Public Opinion Survey: Residents of Moldova

December 5, 2018 - January 16, 2019



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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 December 5, 2018 and January 16, 2019 through face-to-face interviews in respondents' homes.
- The sample consisted of 1,226 permanent residents of Moldova aged 18 and older and eligible to vote and is representative of the general population by age, 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 2.8 percent for the full sample.
- 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. 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.

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



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

ImprovWorse		lot omewhat			mproved so Vorsened a				Stayed the Don't know		/er
December 2018	3%	20%			40%			212	%	14%	2%
October 2018	2%	18%			41%			23%		13%	4%
June 2018	1%	18%			45%			2	2%	10%	4%
February 2018	1%	16%			42%			24%		14%	3%
October 2017		15%			45%			21 %		16%	3%
March 2017	1%	16%		3	5%			2 9 %		15%	3%
September 2016	1% 6 2	%	25%			30%			35%		3%
March 2016	1% 6	%	23%		3	2%			36%		2 %
October 2015	4%	16 %			34%			4	2%		4%
September 2014	6%		22%		24%		21%		19%		7%
June 2014	4%	20%	0		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	%		17%		18%	3%
February 2011	3%	2	5%		27%		2	2%	1	8%	5%
September 2010	5%	18%	0		28%		26%	/)	17	7%	6%
May 2010	2%	14%		30%			30%		19		5%
February 2010	2%	11%	24	%		3	8%		2	1%	4%
November 2009	-	8%		34%			39 %			10%	7%
June 2009	1% 9		22%			42%			20		5%
November 2008	2%	20%			30%			8%		15%	5%
April 2008	2%	13%		30%			29 %		20%	/ D	6%
March 2007	4%		4%		32%			27%		10%	4%
April 2006	3%	24			36				27%	5%	5%
November 2004	5%		26%			37%			22%	6%	4%
March 2004	3%	23	%		375	%		2	25%	9%	3%
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%

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

■ Impro ■ Worse		lot omewhat			nproved so orsened a				Stayed the Don't know		wer
December 2018	2%	15%			51%				21%		9% 1%
October 2018	1%	13%			54%				23%		9%
June 2018	1%	16%			56%	6			17%	8	3% 2 %
February 2018	1%	12%			53%				23%	9	% 2 %
October 2017	1	2%			56 %				1 9 %	12	% 1%
March 2017	1%	11%			53%				23%	10	% 2 %
September 2016	1% 7	%		42%			24%			23%	2%
March 2016	1% 5	%	32%			33	%		27	7%	2%
October 2015	4%	2	4%		33%)			35%		4%
September 2014	4%	212	%		38%			19 %	6	15%	3%
June 2014	2%	18%			45%				24%	9	% 2 %
Janauary 2012	2%	10%		41%				29 %		15%	3%
December 2011	1%	13%		39 %				28%		17%	2 %
August 2011	4%	18%			43%			1	8%	14%	3%
February 2011	1%	16%		34%)			31%		15%	3%
September 2010	4%	14%		36	5%			29 %		14%	4%
May 2010	1%	11%		42%				29 %		15%	2 %
February 2010	1% 8	%	3	86%			36%			16%	4%
November 2009	1% 7%	%		46%				34%		9%	3%
June 2009	1% 9	9%	32	2%			36%			17%	5%
November 2008	1%	15%		39	9%			27%		14%	4%
April 2008	2%	11%		37%			25%		16%	0	9%
March 2007	3%	19 %			41%			2	.3%	9%	5%
April 2006	2%	25				44%			22%		5% 1%
November 2004	4%	2	3%			47%			20		5% 1%
March 2004	2%	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?

(Respondents permitted to supply three spontaneous answers; problems mentioned by at least 2 percent of respondents)



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

(Respondents permitted to supply three spontaneous answers; problems mentioned by at least 2 percent of respondents)



10

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

(Respondents permitted to supply three spontaneous answers; problems mentioned by at least 1 percent of respondents)



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

December 2018	5%		23%		2	8%			38	8%		6%
October 2018	2%	242	%		3	2%				39%		3%
June 2018	2%	23%	6		3	3%				39 %		2%
February 2018	2%	20%			31%				43	%		4%
October 2017	1%	17%			33%				44%			5%
March 2017	2%	242	%			34%				37%		3%
September 2016	2%	12%		26%				54	%			6%
March 2016	3%	11%		22%				58 %				6%
October 2015	1% 7%		23%					66%				3%
September 2014	9 %			31%			26%			26%		7%
June 2014	4%			41%			3	80%		16%	9	%
January 2012	1%	18%			43					7%	112	-
December 2011	3%	23				36%			-	2 9 %		%
August 2011	5%		25%			39 %				22%	9	
February 2011	3%		29 %			36	%			21%	10	
September 2010	5%		23%			41%				24%	3	8%
May 2010	2%		7%			40%)			21%	10	
February 2010	4%		2%			37%				27%	10	%
November 2009	3%		27%			37%				20%	14%	
June 2009	1%	16%			41%				25%		17%	
November 2008	<mark>2%</mark>	21%				42%			20)%	15%	
April 2008	2%	17%			41%				24%		16%	
March 2007	5%		1%			41%				8%	15%	
April 2006	1%	25%	-			43%			1	4%	17%	
November 2004	2%		5%			44	%			14%	14%	
March 2004	<u>2%</u>	242	%			44%				17%	13%	
	0%	10%	20%	30	% 40%	6 50	% 6	0%	70%	80%	90%	100%

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



Views on Corruption



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In your opinion, is corruption a big problem for 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

December 2018				-	72%				21%)	4% 1% <mark>2</mark> %
October 2018					77%				1	6%	4% 3%
June 2018					82 %					14%	2% 2%
February 2018					80%					16%	2% 2 %
October 2017					85 %					11	% 2% 2 %
March 2017					75%				1	9%	<u>3%1%</u> 2%
September 2016					89	9%				7%	1%1% <mark>2</mark> %
March 2016					87%	0				8%	1%1 <mark>%</mark> 3%
October 2015					87%	0				8%	1%
September 2014					73%				18%		5% 1% 3%
June 2014					8 1%					14%	1% 1 <mark>%</mark> 3%
January 2012					73%				2	1%	2% 3%
December 2011					80%					15%	2% 1% 2 %
August 2011				61%				2	9%	3%	6% <mark>1%</mark> 6%
February 2011				59 %				3	3%		<mark>3% 1%</mark> 4%
September 2010				57%				31%		4%	1% 7%
May 2010				53%				37%		4	% 1 <mark>%</mark> 5%
February 2010				58 %				33	3%		4% 2% 3%
November 2009				61%					31%		3% 5%
November 2008				62%				2	27%	4 ⁰	%1 <mark>%</mark> 6%
April 2008				60%				25%		5%	10%
March 2007				64%					26%	2	<mark>% 8</mark> %
March 2006				66%	/ 0				25%		3% 5%
November 2004			·	-	72%		· ·		24	1%	2% 2%
C)%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	% 100%

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



16

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



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 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)

December 2018; N=283 October 2018; N=393 June 2018; N=510 October 2017; N=456 March 2017; N=478



Politics



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

■Majority a	re afraid	Mar	ny are afr	aid	Some a	are afra	id ∎N	lobody	is afraid	Don	't know/No	o answer
December 2018			41%				26%			21%	8%	6 4%
October 2018		3	86%			30%				23%	8	3%
June 2018	-	34%			29	%		2	1%	13%	3%	
February 2018	-	34	4%			25%			18%		21%	2 %
October 2017			43%				28	%		12%	15%	2 %
March 2017		24%			26%			27	%		19 %	3%
September 2016			39 %				26%		17	7%	15%	3%
March 2016			42%				26%			19 %	11	% 2 %
September 2014	17	%		24%			30%)		17%	1	12%
June 2014		27%			3	0%			24%		15%	4%
January 2012		28 %				32%			2	8%	92	8 3%
December 2011		31%	/)			26%			23%		16%	4%
August 2011		34	4%			3	1%		1	8%	10%	7%
February 2011		25%			30%	/ 0		2	22%		18%	5%
September 2010		31%	/)			27%			1 9 %		17%	6%
May 2010	_	25%			25%			24%		1	7%	8%
February 2010		30%				27%			24%		14%	5%
November 2009	_	30%				32%			22	%	10%	6%
June 2009		30%				29 %			19 %		13%	9%
November 2008	_	26%			28%			2	24%		16%	6%
April 2008	-	29 %				27%			22%		14%	8%
March 2007	_	28%				7%		20	0%	15	5%	10%
April 2006	_	23%			32%				26%		14%	5%
November 2004	_	25%			312				25%		14%	5%
March 2004		27%			27	%			25%		16%	4%
(0% 1	0%	20%	30%	40%	6 5	0%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%

Which politicians or public persons do you trust the most?

(Respondents permitted to supply three spontaneous answers)



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

	Favorable	Unf	■ Unfavorable ■ Have not heard ■ Don't know/Ne						answer		
Igor Dodon		49	%			48%					
Zinaida Grecianii		41%						<mark>2%</mark> 4%			
Pavel Filip	36%						<mark>2%</mark> 4%				
Vladimir Voronin		35%					1 <mark>%</mark> 4%				
Andrei Nastase	3	2%				58%		<mark>3%</mark>	7%		
Ilan Sor	30	30%					2 2	% 5%			
Maia Sandu	30	30%					1%5%				
Andrian Candu	25%						<mark>3%</mark> 5%				
Vlad Plahotniuc	23%					71%	1 <mark>%</mark> 5%				
Dorin Chirtoaca	19%				69 %	/ >		<mark>3%</mark>	9%		
Renato Usatii	16%				73%				<mark>2%</mark>	8%	
Tudor Deliu	15%		38	%			38%			9%	
Iurie Leanca	14%				74%	5 5% 7 9					
Ruslan Codreanu	9%		35%				47%			9%	
0	% 10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100	

Attitudes Toward the President, Government and Local Authorities



What is your opinion of each of the following institutions?

Unfavorablo

	Unfavorable		Don't know/N	o answer	
rch		70%		21%	9%
my 🗍		68%		24%	8%
rch		65%		25%	10%
ies	57%	,)		39 %	3 %
dia 🛛	55%			40%	5%
em 🗍	50%			16%	4%
und	48%		29%	2	23%
Os	44%		29 %	27	%
ice	44%		52%	/ 0	4%
ies	43%		52%)	4%
em 🗍	41%		55%		4%
ank 🗍	40%		45%		15%
ion	38%		48%		14%
ent 🗍	36%		61%		3%
ice	30%		57%		13%
ice	26%		64%		9%
ent 🗍	26%		70%		3%
ies	25%		71%		4%
0%	20 %	40%	60%	80%	100

Don't know /No onswor

Moldovan Orthodox Churc Arm Romanian Orthodox Chur Local authoritie Moldovan mass med Education syste International Monetary Fur NGO President's Office Police authoritie Healthcare syste Central Ba Central Electoral Commission Moldovan Governme Courts of justic Prosecutor's Office Moldovan Parliame Political partie

■ Favorable

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?





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

(Respondents permitted to supply three spontaneous answers; problems mentioned by at least 2 percent of respondents)



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

■ Positive ■ Negat	tive ■Don't know	/No answer					
Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration	56%		3	34% 10			
Ministry of Internal Affairs	50%	50%			7%		
Ministry of Defense	49%		419	6	10%		
Ministry of Education, Culture and Research	48%	46%			6%		
Ministry of Health, Labor and Social Protection	37%		59%		4%		
Ministry of Agriculture, Regional Development and Environment	35%		60%		5%		
Ministry of Justice	33%		58%		9%		
Ministry of Economy and Infrastructure	31%		62%		7%		
Ministry of Finance	30%		62%		7%		
0	% 20%	40%	60%	80%	100%		

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



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



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

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



*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.

There is a new proposal in the public sphere that would allow the direct election of judges by the people. Currently, judges are appointed by higher bodies, such as the parliament and the president. What is your opinion of this proposal to directly elect judges?



Parliamentary Elections



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

■ Strongly support ■ Somewhat support ■ Somewhat do not support ■ Strongly do not support ■ Don't know/No answer



*The wording of the question in March 2017 was: "Would you support reforming the electoral law to include a mixed election system, with half the deputies being elected on party lists and half in single-mandate constituencies?"

Which of the following, if any, is the main reason that you support the mixed election system?

(Respondents supporting the mixed election system: N=514)


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)



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



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

(Likely voters: N=1,047)



Do you feel that the upcoming parliamentary elections will be free and fair?



In making your decision about who to vote for in the parliamentary elections, which issue from the following is the most important for your vote?

Which issues are the second and third most important?



80%

In making your decision about who to vote for in the parliamentary elections, which issue from the following is the most important for your vote? (Continued)

(Respondents' "First choice")



60%

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



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?



In general, what is the influence of each of these forms of election campaigning?

Great influence/Some influence Not much	Not much influence/No influence				■ Don't know/No answer			
Meetings with politicians	52%			43%		5%		
Meetings with and the opinions of respected people	50%			45%		5%		
Debates	44%			51%	5%			
TV ads	3	8%		59 %	<mark>3</mark> %			
Visits of party or candidate representatives to your house	35%			59%		6%		
Articles in newspapers about the candidates	30%			66%		4%		
Personal letters to you from the candidate	25%			70%		5%		
Telephone calls to your house from the political party or candidate	23%			70%		7%		
Social media	22%		6	2%		16%		
Leaflets	22%			74%		4%		
Radio ads	20%			74%		6%		
Billboards	18%	76%			5%			
Paid ads in the press for the candidate or party	17%			76%		7%		
C)% 2	20% 4	ł 0 %	60%	80%	100%		

I will read you a list of several attributes a candidate running for office may have. For each attribute, please tell me if it would make you more likely or less likely to vote for the candidate, or if it would not matter?

- More likely to vote for the candidate
- Makes no difference to me

- Less likely to vote for the candidate
- Don't know/No answer



Have you ever engaged in any of the following activities?



Are you interested in engaging in any of the following activities within the next several years?



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



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=391; respondents allowed to provide multiple answers)



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 most important economic partner, political partner and threat for Moldova?



*Previously, IRI allowed respondents to provide multiple responses to this question. Beginning in October 2018, 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 most serious threat.

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?



Youth Political Engagement



Do you think that today's generation of young people has a good future in Moldova?



Which of the following should the government's first priority be regarding Moldovan youth?



Which of the following is the main challenge to young people's political participation in Moldova today?



Sources of Information



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Which of these media sources do you use for political information?

(Respondents permitted to supply several answers)





63

Which of these media outlets do you use for political information? (Continued)

(Respondents permitted to supply several answers)



■ December 2018 ■ October 2018 ■ June 2018 ■ February 2018 ■ October 2017 ■ March 2017 ■ 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)



What television channels do you watch for entertainment?

(TV channels mentioned by at least one percent of respondents; respondents permitted to supply several answers)



Which of the following is the primary channel you watch most of the time if you had to choose one?



How often do you use the internet?

Every day = 5-6 days a week = 3-4 days a week = 1-2 days a week = Less often = Never = Don't know/No answer

December 2018	4	7%		4% 5%	4% 7%	33	3%
October 2018	43%	/ 0	42	6 5% 4%	9%	34%	б 1%
June 2018		4 9 %		4% 5%	6 4% 6%	3	2%
February 2018		4 9 %		4% 5%	6 <mark>2%</mark> 4%	36%	0
October 2017	4	5%		4% 4% 3%	5%	38%	
March 2017	40%		8%	6% 3%	6%	37%	
September 2016	38%		6%	5% 3% 5%		42%	1%
March 2016	35%		6% 6%	3% 8%		41%	1%
October 2015	34%		6% 6%	4% 4%		46%	
September 2014	33%	6	6 %	4% 3%		47%	1%
June 2014	32%	6%	% 6% 4	4% 3%		48%	1%
January 2012	23%	4% 4% 4%	11%			52%	2%
December 2011	23%	4% 4% 4%	8%			56%	2%
August 2011	18% 6%	7% 6%	14%	0		45%	4%
February 2011	17% 6%	8% 5%	12%			51%	1%
September 2010	18% 5%	5% 6 %	11%			51%	3%
May 2010	13% 5% 8%	7%	13%			52%	2%
February 2010	15% 5%	7% 6%	12%			48%	6%
November 2009	12% 2% 4% 6%	12%			59%	0	4%
0	% 10% 20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70% 80%	90% 100%

Do you own a smartphone 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)



Do you use any of the following social media sites? (Continued)

(Respondents who use the internet)



How often do you use social media as a source of daily news? (Respondents who use the internet)

■ Every day ■ 5-6 days a week ■ 3-4 days a week ■ 1-2 days a week ■ Less often ■ Never ■ Don't know/No answer



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70%₇₅

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