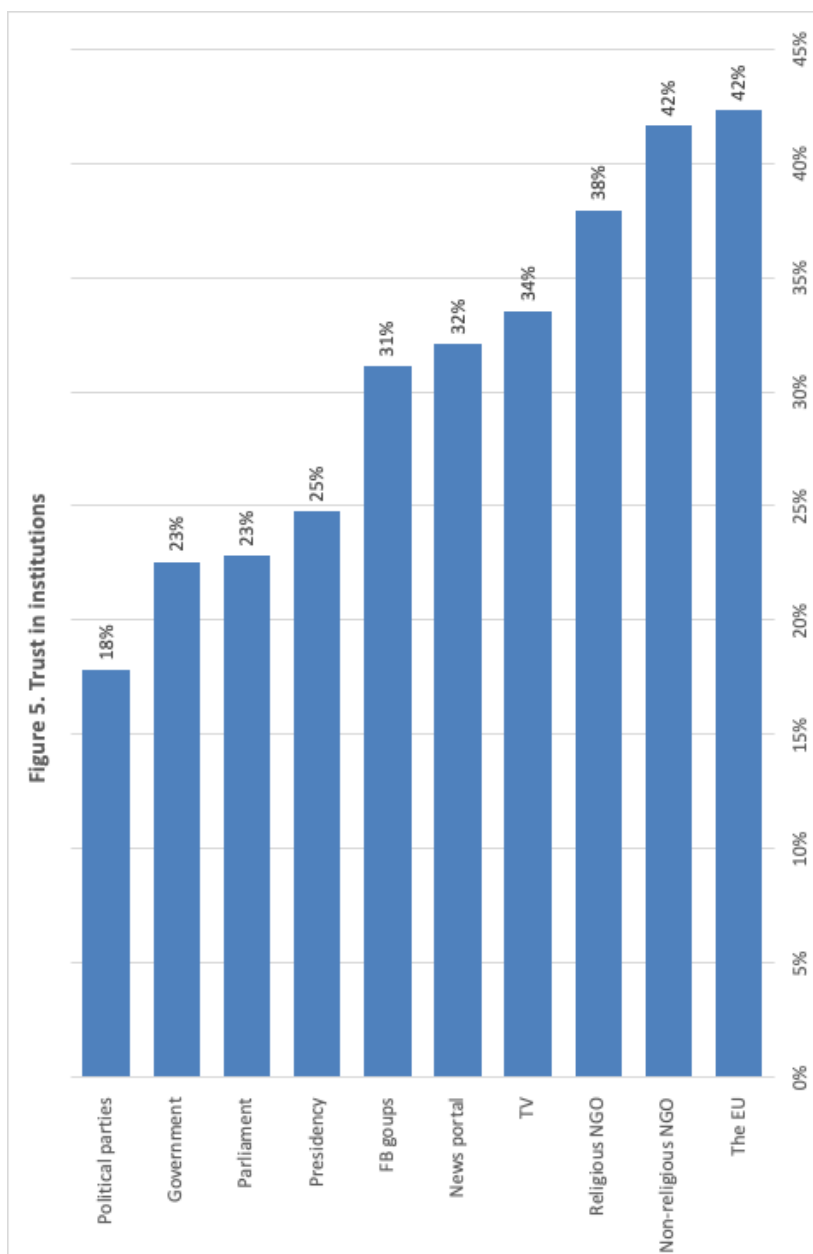
Beyond financial, health, or work-related problems and how they are reflected in different proportions in different groups of respondents, there is another problem mentioned by about 25% - 35% of women, regardless of socio-demographic characteristics: the uncertainty of tomorrow. It is the kind of problem that is rather systemic, for which is difficult to find a solution for in the short or medium term, that can take various forms and can generate significant psychological pressure on those who do not have well-defined mechanisms for negotiating the risk represented by the feeling of uncertainty about the future.

In the last section of this chapter, we present the answers of the respondents regarding the level of trust they have in certain institutions, from central institutions of the political system (presidency, parliament, government, political parties) to civil society institutions (NGOs, religiously affiliated or non-affiliated)

to supranational institutions (European Union) or to more or less formal institutions from which they gather their information (television, news websites, Facebook groups).

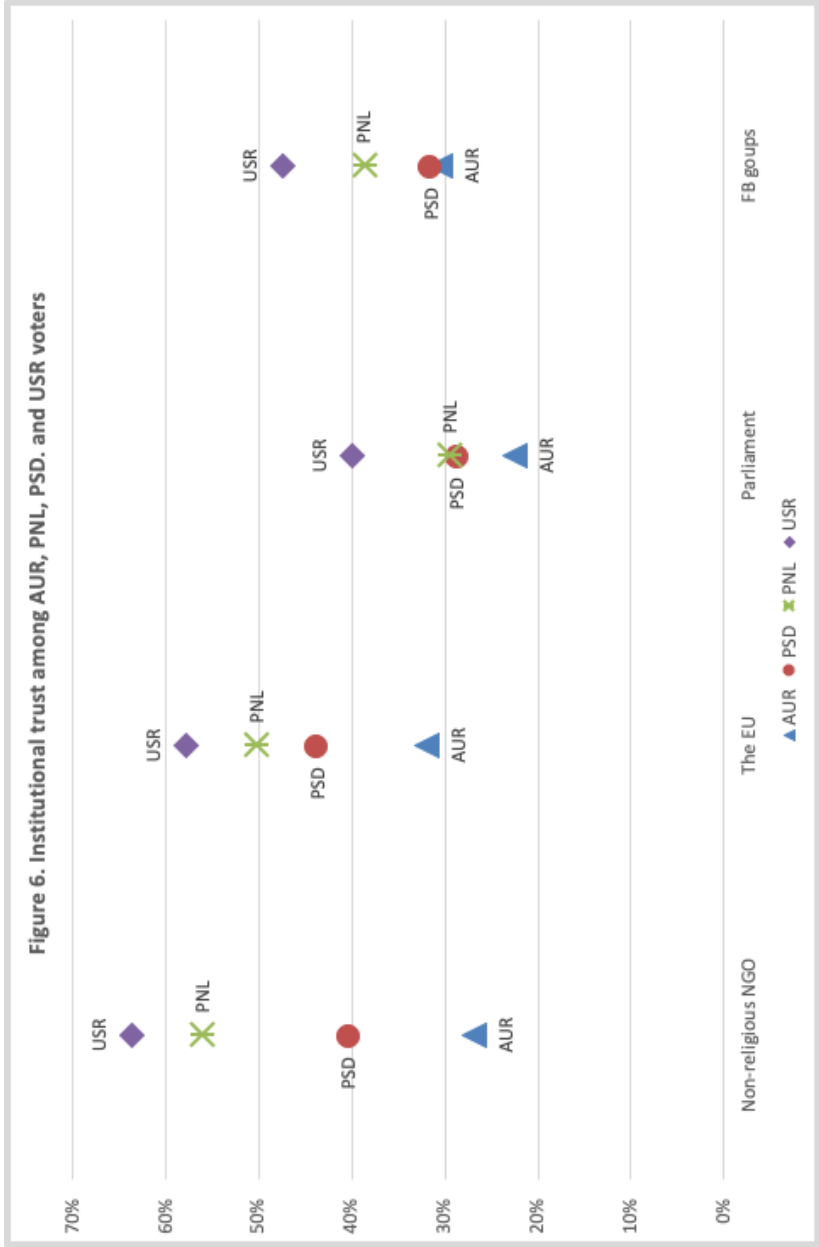
The results from Figure 5 require a series of interpretations.

Firstly, what stands out is what we know from previous studies regarding institutional trust in Romania, namely that Romanians - Romanian women in this case - tend not to have a lot of trust in institutions. The institution that benefits from the highest level of trust is characterised by the fact that it is not a Romanian institution but a supranational one, the European Union, and although it enjoys the highest level of trust, it has not managed to gain the trust of the majority of respondents (only 42% trust the EU).



Two other institutions enjoy a similar level of trust: non-religiously affiliated NGOs, trusted by 42% of respondents, and religiously affiliated NGOs, trusted by 38% of respondents. It should be mentioned here that we measured trust in religiously affiliated NGOs and non-religiously affiliated NGOs separately because in the context of Romania, this distinction may be relevant: according to official data, a significant proportion of the income tax that can be redirected annually to NGOs is redirected by citizens to religiously affiliated NGOs. A second distinct category is that of the institutions through which respondents obtain their information: television, news websites, or Facebook groups. The differences between these are minor in terms of trust: approximately one-third of women in Romania trust these institutions.

Finally, at the bottom of the trust ranking are the central institutions of the political system, which only manage to gain the trust of at most a quarter of the female population of Romania: only 25% trust the Presidency, 23% trust the Parliament or the Government, and only 18% trust political parties. Thus, we can speak of a low level of institutional trust in Romania, with political institutions receiving a penalty in comparison to other institutions for which the level of trust was measured. As with the public agenda or the issues they face, women are not a homogeneous group when it comes to institutional trust, but there are subgroups that have more or less trust depending on the defining characteristics of the group. Among the observed differences, the following are worth mentioning.



The relationship between trust and age is, in most cases, negative: older women tend to have less trust in institutions. The only institutions where this relationship does not exist are the Government and the Presidency, where the level of trust is similar for all age groups. In the case of trust in TV stations, the relationship is positive, with younger women being less trusting of these institutions.

The relationship between trust and the level of education shows that the maximum level of trust, regardless of the institution, is found among respondents with secondary education. Among respondents with higher education, especially notable is the very low level of trust in political institutions: only 8% trust political parties, compared to 18% for the entire sample, only 10% trust political parties and the government, and only 12% trust the Presidency. A similar attitude towards institutions of the political system is observed among respondents whose monthly net income is over 4500 lei: the percentage of those who have a lot or very much trust in these institutions varies between 7% and 11%.

One final observation, this time regarding differences in institutional trust based on preferred political party: women who declare they would vote for AUR if there were elections next week have significantly less trust than women who would vote for other parliamentary parties for all institutions considered, while women who declare they would vote for USR have significantly more trust than voters of other parliamentary parties for most institutions on the list. PSD and PNL voters fall between these two groups.

In this case, we see a significant difference between the two groups, which can partially explain the electorate of the two relatively newly emerged parties on the Romanian political scene (at least compared to PNL and PSD). In the case of AUR, we have significantly stronger anti-system attitudes than in the case of USR, for each of the four categories of institutions included in our study.

In a separate section of the questionnaire, we asked respondents how much trust they have in the Romanian Orthodox Church (for those who declared they are Orthodox Christians), in the Catholic Church in Romania (for those who declared they are Catholic), or in pastors in Romania (for those who declared they are Protestant or Neo-Protestant).

As expected, trust in the institution of the church is significantly higher than in the other institutions discussed in this chapter: the Romanian Orthodox Church is trusted by 77% of women belonging to this religion. The Catholic Church in Romania is trusted by 85% of Catholic women in Romania. Finally, Protestant and Neo-Protestant pastors in Romania are trusted by 90% of women belonging to these cults.

Family and children

This chapter is reserved for a discussion based on the way women from Romania think about family, children and about who should take care of the children, about the distribution of tasks between the partners of a family and about their opinions about the way the Romanian state supports and could support the birth rate and couples with children in Romania.

As we have already mentioned in the first chapter, even if there are various family models that the Romanians have embraced, the Romanian population is rather characterised by a high level of homogeneity in relation to marital status (almost 93% of respondents are or have , the vast majority), the number of children (68% have one or two children, 17% don't have any children and 15% have three or more children), or household size (12% live by , 77% live in households of 2-4 people and 11% live in households larger than 4).

The first subject addressed in this chapter is about children. The dominant model is to have two children (36,4%) or an only child (31,7%). Only 15% of women have three or more children, the majority of them (80%) being older than 45.

Only 17% don't have any children, almost 60% of them are under 30 years old. This is the category on which we are focusing on, to find out the main reasons why these women don't have children. We asked the women from this group to tell us what mattered the most in their decision about not having children. The responses which we received show that in

most cases it's about a voluntary delay in the first pregnancy: 43% responded that it's not the time to have children and another 10% indicated lack of money or personal career as motives. In the second place there are diverse medical reasons indicated as an explanation for 19% of the respondents. Only 8% of women who don't have any children argue explicitly that they've never wanted children. To these women we add 5% more who explain that the decision of not having a child is the lack of trust in the future of Romania.

A clearer picture about the reasons why some women don't have children can be obtained in relation with women over 65 years old and older, where a pregnancy is not possible anymore. 57% of women from this category say that they weren't able to have children (medical reasons), 21% indicate other factors, without detailing them. Other percentages in the same direction can be observed for women between 45 and 64 years old.

Bigger proportions of women who declare that they didn't have children because they didn't want to can be identified in cases of higher education (12,3%), in women whose partners live abroad (14,3%) and in those who have a monthly income of more than 3000 lei (15%).

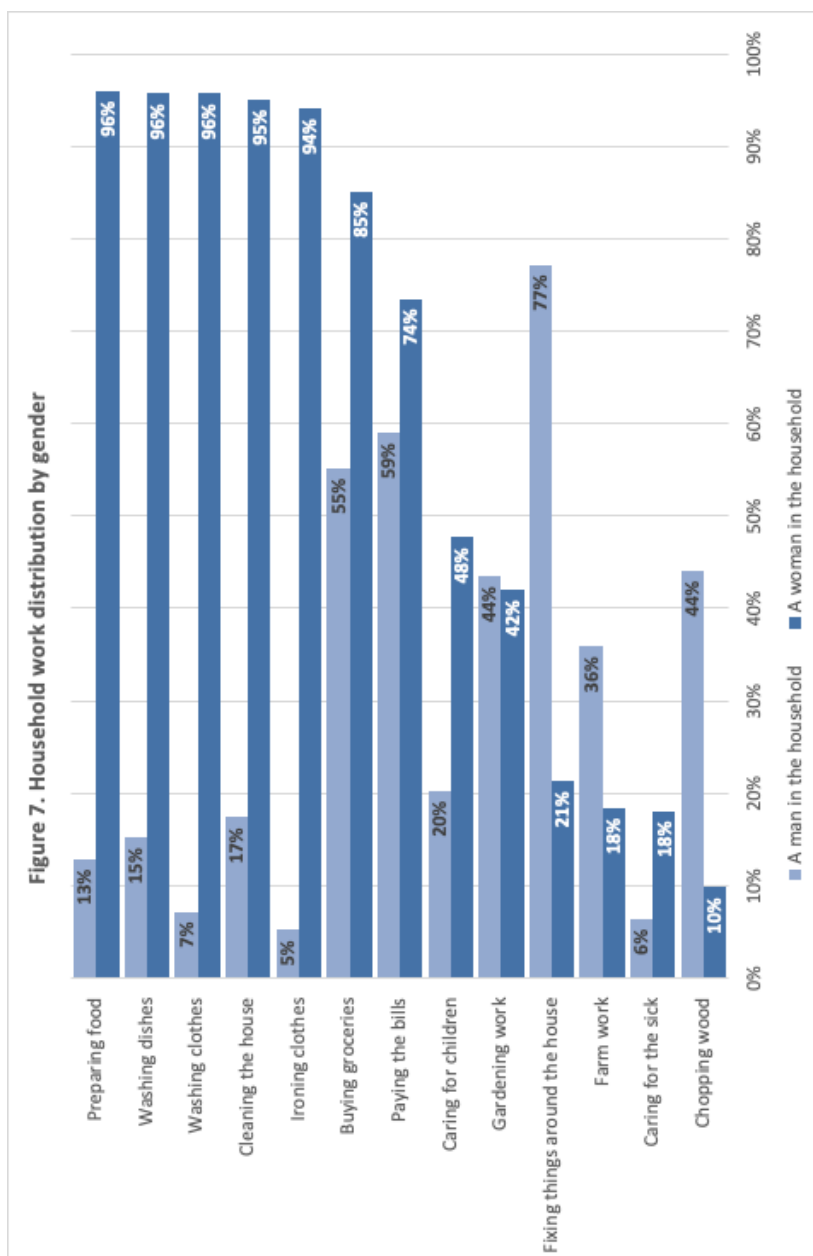
The lack of trust in the future of Romania is offered as explanation in a bigger proportion from women between the ages of 30 and 44 years old (11,8%), from the ones who would vote with AUR (13,3%) and also from the ones with a monthly income over 4500 lei (11,1%).

An additional question targeted the solutions that women have found to take care of the child between the end of the parental leave period and the period when the child could have been enrolled in kindergarten. Of all 17% of women who have been in this situation, the majority (57%) had to stay home to take care of the child. For comparison, in only 0,9% of the cases the partner was the one who had to stay home. The second solution that was usually used for this type of situation was that the grandparents took care of the child (26,5%). The third solution was to enrol the child to the nursery, either a public one (12,4%) or a private one (1,8%). The distribution of the responses to this question depends on the level of education of the respondent. The higher level of education a woman has, the more likely she is to choose 'grandparents' or 'a state nursery'.

The situation is reversed when it comes to the 'I stayed home' option, as it was selected by 86% of the respondents with primary education, by 51% of those with high school education and by 29% of the ones with higher education. This situation is reflected in the distribution of the responses in relation to their income: the 'I stayed home' option was selected by 65% of women with an income lower than 3000 lei and only by 29% of women with an income between 3000 and 4500 lei.

It is worth mentioning, in this particular discussion, that literature has demonstrated a relationship which can be considered to be universal: women who have a job and who choose to have children pay for this decision, because the pregnancy period, giving birth and then taking care of the children is a period of inactivity in the labour market and this

thing reflects later on lower incomes, and fewer opportunities to advance.



A similar situation shows as well for women who 'choose' - even if the correct term to be used here is probably 'have to' - to stay home to take care of the children for the period between the end of the leave to take care of the child and the beginning of kindergarten: somehow, this decision could go naturally during the leave to take care of the child period, but the additional cost of this decision could be a significantly lower probability of the women coming back to work while the children go to kindergarten.

The second topic that we'll discuss in this chapter is the way many chores of the household are being distributed (Figure 7). As you can see, the majority of tasks that take the most time to complete fall in a disproportionate way under the respondents care or under another's women care: cooking, washing dishes, washing clothes, ironing and cleaning the house are done in most cases by 94%-96% women and only 5%-17% cases of men.

Daily shopping and paying the bills are tasks which are shared equally, but the proportion of women who take care of these tasks are still higher than the men's (85% compared to 55% when it comes to daily shopping and 74% compared to 59% when it comes to paying the bills). Taking care of the children or of the sick ones in the family falls under women's duty 2,5 or 3 times more than men's tasks.

The only tasks which are mainly done by men more than women are the household repairs (77% men compared to 21% women), agricultural work (36% men versus 18% women), and cutting wood (44% men versus 10% women).

Looking at the big picture of all those types of work which should be done in the household, the data shows that there still exists a traditional distribution of gender roles at the population level, a distribution which burdens women substantially and insufficient when it comes to men.

The situation seems to get a little bit better when it comes to younger generations, but we cannot talk about a significant improvement. Younger women, under 30 years old or between the ages of 30 and 44 years old, show a more consistent implication than men when it comes to domestic work: 16% of men cook, compared to 12% women over 45 years old; 20% of men clean the house, compared to only 12% of women over 65 years old.

The proportion of men who take care of domestic work in the household increases with the level of education of the respondent (for some types of work the implication of men triples) and with her income (but in lower proportions). Although, even in these cases, we can't talk about parity, we can't talk about equality for doing the household work, we can only talk about a report which disadvantages women, but not as bad as the other categories.

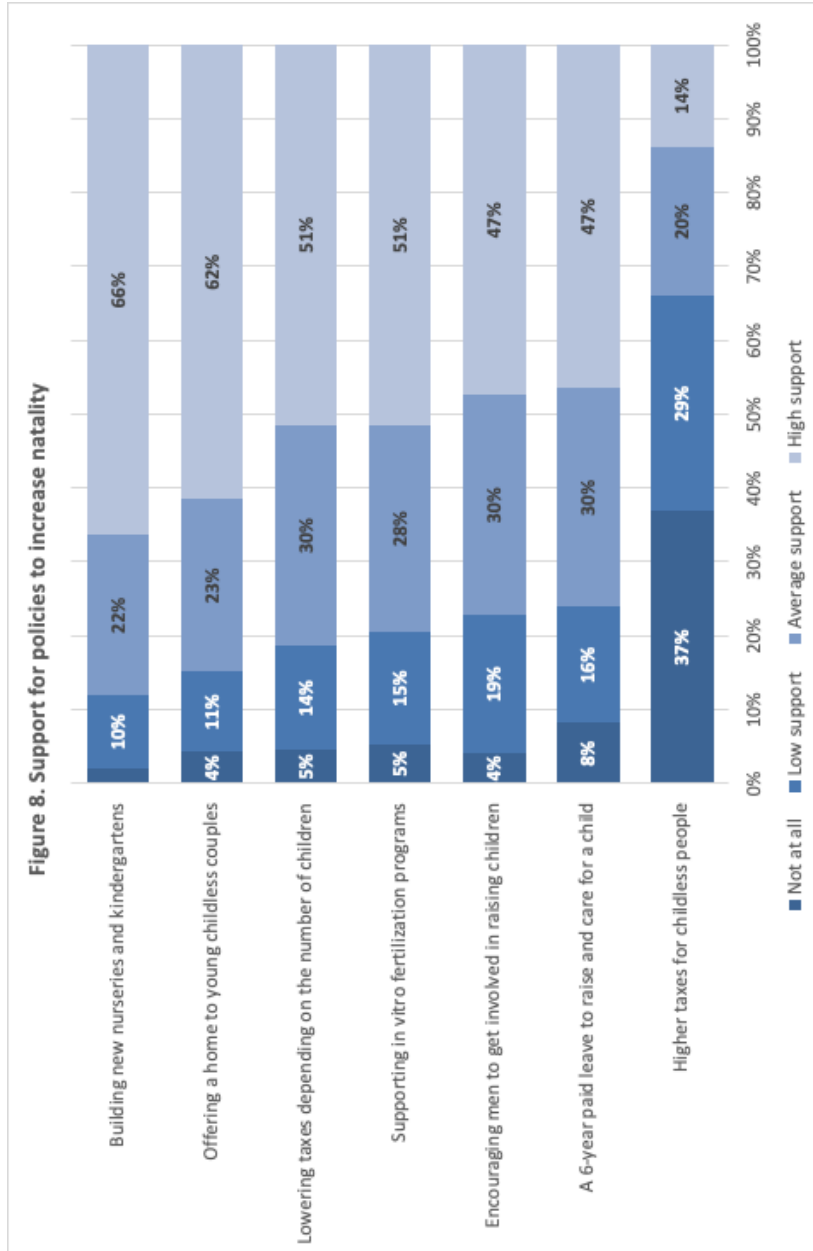
Using an additional question, we asked the respondents to indicate, in their opinion, who should take care of the pre-schoolers in a family where both parents work. Almost half of women (47,5%) responded that the mother should take care of the children. Mirroring this situation, only 0,8% said that the father should stay home with the children. Another quarter (23,5%) responded that one of the parents, no matter which one, should take care of the children. Giving the distribution of

the other responses, they would probably prefer that the mother stayed at home too if they had to choose. The rest of the respondents indicated either the grandparents or hiring a nanny as solutions (5%).

The idea of a paid nanny is accepted in a higher proportion for younger respondents (8% of women under 30 years old, compared to 2% of women over 65 years old), those with higher education (8% compared to 1% of those with lower education), those with lower income (9% for those with an income under 3000 lei), but also for the respondents who live in Bucharest (19%).

The preference of asking for help from the grandparents or the relatives is significantly higher in Muntenia (37%) compared to Transylvania (14%) or Moldova (13%). Furthermore, it is higher in Bucharest (27,5), compared to other localities of different dimensions. Actually, women from Bucharest deny the idea that the mother should stay at home with the pre-schooler children significantly (29% compared to 48% of the whole sample) or that one of the parents should do this (19% compared to 23% of the whole sample), which explains why they are looking for alternative options, like relatives or nannies.

In the last part of this chapter we analyse the way women evaluate the support given by the state to families with children and their preferred solutions for improving the birth rate. The respondents are rather critical when it comes to the support given by the state for families with children: only 6% think that the state supports the families in the highest rate, 13% think that the state supports the families with children at a high rate, and 82% think that the state offers a low support.



The differences between the categories of respondents are not very high for this question, but we can notice the women who would vote for USR, who believe significantly more than the others that the states support families with children at a very high level (12,5%, double more than the whole sample), or in a high level (26% compared to only 13% of the whole sample).

The difference is remarkable in relation with the comparison with the other groups, but without any additional information it is difficult to say if these responses are ideologically determined or by other factors.

The last set of questions of this chapter refers to the way respondents agree or not to a series of measurements which the state could implement in order to increase the birth rate in Romania.

As can be seen in Figure 8, six of these measures are supported to some extent or to a large extent by at least three-quarters of the respondents. Support for these measures (building nurseries and kindergartens, providing housing for young couples without children, tax reductions based on the number of children, supporting in vitro fertilisation programs, encouraging men to get involved in childcare, six-year leave for childcare) varies from 77% to 88% of the respondents.

The only measure that does not garner the support of the majority (only one-third agree to some extent or to a large extent) is the extra taxation of individuals without children.

"Providing housing for young couples without children" is a much more popular option in Bucharest, where 70% of respondents considered it highly useful. The situation is similar

for the option of "building nurseries and kindergartens," considered highly useful by 78% of respondents from Bucharest.

"Supporting in vitro fertilisation programs" is a much more popular option among women with higher education than among women with primary or secondary education, with 63% of women with higher education considering it greatly helpful in increasing birth rates.

"Tax reductions based on the number of children" is a popular measure, especially among women earning more than 4500 lei/month. Additionally, support for this measure increases with age, being 44% among women under 30 years old and reaching 54% among women aged 65 or older.

"Encouraging men to get more involved in childcare" is considered to greatly help birth rates, especially by female residents of Bucharest (74% of them).

Support for "extending childcare leave to six years" decreases with the formal education level of the respondent, being 50% among women with primary education, 46% among women with secondary education, and 40% among women with higher education. Muntenia (excluding Bucharest-Ilfov) is the only region where support for this measure is majority.

Mothers with minor children

Women in this situation represent approximately 39% of all women in Romania. The proportion of women with higher education among mothers with minor children is the same as the proportion of women with higher education in the total female population of Romania (17%), but the proportion of women with high school education is higher - and the proportion of women with primary education is lower - than in the entire population, with a difference of 5%.

The assessment of state support is mostly negative: 43% consider that the state helps families with children to a very small extent, while another 31% consider that it helps only to a small extent.

More than half (55%) believe that in a family where both parents work, the mother should be the one to stay at home and take care of the child. This opinion is held even by the majority of women who currently have minor children and are employed. 22% believe that either parent should stay at home in this situation, while another 18% believe that grandparents should take care of the children.

There are no significant differences between women who are mothers of minor children and the rest of women in Romania regarding the perception of measures that would help increase birth rates. Thus, building nurseries and kindergartens, providing housing for young couples without children, and tax reductions based on the number of children are at the forefront.

Differences regarding reporting towards the political scene are minor, i.e., less than 3%, with the following exceptions:

- Support for mothers with minor children for USR is 11.6%, 6% more than among other women in Romania.
- Support for mothers with minor children for PNL is 17%, 3.5% more than among other women in Romania.
- Support for mothers with minor children for PSD is 29%, 3% less than among other women in Romania.
- 30% of mothers with minor children do not know who to vote for, a value 6% lower than among other women in Romania.

The internet usage rate is higher among this category (91%) than among all women in Romania (79%).

Also, as with all women in Romania: opposition to the ban on abortions is overwhelmingly high, with a ratio of 1-to-5 between those who want this ban and those who do not. A significant minority (44%) have used contraception in the last 10 years. Expectations from NGOs working in the field of women's rights vary, with organizing protests being significantly less popular than other tested subjects. Finally, a greater presence of women in politics is preferred, but, at the same time, for public positions, the dominant option is that "gender does not matter."

Health

We have seen, in the chapter dedicated to the public agenda, that health is the topic for which women over 30 years old would invest the largest amount of money from the budget of the year 2024. This is the topic we are discussing in this chapter.

The importance of health cannot be doubted, if we analyse women's responses to the set of questions regarding health. Among all women in the sample, 60% stated that they had used medical services in the last year, while 40% stated that they did not need such services. Among those who visited a doctor in the last year, 88% needed treatment services, 61% needed preventive services, and 42% needed emergency services.

The use of medical services in the last year is positively associated with age, being 55% among women under 30 years old and reaching 65% among women aged 65 or older. The same statement as above is valid for the use of treatment services, which is 44% among women under 30 years old and reaches 64% among women over 64 years old.

The use of preventive services is above the national average among women in Bucharest-Ilfov (56%) and below the national average among women in Muntenia (23%). The use of this type of service correlates with the respondent's income, being 35% among women with monthly incomes below 3000 lei and reaching 77% among women with monthly incomes over 6000 lei.

Out of all adult women in Romania, 25% have used emergency services in the last year. The use of this type of service is significantly higher than the national average in Moldova (34%) and significantly lower than the national average in Muntenia (17%).

Just over half (56%) of women who have used health services in the last year have used obstetrics-gynaecology services. As expected, women up to 44 years old have visited a gynaecologist in greater proportion (78%) compared to those aged between 45 and 64 years old (44%) or those over 65 years old (25%).

Education is a second variable positively associated with visits to an obstetrician-gynaecologist: if only 40% of women with low education have made such a visit, the percentage among women with secondary education increases to 58%, and among those with higher education it reaches 71%. A similar relationship exists regarding income: women with higher income have used obstetric-gynaecology services more frequently than the rest. The use of this type of service is significantly above the national average in Bucharest-Ilfov and significantly below the national average in Muntenia.

Given that age, education, and income are characteristics with strong inter-connectivity, we also estimated a logistic regression model to see which of these factors has the strongest association with doctor visits. We added to the model a variable indicating the residential environment (urban or rural), as women living in rural areas face more difficulties in accessing medical care compared to those in urban areas

Without presenting the estimated parameters, the conclusion of this model is that age is the main factor that differentiates between women who use obstetrics-gynaecology services: the proportion of those who visit a doctor decreases with age. The second determinant factor is the residential environment, as expected: women from urban areas visit a doctor in this specialty in greater proportion. It is noteworthy that education and income, although in individual relationships had significant effects, lose their importance in the regression model, indicating that age is associated not only with differences in education and income but also with differences in behaviour regarding doctor visits.

Respondents who visited a doctor in the previous year were asked to indicate whether they used medical services from the public sector, the private sector, or both systems. At the overall sample level, 46% used the public system, 40% used both systems, and 14% used the private system. The context is somewhat nuanced regarding this question: on one hand, private services are not as widespread as state services, neither regionally nor in terms of the specialties they cover. On the other hand, even where available, the cost of private services can be prohibitive for certain individuals.

The percentage of respondents who exclusively used the state system increases with age, while the percentage of those who partially or exclusively used the private system decreases with age. The main result to be retained from here is that women over 65 years old are largely absent, for various reasons but most likely due to financial reasons and availability, from private medical offices: only 3% exclusively used private services,

compared to 72% who exclusively used services from the state system. As expected, income also plays an important role in the decision to use the state or private system: the proportion of those who exclusively used the private system is 26% among women with a monthly net income over 4500 lei, compared to only 11% among women with a monthly net income below 3000 lei.

To get a clearer picture of the reasons why respondents did not use medical services in the previous year, we asked them to indicate these reasons themselves. By far, the main reason is that they did not need to see a doctor (76%). For 14%, lack of money was the reason that prevented them from seeing a doctor. Another 4.4% mentioned lack of time as the main cause, and for 2.3%, the distance to the doctor was too great to cover. Lack of money is mentioned as a reason in significantly higher proportions by women over 65 years old (22%), those with three or more children (39%), those who vote for PSD (20%), those with low education (30%), housewives (32%), retirees (24%), those from Moldova (20%), and those from rural areas (19%). Of course, all these associations are interconnected, defining together what sociologists sometimes call "poverty pockets."

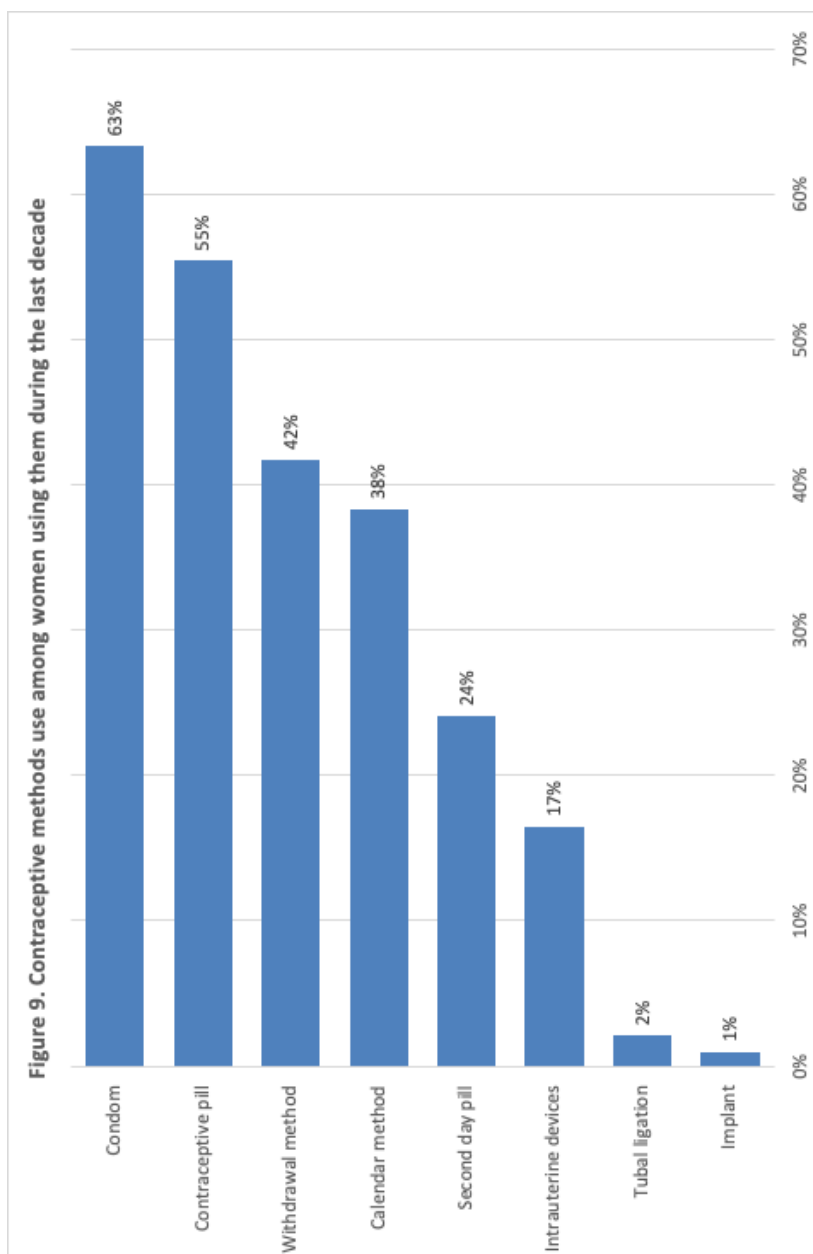
We continue the discussion in this chapter with two themes related to health and which play an important role especially in women's health: contraception and abortion. These are also topics that in recent years have become increasingly politicised, being used in political battles without considering the negative consequences they may have on women.

Contraception

We used a separate section in the questionnaire to gather more information about women's contraceptive behaviour. We asked if they had used contraceptive methods in recent years and, if so, which methods they had used from the list provided: emergency contraceptive pill, birth control pills, condoms, intrauterine device (IUD), tubal ligation, contraceptive implant, withdrawal method, or calendar method.

An important note, before discussing the results: it is important to mention and remember that the withdrawal method and the calendar method are not contraceptive methods. Compared to all other methods, these two are subject to significantly higher failure rates. However, in common understanding, they are often perceived as contraceptive methods, which is why we chose to add them to the list.

Considering that the reference period for questions about contraceptive behaviour was the last ten years, and considering the age of 50 as the average age for the onset of menopause, in this section, the analyses refer only to women who were up to 60 years old at the time of questionnaire application, those who would have had reasons to use contraceptive methods in the last ten years. Thus, in relation to this subgroup of the sample, 37% reported using contraceptive methods, while 62% reported not using them, and 1% refused to provide an answer.



As can be seen in Figure 9, relative to the group of women who have used a contraceptive method in the last ten years, the method used most often is condoms, mentioned by 63% of women in this group. In second place are birth control pills, mentioned by 55% of women in the group.

According to this data, at least some women use both condoms and birth control pills, which makes sense considering that both methods have significant failure rates (according to data from Planned Parenthood, the failure rate of condoms is 13% under normal use conditions¹, while birth control pills have a failure rate of approximately 7% under normal use conditions²). It is also worth mentioning that using condoms has an additional benefit, providing protection against sexually transmitted diseases, not just avoiding unwanted pregnancy.

More worryingly, approximately four out of ten respondents in the analysed group reported using the withdrawal method (42%) or the calendar method (38%), both of which have high failure rates and are not real contraceptive methods.

The emergency contraceptive pill, more of an emergency solution, was mentioned by almost a quarter of respondents. Finally, more invasive methods are used to a much lesser extent: only 17% mentioned using an intrauterine device (IUD), while tubal ligation and contraceptive implants were mentioned by only 2% and 1% of respondents, respectively.

¹ <https://www.plannedparenthood.org/learn/birth-control/condom/how-effective-are-condoms>.

² <https://www.plannedparenthood.org/learn/birth-control/birth-control-pill/how-effective-is-the-birth-control-pill>.

Relative to the differences observed between various categories of respondents, the following situations are especially notable:

- Compared to the national average, condoms are used to a greater extent in Moldova (70%) and to a lesser extent in Muntenia (50%).
- Among unmarried women, condom use is the primary method of contraception: 93% of unmarried women using contraceptive methods use condoms.
- Birth control pills are used much less in Moldova (41%) than in the rest of the country.
- Compared to the national average, the withdrawal method is used to a greater extent in Moldova (58%) and to a lesser extent in Muntenia (17%). The method is especially used by women with medium education (42% of them) or with higher education (45%), being much less popular among women with primary education (29%).
- Compared to the national average, the calendar method is used to a greater extent in Moldova (64%) and to a lesser extent in Muntenia (15%). The use of this method correlates with the formal education level of the respondent, being 26% among respondents with primary education, 38% among those with secondary education, and 43% among those with higher education.
- The emergency contraceptive pill is used much less in Moldova (10%) than in the rest of the country. It is used especially by women in urban areas with fewer than

50,000 inhabitants and by women in Bucharest (45% and 32%, respectively).

- The intrauterine device (IUD) is used as a contraceptive method especially by women aged 45–64, being significantly less popular among women in other age categories. It is important to mention here that in recent years, numerous cases of doctors refusing to insert IUDs for women without children of childbearing age have been documented. Thus, 31% of women aged 45–64 using a contraceptive method use an IUD. The use of an IUD correlates with the respondent's income level, reaching 40% among women with monthly incomes over 6,000 lei (who use contraceptive methods).

Almost 60% of women who have used contraceptive methods in the last ten years have sought medical help for their contraceptive use. It should be noted, in this context, that certain methods on the list can be used without the recommendation or advice of doctors (condoms, withdrawal method, calendar method), while for other methods, a visit to the doctor is necessary (birth control pill, IUD, contraceptive implant, or tubal ligation).

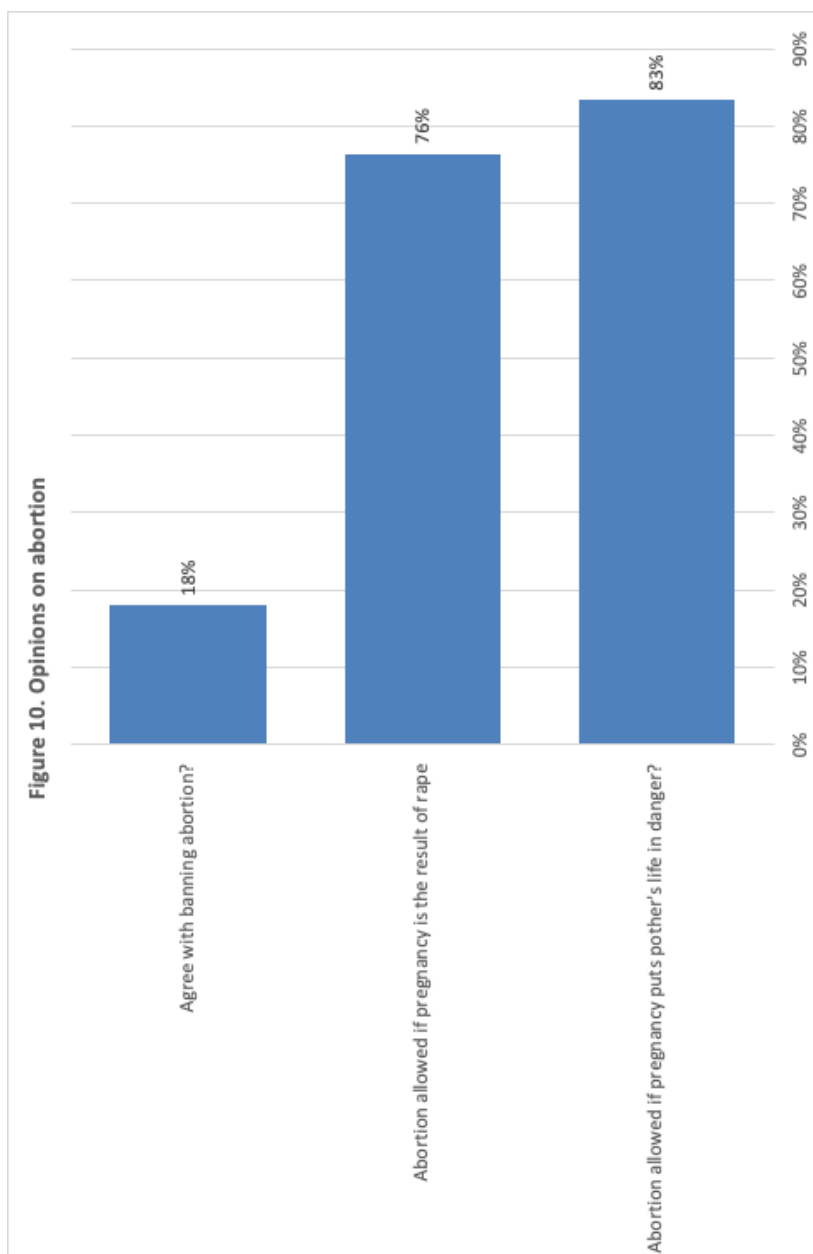
Almost all of those who sought medical help for contraceptive methods (91%) reported receiving assistance from medical staff. They are joined by 6.3% who had mixed experiences, and another 2.7% who report that medical staff refused to help them. The data suggest that refusal to help a patient in such situations is slightly higher in Moldova, where 19% had mixed experiences and 8% were completely refused. Only 10% of

respondents mentioned having financial difficulties that prevented them from obtaining or using contraceptive methods.

Abortion

The final section of this chapter analyses the opinions of the respondents on this topic. It is worth mentioning that the survey was conducted face-to-face, and to reduce the respondents' discomfort when answering more sensitive questions, only female interviewers were used.

The first question referred to opinions regarding the prohibition of abortion in Romania. The results show that 77% of women disagree with the prohibition of abortion, while 18% are in favour of this decision, with the remaining 5% being undecided. Among the women who are more in agreement than the average (18%) with the prohibition of abortion are: women aged 65 and over (26%), women with three or more children (23.5%), women with low education (27%), Protestant or neo-Protestant women (26%). Among those who are less in agreement are women who would vote for USR in elections (11.5%), women with higher education (10%), and those from medium-sized cities (10%).

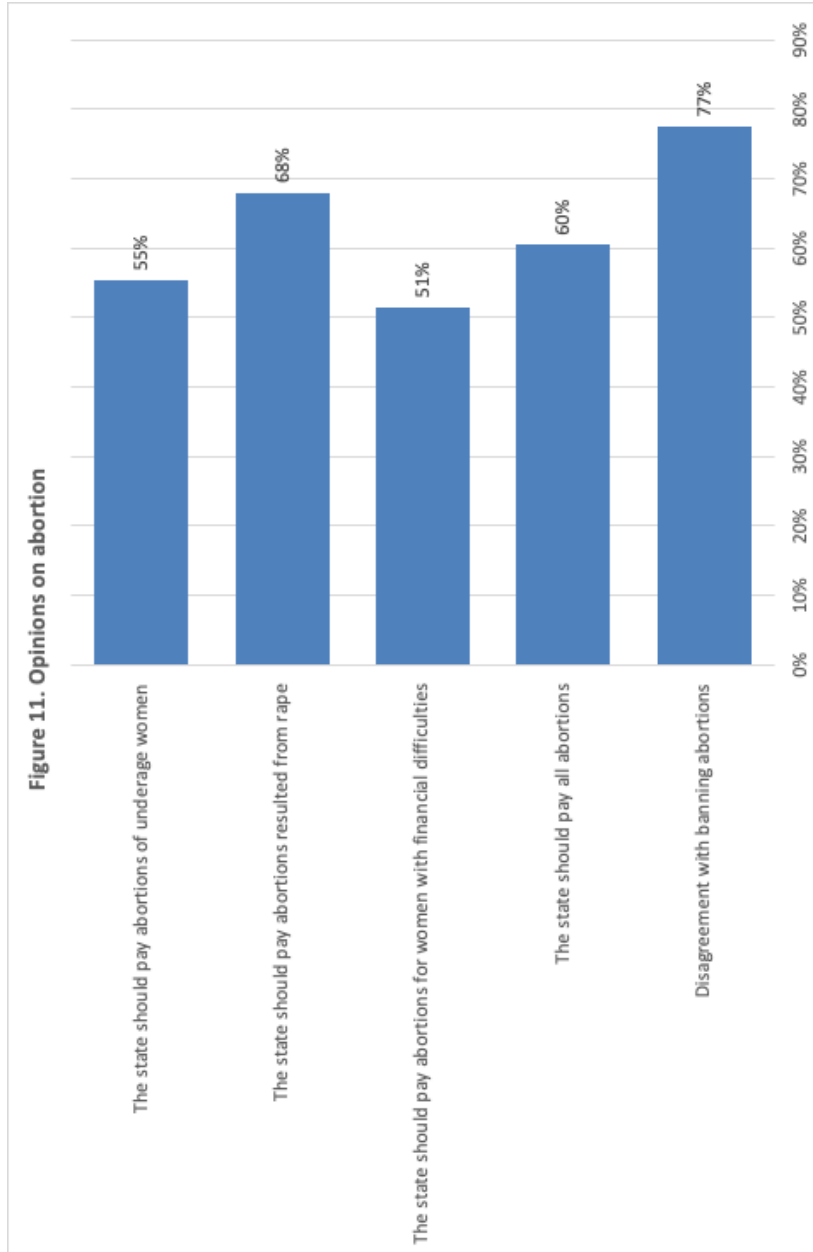


The 18% of respondents who indicated that they agree with the prohibition of abortions were asked to specify if they would still agree for abortion to be allowed in two extreme situations: if the pregnancy endangers the mother's life and if the woman became pregnant as a result of rape. It should be noted here that we are discussing only 18% of the entire sample, the responses of only 233 women who agree with the prohibition of abortion.

If the pregnancy endangers the mother's life, then 83% of those who would otherwise agree with the prohibition of abortion consider that abortion should be allowed. A similar percentage, 76%, also believe that abortion should be permitted if it resulted from rape.

It should be noted here that from the perspective of individual rights and freedoms, a woman should be able to decide about her pregnancy alone, without external pressure and regardless of her situation. Thus, attempting to steer the discussion towards cases where abortion would be "acceptable" or "unacceptable" is actually an abdication of protecting one of women's fundamental rights.

The 77% of respondents who indicated that they do not agree with the prohibition of abortions were asked to respond to an additional set of items to assess to what extent they believe abortions should be paid for by the state (Figure 11).



The data shows that in one case there is a comfortable majority (68%) who believe that abortion should be paid for by the state: when abortion is the result of rape. The percentage decreases to 60% in the case of covering all abortions, to 55% when it comes to a minor, and only to 51% when we refer to covering abortions for financially struggling women who wish to have an abortion. For each of these questions, approximately 5%-7% of respondents do not have a clearly defined answer.

Based on all this data about abortion, the main conclusion of the section is that women in Romania significantly oppose (77%) the idea of banning abortion in Romania.

The abortion issue is a key element of identity wars in the US (the two sides being called "pro-life" and "pro-choice"), and as we have seen in recent years, there is significant pressure from some religious groups in the US to expand identity conflicts related to abortion or family in more countries in Central and Eastern Europe, including Romania. From the referendum to redefine the family in the Constitution, to speeches in the public space or in the Parliament, conservative discourses always return to these topics, which have proven to be very polarising in other cultures.

Such pressures will not cease – we already have a new attempt to organise a referendum to replace the failed one from 2018. It is clear, in this context, that there will be multiple attempts to change Romanian women's opinions on abortion.

Safety

We included a set of five questions in the questionnaire to assess what respondents believe about situations where their safety might be at risk.

The first question aimed to determine agreement or disagreement with the statement "the police protect victims of violence from aggressors." Respondents agree with this statement to a proportion of 63%, as the police intervene in cases of domestic violence in crisis situations and, based on a risk assessment questionnaire, can issue a temporary protection order on the spot and evacuate the aggressor from the residence.

At the same time, the fact that almost 1 in 3 women in Romania do not believe that the police protect victims of violence from aggressors is a cause for concern. This lack of trust among 33% of women in Romania in the police institution contributes to the underreporting of crimes in the sphere of violence against women. This result is confirmed by data from the Gender Violence Barometer 2022, which showed that 89% of women explain the decision of abused women not to report this by simply not trusting that the authorities will protect them.

Differences in opinions associated with socio-demographic characteristics are minor in this case. Compared to the average (63%), women with three or more children (74%), women with low education (71%), housewives (75%), those of Protestant or

neo-Protestant religion (80%), as well as those from Bucharest (70%), tend to agree more with this statement.

Two-thirds of respondents (67%) agree with the statement "if I am assaulted, I know my rights and where to seek help." The data is consistent with that from the Gender Violence Barometer 2022, where 67% of respondents said that women victims of partner violence should first contact the Police. The proportion of those who agree with the statement is similar for most socio-demographic categories, with slightly higher scores for women working in the public sector (77%, probably because they know the institutional system built for such situations better than other women), those living in Bucharest (78%), and those with higher education (74%).

At the same time, 63% of respondents also agree with the statement "the Church is a resource for support and advice in cases of family violence." In this case, there are greater variations between socio-demographic categories. Thus, agreement with this statement increases with age, with women over 65 agreeing to the statement at a rate of 71%, compared to only 58% of women under 30. The relationship with the level of education is inverse: only 53% of women with higher education consider the statement to be correct, compared to 77% of women with low education. The other observed differences are rather minor.

Just over half of respondents (55%) agree with the statement "if a woman wants to leave an abusive relationship, there are shelters she can go to." Only two categories are significantly different: women with higher incomes (64%) and those living in Bucharest (75%). It should be mentioned here that the

existence of shelters where women can seek refuge when they are victims of partner violence is only a necessary but not sufficient condition for the victim to actually act and leave the abusive relationship. Data from the Gender Violence Barometer 2022 shows that there may be many other reasons why a woman does not alert authorities and remains in an abusive relationship: fear for their own and/or their children's lives, shame, lack of knowledge of the law, hope that the partner will change, fear of not being able to cope alone, or even fear of being considered guilty or having somehow provoked the violence.

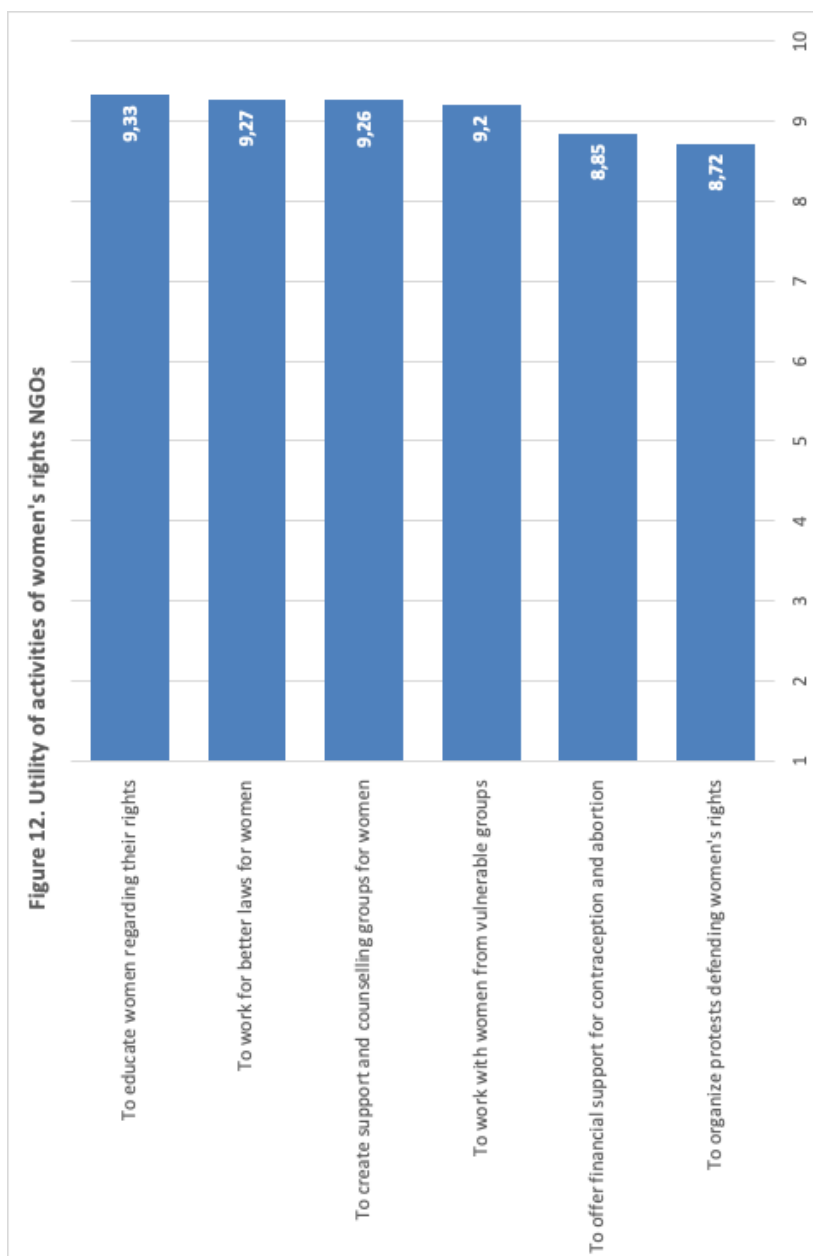
The last question in this section refers to agreement with the statement "I know at least one woman who has had sexual relations without her consent." No less than 35% of respondents indicated that they know at least one such case, 39% said they did not know of such cases, and 26% did not know or did not want to give a response. In relation to those who agreed with the statement, this means that there is a high incidence of such cases, especially considering that it is not the type of experience women provide information about to anyone and anytime. In this case, the differences between socio-demographic categories are neither very numerous nor very large: the percentage is slightly lower among women with higher education (28%), among public sector employees (27%), among women from Moldova (17%), and among women living in large cities (27%). Higher percentages were reported by respondents from Transylvania (43%), those from small towns (47%), and women of Catholic religion (50%).

NGOs

The survey included a section where we measured how respondents understand the role of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) for women's rights. We used a list of six actions that could be carried out by such NGOs and asked respondents to evaluate them in terms of usefulness on a 10-point scale, from "not at all useful" to "very useful." The list included the following types of activities:

- Educating women about their rights
- Developing better laws for women
- Forming support and counselling groups for women
- Working with women from vulnerable groups (poor women, Roma women, etc.)
- Providing financial support for contraception or abortion
- Organising protests to defend women's rights

The average scores obtained for each of the six activities are presented in Figure 12. As it can be seen, there is not a huge difference between the usefulness given by the respondents to these types of activities: for the first four of them, the differences between the average scores are minimal, all having an average score between 9.2 and 9.3.



Only two of the activities have a slightly lower average utility score: funding contraception and abortion has an average score of 8.85, which is not surprising given the previous discussion in the section dedicated to abortion. The last position, in terms of usefulness, is "organising protests in defence of women's rights", with an average score of 8.72.

Two observations are important in this context. The first: it is clear from the data presented that at the level of the entire female population it is quite difficult to find a consensus on important and less important actions. When all are important, in fact none of them is really significant. The second: it is interesting that the lowest utility is associated with one of the most effective tools that NGOs have at their disposal to draw the attention of politicians and society in general to the problems faced by women - organising protests in defence of women's rights.

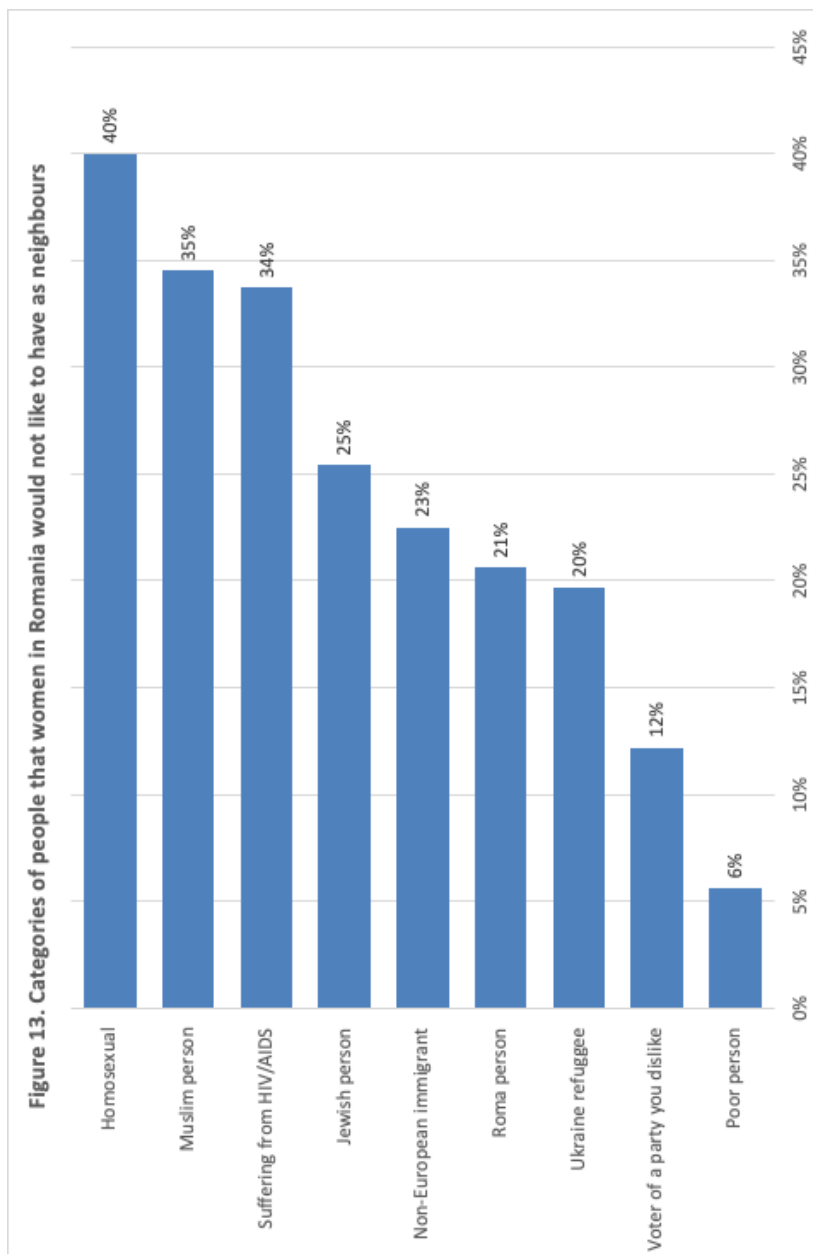
Social distance

The questionnaire included a scale of evaluating social distance, which assesses the extent to which respondents relate to different categories of the population that are more or less distinct from those to which the respondents belong.

We included four types of possible neighbours in this scale: neighbours who belong to different ethnic groups (Roma, Muslims, Jews), various categories of immigrants (refugees from Ukraine or immigrants from outside Europe), people who are usually associated with sexual preferences that are different from those of the majority (homosexuals, people with HIV/AIDS), people who belong to other social categories (poor people and voters of parties with which the respondents do not agree)

Figure 13 shows for each of these nine groups the percentage of women who would not want them as neighbours, a classic indicator of rejection or maintenance of social distance.

As it is shown, the group to which the respondents maintain the greatest social distance is that of homosexuals: 40% of the women who participated in our study would not want to have homosexuals as neighbours. People with HIV/AIDS have a similar level of rejection: 34% of respondents would not want such neighbours. The third position in the ranking of the most rejected neighbours is occupied by Muslims, who are rejected by 35% of respondents.



A lower level of rejection - between 20% and 25% of respondents reject these groups - is recorded for four other groups: Jews (rejected by 25%), immigrants from outside Romania (23%), Roma (21%) and refugees from Ukraine (20%). Finally, the least rejected groups are those defined by their social identity: the poor and the voters of a party that is not liked by the respondent.

It should be mentioned that the data are not necessarily surprising in the Romanian context. Multiple previous studies have shown a similar picture, with the most rejected groups being consistently those of homosexuals, people with HIV/AIDS, as well as Muslims, Jews and Roma. Of course, without qualitative analysis based on in-depth interviews, it is difficult to explain in detail why certain groups are rejected to a greater extent than others.

One possible interpretation is that at the population level there is a latent level of rejection of diversity, in its multiple forms, of approximately 20%. In practice, groups that are rejected by about 20% of the population are not necessarily rejected because they are a certain group, but rather because they have the quality of being different and some respondents do not feel comfortable with people with different identities than their own. The higher the percentage of those who reject a group is above 20%, the more possible that the reason for the rejection has more to do with the characteristics of that specific group apart from its simple otherness. From this perspective, it is clear that the rejection of homosexuals and people with HIV/AIDS is linked to the difference in sexual preferences, seen as a "sin" in a more traditional society, such as ours.

Surprising in this context is the rejection of Jews by a quarter of respondents, especially because the number of Jews still living in Romania is fairly small (a few thousand according to the latest census), which means that the opinions that people have about Jews are not based on direct experiences but rather experiences mediated through others, the media, and culture in general.

Given the large number of indicators, we also estimated a factor analysis to see if the nine categories of neighbours are grouped on a single dimension or on multiple dimensions. Without going into the technical details of factor analysis, of the nine categories of neighbours, two stand out - the poor and the voters of a party that is not preferred by the respondent - which do not fit on the same dimension as the other categories. These two categories are, in fact, also those with the lowest rejection rate, 6% for the poor and 12% for the voters of a party that the respondent does not like.

If we eliminate these two categories and redo the factor analysis, we obtain a solution that extracts a single factor, which suggests that there is a single latent dimension that generates the respondents' reactions to different categories of possible neighbours. This dimension explains a significant part of the variation observed in the responses (56%).

Regarding the differences between the categories of respondents with regard to social distance, there are a number of common features:

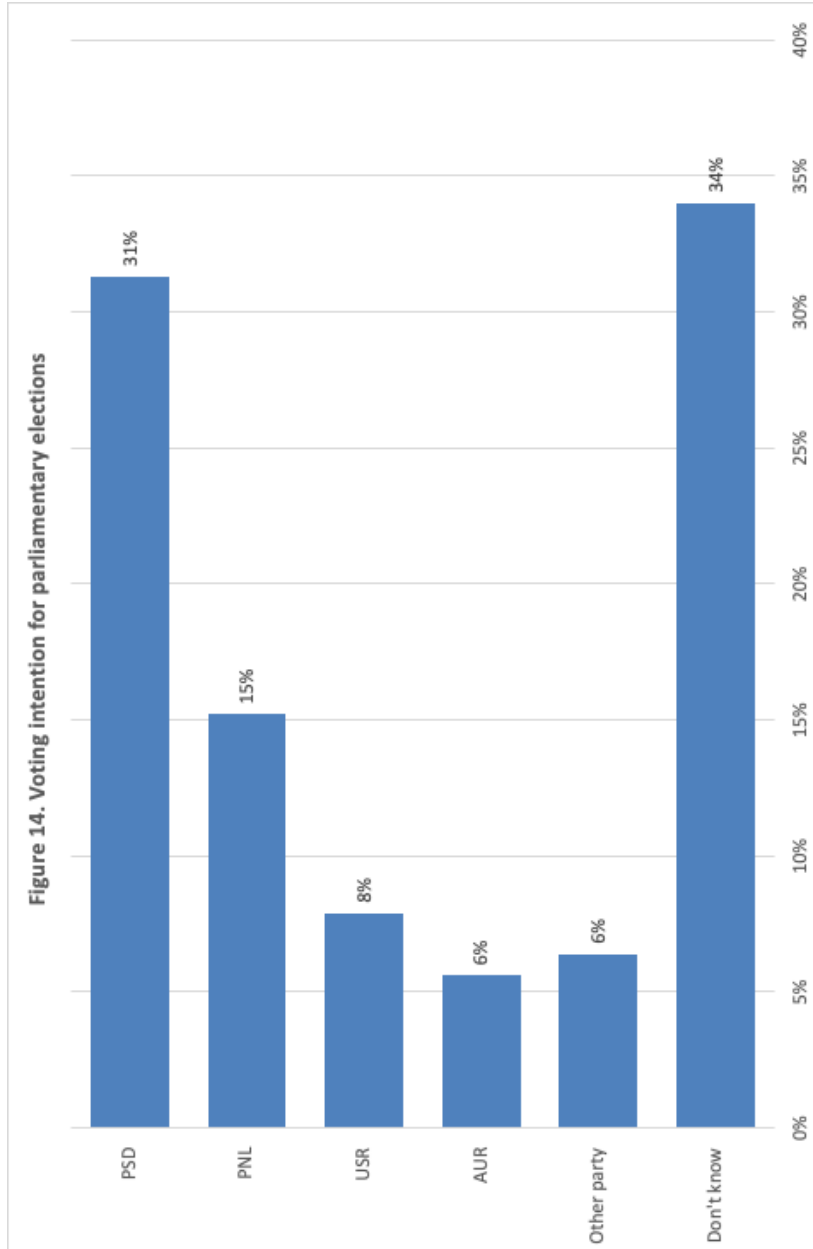
- For the majority of the groups included in the analysis there is a positive correlation between age and rejection: the maximum percentage of rejection is among women over 65.
- The optimistic interpretation of the previous mention would be that younger generations are less likely to discriminate against different groups based on their ethnicity, sexual preferences or immigrant/refugee status.
- The level of education of the respondents has a strong effect, significantly reducing the percentage of those who reject other groups. Among respondents with higher education, the maximum percentage of those who reject a particular group is 21% for Muslims and 20% for homosexuals.
- Income has a similar effect as that of education. Among respondents with high income, the maximum percentage of those who reject a particular group is 18%, for both homosexuals and Muslims.
- At the regional level, respondents from Muntenia have a higher rejection rate than the rest of the country for almost all categories included in the analysis, from 51% for homosexuals to 10% for the poor.
- Bucharest and major, university cities, being more cosmopolitan, have a smaller rejection rate of groups with different identities and values than theirs, but the percentage of those who reject these groups increases as the size of the locality decreases.

Politics

The last section of the questionnaire included questions about politics, particularly about the way the respondents perceive and understand the role that women should have in politics.

The first question is the classic one, about the respondents' voting intention in hypothetical parliamentary elections that would take place "next Sunday". The answers to this question are presented in Figure 14. It should be said, from the outset, that the purpose of this question is rather to estimate the political preferences of the respondents than to estimate what the outcome of the elections would be if they were held now. Given the fact that the parliamentary elections were more than nine months away from the time of data collection and taking into account the fact that we do not know if the parliamentary elections will be organised separately or together with the presidential elections, putting an emphasis on voting at this time would be a mistake.

Theoretically, if we include in the analysis information related to interest in politics, voting history or how confident voters are that they will go to the polls, a number of weightings can be made to estimate the vote with greater accuracy, but it would be an unnecessary exercise as long as the list of parties that will participate in the elections in the autumn of 2024 will be different from the one that was used in this research (we know, for example, that USR will participate in the elections together with PMP and Forța Dreptei, in the United Right Alliance, if the alliance will still exist by then).

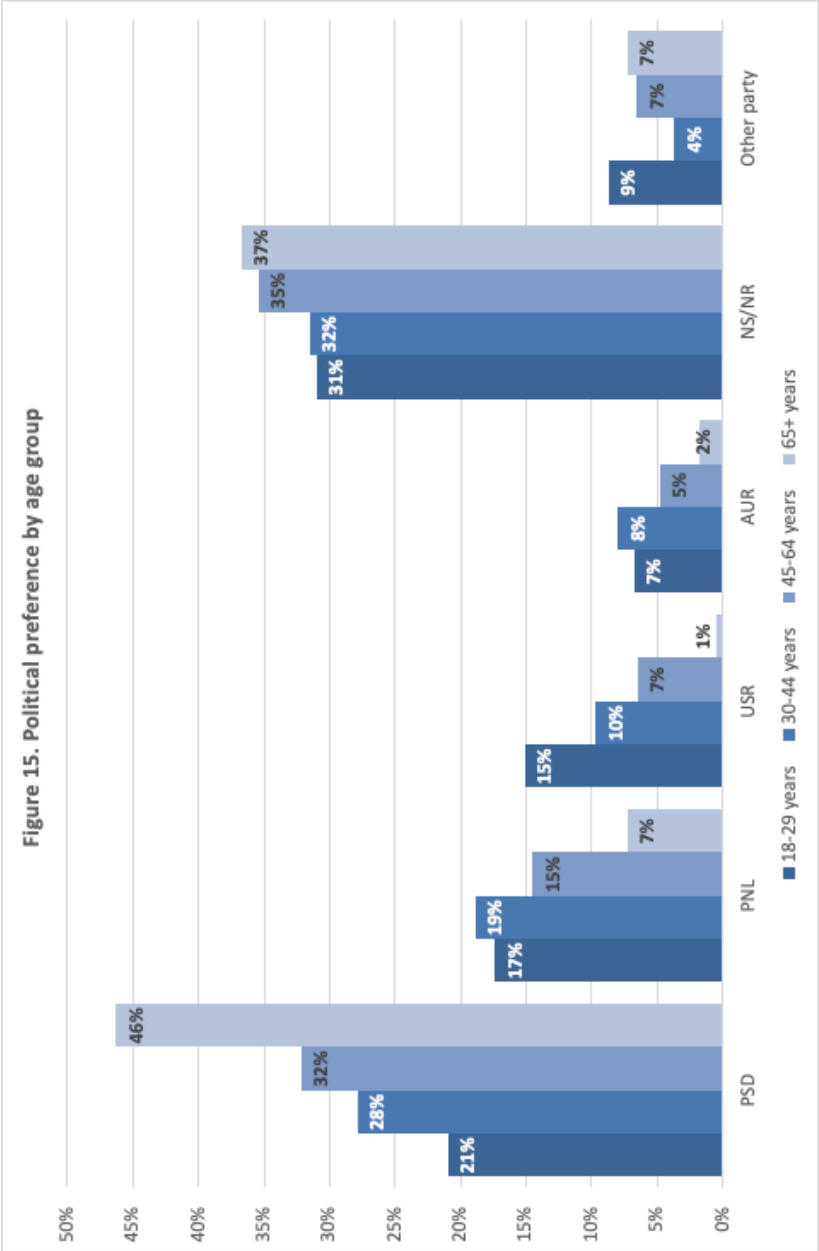


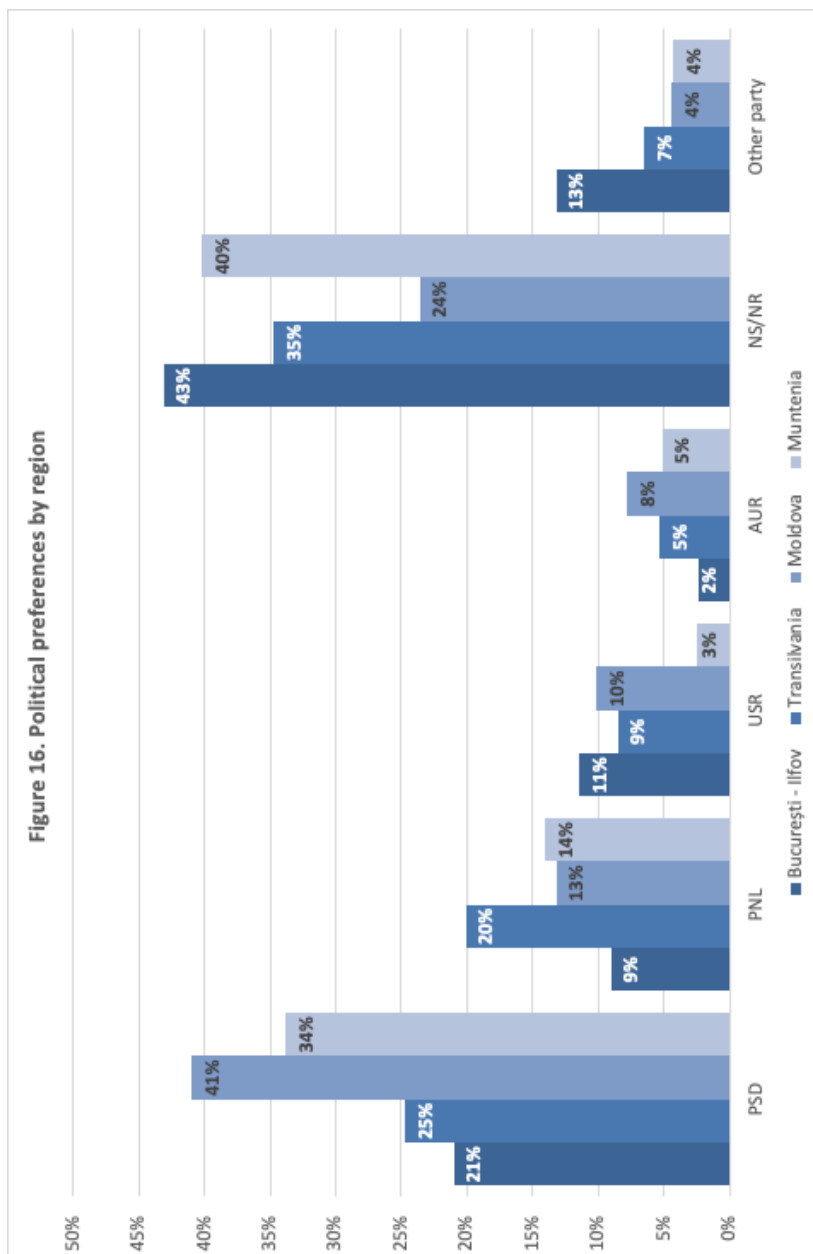
Taking into account the aspects mentioned above, the data in Figure 14 shows, first of all, that one third of women in Romania do not have a clear voting option at this time: 34% answered that they do not know or do not want to answer this question. In terms of political preferences, 31% of respondents are potential PSD voters, 15% are potential PNL voters, 8% are potential USR voters and 6% are potential AUR voters. The remaining parties mentioned accounted for only 6% of the sample.

Compared to other opinion polls published in the period November 2023 - January 2024, the results here seem to overestimate the support for PSD and to underestimate the support for the other parties. On the other hand, the data here is collected only with female respondents, and the questionnaire was applied face-to-face and not over the phone, which makes it difficult to compare with the results of those studies.

Political preferences are directly influenced by a number of socio-demographic characteristics, of which age seems to play an essential role (see Figure 15). The effect of age is clearest in the case of preference for PSD: if only 21% of women under 30 years of age are close to PSD, the percentage increases to 28% for women between 30-44 years of age, to 32% for women between 45-64 years of age and to 46% for women aged 65 and over. In the case of preference for PNL, the highest scores are recorded for women under 45 years of age, with PNL losing its attractiveness among women who have passed this age. The preference for USR is strongly negatively correlated with age: the older a woman is, the less attracted she is to this party, the

percentage of preference for USR reaching only 1% in the case of women over 65 years of age.





It is also worth noting that the percentage of those who do not yet know which party they will support in the race for Parliament is slightly higher among women over 45 years of age (35%-37%) compared to the one recorded among younger women (31%-32%).

A second variable strongly associated with the preference for a political party is the region of residence (see Figure 16). As can be seen, the preference for PSD is significantly lower in Bucharest (21%) and in Transylvania (25%), it is at an average level in Muntenia (34%) and it is higher among women from Moldova (41%). In the case of PNL, the biggest differences are observed between women from Bucharest (9%) and those from Transylvania (20%), with the support for this party being at an average level (13%-14%) in Moldova and Muntenia.

In the case of USR, there is very little support for this party among women from Muntenia (only 3%). In the case of AUR, there is low support among women from Bucharest (2%) and somewhat higher support among women from Moldova (8%). It should be mentioned here, however, that it is possible that the support for AUR is under-declared, given that this party is often presented in public as an extremist party.

Female voters in Bucharest differ significantly from those in the rest of the country. Only 43% of female voters in Bucharest expressed a preference for one of the top four parties, while 43% refused to answer and 13% indicated a small party. A high percentage of undecided voters is also observed in Muntenia (40%). The results of the elections will also largely depend on who will be able to mobilise these categories, which are still undecided about the party they will vote for.

Respondents who indicated a preference for a political party in the previous question (66.3%) were also asked to tell us whether they would prefer their party to have more women or more men on the list, and whether they would be attracted to vote for a party that has more men or more women on the list.

The answers to the two questions are close: 31% of respondents said they would prefer their party to have more women on the list and that they would be more attracted to a party with more women on the list. Approximately half (52%-54%) said that this does not matter to them. Finally, about one-sixth of respondents (14%-17%) said they would prefer their party to have more men on the list and that they would be more attracted to vote for such a party.

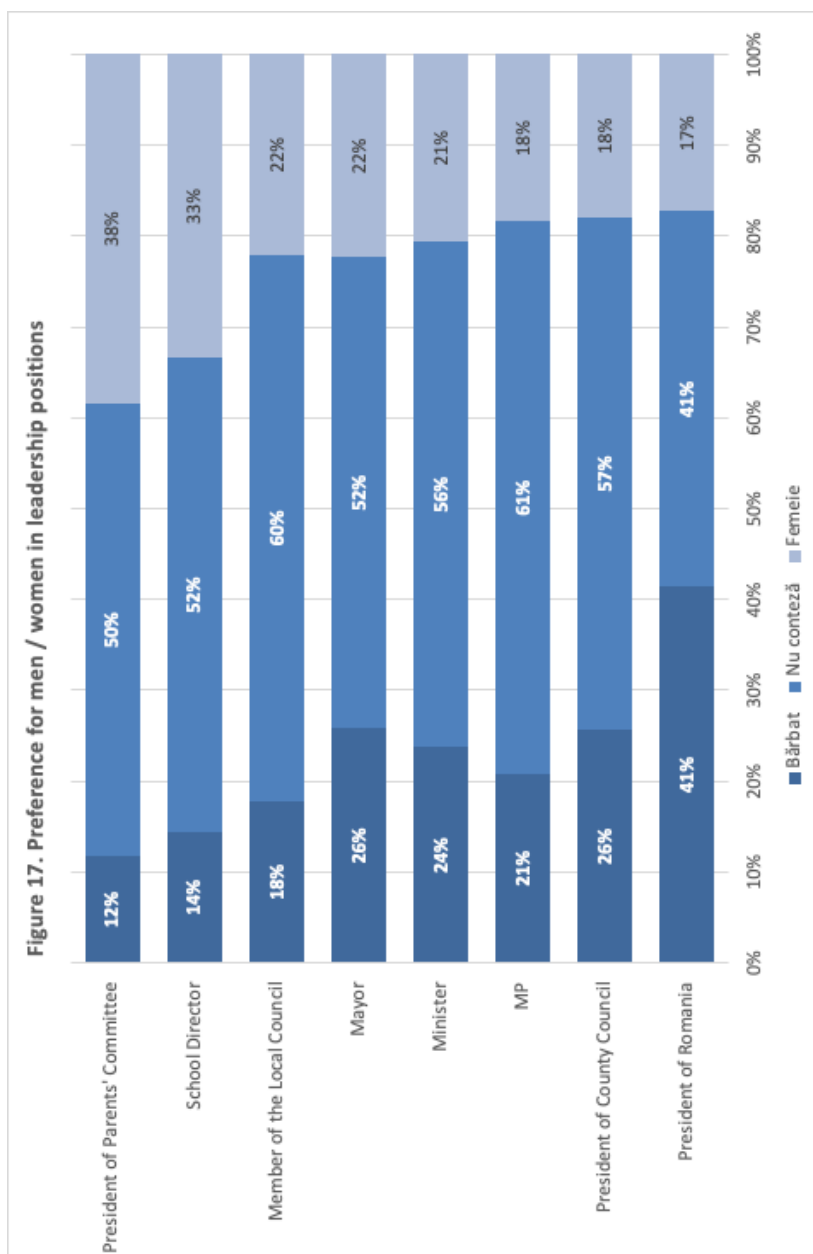
The differences associated with various socio-demographic characteristics are minor. However, the group of women with higher education stands out: none of the women in this group would prefer their party to have more men on the list: either this aspect is irrelevant to them (51%), or they would prefer to have more women on the list (49%). Similarly, women with high incomes prefer a significantly higher proportion (47%) to have more women on the list. Finally, in the case of respondents living in Bucharest or in large cities in the country, there are lower percentages than the average who would prefer more men on the lists or who would be attracted to parties that have more men on the lists.

A separate set of questions measured the respondents' preference for men or women in leadership positions (see Figure 17).

The positions we asked about ranged from informal positions, such as president of the parents' committee, to low-importance positions (director, member of the Local Council), to increasingly important positions: mayor, minister, member of Parliament, president of the County Council, president of Romania.

A factor analysis of the eight questions in this package showed that respondents relate to two distinct dimensions in relation to these questions. The first and most important dimension is that of political positions, from president to mayor. The second dimension refers more to low-importance functions, in this category including the president of the parents' committee, school director or member of the local council.

The data in Figure 17 shows that there is a somewhat greater openness to women occupying positions in this second category, compared to positions in the first category. These three positions are the only ones for which the preference for women is higher than the preference for men.



In the case of political positions, the percentage of those who would prefer women is around 20% (between 17% and 22%) but it should be noted that for each of these positions the percentage of those who would prefer them to be occupied by men is higher. The difference in favour of men is minor (3%-4%) for mayor, minister or MP (positions that women have also managed to occupy) but it increases to 8% for the position of president of the County Council and to 24% for the position of president of Romania. In the 2020-2024 term, for example, out of all the counties in the country, only two, Botoşani and Sibiu, had a woman at the helm of the County Council: Doina Elena Federovici (PSD, Botoşani) and Daniela Cîmpean (PNL, Sibiu). As for the position of President of Romania, it has been held only by men from 1990 to the present, and the situation is likely to continue for the 2024-2029 term as well.

Differences between socio-demographic categories are minor and do not show a very coherent picture of strong links. We have chosen to illustrate this through the opinions on the occupation of the most important position in the state, that of the president, which is the only one that has not been occupied by a woman so far. At the level of the entire sample, only 17% would prefer a woman, while 41% would prefer a man and for the remaining 41% this distinction would not matter.

Women with high-income (24% would prefer a woman, 17% would prefer a man) and women from Bucharest (31% would prefer a woman, 22% would prefer a man) are the only socio-demographic groups that would prefer a woman over a man for the position of President of Romania. At the opposite end, the largest differences in favour of a man are recorded for PSD

voters (55% would prefer a man, 14% would prefer a woman), women from Moldova (54% versus 16%), women from Muntenia (50% versus 12%) and women from rural areas (47% versus 15%).

A final question in this package asked respondents to tell us whether their interests would be better or worse represented if there were more women in politics. Half of the respondents (49%) answered that they would be better represented, 46% said that there would be no difference, and only 5% answered that more women in politics would lead to a poorer representation of their interests.

At the end of the questionnaire, we asked respondents to tell us whether they agreed or disagreed with 14 items that measure opinions about the presence of women or men in politics (Figure 18).

As in previous cases, given the large number of items, we assumed that there are a few main dimensions that determine the response to all these questions and we used a factor analysis to verify this. The results of the factor analysis show us that, indeed, there are three dimensions that respondents use when expressing their opinions on this topic.

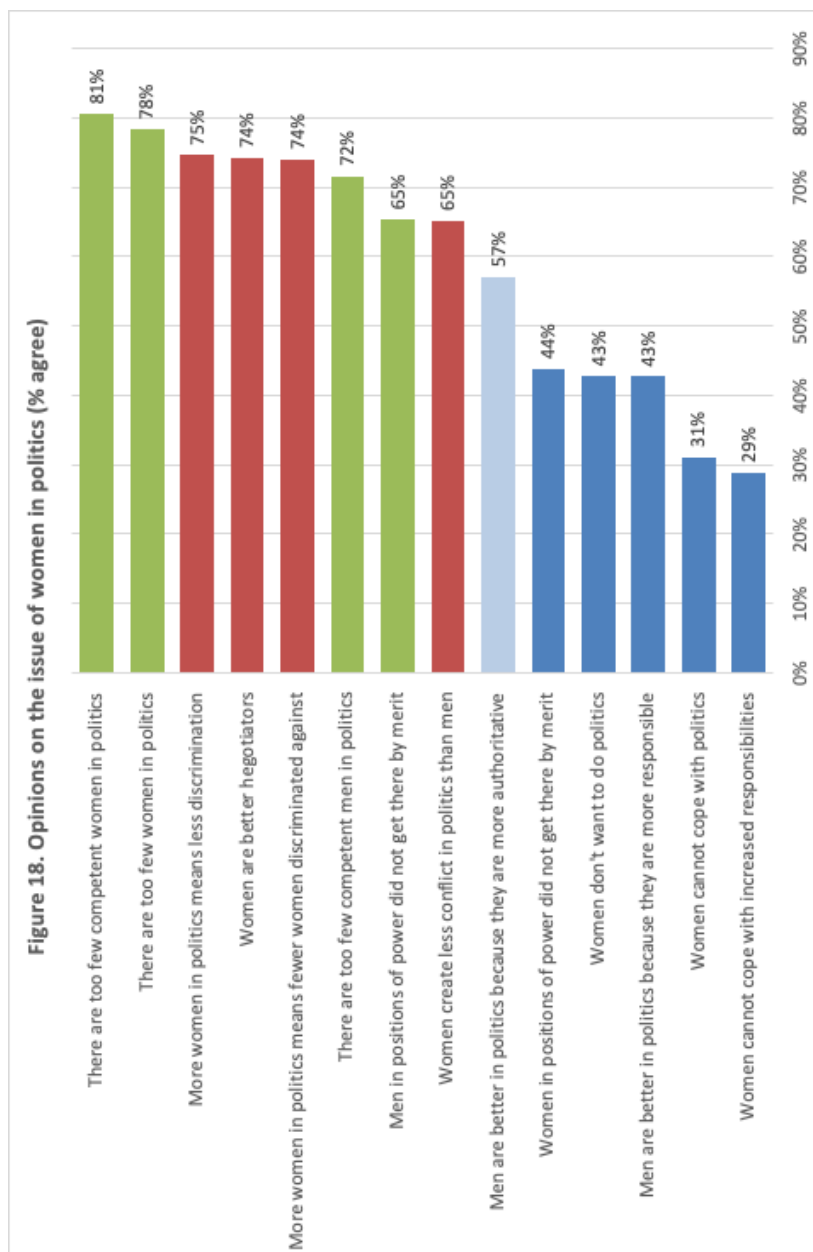
The first dimension (blue bars) explains 22% of the variation observed in the responses and includes the following items:

- Men are better in politics because they are more responsible;
- Women cannot cope with politics;
- Women do not want to do politics;
- Women cannot cope with increased responsibilities;

- Women who are in positions of power in politics did not get there on merit.

The second dimension (red bars) explains 18% of the variation observed in the responses and includes the following items:

- More women in politics means less discrimination against women;
- More women in politics means less discrimination in general;
- Women create fewer conflicts in politics than men;
- Women are better negotiators.



The third dimension (green bars) explains 15% of the variation observed in the responses and includes the following items:

- The number of women involved in politics is too small;
- The number of competent women in politics is too small;
- The number of competent men in politics is too small;
- Men who are in positions of power in politics did not get there on merit.

One of the 14 indicators ("men are better in politics because they are more authoritarian" - blue bar) did not fit very well with any of the three dimensions, so it was excluded from the analysis.

Based on the items included in each of the three dimensions, we can say that the first dimension generally reflects the attitude that "women are not suited for politics." The second dimension mainly relates to the "effects of women's participation in politics." Finally, the third dimension seems to reflect the general perception that "Romanian politics has a competence deficit, which affects both women and men in political life" and is quite strongly correlated with the second dimension (correlation of 0.56) and, to a lesser extent, with the first dimension (correlation of 0.11).

Given the large number of indicators, we will not discuss how each of them varies according to the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents. However, we used the results of the factor analysis and saved a factor score for each of the three dimensions described above. Starting from these newly created variables, we tested the extent to which there are associations between the three dimensions and the socio-

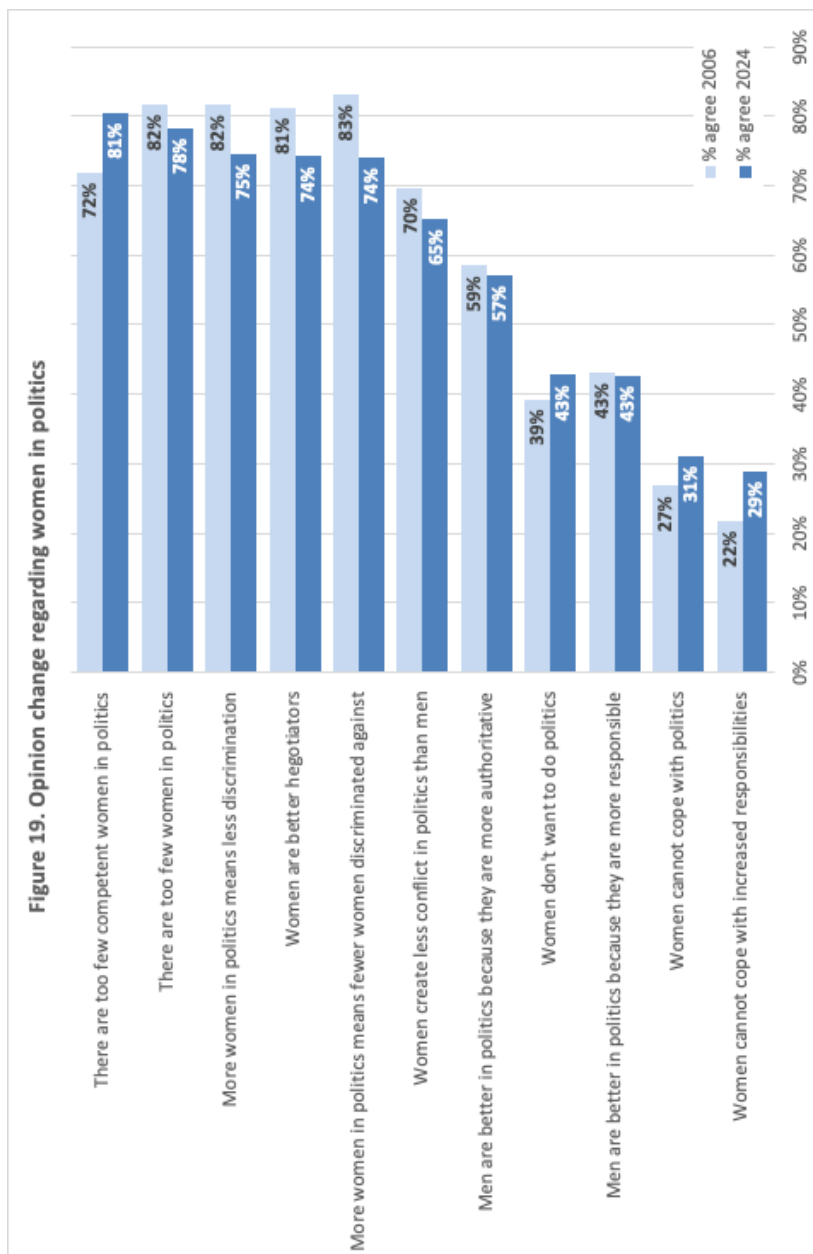
demographic characteristics of the respondents by comparing the means of the different socio-demographic groups for each of the three dimensions using analysis of variance (ANOVA).

The results showed that the differences between the groups are minor. Of all the groups analysed, women with higher education, women with high incomes and women living in Bucharest stand out, rejecting the idea that women are not suited for politics to a greater extent than the rest.

After (almost) 20 years

Almost 20 years ago (18, to be exact, in 2006) a similar survey was coordinated within the project Gender, Political Interests and European Integration, funded by CNCSIS, by Professor Mihaela Miroiu, who also had the kindness to allow us to use the data collected in that study.

The questionnaires of the two studies are largely different, because they had different research topics. However, there are a few questions that were used in both studies in the same format, which allows us to see how opinions about the presence of women in politics have changed from 2006, the year before Romania became a member of the European Union, to 2024, in the eve of the fifth round of elections for the European Parliament. In Figure 19, the percentage of respondents who agreed with the 11 statements common to both studies (the 2006 study was also conducted on men, but we only kept women in the analysis, for comparability).



The first observation we can make by comparing the results from 2006 with those from 2024 is that opinions have not changed much over the course of almost 20 years, which is remarkable considering that Romania today is much different than it was in 2006.

The largest difference observed is 9% while the smallest is less than one percent. As a general rule, without going into statistical details about comparing the significance of differences in proportions from different surveys, we can assume that differences smaller than 5%-6% are not statistically significant, which means that out of the 11 questions common to the two studies, in only five cases can we talk about significant differences. From 2006 to 2024:

- The percentage of women who believe that there are too few competent women in politics increased from 72% to 81%;
- The percentage of women who believe that the presence of women in politics means less discrimination decreased from 82% to 75%;
- The percentage of women who believe that women are better negotiators decreased from 81% to 74%;
- The percentage of women who believe that the presence of women in politics means fewer women discriminated against decreased from 83% to 74%;
- The percentage of women who believe that women cannot cope with multiple responsibilities increased from 22% to 29%;

- For the other six questions, the differences are less than 5% and are not statistically significant, so we cannot discuss them.

What conclusions can we draw from these differences that span a period of almost twenty years? How can we interpret them?

The direction in which the statistically significant differences go makes us believe that we can interpret the differences as a kind of "disenchantment" of women with the presence of women in politics. Of course, this is not a renunciation of the principle of equal representation of women in public office, since a majority of women still adhere to this principle.

However, the data seems to indicate an erosion of support for this idea after almost twenty years of progress (and, sometimes, regression) in terms of the presence of women in politics: the percentage of women in the Romanian Parliament has increased from about 10% before 2006 to almost 20% in 2022 (according to World Bank data). In the case of the Government, things have varied more and we have not observed a similar increase as in the Parliament, but only ups and downs. Romania has had one female Prime Minister during this period.

However, although women have become more present on the political scene, changes in opinion are somewhat in the opposite direction, suggesting that after the experience of these 20 years, fewer women believe that the presence of women in politics is inherently beneficial.

We believe that any reader can understand how this came to be with a simple memory exercise: write on a piece of paper in one column all the names of female politicians about whom you

have heard good things and in a second column all the names of female politicians about whom you have heard less good things.

Women in politics I've heard good things about	Women in politics I've heard less good things about

If it is easier for you, you can write these names right on this page, in the space above. We can bet that for most readers of this book the list on the right column will be longer than the list on the left column. This will not happen because readers are not paying attention to politics (some of them are) and not because women are less suitable to be politicians. This simply happens because the media has an unhealthy tendency to

predominantly present negative news about politicians, and this is even more the case for women, who are accused of behaviours for which men are most often forgiven.

We tend to remember more negative than positive cases of women in politics because they are over-represented in the media and because we hold them to higher standards of performance than those we use to evaluate male politicians.

However, as we said, what we observe first and foremost is a remarkable stability of opinions over twenty years, and if we must find differences, we observe what we have called a "discounting" of the role of women in politics. We even argue that this discounting is necessary, because only after going through this stage can we give up wrong ideas about women-heroes who fight the political system and evaluate the role of women in politics correctly, using indicators and criteria appropriate for such an evaluation.

Instead of conclusions

In the end of this volume, we chose to present a summary of the most important results we have discussed in the previous chapters, a summary we hope will be useful especially to those who are interested in the topics analysed but who may not have the time to read all the pages we have written.

Therefore, for those who often use the TL;DR abbreviation, we have prepared the following summary:

1. The vulnerability to online misinformation is high for women aged below 30 and women from Transylvania, groups in which the trust in news websites that are unaffiliated to television channels or in Facebook groups is above the national average.

The same statement – but only for news websites unaffiliated to television channels – also applies to women from Moldova.

2. The perspective of Romanian women towards the country's priorities, but also towards the problems they face daily varies depending on their age and educational level. As the age gets higher, the public health system, personal medical affections and purchasing medicine becomes more important.

For women below 30, generating new job opportunities and the educational system are more pressing subjects. Women with primary education prioritise increasing the purchasing power of the population and improving the

public healthcare system; those with higher education emphasise the improvement of education.

3. The distribution of household chores is traditionally patriarchal, in the immense majority of cases woman/women do the cooking, cleaning, dish washing and laundry, ironing, and taking care of the children. The responsibilities exclusively assigned to men are few in number: repairing and (depending on the case and with significant historical region nuances) agricultural work and wood chopping. The payment of bills and daily grocery shopping are usually done by both partners, but more predominantly by women.

Considering the aforementioned circumstances, couples show little but statistically significant differences depending on the educational level of the woman, with chores being taken over by the partner to a more significant extent when the woman has higher education. It is worth noting that the woman's age is not correlated to significant differences when it comes to household duties distribution, younger women adopting the traditional-patriarchal model to the same extent as those that are older.

4. The use of the public health system is generalised, only 14% of the women who necessitated medical aid have exclusively used the private sector. The efficacy of the public health sector is vital for Romanian women.
5. The use of obstetrics-gynaecology services is correlated with income and level of formal education, being notably under the national average amongst women with primary and/or with low incomes. Within the same

groups, values significantly over the national average were recorded for giving the reason <<I did not have enough money>> when answering the question <<What is the main reason why you did not use medical services?>>.

6. In Moldova, the reluctance of medical staff for granting assistance with using means of contraception is significantly higher than in other regions of the country.
7. The opposition to banning abortion is hypermajoritarian. The political party or political vector that would try to propose this political debate theme would hinder the support amongst women that they benefit from currently – statement which includes the AUR party.

Amongst women that oppose the ban of abortions, support for state-funded coverage of the costs is majoritarian. Amongst the women that do not agree with this coverage, most change their mind and come to an agreement when talking about coverage for minor women, women who have financial difficulties and victims of rape.

Amongst women who support the ban of abortions, an overwhelming majority endorse exceptions in cases of pregnancies that are a result of rape or pregnancies that put the woman's life at risk.

8. Romanian women generally positively evaluate the access to means of protection against violence (such as: availability of shelters, police intervention, etc). This is undermined by the fact that no less than 35% of Romanian women know another woman who has had

- sexual intercourse without her consent – the possibility exists that there is an over-evaluation of their own safety.
9. For two thirds of Romanian women, religious cults can be useful in cases of domestic violence – a strong perspective especially for women that belong to other cults than the Orthodox one. Insofar as this can be sustainable, partnerships with religious cults can, therefore, prove to be useful.
 10. The credibility of non-religiously affiliated NGOs amongst Romanian women is an ambiguous situation. In absolute terms, it is unsatisfactory, less than 50% (namely 39%) of Romanian women placing a high or very high amount of trust in these types of organisations. In relative terms, the situation presents itself as very good: from 10 types of institutions being measured, only the European Union benefits from a higher amount of trust.
 11. The expectations related to women's rights NGOs are numerous. The education of women, the improvement of the quality of policies that have an impact on women, the organisation of support and council groups, as well as helping women who belong to vulnerable groups are all main topics of interest. Providing means of contraception and organising protests are relatively less appealing.
 12. On an abstract level, most women – no matter their political party of choice – would want a higher percentage of women in politics, simultaneously opposing the patriarchal clichés regarding the inherent

inferiority of women who work or would wish to work in the field.

On a concrete level, Romanian women do not manifest a preference for women candidates for public functions, the predominant option usually being <<it (the sex of the running person) does not matter>>.

13. The degree of acceptance of some discriminated against or vulnerable categories is moderately-high, only being below the national average for women: from Muntenia, whose partner lives outside the country, who are 65 years old or older and/or protestants/neoprotestants.

Questionnaire Frequencies

A1. If you could allocate Romania's budget for 2024, what would you invest the biggest amount in? (percentages)

Answer	Percentage
Health / hospitals	33,1
Education	19,2
Infrastructure/ roads	5,0
Nurseries/Kindergartens	2,5
Nursing homes/ old person care facilities	3,2
Children's allowances/ pensions/ salaries	14,7
Jobs	14,0
Investments/ economy	3,7
Agriculture	1,0
Housing	1,6
Industry	1,6
Something else	0,5
IDK / NR	0,1

A2. I will read to you a list of institutions. Please indicate to which extent you trust each of them? (percentages)

	% Very much	% Much	% Little	% Very little	% IDK / NR
NGOs affiliated with religious cults or churches	8,0	27,9	37,2	21,6	5,3
NGOs not affiliated with religious cults or churches	9,0	30,3	35,5	19,7	5,5
The European Union	9,6	31,8	36,4	20,0	2,1
The Romanian Parliament	5,3	17,0	39,3	36,3	2,1
Political parties	5,0	12,3	33,1	47,0	2,5
The government	5,0	17,1	36,2	39,7	2,1
The president	5,6	18,6	34,0	39,5	2,4
TV Programmes	9,2	23,8	34,9	30,6	1,5
News websites not affiliated with TV programmes	5,0	24,2	36,2	25,9	8,7
Facebook groups that you are part of	5,2	21,9	35,3	24,9	12,7

A3. Which are the most important 3 issues you face currently?
(percentages)

	First option	Second option	Third option
Illness/ health	25,7	6,3	5,0
Buying necessary medicine	4,8	11,6	4,0
Lack of money/ small income	24,4	18,7	11,9
Buying/ building a residence	4,4	3,8	4,0
Household expenses	6,2	11,5	10,3
Loneliness	0,5	1,9	2,6
The absence of a child	0,9	1,0	0,3
Finding a job	4,2	5,3	4,5
Job related stress	3,2	4,7	5,3
Own business	0,8	1,1	0,3
Lack of free time	2,4	3,1	3,9
Uncertainty of tomorrow	5,1	9,8	16,1
Domestic violence	0,4	0,3	0,6
Other	0,5	0,9	4,3
Nothing	14,1	16,1	20,9
IDK/ NR	2,5	3,7	6,1

A4. Do you have children? If so, please indicate how many children you have. (percentages)

Answer	Percentage
I do not have children	17,4
One child	31,7
Two children	36,4
Three children	9,1
Four children	3,2
Five or more children	2,0
IDK / NR	0,2

For those 17.4% that do not have children:

B1. What mattered most when deciding not to have children? (percentages)

Answer	Percentage
I never wanted children	8,3
Lack of money	5,2
My professional career	5,2
Distrust in Romanian's future	5,2
Lack of support from my partner	1,7
Medical reasons	18,8
Lack of support from my parents	0,4
It is not the right time yet	43,2
Another reason	9,2
IDK/ NR	2,6

For those 82.4% that do have children:

B1. What mattered most when deciding not to have children? (percentages)

Answer	Percentage
None	53,0
One child	26,1

Two children	17,2
Three children	3,0
Four children	0,5
Five or more children	0,3

B3. Who usually takes care of the following activities in your household ...?
(percentages, multiple choice, each total can be different than 100%)

	Me/ Another woman in the household	A man in the household	A paid woman	A paid man	No need
House reparations	21,3	77,2	1,1	12,8	0,3
Cooking	96,0	12,9	1,4	0,8	0,4
Cleaning the house	95,1	17,4	2,4	1,0	0,3
Laundry	95,7	7,2	1,7	0,6	0,3
Dish washing	95,7	15,2	0,8	0,9	0,4
Ironing clothes	94,1	5,2	1,6	0,8	1,4
Taking care of children	47,7	20,3	1,5	1,3	44,6
Taking care of an ill person	18,1	6,4	1,6	1,8	73,1
Paying the bills	73,5	59,0	0,8	1,0	0,8
Doing the daily shopping	85,1	55,2	1,0	1,0	0,8
Chopping wood	9,8	44,1	1,3	10,4	40,1
Doing agricultural labour	18,4	35,9	3,2	8,0	49,4
Gardening	42,0	43,5	4,4	4,3	3,2

B4. Which of the following statements best describes your opinion?
(percentages)

Answer	Percentage
The state very greatly supports families with children	5,6
The state greatly supports families with children	12,7
The state mildly supports families with children	38,1
The state very mildly supports families with children	43,6

B5. In a family within which both parents are employed, who do you think should take care of their preschool age children? (percentages)

Answer	Percentage
One parent should stay at home with the children	23,5
The mother should stay at home with the children	47,6
The father should stay at home with the children	0,8
Grandparents or relatives	21,2
A paid babysitter	5,2
Another answer	1,8

B6. To which extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following measures meant to increase the birth rate? (percentages)

	% to a great extend	% to a certain extend	% to a low extend	% not at all	% IDK / NR
Ensuring housing for young couples without children	61,2	23,3	10,7	4,3	0,5
Building nurseries and kindergartens	66,2	21,6	9,8	2,1	0,2
Supporting the in vitro fertilisation programmes	49,2	26,9	15,2	5,1	3,6
Tax reductions depending on the amount of one's children	50,6	29,6	13,8	4,6	1,4
Tax increase for people without children	13,3	19,5	28,2	35,7	3,3
Encouraging men to get more involved in the upbringing and care of children	47,0	29,6	18,4	4,2	0,8
Extending the child care paid leave up to 6 years	45,8	29,2	15,5	8,1	1,3

C1. In the last year, have you ever used medical services for yourself? (percentages)

Answer	Percentage
Yes	59,9
No	40,1

For those 40.1% that have not used medical services in the previous year:

C5. What is the main reason for not using medical services? (percentages)

Answer	Percentage
I did not need them	76,4
I did not have enough money	13,7
The distance was too big	2,3
I did not have enough time	4,4
I did not have anybody to leave the children with	1,5
I did not trust the doctors	0,6
Something else	0,8
IDK / NR	0,4

For those 59.9% that have used medical services in the previous year:

C2. Please indicate which of the following medical services you used. (percentages)

	Yes	No	IDK / NR
Prevention services	60,6	39,4	0,0
Treatment services	87,5	12,5	0,0
Emergency services	41,8	57,7	0,5

For those 59.9% that have used medical services in the previous year:

C3. For the medical services, did you use the state system, the private sector, or both? (percentages)

Answer	Percentage
Public system	46,3
Private system	14,0
Both	39,7

For those 59.9% that have used medical services in the previous year:
C4. Have you used obstetrics-gynaecology services? (percentages)

Answer	Percentage
Yes	56,4
No	43,6

D1. In the last 10 years, have you used means of contraception, meaning ways of reducing the chances of becoming pregnant? (percentages)

Answer	Percentage
Yes	29,4
No	70,1
IDK / NR	0,5

For those 29.4% that have used means of contraception:

D2. Please indicate, for each of the following methods, which ones you have or have not used in the last 10 years. (percentages)

	Yes	No	IDK / NR
Plan B	23,8	75,6	0,5
Birth control pills	54,7	44,6	0,8
Condoms	63,2	36,5	0,3
IUD	16,6	82,4	1,0
Tubal ligation	2,1	97,4	0,5
Pull out method	42,0	57,0	1,0
Calendar method	38,1	60,9	1,0
Contraceptive implant	1,0	97,2	1,8

For those 29.4% that have used means of contraception:

D3. Have you requested the help of medical staff for the use of the means of contraception? (percentages)

Answer	Percentage
Yes	58,8
No	40,9
IDK/ NR	0,3

For those 17.3% that have used means of contraception by requesting it from medical staff:

D4. Please indicate which of the following situations you found yourself in. (percentages)

Answer	Percentage
The medical staff refused to help me	2,6
The medical staff helped me	90,7
Some helped me, some refused to	6,2
NS / NR	0,4

D5. Have you had difficulties in obtaining or using means of contraception because of a lack of money? (percentages)

Answer	Percentage
Yes	8,1
No	89,4
IDK/ NR	2,4

E1. Do you agree with banning of abortion? (percentage)

Answer	Percentage
Yes	17,7
No	77,4
IDK / NR	4,9

For those 77.4% that do not agree with a ban on abortion:

E2. Do you agree or not with the following statement: The state should cover the costs of abortion for all women? (percentages)

Answer	Percentage
Yes	60,4
No	32,8
IDK/ NR	6,8

For those 25.4% that do not agree with banning abortion, but do not agree with state coverage of costs for all women either:

E3. Do you agree or not with the following statement: The state should cover the costs of abortion for women with difficult financial circumstances and those who wish to get an abortion? (percentages)

Answer	Percentage
Yes	51,4
No	42,9
IDK / NR	5,7

For those 25.4% that do not agree with banning abortion, but do not agree with state coverage of costs for all women either:

E4. Do you agree or not with the following statement: The state should cover the costs of abortion for women who have been raped? (percentages)

Answer	Percentage
Yes	67,9
No	26,7
IDK/ NR	5,4

For those 25.4% that do not agree with banning abortion, but do not agree with state coverage of costs for all women either:

E5. Do you agree or not with the following statement: The state should cover the costs of abortion for minors? (percentages)

Answer	Percentage
Yes	55,3
No	40,2
IDK / NR	4,5

For those 17.7% that agree with banning on abortion:

E6. If the pregnancy endangers the life of the mother, would you prefer that she is allowed to get an abortion? (percentages)

Answer	Yes
Yes	83,3
No	14,6
IDK / NR	2,1

For those 17.7% that agree with banning on abortion:

E7. If the woman is pregnant as a result of rape, would you prefer that she is allowed to get an abortion? (percentages)

Answer	Percentage
Yes	76,4
No	19,7
IDK / NR	3,9

F1. Please indicate which of the following statements you agree or disagree with. (percentages)

	Agree	Disagree	IDK/ NR
The police protect victims of violence from the aggressors	62,5	30,2	7,3

	Agree	Disagree	IDK/ NR
If a woman wants to leave an abusive relationship, there are shelters she can go to	55,3	32,9	11,8
I know at least one woman who has had sexual intercourse without her consent	34,7	38,8	26,5
If I am aggressed, I know my rights and where to go to for help	67,3	22,5	10,2
The church is a source of support and advice in cases of domestic violence	63,3	27,6	9,1

G1. I will describe several things that a non-governmental organisation (NGO) can do for women's rights. Please indicate how useful each of them would be for you, on a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 means "not useful at all" and 10 means "very useful". (average score)

Answer	Average
Educating women regarding their rights	9,33
Working for better laws for women	9,27
Creating support and council groups for women	9,26
Working with women from vulnerable groups	9,20
Organising protests for protecting women's rights	8,72
Offering financial support for contraception and/or abortion	8,85

P1. If the elections for the Romanian Parliament would be held next Sunday, which political party would you vote for? (percentages)

Answer	Percentage
PSD	31,3
PNL	15,2
USR	7,9
AUR	5,6
UDMR	1,4
Pro Romania	1,3
SOS Romania	1,1
Another party	1,5
IDK/ NR	33,7

For those 66.3% that said they would vote with a specific party:

P21. Would you like your party to have on their candidate list for the parliamentary elections...? (percentages)

Answer	Percentage
More women	30,6
More men	16,4
It does not matter	50,7
IDK/ NR	2,3

For those 66.3% that said they would vote with a specific party:

P22. Between two parties, from which: one has more male candidates for the parliamentary elections and the other has more female candidates for the parliamentary elections, which one is more appealing to you? (percentages)

Answer	Percentage
The one with more male candidates	14,1
The one with more female candidates	31,1
It does not matter	53,4
IDK / NR	1,3

P3. Would you prefer to elect a man or a woman for the following position...? (percentages)

	% man	% woman	% it does not matter	%IDK/ NR
Local council member	16,8	20,9	56,9	5,3
President of the state	39,3	16,4	39,1	5,2
Mayor	24,6	21,2	49,4	4,8
President of the county council	24,4	17,0	53,8	4,9
Minister	22,6	19,6	53,2	4,6
Deputy/ senator	19,8	17,5	58,0	4,7
School principal	13,8	32,0	49,9	4,3
President of parents' committee	11,0	36,3	47,1	5,5

P4. If there were more women in politics, do you think your interests ...? (percentages)

Answer	Percentage
Would be better represented	46,6
Would be worse represented	4,7
There would be no difference	44,6
IDK/ NR	4,1

P5. To which extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements for raising natality rate? (percentages)

	% completely agree	% partially agree	% partially disagree	% completely disagree	% IDK / NR
The number of women involved in politics is too low	45,1	30,8	16,1	4,9	3,0
The number of competent women in politics is too low	40,8	37,6	13,9	5,1	2,6
Men are better at politics because they are more responsible	14,2	27,0	33,2	21,9	3,7
Women cannot handle politics	10,1	20,3	32,6	34,8	2,2
Women do not want to do politics	11,4	29,6	29,8	24,9	4,3
Women cannot handle high responsibility	10,1	18,4	28,9	41,1	1,5
The more women in politics, the less discriminated women	36,2	35,6	18,7	6,5	2,9
More women in politics means less discrimination overall	36,9	34,9	16,2	8,1	3,9
Women create less conflict in politics than men	28,4	33,9	21,8	11,5	4,4
Women are better negotiators	34,7	37,2	18,8	6,2	3,2
Men are better at politics because they are more authoritarian	21,9	33,7	28,0	13,9	2,6
Women in positions of power in politics did not get there deservingly	14,7	26,7	32,1	20,9	5,6
The number of competent men in politics is too low	37,9	30,9	18,9	8,5	3,8
Men in positions of power in politics did not get there deservingly	24,1	37,5	23,1	9,6	5,8

Q1. Please indicate which of the following types of persons you would accept as your neighbour. (percentages)

	Would accept	Would not accept	IDK / NR
Homosexual	54,8	36,6	8,5
Person of Roma ethnicity	74,9	19,5	5,6
Ukrainian refugee	75,0	18,4	6,5
Immigrant from outside Europe	72,7	21,1	6,2
Muslim	61,8	32,5	5,7
Jew	71,1	24,2	4,7
Voter of a party you do not like	83,9	11,7	4,4
Poor	92,3	5,5	2,2
Suffering from HIV/SIDA	60,3	30,7	9,0

SD. How many people live in your household, including you? (percentages)

Answer	Percentage
One person	11,7
Two people	29,9
Three people	25,1
Four people	22,0
Five of more people	11,3

SD1. What is your marital status? (percentage)

Answer	Percentage
Never married	7,4
Married	72,3
Widow	11,4
Divorced	4,0
Separated	0,2
Living with partner	4,4
IDK / NR	0,3

SD2. What is the last level of education you graduated from? (percentage)

Answer	Percentage
Primary school	4,4
Gymnasium	17,8
Highschool or post-secondary school	60,4
Bachelors/master/PHD	17,1
IDK / NR	0,2

For those 76.7% that are married or have a partner:

SD3. What is the last level of education your spouse/partner graduated from? (percentages)

Answer	Percentage
Primary school	2,8
Gymnasium	16,1
Highschool or post-secondary school	63,6
Bachelors/master/PHD	16,9
IDK/ NR	0,7

SD4. What is your profession? (percentage)

Answer	Percentage
No profession	0,6
Pupil/student	3,4
Unemployed	0,5
Homemaker	17,3
Retired	22,5
Agricultural worker	0,9
Day labourer/undeclared labour	0,3
Employee of the private sector	40,4
Employee of the public sector	11,3
Self-employed/business owner	1,6
Employee abroad	0,5
IDK/ NR	0,8

SD5. You currently live in a ... (percentages)

Answer	Percentage
Rented place	6,2
Residence that is personal/family property	91,9
Lodging	0,4
Different situation	1,3
IDK / NR	0,2

For those 76.7% that are married or have a partner:

SD51. Do you currently live with your partner? (percentages)

Answer	Percentage
Yes	95,6
No, my partner lives in the same city	1,5
No, my partner lives in a different city	0,2
No, my partner lives abroad	2,6
IDK / NR	0,1

SD6. Have you lived abroad during the last 5 years? (percentages)

Answer	Percentage
Yes, for under six months	0,8
Yes, between 6-12 months	1,4
Yes, for more than a year	3,0
I did not live abroad	94,5
IDK/ NR	0,4

For those 76.7% that are married or have a partner:

SD7. Has your partner lived abroad during the last 5 years? (percentages)

Answer	Percentage
Yes, for under six months	0,6
Yes, between 6-12 months	3,2
Yes, for more than a year	7,1
They did not live abroad	89,1
IDK/ NR	0,1

SD8. Do you use the internet? (percentages)

Answer	Percentage
Yes	78,7
No	21,2
IDK / NR	0,1

For those 78.7% that do use the internet:

SD9. How often do you use the following platforms? (percentages)

	% often	% sometimes	% never	% IDK / NR
Facebook	80,1	17,9	2,0	0,0
Instagram	33,2	28,2	36,8	1,8
TikTok	38,3	35,1	25,9	0,6
YouTube	49,4	42,0	7,9	0,7
WhatsApp	79,4	17,2	3,1	0,3
Telegram	6,6	9,7	75,5	8,2

SD10. How often do you use the following platforms? (percentages)

	% often	% sometimes	% never	% IDK / NR
TV news channels	65,7	27,9	6,2	0,2
TV general channels	70,9	26,0	3,0	0,1
Radio	31,5	49,8	17,4	1,3
Facebook groups	29,6	36,3	31,1	3,0
Telegram groups	4,3	10,7	77,8	7,2

SD11. What is your religion? (percentages)

Answer	Percentage
Orthodox	86,7
Romano-catholic	7,2
Protestant	0,7
Neo-protestant	4,6
Another religion	0,2
No religion	0,2
IDK/ NR	0,3

SD12. How important is religion to you? (percentages)

Answer	Percentage
Not at all important	2,4
Somewhat important	15,1
Pretty important	31,8
Very important	50,5
IDK / NR	0,2

For those 86.7% that are orthodox:

SD131. How much do you trust the Romanian Orthodox Church?
(percentages)

Answer	Percentage
Very much	30,7
Much	45,8
Little	16,9
Very little	5,5
IDK/ NR	1,0

For those 7.2% that are catholic:

SD132. How much do you trust the Romanian Catholic Church?
(percentages)

Answer	Percentage
Very much	37,9
Much	47,4

Little	9,5
Very little	5,3
IDK / NR	0,0

For those 5.3% that are protestant or neo-protestant:

SD133. How much do you trust the pastors of your faith from Romania?
(percentages)

Answer	Percentage
Very much	58,0
Much	31,9
Little	7,2
Very little	1,4
IDK/ NR	1,4

SD14. Which of the following monthly personal net income categories do you fall into? (percentages)

Answer	Percentage
Under 3000 lei	64,5
Between 3000 and 4500 lei	22,7
Between 4501 and 6000 lei	4,6
Over 6000 lei	1,0
IDK/ NR	7,2