Public Opinion Survey: Residents of Moldova

September-October 2017



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Detailed Methodology

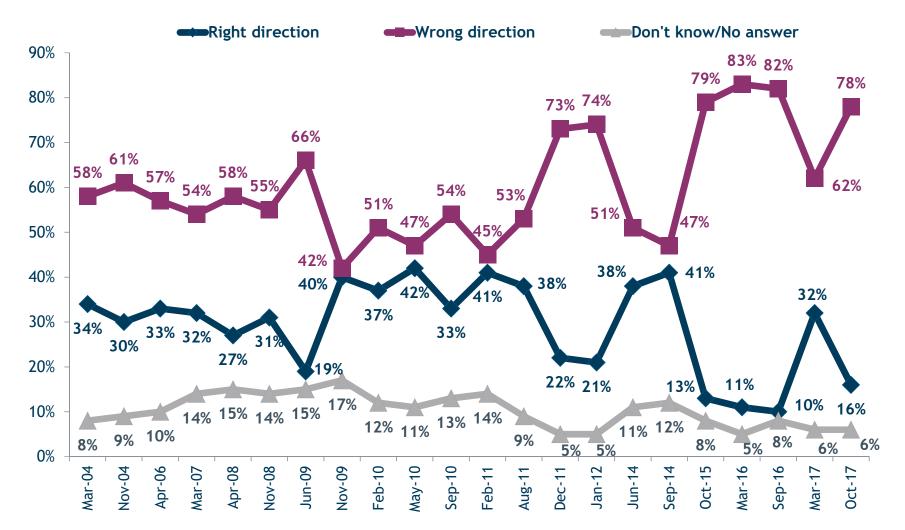
- The survey was coordinated by Dr. Rasa Alisauskiene from <u>Baltic Surveys/The Gallup Organization</u> on behalf of the <u>Center</u> <u>for Insights in Survey Research</u>. The field work was carried out by <u>Magenta Consulting</u>.
- Data was collected throughout Moldova (with the exception of Transnistria) between September 23 and October 17, 2017 through face-to-face interviews in respondents' homes.
- The sample consisted of 1,514 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).
 - Settlements were selected at random.
 - 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.
- Sampling frame: Moldova Statistical Databank. Weighting: Data weighted for 11 regional groups, urban/rural, and gender.
- The margin of error does not exceed plus or minus 2.5 percent.
- The response rate was 65 percent.
- Charts and graphs may not add up to 100 percent due to rounding.
- The survey was funded by the <u>United States Agency for International Development</u>.

Mood of the Country



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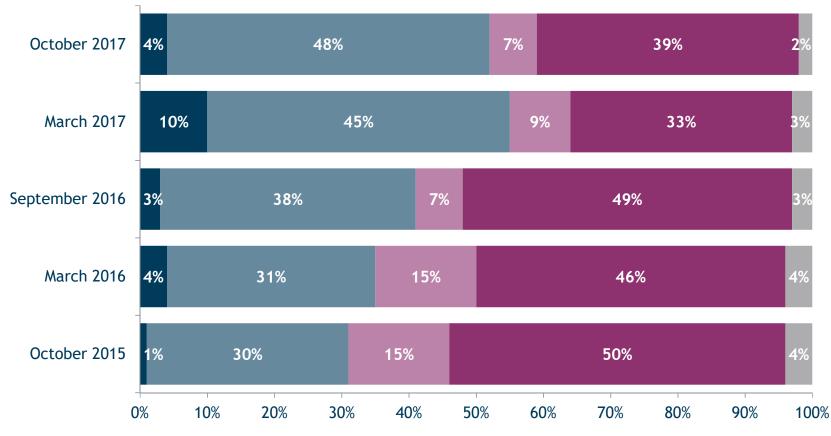
Generally speaking, do you think that things in Moldova are going in the right direction or wrong direction?



*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



■ Improv ■ Worse		lot omewhat			Improved so Worsened a			 Stayed the same Don't know/No answer 				
October 2017		15%			45%			21%		16%	3%	
March 2017	<mark>1</mark> %	16%		3	5%			29 %		15%	3%	
September 2016	<mark>1%6</mark> %	6	25%			30%			35%		3%	
March 2016	<mark>1%6</mark> %	6	23%		3	2%			36%		2 %	
October 2015	4%	16%			34%			4	2%		4%	
September 2014	6%		22%		24%		219	%	19%		7%	
June 2014	4%	20)%		33%			23%		14%	6%	
January 2012	2%	13%		31%			28%		22	.%	4%	
December 2011	2%	15%		20%		31%			29 %		3%	
August 2011	5%		23%		34	4%		17%		18%	3%	
February 2011	3%	2	25%		27%			22%	1	8%	5%	
September 2010	5%	18	3%		28%		26	5%	17	7%	6%	
May 2010	2%	14%		30%			30%		19	9%	5%	
February 2010	2%	11%	24	4%		3	38%		21	1%	4%	
November 2009	<mark>2%</mark> 8	3%		34%			39	%		10%	7%	
June 2009	<mark>1</mark> % 9	%	22%			42%	%		20	%	5%	
November 2008	2%	20%			30%			28%		15%	5%	
April 2008	2%	13%		30%			29 %		20%	6	6%	
March 2007	4%		24%		32%	6		27%	%	10%	4%	
April 2006	3%	2	4%		36	5%			27%	5%	5%	
November 2004	5%		26%			37%			22%	6%	4%	
March 2004	3%	2	3%		37	%			25%	9%	3%	
() %	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%	

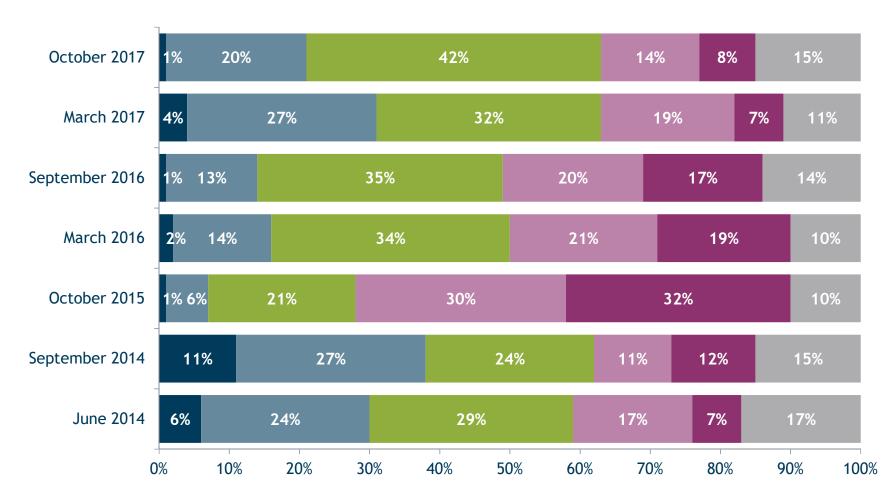
Over the last 12 months, how has the economic situation in Moldova changed?

Over the last 12 months, how has the financial situation of your household changed?

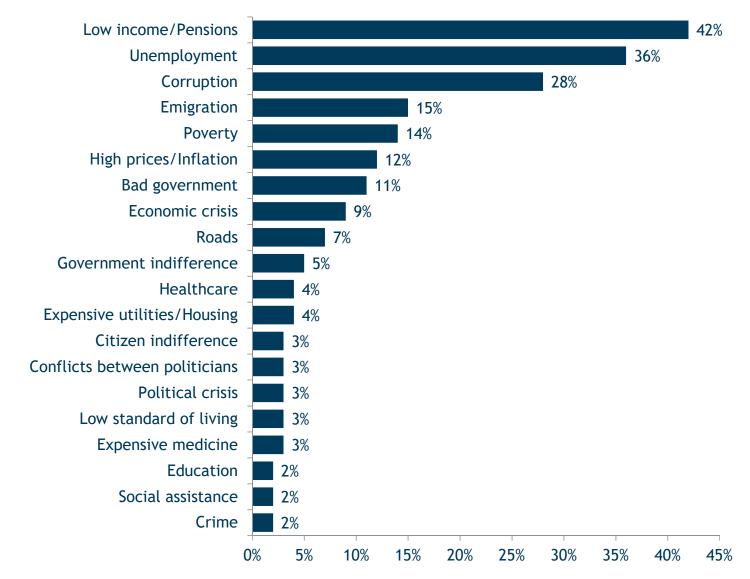
ImproveWorsen					proved sor			 Stayed the same Don't know/No answer 			
October 2017	· [12%			56%				19%	12	2% 1%
March 2017	<mark>1</mark> %	11%			53%				23%	10	<mark>)% 2</mark> %
September 2016	<mark>1%7</mark>	%		42%			24%			23%	2 %
March 2016	<mark>1%</mark> 5	%	32%			3	3%		27	'%	2 %
October 2015	4%	24	%		33%	6			35%		4%
September 2014	4%	21%			38%	,)		19%	6	15%	3%
June 2014	<mark>2%</mark>	18%			45%				24%	9	<mark>% 2</mark> %
January 2012	<mark>2%</mark>	10%		41%				29%		15%	3%
December 2011	<mark>1</mark> %	13%		39%	/ D		2	28%		17%	<mark>2</mark> %
August 2011	4%	18%			43%			18	8%	14%	3%
February 2011	<mark>1</mark> %	16%		34%	%		3	1%		15%	3%
September 2010	4%	14%		3	6%			29%		14%	4%
May 2010	<mark>1</mark> %	11%		42%				29 %		15%	2 %
February 2010	<mark>1%</mark> 8	3%		36%			36%			16%	4%
November 2009	<mark>1%7</mark>	%		46%				34%		9%	<mark>6</mark> 3%
June 2009	<mark>1</mark> % (9%	3	2%			36%			17%	5%
November 2008	<mark>1</mark> %	15%		39	9%			27%		14%	4%
April 2008	<mark>2</mark> %	11%		37%			25%		16%	<u>,</u>	9%
March 2007	3%	19%			41%			2	3%	9%	5%
April 2006	2%	25%				44%			22%	,)	5%1%
November 2004	4%	23	%			47%			20	%	5%1%
March 2004	<mark>2%</mark>	16%			48%				22%	1	0% 1%
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%

In your opinion, how will the economic situation of Moldova change in the next 12 months?

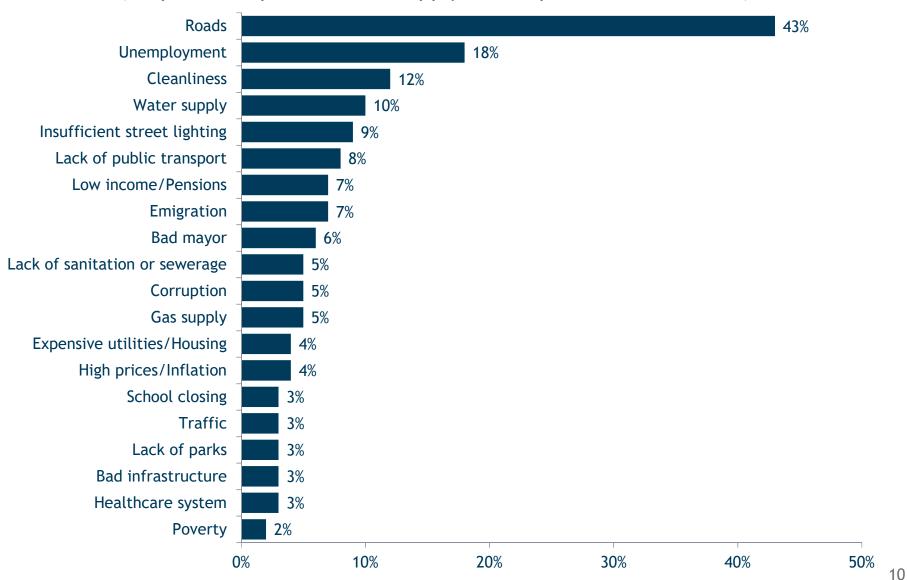
■ Improve a lot ■ Improve somewhat ■ Stay the same ■ Worsen somewhat ■ Worsen a lot ■ Don't know/No answer



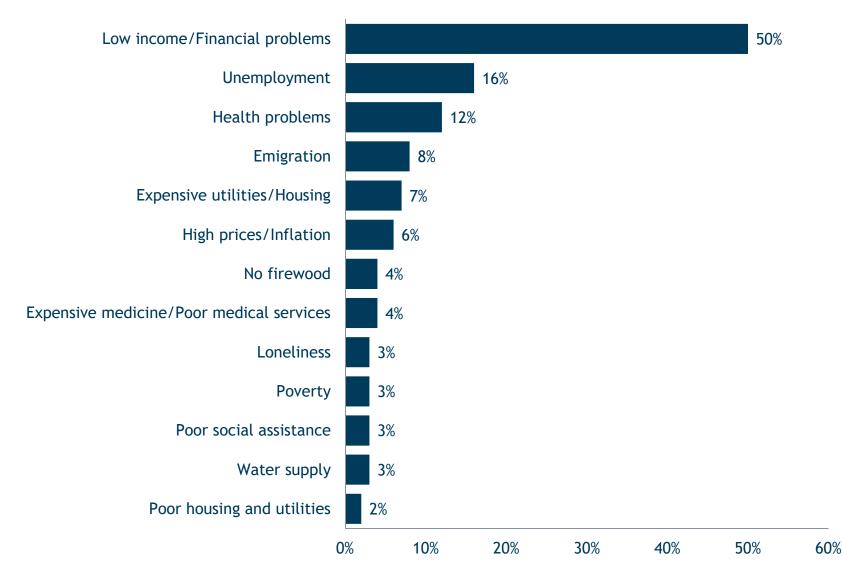
What are the most important problems that Moldova is facing at the moment?



What are the most important problems facing your village/town at the moment?



What are the most important problems facing you and your household?



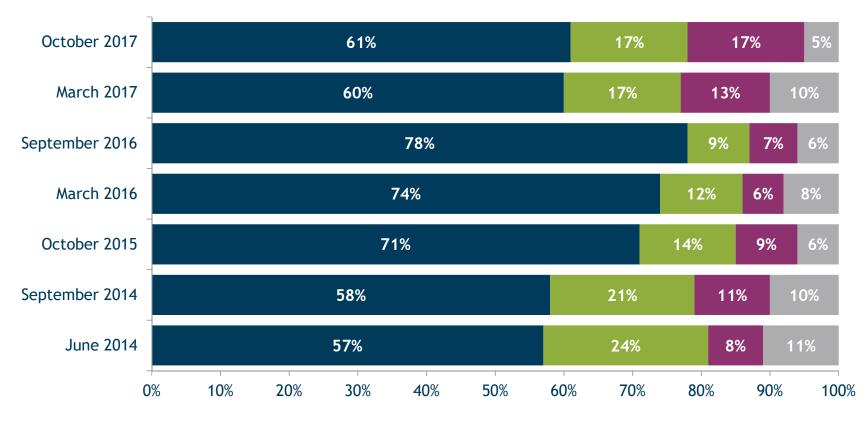
How satisfied are you with the way democracy is developing in Moldova?

■ Very satisfied ■ Somewhat satisfied ■ Somewhat dissatisfied ■ Very dissatisfied ■ Don't know/No answer

October 2017	1%	17%		33	3%			44%	/ 0		5%
March 2017	<mark>2%</mark>	24%	6		34%	34%			37%		3%
September 2016	2%	12%		26%	5			54%			6%
March 2016	3%	11%	2	2%	589			3%			6%
October 2015	<mark>1%7</mark> %	6	23%				662	%			3%
September 2014	9%	ó	3	1%		26%	6		26%		7%
June 2014	4%		4	1%			30%		16%	9	%
January 2012	<mark>1</mark> %	18%			43%			2	7%	11	%
December 2011	3%	23	%		36%				29%	9	%
August 2011	5%		25%		39%				22%	9	%
February 2011	3%		2 9 %		36%				21%)%
September 2010	5%	2	3%		41%				24%	8	8%
May 2010	<mark>2%</mark>	27	7%		40%				21%)%
February 2010	4%	22	%		37%				27%)%
November 2009	3%	2	7%			37%		20%		14%	
June 2009	1%	16%			41%			25%		17%	
November 2008	<mark>2%</mark>	21%			42	%		20	0%	15%	
April 2008	<mark>2%</mark>	17%			41%			24%		16%	
March 2007	5%	21	1%		4	41%		1	8%	15%	
April 2006	1%	25%			43%			1	4%	17%	
November 2004	<mark>2%</mark>	26	%			44%			14%	14%	
March 2004	<mark>2%</mark>	24%	6			44%			17%	13%	6
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%

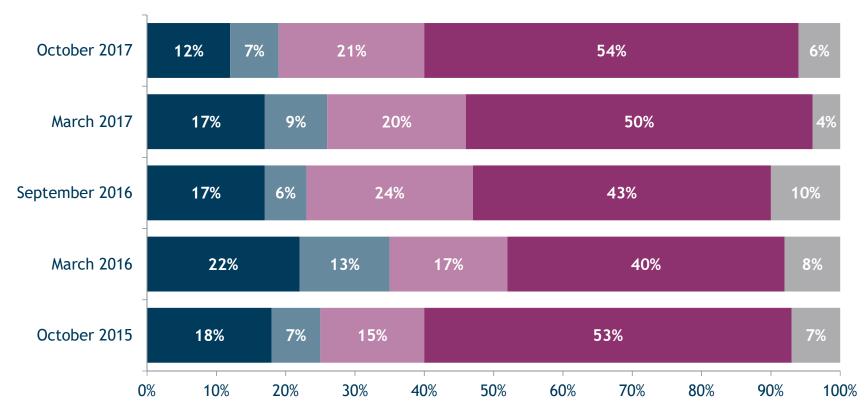
Which of these statements is closest to your point of view?

- 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



If you could choose only one or the other, which is more important to you: a democratic system of governance 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

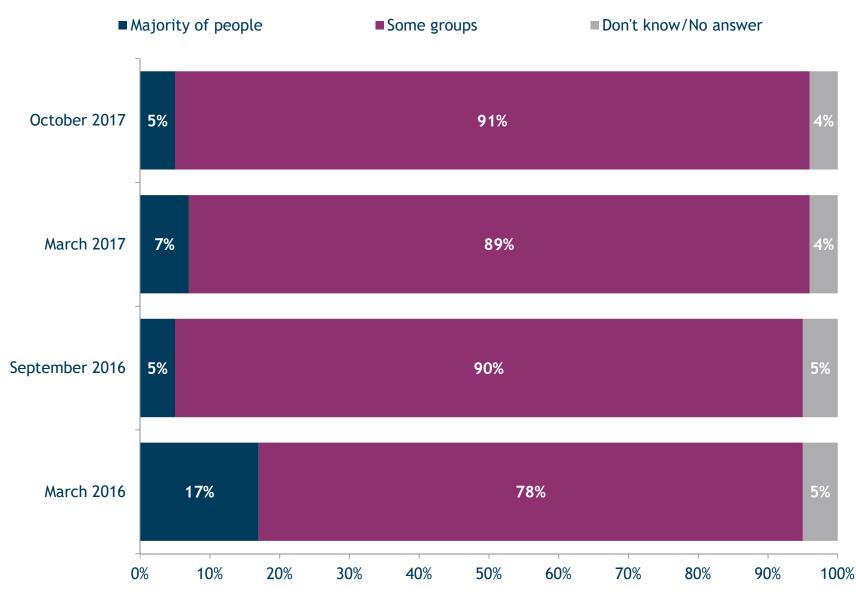


Views on Corruption



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Do you consider the country to be governed in the interest of the majority of people or the interest of some groups?



How big of a problem is corruption in Moldova today?

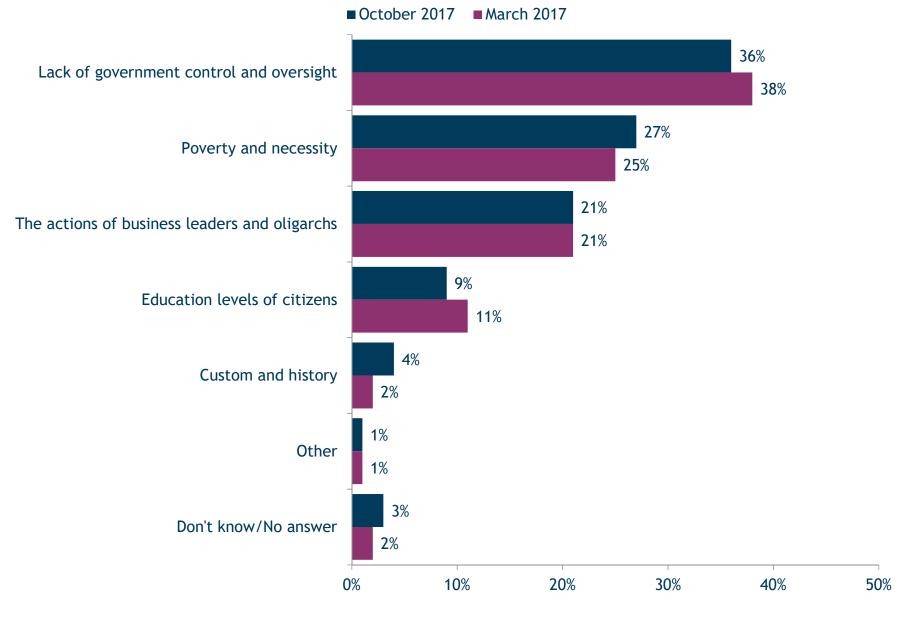
It is a very big problemIt is not an problem at all

It is a big problemDon't know/No answer

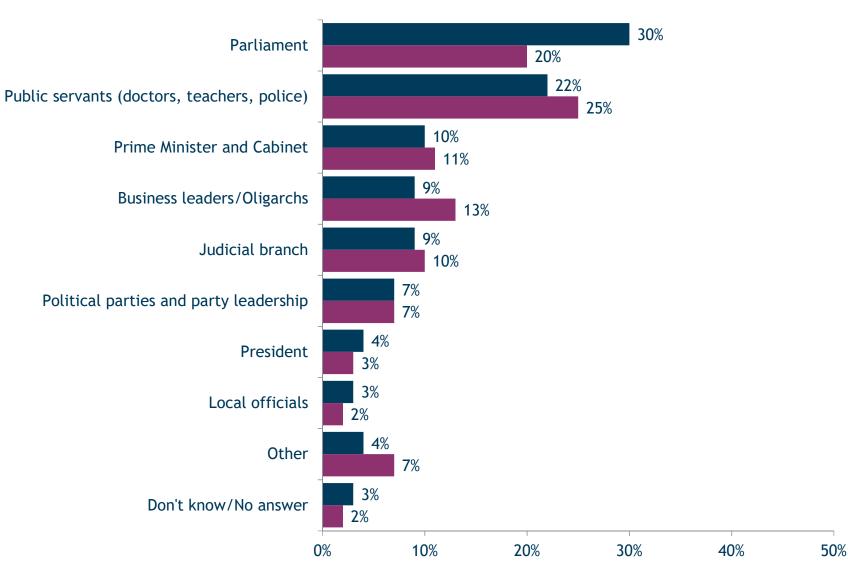
■ It is not a big problem

October 2017					85%	I.				11%	6 <mark>2%2</mark> %	
March 2017					75%				19	9% 3	<mark>%1%2</mark> %	
September 2016					89	9%				7 %1	%1% <mark>2</mark> %	
March 2016					87%	%				8 %1	<mark>%1%</mark> 3%	
October 2015					87%	%				8% 1	<mark>%2%2</mark> %	
September 2014				•	73%				18%	5	%1 <mark>%</mark> 3%	
June 2014					81%					14% 1	<mark>%1%</mark> 3%	
January 2014					73%				21	%	<mark>2%</mark> 3%	
December 2011					80%					15% 2	.%1 <mark>%2</mark> %	
August 2011				61%				2	9%	3%	<mark>1%</mark> 6%	
February 2011				59%				3	3%	3	%1 <mark>%</mark> 4%	
September 2010				57%				31%		4%1 <mark>%</mark> 7%		
May 2010			Ę	53%				37%		4	%1%5%	
February 2010				58%				33	3%	4	% <mark>2%</mark> 3%	
November 2009				61%					31%		3% 5%	
November 2008				62%				2	7%	4%	5 <mark>1</mark> % 6%	
April 2008				60%				25%		5%	10%	
March 2007				64%	,)				26%	2%	8%	
March 2006				669					25%		<mark>3%</mark> 5%	
November 2004				7	2%				24	%	<mark>2%2</mark> %	
C)%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%	

What, in your opinion, is the greatest cause of corruption in Moldova?

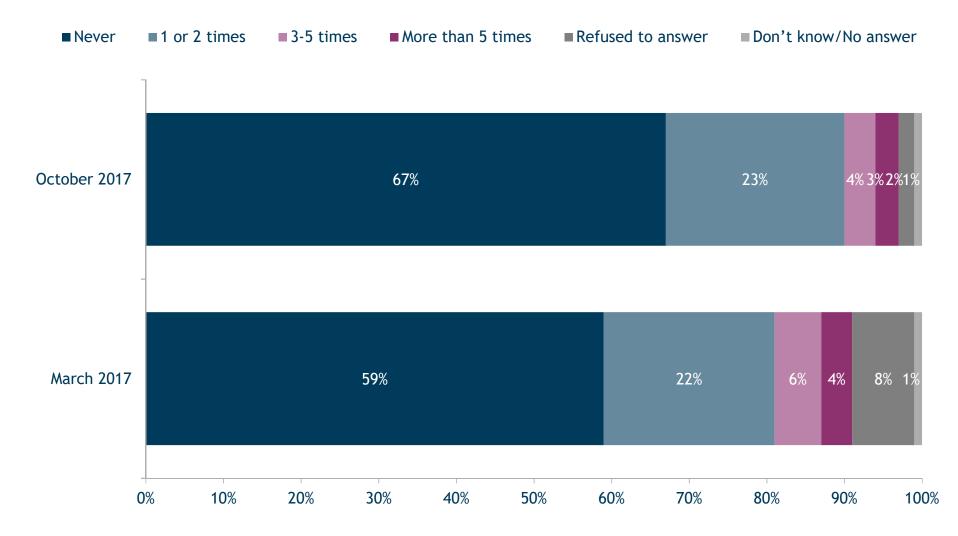


Where, in your opinion, is corruption most present in Moldova?



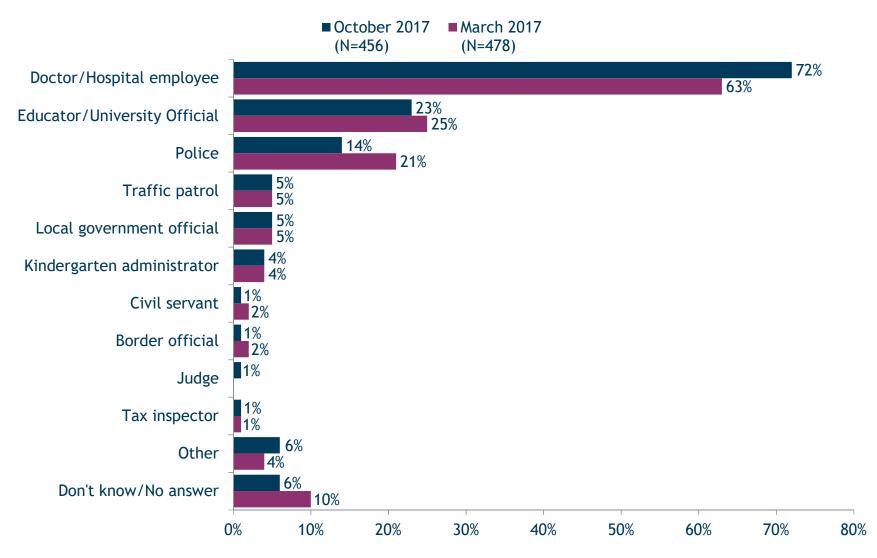
October 2017 March 2017

In the past 12 months, how often, if ever, have you had to do a favor, give a gift or pay a bribe in order to receive services?



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; permitted to supply three spontaneous answers)





Politics



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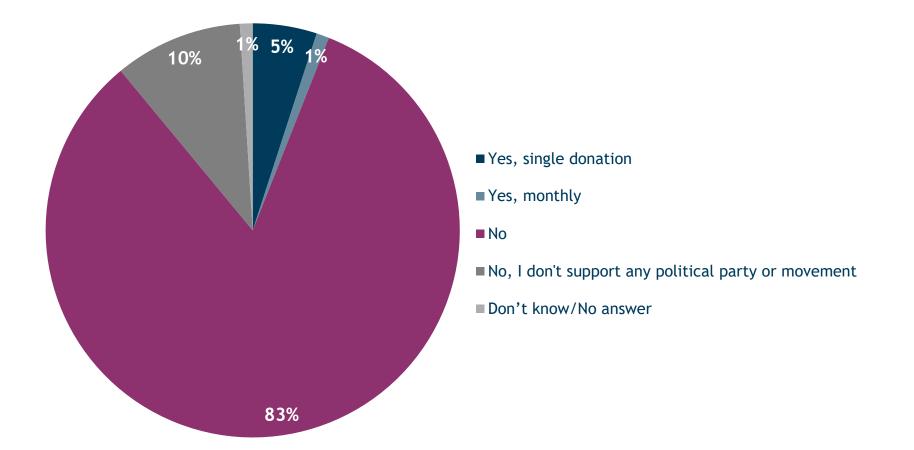
How much interest do you have in politics?

Interested		Medium interest		t 🗖	Not interested			Don't know/No answer			
October 2017	2	.7%		30%				41%		2 %	
March 2017		35%			349	%		31%			
September 2016		30%		29	9%			40%		1%	
March 2016		31%			39%			1%			
October 2015		35%			30%			<mark>2</mark> %			
September 2014		34%			28%			35%		3%	
June 2014		31%		2	9%			39 %		1%	
January 2012		28%		32	%			38%		2 %	
December 2011		37%			3	3%		29 %	6	1%	
August 2011		29%		30%				40%		1%	
February 2011		34%		29%				36%		1%	
September 2010		32%		26%				41%		1%	
May 2010		28%		29%			41%			<mark>2</mark> %	
Feburary 2010		32%		31%			36%			1%	
November 2009		30%		3(0%			39 %		1%	
June 2009		34%			30%			35%		1%	
November 2008	22%	6 0		31%			4	16 %		1%	
April 2008	25	5%		29 %			4	5%		<mark>2</mark> %	
March 2007	21%		29	9%			499	%		<mark>2</mark> %	
March 2006	25	5%		26%			46	%		3%	
November 2004	239	%		28%			48%			1%	
March 2004	2	7%		31%			41%			<mark>2</mark> %	
C	% 10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%	

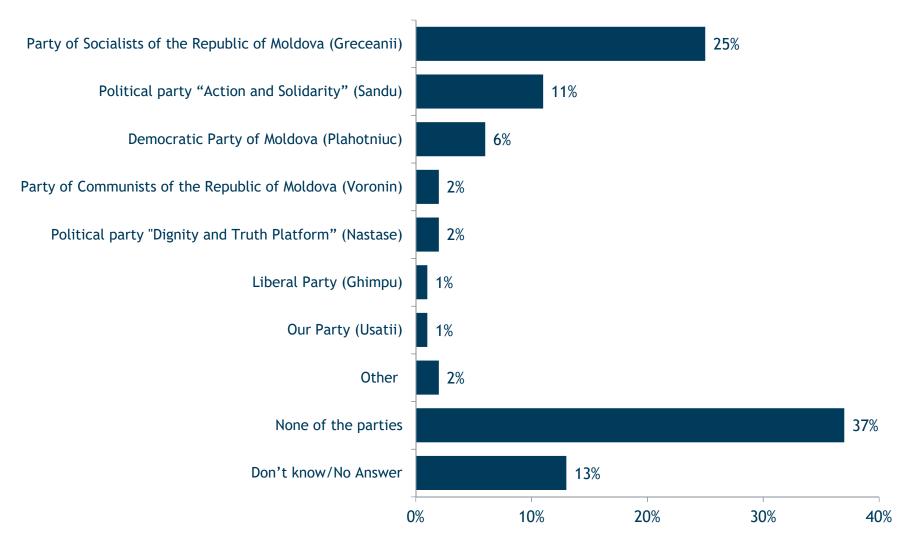
Are people in Moldova afraid to openly express their political views?

■ Majority ar	e afraid	Mai	ny are af	raid	Some ar	e afraid	■ Nobo	dy is afrai	d ∎Do	on't know	/No answe
October 2017			43%				28%		12%	1	5% 2%
March 2017		24%			26%		27%			19%	3%
September 2016		39%		26%		%	17%		15	5% <u>3</u> %	
March 2016		42%					26%	26% 1		9% 11	
September 2014	17%	6		24%			30%	30%		17%	
June 2014		27%			30%			24%		155	% 4%
January 2012		28 %			3	32%		28%			9 % 3%
December 2011		319	%	26%		.6%		23%		16%	6 4%
August 2011		3	4%			31%	31%		18%	10%	6 7%
February 2011		25%		30		0%		22%		18%	5%
September 2010		319	%		27%			19%		17%	6%
May 2010		25%			25%		2	24%		17%	8%
February 2010		30%	6		27%		24%			14%	6 5%
November 2009		30%	6			32%		22%		10	% 6%
June 2009		30%	6			29%		19%		13%	9%
November 2008		26%			28%			24%		16%	6%
April 2008		29 %)		27	%		22%		14%	8%
March 2007		28 %			27%	6		20%		15%	10%
April 2006		23%		32%				26%		14%	6 5%
November 2004	_	25%			31%			25%		14%	6 5%
March 2004		27%			27%			25%		16%	6 4%
0	0% 10)%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80	% 9	0% 10

Would you be willing to donate to the political party or political movement you support?



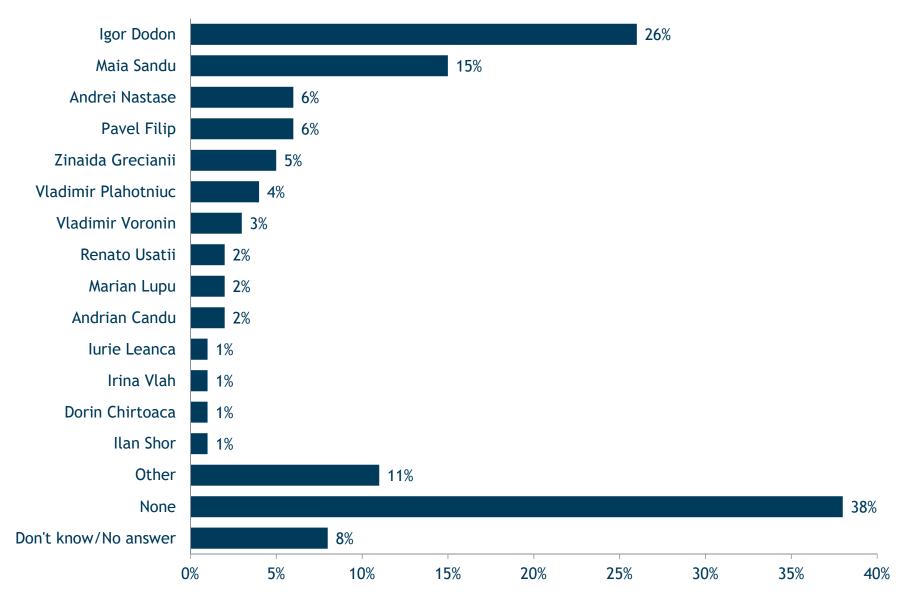
Which political party or political movement can most successfully solve the economic and political problems Moldova is facing?



What is your opinion of the following Moldovan politicians or members of the Moldovan government?

	Favorable	Unfavor	able	Have n	■ Don'	on't know/No answer					
Igor Dodon		49 %	6				489	%		2 %	
Maia Sandu		39%					56%		<mark>2</mark> % 3%		
Pavel Filip		38%				54	4%		<mark>4%</mark> 4%		
Zinaida Greceanii	36%					53%			5%	6%	
Andrei Nastase	31%						8%	6%			
Dorin Chirtoaca	29		58%						7%		
Vladimir Voronin	27	27%						1 <mark>%</mark> 4%			
Andrian Candu	24%	5			58%					5%	
lurie Leanca	23%				66%					5%	
Renato Usatii	22%					71%				<mark>3%</mark> 4%	
Ilan Shor	19%				64%				11%	6%	
Vlad Plahotniuc	16%		78%							<mark>2%</mark> 4%	
Valentina Buliga	14%		61%						9%	6%	
Mihai Ghimpu	12%		84%							<mark>1%</mark> 3%	
C	% 10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100	

Which politicians or public figures do you trust the most? (Respondents permitted to supply three spontaneous answers)



What is your opinion of each of the following institutions?

■ Favorable	Unfavora	able	Don't know/No answer				
Moldovan Orthodox Church		65%		26%	9%		
Romanian Orthodox Church	5	9%		28%			
Army	57	7%		35%	8%		
Moldovan mass media	52%			8%			
Local authorities	49%			4%			
Education system	48%		46%				
Police authorities	40%		55%	2	5%		
International Monetary Fund	39%		37%		24%		
President's Office	38%		58%				
Healthcare system	36%		60%		4%		
Central Bank	32%		50%		18%		
Moldovan Government	29%		67%		4%		
Central Electoral Commission	28%		53%		18%		
Courts of justice	23%		63%		14%		
Moldovan Parliament	19%		76%		4%		
Political parties	14%		81%		5%		
0%	20%	40%	60%	80%	1009		

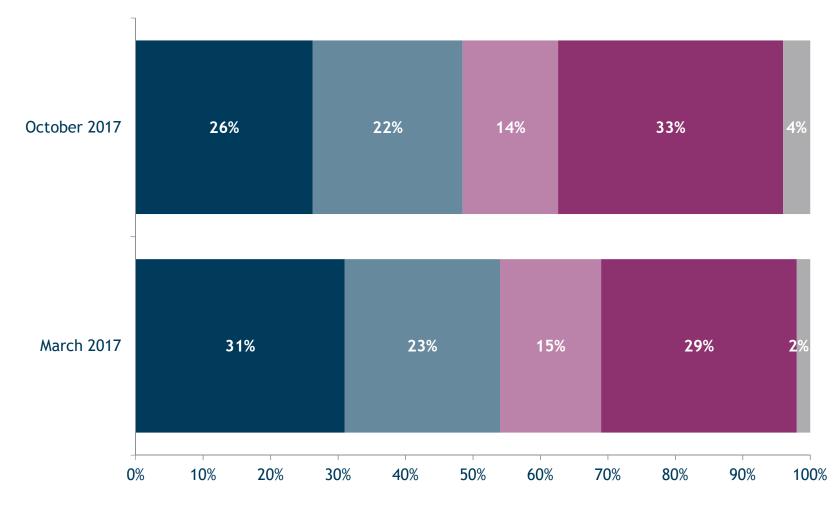
Attitudes Toward the President, Government and Local Authorities



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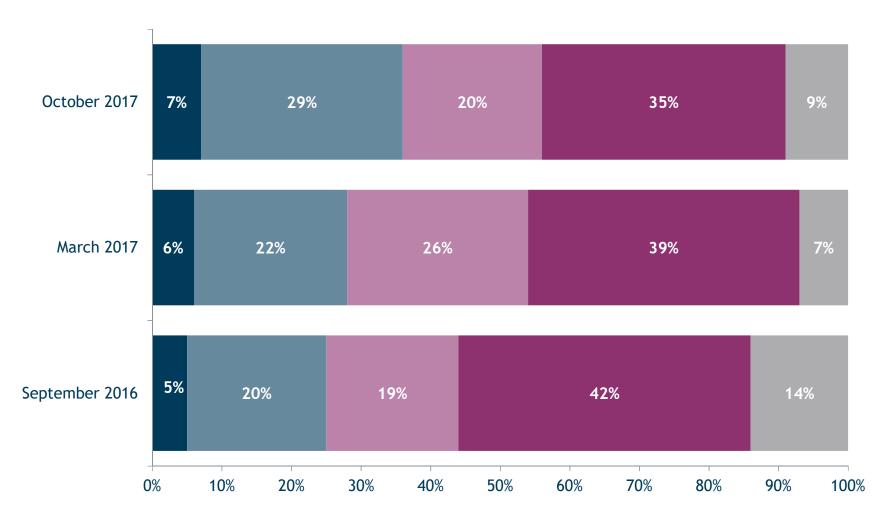
Do you approve or disapprove of the activities of the President of Moldova Igor Dodon?

■ Strongly approve ■ Somewhat approve ■ Somewhat disapprove ■ Strongly disapprove ■ Don't know/No answer

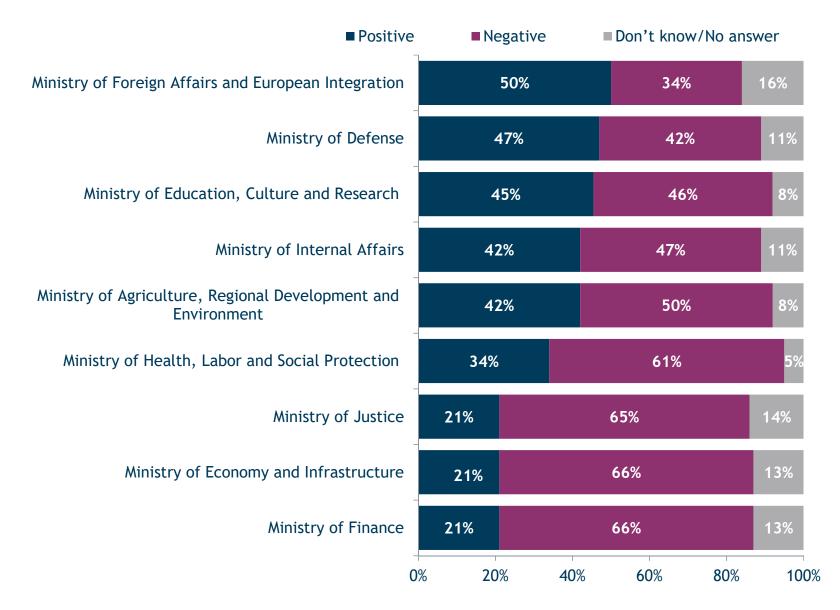


Do you approve or disapprove of the Filip government?

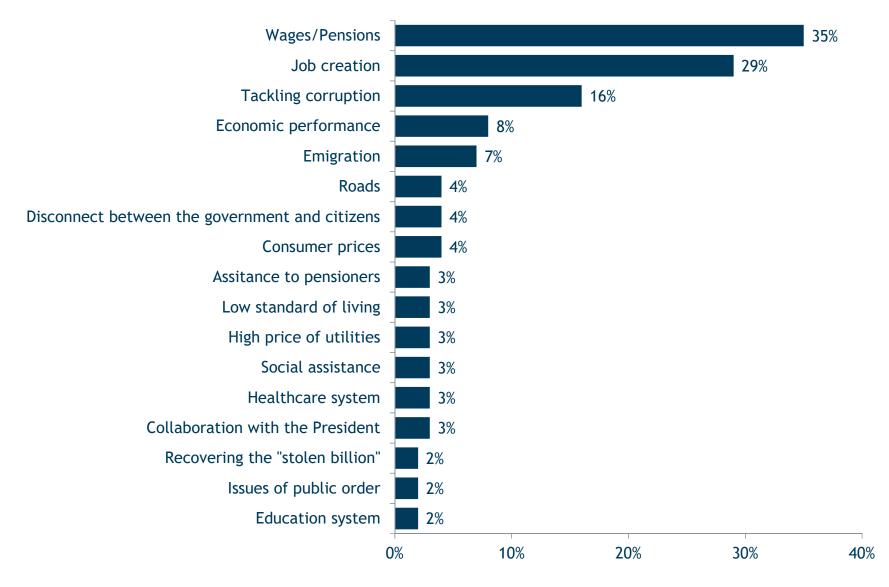
Strongly approve Somewhat approve Somewhat disapprove Strongly disapprove Don't know/No answer



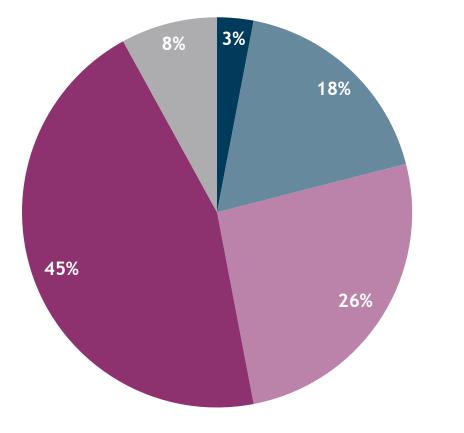
What is your opinion of the activities of each of the following Moldovan ministries?



What are the most important problems that the Filip government must solve?

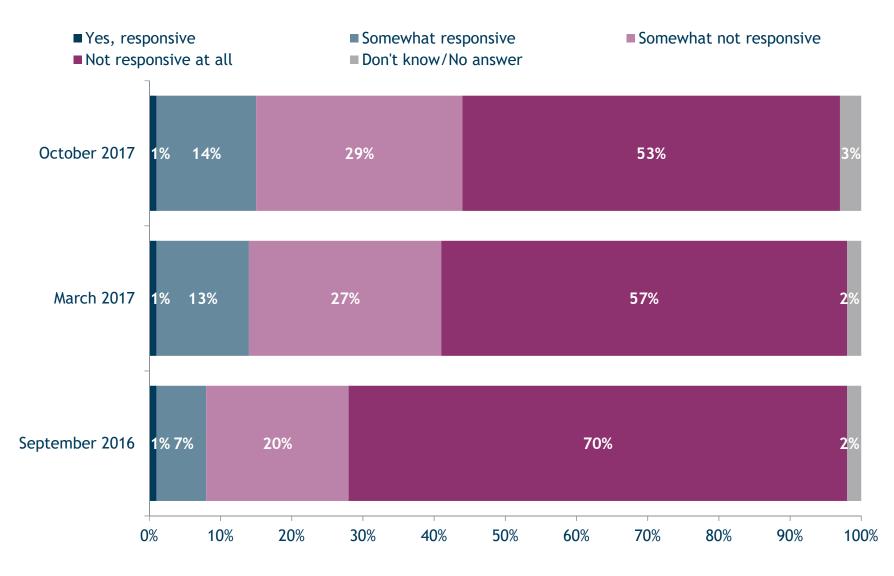


Do you approve or disapprove of the parliamentary majority led by the Democratic Party?

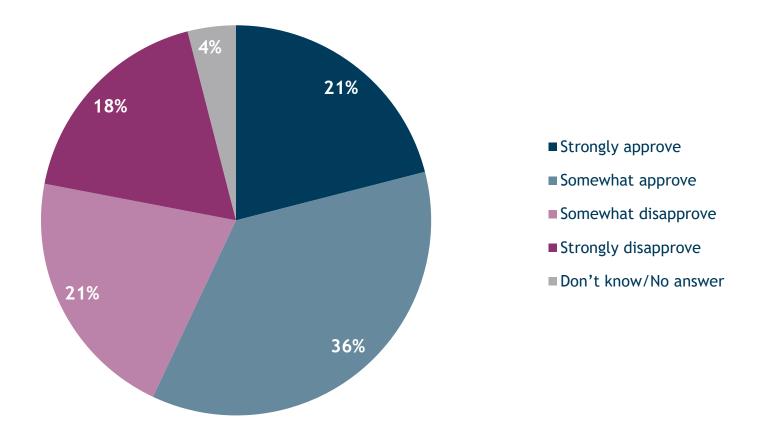


Strongly approve
Somewhat approve
Somewhat disapprove
Strongly disapprove
Don't know/No answer

Do you think that the Moldovan Parliament is responsive to the needs of citizens like you?



Do you approve or disapprove of the activities of your local government (i.e. mayor, local councilors and *raion* councilors)?



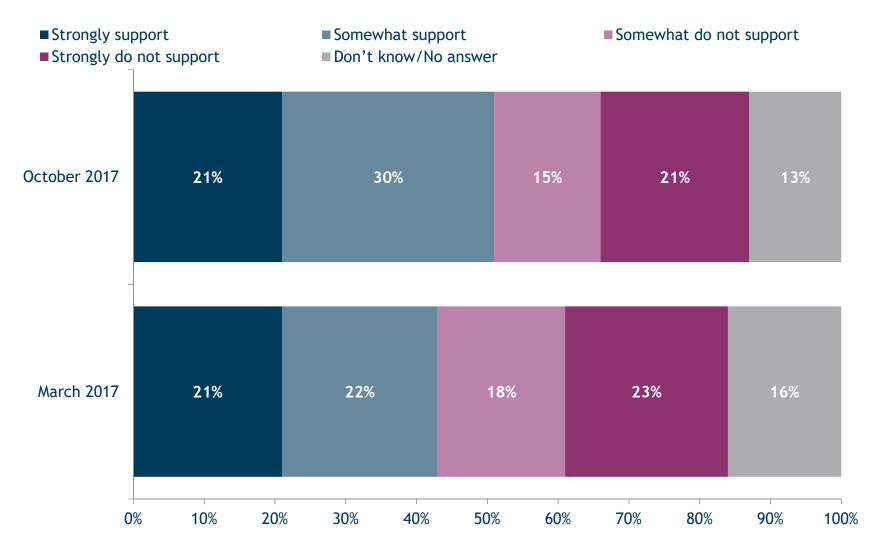
*Below the central government, Moldova is divided administratively into 3 municipalities, 2 autonomous regions and 32 districts which are referred to as *raions*. The *raions* are governed by a locally-elected council.

Parliamentary Elections

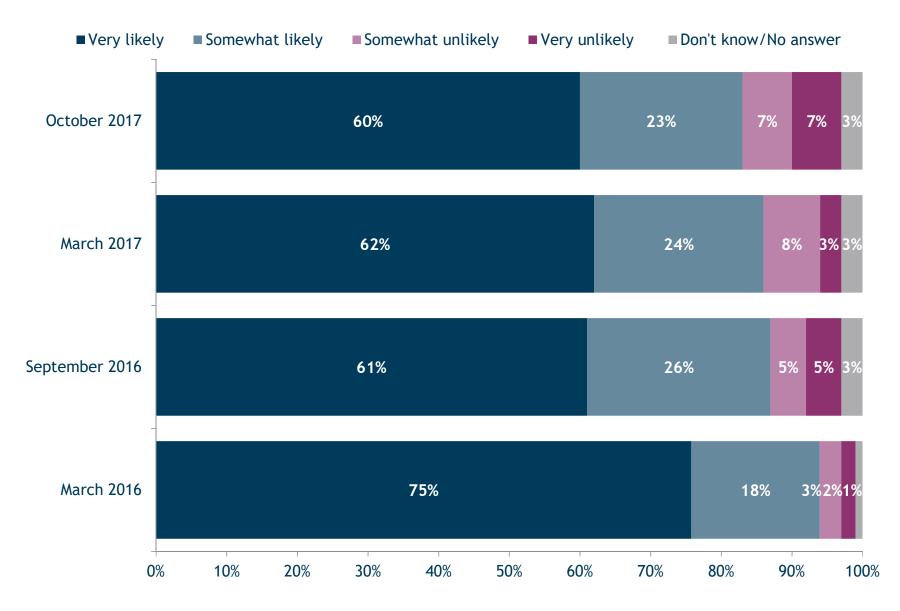


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What is your opinion of the mixed election system, in which half the deputies are elected on party lists and half in single-mandate constituencies?

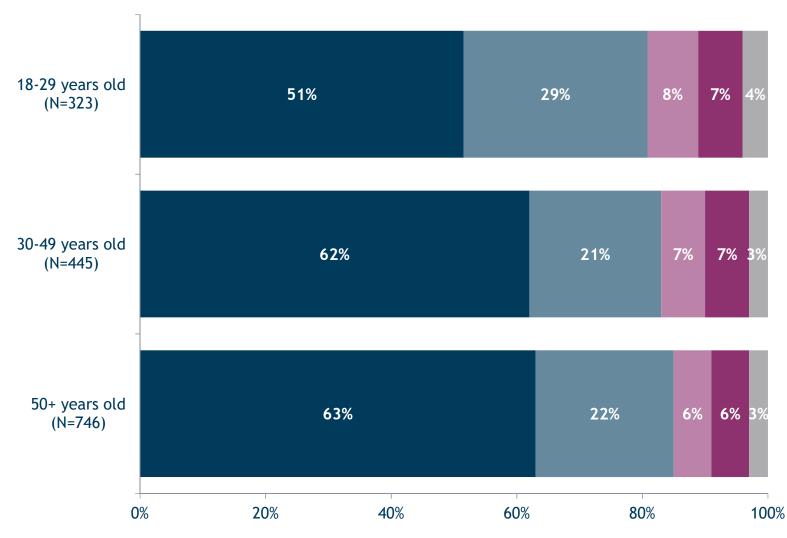


How likely, if at all, are you to vote in the next parliamentary elections?

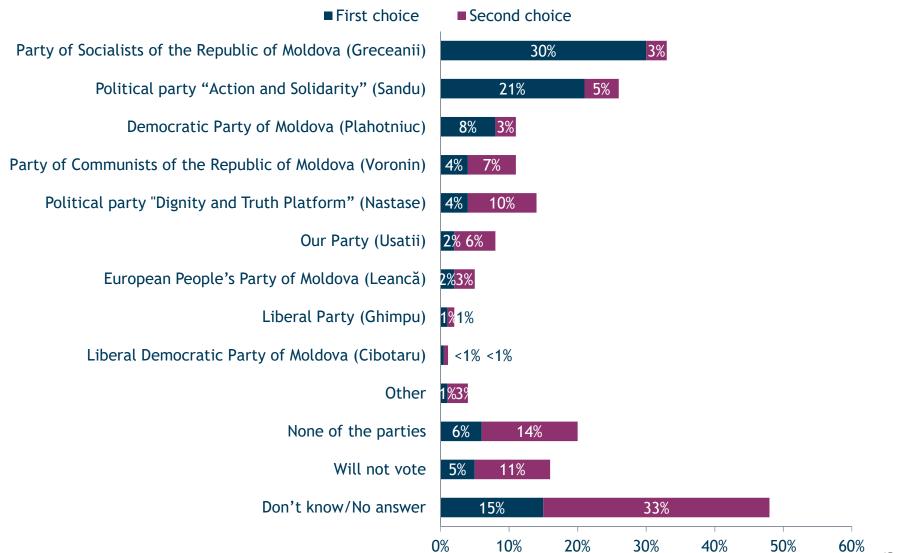


How likely, if at all, are you to vote in the next parliamentary elections? (Disaggregated by age)

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



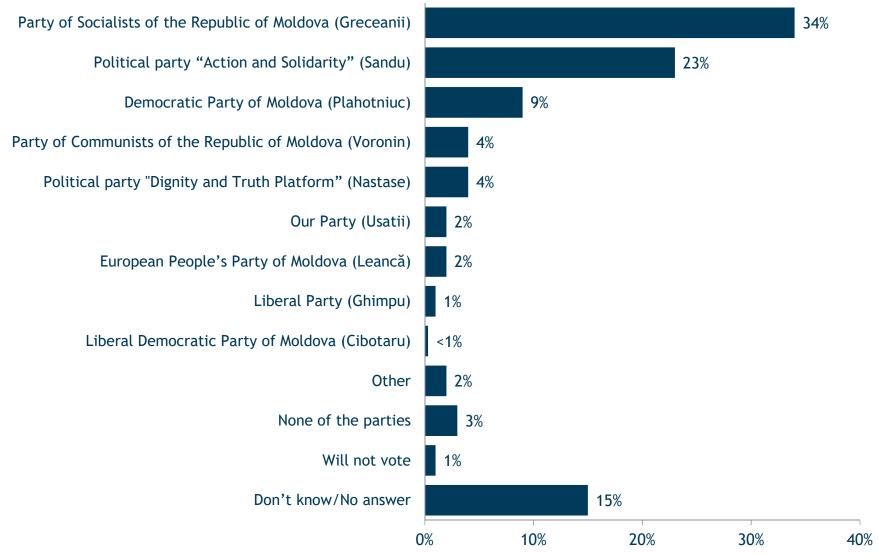
If parliamentary elections were held next Sunday and the following political parties participated in the election, for which political party would you vote?



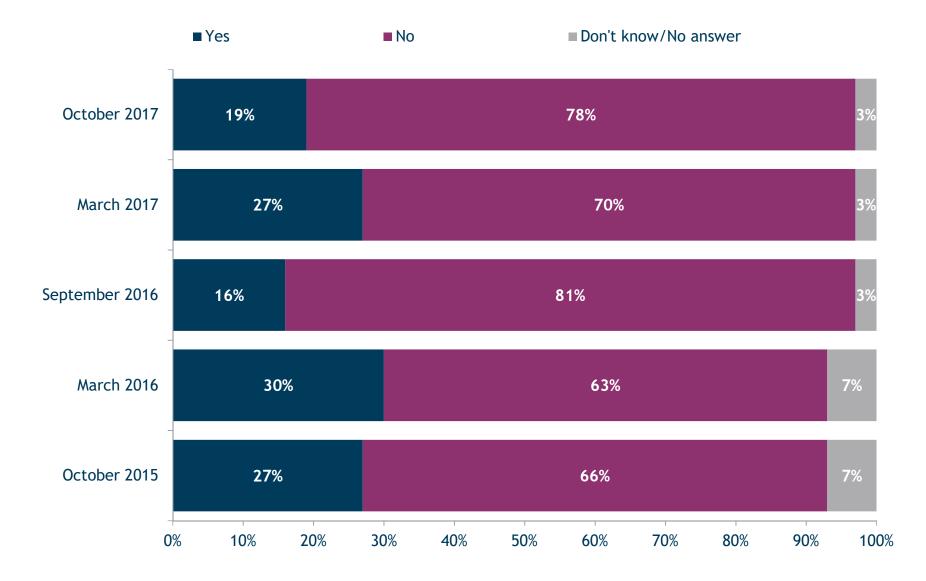
42

If parliamentary elections were held next Sunday and the following political parties participated in the election, for which political party would you vote?



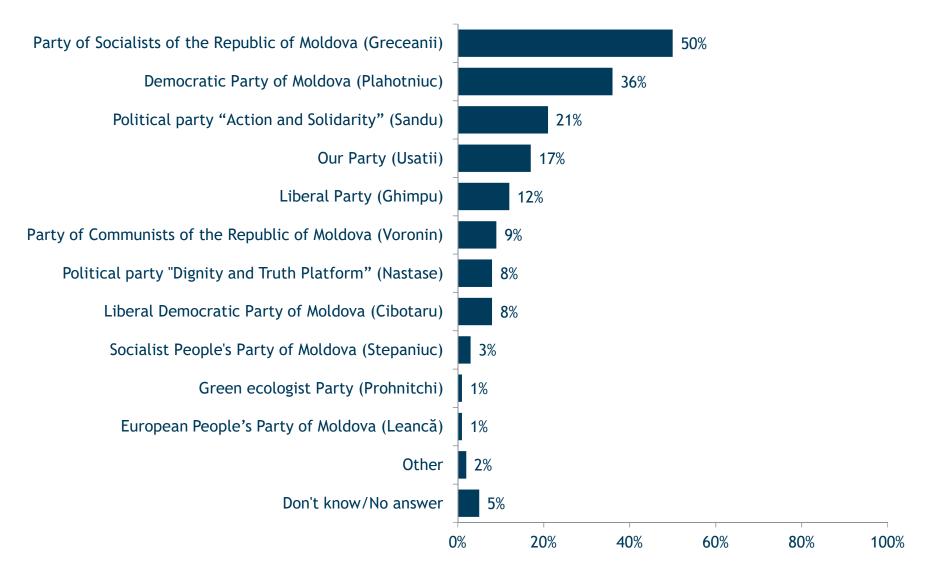


Have you seen any political activists working in your area in the last 12 months?



If so, which political party were the political activists in your area from?

(Respondents who have seen political activists working in their area: N=296)

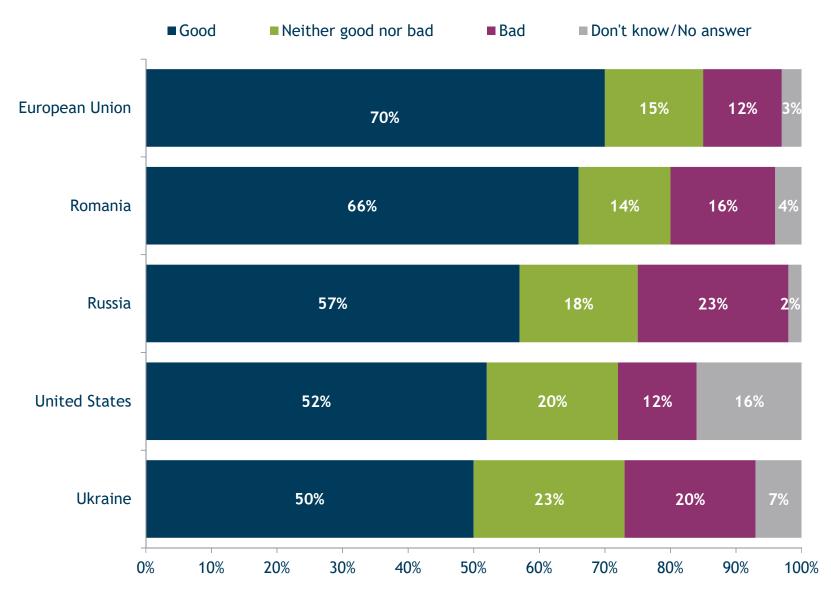


International Relations

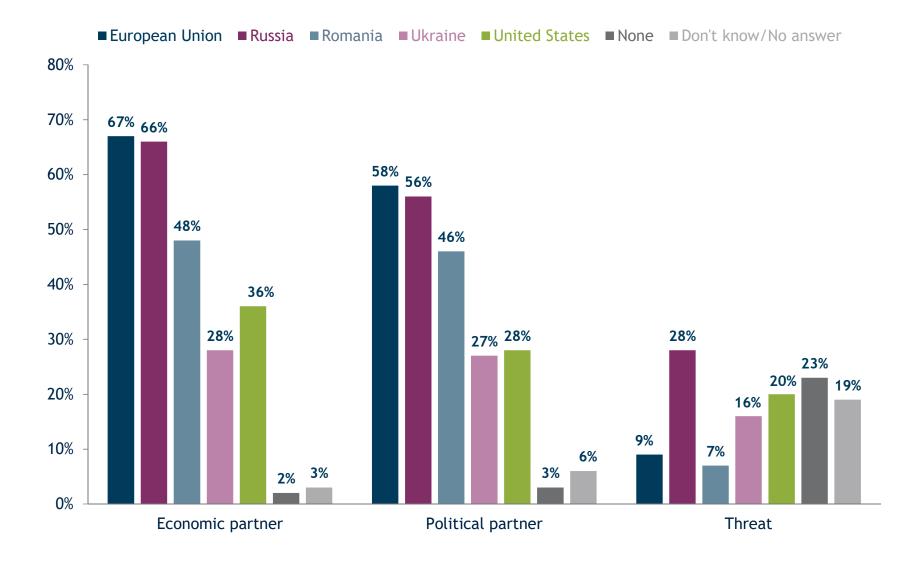


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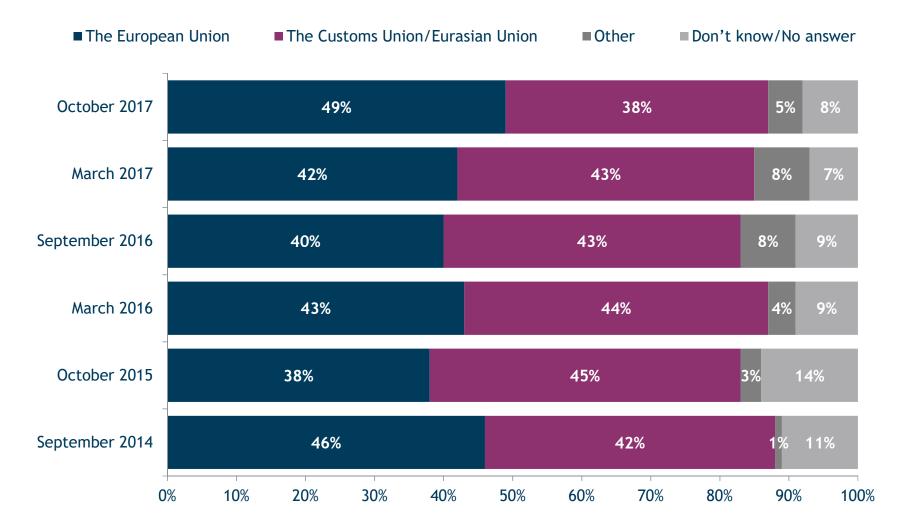
How would you assess current relations between Moldova and each of the following countries?



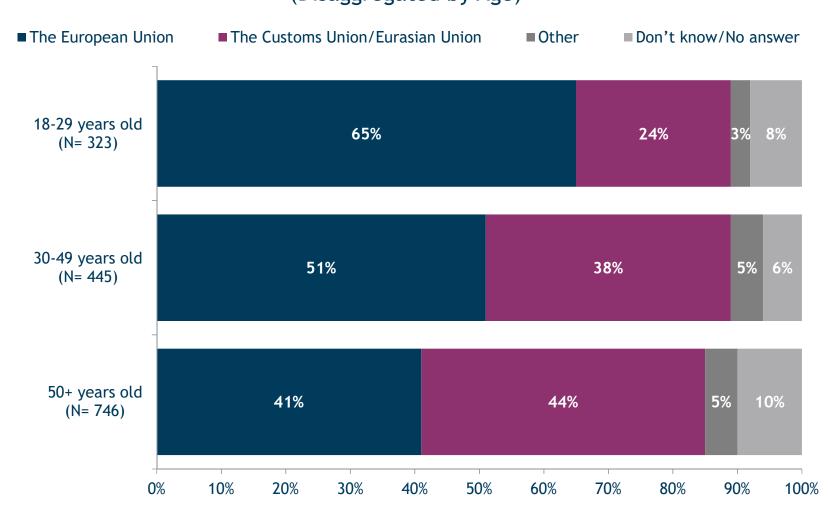
Which of these countries do you consider to be the greatest economic partner, political partner and threat for Moldova?



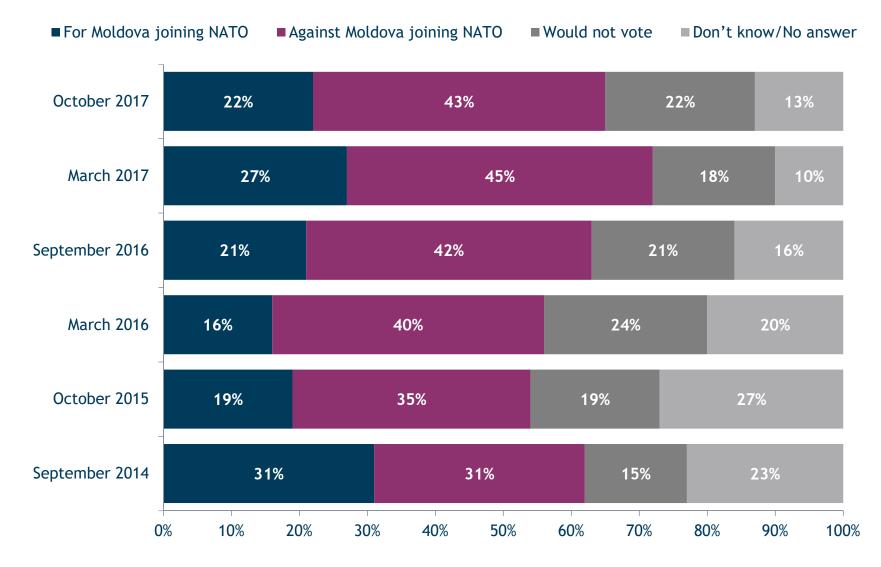
If Moldova could only join one international economic union, which one should it be?



If Moldova could only join one international economic union, which one should it be? (Disaggregated by Age)



If a referendum were held today on Moldova joining NATO, how would you vote?



What do you think the future of Transnistria should be?

■ An ordinary region of Moldova, without any autonomous status ■ An autonomous entity within the state of Moldova A part of the Russian Federation

Become independent

A part of Ukraine

Don't know/No answer

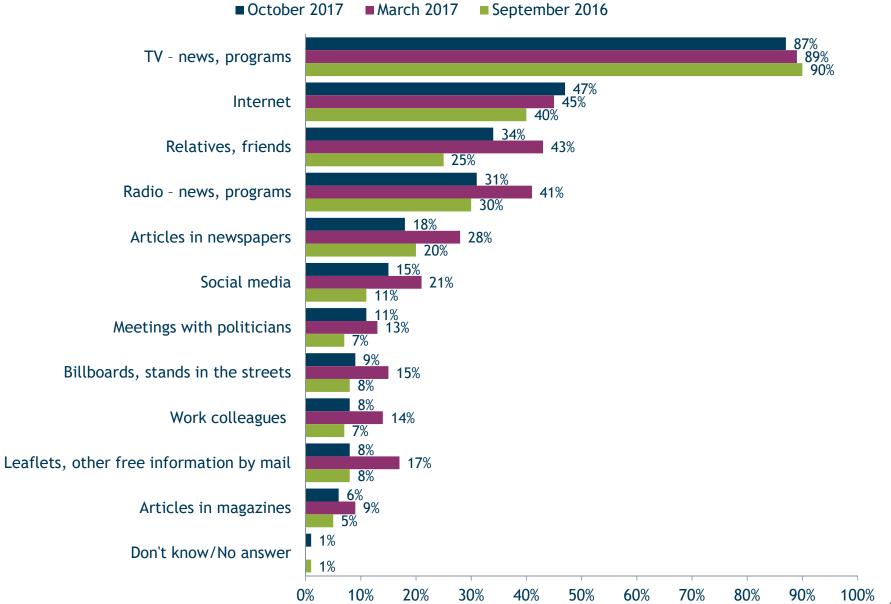
October 2017				7	0%				15%	3%	7%	5%
March 2017				60%				23%		4%	9 %	3%
September 2016		60%					24%	3%	7%	6%		
March 2016			482	%			26%		7% 1	<mark>% 1</mark> 3	%	5%
October 2015				56%				26%		8%	2% 5°	<mark>% 3</mark> %
September 2014				60%				15%	8%	2%	11%	4%
June 2014				672	%			1	6%	7%	1 <mark>% 6</mark> %	6 3%
January 2012		66%						16	%	7% > 1	% 7%	4%
December 2011				66%	%			1	7%	6%	1 <mark>%</mark> 5%	6 4%
August 2011				61%				20%		6% 1 <mark>%</mark>	8%	4%
February 2011				60%				18%	5%	> <mark>1% 8</mark> %	5	9%
September 2010				65%)			16%	6	3% <mark>1</mark> % 79	%	8%
May 2010		72%							12%	2% > <mark>1</mark> %	8%	6%
February 2010		68%							17%	4% 1	<mark>%</mark> 5%	5%
November 2009		69%							18%	2%1	% 5%	6%
November 2008	_	68%							19%	1%>1	% 4%	7%
April 2008		65%						2	.1%	2 <mark>% 1</mark>	<mark>% 4%</mark>	7%
March 2007				61%				21%		3% 4%	11	%
April 2006		1			80%		I	I		12%	1% <mark>2</mark>	<mark>%</mark> 4%
C) %	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	; 9	90%	100

Sources of Information

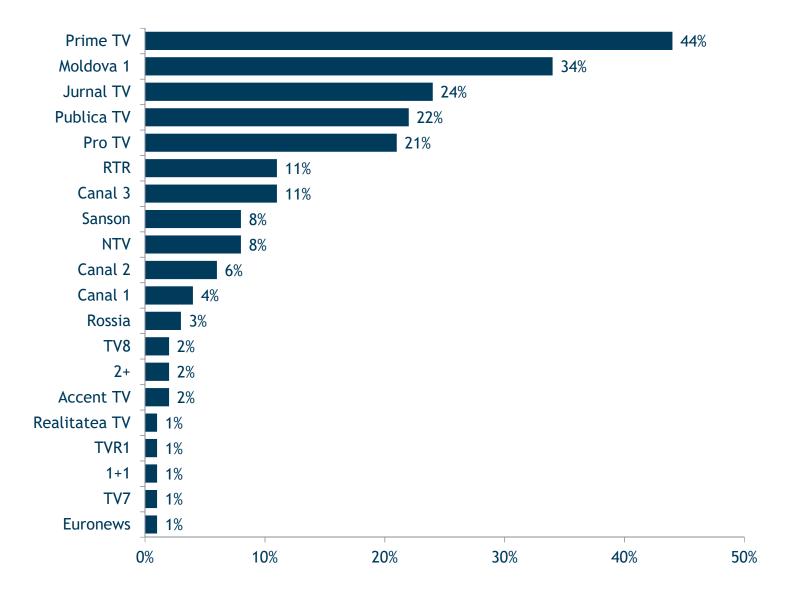


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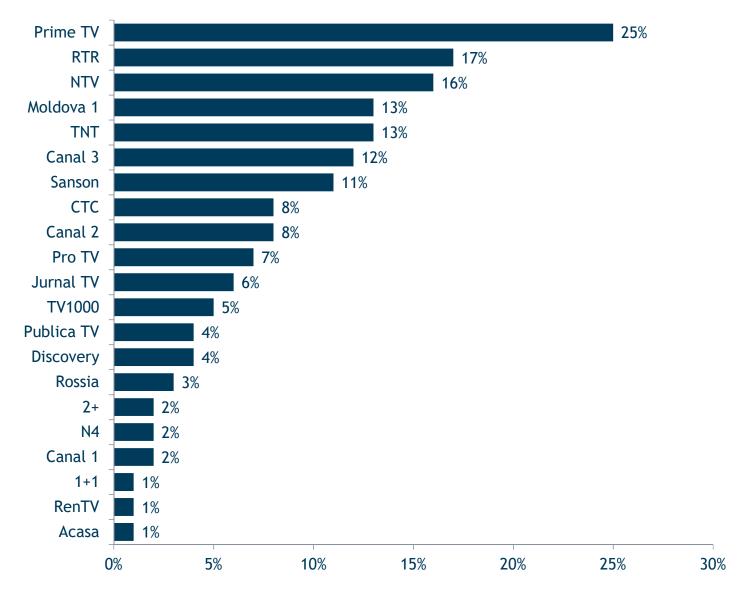
Which of these sources do you use to gain political information?



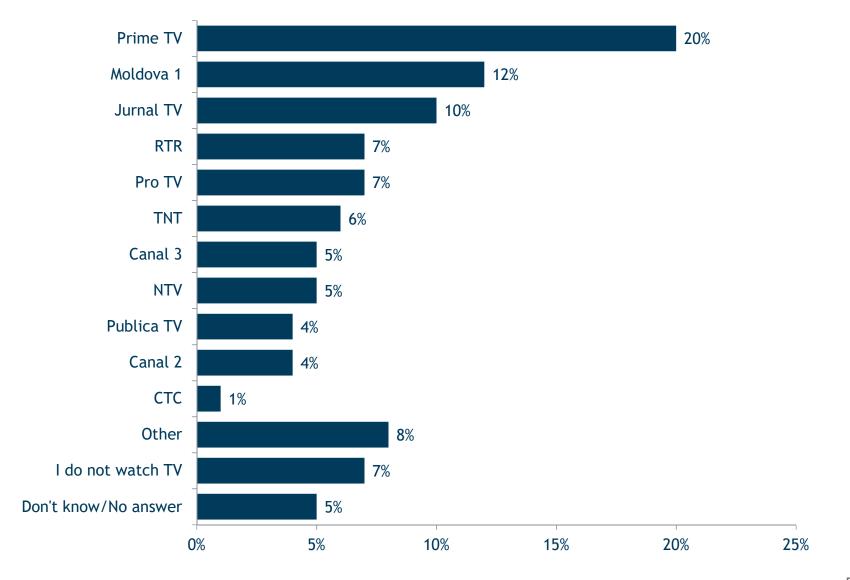
Which television channels do you watch for political information? (TV channels mentioned at least by 1% of respondents)



Which television channels do you watch for entertainment? (TV channels mentioned at least by 1% of respondents)



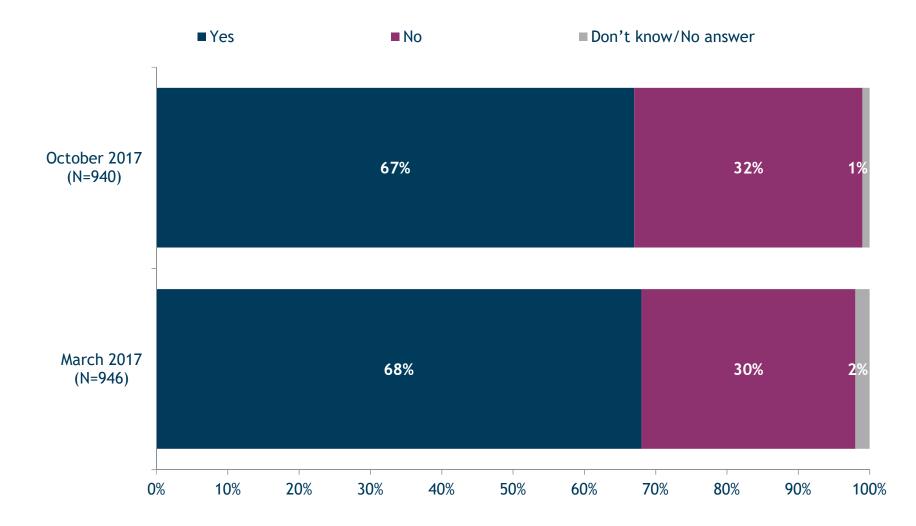
If you had to choose one, which of the following channels do you watch most of the time?



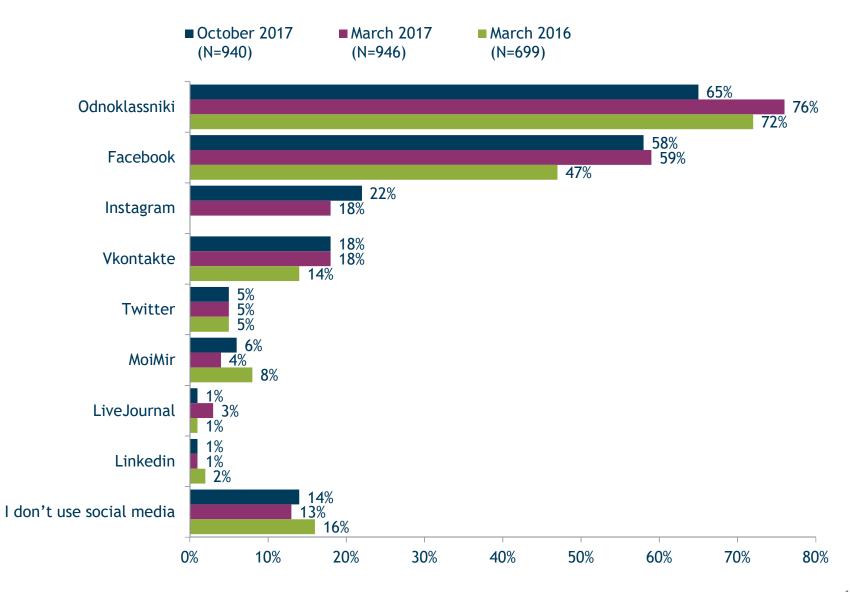
How often do you use the internet?

 Every day Less often 		■ 5-6 days a week ■ Never						days a wee t know/No		1-2 days a week			
October 2017			46	5%	4% <mark>4%</mark> 3% 5%					38%			
March 2017	_	40%					6% 6 %	3% 6%		37%			
September 2016	-		38%			6%	5% 3% 5	5%		42%		1%	
March 2016	-		35%		6%	6 %	6 <mark>3% 8</mark>	%		41%		1%	
October 2015	_	34%					4% 4%			46%			
September 2014	_	33%					6% 4% <mark>3%</mark>				47%		
June 2014	_	32%				6 %	4% <mark>3%</mark>		48	8%		1%	
January 2012		23%		4% 4% 4	!%	11%			52%			2%	
December 2011	_	23%		4% 4% 4	% 8	%			56%			2%	
August 2011	1	8%	6%	7%	6%	14	%		45%	,)		4%	
February 2011	17	7%	6%	8%	5%	12%			51%	,)		1%	
September 2010	1	8%	5%	5% 6%	1	1%			51%			3%	
May 2010	13%	6 5	5% 8%	7%	1	3%			52%			2%	
February 2010	15	%	5% 7	6%	1	2%			48%			6%	
November 2009	12%	2%	4% 6%	12%					59%			4%	
()%	10%	20%	30%	4	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%	

Do you own a smart phone which can access the internet? (Respondents who use the internet)



Do you use any of the following social media sites? (Respondents who use the internet)

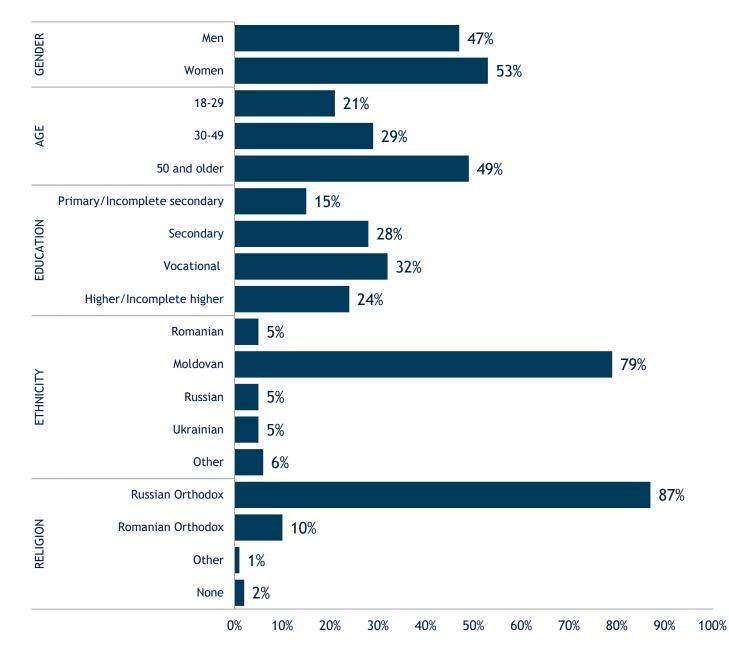


Demographics



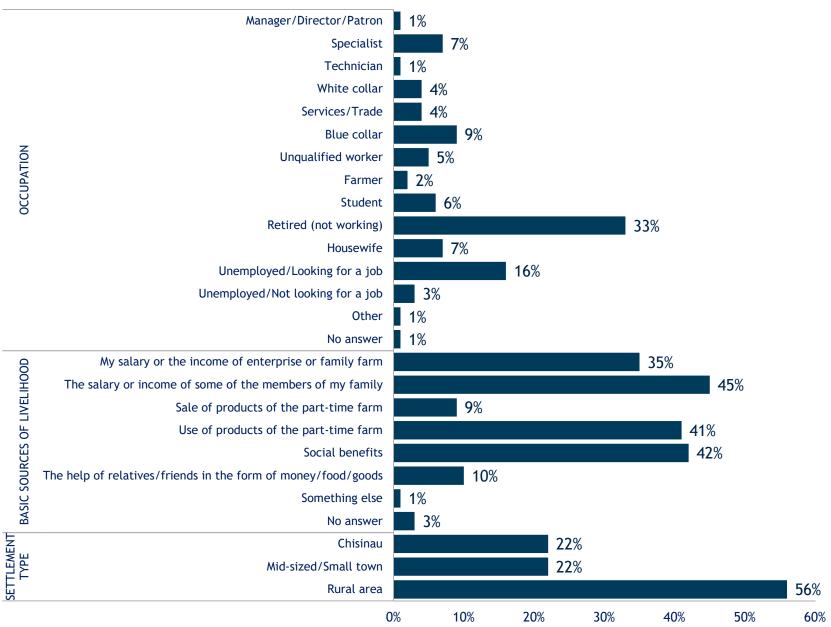
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Demographics



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Demographics



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