Public Opinion Survey: Residents of Moldova

September 16, 2021 - November 1, 2021
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 Centre CIVIS.

- Data was collected throughout Moldova (with the exception of Transnistria) between September 16 and November 1, 2021 through face-to-face interviews in respondents’ homes.

- The sample consisted of 1,619 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, according to the Moldova Statistical Databank.

- 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 31 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
In general, would you say that Moldova is heading in the right direction or the wrong direction?

- **Right direction**
- **Wrong direction**
- **Don’t know/No answer**

*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.
How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the pace of change in the country?

- 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>I am satisfied</th>
<th>Change is happening at the right pace</th>
<th>Change is not happening fast enough</th>
<th>Change is happening too fast</th>
<th>No change is taking place</th>
<th>Don’t know/No answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>October 21</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 19</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 19</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 18</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 18</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 18</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 18</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 17</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 17</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 16</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 16</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 15</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
What is the most important problem facing Moldova today?
(Respondents permitted to supply three spontaneous answers; problems mentioned by at least 2 percent of respondents are displayed)

- Economy: Unemployment (47%)
- Economy: Cost of living/High prices (43%)
- Economy: Low income (33%)
- Corruption (33%)
- Poverty (20%)
- Emigration (15%)
- Pensions (14%)
- Economy: Other/General (11%)
- Healthcare (10%)
- Insecurity (8%)
- Coronavirus (7%)
- Education (6%)
- Infrastructure (6%)
- Economy—small business opportunities/access to loans (5%)
- Social services/benefits (5%)
- Incompetent authorities/government (4%)
- Internal conflicts (2%)
- Agriculture (2%)
- No problems (<1%)
- Don’t know/ No answer (1%)

*Problems named by less than 2 percent have been collapsed into the “Other” category*
What is the most important problem facing your town/village today?

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

*Problems named by less than 2 percent have been collapsed into the “Other” category*
What is the most important problem facing your household today?

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

- Economy: Cost of living/High prices: 43%
- Economy: Low income: 39%
- Healthcare: 25%
- Economy: Unemployment: 22%
- Pensions: 17%
- Insecurity: 16%
- Poverty: 14%
- Emigration: 9%
- Social services/Benefits: 7%
- Corruption: 7%
- Economy—small business opportunities/access to loans: 6%
- Coronavirus: 6%
- Housing: 5%
- Infrastructure: 5%
- Education: 4%
- Economy: Other/General: 4%
- Lack of amenities (gas, water, sewerage): 3%
- Water: 3%
- Agriculture: 2%
- Electricity: 2%
- Environment: 2%
- Other: 9%
- No problems: 10%

*Problems named by less than 2 percent have been collapsed into the “Other” category*
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 2 percent of respondents are displayed)

- Economy: Low income: 38%
- Economy: Cost of living/High prices: 32%
- Economy: Unemployment: 30%
- Corruption: 25%
- Gas/fuel supply and price: 12%
- Emigration: 10%
- Healthcare: 10%
- Infrastructure: 9%
- Economy: Other/General: 7%
- Social services/ Benefits: 7%
- Education: 6%
- Coronavirus: 5%
- Economy—small business opportunities/access to loans: 4%
- Indifference towards the ordinary people: 4%
- Incompetent government: 3%
- Malnutrition: 3%
- Justice reform: 3%
- Electricity: 3%
- Activities for use: 2%
- External conflicts/war: 2%
- Order in state institutions: 2%
- Other: 9%
- Don't know/ No answer: 9%

*Problems named by less than 2 percent have been collapsed into the “Other” category*
Over the last 12 months, how has the economic situation in Moldova changed?

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

**October 2021**
- Improved a lot: 1%
- Improved somewhat: 10%
- Stayed the same: 25%
- Worsened somewhat: 35%
- Worsened a lot: 26%
- Don't know/No answer: 4%

**December 2019**
- Improved a lot: 1%
- Improved somewhat: 15%
- Stayed the same: 52%
- Worsened somewhat: 18%
- Worsened a lot: 9%
- Don't know/No answer: 5%
How would you describe the current economic situation of your household?

* Interviews for the August 2020 and March 2021 surveys were done via computer-assisted phone interviews (CATI). All other polls were conducted through face-to-face interviews.
In the coming 12 months, how do you expect the economic situation of your household to change?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Improve a lot</th>
<th>Improve somewhat</th>
<th>Stay the same</th>
<th>Worsen somewhat</th>
<th>Worsen a lot</th>
<th>Don't know/ No answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>October 2021</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*March 2021</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*August 2020</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Interviews for the August 2020 and March 2021 surveys were done via computer-assisted phone interviews (CATI). October 2021 poll was conducted through face-to-face interviews.
How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the way democracy is developing in our country?

- Very satisfied
- Somewhat satisfied
- Somewhat dissatisfied
- Very dissatisfied
- Don’t know/No answer

October 2021:
- Very satisfied: 3%
- Somewhat satisfied: 29%
- Somewhat dissatisfied: 32%
- Very dissatisfied: 32%
- Don’t know/No answer: 4%

December 2019:
- Very satisfied: 3%
- Somewhat satisfied: 26%
- Somewhat dissatisfied: 34%
- Very dissatisfied: 31%
- Don’t know/No answer: 7%
Do you think that today’s generation of young people has a good future in Moldova or not?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>October 2021</th>
<th>19%</th>
<th>76%</th>
<th>5%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>December 2019</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Do you consider our country to be governed in the interest of the majority of people or in the interest of some groups?

- Majority of people
- Some groups
- Don't know/No answer

**October 2021**
- 20% Majority of people
- 73% Some groups
- 7% Don't know/No answer

**December 2019**
- 14% Majority of people
- 78% Some groups
- 8% Don't know/No answer
Now I would like to discuss corruption with you. When I say corruption, I mean having to do a favor, give a gift or pay a bribe because someone misuses their position for personal gains.

To what extent, if any, has corruption had a negative impact on you?

- **October 2021**
  - It has had a lot of negative impact: 14%
  - It has had some negative impact: 13%
  - It has had little negative impact: 10%
  - It has not had any negative impact: 49%
  - Don’t know/No answer: 15%

- **December 2019**
  - It has had a lot of negative impact: 18%
  - It has had some negative impact: 20%
  - It has had little negative impact: 11%
  - It has not had any negative impact: 36%
  - Don’t know/No answer: 15%
In the past 12 months, how often, if at all, have you had to do a favor, give a gift or pay a bribe?

October 2021:
- Not at all: 76%
- Less frequently: 15%
- Monthly: 2%
- Weekly: <1%
- Daily: <1%
- Don’t know/No answer: 7%

December 2019:
- Not at all: 61%
- Less frequently: 25%
- Monthly: 4%
- Weekly: <1%
- Daily: 10%
- Don’t know/No answer: 10%
Whom did you have to do favors for, give gifts or pay bribes to? (Respondents who had to do a favor, give a gift or pay a bribe in the past 12 months, n=274)

- Doctors/Hospital employee: 73% Yes, 22% No, 5% Don't know/No answer
- Teachers/University official: 40% Yes, 54% No, 6% Don't know/No answer
- Police: 30% Yes, 65% No, 6% Don't know/No answer
- Border official: 13% Yes, 80% No, 7% Don't know/No answer
- Local government officials: 11% Yes, 83% No, 6% Don't know/No answer
- Kindergarten administrator: 11% Yes, 83% No, 6% Don't know/No answer
- Other (not local) government officials: 11% Yes, 84% No, 6% Don't know/No answer
- Judge/Lawyer: 7% Yes, 87% No, 7% Don't know/No answer
- Business people: 6% Yes, 88% No, 6% Don't know/No answer
- Other: 1% Yes, 89% No, 11% Don't know/No answer
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Yes (%)</th>
<th>No (%)</th>
<th>Don't know/No answer (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To receive medical services</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For education</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To avoid paying a fine</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To receive a government service, like a birth certificate</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To receive utilities like water or electricity</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To avoid being arrested</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To avoid being threatened</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To obtain employment</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td>94%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
What, in your opinion, is the greatest cause of corruption in our country?

- Lack of government control and oversight: 37%
- Poverty and necessity: 23%
- The actions of business leaders and oligarchs: 18%
- Education levels of citizens: 13%
- Custom and history: 6%
- There is no corruption: <1%
- Don’t know/No answer: 5%
In your opinion, how effective are authorities in addressing corruption?

Very effective: 12% (Local) 4% (National)
Somewhat effective: 24% (Local) 18% (National)
Somewhat ineffective: 21% (Local) 30% (National)
Very ineffective: 21% (Local) 31% (National)
Don't know/No answer: 22% (Local) 17% (National)
Over the past 12 months, has corruption among authorities increased, decreased or stayed the same?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Increased</th>
<th>Same</th>
<th>Decreased</th>
<th>Don't know/No answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Local authorities</strong></td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>National authorities</strong></td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
To what degree is it the responsibility of citizens to address corruption?

- To a very large degree: 26%
- To a large degree: 28%
- To a small degree: 21%
- To a very small degree: 18%
- Don't know/ No answer: 7%

[Diagram showing the distribution of responses]
Elections - Past and Future
Do you think that the early parliamentary elections on July 11, 2021 were free and fair?

- Definitely free and fair: 29%
- Probably free and fair: 34%
- Probably not free and fair: 16%
- Definitely not free and fair: 10%
- Don't know/ No answer: 12%
Did you vote in the July 11 parliamentary elections?

- Yes: 86%
- No: 13%
- Don't know/ No answer: 1%
What is the primary reason you did not vote in the July 11 parliamentary elections?

(Respondents supplied a spontaneous answer; Respondents who did not vote in the July 11 parliamentary elections, n=217)

- None of the parties or candidates inspired me: 22%
- Lack of time: 20%
- Lack of confidence in the electoral process: 15%
- Lack of interest: 9%
- Lack of trust in the privacy of my vote: 6%
- I was abroad: 6%
- Not eligible to vote: 4%
- I was at hospital: 4%
- My vote does not matter: 3%
- Not registered to vote: 3%
- I was at work: 2%
- Problems with ID card (expired, lost, forgot): 1%
- Voting process too cumbersome: 1%
- Other: <1%
- Don't know/No answer: 4%
Which political party if any, do you currently support? I would like to remind you that your response is confidential.

(Respondents supplied a spontaneous answer)

- Political Party "Action and Solidarity" (Grosu): 36%
- Party of Socialists of the Republic of Moldova (Dodon): 14%
- Party of Communists of the Republic of Moldova (Voronin): 5%
- Political Party “Șor” (Șor): 3%
- Political Party "Our Party" (Usatîi): 2%
- Democratic Party of Moldova (Filip): 1%
- Political Party "Dignity and Truth" (Plîngău): 1%
- Political Party "Democracy at Home" (Costiuc): 1%
- Other: 1%
- I do not support any political party: 19%
- Don’t know/No answer: 18%

*Some parties that received <1% were united under the category "Other"*
Would you be willing to engage in any of the following support activities for a political party or political movement you support?

- Talk to others to support: 22% Yes, willing, 72% No, not willing, 7% Don't know/No answer
- Participate in events to support: 19% Yes, willing, 74% No, not willing, 7% Don't know/No answer
- Volunteer my time to support: 18% Yes, willing, 75% No, not willing, 7% Don't know/No answer
- Post on social media to support: 16% Yes, willing, 77% No, not willing, 6% Don't know/No answer
- Display signs of support on my clothing, or on my car or house: 10% Yes, willing, 82% No, not willing, 7% Don't know/No answer
- Donate money to support: 6% Yes, willing, 87% No, not willing, 7% Don't know/No answer
If you would be willing to donate to the political party or political movement you support, how much would you be willing to give?
(Respondents willing to donate money to support, n=102)
Politicians
Which politician or public person do you trust the most?

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

- Maia Sandu: 27%
- Igor Dodon: 14%
- Igor Grosu: 7%
- Vladimir Voronin: 7%
- Natalia Gavrilita: 5%
- Ilan Șor: 3%
- Sergiu Litvinenco: 2%
- Renato Usatîi: 2%
- Alexandru Slusari: 2%
- Zinaida Greceanîi: 2%
- Ion Ceban: 1%
- Ion Chicu: 1%
- Pavel Filip: 1%
- Andrei Năstase: 1%
- Vasilie Costiuc: 1%
- Other: 9%
- Don't know/ No answer: 53%

*Persons named by less than 1 percent have been collapsed into the “Other” category*
For each name, please tell me if you have a highly favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or highly unfavorable opinion of this individual. If you have not heard of this person please tell me.
For each name, please tell me if you have a highly favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or highly unfavorable opinion of this individual. If you have not heard of this person please tell me.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Highly favorable</th>
<th>Somewhat favorable</th>
<th>Somewhat unfavorable</th>
<th>Highly unfavorable</th>
<th>Have not heard</th>
<th>Don't know/No answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Natalia Gavrilita</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sergiiu Litvinenco</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ala Nemerenco</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrei Spinu</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ana Revenco</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vladislav Kulminski</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicu Popescu</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anatolie Topala</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iurie Turcanu</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marcel Spatari</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anatolie Nosatii</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iuliana Cantaragiu</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sergiu Prodan</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viorel Gherciu</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dumitru Budianschi</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sergiu Gaibu</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

35
What is your opinion of each of the following institutions?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Very positive</th>
<th>Somewhat positive</th>
<th>Somewhat negative</th>
<th>Very negative</th>
<th>Don’t know/No answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local authorities</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>President’s office</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moldovan Mitropoly</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prime Minister’s office</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education system</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bessarabian Mitropoly</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Army</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Healthcare system</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-governmental organizations (NGOs)</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Electoral Commission</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parliament</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moldovan media</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prosecutor’s office</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political parties</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courts of justice</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Attitudes Toward the President, Government and Local Authorities
Do you approve or disapprove of the activities of the President of Moldova, Maia Sandu?

- Strongly approve: 30%
- Somewhat approve: 28%
- Strongly disapprove: 4%
- Somewhat disapprove: 23%
- Don’t know/ No answer: 15%

Legend:
- Blue: Strongly approve
- Gray: Somewhat approve
- Pink: Somewhat disapprove
- Red: Strongly disapprove
- Gray: Don’t know/ No answer
How do you view the recent change in government?

- **Very positive**: 7%
- **Somewhat positive**: 14%
- **Somewhat negative**: 26%
- **Very negative**: 35%
- **Don't know/No answer**: 19%
What is the most important reason why you view the change in government as positive?

(Respondents provided a spontaneous answer; Respondents positively evaluating change in government, n=680)

- Hope for some changes for the better: 30%
- They started fighting corruption: 15%
- They have started to implement reforms: 8%
- Young and competent specialists: 6%
- Clearing the old system: 4%
- Social changes for the better began: 4%
- Improving external relations, especially with the EU: 4%
- The incompetence of the former government: 2%
- Changes for the better in economy: 2%
- They think of ordinary people: 1%
- For a better living: 1%
- No reason: 10%
- Don't know/ No answer: 13%
- Other: 1%

*Reasons named by less than 1 percent have been collapsed into the “Other” category*
What is the most important reason why you view the change in government as negative?

(Respondents provided a spontaneous response; Respondents negatively evaluating change in government, n=717)

- They do not fulfill their promises, no changes for better are seen: 28%
- Prices have increased: 19%
- Incompetent people are not reliable: 8%
- They do not think about ordinary people, look only own interests: 7%
- Instability, everything is going wrong: 7%
- Cumatrism: 3%
- Corruption still exists: 3%
- Revenues remained the same or decreased: 2%
- Relations with Russia have worsened: 1%
- Frequent changes are bad: 1%
- They sold the country to foreigners: 1%
- They quarrel with each other: 1%
- Other: 3%
- No reason: 7%
- Don't know/ No answer: 8%

*Reasons named by less than 1 percent have been collapsed into the “Other” category.

*The term cumătrism refers to the use of informal networks in the Republic of Moldova. It has a pejorative connotation and describes the unmerited promotion of a candidate to a certain position, based on kinship relations to someone with status.
What is your opinion of the new government team?

- Very favorable: 35%
- Somewhat favorable: 25%
- Somewhat unfavorable: 12%
- Very unfavorable: 9%
- Don't know/ No answer: 12%
Do you think the new Moldovan Parliament will be responsive or not responsive to the needs of voters like you?

- Very responsive: 28%
- Rather responsive: 33%
- Rather not responsive: 24%
- Not responsive at all: 7%
- Don’t know/ No answer: 8%
Do you approve or disapprove of the activities of your local government (i.e. mayor, local councilors and raion councilors)?

*Below the central government, Moldova is divided administratively into 3 municipalities, 2 autonomous regions and 32 districts which are referred to as raions. The raions are governed by a locally-elected council.*
Do you believe that democracy is the best possible form of government for our country or not?

- Yes, it is the best possible form of government for our country
- No, there are other forms of government that could be equally good for our country
- No, there are other forms of government that are better than democracy
- Don’t know/No answer

**October 2021**
- Yes: 42%
- Other equally good forms: 23%
- Better than democracy: 15%
- Don’t know/No answer: 20%

**December 2019**
- Yes: 53%
- Other equally good forms: 18%
- Better than democracy: 11%
- Don’t know/No answer: 18%
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

Which of these statements is closest to your own point of view?
International Relations
How would you rate the current relations between Moldova and...

- **Romania**: 20% Very good, 54% somewhat good, 9% somewhat bad, 2% very bad, 15% don't know/no answer
- **European Union**: 17% Very good, 56% somewhat good, 9% somewhat bad, 1% very bad, 16% don't know/no answer
- **United States**: 11% Very good, 49% somewhat good, 12% somewhat bad, 2% very bad, 26% don't know/no answer
- **Russia**: 7% Very good, 31% somewhat good, 42% somewhat bad, 6% very bad, 14% don't know/no answer
- **China**: 4% Very good, 37% somewhat good, 15% somewhat bad, 3% very bad, 41% don't know/no 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)
If a referendum was held today on Moldova joining NATO, how would you vote?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>For Moldova joining NATO</th>
<th>Against Moldova joining NATO</th>
<th>Would not vote</th>
<th>Don’t know/No answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>October 2021</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 2019</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 2019</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 2018</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 2018</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 2018</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 2018</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 2017</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 2017</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 2016</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 2016</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 2015</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 2014</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
- October 2014: 31% For Moldova joining NATO, 31% Against Moldova joining NATO, 15% Would not vote, 23% Don’t know/No answer.
Do you support or oppose Moldova becoming a member of the European Union in the future?

- **Strongly support**: 38%
- **Somewhat support**: 26%
- **Somewhat oppose**: 16%
- **Strongly oppose**: 7%
- **Don't know/No answer**: 13%

- Strongly support
- Somewhat support
- Somewhat oppose
- Strongly oppose
- Don't know/No answer
Do you support or oppose Moldova becoming a member of the Customs Union/Eurasian Union in the future?

- Strongly support: 22%
- Somewhat support: 17%
- Somewhat oppose: 17%
- Strongly oppose: 18%
- Don't know/ No answer: 27%
Sources of Information
How interested or uninterested are you in political news and information?

- Very interested: 15%
- Somewhat interested: 53%
- Somewhat uninterested: 11%
- Very uninterested: 1%
- Don't know/Refused to answer: 20%
Which sources of information do you use most frequently to gain political news and information? (Respondents permitted to supply three answers)

- **Television**: First choice 58%, Second choice 13%, Third choice 8%
- **Social media**: First choice 17%, Second choice 20%, Third choice 9%
- **Internet (other than social media)**: First choice 13%, Second choice 16%, Third choice 13%
- **Radio**: First choice 3%, Second choice 16%, Third choice 6%
- **Relatives, friends**: First choice 2%, Second choice 7%, Third choice 14%
- **Print media (newspaper and magazines articles)**: First choice 1%, Second choice 5%, Third choice 7%
- **Work colleagues**: First choice 1%, Second choice 1%, Third choice 4%
- **Meetings with politicians**: First choice 1%, Second choice 1%, Third choice 1%
- **Debates**: First choice <1%, Second choice 1%, Third choice 2%
- **Billboards, stands in the streets**: First choice <1%, Second choice 1%, Third choice 1%
- **Leaflets, other free information by mail**: First choice <1%, Second choice <1%, Third choice 1%
- **None**: First choice 3%, Second choice 19%, Third choice 34%
- **Don't know/ No answer**: First choice <1%
Do you use any of the following social media sites?

- Facebook: 55%
- Facebook Messenger: 51%
- Viber: 49%
- YouTube: 43%
- WhatsApp: 30%
- Odnoklassniki: 28%
- Instagram: 25%
- Telegram: 16%
- Vkontakte: 8%
- Twitter: 5%
- Linkedin: 1%
- LiveJournal: 1%
- MoiMir: 1%
- I don’t use social media: 26%
- Don’t know/No answer: 1%
Which specific media outlets, such as a specific TV channel, radio station, newspaper, website etc. do you consider most trustworthy for political news and information?

(Respondents permitted to supply three spontaneous answers; media outlets mentioned by at least 1 percent of respondents are displayed)
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</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>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>October 2021</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 2019</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 2019</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 2018</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 2018</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 2018</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 2018</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 2017</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 2017</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 2016</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 2016</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 2015</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 2014</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 2014</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 2012</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 2011</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 2011</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 2011</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 2010</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 2010</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 2010</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 2009</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Do you own a smartphone that you use to access the internet or apps such as Facebook and WhatsApp?

- **October 2021**
  - Yes: 78%
  - No: 21%
  - Don’t know/No answer: 1%

- **December 2019**
  - Yes: 68%
  - No: 31%
  - Don’t know/No answer: 1%

October 2021
### Demographics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GENDER</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>18-29 years</th>
<th>30-49 years</th>
<th>50 years and older</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EDUCATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No formal education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary school (4 grades)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incomplete secondary school / gymnasium (5-9 grades / former 7-8 grades)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complete secondary school / lyceum (10-12 grades / former 10 grades)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary professional (college, med. Schools)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary special (professional schools, PTUs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incomplete higher education (bachelor - 3 years)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complete higher education (master)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PhD, post PhD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know / No answer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Demographics

**Occupation**
- Employed in a paid job full-time: 41%
- Employed in a paid job part-time: 4%
- Self-employed full-time: 3%
- Self-employed part-time: 1%
- Homemaker: 10%
- Retired: 26%
- Unemployed, looking for a job: 6%
- Unemployed, not looking for a job: 4%
- Student/pupil: 4%
- Don't know / No answer: 1%

**Settlement Type**
- Chisinau: 19%
- Mid-sized/Small town: 25%
- Rural area: 56%
- Chisinau Municipality: 23%

**Region**
- North: 29%
- Center: 29%
- South: 20%