Public Opinion Survey Residents of Moldova

September 2016



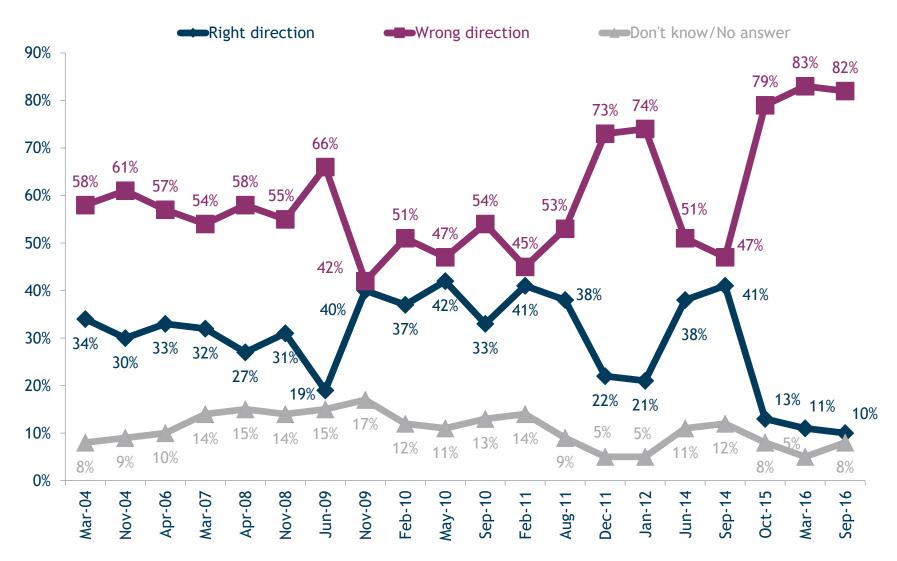
Detailed Methodology

- The survey was coordinated by Dr. Rasa Ališauskienė from the public opinion and market research company, <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 September 1-23, 2016 through faceto-face interviews at respondents' homes.
- The main sample consisted of 1,516 permanent residents of Moldova older than the age of 18 and eligible to vote. The survey also contained an oversample in the capital of Chisinau. It is representative of the general population by age, gender, education, region and size of the settlement.
- Multistage probability sampling method was used with the random route and next birthday respondent's selection procedures.
 - Stage One: All districts of Moldova are grouped into 11 groups. All regions of Moldova were surveyed.
 - Stage Two: Selection of the settlements cities and villages.
 - Settlements were selected at random.
 - The number of selected settlements in each region was proportional to the share of population living in a 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 2.8 percent.
- The response rate was 61 percent.
- Charts and graphs may not add up to 100 percent due to rounding.
- The survey was funded by the <u>National Endowment for Democracy</u>.

Mood of the Country

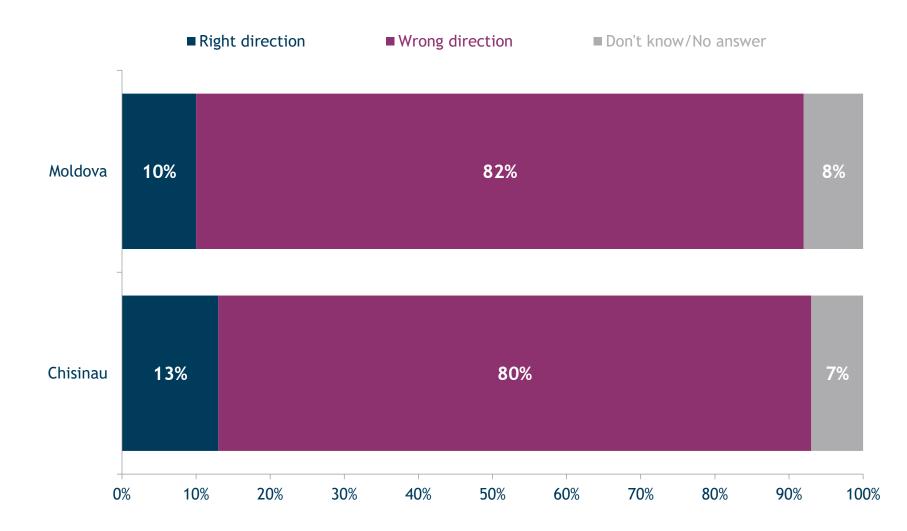
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Generally speaking, do you think that things in Moldova are going in the right direction or wrong direction?



*In December 2014, news broke of a major banking scandal which resulted in nearly \$1 billion missing from three state banks.

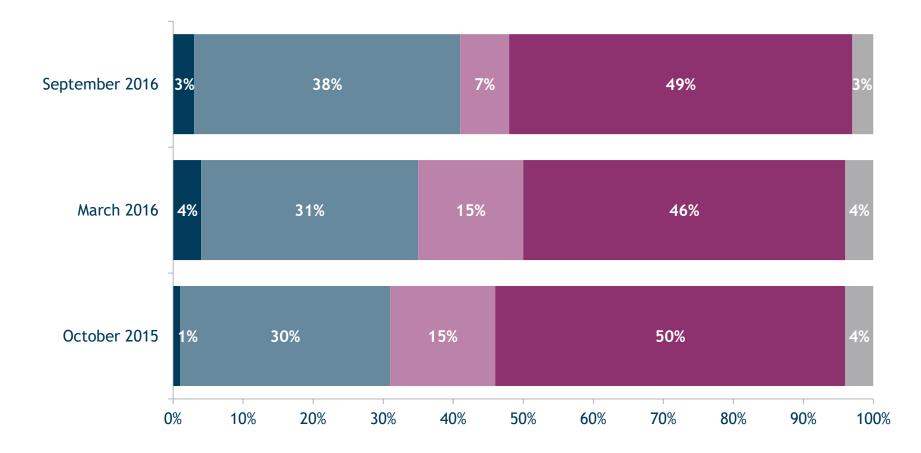
Generally speaking, do you think that things in Moldova are going in the right direction or wrong direction?



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 happening too fast
Don't know/No answer

I am dissatisfied; change is not happening fast enoughNo change is taking place



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

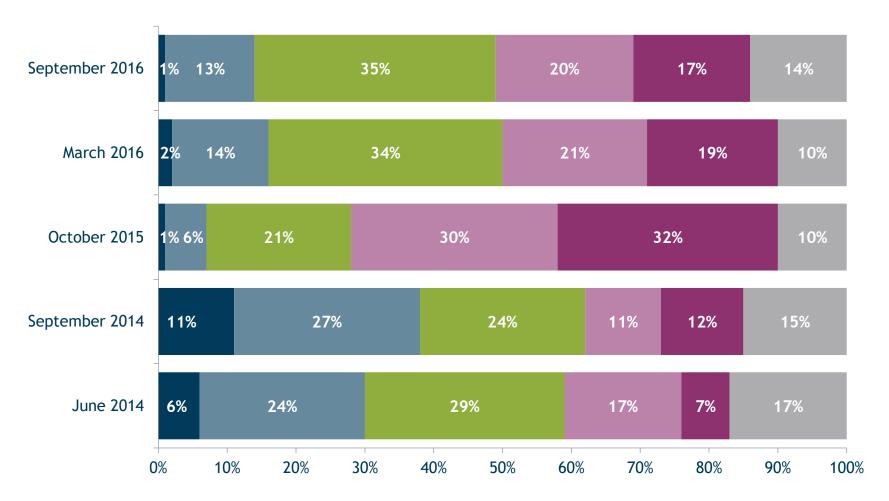
Improved a lotWorsened somewhat					Improved somewhatWorsened a lot				 Stayed the same Don't know/No answer 			
September 2016	<mark>1%6</mark>	%	25%		3	0%			35%		3%	
March 2016	<mark>1</mark> % 6	%	23%		32	2%			36%		<mark>2</mark> %	
October 2015	4%	16%			34%			42	2%		4%	
September 2014	6%	2	22%		24%		21%		19%		7%	
June 2014	4%	20%	5		33%			23%	14	%	6%	
January 2012	<mark>2</mark> %	13%		31%			28%		22%		4%	
December 2011	<mark>2</mark> %	15%		20%		31%			29 %		3%	
August 2011	5%	2	3%		34	%		17%	1	8%	3%	
February 2011	3%	25	%		27%		2	.2%	18%	6	5%	
September 2010	5%	18%	5		28%		269	%	17%	,)	6%	
May 2010	<mark>2</mark> %	14%		30%			30%		19%	,)	5%	
February 2010	<mark>2</mark> %	11%	24	%		3	8%		21%	,)	4%	
November 2009	<mark>2</mark> % 8	8%		84%			39%	0	1	0%	7%	
June 2009	1% 9	9%	22%			42%	/ D		20%		5%	
November 2008	<mark>2</mark> %	20%			30%		2	8%	1!	5%	5%	
April 2008	<mark>2</mark> %	13%		30%			29 %		20%		6%	
March 2007	4%	24	1%		32%			27%		10%	4%	
April 2006	3%	24	%		36	%		-	27%	5%	5%	
November 2004	5%		26%			37%			22%	6%	4%	
March 2004	3%	23%	6		379	6		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?

	Improved a lotWorsened somewhat			Improved somewhatWorsened a lot				 Stayed the same Don't know/No answer 				
September 2016	1%	7%		42%			24%		2	.3%	2 %	
March 2016	1%	5%	32%			33	3%		27	%	<mark>2</mark> %	
October 2015	4%	245	6		339	%			35%		4%	
September 2014	4%	21%			38%	,)		19%		15%	3%	
June 2014	2%	18%			45%				24%	9	% <mark>2</mark> %	
January 2012	2%	10%		41%				29%		15%	3%	
December 2011	<mark>1</mark> %	13%		39%			2	28%		17%	2 %	
August 2011	4%	18%			43%			18	8%	14%	3%	
February 2011	1%	16%		34%	/ D		3	1%		15%	3%	
September 2010	4%	14%		36	5%			29 %		14%	4%	
May 2010	<mark>1</mark> %	11%		42%				29%		15%	2 %	
February 2010	<mark>1</mark> %	8%		36%			36%			16%	4%	
November 2009	1%	7%		46%				34%		9%	3%	
June 2009	<mark>1</mark> %	9%		32%			36%		1	7%	5%	
November 2008	1%	15%		39	9%			27%		14%	4%	
April 2008	2%	11%		37%			25%		16%		9%	
March 2007	3%	19%			41%			23	3%	9%	5%	
April 2006	2%	25%				44%			22%	l S	5% 1%	
November 2004	4%	23%	,)			47%			20%	6	5% 1%	
March 2004	<mark>2%</mark>	16%			48%				22%	10	0% 1%	
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%	

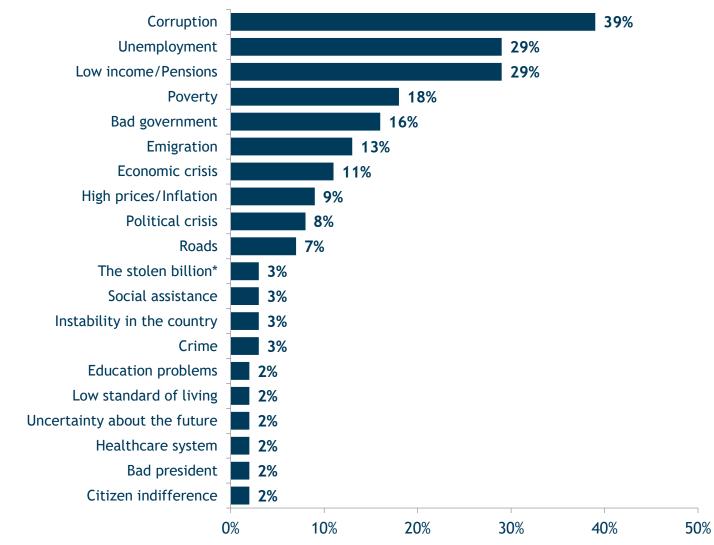
In your opinion, how will economic situation of Moldova change in the next 12 months?

■ 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?

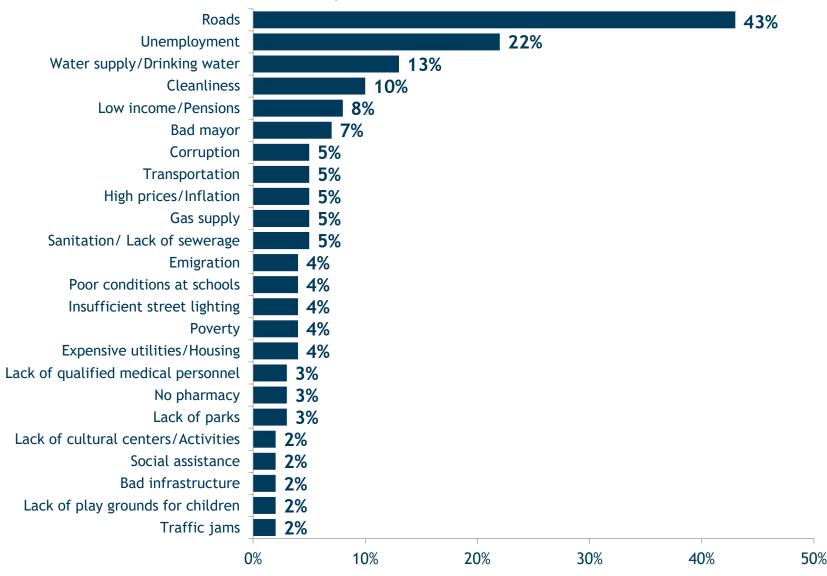
(Three spontaneous answers)



*In December 2014, news broke of a major banking scandal which resulted in nearly \$1 billion missing from three state banks.

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

(Three spontaneous answers)



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

Low incomes/Financial problems 52% 17% Unemployment Expensive utilities/Housing 10% Health problems 8% High prices/Inflation 8% Emigration **6%** Poverty 5% Expensive medicines/Poor medical service 4% Poor social assistance 3% Housing/Utilities 3% Loneliness 2% Water supply 2% No problems 5% 0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60%

(Three spontaneous answers)

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

Very satisf	ied 🔳	Somewha	t satisfied	d ∎Son	newhat dis	satisfied	Very di	ssatisfied	∎Don't k	now/No a	nswer	
September 2016	5 <mark>2</mark> %	12%		26%			6%					
March 2016	5 <mark>3%</mark>	11%	22	2%		58%					6%	
October 2015	5 <mark>1% 7</mark> 2	%	23%		66%					3%		
September 2014	4 9%		31	%		26%	6		26% 7%			
June 2014	4 4%		41	%		30%			16% 9%			
January 2012	2 1%	18%			43%			2	6			
December 2011	3%	232	%		36	36%			29%			
August 2011	5%		25%			39%			22%			
February 2011	3%		29 %		36%				21%	109	6	
September 2010	5%	2	3%		41%				24%	8	%	
May 2010	2%	27	7%		40%				21% 10			
February 2010	4%	22	%		37%				102	%		
November 2009	3%	2	7%			37%			20%	14%		
June 2009	9 <mark>1</mark> %	16%			41%			25%		17%		
November 2008	3 <mark>2%</mark>	21%			42	42%			0%	15%		
April 2008	3 <mark>2%</mark>	17%			41%			24%		16%		
March 2007	7 5%	21	%			41%		1	8%	15%		
April 2006	5 <mark>1</mark> %	25%				43%		1	4%	17%		
November 2004	4 <mark>2</mark> %	26	%			44%			14% 14%			
March 2004	4 <mark>2</mark> %	24%	6			44%			17%	13%		
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%	

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 af	raid ■Ma	iny are afr	aid	Some are	afraid	Nobody	is afraid	■ Don't	know/No) answe
September 2016		39%			26% 17			%	15%	3%
March 2016		42%				26%			11	<mark>% 2</mark> %
September 2014	17%		24%			30%		17%		2%
June 2014	27%	6	30		,)		24%		15%	4%
January 2012	289	%			2%	2		28%		% 3%
December 2011	3	1%		20	5%		23%		16%	4%
August 2011		34%			31%		18	8%	10%	7%
February 2011	25%		30%				22%	%		5%
September 2010	3	1%			7%	1			17%	6%
May 2010	25%			25%		24%	6	17		8%
February 2010	30)%		27	27%		24%		14%	5%
November 2009	3()%			32%		22%		10%	6%
June 2009	3()%		29%			19%		3%	9%
November 2008	26%	,)		28%			24%		16%	6%
April 2008	29	%		27%	6		22%	1	4%	8%
March 2007	289	%		27%		2	.0%	15%	6	10%
April 2006	23%			32%			26%		14%	5%
November 2004	25%		319				25%		14%	5%
March 2004	27%	6		27%			25%		16%	4%
0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	10

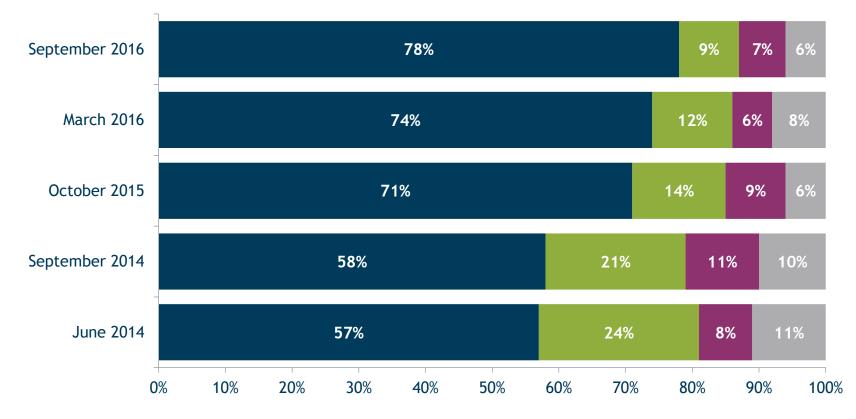
Which of these statements is closest to your own point of view?

• 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

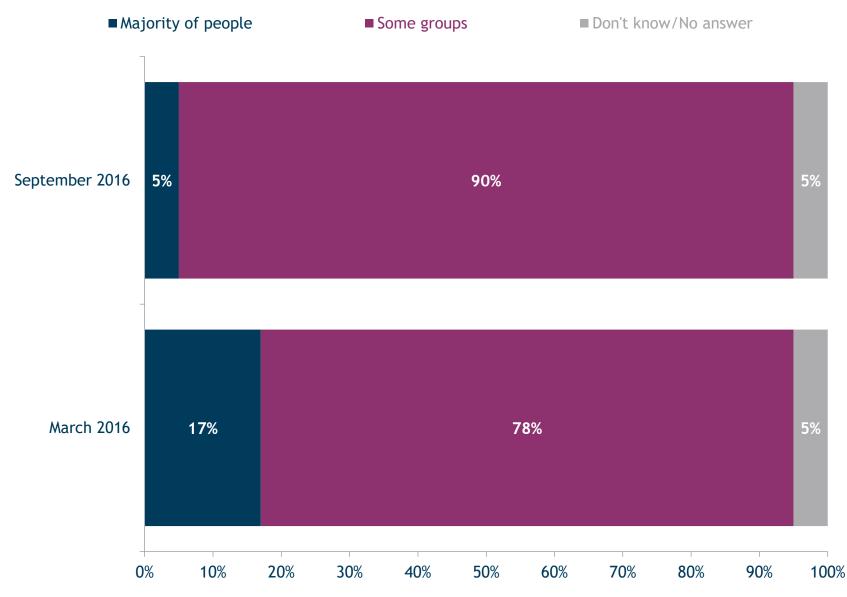
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Is corruption a big problem in Moldova today?

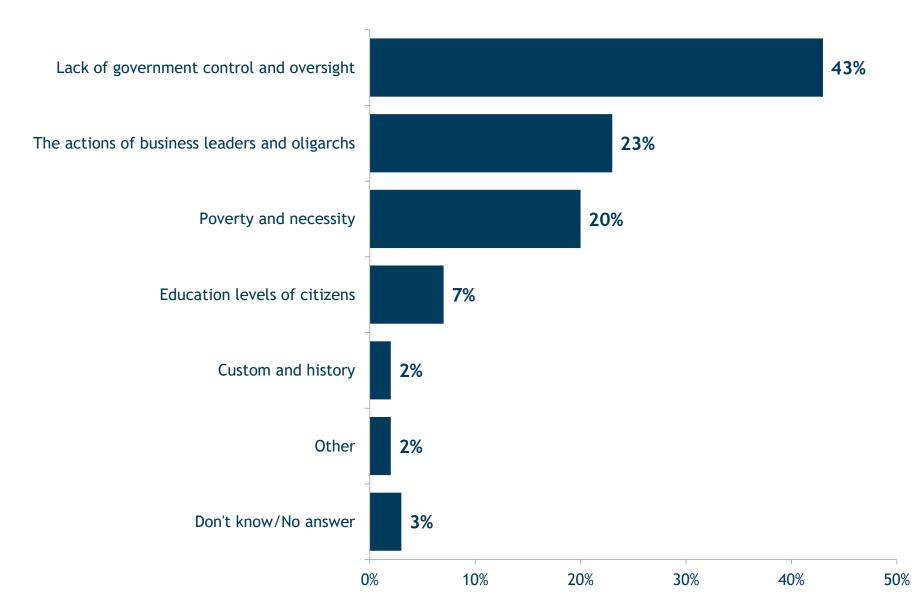
■ It is a very big issue ■ It is a big issue ■ It is not a big issue ■ It is not an issue at all ■ Don't know/No answer

September 2016					89	9%				7%	1%1 <mark>%</mark> 2%		
March 2016					87 %	%		8% 1%1 <mark>%</mark> 3%					
October 2015					879	%				8%	1% <mark>2%2</mark> %		
September 2014					73%				18%	52	% 1 <mark>%</mark> 3%		
June 2014							14% 1	%1 <mark>%</mark> 3%					
Janaury 2012		73%							2	1%	2% 3%		
December 2011					80%					15%	2% <mark>1%</mark> 2%		
August 2011				61%				2	.9%	3%	6% 6%		
February 2011				3	3%	3	8%1 <mark>%</mark> 4%						
September 2010				57%				31%		4% 1	<mark>% 7</mark> %		
May 2010			!	53%				37%		4%	6 1 <mark>%</mark> 5%		
February 2010				58%				33	3%	4	1% <mark>2%</mark> 3%		
November 2009				61%					31%	3	5%		
November 2008				62%				2	.7%	4%	1 <mark>%</mark> 6%		
April 2008				60%				25%		5%	10%		
March 2007				64%	,)				26%	2%	8%		
March 2006				665	%				25%		3% 5%		
November 2004				7	/2%				24	1%	2 <mark>%2</mark> %		
0)%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%		

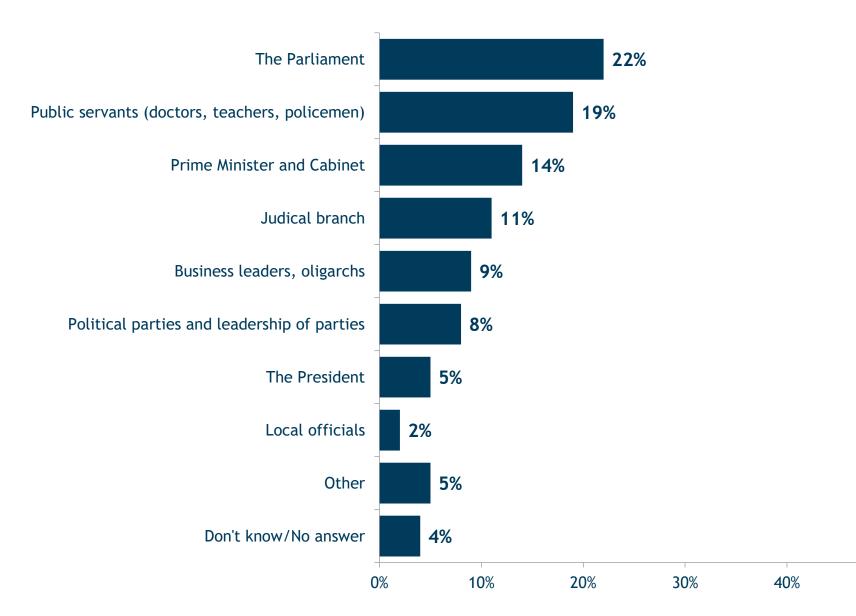
Do you consider the country to be governed in the interest of the majority of people or the interest of some groups?



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



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

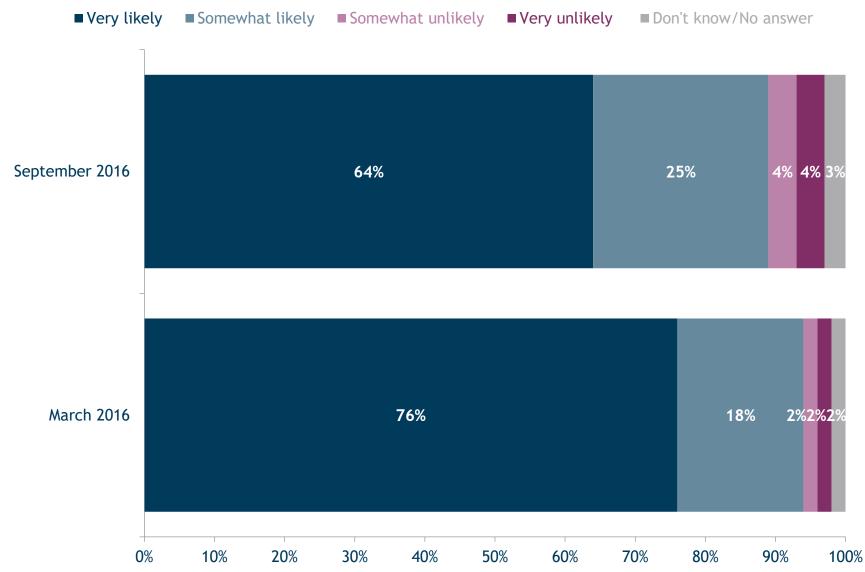


50% 21

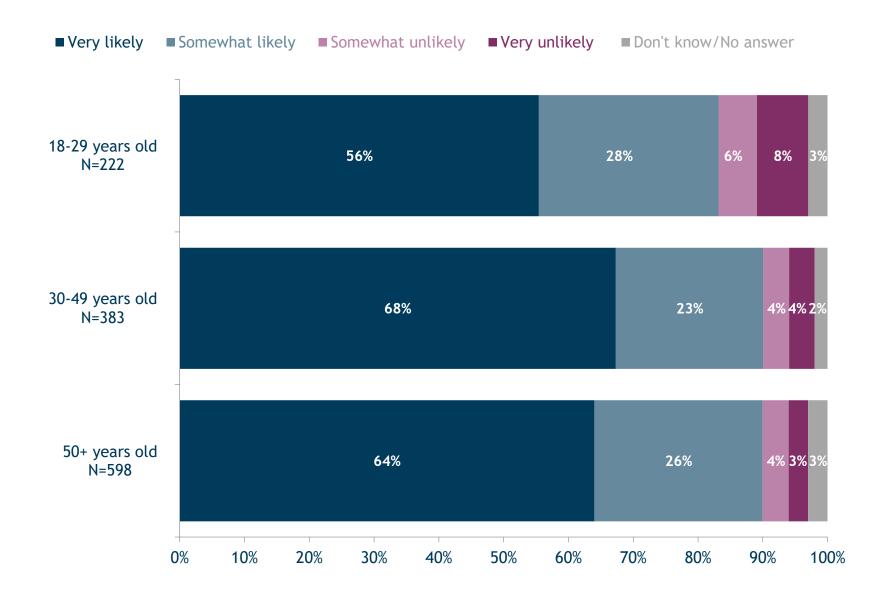
Upcoming presidential election



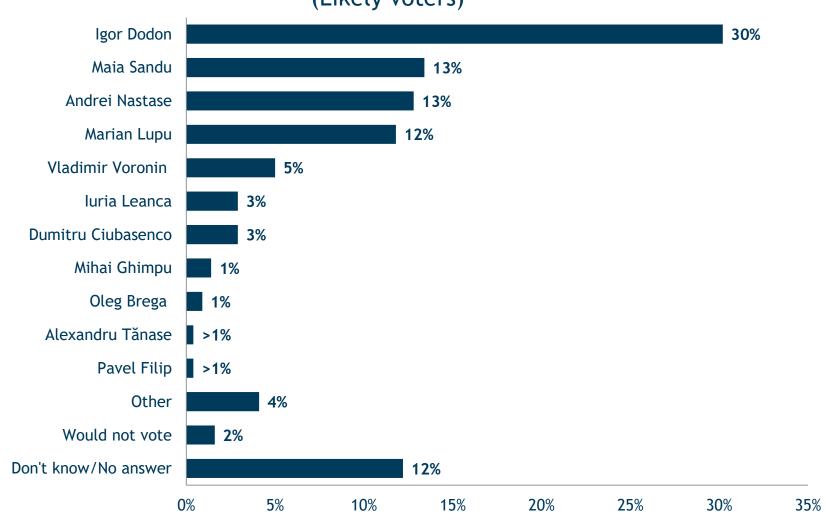
How likely, if at all, are you to vote in the upcoming presidential elections?



How likely, if at all, are you to vote in the upcoming presidential elections?

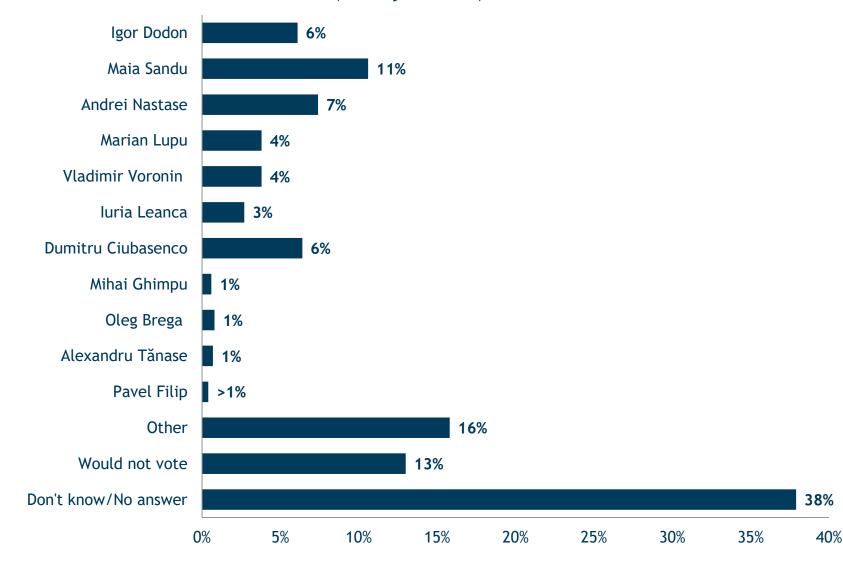


If the presidential elections were held next Sunday, and the following individuals participated in the election, for whom would you vote? (Likely voters)



*Due to a March 4, 2016 ruling of the Moldovan Constitutional Court, Moldovan citizens will directly elect the president on October 30, 2016. This will be the first popular election of the president since 1996.

Who would you vote for in a second round if the individual you first mentioned did not participate? (Likely voters)



Politics

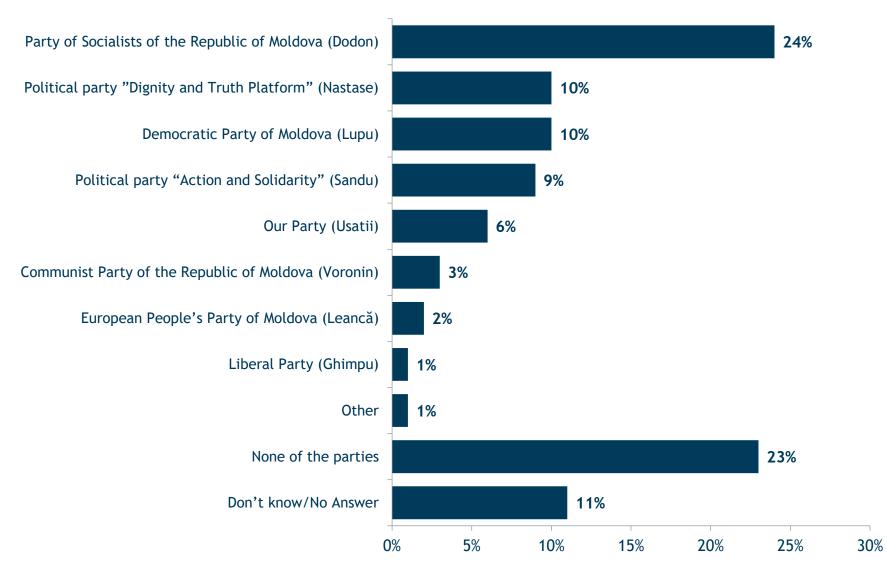


How much interest do you have in politics?

	■ Interested ■ Medium		dium interes	■ Not interested			■ Don't know/No answer			
September 2016		30%	29	29%			40%		1%	
March 2016	_	31%		39%			29%			
October 2015	_	35%		30%			33%			
September 2014		34%		28%			35%			
June 2014		31%	2	9%		39%			1%	
January 2012		28%	322	32%			38%			
December 2011		37%		33%			299	%	1%	
August 2011		29 %		302	6			40%		1%
February 2010		34%			29%			36%		
September 2010		32%		26	5%			41%		1%
May 2010		28%		29 %	29%			41%		
February 2010		32%			31%			36%		
November 2009		30%		30	30%			39%		
June 2009		34%		30%			35%			1%
November 2008	225	%		31%			4	6%		1%
April 2008	2	5%		29 %			4	5%		<mark>2</mark> %
March 2007	21%	,)	29	%			499	%		2 %
March 2006	2	5%		26%			46	%		3%
November 2004	23	%	-	28%			48	48%		
March 2004		27%	31%	31%			41%			
(D% 10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%

Which political party or political movement best represents your point of view?

(Spontaneous)



The Government

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What is your opinion of each of the following institutions?

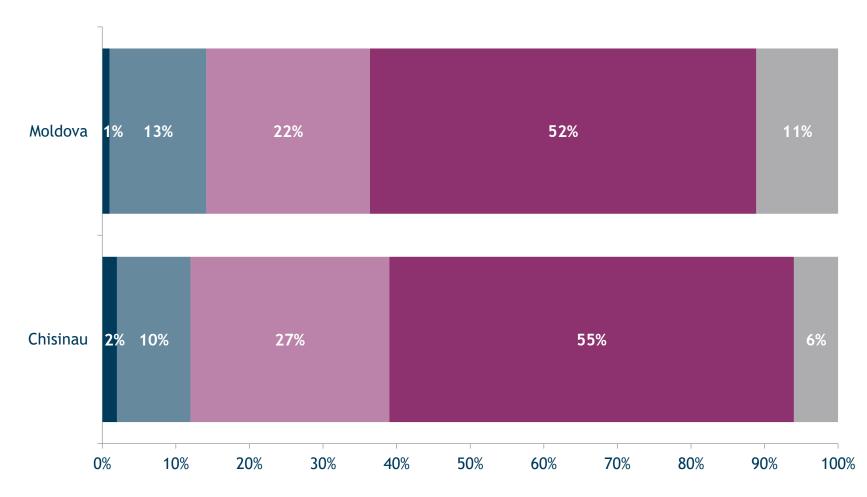
■ Favorable	■ Ui	■ Unfavorable ■ Don't know/No ar						
Moldovan Orthodox Church		64	%		23%	13%		
Romanian Orthodox Church in Moldova		59%		25	%	16%		
Army		52%		34%		14%		
Moldovan mass media		50%		40%	,)	10%		
Education system		41%		50%		9%		
Local authorities		39%		53%		8%		
International Monetary Fund	34%			44%		22%		
Police authorities	31	%		62%		7%		
Healthcare system	31	%		62%		7%		
Professional associations	309	%		51%		19%		
Trade unions	23%		54	4%		23%		
Central Bank	23%			64%		13%		
Central Electoral Commission	21%			64%		15%		
Moldovan Government	17%			76%		7%		
Courts of justice	14%			75%		11%		
Political parties	13%			79%		8%		
Moldovan Parliament	12%			82%		6%		
President's Office	10%		8	33%	7%			
0	%	20%	40%	60%	80%	100%		

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

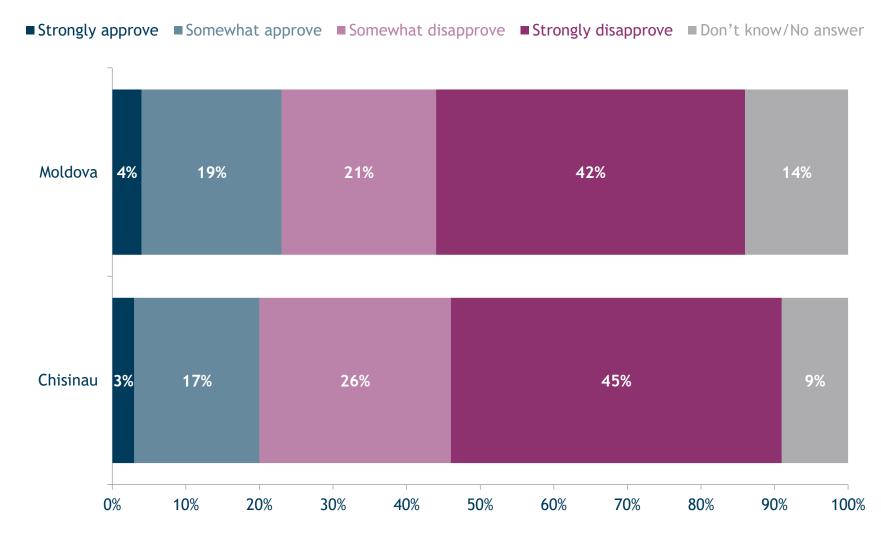
■ Positive	Negative		■ Don [®]	■Don't know/No answer			
Ministry of Culture		47%		41%		12%	
Moldova Academy of Science	-	44%		29 %	27	%	
Ministry of Youth and Sports	-	40%		43%			
Ministry of Informational Technologies and Communications	-	3 9 %		40%		21%	
Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration	3	6%		45%		19%	
Ministry of Defense	3	5%		50%			
Ministry of Education	34%			55%			
Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry	-	3%		54%		13%	
Ministry of Internal Affairs	30	%		54%			
Ministry of Environment	30%		56%			14%	
Ministry of Health	30	30%		61%			
Ministry of Regional Development and Construction	28%	6		52%		20%	
Ministry of Labor, Social Protection and Family	24%			65%		11%	
Ministry of Transport and Road Infrastructure	22%			66%		12%	
Ministry of Economy	17%			72%		11%	
Ministry of Finance	17%			72%		11%	
Ministry of Justice	15%		7	/4%		11%	
C)%	20%	40%	60%	80%	100	

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?



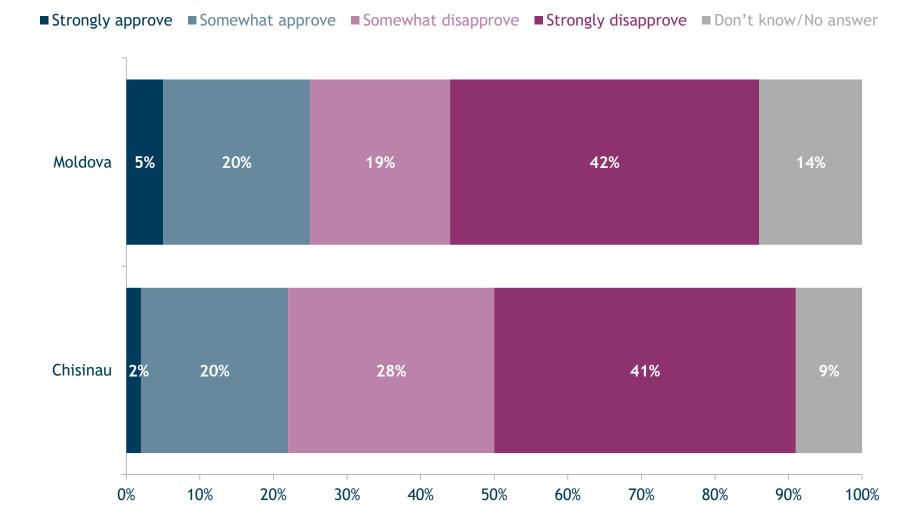


Do you approve or disapprove of the forming of the Filip government?



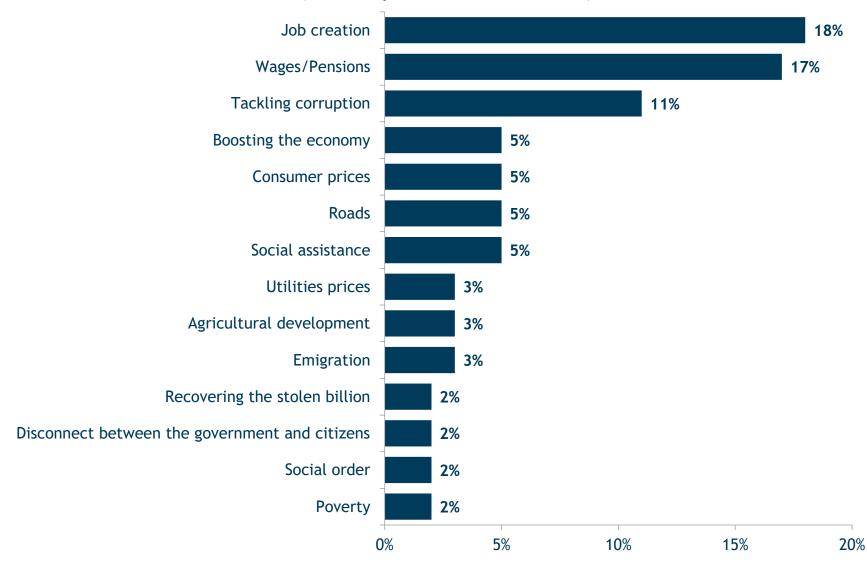
*On January 20, 2016, the parliament approved a new government under Prime Minister Pavel Filip. This government was formed with the support of multiple political parties and independent parliamentarians.

Do you approve or disapprove of the Filip government?

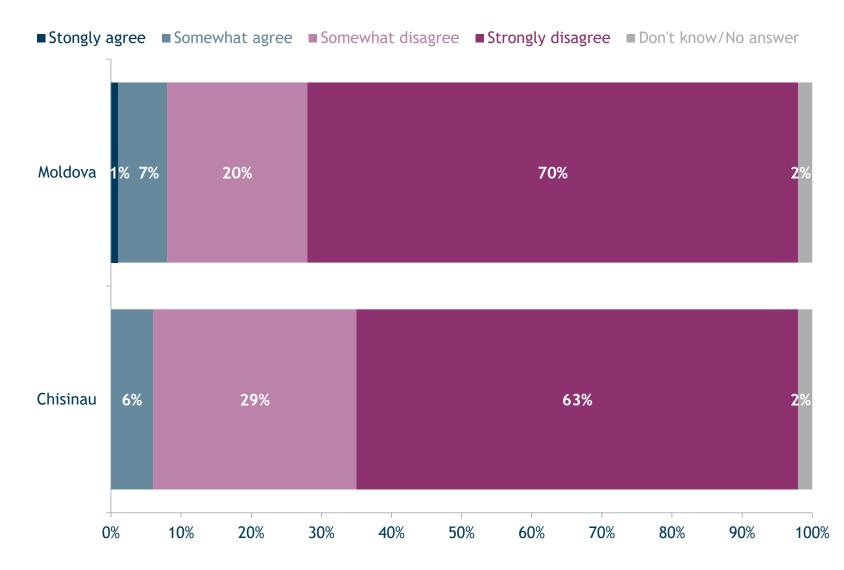


What are the most important problems that the Filip government must solve?

(Three spontaneous answers)



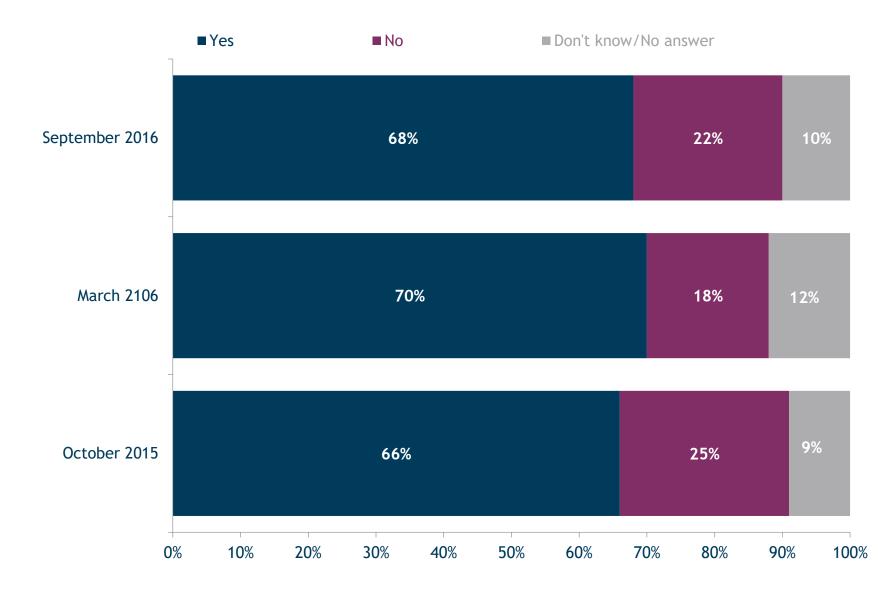
Do you think the Moldovan Parliament is responsive to the needs of citizens like you?



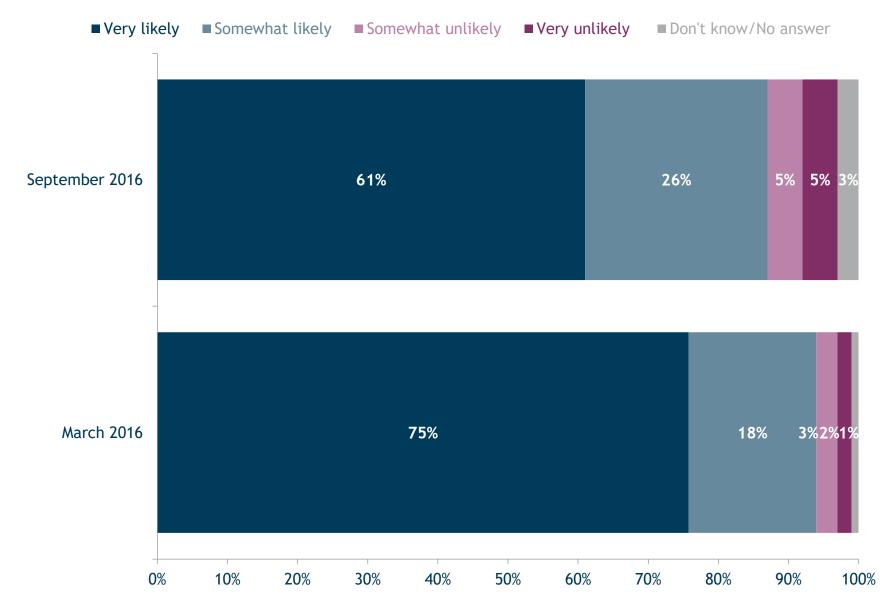
Parliamentary elections

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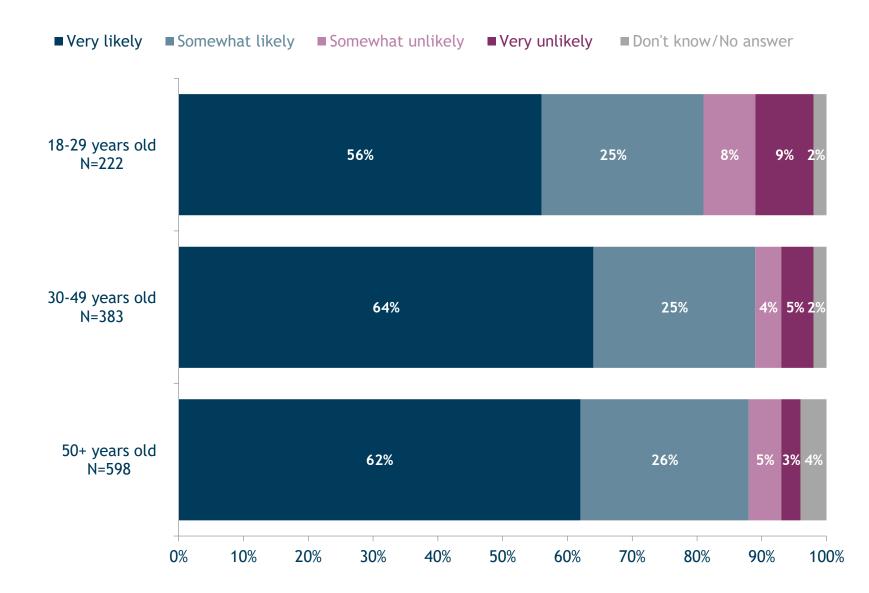
Do you support the idea of early parliamentary elections?



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



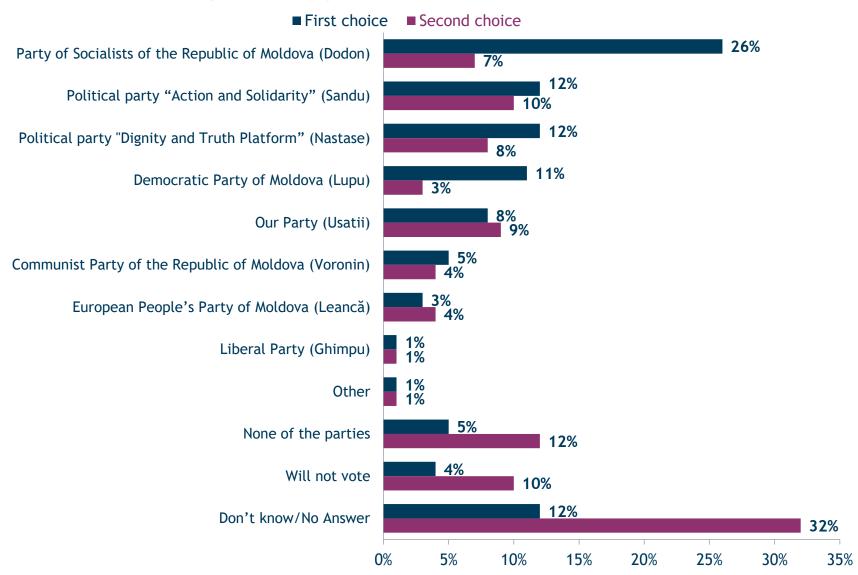
How likely, if at all, are you to vote in the next parliamentary elections?



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

		■ Favo	orable	Unfavora	able 🔳	Have not h	eard	Don't kno	ow/No ans	wer			
Igor Dodon		45%				47%					% 7%		
Maia Sandu	_	38%						5%	10%				
Renato Usatii		34%				56%					2% 8%		
Andrei Nastase		32%				4	92	%	11%				
Dorin Chirtoaca		27%				(2%	11%					
Pavel Filip		27%				(4%	9%					
lurie Leanca		23%				64%					9%		
Marian Lupu		21%				70%					2% 7%		
Vladimir Voronin		20%				7		2%	6 7%				
Andrian Candu		16%		55	55%			16%	16% 12%				
Alexandru Tanase	1	3%		4	5%			29%		1	3%		
Liliana Palihovici	8%			39%			40%			13%			
Vlad Plahotniuc	7%					81%				3%	9%		
Mihai Ghimpu	7%					83%				2%	6 7%		
Viorel Cibotaru	4%	<mark>% 38</mark> %						13%					
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100		

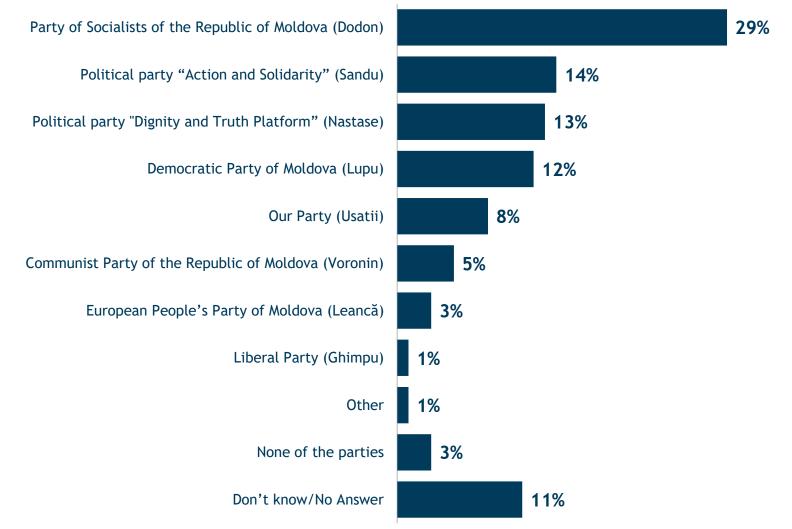
If parliamentary elections were held next Sunday and the following political parties participated in the election, for which political party would you vote?



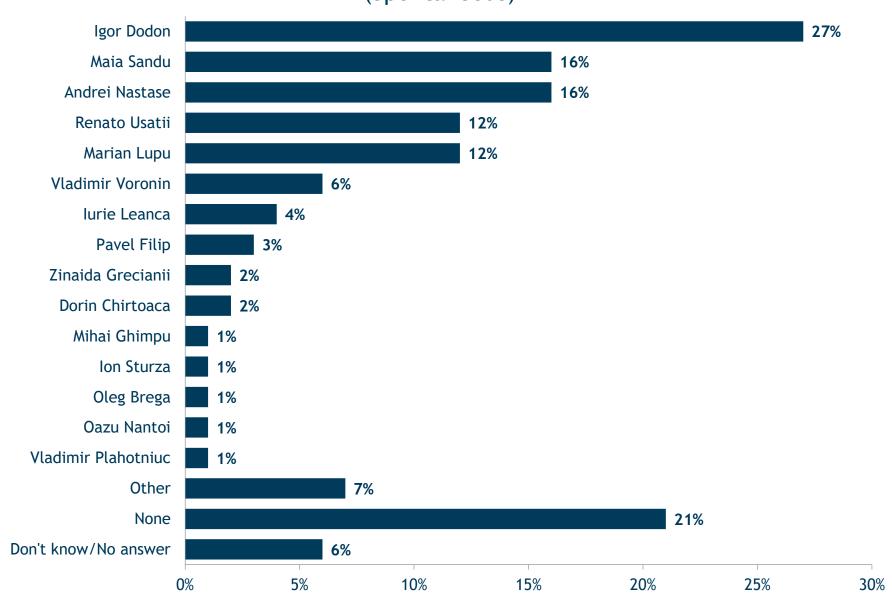
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If parliamentary elections were held next Sunday and the following political parties participated in the election, for which political party would you vote?

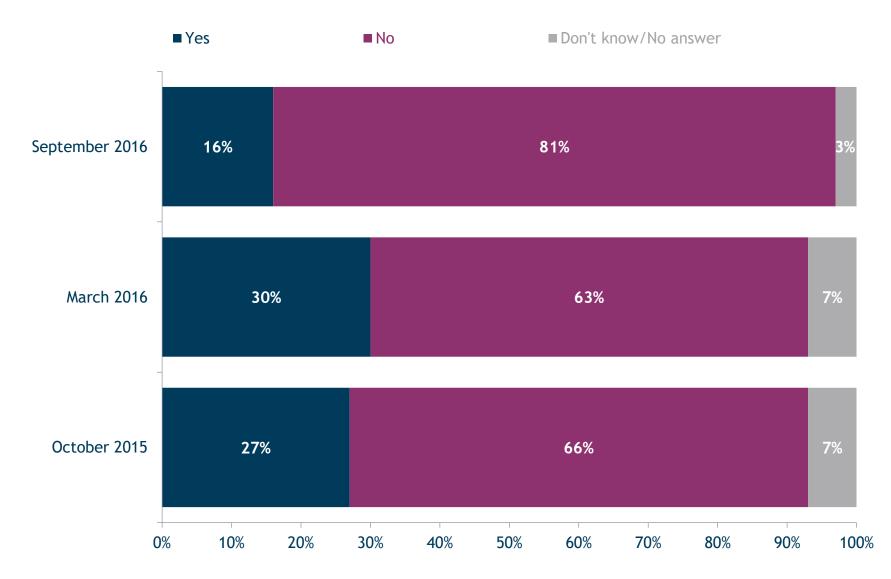
(Nationwide likely voters, N=1047)



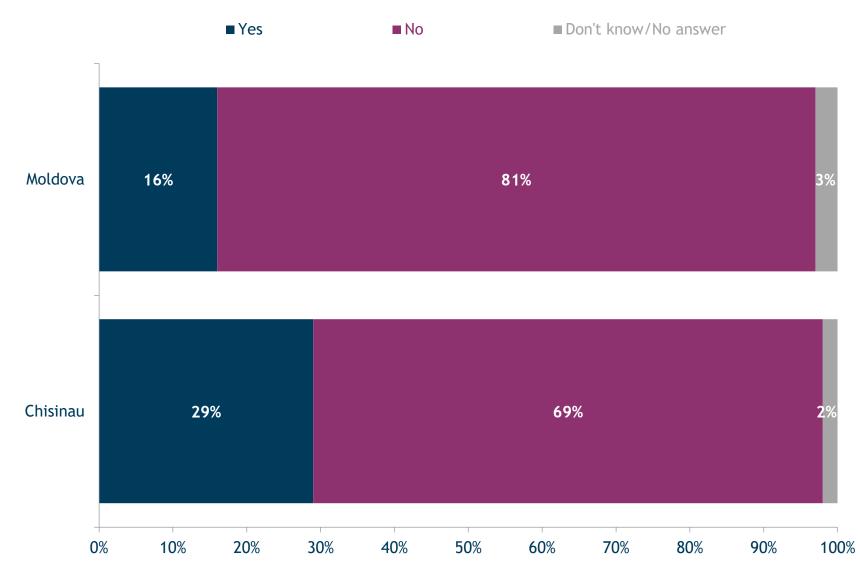
Which politicians or public persons do you trust the most? (Spontaneous)



In the last 12 months, have you ever seen any political activists working in your city/village?

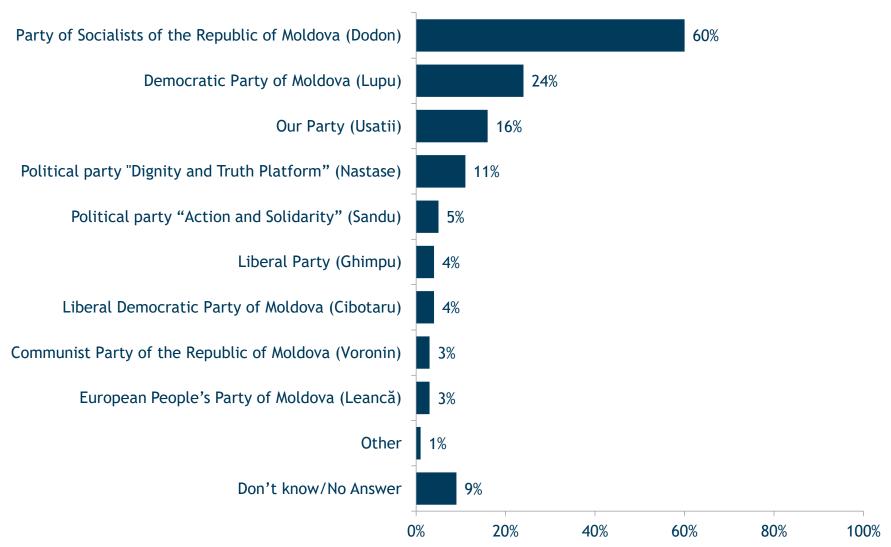


Have you seen any political activists working in your area in the last 12 months?



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

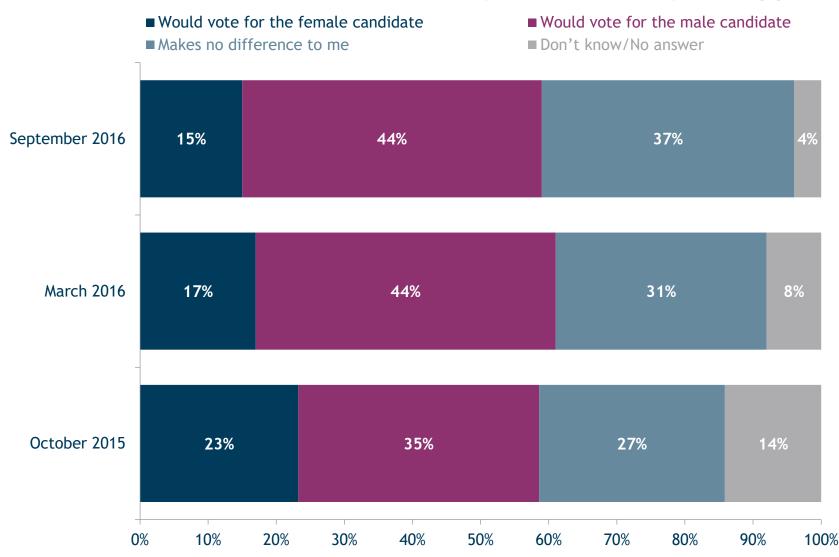
(Nationwide, N=191)



Women and Youth in Moldova

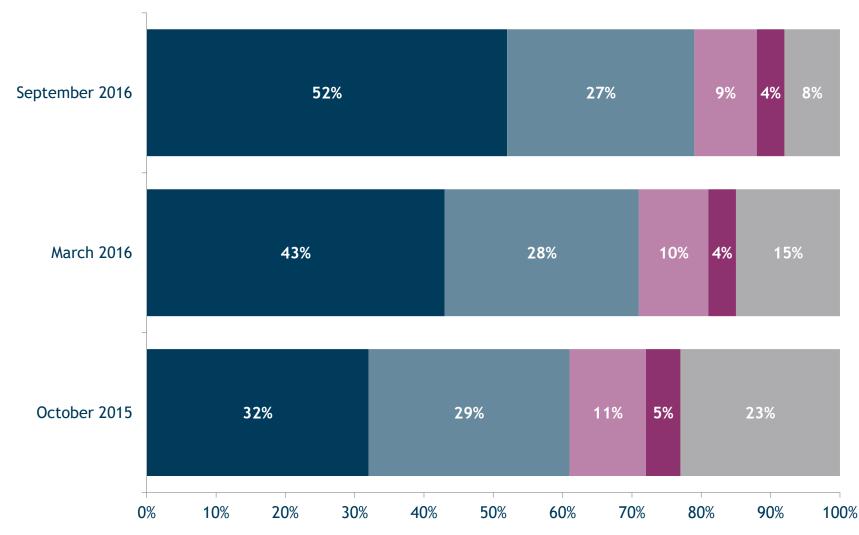


If there are two candidates running for office and they have the same qualifications, aside from the fact that one is a man and one is a woman, which candidate are you more likely to support?



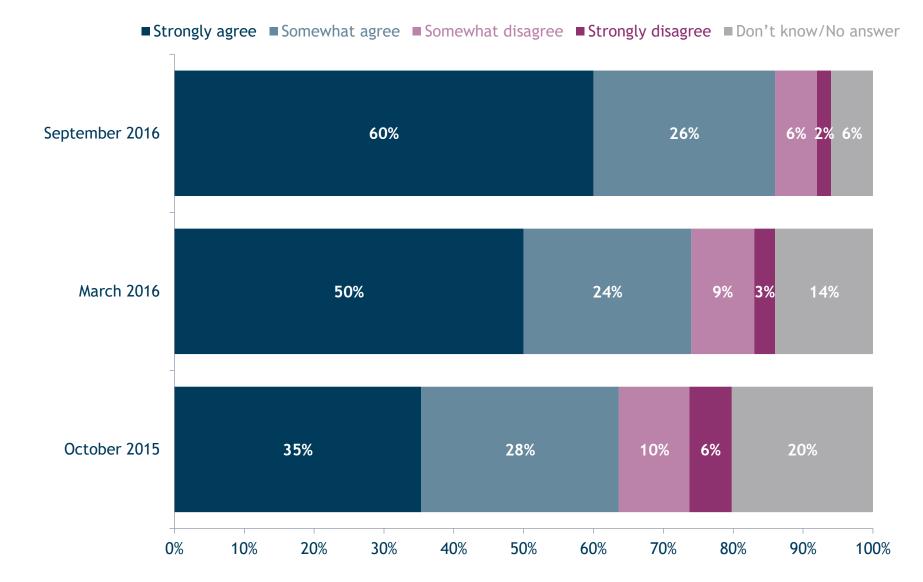
Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? "Politicians do not listen to the needs and ideas of women."

■ Strongly agree ■ Somewhat agree ■ Somewhat disagree ■ Strongly disagree ■ Don't know/No answer



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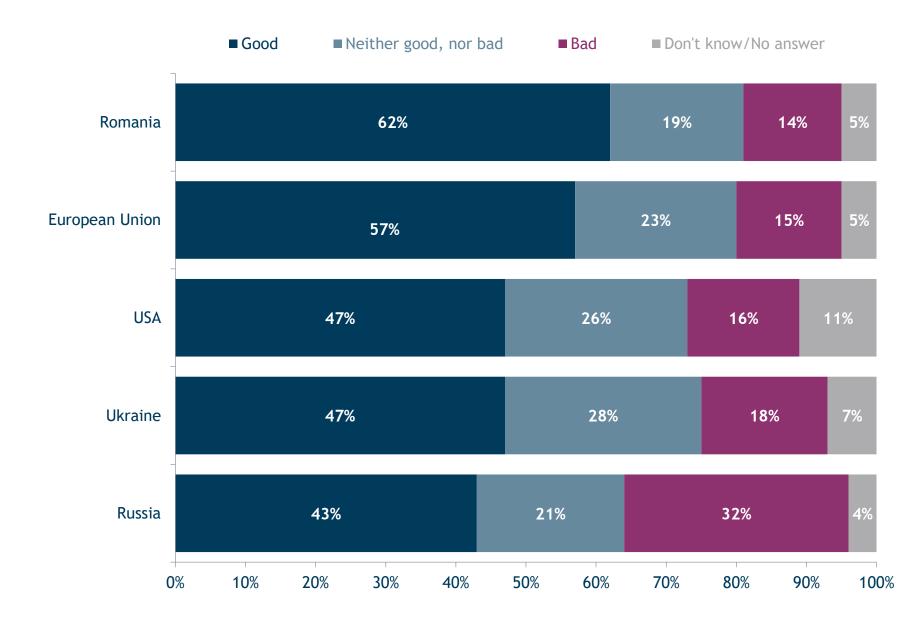
Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? "Politicians do not listen to the needs and ideas of young people."



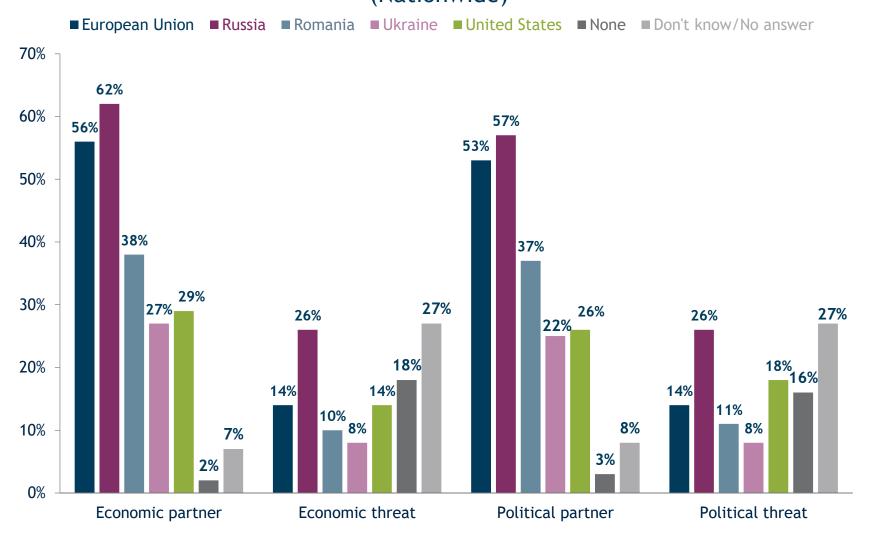
International Relations

CENTER FOR INSIGHTS IN SURVEY RESEARCH

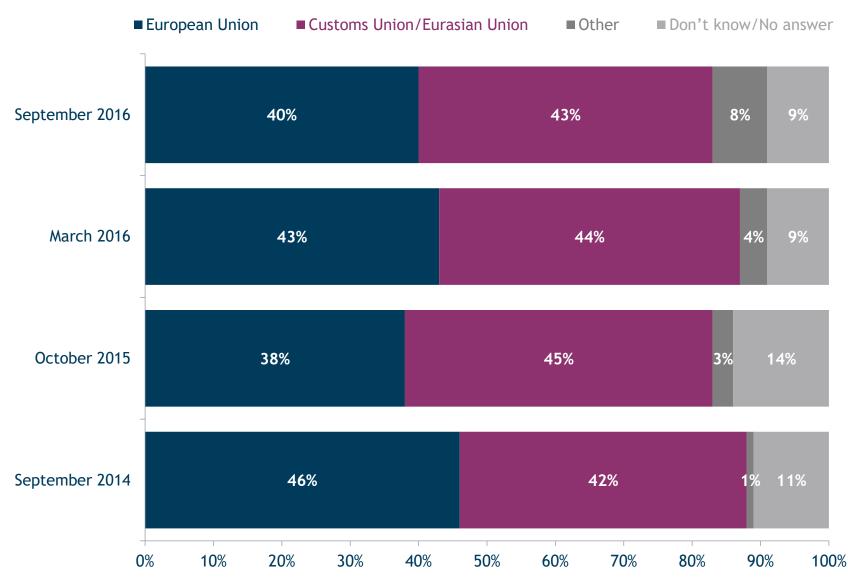
How would you assess the current relations between Moldova and...



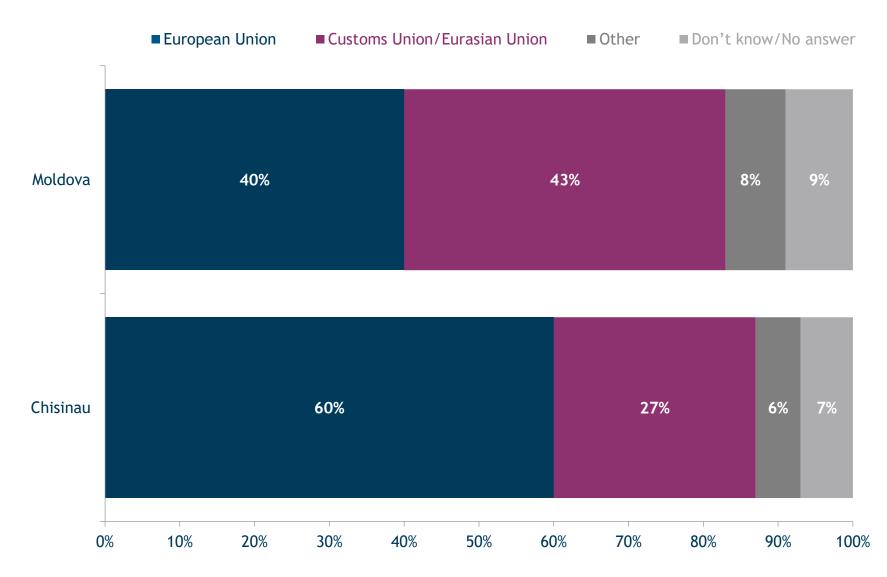
Which of these countries do you consider to be the greatest economic partner, economic threat, political partner and political threat for Moldova? (Nationwide)



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

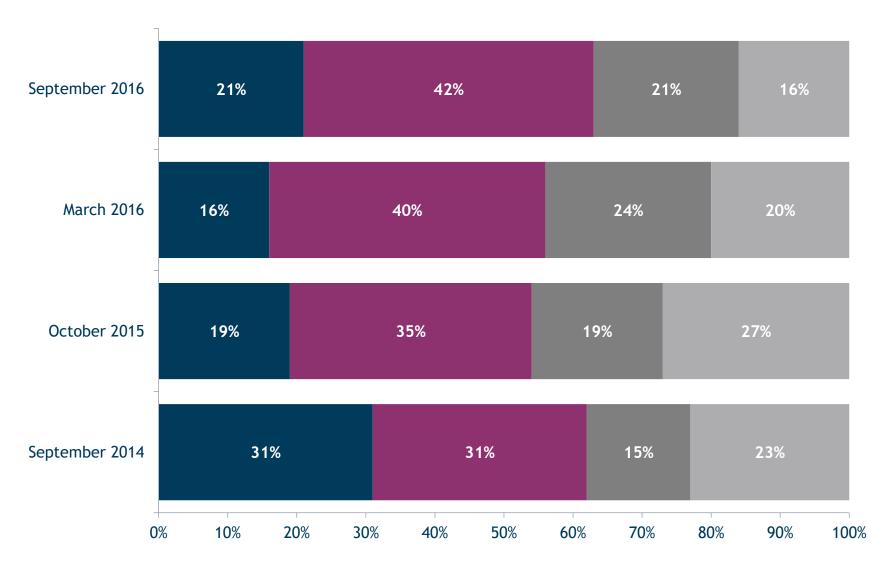


If Moldova could only join one international economic union, which one should it be?



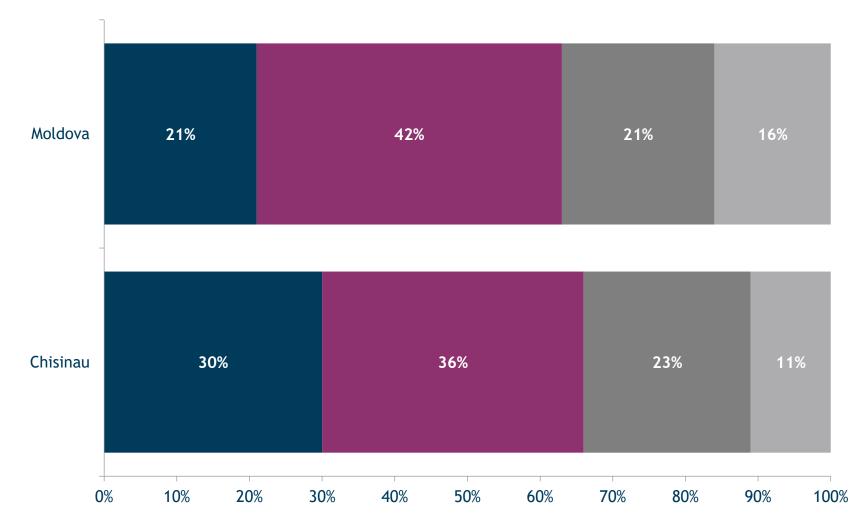
If a referendum were held today on Moldova joining NATO, how would you vote?

■ For Moldova joining NATO ■ Against Moldova joining NATO ■ Would not vote ■ Don't know/No answer



If a referendum were held today on Moldova joining NATO, how would you vote?





What do you think the future of Transnistria should be?

■ Ordinary region of Moldova, without any autonomy ■ Autonomy within the Republic of Moldova

A part of the Russian Federation

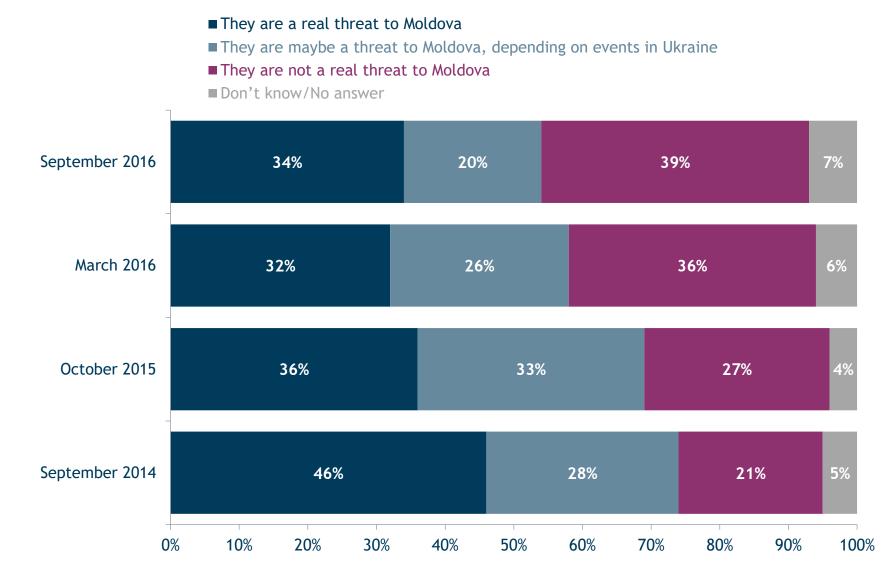
Independent

■ A part of Ukraine

■ Don't know/No answer

September 2016				60%				24	%	3%	7%	6%
March 2016			489	%			26%		7%	1 <mark>%</mark> 1	3%	5%
October 2015				56%				26%		8%	5 <mark>2%</mark>	5% 3%
September 2014				60%				15%	8%	5 <mark>2%</mark>	11%	4%
June 2014				67%	%				16%	7%	6 1 <mark>%</mark> (<mark>6%</mark> 3%
January 2012				66%	,)			1	6%	7 %	<1%79	<mark>6</mark> 4%
December 2011				66%	6				17%	6	% 1 <mark>%</mark> 5	5% 4%
August 2011				61%				20%	,)	6% 1	<mark>% 8</mark> %	<mark>6 4</mark> %
February 2011				60%				18%	5%	ն < <mark>1% 8</mark> ՝	%	9%
September 2010				65%				1	5%	3% 1 <mark>%</mark>	7%	8%
May 2010				7	2%				12%	<mark>2%</mark> < 1	% 8 %	6%
February 2010				68	%				17%	4%	1 <mark>%</mark> 5	5 <mark>%</mark> 5%
November 2009				69	%				18%	2%	1 <mark>% 5</mark> %	6%
November 2008				68	%				19%	1%	<1% 4	4% 7%
April 2008				65%					21%	<mark>2%</mark>	1 <mark>%</mark> 4%	7%
March 2007				61%				219	6	3% <mark>4</mark>	%	11%
April 2006					80%			· · · ·		12	.% 1%	<mark>%2%</mark> 4%
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80	0%	90%	100%

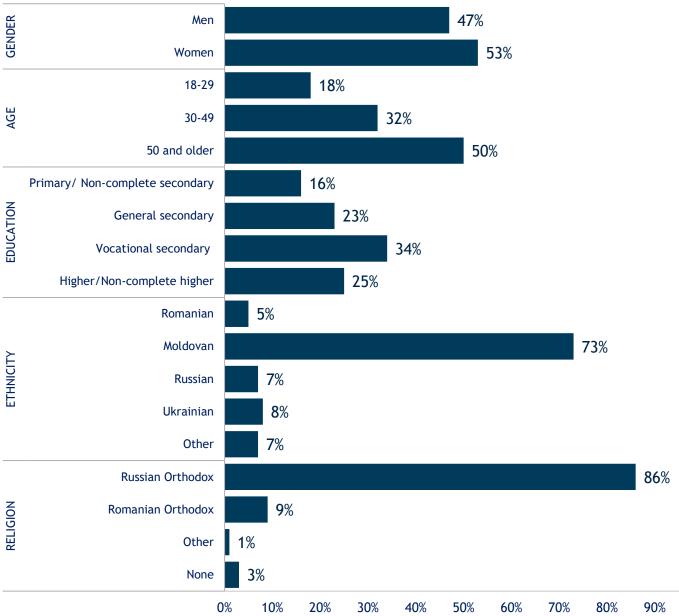
Given the current Russian activities in Ukraine, do you consider Russian troops in Transnistria to be a threat to Moldova?



Demographics

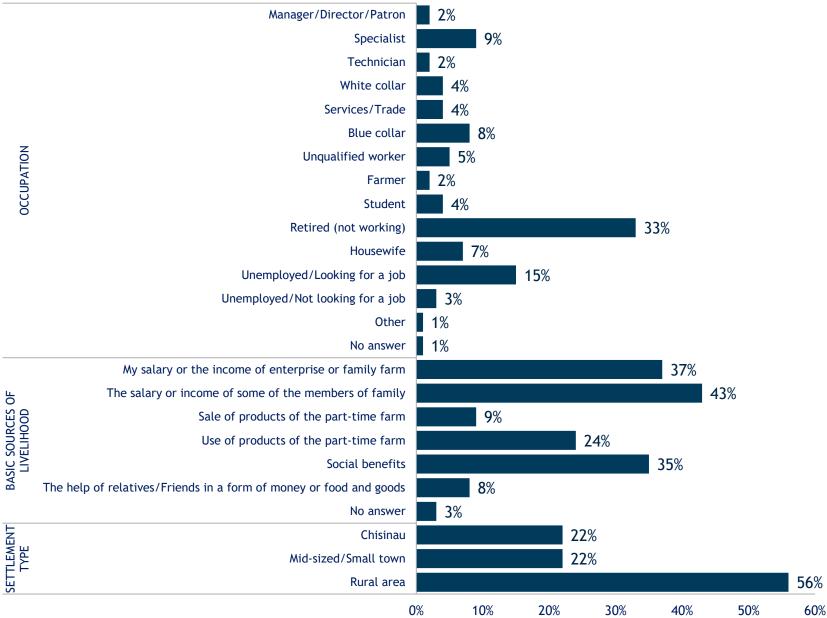


Demographics Nationwide

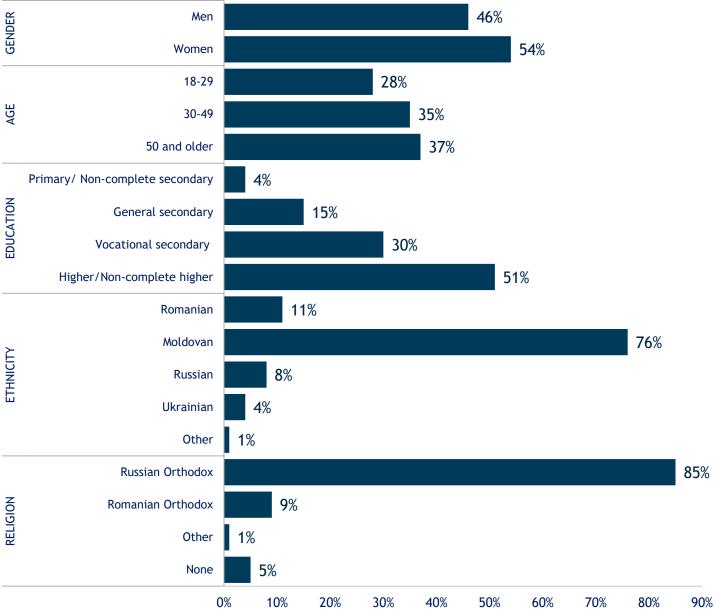


100%

Demographics Nationwide

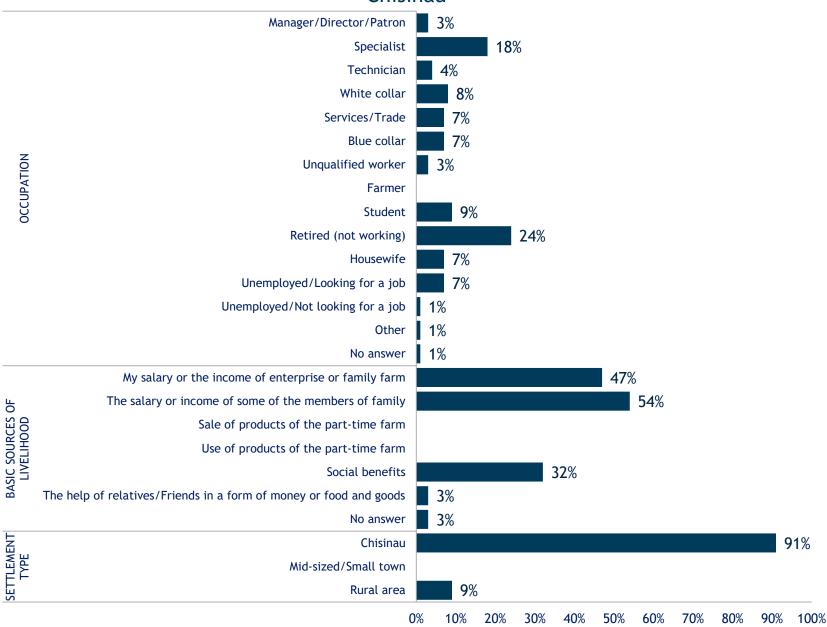


Demographics Chisinau



65

Demographics Chisinau



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UNDERSTANDING PUBLIC OPINION



| The Gallup Organization