

Public Perceptions of Government, Parties, and the Electoral System in the Republic of Moldova

Findings from a National Representative Survey of 12,322 respondents in the Republic of Moldova

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imas



### Methodology of Survey

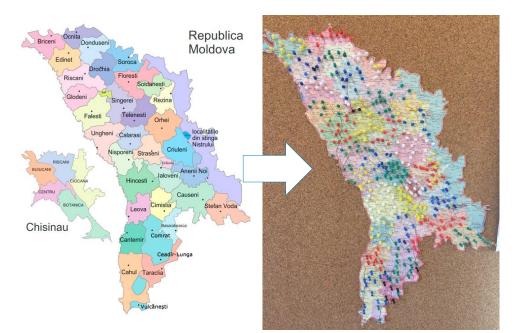
- This survey was designed by Lake Research Partners and administered by [imas] in consultation with Lake Research Partners. The survey was conducted using inperson interviews (CAPI, tablets), in Romanian and Russian, with interviewers specially trained for this type of research.
- The checking rate: 100%.
- The survey reached a total of 12,322 adults nationwide in the Republic of Moldova, excluding the region of Transnistria, and was conducted between 1<sup>st</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> of April and 25<sup>th</sup> of April until 7<sup>th</sup> of May, 2017.
- The margin of error for this poll is +/- 0.89%.
- A few significant events occurred during data collection. The first was a period of heavy snow in late April, that caused travel disruptions and extensive damage. The second event was President Igor Dodon's announcement of a draft law to introduce a mixed electoral system in mid-April.



[imas]'s fieldwork operation and their extensive reach enables an in-depth analysis for each rayon.

Fieldwork Operation:

- 35 representative regional samples
- 382 localities
- 190 interviewers
- 15 drivers
- 5 quantitative researchers
- 4 regional fieldwork supervisors





### Purpose

 This is the biggest public poll ordered and published by a Moldavian political party. Much like parties in other countries, who hire a specialized market research firm to gauge voter sentiment and understand the current political environment, the Democratic Party of Moldova reached out to Lake Research Partners and [imas] to draw insightful and reliable results through conducting this survey among the Moldavian electorate in an ethical and professional manner.



### **Sample Profile**

| GENDER   | AGE  | LANGUAGE   | POLITICAL<br>ORIENTATION  |  |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|---|--|--|--|--|
| <b>1</b><br><b>1</b><br><b>1</b><br><b>1</b><br><b>1</b><br><b>1</b><br><b>1</b><br><b>1</b><br><b>1</b><br><b>1</b> | 18-25 — 10%   26-40 — 26%   41-55 — 26%   56-70 — 29%   71+ — 9% | Moldovan49%Romanian25%Russian19%Ukrainian3%Gagauzian2% | <ul><li>22% Left</li><li>31% Middle</li><li>21% Right</li></ul> |  |  |  |  |
| EDUCATION  | OCCUPATIONAL STATUS  | NATIONALITY  | 26% DK/NA   |  |  |  |  |
| Primary Ed/Less — 12%<br>General Secondary — 23%   | Full time — 29%<br>Part time — 5%                                | Moldovan — 74%<br>Romanian — 6%                        | REGION  |  |  |  |  |
| Vocational School21%High School4%Post high school12%   | Student   3%     Stay home   11%                                 | Russian6%Ukrainian8%Gagauzian4%                        | 28% North   |  |  |  |  |
| Incomplete higher_5%Comp. Univ/higher_21%Grad Degree_2%  | Pensioner — 29%<br>Entrepreneur — 3%<br>Unemployed — 16%         |  | 54% Center<br>18% South   |  |  |  |  |

\*These numbers may not add to 100% because of non-responsive participants

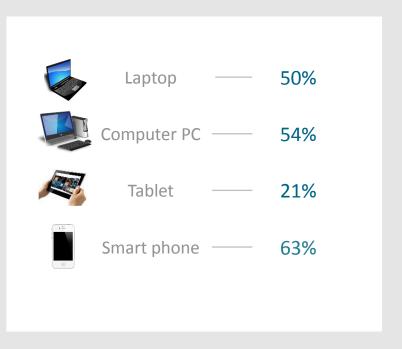


### **Internet Habits of Sample**

### **FREQUENCY OF INTERNET USE**

(Almost) Every day — 53% Once a week — 6% Several times a month — 1% Rarely — 5% No internet usage — 35%

### **DEVICES USED TO ACCESS INTERNET**



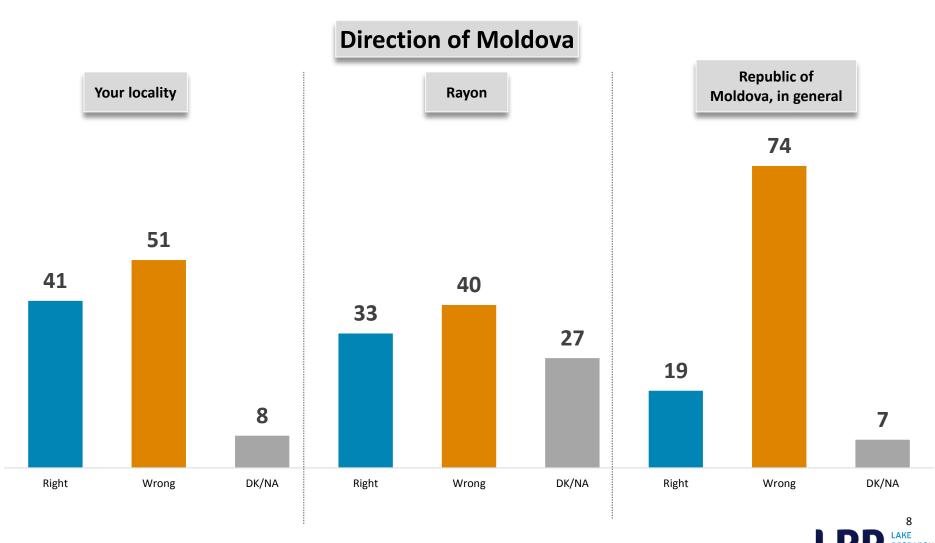


### The Political Context

# Attitudes on the Direction of the Country and Issues of Importance

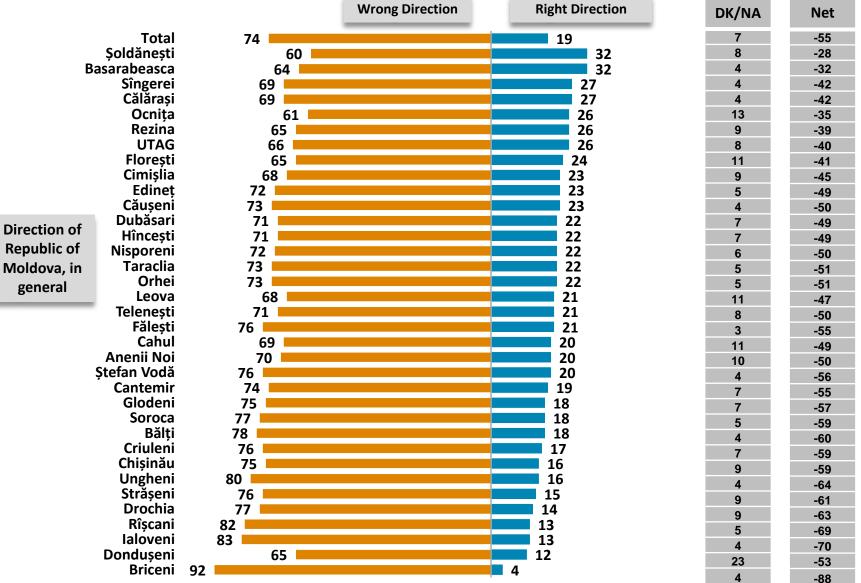


Three fourths of the respondents say the country is headed in the wrong direction. Opinions are more mixed at the local and rayon level, though a plurality still has a negative impression.



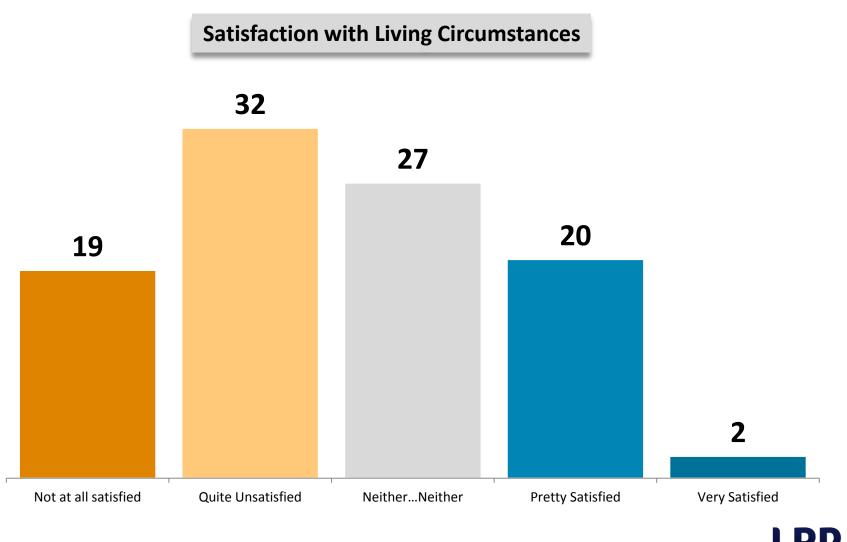
C1.In general, do you think things are going in a wrong or right direction in ...?

Though citizens in every rayon believe that the country is headed in the wrong direction, those in Soldănești and Basarabeasca are the most positive about the way things are going in the Republic of Moldova. Citizens in Briceni hold the most negative views.



C1. C1.In general, do you think things are going in a wrong or right direction in the Republic of Moldova?

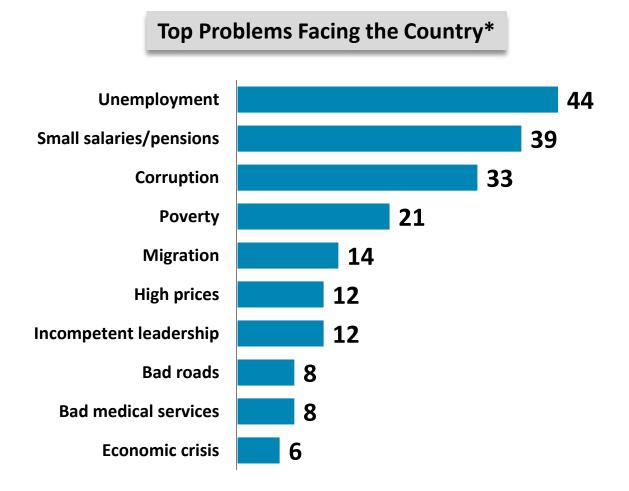
The majority of the respondents are not satisfied with the way they live. Still, 22 percent describe themselves as very or pretty satisfied, which represent an improvement considering survey results from 2015 and 2016.



10

C3. How satisfied or unsatisfied are you with the way you live?

Unemployment is the top issue in the Republic of Moldova, closely followed by small salaries and pensions and corruption. Corruption is one of the top issues for one third of respondents, though previous national surveys showed corruption to be the number one problem.





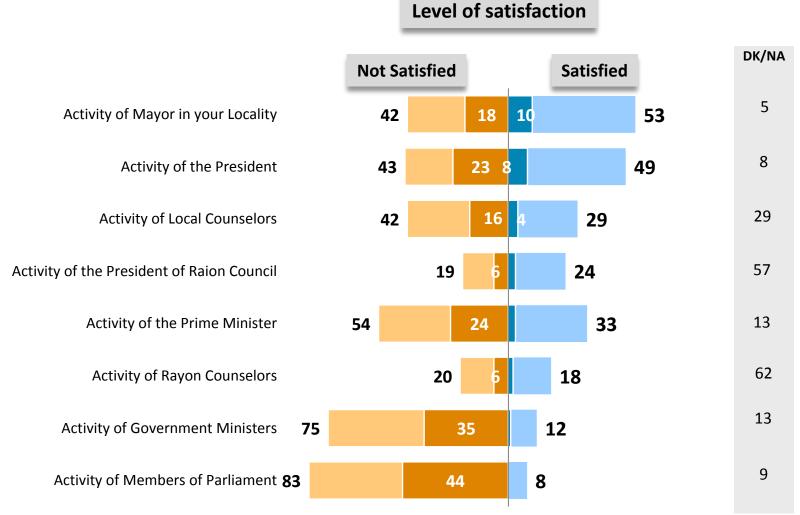
\*Each respondent provided their top three choices (in no particular order), which we aggregated for the purposes of these graphs. C2. What are the biggest problems of the Republic of Moldova right now?

### The Political Environment

Attitudes on Political Institutions, Figures, and Parties



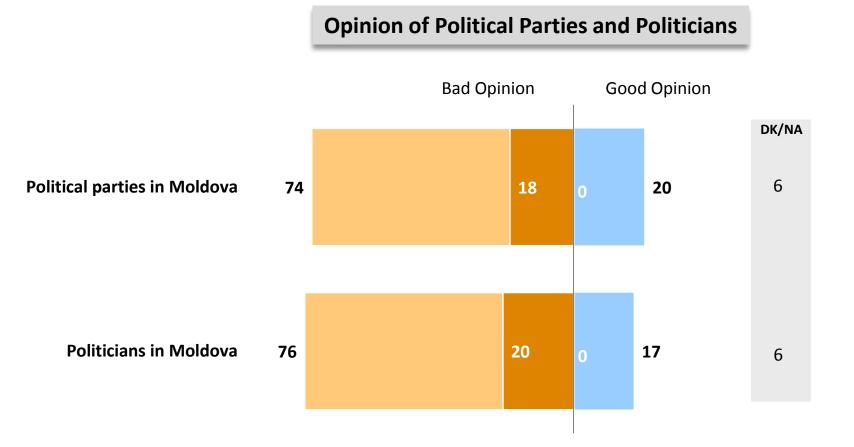
Survey participants are extremely unsatisfied with their members of Parliament and government ministers. They have net positive opinions about their mayors and President Igor Dodon. Many are unfamiliar with the activities of their Rayon Councils and the activities of Local Counselors.



C4. How satisfied or unsatisfied are you with the...?



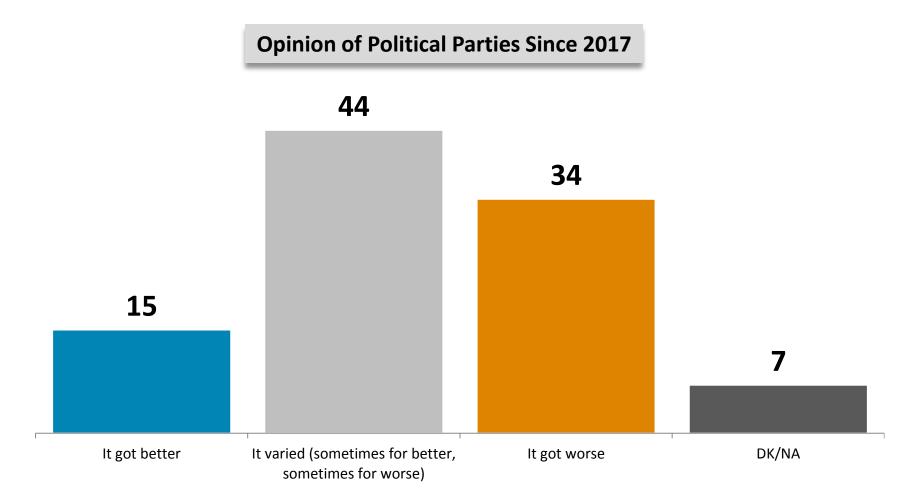
Citizens have net negative opinions of political parties and politicians in the Republic of Moldova overall.



V2. What is your opinion about political parties in the Republic of Moldova? V3. What is your opinion about politicians in the Republic of Moldova?

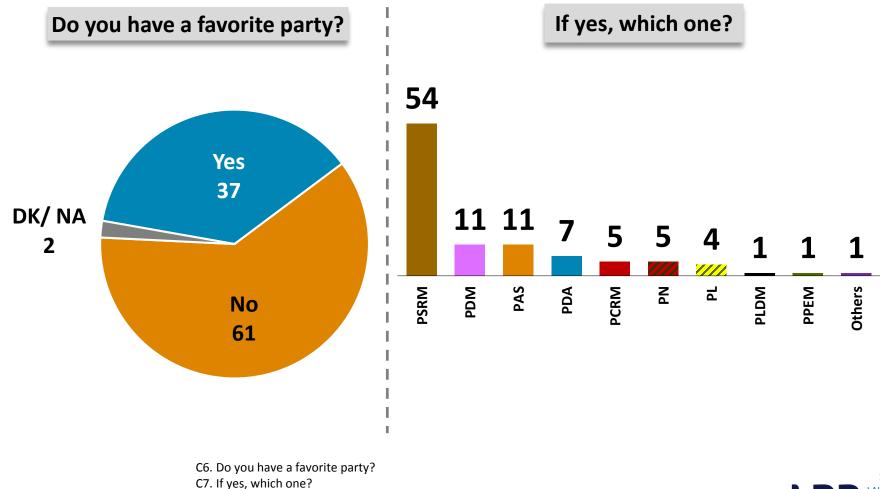


Almost half of the respondents say their opinions of political parties have varied during 2017, sometimes improving and sometimes worsening. One third of Moldovans say their opinions have worsened over the time period.





The majority of those who responded to the survey do not have a favorite political party. Among the minority who have a favorite, PSRM outnumbers all of the other parties' supporters combined.





# One fifth of respondents give PSRM a 10-point rating. The next highly-rated parties are PAS and PCRM.

|                     | HEAR<br>POLIT<br>PAI | <b>FICAL</b> | HOW YOU WOULD RATE THE ACTIVITY OF THIS PARTY? |      |       |      |      |     |       |       |      |      |       |
|---------------------|----------------------|--------------|--|------|-------|------|------|-----|-------|-------|------|------|-------|
|                     | Yes                  | No           | One  | Two  | Three | Four | Five | Six | Seven | Eight | Nine | Ten  | DK/NA |
| PCRM                | 99                   | 1            | 21.0   | 8.2  | 7.7   | 6.0  | 15.4 | 4.6 | 6.2   | 7.5   | 3.0  | 10.3 | 10.1  |
| PDM                 | 94                   | 6            | 31.9   | 9.0  | 6.9   | 4.3  | 11.8 | 4.9 | 6.0   | 6.8   | 2.6  | 4.3  | 11.5  |
| PLDM                | 91                   | 9            | 35.3   | 10.8 | 8.1   | 5.2  | 11.2 | 4.6 | 4.6   | 3.6   | 1.1  | 2.0  | 13.5  |
| PL                  | 91                   | 9            | 44.0   | 10.8 | 6.7   | 4.5  | 9.5  | 3.9 | 4.0   | 3.3   | 1.0  | 1.9  | 10.4  |
| PSRM                | 98                   | 2            | 17.3   | 5.2  | 4.6   | 3.9  | 11.2 | 5.0 | 7.1   | 11.2  | 6.5  | 20.8 | 7.2   |
| Partidul Nostru     | 84                   | 16           | 27.2   | 8.7  | 6.5   | 4.6  | 11.8 | 4.2 | 6.1   | 6.9   | 3.3  | 8.8  | 11.9  |
| PPEM                | 58                   | 42           | 30.9   | 7.8  | 7.1   | 5.2  | 10.9 | 5.0 | 6.5   | 6.3   | 2.3  | 5.0  | 13.0  |
| DEMNITATE SI ADEVAR | 72                   | 28           | 23.5   | 7.8  | 5.9   | 5.3  | 11.0 | 5.3 | 6.7   | 8.3   | 4.6  | 9.0  | 12.6  |
| PAS                 | 71                   | 29           | 25.2   | 5.9  | 4.9   | 3.8  | 9.1  | 4.7 | 6.3   | 10.3  | 7.5  | 13.1 | 9.2   |
| PARTIDUL SOR        | 64                   | 36           | 37.5   | 8.7  | 5.4   | 4.0  | 8.9  | 4.2 | 4.9   | 5.0   | 2.2  | 4.5  | 14.7  |

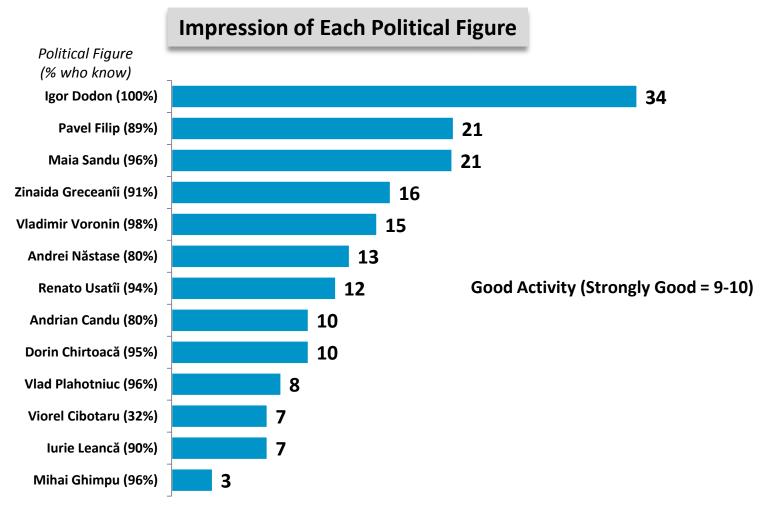


Over one quarter of the respondents give President Igor Dodon a 10-point rating. The next highest rated political figures include Pavel Filip and Maia Sandu.

|                   | POLI | RD OF<br>TICAL<br>URE | HOW YOU WOULD RATE THE ACTIVITY OF THIS FIGURE |      |       |      |      |     |       |       |      |      |       |
|-------------------|------|-----------------------|--|------|-------|------|------|-----|-------|-------|------|------|-------|
|                   | Yes  | No                    | One  | Two  | Three | Four | Five | Six | Seven | Eight | Nine | Ten  | DK/NA |
| ANDRIAN CANDU     | 80   | 20                    | 19.3   | 6.0  | 6.9   | 4.7  | 15.3 | 5.7 | 7.6   | 10.1  | 3.6  | 6.7  | 14.1  |
| DORIN CHIRTOACA   | 95   | 5                     | 31.0   | 7.4  | 5.3   | 4.0  | 11.8 | 4.7 | 6.7   | 8.5   | 3.7  | 6.6  | 10.3  |
| VIOREL CIBOTARU   | 32   | 68                    | 14.0   | 5.8  | 6.6   | 4.6  | 12.9 | 5.5 | 7.4   | 7.1   | 2.3  | 4.6  | 29.2  |
| IGOR DODON        | 100  | 0                     | 15.7   | 4.1  | 3.7   | 3.3  | 11.0 | 4.2 | 7.1   | 11.6  | 7.7  | 25.9 | 5.7   |
| PAVEL FILIP       | 89   | 11                    | 15.5   | 5.6  | 6.1   | 4.5  | 12.6 | 5.5 | 8.8   | 12.7  | 7.0  | 13.6 | 8.1   |
| MIHAI GHIMPU      | 96   | 4                     | 49.2   | 11.0 | 6.1   | 4.4  | 8.9  | 3.6 | 3.8   | 3.0   | 1.1  | 1.9  | 7.0   |
| ZINAIDA GRECEANII | 91   | 9                     | 21.3   | 7.2  | 5.9   | 4.7  | 11.3 | 5.2 | 7.0   | 10.1  | 5.2  | 10.8 | 11.3  |
| IURIE LEANCA      | 90   | 10                    | 25.6   | 7.9  | 7.7   | 6.1  | 12.6 | 5.8 | 7.7   | 7.7   | 3.2  | 3.7  | 12.0  |
| ANDREI NASTASE    | 80   | 20                    | 23.1   | 6.8  | 5.5   | 4.7  | 11.4 | 5.4 | 6.8   | 8.6   | 4.7  | 8.2  | 14.8  |
| VLAD PLAHOTNIUC   | 96   | 4                     | 44.4   | 6.9  | 4.4   | 3.3  | 8.1  | 3.1 | 3.9   | 5.5   | 2.7  | 5.7  | 12.0  |
| MAIA SANDU        | 96   | 4                     | 30.5   | 5.8  | 4.2   | 3.4  | 8.7  | 3.8 | 5.4   | 10.0  | 7.2  | 13.3 | 7.7   |
| RENATO USATII     | 94   | 6                     | 28.5   | 8.5  | 6.0   | 4.5  | 11.3 | 5.0 | 5.4   | 7.2   | 3.7  | 8.6  | 11.3  |
| VLADIMIR VORONIN  | 98   | 2                     | 19.5   | 7.3  | 7.2   | 5.8  | 16.1 | 5.4 | 6.9   | 9.0   | 4.0  | 10.5 | 8.3   |



Igor Dodon is the best known political figure, as well as the best liked for his activity. Prime Minister Pavel Filip also has a net positive image, with one fifth of respondents rating his activity as strongly good. 21% of respondents rate Maia Sandu's activity as strongly good.



P1. I would like to read you a list of political figures and let me know if you have heard any of them. P2. Only for those who have heard of political figures...I would like you to tell me how you would rate the activity of each of the political figures. Please answer on a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 = "very weak" and 10 = "very good".

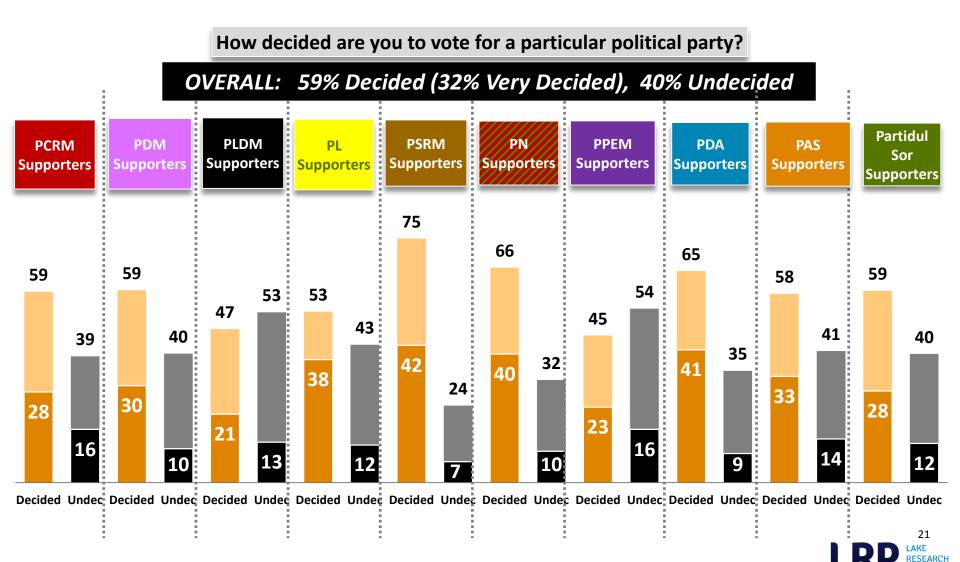


## The Upcoming Elections

### Attitudes toward the Parliamentary Elections

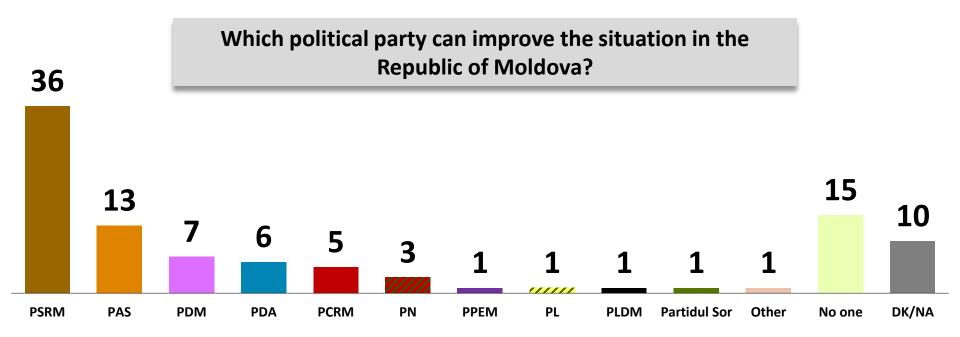


A majority of citizens are decided in which party they will vote for. PSRM supporters are the most decided in their vote, followed by PDA supporters. PLDM supporters and PPEM supporters are the least decided.



P6. How decided are you to vote for a particular party at this time?

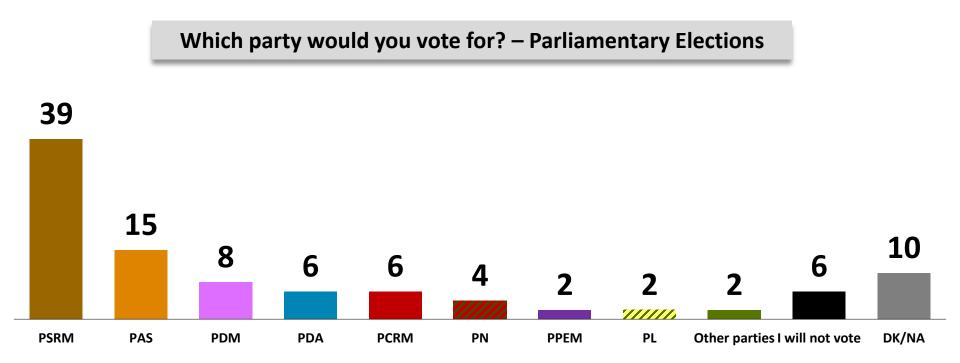
PSRM support has been steadily increasing over the past couple of years, but it has now emerged as the dominant party with Igor Dodon as President. Over one third of respondents believe that PSRM is the party most prepared to improve the situation in the Republic of Moldova.





P7. In your opinion, which of the political parties can improve the situation in our country?

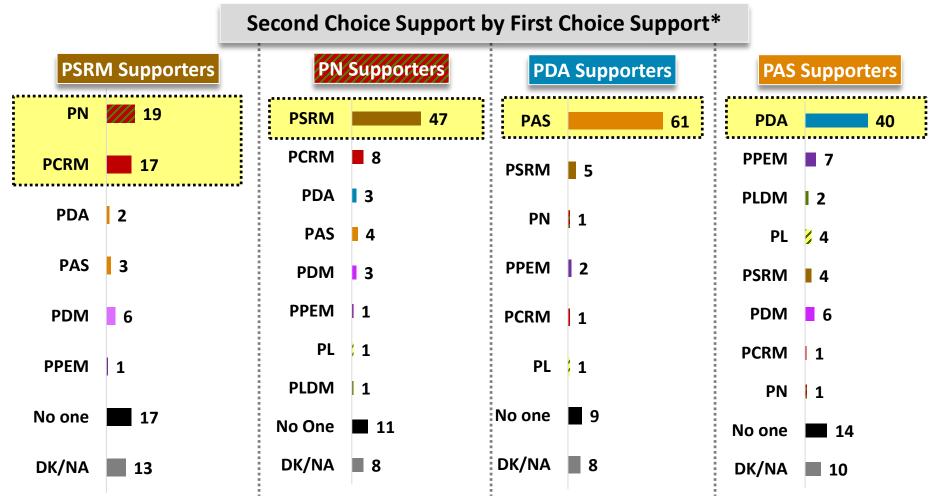
PSRM is also the clear frontrunner for the Parliamentary elections. Support for different parties has shifted since the presidential elections; PAS, in particular, has lost some support since then. PDM would likely be the third-largest party in parliament if elections were held today.





P8. If the early elections for the Parliament were held this Sunday, which party would you vote for?

The inclusion or exclusion of any party can change the results of the election. If their party does not participate in elections, PN supporters would vote for PSRM, PDA supporters would vote for PAS, and PAS supporters would vote for PDA. PSRM supporters would turn to either PN or PCRM.

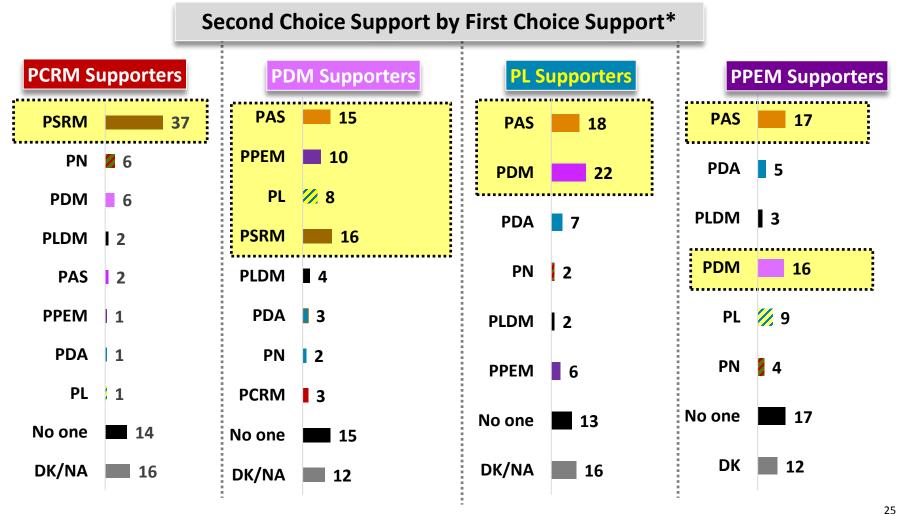


\*Totals are below 100% because of respondents who answered "I will not vote."

P10. If the party you would vote for would not participate in elections, for what other party would you vote?



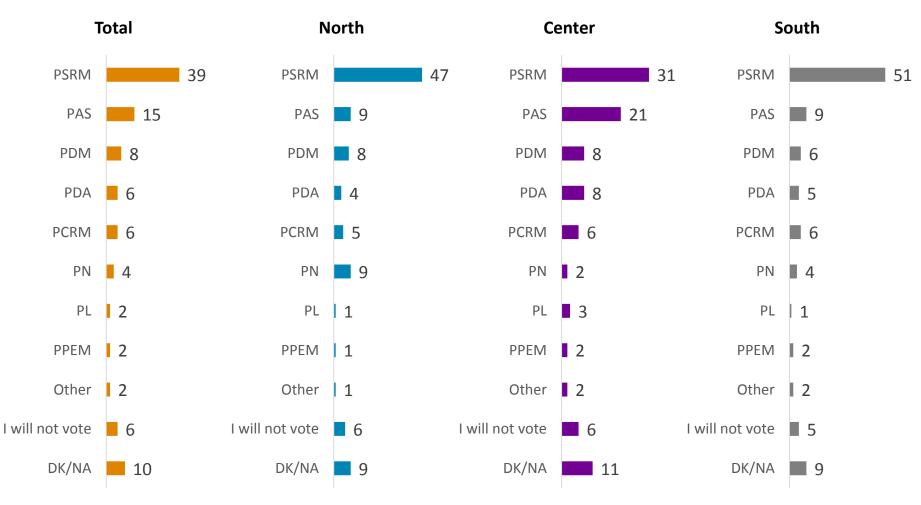
PCRM supporters would vote for PSRM if their party does not participate, while PL and PPEM supporters would be split between PAS and PDM. PDM supporters have a variety of second choice parties.



\*Totals are below 100% because of respondents who answered "I will not vote."

P10. If the party you would vote for would not participate in elections, for what other party would you vote?

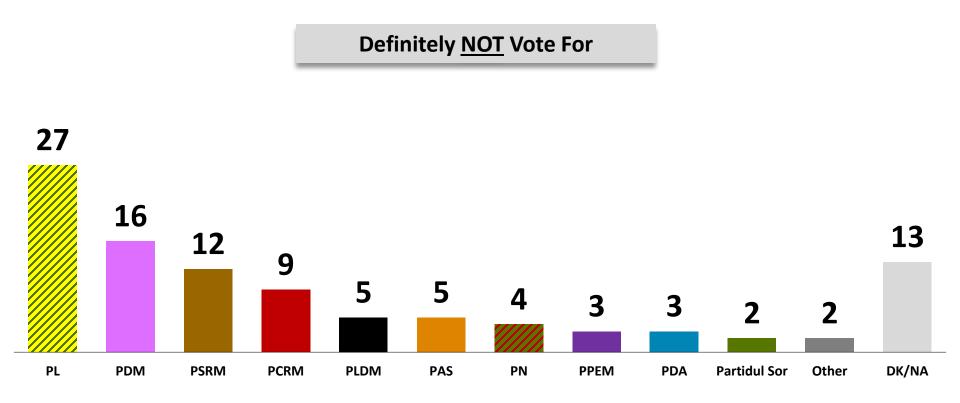
25 LAKE RESEARCH PARTNERS Strategy - Precision - Impact PSRM dominates across each geographic region, enjoying a solid amount of support in the North and South regions. However, PSRM has less support in the Center region, where one fifth of citizens would vote for PAS.





P8. If the early elections for the Parliament were held this Sunday, which party would you vote for?

PL is the least popular party, with more than one fourth of the respondents saying they will not vote for PL. Compared to previous research, this represents an increase in people who will not vote for PL.



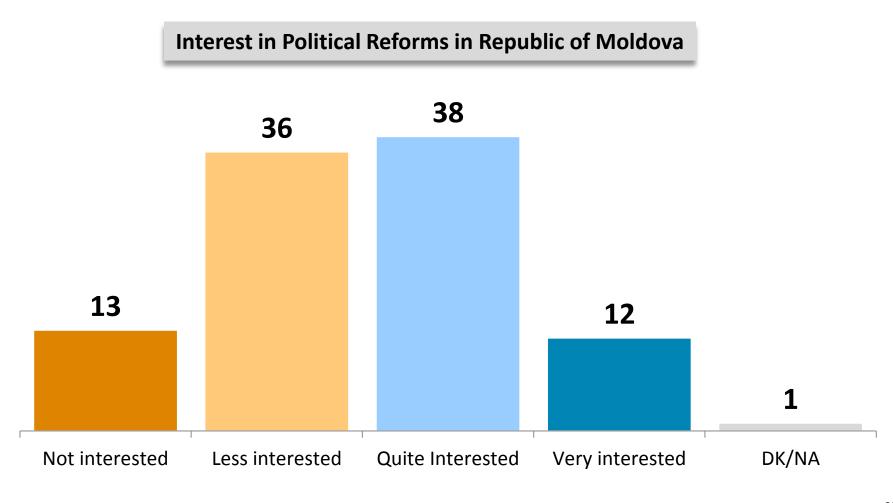


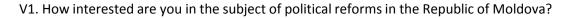
## **Political and Electoral Reforms**

Support for Specific Reforms



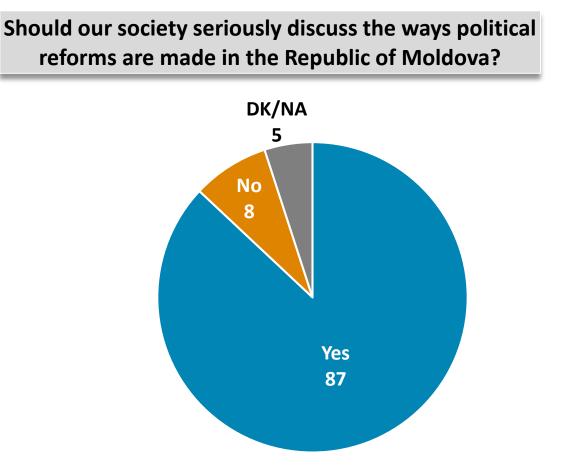
The majority of respondents are at least somewhat interested in political reforms. Half are quite or very interested in political reforms.





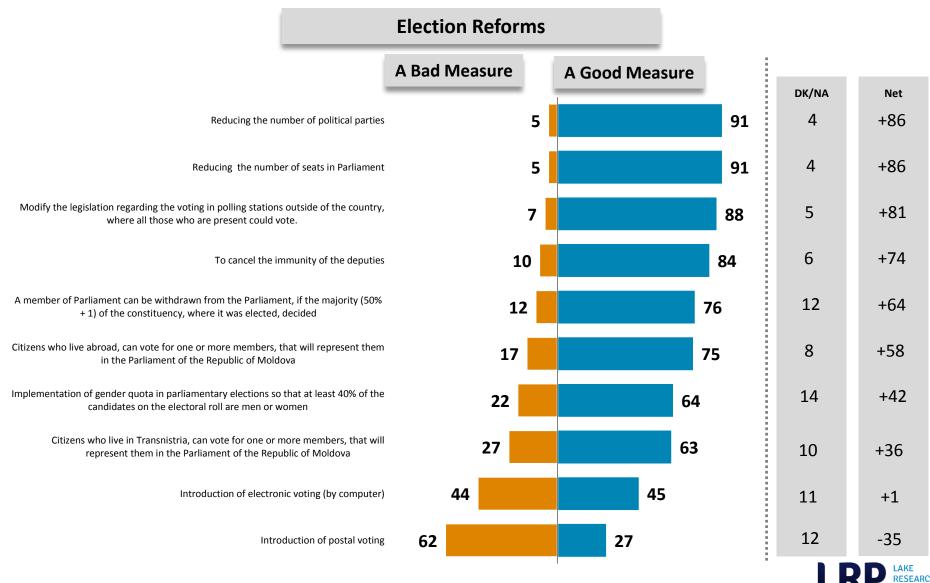


The majority of answers indicate that there is a major will to have a serious discussion about political reforms.





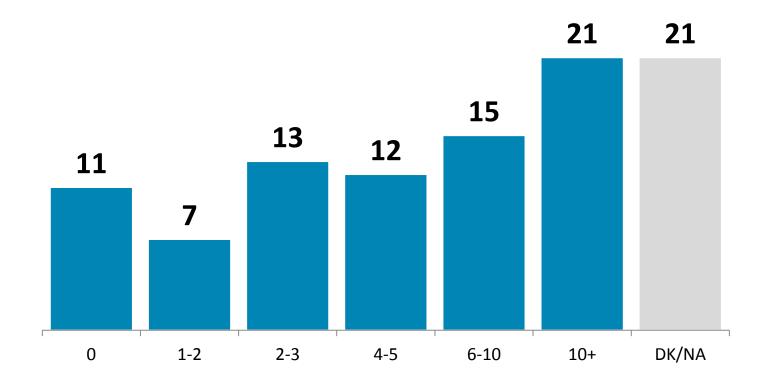
Reducing the number of political parties and the number of seats in Parliament are the most popular political reforms in the Republic of Moldova. A majority of the survey participants support all tested reforms except for electronic and postal voting.



V6. How do you think the following measures may be applied to the upcoming parliamentary elections?

Respondents have mixed opinions on how many Parliamentary seats should be allocated to represent citizens abroad. 11% of respondents do not think any seats should be allocated.

How many Parliament seats should be allocated to represent citizens who live abroad?

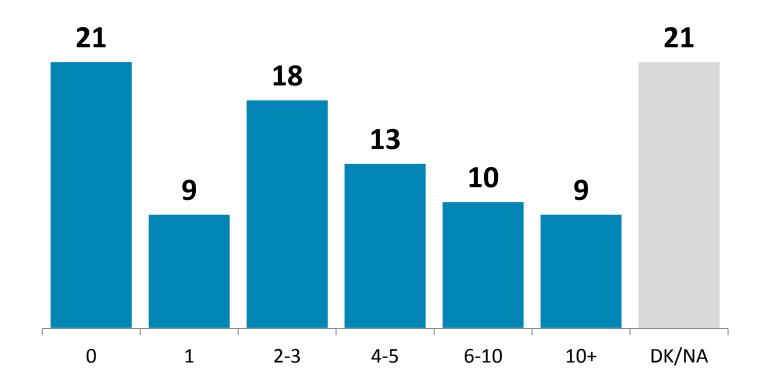


V7. From 101 places in the Parliament, how do you think, how many seats should be allocated in the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova, so the citizens who live abroad (diaspora) could be represented?



Survey participants are less enthusiastic about allocating Parliamentary seats to citizens who live in Transnistria. 21% of respondents do not think any seats should be allocated.

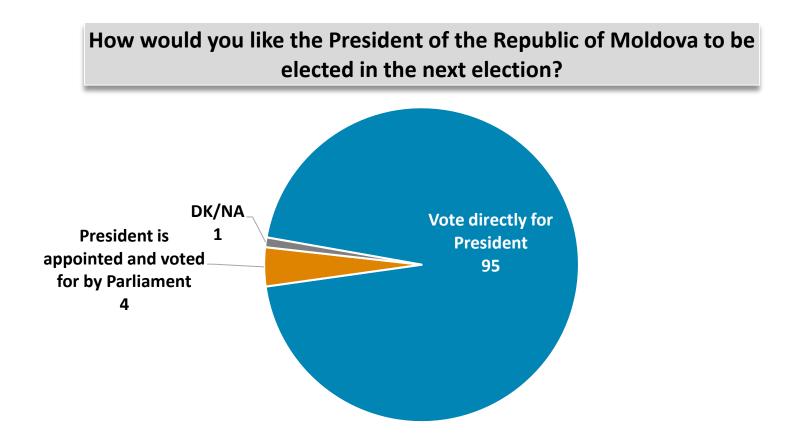
How many Parliament seats should be allocated to represent citizens who live in Transnistria?



V8. From 101 places in the Parliament, how do you think, how many seats should be allocated in the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova, so the citizens who live in Transnistria could be represented?

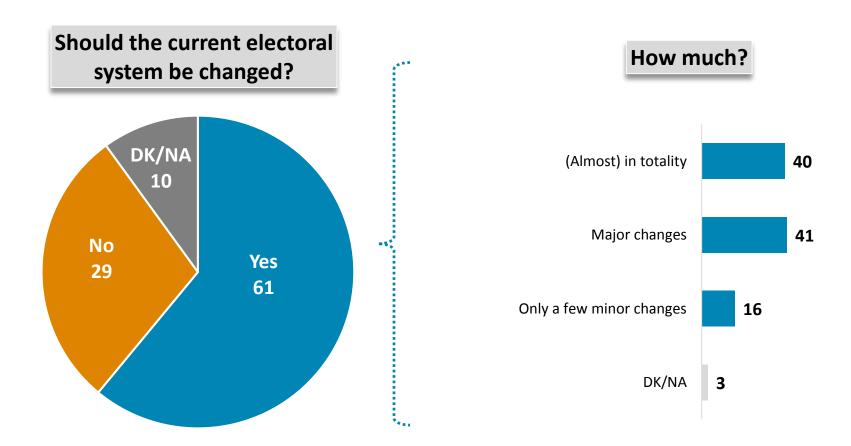


Citizens almost unanimously agree that the President should be elected directly by the people, not appointed and voted for by Parliament.





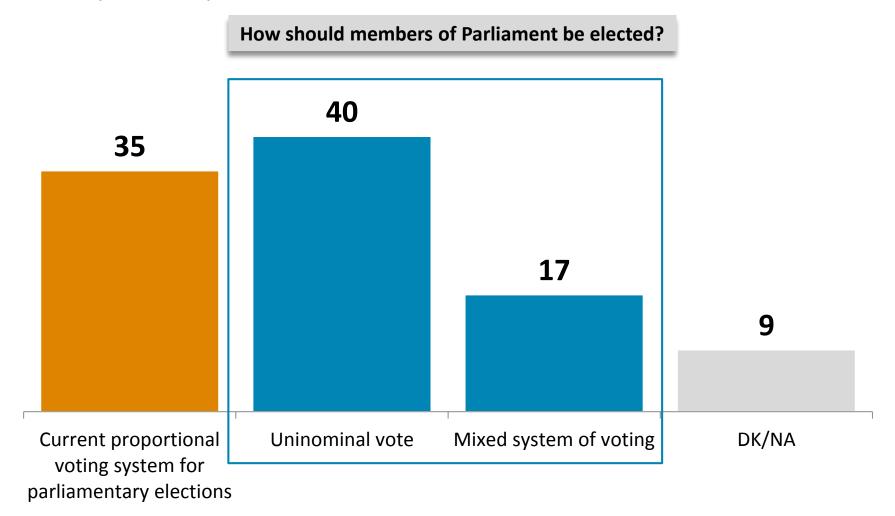
The majority think the current electoral system needs major changes. 40% would like to see it totally changed.





V4. Should the current electoral system be changed or not?V4a. In what measure do you think the current electoral system should be changed?

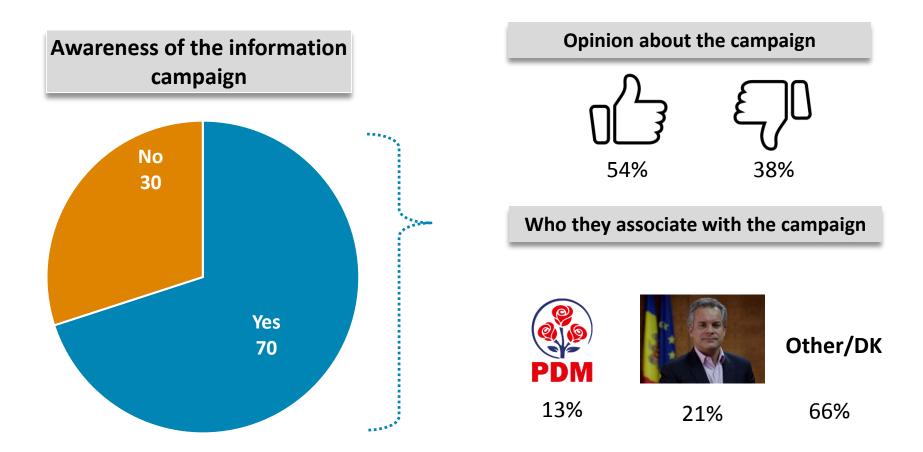
A plurality of citizens think that members of Parliament should be elected by uninominal vote. Just 35% want to keep the current proportional system. Support for a uninominal system was likely influenced by President Dodon proposing a law introducing a mixed electoral system on April 18.





V10. In the next parliamentary elections, how would you like members of Parliament to be elected?

A majority of respondents said they have heard, seen or read some information about the uninominal vote campaign. Of those who have received information, 54% had a positive opinion of what they received. However, the level of association of the campaign with PDM and Vlad Plahotniuc was just 13%, and 21% respectively.



V12. Until this discussion, have you heard, seen or read some information about the campaign of information on the uninominal vote?

V13. What is your opinion on conducting this campaign of information on the uninominal vote?

V14. To whom belongs the initiative to release campaign of information on the uninominal vote? (open-ended)

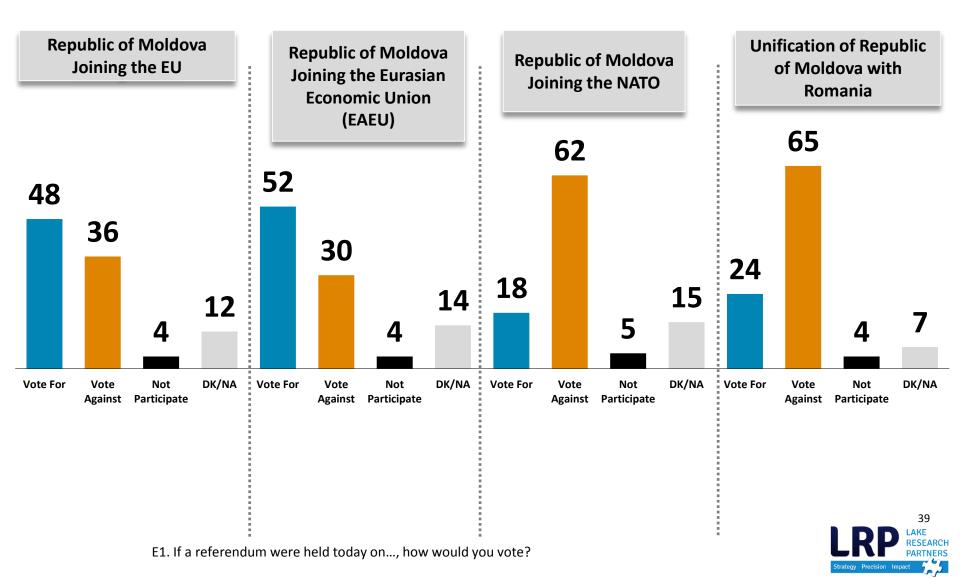


### **The International Environment**

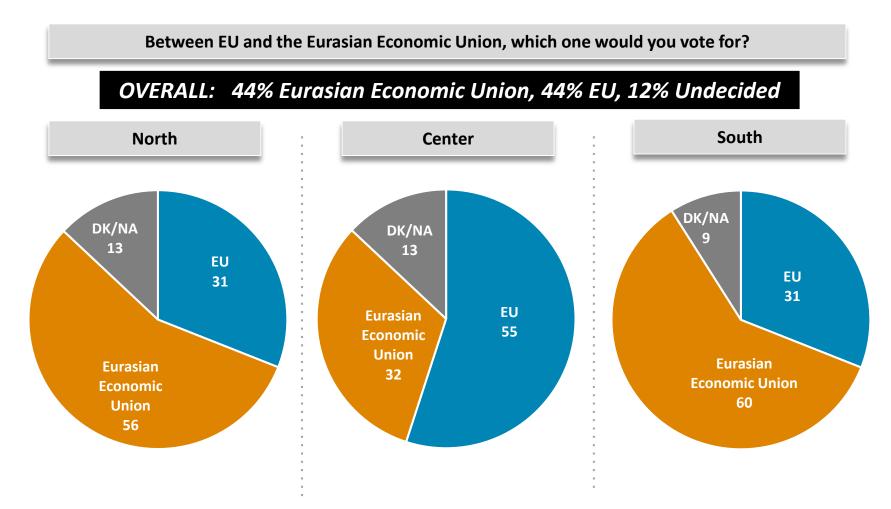
Citizens' Perceptions of the European Union, the Eurasian Economic Union, and their Place in the World



Support for the Republic of Moldova joining the EU is similar to previous surveys, while support for joining the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) has increased significantly. Citizens are heavily opposed to joining NATO and unifying with Romania.



Citizens in the Center region are most supportive of joining the EU, while those in the North and South regions would vote for the Eurasian Economic Union.





E2. In the event you should decide next Sunday between the EU and the Eurasian Economic Union, which one would you vote for?

Rayons with the strongest EU support include Nisporeni, Ialoveni and Orhei in the Center region. The strongest support for the Eurasian Economic Union is concentrated in Taraclia, UTA Gagauzia, and Ocnița.

**Eurasian Economic Union European Union** DK/NA Net Total Ialoveni Nisporeni Orhei Călărași Hîncești Strășeni Criuleni Telenești Anenii Noi Cantemir Chisinău Which Rezina would Stefan Vodă Şoldănești you Ungheni vote Čahul for? Cimislia Căușeni -10 Sîngerei -10 Briceni -11 Floresti -15 Dubăsari -16 Soroca -18 Fălești -21 Leova -21 Glodeni -22 Basarabeasca -25 Bălti -26 Dondușeni -28 Drochia -32 Edinet -39 Rîşcani -39 Ocnita -75 UTAG -83 Taraclia 96 -94

E2. In the event you should decide next Sunday between the EU and the Eurasian Economic Union, which one would you vote for?

# Summary of Key Findings



## **Executive Summary**

- **Citizens perceive the direction of the country to be improving.** Opinions are slightly better at the local and rayon level, but are still negative. Citizens in Şoldănești are the most positive about the way things are going in the Republic of Moldova, while those in Briceni hold the most negative views. Over half of the electorate is not satisfied with the way they live. Unemployment ranks as the top problem facing the country and while corruption still ranks highly, it is lower than previous years. Overall, it is an improvement compared with the situation registered during the polls from 2015-2016.
- **Citizens are more unhappy with national institutions than local.** Citizens are more divided in their satisfaction of local institutions, possibly because they are less familiar with their activities, while they are clearly unsatisfied with members of Parliament and government. They are also more likely to have a bad opinion than a good one of political parties and politicians.
- The most recognizable political figures with the most positive activity ratings are top ranking government leaders. President Igor Dodon is the best known and is the best liked. Prime Minister Pavel Filip also has a positive image. Maia Sandu is also high on this list, considering she won 48% of the vote in the last election.
- **PSRM is the most well known and best-rated party.** This is no surprise considering that President Igor Dodon was the president of PSRM and is associated with this party. They are also the party more than one third of citizens believe can improve the situation in the country. Nearly four out of ten voters would vote for PSRM in parliamentary elections.

# Executive Summary (continued)

- **Citizens are interested and want to have a serious discussion about political reforms.** A solid majority of voters believe elections reforms aimed at reducing power at the top are good measures, including reducing the number of political parties and the number of seats in Parliament.
- Most citizens want to see changes to their political and electoral system. A plurality believe the Republic of Moldova should change the electoral system to choose their representatives by a uninominal or mixed system of vote.
- **Citizens are more supportive of joining the Eurasian Economic Union.** Support for the EAEU seems to be increasing while support for joining the European Union remains about even. When asked to choose between joining the EAEU or the EU, voters overall are split in their preference. However, support differs by region. Rayons with the strongest EU support include Nisporeni, Ialoveni and Orhei in the Center region. The strongest support for the Eurasian Economic Union is concentrated in Taraclia, UTA Gagauzia, and Ocnița