

# NATIONAL SURVEY OF MOLDOVA

January-February 2024



A PROJECT OF THE INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE

# 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 [Magenta Consulting](#).
- Data was collected from January 27 - February 22, 2024 through face-to-face interviews in respondents' homes.
- The main sample consist of n=1,247 adults aged 18 and older and eligible to vote. It is representative of the general population of Moldova (except for Transnistria) by gender, region and urbanicity (urban/rural), according to the Moldova Statistical Databank, 2023.
- The sample of residents of Chisinau Municipality consist of 740 permanent residents of Chisinau Municipality aged 18 and older. It is representative of the Chisinau Municipality population by gender and settlement size (*urban/rural*), according to the Moldova Statistical Databank, 2023. It is made up of 326 interviews from the main sample and 414 oversample interviews.
- A multistage probability sampling method is used, with random route and last 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 achieved main sample was weighted for gender, region and urbanicity. The achieved sample of Chisinau Municipality was weighted for gender and urbanicity. The weighting procedure was based on the usual resident population data of the National Bureau of Statistics from 2023. Unlike the December 2019-March 2022 surveys, which included an age group weight for the national sample, the November 2022, July 2023 and February 2024 samples were not weighted by age group due to a potential distortionary effect linked to international labor migration. Direct comparison of the three most recent rounds of data to previous waves may be affected by the different weighting scheme.
- The response rate was 61 percent.
- The margin of error for the mid-range of the main sample does not exceed  $\pm 2.8$  points. The margin of error for the mid-range of the sample of Chisinau Municipality does not exceed  $\pm 3.6$  points.
- 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](#).

## Frequently Cited Disaggregate Bases\*

Disaggregate	Category	Base
Age Brackets	18-35	n = 278
	36-55	n = 381
	56+	n = 588
Gender	Men	n = 575
	Women	n = 672
Urbanicity	Urban	n = 535
	Rural	n = 712
Chisinau Municipality		n = 740
<i>Margin of error will vary with sample size n. Cited bases are weighted.</i>		

\*Disaggregation of age, gender and urbanicity presented for the main sample

## Previous IRI Moldova polls

Poll	Fieldwork Dates	Total Sample Size
<a href="#">National poll of residents of Moldova</a>	July 11 - August 1, 2023	n = 1,199
<a href="#">National poll of residents of Moldova</a>	October 1 - November 15, 2022	n = 1,648
<a href="#">National poll of residents of Moldova</a>	September 16 - November 1, 2021	n = 1,619
<a href="#">National poll of residents of Moldova</a>	February 9 - March 16, 2021	n = 2,001
<a href="#">National poll of residents of Moldova</a>	November 16 - December 8, 2019	n = 1,204

### *About the Center for Insights In Survey Research (CISR)*



Research and qualitative and quantitative public opinion data is a cornerstone of IRI's approach to programming. Our data ensures citizens' needs are at the center of the political debate and guide our projects' goals. To date, IRI has conducted more than 1,000 polls in over 100 countries, surveying more than 1.5 million people and measuring community attitudes on a wide range of issues.

IRI's research approach integrates CISR's methodological polling best practices protocol and field partner in-depth knowledge of the local research environment. This close collaboration begins at project design, with carefully calibrated sampling and instrument development, and continues throughout the entire fieldwork cycle to ensure the collection of reliable qualitative and quantitative data.

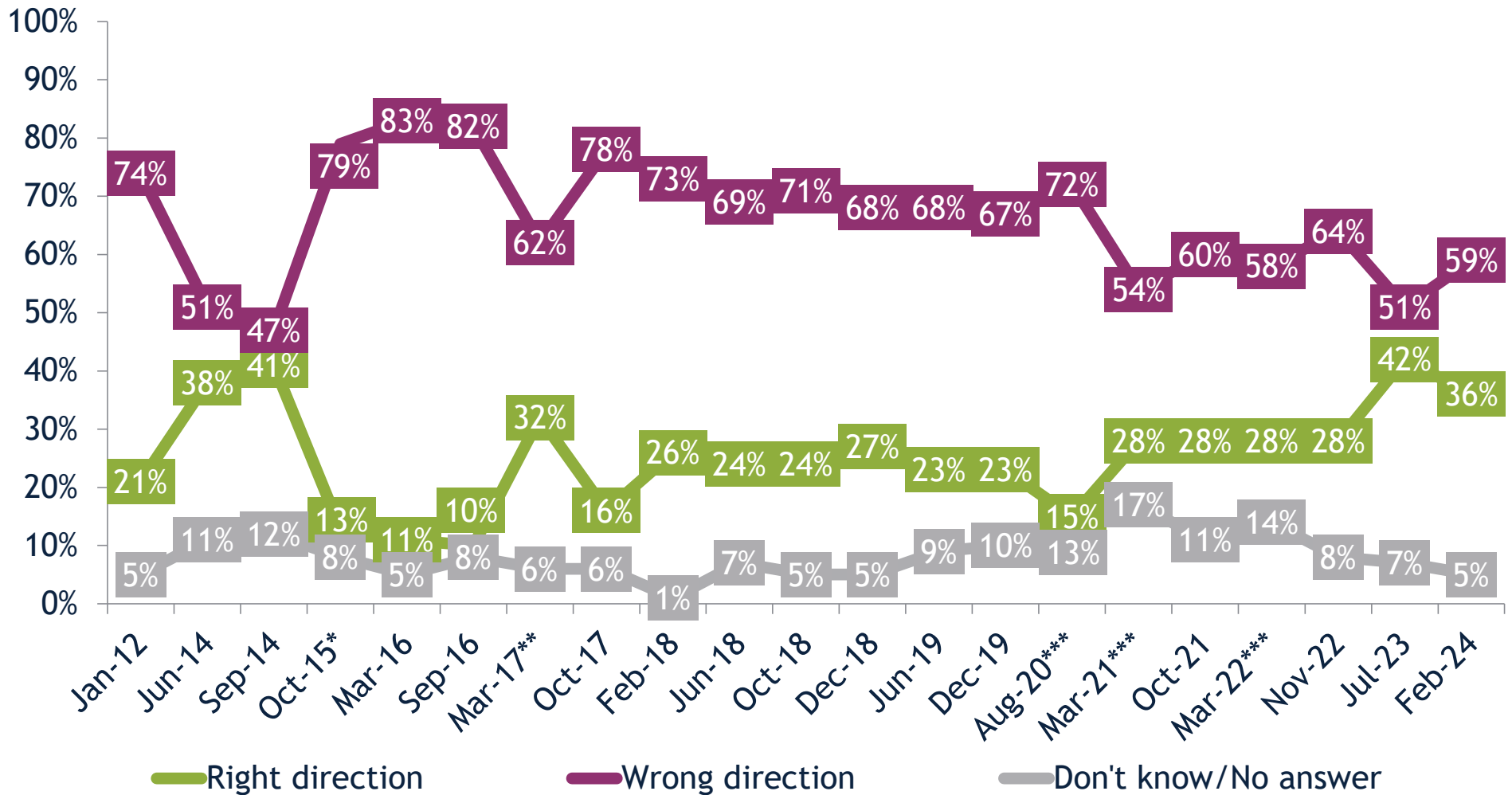
← For more of IRI's public opinion research, see [CISR's content](#).

# General Outlook





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

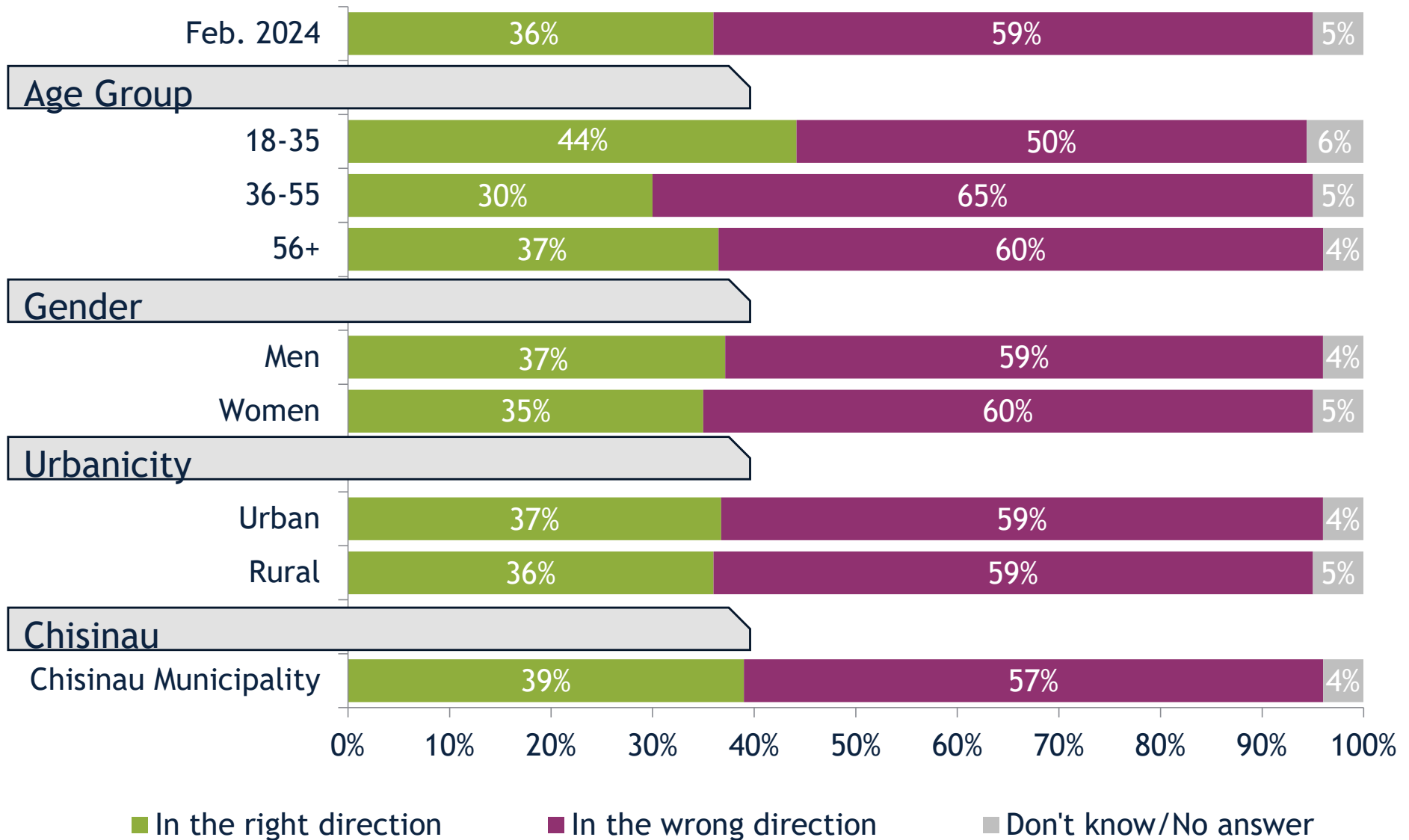


\*In December 2014, news broke of a major banking scandal involving nearly \$1 billion missing from three state banks. The scandal is often referred to as “the stolen billion.”

\*\*In 2016, Moldova conducted the first popular presidential election since 1996. Igor Dodon was elected in the second-round contest on November 13, 2016.

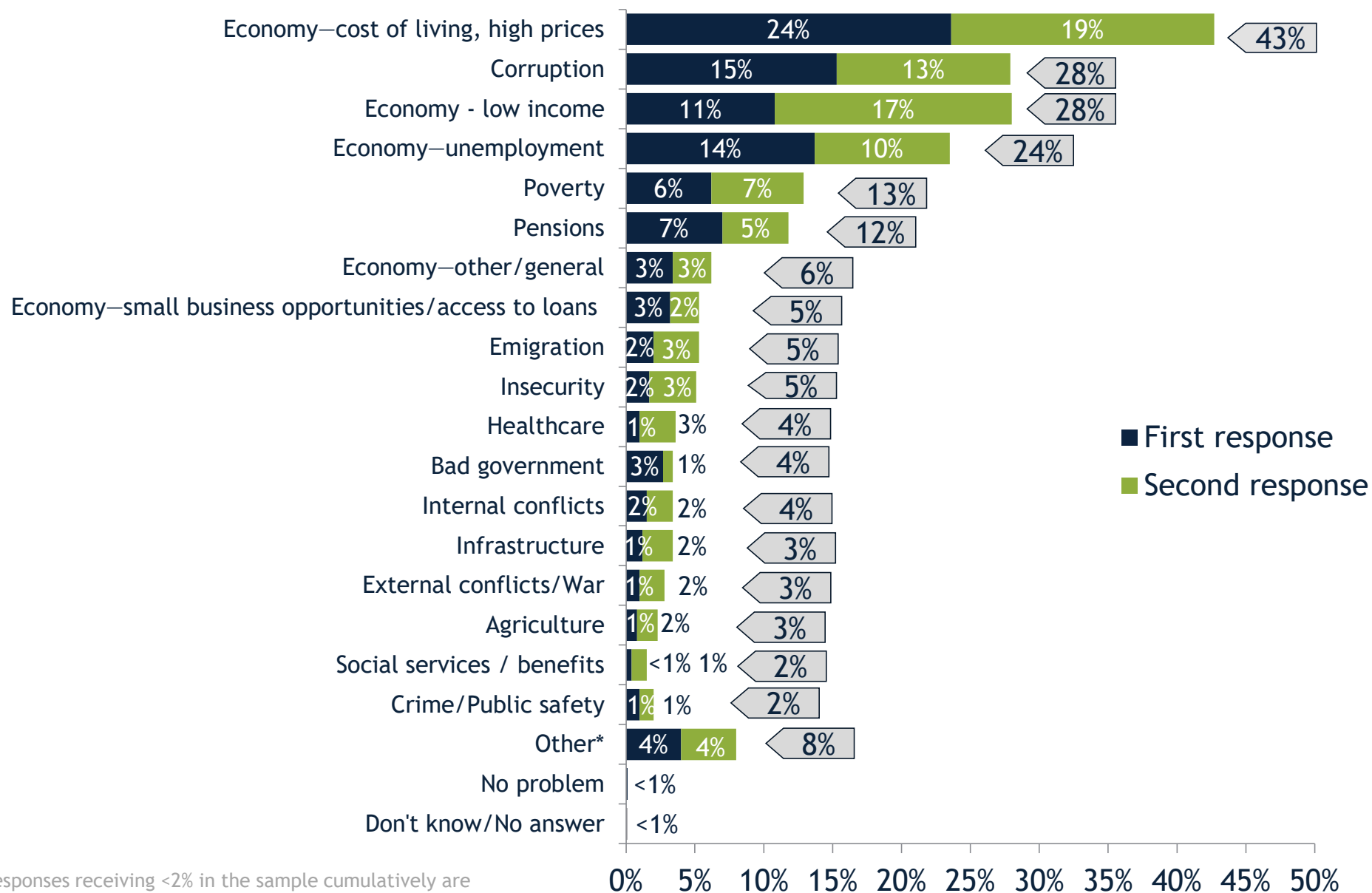
\*\*\* Interviews for the August 2020, March 2021 and March 2022 surveys were done via computer-assisted phone interviews (CATI). Other polls were conducted through face-to-face interviews.

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



# What is the most important problem facing Moldova today? And what is the second most important problem?

(Spontaneous response; up to two responses accepted)

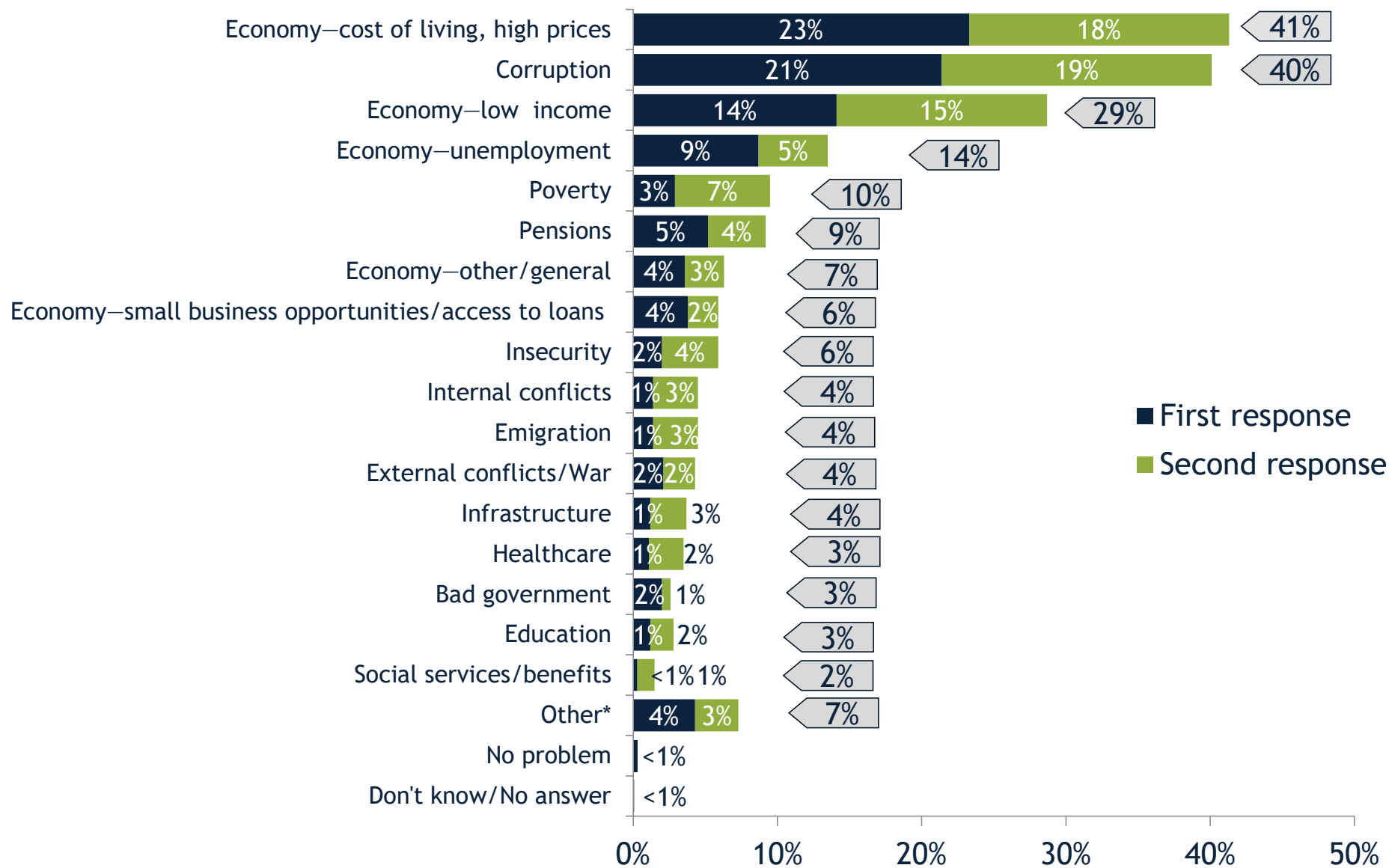


\*Responses receiving <2% in the sample cumulatively are collapsed into *Other*.



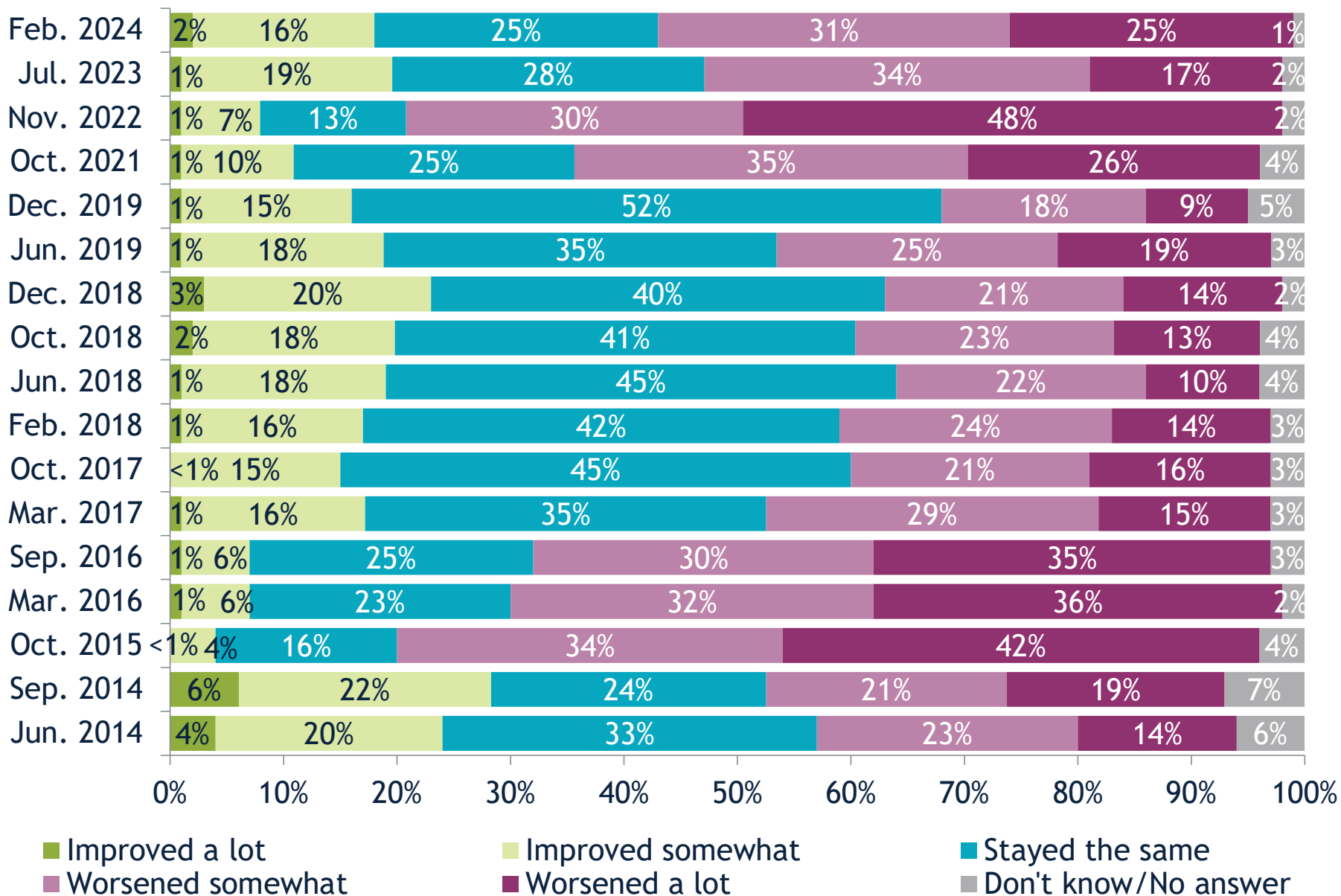
# What is the most important problem facing Moldova today? And what is the second most important problem?

(Spontaneous response; up to two responses accepted)



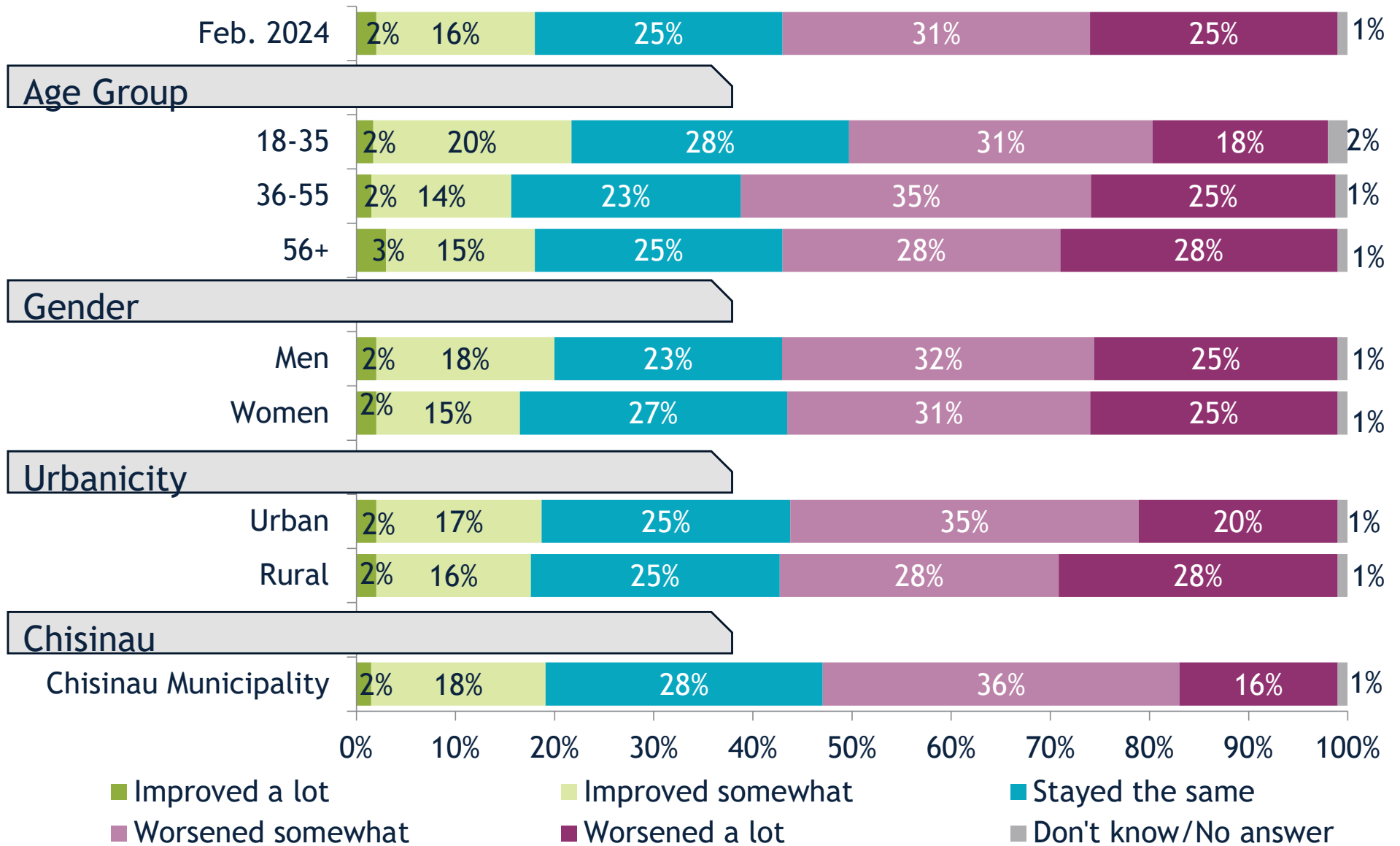
\*Responses receiving <2% in the sample cumulatively are collapsed into *Other*.

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

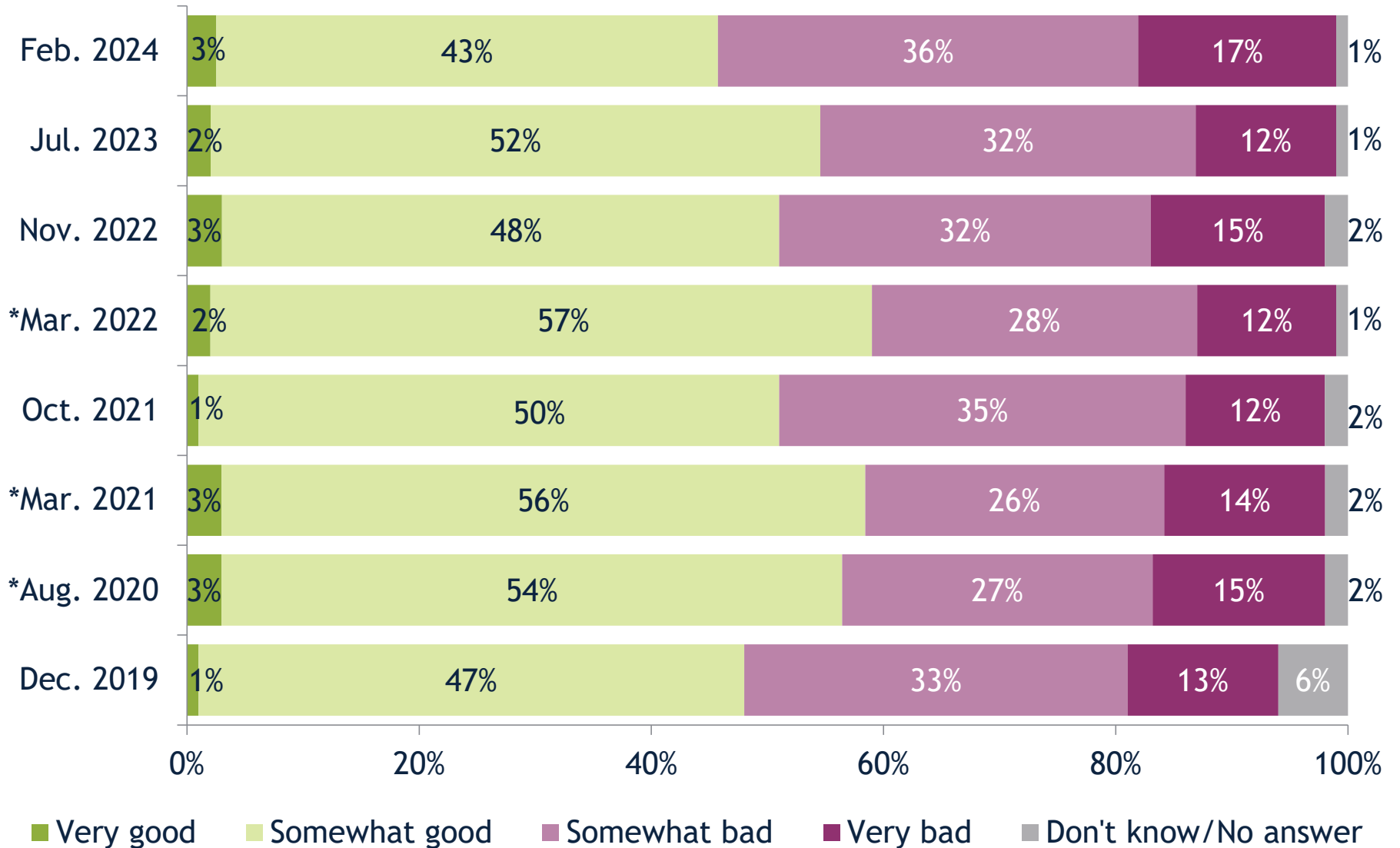




# Over the last 12 months, how has the economic situation in Moldova changed?

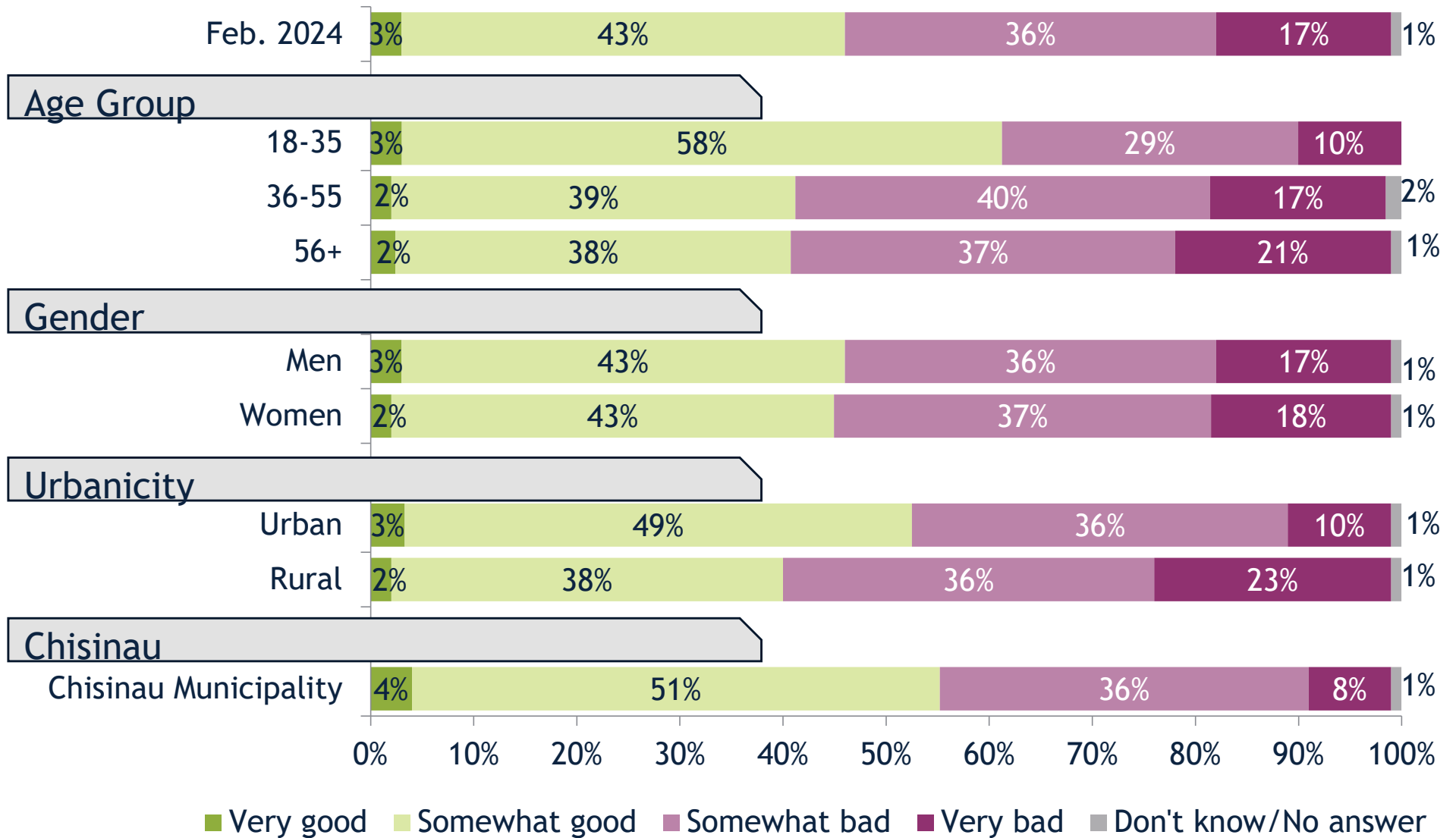


# How would you describe the current economic situation of your household?

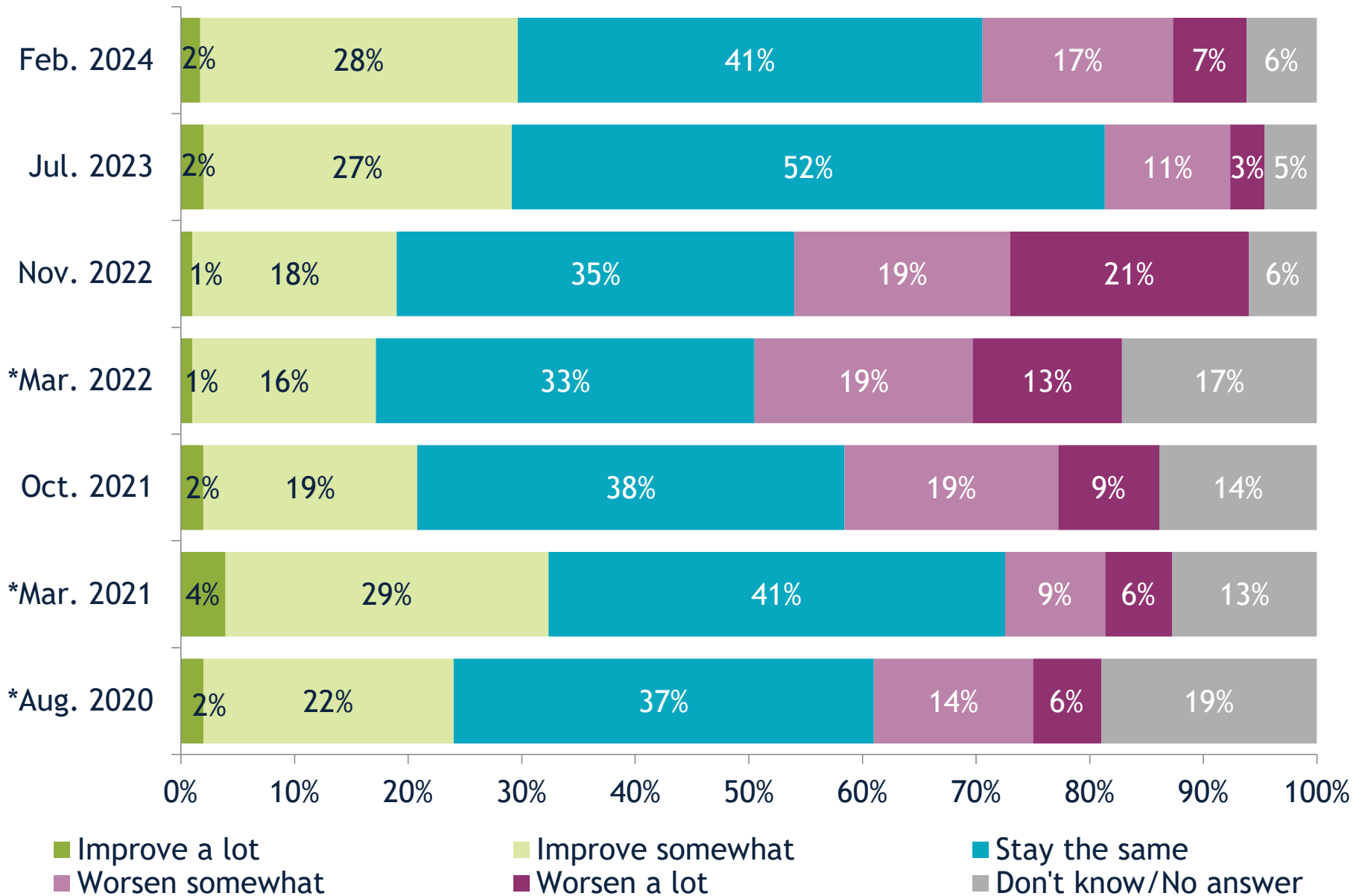


\* Interviews for the August 2020, March 2021 and March 2022 surveys were done via computer-assisted phone interviews (CATI). All other polls were conducted through face-to-face interviews.

# How would you describe the current economic situation of your household?

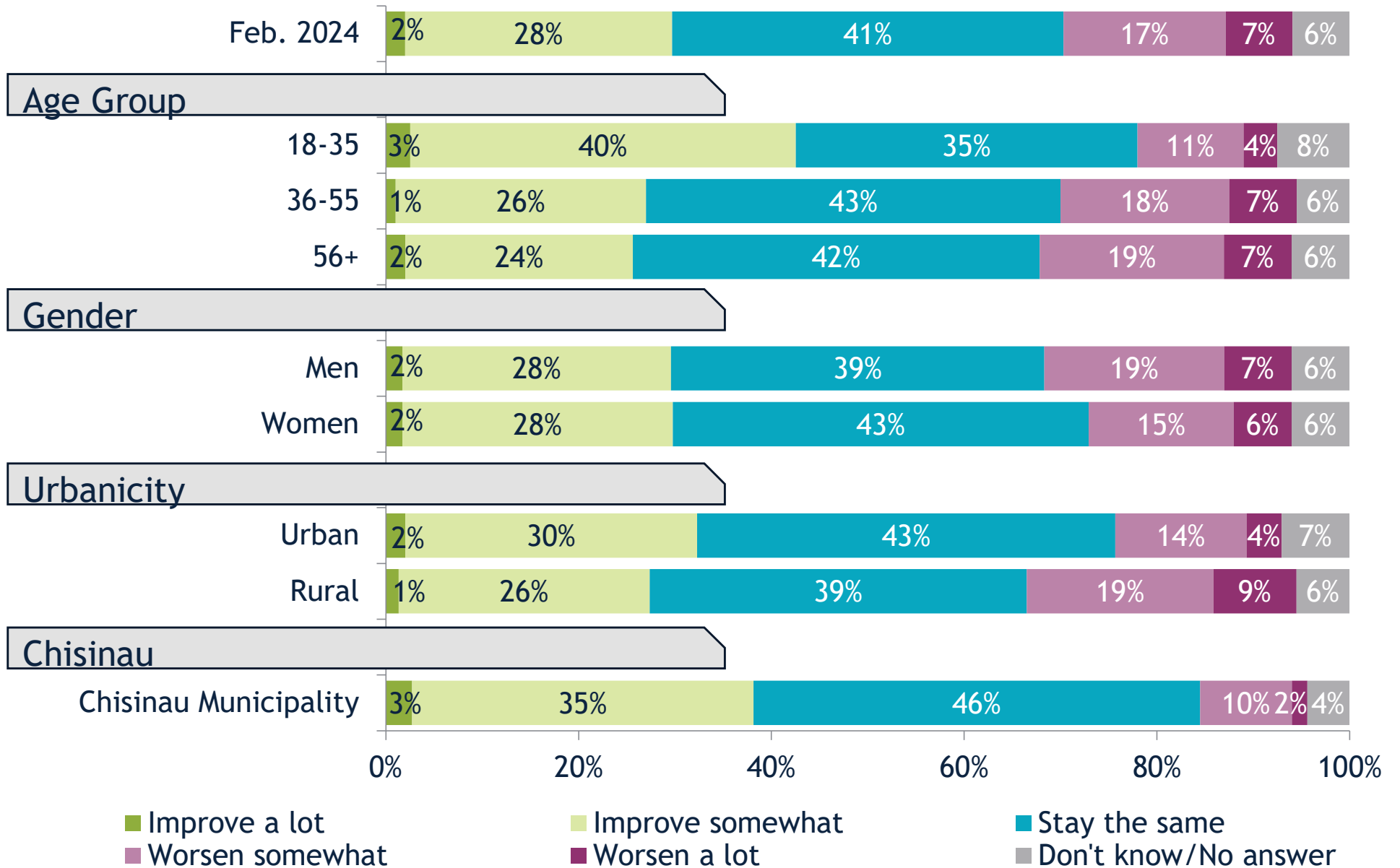


# In the coming 12 months, how do you expect the economic situation of your household to change?



\* Interviews for the August 2020, March 2021 and March 2022 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?



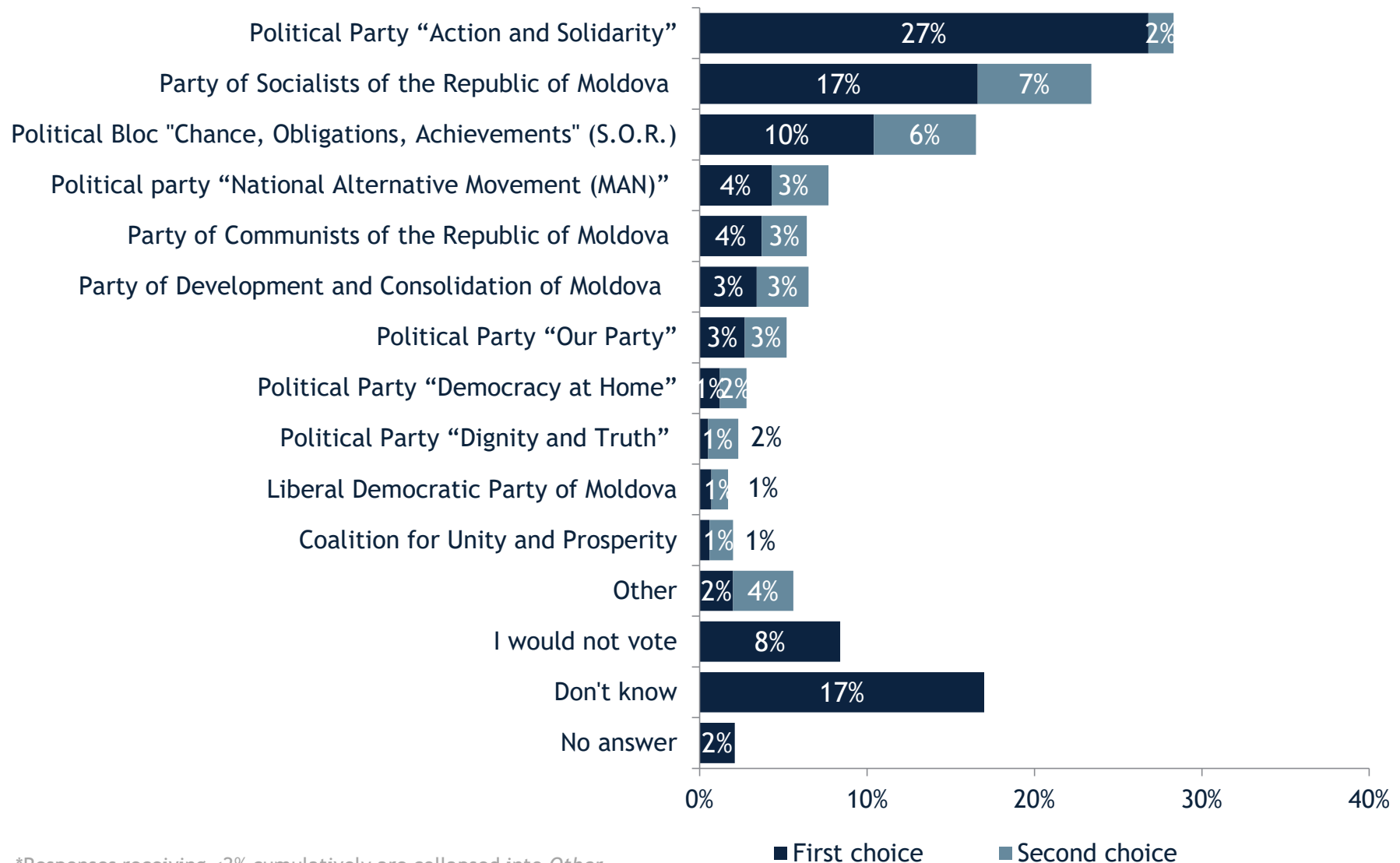
# Hypothetical Elections





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

(Spontaneous response)

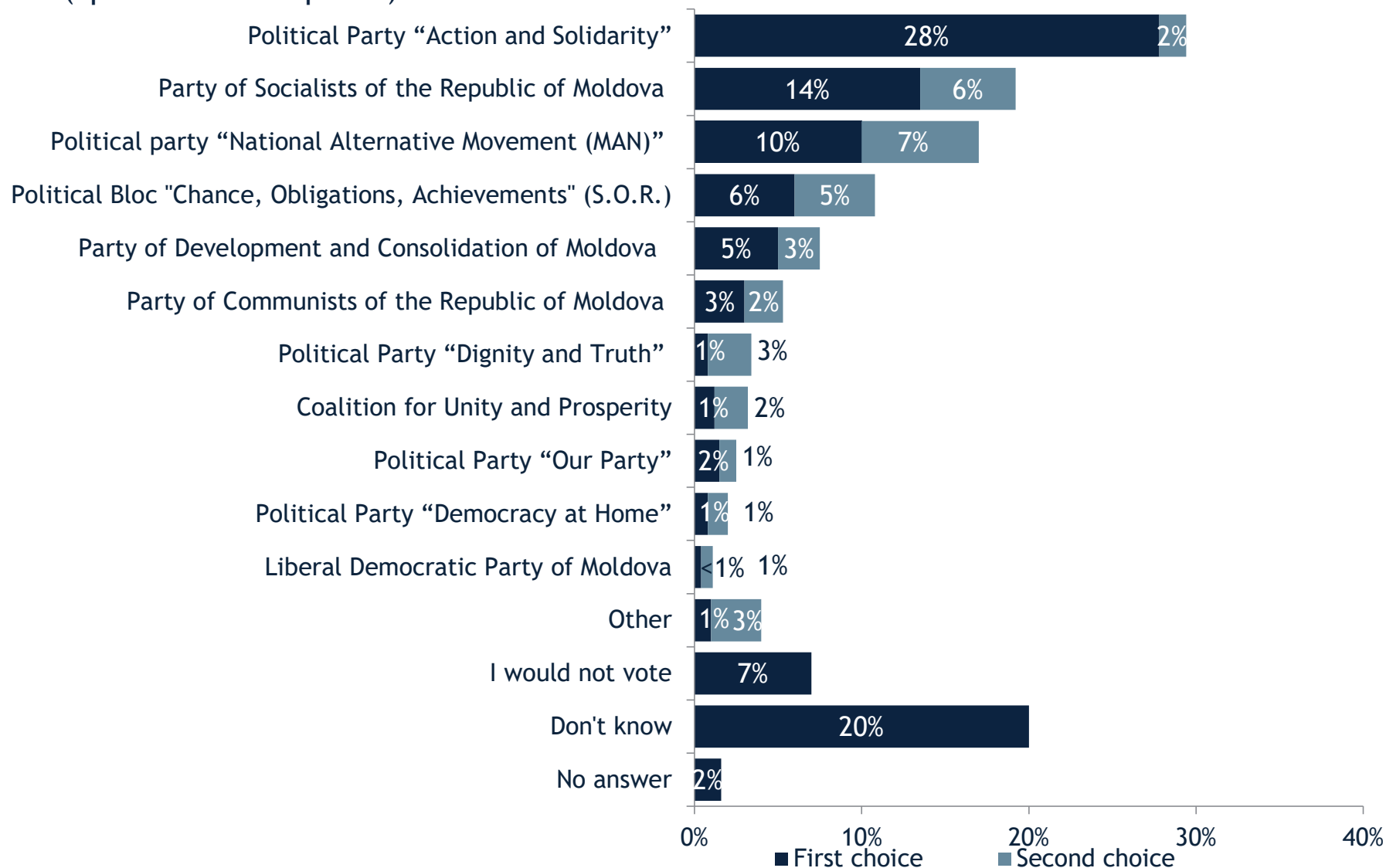


\*Responses receiving <2% cumulatively are collapsed into *Other*.

If parliamentary elections were held this coming Sunday, for which party, if any, would you vote?

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

(Spontaneous response)



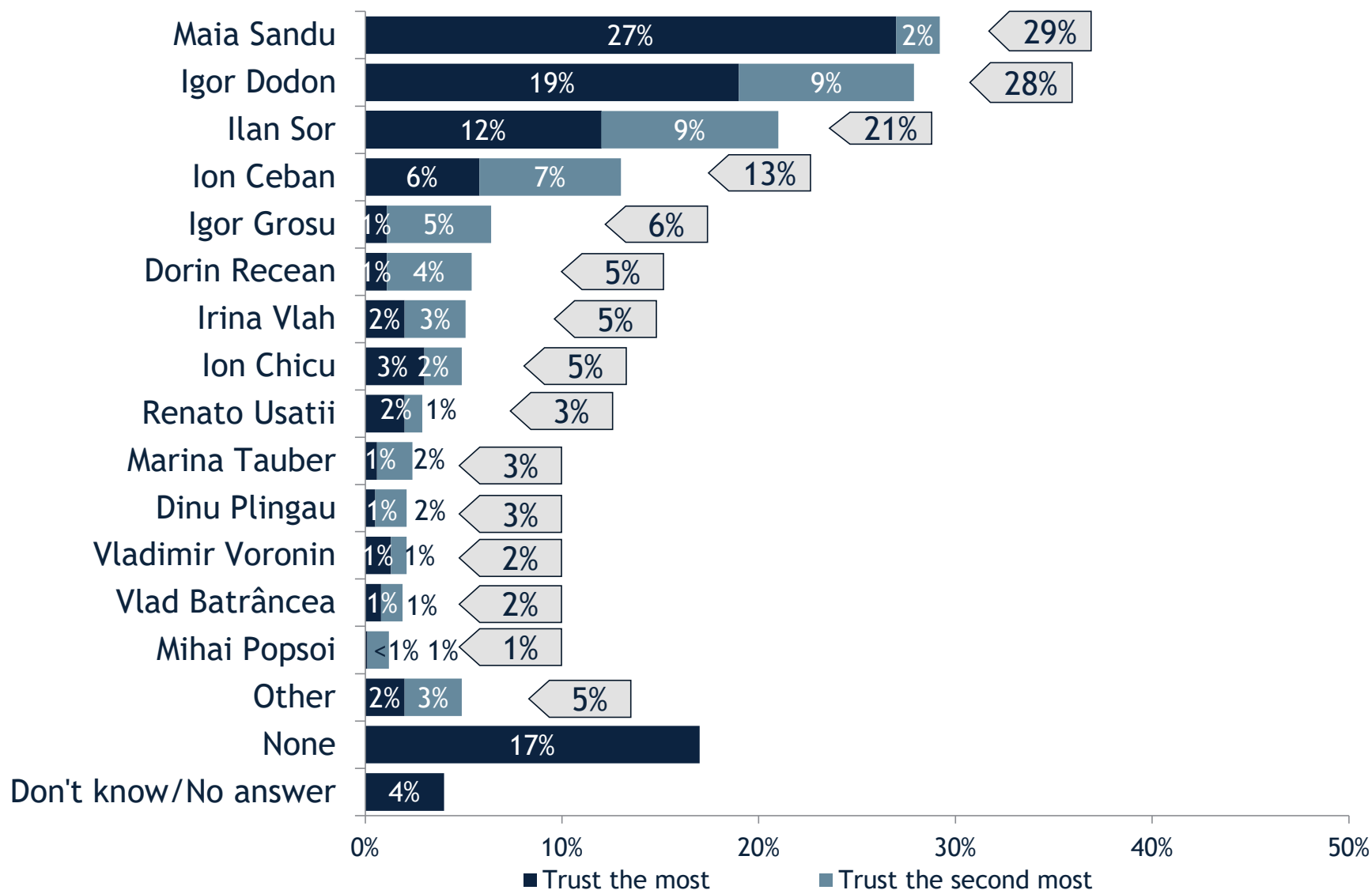
\*Responses receiving <2% cumulatively are collapsed into *Other*.

# Government



## Which politician or public figure do you trust the most? And the second most?

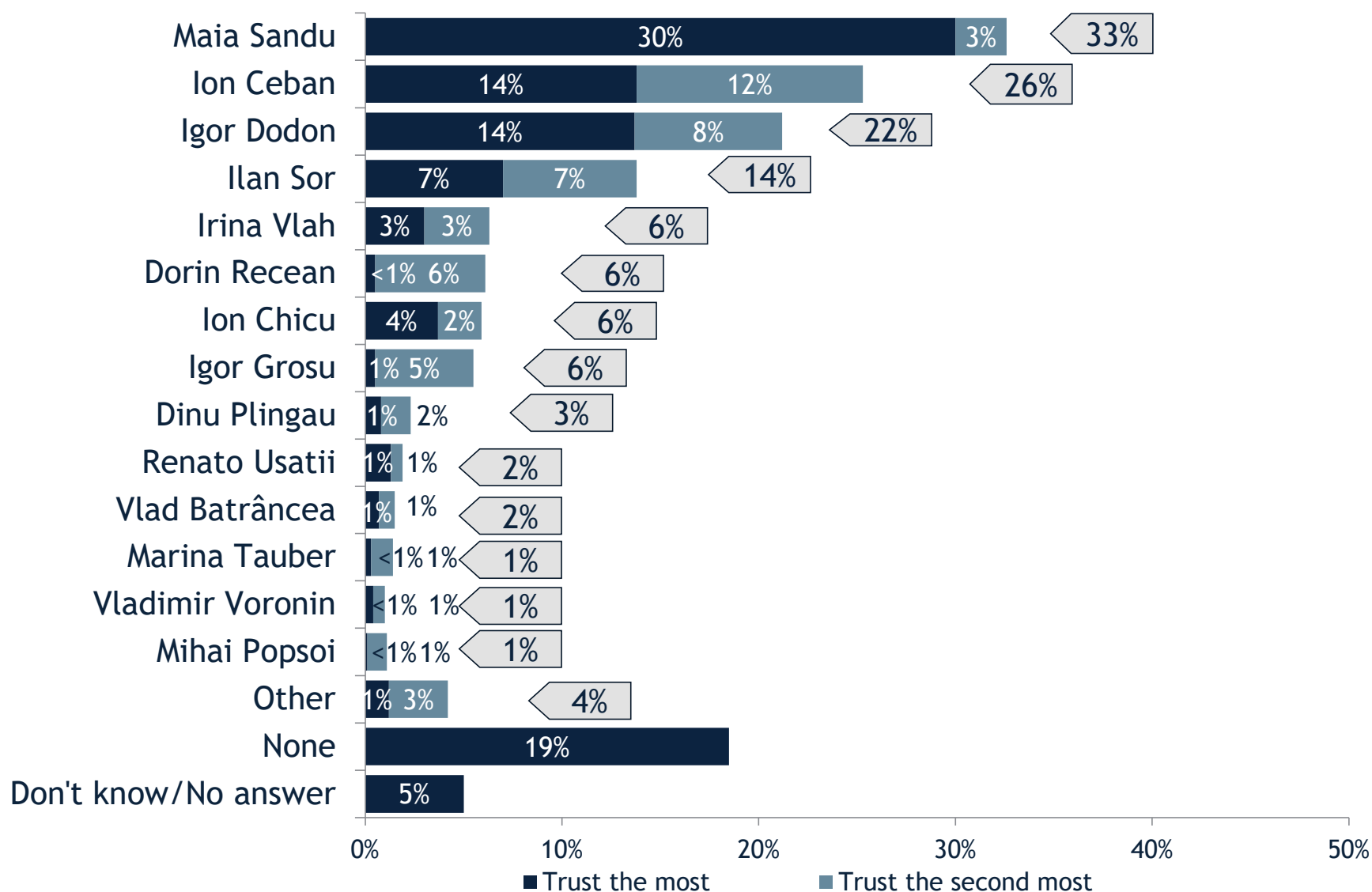
(Spontaneous response, up to two responses accepted)



\*Responses receiving <1% cumulatively are collapsed into *Other*.

## Which politician or public figure do you trust the most? And the second most?

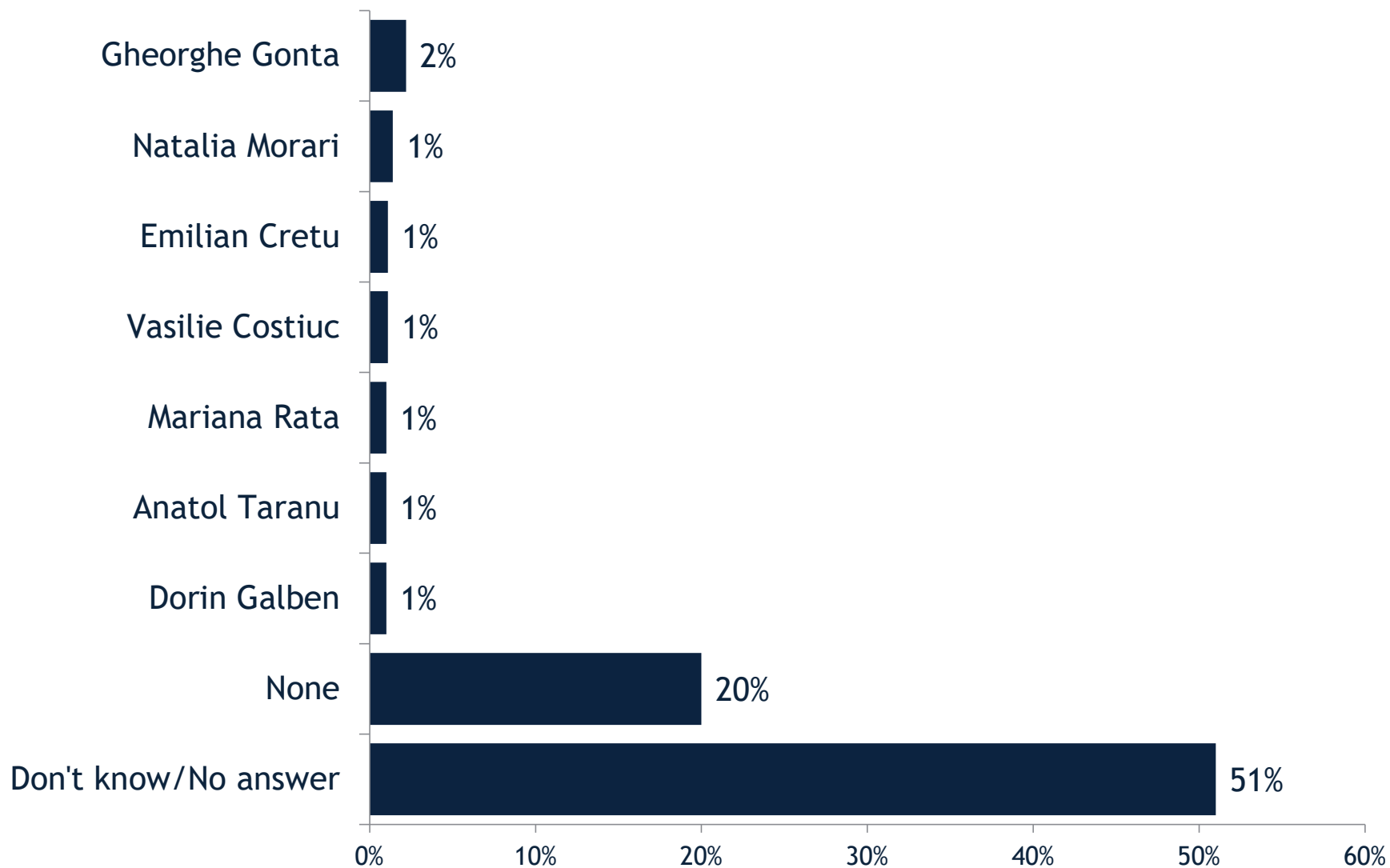
(Spontaneous response, up to two responses accepted)



\*Responses receiving <1% cumulatively are collapsed into *Other*.

## Do you trust any other public person who is not a politician? Please name up to two people.

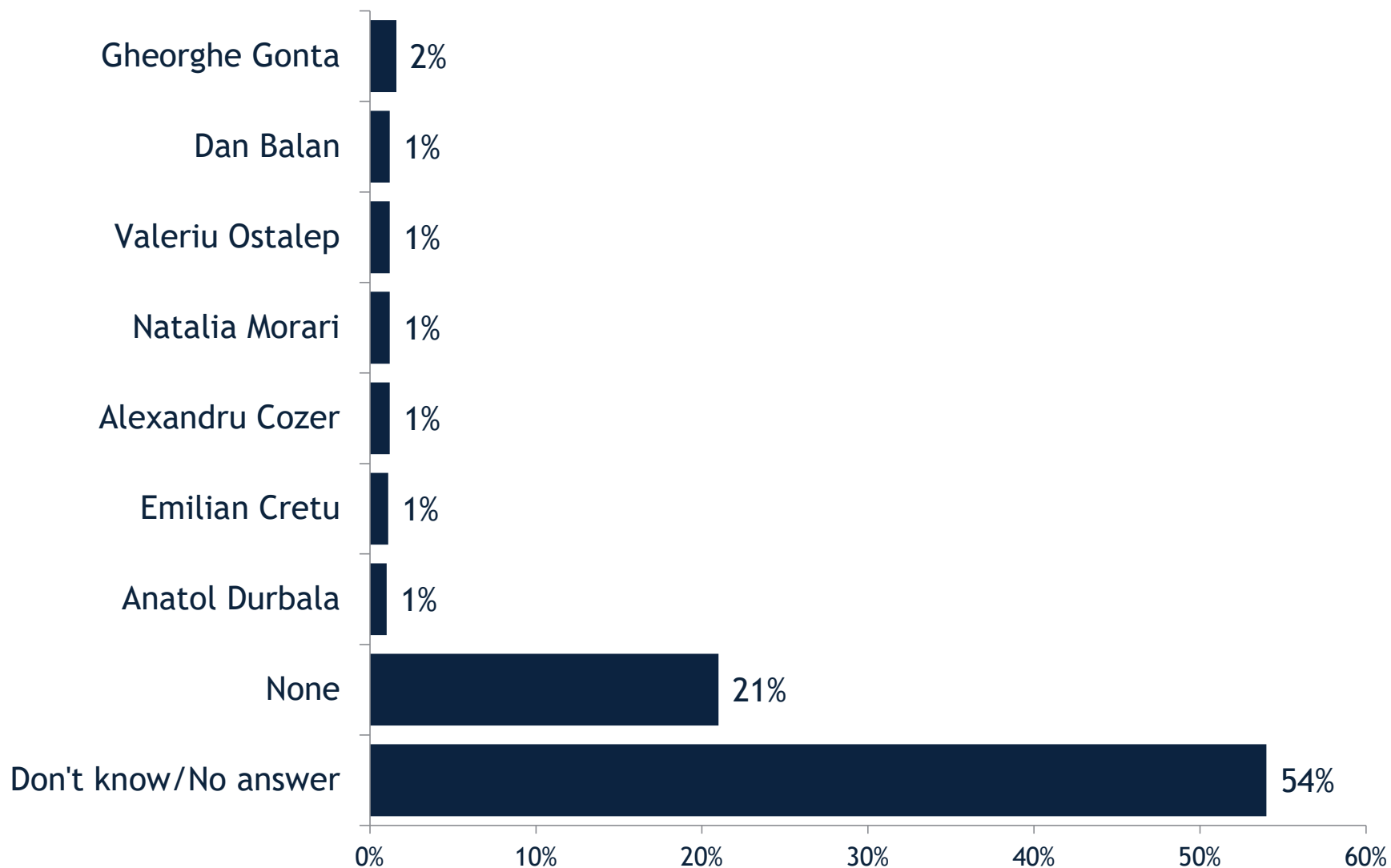
(Spontaneous response, up to two responses accepted, total mentions displayed)



\* Responses receiving <1% in both mentions are not displayed.

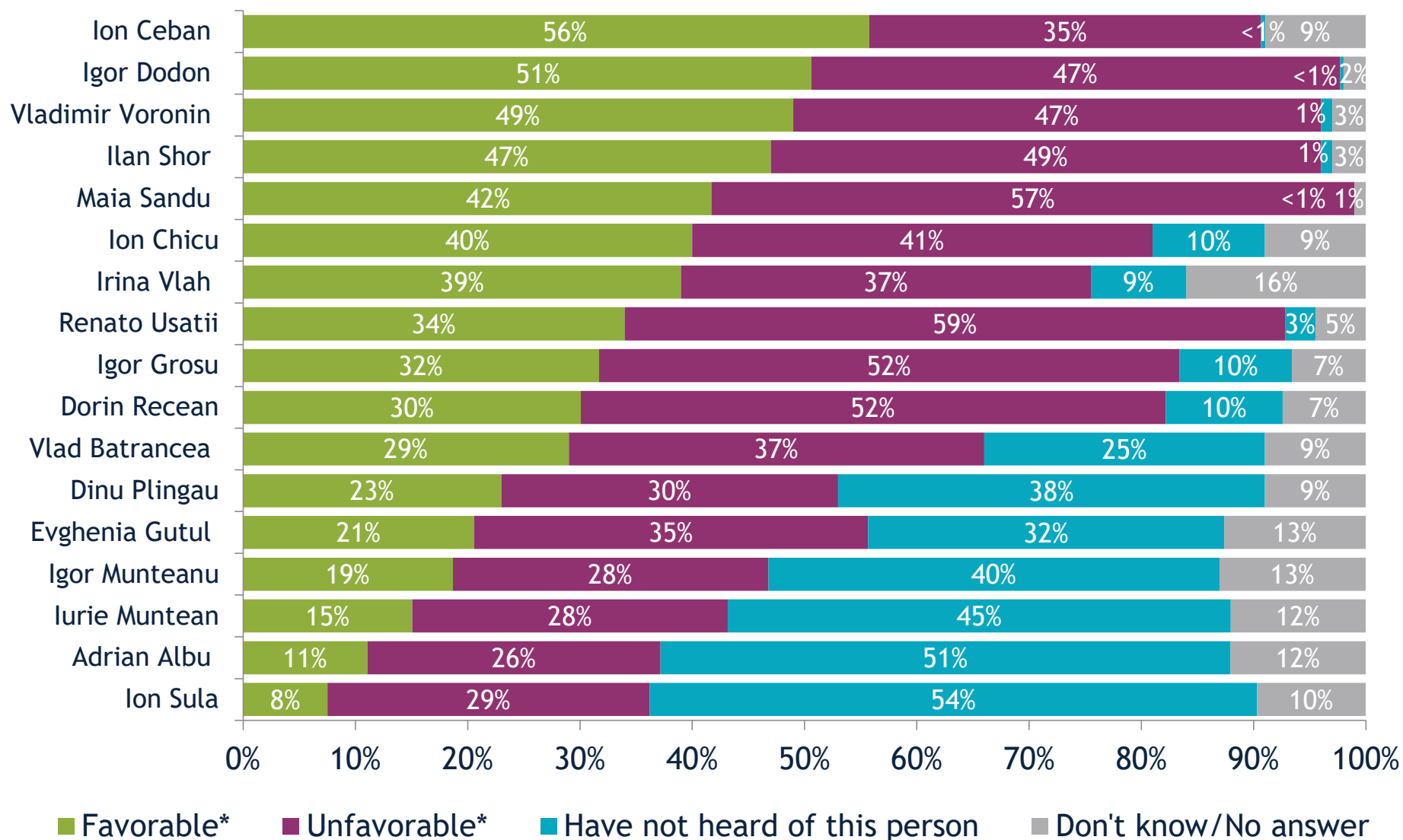
## Do you trust any other public person who is not a politician? Please name up to two people.

(Spontaneous response, up to two responses accepted, total mentions displayed)



\* Responses receiving <1% in both mentions are not displayed.

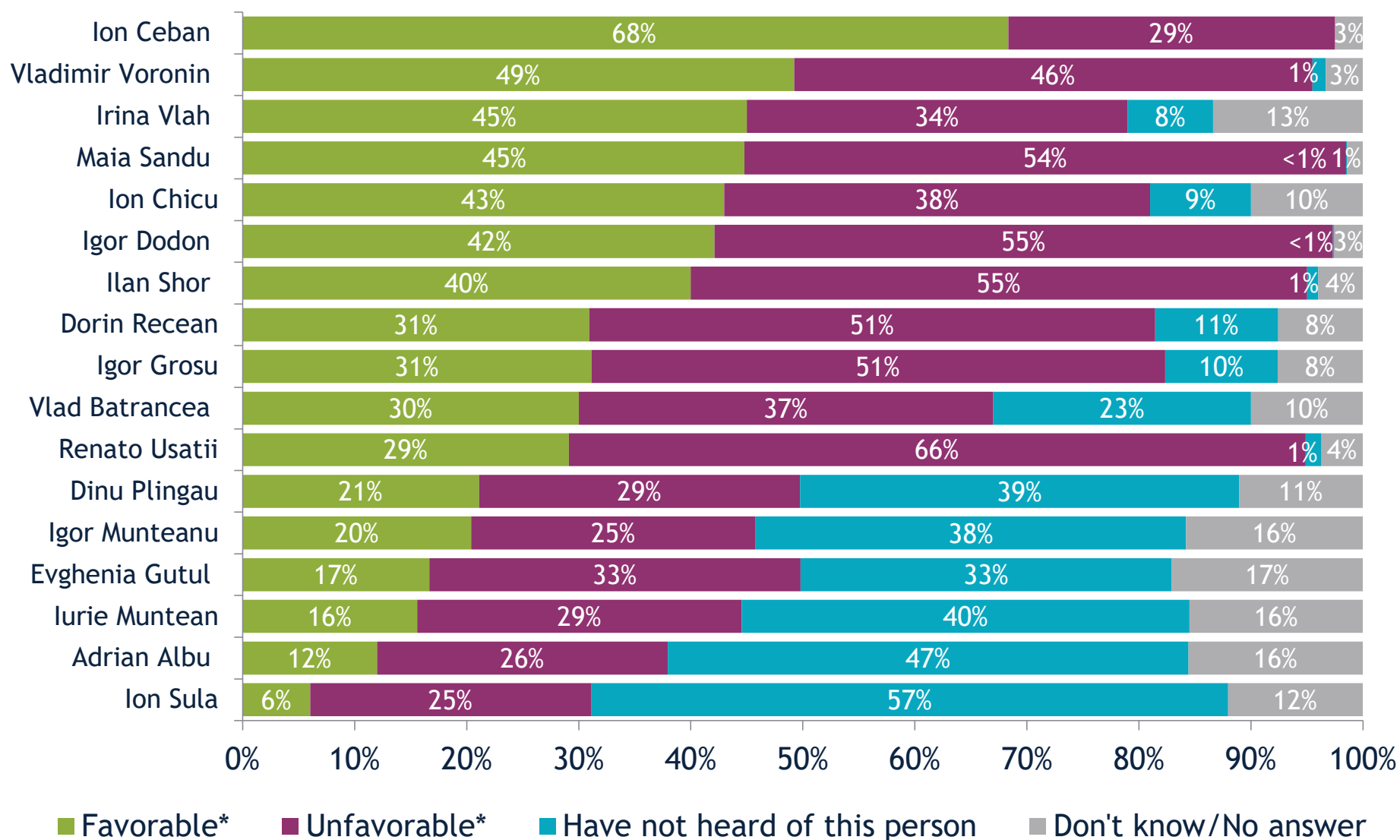
I will read you a list of names. For each, please tell me if you have a highly favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or highly unfavorable opinion of this individual. If you have not heard of this person, please tell me.



\*Responses "Very favorable" and "Somewhat favorable" combined under "Favorable." Responses "Very unfavorable" and "Somewhat unfavorable" combined under "Unfavorable."

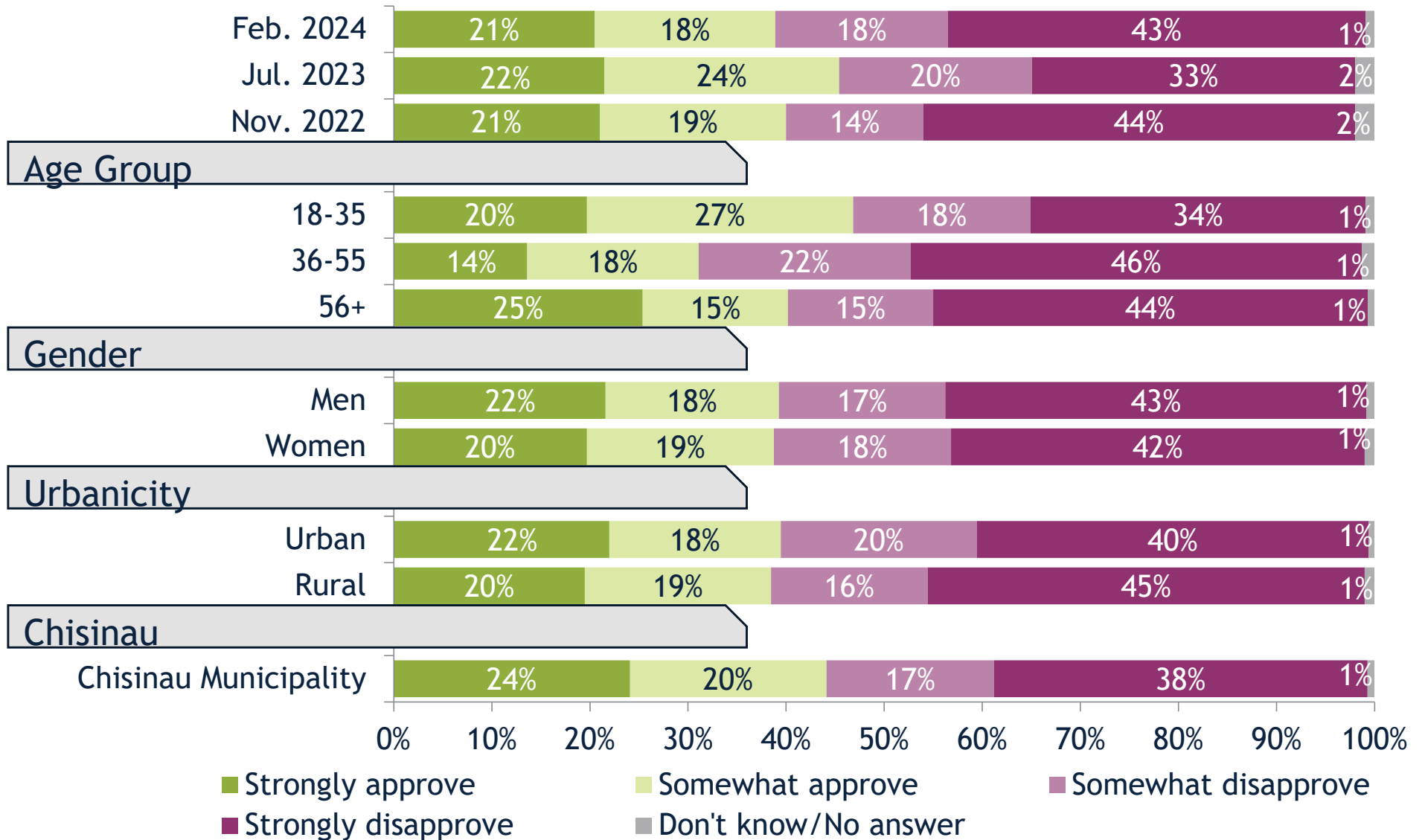


I will read you a list of names. For each, please tell me if you have a highly favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or highly unfavorable opinion of this individual. If you have not heard of this person, please tell me.



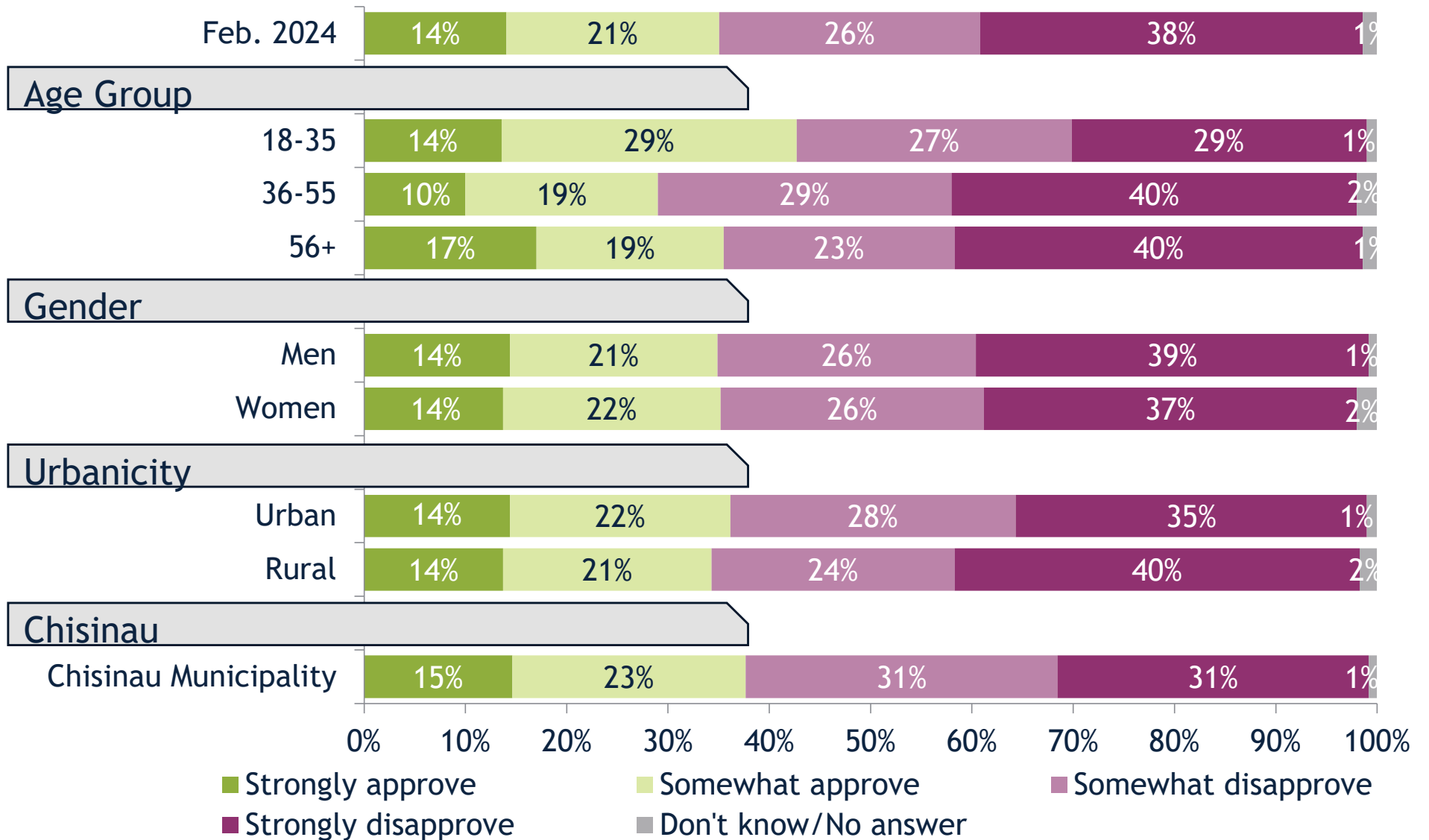
\*Responses "Very favorable" and "Somewhat favorable" combined under "Favorable." Responses "Very unfavorable" and "Somewhat unfavorable" combined under "Unfavorable."

# Do you approve or disapprove of the activities of the President of Moldova, Maia Sandu?





# Do you approve or disapprove of the activities of the Government of Moldova from the last 3 years?

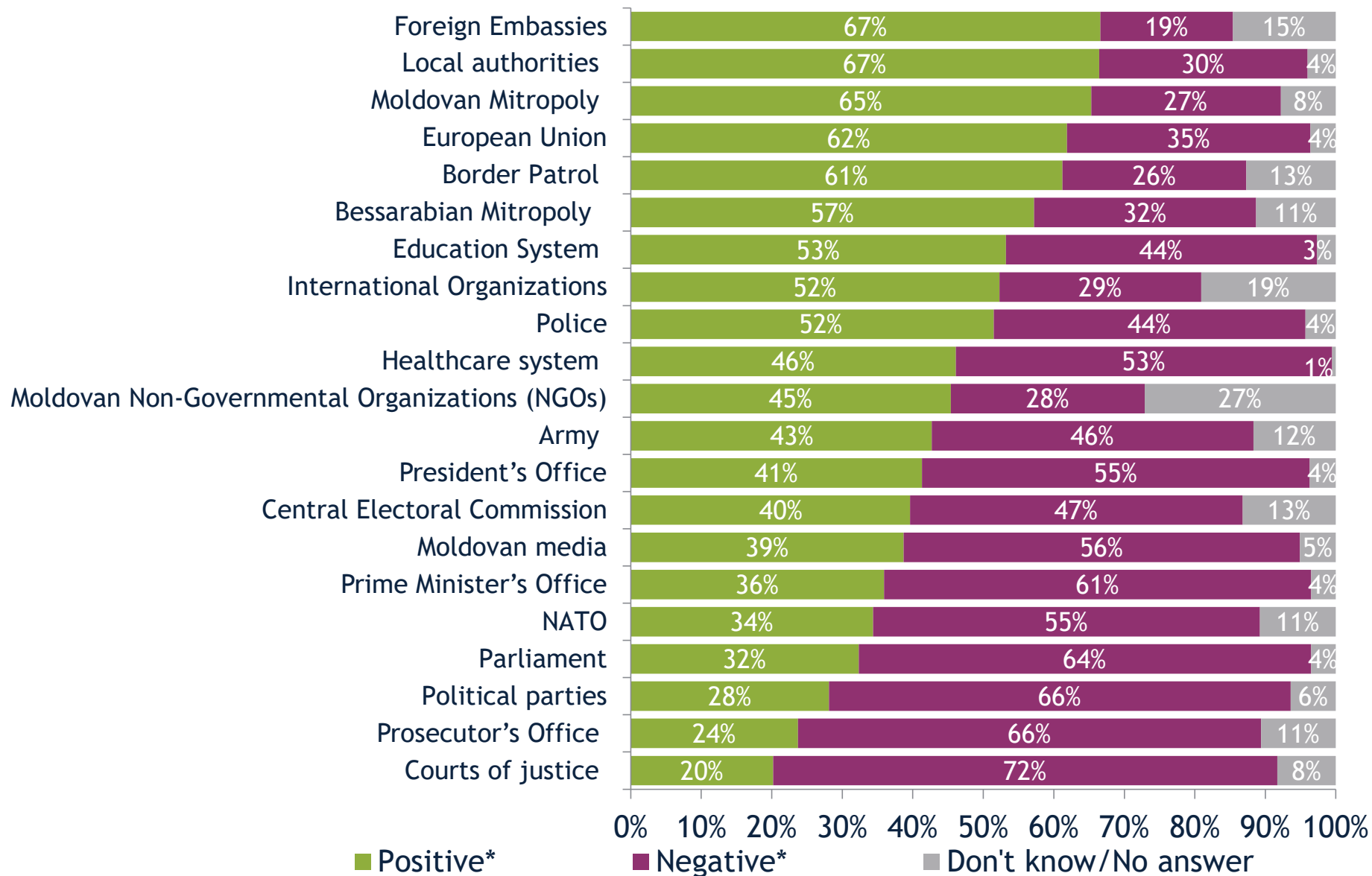


## What is your opinion of each of the following institutions?



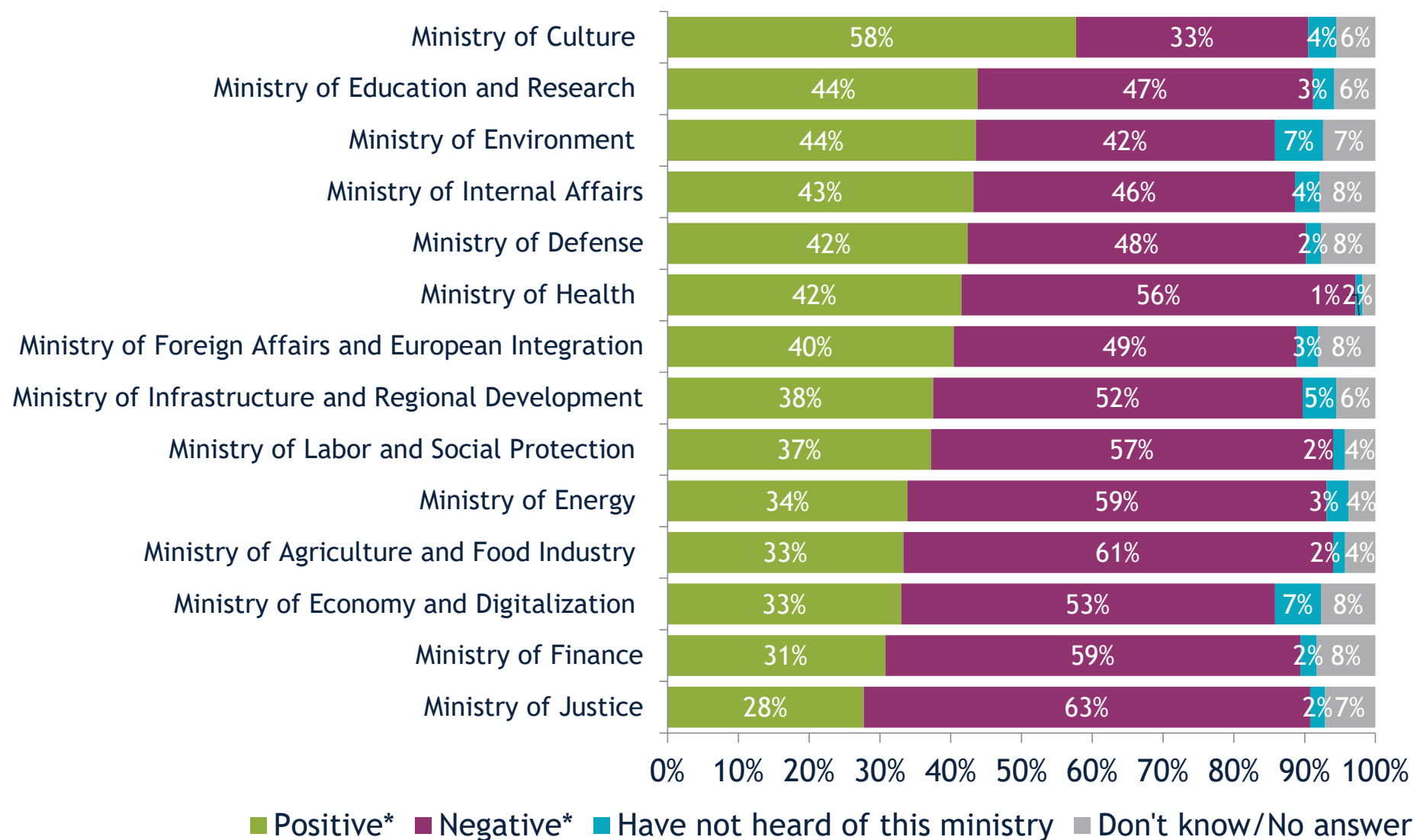
\*Responses "Very positive" and "Somewhat positive" combined under "Positive". Responses "Very negative" and "Somewhat negative" combined under "Negative". 28

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



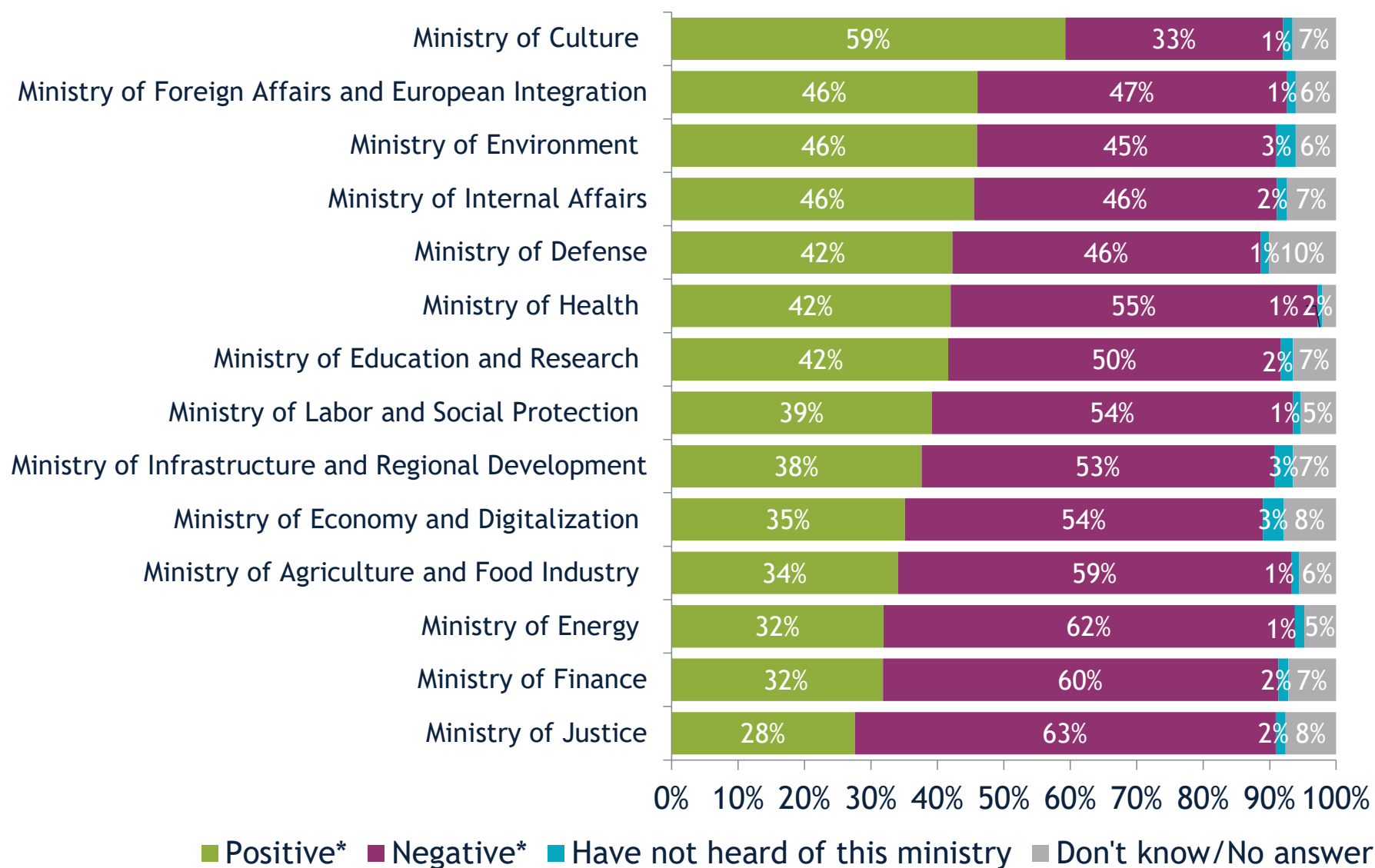
\*Responses "Very positive" and "Somewhat positive" combined under "Positive". Responses "Very negative" and "Somewhat negative" combined under "Negative". 29

What is your opinion of each of the following Moldovan ministries? Do you have a very positive, somewhat positive, somewhat negative, or very negative opinion, or have you not heard of this ministry?



\*Responses "Very positive" and "Somewhat positive" combined under "Positive". Responses "Very negative" and "Somewhat negative" combined under "Negative".

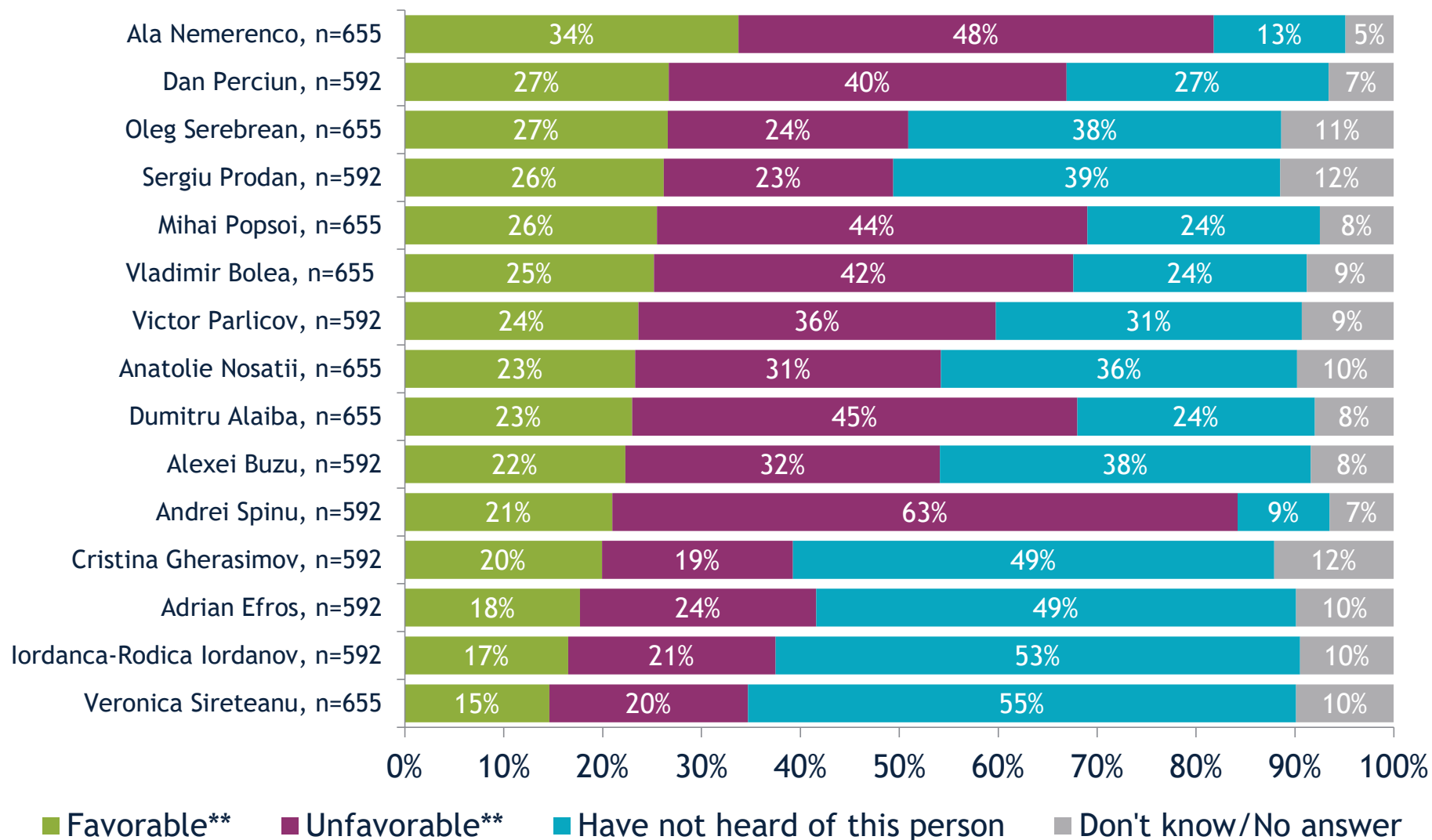
# What is your opinion of each of the following Moldovan ministries? Do you have a very positive, somewhat positive, somewhat negative, or very negative opinion, or have you not heard of this ministry?



\*Responses “Very positive” and “Somewhat positive” combined under “Positive”. Responses “Very negative” and “Somewhat negative” combined under “Negative”.

I will read you a list of names. For each, 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.

(Split sample\*)

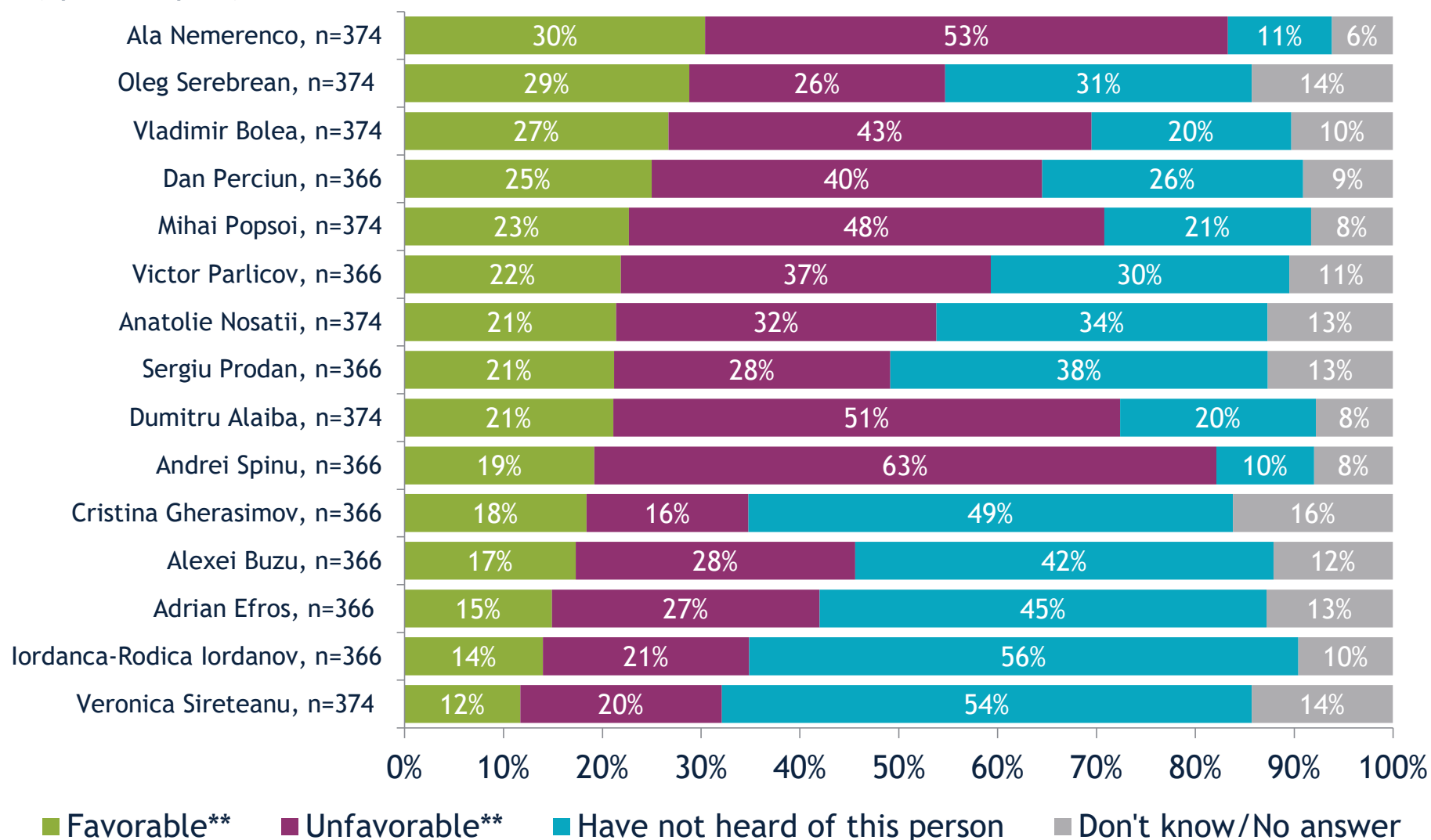


\*Half of the sample was asked about 7 people on the list above. The second half of the sample was asked about the other 7 people on the list above.  
 \*\*Responses "Very favorable" and "Somewhat favorable" combined under "Favorable." Responses "Very unfavorable" and "Somewhat unfavorable" combined under "Unfavorable."



I will read you a list of names. For each, 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.

(Split sample\*)



\*Half of the sample was asked about 7 people on the list above. The second half of the sample was asked about the other 7 people on the list above.

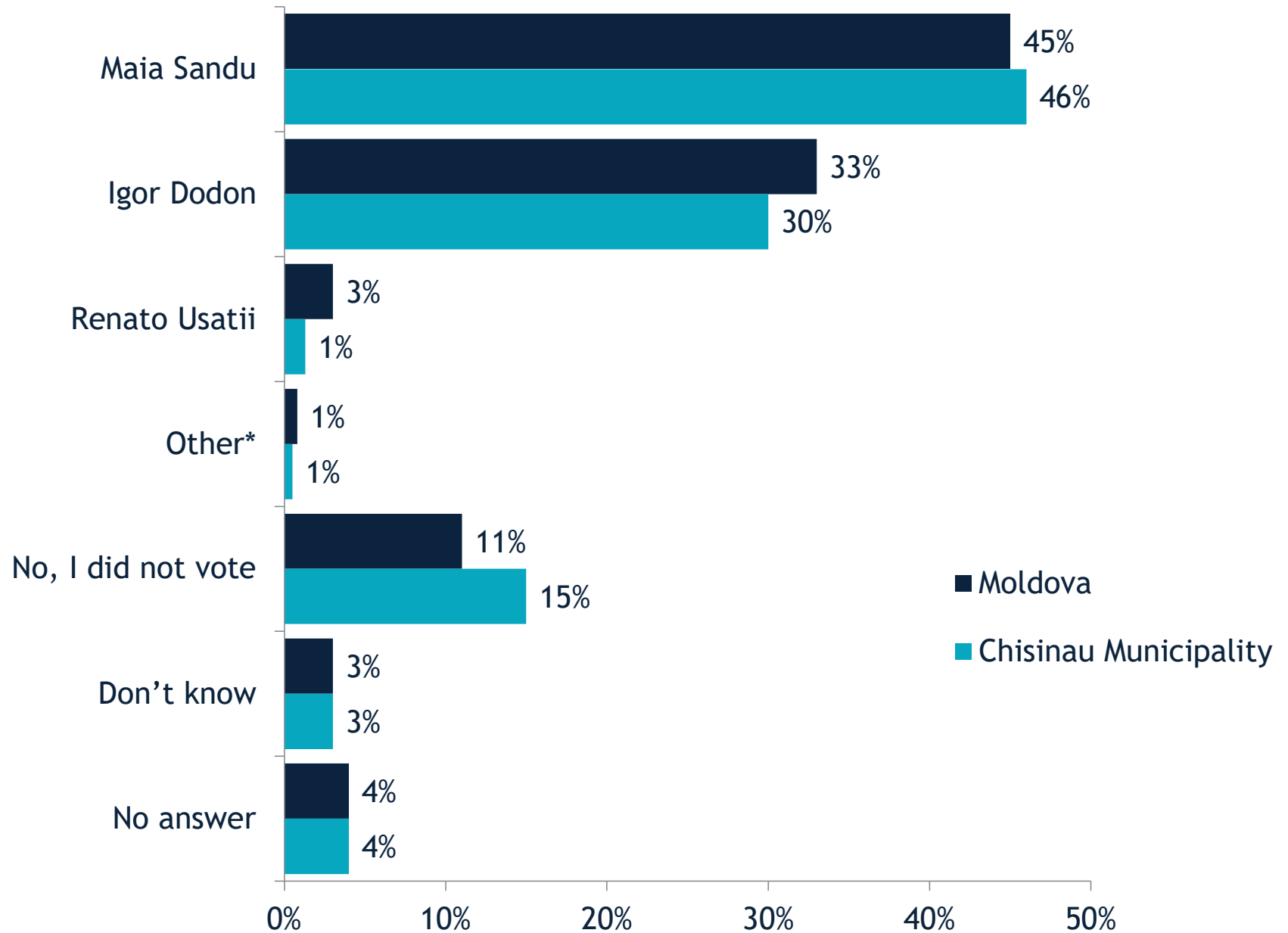
\*\*Responses "Very favorable" and "Somewhat favorable" combined under "Favorable." Responses "Very unfavorable" and "Somewhat unfavorable" combined under "Unfavorable."

# Presidential Elections



# For which candidate did you vote for in the previous presidential elections, that took place in November 2020?

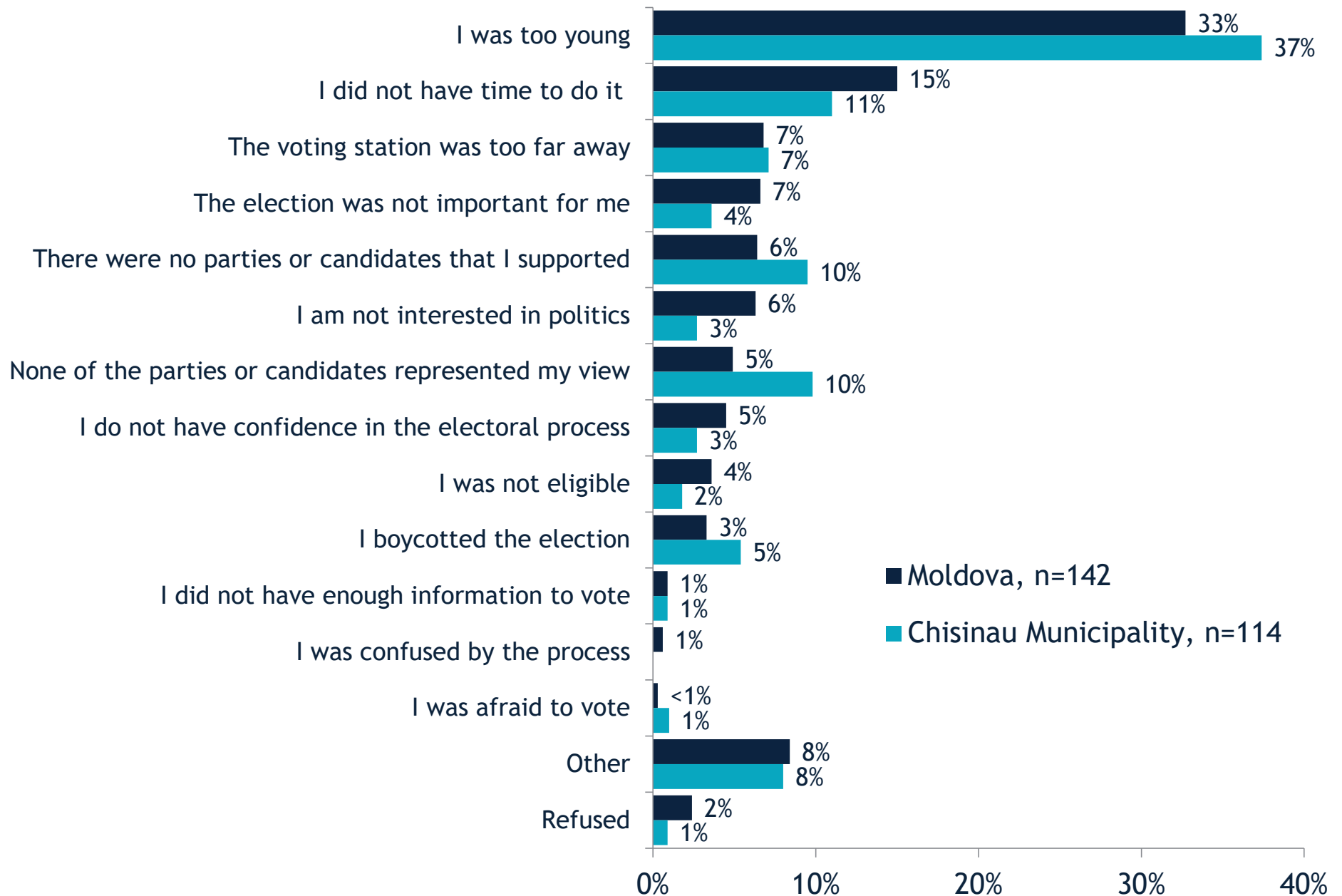
(Spontaneous response)



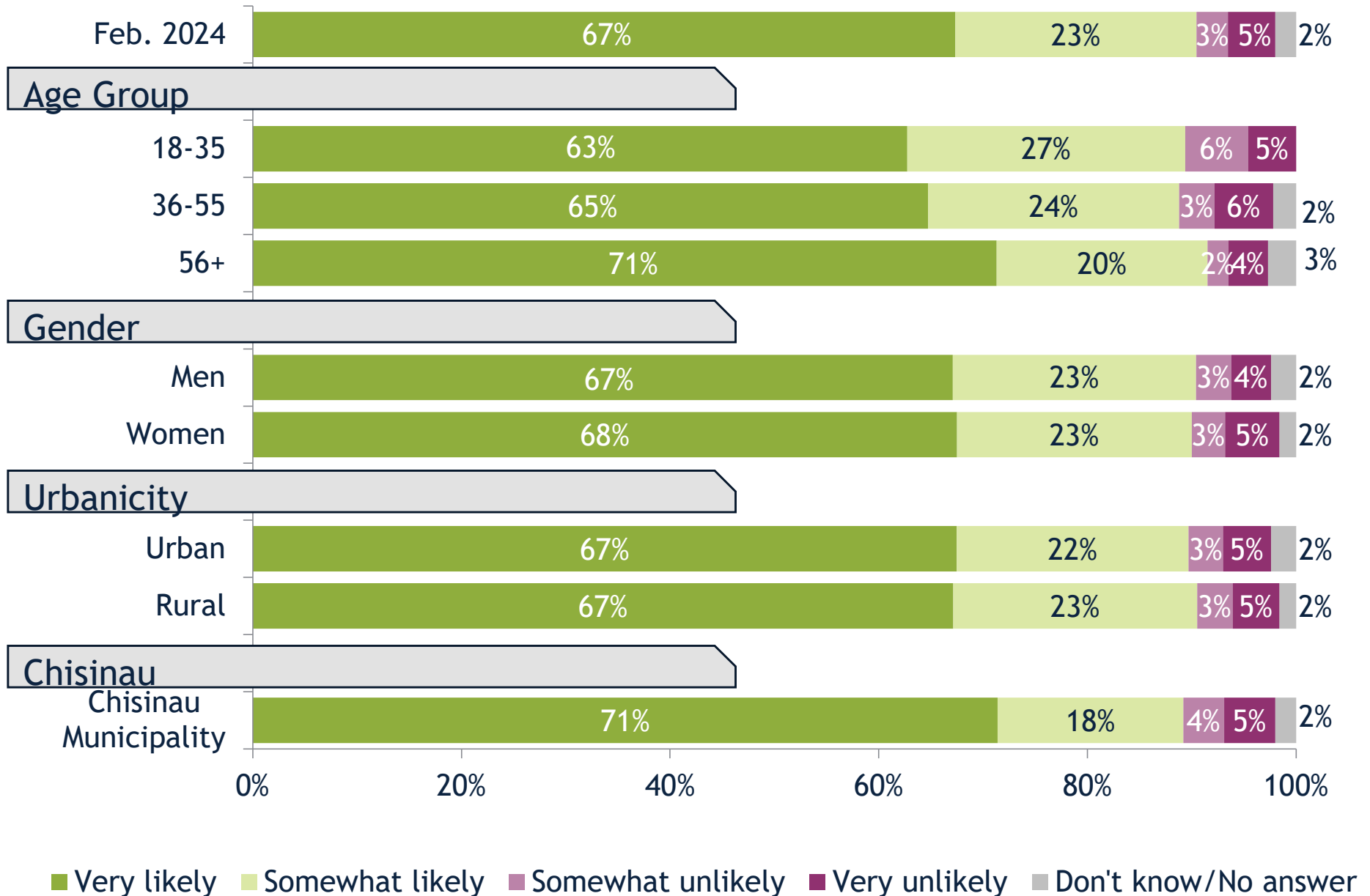
\*Responses receiving <1% are collapsed into *Other*.

# Why did you not vote in the 2020 presidential election?

(Spontaneous response among respondents who did not vote in the 2020 presidential election)

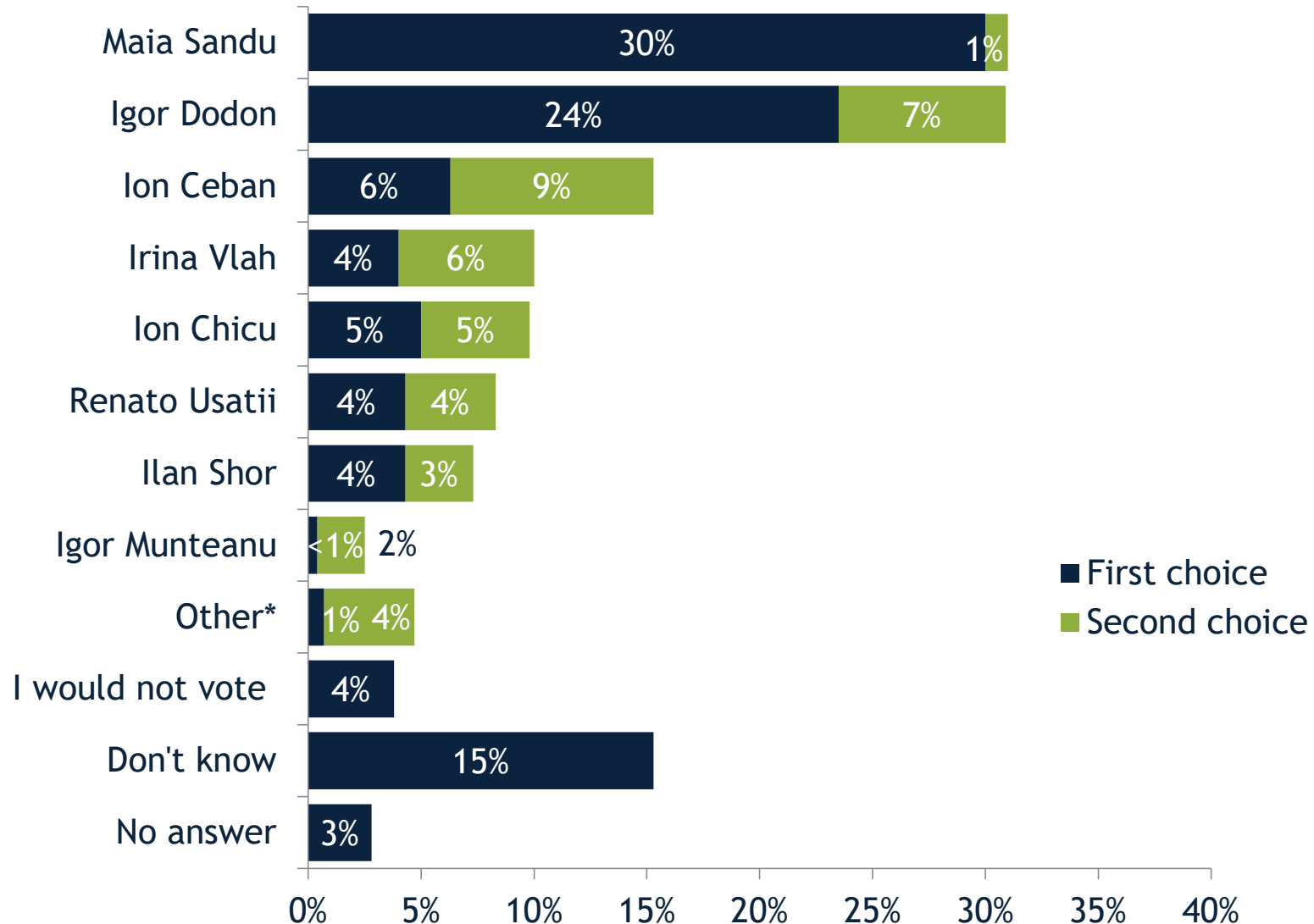


# How likely or unlikely you will vote in the upcoming Presidential Elections in Moldova, planned for Fall 2024?



For which candidate do you intend to vote in the presidential elections expected to be held in Fall 2024? I would like to remind you that your response is confidential.  
If the person you mentioned did not appear on the Presidential election ballot, which other candidate would you vote for?

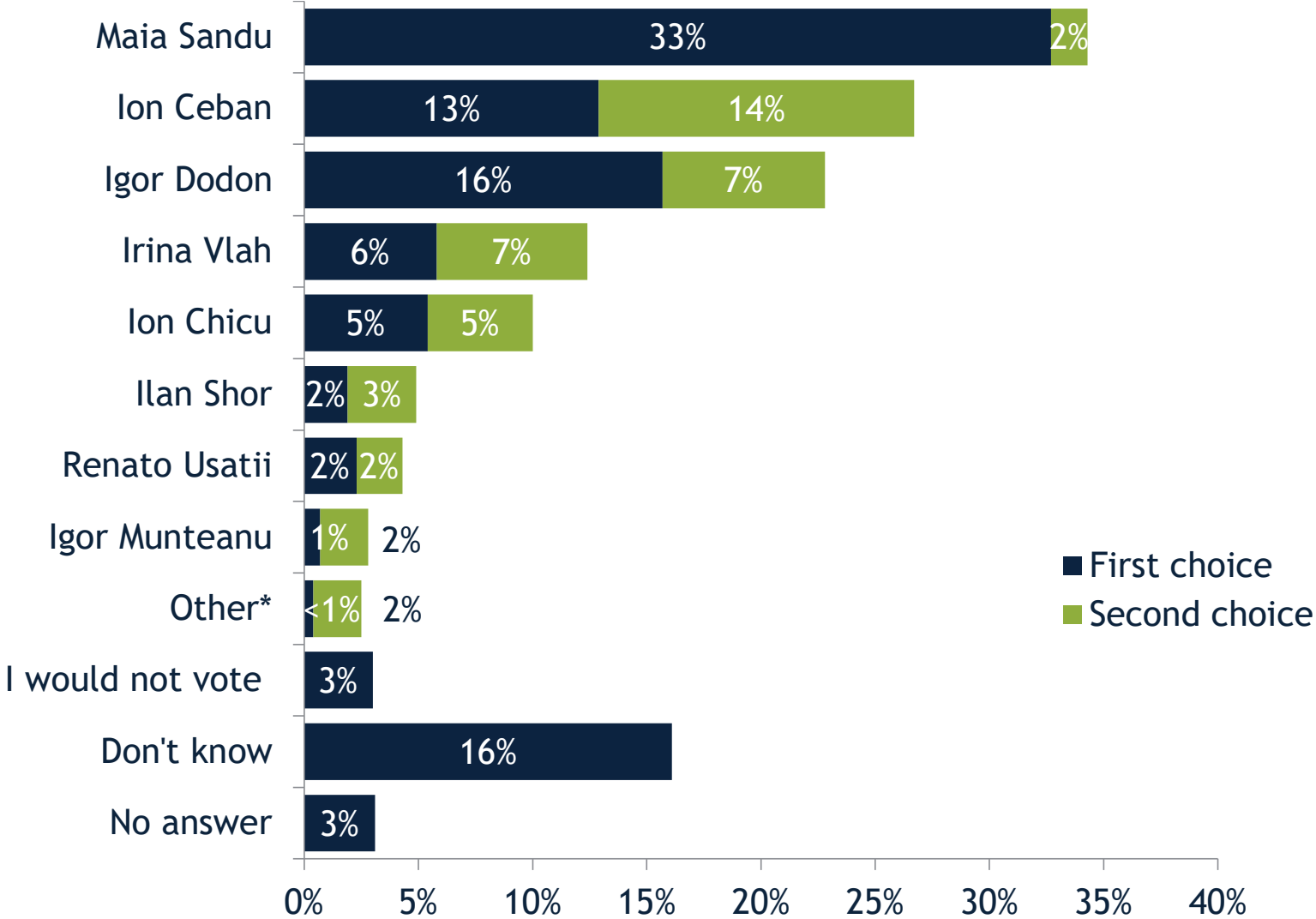
(Spontaneous response)



\*Responses receiving <1% are collapsed into *Other*.

For which candidate do you intend to vote in the presidential elections expected to be held in Fall 2024? I would like to remind you that your response is confidential.  
If the person you mentioned did not appear on the Presidential election ballot, which other candidate would you vote for?

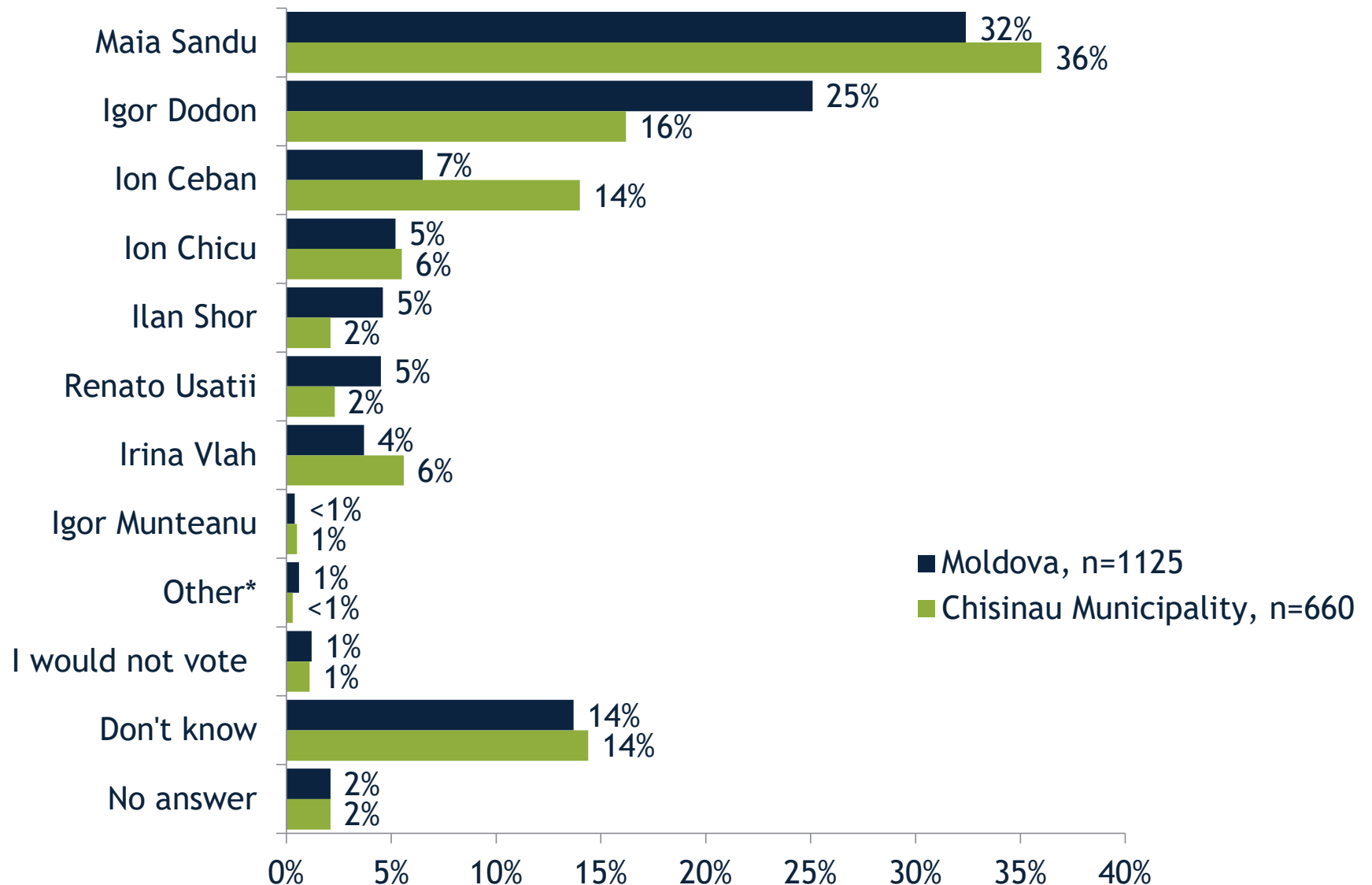
(Spontaneous response)



\*Responses receiving <1% are collapsed into *Other*.

# For which candidate do you intend to vote in the presidential elections expected to be held in Fall 2024? I would like to remind you that your response is confidential.

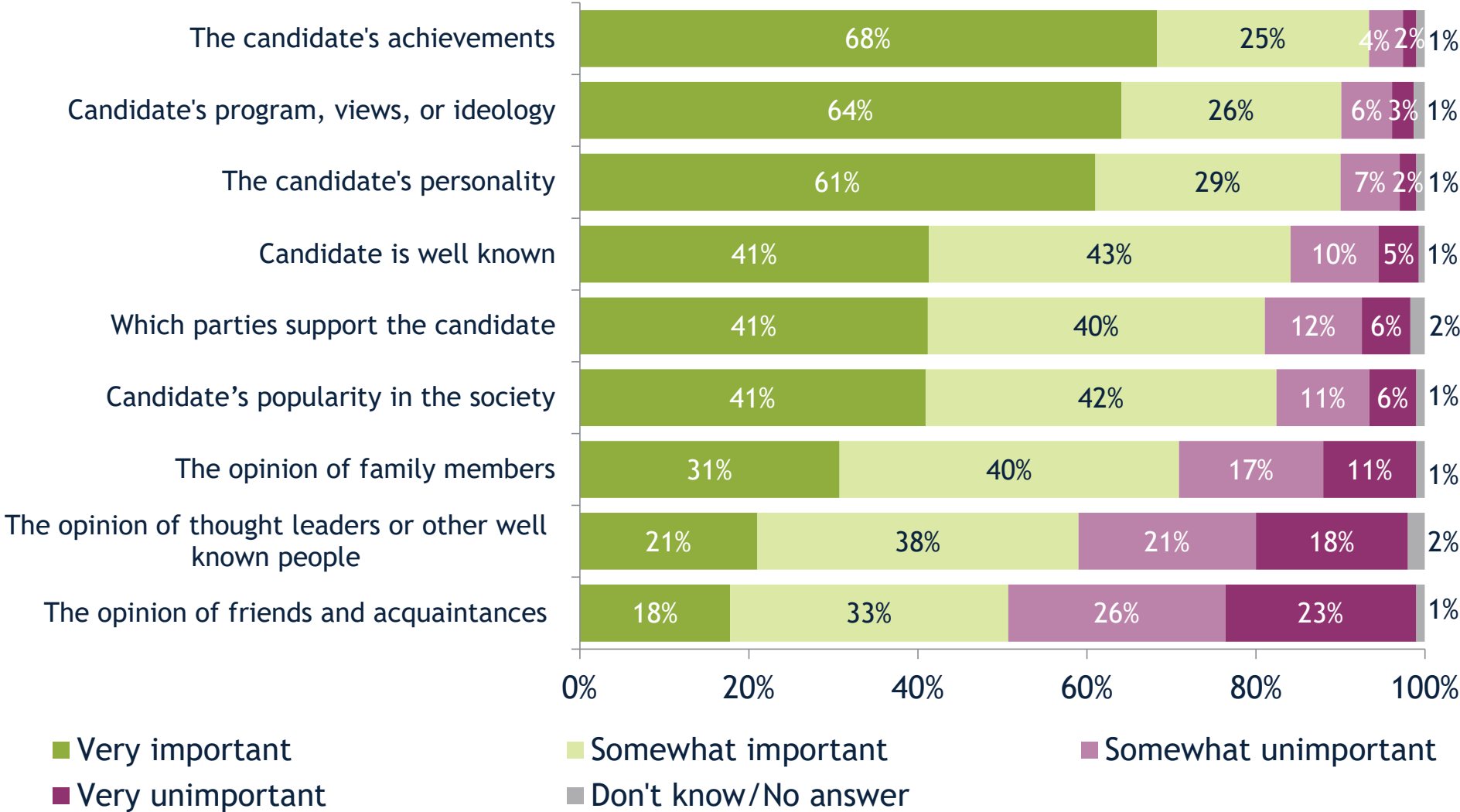
(First choice displayed, among respondents who are very or somewhat likely to vote in the upcoming presidential elections in Moldova)



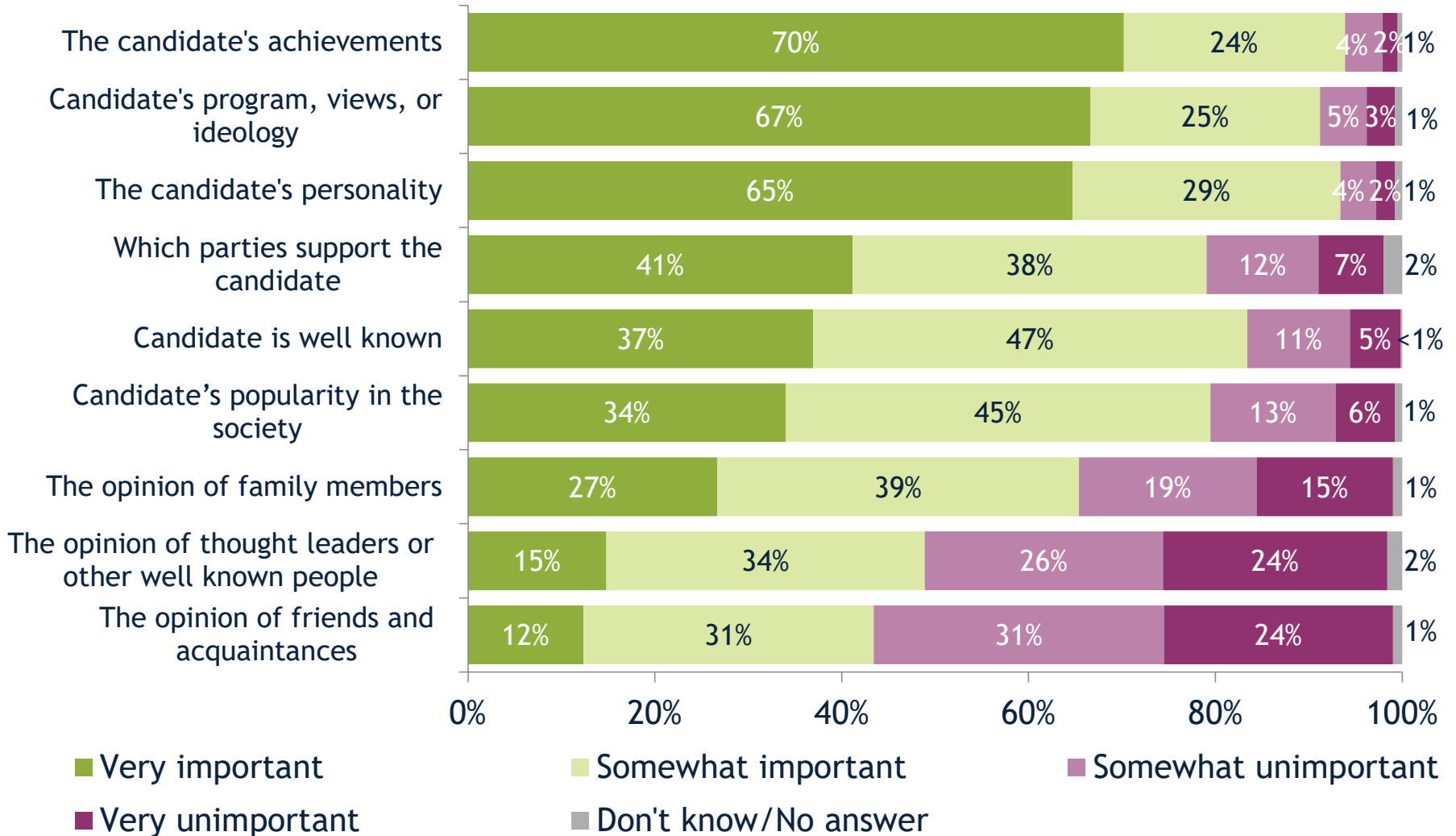
\*Responses receiving <1% are collapsed into *Other*.



I will read you several items that you might consider when deciding what candidate you will vote for in the next presidential elections. For each item, please say if it is very important, somewhat important, somewhat unimportant, or very unimportant for you when deciding who you will vote for?

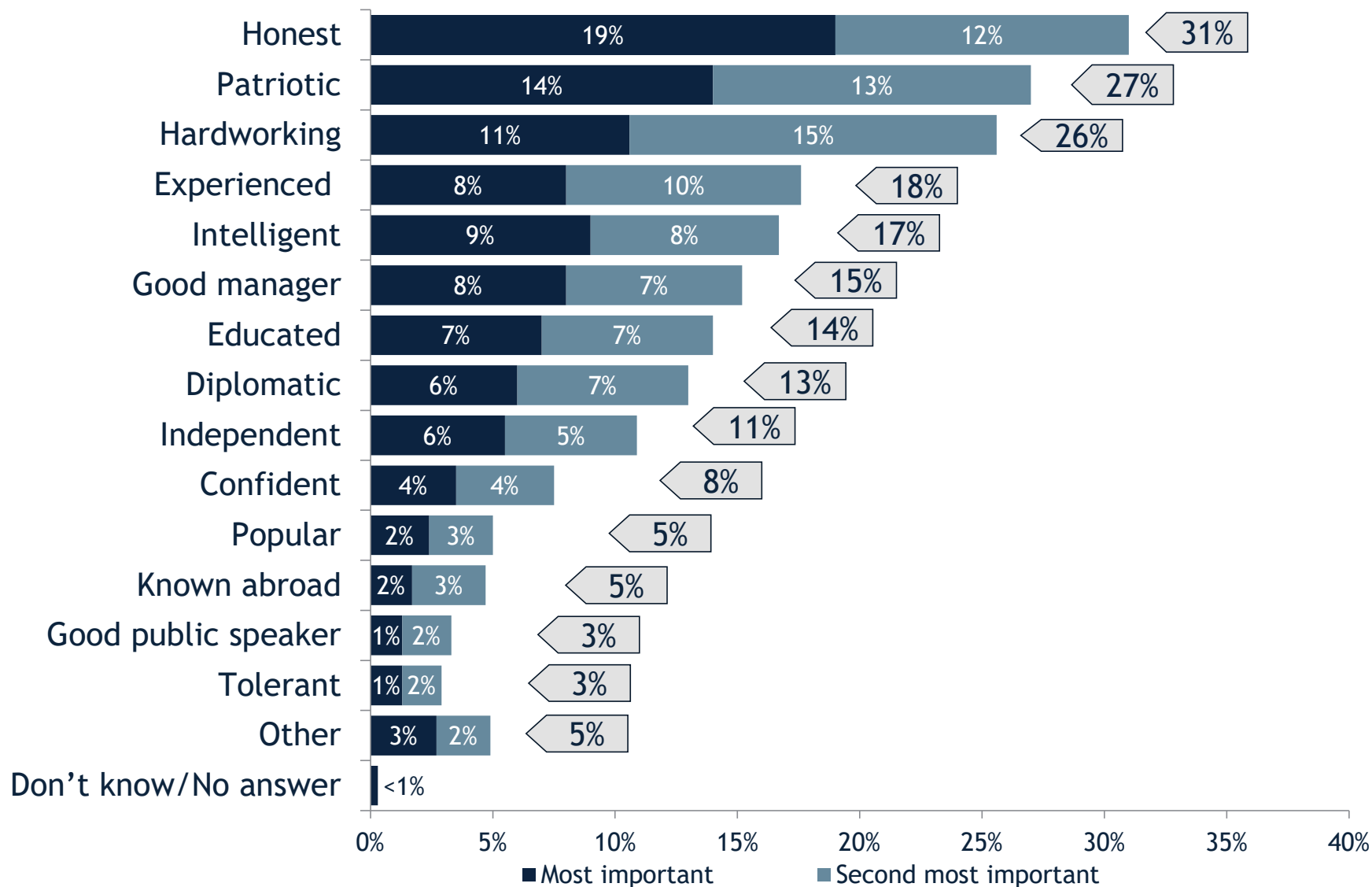


I will read you several items that you might consider when deciding what candidate you will vote for in the next presidential elections. For each item, please say if it is very important, somewhat important, somewhat unimportant, or very unimportant for you when deciding who you will vote for?



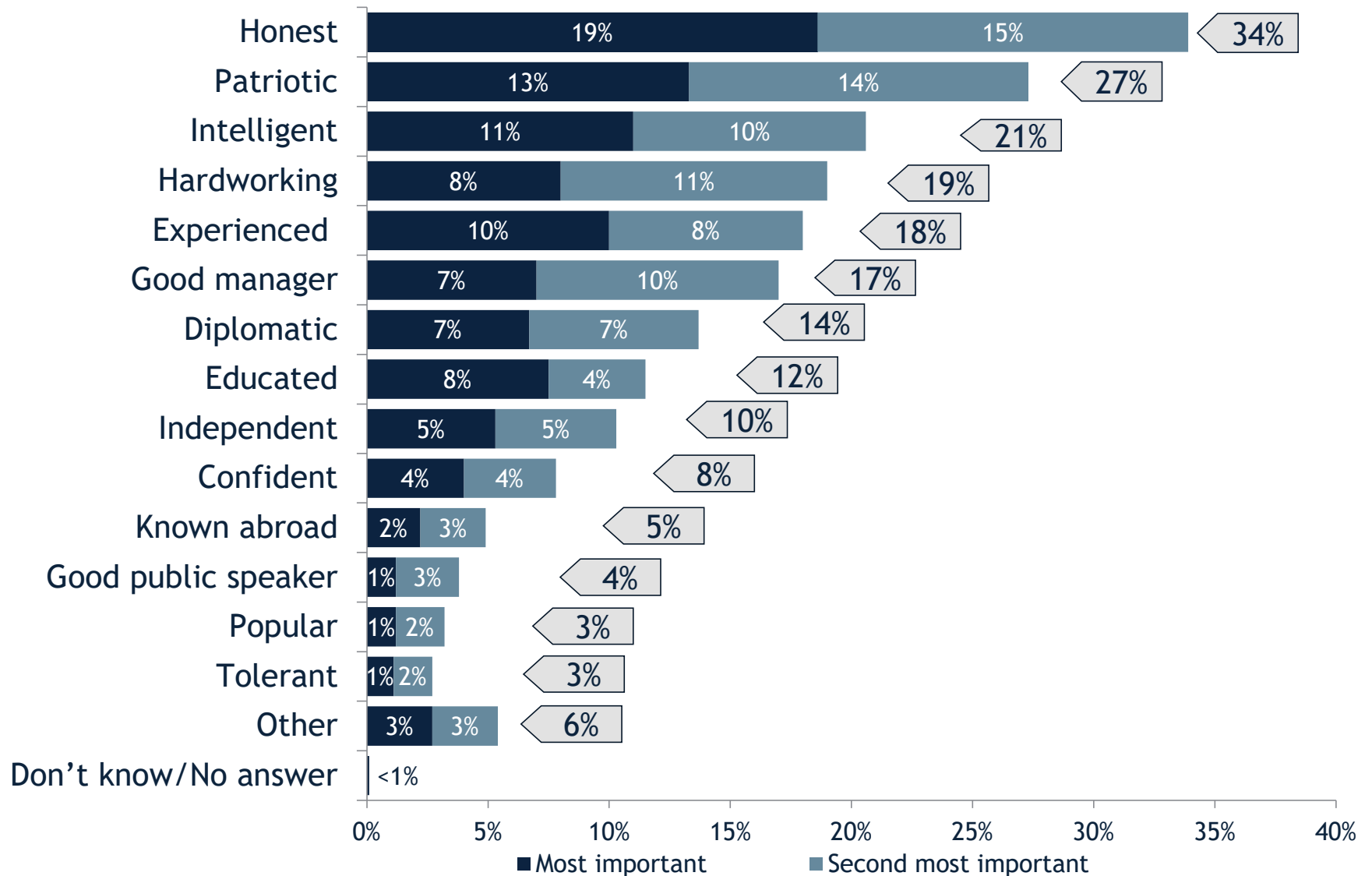
# Which two of the listed characteristics, in your opinion, are the most important when deciding what candidate to vote for in the upcoming presidential election?

(Up to two responses accepted)



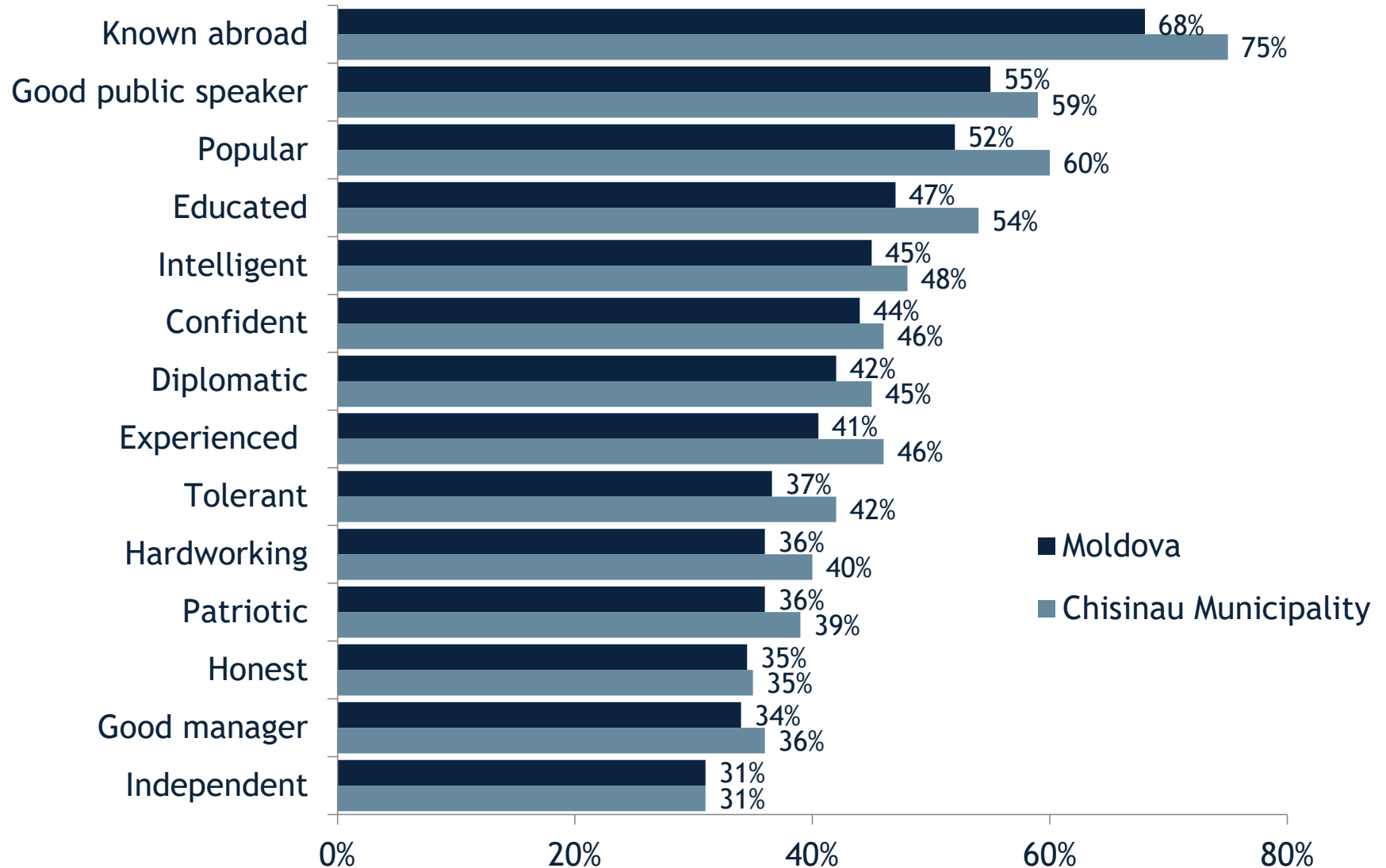
# Which two of the listed characteristics, in your opinion, are the most important when deciding what candidate to vote for in the upcoming presidential election?

(Up to two responses accepted)

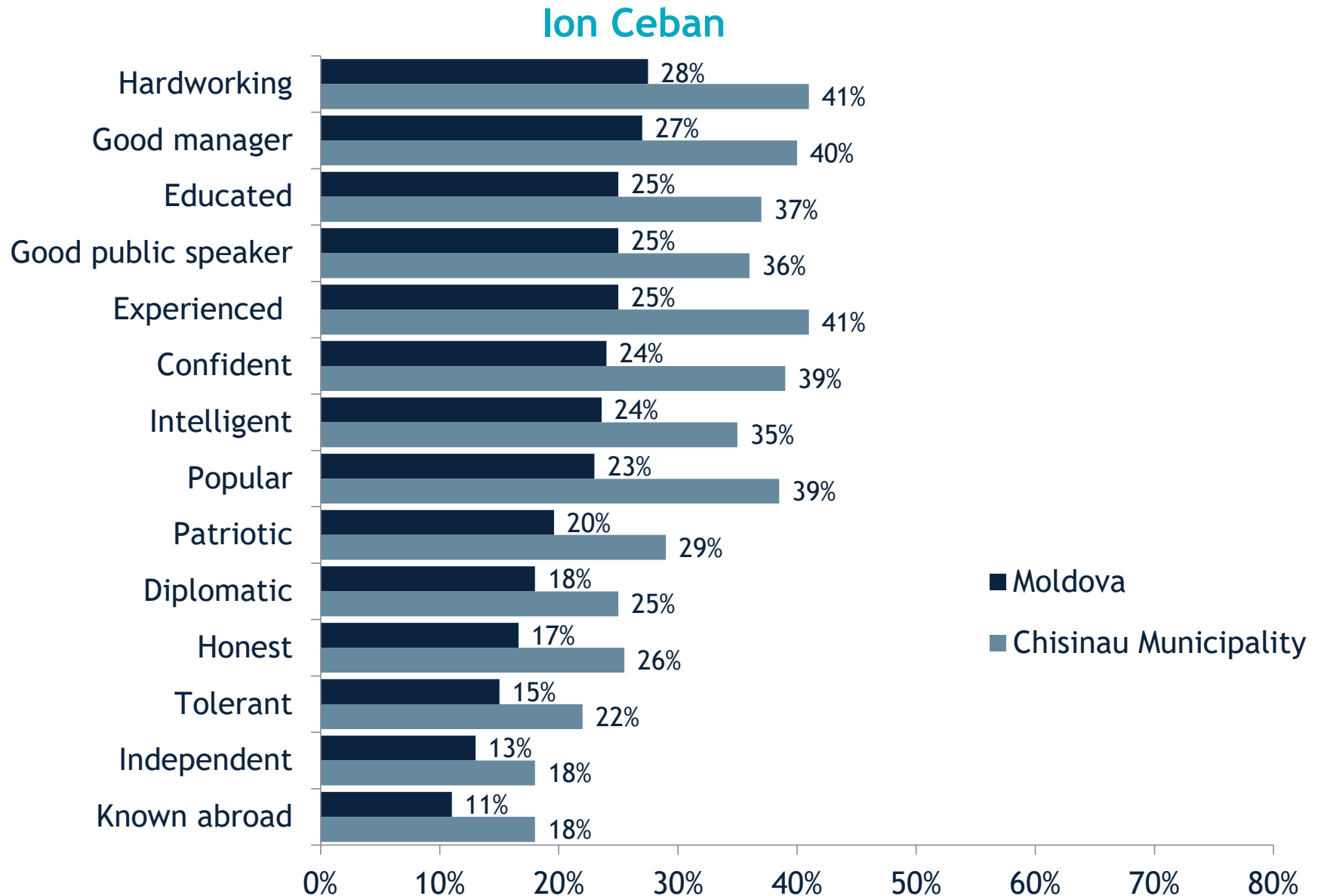


I'm going to read a list of characteristics a presidential candidate might have. For each characteristic, please tell us which of the listed politicians it describes. Each characteristic may describe one, several or none of the politicians listed.

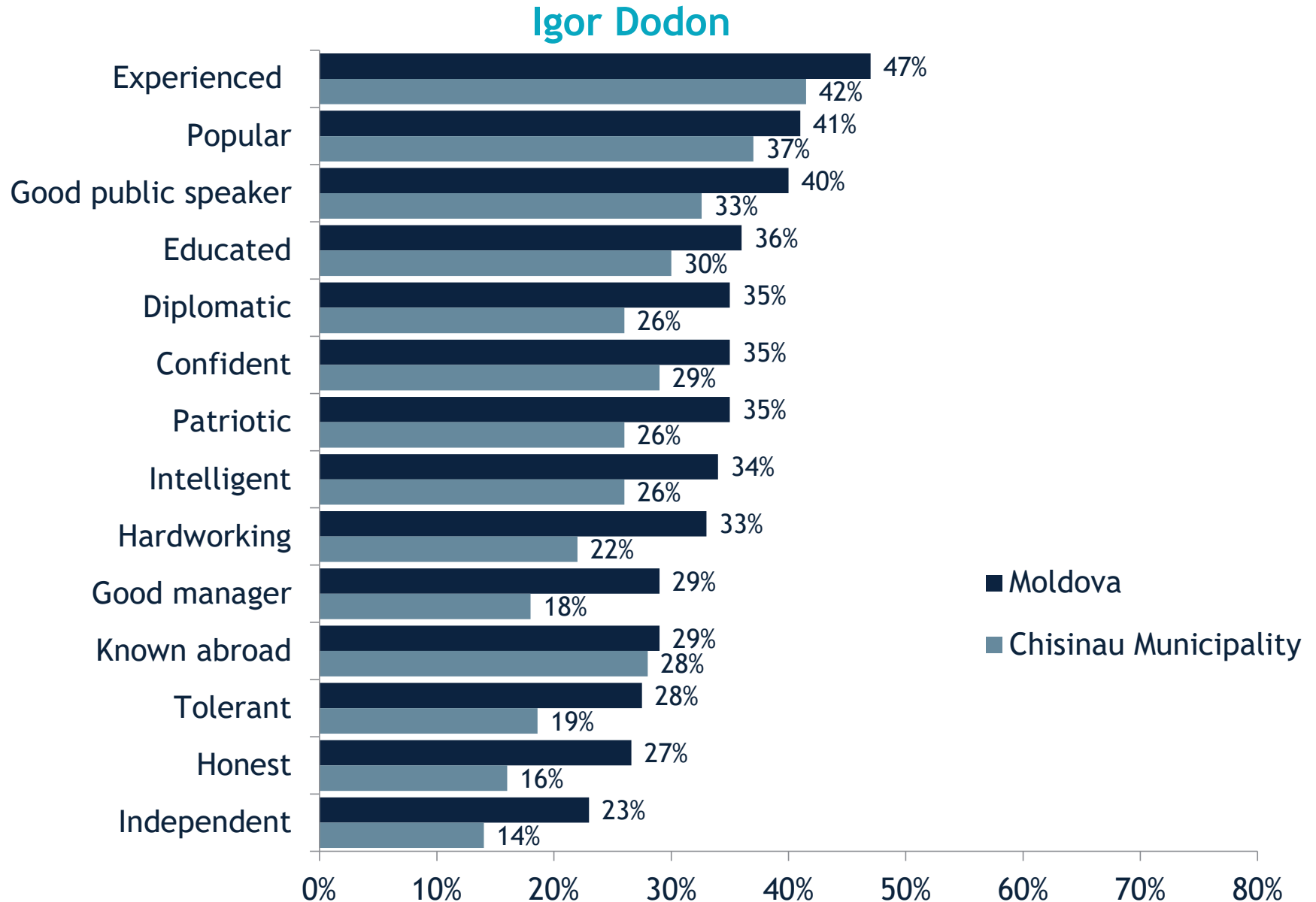
### Maia Sandu



I'm going to read a list of characteristics a presidential candidate might have. For each characteristic, please tell us which of the listed politicians it describes. Each characteristic may describe one, several or none of the politicians listed.

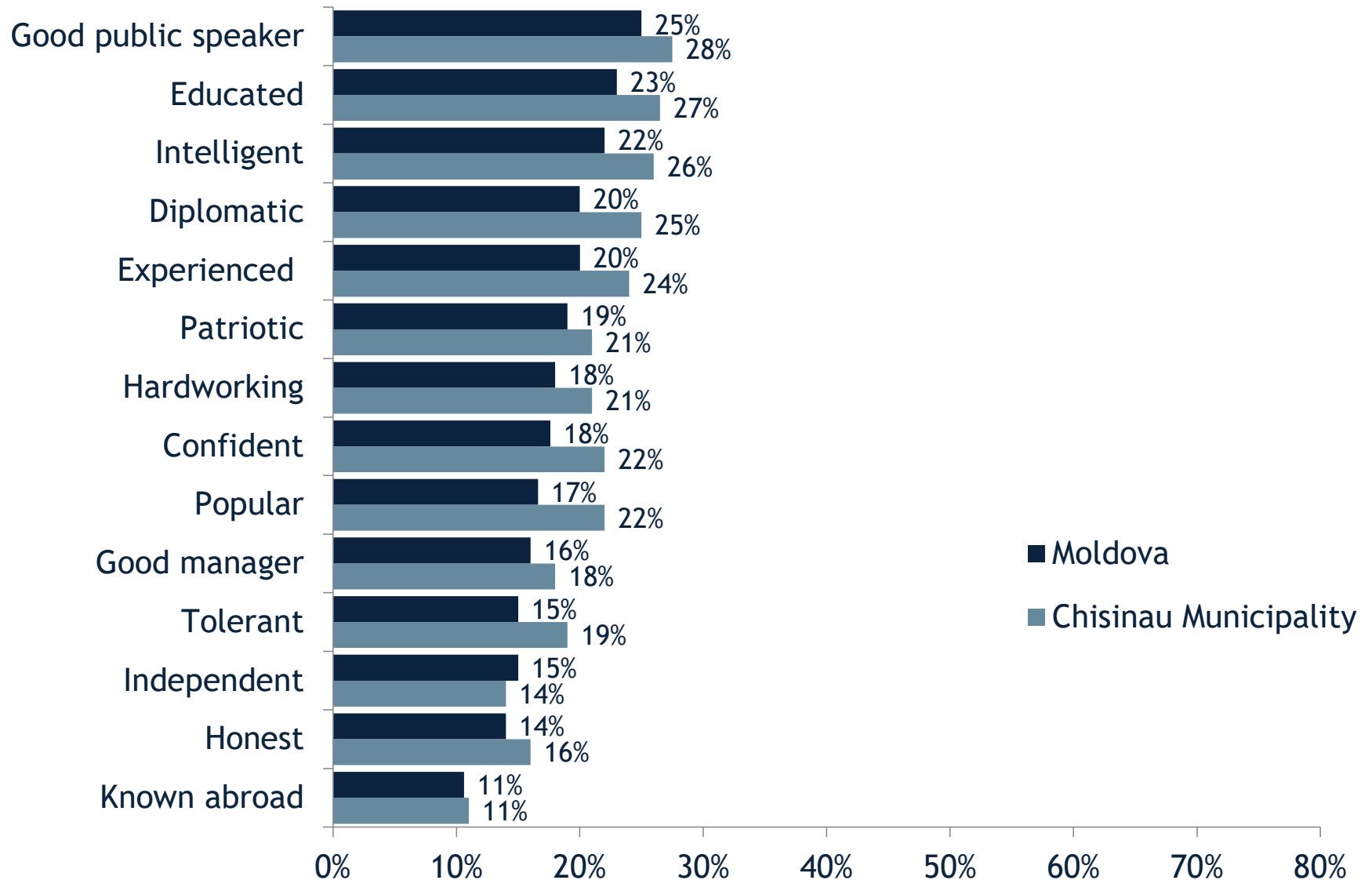


I'm going to read a list of characteristics a presidential candidate might have. For each characteristic, please tell us which of the listed politicians it describes. Each characteristic may describe one, several or none of the politicians listed.



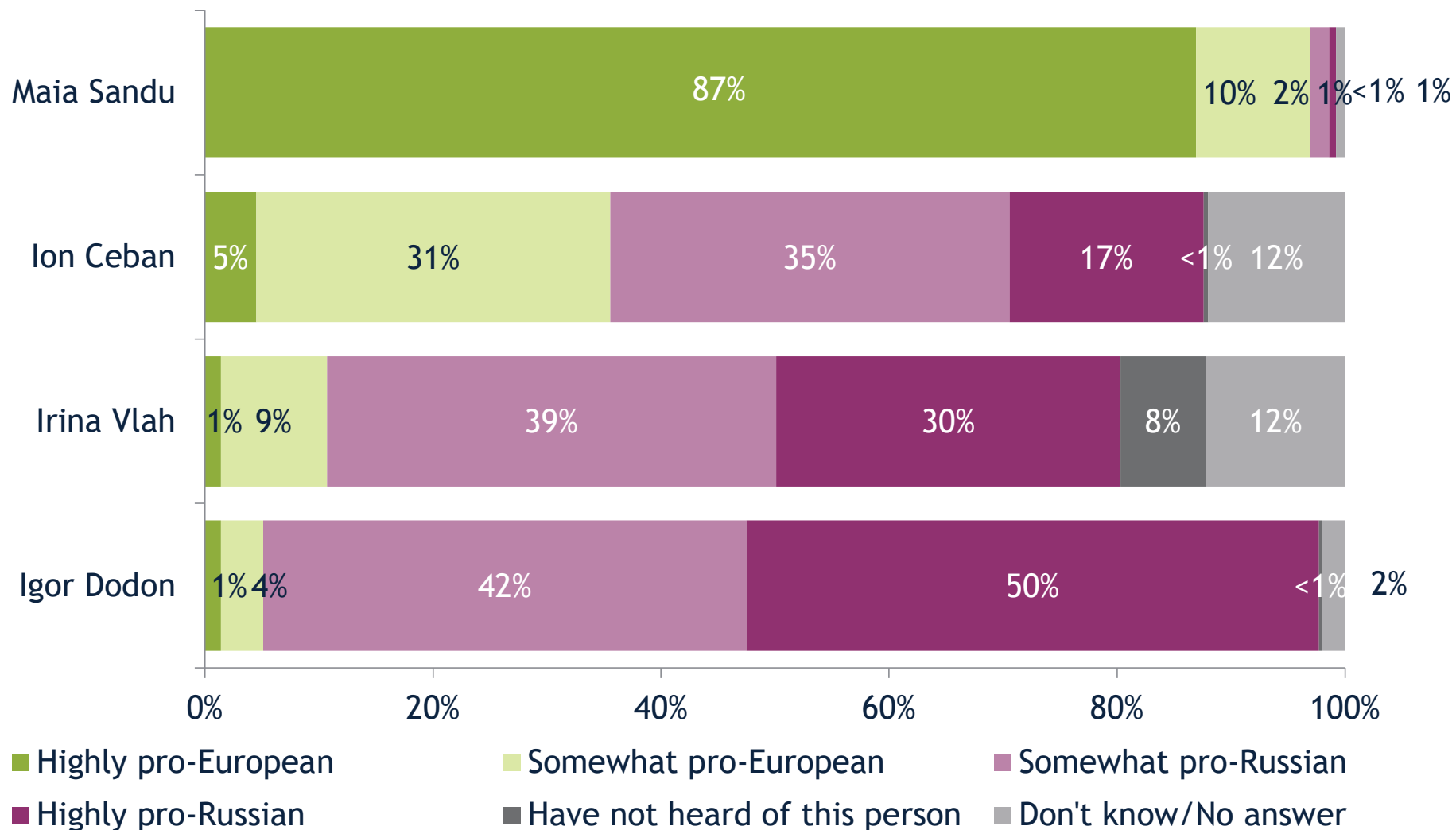
I'm going to read a list of characteristics a presidential candidate might have. For each characteristic, please tell us which of the listed politicians it describes. Each characteristic may describe one, several or none of the politicians listed.

### Irina Vlah

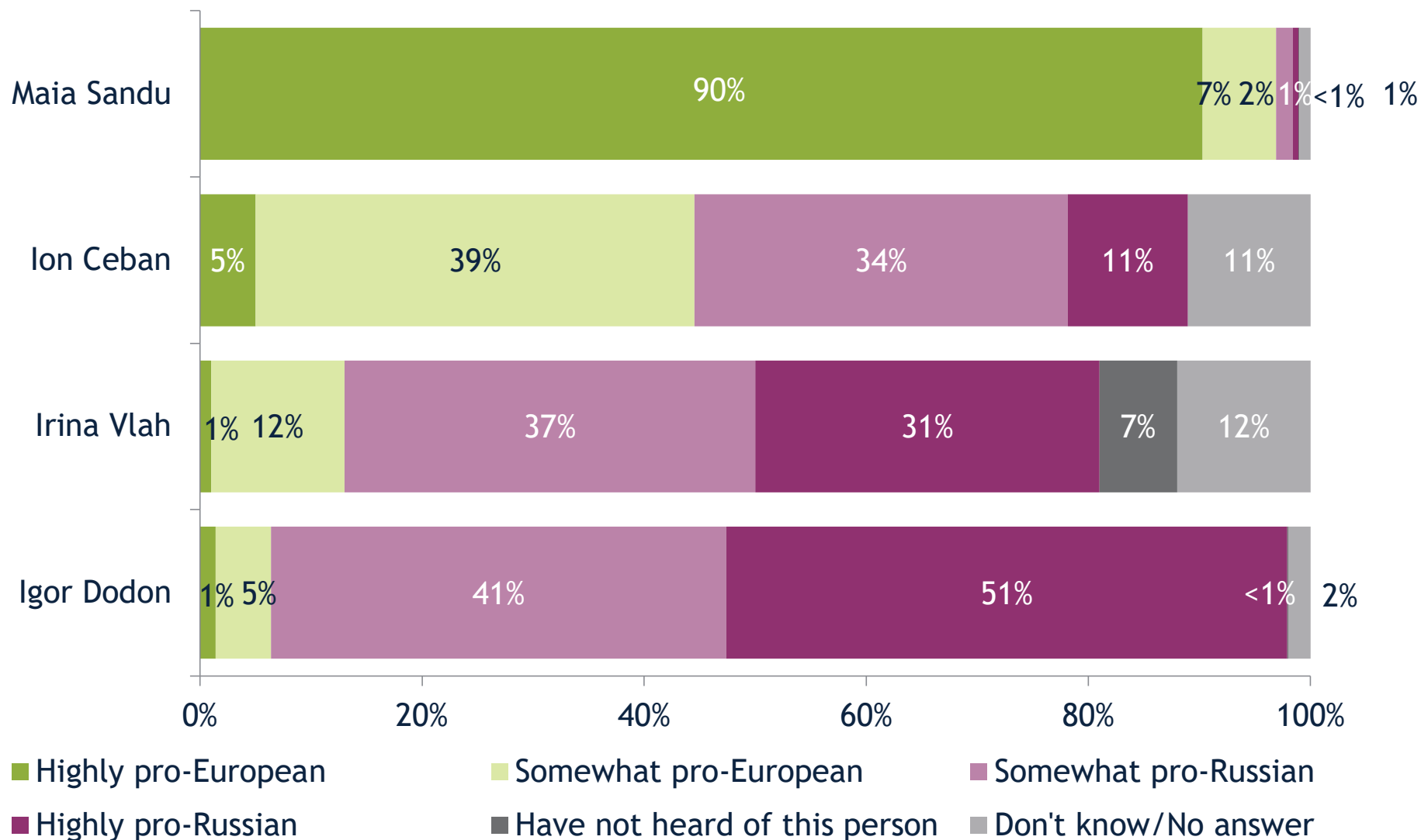




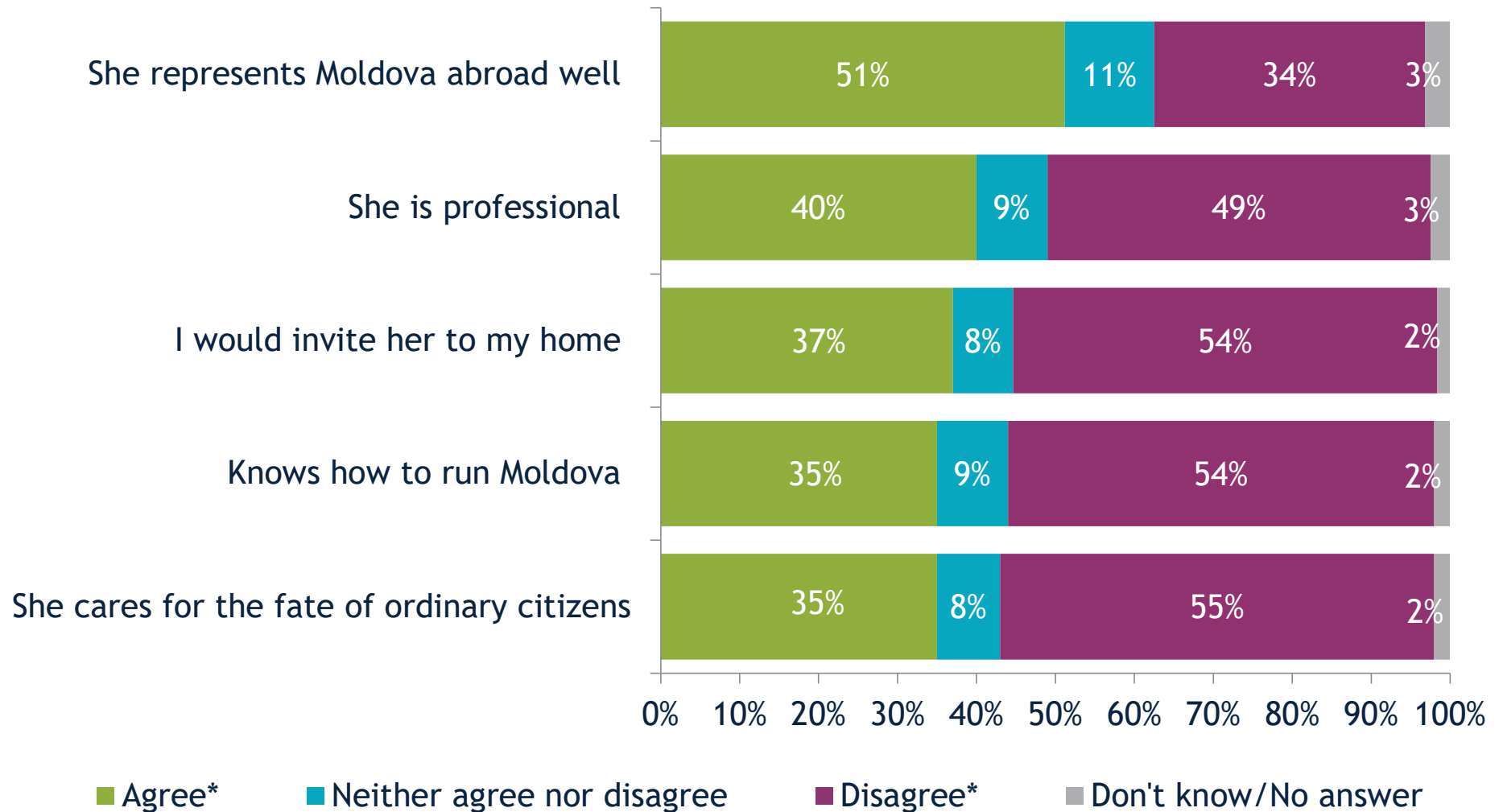
For each of the following candidates, please tell me to what extent do you consider her/him to be pro-European or pro-Russian?



For each of the following candidates, please tell me to what extent do you consider her/him to be pro-European or pro-Russian?

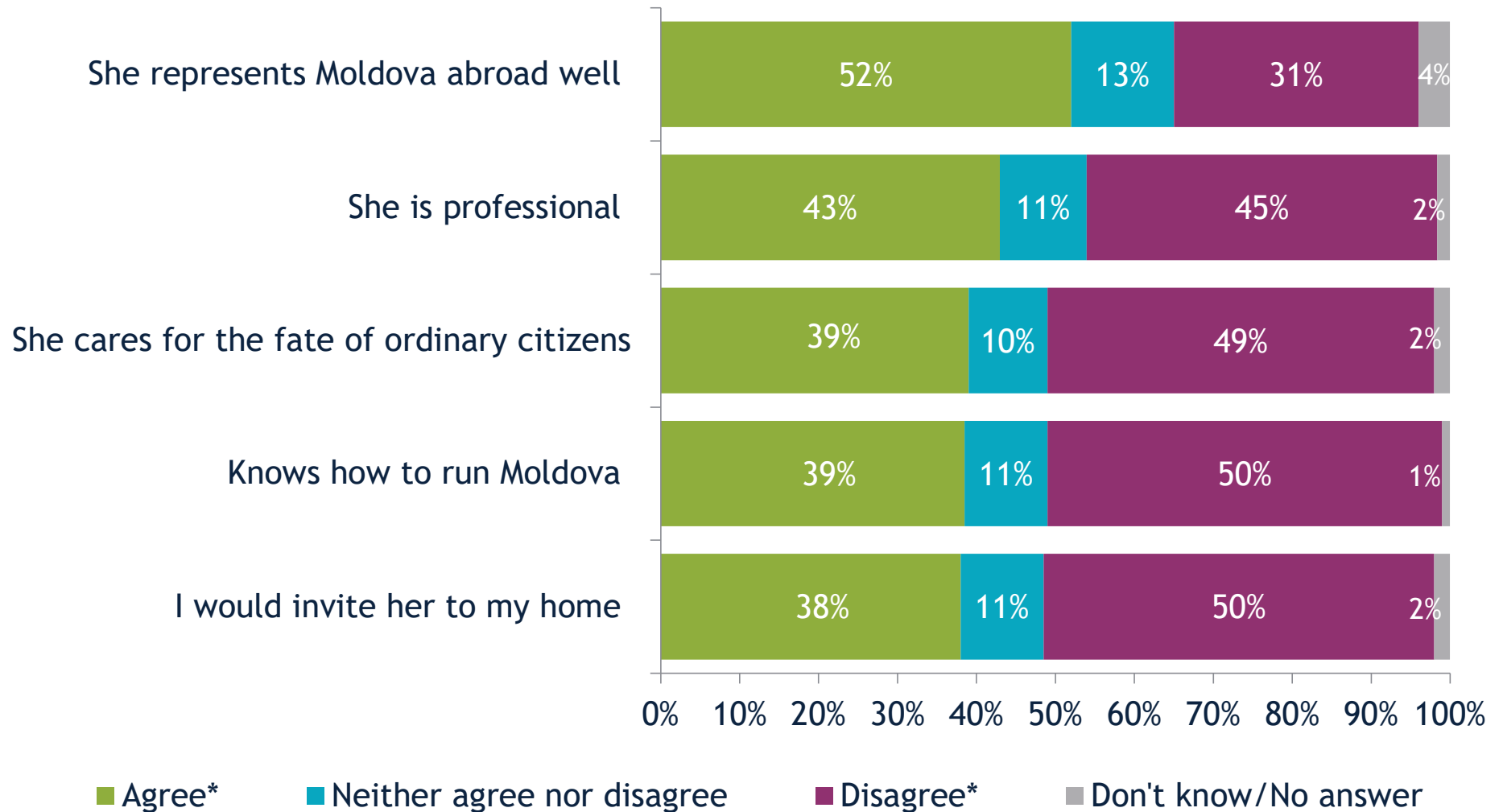


Now I will read a list of statements about the President Maia Sandu. For each statement, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree?



\*Responses "Strongly agree" and "Somewhat agree" combined under "Agree." Responses "Strongly disagree" and "Somewhat disagree" combined under "Disagree."

Now I will read a list of statements about the President Maia Sandu. For each statement, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree?

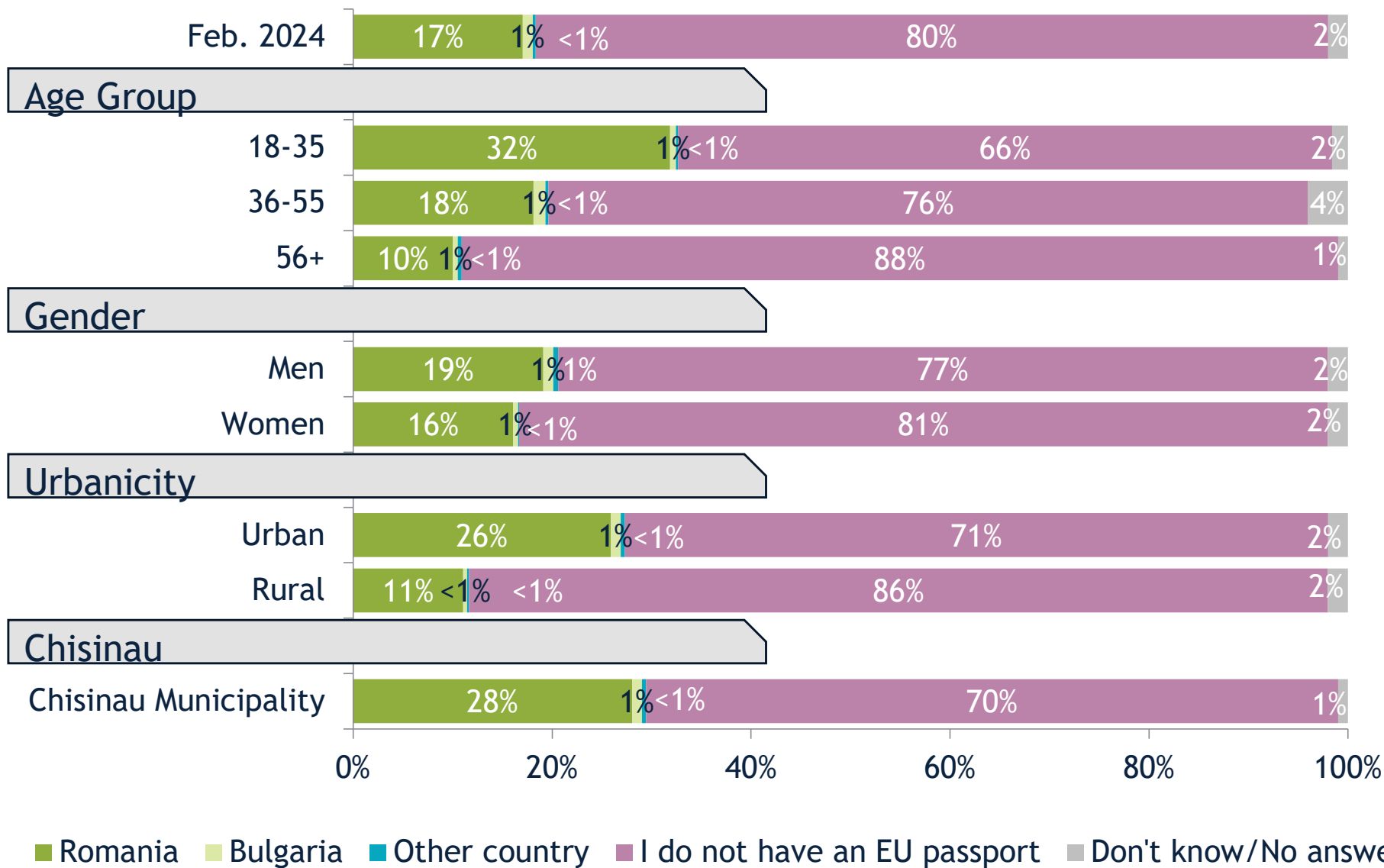


\*Responses "Strongly agree" and "Somewhat agree" combined under "Agree." Responses "Strongly disagree" and "Somewhat disagree" combined under "Disagree."

# International Relations

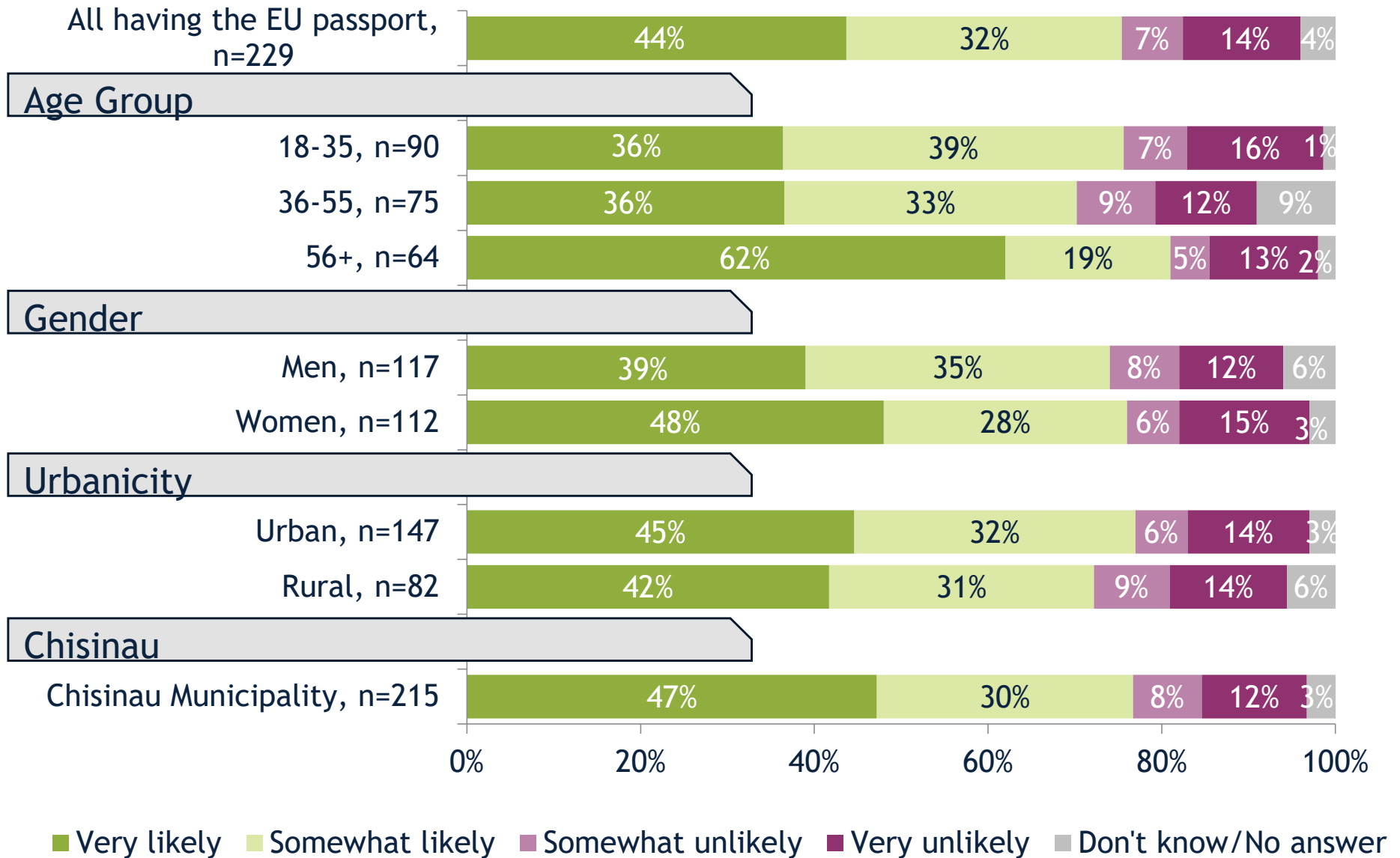


# Do you have a European Union passport of any country?



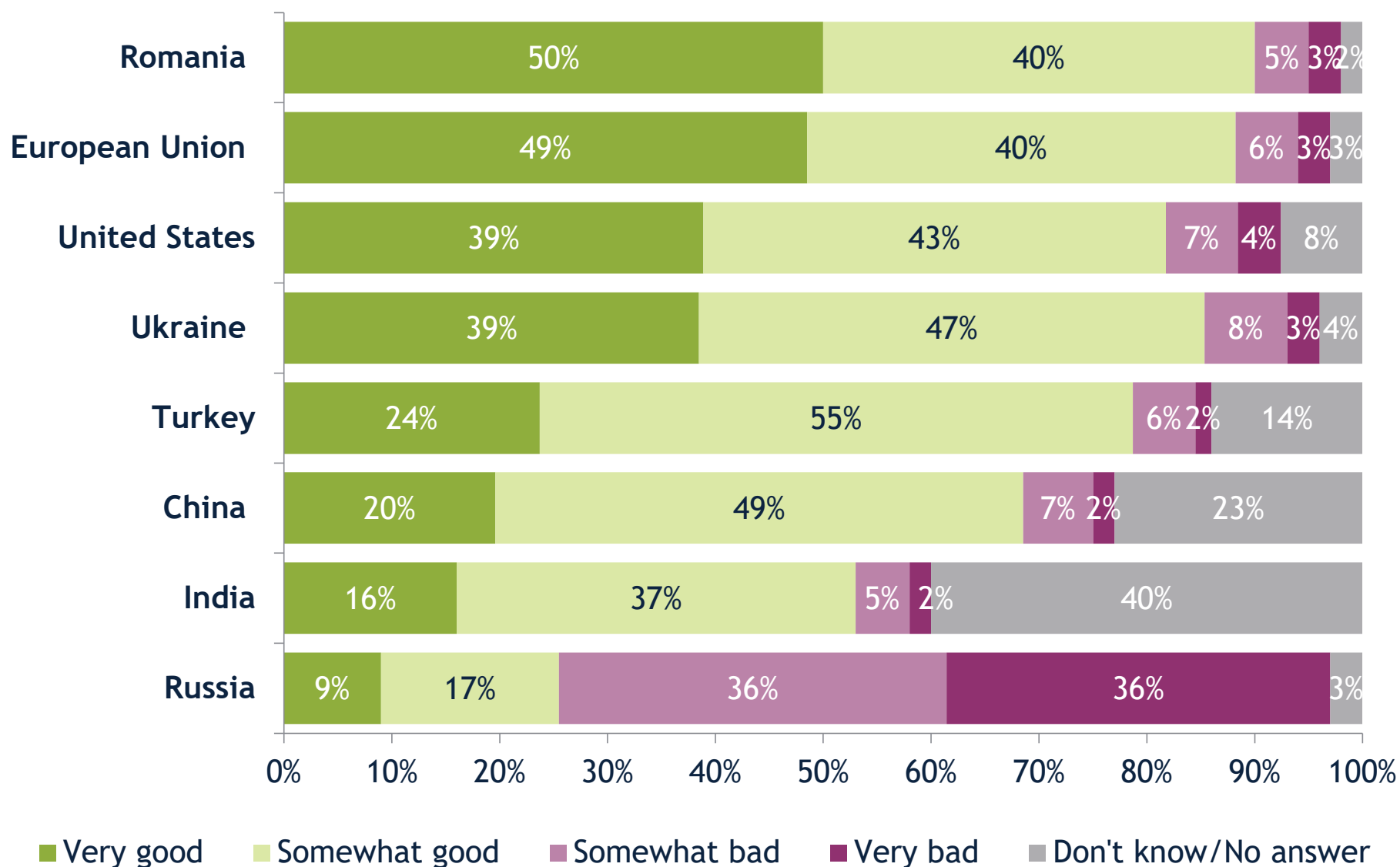
# How likely or unlikely are you to vote in the European Parliamentary elections in June 2024?

(Among residents having a passport of any country of the European Union)



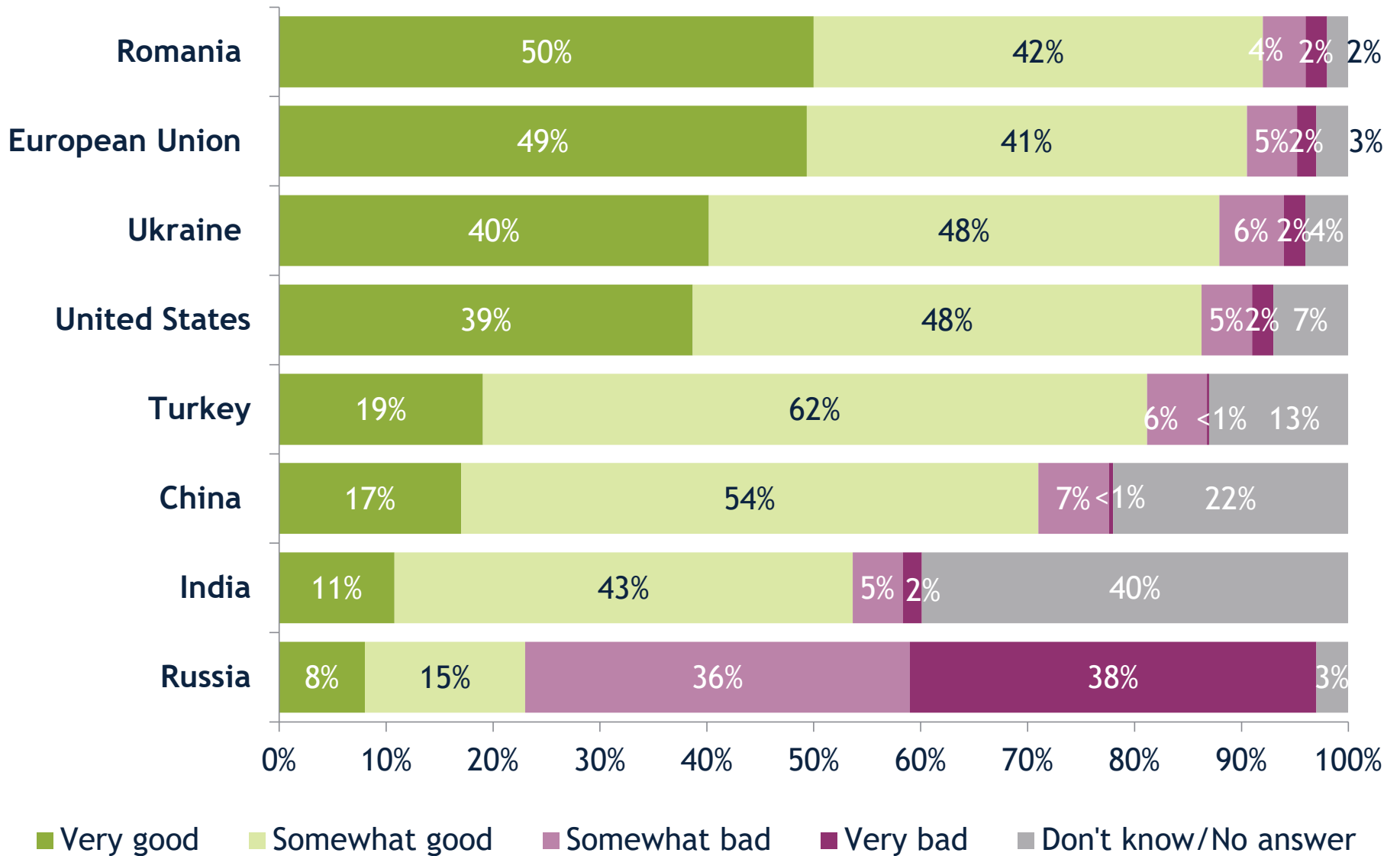
# How would you rate the current relations between Moldova and ...

(Residents of Moldova)

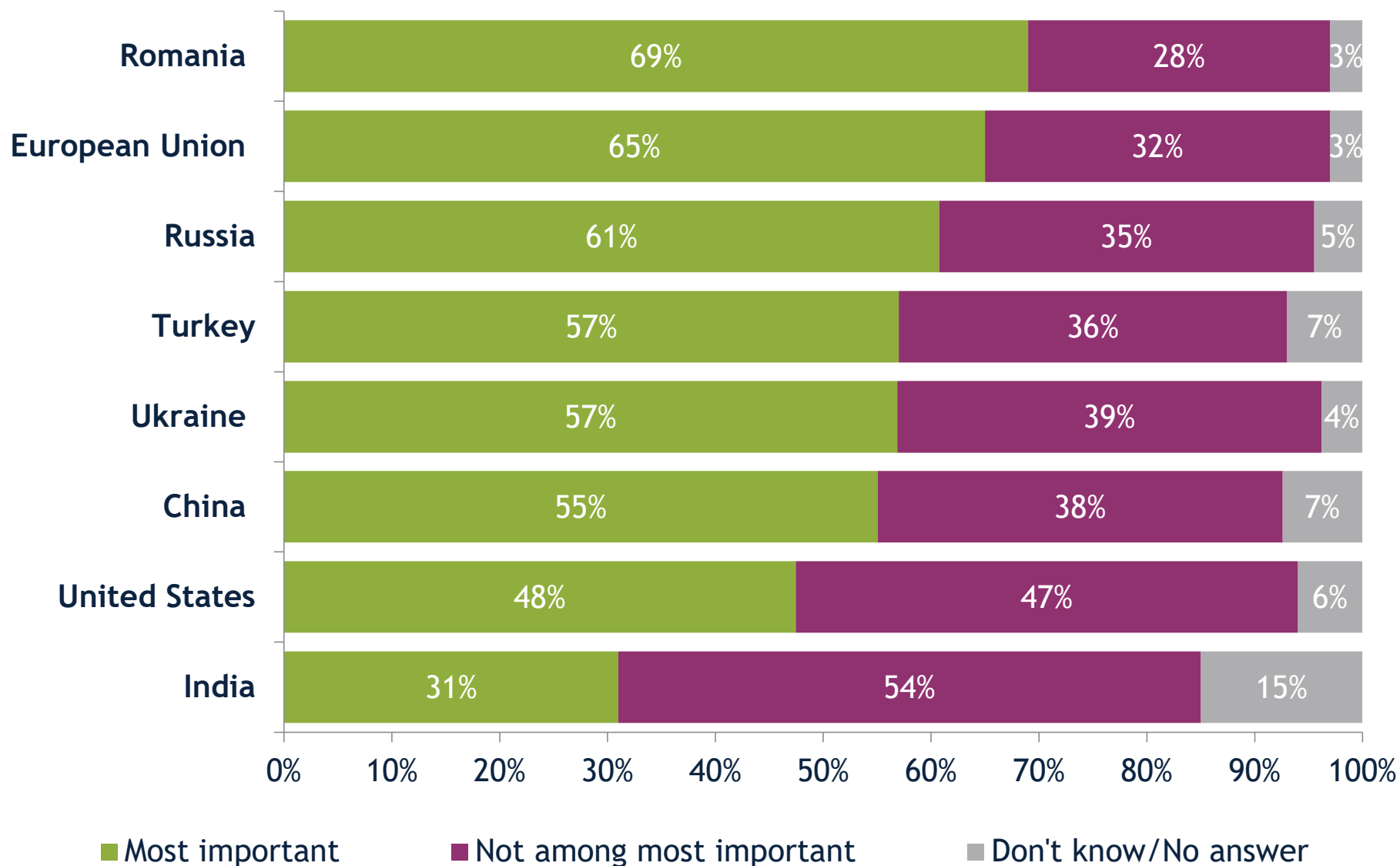




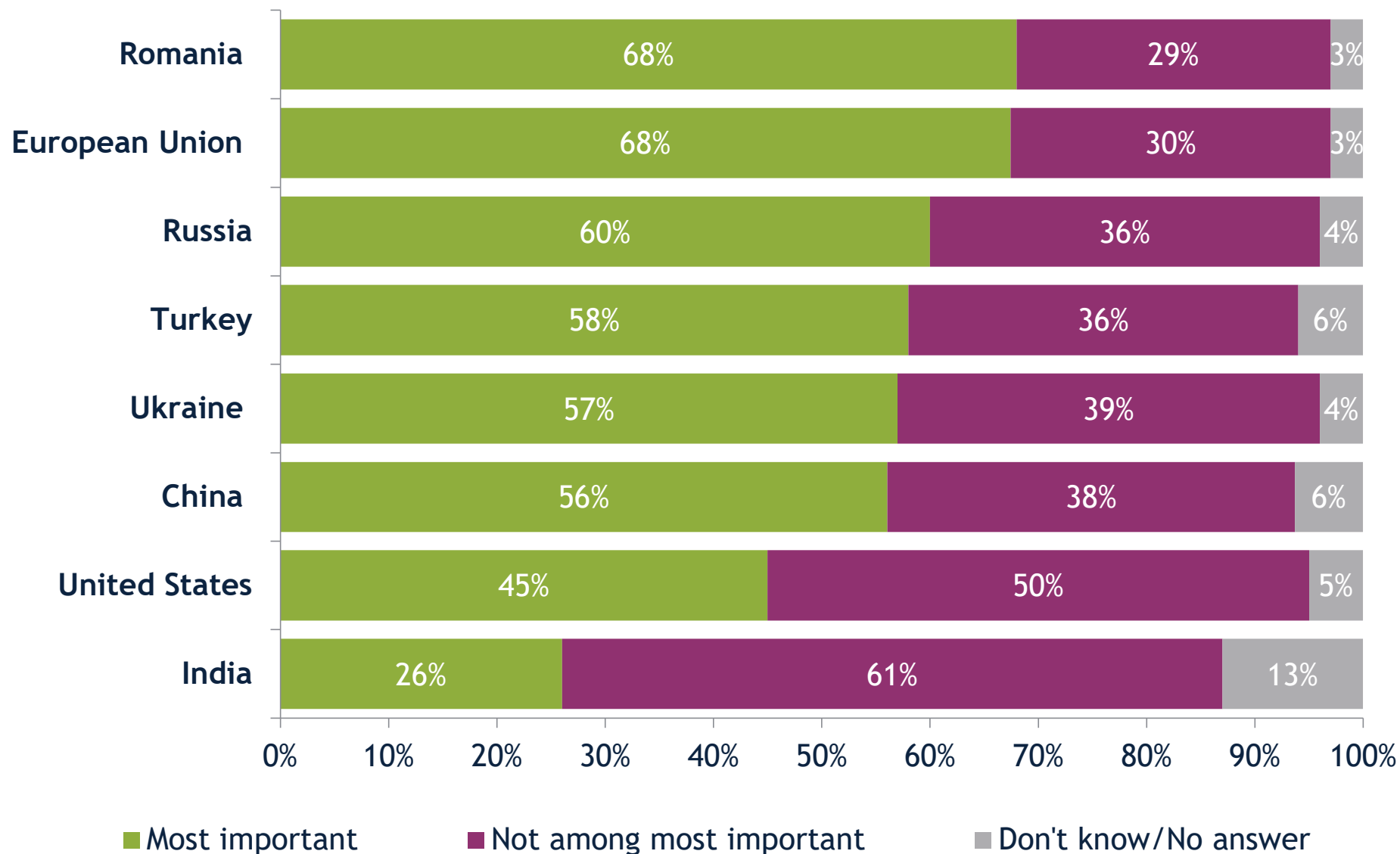
## How would you rate the current relations between Moldova and ...



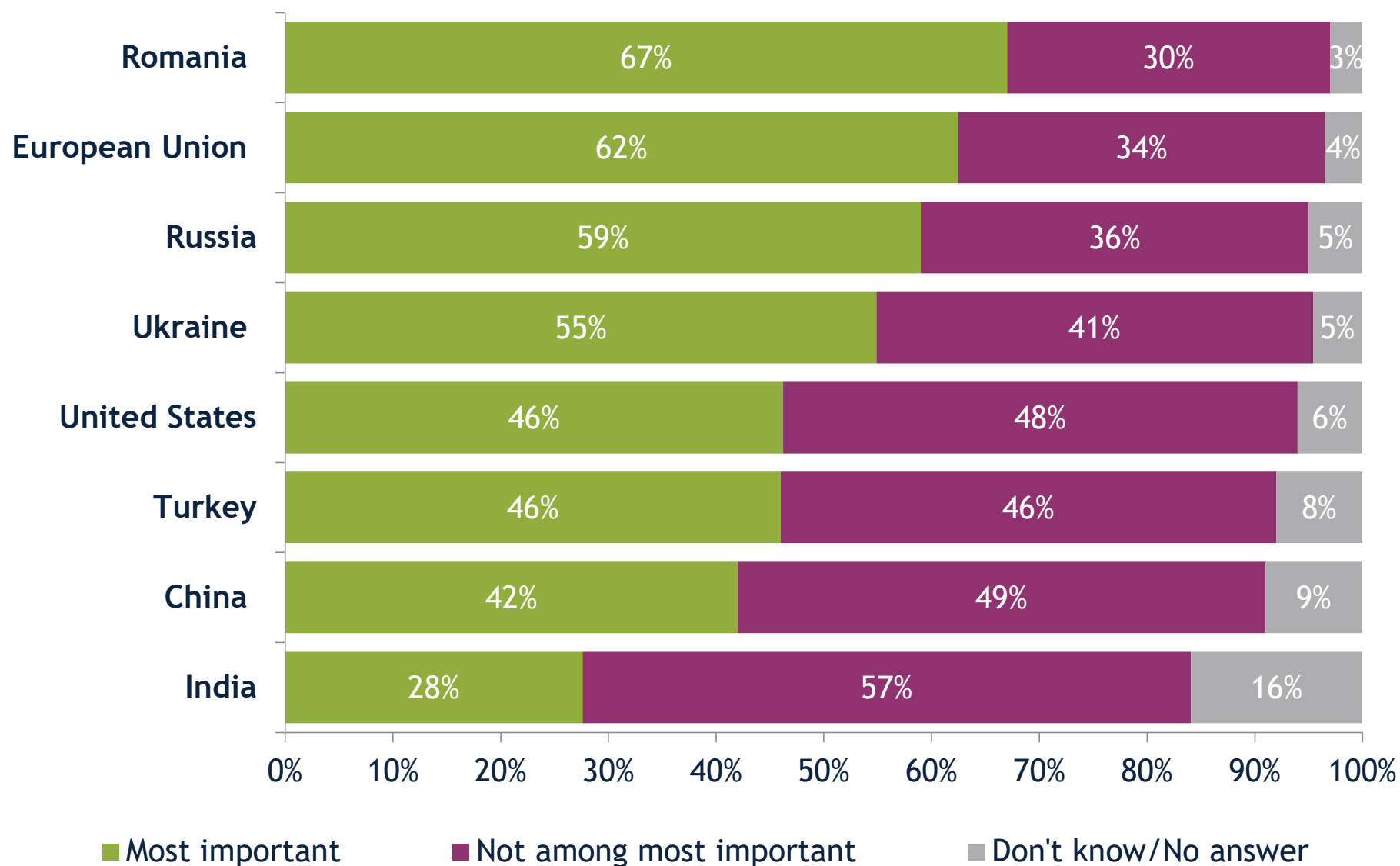
## Which of these countries do you consider to be the most important economic partner or partners for Moldova?



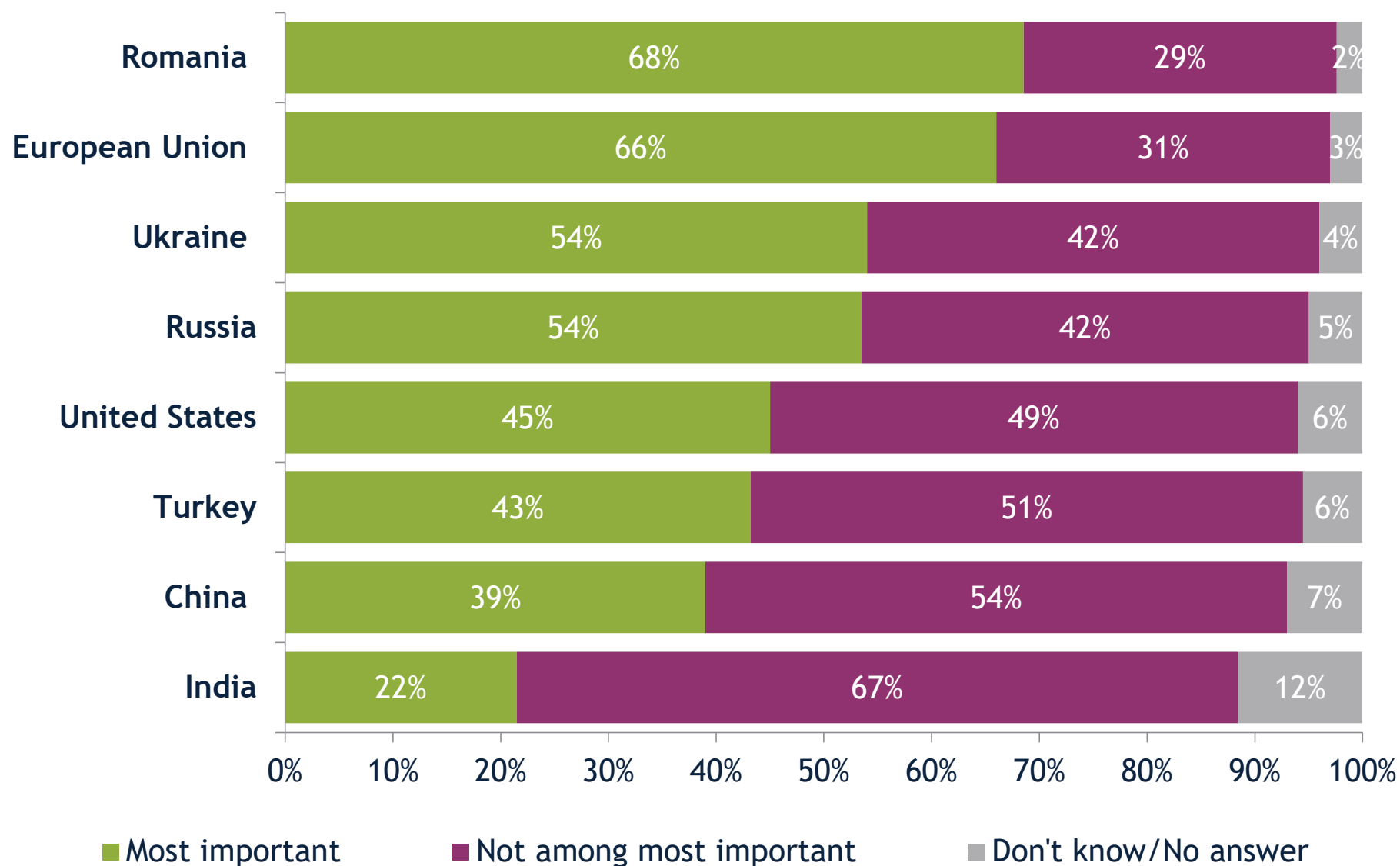
## Which of these countries do you consider to be the most important economic partner or partners for Moldova?



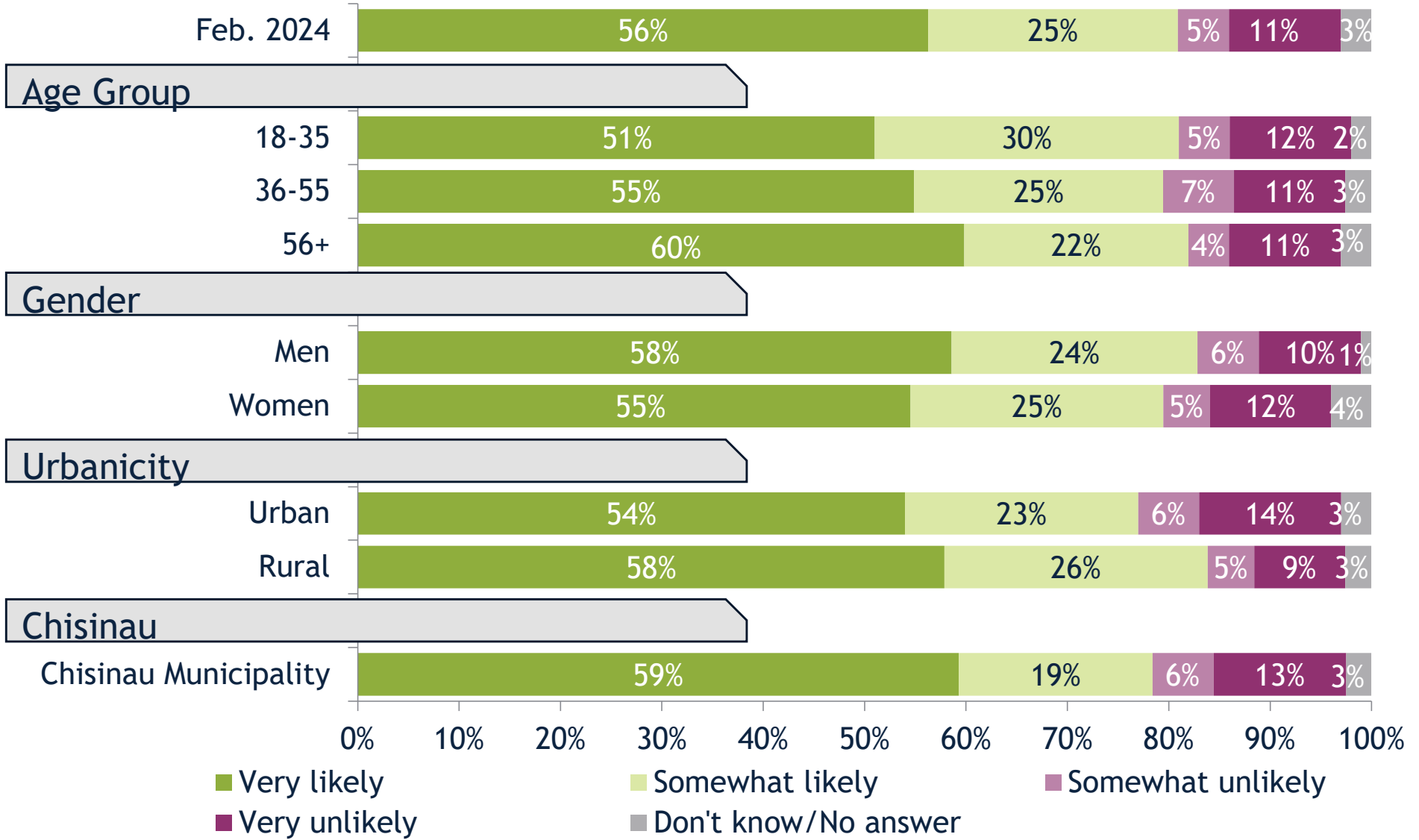
## Which of these countries do you consider to be the most important political partner or partners for Moldova?



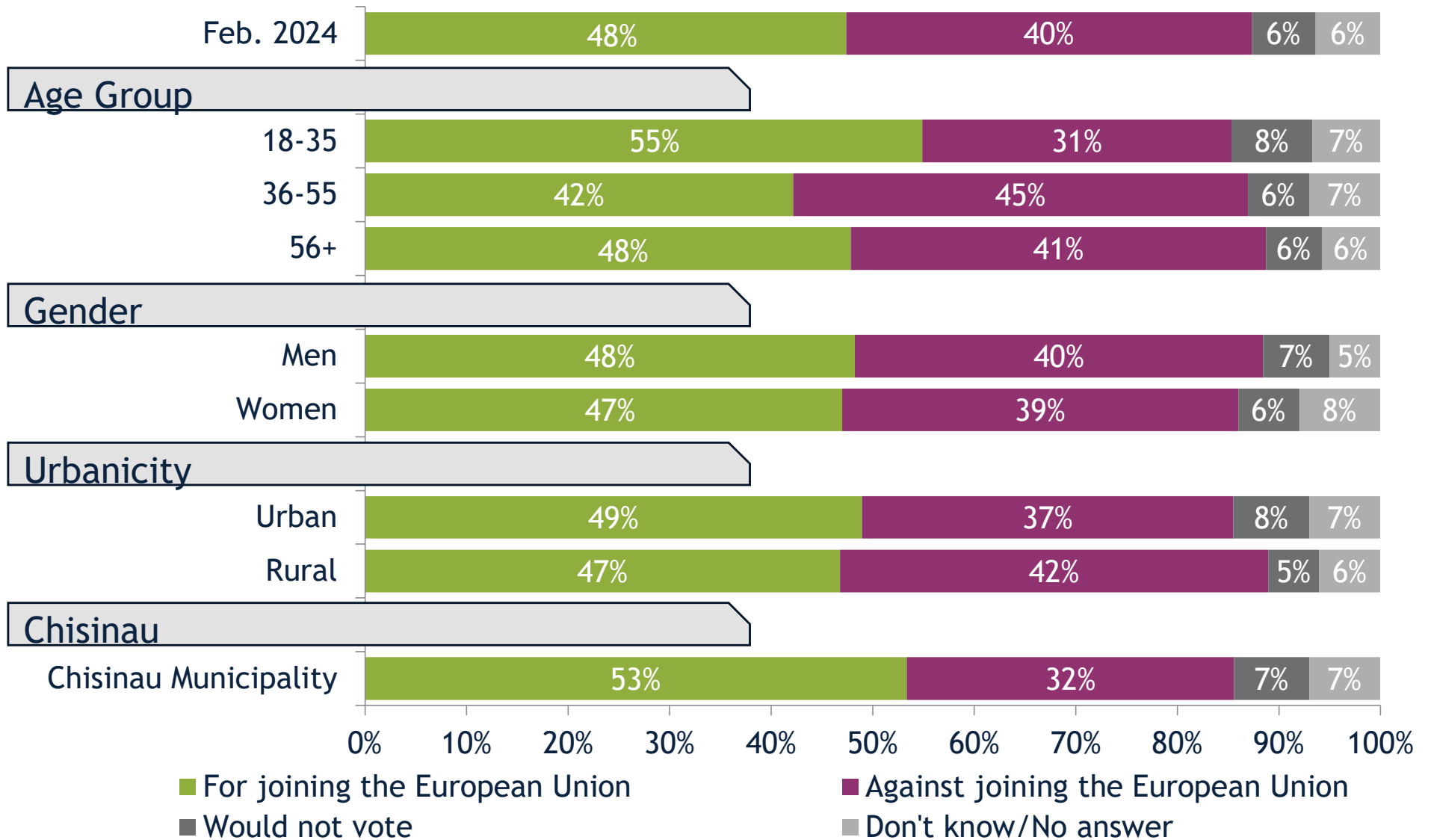
## Which of these countries do you consider to be the most important political partner or partners for Moldova?



# How likely or unlikely are you to vote in the upcoming referendum on Moldova's accession to the European Union, which could take place in Fall 2024?

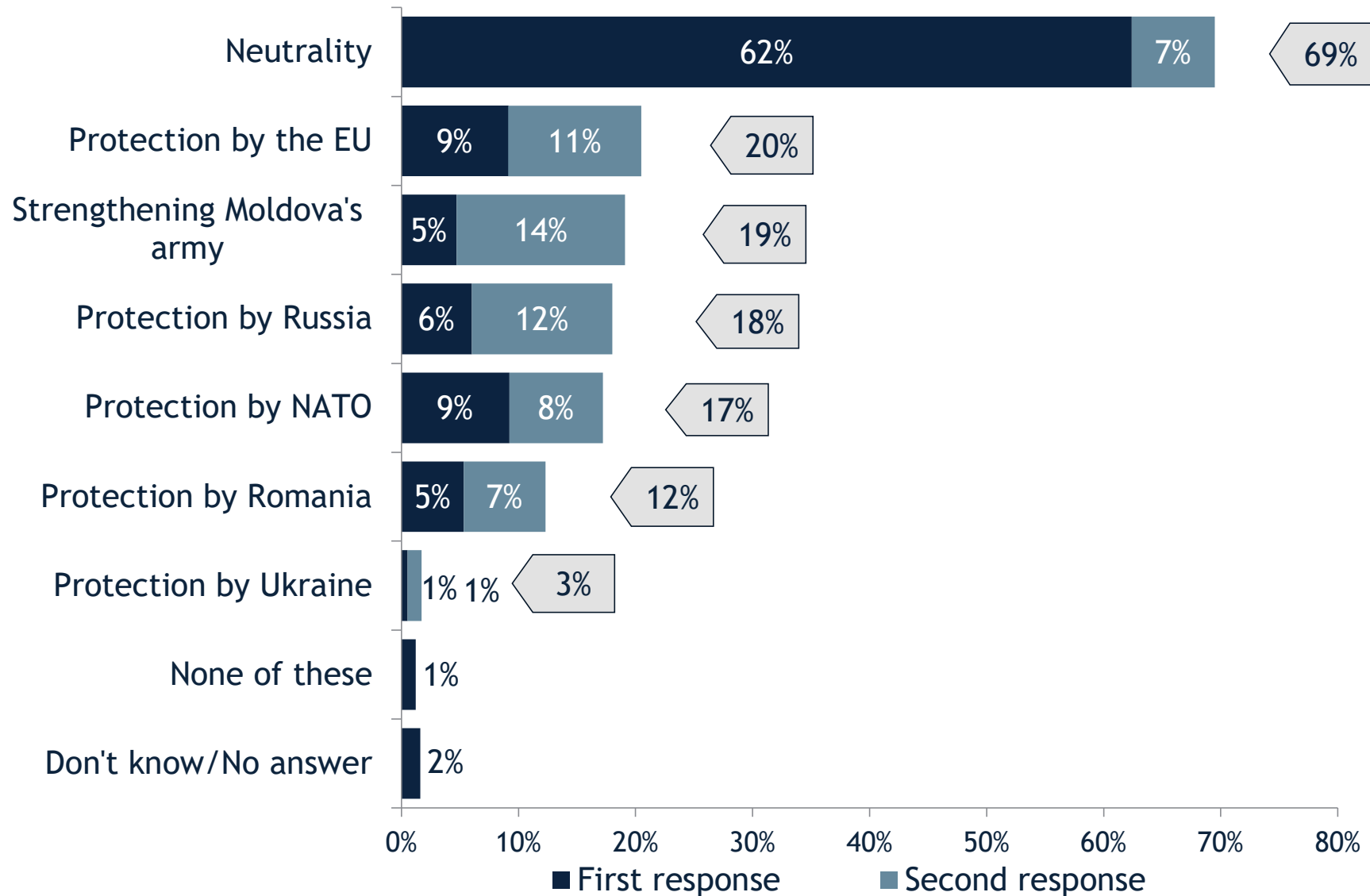


# If a referendum on European Union accession were held this coming Sunday, how would you vote?



# In your opinion, which of these options can best guarantee Moldova's security? And which can second best guarantee Moldova's security?

(Up to two responses accepted)

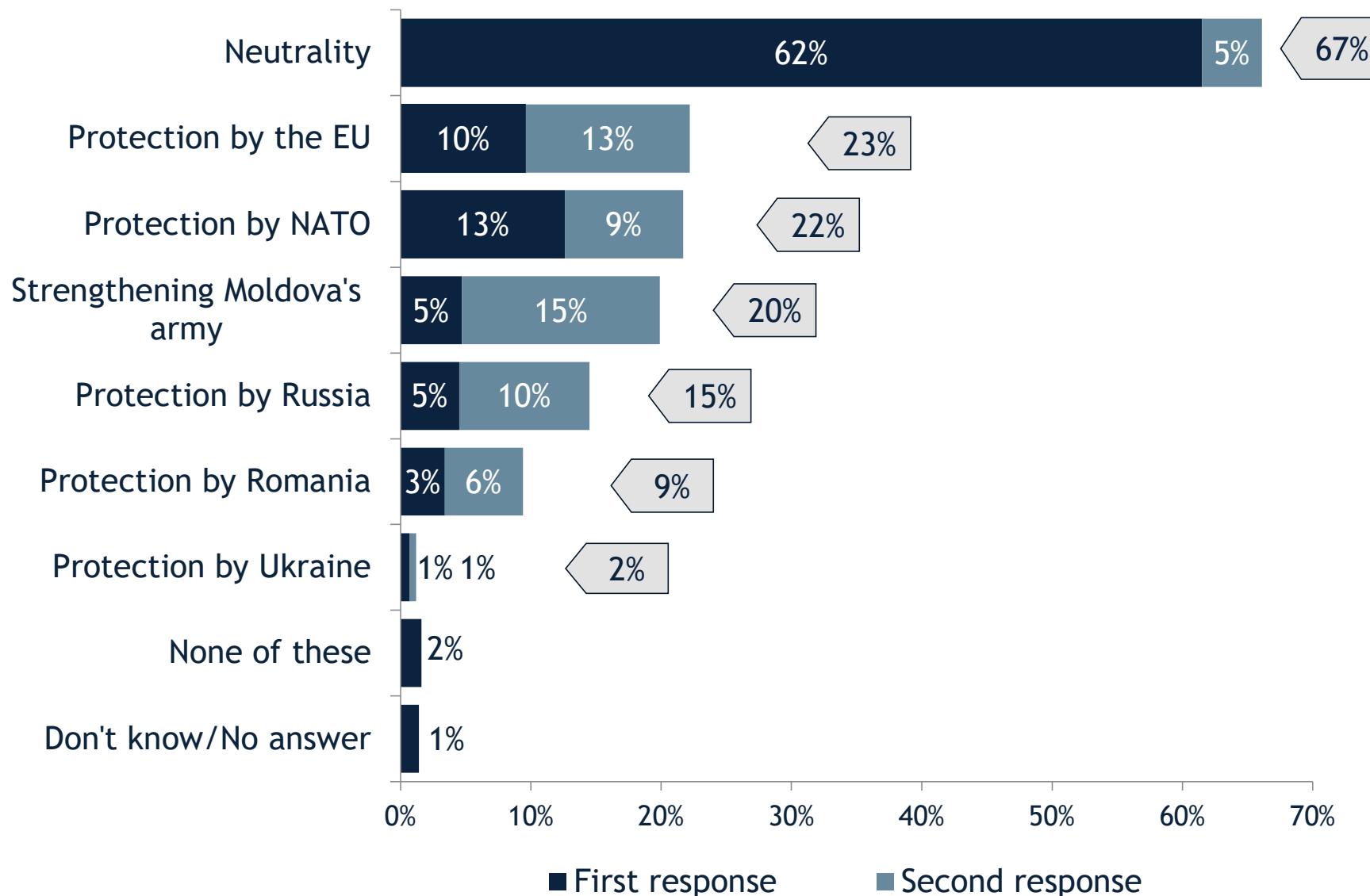




# In your opinion, which of these options can best guarantee Moldova's security?

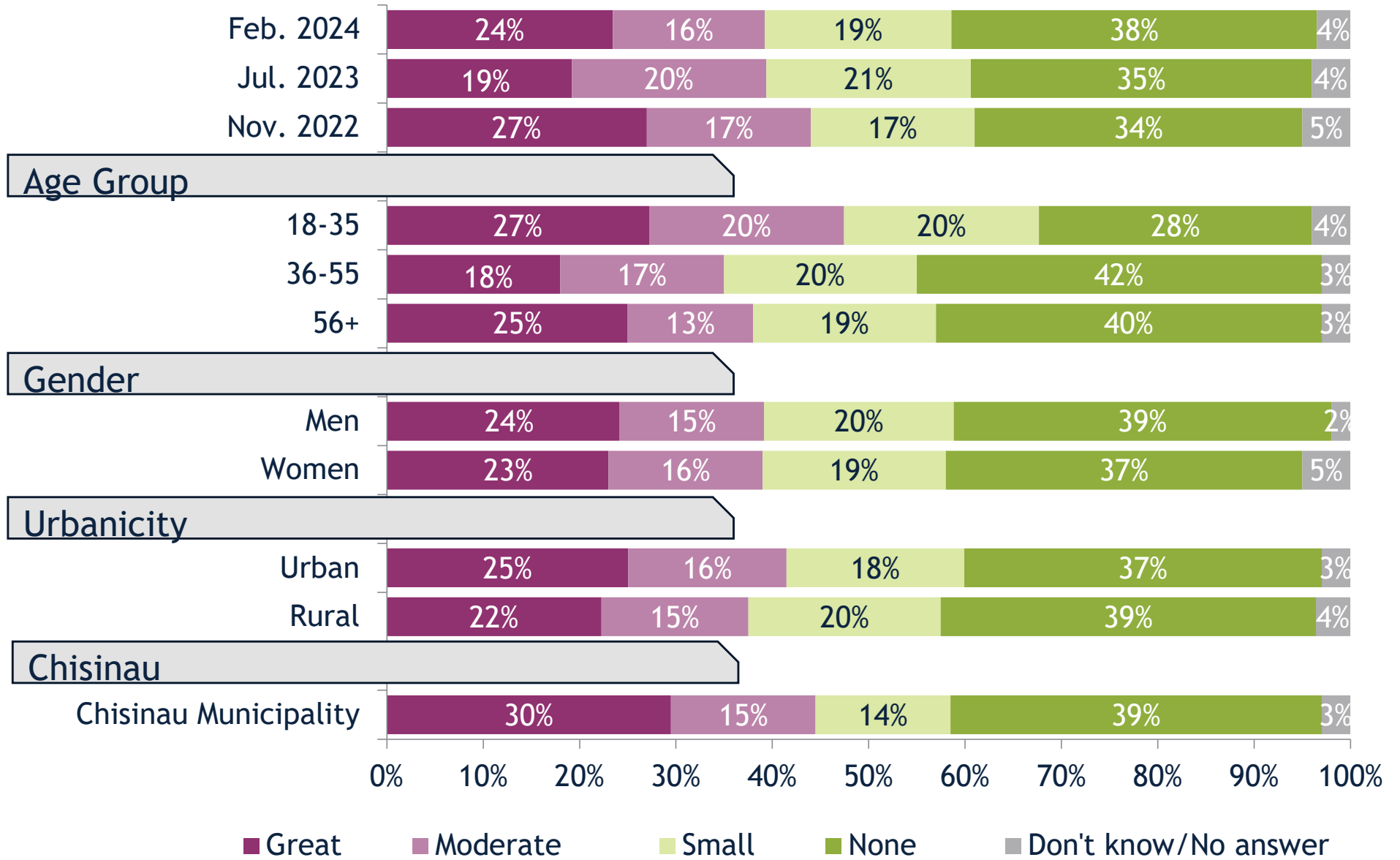
## And which can second best guarantee Moldova's security?

(Up to two responses accepted)



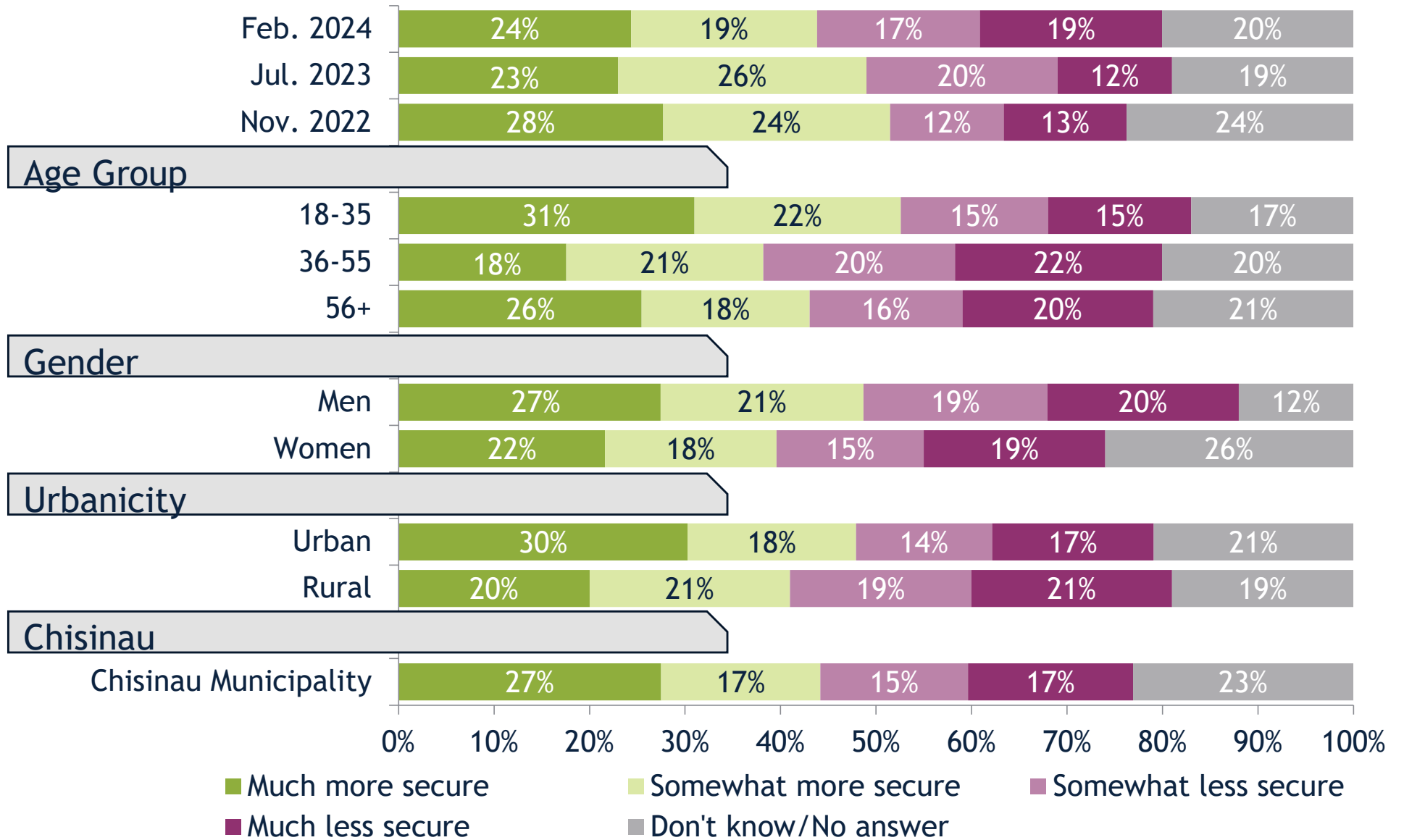


# How much of a threat is Russia to Moldova?



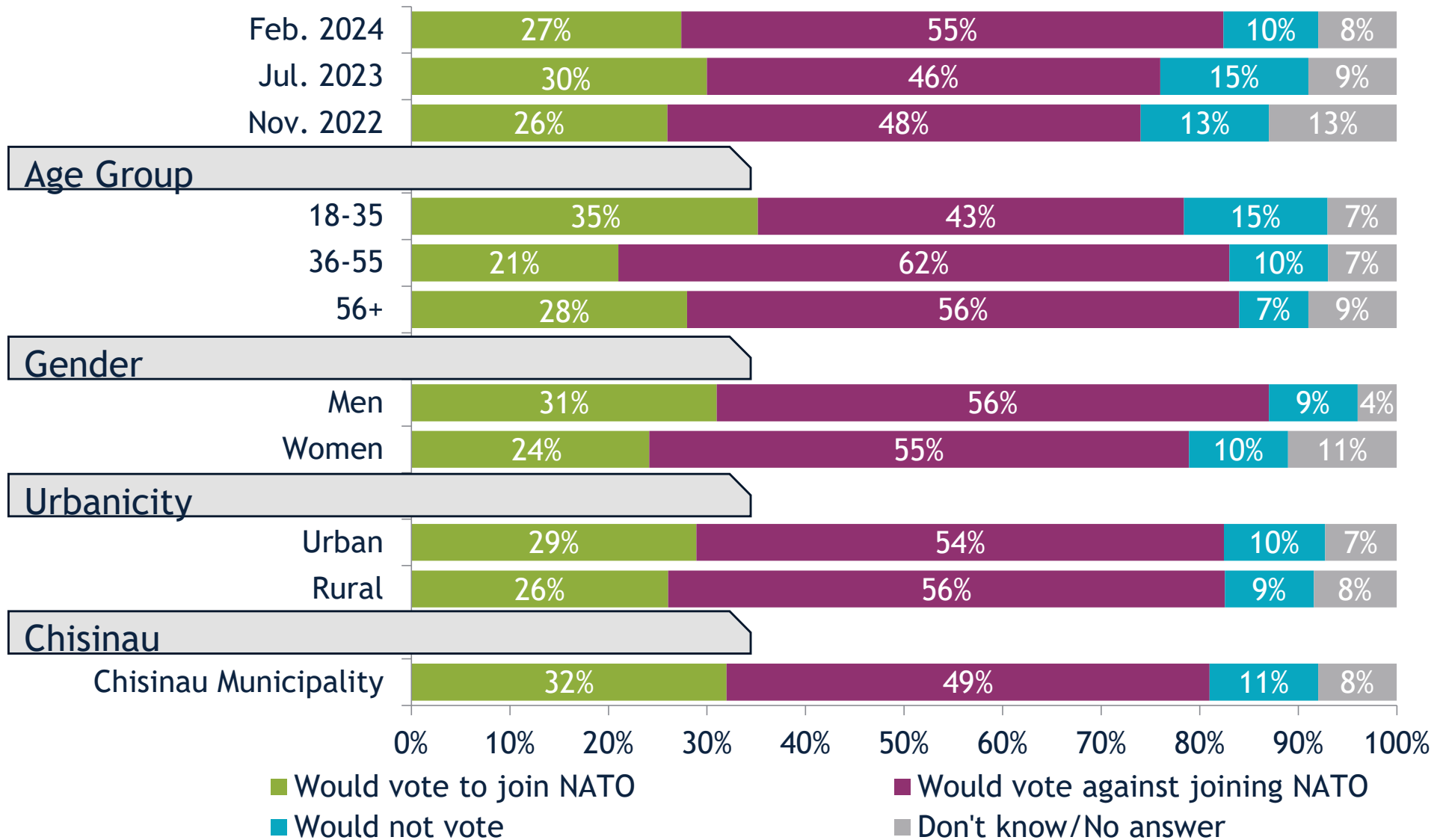


# In your opinion, are NATO member states more or less secure than countries that do not belong to NATO? NATO member states are ...





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

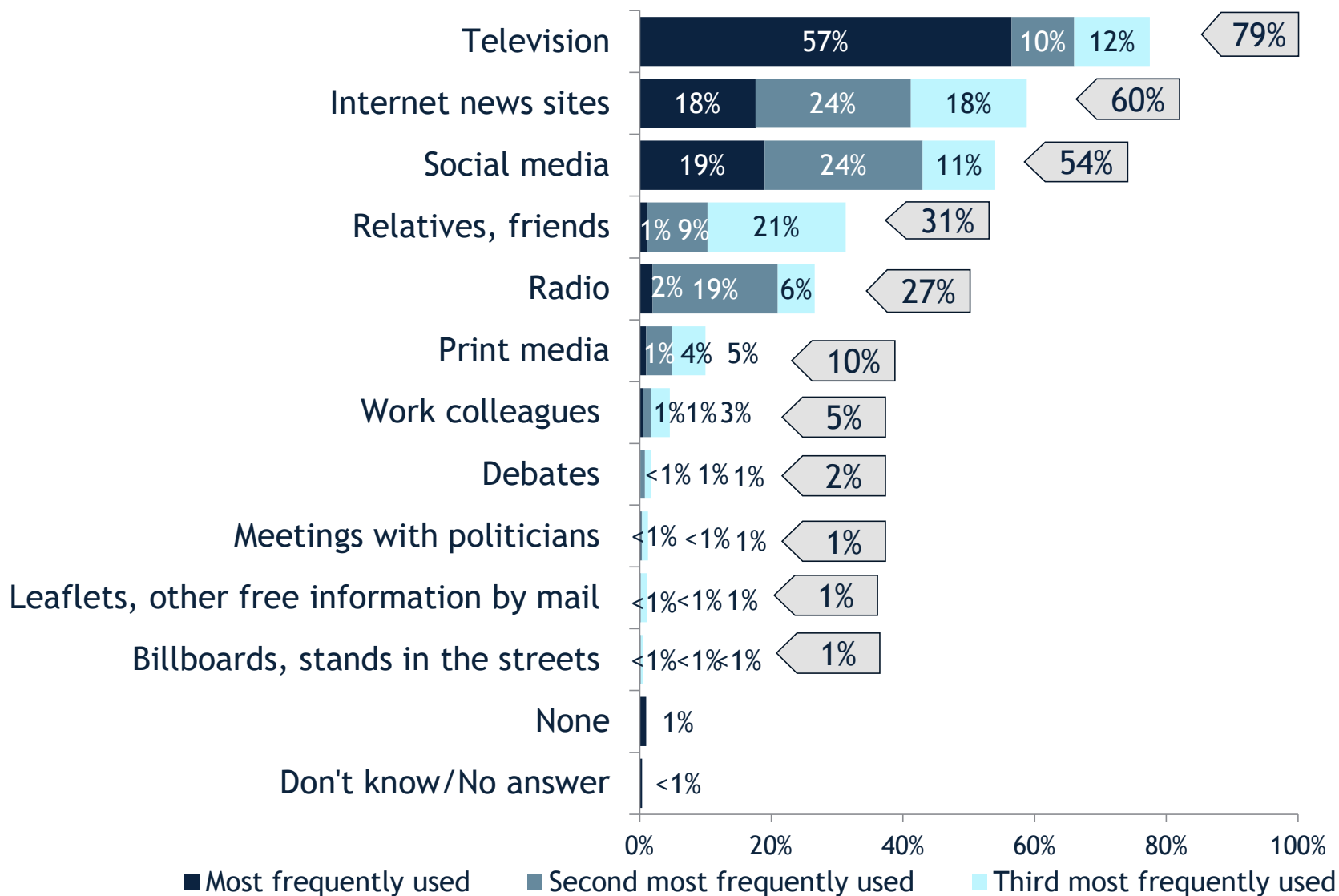


# Sources of Information



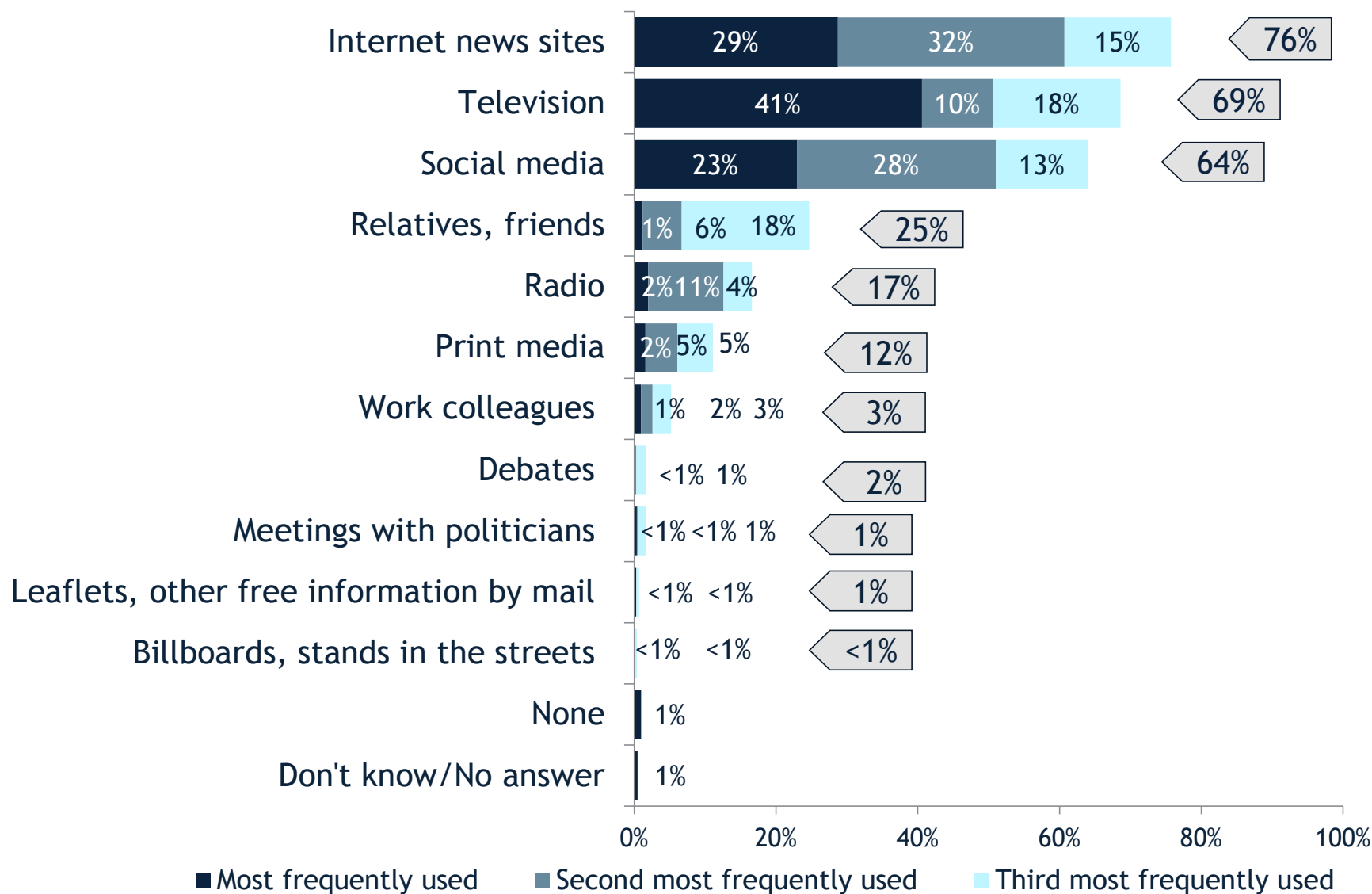
# Which sources of information do you use most frequently to gain political news and information? Please name 3 main sources of information, starting with the most frequently used.

(Up to three responses accepted)



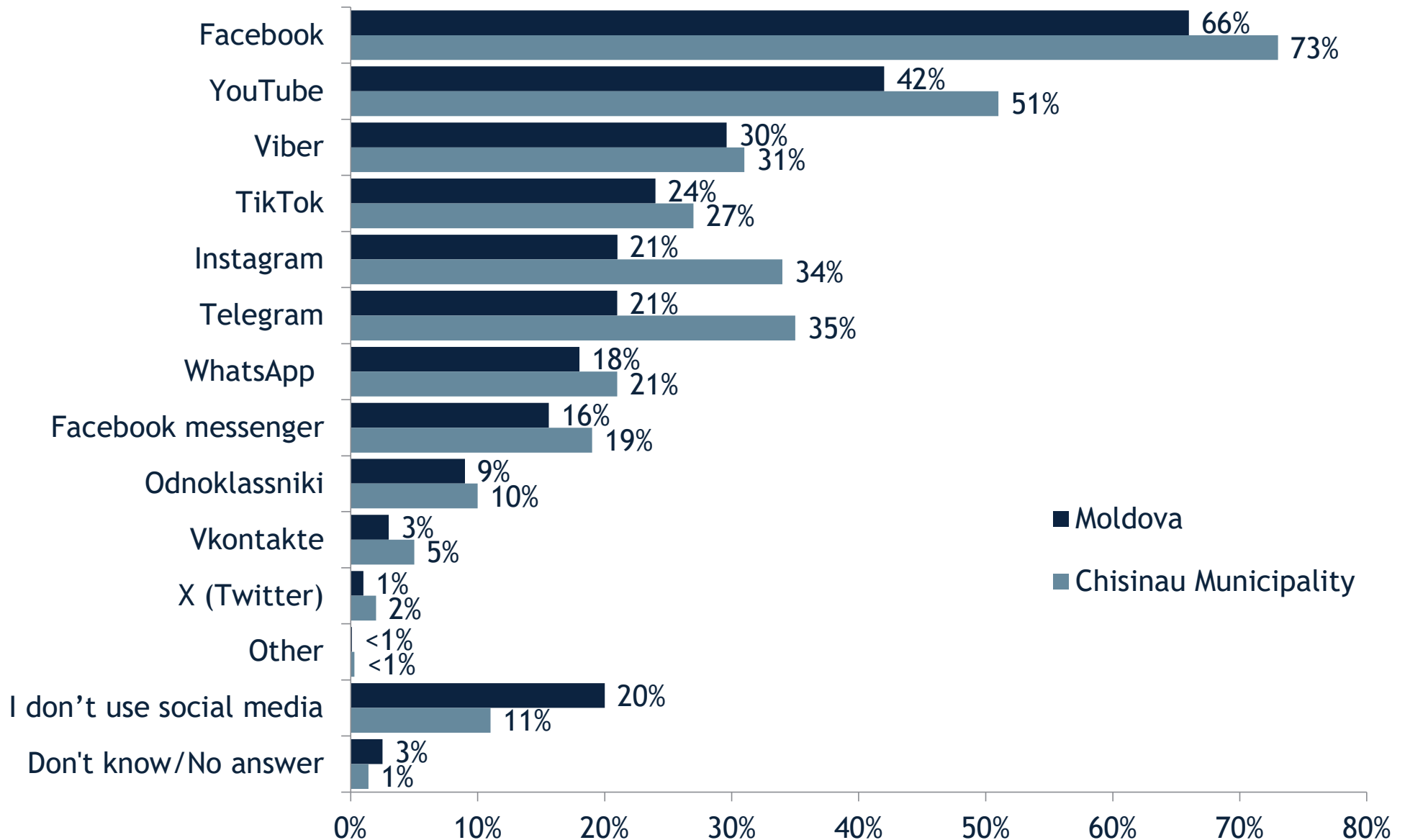
# Which sources of information do you use most frequently to gain political news and information? Please name 3 main sources of information, starting with the most frequently used.

(Up to three responses accepted)



## Which social media applications do you use as sources of information? Please mention all you use as sources of information.

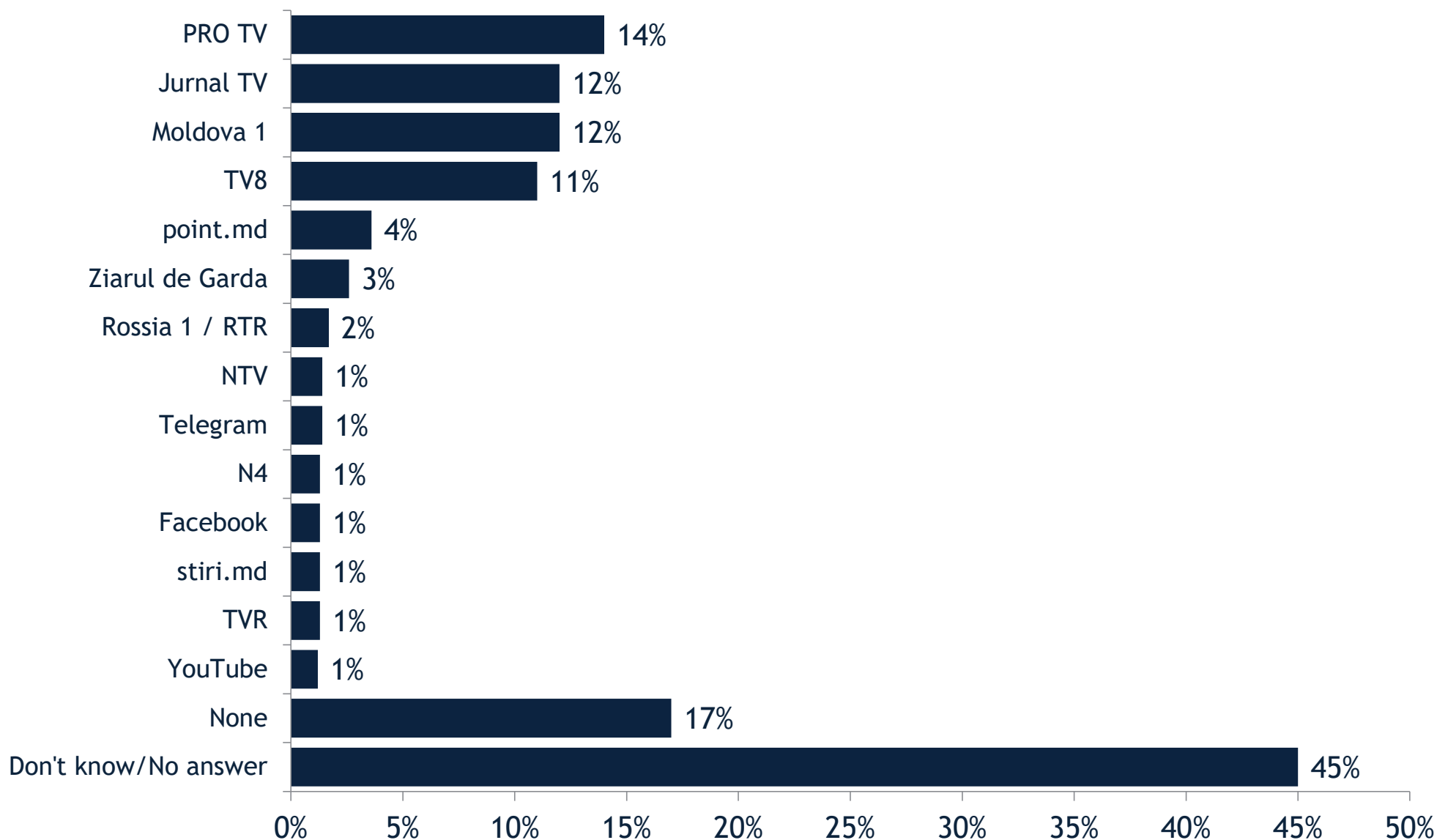
(Spontaneous response, multiple responses permitted, total mentions displayed)





## Which specific media outlets, such as specific TV channel, radio station, newspaper, website etc. do you consider most trustworthy for political news and information?

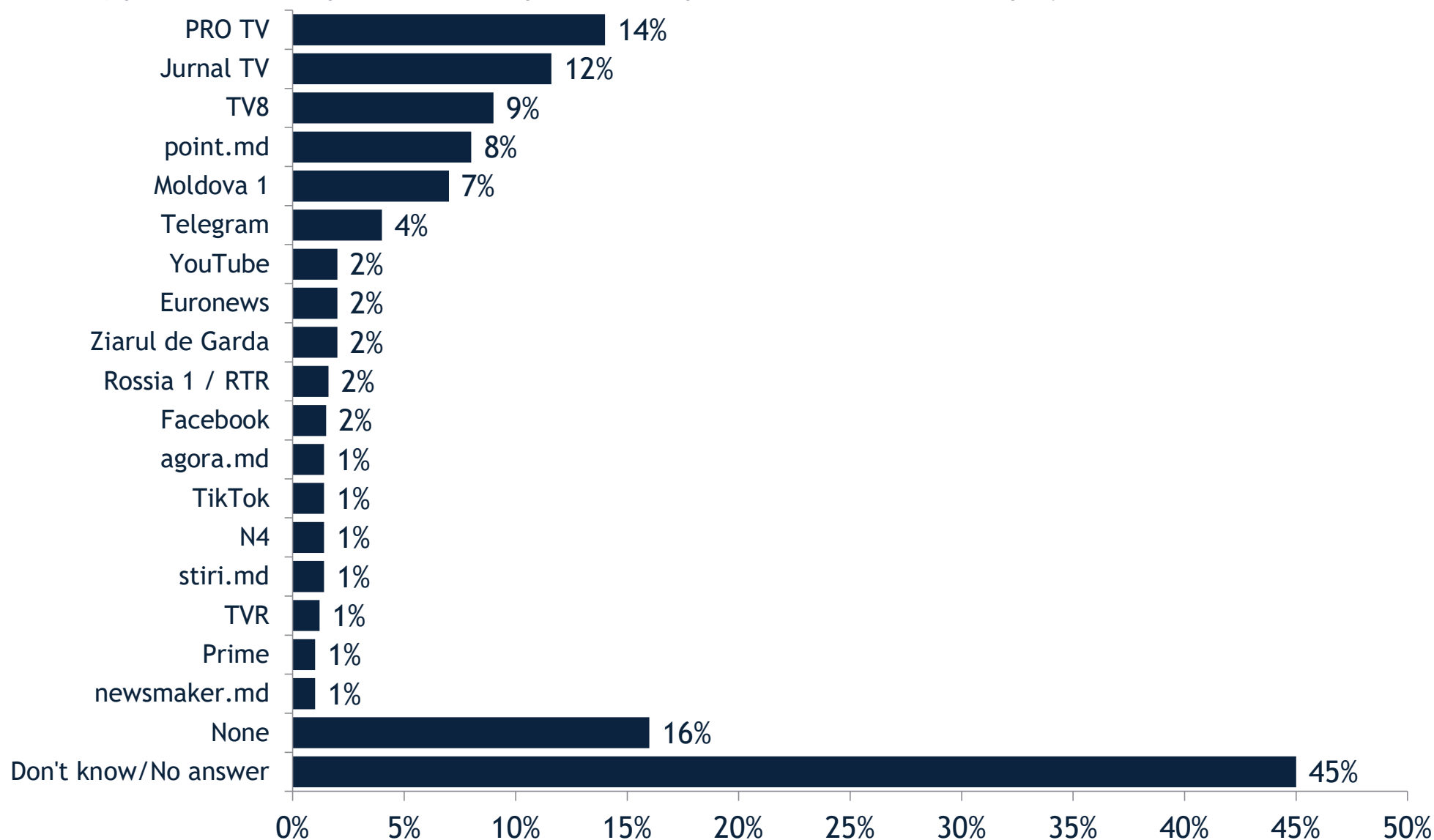
(Spontaneous response, two responses accepted, total mentions displayed)



\* Responses receiving <1% in both mentions are not displayed.

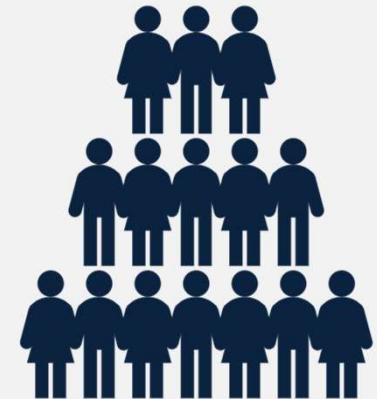
## Which specific media outlets, such as specific TV channel, radio station, newspaper, website etc. do you consider most trustworthy for political news and information?

(Spontaneous response, two responses accepted, total mentions displayed)

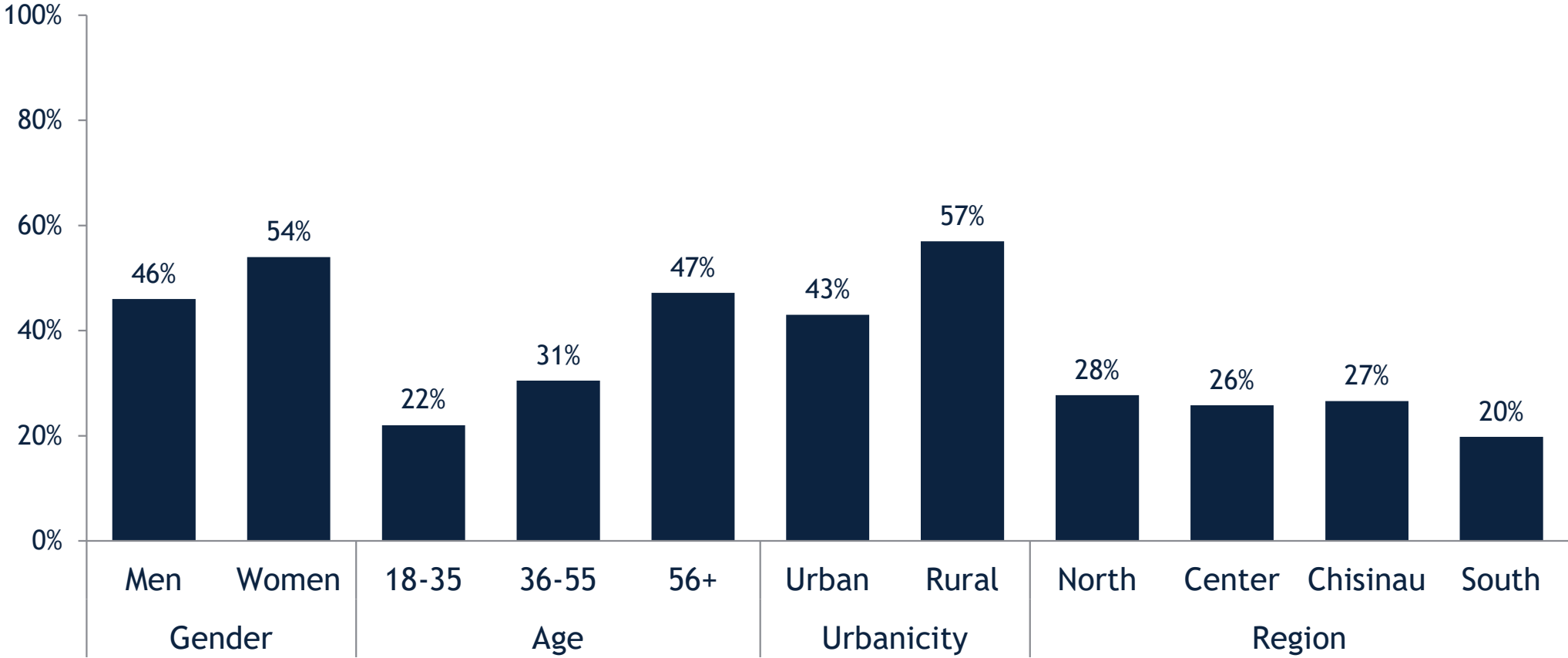


\* Responses receiving <1% in both mentions are not displayed.

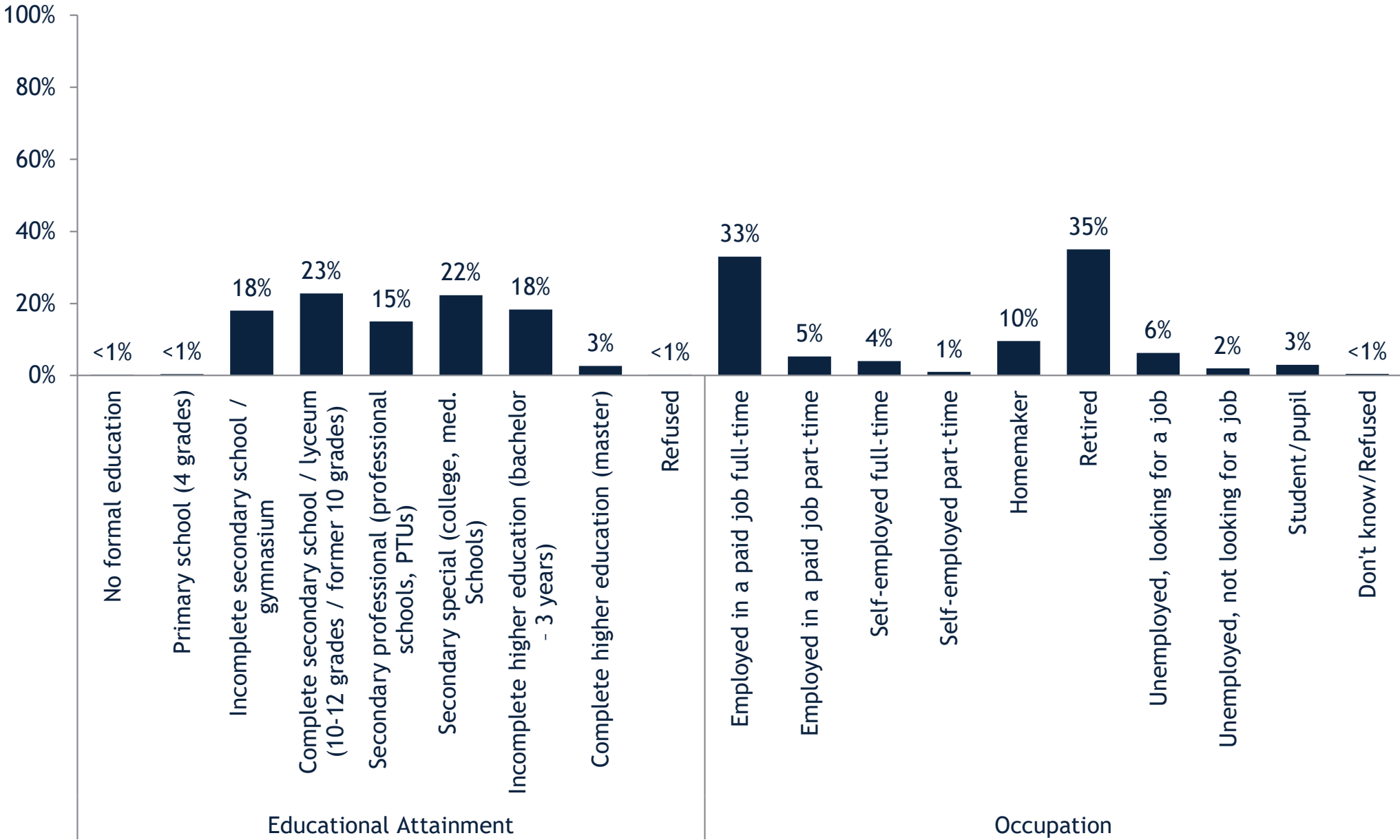
# Demographics



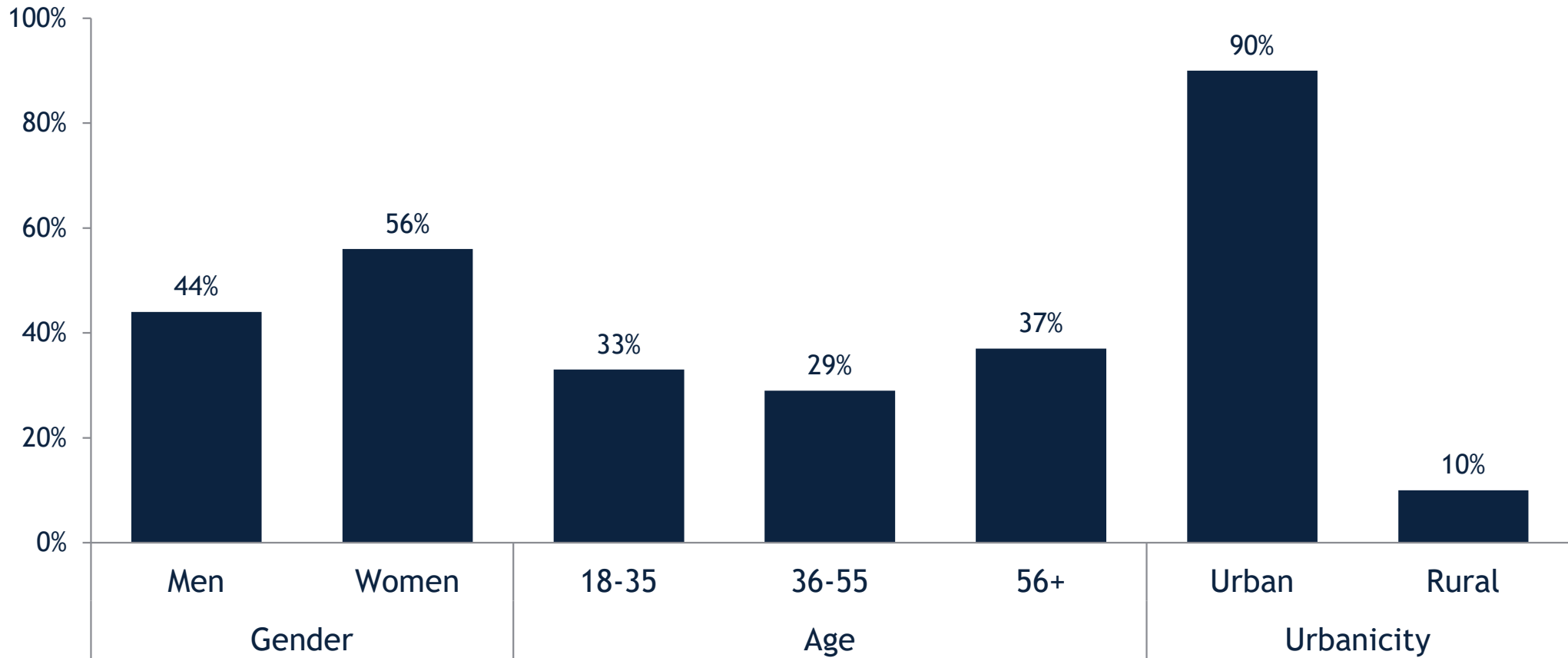
# Demographics (Moldova)



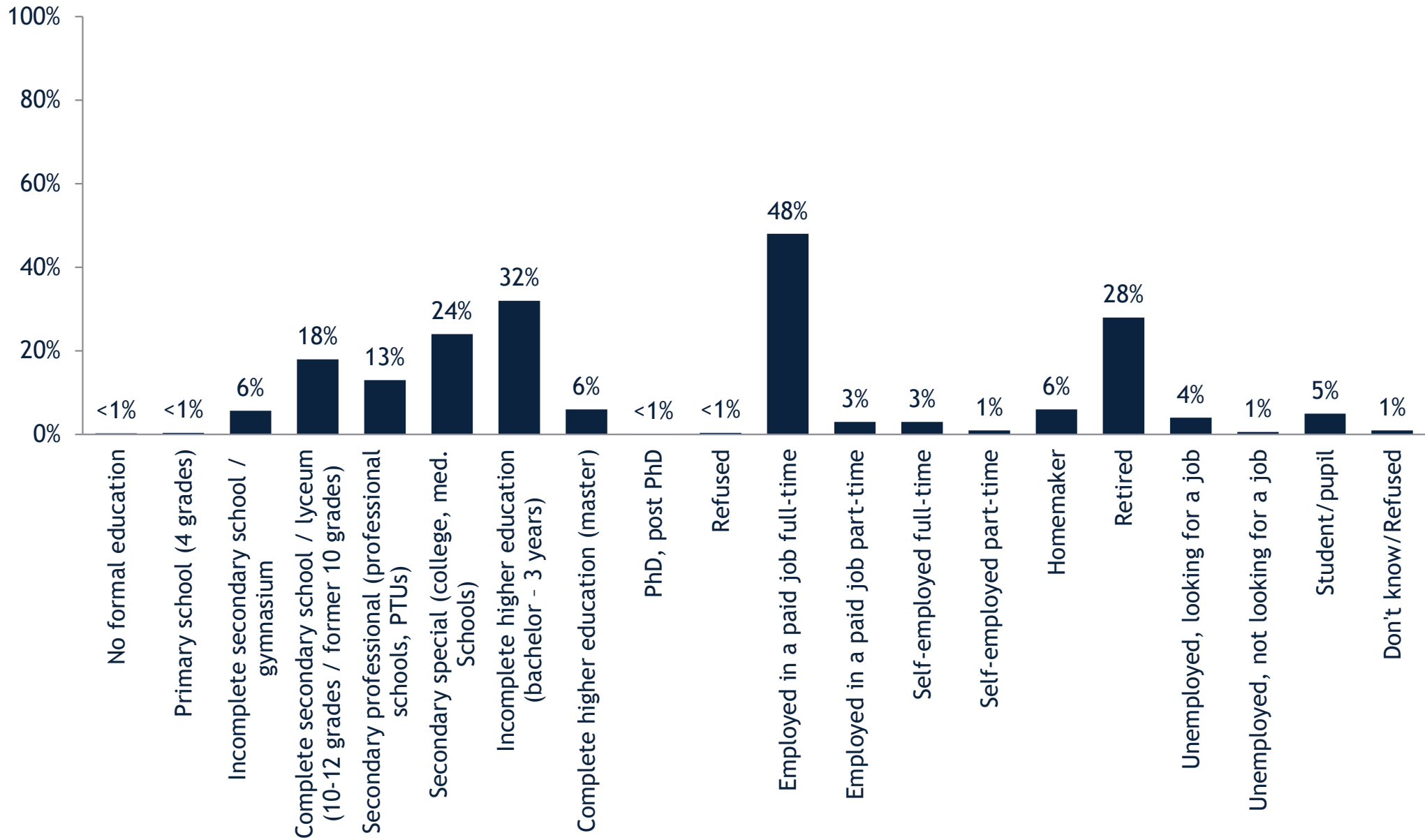
# Demographics (Moldova)



## Demographics (Chisinau Municipality)



## Demographics (Chisinau Municipality)



Center for Insights in Survey Research  
202.408.9450 | info@IRI.org

[www.IRI.org](http://www.IRI.org)



**USAID**  
FROM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE



CENTER FOR  
INSIGHTS IN  
**SURVEY**  
**RESEARCH**

A PROJECT OF THE INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE

**BALTIC SURVEYS**

*The Gallup Organization*