Public Opinion Survey: Residents of Moldova

February 9, 2021 - March 16, 2021
Detailed Methodology

• The survey was coordinated by Ipsos on behalf of the International Republican Institute’s Center for Insights in Survey Research (CISR). The survey fieldwork was carried out by Magenta Consulting.

• Data was collected throughout Moldova (except for Transnistria) between February 9, 2021, and March 16, 2021, through computer-assisted phone interviews (CATI) using a dual-frame survey mode consisting of both mobile phones and landline phones.

• Mobile interviews: random selection of respondents using randomly generated mobile numbers of all Moldovan cellphone providers
  • Landline interviews:
    • Stage one: All districts (raions) of Moldova are grouped into 11 groups; all regions (with the exception of Transnistria) were surveyed. For all districts (raions) of Moldova numbers were randomly generated for each raion using raion prefixes
    • Stage two: Respondents were selected in households using the “last birthday” selection principle

• The sample, including an oversample of Chisinau, consisted of n=2,001 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 was weighted for phone ownership, age groups, gender and settlement type using the last available population figures by the National Bureau of Statistics. For national-level analysis, the Chisinau oversample was weighted back down to its national proportion.

• The margin of error for the mid-range of the full, national sample does not exceed ±2.4 points at the 95% confidence level.
  • The margin of error for the mid-range of the full Chisinau sample does not exceed ±4.2 points at the 95% confidence level.

• The response rate was 9 percent. This response rate is lower than CISR’s generally accepted response rates, even for telephone polls, which generally have lower response rates than face-to-face polls. However, additional vetting of the sample did not reveal any evident bias, and the sample is a close approximation of the Moldovan adult population in terms of demographic parameters. Due to the COVID-19 necessitated change in mode from face-to-face to telephone polling, CISR advises treating any trend comparisons against past polls with caution.

• 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
In general, would you say that Moldova is heading in the right direction or the 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 presidential election since 1996. Igor Dodon was elected in the second-round contest on November 13, 2016.

*** Interviews for the August 2020 and March 2021 surveys were done via computer-assisted phone interviews (CATI). All previous polls were conducted through face-to-face interviews.
What is the most important problem facing Moldova today? (Respondents permitted to supply three spontaneous answers; problems mentioned by at least 4 percent of respondents are displayed)

- Economy: Unemployment: 34%
- Economy: Low income: 24%
- Corruption: 22%
- Country's leadership/Incompetent, unprofessional governance: 18%
- Coronavirus: 17%
- Pensions: 14%
- Poverty: 13%
- Economy: Cost of living/High prices: 12%
- Healthcare: 11%
- Emigration: 10%
- Political instability/Better politics: 10%
- Economy: Other/General: 10%
- Infrastructure: 8%
- Education: 7%
- Internal conflicts: 6%
- The mentality of society/Indifferent, irresponsible citizens: 4%
- COVID issues (closed kindergartens/schools/borders): 4%
- Solve people's problems in general/Listen to people: 4%
- Don't know/Refused to answer: 5%
What is the most important problem facing Moldova today?
(Respondents permitted to supply three spontaneous answers; problems mentioned by at least 4 percent of respondents are displayed)

(Chisinau respondents, n=575)

- Corruption: 30%
- Country's leadership/Incompetent, unprofessional governance: 21%
- Economy: Unemployment: 19%
- Economy: Low income: 19%
- Coronavirus: 18%
- Economy: Other/General: 15%
- Political instability/Better politics: 12%
- Poverty: 12%
- Education: 11%
- Healthcare: 11%
- Internal conflicts: 10%
- Economy: Cost of living/High prices: 10%
- Pensions: 10%
- Emigration: 9%
- The mentality of society/Indifferent, irresponsible citizens: 8%
- Infrastructure: 7%
- Solve people's problems in general/Listen to people: 6%
- Justice reform: 4%
- Social services/Benefits: 4%
- Don't know/Refused to answer: 3%
What is the most important problem facing your household today?

(Respondents permitted to supply three spontaneous answers; problems mentioned by at least 3 percent of respondents are displayed)
What is the most important problem facing your household today? (Respondents permitted to supply three spontaneous answers; problems mentioned by at least 3 percent of respondents are displayed)

(Chisinau respondents, n=575)

- Healthcare: 28%
- Economy: Low income: 28%
- Economy: Cost of living/High prices: 17%
- Economy: Unemployment: 15%
- Coronavirus: 11%
- Pensions: 10%
- Education: 9%
- Infrastructure: 6%
- COVID issues (closed kindergartens/schools/borders): 6%
- Political instability/Better politics: 6%
- Emigration: 6%
- Poverty: 6%
- Housing: 5%
- Corruption: 4%
- Economy: Other/General: 4%
- Social services/Benefits: 3%
- Insecurity: 3%
- No (other) problem: 10%
- Don't know/Refused to answer: 6%
In the event of a new government, what specific issues should be the top priority for the new government to address?

(Respondents permitted to supply three spontaneous answers; problems mentioned by at least 3 percent of respondents are displayed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economy: Unemployment</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economy: Low income</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corruption</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pensions</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Healthcare</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economy: Cost of living/High prices</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economy: Other/General</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infrastructure</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solve people's problems in general/listen to people</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political instability/Better politics</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coronavirus</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emigration</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social services/Benefits</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COVID issues (closed kindergartens/schools/borders)</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard of living</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poverty</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International relations</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country's leadership/Incompetent, unprofessional governance</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal conflicts</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justice reform</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economy: Small business opportunities/Access to loans</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know/Refused to answer</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the event of a new government, what specific issues should be the top priority for the new government to address? (Respondents permitted to supply three spontaneous answers; problems mentioned by at least 3 percent of respondents are displayed) (Chisinau respondents, n=575)

- Corruption: 22%
- Healthcare: 21%
- Economy: Low income: 21%
- Economy: Unemployment: 20%
- Economy: Other/General: 19%
- Education: 14%
- Pensions: 14%
- Economy: Cost of living/High prices: 12%
- Infrastructure: 11%
- Coronavirus: 10%
- Solve people's problems in general/Listen to people: 7%
- Social services/Benefits: 7%
- Political instability/Better politics: 7%
- Justice reform: 5%
- Agriculture: 5%
- COVID issues (closed kindergartens/schools/borders): 5%
- Internal conflicts: 4%
- Country's leadership/Incompetent, unprofessional governance: 4%
- International relations: 4%
- Economy: Small business opportunities/Access to loans: 4%
- Emigration: 4%
- Poverty: 3%
- Standard of living: 3%
- Public safety: 3%
- Don't know/Refused to answer: 5%
How would you describe the current economic situation of your household?

- **Very good**
- **Somewhat good**
- **Somewhat bad**
- **Very bad**
- **Don't know/Refused to answer**

### August 2020
- Very good: 3%
- Somewhat good: 54%
- Somewhat bad: 27%
- Very bad: 15%
- Don't know/Refused to answer: 2%

### March 2021
- Very good: 3%
- Somewhat good: 56%
- Somewhat bad: 26%
- Very bad: 14%
- Don't know/Refused to answer: 2%

*Nationwide August 2020 (Base n=2,017), Nationwide March 2021 (Base n=2,001)*
How would you describe the current economic situation of your household?
(Chisinau respondents, n=575)

- Very good
- Somewhat good
- Somewhat bad
- Very bad
- Don't know/Refused to answer

March 2021:
- Very good: 4%
- Somewhat good: 64%
- Somewhat bad: 21%
- Very bad: 10%
- Don't know/Refused to answer: 1%

August 2020:
- Very good: 2%
- Somewhat good: 58%
- Somewhat bad: 26%
- Very bad: 12%
- Don't know/Refused to answer: 2%

*Chisinau August 2020 (Base n=549); Chisinau March 2021 (Base n=575)
In the coming 12 months, how do you expect the economic situation of your household to change?

- Improve a lot
- Improve somewhat
- Stay the same
- Worsen somewhat
- Worsen a lot
- Don't know/Refused to answer

March 2021:
- Improve a lot: 4%
- Improve somewhat: 29%
- Stay the same: 41%
- Worsen somewhat: 9%
- Worsen a lot: 6%
- Don't know/Refused to answer: 13%

August 2020:
- Improve a lot: 2%
- Improve somewhat: 22%
- Stay the same: 37%
- Worsen somewhat: 14%
- Worsen a lot: 6%
- Don't know/Refused to answer: 19%

*Nationwide August 2020 (Base n=2,017), Nationwide March 2021 (Base n=2,001)
In the coming 12 months, how do you expect the economic situation of your household to change?

(Chisinau respondents, n=575)

*Chisinau August 2020 (Base n=549); Chisinau March 2021 (Base n=575)*
Elections - Past and Future
Do you think that the November 2020 presidential elections were free and fair?

- Definitely free and fair
- Probably free and fair
- Probably not free and fair
- Definitely not free and fair
- Don't know/Refused to answer

**Nationwide (Base n=2,001), Chisinau (Base n=575)**
Do you personally agree that early parliamentary elections should be held in Moldova in the next six months?

*Nationwide (Base n=2,001), Chisinau (Base n=575).
Interviewers clarified that “Early elections are those called earlier than the elections that have been scheduled for 2023.”
If parliamentary elections were held this coming Sunday, for which party, if any, would you vote?

If parliamentary elections were held this coming Sunday, and the party you mentioned is not on the list, for which party, if any, would you vote?

*22% of respondents had no second response.*
If parliamentary elections were held this coming Sunday, for which party, if any, would you vote?

If parliamentary elections were held this coming Sunday, and the party you mentioned is not on the list, for which party, if any, would you vote?

(Chisinau respondents, n=575)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political Party</th>
<th>First choice</th>
<th>Second choice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political Party “Action and Solidarity” (Grosu)</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party of Socialists of the Republic of Moldova (Dodon)</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Party &quot;Our Party&quot; (Usatîi)</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Party “Șor” (Șor)</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Party “Dignity and Truth“ (Năstase)</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party of Communists of the Republic of Moldova (Voronin)</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal Democratic Party of Moldova (Filat)</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Party of Moldova (Filip)</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal Party (Chirtoacă)</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Unity Party (Țicu)</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European People’s Party of Moldova (Sturza)</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None (spoiled ballot)</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would not vote</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know/Refused to answer</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Which politician or public person do you trust the most?

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Politician or Person</th>
<th>Nationwide</th>
<th>Chisinau</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maia Sandu</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Igor Dodon</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrei Năstase</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renato Usatîi</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilan Șor</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vladimir Voronin</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pavel Filip</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Octavian Țicu</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexandru Slusari</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ion Chicu</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ion Ceban</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dorin Chirtoacă</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zinaida Greceanîi</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Igor Grosu</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know/Refused to answer</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Nationwide (Base n=2,001), Chisinau (Base n=575)*
International Relations
How would you rate current relations between Moldova and the following countries?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>March 2021 (Base n=2,001)</th>
<th>August 2020 (Base n=2,017)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*March 2021 (Base n=2,001), August 2020 (Base n=2,017)*
How would you rate current relations between Moldova and the following countries?

(Chisinau respondents, n=575)

- **Romania**: 16% Very good, 69% Somewhat good, 7% Somewhat bad, 1% Very bad, 7% Don't know/Refused to answer
- **European Union**: 9% Very good, 70% Somewhat good, 12% Somewhat bad, 2% Very bad, 6% Don't know/Refused to answer
- **United States**: 5% Very good, 63% Somewhat good, 12% Somewhat bad, 3% Very bad, 18% Don't know/Refused to answer
- **China**: 2% Very good, 51% Somewhat good, 9% Somewhat bad, 1% Very bad, 36% Don't know/Refused to answer
- **Russia**: 2% Very good, 41% Somewhat good, 41% Somewhat bad, 6% Very bad, 10% Don't know/Refused to answer
Which of these countries do you consider to be the most important economic partner(s) and political partner(s) for our country?

(Respondents evaluated each country/organization separately as to whether they were among the most important or not)

- 72% European Union
- 57% Romania
- 55% Russia
- 57% United States
- 55% China

*Nationwide (Base n=2,001)
Which of these countries do you consider to be the most important economic partner(s) and political partner(s) for our country?

(Chisinau respondents, n=575; Respondents evaluated each country/organization separately as to whether they were among the most important or not)

*Chisinau (Base n=575)
Corruption
In your opinion, how effective are authorities in addressing corruption?

- **Local authorities**
  - Very effective: 16%
  - Somewhat effective: 31%
  - Somewhat ineffective: 19%
  - Very ineffective: 23%
  - Don’t know/Refused to answer: 12%

- **National authorities**
  - Very effective: 11%
  - Somewhat effective: 23%
  - Somewhat ineffective: 26%
  - Very ineffective: 28%
  - Don’t know/Refused to answer: 12%
In your opinion, how effective are authorities in addressing corruption?

(Chisinau respondents, n=575)

- Local authorities:
  - Very effective: 7%
  - Somewhat effective: 26%
  - Somewhat ineffective: 28%
  - Very ineffective: 34%
  - Don't know/Refused to answer: 6%

- National authorities:
  - Very effective: 7%
  - Somewhat effective: 20%
  - Somewhat ineffective: 33%
  - Very ineffective: 33%
  - Don't know/Refused to answer: 7%
Over the past 12 months, has corruption among authorities increased, decreased, or stayed the same?

- **Local authorities**
  - Increased: 20%
  - Same: 52%
  - Decreased: 13%
  - Don't know/Refused to answer: 15%

- **National authorities**
  - Increased: 24%
  - Same: 49%
  - Decreased: 12%
  - Don't know/Refused to answer: 15%
Over the past 12 months, has corruption among authorities increased, decreased, or stayed the same?

(Chisinau respondents, n=575)
To what degree is it the responsibility of citizens to address corruption?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>To a very large degree</th>
<th>To a large degree</th>
<th>To a small degree</th>
<th>Don't know/Refused to answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nationwide</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chisinau</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Nationwide (Base n=2,001), Chisinau (Base n=575)
Diaspora
Do you have any members of your household currently living or working/studying abroad?

- Yes: 39%
- No: 61%
- Don't know/Refused to answer: <1%

*Nationwide (Base n=2,001)
In which country or countries do you have members of your household currently living or working, or studying abroad?

(Respondents that have members of family abroad; respondents permitted to supply spontaneous answers; countries mentioned by at least 3 percent of nationwide or Chisinau respondents)

*Nationwide (Base n=788), Chisinau (Base n=205), people who have household members abroad*
Number of household members that are abroad

(Respondents permitted to supply spontaneous answers)

*Nationwide (Base n=788) people who have household members abroad. Interviewers asked “Please indicate who exactly from your household is abroad. You shouldn’t mention names, but only who they are to you - mother, father, etc.”*
On average, what percentage, if any, of your annual household income comes from the remittances you receive from your household members abroad?

(Respondents that have members of household abroad)

*Nationwide (Base n=788), people who have household members abroad*
Do you have any members of your household who voted abroad in the November 2020 presidential elections?

*Nationwide (Base n=788), Chisinau (Base n=205), people who have household members abroad
How would you evaluate the social and political views of you and the following household member abroad? They are...

Very similar | More or less similar | More or less different | Totally different
--- | --- | --- | ---
39% | 33% | 15% | 14%

Chisinau (n=185)

Very similar | More or less similar | More or less different | Totally different
--- | --- | --- | ---
39% | 33% | 20% | 9%

Nationwide (n=688)

*Base - respondents who assessed the views of all household members abroad. This represents the average score of all household members abroad for each respondent who assessed the views of all the people he/she mentioned. Labels correspond to the following values: (a) score 1-1.49 - very similar (b) 1.5-2.49 - more or less similar (c) 2.5-3.49 - more or less different (d) 3.5-4 - totally different
Sources of Information
How interested or uninterested are you in political news and information?

*Nationwide (Base n=2001), Chisinau (Base n=575)
Which sources of information do you use most frequently to access political news and information? (Respondents permitted to supply three answers)

- **Television**: 54% First choice, 24% Second choice, 3% Third choice
- **Internet (other than social media)**: 24% First choice, 18% Second choice, 5% Third choice
- **Social media**: 12% First choice, 12% Second choice, 5% Third choice
- **Radio**: 3% First choice, 9% Second choice, 10% Third choice
- **Relatives, friends**: 1% First choice, 4% Second choice, 8% Third choice
- **Print media (newspaper and magazines articles)**: 1% First choice, 6% Second choice, 7% Third choice
- **Other**: <1% First choice, 1% Second choice, 1% Third choice
- **None**: 3% First choice
- **Don't know/Refused to answer**: 1%

*Nationwide (Base n=2001)*
Do you use any of the following social media sites?

- Facebook
- Viber
- Facebook Messenger
- YouTube
- WhatsApp
- Odnoklassniki
- Instagram
- Telegram
- Vkontakte
- Twitter
- MoiMir
- Linkedin
- LiveJournal
- I don't use social media
- Don't know/Refused to answer

*Nationwide (Base n=2,001), Chisinau (Base n=575)
Demographics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GENDER</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>EDUCATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>National Sample</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>Chisinau Sample</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-29</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>No formal education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-49</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>Primary school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50+</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>Incomplete secondary school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>Secondary professional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>Secondary special</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>Incomplete higher education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>Complete higher education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0%</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
<td>PhD/post PhD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>Don't know/Refused to answer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The chart above illustrates the distribution of gender, age, and education levels in the National and Chisinau samples.