Moldova National Voter Study

January 24 – February 7, 2011

International Republican Institute
Baltic Surveys Ltd./The Gallup Organization
METHODOLOGY

- The national representative survey was carried out from January 24 – February 7, 2011.
- The survey was conducted on behalf of International Republican Institute. The study was designed, coordinated and analyzed by Baltic Surveys/The Gallup Organization (Dr. R. Alisauskiene). The fieldwork was carried out by Magenta Consulting.
- The sample design was a multi-stage random sample.
  - Stage One: Break country into official administrative regions.
  - Stage Two: Select clusters of sampling points based on settlement population. One sample point = approximately one percent of survey population. Sampling points in each region were selected based on the percentage of population living in various levels of settlement in that same region.
- The sample consisted of 1,200 Moldovan residents older than 18 and eligible to vote and is representative of the general population by age, gender and education.
- Respondents were selected by the random route method, using the next birthday rule to select a respondent from within a household.
- Data is collected through face-to-face in-home interviews with respondents. Random route method with the next birthday rule was used for the selection of the respondent. Response rate was 56 percent.
- The margin of error does not exceed +/- three percent.
MOOD OF THE COUNTRY
Generally speaking, do you think that things in Moldova are going in the right direction or the wrong direction?
Over the last 12 months, has the economic situation in Moldova changed?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Survey Date</th>
<th>Improved a lot</th>
<th>Improved somewhat</th>
<th>Stayed the same</th>
<th>Worsened somewhat</th>
<th>Worsened a lot</th>
<th>DK/NA</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>3</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>27</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>26</td>
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<td>22</td>
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<td>March-04</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>25</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Legend:
- Improved a lot
- Improved somewhat
- Stayed the same
- Worsened somewhat
- Worsened a lot
- DK/NA
Over the last 12 months, has the financial situation of your household changed?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Improved a lot</th>
<th>Improved somewhat</th>
<th>Remained the same</th>
<th>Worsened somewhat</th>
<th>Worsened a lot</th>
<th>DK/NA</th>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>September-10</td>
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<td>29</td>
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<tr>
<td>May-10</td>
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<tr>
<td>February-10</td>
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<td>36</td>
<td>36</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<tr>
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<td>46</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>June-09</td>
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<tr>
<td>November-08</td>
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<tr>
<td>April-08</td>
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<tr>
<td>March-07</td>
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<tr>
<td>April-06</td>
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<td>44</td>
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<tr>
<td>November-04</td>
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<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>March-04</td>
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<td>48</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Legend:
- Improved a lot
- Improved somewhat
- Remained the same
- Worsened somewhat
- Worsened a lot
- DK/NA
How satisfied are you with the way democracy is developing in Moldova?

- **February-11**: 29 (Very satisfied) | 36 (Somewhat satisfied) | 21 (Somewhat dissatisfied) | 10 (Very dissatisfied) | 2 (DK/NA)
- **September-10**: 5 (Very satisfied) | 41 (Somewhat satisfied) | 24 (Somewhat dissatisfied) | 8 (Very dissatisfied) | 10 (DK/NA)
- **May-10**: 2 (Very satisfied) | 40 (Somewhat satisfied) | 21 (Somewhat dissatisfied) | 10 (Very dissatisfied) | 10 (DK/NA)
- **February-10**: 4 (Very satisfied) | 37 (Somewhat satisfied) | 27 (Somewhat dissatisfied) | 10 (Very dissatisfied) | 10 (DK/NA)
- **November-09**: 3 (Very satisfied) | 37 (Somewhat satisfied) | 20 (Somewhat dissatisfied) | 14 (Very dissatisfied) | 14 (DK/NA)
- **June-09**: 1 (Very satisfied) | 41 (Somewhat satisfied) | 25 (Somewhat dissatisfied) | 17 (Very dissatisfied) | 17 (DK/NA)
- **November-08**: 2 (Very satisfied) | 42 (Somewhat satisfied) | 20 (Somewhat dissatisfied) | 15 (Very dissatisfied) | 15 (DK/NA)
- **April-08**: 2 (Very satisfied) | 41 (Somewhat satisfied) | 24 (Somewhat dissatisfied) | 16 (Very dissatisfied) | 16 (DK/NA)
- **March-07**: 5 (Very satisfied) | 41 (Somewhat satisfied) | 18 (Somewhat dissatisfied) | 15 (Very dissatisfied) | 15 (DK/NA)
- **April-06**: 1 (Very satisfied) | 43 (Somewhat satisfied) | 14 (Somewhat dissatisfied) | 17 (Very dissatisfied) | 17 (DK/NA)
- **November-04**: 2 (Very satisfied) | 44 (Somewhat satisfied) | 14 (Somewhat dissatisfied) | 14 (Very dissatisfied) | 14 (DK/NA)
- **March-04**: 2 (Very satisfied) | 44 (Somewhat satisfied) | 17 (Somewhat dissatisfied) | 13 (Very dissatisfied) | 13 (DK/NA)
Are people in Moldova afraid to openly express their political views?

The chart shows the percentage of Moldovans who feel afraid to express their political views over different periods. The categories are:

- Majority are afraid
- Many are afraid
- Some are afraid
- Nobody is afraid
- DK/NA

The chart indicates a trend where the percentage of people who feel afraid has varied over the years, with some periods showing a higher percentage of those who are afraid to express their views.
ISSUES
What are the main problems that Moldova is facing at the moment? (Spontaneous, more than two percent)

- Unemployment: 26
- Corruption: 22
- High prices/Inflation: 18
- Low income: 18
- Poverty: 17
- Political crisis: 16
- Economic crisis: 13
- Election of president: 9
- Poor roads: 8
- Emigration: 6
- Economic development: 5
- Joining European Union/NATO: 5
- Expensive utilities/Housing: 4
- Inefficient public employees: 4
- Transnistrian conflict*: 3
- Instability/Chaos: 3
- Ecology: 2
- Low living standards: 2
- Increasing crime: 2

*Transnistria is a disputed region on Moldova’s eastern border
What are the main problems that Moldova is facing at the moment?  
(September 2010)  
(Spontaneous, more than two percent)

- Unemployment: 29
- Political crisis: 21
- Election of president: 15
- Economic crisis: 14
- Low income: 14
- Economic development: 13
- Poverty: 11
- Corruption: 11
- Emigration: 9
- High prices/Inflation: 7
- Poor roads: 6
- Joining European Union/NATO: 5
- Low living standards: 4
- Instability/Chaos: 4
- Transnistrian conflict: 3
- No peace/No unity: 3
- Inefficient public employees: 3
- Lack of spirituality/Morality/Culture: 2
What are the main problems your town/village is facing at the moment? (Spontaneous, more than two percent)

- Poor roads: 32%
- Jobs/Unemployment: 25%
- Environmental issues: 13%
- High prices/Inflation: 10%
- Low incomes: 9%
- Corruption: 6%
- Emigration: 6%
- Expensive utilities/Housing: 6%
- Transport problems: 5%
- No/Inefficient local authorities: 5%
- Insufficient street lights: 4%
- Poverty: 4%
- Agriculture: 4%
- Gas supply: 3%
- Water supply: 3%
- Homeless dogs: 3%
- Youth issues: 2%
What are the main problems your town/village is facing at the moment? (September 2010) (Spontaneous, more than three percent)

- Poor roads: 34
- Jobs/Unemployment: 31
- Environmental issues: 11
- Low incomes: 10
- High prices/Inflation: 8
- Emigration: 7
- Transport problems: 5
- Water supply: 5
- Gas supply: 4
- Undeveloped/Depopulated rural localities: 4
- Agriculture: 4
- Education: 4
- Expensive utilities/Housing: 4
- Insufficient street lights: 3
- Poverty: 3
- No/Inefficient local authorities: 3
What are the most important problems for you and your household members?
(Spontaneous, more than two percent)

- Financial problems/Low income: 59%
- Jobs/Unemployment: 22%
- High prices: 14%
- Expensive utilities/Housing: 9%
- Health problems: 8%
- Emigration: 7%
- Expensive/Poor medical services: 3%
- Poverty: 3%
- Poor housing conditions: 2%
What are the most important problems for you and your household members? (September 2010) (Spontaneous, more than two percent)

- Financial problems/Low income: 57
- Jobs/Unemployment: 25
- High prices: 10
- Health problems: 8
- Expensive utilities/Housing: 7
- Emigration: 7
- Expensive/Poor medical services: 4
- Educational issues: 4
- Poverty: 3
- Living space shortage: 3
Thinking about the current situation and future of your country, what are you most afraid of? (Spontaneous, more than two percent)

- Poverty: 16
- Hunger/No drinking water: 9
- Increasing prices/Taxes: 8
- War/Conflict: 7
- Emigration: 7
- Unemployment: 5
- Political instability: 5
- Instability/Chaos: 5
- Romanianization: 5
- Communism coming back: 5
- Corruption: 4
- Economic crisis: 4
- Children's future: 3
- Civil war/No peace/No unity: 3
- Worsening financial situation: 2
- Natural disasters: 2
- Worsening economy: 2
- Diseases: 2
Thinking about the current situation and future of your country, what are you most afraid of? (September 2010) (Spontaneous, more than two percent)

- Poverty: 13
- War/Conflict: 10
- Hunger/No drinking water: 9
- Unemployment: 8
- Emigration: 7
- Romanianization: 7
- Increasing prices/Taxes: 5
- Economic crisis: 4
- Political instability: 4
- Civil war/No peace/No unity: 4
- Communism coming back: 4
- Corruption: 4
- Worsening economy: 4
- Children's future: 4
- Instability/Chaos: 3
- Worsening financial situation: 3
- Natural disasters: 3
- Transnistrian conflict: 2
POLITICS
How much interest do you have in politics?
Thinking about the last parliamentary elections in Moldova, do you believe those were free and fair elections or not?

- **February-11:** 59% Free and fair, 22% Not free and fair, 19% DK/NA
- **September-10:** 44% Free and fair, 33% Not free and fair, 23% DK/NA
- **May-10:** 43% Free and fair, 36% Not free and fair, 21% DK/NA
- **February-10:** 51% Free and fair, 33% Not free and fair, 16% DK/NA
- **November-09:** 46% Free and fair, 29% Not free and fair, 25% DK/NA
If Moldova has early elections again in 2011, would you consider this a negative development?

- Yes, a negative development: 77%
- No, a positive development: 14%
- DK/NA: 9%
Would you prefer electing the President of Moldova by direct vote (by the people) or by parliament members?

- By direct vote, by the people: 68%
- By parliament members: 22%
- DK/NA: 10%
How much confidence do you have in the following institutions?  
(September 2010)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Favorable</th>
<th>Unfavorable</th>
<th>DK/NA</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Education system</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moldovan mass media</td>
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<tr>
<td>Moldovan Mitropoly</td>
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<td>24</td>
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<tr>
<td>European Union</td>
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<td>29</td>
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<td>Bessarabian Mitropoly</td>
<td>48</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Army</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>27</td>
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<td>Moldovan government</td>
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<td>Moldovan Parliament</td>
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<td>Healthcare system</td>
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<td>16</td>
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<td>President’s office</td>
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<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>Nongovernmental Organizations</td>
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<td>Unions of businessmen</td>
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<tr>
<td>NATO</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courts of justice</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>42</td>
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<td>Political parties</td>
<td>34</td>
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<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police authorities</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Family Abroad

Do you have somebody in your family who has left Moldova to work and/or live abroad?

If yes, how many family members? N=864

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IRI Baltic Surveys / The Gallup Organization  MOLDOVA NATIONAL STUDY, January 24 - February 7, 2011
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
How would you evaluate the current state of relations between Moldova and the following entities?

- **Romania**: 68% Good, 12% Neither/Nor, 13% Bad, 7% DK/NA
- **European Union**: 67% Good, 16% Neither/Nor, 9% Bad, 8% DK/NA
- **Ukraine**: 56% Good, 17% Neither/Nor, 15% Bad, 12% DK/NA
- **United States**: 53% Good, 19% Neither/Nor, 10% Bad, 18% DK/NA
- **Russia**: 50% Good, 14% Neither/Nor, 30% Bad, 6% DK/NA
How would evaluate the current state of relations between Moldova and the following entities? (September 2010)
Which countries are the most important partners for Moldova? Which countries are the greatest political and economic threats to Moldova?

![Bar chart showing partners and threats by country.]

- European Union: 68 partners, 17 threats
- Russia: 67 partners, 29 threats
- Romania: 52 partners, 30 threats
- Ukraine: 48 partners, 14 threats
- United States: 42 partners, 19 threats
- None: 19 partners, 19 threats
- DK/NA: 19 partners, 6 threats
Which countries are the most important partners for Moldova? Which countries are the greatest political and economic threat to Moldova? (September 2010)
What do you think the future of Transnistria should be?

- DK/NA
- Part of Ukraine
- Independent
- Part of the Russian Federation
- Autonomy within the Republic of Moldova
- Ordinary region of Moldova, without any autonomy

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How do you think the current situation in regard to the status of Transnistria should be resolved?

*Graph showing percentage of responses over time.*
Would you support Moldovan authorities implementing any of these steps to assure Transnistria's reintegration into Moldova?

- Reabsorbing Transnistria as a series of raions with no special status:
  - Yes: 24
  - Maybe: 37
  - No: 20
  - DK/NA: 19

- Making Russian an official second state language:
  - Yes: 17
  - Maybe: 33
  - No: 36
  - DK/NA: 14

- Transforming Moldova into a country with special autonomy for Transnistria:
  - Yes: 13
  - Maybe: 32
  - No: 35
  - DK/NA: 19

- Permitting the Russian Federation to maintain military personnel in Moldova:
  - Yes: 9
  - Maybe: 26
  - No: 51
  - DK/NA: 14

- Providing elected Transnistrian representatives veto power over certain, limited strategic issues:
  - Yes: 8
  - Maybe: 32
  - No: 40
  - DK/NA: 20

- Taking no steps to reintegrate Transnistria, and eventually letting Transnistria separate permanently from Moldova:
  - Yes: 7
  - Maybe: 24
  - No: 49
  - DK/NA: 20
What should Moldova do in the future?

- Join the European Union: 65% Yes, 24% No, 11% DK/NA
- Remain a member of the Commonwealth of Independent States: 47% Yes, 37% No, 16% DK/NA
- Be an independent neutral state: 46% Yes, 37% No, 17% DK/NA
- Join NATO: 37% Yes, 41% No, 22% DK/NA
What should Moldova do in the future? (September 2010)

- **Join the European Union**: 62% Yes, 17% No, 21% DK/NA
- **Be an independent neutral state**: 51% Yes, 23% No, 26% DK/NA
- **Remain a member of the Commonwealth of Independent States**: 47% Yes, 29% No, 24% DK/NA
- **Join NATO**: 36% Yes, 35% No, 29% DK/NA
Excluding the impact of potential Moldovan membership in the European Union, do you support unification of Moldova with Romania?
Taking into consideration Moldova's political and economic development, who is Moldova's future best shared with?

- The European Union: 34%
- The Russian Federation: 21%
- Both: 41%
- DK/NA: 4%
SOURCES OF INFORMATION
What are your sources for political information?

- TV news/Programs
- Relatives/Friends
- Radio news/Programs
- Newspaper articles
- Internet
- Meetings with politicians
- Billboards/Signs in the streets
- Colleagues at work
- Leaflets and other free information in...
- Magazine articles
- DK/NA
What are your sources of information and influence during the election campaign?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Great influence</th>
<th>Some influence</th>
<th>Not much influence</th>
<th>No influence at all</th>
<th>DK/NA</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meetings with politicians</td>
<td>26</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Meetings with/Opinions of leaders</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>TV ads</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>24</td>
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<tr>
<td>Home visits from representatives of a party or</td>
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<tr>
<td>candidate</td>
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<tr>
<td>Radio advertisements</td>
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<td>25</td>
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<tr>
<td>Personal letters from the candidate</td>
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<td>26</td>
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<tr>
<td>Telephone calls to one's home</td>
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<td>Articles in the newspapers about candidates</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paid ads in press for the candidate or party</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Slogans and ads on transport</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>34</td>
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<td>Leaflets</td>
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<td>33</td>
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</table>
What are your sources of information and influence during the election campaign? (September 2010)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of Information/Influence</th>
<th>Great Influence</th>
<th>Some Influence</th>
<th>Not much Influence</th>
<th>No Influence at All</th>
<th>DK/NA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meetings with politicians</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meetings with/Opinions of leaders</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV ads</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home visits from representatives of a party or candidate</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio advertisements</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telephone calls to one’s home</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal letters from the candidate</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Articles in the newspapers about candidates</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>22</td>
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<tr>
<td>Billboards</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paid ads in press for the candidate or party</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Slogans and ads on transport</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Leaflets</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>8</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
How often do you use Internet?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Every day</th>
<th>5-6 days a week</th>
<th>3-4 days a week</th>
<th>1-2 days a week</th>
<th>Less often</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>DK/NA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>February-11</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>51</td>
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<td>September-10</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>May-2010</td>
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<td>13</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<tr>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November-09</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Where do you access the Internet?

(Internet users, N=576)
DEMOGRAPHICS