Detailed Methodology

• The survey was coordinated by Dr. Rasa Alisauskiene from Baltic Surveys/The Gallup Organization on behalf of the International Republican Institute. The field work was carried out by Magenta Consulting.

• Data was collected throughout Moldova (with the exception of Transnistria) between February 13 and March 07, 2017 through face-to-face interviews in respondents’ homes.

• The sample consisted of 1,510 permanent residents of Moldova aged 18 and older and eligible to vote and is representative of the general population by age, gender, education, region and settlement size.

• A multistage probability sampling method was used, with random route and next birthday respondent selection procedures.
  • Stage One: All districts of Moldova are grouped into 11 groups; all regions (with the exception of Transnistria) were surveyed.
  • Stage Two: Selection of the settlements (cities and villages.)
    o Settlements were selected at random.
    o The number of settlements selected in each region was proportional to the share of population living in the particular type of the settlement in each region.
  • Stage Three: Primary sampling units were described.

• The margin of error does not exceed plus or minus 2.5 percent.

• The response rate was 67 percent.

• Charts and graphs may not add up to 100 percent due to rounding.

• This survey was funded by the National Endowment for Democracy.
Mood of the Country
Generally speaking, do you think that things in Moldova are going in the right direction or wrong direction?

*In December 2014, news broke of a major banking scandal involving nearly $1 billion missing from three state banks.

**In 2016, Moldova conducted the first popular election of the president since 1996. Igor Dodon was elected in the second round contest on November 13, 2016.
Are you satisfied with the pace of change in Moldova today?

- I am satisfied; change is happening at the right pace
- I am dissatisfied; change is not happening fast enough
- I am dissatisfied; change is happening too fast
- No change is taking place
- Don’t know/No answer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>March 2017</th>
<th>September 2016</th>
<th>March 2016</th>
<th>October 2015</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I am satisfied</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>1%</td>
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<tr>
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<td>45%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>30%</td>
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<tr>
<td>I am dissatisfied; change is not happening fast enough</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am dissatisfied; change is happening too fast</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>50%</td>
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<tr>
<td>No change is taking place</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>4%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Don’t know/No answer</td>
<td>3%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Over the last 12 months, how has the economic situation in Moldova changed?

- **Improved a lot**: 1% to 9%
- **Improved somewhat**: 3% to 42%
- **Stayed the same**: 22% to 34%
- **Worsened somewhat**: 17% to 29%
- **Worsened a lot**: 2% to 5%
- **Don't know/No answer**: 3% to 6%
Over the last 12 months, how has the financial situation of your household changed?

- Improved a lot
- Improved somewhat
- Stayed the same
- Worsened somewhat
- Worsened a lot
- Don't know/No answer

- June 2004: 0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%

- March 2007: 1% 11% 42% 53% 23% 10% 2%
- September 2006: 1% 7% 4% 24% 23% 2%
- March 2006: 1% 5% 32% 33% 24% 2%
- October 2005: 4% 24% 33% 35% 27% 4%
- September 2004: 4% 21% 38% 19% 15% 3%
- June 2004: 2% 18% 45% 24% 15% 2%
- January 2004: 2% 10% 41% 29% 15% 3%
- December 2003: 1% 13% 39% 28% 17% 2%
- August 2003: 4% 18% 43% 18% 14% 3%
- February 2003: 1% 16% 34% 31% 15% 3%
- September 2002: 4% 14% 36% 29% 14% 4%
- May 2002: 1% 11% 42% 29% 15% 4%
- February 2002: 1% 8% 36% 36% 16% 4%
- November 2001: 1% 7% 46% 36% 16% 3%
- June 2001: 1% 9% 32% 36% 17% 5%
- November 2000: 1% 15% 39% 39% 14% 4%
- April 2000: 2% 11% 37% 25% 16% 9%
- March 1999: 3% 19% 41% 23% 9% 5%
- April 1998: 2% 25% 44% 22% 5% 1%
- November 1997: 4% 23% 47% 20% 5%
- March 1997: 2% 16% 48% 22% 10% 1%
In your opinion, how will economic situation of Moldova change in the next 12 months?

- Improve a lot
- Improve somewhat
- Stay the same
- Worsen somewhat
- Worsen a lot
- Don't know/No answer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Improve a lot</th>
<th>Improve somewhat</th>
<th>Stay the same</th>
<th>Worsen somewhat</th>
<th>Worsen a lot</th>
<th>Don't know/No answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>27%</td>
<td>32%</td>
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<td>7%</td>
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<td>June 2014</td>
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<td>24%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>17%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
What are the most important problems that Moldova is facing at the moment?

(Respondents permitted to supply three spontaneous answers)
What are the most important problems facing your village/town at the moment?

(Respondents permitted to supply three spontaneous answers)

- Roads: 45%
- Unemployment: 20%
- Cleanliness: 11%
- Low income/Pensions: 11%
- Emigration: 8%
- Transportation: 8%
- High prices/Inflation: 8%
- Expensive utilities/Housing: 7%
- Water supply/Drinking water: 6%
- Lack of sanitation or sewerage: 6%
- Bad mayor: 5%
- Insufficient street lighting: 5%
- Poor work of sanitation services: 4%
- Citizen indifference: 4%
- Corruption: 4%
- Gas supply: 3%
- Poverty: 3%
- Lack of qualified medical personnel: 2%
- Poor conditions at schools: 2%
- School closing: 2%
- Healthcare system: 2%
- Lack of parks: 2%
- Bad infrastructure: 2%
- Homeless dogs: 2%
What are the most important problems facing you and your household?

(Respondents permitted to supply three spontaneous answers)

- Low income/Financial problems: 49%
- Unemployment: 14%
- Expensive utilities/Housing: 12%
- Health problems: 10%
- High prices/Inflation: 8%
- Emigration: 8%
- Expensive medicine/Poor medical service: 6%
- Loneliness: 3%
- Poverty: 3%
- Low standard of living: 3%
- Housing/Utilities: 2%
- No firewood: 2%
How satisfied are you with the way democracy is developing in Moldova?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Survey Date</th>
<th>Very satisfied</th>
<th>Somewhat satisfied</th>
<th>Somewhat dissatisfied</th>
<th>Very dissatisfied</th>
<th>Don't know/No answer</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>24%</td>
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<td>October 2015</td>
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<td>9%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>26%</td>
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<td>June 2014</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>16%</td>
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<td>January 2012</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>43%</td>
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<td>December 2011</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>36%</td>
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<td>August 2011</td>
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<td>39%</td>
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<td>February 2011</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>29%</td>
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<td>September 2010</td>
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<td>23%</td>
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<td>June 2009</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>17%</td>
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<td>November 2008</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>15%</td>
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<td>April 2008</td>
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<td>17%</td>
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<td>24%</td>
<td>16%</td>
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<td>March 2007</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>18%</td>
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<tr>
<td>April 2006</td>
<td>1%</td>
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<tr>
<td>November 2004</td>
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<td>44%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>14%</td>
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<td>2%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Which of these statements is closest to your own point of view?

- Our society needs serious reforms (structural and systemic change)
- Our society needs gradual reforms which preserve the existing system
- Our society has to be protected from the forces who want to change the current order
- Don't know/No answer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
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<th>Total</th>
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<td>Our society needs serious reforms</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 2016</td>
<td>Our society needs gradual reforms</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 2016</td>
<td>Our society has to be protected from the forces who want to change the current order</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>12%</td>
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<td>October 2015</td>
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<td>71%</td>
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<td>September 2014</td>
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<td>21%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 2014</td>
<td>Don't know/No answer</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
If you could have only one or the other, which is more important to you: a democratic system of government or a prosperous economy?

- Democracy is definitely more important to me
- Democracy is somewhat more important to me
- Economic prosperity is somewhat more important to me
- Economic prosperity is definitely more important to me
- Don’t know/No answer

**March 2017**
- 17% Democracy is definitely more important to me
- 9% Democracy is somewhat more important to me
- 20% Economic prosperity is somewhat more important to me
- 50% Economic prosperity is definitely more important to me
- 4% Don’t know/No answer

**September 2016**
- 17% Democracy is definitely more important to me
- 6% Democracy is somewhat more important to me
- 24% Economic prosperity is somewhat more important to me
- 43% Economic prosperity is definitely more important to me
- 10% Don’t know/No answer

**March 2016**
- 22% Democracy is definitely more important to me
- 13% Democracy is somewhat more important to me
- 17% Economic prosperity is somewhat more important to me
- 40% Economic prosperity is definitely more important to me
- 8% Don’t know/No answer

**October 2015**
- 18% Democracy is definitely more important to me
- 7% Democracy is somewhat more important to me
- 15% Economic prosperity is somewhat more important to me
- 53% Economic prosperity is definitely more important to me
- 7% Don’t know/No answer
Are people in Moldova afraid to openly express their political views?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Majority are afraid</th>
<th>Many are afraid</th>
<th>Some are afraid</th>
<th>Nobody is afraid</th>
<th>Don't know/No answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>March 2017</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>3%</td>
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<tr>
<td>September 2016</td>
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<td>March 2016</td>
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<td>January 2012</td>
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<td>February 2011</td>
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<td>November 2008</td>
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<td>March 2004</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Views on Corruption
Do you consider the country to be governed in the interest of the majority of people or the interest of some groups?

**March 2017**
- Majority of people: 7%
- Some groups: 89%
- Don't know/No answer: 4%

**September 2016**
- Majority of people: 5%
- Some groups: 90%
- Don't know/No answer: 5%

**March 2016**
- Majority of people: 17%
- Some groups: 78%
- Don't know/No answer: 5%
Is corruption a big problem in Moldova today?

- It is a very big issue
- It is a big issue
- It is not a big issue
- Don’t know/No answer

Survey results from various dates:

- March 2017: 75% very big, 19% big, 3% not big, 2% don’t know
- September 2016: 89% very big, 7% big, 1% not big, 2% don’t know
- March 2016: 87% very big, 8% big, 1% not big, 3% don’t know
- October 2015: 87% very big, 8% big, 2% not big, 3% don’t know
- September 2014: 73% very big, 18% big, 5% not big, 3% don’t know
- June 2014: 81% very big, 14% big, 1% not big, 3% don’t know
- January 2012: 73% very big, 21% big, 2% not big, 3% don’t know
- December 2011: 80% very big, 15% big, 2% not big, 2% don’t know
- August 2011: 61% very big, 29% big, 3% not big, 6% don’t know
- February 2011: 59% very big, 33% big, 4% not big, 6% don’t know
- September 2010: 57% very big, 31% big, 4% not big, 7% don’t know
- May 2010: 53% very big, 37% big, 4% not big, 5% don’t know
- February 2010: 58% very big, 33% big, 4% not big, 3% don’t know
- November 2009: 61% very big, 31% big, 3% not big, 5% don’t know
- November 2008: 62% very big, 27% big, 4% not big, 6% don’t know
- April 2008: 60% very big, 25% big, 5% not big, 10% don’t know
- March 2007: 64% very big, 26% big, 2% not big, 8% don’t know
- March 2006: 66% very big, 25% big, 3% not big, 5% don’t know
- November 2004: 72% very big, 24% big, 3% not big, 2% don’t know

The bar chart shows the percentage of respondents who believe corruption is a big problem in Moldova for each survey date.
What, in your opinion, is the greatest cause of corruption in Moldova?

- Lack of government control and oversight: 38%
- Poverty and necessity: 25%
- The actions of business leaders and oligarchs: 21%
- Education levels of citizens: 11%
- Custom and history: 2%
- Other: 1%
- Don't know/No answer: 2%
Where, in your opinion, is corruption most present in Moldova?

- Public servants (doctors, teachers, policemen): 25%
- Parliament: 20%
- Business leaders/Oligarchs: 13%
- The Prime Minister and Cabinet: 11%
- Judicial branch: 10%
- Political parties and party leadership: 7%
- The President: 3%
- Local officials: 2%
- Other: 7%
- Don't know/No answer: 2%
In the past 12 months, how often, if ever, have you done a favor, given a gift or paid a bribe in order to receive services?

- Never: 59%
- 1 or 2 times: 22%
- 3-5 times: 6%
- More than 5 times: 8%
- Refused to answer: 1%
- Don’t know/No answer: 4%
For whom did you do a favor, give a gift or pay a bribe in order to receive services?

(Respondents who had to do this in the last 12 months, N=478; Permitted to supply three spontaneous answers)

- Doctor/Hospital employee: 63%
- Educator/University official: 25%
- Police: 21%
- Traffic police: 5%
- Official in local government: 5%
- Kindergarten administrator: 4%
- Civil servant: 2%
- Border official: 2%
- Tax inspector: 1%
- Driving instructor/Vehicle registration agency employee: 1%
- Other: 3%
- Don't know/No answer: 10%
How much interest do you have in politics?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Interested</th>
<th>Medium interest</th>
<th>Not interested</th>
<th>Don't know/No answer</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>34%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>1%</td>
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<tr>
<td>March 2016</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>29%</td>
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<tr>
<td>October 2015</td>
<td>35%</td>
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<tr>
<td>September 2014</td>
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<tr>
<td>January 2012</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>38%</td>
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<td>December 2011</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 2011</td>
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<td>40%</td>
<td>1%</td>
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<td>February 2011</td>
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<td>September 2010</td>
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<tr>
<td>May 2010</td>
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<td>February 2010</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 2009</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 2008</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>46%</td>
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<tr>
<td>April 2008</td>
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<td>3%</td>
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<td>November 2004</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>1%</td>
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<tr>
<td>March 2004</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
What is your opinion of each of the following institutions? (March 2017)

- Moldovan Orthodox Church: 65% favorable, 27% unfavorable, 7% don’t know/no answer
- Army: 64% favorable, 29% unfavorable, 7% don’t know/no answer
- Romanian Orthodox Church: 62% favorable, 29% unfavorable, 9% don’t know/no answer
- Moldovan mass media: 57% favorable, 38% unfavorable, 5% don’t know/no answer
- Education system: 55% favorable, 40% unfavorable, 5% don’t know/no answer
- Local authorities: 50% favorable, 46% unfavorable, 4% don’t know/no answer
- International Monetary Fund: 48% favorable, 39% unfavorable, 13% don’t know/no answer
- Police authorities: 47% favorable, 49% unfavorable, 4% don’t know/no answer
- Healthcare system: 42% favorable, 54% unfavorable, 4% don’t know/no answer
- President’s Office: 38% favorable, 58% unfavorable, 4% don’t know/no answer
- Central Electoral Commission: 34% favorable, 58% unfavorable, 8% don’t know/no answer
- Central Bank: 34% favorable, 59% unfavorable, 7% don’t know/no answer
- Courts of justice: 28% favorable, 65% unfavorable, 7% don’t know/no answer
- Moldovan Government: 27% favorable, 70% unfavorable, 3% don’t know/no answer
- Political parties: 23% favorable, 73% unfavorable, 4% don’t know/no answer
- Moldovan Parliament: 23% favorable, 74% unfavorable, 3% don’t know/no answer
What is your opinion of each of the following institutions? (September 2016)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Favorable</th>
<th>Unfavorable</th>
<th>Don’t know/No answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Moldovan Orthodox Church</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romanian Orthodox Church in Moldova</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Army</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moldovan mass media</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education system</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local authorities</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police authorities</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Healthcare system</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional associations</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade unions</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Bank</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Electoral Commission</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moldovan Government</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courts of justice</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political parties</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moldovan Parliament</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>President’s Office</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Government
Do you approve or disapprove of the parliamentary majority consisting of the Democratic Party, Liberal Party and former members of the Liberal Democratic Party and Communist Party*?

- Strongly approve
- Somewhat approve
- Somewhat disapprove
- Strongly disapprove
- Don’t know/No answer

**March 2017**
- Strongly approve: 2%
- Somewhat approve: 14%
- Somewhat disapprove: 32%
- Strongly disapprove: 46%
- Don’t know/No answer: 6%

**September 2016**
- Strongly approve: 1%
- Somewhat approve: 13%
- Somewhat disapprove: 22%
- Strongly disapprove: 52%
- Don’t know/No answer: 11%

*On March 10, 2014, the 14 former members of the Communist Party who joined the parliamentary majority in January 2017 formally joined the Democratic Party’s parliamentary faction.*
Do you think that the Moldova Parliament is responsive to the needs of citizens like you?

- Strongly agree
- Somewhat agree
- Somewhat disagree
- Strongly disagree
- Don't know/No answer

**March 2017**
- Strongly agree: 1%
- Somewhat agree: 13%
- Somewhat disagree: 27%
- Strongly disagree: 57%
- Don't know/No answer: 2%

**September 2016**
- Strongly agree: 1%
- Somewhat agree: 7%
- Somewhat disagree: 20%
- Strongly disagree: 70%
- Don't know/No answer: 2%
Do you approve or disapprove of the Filip government?

- **Strongly approve**
- **Somewhat approve**
- **Somewhat disapprove**
- **Strongly disapprove**
- **Don’t know/No answer**

**March 2017**
- Strongly approve: 6%
- Somewhat approve: 22%
- Somewhat disapprove: 26%
- Strongly disapprove: 39%
- Don’t know/No answer: 7%

**September 2016**
- Strongly approve: 5%
- Somewhat approve: 20%
- Somewhat disapprove: 19%
- Strongly disapprove: 42%
- Don’t know/No answer: 14%
What are the most important problems that the Filip government must solve?

(Respondents permitted to supply three spontaneous answers)

- Wages/Pensions: 30%
- Job creation: 25%
- Tackling corruption: 19%
- Economic performance: 8%
- Consumer prices: 6%
- Recovering the "stolen billion": 6%
- Emigration: 5%
- High price of utilities: 5%
- Poverty: 4%
- Roads: 4%
- Failing or closed factories: 4%
- Low standard of living: 3%
- High price of medication: 3%
- Oligarchs: 3%
- Agricultural development: 3%
- Disconnect between the government and citizens: 2%
- Healthcare system: 2%
- Maintaining the retirement age: 2%
- Assistance to pensioners: 2%
- Attracting foreign investors: 2%
What is your opinion of the activity of each of the following Moldovan ministers?

- Ministry of Culture
- Ministry of Informational Technologies and Communications
- Ministry of Defense
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration
- Ministry of Education
- Ministry of Internal Affairs
- Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry
- Ministry of Environment
- Ministry of Health
- Ministry of Regional Development and Construction
- Ministry of Labor, Social Protection and Family
- Ministry of Transport and Road Infrastructure
- Ministry of Justice
- Ministry of Economy
- Ministry of Finance
Do you approve or disapprove of the activities of President Igor Dodon?

*Igor Dodon was elected president in November 2016. He is the first popularly-elected president since 1996.*
President Dodon has proposed holding a referendum to expand the powers of the presidency, including expanding the president’s ability to dissolve the parliament. What is your opinion of this proposed expansion of the president’s powers?

- 29% Strongly favorable
- 28% Somewhat favorable
- 22% Somewhat unfavorable
- 16% Strongly unfavorable
- 5% Don’t know/No answer
Parliamentary Elections
Do you support the idea of early parliamentary elections?

- March 2017:
  - Yes: 49%
  - No: 43%
  - Don't know/No answer: 8%

- September 2016:
  - Yes: 68%
  - No: 22%
  - Don't know/No answer: 10%

- March 2016:
  - Yes: 70%
  - No: 18%
  - Don't know/No answer: 12%

- October 2015:
  - Yes: 66%
  - No: 25%
  - Don't know/No answer: 9%
Would you support reforming the electoral law to include a mixed system, with half of the deputies elected on party lists and half in single-mandate constituencies?*

*The electoral system in Moldova has been an issue of discussion in recent months. Although many expected a mixed system to be proposed, on March 6, 2017, the governing Democratic Party of Moldova announced an initiative to institute an electoral system in which all members of parliament are elected in single-mandate constituencies. A draft law has been submitted to the parliament for review.
How likely, if at all, are you to vote in the next parliamentary elections?

- **March 2016**
  - Very likely: 75%
  - Somewhat likely: 18%
  - Somewhat unlikely: 3%
  - Very unlikely: 2%
  - Don’t know/No answer: 3%

- **September 2016**
  - Very likely: 61%
  - Somewhat likely: 26%
  - Somewhat unlikely: 5%
  - Very unlikely: 3%
  - Don’t know/No answer: 3%

- **March 2017**
  - Very likely: 62%
  - Somewhat likely: 24%
  - Somewhat unlikely: 8%
  - Very unlikely: 3%
  - Don’t know/No answer: 3%
How likely, if at all, are you to vote in the next parliamentary elections?

(Disaggregated by age)

Very likely | Somewhat likely | Somewhat unlikely | Very unlikely | Don't know/No answer

18-29 years old (N=328)

- Very likely: 59%
- Somewhat likely: 27%
- Somewhat unlikely: 7%
- Very unlikely: 3%
- Don't know/No answer: 4%

30-49 years old (N=471)

- Very likely: 62%
- Somewhat likely: 24%
- Somewhat unlikely: 6%
- Very unlikely: 4%
- Don't know/No answer: 4%

50+ years old (N=711)

- Very likely: 63%
- Somewhat likely: 22%
- Somewhat unlikely: 9%
- Very unlikely: 3%
- Don't know/No answer: 3%
If parliamentary elections were held next Sunday and the following political parties participated in the election, for which political party would you vote?
If parliamentary elections were held next Sunday and the following political parties participated in the election, for which political party would you vote?
(Likely voters, N=1294)

- Party of Socialists of the Republic of Moldova (Greceanii): 36%
- Political party “Action and Solidarity” (Sandu): 29%
- Our Party (Usatii): 6%
- Political party “Dignity and Truth Platform” (Nastase): 5%
- Party of Communists of the Republic of Moldova (Voronin): 4%
- Democratic Party of Moldova (Plahotniuc): 4%
- European People’s Party of Moldova (Leancă): 1%
- Liberal Party (Ghimpu): <1%
- Liberal Democratic Party (Ciobanu): <1%
- Other: 4%
- None of the parties: 4%
- Will not vote: 2%
- Don’t know/No Answer: 7%
What is your opinion of the following Moldovan politicians or members of the Moldovan government?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Politician</th>
<th>Favorable</th>
<th>Unfavorable</th>
<th>Have not heard of them</th>
<th>Don’t know/No answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Igor Dodon</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maia Sandu</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zinaida Greceanii</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrei Nastase</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renato Usatii</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pavel Filip</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vladimir Voronin</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iurie Leanca</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dorin Chirtoaca</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrian Candu</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viorel Cibotaru</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vlad Plahotniuc</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liliana Palihovici</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mihai Ghimpu</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Which politicians or public persons do you trust the most?  
(Respondents permitted to supply three spontaneous answers)

- Igor Dodon: 41%  
- Maia Sandu: 23%  
- Andrei Nastase: 12%  
- Zinaida Grecianii: 7%  
- Renato Usatii: 7%  
- Vladimir Voronin: 5%  
- Pavel Filip: 4%  
- Vladimir Plahotniuc: 2%  
- Irina Vlah: 2%  
- Iurie Leanca: 1%  
- Marian Lupu: 1%  
- Other: 10%  
- None: 20%  
- Don't know/No answer: 4%
Have you seen any political activists working in your area in the last 12 months?

- **March 2017**: 27% Yes, 70% No, 3% Don't know/No answer
- **September 2016**: 16% Yes, 81% No, 3% Don't know/No answer
- **March 2016**: 30% Yes, 63% No, 7% Don't know/No answer
- **October 2015**: 27% Yes, 66% No, 7% Don't know/No answer
If yes, which political party did the political activists in your area represent?

(Respondents who have seen political activists working in their area, N=406)

- Party of Socialists of the Republic of Moldova (Greceanii): 56%
- Democratic Party of Moldova (Plahotniuc): 34%
- Our Party (Usatii): 25%
- Political party "Action and Solidarity" (Sandu): 16%
- Liberal Party (Ghimpu): 11%
- Political Party "Dignity and Truth Platform" (Nastase): 11%
- Liberal Democratic Party of Moldova (Cibotaru): 7%
- Party of Communists of the Republic of Moldova (Voronin): 6%
- European People’s Party of Moldova (Leancă): 4%
- Christian Democratic People's Party (Ciobanu): 1%
- Other: 3%
- Don’t know/No Answer: 4%
Women and Youth
If there are two candidates running for office and they have the same qualifications aside from the fact that one is a man and one is a woman, which candidate are you more likely to support?
Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: “Politicians do not listen to the needs and ideas of women.”

- Strongly agree
- Somewhat agree
- Somewhat disagree
- Strongly disagree
- Don’t know/No answer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Somewhat agree</th>
<th>Somewhat disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
<th>Don’t know/No answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>March 2017</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 2016</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 2016</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 2015</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: “Politicians do not listen to the needs and ideas of young people.”

- Strongly agree
- Somewhat agree
- Somewhat disagree
- Strongly disagree
- Don’t know/No answer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Survey Date</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Don’t know/No Answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>October 2015</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 2016</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 2016</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 2017</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
International Relations
How would you assess the current relations between Moldova and each of the following countries?

- **European Union**: 66% Good, 20% Neither good nor bad, 10% Bad, 4% Don't know/No answer
- **Romania**: 65% Good, 18% Neither good nor bad, 13% Bad, 4% Don't know/No answer
- **Russia**: 58% Good, 18% Neither good nor bad, 21% Bad, 3% Don't know/No answer
- **Ukraine**: 56% Good, 23% Neither good nor bad, 15% Bad, 6% Don't know/No answer
- **United States**: 53% Good, 24% Neither good nor bad, 11% Bad, 12% Don't know/No answer
Which of these countries do you consider to be the greatest economic partner, economic threat, political partner and political threat for Moldova?

- Economic partner:
  - European Union: 64%
  - Russia: 69%
  - Romania: 51%
  - Ukraine: 42%
  - United States: 40%
  - None: 2%
  - Don't know/No answer: 4%

- Economic threat:
  - European Union: 16%
  - Russia: 30%
  - Romania: 15%
  - Ukraine: 17%
  - United States: 17%
  - None: 2%
  - Don't know/No answer: 4%

- Political partner:
  - European Union: 60%
  - Russia: 64%
  - Romania: 47%
  - Ukraine: 22%
  - United States: 35%
  - None: 3%
  - Don't know/No answer: 6%

- Political threat:
  - European Union: 18%
  - Russia: 33%
  - Romania: 15%
  - Ukraine: 24%
  - United States: 18%
  - None: 12%
  - Don't know/No answer: 16%
If Moldova could only join one international economic union, which one should it be?

- **The European Union**
- **The Customs Union/Eurasian Union**
- **Other**
- **Don’t know/No answer**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>European Union</th>
<th>Customs Union/Eurasian Union</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Don't know/No answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>March 2017</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 2016</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 2016</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 2015</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 2014</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- The European Union is the most popular choice over the years, with the percentage ranging from 38% to 46%.
- The Customs Union/Eurasian Union is also a popular choice, with percentages ranging from 40% to 45%.
- Other options and non-responses have remained relatively stable, with percentages ranging from 3% to 11%.
If a referendum were held today on Moldova joining NATO, how would you vote?

- For Moldova joining NATO
- Against Moldova joining NATO
- Would not vote
- Don’t know/No answer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>For Moldova joining NATO</th>
<th>Against Moldova joining NATO</th>
<th>Would not vote</th>
<th>Don’t know/No answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>March 2017</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 2016</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 2016</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 2015</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 2014</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
What do you think the future of Transnistria should be?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Ordinary region of Moldova, without any autonomy</th>
<th>Autonomy within the Republic of Moldova</th>
<th>A part of the Russian Federation</th>
<th>A part of Ukraine</th>
<th>Independent</th>
<th>Don't know/No answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>March 2017</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>9%</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 2016</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 2016</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 2015</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 2014</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 2014</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 2012</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 2011</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 2011</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 2011</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 2010</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 2010</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>12%</td>
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<td>8%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>February 2010</td>
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<td>17%</td>
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<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 2009</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 2008</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 2008</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 2007</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 2006</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sources of Information
Which of these media outlets do you use to gain political information?

- TV: 89%
- Internet: 45%
- Relatives/Friends: 43%
- Radio: 41%
- Newspapers: 28%
- Social media: 21%
- Leaflets/Mail: 17%
- Billboards: 15%
- Work colleagues: 14%
- Meetings with politicians: 13%
- Magazines: 9%
Which television channels do you watch for political information?

- Prime TV: 44%
- Moldova 1: 34%
- Pro TV: 28%
- Publica TV: 22%
- Jurnal TV: 22%
- Canal 3: 9%
- RTR: 9%
- NTV: 6%
- TV-7: 5%
- TNT: 3%
- Canal 2: 3%
- TVR1: 3%
- Realitatea TV: 2%
- N4: 2%
- CTC: 2%
- Other: 15%
- None: 9%
- Don’t know/No answer: 2%
Which television channels do you watch for entertainment?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Channel</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prime TV</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TNT</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moldova 1</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTC</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RTR</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canal 3</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pro TV</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NTV</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jurnal TV</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV1000</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publica TV</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV-7</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N4</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rossiia</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discovery</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acasa</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know/No answer</td>
<td>7%</td>
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</table>
How often do you use the internet?

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</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>
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<td>40%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>46%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
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<td>1%</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>December 2011</td>
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<td>2%</td>
</tr>
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<td>February 2010</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 2009</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Do you use any of the following social media sites?
(Internet users, N=946)

- Odnoklasniki: 76%
- Facebook: 59%
- Vkontakte: 18%
- Instagram: 18%
- Twitter: 5%
- MoiMir: 4%
- LiveJournal: 3%
- LinkedIn: 1%
- Do not use social media: 13%
Demographics
## Demographics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GENDER</th>
<th>47%</th>
<th>53%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE</th>
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<th>31%</th>
<th>47%</th>
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<td>18-29</td>
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<tr>
<td>30-49</td>
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<td>50 and older</td>
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<td>Primary/Incomp. secondary</td>
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<tr>
<td>General secondary</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational secondary</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher/Incomp. higher</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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</tr>
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<td>Other</td>
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