

## NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE

FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

# Public Perceptions of Politics and Government

Findings from Recent Survey Research in Moldova

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## Methodology of Survey

- This survey was designed by IMAS in consultation with Lake Research Partners, and administered by IMAS. The survey was conducted using in-person interviews with professional interviewers. The survey reached a total of 1,501 adults nationwide in Moldova, excluding the region of Transnistria, and was conducted November 11-30, 2015. The margin of error for this poll is +/- 2.5%.
- In interpreting survey results, all sample surveys are subject to possible sampling error—that is, the results of a survey may differ from those that would be obtained if the entire population were interviewed. The size of the sampling error depends upon both the total number of respondents in the survey and the percentage distribution of responses to a particular question. For example, if a response to a given question which all respondents answered was 50%, we could be 95% confident that the true percentage would fall within plus or minus 2.5% of this percentage, or between 47.5% and 52.5%. Of course, the sampling error is greater for subgroups.
- This survey was funded by a grant from the Canadian government and USAID. The opinions expressed do not necessarily reflect the views of either the Canadian government, USAID or the United States government.

# **Summary of Key Findings**





## Strategic Summary: The Political Context

- Frustration and cynicism toward government, elected officials, and political parties is at an all-time high in Moldova and is even more pronounced than earlier this year. The shifts in perceptions are across the board and show that the recent situation in the country is impacting everyone at all levels. The lack of perceived change and recent scandals has left Moldovans seeking change to the status quo. It has also cultivated an environment open to "outsider" candidates and political parties that are not part of the perceived corrupt system. Moldova is on the cusp of change—for better or worse.
- Pessimism now trumps confusion on the direction of the country, with nearly two-thirds of Moldovans saying the country is headed in the wrong direction. Moldovans have more pronounced concerns of their personal household financial situation as well as the country's economic security and continue to cite financial and employment insecurities as the most important problems affecting them personally. Moldovans are also far more likely to say they are worse off than they were a year ago. However, while economic concerns are abundant, corruption tops the minds of one out of every two Moldovans.
  - Fully 7-in-10 Moldovans strongly agree that corruption is ingrained in the culture of Moldova. They want government officials and citizens alike to solve the problem of corruption. Any reform campaigns should include input and presence of citizens and government officials. This will not only show that government or political parties are working to deliver results, but also hopefully begin to rebuild trust in institutions and officials.
- Moldovans are acutely aware of the recent scandals, however they do not place sole blame on any person or
  institution. Their blame is equally dispersed among the government, country leaders, parliament, and the
  president. Citizens are also universally aware of the recent protests, but are divided on whether they are led
  by self-interested politicians or people standing up for real change.
- The dire outlook in the country has not substantially altered Moldovans' views toward the European Union or the Eurasian Customs Union. They continue to be divided on which orientation they would prefer for their country. At the moment, they lean slightly toward a pro-Customs Union stance.

## Strategic Summary: View of the Players and Parties

- The difficult national climate is negatively impacting nearly all political parties and public figures. Almost all have seen significant, double-digit decreases in favorability across the board. Moldovans are willing to give newly formed political parties some leeway to prove themselves before they form concrete opinions toward them. However, not delivering on promises has turned many Moldovans off to all of the existing political parties. As we saw with former Prime Minister Iurie Leancă's newly created Partidul Popular European din Moldova (PPEM) in the March survey, the even newer Platforma Demnitate si Adevar (PDA) is now the only political party afforded some positive goodwill. Moldovans are willing to give newly formed political parties some leeway to prove themselves before they form concrete opinions toward them. However, not delivering on promises has turned many Moldovans off to all of the existing political parties.
- Party leaders and elected officials do not fare any better; in fact, they are likely dragging down perceptions of the
  political parties. The only public official to have a positive profile is Maia Sandu, and even she has a divided image.
  Former Prime Minister Leancă and Mayor Chirtoacă, two officials who had previously been immune to the changing
  political climate, now have negative images.
- Renato Usatîi and Partidul Nostru (PN) continue to expand their support, even though Moldovans are divided on their perceptions of the party leader and his evolving party. His status as an "outsider" benefits his performance on the parliamentary ballot as PN leads the field with 16% support, followed by the top performer in the 2014 parliamentary elections, Partidul Socialiştilor din Rep. Moldova (PSRM), headed by Igor Dodon. Both parties benefit from Moldovans' frustrations with the perceived lack of results. However, half of the electorate is uncertain whether they will continue to support the party they currently support.
- Any government, regardless of its composition needs to show citizens it can provide solutions. Similarly, if the parties that are not in power become elected, they will have to face a similarly critical environment. Partidul Liberal Democrat din Moldova (PLDM) shoulders most of Moldovans' frustration as their support on a potential parliamentary ballot has completely eroded. The other members of the government coalition, Partidul Democrat din Moldova (PDM), have also lost support. Voters are also becoming more disenchanted with PPEM as the party<sub>5</sub> struggles to define itself as distinct from the existing political parties.

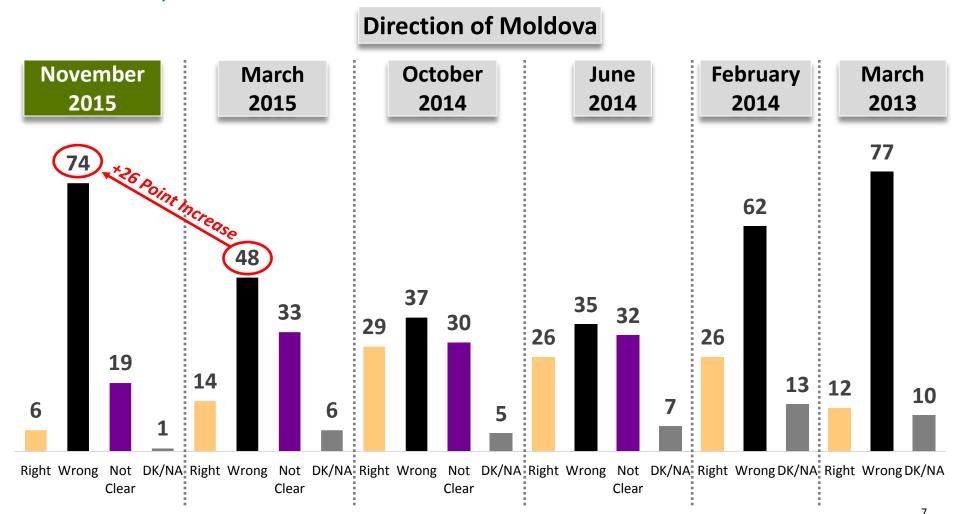
# The Political Context

Attitudes on the Direction of the Country, State of the Economy, and the National Issue Agenda

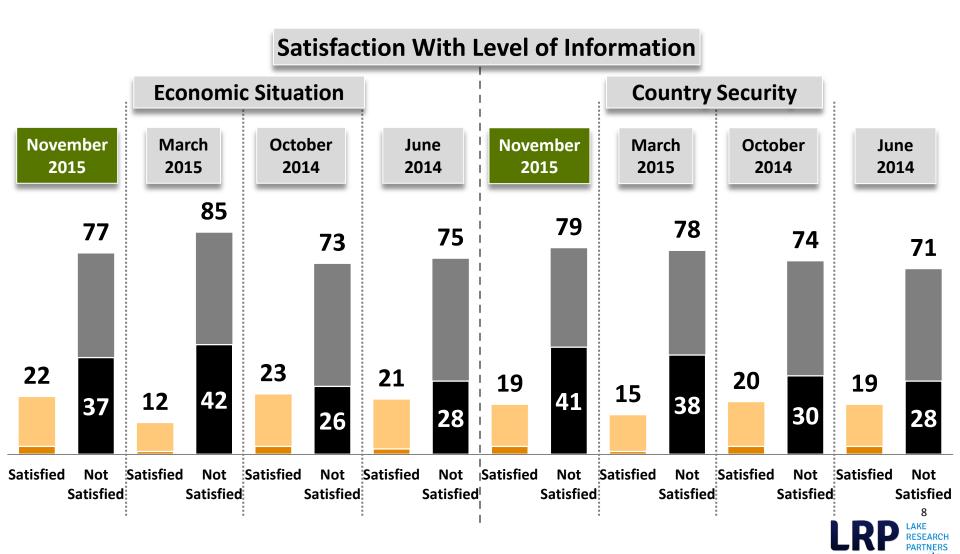




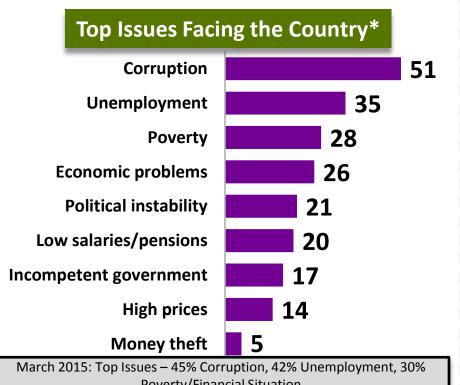
Pessimism has overtaken insecurity in Moldova. Nearly three-quarters of Moldovans believe the country is headed in the wrong direction, a significant increase since March. The shift in opinions is across the board and similar across generational and gender divides. The country is more change-oriented than it has been in years.

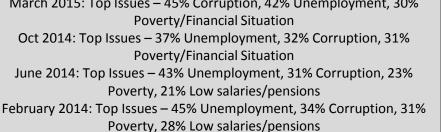


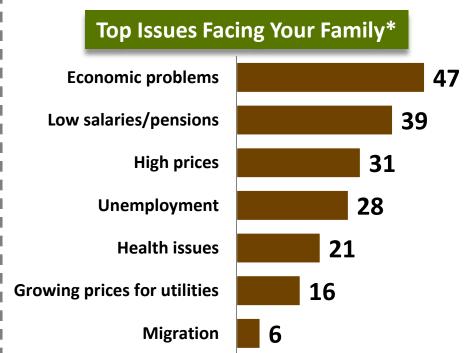
Voters remain overwhelmingly dissatisfied with the amount of information they are getting about the country's economic situation and security. However, there is a slight increase in satisfaction since March. This could be because of the flow of information after the corruption scandals surrounding embezzlement.



Corruption continues to be on the forefront of Moldovans' minds, followed by unemployment, poverty, and other economic issues. Political instability has also risen since March and the resignation of three prime ministers. Moldovans are far more concerned about financial security within their household and combatting low salaries and high prices.







March 2015: Top Issues – 32% Unemployment, 31% Low salaries/pensions, 22% Health issues
Oct 2014: Top Issues – 43% Poverty/Financial Situation, 25% Low

salaries/pensions, 23% Unemployment

June 2014: Top Issues – 46% Poverty, 24% Unemployment, 22% Low salaries/pensions, 10% Health

February 2014: Top Issues – 41% Poverty, 28% Low salaries/pensions, 25% Unemployment, 11% High prices of services

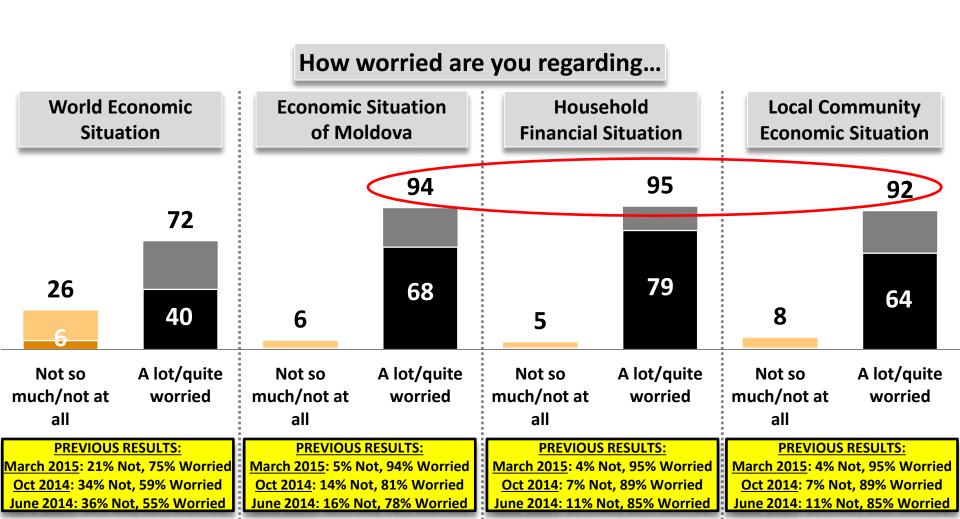


<sup>\*</sup>Each respondent provided their top three choices (in no particular order), which we aggregated for the purposes of these graphs.

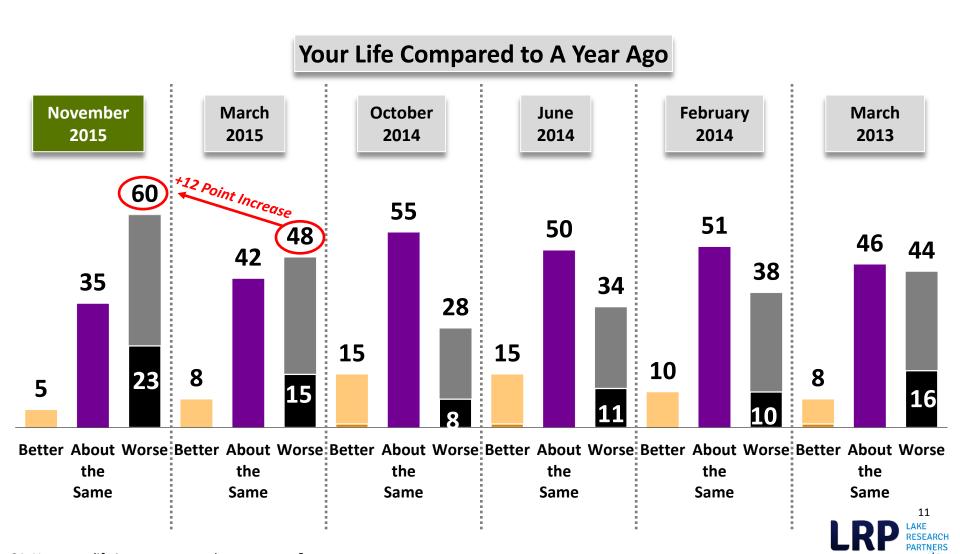
C2: What are the top three issues facing our country today?

C3: What are the top three issues facing your family today?

Concerns about the economic security of the country, their communities, and their households are even more pronounced than they were earlier this year. Moldovans are distressed and looking for alternatives, whether that be electing new officials or wanting results on fixing economic woes.



Moldovans' pessimism about the country, corruption, and the economy has made them feel far worse than they were a year ago. This continues to point toward a desire for change throughout the country. Older women (over the age of 45) are more inclined to say their life is worse than it was a year ago.



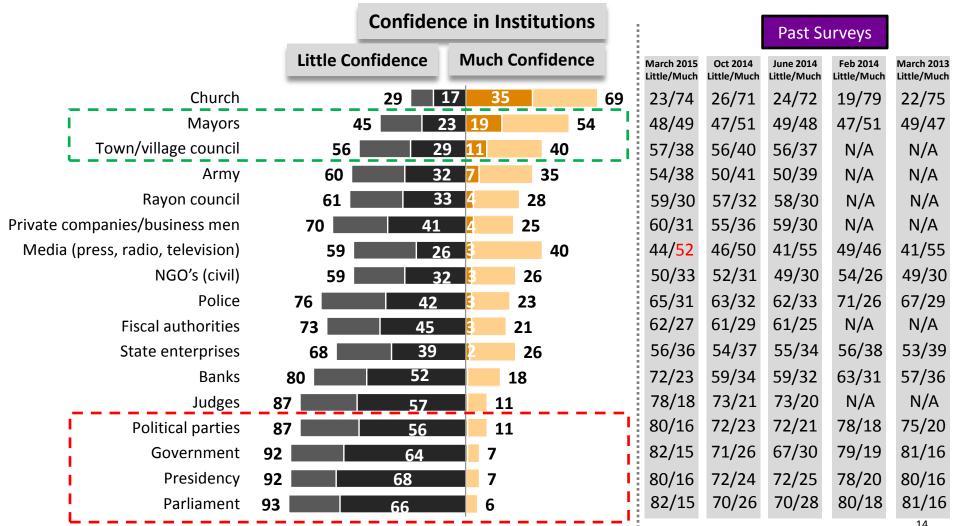
Moldovans continue to believe key principles are not sufficiently upheld or defended in the country. Even the two principles that receive a modicum of respect—access to education and freedom to criticize the government—are afforded far less respect than they have in the past. The pessimism and cynicism toward government is impacting impressions across the board.

		<b>Respect for Principles</b>				Past Surveys					
		A S	mall Extent	A Big	Extent	March 2015 Small/Big	Oct 2014 Small/Big	June 2014 Small/Big	Feb 2014 Small/Big	March 2013 Small/Big	
Access to education for everyone		57	29	12	40	50/ <mark>47</mark>	53/42	51/43	55/38	54/41	
Freedom for anyone to criticize government		56	28	12	39	55/39	56/35	52/38	57/34	47/46	
Freedom to establish a business	7	4	42	7 2	20	71/21	69/21	68/22	72/18	66/24	
Accountability for those who break the rules	84		62	7 13		n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
The rights of minorities (ethnic, sexual, etc.)		67	33	5 2	22	64/23	65/22	64/22	65/22	63/23	
Providing basic needs for everyone	81		50	16	5	78/19	76/19	76/18	81/13	80/16	
Access to employment for everyone	82		51	15	<b>;</b>	83/15	78/17	78/16	81/13	80/16	
Free and fair elections	7:	5	39	4 2	21	65/ <mark>31</mark>	70/24	62/32	63/29	61/33	
Access to a living wage	88		62	4 9		88/10	83/12	82/13	85/8	83/13	
A secure retirement	89		69	4 9		86/11	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Non-corrupt government	89		71	4 9		85/10	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Will of majority	83		43	12		79/15	76/16	75/16	78/14	76/17	

Even more pronounced than in the past, Moldovans place high importance on democratic principles. They universally believe most principles are very important, with the exception of somewhat lower approval for minority rights.

		Importance	e of Principles					ı	
1	Not at all/Total Not Ir	nportant	Very/Total Important			March 2015 Not/Imp		June 2014	l Gap
	A secure retirement	2	90		97	3/95	Not/Imp n/a	Not/Imp   n/a	Imp-Big +88
Accountability for those	e who break the rules	2	90	-1	96	n/a	n/a	n/a I	+83
A	ccess to a living wage	2	89		97	3/95	5/91	6/90 I	+88
Non	-corrupt government	2	89		97	3/94	n/a	n/a ı	+88
Access to empl	oyment for everyone	2	88		96	3/94	5/91	6/90 I	+81
Providing basi	ic needs for everyone	2	87		96	3/94	5/91	6/90 I	+80
Access to ed	lucation for everyone	3	85		96	4/93	7/89	6/89	+56
F	ree and fair elections	3	83		95	6/91	7/88	7/88	+74
Freedom to	o establish a business	4	80		94	6/90	9/86	9/85	+74
	Will of majority	4	78		94	8/88	10/84	13/81	+82
Freedom for anyone to	criticize government	8	71	8	9	20/75	18/77	19/74	+50
The rights of minorities	(ethnic, sexual, etc.)	16	57	79		27/67	25/67	31/59	+57
Access to empl Providing basi Access to ed F Freedom to	a-corrupt government doyment for everyone ic needs for everyone ducation for everyone free and fair elections o establish a business Will of majority o criticize government	2   2   2   3   3   4   4   4   8   8   8   8   8   8   8	89 88 87 85 83 80 78	8	97 96 96 96 95 94	3/94 3/94 3/94 4/93 6/91 6/90 8/88 20/75	n/a 5/91 5/91 7/89 7/88 9/86 10/84 18/77	n/a	+1 +1 +1 +1 +1 +1

Confidence in institutions has dropped across the board with national entities like political parties, government, the presidency, and parliament in single digits. Mayors and town or village councilors continue to be among the few trusted elected officials in the country. Their leadership is essential to party—and confidence—building ahead.



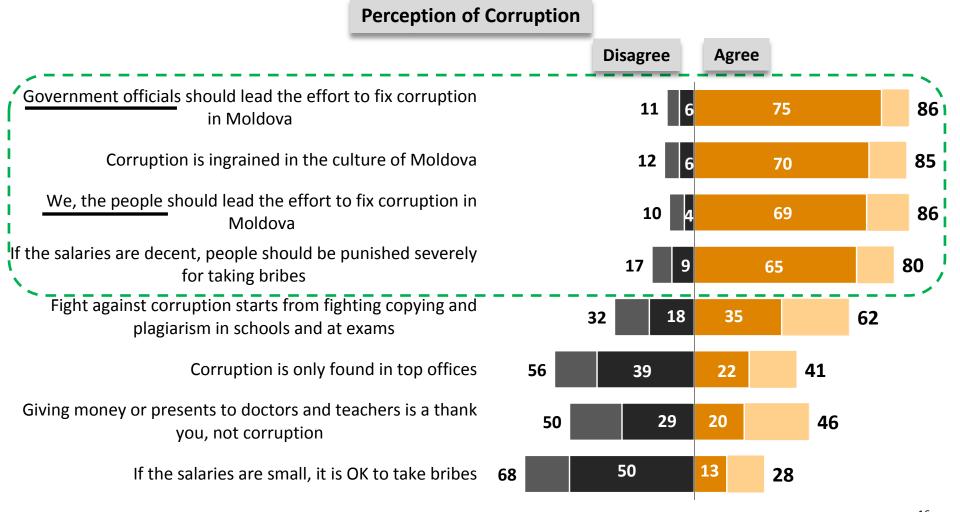
# **Perceptions of Corruption**

**Attitudes on Corruption and Recent Events** 



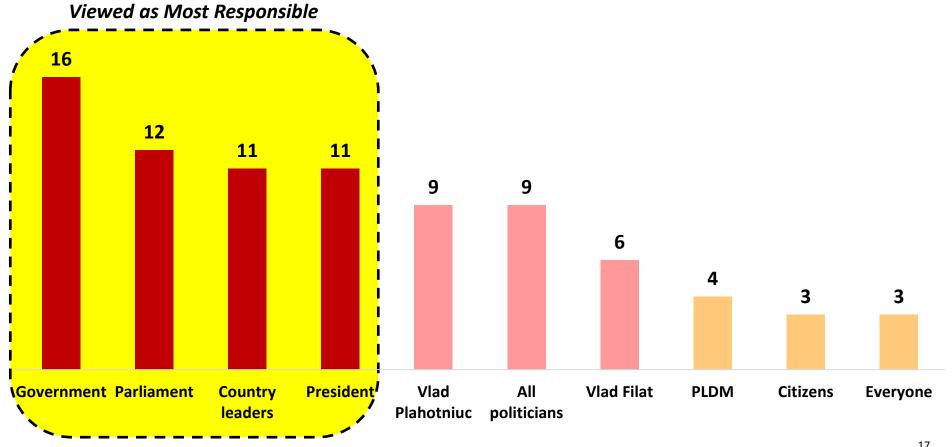


Moldovans strongly believe corruption is ingrained in the culture of the country. This makes corruption difficult to overcome. Moldovans would like to see government officials take the lead on fixing corruption along with citizens. Engaging citizens in the political process would be extremely helpful for any reform campaigns and could help rebuild trust in governmental institutions and political parties.



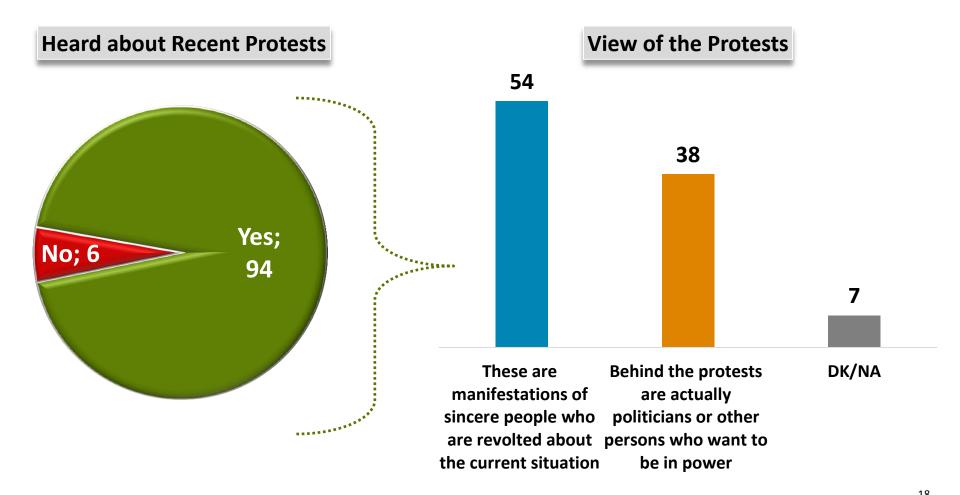
Moldovans do not place sole blame on any institution or official for the current situation in the country. However, similar to what we have seen in the past, Moldovans have limited confidence in national figures and blame the government, parliament, country leaders, and the President for the problems plaguing the nation. They also blame a few politicians by name—Plahotniuc and Filat—on a second tier, and even place some blame on themselves.

## **Most Responsible for Current Situation in Moldova**



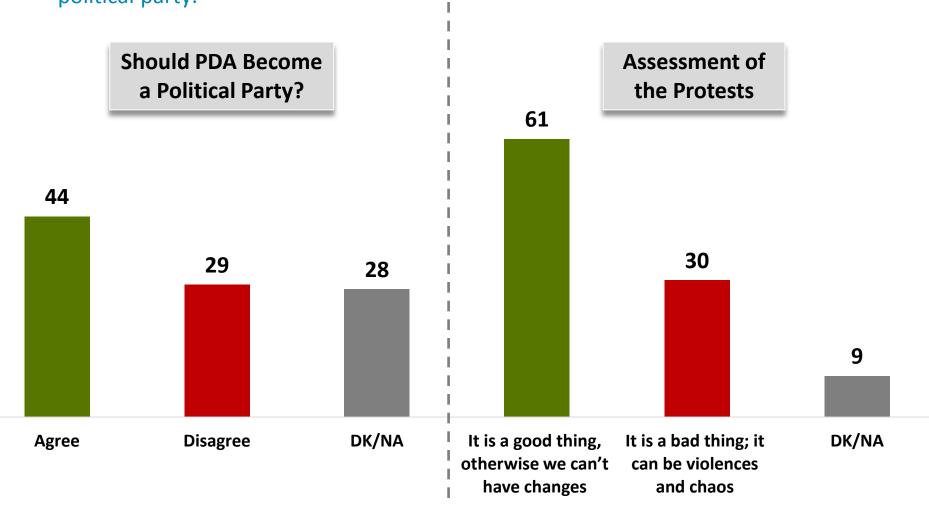


Almost all Moldovans have heard about and have mixed feelings toward the protests that started in April this year. A majority believes the protests are driven by sincere people who want to change the status quo while over one-third believe self-interested politicians are behind the effort. Older women tend to believe the protests are organized by sincere people, while younger men tend to be far less trusting.





Moldovans support the protests, although they are somewhat concerned that they can cause chaos—a possible result of witnessing Euromaidan demonstrations in neighboring Ukraine. A plurality believes the Platforma Demnitate si Adevar (PDA), which organized the protests, should become a political party.

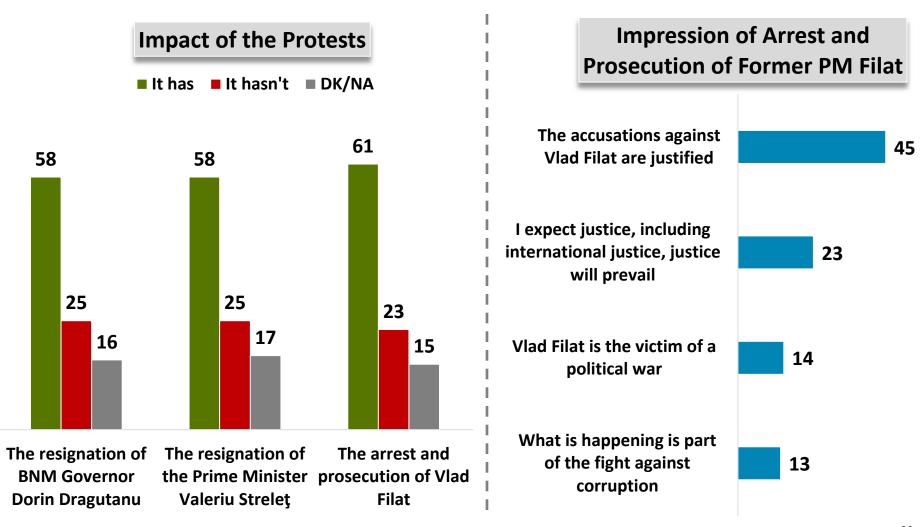


C17: The recent protests were organized by the Platforma Demnitate si Adevar (PDA). Do you agree or not with the action of PDA to become a political party?

C16: How do you assess the situation if we will have demonstrations, protests for a longer period of time?



The impacts of the protests are felt across the country with majorities of Moldovans believing the resignations of Governor Dragutanu and Prime Minister Streleţ as well as the arrest and prosecution of Vlad Filat are a result of the protests. A plurality of Moldovans believes the accusations against Filat are justified.



C15: Some people are saying that after the protests, politicians made some decisions. Other people don't think in this way. How do you consider the protests had some impact or connection with ...?





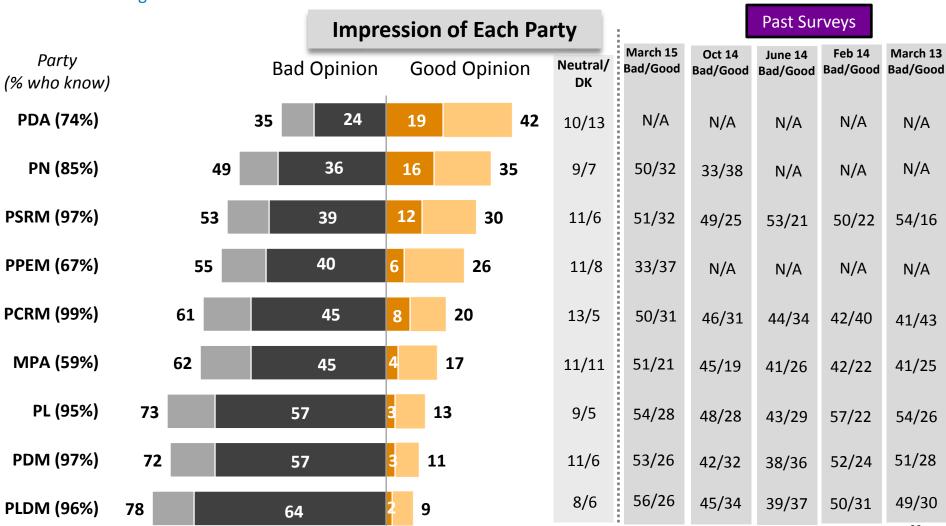
# The Political Environment and Upcoming Elections

Attitudes on the Political Parties, Key Figures, and the Parliamentary Elections



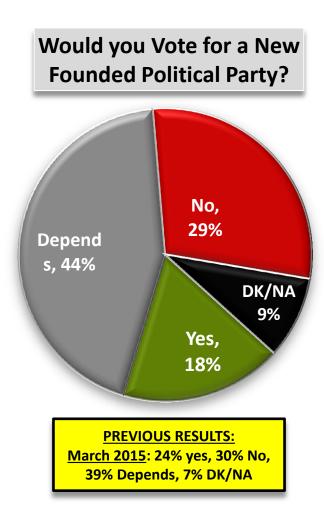


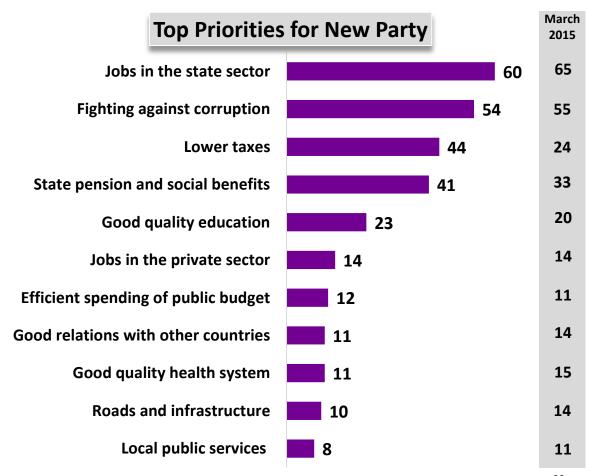
The newly developed PDA is the only political party with a net positive degree of goodwill. Distaste for the other parties continues to intensify with negative impressions nearly doubling in certain cases. The previous governing coalition takes the brunt of Moldovans' frustrations, although "anti-status quo" parties continue to struggle even in an environment that is primed for change. The parties need to try to disentangle their identities with those of their leaders.





Moldovans remain hesitant to support the creation of a new political party. A plurality is waiting to see what the party's platform will be and one-third outright oppose the idea. Moldovans continue to wait for a party to offer solutions on state sector jobs, corruption, taxes, and pensions and social benefits.

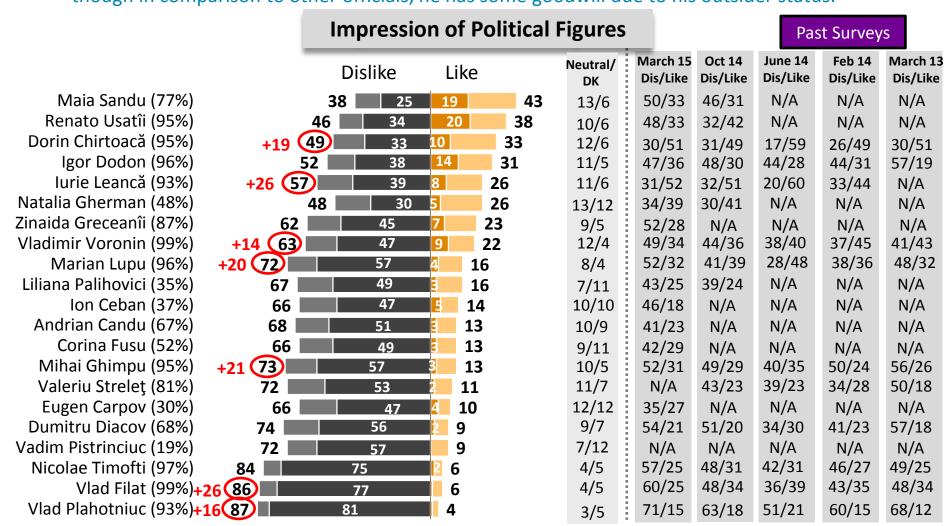




C24: Would you vote for a new founded political party?

C25: Please choose the top three priorities for this new party? (Accept up to 3 answers)

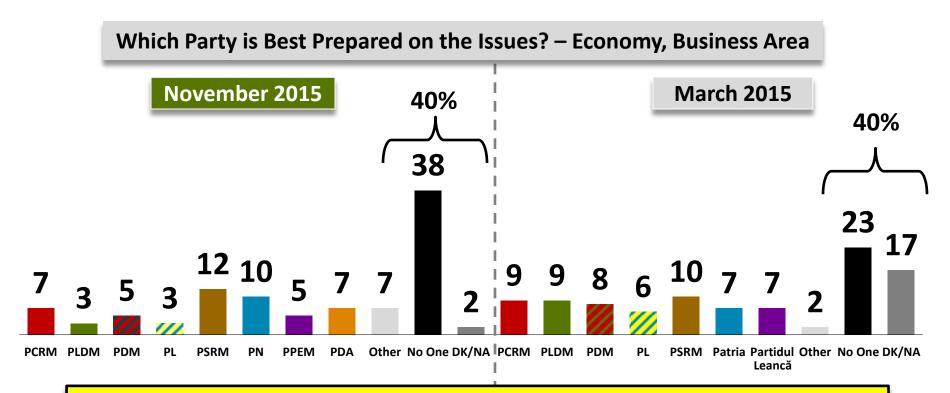
Public figures are not immune to the souring opinions of Moldovans. Almost every political figure has a net negative public profile, except Maia Sandu about whom voters are divided. Even Iurie Leancă and Dorin Chirtoacă, two figures who have maintained solid profiles in the past see a downshift in their profiles. Renato Usatîi has a negative public profile—though in comparison to other officials, he has some goodwill due to his outsider status.



Q7: I would like to read you a list of political figures and let me know if you have heard of any of them. [Only for those who have heard of political figures:] I would like you tell me how much do you <u>like/dislike</u> each of political figures. Please answer on a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 = "I do not like it at all" and 10 = "I like it very much". Language in 2013: Please tell us if your opinion about this politician has change in the last 3 months? Compare with 3 months ago, right now you have a more positive opinion, a more negative one or the same like 3 months ago? Please answer on a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 = "very negative" and 10 = "very positive".



Moldovans' distrust of public officials and political parties impacts their views of which parties are best suited to move the country forward. Only base supporters of the political parties—those who solidly support them on the ballot and have positive opinions of the parties and their officials—credit them with being able to improve the economy.



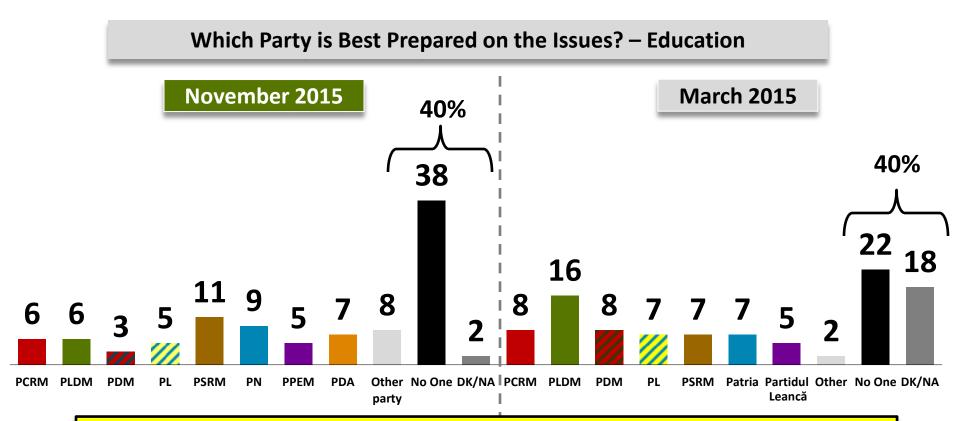
### **PREVIOUS RESULTS:**

October 2014: 14% PCRM, 16% PLDM, 11% PDM, 5% PL, 9% Patria, 6% Other, 20% No One, 19% DK/NA

June 2014: 18% PCRM, 17% PLDM, 8% PDM, 4% PL, 26% No One, 23% DK/NA February 2014: 22% PCRM, 16% PLDM, 6% PDM, 2% PL, 23% No One, 27% DK/NA March 2013: 25% PCRM, 15% PLDM, 5% PDM, 4% PL, 20% No One, 28% DK/NA



The earlier gains made by PLDM on the issue of education have evaporated since March. Moldovans continue to default to the party they support most.



## **PREVIOUS RESULTS:**

October 2014: 13% PCRM, 17% PLDM, 10% PDM, 6% PL, 8% Patria, 6% Other, 19% No One, 20% DK/NA

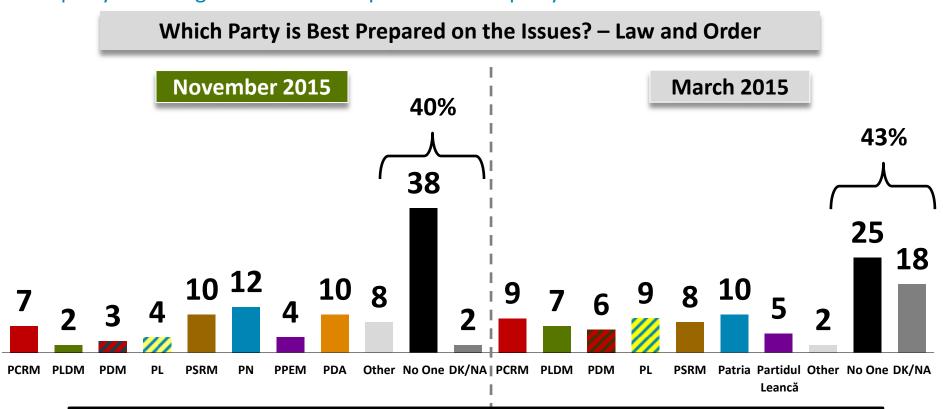
June 2014: 16% PCRM, 15% PLDM, 8% PDM, 6% PL, 26% No One, 25% DK/NA

February 2014: 19% PCRM, 16% PLDM, 5% PDM, 4% PL, 23% No One, 29% DK/NA

March 2013: 23% PCRM, 12% PLDM, 7% PDM, 6% PL, 20% No One, 30% DK/NA



Similar to other issues, Moldovans lack any assurance that the parties can guarantee law and order in society. PDA has made significant gains as a newly created political party. However, as we have seen in the past, Moldovans are willing to embrace any party that is against the status quo—until the party fails to show results.



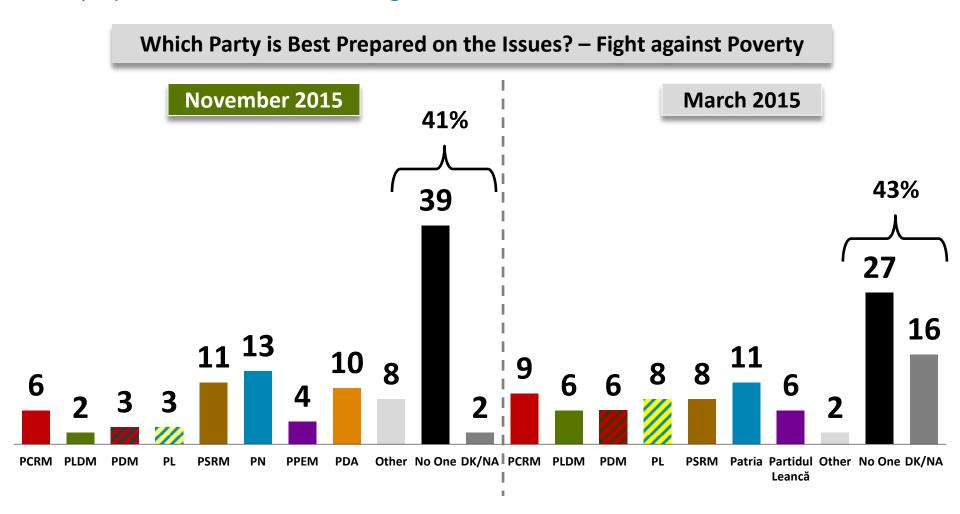
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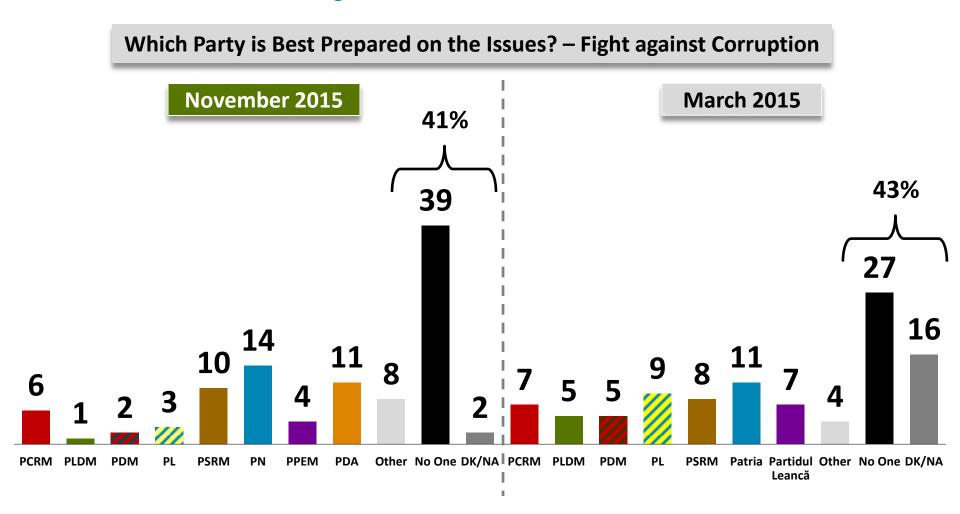
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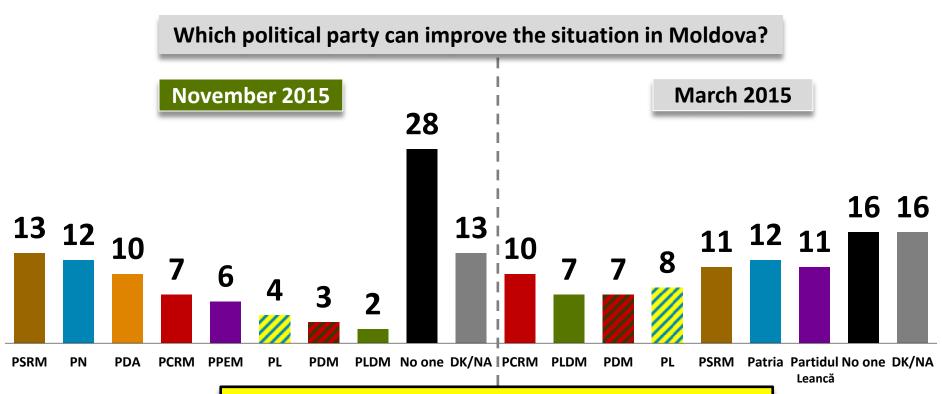
The "newer" parties—PN, PSRM, and PDA—have some trust among Moldovans to fight poverty. However, a plurality continues to believe no party is best prepared to take on the challenge.



Moldovans believe no party is best suited to fix the nation's biggest problem—corruption. Again, Moldovans assign some trust to PN, PDA, and PSRM because of their outsider status in government.



Voters remain divided on which party can improve the situation in Moldova. However the "newer" and left-leaning parties capture some sentiment while those associated with the governing coalition have far less support.



#### **PREVIOUS RESULTS:**

October 2014: 15% PCRM, 14% PLDM, 10% PDM, 6% PL, 10% Patria

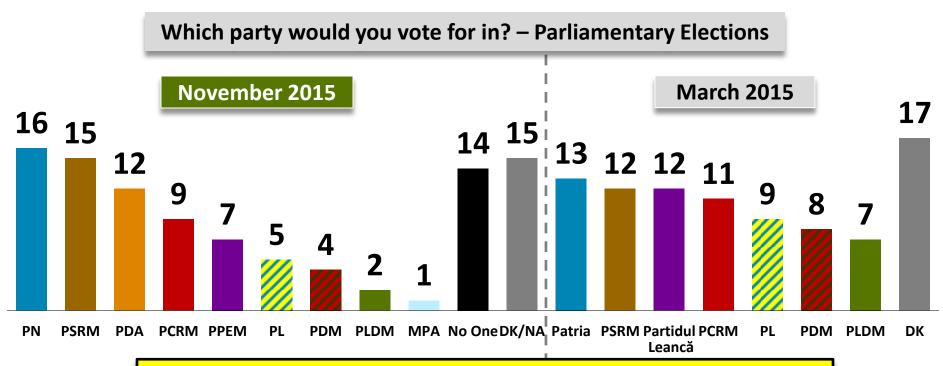
June 2014: 23% PCRM 15% PLDM, 10% PDM, 5% PL, 5% PN

February 2014: 31% PCRM, 17% PLDM, 8% PDM, 6% PL

March 2013: 34% PCRM, 16% PLDM, 8% PL, 6% PDM



Members of the governing coalition and right-leaning parties bear the brunt of Moldovans' frustrations, hurting their performance in hypothetical parliamentary elections. All parties will need to show results, rely on their local elected officials, and present plans for combatting corruption, lowering taxes, and solving housing issues in order to win any potential upcoming elections.



#### **PREVIOUS RESULTS:**

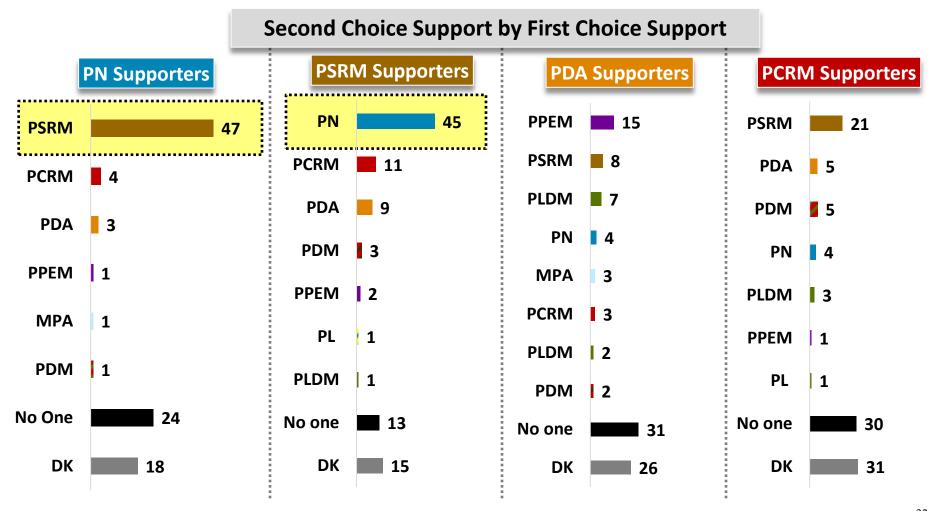
October 2014: 19% PCRM, 16% PLDM, 11% PDM, 8% PL, 4% PSRM, 12% Patria, 22% DK

<u>June 2014</u>: 27% PCRM, 18% PLDM, 9% PDM, 6% PL, 3% PSRM, 4% Patria, 23% DK

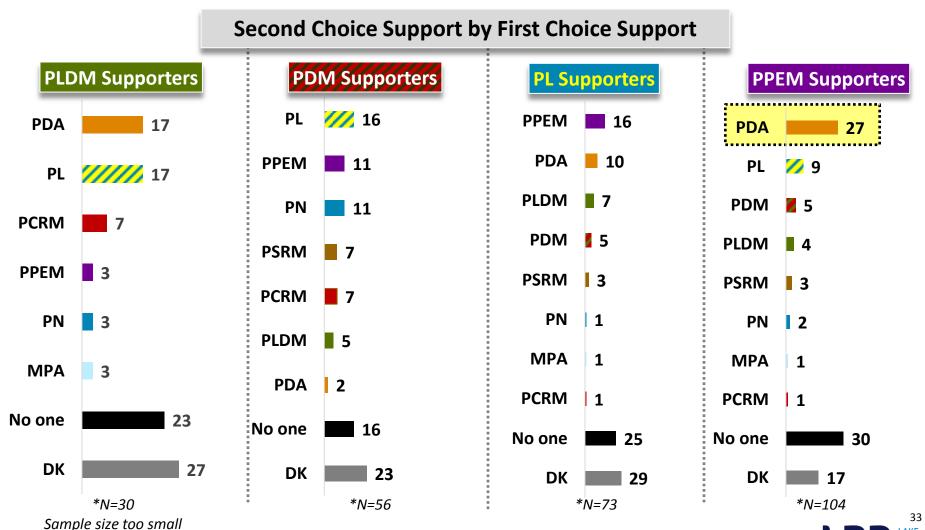
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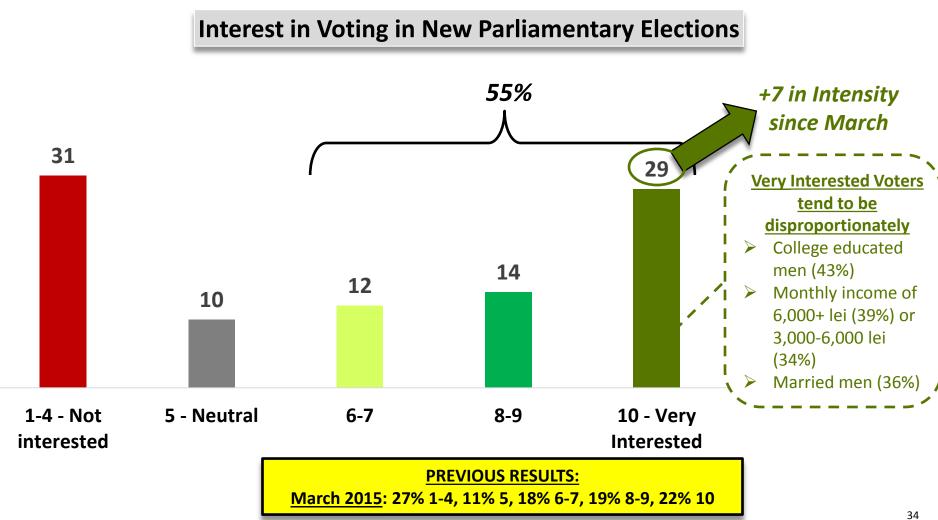
As we saw with the disqualification of Patria in the last parliamentary elections, the impact of the inclusion or exclusion of any party can change the results of the election. PN and PSRM supporters are willing to interchange their party preference. PDA and PCRM voters show slightly different patterns, with PDA supporters dividing among the parties and PCRM supporters leaning toward PSRM.



Supporters of right-leaning parties struggle to determine their second choice party. Only PPEM supporters lean toward voting for PDA while other supporters divide their votes across the board of choices.



Overall, Moldovans are not motivated in voting in parliamentary elections if they are called early. However, intensity in interest has increased some, indicating a potential shift in opinions.

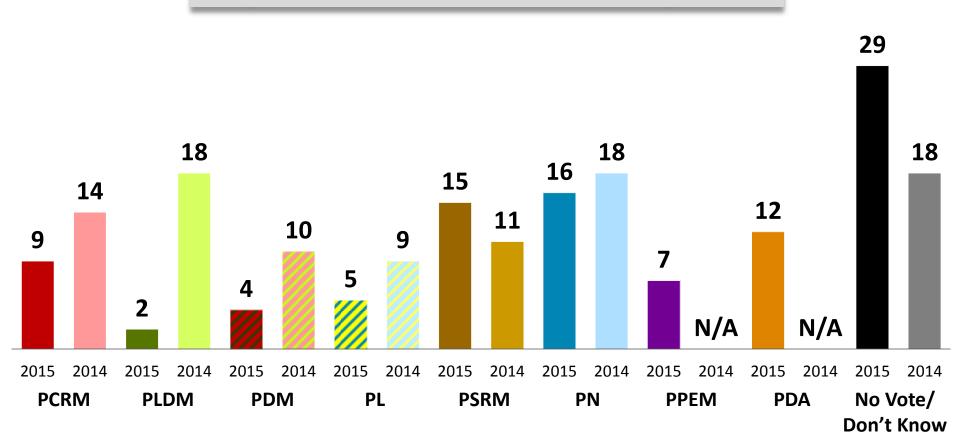




Parliamentary elections, if held, are more up for grabs than they have been in the past. Half of the country is unsure which political party they would support if elections are called early. Support among those who pick a party is far less decided and could be shifted to another party if it offers credible solutions and an answer to the country's toughest problems.

How decided are you to vote for a particular political party? – Parliamentary Elections **OVERALL:** 45% Decided (18% Very Decided) 50% Undecided **PCRM PLDM PDM** PL PN **PSRM PPEM PDA** Supporters Supporters **Supporters** Supporters **Supporters** Supporters Supporters **Supporters** 71 66 66 **62 57** 56 56 54 44 43 43 43 36 34 31 **25** 31 26 28 **27** 23 **21** 20 **13** 16 **13** 10 Decided Undec According to the poll, several parties would not gain more than the 6% threshold if early elections were held. Moldovans' party allegiances are fluid.

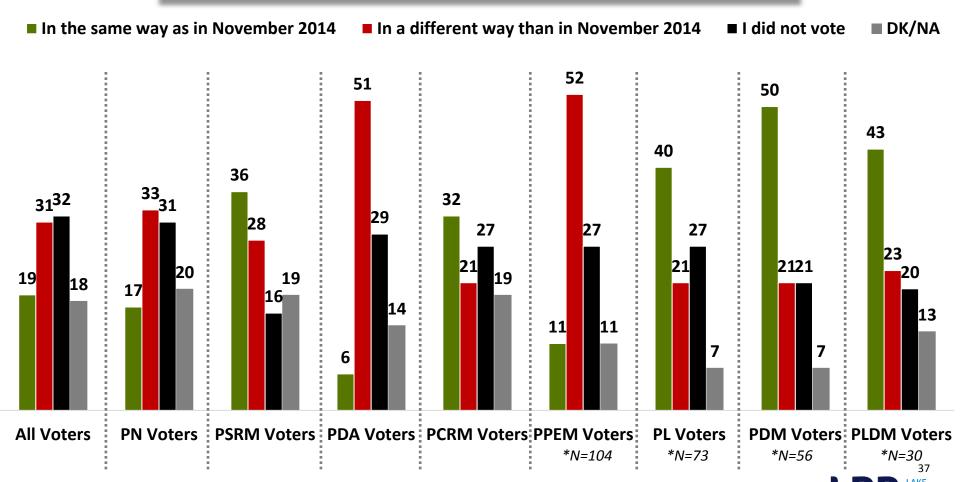
## Party of Choice in 2014 and Next Parliamentary Elections



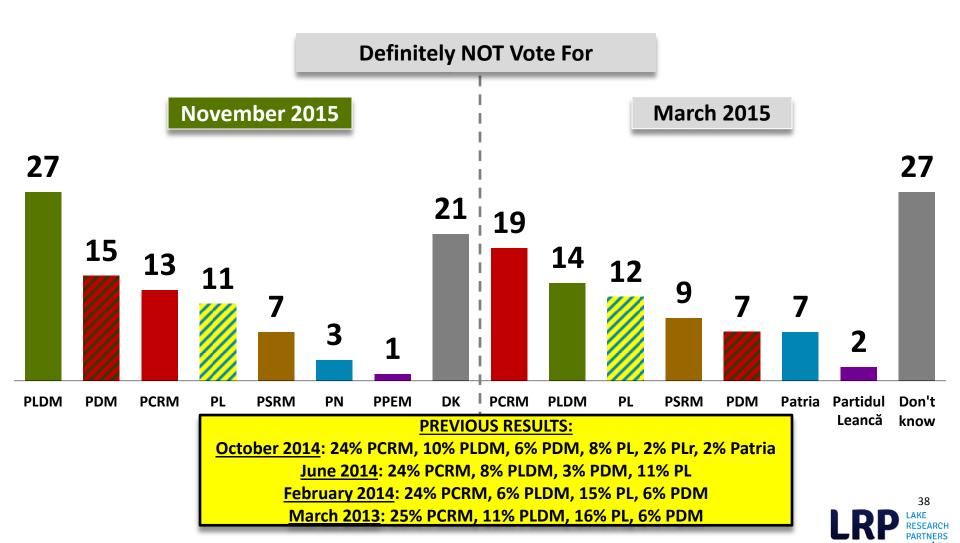


The creation of PDA and PPEM carves into support for the other political parties as Moldovans are willing to change their support from the party they voted for in the last parliamentary elections. The existing supporters from PL, PDM, and PLDM are likely to remain loyal to their chosen party.

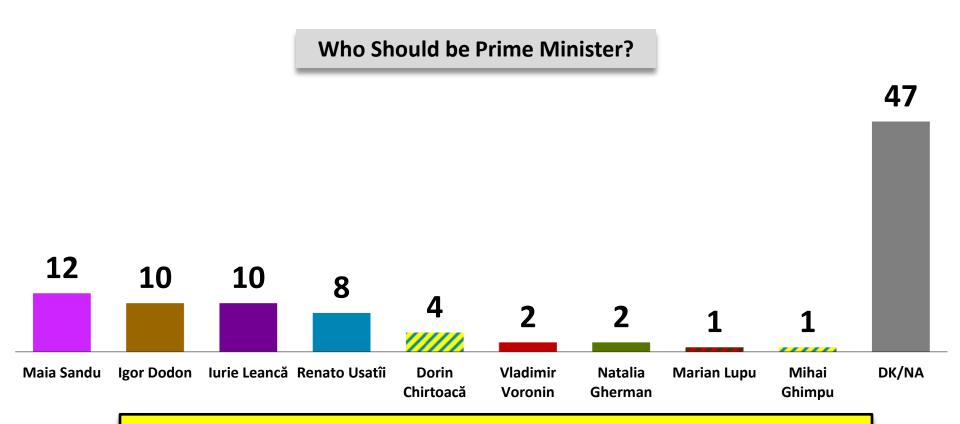
# **Voting in Upcoming Elections – Same or Different as 2014**



A lot of the anger towards the current government is directed at PLDM along with PDM. The parties not in power face little opposition.



For the first time over the past three years, Moldovans do not choose former Prime Minister Iurie Leancă as their first choice for Prime Minister. Nearly half of Moldovans are undecided. Maia Sandu makes an impressive first time appearance.



#### **PREVIOUS RESULTS:**

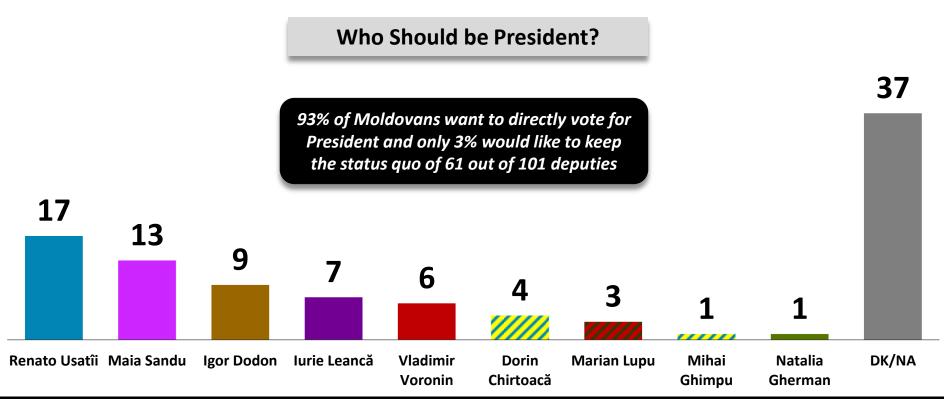
October 2014: 28% Leancă, 8% Voronin, 7% Dodon, 6% Lupu, 5% Filat, 5% Chirtoacă, 4% Usatîi

June 2014: 25% Leancă, 9% Voronin, 7% Lupu, 6% Filat, 6% Dodon, 6% Chirtoacă

February 2014: 24% Leancă, 13% Voronin, 7% Filat, 7% Lupu, 3% Dodon, 0% Chirtoacă



The outsider candidates also lead the field in the campaign for President of Moldova. The elections next year are completely up for grabs with Usatîi leading the field, followed by Sandu, Dodon, and Leancă, although a plurality remains undecided.



#### **PREVIOUS RESULTS:**

March 2015: 16% Leancă, 14% Usatîi, 11% Dodon, 9% Voronin, 7% Lupu, 7% Chirtoacă, 4% Filat, 4% Ghimpu, 2% Corman, 2% Gherman, 1% Timofti
October 2014: 13% Voronin, 10% Lupu, 9% Filat, 8% Chirtoacă, 6% Usatîi, 4% Dodon, 3% Ghimpu, 2% Timofti, 2% Leancă
June 2014: 16% Voronin, 12% Lupu, 8% Chirtoacă, 7% Filat, 4% Dodon, 3% Ghimpu, 3% Timofti
February 2014: 22% Voronin, 10% Lupu, 8% Chirtoacă, 7% Filat, 2% Ghimpu, 1% Dodon



Moldovans want a President who is honest, smart, loyal, incorruptible, and responsible. Their desires reflect Moldovans' perceptions of what is going on in the country around the scandals, instability, and insecurity.

### **Important Qualities for the Next President**



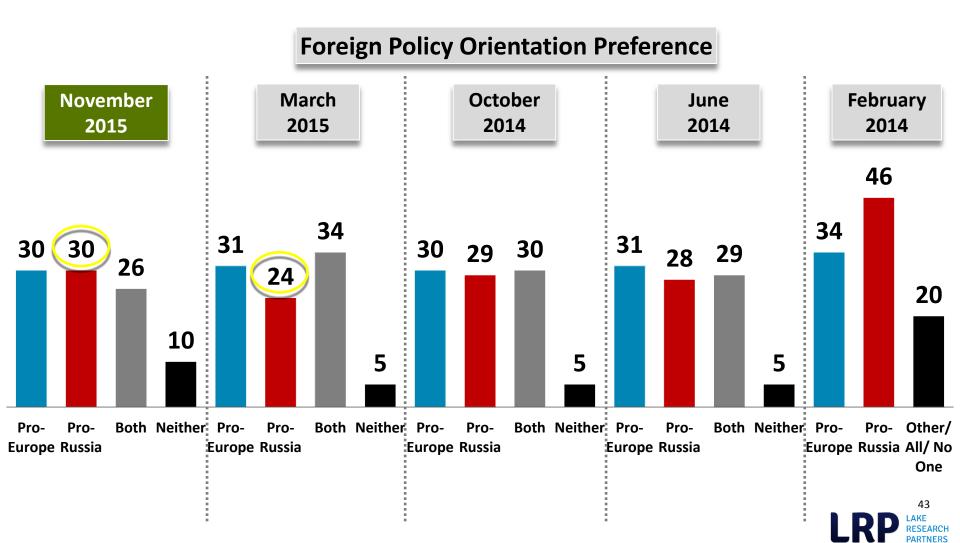
# The International Environment

Moldovans' Perceptions of the European Union, Russia, and their Place in the World

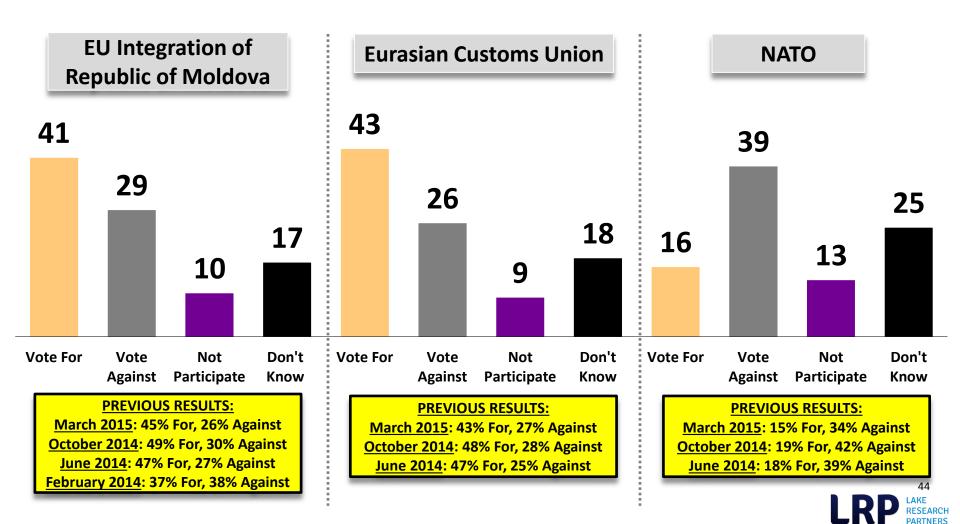




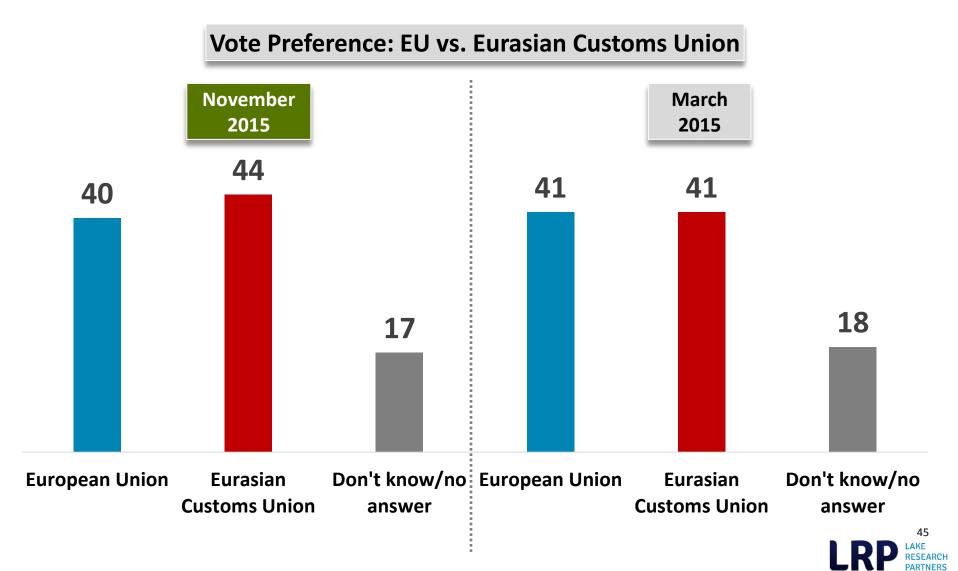
Moldovans are leaning toward a slightly more pro-Russian alignment than in the previous survey, although they remain closely divided on which direction to choose.



Moldovans are still not willing to give up a future of joining the EU. Support has slipped slightly since March, but still outweighs opposition. A plurality of Moldovans is interested in joining the Eurasian Customs Union, remaining unchanged since earlier this year. While security concerns rise, Moldovans continue to be against joining NATO.

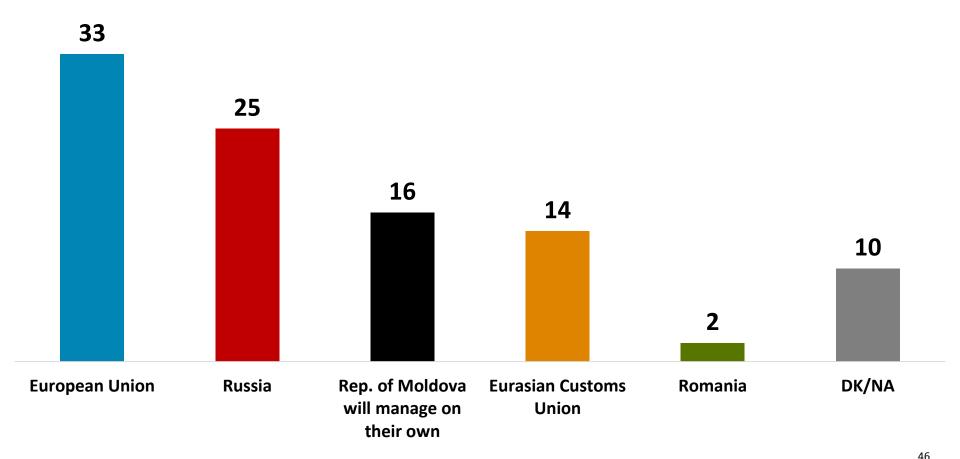


As we have seen in the past, Moldovans are divided on which they prefer—joining the EU or Customs Union. At the moment, they lean slightly toward the Customs Union, but as we have seen in the past, this preference fluctuates.



While Moldovans remain divided on what they prefer for their future, they believe the country will likely move toward joining the EU. However, only one-third of Moldovans believes this and the remaining population is divided between Russia or the Eurasian Customs Union. A small portion of Moldovans believes the country will manage on its own.

### Do you think the future of Rep. of Moldova will be related with:



Freedom of movement has been one of the selling points of joining the EU in the past. Moldovans are split along generational lines on whether they would leave for a period or not leave at all. Over one-quarter of young adults say they would leave Moldova for good.



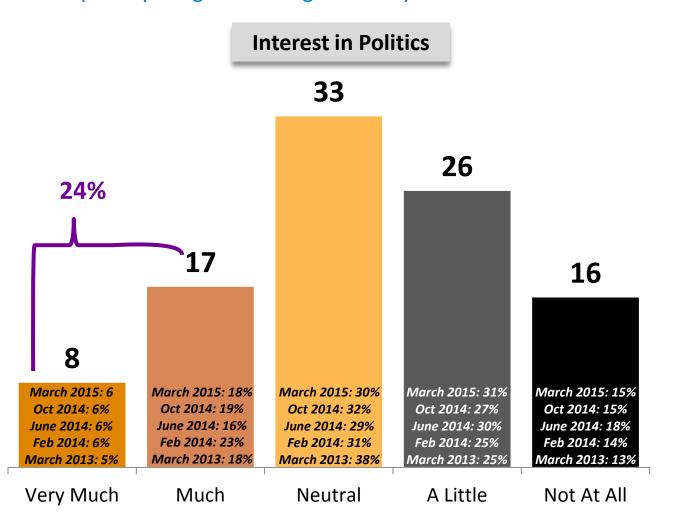
# **Civic Participation**

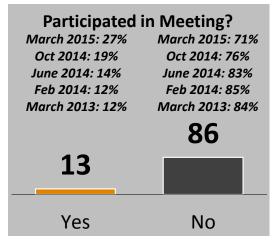
Moldovans' Perceptions of Their Ability to Effect Political Change





Moldovans retain a high level of apathy toward political activities. Their distaste in the state of affairs in the country has led many Moldovans to avoid participating in meetings with any elected officials.

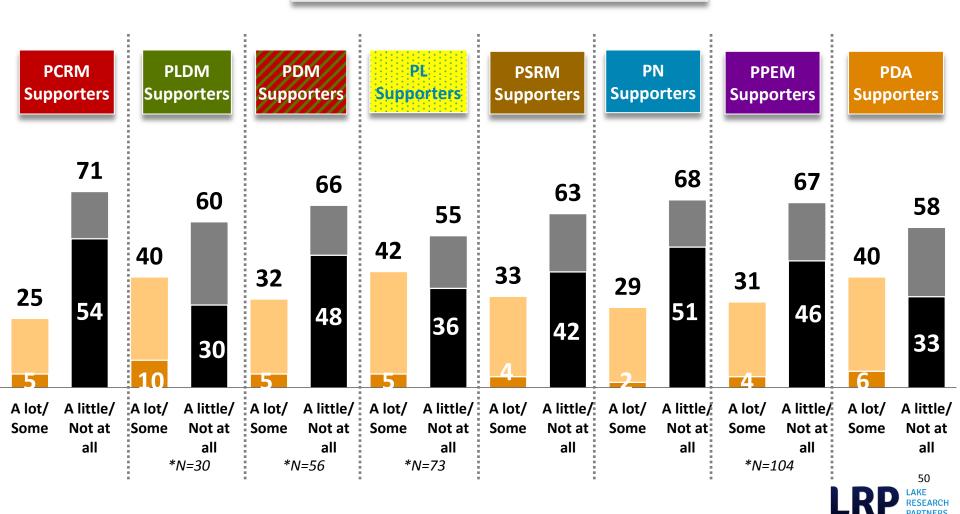






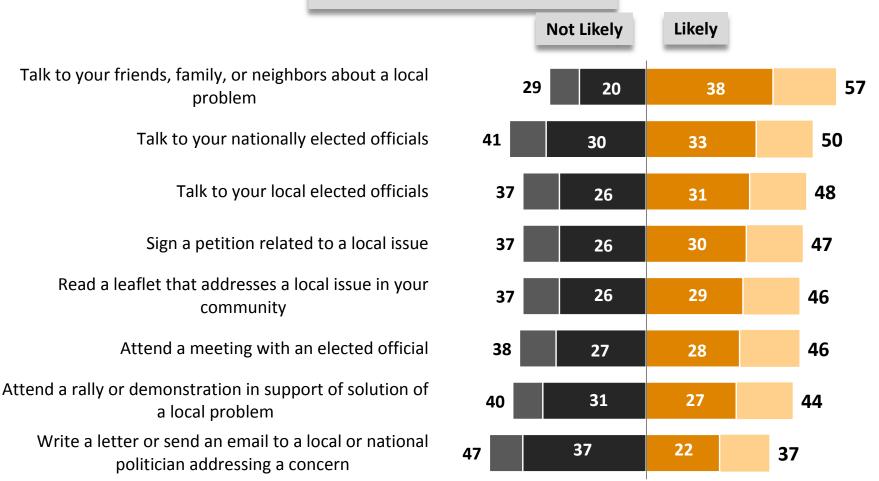
As we have seen before, regardless of party affiliation, Moldovans have little interest in participating in activities with parties. PL and PDA have the most engaged supporters, but there is still minimal interest.

### **Interest in Political Activities with Parties**



Moldovans are more likely to talk to their friends, family, or neighbors about a local problem. Unlike what we have seen in the past, Moldovans say they will talk to nationally elected officials to solve problems, followed by local officials. While they may not trust the national figures, they do not hesitate to voice their concerns to them. PDM, PPEM, and PDA supporters are more likely to perform all of these activities, except PL supporters who are most likely to write a letter to a politician.

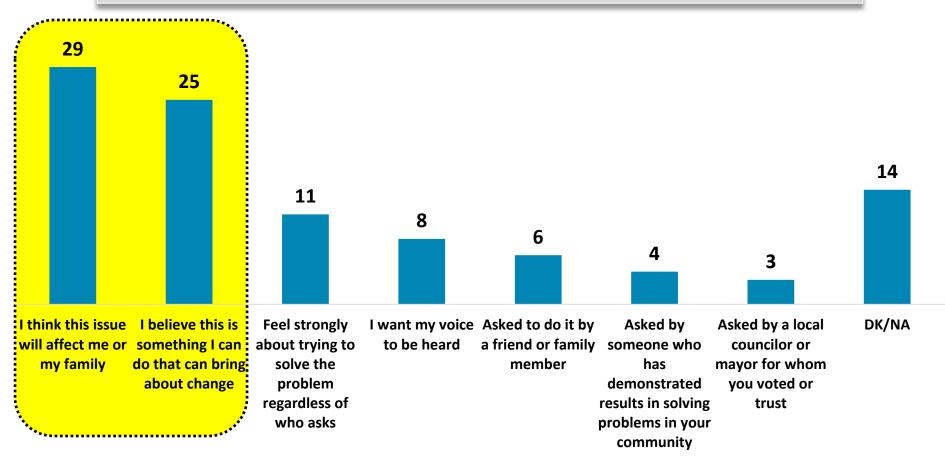
### Likelihood for Local Involvement





Moldovans are willing to get involved in political issues if they believe it will affect their family or they believe it is something they can do to bring about change. They need to be inspired by themselves more than asked by a friend, family member, or elected official to get involved.

## Main Reasons to Get Involved in Political Issues or Solving a Problem







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