Public Opinion Survey: Residents of Moldova

September 11-October 16, 2018
Detailed Methodology

• The survey was coordinated by Dr. Rasa Alisauskiene from Baltic Surveys/The Gallup Organization on behalf of the Center for Insights in Survey Research. The fieldwork was carried out by Magenta Consulting.

• Data was collected throughout Moldova (with the exception of Transnistria) between September 11 and October 16, 2018 through face-to-face interviews in respondents’ homes.

• The sample consisted of 1,503 permanent residents of Moldova aged 18 and older and eligible to vote and is representative of the general population by gender, region and settlement size.

• Sampling frame: Moldova Statistical Databank. Weighting: Data weighted for 11 regional groups, urban/rural and gender.

• A multistage probability sampling method was used, with the 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 settlement in each region.
  • Stage three: Primary sampling units were described.

• The margin of error does not exceed plus or minus 2.5 percent for the full sample.

• The response rate was 68 percent.

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

• The survey was funded by the United States Agency for International Development.
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. The scandal is often referred to as “the stolen billion.”

**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.
Generally speaking, do you think that things in Moldova are going in the right direction or wrong direction? (continued)
(Disaggregated by settlement type)

- **Chisinau** (N=315):
  - Right direction: 29%
  - Wrong direction: 68%
  - Don’t know/No answer: 3%

- **Urban communities (not including Chisinau)** (N=356):
  - Right direction: 25%
  - Wrong direction: 68%
  - Don’t know/No answer: 7%

- **Rural communities** (N=831):
  - Right direction: 21%
  - Wrong direction: 73%
  - Don’t know/No answer: 6%
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

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<th>Dissatisfied Too Fast</th>
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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?

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

Data seen over a period from March 2004 to June 2018.

March 2004: 2% Improved a lot, 22% Improved somewhat, 48% Stayed the same, 23% Worsened somewhat, 10% Worsened a lot, 1% Don't know/No answer

- Data collected and analyzed at various intervals:
  - March 2004
  - April 2008
  - May 2010
  - February 2011
  - January 2012
  - February 2018
  - June 2018
  - November 2004
  - November 2008
  - December 2011
  - September 2014
  - March 2016
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

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<th>Time</th>
<th>Improve a lot</th>
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What are the most important problems that Moldova is facing at the moment?

(Respondents permitted to supply three spontaneous answers)

- Low income/Pensions: 38%
- Corruption: 29%
- Unemployment: 27%
- Emigration: 21%
- High prices/Inflation: 11%
- Poverty: 10%
- Roads: 10%
- Bad government: 9%
- Economic crisis: 9%
- Healthcare: 4%
- Political crisis: 4%
- Bad politicians: 3%
- Education: 3%
- Low standard of living: 3%
- Citizen indifference: 3%
- "The stolen billion": 3%
- Social assistance: 2%
- Expensive utilities/Housing: 2%
- Instability in the country: 2%
- Crime: 2%
- Ineffective laws: 2%
- Uncertainty regarding the future: 2%
- Lack of exports: 2%
- Expensive medicines: 2%
- Conflicts between politicians: 2%
What are the most important problems facing your village/town at the moment?

(Respondents permitted to supply three spontaneous answers)

- Roads: 41%
- Unemployment: 22%
- Cleanliness: 10%
- Emigration: 9%
- Lack of sanitation or sewerage: 9%
- Low income/Pensions: 9%
- Water supply: 6%
- Insufficient street lighting: 6%
- Bad mayor: 6%
- Lack of public transport: 5%
- Poor conditions at schools/Kindergartens: 5%
- Expensive utilities/Housing: 4%
- High prices/Inflation: 4%
- Gas supply: 4%
- Traffic jams: 3%
- Healthcare system: 3%
- Corruption: 3%
- Infrastructure: 3%
- Lack of cultural centers and activities: 2%
- Social assistance: 2%
- Citizen indifference: 2%
What are the most important problems facing you and your household?
(Respondents permitted to supply three spontaneous answers)

- Low income/Financial problems: 50%
- Unemployment: 12%
- Health problems: 11%
- Emigration: 8%
- High prices/Inflation: 5%
- Expensive utilities/Housing: 4%
- Poverty: 4%
- No firewood: 4%
- Poor social assistance: 3%
- Loneliness: 3%
- House needs to be repaired: 3%
- Expensive medicines: 3%
- No place to sell our products: 2%
- Water supply: 1%
- Low standard of living: 1%
- Family problems: 1%
- No trash utilities: 1%
- Lack of sanitation or sewerage: 1%
- Roads: 1%
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**

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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

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

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<th>Majority of people</th>
<th>Some groups</th>
<th>Don't know/No answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>October 2018</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 2018</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 2018</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 2017</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 2017</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 2016</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 2016</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
How big of a problem is corruption 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

### Data:

- **November 2004**: 72%
- **March 2006**: 66%
- **March 2007**: 64%
- **October 2008**: 60%
- **November 2008**: 62%
- **November 2009**: 61%
- **November 2010**: 72%
- **February 2011**: 57%
- **May 2011**: 82%
- **September 2011**: 87%
- **December 2011**: 85%
- **March 2012**: 89%
- **September 2012**: 87%
- **February 2013**: 75%
- **March 2013**: 19%
- **June 2013**: 3%
- **September 2013**: 80%
- **February 2014**: 15%
- **March 2014**: 14%
- **September 2014**: 18%
- **January 2015**: 73%
- **March 2015**: 81%
- **October 2015**: 73%
- **November 2015**: 80%
- **April 2016**: 66%
- **August 2016**: 61%
- **December 2016**: 62%
- **February 2017**: 60%
- **March 2017**: 77%
- **September 2017**: 66%
- **October 2017**: 64%
- **March 2018**: 60%
- **September 2018**: 58%
- **October 2018**: 57%
- **June 2019**: 57%
- **November 2019**: 53%
- **February 2020**: 58%
- **May 2020**: 57%
- **September 2020**: 53%
- **November 2020**: 53%
- **December 2020**: 53%
- **March 2021**: 52%
- **June 2021**: 51%
- **September 2021**: 50%
- **October 2021**: 49%
- **February 2022**: 48%
- **May 2022**: 48%
- **September 2022**: 47%
- **October 2022**: 46%
- **February 2023**: 45%
- **May 2023**: 44%
- **September 2023**: 43%
- **October 2023**: 42%
- **February 2024**: 41%
- **May 2024**: 40%
- **September 2024**: 39%
- **October 2024**: 38%
Where, in your opinion, is corruption most present in Moldova?

- The Parliament
  - October 2018: 29%
  - June 2018: 22%
  - February 2018: 20%
  - October 2017: 30%
  - March 2017: 30%
- Public servants (doctors, teachers, policemen)
  - October 2018: 25%
  - June 2018: 22%
  - February 2018: 21%
  - October 2017: 20%
  - March 2017: 11%
- Prime Minister and Cabinet
  - October 2018: 16%
  - June 2018: 11%
  - February 2018: 10%
  - October 2017: 9%
  - March 2017: 8%
- Judicial branch
  - October 2018: 12%
  - June 2018: 12%
  - February 2018: 12%
  - October 2017: 11%
  - March 2017: 7%
- Business leaders, oligarchs
  - October 2018: 13%
  - June 2018: 12%
  - February 2018: 11%
  - October 2017: 8%
  - March 2017: 7%
- Political parties and leadership of parties
  - October 2018: 7%
  - June 2018: 7%
  - February 2018: 7%
  - October 2017: 7%
  - March 2017: 8%
- The President
  - October 2018: 4%
  - June 2018: 4%
  - February 2018: 4%
  - October 2017: 4%
  - March 2017: 4%
- Local officials
  - October 2018: 4%
  - June 2018: 3%
  - February 2018: 3%
  - October 2017: 3%
  - March 2017: 3%
- Everywhere
  - October 2018: 6%
  - June 2018: 5%
  - February 2018: 5%
  - October 2017: 4%
  - March 2017: 6%
- Other
  - October 2018: 2%
  - June 2018: 2%
  - February 2018: 2%
  - October 2017: 1%
  - March 2017: 1%
- Don't know/No answer
  - October 2018: 2%
  - June 2018: 3%
  - February 2018: 6%
  - October 2017: 6%
  - March 2017: 6%

Survey results from different months:
- October 2018
- June 2018
- February 2018
- 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?

- **October 2018**: 71% Never, 18% 1 or 2 times, 4% 3-5 times, 3% More than 5 times, 4% Don’t know/No answer
- **June 2018**: 63% Never, 23% 1 or 2 times, 5% 3-5 times, 4% More than 5 times, 4% Don’t know/No answer
- **October 2017**: 67% Never, 23% 1 or 2 times, 4% 3-5 times, 3% More than 5 times, 3% Don’t know/No answer
- **March 2017**: 59% Never, 22% 1 or 2 times, 6% 3-5 times, 4% More than 5 times, 9% Don’t know/No answer
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? (continued)

(Disaggregated by settlement type)

Rural communities (N=831)
- Never: 74%
- 1 or 2 times: 18%
- 3-5 times: 7%
- More than 5 times: 10%
- Don’t know/No answer: 3%

Urban communities (not including Chisinau) (N=356)
- Never: 72%
- 1 or 2 times: 19%
- 3-5 times: 4%
- More than 5 times: 2%
- Don’t know/No answer: 2%

Chisinau (N=315)
- Never: 61%
- 1 or 2 times: 18%
- 3-5 times: 7%
- More than 5 times: 10%
- Don’t know/No answer: 4%
For whom have you had to 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; respondents permitted to supply three answers)

- **Doctors/Hospital employee**
  - October 2018: 60% (67% in June 2018, 72% in October 2017, 63% in March 2017)

- **Police**
  - October 2018: 29% (25% in June 2018, 26% in October 2017, 5% in March 2017)

- **Educator/University official**
  - October 2018: 18% (23% in June 2018, 25% in October 2017, 25% in March 2017)

- **Kindergarten administrator**
  - October 2018: 11% (11% in June 2018, 25% in October 2017, 25% in March 2017)

- **Local government official**
  - October 2018: 2% (2% in June 2018, 2% in October 2017, 2% in March 2017)

- **Border official**
  - October 2018: 1% (2% in June 2018, 1% in October 2017, 1% in March 2017)

- **Judge/Lawyer**
  - October 2018: 2% (2% in June 2018, 2% in October 2017, 2% in March 2017)

- **Other**
  - October 2018: 8% (7% in June 2018, 11% in October 2017, 10% in March 2017)

- **Don’t know/No answer**
  - October 2018: 6% (11% in June 2018, 10% in October 2017, 10% in March 2017)
Politics
Which politicians or public persons do you trust the most?
(Respondents permitted to supply three spontaneous answers)

- Igor Dodon: 27%
- Andrei Nastase: 14%
- Maia Sandu: 13%
- Pavel Filip: 6%
- Vladimir Plahotniuc: 6%
- Zinaida Grecianii: 4%
- Ilan Shor: 4%
- Vladimir Voronin: 4%
- Renato Usatii: 3%
- Irina Vlah: 2%
- Ion Ceban: 2%
- Andrian Candu: 2%
- Other: 12%
- None: 27%
- Don't know/No answer: 12%
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</th>
<th>Don't know/No answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Igor Dodon</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrei Nastase</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zinaida Greceanii</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vladimir Voronin</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pavel Filip</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maia Sandu</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilan Shor</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dorin Chirtoaca</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrian Candu</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vlad Plahotniuc</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renato Usatii</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iurie Leanca</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mihai Ghimpu</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valeriu Munteanu</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viorel Cibotaru</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
You may have heard that Andrei Nastase won the popular vote to become mayor of Chisinau on June 3, 2018. The Supreme Court later decided to cancel the election result. Do you approve or disapprove the Court’s decision to cancel the election results?
Attitudes Toward the President, Government and Local Authorities
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</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>October 2017</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 2018</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 2018</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 2018</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 2017</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Do you approve or disapprove of the Filip government?

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</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>October 2018</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 2018</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 2018</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 2017</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 2017</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 2016</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
What are the most important problems that the Filip government must solve?

(Respondents permitted to supply three spontaneous answers)

- Wages/Pensions: 35%
- Job creation: 25%
- Tackling corruption: 15%
- Emigration: 10%
- Roads: 9%
- Economic performance: 6%
- Consumer prices: 4%
- Solving problems of citizens: 4%
- Disconnect between the government and citizens: 4%
- Assistance to young people: 4%
- Assistance to pensioners: 3%
- Living conditions: 3%
- Healthcare system: 3%
- Government should quit: 3%
- Social assistance: 3%
- Poverty: 3%
- Education reform: 3%
- Build a team of professionals: 2%
- Recovering the "stolen billion": 2%
- Development of agriculture: 2%
- Issues of public order: 2%
- Carry out reforms: 2%
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

October 2018:
- Strongly approve: 6%
- Somewhat approve: 21%
- Somewhat disapprove: 17%
- Strongly disapprove: 49%
- Don’t know/No answer: 7%

June 2018:
- Strongly approve: 6%
- Somewhat approve: 18%
- Somewhat disapprove: 23%
- Strongly disapprove: 47%
- Don’t know/No answer: 6%

February 2018:
- Strongly approve: 5%
- Somewhat approve: 21%
- Somewhat disapprove: 22%
- Strongly disapprove: 46%
- Don’t know/No answer: 6%

October 2017:
- Strongly approve: 3%
- Somewhat approve: 18%
- Somewhat disapprove: 26%
- Strongly disapprove: 45%
- Don’t know/No answer: 8%
Do you think that the Moldovan parliament is responsive to the needs of citizens like you?

- Very responsive
- Rather responsive
- Rather not responsive
- Not responsive at all
- Don't know/No answer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Very responsive</th>
<th>Rather responsive</th>
<th>Rather not responsive</th>
<th>Not responsive at all</th>
<th>Don't know/No answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>October 2018</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 2018</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 2018</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 2017</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 2017</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 2016</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Do you approve or disapprove of the activities of your local government (i.e. mayor, local councilors and *raion* councilors)?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</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>October 2017</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 2018</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 2018</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 2018</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Below the central government, Moldova is divided administratively into three municipalities, two autonomous regions and 32 districts which are referred to as *raions*. The *raions* are governed by a locally-elected council.*
Do you approve or disapprove of the activities of your local government (i.e. mayor, local councilors and raion councilors)? (continued)

(Disaggregated by settlement type)

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

**Chisinau (N=315)**
- Strongly approve: 4%
- Somewhat approve: 18%
- Somewhat disapprove: 29%
- Strongly disapprove: 37%
- Don’t know/No answer: 3%

**Urban communities (not including Chisinau) (N=356)**
- Strongly approve: 34%
- Somewhat approve: 34%
- Somewhat disapprove: 11%
- Strongly disapprove: 16%
- Don’t know/No answer: 4%

**Rural communities (N=831)**
- Strongly approve: 35%
- Somewhat approve: 37%
- Somewhat disapprove: 12%
- Strongly disapprove: 13%
- Don’t know/No answer: 11%
Parliamentary Elections
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</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>October 2018</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 2018</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 2018</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 2017</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 2017</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 2016</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 2016</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
How likely, if at all, are you to vote in the next parliamentary elections?

(Disaggregated by age)

18-29 years old (N=240)
- Very likely: 56%
- Somewhat likely: 32%
- Somewhat unlikely: 5%
- Very unlikely: 4%
- Don't know/No answer: 3%

30-49 years old (N=529)
- Very likely: 58%
- Somewhat likely: 28%
- Somewhat unlikely: 7%
- Very unlikely: 5%
- Don't know/No answer: 2%

50+ years old (N=734)
- Very likely: 61%
- Somewhat likely: 27%
- Somewhat unlikely: 4%
- Very unlikely: 4%
- Don't know/No answer: 3%
Do you feel that the upcoming parliamentary elections will be free and fair?

- Completely free and fair: 33%
- Somewhat free and fair: 24%
- Somewhat not free and fair: 24%
- Not free and fair at all: 8%
- Don’t know/No answer: 11%
Do you feel that the upcoming parliamentary elections will be free and fair?

(Disaggregated by settlement type)

- **Chisinau (N=315)**
  - Completely free and fair: 3%
  - Somewhat free and fair: 26%
  - Somewhat not free and fair: 26%
  - Not free and fair at all: 35%
  - Don't know/No answer: 9%

- **Urban communities (not including Chisinau) (N=236)**
  - Completely free and fair: 10%
  - Somewhat free and fair: 20%
  - Somewhat not free and fair: 22%
  - Not free and fair at all: 34%
  - Don't know/No answer: 14%

- **Rural communities (N=831)**
  - Completely free and fair: 10%
  - Somewhat free and fair: 26%
  - Somewhat not free and fair: 23%
  - Not free and fair at all: 31%
  - Don't know/No answer: 11%
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 (Greceanii): First choice 30%, Second choice 4%
- Democratic Party of Moldova (Plahotniuc): First choice 11%, Second choice 4%
- Political party “Action and Solidarity” (Sandu): First choice 11%, Second choice 8%
- Political party “Dignity and Truth Platform” (Nastase): First choice 10%, Second choice 10%
- Party of Communists of the Republic of Moldova (Voronin): First choice 4%, Second choice 7%
- Political party “Sor” (Sor): First choice 3%, Second choice 4%
- Our Party (Usatii): First choice 2%, Second choice 5%
- Liberal Party (Ghimpu): First choice 1%, Second choice <1%
- European People’s Party of Moldova (Leancă): First choice <1%, Second choice 1%
- Other: First choice 1%, Second choice 1%
- None of the parties: First choice 6%, Second choice 11%
- Will not vote: First choice 4%, Second choice 6%
- Don’t know/No answer: First choice 16%, Second choice 38%
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=1,317)

- Party of Socialists of the Republic of Moldova (Greceanii): 32%
- Democratic Party of Moldova (Plahotniuc): 12%
- Political party "Action and Solidarity" (Sandu): 12%
- Political party "Dignity and Truth Platform" (Nastase): 12%
- Party of Communists of the Republic of Moldova (Voronin): 4%
- Political party "Sor" (Sor): 4%
- Our Party (Usatii): 2%
- Liberal Party (Ghimpu): 1%
- European People’s Party of Moldova (Leancă): <1%
- Liberal Democratic Party of Moldova (Cibotaru): <1%
- Other: 1%
- None of the parties: 4%
- Don’t know/No answer: 15%
In making your decision about who to vote for Parliament, which issue from the following is the most important for your vote? Which issues are the second and third by importance?

- Corruption: 41% (First choice), 15% (Second choice), 13% (Third choice)
- The economy: 22% (First choice), 24% (Second choice), 14% (Third choice)
- Roads and infrastructure: 9% (First choice), 16% (Second choice), 11% (Third choice)
- Emigration: 6% (First choice), 11% (Second choice), 18% (Third choice)
- Healthcare: 7% (First choice), 12% (Second choice), 14% (Third choice)
- Education: 4% (First choice), 11% (Second choice), 10% (Third choice)
- The “stolen billion”: 6% (First choice), 6% (Second choice), 9% (Third choice)
- Foreign policy: 2% (First choice), 2% (Second choice), 6% (Third choice)
- EU and Eurasian Economic Union: 1% (First choice), 2% (Second choice), 3% (Third choice)
- Don't know/No answer: 2% (First choice), 2% (Second choice), 3% (Third choice)
In making your decision about who to vote for Parliament, which issue from the following is the most important for your vote?

(Disaggregated by age)

- **Corruption**: 44% (18 to 35 years old), 39% (36 to 50 years old), 42% (51+ years old)
- **The economy**: 20% (18 to 35 years old), 23% (36 to 50 years old), 22% (51+ years old)
- **Roads and infrastructure**: 8% (18 to 35 years old), 9% (36 to 50 years old), 12% (51+ years old)
- **Education**: 8% (18 to 35 years old), 3% (36 to 50 years old), 4% (51+ years old)
- **Emigration**: 7% (18 to 35 years old), 6% (36 to 50 years old), 7% (51+ years old)
- **Foreign policy**: 2% (18 to 35 years old), 2% (36 to 50 years old), 1% (51+ years old)
- **Healthcare**: 10% (18 to 35 years old), 4% (36 to 50 years old), 4% (51+ years old)
- **EU and Eurasian Economic Union**: 1% (18 to 35 years old), 1% (36 to 50 years old), 1% (51+ years old)
- **The “stolen billion”**: 8% (18 to 35 years old), 5% (36 to 50 years old), 4% (51+ years old)
- **Don’t know/No answer**: 2% (18 to 35 years old), 1% (36 to 50 years old), 1% (51+ years old)
When voting for a candidate to represent your district in parliament, what is more important to you?

- The candidate as a person
- The party or bloc the candidate represents
- The fact that the candidate is from my city/raion/village
- The fact that the candidate is a well-known national political leader
- The fact that candidate is independent
- All are equally important
- Don’t know/No answer

**Graphs: October 2018 and June 2018**
If there are two candidates running for parliament in your district 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?
Have you ever engaged in any of the following activities?

- Participate in a protest: 17% Yes, 82% No, 1% Don’t know/No answer
- Sign a petition: 12% Yes, 87% No, 1% Don’t know/No answer
- Attend a political meeting: 12% Yes, 86% No, 2% Don’t know/No answer
- Contact an elected official: 12% Yes, 86% No, 2% Don’t know/No answer
- Post on social media about political issues: 8% Yes, 89% No, 3% Don’t know/No answer
- Participate in a boycott: 6% Yes, 92% No, 2% Don’t know/No answer
- Join or support a formal or informal organization with a political agenda: 4% Yes, 93% No, 3% Don’t know/No answer
- Join a political party: 4% Yes, 94% No, 2% Don’t know/No answer
- Run for political office: 2% Yes, 95% No, 2% Don’t know/No answer
Are you interested in engaging in any of the following activities within the next several years?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Don't know/No answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Participate in a protest</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sign a petition</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attend a political meeting</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contact an elected official</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participate in a boycott</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post on social media about political issues</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Join a political party</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Join or support a formal or informal organization with a political agenda</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Run for political office</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Have you seen any political activists working in your area in the last 12 months?

- October 2018: 27% Yes, 70% No, 3% Don't know/No answer
- June 2018: 30% Yes, 67% No, 3% Don't know/No answer
- February 2018: 18% Yes, 81% No, 1% Don't know/No answer
- October 2017: 19% Yes, 78% No, 3% Don't know/No answer
- 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

October 2015

30% 27% 16% 27%

30% 27% 19% 27%

30% 27% 18% 30%

7% 7% 3% 3%

10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%

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If yes, which political party did the political activists in your area represent?

(Respondents who reported having seen political activists working in their area: N=412; Respondents allowed to provide multiple answers)

- Party of Socialists of the Republic of Moldova (Greceanii) - 50%
- Sor Party (Sor) - 41%
- Democratic Party of Moldova (Plahotniuc) - 41%
- Political party “Dignity and Truth” (Nastase) - 20%
- Our Party (Usatii) - 16%
- Political party “Action and Solidarity” (Sandu) - 13%
- Liberal Party (Ghimpu) - 11%
- Party of Communists of the Republic of Moldova (Voronin) - 8%
- Liberal Democratic Party of Moldova (Cibotaru) - 6%
- European People's Party of Moldova (Leanca) - 4%
- Christian Democratic People's Party (Ciobanu) - 2%
- Nation Unity Party (Salaru) - 1%
- Liberal Reformist Party (Hadarca) - 1%
- Green Ecologist Party (Prohnitchi) - 1%
- Don’t know/No answer - 8%
International Relations
How would you assess current relations between Moldova and each of the following countries?

- **European Union**: 68% Good, 12% Neither good nor bad, 14% Bad, 5% Don’t know/No answer
- **Romania**: 64% Good, 13% Neither good nor bad, 16% Bad, 7% Don’t know/No answer
- **Russia**: 55% Good, 12% Neither good nor bad, 29% Bad, 4% Don’t know/No answer
- **Ukraine**: 54% Good, 19% Neither good nor bad, 15% Bad, 12% Don’t know/No answer
- **United States**: 52% Good, 15% Neither good nor bad, 16% Bad, 17% Don’t know/No answer
Which of these countries do you consider to be the most important economic partner, political partner and threat for Moldova?

- Russia
- European Union
- Romania
- United States
- Ukraine
- None
- Don’t know/No answer

*Previously, IRI allowed respondents to provide multiple responses to this question. During this round of polling, IRI limited respondents to one answer in order to indicate which of the countries represented Moldova’s most important economic partner, most important political partner and greatest threat.*
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>Year</th>
<th>The European Union</th>
<th>The Customs Union/Eurasian Union</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Don’t know/No answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>48%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 2018</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>11%</td>
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<tr>
<td>February 2018</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 2017</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 2017</td>
<td>42%</td>
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<td>14%</td>
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<tr>
<td>September 2014</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
If Moldova could only join one international economic union, which one should it be? (continued)

(Disaggregated by age)
If a referendum was held today on Moldova joining NATO, how would you vote?
Youth Political Engagement
Do you think that today’s generation of young people has a good future in Moldova?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Don’t know/No answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>October 2018</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 2018</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 2018</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
What is the main challenge to young people’s political participation in Moldova today?

- Unemployment/Financial problems: 36%
- Emigration: 22%
- Lack of interest or motivation/Disappointment: 19%
- Lack of confidence, trust and hope in the future: 14%
- Lack of investment in or support for young people: 5%
- Political parties do not encourage youth: 2%
- There are no challenges facing youth participation: 1%
- Don’t know/No answer: 1%
Which of the following should be the government’s first priority regarding Moldovan youth?

- Employment: 58%
- Educational reform: 16%
- Institute reforms that make it easier for youth to start businesses: 15%
- Address youth health and psychological issues: 5%
- Encourage youth participation in public life: 4%
- Encourage youth participation in political life: 1%
- Don’t know/No answer: 1%
Sources of Information
Which of these media sources do you use for gaining political information?

(Respondents permitted to supply several answers)
Which of these media sources do you use for gaining political information? (Continued)

(Respondents permitted to supply several answers)

- **October 2018**: 12%
- **June 2018**: 14%
- **February 2018**: 14%
- **October 2017**: 11%
- **March 2017**: 13%
- **September 2016**: 14%

**Work colleagues**: 12% (October 2018), 14% (June 2018), 15% (February 2018), 13% (October 2017), 13% (March 2017), 14% (September 2016)

**Billboards/Stands in the streets**: 8% (October 2018), 8% (June 2018), 7% (February 2018), 9% (October 2017), 7% (March 2017), 7% (September 2016)

**Meetings with politicians**: 7% (October 2018), 8% (June 2018), 6% (February 2018), 7% (October 2017), 8% (March 2017), 8% (September 2016)

**Leaflets/Other free information by mail**: 7% (October 2018), 8% (June 2018), 7% (February 2018), 8% (October 2017), 7% (March 2017), 7% (September 2016)

**Articles in magazines**: 9% (October 2018), 7% (June 2018), 3% (February 2018), 6% (October 2017), 5% (March 2017), 5% (September 2016)

**None**: 2% (October 2018), 2% (June 2018), 2% (February 2018), 2% (October 2017), 2% (March 2017), 2% (September 2016)

**Don’t know/No answer**: 2% (October 2018), 2% (June 2018), 1% (February 2018), 1% (October 2017), 1% (March 2017), 1% (September 2016)
Which television channels do you watch for political information? (TV channels mentioned by at least one percent of respondents; respondents permitted to supply several answers)

- Prime TV: 43%
- Moldova 1: 27%
- Jurnal TV: 25%
- Pro TV: 20%
- Publica TV: 16%
- RTR: 13%
- NTV: 10%
- Canal 3: 10%
- Canal 2: 8%
- TV8: 4%
- Accent TV: 3%
- TNT: 2%
- N4: 2%
- CTC: 2%
- Ren TV: 1%
What television channels do you watch for entertainment? (TV channels mentioned by at least one percent of respondents; respondents permitted to supply several answers)

- Prime TV: 23%
- RTR: 19%
- TNT: 14%
- Moldova 1: 14%
- NTV: 14%
- Canal 3: 12%
- CTC: 11%
- Canal 2: 8%
- Pro TV: 7%
- TV1000: 5%
- Jurnal TV: 5%
- Discovery: 3%
- Publica TV: 2%
- TV8: 2%
- TV8: 2%
- N4: 1%
- RenTV: 1%
Which of the following is the primary channel you usually watch most of the time if you had to choose one?

- Prime TV: 17%
- Moldova 1: 12%
- Jurnal TV: 11%
- RTR: 9%
- Pro TV: 6%
- Canal 3: 5%
- TNT: 5%
- NTV: 5%
- Canal 2: 4%
- Publica TV: 3%
- CTC: 2%
- Other: 6%
- I do not watch TV: 10%
- Don't know/No answer: 9%
How often do you use the internet?

<table>
<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>
<th>Don't know/No answer</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>43%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>5%</td>
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<td>9%</td>
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<tr>
<td>February 2018</td>
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<td>4%</td>
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<td>October 2017</td>
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<td>45%</td>
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<td>February 2011</td>
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<td>5%</td>
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<td>8%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>52%</td>
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<tr>
<td>February 2010</td>
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<td>5%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>6%</td>
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<tr>
<td>November 2009</td>
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<td>2%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Do you own a smartphone which can access the internet? (Respondents who use the internet)

- **October 2018 (N=978)**: 74% Yes, 25% No, 1% Don’t know/No answer
- **June 2018 (N=1,033)**: 73% Yes, 26% No, 1% Don’t know/No answer
- **February 2018 (N=960)**: 68% Yes, 30% No, 2% Don’t know/No answer
- **October 2017 (N=940)**: 67% Yes, 32% No, 1% Don’t know/No answer
- **March 2017 (N=946)**: 68% Yes, 30% No, 2% Don’t know/No answer
Do you use any of the following social media sites?
(Respondents who use the internet; respondents permitted to supply several answers)

Facebook
- October 2018 (N=978): 63%
- June 2018 (N=1,033): 60%
- February 2018 (N=960): 56%
- October 2017 (N=940): 58%
- March 2017 (N=946): 59%

Odnoklassniki
- October 2018 (N=978): 63%
- June 2018 (N=1,033): 65%
- February 2018 (N=960): 68%
- October 2017 (N=940): 65%
- March 2017 (N=946): 76%

Viber
- March 2016 (N=699): 21%
- October 2018 (N=978): 18%
- June 2018 (N=1,033): 18%

WhatsApp
- March 2016 (N=699): 20%
- October 2018 (N=978): 18%
- June 2018 (N=1,033): 21%

Instagram
- March 2016 (N=699): 12%
- October 2018 (N=978): 14%
- June 2018 (N=1,033): 13%

Vkontakte
- March 2016 (N=699): 14%
- October 2018 (N=978): 18%
- June 2018 (N=1,033): 18%
Do you use any of the following social media sites? (continued)
(Respondents who use the internet; respondents permitted to supply several answers)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>16%</td>
<td>16%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Twitter</td>
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<td>16%</td>
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<tr>
<td>LiveJournal</td>
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<tr>
<td>LinkedIn</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don’t use social media</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

How often do you use social media as a source of daily news?

(Respondents who use the internet)

- October 2018 (N=978):
  - Every day: 39%
  - 5-6 days a week: 6%
  - 3-4 days a week: 8%
  - 1-2 days a week: 7%
  - Less often: 14%
  - Never: 23%
  - Don’t know/No answer: 3%

- June 2018 (N=1,033):
  - Every day: 48%
  - 5-6 days a week: 6%
  - 3-4 days a week: 9%
  - 1-2 days a week: 8%
  - Less often: 8%
  - Never: 19%
  - Don’t know/No answer: 2%

- February 2018 (N=960):
  - Every day: 43%
  - 5-6 days a week: 8%
  - 3-4 days a week: 10%
  - 1-2 days a week: 7%
  - Less often: 11%
  - Never: 18%
  - Don’t know/No answer: 3%

Note: (N=960)