Public Opinion Survey Residents of Moldova

February-March 2017



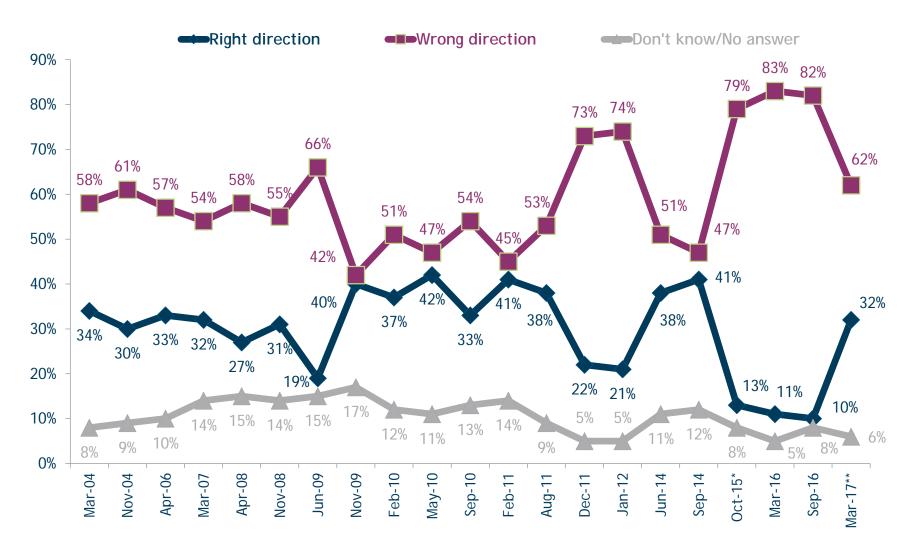
Detailed Methodology

- The survey was coordinated by Dr. Rasa Alisauskiene from <u>Baltic Surveys/The Gallup Organization</u> on behalf of the <u>International Republican Institute</u>. The field work was carried out by <u>Magenta Consulting</u>.
- Data was collected throughout Moldova (with the exception of Transnistria) between February 13 and March 07, 2017 through face-to-face interviews in respondents' homes.
- The sample consisted of 1,510 permanent residents of Moldova aged 18 and older and eligible to vote and is representative of the general population by age, gender, education, region and settlement size.
- A multistage probability sampling method was used, with random route and next birthday respondent selection procedures.
 - Stage One: All districts of Moldova are grouped into 11 groups; all regions (with the exception of Transnistria) were surveyed.
 - Stage Two: Selection of the settlements (cities and villages.)
 - o Settlements were selected at random.
 - The number of settlements selected in each region was proportional to the share of population living in the particular type of the settlement in each region.
 - Stage Three: Primary sampling units were described.
- The margin of error does not exceed plus or minus 2.5 percent.
- The response rate was 67 percent.
- Charts and graphs may not add up to 100 percent due to rounding.
- This survey was funded by the <u>National Endowment for Democracy</u>.

Mood of the Country

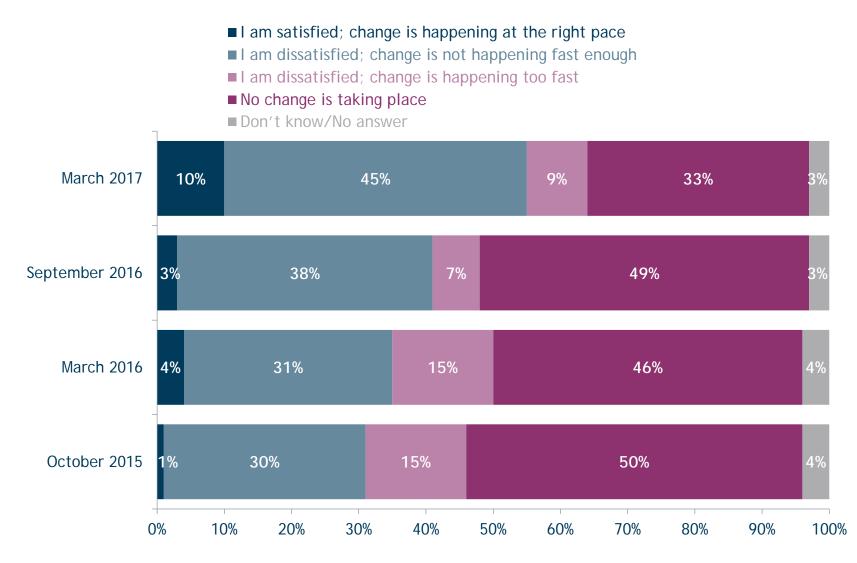


Generally speaking, do you think that things in Moldova are going in the right direction or wrong direction?



*In December 2014, news broke of a major banking scandal involving nearly \$1 billion missing from three state banks. **In 2016, Moldova conducted the first popular election of the president since 1996. Igor Dodon was elected in the second round contest on November 13, 2016.

Are you satisfied with the pace of change in Moldova today?



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

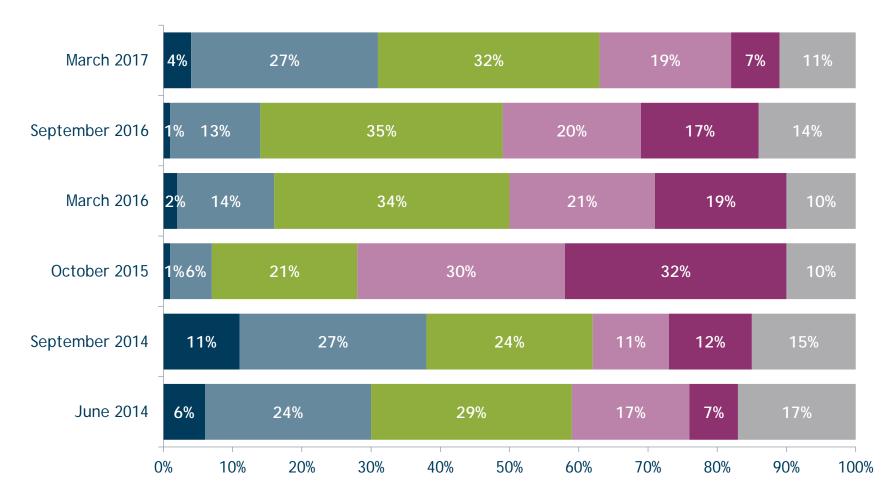
■ Improv ■ Worse		lot omewhat			mproved so Vorsened a				Stayed the sa Don't know/I		/er
March 2017	1%	16%		3!	5%			29%		15%	3%
September 2016	1% 6	%	25%			30%			35%		3%
March 2016	1% 6	%	23%		3	2%			36%		2 %
October 2015	4%	5 16%)		34%			42	2%		4%
September 2014	6%		22%		24%		21%		19%		7%
June 2014	4%	20	0%		33%			23%	14	%	6%
January 2012	2%	13%		31%			28%		22%	1	4%
December 2011	2%	15%		20%		31%			29%		3%
August 2011	5%		23%		34	%		17%	1	8%	3%
February 2011	3%		25%		27%		2	2%	189	%	5%
September 2010	5%	18	3%		28%		26%	6	17%	/ 0	6%
May 2010	2%	14%		30%			30%		19%	/ 0	5%
February 2010	2%	11%	2	.4%		3	8%		21%	/ 0	4%
November 2009	2%	8%		34%			39%	,)	1	0%	7%
June 2009	<mark>1</mark> % (9%	22%			42%)		20%		5%
November 2008	2%	20%))		30%		2	8%	1	5%	5%
April 2008	2%	13%		30%			29%		20%		6%
March 2007	4%		24%		32%)		27%)	10%	4%
April 2006	3%	2	24%		36	%			27%	5%	5%
November 2004	5%		26%			37%			22%	6%	4%
March 2004	3%	2	3%		37	%		2	5%	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?

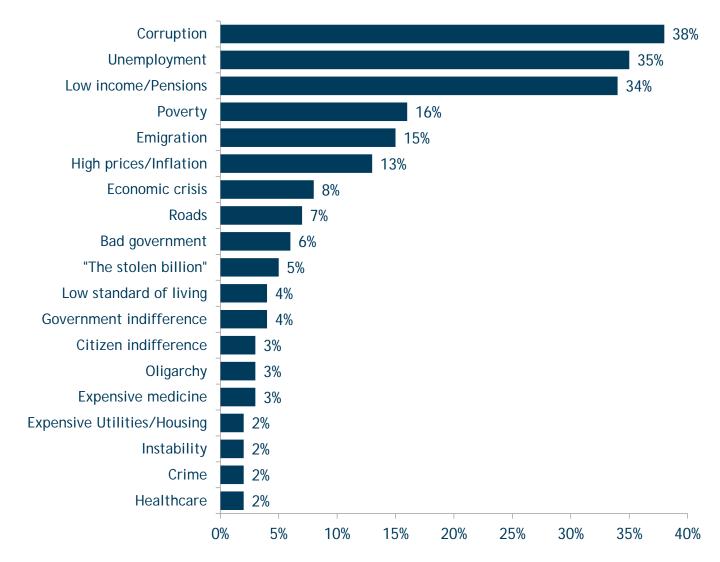
■ Improv ■ Worse		lot omewhat			proved so prsened a		at			t <mark>he same</mark> now/No ar	Iswer
March 2017	1%	11%			53%				23%	1	0% 2%
September 2016	<mark>1</mark> %7	%		42%			24%			23%	<mark>2</mark> %
March 2016	<mark>1</mark> %5	%	32%)			33%			27%	<mark>2</mark> %
October 2015	4%	24%	6		339	%			35%		4%
September 2014	4%	21%			38%	, 0		19%	6	15%	3%
June 2014	2%	18%			45%				24%		<mark>9% 2</mark> %
January 2012	<mark>2%</mark>	10%		41%				29%		15%	3%
December 2011	1%	13%		39%				28%		17%	2 %
August 2011	4%	18%			43%			18	3%	14%	3%
February 2011	1%	16%		34%				31%		15%	3%
September 2010	4%	14%		36	%			29%		14%	4%
May 2010	1%	11%		42%				29%		15%	6 <mark>2</mark> %
February 2010	<mark>1</mark> %8	%		36%			36%			16%	4%
November 2009	<mark>1</mark> %7	%		46%				34%		ç	<mark>9% 3</mark> %
June 2009	<mark>1</mark> % 9	9%		32%			36%			17%	5%
November 2008	<mark>1</mark> %	15%		39	%			27%		14%	4%
April 2008	2%	11%		37%			25%		1	6%	9%
March 2007	3%	19%			41%			2	3%	9%	5%
April 2006	<mark>2%</mark>	25%				44%			2	2%	5%1%
November 2004	4%	23%)			47%	, D			20%	5%1%
March 2004	2%	16%		Г	48%	T	1		22%		10% 1%
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%

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

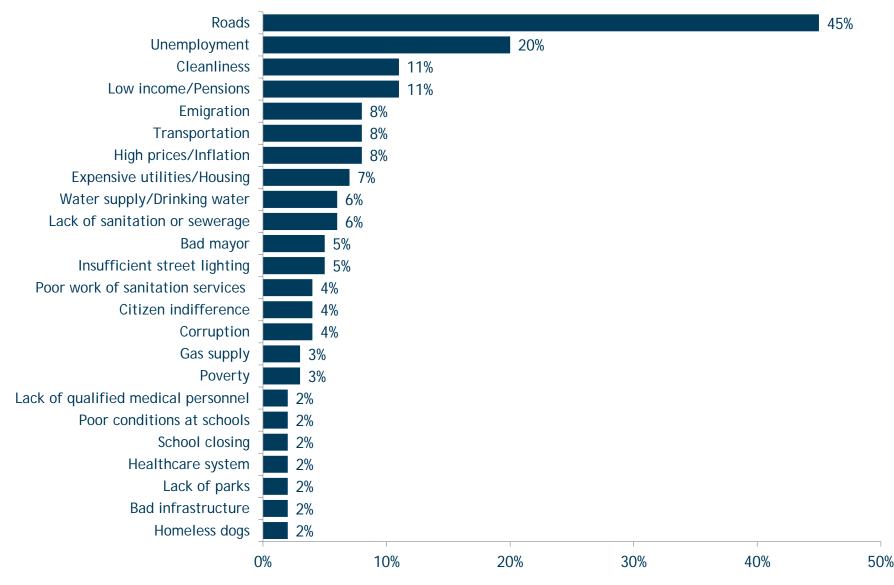
■ Improve a lot ■ Improve somewhat ■ Stay the same ■ Worsen somewhat ■ Worsen a lot ■ Don't know/No answer



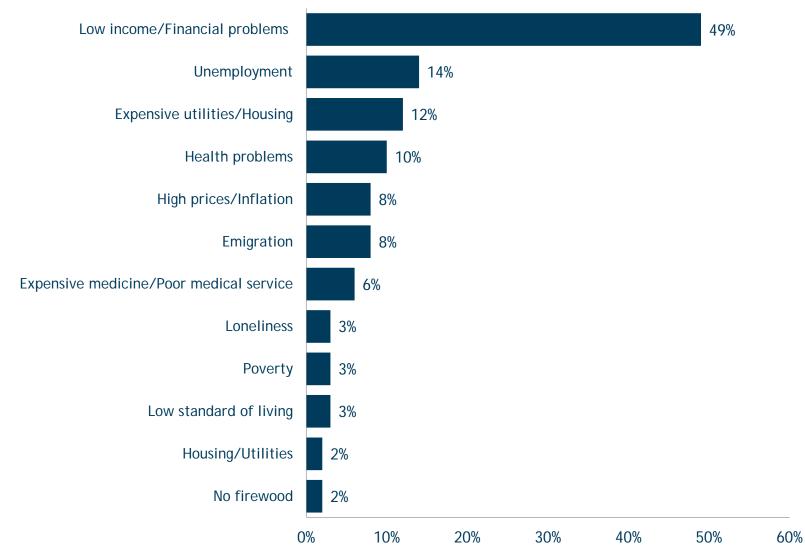
What are the most important problems that Moldova is facing at the moment?



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



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



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

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

March 2017	2%	24	%		349	6			37%		3%
September 2016	2%	12%		26%				54%			6%
March 2016	3%	11%		22%			ļ	58%			6%
October 2015	<mark>1</mark> % 7	%	23%				6	6%			3%
September 2014	99	%		31%		26%	6		26%		7%
June 2014	4%		Ĺ	11%			30%		16%	9	%
January 2012	1%	18%			43%			2	27%	11	%
December 2011	3%	23	%		36	9%			29%	9	%
August 2011	5%		25%			39%			22%	9	%
February 2011	3%		29%			36%			21%	10)%
September 2010	5%	4	23%			41%			24%	8	3%
May 2010	<mark>2%</mark>	2	7%			40%			21%	10)%
February 2010	4%	22	2%		3	7%			27%	10)%
November 2009	3%	4	27%			37%			20%	14%	
June 2009	<mark>1</mark> %	16%			41%			25%		17%	
November 2008	2%	21%			42	2%		2	0%	15%	
April 2008	2%	17%			41%			24%		16%	
March 2007	5%	2	1%			41%			18%	15%	
April 2006	<mark>1</mark> %	25%	6			43%			14%	17%	
November 2004	<mark>2%</mark>	26	5%			44%			14%	14%	
March 2004	2%	24	%		1	44%	1		17%	13%	/ 0
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100

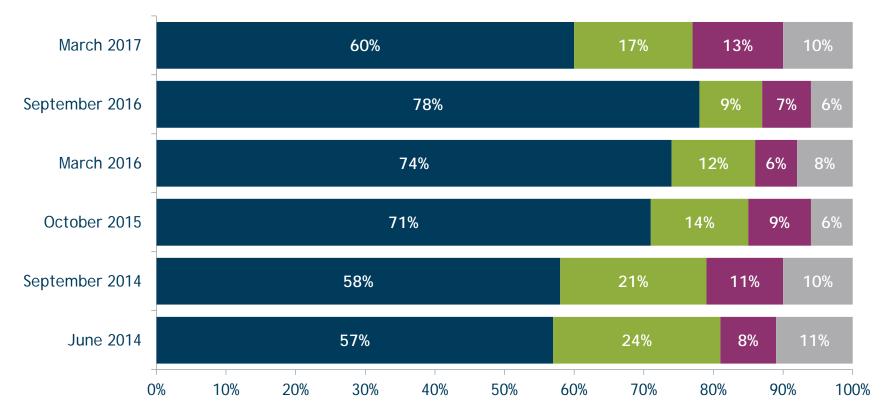
Which of these statements is closest to your own point of view?

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

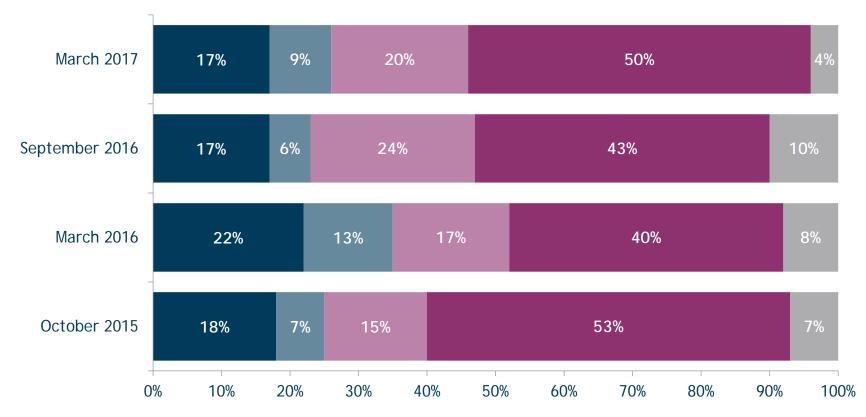
■ Don't know/No answer



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



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

■ Majority are afraid

Many are afraid
Some are afraid
Nobody is afraid

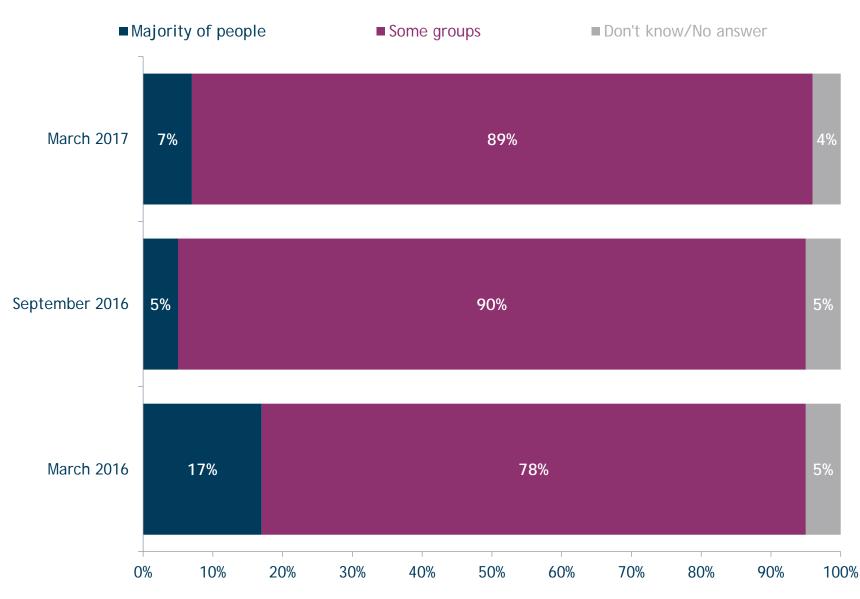
■ Don't know/No answer

March 2017		24%			26%			27%			19%	3%
September 2016			39%			26	%		17%		159	<mark>% 3</mark> %
March 2016			42%				26%			19%		11% 2%
September 2014	17	7%		24%			30%			17%		12%
June 2014		27%			30%	/ 0			24%		15%	4%
January 2012		28%			3	2%			28%	, 0		9% 3%
December 2011		319	%		2	6%			23%		16%	4%
August 2011		3	4%			31%			18%	/ 0	10%	7%
February 2011		25%			30%			22	%		18%	5%
September 2010		319	%		2	7%		1	9%		17%	6%
May 2010		25%			25%			24%			17%	8%
February 2010		30%	, 0		27	7%			24%		14%	5%
November 2009		30%	, 0			32%			22%		10%	6%
June 2009		30%	, 0		2	9%			19%		13%	9%
November 2008		26%			28%			24	%		16%	6%
April 2008		29%	ı		279	%		2	2%		14%	8%
March 2007		28%			27%			20%	0	1	5%	10%
April 2006		23%			32%				26%		14%	5%
November 2004		25%			31%				25%		14%	5%
March 2004		27%			27%			2	5%		16%	4%
0)%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	e	60%	70%	80%	90	% 100%

Views on Corruption



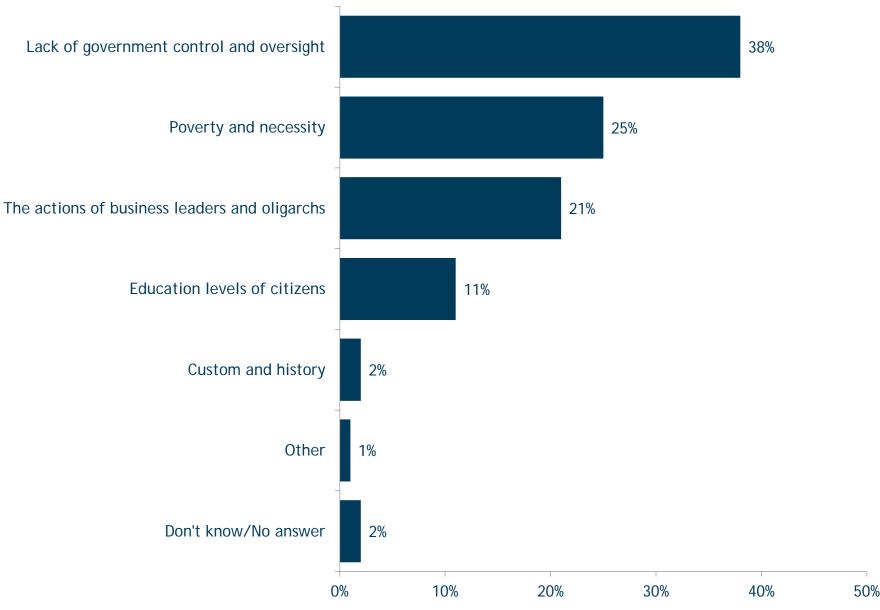
Do you consider the country to be governed in the interest of the majority of people or the interest of some groups?



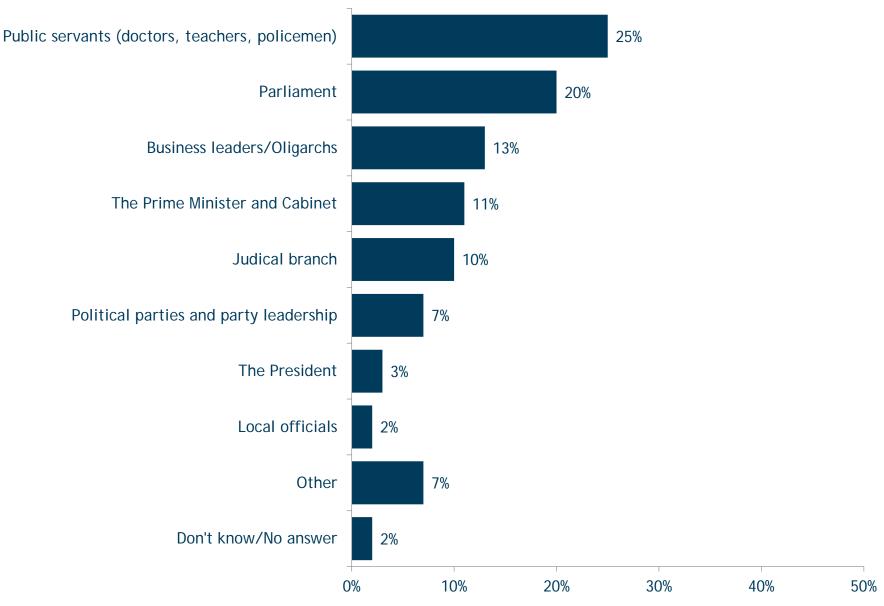
Is corruption a big problem in Moldova today?

	is a ver is not a				It is a big Don't kno	j issue pw/No ansv	ver		It is not	a big is	sue	
March 2017					75%					19%		<mark>3%1%</mark> 2%
September 2016					89	9%					7%	1%1 <mark>%</mark> 2%
March 2016					87	%					8%	1% <mark>1%</mark> 3%
October 2015					87	%					8%	1% <mark>2%</mark> 2%
September 2014					73%					18%		5%1 <mark>%</mark> 3%
June 2014					81%					1	4%	1%1 <mark>%</mark> 3%
January 2012					73%					21%		<mark>2%</mark> 3%
December 2011					80%					1!	5% 2	2%1% <mark>2</mark> %
August 2011				61%					29%		3%	6% <mark>1</mark> % 6%
February 2011				59%					33%		3	<mark>3%1</mark> %4%
September 2010				57%				3	81%		4%	1% 7%
May 2010			Ę	53%				37	7%		49	% <mark>1</mark> %5%
February 2010				58%					33%		4	1% <mark>2%</mark> 3%
November 2009				61%					31%			3% 5%
November 2008				62%					27%		4%	1% 6%
April 2008				60%				2	25%	5	%	10%
March 2007				64	%				26%		2%	8%
March 2006				66	5%				25	%		3% 5%
November 2004					72%					24%		<mark>2%2</mark> %
C)%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60	% 70%	6 80	0%	90%	100%

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

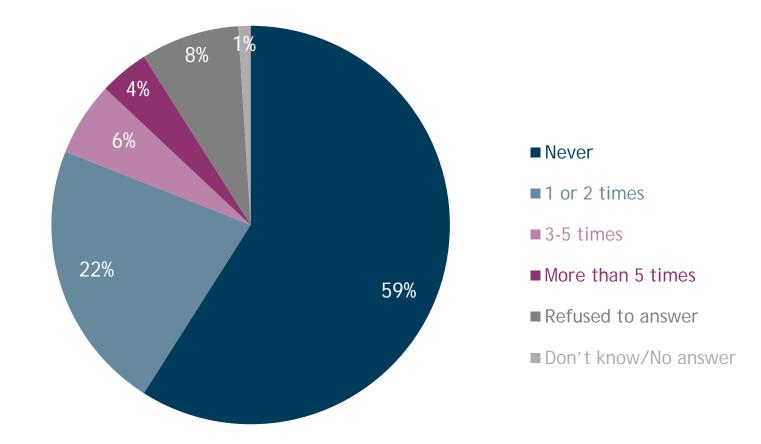


Where, in your opinion, is corruption most present in Moldova?



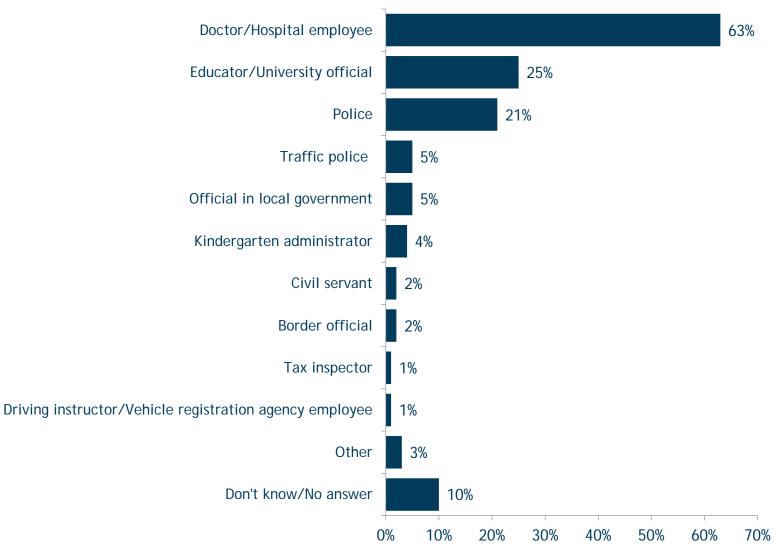
20

In the past 12 months, how often, if ever, have you done a favor, given a gift or paid a bribe in order to receive services?



For whom did you do a favor, give a gift or pay a bribe in order to receive services?

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



Politics



How much interest do you have in politics?

I	Interested	ł	Medium	interes	st	Not inte	erested	■Don't	know/No	answer		
March 2017		359	%			34%	, D		31	%		
September 2016	-	30%			29	29%			40%		1%	
March 2016	_	31%			39%				29	%	1%	
October 2015		359	%		30%				2 %			
September 2014		34%	6			28%			3%			
June 2014		31%			29	9%			39%		1%	
January 2012		28%			32%	6			38%			
December 2011		37	7%			33	3%		29	%	1%	
August 2011		29%			30%	6			40%		1%	
February 2011		34%	6			29%			36%			
September 2010		32%			26	26%			41%			
May 2010	_	28%			29%			41%			<mark>2</mark> %	
February 2010		32%				31%			36%			
November 2009		30%			30	30%		39%			1%	
June 2009		34%	6			30%			35%		1%	
November 2008	2	2%			31%			4	6%		1%	
April 2008	_	25%			29%			4	5%		<mark>2</mark> %	
March 2007	21	%		29	%			49%	6		<mark>2</mark> %	
March 2006	_	25%			26%			46	%		3%	
November 2004	2	3%			28%			48	3%		1%	
March 2004		27%			31%				41%		<mark>2</mark> %	
(0% 10	%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%	

What is your opinion of each of the following institutions? (March 2017)

■ Favorable	■ Unfavor	rable	Don't know/No answer					
Moldovan Orthodox Church		65%		27%	7%			
Army		64%		29%	7%			
Romanian Orthodox Church		62%		29%	9%			
Moldovan mass media	5	7%		38%	5%			
Education system	55	5%		40%	5%			
Local authorities	50%	i de la companya de l		46%	4%			
International Monetary Fund	48%)	39%		13%			
Police authorities	47%		4	9%	4%			
Healthcare system	42%		54%	%	4%			
President's Office	38%		58%		4%			
Central Electoral Commission	34%		58%		8%			
Central Bank	34%		59%		7%			
Courts of justice	28%		65%		7%			
Moldovan Government	27%		70%		3%			
Political parties	23%		73%		4%			
Moldovan Parliament	23%		74%		<mark>3</mark> %			
0	% 20%	40%	60%	80%	100%			

What is your opinion of each of the following institutions? (September 2016)

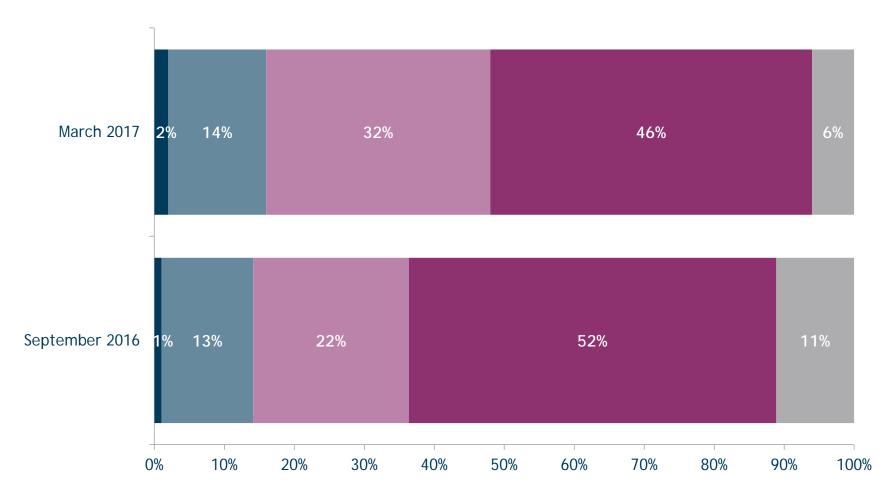
■ Favorable	■Un	favorable		■Don't know/N	o answer	
Moldovan Orthodox Church		64	%		23%	13%
Romanian Orthodox Church in Moldova		59%		25	%	16%
Army		52%		34%		14%
Moldovan mass media		50%		40%	/ 0	10%
Education system		41%		50%		9%
Local authorities		39%		53%		8%
International Monetary Fund	34	%		44%		22%
Police authorities	31%	6		62%		7%
Healthcare system	31%	6		62%		7%
Professional associations	30%	, D		51%		19%
Trade unions	23%		54	%		23%
Central Bank	23%			64%		13%
Central Electoral Commission	21%			64%		15%
Moldovan Government	17%			76%		7%
Courts of justice	14%		7	5%		11%
Political parties	13%			79%		8%
Moldovan Parliament	12%			82%		6%
President's Office	10%		8	3%	÷	7%
0	%	20%	40%	60%	80%	100%

The Government



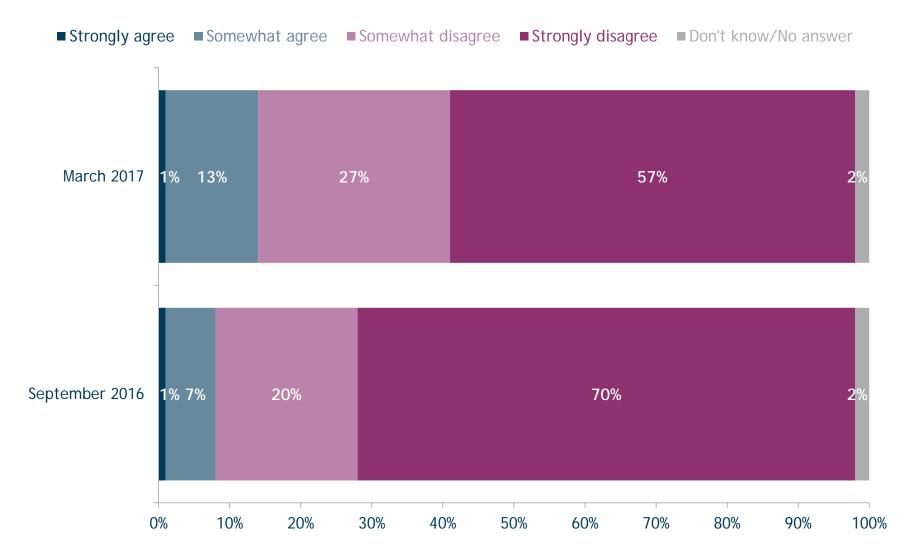
Do you approve or disapprove of the parliamentary majority consisting of the Democratic Party, Liberal Party and former members of the Liberal Democratic Party and Communist Party*?

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



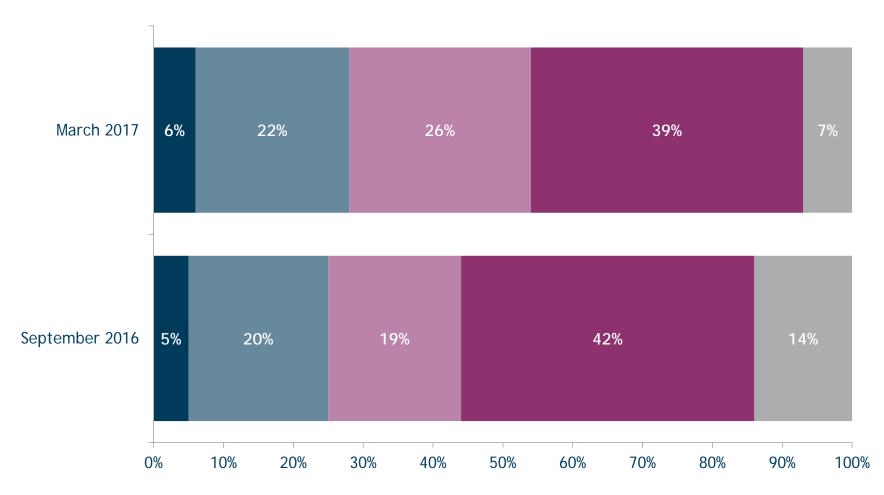
*On March 10, 2014, the 14 former members of the Communist Party who joined the parliamentary majority in January 2017 formally joined the Democratic Party's parliamentary faction.

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

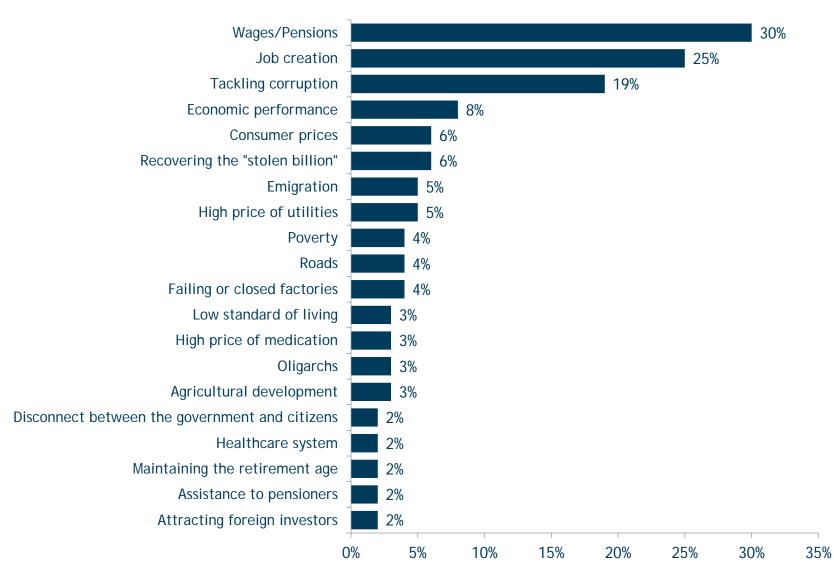


Do you approve or disapprove of the Filip government?

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



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



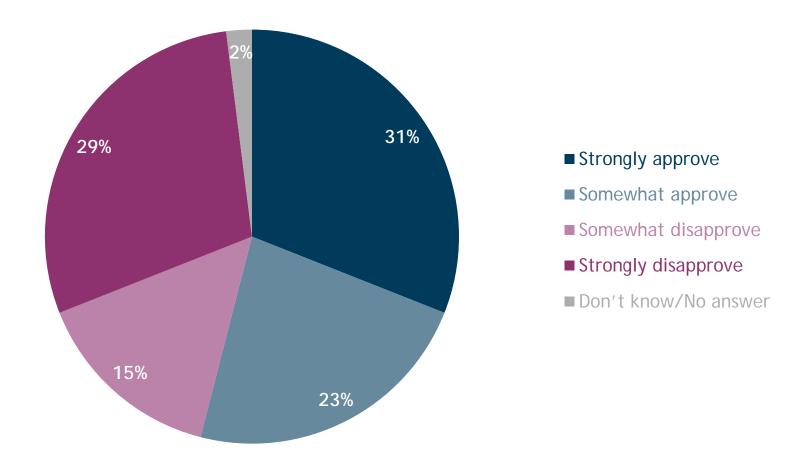
What is your opinion of the activity of each of the following Moldovan ministers?

■ Positive ■ Negativ	/e ■Don't know	/No answer			
Ministry of Culture	59	9%	;	33%	7%
Ministry of Informational Technologies and Communications	55%	6	33%	6	12%
Ministry of Defense	53%)	39	%	8%
Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration	48%		45%	I	7%
Ministry of Education	46%		48%		6%
Ministry of Internal Affairs	45%		47%		8%
Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry	43%		51%		6%
Ministry of Environment	42%		49%		9%
Ministry of Health	42%		53%		5%
Ministry of Regional Development and Construction	35%		54%		11%
Ministry of Labor, Social Protection and Family	34%		60%		6%
Ministry of Transport and Road Infrastructure	27%		66%		7%
Ministry of Justice	25%		68%		7%
Ministry of Economy	22%		72%		6%
Ministry of Finance	21%		72%		7%
00	% 20%	40%	60%	80%	100

The President

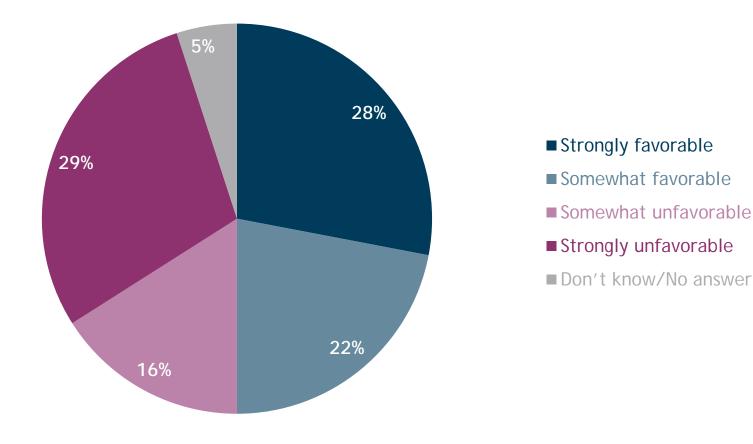


Do you approve or disapprove of the activities of President Igor Dodon?



*Igor Dodon was elected president in November 2016. He is the first popularly-elected president since 1996.

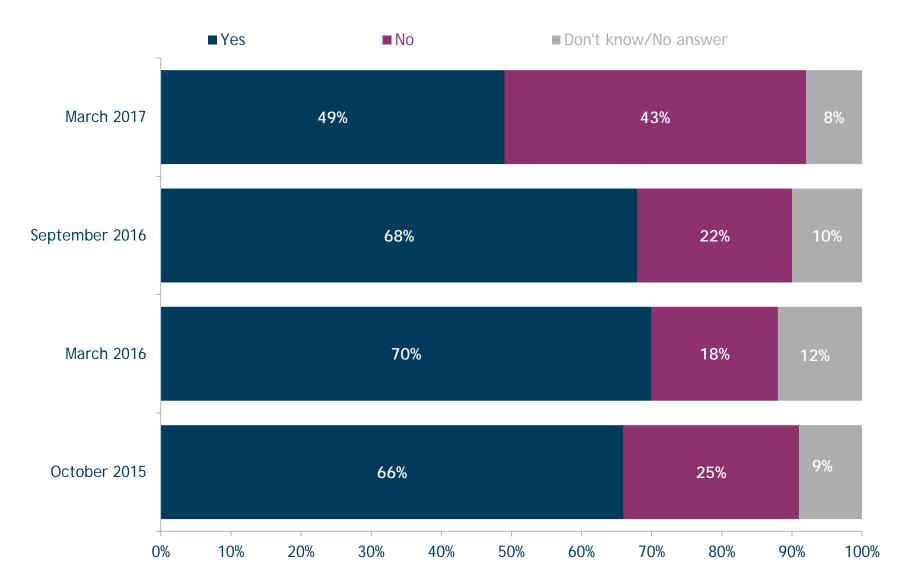
President Dodon has proposed holding a referendum to expand the powers of the presidency, including expanding the president's ability to dissolve the parliament. What is your opinion of this proposed expansion of the president's powers?



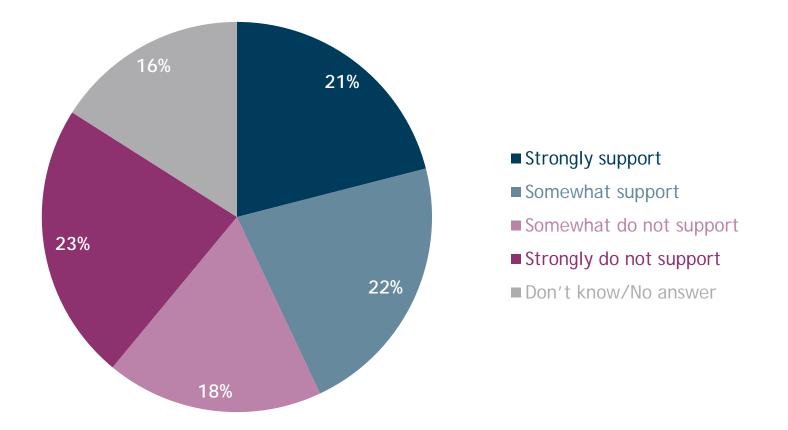
Parliamentary Elections



Do you support the idea of early parliamentary elections?

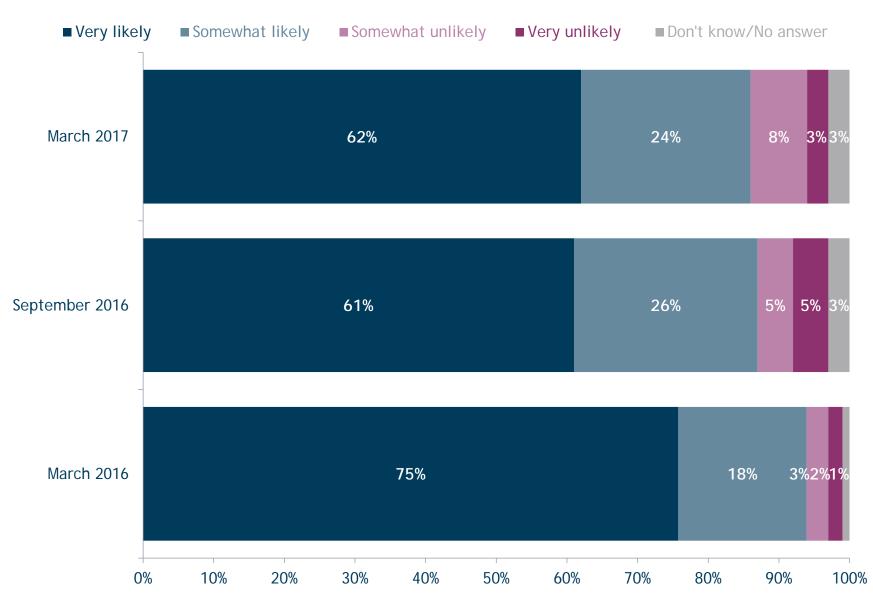


Would you support reforming the electoral law to include a mixed system, with half of the deputies elected on party lists and half in singlemandate constituencies?*



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

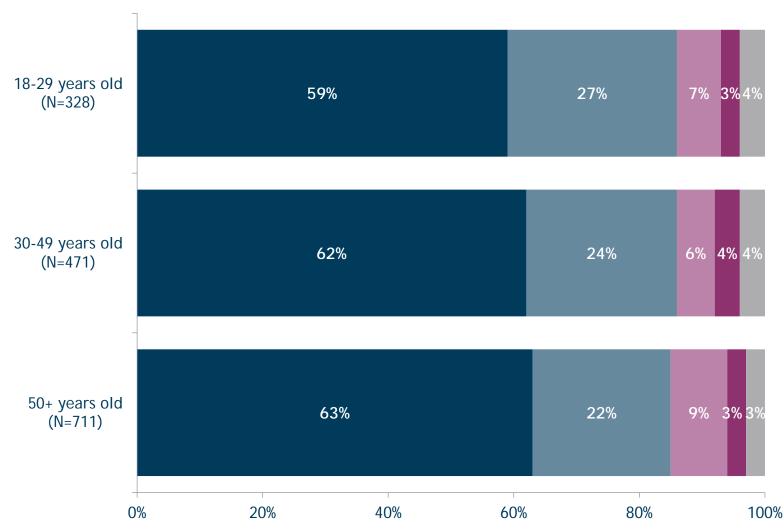
How likely, if at all, are you to vote in the next parliamentary elections?



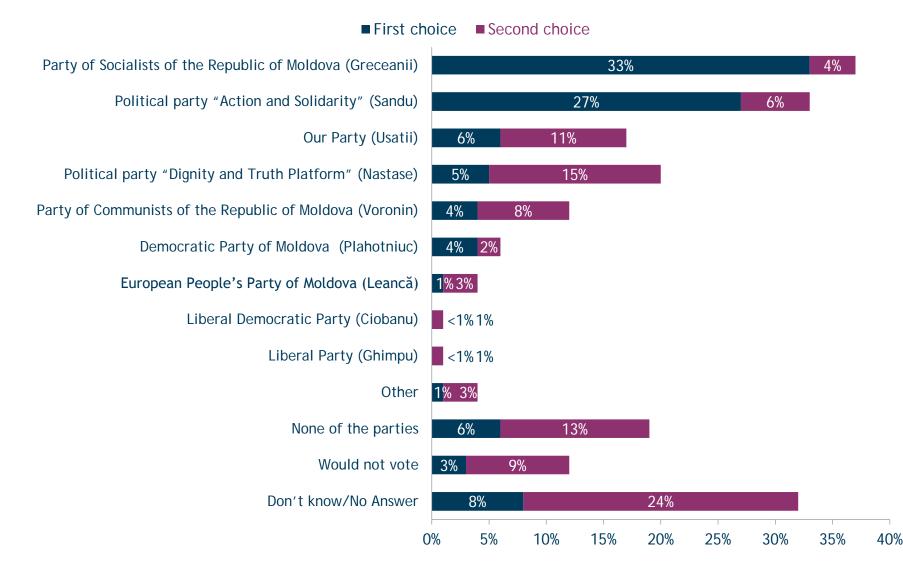
How likely, if at all, are you to vote in the next parliamentary elections?

(Disaggregated by age)

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

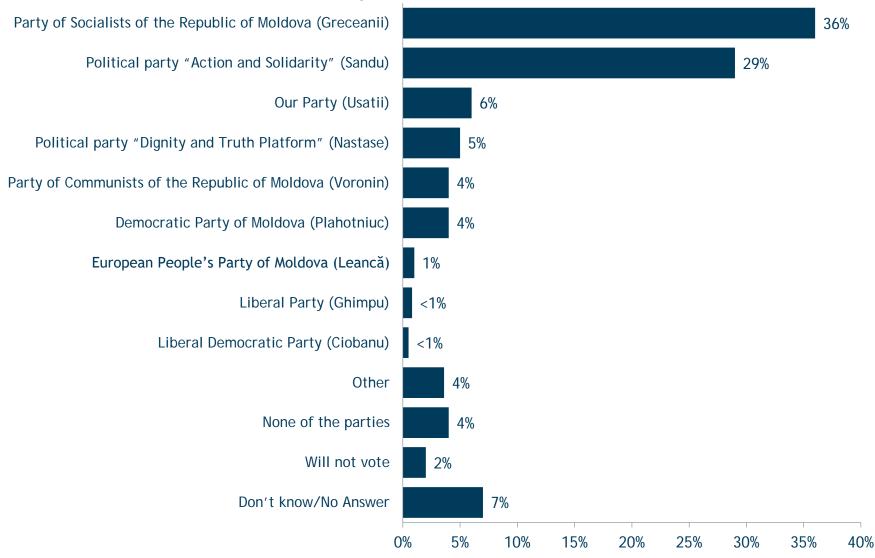


If parliamentary elections were held next Sunday and the following political parties participated in the election, for which political party would you vote?

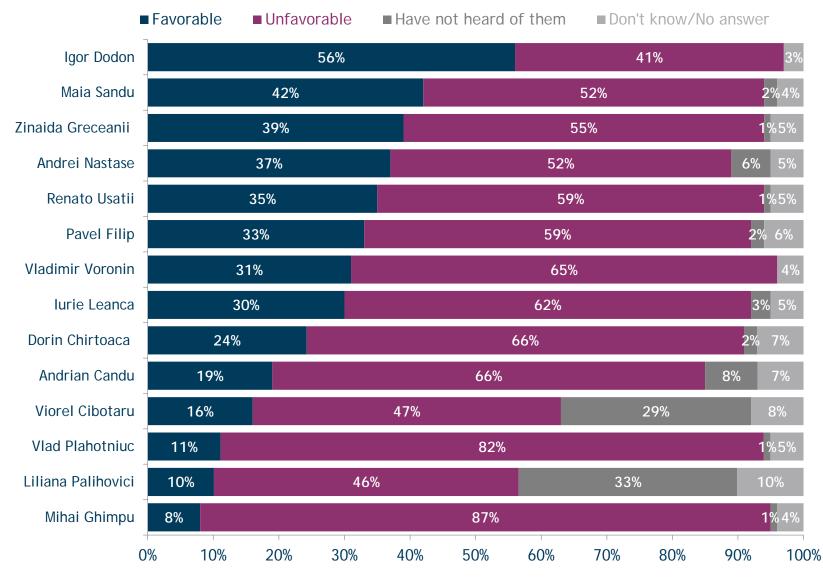


If parliamentary elections were held next Sunday and the following political parties participated in the election, for which political party would you vote?

(Likely voters, N=1294)

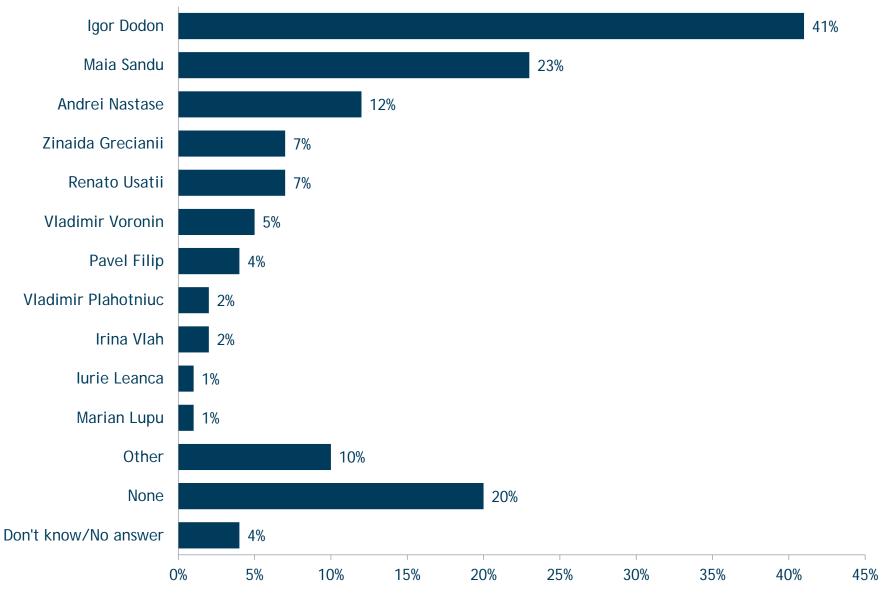


What is your opinion of the following Moldovan politicians or members of the Moldovan government?

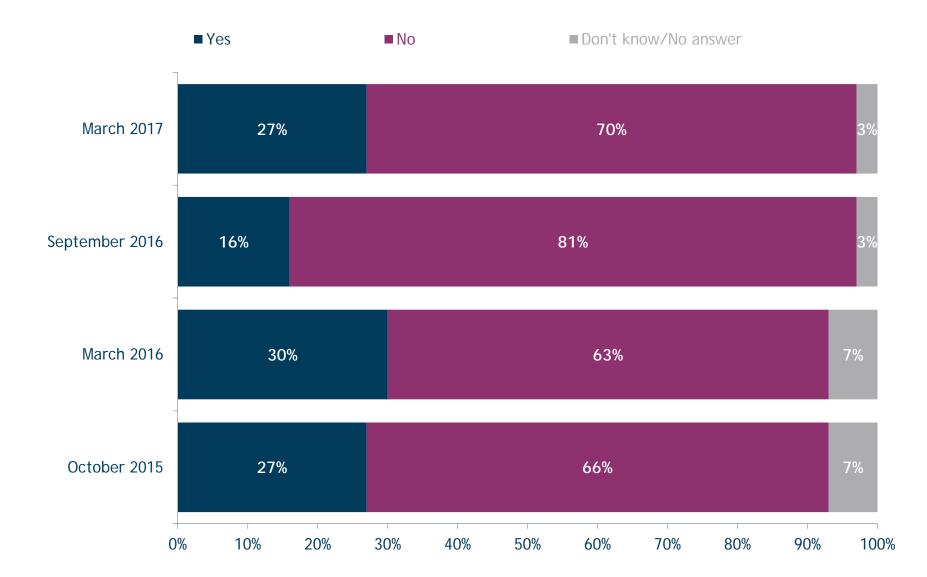


Which politicians or public persons do you trust the most?

(Respondents permitted to supply three spontaneous answers)

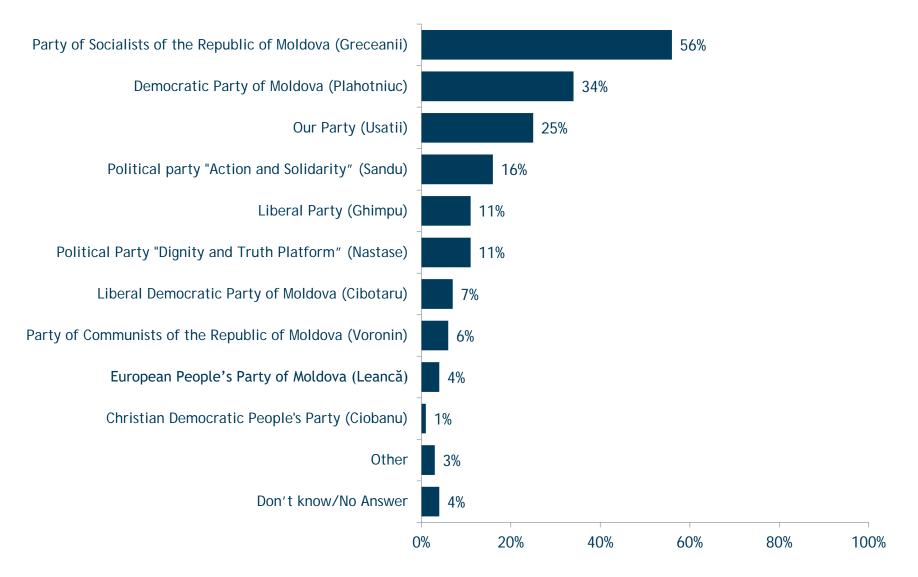


Have you seen any political activists working in your area in the last 12 months?



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

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



Women and Youth

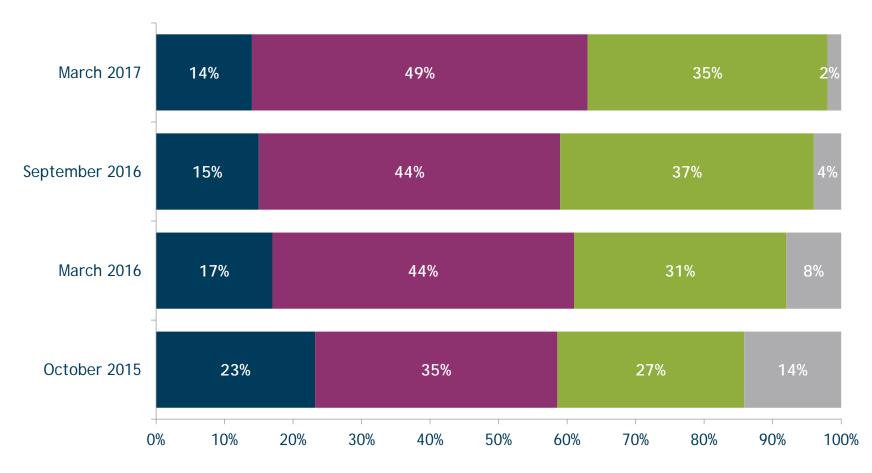


If there are two candidates running for office and they have the same qualifications aside from the fact that one is a man and one is a woman, which candidate are you more likely to support?

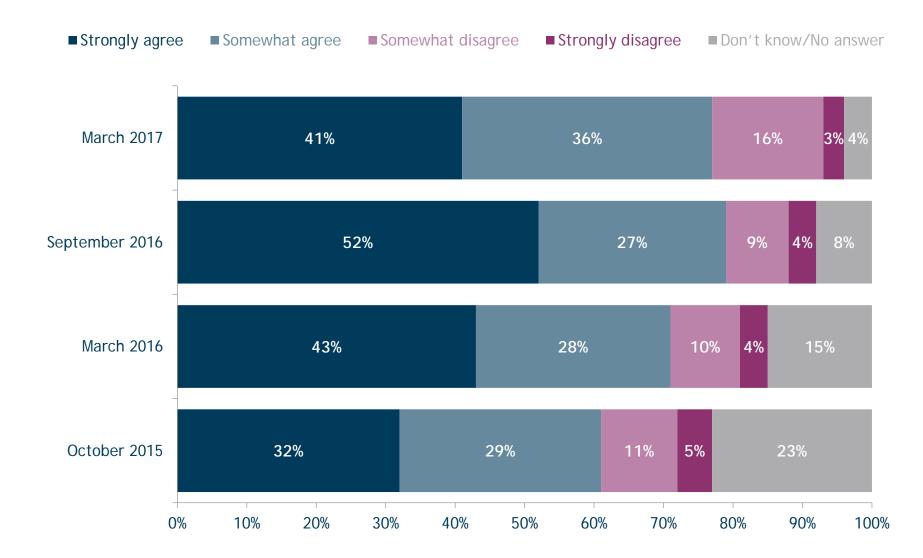


Makes no difference to me

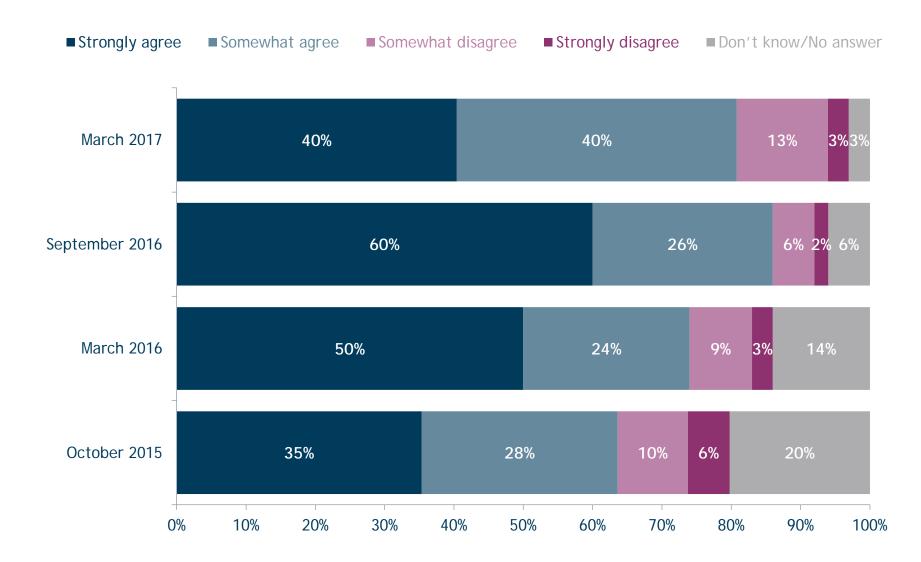
■ Don't know/No answer



Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "Politicians do not listen to the needs and ideas of women."



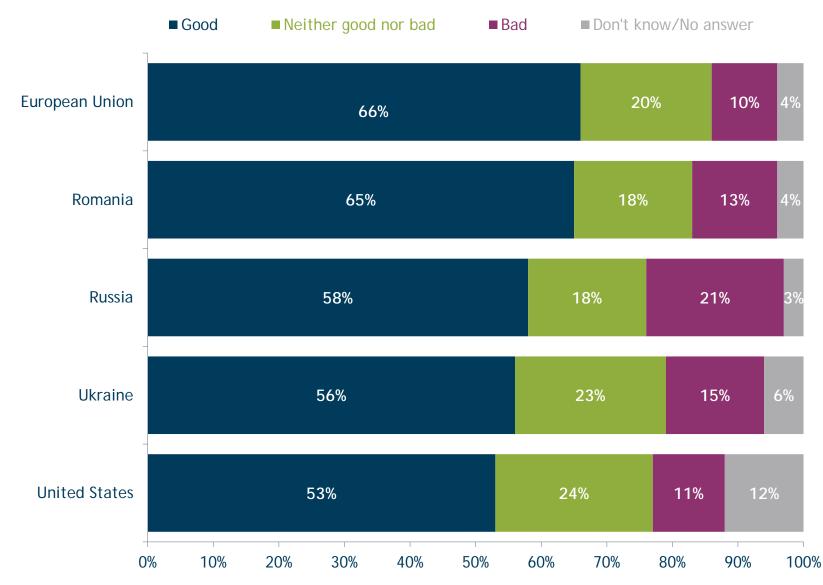
Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "Politicians do not listen to the needs and ideas of young people."



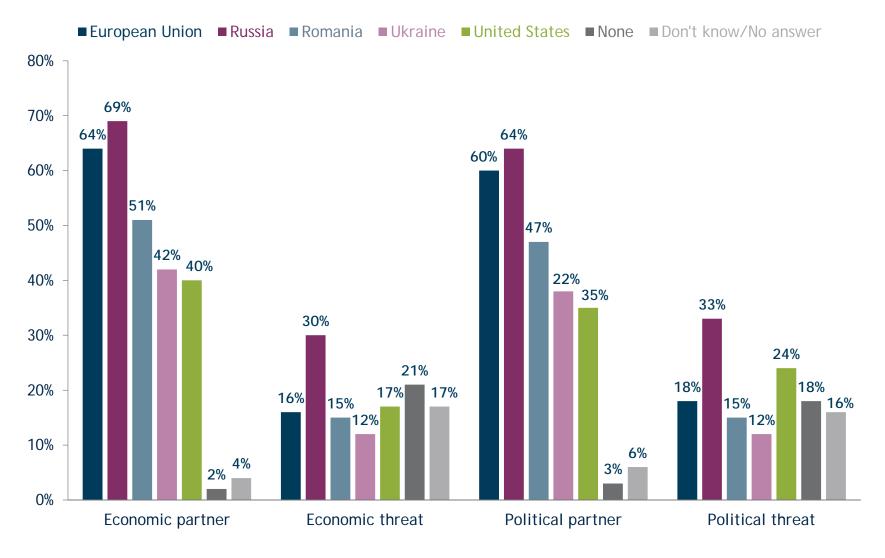
International Relations



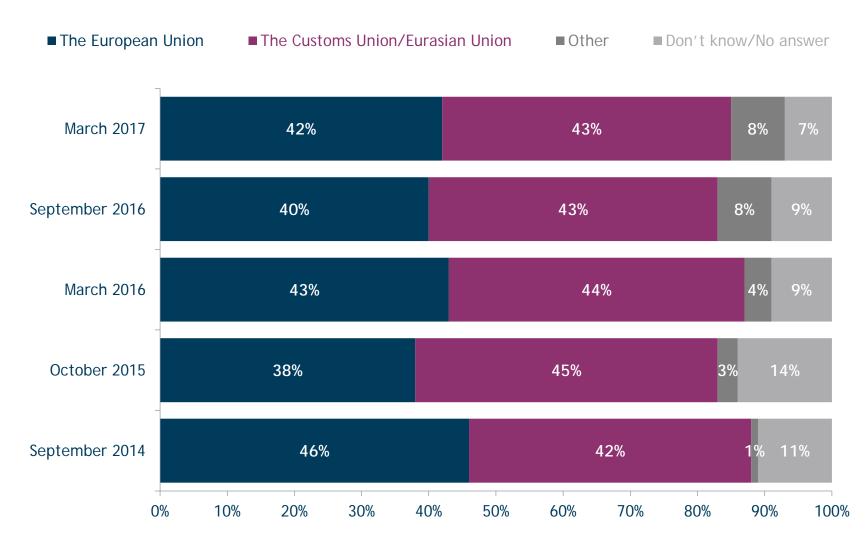
How would you assess the current relations between Moldova and each of the following countries?



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

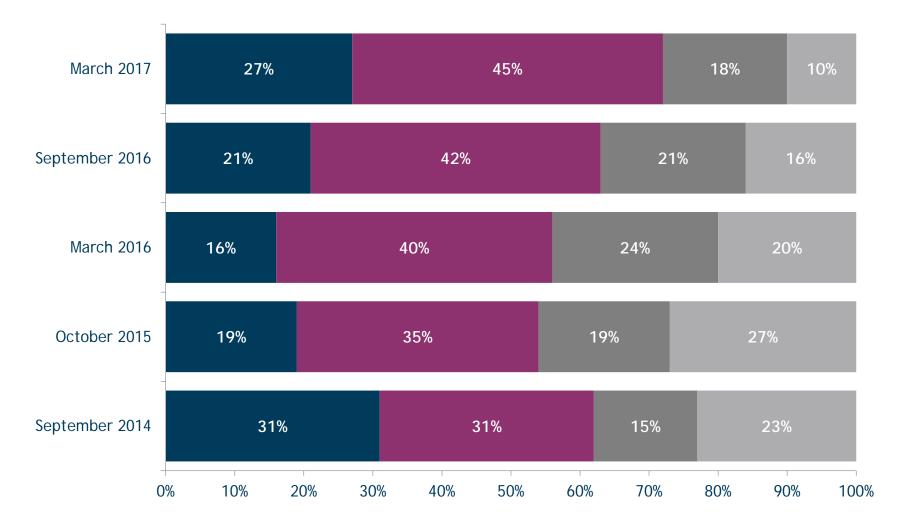


If Moldova could only join one international economic union, which one should it be?



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



What do you think the future of Transnistria should be?

Ordinary region of Moldova, without any autonomy

A part of the Russian Federation

■ Independent

Autonomy within the Republic of Moldova

■ A part of Ukraine

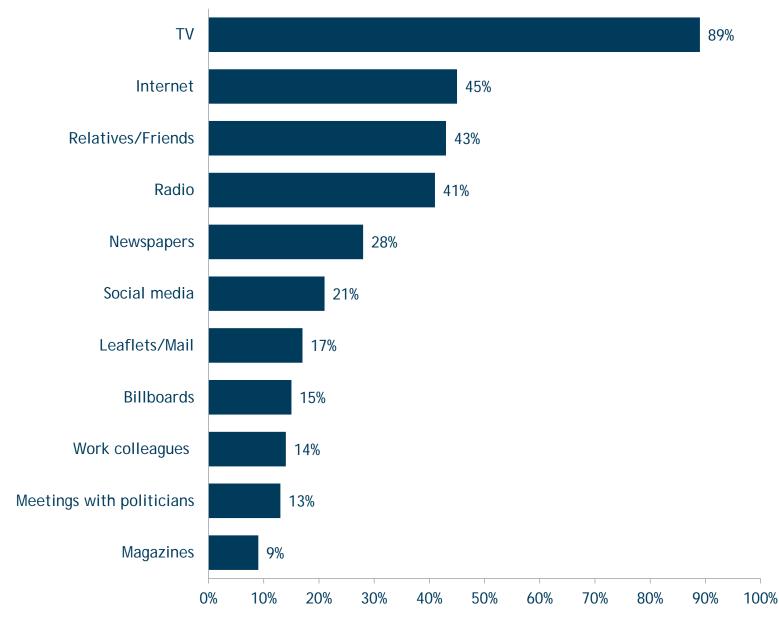
■ Don't know/No answer

March 2017				60%				23%	, 0	4%	<mark>9%</mark> 3%
September 2016				60%				24%)	3% 7	6%
March 2016			480	%			26%		7% 1 <mark>9</mark>	% 13%	6 5%
October 2015				56%				26%		8%	2 <mark>%</mark> 5% 3%
September 2014				60%				15%	8%	2 <mark>%</mark> 1	1% 4%
June 2014				67%	%			1	6%	7% 1	<mark>%6%</mark> 3%
January 2012		66%						16	5%	7%	7% 4%
December 2011		66%						1	7%	6% 1	<mark>%5%</mark> 4%
August 2011		61%						20%		6% 1 <mark>%</mark>	8% 4%
February 2011	_	60%						18%	5%	8%	9%
September 2010		65%						16	% 3	3% <mark>1</mark> % 7%	8%
May 2010				7	2%				12%	2% 8	<mark>%</mark> 6%
February 2010		68%							17%	4%1 [°]	<mark>%5%</mark> 5%
November 2009		69%							18%	2% 1 <mark>%</mark>	5 <mark>%</mark> 6%
November 2008		68%							19%	1% ·	<mark>4%</mark> 7%
April 2008		65%							21%	2%1 <mark>%</mark>	<mark>4%</mark> 7%
March 2007		61%						21%		3% <mark>4%</mark>	11%
April 2006					80%					12%	1% <mark>2%</mark> 4%
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90	0% 100

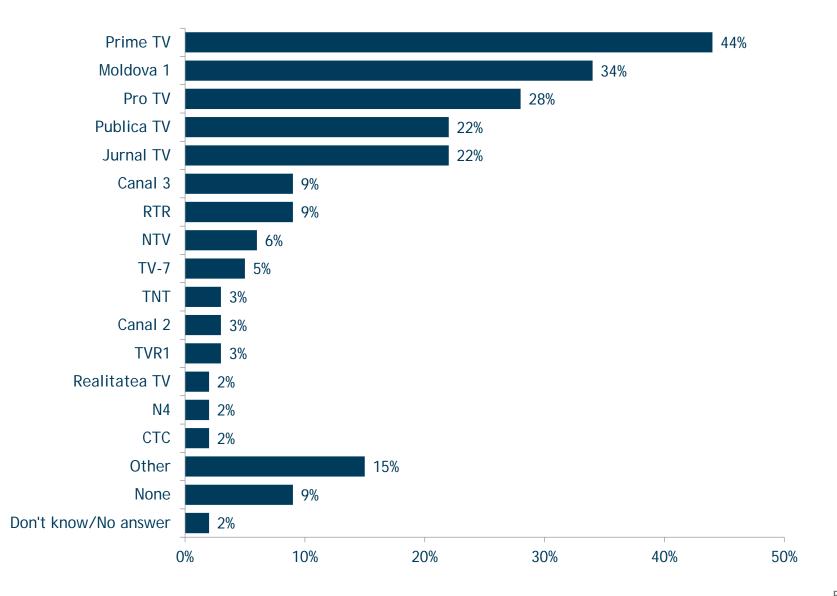
Sources of Information



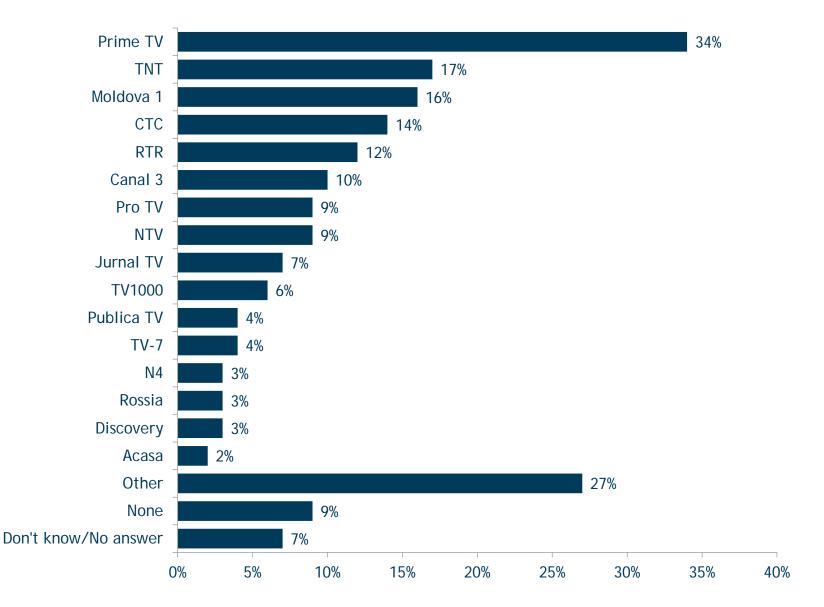
Which of these media outlets do you use to gain political information?



Which television channels do you watch for political information?



Which television channels do you watch for entertainment?

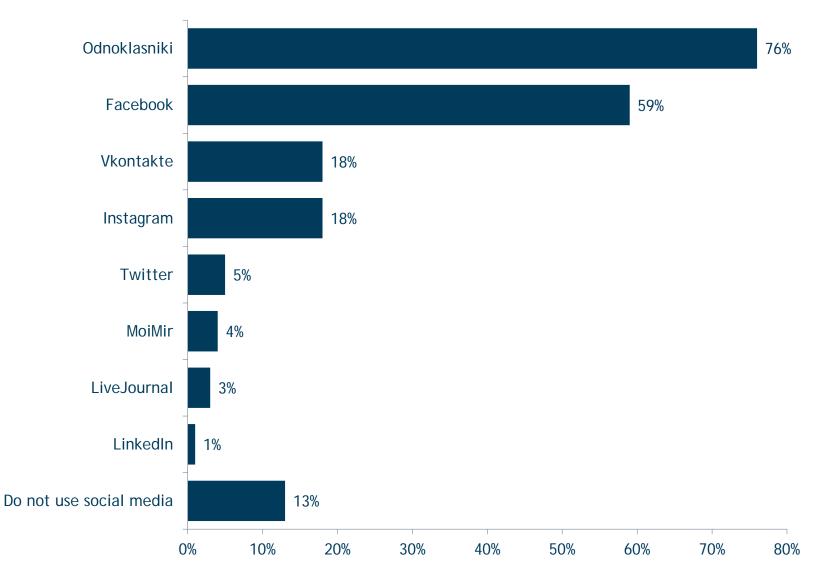


How often do you use the internet?

■ 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

March 2017		40%	8%	3% <mark>6% 3% 6%</mark> 37%				
September 2016		38%	6%	5% 3% 5%		42%		
March 2016	35	5%	6% 6%	3% 8%		41%		
October 2015	34	%	6% 6%	4% 4%	4			
February 2015	34	%	5% 6%	3% 6%	44	44%		
September 2014	33	%	6% 6%	4% <mark>3%</mark>	47	1%		
June 2014	32%	%	6% 6%	4% <mark>3%</mark>	48	%	1%	
January 2012	23%	4% <mark>4%</mark>	<mark>% 4% 11%</mark>		52%	2%		
December 2011	23%	4% 4%	4% 8%		56%		2%	
August 2011	18%	6% 7%	6% 149	%	45%		4%	
February 2011	17%	6% 8%	5% 12%		51%		1%	
September 2010	18%	5% 5% (5% 11%		51%		3%	
May 2010	13% 5%	8% 7%	13%		52%		2%	
February 2010	15% 5	6 % 7 % 6	% 12%		48%		6%	
November 2009	12% 2% <mark>4%</mark>	6% 12	2%		59%		4%	
09	% 10%	20% 30	% 40%	50%	60% 70%	80% 90	0% 100%	

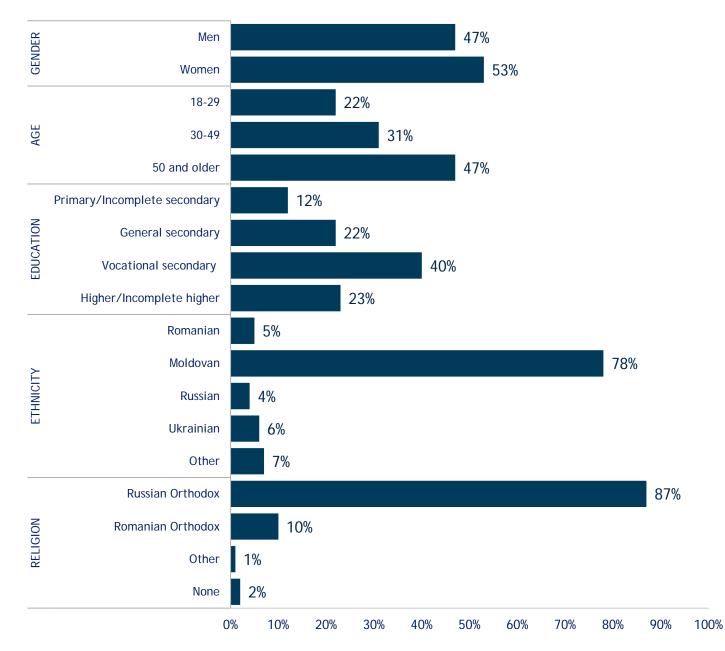
Do you use any of the following social media sites? (Internet users, N=946)



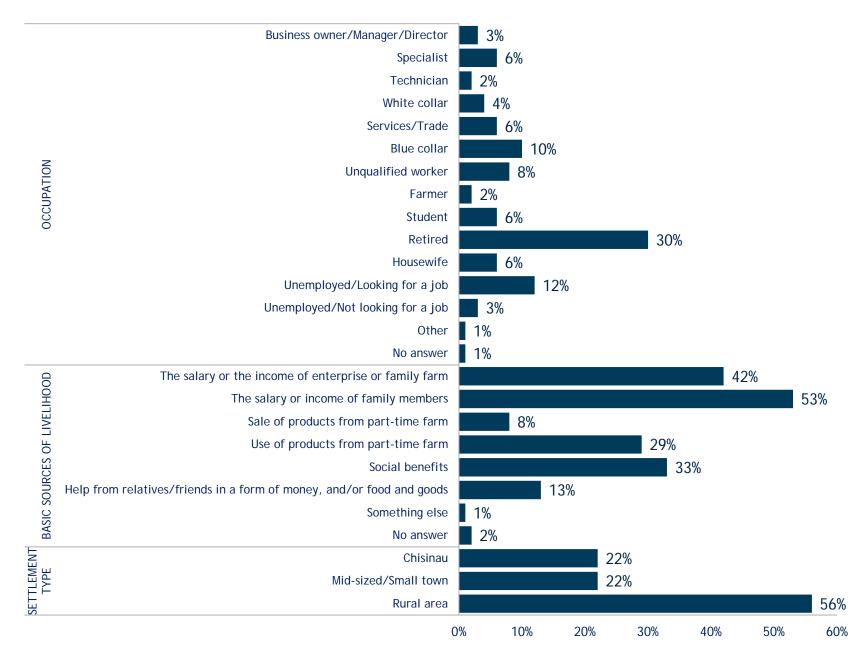
Demographics



Demographics



Demographics



Center for Insights in Survey Research 202.408.9450 | info@iri.org www.IRI.org | @IRI_Polls







The Gallup Organization

A PROJECT FROM THE INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE