Detailed Methodology

• The survey was coordinated by Dr. Rasa Ališauskienė from the public opinion and market research company, 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 September 1-23, 2016 through face-to-face interviews at respondents’ homes.

• The main sample consisted of 1,516 permanent residents of Moldova older than the age of 18 and eligible to vote. The survey also contained an oversample in the capital of Chisinau. It is representative of the general population by age, gender, education, region and size of the settlement.

• Multistage probability sampling method was used with the random route and next birthday respondent’s selection procedures.
  
  • Stage One: All districts of Moldova are grouped into 11 groups. All regions of Moldova were surveyed.
  • Stage Two: Selection of the settlements - cities and villages.
    o Settlements were selected at random.
    o The number of selected settlements in each region was proportional to the share of population living in a 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 2.8 percent.

• The response rate was 61 percent.

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

• The 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 which resulted in nearly $1 billion missing from three state banks.*
Generally speaking, do you think that things in Moldova are going in the right direction or wrong direction?

- **Moldova**
  - Right direction: 10%
  - Wrong direction: 82%
  - Don't know/No answer: 8%

- **Chisinau**
  - Right direction: 13%
  - Wrong direction: 80%
  - Don't know/No answer: 7%
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

**September 2016**
- 3% I am satisfied
- 38% I am satisfied; change is happening at the right pace
- 7% I am dissatisfied; change is happening at the right pace
- 49% I am dissatisfied; change is not happening fast enough
- 3% Don’t know/No answer

**March 2016**
- 4% I am satisfied
- 31% I am satisfied; change is happening at the right pace
- 15% I am dissatisfied; change is happening at the right pace
- 46% I am dissatisfied; change is not happening fast enough
- 4% Don’t know/No answer

**October 2015**
- 1% I am satisfied
- 30% I am satisfied; change is happening at the right pace
- 15% I am dissatisfied; change is happening at the right pace
- 50% I am dissatisfied; change is not happening fast enough
- 4% Don’t know/No answer
### Over the last 12 months, how has the economic situation in Moldova changed?

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<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Improved a lot</th>
<th>Improved somewhat</th>
<th>Stayed the same</th>
<th>Worsened somewhat</th>
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### Over the last 12 months, how has the financial situation of your household changed?

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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**

### September 2016
- Improve a lot: 1%
- Improve somewhat: 13%
- Stay the same: 35%
- Worsen somewhat: 20%
- Worsen a lot: 17%
- Don't know/No answer: 14%

### March 2016
- Improve a lot: 2%
- Improve somewhat: 14%
- Stay the same: 34%
- Worsen somewhat: 21%
- Worsen a lot: 19%
- Don't know/No answer: 10%

### October 2015
- Improve a lot: 1%
- Improve somewhat: 6%
- Stay the same: 21%
- Worsen somewhat: 30%
- Worsen a lot: 32%
- Don't know/No answer: 10%

### September 2014
- Improve a lot: 11%
- Improve somewhat: 27%
- Stay the same: 24%
- Worsen somewhat: 11%
- Worsen a lot: 12%
- Don't know/No answer: 15%

### June 2014
- Improve a lot: 6%
- Improve somewhat: 24%
- Stay the same: 29%
- Worsen somewhat: 17%
- Worsen a lot: 7%
- Don't know/No answer: 17%
What are the most important problems that Moldova is facing at the moment?

(Three spontaneous answers)

Corruption: 39%
Unemployment: 29%
Low income/Pensions: 29%
Poverty: 18%
Bad government: 16%
Emigration: 13%
Economic crisis: 11%
High prices/Inflation: 9%
Political crisis: 8%
Roads: 7%
The stolen billion*: 3%
Social assistance: 3%
Instability in the country: 3%
Crime: 3%
Education problems: 2%
Low standard of living: 2%
Uncertainty about the future: 2%
Healthcare system: 2%
Bad president: 2%
Citizen indifference: 2%

*In December 2014, news broke of a major banking scandal which resulted in nearly $1 billion missing from three state banks.
What are the most important problems that your village/town is facing at the moment?

(Three spontaneous answers)

- Roads: 43%
- Unemployment: 22%
- Water supply/Drinking water: 13%
- Cleanliness: 10%
- Low income/Pensions: 8%
- Bad mayor: 7%
- Corruption: 5%
- Transportation: 5%
- High prices/Inflation: 5%
- Gas supply: 5%
- Sanitation/ Lack of sewerage: 5%
- Emigration: 4%
- Poor conditions at schools: 4%
- Insufficient street lighting: 4%
- Poverty: 4%
- Expensive utilities/Housing: 4%
- Lack of qualified medical personnel: 3%
- No pharmacy: 3%
- Lack of parks: 3%
- Lack of cultural centers/Activities: 2%
- Social assistance: 2%
- Bad infrastructure: 2%
- Lack of play grounds for children: 2%
- Traffic jams: 2%
What are the most important problems facing you and your household?

(Three spontaneous answers)

- Low incomes/Financial problems: 52%
- Unemployment: 17%
- Expensive utilities/Housing: 10%
- Health problems: 8%
- High prices/Inflation: 8%
- Emigration: 6%
- Poverty: 5%
- Expensive medicines/Poor medical service: 4%
- Poor social assistance: 3%
- Housing/Utilities: 3%
- Loneliness: 2%
- Water supply: 2%
- No problems: 5%
How satisfied are you with the way democracy is developing in Moldova?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Very satisfied</th>
<th>Somewhat satisfied</th>
<th>Somewhat dissatisfied</th>
<th>Very dissatisfied</th>
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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**

### September 2016
- Democracy: 17%
- Somewhat democracy: 6%
- Economic prosperity: 24%
- Somewhat economic prosperity: 43%
- Don’t know: 10%

### March 2016
- Democracy: 22%
- Somewhat democracy: 13%
- Economic prosperity: 17%
- Somewhat economic prosperity: 40%
- Don’t know: 8%

### October 2015
- Democracy: 18%
- Somewhat democracy: 7%
- Economic prosperity: 15%
- Somewhat economic prosperity: 53%
- Don’t know: 7%
Are people in Moldova afraid to openly express their political views?

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<th>Majority are afraid</th>
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<td>April 2010</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>14%</td>
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<tr>
<td>June 2010</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>10%</td>
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<tr>
<td>November 2010</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>5%</td>
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<tr>
<td>April 2011</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 2011</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: March 2004 - September 2016.
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

### Poll Results

- **September 2016**
  - 78% for serious reforms
  - 9% for gradual reforms
  - 7% for protection
  - 6% Don't know

- **March 2016**
  - 74% for serious reforms
  - 12% for gradual reforms
  - 6% for protection
  - 8% Don't know

- **October 2015**
  - 71% for serious reforms
  - 14% for gradual reforms
  - 9% for protection
  - 6% Don't know

- **September 2014**
  - 58% for serious reforms
  - 21% for gradual reforms
  - 11% for protection
  - 10% Don't know

- **June 2014**
  - 57% for serious reforms
  - 24% for gradual reforms
  - 8% for protection
  - 11% Don't know
Views on Corruption
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
- It is not an issue at all
- Don't know/No answer

- November 2004: 7% 1% 1% 2%
- March 2006: 8% 1% 1% 3%
- October 2015: 8% 1% 2% 2%
- September 2014: 73% 18% 5% 1% 3%
- June 2014: 81% 14% 1% 1% 3%
- January 2012: 73% 21% 2% 3%
- December 2011: 80% 15% 2% 1% 2%
- August 2011: 61% 29% 3% 1% 6%
- February 2011: 59% 33% 3% 1% 4%
- September 2010: 57% 31% 4% 1% 7%
- May 2010: 53% 37% 4% 1% 5%
- February 2010: 58% 33% 4% 2% 3%
- November 2009: 61% 31% 3% 5%
- November 2008: 62% 27% 4% 1% 6%
- April 2008: 60% 25% 5% 10%
- March 2007: 64% 26% 2% 8%
- March 2006: 66% 25% 3% 5%
- November 2004: 72% 24% 2% 2%
Do you consider the country to be governed in the interest of the majority of people or the interest of some groups?

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

- Lack of government control and oversight: 43%
- The actions of business leaders and oligarchs: 23%
- Poverty and necessity: 20%
- Education levels of citizens: 7%
- Custom and history: 2%
- Other: 2%
- Don’t know/No answer: 3%
Where, in your opinion, is corruption most present in Moldova?

- The Parliament: 22%
- Public servants (doctors, teachers, policemen): 19%
- Prime Minister and Cabinet: 14%
- Judicial branch: 11%
- Business leaders, oligarchs: 9%
- Political parties and leadership of parties: 8%
- The President: 5%
- Local officials: 2%
- Other: 5%
- Don't know/No answer: 4%
Upcoming presidential election
How likely, if at all, are you to vote in the upcoming presidential elections?

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

September 2016:
- Very likely: 64%
- Somewhat likely: 25%
- Somewhat unlikely: 4%
- Very unlikely: 4%
- Don't know/No answer: 3%

March 2016:
- Very likely: 76%
- Somewhat likely: 18%
- Somewhat unlikely: 2%
- Very unlikely: 2%
- Don't know/No answer: 2%
How likely, if at all, are you to vote in the upcoming presidential elections?

- **Very likely**: 56%, 68%, 64%
- **Somewhat likely**: 28%, 23%, 26%
- **Somewhat unlikely**: 6%, 4%, 4%
- **Very unlikely**: 8%, 4%, 3%
- **Don't know/No answer**: 3%, 2%, 3%

18-29 years old: N=222

30-49 years old: N=383

50+ years old: N=598
If the presidential elections were held next Sunday, and the following individuals participated in the election, for whom would you vote? (Likely voters)

- Igor Dodon: 30%
- Maia Sandu: 13%
- Andrei Nastase: 13%
- Marian Lupu: 12%
- Vladimir Voronin: 5%
- Iuria Leanca: 3%
- Dumitru Ciubasenco: 3%
- Mihai Ghimpu: 1%
- Oleg Brega: 1%
- Alexandru Tănase: >1%
- Pavel Filip: >1%
- Other: 4%
- Would not vote: 2%
- Don’t know/No answer: 12%

*Due to a March 4, 2016 ruling of the Moldovan Constitutional Court, Moldovan citizens will directly elect the president on October 30, 2016. This will be the first popular election of the president since 1996.*
Who would you vote for in a second round if the individual you first mentioned did not participate? (Likely voters)

- Igor Dodon: 6%
- Maia Sandu: 11%
- Andrei Nastase: 7%
- Marian Lupu: 4%
- Vladimir Voronin: 4%
- Iurie Leanca: 3%
- Dumitru Ciubasenco: 6%
- Mihai Ghimpu: 1%
- Oleg Brega: 1%
- Alexandru Tănase: 1%
- Pavel Filip: >1%
- Other: 16%
- Would not vote: 13%
- Don't know/No answer: 38%
How much interest do you have in politics?

- Interested
- Medium interest
- Not interested
- Don't know/No answer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Interested</th>
<th>Medium interest</th>
<th>Not interested</th>
<th>Don't know/No answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>September 2016</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 2016</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>1%</td>
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<tr>
<td>October 2015</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 2014</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>35%</td>
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<tr>
<td>June 2014</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>39%</td>
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<td>January 2012</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>2%</td>
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<td>December 2011</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>1%</td>
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<td>August 2011</td>
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<td>February 2010</td>
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<td>36%</td>
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<td>September 2010</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>1%</td>
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<tr>
<td>May 2010</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>2%</td>
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<td>February 2010</td>
<td>32%</td>
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<td>November 2009</td>
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<td>30%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>1%</td>
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<tr>
<td>June 2009</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>1%</td>
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<tr>
<td>November 2008</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>1%</td>
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<tr>
<td>April 2008</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 2007</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 2006</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>3%</td>
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<tr>
<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>
Which political party or political movement best represents your point of view?

(Spontaneous)

- Party of Socialists of the Republic of Moldova (Dodon) 24%
- Political party "Dignity and Truth Platform" (Nastase) 10%
- Democratic Party of Moldova (Lupu) 10%
- Political party “Action and Solidarity” (Sandu) 9%
- Our Party (Usatii) 6%
- Communist Party of the Republic of Moldova (Voronin) 3%
- European People’s Party of Moldova (Leancă) 2%
- Liberal Party (Ghimpu) 1%
- Other 1%
- None of the parties 23%
- Don’t know/No Answer 11%
What is your opinion of each of the following institutions?

- Favorable
- Unfavorable
- Don’t know/No answer

Moldovan Orthodox Church: 64% Favorable, 23% Unfavorable, 13% Don’t know/No answer
Romanian Orthodox Church in Moldova: 59% Favorable, 25% Unfavorable, 16% Don’t know/No answer
Army: 52% Favorable, 34% Unfavorable, 14% Don’t know/No answer
Moldovan mass media: 50% Favorable, 40% Unfavorable, 10% Don’t know/No answer
Education system: 41% Favorable, 50% Unfavorable, 9% Don’t know/No answer
Local authorities: 39% Favorable, 53% Unfavorable, 8% Don’t know/No answer
International Monetary Fund: 34% Favorable, 44% Unfavorable, 22% Don’t know/No answer
Police authorities: 31% Favorable, 62% Unfavorable, 7% Don’t know/No answer
Healthcare system: 31% Favorable, 62% Unfavorable, 7% Don’t know/No answer
Professional associations: 30% Favorable, 51% Unfavorable, 19% Don’t know/No answer
Trade unions: 23% Favorable, 54% Unfavorable, 23% Don’t know/No answer
Central Bank: 23% Favorable, 64% Unfavorable, 13% Don’t know/No answer
Central Electoral Commission: 21% Favorable, 64% Unfavorable, 15% Don’t know/No answer
Moldovan Government: 17% Favorable, 76% Unfavorable, 7% Don’t know/No answer
Courts of justice: 14% Favorable, 75% Unfavorable, 11% Don’t know/No answer
Political parties: 13% Favorable, 79% Unfavorable, 8% Don’t know/No answer
Moldovan Parliament: 12% Favorable, 82% Unfavorable, 6% Don’t know/No answer
President’s Office: 10% Favorable, 83% Unfavorable, 7% Don’t know/No answer
What is your opinion of the activity of each of the following Moldovan ministers?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ministry</th>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>Don’t know/No answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Culture</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moldova Academy of Science</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Youth and Sports</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Informational Technologies and Communications</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Defense</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Education</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Internal Affairs</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Environment</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Health</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Regional Development and Construction</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Labor, Social Protection and Family</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Transport and Road Infrastructure</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Economy</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Finance</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Justice</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Strongly approve</th>
<th>Somewhat approve</th>
<th>Somewhat disapprove</th>
<th>Strongly disapprove</th>
<th>Don’t know/No answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Moldova</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chisinau</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Do you approve or disapprove of the forming of the Filip government?

*On January 20, 2016, the parliament approved a new government under Prime Minister Pavel Filip. This government was formed with the support of multiple political parties and independent parliamentarians.*
Do you approve or disapprove of the Filip government?

- **Moldova**
  - Strongly approve: 5%
  - Somewhat approve: 20%
  - Somewhat disapprove: 19%
  - Strongly disapprove: 42%
  - Don’t know/No answer: 14%

- **Chisinau**
  - Strongly approve: 2%
  - Somewhat approve: 20%
  - Somewhat disapprove: 28%
  - Strongly disapprove: 41%
  - Don’t know/No answer: 9%
What are the most important problems that the Filip government must solve?

(Three spontaneous answers)

- Job creation: 18%
- Wages/Pensions: 17%
- Tackling corruption: 11%
- Boosting the economy: 5%
- Consumer prices: 5%
- Roads: 5%
- Social assistance: 5%
- Utilities prices: 3%
- Agricultural development: 3%
- Emigration: 3%
- Recovering the stolen billion: 2%
- Disconnect between the government and citizens: 2%
- Social order: 2%
- Poverty: 2%
Do you think the Moldovan Parliament is responsive to the needs of citizens like you?

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

Moldova:
- Strongly agree: 1%
- Somewhat agree: 7%
- Somewhat disagree: 20%
- Strongly disagree: 70%
- Don't know/No answer: 2%

Chisinau:
- Strongly agree: 6%
- Somewhat agree: 29%
- Somewhat disagree: 63%
- Strongly disagree: 2%
- Don't know/No answer: 2%
Parliamentary elections
Do you support the idea of early parliamentary elections?

- **September 2016**: 68% Yes, 22% No, 10% Don't know/No answer
- **March 2106**: 70% Yes, 18% No, 12% Don't know/No answer
- **October 2015**: 66% Yes, 25% No, 9% Don't know/No answer
How likely, if at all, are you to vote in the next parliamentary elections?

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

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

March 2016:
- Very likely: 75%
- Somewhat likely: 18%
- Somewhat unlikely: 3%
- Very unlikely: 2%
- Don't know/No answer: 1%
How likely, if at all, are you to vote in the next parliamentary elections?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Very likely</th>
<th>Somewhat likely</th>
<th>Somewhat unlikely</th>
<th>Very unlikely</th>
<th>Don't know/No answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18-29 years old (N=222)</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-49 years old (N=383)</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50+ years old (N=598)</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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</th>
<th>Don’t know/No answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Igor Dodon</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maia Sandu</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renato Usatii</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrei Nastase</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dorin Chirtoaca</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pavel Filip</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iurie Leanca</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marian Lupu</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vladimir Voronin</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrian Candu</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>12%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alexandru Tanase</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>45%</td>
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<td>13%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Liliana Palihovici</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vlad Plahotniuc</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mihai Ghimpu</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viorel Cibotaru</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
If parliamentary elections were held next Sunday and the following political parties participated in the election, for which political party would you vote?

- **Party of Socialists of the Republic of Moldova (Dodon)**: 26% (First choice), 7% (Second choice)
- **Political party “Action and Solidarity” (Sandu)**: 12% (First choice), 10% (Second choice)
- **Political party “Dignity and Truth Platform” (Nastase)**: 12% (First choice), 8% (Second choice)
- **Democratic Party of Moldova (Lupu)**: 11% (First choice), 3% (Second choice)
- **Our Party (Usatii)**: 9% (First choice), 8% (Second choice)
- **Communist Party of the Republic of Moldova (Voronin)**: 4% (First choice), 5% (Second choice)
- **European People’s Party of Moldova (Leancă)**: 4% (First choice), 3% (Second choice)
- **Liberal Party (Ghimpu)**: 1% (First choice), 1% (Second choice)
- **Other**: 1% (First choice), 1% (Second choice)
- **None of the parties**: 12% (First choice), 5% (Second choice)
- **Will not vote**: 10% (First choice), 4% (Second choice)
- **Don’t know/No Answer**: 32% (First choice), 12% (Second choice)
If parliamentary elections were held next Sunday and the following political parties participated in the election, for which political party would you vote?

(Nationwide likely voters, N=1047)

- Party of Socialists of the Republic of Moldova (Dodon) 29%
- Political party “Action and Solidarity” (Sandu) 14%
- Political party “Dignity and Truth Platform” (Nastase) 13%
- Democratic Party of Moldova (Lupu) 12%
- Our Party (Usatii) 8%
- Communist Party of the Republic of Moldova (Voronin) 5%
- European People’s Party of Moldova (Leancă) 3%
- Liberal Party (Ghimpu) 1%
- Other 1%
- None of the parties 3%
- Don’t know/No Answer 11%
Which politicians or public persons do you trust the most? (Spontaneous)

- Igor Dodon: 27%
- Maia Sandu: 16%
- Andrei Nastase: 16%
- Renato Usatii: 12%
- Marian Lupu: 12%
- Vladimir Voronin: 6%
- Iurie Leanca: 4%
- Pavel Filip: 3%
- Zinaida Grecianii: 2%
- Dorin Chirtoaca: 2%
- Mihai Ghimpu: 1%
- Ion Sturza: 1%
- Oleg Brega: 1%
- Oazu Nantoi: 1%
- Vladimir Plahotniuc: 1%
- Other: 7%
- None: 21%
- Don't know/No answer: 6%
In the last 12 months, have you ever seen any political activists working in your city/village?

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

- **Moldova**
  - Yes: 16%
  - No: 81%
  - Don't know/No answer: 3%

- **Chisinau**
  - Yes: 29%
  - No: 69%
  - Don't know/No answer: 2%
If yes, which political party did the political activists in your area represent?

(Nationwide, N=191)

- Party of Socialists of the Republic of Moldova (Dodon): 60%
- Democratic Party of Moldova (Lupu): 24%
- Our Party (Usatii): 16%
- Political party “Dignity and Truth Platform” (Nastase): 11%
- Political party “Action and Solidarity” (Sandu): 5%
- Liberal Party (Ghimpu): 4%
- Liberal Democratic Party of Moldova (Cibotaru): 4%
- Communist Party of the Republic of Moldova (Voronin): 3%
- European People’s Party of Moldova (Leancă): 3%
- Other: 1%
- Don’t know/No Answer: 9%
Women and Youth in Moldova
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?

- Would vote for the female candidate
- Would vote for the male candidate
- Makes no difference to me
- Don’t know/No answer

### October 2015
- Would vote for the female candidate: 23%
- Would vote for the male candidate: 35%
- Makes no difference to me: 27%
- Don’t know/No answer: 14%

### March 2016
- Would vote for the female candidate: 17%
- Would vote for the male candidate: 44%
- Makes no difference to me: 31%
- Don’t know/No answer: 8%

### September 2016
- Would vote for the female candidate: 15%
- Would vote for the male candidate: 44%
- Makes no difference to me: 37%
- Don’t know/No answer: 4%
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

- September 2016:
  - Strongly agree: 52%
  - Somewhat agree: 27%
  - Somewhat disagree: 9%
  - Strongly disagree: 4%
  - Don’t know/No answer: 8%

- March 2016:
  - Strongly agree: 43%
  - Somewhat agree: 28%
  - Somewhat disagree: 10%
  - Strongly disagree: 4%
  - Don’t know/No answer: 15%

- October 2015:
  - Strongly agree: 32%
  - Somewhat agree: 29%
  - Somewhat disagree: 11%
  - Strongly disagree: 5%
  - Don’t know/No answer: 23%
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**

**September 2016**
- 60% Strongly agree
- 26% Somewhat agree
- 6% Somewhat disagree
- 2% Strongly disagree
- 6% Don’t know/No answer

**March 2016**
- 50% Strongly agree
- 24% Somewhat agree
- 9% Somewhat disagree
- 3% Strongly disagree
- 14% Don’t know/No answer

**October 2015**
- 35% Strongly agree
- 28% Somewhat agree
- 10% Somewhat disagree
- 6% Strongly disagree
- 20% Don’t know/No answer
International Relations
How would you assess the current relations between Moldova and...

- **Romania**: 62% Good, 19% Neither good, nor bad, 14% Bad, 5% Don't know/No answer
- **European Union**: 57% Good, 23% Neither good, nor bad, 15% Bad, 5% Don't know/No answer
- **USA**: 47% Good, 26% Neither good, nor bad, 16% Bad, 11% Don't know/No answer
- **Ukraine**: 47% Good, 28% Neither good, nor bad, 18% Bad, 7% Don't know/No answer
- **Russia**: 43% Good, 21% Neither good, nor bad, 32% Bad, 4% 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?

(Nationwide)

- **Economic partner**
  - European Union: 62%
  - Russia: 38%
  - Romania: 27%
  - Ukraine: 29%
  - United States: 26%
  - None: 7%
  - Don't know/No answer: 2%

- **Economic threat**
  - European Union: 14%
  - Russia: 14%
  - Romania: 10%
  - Ukraine: 8%
  - United States: 14%
  - None: 8%
  - Don't know/No answer: 7%

- **Political partner**
  - European Union: 57%
  - Russia: 22%
  - Romania: 18%
  - Ukraine: 26%
  - United States: 3%
  - None: 3%
  - Don't know/No answer: 8%

- **Political threat**
  - European Union: 26%
  - Russia: 16%
  - Romania: 11%
  - Ukraine: 8%
  - United States: 14%
  - None: 18%
  - Don't know/No answer: 16%
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?

- European Union: 40%
- Customs Union/Eurasian Union: 43%
- Other: 8%
- Don’t know/No answer: 9%

- European Union: 60%
- Customs Union/Eurasian Union: 27%
- Other: 6%
- Don’t know/No answer: 7%
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

September 2016:
- 21% For Moldova joining NATO
- 42% Against Moldova joining NATO
- 21% Would not vote
- 16% Don’t know/No answer

March 2016:
- 16% For Moldova joining NATO
- 40% Against Moldova joining NATO
- 24% Would not vote
- 20% Don’t know/No answer

October 2015:
- 19% For Moldova joining NATO
- 35% Against Moldova joining NATO
- 19% Would not vote
- 27% Don’t know/No answer

September 2014:
- 31% For Moldova joining NATO
- 31% Against Moldova joining NATO
- 15% Would not vote
- 23% Don’t know/No answer
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

**Moldova**
- 21% for Moldova joining NATO
- 42% against Moldova joining NATO
- 21% would not vote
- 16% don’t know/no answer

**Chisinau**
- 30% for Moldova joining NATO
- 36% against Moldova joining NATO
- 23% would not vote
- 11% don’t know/no answer
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>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>September 2016</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>3%</td>
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<td>18%</td>
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<td>12%</td>
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<td>4%</td>
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</table>
Given the current Russian activities in Ukraine, do you consider Russian troops in Transnistria to be a threat to Moldova?

- They are a real threat to Moldova
- They are maybe a threat to Moldova, depending on events in Ukraine
- They are not a real threat to Moldova
- Don’t know/No answer

September 2014:
- 46% for They are a real threat to Moldova
- 28% for They are maybe a threat to Moldova, depending on events in Ukraine
- 21% for They are not a real threat to Moldova
- 5% for Don’t know/No answer

October 2015:
- 36% for They are a real threat to Moldova
- 33% for They are maybe a threat to Moldova, depending on events in Ukraine
- 27% for They are not a real threat to Moldova
- 4% for Don’t know/No answer

March 2016:
- 32% for They are a real threat to Moldova
- 26% for They are maybe a threat to Moldova, depending on events in Ukraine
- 36% for They are not a real threat to Moldova
- 6% for Don’t know/No answer

September 2016:
- 34% for They are a real threat to Moldova
- 20% for They are maybe a threat to Moldova, depending on events in Ukraine
- 39% for They are not a real threat to Moldova
- 7% for Don’t know/No answer
Demographics
Nationwide

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<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Men</th>
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<td></td>
<td>Women</td>
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<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>18-29</td>
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<td></td>
<td>30-49</td>
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<td>50 and older</td>
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<td>Primary/ Non-complete secondary</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vocational secondary</td>
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<td>Higher/Non-complete higher</td>
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</table>