



the freedom of being free. conclusions after 25 years.

August, 2016

Report prepared by:

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methodology

sampling:

stratified, probabilistic, three-stage;

sample volume:

1144 respondents, 18 years old and over;

stratification criteria:

12 territorial regions. type of area (urban-rural). residential environment (urban-rural areas), size of urban (4 types) and rural areas. type of rural localities (joint center/belonging village);

degree of randomization:

settlement (77 selected settlements), household, person;

representativeness:

the sample is representative for the adult population of the Republic of Moldova, excluding Transnistria;

the maximum sampling error is $\pm 3.0\%$;

interview:

CAPI, face to face, by 59 IMAS interviewers, in Romanian and Russian;

data collection period:

July, 25th – August, 9th, 2016;

sample structure

... socio-demographic profile

variable	group	counts	percent
sex	male	494	43,2%
	female	650	56,8%
age	18-29 years old	266	23,3%
	30-44 years old	308	26,9%
	45-59 years old	280	24,5%
	60+ years old	290	25,3%
education	incomplete secondary education	132	11,5%
	general or vocational school	230	20,1%
	(post) high school/college	447	39,1%
	higher education	329	28,8%
	no answer	6	0,5%
occupation	employed	497	43,4%
	temporarily unemployed	182	15,9%
	unemployed	444	38,8%
	no answer	21	1,8%
nationality	Moldavian/Romanian	978	85,5%
	others (Russian, Ukrainian, etc.)	160	14,0%
	don't know/no answer	6	0,5%
residence	municipality	274	24,0%
	urban area > 14,000 inhabitants	124	10,8%
	urban area < 14,000 inhabitants	73	6,4%
	rural	673	58,8%
total		1144	100,0%

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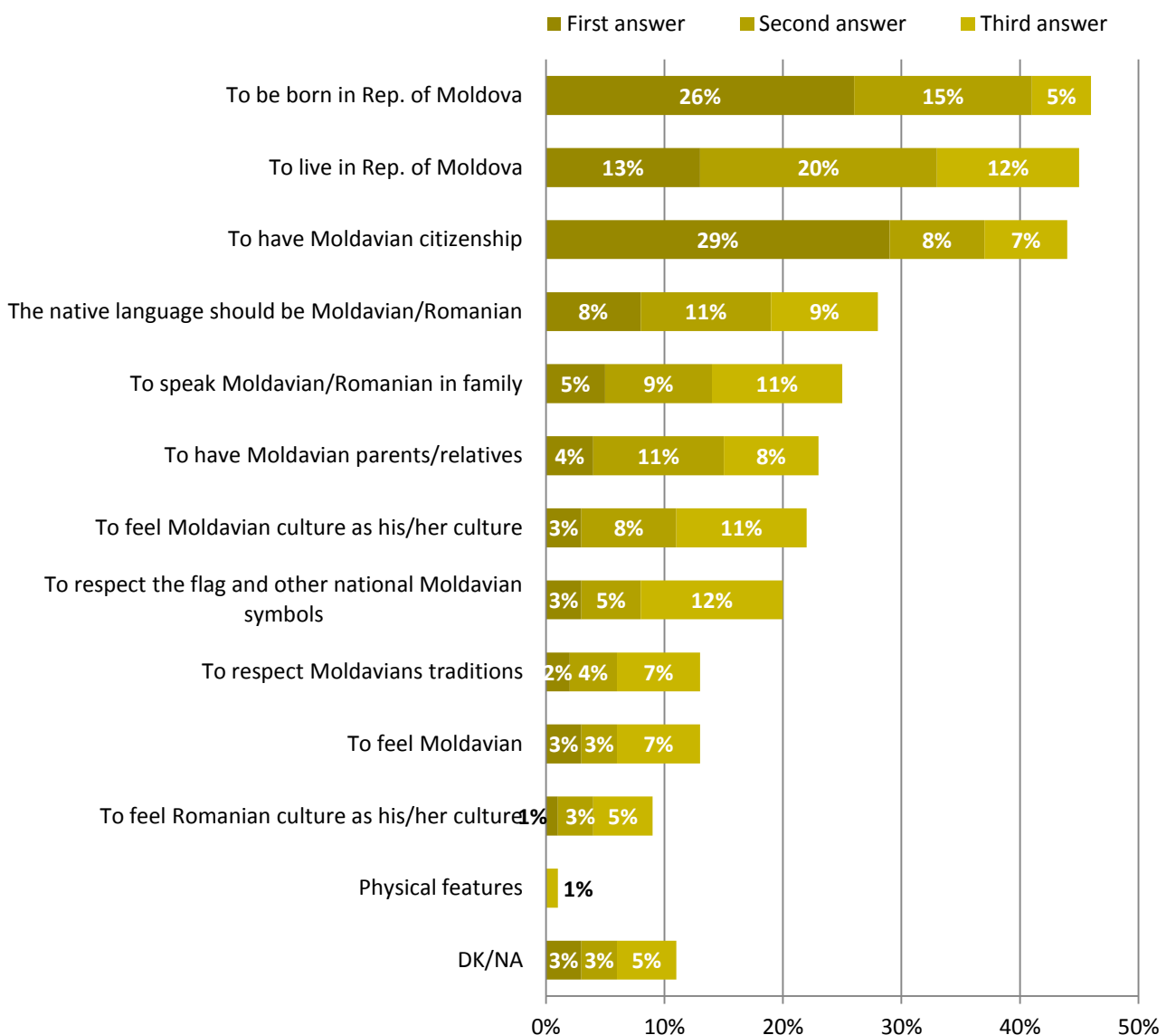
conclusions after 25 years of independence

social identity

C1 —

In your opinion, what are the three most important things for someone to be considered MOLDAVIAN?

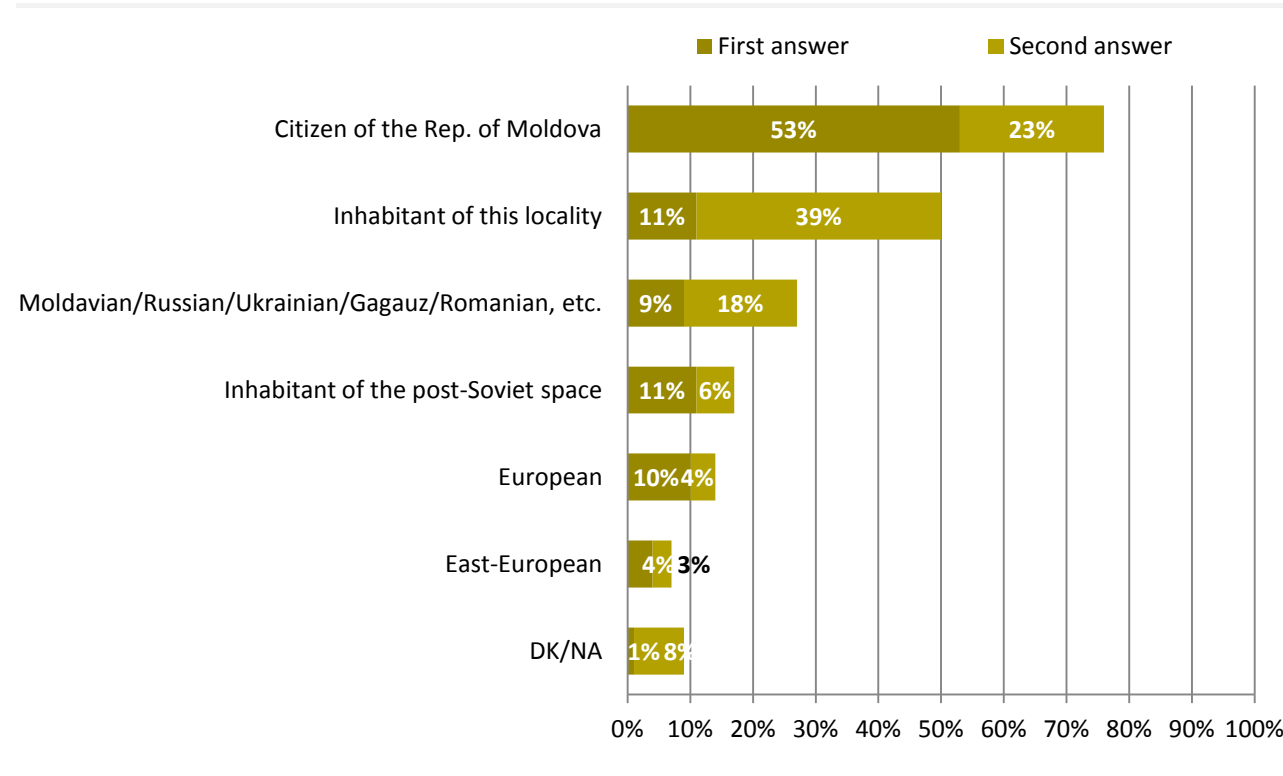
% from total sample, 1144 respondents



identity considering civic, ethnic and local-regional dimension

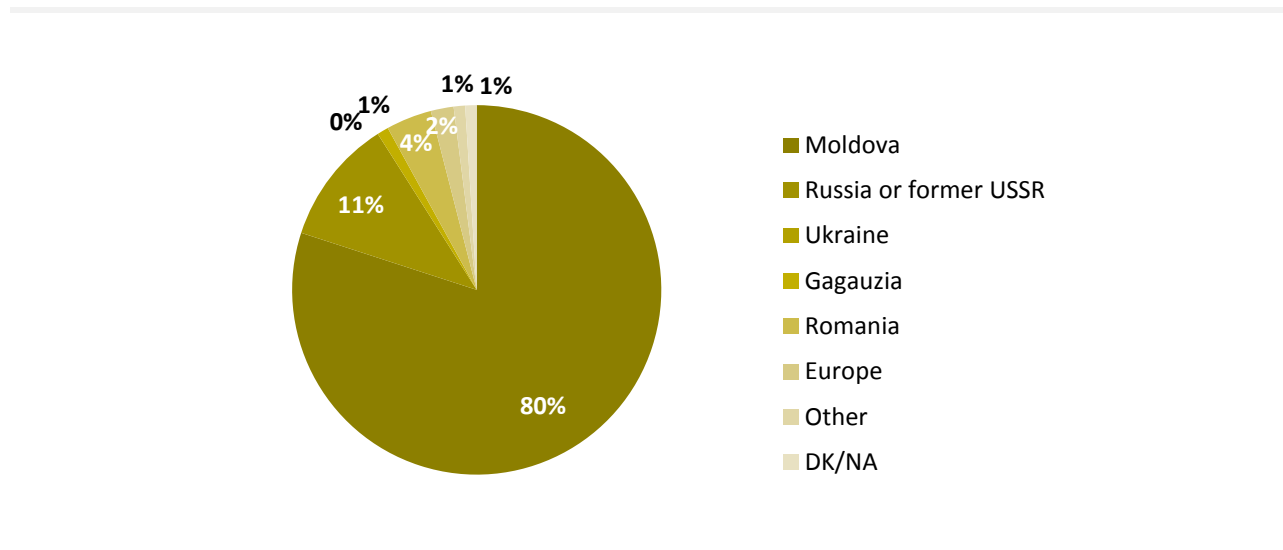
C2 —
What of the following statements better describes your identity? Do you consider yourself rather ...?

% from total sample, 1144 respondents



C3 —
What is your homeland? (closed to your soul)

% from total sample, 1144 respondents

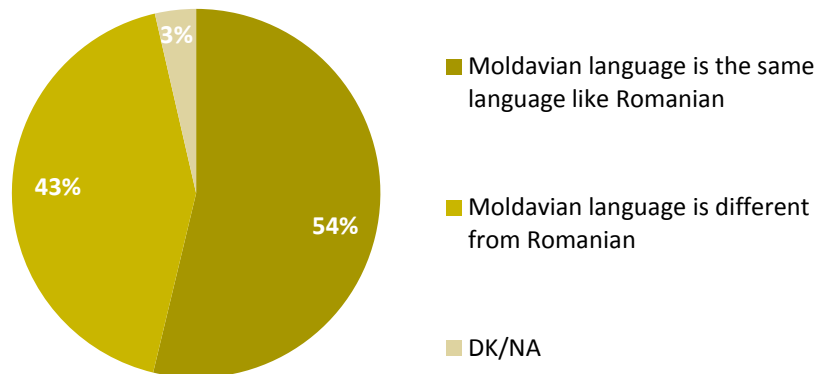


language, mutual knowledge of languages

C4 —

What sentence describes better the reality regarding the spoken language in Rep. of Moldova?

% from total sample, 1144 respondents



C5 —

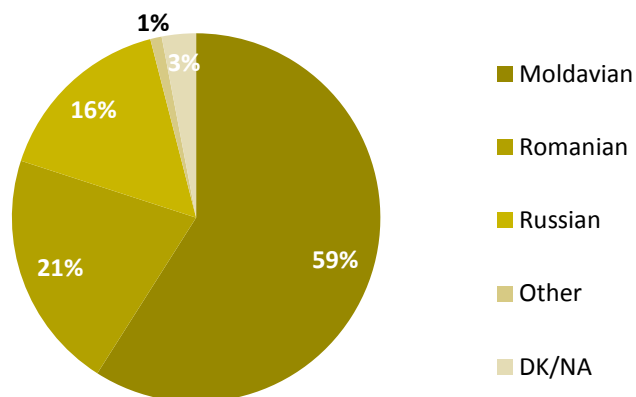
How well you speak the following languages?

% per row from total sample, 1144 respondents

	Perfectly	Very well, but with accent	I make myself understood in most of the situations	I have difficulties	I know only some words	I do not know any word	DK/NA
Moldavian	78,6	7,1	4,3	1,9	3,2	2,9	2,0
Romanian	56,6	18,6	10,0	2,7	3,0	7,0	2,1
Russian	56,6	23,4	13,2	2,4	1,2	2,4	0,8
Ukrainian	5,2	3,3	9,3	11,9	27,3	39,7	3,3
Gagauzian	3,6	0,8	0,5	3,1	14,2	73,8	4,0
English	2,9	3,6	7,9	9,3	22,2	50,6	3,6
French	1,4	2,6	6,4	11,9	27,2	46,7	3,8
German	0,5	0,3	1,3	2,4	17,6	73,0	4,8
Other foreign language	4,1	1,6	2,3	1,7	13,5	68,9	7,9

C6 —

What is the language that should be used by ethnic groups from Rep. of Moldova?

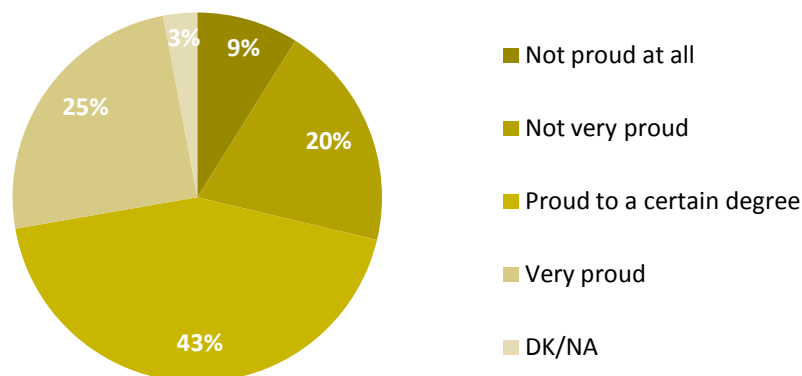


the national pride

C7 —

How proud are you of being a citizen of the Rep. of Moldova?

% from total sample, 1144 respondents



C8 —

What are the main reasons for not being proud that you are a citizen of the Rep. of Moldova?

<i>% from those who responded at C14 „Not proud at all” and „Not so proud”, 327 respondents. Open question; maximum two answers.</i>	<i>count</i>	<i>percent</i>
Because of poverty it is hard to live here	107	32,7%
Bad leaders	69	21,1%
Corruption	44	13,5%
It is not order in the country	44	13,5%
Lack of jobs	26	8,0%
Salaries and pensions are very small	18	5,5%
Lack of financial resources	18	5,5%
There is no future in Rep. of Moldova	9	2,8%
Weak economy	5	1,5%
Discrimination because of the spoken language	3	0,9%
Lack of possibilities to have my own business	2	0,6%
DK/NA	309	94,5%
total	654	200,0%

C9 —

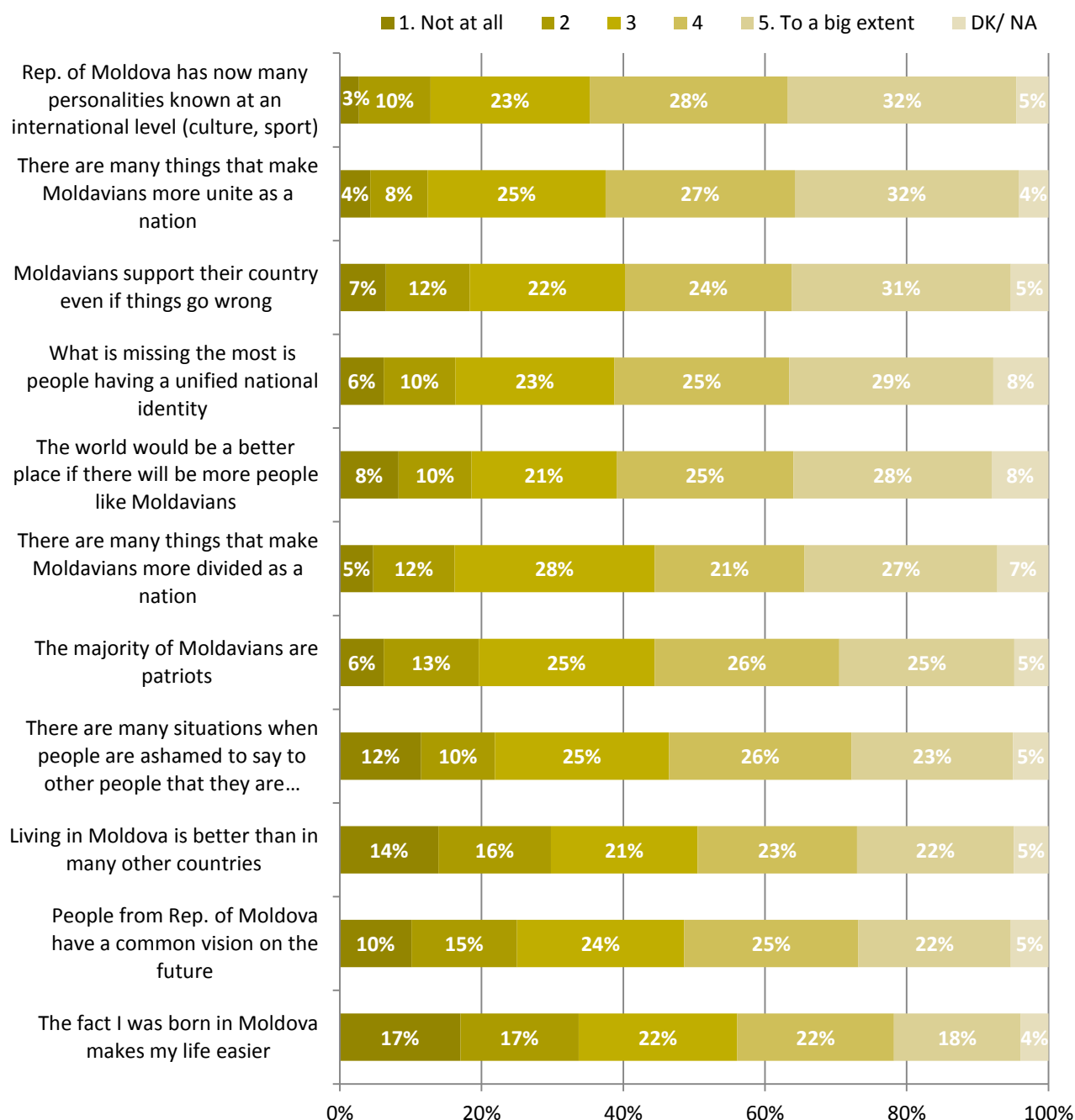
What are the main reasons for being proud that you are a citizen of the Rep. of Moldova?

<i>% from those who responded at C14 „Proud to a certain degree” and „Very proud”, 781 respondents. Open question; maximum two answers.</i>	<i>count</i>	<i>percent</i>
I was born here	273	35,0%
I am proud of my country	198	25,4%
Here is my nation	191	24,5%
Here is my homeland	154	19,7%
Traditions	117	15,0%
Moldavian food	52	6,7%
Agriculture	34	4,4%
Here I am living	18	2,3%
Moldavians are hardworking	14	1,8%
History	6	0,8%
Religion	6	0,8%
DK/NA	499	63,9%
total	1562	200,0%

C10 —

To what extent do you agree with the following statements? Please answer based on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 = Not at all and 5 = To a big extent. 9 = I have no opinion/DK/ NA.

% per row from total sample, 1144 respondents

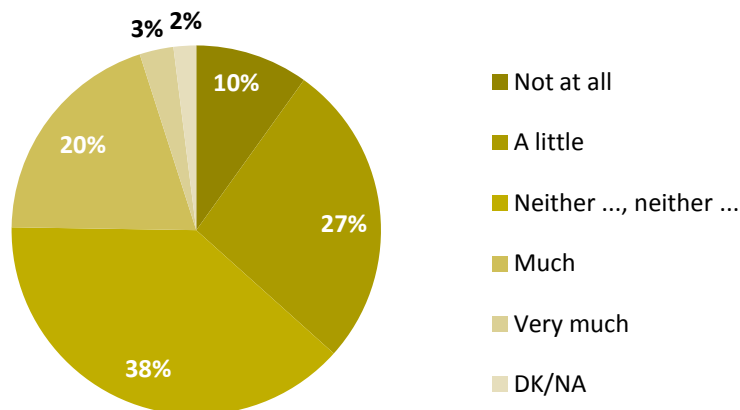


Interethnic climate

C11 —

How much or little trust do you have in people from Rep. of Moldova?

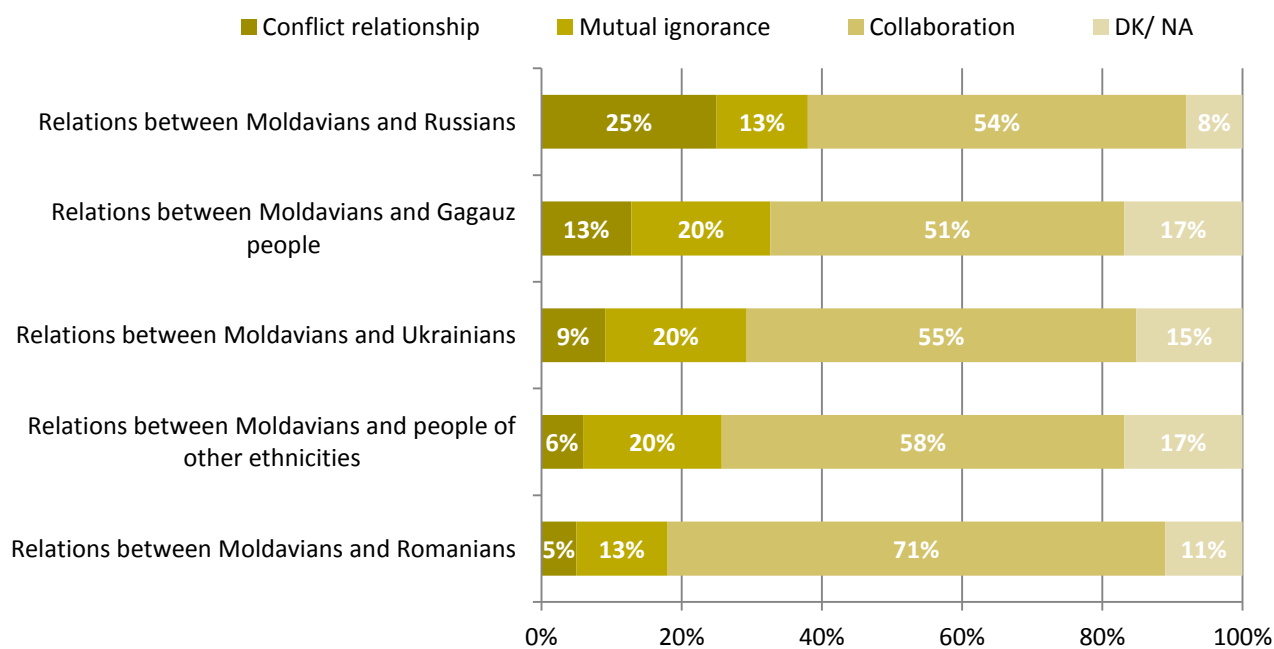
% from total sample, 1144 respondents



C12 —

Which of the following statements better describes relations between different ethnic groups from Moldova, which of them do you think better describes reality?

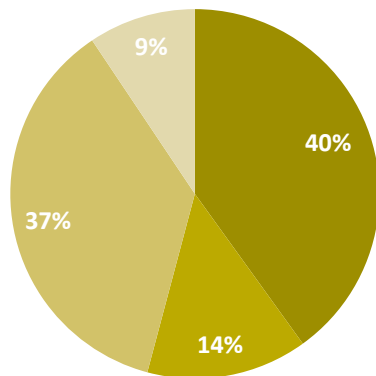
% from total sample, 1144 respondents



C13 —

If now it would be 1991 and you can choose between ..., what will you chooses?

% from total sample, 1144 respondents

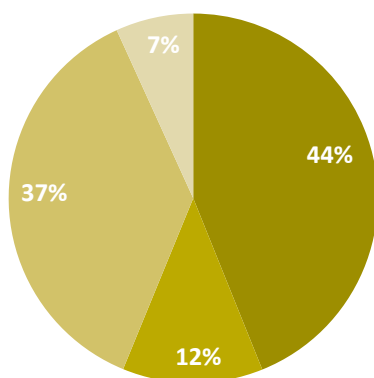


- Disintegration of the Soviet Union and Moldova becoming independent
- Moldova to become a part of Romania
- Moldova to remain a part of the Soviet Union, even if it means that Republic of Moldova will not become independent
- DK/NA

C14 —

From your point of view, the past/the history of the Rep. of Moldova is more related to ...?

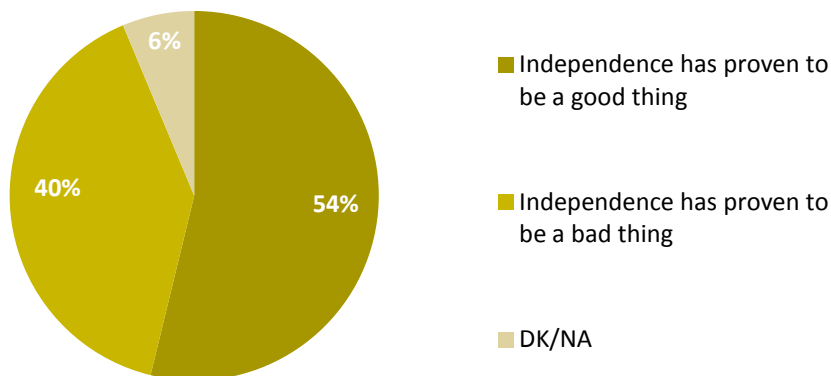
% from total sample, 1144 respondents



- USSR
- Romania
- Both
- DK/NA

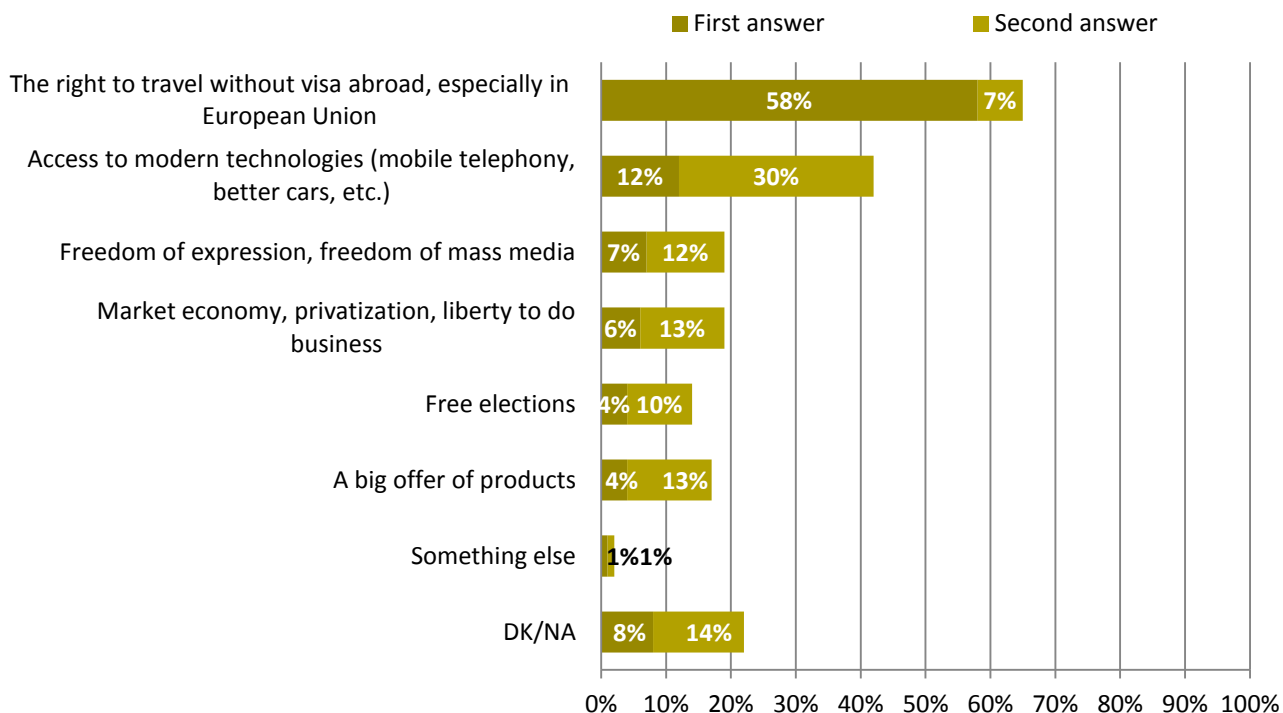
C15 —
Rep. of Moldova became an independent state 25 years ago, in August, 1991. Looking behind, what do you think?

% from total sample, 1144 respondents



C16 —
What do you think are the biggest gains for Rep. Moldova and its citizens since 1991 till today?

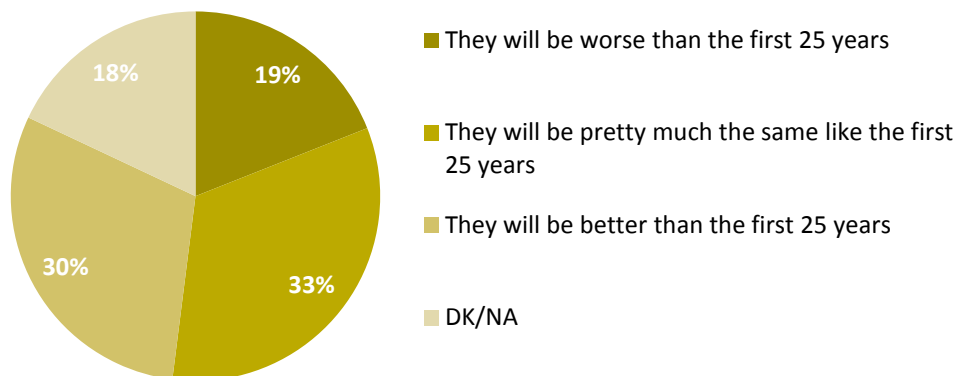
% from total sample, 1144 respondents



projections for future

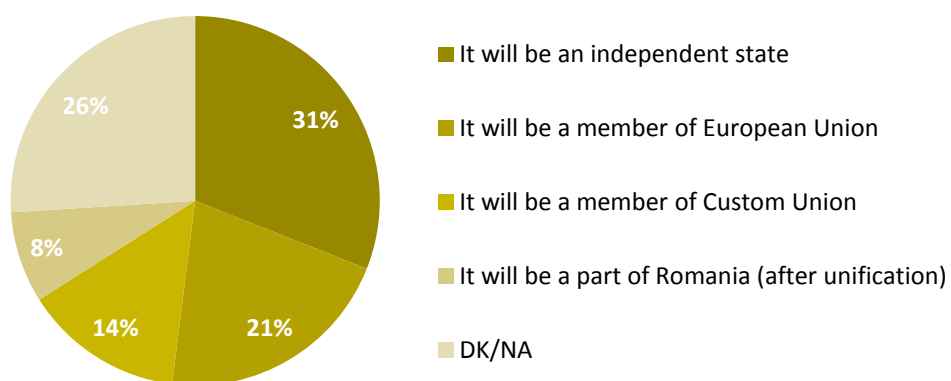
**C17 —
How it will be the next 25 years for Rep. of Moldova?**

% from total sample, 1144 respondents



**C18 —
How it will be Rep. of Moldova in 25 years from now?**

% from total sample, 1144 respondents

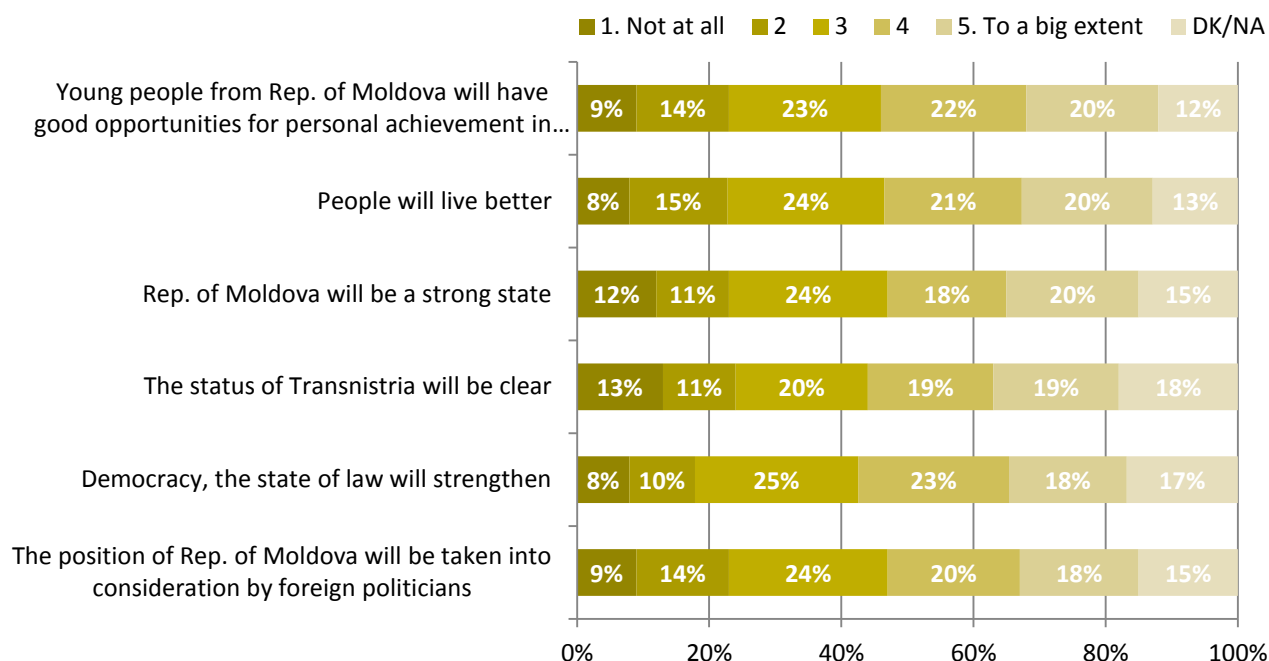


projections for future

C19 —

To what extent do you think that in 25 years ...? Please answer based on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 = Not at all and 5 = To a big extent. 9 = I have no opinion/DK/ NA.

% from total sample, 1144 respondents



C20 —

What can be the main idea, objective which might unite most of the Moldavians?

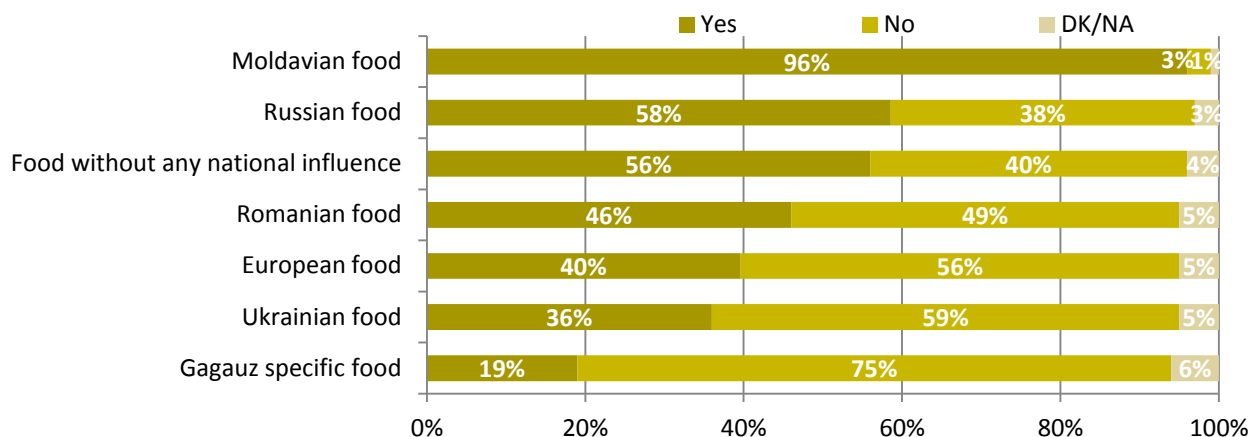
<i>% from total sample, 1144 respondents. Open question; one answer.</i>	<i>count</i>	<i>percent</i>
Creating jobs, well paid	141	12,3%
The same culture	126	11,0%
Understanding	111	9,7%
Resolving the political situation	98	8,6%
Wealthy economy	53	4,6%
Decent standard of living	49	4,3%
Prosperity	35	3,1%
Fighting against corruption	16	1,4%
Independence	15	1,3%
Development	9	0,8%
Changes	9	0,8%
To work a lot	8	0,7%
Unification with Romania	6	0,5%
Unification with Russia	5	0,4%
To bring home those who are living abroad	4	0,3%
Patriotism	4	0,3%
Educational system	2	0,2%
Unification with European Union	2	0,2%
DK/NA	451	39,4%
total	1144	100,0%

gastronomic ... influences

C21 —

In the household you live with your family/relatives, can you say that are prepared ...?

% from total sample, 1144 respondents

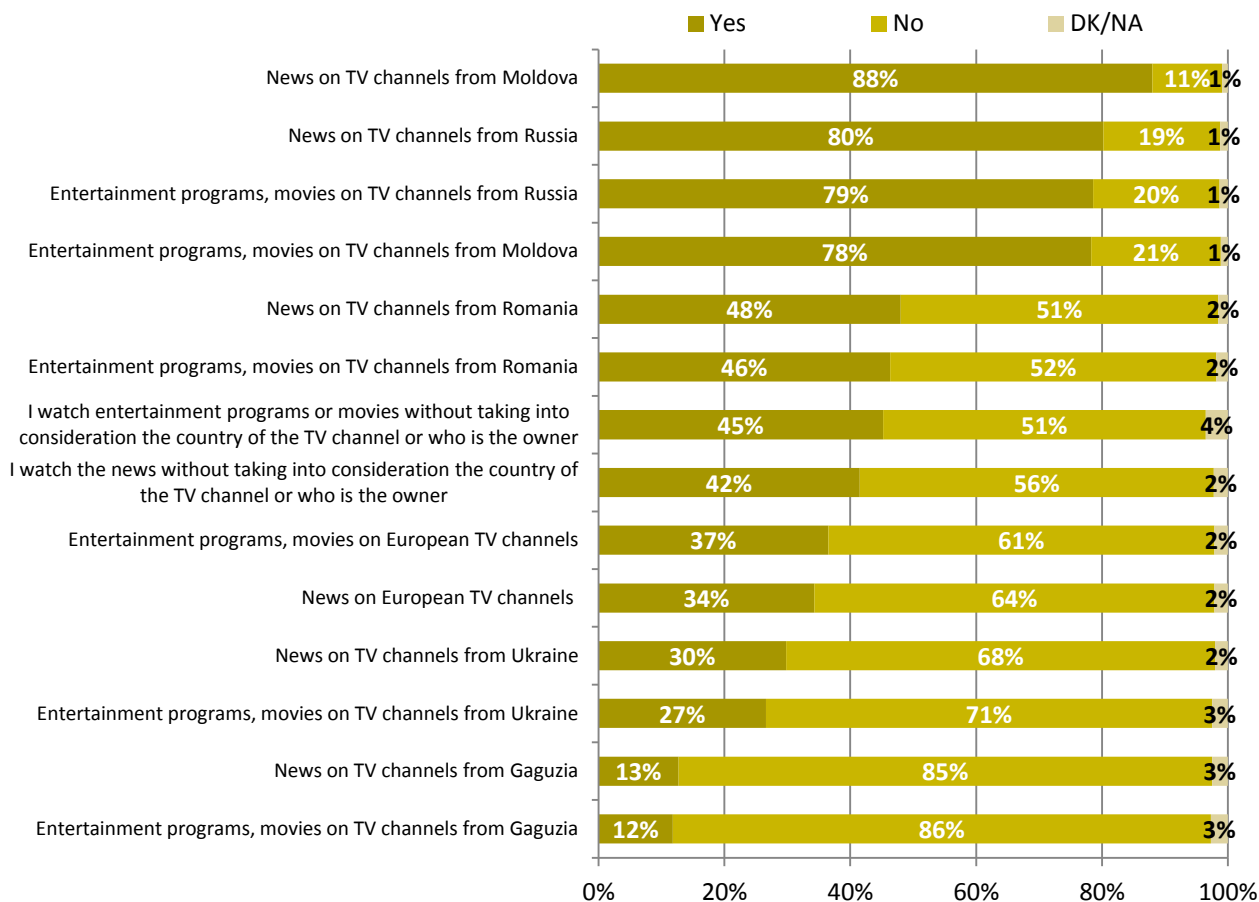


media ... influences

C22 —

Do you use to watch the following types of programs, TV channels?

% from total sample, 1144 respondents



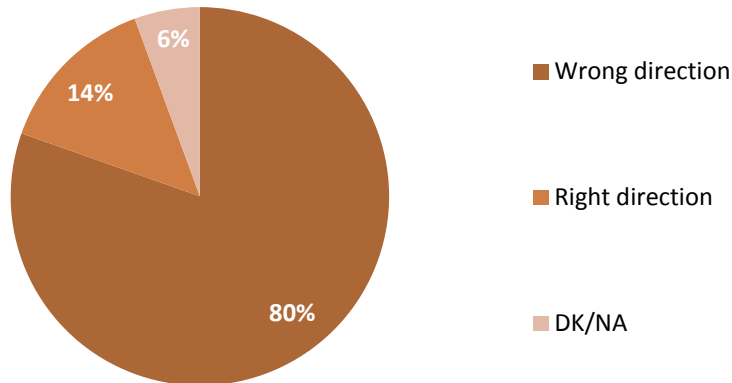
socio-political barometer

social, economic, political climate

P1 —

Do you think that things in our country are going in the right direction or do you feel things are going in the wrong direction?

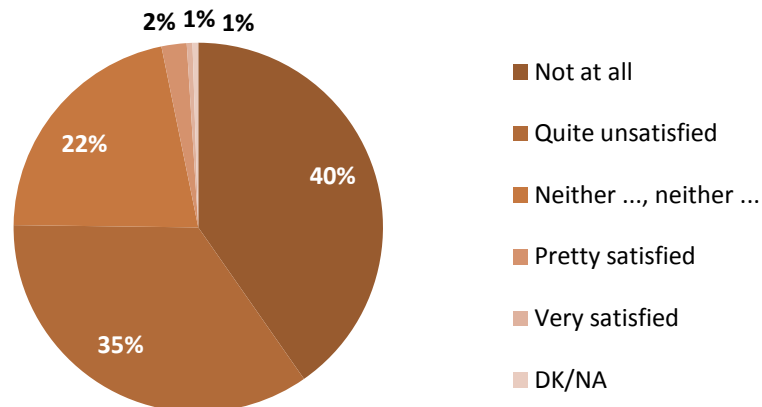
% from total sample, 1144 respondents



P2 —

How satisfied or unsatisfied are you regarding the current economic situation from Moldova?

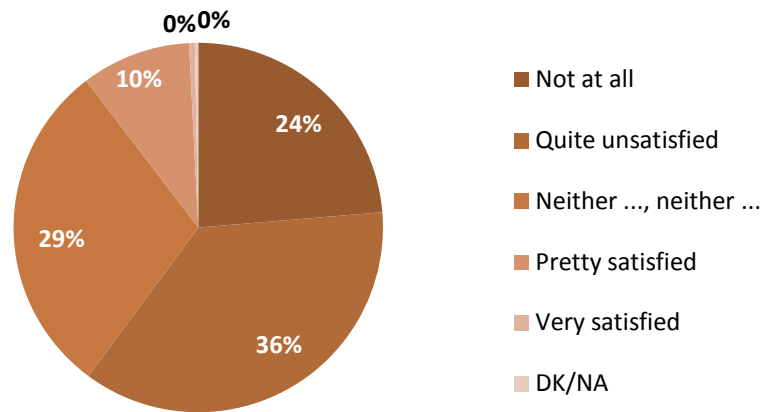
% from total sample, 1144 respondents



P3 —

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

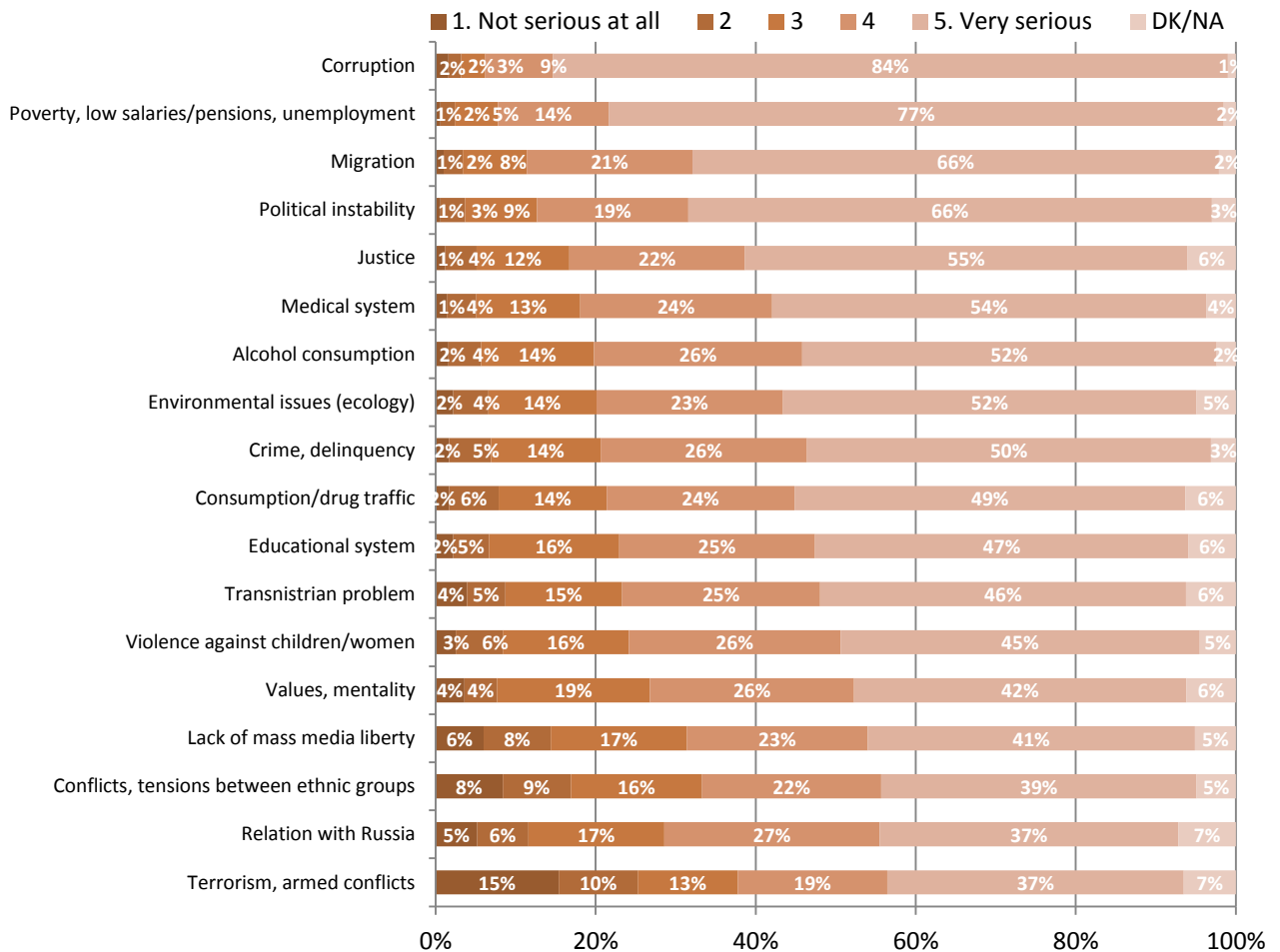
% from total sample, 1144 respondents



P4

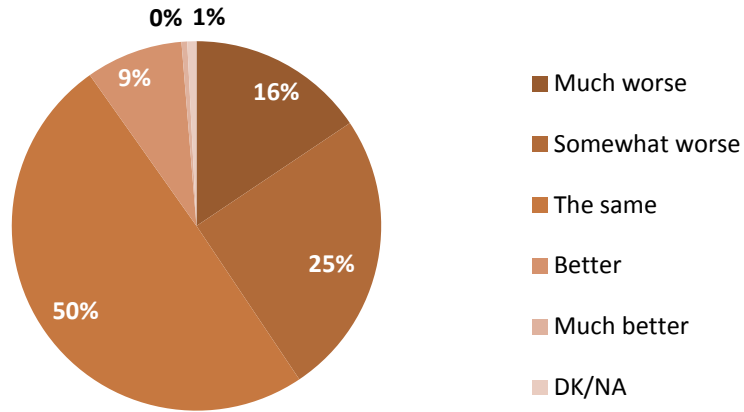
I will read you a list of problems which our country is confronting with. For each of them, please tell me to what extent do you consider to be very serious/bad or not serious at all/bad for Moldova. Please give an answer based on the scale from 1 to 5, where 1 = „Not serious at all” and 5 = „Very serious”.

% per row from total sample, 1144 respondents



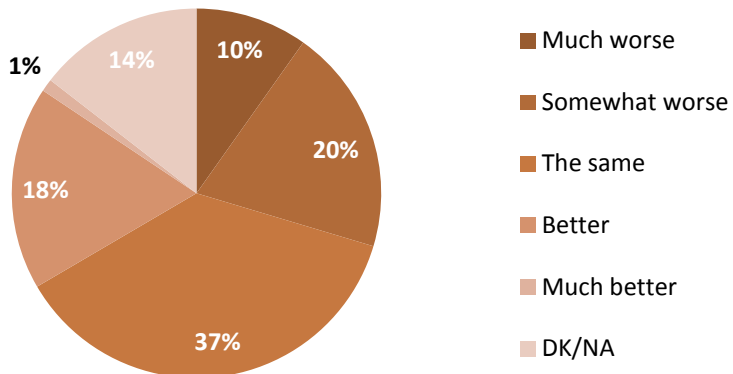
P5 —
How is your life compared with that from one year ago?

% from total sample, 1144 respondents



P6 —
How do you think you will live next year?

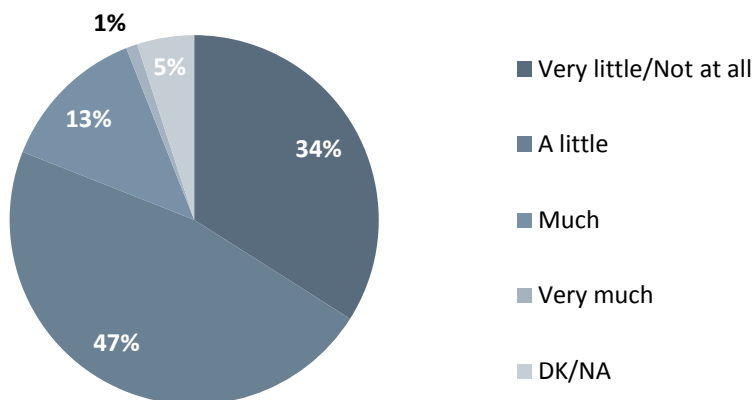
% from total sample, 1144 respondents



P7 —

How much trust do you have in the Government ruled by de Pavel Filip?

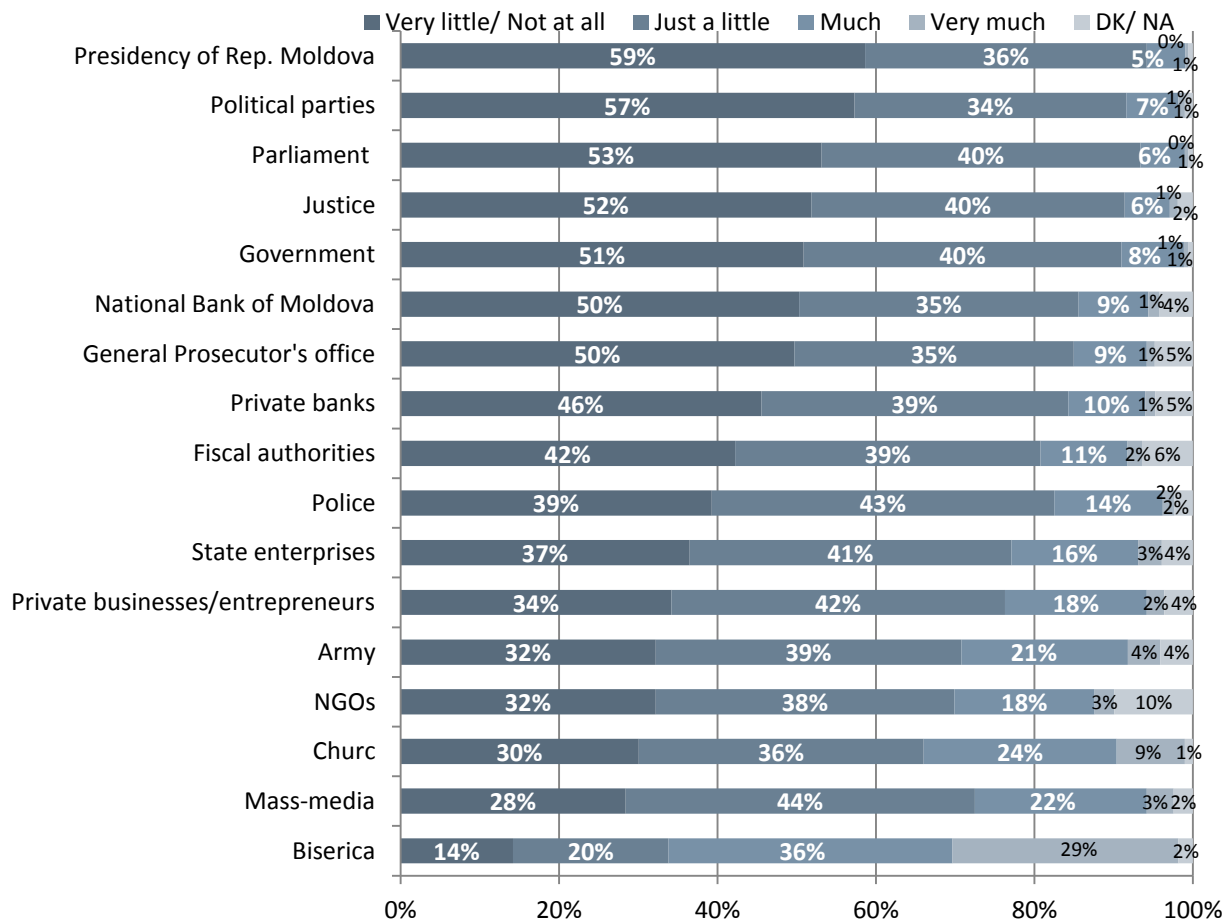
% from total sample, 1144 respondents



P8 —

I will now read the names of some institutions. Please tell me how much or little confidence you have in each of them?

% per row from total sample, 1144 respondents



P9 —

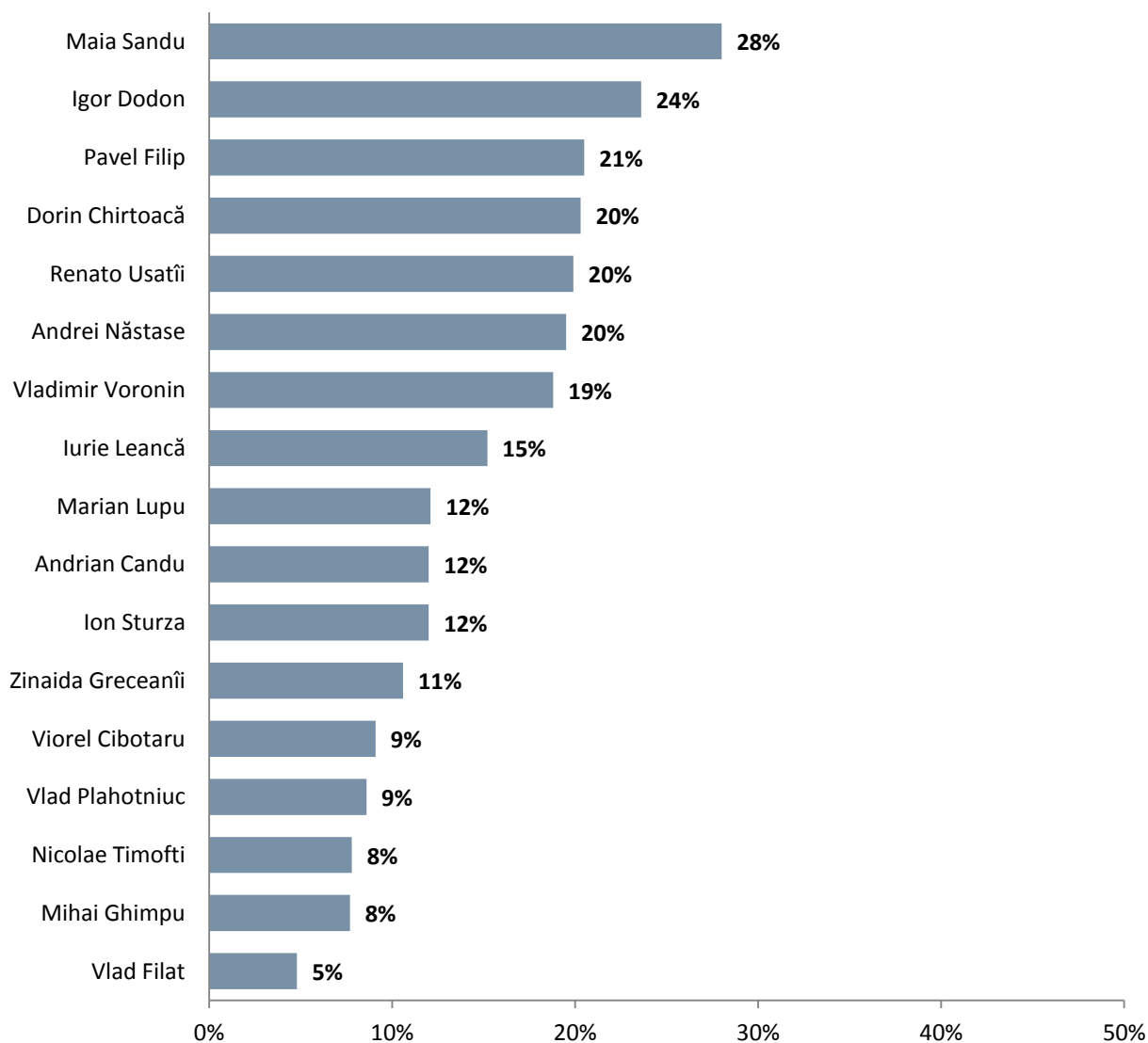
I will read a list of politicians and personalities. Please tell me if you heard of them.

P10 —

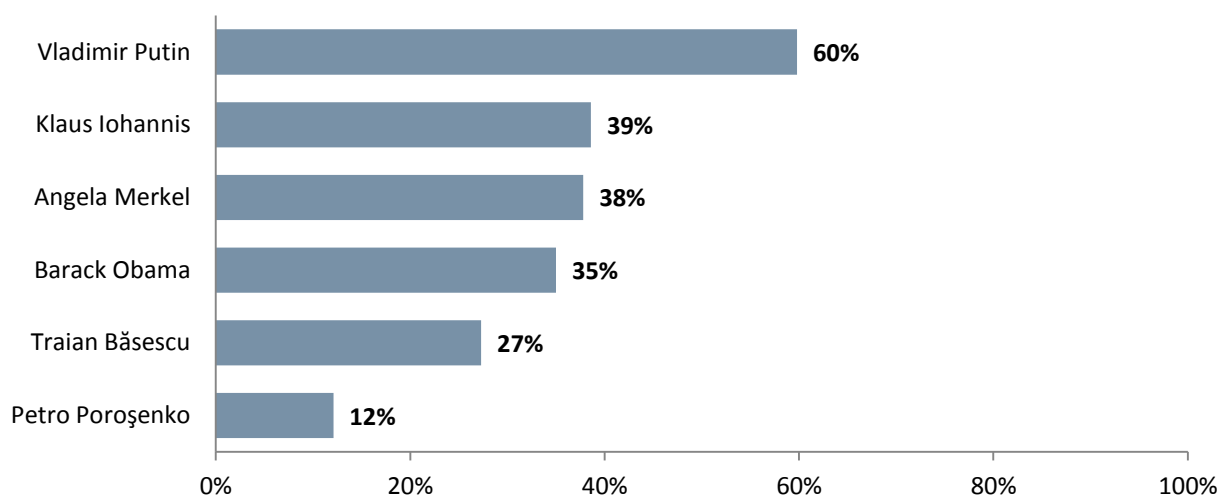
Only for those who have heard of political figures ... I would like you tell me how you would rate the activity of each of political figures. Please answer on a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 = "very weak" and 10 = "very good". 99 = "No opinion/DK/NA".

% per row from total sample, 1144 respond	P9. I heard	P10. Please answer on a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 = "very weak" and 10 = "very good".										No opinion/DK/NA	
		A very weak activity											A very good activity
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		
Andrian Candu	79,0%	19,4	8,4	9,8	11,0	18,0	9,5	6,1	3,5	1,5	0,9	11,8	
Dorin Chirtoacă	94,5%	23,1	6,8	9,6	9,7	15,9	7,0	8,2	5,6	2,4	4,1	7,5	
Viorel Cibotaru	35,9%	21,4	5,4	12,4	16,5	15,1	9,0	4,9	3,2	0,5	0,5	11,2	
Igor Dodon	96,0%	20,7	6,8	9,7	10,5	14,5	8,6	6,2	8,5	3,6	5,3	5,7	
Vlad Filat	96,8%	51,4	11,2	8,9	7,9	7,1	2,8	2,3	1,0	0,7	0,8	5,7	
Pavel Filip	90,1%	18,8	7,0	10,8	12,7	16,5	7,7	7,3	7,1	2,8	3,3	6,1	
Mihai Ghimpu	96,3%	39,1	11,2	10,5	9,6	12,4	5,4	3,4	2,5	0,7	1,1	4,2	
Zinaida Greceanii	86,6%	25,0	10,2	11,9	13,1	13,8	7,6	3,8	3,3	1,7	1,8	7,7	
Iurie Leancă	89,0%	23,4	10,4	9,3	13,2	16,1	6,7	5,6	5,6	2,3	1,7	5,8	
Marian Lupu	95,5%	32,1	9,7	9,8	10,5	13,6	7,7	3,8	4,6	2,1	1,6	4,5	
Andrei Năstase	79,5%	20,4	8,4	10,2	11,2	15,2	6,3	5,7	6,3	2,5	5,0	8,9	
Vlad Plahotniuc	96,2%	45,6	8,4	7,7	7,3	10,6	4,5	3,4	3,0	1,1	1,1	7,3	
Maia Sandu	88,1%	17,4	6,7	6,8	10,2	15,8	8,8	8,5	7,9	5,9	5,7	6,3	
Ion Sturza	62,8%	19,9	6,7	13,0	13,4	17,8	5,7	5,4	3,8	1,7	1,1	11,6	
Nicolae Timofti	95,8%	39,9	11,3	9,6	10,4	11,0	5,0	3,3	3,2	0,8	0,5	4,9	
Renato Usatii	95,5%	22,0	5,9	10,2	11,8	16,0	8,3	6,7	4,9	2,6	5,7	5,9	
Vladimir Voronin	98,0%	21,9	9,6	10,3	12,2	15,2	6,1	6,7	5,5	2,6	4,0	5,9	
Traian Bănescu	81,2%	18,8	4,4	6,0	8,1	11,7	8,1	8,3	8,2	5,5	5,3	15,6	
Klaus Iohannis	70,3%	12,4	3,7	4,4	7,2	11,7	7,6	8,0	12,9	6,8	10,9	14,3	
Angela Merkel	76,7%	14,6	5,0	5,1	8,3	10,8	8,1	8,3	11,9	9,5	8,1	10,3	
Barack Obama	85,4%	19,0	5,2	4,8	8,6	10,6	6,1	8,5	13,7	5,6	7,2	10,5	
Petro Poroşenko	83,6%	36,2	8,4	8,6	9,8	10,6	3,3	4,5	4,2	0,7	2,7	11,0	
Vladimir Putin	97,0%	6,9	3,0	3,8	4,9	7,9	6,6	7,6	11,4	9,6	31,2	7,1	

% from total sample, 1144 respondents – for marks 7-10



% from total sample, 1144 respondents – for marks 7-10



P11 —

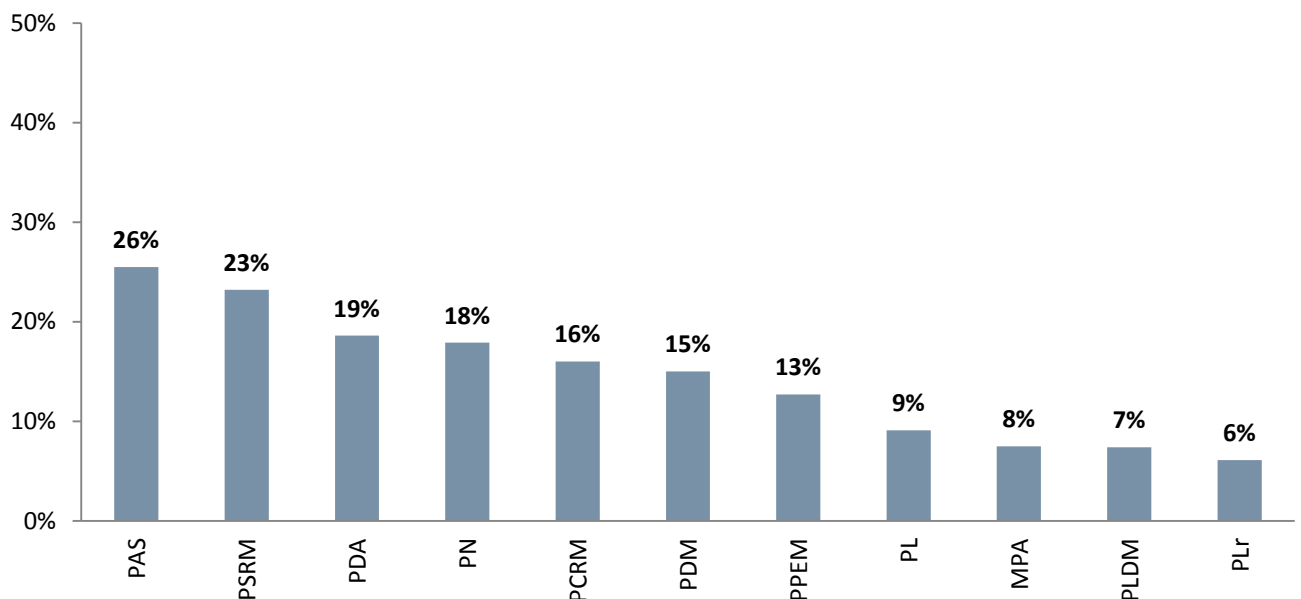
I would like to read you a list of political parties and let me know if you have heard any of them.

P12 —

Only for those who have heard of the party ... I would like you tell me how you would rate the activity of each of political party. Please answer on a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 = "very weak" and 10 = "very good". 99 = "No opinion/DK/NA".

% per raw from total sample 1144 respondents	P11. I heard	P12. Please answer on a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 = "very weak" and 10 = "very good".										No opinion/DK/NA
		Very weak activity								Very good activity		
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Partidul Comuniștilor din Republica Moldova	97,5%	23,3	7,6	13,6	12,7	15,2	5,7	5,5	4,0	1,2	5,3	5,7
Partidul Democrat din Moldova	94,8%	29,0	10,6	12,1	12,5	11,8	4,1	5,4	5,4	2,2	2,0	5,0
Partidul Liberal Democrat din Moldova	93,3%	32,7	13,9	15,5	9,6	9,9	5,2	3,8	2,0	0,7	0,9	5,7
Partidul Liberal	91,3%	33,8	12,7	11,2	12,4	11,9	4,5	4,4	2,7	0,9	1,1	4,5
Partidul Socialiștilor din Rep. Moldova	94,6%	20,2	7,7	10,1	12,9	12,4	8,7	5,1	8,8	3,6	5,7	4,8
Partidul "Mișcarea Populară Antimafie"	57,9%	29,3	9,5	12,2	15,1	12,7	4,1	3,5	2,0	0,5	1,5	9,7
Partidul Nostru	90,8%	19,7	8,7	11,5	14,0	13,6	8,3	5,9	4,4	2,0	5,6	6,4
Partidul Popular European din Moldova (Iurie Leancă)	73,9%	22,7	8,5	14,1	13,7	16,0	6,2	5,6	4,9	0,9	1,3	6,2
Platforma DA (Demnitate și Adevăr)	80,5%	22,4	7,3	10,2	14,7	13,1	6,3	5,4	4,8	2,8	5,6	7,4
Partidul Acțiune și Solidaritate - PAS	76,4%	16,9	5,5	8,7	12,0	17,3	7,0	8,2	7,9	4,8	4,6	7,1
Partidul Liberal Reformator	46,6%	26,6	9,2	11,4	16,3	15,0	6,6	3,6	1,3	0,6	0,6	8,8

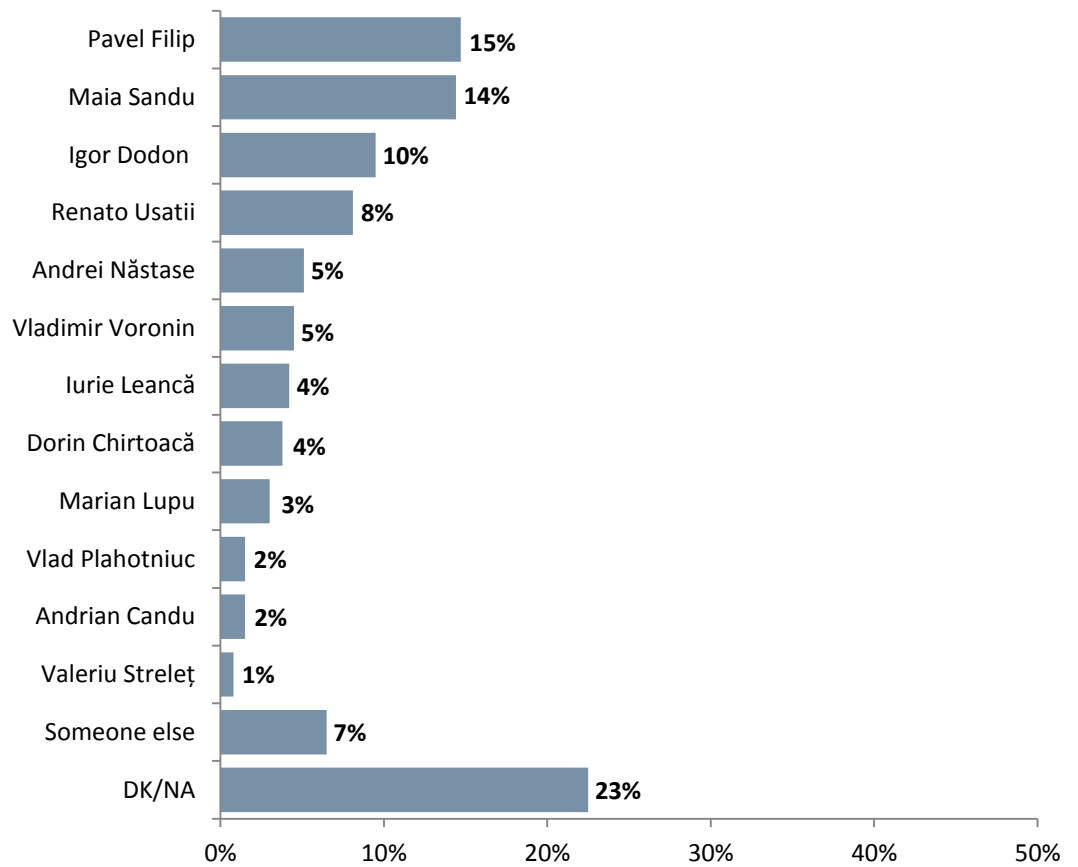
% from total sample, 1144 respondents – for marks 7-10



P16 —

If you could vote for your Prime Minister directly, who would you vote for?

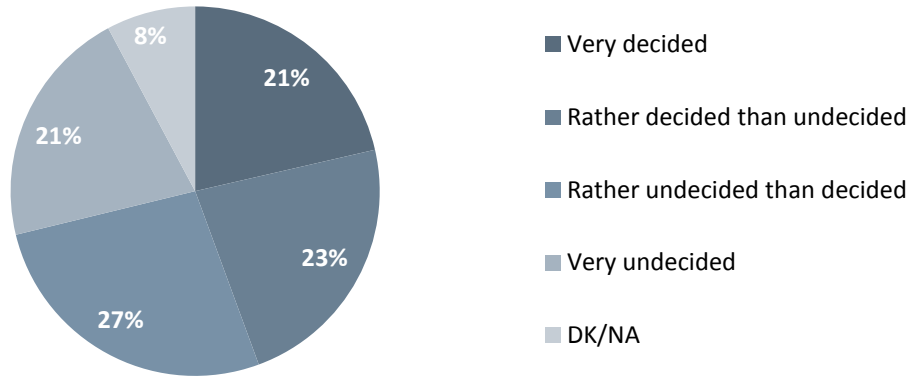
% from total sample, 1144 respondents



P17 —

How decided are you to vote for a particular candidate for Presidency at this time?

% from total sample, 1144 respondents



P18 —

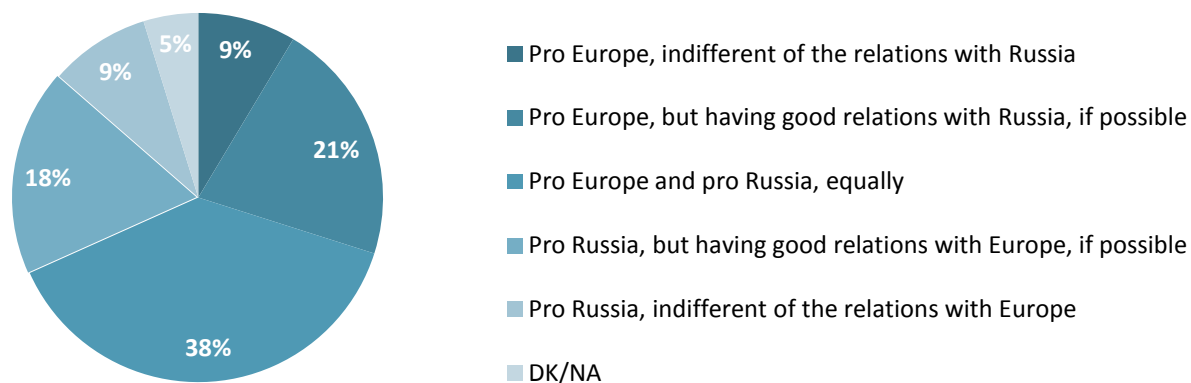
What political leader or public figure from Moldova will be the best option to be the next President of Rep. of Moldova?

<i>% from total sample, 1144 respondents. Open question; one answer.</i>	<i>count</i>	<i>percent</i>
Igor Dodon	167	14.6%
Maia Sandu	100	8.7%
Andrei Năstase	64	5.6%
Vladimir Voronin	61	5.3%
Marian Lupu	51	4.5%
Pavel Filip	35	3.1%
Iurie Leancă	34	3.0%
Vlad Plahotniuc	17	1.5%
Andrian Candu	8	0.7%
Traian Băsescu	7	0.6%
Ion Sturza	6	0.5%
Mihai Gimpu	6	0.5%
Alexandru Tănase	4	0.3%
Monica Babuc	4	0.3%
Vlad Filat	4	0.3%
Igor Corman	4	0.3%
Vladimir Putin	3	0.3%
Renato Usatîi	3	0.3%
Anatol Şalaru	2	0.2%
Igor Boţan	2	0.2%
Dorin Chirtoacă	2	0.2%
Zinaida Grecianîi	2	0.2%
Sergiu Mocanu	2	0.2%
Nicolae Timofti	2	0.2%
Ilan Shor	1	0.1%
Alexandru Lucaşecno	1	0.1%
Vladimir Jirinovski	1	0.1%
Oazu Nantoi	1	0.1%
Iurie Roşca	1	0.1%
Valeriu Streleţ	1	0.1%
Victor Ostalep	1	0.1%
Vasile Botnaru	1	0.1%
Irina Vlah	1	0.1%
NŞ/NR	545	47.5%
total	1144	100.0%

external relations

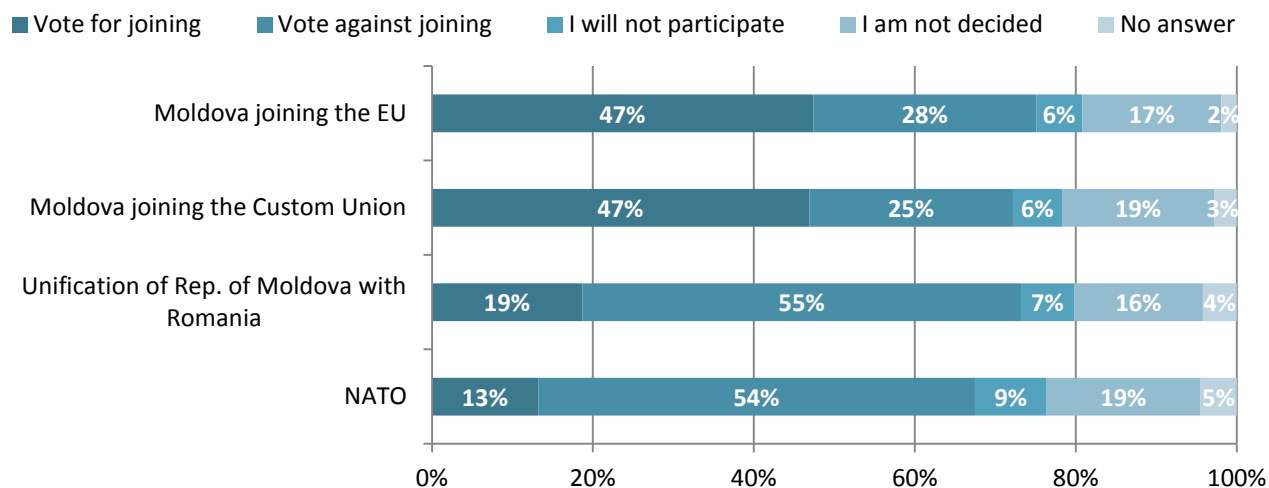
**E1 —
What should be the external orientation of Moldova?**

% from total sample, 1144 respondents



**E2 —
If a referendum were held today on ..., how would you vote?**

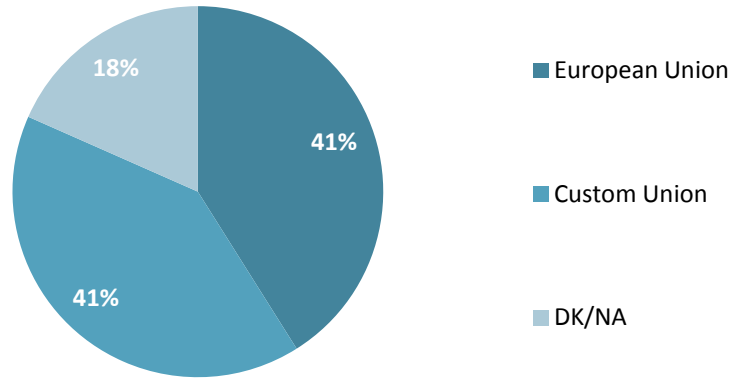
% per row from total sample, 1144 respondents



E3 —

In the event you should decide next Sunday between EU and Customs Union, which one would you vote for?

% from total sample, 1144 respondents



E4 —

To what extent do you agree with the following statements? Please answer based on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 = Not at all and 5 = To a big extent. 9 = I have no opinion/DK/ NA.

% per row from total sample, 1144 respondents

