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RECONSTRUCTION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY WITH THE ONSET OF THE WAR IN UKRAINE

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Abstract

The conflict in Ukraine has triggered a process of rebuilding the self-image of most Romanians. Massive support for refugees has shown others, but also for themselves, that Romanians help their neighbours when they run into difficulties, that they sacrifice their goods and time, and even their security to support those with whom they had disagreements in the past. The Bureau of Social Research survey highlights the reasons for this identity narrative that puts at its core social virtues such as tolerance, love, heroism, sacrifice. Compared to the old identity narrative that highlights resentment, self-contempt, submission to any stranger, betrayal of any principles, values, or allies, the BCS survey shows a profound change that can have consequences on many aspects of social life.

Keywords: *National identity; refugees; Ukraine; Russia.*

Introduction

The war in Ukraine changed the perception of Romanians not only toward Ukrainians and Russians, but especially toward themselves. Two surveys conducted within the Bureau of Social Research according to the same methodology – one in October 2021 immediately after the refugee crisis in Afghanistan, And the other in March 2022, immediately after the beginning of the war in Ukraine – reveal differences of perception as great as have rarely been seen in Romanian society, and they show that in the collective mind there was a process of redefining the national identity at a profound level. If in October 2021 less than one third of the adult citizens of the country declared themselves approving of the reception of Afghan refugees (and in similar shares to the reception of refugees from Ukraine, Somalia, Syria, Georgia, Senegal or Iraq), six months later, nearly three-quarters of citizens agreed to the reception of refugees from Ukraine. Compared to refugees from other conflict areas, the weights remained the same, which means that this change is due not so much to the cultural, religious, or geographical proximity of the Ukrainian refugees (because the Armenians or Georgians are also Orthodox), but especially to the approaching of the war to the borders of Romania. Fears about refugees

(they may bring diseases or viruses, consume state resources, take the jobs of Romanians, destroy families, participate in terrorist acts, affect national security, etc.) are kept in touch with refugees from remote areas, so they should not have priority when entering the country, even if their lives are at risk in their country of origin.

The armed conflict in Ukraine brought to the attention the enemy, the danger of evil. Before the war, most of the neighbours were seen with slight enmity: the Hungarians wanted to take Transylvania, the Ukrainians took northern Bucovina and southern Bessarabia and wronged the Romanians in these territories by forbidding their education in Romanian, the Bulgarians took the Cadrilater and depopulated it by the Romanians, the Serbs oppressing the Romanians in the Timoc Valley. Overall, the threatening face of Russia spread so far that Romanians began to see their neighbours as victims of the same absolute evil. There has been an unprecedented solidarity with refugees from Ukraine. They were welcomed with pies and hot food at the border, they gathered help for them in most public institutions, tens of thousands of volunteers took care to find accommodation, schools for children, doctors for the suffering, jobs, and development opportunities. The BCS survey shows that most Romanians consider it very important to provide them with Romanian language learning courses, professional training courses, free access to education and health. Although they consider that the biggest responsibility for helping Ukrainian refugees must be on the shoulders of the state (30%) and of the European Union (23%) and that from ordinary citizens (5%) or non-governmental organizations (6%) must come the least involvement, the survey participants consider that Romanians in general mobilized exemplary (86%), that civil society mobilized exemplary (83%) and faster than the state authorities (80%), and the presidency (21%) and politicians (20%) had the lowest performance. The conflict at the border has increased the conviction that Romanians are a tolerant people with refugees and migrants from 37% in October 2021 to 78% in March 2022. There has been a significant increase in the willingness to receive a refugee or group of refugees in their own home from 9% to 29%, and this percentage increases to 40% for refugees from Ukraine or, hypothetically, from Moldova, but remains low compared to refugees from other remote geographical areas.

Two-thirds of the subjects say they would personally help integrate refugees into the Romanian society, and the increase from 43% in October 2021 to 68% in March 2022 is explicable due to the increasing information about the refugees in Ukraine, direct contact with them, but also the sympathy shown to them by the countries of the European Union. Almost 60% of respondents agree with the EU's decision to grant them temporary protection status for at least one year across the EU. Romanians are not afraid that Ukrainian refugees will increase

competition on the labour market, increase the risk of war with Russia or lead to a decrease in the quality of medical services. Although people have pondered these risks, the desire to help Ukrainians is significantly greater than the danger of ignoring them.

In terms of social distancing, a significant majority – 70% – claim that they would not be bothered to have a refugee centre in their locality of residence (an increase from 45% in October 2021). However, a visibly lower percentage say they would not be bothered to have a refugee boss at work (46%) or a first-degree relative (brother, sister, son, daughter) marry a refugee (50%). In these cases, the percentages in March 2022 are relatively similar to those in October 2021, which shows that closeness to refugees is manifested up to a threshold of daily or family contact.

Three-quarters of the subjects say that the Russian Federation's attack on Ukraine creates fear; most people fear an explosion at a nuclear power station, the outbreak of World War III and a nuclear war. Half of Romanians say the war in Ukraine reminds them of other invasions by the Russian or Soviet army and say that the Russian attack was not justified. The fear of Romania's entry into the war convinces most (58%) that our country must invest massively in armament and military training, and two-thirds of citizens believe that the decision to join NATO was correct.

The way in which information about the war was presented massively reduced the Russian sympathies found in previous polls. And it has increased hopes that the union with the Republic of Moldova can be achieved.

Methodology

The refugee problem has been almost non-existent for Romania in recent decades, which is why sociological studies on this topic have been weak or barely visible. Other countries have faced waves of refugees and specialists have developed strategies for integration and social acceptance, published research on the risks and opportunities caused by waves of refugees from wars, and supported societies and institutions of states to professionally manage this social phenomenon. Gabriel Lătianu is a Romanian-born sociologist who has worked in the USA for many years at Southwest key programs – the largest American program for the integration of refugees. Teaching on migration at universities in Arizona, New Jersey, and New York, he compiled a questionnaire about the perception of refugees, taking relevant indicators from international research, but adding other important questions. This questionnaire was first applied between 9-28 October 2021, immediately after the onset of the refugee crisis in Afghanistan, on a national sample of 653 people. Between 9-20 March 2022, immediately after

the start of the war in Ukraine, the research was repeated on a sample of 800 people. The two researches were carried out on the same probabilistic-random sampling structure, built of 40 layers resulting from the intersection of 8 development regions with 5 types of localities. The interviews were conducted online, with the help of students from the Polytechnic University of Bucharest, and the data were weighted and statistically processed by Professor Marin Burcea of the University of Bucharest. For each research, people from over 200 urban and rural localities from all the counties of the country answered, being selected from the databases of the Office for Social Research so as to preserve the existing proportions in the Romanian population by gender, age, occupation, counties, etc. residency and level of education. The results of the two studies are presented in comparison, to highlight similarities or changes in the perception of refugees before and after the outbreak of the war in Ukraine.

Results

1. To what extent do you agree that Romania will receive refugees...?

	To a very large extent	To a large extent	To a small extent	Not at all	I do not know
Afghani (oct. 2021)	10,9%	20,7%	30,0%	31,9%	6,5%
Ukrainians (mar. 2022)	29,0%	44,9%	14,2%	3,1%	8,7%

2. Have you watched the news about the war in Ukraine and the refugees coming from Ukraine?

To a very large extent	To a large extent	To a small extent	Not at all	I do not know
38,1%	30,5%	27,3%	2,7%	1,3%

3. To what extent should Romanian society help the following categories of refugees?

	Period	To a very large extent	To a large extent	To a small extent	Not at all	I do not know
Victims of armed conflicts and wars	October 2021	36,1%	32,4%	18,9%	9,8%	2,9%
	March 2022	44,6%	35,5%	16,1%	1,2%	2,6%

Victims of hunger	October 2021	36,1%	32,4%	18,9%	9,8%	2,9%
	March 2022	46,6%	37,2%	14,0%	0,2%	2,0%
Politically persecuted people	October 2021	46,9%	29,4%	11,1%	10,5%	2,2%
	March 2022	25,4%	34,6%	25,7%	7,2%	7,1%
People persecuted because of their ethnic, racial or religious affiliation	October 2021	20,0%	22,9%	33,1%	18,5%	5,4%
	March 2022	35,1%	35,2%	20,3%	2,4%	6,9%
People persecuted because of sexual orientation	October 2021	27,0%	16,8%	28,8%	22,4%	5,0%
	March 2022	21,9%	29,5%	27,4%	11,0%	10,2%

4. In case of emergency, which category of refugees should Romania give priority when entering the country?

	Period	High Priority	Moderate priority	No priority	I do not know
Refugees from Ukraine	October 2021	15,0%	42,6%	28,9%	13,5%
	March 2022	46,8%	37,9%	9,4%	5,9%
Refugees from Transnistria / Moldova	October 2021	15,6%	42,0%	27,4%	15,0%
	March 2022	56,3%	29,0%	8,3%	6,4%
Refugees from Syria and Iraq	October 2021	17,1%	33,6%	35,4%	14,0%
	March 2022	14,8%	28,4%	40,1%	16,6%
Refugees from Afghanistan	October 2021	18,6%	33,8%	33,1%	14,5%
	March 2022	15,2%	27,2%	39,0%	18,6%
Refugees from the Caucasus (Armenia, Georgia)	October 2021	11,9%	43,9%	28,0%	16,2%
	March 2022	14,5%	32,0%	34,0%	19,5%
Refugees from North Africa (Morocco, Libya)	October 2021	12,2%	38,5%	35,4%	14,0%
	March 2022	13,7%	26,9%	41,6%	17,8%
Refugees from sub-Saharan Africa (Senegal, Congo, Somalia, Sudan)	October 2021	10,9%	36,9%	36,9%	15,3%
	March 2022	15,3%	22,8%	41,4%	20,6%
Refugees from Haiti or other Central American countries	October 2021	11,1%	35,6%	37,6%	15,7%
	March 2022	13,0%	26,4%	41,7%	18,9%
Refugees from South America	October 2021	12,5%	37,2%	36,4%	14,0%
	March 2022	12,5%	28,6%	40,7%	18,2%

5. To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

	Period	Agree	Disagree	I do not know
We must protect the most vulnerable people in society, regardless of their religious, ethnic or racial affiliation	October 2021	74,1%	20,7%	5,2%
	March 2022	71,7%	18,0%	10,3%
Refugees are good and hardworking people who left their country just to save their lives	October 2021	55,9%	36,7%	7,3%
	March 2022	63,8%	22,3%	13,8%
Refugees of Romanian origin should have priority over any other category of refugees	October 2021	-	-	-
	March 2022	55,6%	32,2%	12,2%
We must help refugees because Romanian refugees have been helped in the past by other peoples	October 2021	55,4%	39,5%	5,1%
	March 2022	64,2%	24,2%	11,5%
The refugees who decide to stay permanently in Romania should be helped by the Romanian state through special programs to integrate into the Romanian society	October 2021	60,4%	42,7%	6,8%
	March 2022	57,7%	25,4%	16,9%
Refugees should only be hosted temporarily in Romania on their way to other countries and should not remain permanent	October 2021	44,0%	47,3%	8,7%
	March 2022	54,7%	28,1%	17,3%
Refugees fill the lack of labor due to the massive emigration of Romanians	October 2021	60,3%	28,3%	11,4%
	March 2022	42,0%	41,2%	16,8%
Refugees should have the same rights as Romanian citizens	October 2021	36,9%	55,7%	7,4%
	March 2022	40,0%	45,5%	14,5%
Refugees coming to Romania accompanied by family should take priority over unmarried male refugees	October 2021	41,2%	52,3%	6,5%
	March 2022	40,8%	43,4%	15,8%
	October 2021	44,1%	44,3%	11,6%

The refugees bring more cultural diversity, thus enriching the Romanian national culture	March 2022	44,5%	35,3%	20,1%
Christian refugees should take priority over Muslim refugees or non-Christian refugees	October 2021	33,8%	56,9%	9,3%
	March 2022	36,5%	43,8%	19,7%
A growing number of refugees in Romania is normal, as has happened with the countries of Western Europe	October 2021	46,9%	41,0%	12,1%
	March 2022	38,5%	43,8%	17,6%
Most refugees are fake refugees, in fact economic migrants seeking a better life without being threatened in their home country	October 2021	36,2%	51,0%	12,8%
	March 2022	29,7%	47,7%	22,7%
Refugees and their children are mitigating the effects of low birth rates and the aging population in Romania	October 2021	41,2%	42,2%	16,7%
	March 2022	34,4%	47,8%	17,7%
Refugees take the jobs of Romanians	October 2021	30,5%	55,6%	13,9%
	March 2022	29,6%	52,3%	18,1%
Refugees bring diseases and viruses that Romanians are not used to	October 2021	29,5%	55,3%	15,1%
	March 2022	25,5%	51,2%	23,3%

6. If a refugee decides to stay in Romania, what special programs should have priority in order to help him/her integrate into the Romanian society and economy?

	Period	High Priority	Moderate priority	No priority	I do not know
Learning the language	October 2021	60,8%	21,1%	13,2%	4,9%
	March 2022	62,8%	25,2%	7,9%	4,1%
Access to the education system	October 2021	48,5%	33,1%	14,0%	4,5%
	March 2022	62,7%	24,9%	8,8%	3,5%
Professional training	October 2021	47,7%	33,4%	14,1%	4,8%
	March 2022	52,4%	34,0%	9,0%	4,6%

Psychological counseling	October 2021	-	-	-	-
	March 2022	48,0%	28,5%	15,2%	8,3%
Help in finding the right job	October 2021	46,8%	34,5%	13,8%	4,9%
	March 2022	50,0%	33,9%	12,9%	3,2%
Help in finding the right home	October 2021	42,4%	34,6%	17,7%	5,4%
	March 2022	46,1%	35,2%	13,2%	5,5%
Programs to facilitate cultural adaptation (clubs, excursions, etc.)	October 2021	28,6%	37,9%	24,9%	8,6%
	March 2022	26,1%	38,2%	22,1%	13,7%

7. Who do you think should be the most involved in helping refugees?

State	Non-governmental organizations	Citizens at the individual level	at European Union	European countries that are more prosperous	International organizations such as the United Nations	I do not know
29,6%	6,1%	6,4%	23,2%	8,8%	10,8%	15,1%

8. If you had the opportunity, would you receive a refugee/group of refugees in your home?

	Yes	No	Depends on the situation	I do not know
October 2021	8,7%	47,1%	35,1%	9,1%
March 2022	28,8%	13,7%	46,9%	10,7%

9. If you had the opportunity, you would receive in your home, for one week, a refugee / group of refugees from:

	Yes	No	Depends on the situation	I do not know
Ukraine	40,0%	15,9%	37,0%	7,1%
Moldova	39,9%	16,0%	33,9%	10,2%
Haiti, Mexico or Cuba	13,0%	31,7%	28,3%	27,1%

Venezuela, Peru, Brazil or Argentina	12,9%	31,9%	28,7%	26,5%
Armenia or Georgia	11,8%	29,4%	32,2%	26,5%
Congo, Senegal, Liberia and Sudan	11,0%	33,2%	28,8%	26,9%
Syria or Iraq	10,9%	31,9%	30,5%	26,7%
Afghanistan	10,6%	33,9%	29,1%	26,3%
Morocco or Libya	10,6%	33,2%	28,7%	27,6%

10. If you had the opportunity, would you personally help integrate refugees into the Romanian society?

	Yes	No	I do not know
October 2021	42,8%	23,6%	33,8%
March 2022	67,6%	8,6%	23,8%

11. If so, you would help in the form of:

	Paid work	Volunteer work	Depends on the situation
October 2021	12,8%	22,3%	64,9%
March 2022	14,4%	27,2%	58,3%

12. To what extent do you think that we Romanians should help mainly the Ukrainians of Romanian origin and then the other refugees from Ukraine?

To a very large extent	To a large extent	To a small extent	Not at all	I do not know
21,7%	39,0%	15,4%	7,7%	16,1%

13. Over the past few days, our country has received tens of thousands of refugees from Ukraine. To what extent do you agree with the following statements:

To a very large extent	To a large extent	To a small extent	Not at all	I do not know

Romanians generally mobilized exemplary in helping Ukrainian refugees	63,3%	23,1%	7,8%	0,1%	5,8%
Civil society has mobilized exemplary to help Ukrainian refugees	57,0%	25,8%	9,9%	0,2%	7,1%
Civil society has moved faster than state authorities	52,7%	27,5%	10,5%	0,2%	9,1%
The local authorities in the counties bordering with Ukraine have mobilized exemplary	39,3%	31,6%	12,0%	1,0%	16,2%
The police, firefighters and emergency services were very effective	36,9%	33,9%	12,5%	0,9%	15,7%
The border police were effective in processing Ukrainian refugees	35,8%	31,3%	12,8%	1,4%	18,7%
International organizations (ex The United Nations or “Save the children” have mobilized exemplary to help Ukrainian refugees	32,2%	31,7%	15,4%	1,2%	19,5%
The central authorities and ministries have mobilized exemplary to help Ukrainian refugees	26,8%	33,1%	19,2%	4,3%	16,6%
The Presidency has mobilized exemplary to help Ukrainian refugees	21,1%	28,7%	24,9%	4,9%	20,5%
Politicians have mobilized exemplary to help Ukrainian refugees	20,6%	20,9%	30,1%	7,2%	21,2%

14. On 2 March 2022, the European Union decided that Ukrainian refugees would enjoy temporary protection status in EU countries for at least one year. This means the right of residence, access to the labour market, housing, social assistance, medical care, means of subsistence, and for children and adolescents free access to education. To what extent do you agree with this measure?

To a very large extent	To a large extent	To a small extent	Not at all	I do not know
30,1%	29,6%	16,3%	2,7%	21,4%

15. Do you think that Ukrainian refugees established in Romania will increase competition in the labour market?

To a very large extent	To a large extent	To a small extent	Not at all	I do not know
8,9%	19,7%	31,0%	9,0%	31,3%

16. Do you think that welcoming refugees from Ukraine increases the risk of war with Russia?

To a very large extent	To a large extent	To a small extent	Not at all	I do not know
9,4%	17,9%	29,8%	11,2%	31,7%

17. Do you think that in the long run, Ukrainian refugees will make state medical services even more precarious and dysfunctional?

To a very large extent	To a large extent	To a small extent	Not at all	I do not know
10,3%	11,0%	24,8%	13,1%	40,8%

18. Romania has received tens of thousands of refugees from Ukraine. In the near future, the war in Ukraine can become even more violent with waves of refugees in the order of hundreds of thousands of people, especially women with children and the elderly. Romania has a limited capacity for assistance. Internationally, who should support Russia?

	To a very large extent	To a large extent	To a small extent	Not at all	I do not know
The European Union	71,5%	15,6%	7,1%	0,4%	5,3%
World organizations such as the United Nations, Save the children, etc.	62,8%	17,5%	9,6%	0,9%	9,1%
The most prosperous countries in Western Europe	46,8%	32,2%	12,9%	1,4%	6,7%

Other prosperous countries in the world (USA, Japan, etc.)	43,5%	25,1%	17,7%	4,7%	9,0%
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19. In the first half of March 2022, a humanitarian hub (center) was created in Suceava by the Romanian Government. It was under the coordination of the Brussels authorities and ensured the coherence of the entire effort being made to help Ukrainian refugees. Do you think this center will improve the management of the ever-growing Ukrainian refugee flow?

To a very large extent	To a large extent	To a small extent	Not at all	I do not know
17,3%	38,6%	15,2%	2,1%	26,9%

20. In your opinion, refugees make Romania:

A stronger country because of their skills and work	A more vulnerable country because they consume the resources of the state and take the jobs of Romanians	I do not know
23,3%	20,9%	55,9%

21. In your opinion, refugees:

Want to adapt and learn our habits and rules	Want to be different from us	I do not know
3,3%	20,9%	55,9%

22. You think that refugees and immigrants generally:

Are responsible for more crimes than other groups	Should not be seen as more responsible for crimes than other groups	I do not know
8,8%	43,9%	47,2%

23. In your opinion, the presence of refugees and immigrants in our country:

Increases the risk of terrorism	Does not increase the risk of terrorism	I do not know
23,0%	24,7%	52,3%

24. In your opinion, the presence of refugees in our country:

Increases the risk of war	Does not increase the risk of war	I do not know
36,7%	25,6%	37,7%

25. You think that a real Romanian is only the one who:

	Period	Yes	No	I do not know
Adopted Romanian traditions and customs	October 2021	58,6%	30,6%	10,8%
	March 2022	57,6%	31,4%	11,0%
Speaks Romanian well	October 2021	56,1%	35,7%	8,2%
	March 2022	42,0%	43,5%	14,6%
Is Christian	October 2021	35,5%	57,4%	7,1%
	March 2022	48,4%	42,2%	9,4%
Was born in Romania	October 2021	49,8%	44,0%	6,2%
	March 2022	55,6%	36,3%	8,0%

26. In your opinion. a refugee or immigrant generally:

Is Romanian only after less than 10 years of living in our country	Is Romanian only after 15-20 years of living in our country	Is Romanian only after 20 years of living in our country	Even after more than 20 years of living among us, he is not Romanian	Only his children born in Romania can be considered Romanian	Only his grandchildren can be considered Romanian
40,3%	0,0%	9,4%	14,8%	29,0%	6,4%

27. In your opinion Romanians:

Are tolerant of refugees and migrants	Are not tolerant of them	I do not know
77,6%	6,1%	16,3%

28. Do you think the Romanian state is too tolerant, too permissive to the refugees in our country?

Yes	No	I do not know
29,7%	37,3%	32,9%

29. Do you think that the refugees in our country consume more of the resources of the Romanian state than they contribute to them?

Yes	No	I do not know
36,6%	27,2%	36,2%

30. How much would it bother you to:

	Period	It would not bother me at all	It would bother me to some extent	It would bother me quite a lot	It would bother me a lot	I cannot put myself in this situation
Have a refugee center in your town?	October 2021	45,3%	25,3%	6,5%	13,4%	9,5%
	March 2022	69,5%	10,4%	8,1%	3,4%	8,7%
Have a refugee center on your street?	October 2021	41,4%	25,1%	10,4%	12,6%	10,5%
	March 2022	63,8%	15,9%	8,5%	2,8%	9,0%
Have a refugee family as neighbours	October 2021	46,9%	20,3%	10,1%	12,3%	10,5%
	March 2022	64,2%	16,4%	8,3%	2,6%	8,6%
Have a refugee as a colleague on your work team?	October 2021	56,7%	14,7%	7,3%	11,4%	9,9%
	March 2022	64,9%	12,5%	10,4%	3,1%	9,1%
Have a refugee as your boss at your workplace?	October 2021	46,5%	21,5%	8,3%	13,3%	10,4%
	March 2022	46,4%	22,9%	11,8%	5,9%	13,0%

That your brother/sister or son/daughter (first degree relative) would marry a refugee?	October 2021	45,0%	17,9%	10,9%	14,0%	12,2%
	March 2022	49,5%	16,8%	9,3%	8,5%	15,8%

31. To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

	To a very large extent	To a large extent	To a small extent	Not at all	I do not know
I am afraid of a nuclear explosion at a nuclear power station	52,9%	21,4%	16,8%	3,9%	5,1%
I am afraid of a World War (World War III)	50,9%	22,2%	18,0%	3,7%	5,2%
I am afraid of a nuclear war	50,2%	25,7%	15,5%	3,4%	5,2%
I am afraid of Russia's entry into the war	50,2%	22,8%	17,6%	4,7%	4,8%
I am afraid of serious economic problems (job loss, exorbitant costs for fuel, food, etc.)	49,0%	25,5%	17,4%	3,0%	5,2%
I am afraid of an attack on the security and borders of Romania	45,5%	26,2%	17,7%	5,0%	5,5%
The attack of Ukraine by the army of the Russian Federation creates a feeling of fear for me	45,1%	30,1%	15,6%	4,3%	5,0%

32. To what extent does the war in Ukraine remind you of other invasions by the Russian or Soviet army?

To a very large extent	To a large extent	To a small extent	Not at all	I do not know
24,5%	25,8%	22,1%	4,3%	23,2%

33. Do you think Russia's attack on Ukraine was justified?

To a very large extent	To a large extent	To a small extent	Not at all	I do not know
6,4%	6,3%	16,7%	42,8%	27,8%

34. Do you think that Romania is militarily and economically ready to face an aggression from Russia?

To a very large extent	To a large extent	To a small extent	Not at all	I do not know
6,7%	6,0%	28,2%	40,6%	18,4%

35. Do you think Romania will have to invest more in military training and armament?

To a very large extent	To a large extent	To a small extent	Not at all	I do not know
33,7%	24,2%	13,3%	7,9%	20,8%

36. Do you think that Romania's decision to join NATO was a correct decision?

To a very large extent	To a large extent	To a small extent	Not at all	I do not know
41,9%	23,7%	8,4%	3,5%	22,4%

37. Do you think that Romania will be effectively supported and defended by NATO allies in the event of aggression from Russia?

To a very large extent	To a large extent	To a small extent	Not at all	I do not know
23,5%	31,7%	15,4%	3,2%	26,2%

38. Do you agree that Romania should support another NATO ally in case of aggression from Russia?

To a very large extent	To a large extent	To a small extent	Not at all	I do not know
20,3%	30,5%	11,4%	9,2%	28,6%

39. At the beginning of March, the Republic of Moldova signed the application for EU membership. Do you think this is a good decision for your neighbour?

To a very large extent	To a large extent	To a small extent	Not at all	I do not know

30,8%	21,6%	9,2%	4,8%	33,7%
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40. If at some point it will be possible to join the Republic of Moldova through an union with Romania (as did West Germany with East Germany in 1990) would you agree?

To a very large extent	To a large extent	To a small extent	Not at all	I do not know
26,5%	22,0%	13,9%	3,5%	34,2%

41. To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

	I agree to a very large extent	I agree to a large extent	I agree to a small extent	I do not agree because Russia will consider it a provocation and it can lead to armed conflict with Russia	I disagree for other reasons
President Zelenskiy said Ukraine would welcome foreign volunteers to its armed forces to fight Russian aggression. I believe that the participation of Romanian volunteers in the Ukrainian army would be a positive thing	20,2%	23,8%	19,4%	21,0%	15,7%
Until the beginning of March 2022, Romania provided Ukraine with military assistance (ammunition, military equipment, fuel, medicines, etc.) worth 3 million euros. I think it is a fair decision.	25,5%	25,7%	17,8%	13,2%	17,7%
Romania will participate, directly or indirectly, in the economic sanctions imposed on Russia. I think it is a fair decision.	20,9%	24,4%	24,1%	11,6%	19,0%

Romania could be called to participate in NATO open sky operations, meaning Romanian pilots will ensure Ukraine's air security. I think that would be a fair decision.	19,6%	21,2%	18,9%	20,3%	20,0%
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42. What do you think is the best solution for Romania?

Stay in NATO and support the policies of this alliance	Get out of NATO and be independent	To leave NATO and restore the Warsaw Treaty with Russia and Eastern European countries	I do not know
64,0%	5,2%	4,5%	26,2%

43. How do you see the near future (the next few weeks and months)?

Very optimistic	Rather optimistic	Rather pessimistic	Very pessimistic	I do not know
9,2%	23,3%	25,2%	15,9%	20,0%
