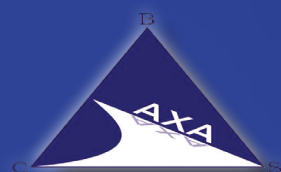


# REPORT ON THE ASSESSMENT OF PUBLIC PERCEPTION REGARDING THE PROCESS OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF EUROPEAN UNION – REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA ACTION PLAN



April 2008



The survey was carried out by experts of IDIS Viitorul, with the support of the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida/Asdi) and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) by means of Moldovan Representative of Eurasia Foundation. The expressed opinions belong to authors and do not necessarily cover the points of view of Eurasia Foundation, USAID, the American Government and/or Sida/Asdi.

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## Executive Summary

On March 11<sup>th</sup> 2003, the European Commission presented the European Council and the European Parliament the report „Extended Europe – Neighbourhood: a frame of relations with our neighbours from East and South” which regulates the relations with the European Union (EU) with 14 countries<sup>1</sup>, including Moldova. Thus, the foundation of the new European Neighbouring Policy (ENP) has been put, which aims at cooperating with those 14 countries in term of consolidation of processes of political and economic reform and promotion of a stronger economic integration.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, the report defined the main tools the European Commission was to use in the realization of ENP and mainly the action plans which had to be concluded with each of these countries.

Thus, on December 9<sup>th</sup> 2004, the European Commission launched the first seven action plans, including the one for Moldova, which was concluded on February 22<sup>nd</sup> 2005<sup>3</sup>, in Brussels. The period of implementation of the EU-RM Action Plan (PAU-ERM) was fixed for 3 years, so that the date of February 22<sup>nd</sup> 2008 is considered to be the date when PAUERM expires. During this period, the progress connected with the implementation of items of PAUERM was monitored and assessed both by the Government of the Republic of Moldova and the European Commission. In addition, the civil society from Moldova has also contributed to the monitoring of the implementation of PAUERM<sup>4</sup>.

In this context, Eurasia Foundation considered the assessment of public perception referring to the progress recorded by Republic of Moldova in the cooperation with EU and implementation of PAUERM as a necessary thing. The assessment of the public perception will permit the vociferation of common citizens' opinion towards the progress or failures of public authorities in the process of European integration of the country. For the re-

alization of the opinion poll, Eurasia Foundation selected and involved the Institute for Development and Social Initiatives (IDIS) “Viitorul” from the Republic of Moldova.

It is hard to imagine in what way most nations of Central and Oriental Europe would have joined EU in the last decade without a positive and constant public support in encouraging this European integration. The favourable public opinion may be a trustful ally of governmental institutions in their effort to hasten the institutional connection of these countries to the community space institutions. Yet, the same public opinion can become a powerful opponent when it would conclude some discrepancies between the perceived facts and the related promises. Informing and involvement, more than persuasion and mobilization, are the key-words in the context of need of communication/cooperation between public authorities and society. We must realize the fact that, especially in the last 2 years, governmental institutions have proved to be open to cooperation with the civil society, operating with improvements in the consulting structure of the public, adopting strategies of communication and creating different consultative forums, where interested actors can participate when they consider it a necessary thing<sup>5</sup>.

The aim of this report is not to analyze each of these obstacles separately, because other reports have already done this thing successfully. What we intend to do is to assess in what way the Action Plan meant something for the public opinion from RM; for citizens of RM in the name of whom politicians and administrators assume public responsibilities and promise to serve their interests.

Since the public discourse about European integration has been very often “damaged” by different communities of “experts formed by experts”, we’ve tried to ask questions regarding the subjective aspect of the plan, at the horizons and lessons learned by the citizen, who usually delivers the usual “doze” of optimism of good sense, when political life requires it. In the context of this research, we intended to use the opinions formulated in the framework of a representative opinion poll at a national level in the capacity of “referent” object, to which we could relate the great amount of institutions, political and economic commit-

5 The memorandum of cooperation in the European integration process between MAEIE and civil society organizations from RM; European Bulletin, No.1-16, MAEIE, [www.mfa.md](http://www.mfa.md); The co-operation strategy with the civil society, Parliament of RM.

- 1 Algeria, Palestinian Authority, Belarus, Egypt, Russia, Jordan, Israel, Lebanon, Libya, Moldova, Morocco, Syria, Tunisia and Ukraine.
- 2 „Moldova and EU in the context of European Neighbouring Policy. Realization of EU-Moldova Action Plan (February 200th – January 2008)”, ADEPT and Expert Grup, 2008, p. 14.
- 3 The conclusion was held within the 7th reunion of the EU – Republic of Moldova Cooperation Council. European Union has been represented by Jean Asselborn, deputy-prime-minister and minister of foreign affairs and immigration of Luxemburg, and the Republic of Moldova – by Vasile Tarlev, prim-minister.
- 4 Euromonitor, No.1-9, EU – RM Action Plan: assessment of the implementation progress, 2006-2008, ADEPT Association, Expert Grup, [www.e-democracy.md](http://www.e-democracy.md), Discussion paper EU-RM Action plan: debts or total failure?, D.Manzarari, No.2, January 2008, [www.viitorul.org](http://www.viitorul.org); Report on the implementation of RM – EU Action Plan (February 2005 – February 2008) – [www.mfa.gov.md](http://www.mfa.gov.md).

ments, concrete tasks and would-be identities, in order for us to understand the subjective value of the “process” of implementation of PAUERM.

What did this citizen, called conventionally, exactly understand, the “hard to be relented” citizen from the actions defined in common by the Government of RM and the European Commission as “prior”? To what degree the effort of the European Commission to accelerate internal reforms of RM have been understood and assumed by the authorities?

This opinion of the citizen will be completed further on and compared to the opinion of “the citizen from institutions”, respectively the one in charge with the implementation of AP, of the “expert” and of the “European expert”, the last two citizens working as evaluators even if the dominance and consequences of the assessment are totally different. The conclusion we come to within this research have got a teaching value by means of this subjective assessment of PAUERM, being constructed on: perception, cognition, references and positive or negative values of some aspects of this action plan according to the population’s specific expectancies.

The cognition of EU is in this moment superficial enough at the public level. If 93,6% assert they have heard about EU, 77,7% assert they know what EU is, only 46,2% are familiarized with the existence of the European Neighbouring Policy, and only 36,6% heard about the existence of a EU-RM Action Plan. There is a massive support for Republic of Moldova’s accession to EU (77%), despite the fact 56% of the respondents consider that the information they have about EU is insufficient.

In general, citizens get informed about European issues from the most important TV channels and Radio posts. Yet, most of the respondents are not motivated to search for more information which apparently doesn’t affect their usual living or opportunities. EU’s benefits are perceived by the citizens of RM especially like: economic prosperity (16,4%), Peace (15,3%), Freedom to travel, study and work in EU (14,3 %), More jobs (11,6%), Material welfare (9,9%).

Only 3,2% of the respondents get informed about PAUERM through internet, which correlates with the very modest degree of computerization of the society of RM, in comparison with the European media. We conclude that the changes perceived as a result of the implementation of PAUERM are quite modest, as they also refer to the regress connected with the number of jobs (75,3%), the

decrease of poverty didn’t take place (75,1%), the equilibrated and durable development of rural and urban localities is not visible (70,9%), there are no important evolutions in the resolution of the Transdnistrian conflict (68%), and the economy of the country didn’t become more functional and competitive (64,9%), the use of public money didn’t become more transparent (63,5%), and the human rights in the Republic of Moldova are not respected more (63%). That is why, the priorities viewed by the citizens are mostly connected with: economic growth (22%), combating corruption (19,7%), resolution of the Transdnistrian conflict (12,1%) and the illegal migration phenomenon (7,3%).

A very important factor is also connected with the citizens’ view about the activity of institutions in charge with the coordination and implementation of the European integration process. The basic opinion is that... TV channels contribute most of all to RM’s European integration (17,5%), followed by the main public institutions from Moldova: the Government (14,1%), the Parliament (12,1%), the Presidency (10,8%). It is curious that citizens appreciate quite modestly the contribution of some institutions which are even indirectly connected with the promotion of European integration goals such as: political parties (7,1%), NGOs (5,5%), private sector (3,2%), as well as the academic staff (2,6%).

The lack of a firm political will from the part of the governing authorities is the most important aspect of the European integration (27,3%), followed by the deficit of financial resources (21,%), weak administrative capacities (11,9%). The encouragement of Republic of Moldova’s European integration process could be possible in such conditions as: employing youth and some competent persons in the local public administration (79,9 %), reasonable application of laws in the Republic of Moldova and respect of European norms (79%), good relations with Romania (74,3%), eradication of corruption and good governing system (73,9%), Partnerships between Republic of Moldova and other European countries for the facilitation of university studies in Occident (69,2%), A good relation with Ukraine (67,5%), The replacement of the current generation of politicians (64,1%), Studying about European Union in schools (63,3%).

Thus, such countries as: Romania (19,5%), Italy (12,7%), France (11,7%), Germany (10,2%) can help Moldova most of all in its European integration process. We conclude that the population of RM is not determine to leave the country, even if RM joins EU at a certain moment (41,2% are sure



they will never leave Moldova, and 39,2% declare they will leave the country for a short period of time, and only 13,3 % declared they would leave the country for good). An absolute majority of the population is sure of the favourable effects of the European integration. Nearly 82,4% consider that RM's accession to EU will contribute to its economic development, 81,4% - appreciate the free circulation of citizens, 80,3% relate their expectancies to the influx of foreign investments and new technologies, 79,9% - relate them to the number of jobs and incomes.

The data gathered by the poll record quite interesting indicators regarding the way the "institution man", who is the expert or the civil servant, reacts to the European integration process. He is more tolerant towards the policies/achievements of the Government and, at the same time, more sure that "the last governing authorities, as well as the partner, respectively, EU" are mostly guilty for this problem. As far as the press and the problem of informing the public about AP implementation is concerned, the opinion of the "institution man" is that a great part of deficiencies come from the press, because public institutions diffuse the necessary information for a good information, but the press doesn't know how to use it accordingly and it has no skills in this context.

Institution men accept the existence of some "neuralgic" points (insufficient human resources, low capacities of action, non-recognition of foreign languages by officials, the bureaucratization of institutions and the bad application of laws). Yet, they do not hesitate to attribute the guilt to some partners as either "the civil society is too critical and non-constructive" or "European institutions are subjective in their appreciations". The analysis of the content of interviews made with this category of respondents denotes the existence of some important unsolved structural problems, connected with the public service reform, conscription, selection, promotion and maintenance of competitive human resources, as well as the harassments recorded in a short period of time, within which the allocated terms and resources do not meet accordingly.

What seems to be remarkable is the wish of intensification of the political dialogue between the Government of RM and community institutions, giving up double standards in the country as well as from the part of EU, the encouragement of institutions on which the implementation of basic responsibilities and their assumption in an effective way depends, without looking for excuses or doubtful reasons.

The typical reactions which public officials usually have differ very much from the answers of local and European experts. The results of the qualitative research on the basis of the group of "local experts" denote the fact that they are usually more sceptical towards the results of RM's European integration process. The most important achievements are connected with the economical field (facilities of foreign trade, improvement of the customs control and the procedures of certification of the origin of products, the guillotine of improvements in the economical field), and the growth of the degree of general opinion about EU in RM (the opening of the Unique Visa Centre, inauguration of the European Commission Delegation to RM, the appointment of the EU special representative for the resolution of the Transdniestrian conflict, establishment of EUBAM), but it also records a long list of "debts", which have different levels of difficulty.

Local expertst point out an important doze of anxiety due to the lack of experience of some categories of civil servants, who get hardly used to the bigger amount of requirements as a result of implementation of specific objectives of PAU-ERM, and, at the same time, the existence of an institutional environment which is in fact incomplete and which doesn't support or even stops the realization of some assumed responsibilities. The most serious critics noticed by local experts are: (a) bureaucratization of the process of relation to "achivements" in term of absence of an effective political will, (b) superficial character of cognition of EU by the political category and the absence of a relevant expertise at the level of political and administrative elita, like in the case of mass media; (c) political preferences at the selection of youth for the public service from RM, which creates artificial and hazard limits on the way of attracting skilful and talented young people to apply European requirements, (d) arhi-personalization of public life, mentalities and nonreformed institutions, all of them contributing to s negative selection of elita within the system.

We are sure that the net benefit of this Action Plan formally closed and informally prepared for a next stage of implementation, is to deliver everyone interested a very important tool for the cognition of types of public reactions towards the way governmental politics produce (or not!) durable effects. It is obvious that mainly these social, educational, political and economic effects are the most important for the bet of the process of European and Euro-Atlantic integration of Republic of Moldova, called, in fact, - Europeanization.

## Introduction

On March 11<sup>th</sup> 2003, the European Commission presented the European Council and the European Parliament the report „Extended Europe – Neighbourhood: a frame of relations with our neighbours from East and South” which regulates the relations with the European Union (EU) with 14 countries<sup>6</sup>, including Moldova. Thus, the foundation of the new European Neighbouring Policy (ENP) has been put, which aims at cooperating with those 14 countries in term of consolidation of processes of political and economic reform and promotion of a stronger economic integration.<sup>7</sup> At the same time, the report defined the main tools the European Commission was to use in the realization of ENP and mainly the action plans which had to be concluded with each of these countries.

Thus, on December 9<sup>th</sup> 2004, the European Commission launched the first seven action plans, including the one for Moldova, which was concluded on February 22<sup>nd</sup> 2005<sup>8</sup>, in Brussels. The period of implementation of the EU-RM Action Plan (EURMAP) was fixed for 3 years, so that the date of February 22<sup>nd</sup> 2008 is considered to be the date when EURMAP expires. During this period, the progress connected with the implementation of items of EURMAP was monitored and assessed both by the Government of the Republic of Moldova and the European Commission. In addition, the civil society from Moldova has also contributed to the monitoring of the implementation of EURMAP<sup>9</sup>.

In this context, Eurasia Foundation considered the assessment of public perception referring to the progress recorded by Republic of Moldova in the cooperation with EU and implementation of EURMAP as a necessary thing. The assessment

of the public perception will permit the vociferation of common citizens' opinion towards the progress or failures of public authorities in the process of European integration of the country. For the realization of the opinion poll, Eurasia Foundation selected and involved the Institute for Development and Social Initiatives (IDIS) “Viitorul” from the Republic of Moldova.

### 1.1. Methodology of the Survey

The survey was carried out by using quantitative and qualitative methods. First of all, the research focused on the collection of valid data by means of a representative poll, organized at a national level. Second, the quantitative data were completed by means of selection of some relevant opinions, formulated by local and European experts, as a result of a detailed interview, followed by a structure of questions somehow inspired from the questionnaire of the national poll.

Both analytical instruments permitted us to assess some definite public attitudes (of the whole population of the Republic of Moldova) towards the implementation of EURMAP, expected and perceived results. From this point of view, the opinion poll aimed at covering as much as possible the main chapters of AP, and the questions were constructed and systematized as a consequence for a better processing and further comparison with the data obtained from the structured interviews.

The opinion poll was attributed for realization to CBS AXA Company, in the period of February-March 2008, on a stratified bi-staged probable amount of 1083 persons aged more than 18 years old, according to the following stratification criteria: 12 geographic regions, which coincide to territorial administrative units before returning to districts, residential environment (urban-rural), the amount of urban localities (2 types), the number of electors of rural localities (2 types of rural localities).

The amounts of urban castes and of the total amount per region (former districts) were calculated proportional to the number of people according to the data provided by the National Bureau of Statistics of the Republic of Moldo-

6 Algeria, Palestinian Authority, Belarus, Egypt, Russia, Jordan, Israel, Lebanon, Libya, Moldova, Morocco, Syria, Tunisia and Ukraine.

7 „Moldova and EU in the context of European Neighbouring Policy. Realization of EU-Moldova Action Plan (February 200th – January 2008)”, ADEPT and Expert Grup, 2008, p. 14.

8 The conclusion was held within the 7th reunion of the EU – Republic of Moldova Cooperation Council. European Union has been represented by Jean Asselborn, deputy-prime-minister and minister of foreign affairs and immigration of Luxemburg, and the Republic of Moldova – by Vasile Tarlev, prim-minister.

9 Euromonitor, No.1-9, EU – RM Action Plan: assessment of the implementation progress, 2006-2008, ADEPT Association, Expert Grup, [www.e-democracy.md](http://www.e-democracy.md), Discussion paper EU-RM Action plan: debts or total failure?, D.Manzarari, No.2, January 2008, [www.viitorul.org](http://www.viitorul.org); Report on the implementation of RM – EU Action Plan (February 2005 – February 2008) – [www.mfa.gov.md](http://www.mfa.gov.md).

va. The number of rural castes was calculated proportionally to the number of electors. The amount is important for the adult population of the Republic of Moldova, with a maximal error of +/- 3%.

The research team divided the public perceptions according to the following categories:

- knowledge about European Union and Moldova's relations with the European Union
- public attitudes towards the implementation of RM-EU Action Plan
- perception of some risks, advantages of the European integration process.

At the end of this stage, we have got the distributed perceptions of the population in relation with the implementation of AP by the authorities, respectively we have the possibility to estimate correctly the statistic distribution of opinions at the level of population and in social-economical and/or demographic categories in term of the considered issue.

The research also included 25 detailed interviews with other three categories of experts consisting of:

- 10 representatives of governmental institutions (4 women and 5 men, 5 of them are leaders of departments in charge with the European integration issue within ministries, 2 persons are advisors within ministries, 3 persons are directors of institutions);
- 11 national experts (10 men, 1 – woman, of them 3 persons are mass-media representatives, 2 – representatives of some financing organization which have got programs in the field of European integration, and 5 are directors or coordinators of some nongovernmental organizations, which carry out activities directly or tangentially connected with Moldova-EU Action Plan. One person is a jurist);
- 4 European experts (2 men, 2 women, of whom one person works in the Republic of Moldova, 2 – abroad, in European institutions. The activity of all interviewed persons from this category has direct connection with EURMAP).

The method of structured interview was applied with the following goals:

- The identification of perceptions towards the investigated problem of ex-

perts involved directly in the process of implementation of AP in the Republic of Moldova.

- The assessment of real and effective implementation of AP in the Republic of Moldova by independent experts per each chapter of AP separately.
- Assessment of the situation by European experts.

The subjects of the investigation at this stage were as follows:

- public authorities and other afferent institutions with direct/executive tasks in the implementation of AP.
- independent experts relevant for the considered fields, which either work in professional structures (NGOs, institutions of investigation), or are independent experts. An expert could say his opinion on several items of AP.
- European experts from or out of Moldova regarding the considered problem.

The data were gathered on the basis of a guide of structured interview (Annex) and the results were compared to the data gathered by means of the public opinion poll. The opinions formulated by experts were assessed and integrated in the final analysis, which is contained in the present research.

## **1.2. Goal and Structure of the Report**

This report presents the result of the survey. The Questionnaire (see the Annex of the Report) used for this purpose was coordinated and consulted beforehand with the interested actors, especially with think tanks (Association Adept, Public Policy Institute, Centre Access Info, IJC, the Resource Centre for Human Rights), representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration, as well as with some definite European advisors.

The report puts at the disposal of the Government, Ministries, central and local public authorities, international organizations, partners of development, mass-media means from the Republic of Moldova an assessment of public perception on the progress recorded in term of European integration. We hope that the information contained in this report will contribute to the encouragement of the process of European integration and mobilization of the whole society for implementing some considerable reforms of Europeanization of Republic of Mol-



dova. We also hope that the results of the survey will contribute to the improvement of the quality of future public policies which will refer to Republic of Moldova's European integration process.

Chapter I makes an introduction to the proposed goal and presents the used methodology; Chapter II presents the results of the public opinion poll (primary and secondary analysis). Each conclusion is accompanied by tables and/or diagrams which contain the quantitative information obtained as a result of the poll. The annexes consist of: List of figures inserted in the report, the comparative table regarding the opinions of the categories considered in the research towards the implementation of main chapters of PAUERM; a questionnaire applied on the population, a structured interview guide applied on experts.

### 1.3. *Authors of the Report*

The survey was made by **IDIS Viitorul** and **CBS Axa**, and the report was elaborated by **IDIS Viitorul** and **Eurasia Foundation**.

**IDIS „Viitorul”** is an institution of research, training and public initiative which works in a series of fields connected with: economic analysis, governing, political research, strategic planning and knowledge management. IDIS works as a common platform which joins together young intellectuals dealing with the model of transition to market economy and open society. IDIS (Institute for Development and Social Institutes) „Viitorul” is the successor of the Foundation Viitorul, and it generally preserves the traditions, objectives and principles of activity of the foundation such as: the formation of democratic institutions and the development of a spirit of effective responsibility among politicians, civil servants and citizens of our country, the consolidation of the civil society and the critical spirit, promotion of rights and values of an open, a modernized and pro-European society. The institutional maturity of IDIS „Viitorul” is also assured by its connection to famous international professional networks. IDIS Viitorul supports the actions of reform and democratization of the society from RM, assuming the responsibility to work with all responsible and trustful actors (think tanks, representative association of local authorities, specialized NGOs and business community, the academic environment and university staff). IDIS Viitorul invests intelligence and expertise in the opening of some new perspectives of political, economic

and social evolution, contributing by means of polls and independent assessments to the reach of conditions worth being compared to criteria from Copenhagen, for preparing the plenary and full integration of RM in the European Union. The institute opts for more transparency of public institutions; it develops the civil society from the lowest level of local democracy.

**„Eurasia” Foundation** is a non-profit private organization administered by the US Government, as well as other public and private donors. Beginning with 1992, Eurasia Foundation has invested more than 335 million American dollars, by means of over 7,700 grants and projects of technical assistance in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kirghiz Republic, Republic of Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine and Uzbekistan. To support the participation of citizens to the governing and reform processes from the Republic of Moldova, Eurasia Foundation (EF) increases the public responsibility in the most important aspects of development. In Moldova, EF provides assistance by means of allocation of funds (grants) and technical assistance regarding the methods of citizens' participation, providing opportunities of training, communication and cooperation, supporting governmental agencies, organizations of the civil society and mass-media. Since 1993, Eurasia Foundation has invested more than 4 million USD in the development of private sector, public policies and civil society from the Republic of Moldova.

**CBS AXA** is a sociological company registered in 2003 founded on the basis of the Opinion Research Centre ILIGACIU Ltd, which has got an experience of over 7 years in carrying out sociological and marketing surveys. CBS AXA is a member of TNS group (the third market research company in the world), and from July 2006, it has got the right to carry the name Gallup International. The basic shareholder of the enterprise CBS AXA is BBSS (Balkan British Social Survey) Bulgaria, member of Gallup International Association and of the group TNS CSOP TNS Bucharest, Romania. The activity of CBS AXA focuses on quantitative and qualitative studies in different fields of activity: public opinion research, mass-media, marketing research. CBS AXA carried out social surveys at a local, regional and national levels so far, market studies – among individual consumers (local, regional and national level) and at the level of economic agents, organizational assessment – in public and private institutions, hearing studies – at the local, regional and national levels, political marketing studies – at a local, regional and national level.



## II. Results of the public opinion poll (primary and secondary analysis)

### 2.1. Low incomes and lack of jobs are the most important problems citizens face

The European integration problem was investigated in the context of „social agenda” (*agenda settings*), existing at the level of citizens of the Republic of Moldova, and manifesting itself in term of perceptions, values and expectances expressed by the respondents.

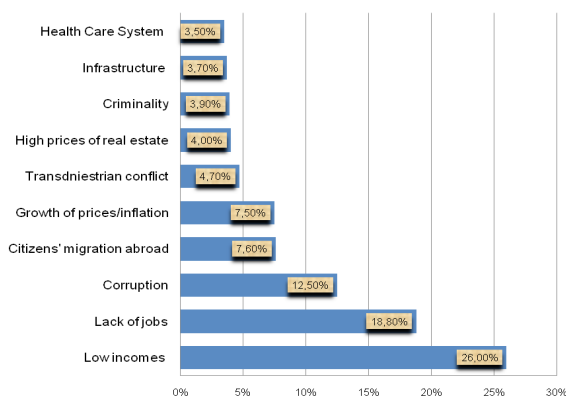
Thus, according to the data of the poll, the most important problems Republic of Moldova faces today carry a social-economic connotation. We can classify the problems of citizens in three categories depending on their importance.

The first category (over 15%) includes problems of “incomes (salaries, pensions)” – perceived as a major problem by 26% of the respondents and the issue of “lack of jobs” – perceived as an important problem by 18% by the interviewed persons.

The second category (between 5-15%) includes „corruption” (12,5%), „migration of citizens abroad” (7,6%), „the growth of prices” (7,5%).

The third category (sub 5%) includes „the Transnistrian conflict” (4,7%) and other social problems considered important by less than 4% of the population.

Fig.1: Most important problems of the population of RM



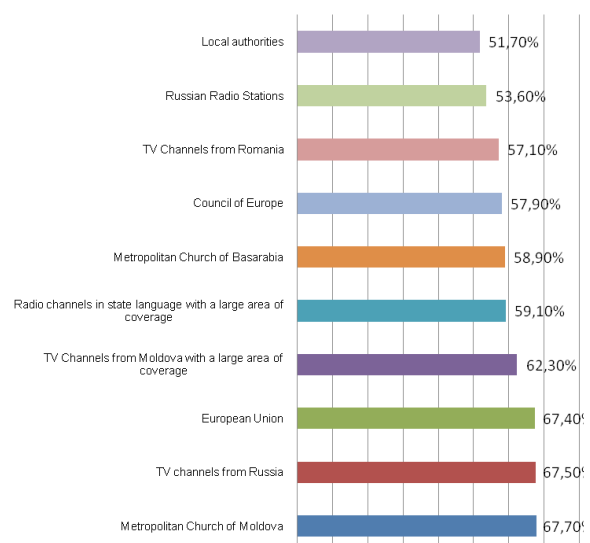
### 2.2. The Metropolitan Church of Moldova, Russian Television and EU are mostly trusted to by citizens

Citizens trust EU very much. Thus, this institution is the third in the top of citizens' trust, being preceded only by the Metropolitan Church and TV channels from Russia. European institutions are appreciated positively by citizens through the activities carried out within Republic of Moldova's European integration process, in comparison with national institutions.

Thus, the European Commission Delegation (60,7%), Embassies of EU member states (57,9%) and the Bureau of the Council of Europe (57,8%) are positively appreciated by more citizens than the state institutions: the Government (42,4%), the Presidency (41%), the Parliament (40,6%).

It is worth mentioning that another “internal” institution, the Metropolitan Church of Bessarabia, associated with a EU member state, Romania, is also much trusted to by the public (58,9%).

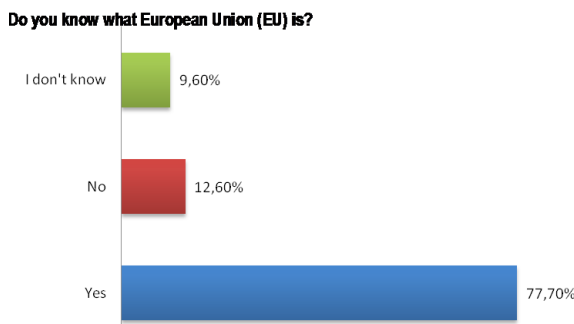
Fig. 2: Confidence in public and private institutions from the Republic of Moldova



### 2.3. Population considers that it possesses basic knowledge about EU

The cognition of EU by the citizens of RM has been assessed by means of a direct question. This question was meant to open the communication with the respondents on the issue of general knowledge about community institutions (image, degree of cognition, the wave of positive or negative, realist or non-realist expectancies). It is worth mentioning that a high percentage of people assume they know what EU is.

Fig.3: Degree of cognition of EU

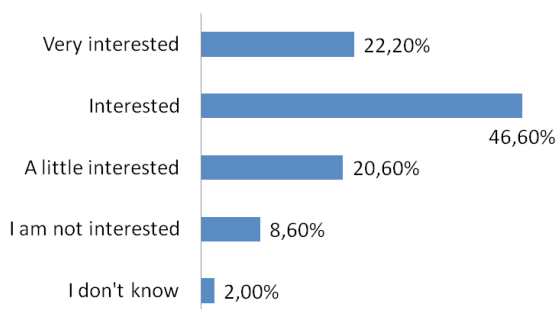


### 2.4. Most people are interested in EU and in its relations with Republic of Moldova

The general cognition is supported by motivation and individual interests. In other words, the instrumental cognition of EU is considered to be a much more relevant indicator as it describes an action value, directed to behaviour, actions or the will to know different aspects of European integration. Respondents were asked to say if they were interested in Republic of Moldova's relations with EU. They answered they are "very interested" (22,2%) and "interested" (46,6%). Thus, it may be concluded there is much attention paid to EU issue (67,2%).

The sociological profile of EU's supporter in the Republic of Moldova is as follows: a young person aged 18-29 years old, student or persons with diplomas of higher education, Moldovan/Romanian or Bulgarian, in general having a member of the family gone abroad in an EU country.

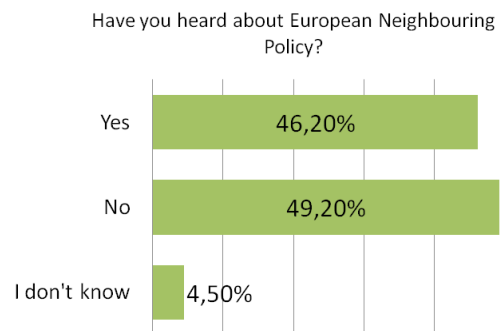
Fig.4: Level of interest towards RM-EU relations



### 2.5. Half of the population has got knowledge about ENP

From the general cognition of EU, the questionnaire included more specific questions, connected to the information of citizens about the EU specific policy and its neighbourhood, the European Neighbouring Policy, having the biggest relevance towards the interests of citizens and the society of RM as a whole. In this moment, we can already notice that the most respondents do not know about the existence of ENP. The hesitating answers cover only a small amount of all answers.

Fig.5: The degree of information about ENP

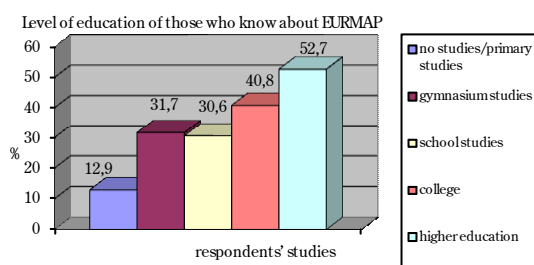


### 2.6. Only one third of the population knows about the existence of EU-RM Action Plan

Only 32% of respondents know about the existence of EU-RM Action Plan in comparison with 6%, who do not know anything about it, and 3% - who gave unclear answers. Even the existence of one quarter of informed respondents represents an important statistic fact in our opinion, given the complexity of goals formulated by EURMAP, as well as the fact that the public opinion has usually got immunity towards the existence of some different strategies and action plans, elaborated by public authorities of RM on different subjects and priorities of internal reform. Yet, there are no excuses, especially for governmental or state media institutions, that 6% of the citizens of RM do not know about the existence of EURMAP. The lack of information on this issue can be explained by means of extremely big influence which the Russian television has on RM.

The proportion of those who know about EU-RMAP is directly dependent on the studies of the respondents (Fig.6). Thus, the respondents without studies are very little informed (12,9%) and the amount of respondents with diplomas of higher education has grown to 52,7%.

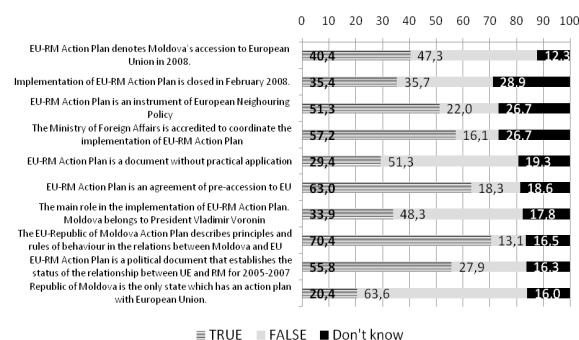
Fig.6: Correlation between education and knowledge about EURMAP



## 2.7. The population has got wrong ideas about the meaning of EU-RM Action Plan

Yet, the simple utterance regarding the cognition of EURMAP doesn't provide sufficient statistic relevance. Respondents often attribute the cognition to some totally unknown spheres or documents as a result of an effort of compliance, conformist placement towards the group "under consideration", pretending more respect from the part of those who assess the answers. Following this logical line, we have tried to validate the degree of effective cognition of EURMAP by means of some affirmations with relative validity, more or less correct and which we have asked the respondents to say something about.

Fig.7: What and how does the population of RM know about the meaning of EURMAP



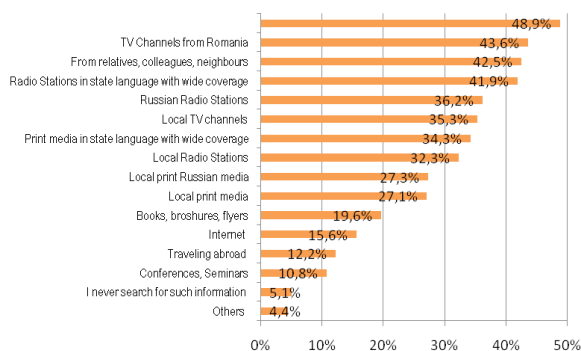
The analysis of answers obtained at the previous question suggests the existence of an important number of stereotypes, or even false ideas about the role and the meaning of the Action Plan for the relations of RM with EU. Most respondents consider that this agreement is exclusively granted to RM, or that it highlights the accession to EU in 2008.

To conclude with, despite the fact much is spoken about it at the governmental level, the population knows very little about what the effort of European integration really means, which the costs are and which is the path to be followed.

## 2.8. The population doesn't get informed about the European problem from mass-media sources

The amount of means of information about EU institutions is formally diverse, but only apparently. This is due to the fact that most respondents do not look for information about EU. The biggest number of respondents prefers getting informed from other sources than print media, mass media in general, press conferences and travels abroad. And this is due to the fact that most respondents do not look forwards to finding out some information about EU. The gathered answers are spontaneous, respectively without the indication of the possible source of information. The results are quite satisfactory.

Fig.8: Where from does the population of RM find out about EU?

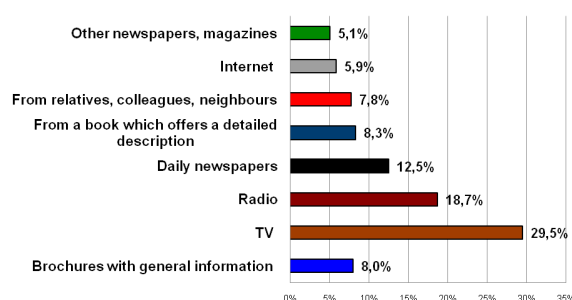


## 2.9. Television and radio provides most information about AP

When given alternatives, citizens decide that TV and Radio are the primary sources of information. TV and Radio posts are most important and influence source of information of citizens about the implementation of EURMAP (with 29,5% and 18,7%). The written press is the last one (5,1%), at a big distance after electronic media, communication with neighbours and relatives, and even internet. The citizens' preferences for the information distributed by means of electronic mass media as well as the interest towards cognitive/analytic publications/brochures, meant for public information (8,6% and 8,3%) are worth being mentioned here. We notice that the citizens' preferences still continue being crystallized and that new ways of dissemination of information are appreciated enough by non-stubborn consumers of information from RM. These preferences strongly correlate with the age and studies. Thus, almost one fifth of respondents with high school studies and higher education diplomas would prefer to get informed from Internet, but from 5% of those who have gymnasium or primary school studies

up to 29% of those who have higher education diplomas get informed today.

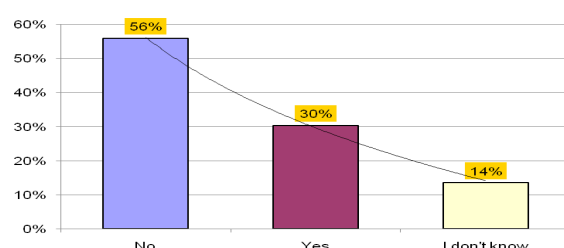
Fig.9: Where from does the population of RM prefer to find out information about PAUERM?



## 2.10. The information about EU is perceived as defective

Even if citizens get informed from different sources about the relation of RM with EU, most of them consider the existent information insufficient (56%). Only 3% are satisfied with the quality of information to which they have access at present, in comparison with 14%, who didn't give any reply.

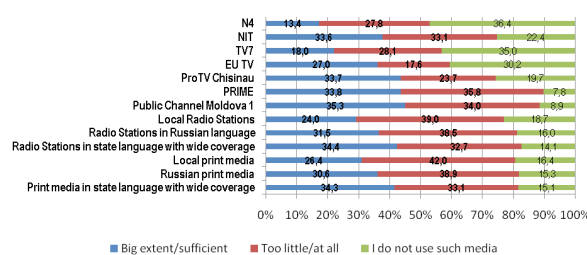
Fig.10: Is the information about EU sufficient in RM?



## 2.11. Radio stations inform best of all about RM-EU relations, and television provides the best information about EU

The highest score of satisfaction with the way press from RM covers the European integration process and the issue of implementation of EURMAP is attributed to local radio stations. As far as a source where from citizens can get information about EU is concerned, citizens find it our from TV channels from Moldova, Russia and Romania, as the main informing channels.

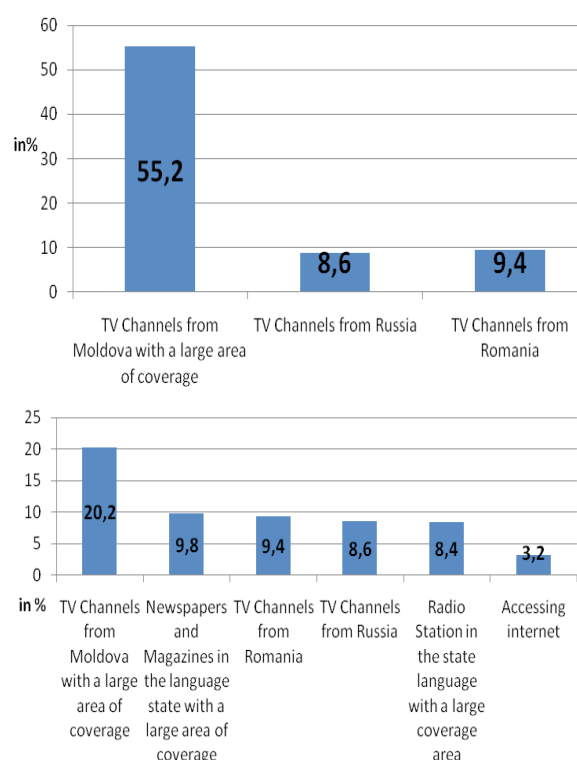
Fig.11: How does mass-media from RM cover the European integration process?



As far as the information of citizens about RM-EU Action Plan is concerned, citizens preferred to watch TV channels from Moldova who have a wide area of coverage, newspapers and magazines printed in state language, TV from Romania. A very small number of people use the Internet to find out about the progresses of EURMAP only 3,2%. In fact, citizens' preferences regarding for getting informed do not different very much from current sources which they use.

## Where from do you get informed or you would like to get informed about European Union, its policies and institutions?

Fig.12: Where from do citizens get informed (left table) or would like to find out information about EU (right table)?

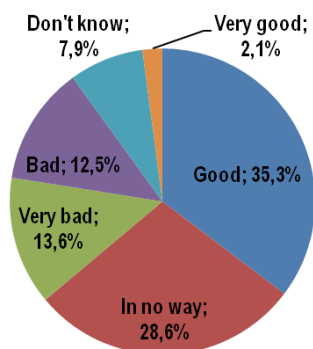


## 2.12. Only one third of the population believes that the image of Moldova is good in Europe

The way respondents consider RM is appreciated abroad (EU) has a strong influence on their behaviour and opinions towards the European integration as a whole. People tend to display resistance to the integration in a hostile environment or about which everyone believes that it is a real threat to the individual or community identity. Nearly 35% of the respondents consider that RM has a good image in EU, in comparison with 14%, who appreciate the image of RM in EU as "bad" and "very bad" (12%). Only 2% considers that RM has a good image in EU, and 29% think RM is "nothing" in EU.

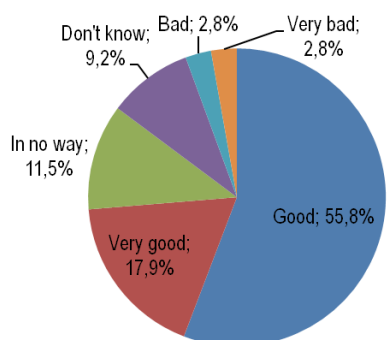


Fig.13: What image has RM got in EU?



Public opinion is self-critical enough regarding the image of RM in EU. At the same time, 56% of the respondents consider that EU has a good image in RM, and 18% consider that its image is “very good” here.

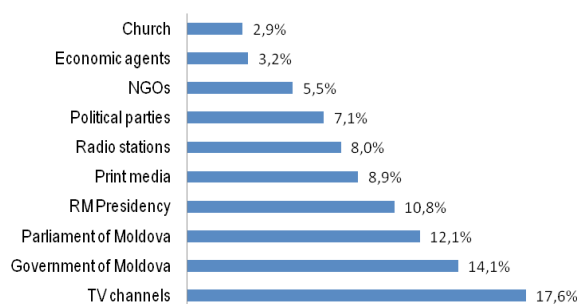
Fig.14: What image has EU got in RM?



### 2.13. Television contributes most of all the European integration of RM

Respondents consider that electronic mass media contributes, through information, most of all to the European integration process of RM, and this happens despite the fact that, before that, nearly 56% estimated the information which they have access to as unsatisfactory to get informed about EU. TV channels are appreciated with higher scores than central authorities (Government, Parliament and Presidency of RM) regarding their contribution to integration (14,1%-10,8%), being followed by print media (newspapers and magazines) - 8,8%, radio stations - 8%, political parties - 7,1%, NGOs - 5,5%, economic agents - 3,2% and the church.

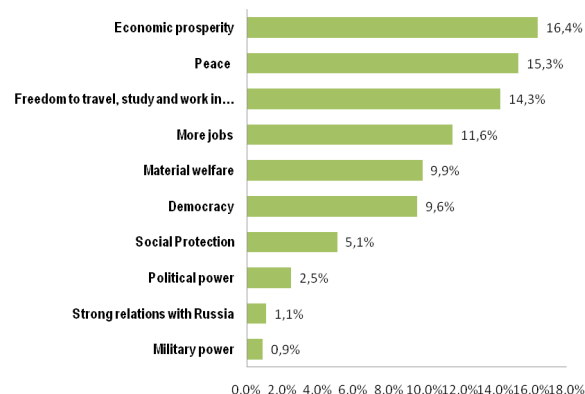
Fig.15: Institutions which contribute most of all to the European integration process of RM?



### 2.14. For Moldovan citizens, EU means economic prosperity, NATO, military aspects, CIS, relation with Russia

The confidence citizens have towards different organization is always the nucleus of perceptions dominant in the society and of individual attitude, formed on the basis of information or the lack of information. The European Union is appreciated by citizens of Moldova as: Economic prosperity (16,4%), Peace (15,3%), Freedom to travel, study and work in EU (14,3 %), a larger number of jobs (11,6%), Material welfare (9,9%) etc.

Fig.16: What is EU associated with?

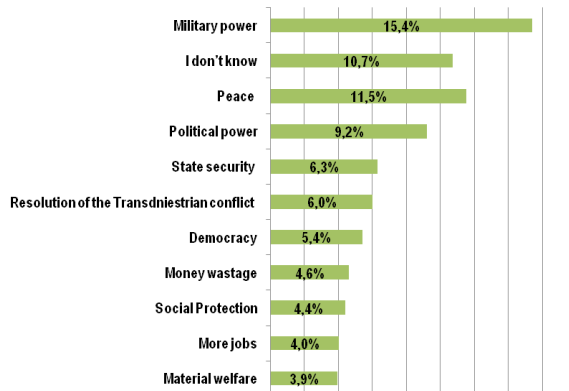


NATO is perceived by the citizens of the Republic of Moldova in military terms, despite the fact the Alliance is defined today as a political-military alliance. This association shows the poor information of the population as far as NATO is concerned and the lack of public education referring to this issue. At the same time, NATO is associated with “political power” (9,2%), as well as with “peace” (11,5%) which is apparently a paradox. It is worth mentioning that citizens also associate NATO with “state security” (6,3%) and “democracy” (5,4%).

Certainly, the *political* dimension of the Alliance is unknown for the population from the Republic of Moldova, as well as the economic dimension.

The problem of public education is a priority for the institutions of RM.

Fig.17: What is NATO associated with?



CIS is the organization associated most of all with the Russian Federation (18,7%), and this is the strongest correlation. Far from it is “peace” (7%) and economic prosperity (6,1%). It is worth mentioning that CIS is perceived by citizens as an economic solution for Republic of Moldova, despite the fact or, mainly, because of this fact, it is associated mostly with the Russian Federation.

Fig.18: What is CIS associated with?

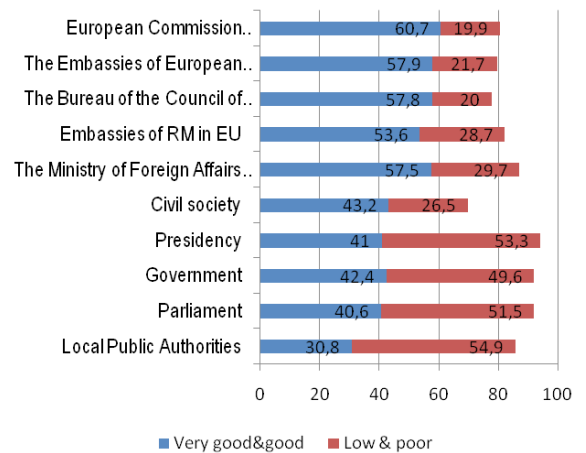


## 2.15. The European Commission Delegation bears more confidence from the part of the public in term of promotion of European integration that its own state institutions

European institutions are appreciated positively by citizens through the activities carried out in the European integration process of Republic of Moldova, in comparison with national institutions. Thus, the European Commission Delegation (60,7%), the Embassies of EU member states (57,9%) and the Bureau of the Council of Europe (57,8%) are appreciated positively by a bigger number of citizens than states institutions such as: the Government (42,4%), the Presidency (41%), the Parliament (40,6%). It is worth saying that an other “internal” institu-

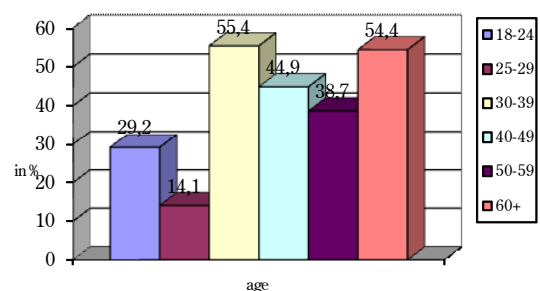
tion, the Metropolitan Church of Basarabia, associated in general with a EU member state, respectively Romania, also bears much confidence from the part of the public (58,9%).

Fig.19: Appreciation of institutions in the promotion of European integration of RM and implementation of EURMAP



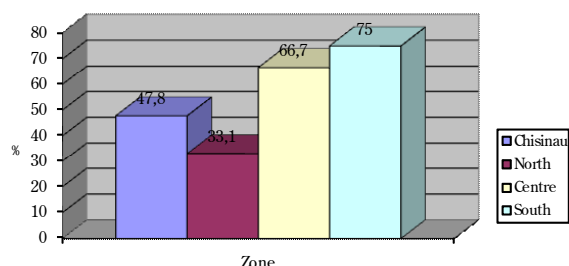
We notice a difference depending on the age of those who consider that the Presidency has got a good and a very good activity in the promotion of European integration of the Republic of Moldova and implementation of RM-EU Action Plan. This one is the lowest for persons aged 25-29 years old (14,1%), and much higher for persons older than 60 years old (fig.).

Fig.20: The profile of those who believe that the president has a good/very good activity in the implementation of EURMAP



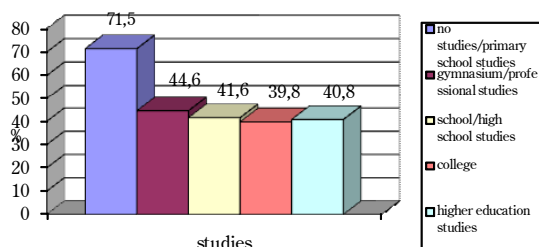
There are also differences depending on the geographic zones where respondents live, in the central and Southern regions. in this context, the activity of the Presidency is appreciated as low and bad at a level of 66,7% and, respectively, 75%.

Fig.21: The geographic profile of those who do not appreciate the activity of the presidency in the implementation of EURMAP



Approximately the same situation is recorded in the context of appreciation of the activity of the Parliament, but not referring to the Government's. We could conclude here that the appreciation of the activity of these institutions in the direction of European integration strongly correlates with the confidence in these institutions of different groups of the population, as well as with the information. Thus, the activity of the Government in this context is best of all appreciated by the respondents with the lowest level of education (71,5% compared to approximately 40-45% amongst other respondents)

Fig.22: Educational profile of those who appreciate positively the activity of the Government in the implementation of EURMAP

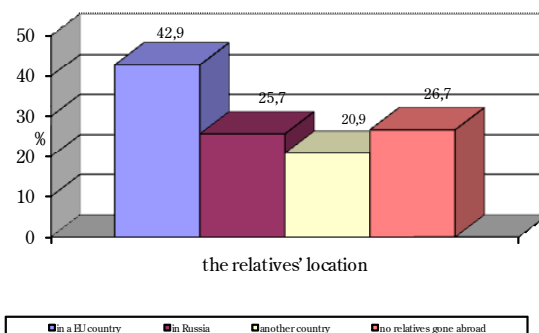


Appreciation of the activity of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration is approximately the same on the whole amount of respondents, except their geographic profile. Thus, 70,7% of respondents from Chisinau consider the activity of this institution as good and very good in this field, in comparison with 56,9% in the Northern zone, and approximately 48% in the centre and South.

If to consider citizens who have their relatives abroad in these countries as the most informed one about the activity of Embassies of Republic of Moldova with the headquarters in the European Union member states, we can notice that mainly these persons appreciate their activity in

the field of supporting the European integration of our country as low.

Fig.23: Appreciation of activity of the embassies of RM depending on the place where their relatives go abroad

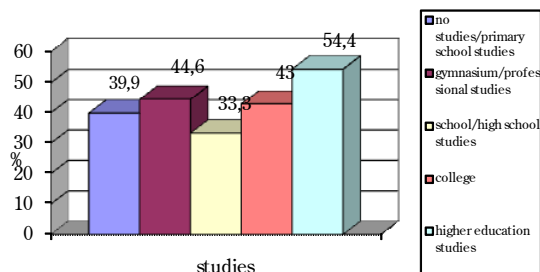


The activity of Embassies of European Union member states to Republic of Moldova, which are placed in Chisinau, is appreciated as good by the citizens of Chisinau (62,5%), in comparison with those from the central zone (53,2%), as well as by those from the North and South (approximately 58%).

The activity of the European Commission Delegation is, on the contrary, appreciated more by the respondents from the North (71%), and after that, by those from Chisinau (64,1%).

The good and very good appreciation of the efforts of the civil society is approximately the same on the whole amount of respondents, recording higher values depending on the respondents' level of education.

Fig.24: Appreciation of the activity of the civil society depending on the respondents' level of education



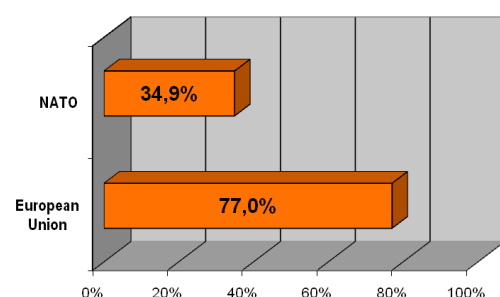
As far as the information of citizens about European integration process is concerned, we conclude a low interest from the part of citizens towards finding out more information. They prefer to get informed from traditional resources. Thus, the citizen prefers to get the information from TV or Radio rather

than search it in the Internet, booklets, brochures, seminars, conferences. These preferences strongly correlate with the age and studies. Thus, nearly one fifth of citizens with high school and diplomas of higher education would prefer to get the information from the Internet. Yet, 5% of those with gymnasium/primary school studies up to 29% of those with higher education studies get informed today due to this means.

## 2.16. The majority of the population would vote for accession to EU and one third for accession to NATO

Respondents have a clear view in favour of EU (77%), in case of a referendum where they would be invited to vote for the accession of RM to EU and 34% for accession to NATO. It is worth mentioning here that 88% of the respondents have heard about NATO and that this knowledge is strongly related to the respondents' studies, especially for NATO, and less for EU.

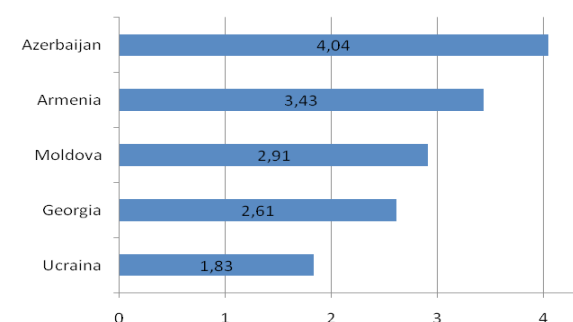
Fig.25: The vote for the accession to EU and NATO



## 2.17. Moldova will join EU after Ukraine and Georgia

Asked about the order the following countries would join EU, the respondents consider that Ukraine and Georgia have the biggest chance and RM would be on the third place in this context, preceding Armenia and Azerbaijan. It is worth mentioning that the lower scores show the order of priorities and it is calculated depending on the number of positive answers on a scale of 1 to 5 points, where the biggest values were given to the "countries with the small chance to join EU", and the lowest ones – to those who have the first the chances to join European Union, according to the respondents.

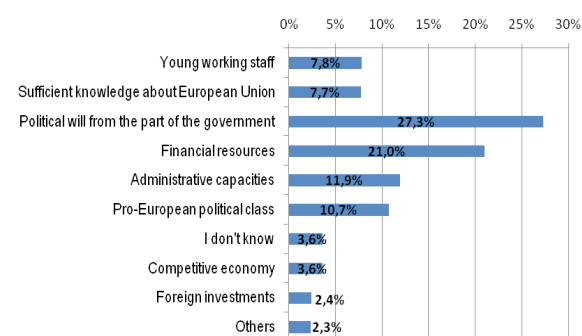
Fig.26: The order of integration of Eastern states in EU in the respondents' opinion



## 2.18. The lack of political will and the deficit of financial resources slow down the European integration process

The survey assesses a series of gaps seriously noticed by the public opinion in RM as far as the implementation of EURMAP is concerned. The most important are: the lack of political will (27,3%), deficit of financial resource allocated for the realization of the fixed tasks (21%), lack of administrative capacities (11,9%) and, the volatility of the responsibility assumed by the political class, appreciated somehow in a different way in comparison with the Government (10,7%).

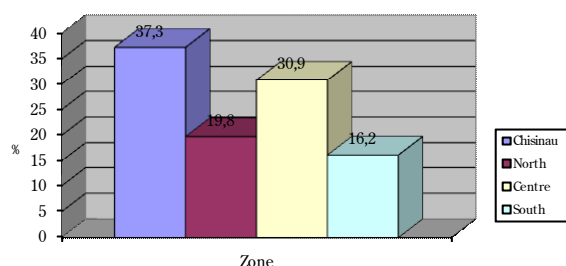
Fig.27: What does RM lack for the implementation of EURMAP



The lack of political will to efficiently realize the tasks of European integration of the Republic of Moldova is mostly felt by the population from Chisinau (37,3%) and less – in the North (19,8%). A few citizens who identify the lack of political will as an impediment in the way of European integration of the country are the persons without studies or with primary school studies (17,%%). At the same time, they put the focus on the lack of financial resources (25,6%), without mentioning other impediments.



Fig.28: Correlation between the respondents' opinion on lack of „political will” for the implementation of EURMAP and the geographic location where they come from

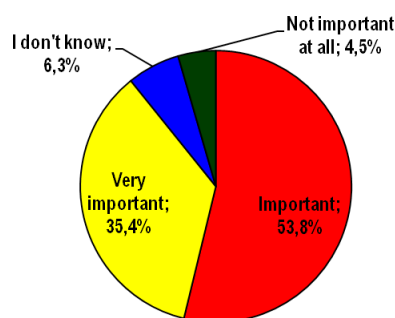


It is worth saying that the economic competitiveness and investments are treated as the derivatives of “administrative capacity” and political will, as they really are, in fact.

### 2.19. Life quality of citizens of RM depends on the quality and the degree of implementation of AP

Even if the respondents are not sufficiently well informed about ENP, EURMAP and the relation of RM with EU, most of them are sure of the fact that the quality of implementation of these responsibilities depends on the quality of their living in RM. Thus, nearly 35% of the respondents consider the implementation of AP as “very important”, and 54% consider it “important” for the quality of living, and only 5% consider the process of implementation of EURMAP unimportant.

Fig.29: Correlation between the implementation of EURMAP and the improvement of life quality



We should also mention the fact that 7% of women, compared to 1,9% of men, consider that the realization of tasks of the European integration by the authorities from Chisinau has not importance for the improvement of life quality in the Republic of Moldova. At the same time, pension-

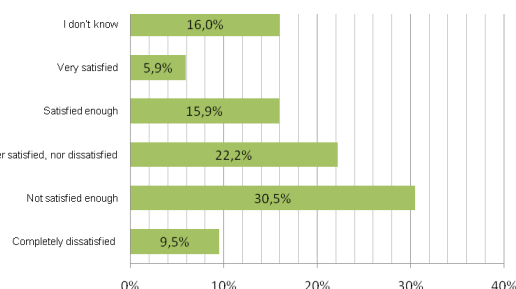
ers (6,1%) do not give much importance to this fact, in comparison with other social groups, as well as those who intend to leave the country for sure (7,1%), in comparison with those who are not sure if they leave or not the country (3,6%) and those who have the intention to leave the country (4%).

### 2.20. The population is dissatisfied with the implementation of some chapters of EUR-MAP

Even if the importance of implementation of EURMAP is almost unanimously appreciated and there are no considerable discretions about the benefic character of its effects, the direct assessment of AP chapters denote a critical attitude and discretion from the part of respondents. Otherwise said, respondents are aware of the need of implementation of EURMAP, but they are not sure that the current governing system did the right thing in the realization of this goal or they could do in future.

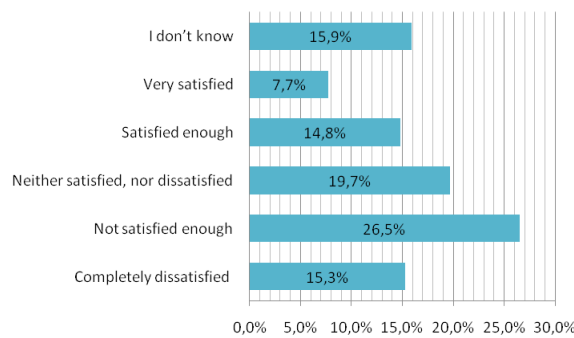
This reaction can be determined from several points of view: on the one hand, by means of intensity of answers of citizens dissatisfied with the implementation of some definite chapters, as well as by means of localization of some important lines of non-answers, or vague answers, which have almost the same value with the dissatisfied ones. Thus, we can find nearly 4% citizens dissatisfied with the implementation of Chapter I “Political dialogue and democratic reforms” compared to 21,8% satisfied citizens and nearly 38,2% – hesitating and non-answers.

Fig.30: Assessment of the implementation of the political dialogue and democratic reforms



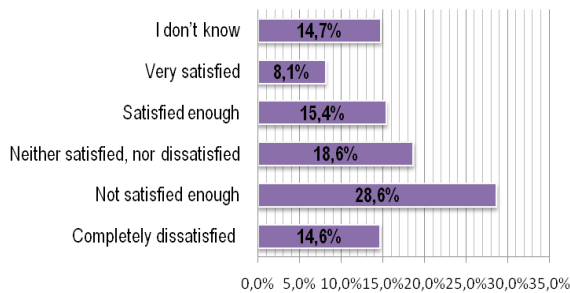
A similar situation is recorded at the assessment of Chapter II “Cooperation for the resolution of the Transdnistrian conflict”, in which nearly 41,8% of respondents are dissatisfied, in comparison with 22,5% who are satisfied, and 35,6% – hesitating and non-answers.

Fig.31: Assessment of governmental efforts for the resolution of the Transdniestrian conflict



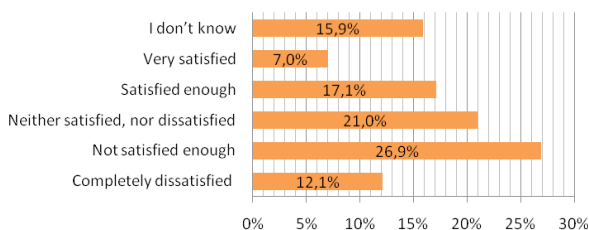
Chapter III „Reforms and social-economical development” covers the public attitude towards their economic situation at this moment. Hence, the obtained answers are contrastive: 43,2% are dissatisfied, 23,3% - satisfied and over 33,3% - undecided in their opinions.

Fig.32: Assessment of governmental efforts of implementation of social-economical reforms



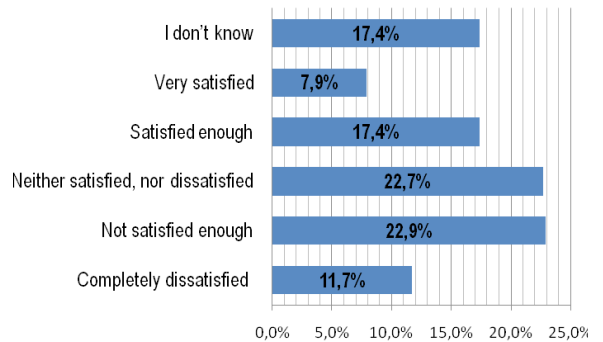
Chapter IV „Trade, market and regulatory reform” covers in general the same reflexive logics of public opinion. In this context, nearly 39% citizens are dissatisfied with its implementation, 24,1% - satisfied, and 36,9% - hesitate or give no answers.

Fig.33: Assessment of governmental efforts of stimulating RM's trade relations



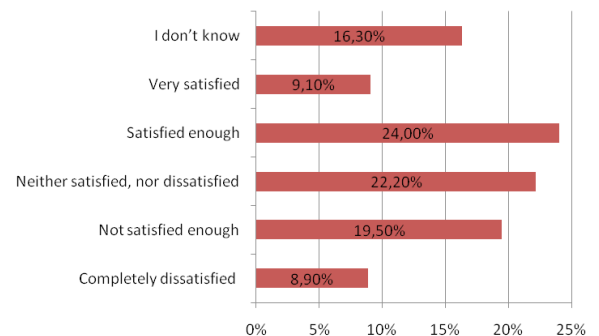
Chapter V „Cooperation in the field of justice and home affairs” distribute the received answers in the following way: 34,6% - opinion dissatisfied with the implementation, 25,3% - satisfied and about 40,3% - undecided.

Fig.34: Assessment of governmental efforts of implementation of reforms in the field of justice and home affairs



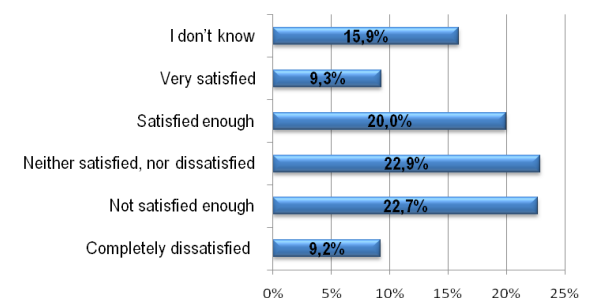
Chapter VI „Transport, electricity, telecommunications, environment and research” refers to projects of infrastructure, transport and electricity, and it makes the variety of possible answers more complicated. Yet, 33,1% of the respondents are satisfied with the implementation of this chapter, 22% - are undecided, 16,3% - gave no answers and about 28,5% - are dissatisfied.

Fig.35: Assessment of governmental efforts in the implementation of reforms in the field of transport, electricity and telecommunications



The last chapter, the 7<sup>th</sup>, refers to the inter-human contacts and obtains in the top of assessments made by the respondents of this poll nearly 31,9% - dissatisfied opinions, 29,3% - satisfied, and about 38,8% - unclear attitude or no answers.

Fig.36: Assessment of governmental efforts of implementation of reforms in the field of “inter-human contacts”

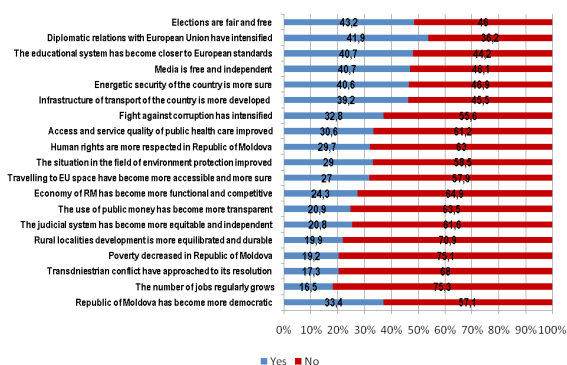


## 2.21. Population doesn't perceive considerable improvements as a result of implementation of AP

The analysis of answers gathered at the evaluation of the social impact of EURMAP denotes the fact that the citizens didn't feel almost at all essential changes in their individual life. In those 3 years of implementation of EURMAP: the number of jobs didn't increase (75,3%), and the decrease of poverty didn't have visible effects for citizens (75,1%); equilibrated and durable development of rural and urban localities is unnoticeable (70,9%), and we cannot even test the existence of some considerable improvements as far as the resolution of the Transdnestrian conflict is concerned (68%),

At a global level, the economy of RM didn't become more functional or more competitive (64,9%), the use of public money didn't become more transparent (63,5%), and human rights in the Republic of Moldova are not obeyed more (63%). The data of the opinion poll show that less than a half of citizens of Republic of Moldova consider that: the elections are fair and free (43,2%), democratic relations with European Union countries haven't intensified (41,9%), the press has become more free and independent (40,7%), the education system is closer to European standards (40,7%), the press has become more free and independent (40,7%), the education system is closer to European standards (40,7%).

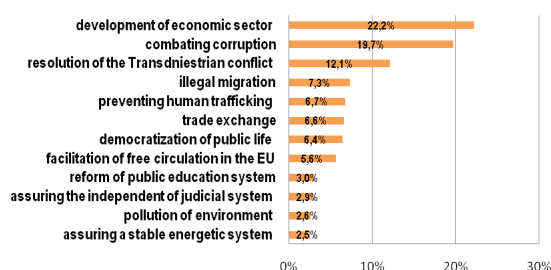
Fig.37: The population's perception of the changes recorded in the Republic of Moldova in the last three years



## 2.22. Development of economy and combatting corruption must be the priorities of the Government

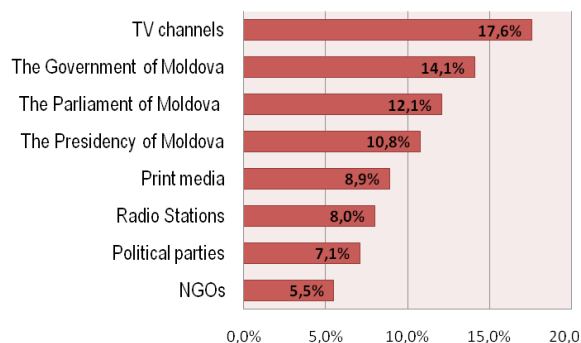
If we are to assess the fields the authorities should concentrate on, they would be as follows: the development of economic sector (22%), combating corruption (19,7%), the resolution of the Transdnestrian conflict (12,1%) and illegal migration phenomenon (7,3%).

Fig.38: Government's priorities for European integration in the population's opinion



As far as the image of institutions in the European integration process, it is perceived differently by citizens. In their opinion, TV channels (17,5%) contribute most of all to the European integration even if it is a paradox. Then, public institutions from Moldova follow: the Government (14,1 %), the Parliament (12,1%), the Presidency (10,8%), Print media (8,9%). It is interesting to mention the fact that citizens appreciate quite modestly the contribution of some institutions which should have a major role like: political parties (7,1%), nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) (5,5%), Economic agents (3,2%), Academic staff (2,6%). The local public administration has also debts in this context (2,3%).

Fig.39: Who contributes to European integration?

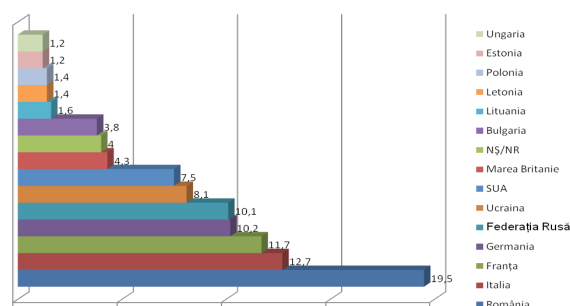


## 2.23. Romania can help Moldova most of all in the European integration process

The group of states which can help RM most of all in the European integration process starts with Romania (with nearly 19,5%), followed very closely by Italy (12,7%) and France (11,7%), Ukraine (8,1%) and the USA (7,5%). Surprisingly, Russia is also among the states which can help RM to join EU – with 10,1%. The paradox of this choice made by the respondents is apparently connected with the ambiguity and the special role of the North neighbour in term of its influence on the political and economic process from Republic of Moldova, which has implicitly

influence on the improper roles which the public voice attributes it on different occasions.

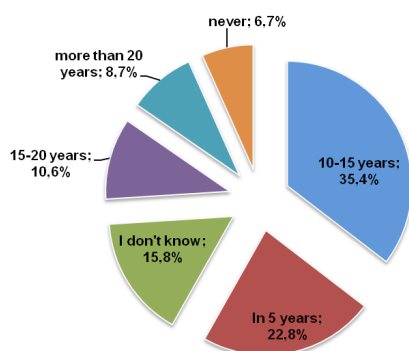
Fig.40: Romania is the state which can help RM most of all in the European integration process



## 2.24. RM will join EU in 10-15 years

We notice that the respondents of this poll categorically refuse to treat the accession of RM to EU in abstract terms, avoiding saying something on the issue of accession, according to the diplomats' habit. Respondents want to say a few firm words about accession and consider that the following 10-15 years is the most suiFig.period for this event to take place (35,4%), or the next 15-20 years (10,6%). About 8,7% consider that the accession of RM to EU could be held in the following 20 years, and about 6,7% assert that RM will never join EU.

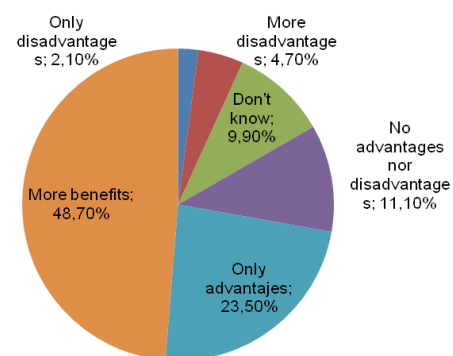
Fig.41: When do citizen think RM will join EU?



## 2.25. RM will have only benefits from the accession to EU

Nearly 48,7% of respondents consider that Moldova's accession to EU could provide more advantages than disadvantages, 23,5% consider that the accession will denote only advantages, and 11,1% say there will be neither advantages nor disadvantages. About 73,3% of respondents affirm that Moldova's accession to EU would be a good thing, and 14,3% consider it is neither good nor bad.

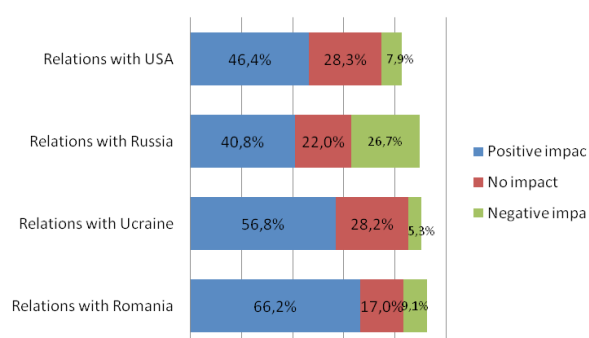
Fig.42: Perception of advantages and disadvantages as a result of RM's accession to EU



## 2.26. The accession to EU will improve the relations with neighbouring countries

At the same time, the European integration would have a positive influence most of all in the context of relations of RM with the neighbouring states such as: Romania and Ukraine (66,2% and 56,8%), while the advance of the process of institutional adjustment to EU standards could cause negative relations with Russia (26,7%).

Fig.43: Impact of the European integration on the statute of relationship with the following states...



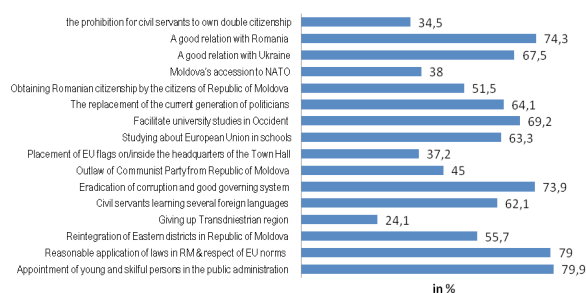
## 2.27. The raise of the level of competence of public authorities and the respect of European norms can contribute to the stimulation of the European integration process

The encouragement of the European integration process of RM could be possible in the following conditions: employing youth and some competent persons in the local public administration (79,9 %), reasonable application of laws in the Republic of Moldova and respect of European norms (79%), good relations with Romania (74,3%), eradication of corruption and good governing system (73,9%), Partnerships between Republic of Moldova and other European countries for the facilitation of university studies in Occident (69,2%), A good relation with Ukraine (67,5%), The replacement of the current genera-



tion of politicians (64,1%), Studying about European Union in schools (63,3%).

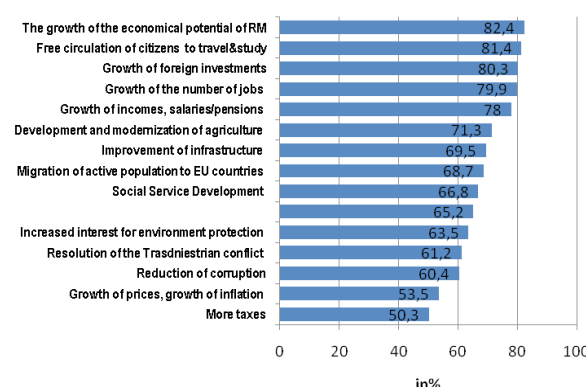
Fig.44: Measures to contribute to the stimulation of European integration process



## 2.28. What will happen in case RM joins EU?

In case Moldova joins European Union, 41,2% say they will not leave Moldova, while 39,2% consider they could leave it for a certain period of time and only 13,3% declared they would leave for good. About 82,4% of the population consider that Moldova's integration in EU will contribute to the growth of economic potential 81,4% think the possibilities of circulation for citizens will grow, 80,3% consider that foreign investments will grow, 79,9% believe in the growth of number of jobs, 78% - the growth of incomes, salaries/pensions, 71,3 - development and modernization of agriculture.

Fig.45: What will happen after European integration of RM?



## 2.29. Romania is the country perceived by the population as most useful in the European integration process

The research confirms one of the trends already evident in the society of Republic of Moldova related to the attitude towards Romania, respectively a cold relation, almost frozen at the level of political elite, as well as a positive attitude at the level of population,

which continues considering Romania as the most useful country for the Republic of Moldova in the process of its European integration.

In the Moldovan public's opinion, there are three main categories of states which can help Republic of Moldova on its European integration path. The first category is formed of strong states of Euro-Atlantic world, which have capacities of interfering and making decisions. Thus, "the three big powers of EU", respectively Italy, Germany and France are considered to be the states which can help Republic of Moldova most efficiently (12,7%, 10,2% and 11,7%). the USA are also present with 7,5% in this context. (Fig.40)

Second, there are the states from the former URSS or the socialist camp. Theoretically, they can share their experience with the Republic of Moldova. Apparently a paradox, the public perception is not convinced of the contribution of these states and it doesn't perceive them as "lawyers" or "locomotives" in the European integration process. The percentage these countries get are very low: Bulgaria 3,8%, Hungary 1,2%, Poland 1,4%. Baltic states also have bad results in this context: Latvia 1,4%, Lithuania 1,2%, Estonia 1,2%.

Third, there are also the relatively confuse percentages given by the population to some countries which, in reality, cannot do much directly for Republic of Moldova's integration in the EU space, for example Russia or Ukraine.

The percentage of 10,1% given to Russia covers the confidence of a part of the population that nothing positive could happen in the Republic of Moldova without Moscow's help. it can be said that these percentages represent the strong option "with Russia" which exists in Republic of Moldova.

At the same time, it is worth mentioning the percentage of 8,1% given to Ukraine, which is also unclear in reality, because the support of Ukraine for Republic of Moldova can be eventually expressed indirectly by means of efforts which this country can make for its own integration in EU. Yet, it is not clear which the respondents' attitude towards this vote given to Ukraine is.

The population of the Republic of Moldova continues being oriented towards Romania, which it perceives as *the main partner for the*

*European integration of the Republic of Moldova.* The state which could help Moldova most of all is Romania (19,5%). In fact, the confidence in Romania is twice as much as the percentage of all other states from East Europe (Hungary, Bulgaria, Poland and the three Baltic states) taken together.

The phenomenon is a constant in the opinion polls from the Republic of Moldova and covers an evident tendency and which is carried out despite the policy and the official discourse. The relation with Romania is either condemned or occulted at an official level, and the relations with other Eastern states (especially Latvia and Hungary) are cultivated and promoted. Despite this fact, the tendency is preserved and obvious.

From this perspective, and given this almost schizophrenic relation between these two states, *it can be mentioned about the existence or the appearance of a phenomenon similar to a "spiral of silence" as far as the attitude towards Romania is concerned* and which can be politically expressed in 2009, if things do not change. The phenomenon relies on the discrepancy (difference) between the appearance, frequency and coverage of the issue of relation with Romania in the public discourse (political men, experts, etc) and its real presence at the level of expectancies of the population. The phenomenon could appear and take place in Moldova, including political life.

Except these data, there are also others which test the connection between Romania and the European integration process. *Romania's image in the Republic of Moldova is associated with the European integration*, which is a fact suggested by the question connected with the "influence of European integration of Moldova on its relations with other countries". The answer to this question is that "the relations with Romania" will be positively influenced to a high degree (66,2%), and the percentage of "no influence" is the lowest one (17%) of all other possible relations. This fact suggests a stronger connection between the European integration and the relation with Romania. An additional confirmation is brought forward by the lowest percentage of no answers to this question (7,7%), which points out the fact that the relation between these two states is strongly perceived by the citizens of the Republic of Moldova. (Fig.43)

The answer to the question connected to the "actions which help the accession of RM to EU"

is quite significant. In this context, "a good relation with Romania" is considered positively by 74,3%, probably the most positive option of foreign policy which Republic of Moldova should implement on its European path. (The answers to this question refer first to measures related to home policy: "employment of young and competent persons in the public administration" (79,9%) and „the reasonable application of laws in the Republic of Moldova and respect of European norms" (79%). The forth place is occupied by a measure of home policy, and mainly "eradication of corruption and good governing system" (73,9%). (Fig.44)

Other measures which "help Republic of Moldova to join EU" are: "obtaining Romanian citizenship by the citizens of the Republic of Moldova", a measure considered positive by more than a half of the population of Republic of Moldova (51,5%).

Despite the fact it is not explicitly, the relation with Romania may also include the answer to the question connected with the "prohibition issued to some categories of civil servants (mayors, judges, etc) from Republic of Moldova to have double citizenship", given the fact that Romanian citizenship is also considered in this context. Thus, only 34% consider that such a measure "helps the accession of Republic of Moldova to EU". Hence, the support of the population in this measure doesn't exist, at least in the perspective of European integration of Republic of Moldova.

At the same time, it is worth mentioning here the attitude of the population towards the Metropolitan Church of Basarabia, associated in the public perception with Romania. Thus, at the question which measures the level of confidence in institutions, the Metropolitan Church of Basarabia bears a considerable level of confidence (58,9%), one of the highest levels in fact (the 6<sup>th</sup> position of 31). It is also worth saying that the institution which is mostly trusted to by the citizens of the Republic of Moldova is the Metropolitan Church of Moldova, with a percentage of 67,7%, with the mention that the percentage of no answers is higher for the Basarabian Metropolitan Church (14,9%) in comparison with the Metropolitan Church of Moldova (10,5%), which shows a higher confusion/indecision of the population in comparison with the first one. (Fig.2)

### 2.30. R. Moldova and NATO – an important and resistant relation, despite the official blockage

The relation with NATO of the Republic of Moldova is one of the most complex and delicate. In its European aspect, Republic of Moldova is caught between the scissors of neutrality *de iure* (constitutional) – and not *de facto*, when the Russian troops are still present illegally on the territory of the Republic of Moldova – and the historic experience of all Eastern states from the European space, respectively the transition through NATO as a necessary condition for preparing the societies for facing the test of European integration.

The public discourse connected with NATO is almost inexistent in the society of the Republic of Moldova. Despite these blockages and official discourse, the attitude of the population towards this organization is surprisingly favourable.

Thus, a percentage of 36,1 of the population of the Republic of Moldova “tends to trust NATO”, 38,5 percent “tend not to have trust”, and 25,4% do not answer this question. There are two observations to this problem. First, the percentage of trust compared to that of no-answers indicates a population which has a more favourable attitude towards the alliance, at least in comparison with other states in other contexts (for example Ukraine). Second, we must point out the fact that *the percentage of rejection, respectively of those who “tend not to have confidence” in NATO, is very much under the average of the attitude of distrusts towards other institutions or organizations from the Republic of Moldova: print press in state language (40,3%), print media in Russian language (43,3%), justice (54,5%), police (61,6%), army (42,1%), trade unions (51,7%), political parties (70,4%), academic staff (39,9%), economic agents (47,4%), the Government of Moldova (57,4%), Parliament of Moldova (60,2%), Presidency of the Republic of Moldova (56,1%), local authorities (40,2%). (Fig.25)*

To conclude with, the process of rejection of NATO is not so strong and persuasive, despite the official discourse.

NATO is an institution which has remarkable image in the Republic of Moldova. Thus, 88% heard about the organization, more than about CIS (86,9%), in the error indicator, of course.

Moreover, “if next Sunday, a referendum were organized”, 34,9% would vote for the accession to NATO, with a percentage of 19,8% of no an-

swers. It is true that the negative answers are stressed enough, respectively 45,3%<sup>10</sup>.

The profile of NATO in the image of the electorate from the Republic of Moldova is the following: an organization associated first with peace (11,5%), military power (15,4%), political power (9,2%), resolution of the Transdniestrian conflict (6%), state security (6,3%). (Fig.17)

Obviously, the image of NATO is associated in the public perception more with the military aspects than political ones, despite the fact that, especially after 1990, NATO is defined as a political-military institution. It is worth mentioning that the population doesn't perceive for now the political dimension of NATO and the association of this organization with such values as: democracy, economical prosperity, material welfare, more jobs, etc, values with which NATO was associated directly or indirectly, in all the Eastern part of Europe. It is true that no impact media instance from the Republic of Moldova cultivated this dimension of the alliance.

From this, an important potential for the promotion of this organization results in the moment when the pro-NATO campaign would focalize o political aspects and not military aspect of the organization.

It is worth mentioning in this context that “Republic of Moldova's accession to structures of North-Atlantic Alliance (NATO)” is considered “an action which helps with the accession of the Republic of Moldova to EU” of 38%, in the context of one of the most consistent percentages of no answers (30,3%) from this question.

It may be seen here that this percentage is practically overlapped with the percentage of those who would vote for the accession of the Republic of Moldova to NATO is a process within the European integration. Thus, Republic of Moldova should follow the same path as other states from the former socialist states or URSS did.

### 2.31. Configuration of public space in the Republic of Moldova – the disproportional influence of Russian media in the society

The research suggest a series of significant evolutions which affect the so-called public space from the Republic of Moldova, respec-

10 It is possible that this high percentage of answers be also due to an effect of contingency, respectively the association of NATO with EU in question, being aware of the fact that the last institution bears an indicator of much confidence among citizens of Republic of Moldova. Yet, the percentage NATO has is extremely relevant”.

tively *the public communication space*, that is an environment in which arguments will be heard and debated without any privileged or disadvantaged positions in term of debates for one or another of options.

The data of the opinion polls indicate two important things: a. the fact that the public space from the Republic of Moldova is disproportionately linguistic, in favour of the Russian language. Thus, the impartiality is at least worth being discussed; b. is evidently dominated by television, and not only by those from the territory of the Republic of Moldova.

The merit of this research is that it differentiated the dominance of different types of media messages in the Republic of Moldova and thus permitted a more careful and more concrete analysis of evolutions from this point of view.

To continue the above-mentioned ideas, it is worth mentioning that – on the first position – 29,5% of the interviewed ones declare that they prefer to get “some information about the integration of the Republic of Moldova and implementation of RM – EU Action Plan” from TV. (Radio is on the second place – 18,7% and the print media – 12,5%). (Tables 8 and 9)

The data of an opinion poll clearly show the massive influence of Russian televisions in the Republic of Moldova, at least at the level of public trust. Thus, 67,5% „tend to have confidence” in the TV posts from Russia, TV institutions from Russia being those in which the population of the Republic of Moldova have confidence most of all after the Metropolitan Church of Moldova (67,7%), but without a non-significant difference. (It is also worth noticing here that the low rate of non-answers to the questions connected with the “TV channels from Russia”, respectively of 6,1% show very clearly that the world is, in most of the cases, familiarized with the Russian channels) (Fig.2)

On the next places, “TV posts from Moldova with a large area of coverage” are placed (62,3%), followed by the “radio stations from the Republic of Moldova with a large area of coverage” (59%) and the “radio stations in Russian language” (53,6%). It is worth mentioning that in *Republic of Moldova of 2008*, the confidence provided to informing media from Moscow is relatively equal with the one offered to informing media from Chisinau. It is also

worth mentioning that the TV channels from Romania bear also relative trust (57%), with a rate of non-answers of 1% and this thing indicates the fact that this could be the minimal percentage which doesn't follow Romanian broadcast at all. (Fig.2)

At the question connected with “information or preferably connected with information about EU, its policies and institutions”, TV channels from Russia are 48% used, with the highest rate of preference (28,4%), being followed by “the TV channels from Moldova with a large area of coverage” (55,2%). (Fig.12)

The way Russian TV channels influence the public perception reaches sometimes bizarre manners. At the question “to what degree does mass media from Moldova cover the European integration of the Republic of Moldova and the implementation of RM-EU Action Plan”, the interviewed persons answered that, as far as TV channels are concerned, in the column “highest degree” appear the following: Moldova 1 (19,1%) followed by... Pervii Canal v Moldove (PRIME) with 18,1%, despite the fact this Russian TV channel doesn't deal with these kinds of problems.

It is worth mentioning that almost half of the public from the Republic of Moldova is informed about EU from Russian TV channels. The fact that Russian TV channels offer the public from the Republic of Moldova information about EU should raise some questions for the authorities from Republic of Moldova. The information about EU in Russian language will never compensate the need of fair and coherent information about an institution which the Russian Federation doesn't want to join to ever and which it perceives *firstly as an economical partner*.

## **2. 32. Language and values – the linguistic dispute from the Republic of Moldova and geo-linguistic games zero sum**

The data from the opinion poll denote the fact that the problem of public space from the Republic of Moldova *changes into a game with zero sum*. Respectively, what the Russian language wins the Romanian language loses (state language) and back. Hence, it is worth saying that the dominance of one or another language from the languages of the public space respectively Russian and Romanian languages, has a (geo) political bet. The language, in this case, carries values, models, (geo)political options.



Given the above-stated aspect, the media involvement of Romania in the Republic of Moldova, as well as the partnership between these two states in the European goal of the Republic of Moldova are imperative. No other potential strategic partnership with any other country – Lithuania, Hungary, Bulgaria, etc – can compensate linguistically the dominance of the Russian language in the public space. The problem is not the Russian language itself, it is the Russian language which carries some definite values, because Russian language is issued via mediatic channels which have in no case axiological neutrality towards Euro-Atlantic values or processes of extension to the East of institutions of Europe.

No strategic partnership with any other country of other language than the state language (Romanian) is able to compensate the orientation of linguistic balance to Russian language, because citizens of Republic of Moldova cannot follow TV channels in official languages of some potential partners (Hungarian, Lithuanian, Bulgarian, etc).

Thus, the bet of the mediatic partnership with Romania focuses on private options or political options of the present moment. The need of such a partnership is connected with the values which are or will be implemented in the public space of the Republic of Moldova. The European orientation of the Republic of Moldova and the Euro-Atlantic information of citizen of Republic of Moldova must go hand to hand with the involvement, development and proliferation of television in the state language.

### **1. 33. The problem of the Transdnistrian conflict in the population's view**

The attitude of the population of the Republic of Moldova towards the Transdnistrian problem, the way it is covered in the survey under consideration, indicate the same lack of interest noticed in other opinion polls as well.

Thus, citizens of the Republic of Moldova consider the “Transdnistrian conflict” as “the most important problem Republic of Moldova faces today” covering 1% (and only 4,7% secondly), one of the lowest percentage in the hierarchy of problems Republic of Moldova faces. (Fig.1)

On the other hand, this research also covers a certain growth of the importance of the problem in the European integration process. Thus, one of the obstacles in Republic of Moldova's accession to EU, “the non-resolution of the Transdnistrian conflict” is perceived as an impediment by 9,4%, being the third one after “corruption in state structures” (23,3%) and “instability of internal policy” (11,8%). (Fig.27)

As far as the actions which would help the European integration of the Republic of Moldova are concerned, “giving up the Transdnistrian region” is considered useful by 24,% of respondents, while 53,6% consider it is not, and 22,2% have no opinion formed on this subject. (Fig.44)

The apparent discrepancy between these data resulted from the poll – the lack of interest for this problem and the relative awareness on the importance of the problem expressed by means of other questions – may be explained by the institution of a relative phenomenon of “spiral of silence” on the Transdnistrian problem.

This phenomenon, well-known in the sociology, may be expressed in this case by the fact that the public space from the Republic of Moldova is not permissive in term of opinions which would suggest some lack of interest or even disinterest regarding the problem of the Transdnistrian conflict and which could be considered non-patriotic. This pre-condition of the access to public space is in a relative contradiction with the lack of the public's interest which cannot plenary expressed.

### III. The results of the structured interviews

#### 3.1. The civil servant's point of view

The „institution man” is much more indulgent with the achievements of the Government and more convinced that a great part of the guilt belongs to the “hard legacy” as well as EU partner. As far as the press and the public information about the implementation of AP are concerned, the point of view of the “institution man” is that a great part of deficiencies comes from press, because public institutions diffuse the information necessary for a better information, and the press doesn't know how to use it and it doesn't possess the necessary skills in this context.

From the sociological point of view, institution men who have appreciated the implementation of the Action Plan are divided into two categories: *critical* profile and *obedient* profile. The first category includes those who have critically appreciated the implementation of AP or institutions in charge with this task, despite the fact they work in the very institutions which had to fulfil this task.

The second category includes individuals who remind about Soviet time of the ultra-enthusiast reporting, where the one hundred percent implementation of the Plan was declared, no matter the reality from that territory. In the case of our research, the latter ones are those who answered that AP was fully implemented and, from now on, it must pass to another stage. Obviously, these opinions can be only recorded, and less commented on. It is enough to limit ourselves to saying that the first category is fortunately more numerous than the second one, but it is worth mentioning that its representatives are not absent from the governmental structures yet.

##### 3.1.1. Problems in the implementation of AP identified by “institution men”

From the analysis of the results of structures interviews – by means of identification and quantification of all problems which resulted from interviews, followed by an analysis of frequency and selection of *main problems* – resulted from the following serious problems which “institution men” (critical type) identified:

1. Insufficient human resources in the Republic of Moldova;
2. Public institutions must develop their action skills (this is, in fact, a requirement of AP);
3. The means of providing this occidental assistance, with the existence of the opinion that this is a procedure bureaucratic enough;
4. Linguistic barrier, respectively speaking English language, or a language spoken well by all experts; in general, translation is a problem which consumes time and generates non-synchronizations;
5. Difficulties of implementation of adopted laws;
6. The civil society is too critical and non-constructive;
7. The lack of budget resources necessary for the real implementation of AP;
8. The too quick flow of working staff inside the ministry: it is very hard to educate a good specialist and, after that, they get lost because of some definite reasons either subjective or objective.
9. The lack of participation of the population at this process; the population must be involved and made to react to what is happening around it;
10. The lack of awareness about the fact that the implementation of AP doesn't happen over night, it is a lasting process and it includes the change of mentality, adjustment of the system, etc;
11. The appreciations of EU are mostly *political*, this fact causes the subjectivism of European institutions;
12. The non-resolution of the Transnistrian conflict. In the European integration process, this would be the main impediment, according to some interviews;
13. The lack of some powerful negotiators, who would be firm in their point of view in comparison with occidental institutions and “we should not come to the point when they tell us what to do and we do it”;
14. The basic structural problems, respectively reforms which haven't been carried out in time and slow down the process of implementation of AP;
15. The weak quality of the public service in the Republic of Moldova: low salary, big flow; nepotism, corruption made the

Moldovan public authorities to be less functional;

16. The non-recognition of the international legislation and the lack of serious studies abroad;
17. The too short terms for such changes fixed by AP.

### 3.1.2. Recommendations

Here are the suggestions or reforms which “institution men” plan to do:

1. From the EU's part – not to apply double standards;
2. Before making a recommendation or a discourse regarding the evolution of the situation in RM, EU should at least come on the territory and not write reports and conclusion from the distance;
3. UE must strengthen the stimulation of institutions on which the implementation depends;
4. What is judicially realizable must come in concordance with the political dialogue, and the dialogue must take into account the juridical frame; things must not be forced;
5. A more intense dialogue with the European Commission, with the representatives of the European Commission, in the context of all chapters. They should not be carried out by politicians, diplomats, but by the expert from each minister;
6. The respect of human rights must not be put under question by the European institutions; respect of human rights or functioning of justice system in RM must be credible and at a European level;
7. In the Republic of Moldova, the implementation of the economical reform and the privatization and implementation of all the necessary structural reforms must be finished;
8. The assumption of several obligations from the part of Moldova for the accession to EU, because “RM is the interested part”;
9. Better relations with the neighbours that can help us in the European integration process. (Even if the name of Romania is very little mentioned in case of experts, it was also pronounced by institution men).

### 3.1.3. How is and is not the European problems covered in the public space from the Republic of Moldova in the opinion of institution men

Institution men tend to say that the information about EU is not sufficient. Thus, the guilt tends to belong to the consumer of information, who would not be interested or doesn't make an effort to access the information. This is a normal tendency of the civil servant and a mechanism of protection often used in this context.

1. The information on any subject is sufficient, but the problem is that citizens have no interest in it;
2. The civil society from RM is also not interested in these sector subjects; but the information is exposed on the site or in press;
3. The press must still work much in order to become technical specialists in the subjects they write about, not take over only the information from those given to them by those from institutions.

### 3.2. The local experts' points of view

The conclusions of local experts are, in general, more sceptic towards the European integration process of the Republic of Moldova and contain more critics and recommendations than praises. They can be synthesized in the following way:

#### 3.2.1. Positive aspects in the implementation of EURMAP

1. Some of the officials have become by time open for cooperation with experts. Some of them even have critical opinion about what is happening in the implementation of the plan;
2. The institutions in charge with the implementation of the Plan carried out the actions which they have planned intentionally. We still have to see how they will be applied;
3. A lot of performances have been realized in the economical field of the Plan; the last connected with the Guillotine regarding foreign trade aspect have been adopted. Several normative acts have been adopted. In general, the economical situation in the Republic of Moldova is much better than the political one;
1. It may be also noticed the opening of the Unique Visa Centre : some categories are provided consular taxes, there is clarity in these documents, everything is much eas-

- ier, and the final beneficiaries are common people;
2. Progresses have been also recorded in less important fields such as: the improvement of the systems of economical development, facilities for businessmen, providing credits to businessmen, that is the institution of some systems which could help different categories of citizens from Moldova to reach European standards;
  3. In the field of education, it is worth mentioning about the conclusion of the Bologna Treaty – despite the fact it is still too slowly implemented and much is done at a formal level and not at the level of substance;
  4. In the field of electronic governing system there also some changes: the passport office has been computerized, etc, but such things are very slowly done and not coherently.
  5. Progresses in concrete economical fields can be also noticed here: the promotion of trade with EU – autonomous trade privileges as a result of the improvement of the customs control, improvement of fito-sanitary standards, the system which certifies the origin of imported products;
  6. The growing visibility of EU in RM: the European Commission Delegation in Moldova has opened, EU is presented as an observer at the negotiations on the Transdnistrian problem, this EUBAM Mission has been initiated, the EU special representative in the Transdnistrian problem has been appointed;

### **3.0.2. Problematic or negative aspects identified by experts**

1. Some of the positive actions of the Government are directed to the facilitation of the migration of citizens from the country; the citizens of the Republic of Moldova from abroad are not encouraged to come back to the Republic of Moldova with money, open their own business, this thing be covered by media, but, unfortunately, this thing doesn't happen.
2. ECHR works as the Supreme Court from Moldova; the idea is not that all citizens go to Strasbourg to solve their problems; on the contrary, judicial courts must be more efficient and the need that citizens appeal to international remedies to make justice disappears;
3. There appears the feeling that everything is made in the context of AP only for the sake of marking something;
4. The credibility of the justice system is low,

- and corruption flourishes;
5. The lack of the political will to make the European integration process really effective;
  6. The situation of the political class is “deplorable”. It doesn't deal with a deep reform and modernization, giving importance to some superficial problems.
  7. Many civil servants, beginning with the lowest one and till the upper one, perceive the item of AP as an additional professional responsibility, an objective which “must be reported about”;
  8. The basic obstacle is the current government which cannot generate such reform processes;
  9. In case Republic of Moldova doesn't have expertise at the level of governing elites, political elites, at the level of journalists about EU;
  10. The existence of a tacit agreement: EU is satisfied with the status of RM as a neighbour and RM, in fact – the current governing authorities – is satisfied with the status of RM as a neighbour;
  11. The evident failure of the Central Public Administration Reform;
  12. The incapacity of the system to absorb youth or a working staff able to apply European requirements; the selection is political and not professional;
  13. The mentality which was formed during the Soviet period;
  14. The force structures are completely non-reformed; the centralization and political commitment of force structures;
  15. The lack of will, competence and administrative capacity;
  16. The personalization of the policy and the stress on the pro-European personality, and not on pro-European institutions;
  17. Corruption and negative selection of elites from the system (nepotism, political structures);
  18. The lack of clear *deadlines* for the implementation at the level of ministries; nobody is punished and nobody is responsible for that what is not done regarding AP;
  19. The lack of a clear political decision for integration;
  20. The endemic crisis from the justice system and the lack of a clear will to recover the field;
  21. The Government of RM ignoring Romania in the European integration process, especially because a factor which stagnates the process is the linguistic barrier – European documents which are translated into Romanian language have been brought forward in this context;



22. Lack of coherence of the governmental body, which worked separately in term of requirements of European integration process, respectively some ministries moved quicker, others – more slowly in this period;
23. The exaggerated centralization of power on a vertical line causes the inhibition of the autonomy of institutions;
24. There is no coordination between the Parliament and the Government, which show discordance between the approval of laws and their implementation denotes the fact that there is not enough cooperation between the Government and the Parliament;
25. Most of coordinators of European integration from the related ministries do not speak English;
26. The absence of a culture of communication between the experts from RM and those from Brussels;
27. The fear caused by the lack of expertise, which exists at the level of the Government for a real cooperation with Europe;

### **3.2.3. Local experts' recommendations**

1. The reform of force structures: ISS, Army, Police, etc.
2. Putting the national interest of the population, respectively the European integration versus their own political interest on the first place;
3. The use of Romania's experience in the European integration process;
4. Massive informing campaign of the population about what EU is;
5. The establishment of some more extended relations, especially diplomatic, with the member states of EU, to accelerate the process of accession to EU;
6. A clear concept about what foreign policy and European integration and security policy means. Since the Government attributes the guilt to the non-resolution of the Transdniestrian conflict, things will not change;
7. The resignation of the Government of Republic of Moldova;
8. Preparing officials and mass media from the Republic of Moldova for understanding what European Union means;
9. The selection of the working staff must correspond to the following goals: promotion of some people with knowledge, capacities which understand what public interest means;
10. More autonomy to institutions, so that they communicate more freely among themselves, coordinate their actions among themselves;

11. Amplification of the dialogue between experts from the Republic of Moldova and delegations of EU; At the same time, the activity of our embassies within EU must be improved. We have embassies which do nothing, are, how to say, anaemic, they have no good ambassadors;
12. The appointment of some skilful ambassadors in strategic countries for European integration;
13. First, the Government must have clear views about what foreign policy, European integration and security policy mean. Since the Government attributes the guilt to the non-resolution of the Transdniestrian conflict, things cannot improve.

### **3.2.4. How is and how is not the European issue covered in the public space from the Republic of Moldova in the opinion of experts**

1. Public television and Radio Moldova wrongly present the European integration process;
2. In general, independent televisions do not have access to mediatic space with a large area of coverage and, obviously, this thing limits the diffusion of information about European integration issue;
3. There are a series of publications – especially *Timpul*, and more seldom *Flux* and *Democratia* – but it is considered to have a relative impact here in Chisinau;
4. If a person wants to find out something about EU, she will definitely get the information, at least through internet which provides unlimited possibilities in this context, but the *public* press doesn't work accordingly;
5. The institutions which promote the European integration process most efficiently are: the civil society; on the second place – the embassies and, on the third one – several political factions from RM, followed by the legislative;
6. Deficiencies appear because of the fact mass-media is not developed in RM;
7. The connection of the integration process only with the current governing system.

## **3.3. The European experts' point of view**

### **3.3.1. Positive aspects identified in the implementation of EURMAP**

From the positive aspects identified by European experts, the following things must be mentioned:

1. First, the acceptance of conditions “issued” by European institutions within EURMAP and the perception of changes which need to be made as positive and necessary;
2. As a whole, European experts consider that the biggest progress was recorded at the legislative level – the chapter of adoption of laws, with debts in the process of their implementation. In this context, the accession of Republic of Moldova to different international conventions, which it promised to follow is considered to be benefic. What is still to be done in this context is to assure the efficient implementation of their items. A separate is considered to have here the Parliament of RM, which focuses mainly on the monitoring of adequate application of adopted laws and items;
3. There are also actions the results of which are planned to be visible in a few years. This category includes the creation of institutions such as: the National Justice Institute, the Agency for Protection of Competition;
4. The activities connected with the consolidation of borders of RM with the European Union, and mainly EUBAM are considered to be successful, the activity of customs services is perceived to be more efficient and more qualitative.

### 3.3.2. Critics and deficiencies

1. The most important aspect which needs improvement is the effective application of adopted laws, of mechanisms of their implementation. Referring concretely to the way of implementation of EURMAP, experts mention an aspects which needs to be changed and this the way EURMAP is covered by central authorities, as a list of activities which must be just marked, without being interiorized and without bringing forward the priorities depending on the results which must be obtained in this context.
2. It wasn't noticed any understanding by the civil servants or heads of departments of the general frame, things are not covered from a large perspective. At the same time, it is mentioned the way in which the Law of Audiovisual is implemented which was adopted as one of the requirements of EU, but not in the way it is implemented at present;
3. There are a few changes in the field of hu-

man rights, the progress referring to the attempts to decide upon the high number of trials lost at ECHR, given the fact that this fact has been ignored so far;

4. The lack of political will to make concrete and necessary changes is another impediment pointed out by European experts. An indicator of this fact is the way of distribution of the state budget, which doesn't cover the priorities formulated by the authorities of the country. Thus, the pro-European orientation and the adjustment to European standards do not cover the way of distribution of the budget;
5. Together with the above-stated political impediments, a series of technical obstacles are perceived too. They refer firstly to the deficit of administrative capacities which include low salaries and the wrong distribution of resources (example: the big different among the number of civil servants in different ministries and agencies do not cover the priorities of the authorities, and the lack of qualified human resources, of a coherent strategy of attracting young professionals who would work in public institutions). It is worth mentioning that the lack of administrative capacities is confirmed in most of the cases as an argument for the lack of political will to carry out some definite activities;
6. If to refer to some definite domains from EURMAP which need to be improved according the interviewed European experts, poverty reduction should be mentioned first of all, as it stops the implementation of reforms in all spheres of public life. At the same time, the improvement of business environment, which has recorded some improvements in general, but some decisions, somehow cut from this context, block its development;
7. No concrete actions have been done at the compartment referring to „state aid” stipulated in the Action Plan. At the same time, the situation connected with money laundering didn't improve. On the contrary, it was worsened by the initiatives of legalization of the capital launched last year. It is necessary to mention in this context about a few „crosscutting issues”, which do not refer to any chapter from EURMAP but it affects the situation as a whole, including the adoption of laws without being

transmitted for expertise to the Council of Europe or OMC, when they refer to aspects which violate human rights or refer to European citizens, etc.

### **3.3.3. European experts' recommendations**

They may be divided into recommendations referring to the implementation of responsibilities assumed in the accomplishment of European aspirations and recommendations for the development of the country in general. This category includes:

1. The honest attachment towards democratic norms and values, which express both declarations and facts;
2. The assurance of political liberties and freedom of speech of individuals, mass-media and civil society. A test in this context is the organization of elections from 2009 in a free and fair way;
3. Radical measures of poverty reduction;
4. Economic liberalization (in this context, the initiatives launched in 2007 by the president of the country are not considered to have had the expected role);
5. Improvement of citizens' life quality;
6. The better coordination of activities and more concrete distribution of responsibilities, the understanding in this context of a common goal and its accomplishment by means of concrete actions carried out by related ministries and relevant agencies;
7. The focus on the implementation and practical application of adopted laws, monitoring of the way they are applied, it is necessary to have a better involvement of the press in this context;
8. Allocation of financial resources according to the expressed priorities.

### **3.3.4. The external image of the Republic of Moldova and the public perception of the European integration processes**

1. All European experts, like those from Moldova, in fact, face difficulties in say-

ing a definite period when the accession of Republic of Moldova to EU would take place. This fact depends on the situation existent within EU, the governments of European countries, and the population of these countries. One thing is certain: the Moldovan authorities must be aware of the fact that, no matter the period of time which is to pass till then, there are a series of actions which must be done for accession. The more actions will be realized within this Action Plan or other agreements, the fewer efforts will remain to be made, at the moment when a certain period of time will be fixed;

2. In the framework of these actions which must be carried out, an important action is the image of the Republic of Moldova. The Relation of the Republic of Moldova with the European Union is considered to be very little covered by the European Press. In some rare cases when Republic of Moldova is the subject of European press, it is treated as a poor country, with problem of human trafficking, etc. Another important aspect present in most interviews with European experts is the geographic position of the country on the one hand, and its uncertainty in choosing between East and West, even if beginning with the last year, the European efforts of conducting the country are stronger and more determined;
3. At the same time, there is little interest from the part of mass-media from the Republic of Moldova towards the progress of implementation of EURMAP. The information is take over from official sources and transmitted directly, without being changed into a form of maximal interest and accessibility for the citizen.

## IV. Conclusion

### 4.1. Profile of the citizens of the Republic of Moldova face to face with “the European issue”

Depending on the knowledge citizens of Republic of Moldova have towards the subjects connected with European Union and European integration and neighbouring policies, they can be divided into three groups of reference:

- Those who know in general what European Union and its policies mean, their knowledge being connected mainly to a general and vague impression about this subject;
- Citizens with more concrete knowledge, knowledge formed especially by means of use of mass-media resources
- Citizens who possess deep knowledge about the European integration and, especially, about the relation between Moldova and European Union.

The first category of citizens is the most numerous. Thus, 93,6% of respondents declared they have *heard* about European Union, 77,7 % assert they *know* what European Union is, only 46,2% assert they have heard about the European Neighbouring Policy and only 36,6% have heard about RM-EU Action Plan (EURMAP). Of those 36,6%, only half have managed to answer correctly to the control questions, displaying consolidated knowledge about what EURMAP is.

The citizens' attitude towards the European Union and the accession to EU is quite positive. Thus, in case of a referendum, 77% would vote for the accession of Moldova to EU, in comparison with 34,9% who would vote for NATO. It is worth mentioning here that this knowledge is strongly related to the respondents' studies, especially for NATO, and less for EU.

As far as the information of citizens about European integration process is concerned, we may conclude a low interest from the part of citizens to find out more information. They prefer to get informed from traditional resources. Thus, the citizen refers the commodity to get the information from TV and Radio, and less to search on the Internet, use leaflets, brochures, seminars, conferences. These preferences are strongly

connected with the age and studies. Thus, one fifth of those who have high school education or higher education of respondents would prefer to get informed from the Internet. Yet, from 5% of those with gymnasium/primary school education to 29% - with high school education – get informed today.

Despite that, according to 56% of respondents, at present, the information about European Union is insufficient. As far as the problem of obtaining information about EU is concerned, citizens get the information from TV channels from Moldova, Russia and Romania, which are the main informing channels.

Speaking about the need of information of citizens about the implementation of EU-RM Action Plan, citizens preferred to watch TV channels from Moldova with a large area of coverage, newspapers and magazines in state language, TV from Romania. A small number of people covering 3,2%, use Internet to find out about the progresses of EURMAP. In fact, the citizens' preferences about information do not differ too much from the current sources used by them.

The content of information from mass-media about actions connected with Republic of Moldova's European integration is considered by citizens to be approximately the same. Thus, the different between the information diffused by TV channels, newspapers with a large coverage area and radio stations is not very big. This is due mostly to the habit of Moldovan mass-media to propose more news to citizens than analyses or public debates.

European Union is appreciated by citizens of Moldova as: economic prosperity (16,4%), Peace (15,3%), Freedom to travel, study and work in EU (14,3 %), More jobs (11,6%), Material welfare (9,9%). The common citizen didn't feel any important changes about the implementation of EURMAP.

According to citizens, there were no considerable changes recorded in those three years of implementation of EURMAP: the number of jobs didn't grow (75,3%), poverty hasn't been diminished (75,1%), the equilibrated and durable development of rural and urban locali-



ties hasn't been noticed (70,9%). There were no considerable evolutions in the resolution of the Transnistrian conflict recorded (68%), and the economy of the country hasn't become more functional and competitive (64,9%), the use of public money hasn't become more transparent (63,5%), and the human rights in the Republic of Moldova are not more respected (63%).

Less than a half of citizens of the Republic of Moldova consider that: elections are fair and free (43,2%), diplomatic relations with European Union countries have intensified (41,9%), the press has become more free and independent (40,7), the educational system has become closer to European standards (40,7%). If we evaluate the fields which the authorities should focus on, they are as follows: the development of economic sector (22%), combating corruption (19,7%), resolution of the Transnistrian conflict (12,1%) and illegal migration phenomenon (7,3%).

As far as the activity of institutions in the European integration process is concerned, it is perceived differently by citizens. According to them, the most efficient one contributes to the European integration of TV channels, even if it is a paradox (17,5%). After that, as it had to be at the beginning, public institutions from Moldova follow: the Government (14,1 %), Parliament (12,1%), Presidency (10,8%), Print Media (8,9%). It is interesting that citizens appreciate quite modestly the contribution of some institutions which should have a major role in this context like political parties (7,1%), Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) (5,5%), Economic agents (3,2%), Academic staff (2,6%). The local public administration has no debts in this context (2,3%).

According to citizens, in order to encourage the European integration process, Moldova lacks political will from the part of the authorities (27,3%), financial resources (21%), administrative capacities (11,9%), pro-European political class (10,7%). The obstacles identified by the population to stop Republic of Moldova's European integration are as follows: Corruption in-state structures (23,3%), Internal political instability (11,8%), the non-resolution of the Transnistrian conflict (9,4%), the lack of political will in the achievements of European integration goals (7,2%).

According to 22% of respondents, the authorities should pay more attention to the development of the economic sector in the European

integration process, 19,7% consider much attention should be paid to combating corruption, 12,1% - to the resolution of the Transnistrian conflict, and 7,3% - to illegal migration phenomenon. Thus, Romania (19,5%), Italy (12,7%), France (11,7%), Germany (10,2%) would help most of all Moldova in its European integration.

48,7% of respondents consider that Moldova's accession to EU could have more advantages than disadvantages, 23,5% think this process will have only advantages, and 11,1% - neither advantages nor disadvantages. About 73,3% of the interrogated people affirm that Moldova's accession to EU would be good thing, 14,3% consider it is neither good nor bad. In case Moldova joins European Union, 41,2% consider they will not leave the country, and 39,2% believe they will leave the country only for a short period of time and only 13,3% declared they would leave for good.

About 82,4% of the population consider that Moldova's integration in EU will contribute to the growth of economic potential 81,4% think the possibilities of circulation for citizens will grow, 80,3% consider that foreign investments will grow, 79,9% believe in the growth of number of jobs, 78% - the growth of incomes, salaries/pensions, 71,3 - development and modernization of agriculture.

The encouragement of the European integration process of RM could be possible in the following conditions: employing youth and some competent persons in the local public administration (79,9 %), reasonable application of laws in the Republic of Moldova and respect of European norms (79%), good relations with Romania (74,3%), eradication of corruption and good governing system (73,9%), Partnerships between Republic of Moldova and other European countries for the facilitation of university studies in Occident (69,2%), A good relation with Ukraine (67,5%), The replacement of the current generation of politicians (64,1%), Studying about European Union in schools (63,3%).

#### **4.2. Significant correlations resulted from an opinion poll (ethnicity, media and European integration)**

The data of the opinion poll point out the fact that the *ethnic origin* is strongly correlated in the context of options of the population connected with the media space: minorities from the Republic of Moldova (Russians, Ukrainians, Ga-

gauzians, Bulgarian, etc) are massively directed to the means of Russian information, especially to television. The Russian-speaking minorities trust in Russian media is much higher than in any other means of information.

The destination of citizens who go abroad to work causes indirect consequences in their residence family too. People who have a member of their family working abroad tend to express attitudes connected with the emigrant's destination place, while those who have their family members working in the EU have less confidence in Russian media and give preference to the media from Republic of Moldova or Romania. Those who have a family member in Russia direct themselves to Russian media channels.

If the local population (Moldovan-Romanians) have no very clear differentiated attitude as far as media from the Republic of Moldova, Romania or Russia are concerned, it is worth mentioning that the minorities from Republic of Moldova very clearly discriminate these televisions in this context, preferring Russian television instead of others.

The most evident case is the one of Gagauzian population that, after almost 15 years, didn't manage to be really integrated in the Republic of Moldova from the media point of view. This thing is clearly seen when the distrust of this population in state institutions is noticed in general and its massive orientation towards Russian informing media. From this perspective, we can conclude that the experiment of the Gagauzian autonomy is a failure. Moreover, the data of the opinion poll show that the Gagauzian population is mainly directed to Russian Federation and less oriented to Euro-Atlantic space, including Romania.

The level of education correlates with the level of confidence or support of integration of Republic of Moldova in the Euro-Atlantic space. Thus, those who declare they would vote in a referendum for Republic of Moldova's accession to EU and NATO have a high level of preparation. This correlation can be noticed mainly in NATO issue.

The degree of information about EU doesn't correlate very significantly from the ethnic point of view. Yet, there is more interest from the part of the population, despite the degree of information and the level of knowledge doesn't depend mainly on the ethnic aspect.

### 4.3. People from institutions, local experts and European experts

The perspective which **institution men** have in term of implementation of AP, as it results from the structured interviews (answers with the highest frequencies), is of two types, depending on the sociological type of the interviewed person:

- a. The first category affirms that AP has already been realized and we shouldn't talk about it, and RM must enter a new stage; this category is completely deprived of critical feeling, at least at the level of declarations;
- b. The second category asserts that AP has several problem of implementation, but there are difficulties when speaking about the frequency of answers: "hard background", lack of staff, lack of kindness of EU; opinions which accuse the activity of the governing authorities and the lack of political will from the part of the authorities are fewer and they are not the ones to give the profile to "institution men".

The observations and assertions emitted by **local experts** are in general more critical than the ones emitted by "institution men". Their critics tend to focus more on the political aspects and be connected to the activity of *political class*, less on international conjuncture or unfavourable external attitude. The conclusion of experts is unanimous and says that AP hasn't been implemented, but there re a series of positive aspect, which are very few for the successful realization of this phenomenon. The guilty relies on the fact that there is not political decision of removal of ideological aspect of the process of implementation of AP.

It is worth mentioning that the experts' opinion coincides in most aspects with the citizens', whose opinions or perceptions are confirmed in this way. As far as the information of citizens about the implementation of AP is concerned, experts tend to affirm that there are some deficiencies of two kinds: the lack of expertise at the level of media from the Republic of Moldova and the incapacity of state or national televisions to present correctly, efficiently and accessible to watchers the processes connected with the implementation of AP.

**European experts** usually speak "the language of Brussels" when assessing any country, not

only Republic of Moldova. Thus, the policies of encouraging partners or virtual partners are, in general, constant in any European attitude towards Republic of Moldova. From this perspective, the encouraging words of Brussels or European experts must be perceived as equilibrated.

Respectively, as an evident encouragement of Republic of Moldova, and in no case a caution of what is happening in RM under the European integration standard. It is worth mentioning that the recommendations of European experts coincide in most of the cases with the ones delivered by local experts and not with the ones of “institution men”.

Simplified, the information obtained in the research can be structured as it is indicated in the Annex. (Fig.46)

Depending on these results, we can check in what way the obtained results can point out the eventual difference between *perceptions/opinions* and *cognition*.

1. in general, the perception of the population is similar to dissatisfaction with the implementation of AP, the effects of which haven't been noticed yet;

2. Experts express a negative opinion about the governmental achievements in this context and

the expertise coincides, in general, with the citizens' perception;

3. The fact that, many times, the experts' opinions coincide with the population's means that there is no problem which would be connected with a possible bad communication of governmental institutions with the public, a situation which would be valid only in case the public would express a negative attitude towards this situation, despite the experts' positive opinion;

4. „Institution men” tend to be more concessive with the actions of the government and support in a more consistent way the idea of implementation of AP in the Republic of Moldova in five years;

5. The fact that the opinion of institution men seldom coincides with the experts' is also a very important thing. Obviously, a political element of assessment interferes here given the fact there is a strong political element in the evaluation of AP which cannot be ignored especially at institution men and European experts;

6. If to resume the perceptions and the expertise of implementation of AP in RM, we could conclude that none of the actors considers that the plan has been fully implemented; the most sceptic are local experts, followed by the *public*, *European experts* and *institution men*.

## **V. Recommendations**

Public institutions from the Republic of Moldova must cover more seriously the problems of adequate and qualitative information of citizens on the “European perspective” issue, which most citizens want, as well as the necessary effort in this context. Despite the fact local and international experts appreciate the mobilization of some authorities in charge with the implementation of the Action Plan, they insist on the problem of the unequal effort assumed by the governmental agencies, determined by the stagnation of some structural reforms, as well by the “freeze” of other reforms. The analysis of effects caused by the experience of implementation of EU-RM Action Plan points out many positive and negative aspects, which we must seriously treat if we want to get rid of the complex of “undone lessons” within the relations with the European Union.

The press and the civil society must increase the professional requirements towards the way the relations of the Republic of Moldova with the European Union institutions: taking over and direct transmission of information from official sources, without a qualified transposition in a form of maximal interest and understanding for citizens. Journalists must make great efforts to understand the essence, the depth and polyvalence of the European Neighbouring Policy, the element of which is also the relation of the Republic of Moldova with European Union. Important decisions are expected to be taken in the context of unsatisfactory situation of the public audiovisual.

Public authorities must insist on a format of systematic cooperation with the civil society, whose representatives, sometimes being critical, can deliver important items for the suitable evaluation of a key-reform for the society from the Republic of Moldova, mobilizing the public opinion and reiterating important priorities for the process of “Europeanization” of state institutions, as well as of the large public from Republic of Moldova.

### **Critical aspects to be improved in Republic of Moldova are:**

- The effective application of the legislation: the way in which the Action Plan

was covered in Republic of Moldova as a list of activities which must be reported, carried out, without sufficient consistency in the way this process must cause visible and perceivable results, must be certainly changed from the very roots.

- Political will: effective attachment to norms and democratic values must become rule nr.1 of the process of implementation of responsibilities assumed by the authorities, and not only at the declarative formal level. We can notice, for example, that the pro-European orientation of the country and the adjustment to European standards cannot be covered in the way of planning and distributing the resources of the public budget, as well as in the tensioned relations on the political stage; There are many strategies announced by the authorities which are not financially covered, or which absorb important public resources, without following the logics and the spirit of strategic course of adjustment and assimilation of European standards;
- The low administrative capacity: in the Republic of Moldova, there is no persuasive policy of attracting young professionals, prepared at the best universities from the country and from abroad who would become the resource of change within public institutions. The goals of EURMAP haven't been understood by a big part of civil servants hired by ministries and other governmental agencies, stimulating uncertainty, anachronic fear and substantial frustrations, or even institutional antagonisms among different institutions. Usually, the lack of administrative capacities is brought forward as arguments for the dissimulation of the lack of political will of establishment and implementation of some vital reforms for the society and economy;
- The persistence of some phenomena with anti-social character such as: corruption, political affiliation, important economical and social decisions resulting from policies removed from the context, are not consulted accordingly with involved actors of the civil society and



private business environment, changing some central institutions into political ones for the reduction of epistemic corruption considered as an obstacle, which influences positively neither the results, nor the general public perception.

**The most important recommendations in this field are connected most of all with the following things:**

- Acceleration of the reform of central government and effective decentralization of the state;
- Assuring political liberties and freedom of speech, liberalization of the public space and removal of obstacles, which delays a more influent role of mass media and of the civil society on the process of modernizations and Europeanization of the country;
- The growth of life quality, by means of new social policies, which would remove the risk of making social benefits political, and would promote some policies meant to reform the social insurance fund and the system of pensions;
- High quality coordination of activities and responsibilities among governmental and ministerial agencies, so that the sector goals be subordinated to some convergent objectives, and not divergent towards the actions which will follow in the process of institutional adjustment to European Union;
- The allocation of public budget resources strictly according to the strategic priorities of the country, and avoidance of wastage of these resources on clients' criteria or electoral ones;
- The assumption of some effective actions of reduction of poverty, including actions of penalization of real corruption, generated by the vague and weak public control regulations performed by the civil society;
- Stimulation of the concentration on results, on the practical application of the adopted legislation, monitoring of the application of laws and growth of the governmental responsibility towards the Parliament of Republic of Moldova;

As far as the explicit *recommendations* for the authorities are concerned, they clearly result from the answers delivered by experts or even from the feedback assured by the population. Governmental structures must take into consideration

the relatively critical attitude of the population, which results from *objective* causes (the population didn't feel anything or very little after those three years of implementation of AP), and less from *subjective* causes (the lack of public communication of the Government).

The fact that the public perception corresponds to the experts' opinion must raise some questions and suggests the Government to take into consideration the measures suggested by local experts. As far as the European experts' opinion is concerned, it must be perceived and assumed given the already made parentheses connected with the political aspect of the declarations from Brussels. Definitely, depending on the frequency of appearance of the problem in the discourse of interviewed persons, the following main recommendations are pointed out:

- Creation of some policies and actions of attracting ethnic minorities in the public space (media) of the state language. The data of the opinion polls reveal the fact that the minorities from Republic of Moldova (Russians, Ukrainians, Gagauzians, Bulgarians, etc) are massively directed to the relation with the European Union from the perspective of Russian Federation, that is of a state which doesn't focus on an effective European integration and this fact influences both directly and indirectly their attitude and behaviour towards direct policies in the state which represent them at this moment;
- The authorities of the central Government must make effective measures to stop the exodus of labour forces to the East, because the destination abroad causes many indirect consequences in the residence family and it doesn't generate pro-European attitude or behaviour; this thing denotes more persuasive policies of improvement of the business environment in Republic of Moldova, as well as attraction focused on occidental investments in the economy of the country;
- The establishment of a favourable frame for the better neighbouring relations with Romania and Ukraine, as "natural allies" in the effort of promotion of interests of the country in the perspective of a possible accession to European Union. Romania proves to remain the European partner of Republic of Moldova which cannot be ignored in the de-

marche of integration of Chisinau. The development of better relations with the neighbours must serve as specific objectives of the “European path”, especially in term of assimilation of positive practices, extension of institutional connections, the creation of projects of infrastructure in common with Romania and Ukraine, for the sake of modernization of the country;

- Establishment of some major priorities for assuring dynamic stability and the national security, starting from the reform of force structures from Republic of Moldova: the Ministry of Home Affairs, ISS, Army, Local Police.
- Improvement of the national frame of information and public education of citizens of the Republic of Moldova in the context of goals, institutions and bet of European integration, so that the population becomes a natural ally of governmental agents, having specific responsibilities of adoption, assimilation and application of EU norms and standards;
- The categorical and compelling promotion of the public service reform, the reform of the central government and of administrative decentralization by means of stimulation of individual competence and of skilful persons. The selection of the staff must coincide to the goals: the promotion of some people with knowledge, capacities which understand what public interest means;
- The essential modification of the Diplomatic Service of Republic of Moldova, by means of increasing the specific responsibility in the competence field, appointment of precious and career ambassadors in the countries strategically important for the objective of European integration of Republic of Moldova;

- The raise of the line of “justified ambition” of Republic of Moldova in comparison with the European Neighbouring Policy, by assuming many institutional responsibilities to join EU, because “RM is the interested part”;
- Overcoming linguistic barrier, respectively the problem of speaking English language or another language by all experts who are involved in the governmental activity; in general, translation is a problem which needs time and generates non-synchronization;
- The differentiation between the “Transnistrian case” and the “European integration case”; the first one cannot serve as an excuse for the non-resolution of the second one.

To conclude with, we must mention that all experts interviewed within this poll (European or local, governmental or non-governmental) face difficulties in deciding upon the period the plenary accession of Republic of Moldova to EU would be held, a historic opportunity which depends on the internal progresses of our country, as well as on the internal evolutions from European Union, the governments of European states, public opinion from these countries.

Certainly, the authorities of Republic of Moldova, as well as the society as a whole, must be aware of the fact that, no matter the duration of this period, the internal actions and goals must prepare the necessary ground for the institutional accession, consolidate the support of the population and of its elites in the context of the support of a pro-European civic identity in the Republic of Moldova, without which the integration cannot be held.

## ANNEXES

### QUESTIONNAIRE

#### On assessment of perception of citizens of Republic of Moldova

Towards the implementation of Republic of Moldova – European Union Action Plan

#### **Q1. How do you thin, what are the most important two problems faced by Moldova today?**

(MAXIMALY 2 POSSIBLE ANSWERS)

- |  |                                      |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Economical situation  | 9. High prices of real estate        |
| 2. Criminality   | 10. Personal security                |
| 3. Infrastructure  | 11. Health Care system               |
| 4. Growth of prices/of inflation   | 12. System of Education              |
| 5. Lack of jobs  | 13. Low incomes (salaries, pensions) |
| 6. Impossibility of free circulation of citizens in the European space   | 14. Transdnistrian conflict          |
| 7. Migration of citizens abroad  | 15. Environment                      |
| 8. The involvement of central power in the activity of local authorities | 16. Corruption                       |
|  | 17. Others (SPONTANEOUS)             |
|  | 99. I don't know                     |

<b>Q2. I would like to ask you now how much you trust the following institutions. For each of these institutions, tell me if you tend or not to have confidence!</b>	<b>I tend to have confidence</b>	<b>I tend not to have confidence</b>	<b>Don Tknow/I don'tanswer</b>
1. Print media in state language with a large area of coverage	1	2	9
2. Russian print media	1	2	9
3. Local media	1	2	9
4. Radio stations in state language with a large area of coverage	1	2	9
5. Russian radio stations	1	2	9
6. Local radio stations	1	2	9
7. TV channels from Moldova with a large area of coverage	1	2	9
8. TV channels from Romania	1	2	9
9. TV channels from Russia	1	2	9
10. Local TV channels	1	2	9
11. Justice from Moldova / Moldovan juridical system	1	2	9
12. Police	1	2	9
13. Army	1	2	9
14. Metropolitan Church of Moldova	1	2	9
15. Mitropolitan Church of Basarabia	1	2	9
16. Trade Unions	1	2	9
17. Political parties	1	2	9
18. Academic staff	1	2	9
19. Economical agents	1	2	9
20. Government of Moldova	1	2	9
21. Parliament of Moldova	1	2	9
22. Presidency of Moldova	1	2	9
23. European Union	1	2	9
24. Local authorities	1	2	9
25. Non-governmental organizations	1	2	9
26. Council of Europe	1	2	9
27. ECHR	1	2	9
28. OSCE	1	2	9
29. United Nations Organization (UNO)	1	2	9
29. NATO	1	2	9
30. CIS	1	2	9
31. Other	1	2	9

## Knowledge about European Union and relations of Moldova with European Union

<b>Q3. Have you ever heard about the following organizations?</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>I don't know/I don't answer</b>
1. European Union	1	2	99
2. NATO	1	2	99
3. CIS	1	2	99

<b>Q4. If next Sunday a referendum were organized, would you vote for the accession of Moldova to the following organizations?</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>I don't know/I don't answer</b>
1. European Union	1	2	99
2. NATO	1	2	99

### **Q5. Do you know what European Union (EU) is?**

1. Yes
2. No
1. I don't know/I don't answer

<b>Q6. How much are you interested in ...</b>	<b>Very interested</b>	<b>Interested</b>	<b>A little interested</b>	<b>Not interested</b>	<b>I don't know/I don't answer</b>
Q6.1 ...what is happening in the European Union	1	2	3	4	99
Q6.2. ...the relations between Republic of Moldova and European Union	1	2	3	4	99

<b>Q7. Where do you find out or would like to find out information about European Union, its policies and institutions?</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>You'd prefer</b>	<b>I do not use such sources</b>	<b>I don't know/I do not answer</b>
1. Print media in state language with a large area of coverage	1	2	3	9
2. Russian print media	1	2	3	9
3. Local media	1	2	3	9
4. Radio stations in state language with a large area of coverage	1	2	3	9
5. Local radio stations	1	2	3	9
6. Russian radio stations	1	2	3	9
7. TV channels from Moldova with a large area of coverage	1	2	3	9
8. Local TV channels	1	2	3	9
9. TV channels from Russia	1	2	3	9
10. TV channels from Romania	1	2	3	9
11. Discussion with relatives, friends, colleagues, neighbours	1	2	3	9
12. Internet	1	2	3	9
13. Books, brochures, informative leaflets	1	2	3	9
14. Travelling abroad	1	2	3	9
15. Conferences, seminars	1	2	3	9
16. Others (SPONTANEOUS)	1	2	3	9
17. I never search for such information (SPONTANEOUS)	1	2	3	9

### **Q8. Do you consider that the existent information about European Union is sufficient?**

1. Yes
2. No
99. I don't know (spontaneous answer)



**Q9. How do you think is Republic of Moldova looked at in the European Union?**

1. Very good
  2. Good
  3. In no Way
  4. Very bad
  5. Bad
99. NŞ/ NR

**Q10. And, how do you think is European Union looked at in Moldova?**

1. Very good
  2. Good
  3. In no Way
  4. Very bad
  5. Bad
99. NŞ/ NR

**6. How do you think, which of the following institutions CONTRIBUTE most efficiently to the European integration process of Republic of Moldova? (circle no more than 3 variants of answer)**

1. Print media
2. Radio stations
3. TV channels
4. Police
5. Army
6. Church
7. Trade Unions
8. Political parties
9. Economic agents
10. Government of Moldova
11. Parliament of Moldova
12. Presidency of RM
13. Local authorities
14. Academic staff
15. Governmental organizations (NGO)
16. Others

<b>7. What are those three organizations associated with for you? (maximally 3 notions for 12.1; max. 3 for 12.2, max. 3 for 12.3)</b>	<b>12.1. European Union</b>	<b>12.2. NATO</b>	<b>12.3. CIS</b>
Peace	1	1	1
Economic prosperity	2	2	2
Democracy	3	3	3
Social Protection	4	4	4
Freedom to travel, study and work in...	5	5	5
Material welfare	6	6	6
Political power	7	7	7
Strong relations with Russia	8	8	8
Military power	9	9	9
More jobs	10	10	10
Bureaucracy	11	11	11
Money wastage	12	12	12
Loss of cultural identity and traditions	13	13	13
Resolution of the Transnistrian conflict	14	14	14
Insufficient control at the outside borders	15	15	15
State security	16	16	16
Others (SPONTANEOUS)	17	17	17
I don't know	99	99	99

**8. Tell me please who of these politicians from Republic of Moldova you associated with the following organizations...?** (Free answer. Maximally three answers for each organization)

Q13.1 European Union	Q13.2 NATO	Q13.3 CIS
1.	1.	1.
2.	2.	2.
3.	3.	3.
99 I don't know/I don't answer	99 I don't know/I don't answer	99 I don't know/I don't answer

**9. Tell me, please, which of political parties from Republic of Moldova, you associate with the following organizations...?** (Free answer. Maximally three answers for each institution)

Q14.1 European Union	Q14.2 NATO	Q14.3 CIS
1.	1.	1.
2.	2.	2.
3.	3.	3.
99 I don't know/I don't answer	99 I don't know/I don't answer	99 I don't know/I don't answer

**10. The following countries have shown their interest to join European Union. What do you think will be the order of these countries in EU? (appreciate from 1 to 5)**

Ukraine	Georgia	Moldova	Armenia	Azerbaijan

### Information about the implementation of RM – European Union Action Plan (EURMAP)

**11. Have your heard about European Neighbouring Policy?**

- 1. Yes
- 2. No
- 99. I don't know/I don't answer

**12. Have you ever heard about RM – European Union Action Plan?**

- 1. Yes
- 2. No, **to Q 25**
- 99. I don't know/I don't answer

13. Please answer the following sentences with False or True...	True	False	I don't know
1. EU – Republic of Moldova Action Plan denotes Moldova's accession to European Union in 2008	1	2	9
2. EU – Republic of Moldova Action Plan is a political document which establishes the relation between EU and Republic of Moldova for the years 2005-2007	1	2	9
3. Republic of Moldova is the only state which has an action plan with European Union	1	2	9
4. EU – Republic of Moldova Action Plan is an instrument of European Neighbouring Policy	1	2	9
5. The implementation of the Action Plan is finished in February 2008	1	2	9
6. The main role in the implementation of EU – Republic of Moldova Action Plan is attributed to President Vladimir Voronin	1	2	9
7. EU – Republic of Moldova Action Plan is a document of practical value	1	2	9
8. EU – Republic of Moldova Action Plan is an agreement of pre-accession to EU	1	2	9
9. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is accredited to coordinate the implementation of EU – Republic of Moldova Action Plan	1	2	9
10. EU – Republic of Moldova Action Plan describes the principles and rules of behaviour in the relations between Moldova and European Union	1	2	9

**14. Where from do you usually find out information about European integration of Republic of Moldova and implementation of EU – Republic of Moldova Action Plan?** (no more than 3 possible answers)

**OPERATOR: READ – MORE POSSIBLE ANSWERS. ROTATE UP AND DOWN AND BACK**

1. Discussions in the street or public places (store, market, town hall)
2. Discussions with relatives, friends, colleagues and neighbours
3. Newspapers and magazines in the state language with a large area of coverage
4. Russian newspapers and magazines
5. Local newspapers and magazines
6. TV channels from Moldova with a large area of coverage
7. TV channels from Romania
8. TV channels from Russia
9. TV channels from Ukraine
10. Local TV channels
11. Radio stations in state language with a large area of coverage
12. Russian radio stations
13. Local radio stations
14. Accessing Internet
15. Books, brochures, informative leaflets
16. Seminars, conferences
17. Interacting with central public institutions
18. Interacting with local public institutions
19. Others (SPONTANEOUS)
20. I don't know

**15. How would you like to find out information about the European integration of Republic of Moldova and implementation of EU – Republic of Moldova Action Plan** (max. 3 answers)

1. From a short brochure, which offers only general information
2. From relatives, colleges and friends
3. From a book which offers a full description
4. From the Internet
5. On a CD-R
6. From TV
7. From radio
8. From daily newspapers
9. From other newspapers, magazines
10. From posters
11. I do not want any information about EU (SPONTANEOUS)
12. Neither of these ways (SPONTANEOUS)
99. I DON'T KNOW/I HAVE NO ANSWER

<b>16. To what degree mass-media from Moldova covers the European integration process of Republic of Moldova and implementation of EU – Republic of Moldova Action Plan?</b>	<b>In a great measure</b>	<b>Sufficiently</b>	<b>Too little</b>	<b>At all</b>	<b>I do not read, listen or watch such things</b>	<b>I don't know (spontaneous answer)</b>
1. Print media in state language with a large area of coverage	1	2	3	4	5	9
2. Russian print media	1	2	3	4	5	9
3. Local print media	1	2	3	4	5	9
4. Radio stations in state language with a large area of coverage	1	2	3	4	5	9
5. Radio stations in Russian language	1	2	3	4	5	9
6. Local radio stations	1	2	3	4	5	9
<b>TV Channels</b>						
7. Moldova 1	1	2	3	4	5	9
8. Pervii Canal v Moldove (PRIME)	1	2	3	4	5	9
9. ProTV Chisinau	1	2	3	4	5	9
10. EU TV	1	2	3	4	5	9
11. TV7	1	2	3	4	5	9
12. NIT	1	2	3	4	5	9
13. N4	1	2	3	4	5	9
14. Other	1	2	3	4	5	9

<b>17. How do you appreciate the activity of the following institutions in the promotion of European integration of Republic of Moldova and implementation of EU – Republic of Moldova Action Plan ?</b>	<b>Very good</b>	<b>Good</b>	<b>Low</b>	<b>Bad</b>	<b>I DON'T KNOW/I HAVE NO ANSWER</b>
1. Presidency	1	2	3	4	9
2. Parliament	1	2	3	4	9
3. Government	1	2	3	4	9
4. Local Public Authorities	1	2	3	4	9
5. Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration of Republic of Moldova	1	2	3	4	9
6. Embassies of Republic of Moldova with the office in the European Union member states	1	2	3	4	9
7. Embassies of European member states to Republic of Moldova	1	2	3	4	9
8. European Commission Delegation to Republic of Moldova	1	2	3	4	9
9. Bureau of the Council of Europe to Republic of Moldova	1	2	3	4	9
10. Civil society from Moldova by means of Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs)	1	2	3	4	9

**18. How do you think, what does Republic of Moldova lack for the efficient realization of tasks of European integration of Republic of Moldova?**

1. administrative capacities
2. political will from the part of the governing authorities
3. pro-European political class
4. financial resource
5. sufficient knowledge about European Union
6. young professional staff
7. professionalism in public administration
8. foreign investments
9. competitive economy
10. others \_\_\_\_\_
99. I DON'T KNOW/I HAVE NO ANSWER



**19. How do you think, how important is the efficient implementation of tasks of European integration by the Moldovan authorities on the improvement of life quality in Republic of Moldova?**

1. Very important
2. Important
3. Not important at all
4. I DON'T KNOW/I HAVE NO ANSWER

**The following text may be read only by those who have answered NO to question Q 17:**

**„Republic of Moldova – European Union Action Plan is a political document assumed by the Moldovan authorities which establishes the strategic objectives of cooperation between Republic of Moldova and EU in the political, economical, social and cultural fields. The plan was implemented in the period of 2005-2007 and it is structured in 7 chapters”.**

<b>20. Now, I will read you several items from the chapters of the Action Plan. To what degree are you satisfied with the implementation of these items in the period of 2005-2007?</b>	<b>Completely dissatisfied</b>	<b>Not satisfied enough</b>	<b>Neither satisfied, nor dissatisfied</b>	<b>Satisfied enough</b>	<b>Very satisfied</b>	<b>I don't know answers</b>
<b>Q25.1.</b> Chapter “Political dialogue and reforms” denotes activities meant to assure the efficient functioning of democratic institutions, impartiality of prosecution and of the judicial system in general, intensification of the fight against corruption, assuring access to information and freedom of speech. To what degree are you satisfied with these items?	1	2	3	4	5	9
<b>Q25.2.</b> Chapter “Cooperation for the resolution of the Transnistrian conflict” denotes efforts from the part of Moldova and EU in the resolution of the conflict from the left bank of the Nistru river. To what degree are you satisfied with the implementation of this chapter of EURMAP?	1	2	3	4	5	9
<b>Q25.3.</b> „Reforms and social-economical development” denotes economic reforms which would assure the growth of the population's welfare, durable economical growth, consolidation of public funds and resolution of the problem of state debt. To what degree are you satisfied with the implementation of these items?	1	2	3	4	5	9
<b>Q25.4</b> Chapter “Commerce, market and regulatory reform” denotes measures which would encourage the trade relations of Moldova, growth of exports, rational wastage and control of public money. To what degree are you satisfied with the implementation of these items?	1	2	3	4	5	9
<b>Q25.5.</b> Chapter “Cooperation in the field of justice and home affairs” denotes measures which would improve the situation in the field of migration, control of borders, fight against corruption, contraband and organized crime. To what degree are you satisfied with the implementation of these items?	1	2	3	4	5	9
<b>Q25.6.</b> Chapter “Transport, electricity, telecommunications, environment and research” proposes actions for the development of infrastructure of transport and of the energetic system, of the field of electronic communications and innovative technologies. How much are you satisfied with the implementation of these items?	1	2	3	4	5	9
<b>Q25.7.</b> Chapter “Interhuman Contacts” propose actions which would contribute to the development of the fields of education, youth, culture, audiovisual and public health. How much are you satisfied with the implementation of these items?	1	2	3	4	5	9

<b>21. Do you think that, in the last three years, the following things happened?</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>I don't know/I have no answer</b>
Republic of Moldova has become more democratic, and law supremacy is assured in the country	1	2	9
Human rights are more respected in Republic of Moldova	1	2	9
Poverty decreased in Republic of Moldova	1	2	9
Economy of Republic of Moldova has become more functional and competitive	1	2	9
Rural localities development is more equilibrated and durable	1	2	9
Efforts made in the regulation of the Transdnistrian conflict have approached to its resolution	1	2	9
The use of public money has become more transparent	1	2	9
The number of jobs regularly grows	1	2	9
The judicial system has become more equitable and independent	1	2	9
Elections are fair and free	1	2	9
Media is free and independent	1	2	9
Travelling to EU space have become more accessible and more sure	1	2	9
Fight against corruption, organized crime and contraband have intensified	1	2	9
The situation in the field of environment protection improved	1	2	9
The access and service quality in the field of public health care improved	1	2	9
The educational system has become closer to European standards	1	2	9
Energetic security of the country is more sure	1	2	9
Infrastructure of transport of the country is more developed	1	2	9
Diplomatic relations with European Union have intensified	1	2	9

**22. How do you think, what fields would need more attention from the part of Moldovan authorities in the process of integration in the European Union?** (circle maximum 3 answers)

1. development of economic sector
2. trade exchange
3. Preventing human trafficking
4. Combating corruption
5. assuring a stable energetic system
6. democratization of public life
7. assuring the independent of judicial system
8. resolution of the Transdnistrian conflict
9. reform of public education
10. facilitation of free circulation in the European Union space
11. illegal migration
12. pollution of environment
13. others \_\_\_\_\_
99. I DON'T KNOW/I HAVE NO ANSWER

<b>23. How do you think what impact the following actions had on the European integration process of Republic of Moldova?</b>	<b>Positive</b>	<b>Negative</b>	<b>No impact</b>	<b>I don't know</b>
1. Opening of European Commission Delegation in Chisinau	1	2	3	9
2. Appointment of the Special Representative of the European Union for Moldova	1	2	3	9
3. Including European Union in the 5+2 format of negotiation of the Transdnistrian conflict	1	2	3	9
4. Initiation of the European Union Assistance Mission of the Moldo-Ukrainian Border (EUBAM)	1	2	3	9
5. The adoption in effect of the visa facilitation and readmission agreement	1	2	3	9
6. The opening of the Common Visa Centre	1	2	3	9
7. Providing autonomous trade preference system	1	2	3	9
8. The opening of European Informing Centres „Pro Europa” in Cahul and Balti	1	2	3	9
9. Alta	1	2	3	9

**24. What states do you think could help Moldova best of all in its accession to EU?  
(Choose no more than 3 variants of answer)**

- |                  |                                   |
|------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. France        | 11. Hungary                       |
| 2. Germany       | 12. Poland                        |
| 3. Italy         | 13. Russian Federation            |
| 4. Great Britain | 14. USA                           |
| 5. Ukraine       | 15. Others _____                  |
| 6. Romania       | 99. I don't know/I have no answer |
| 7. Bulgaria      |                                   |
| 8. Latvia        |                                   |
| 9. Lithuania     |                                   |
| 10. Estonia      |                                   |
- PERCEPTION OF SOME RISKS,  
ADVANTAGES

**25. In general, do you believe that Moldova's accession to EU would be...?**

- 1- a good thing
- 2- a bad thing
- 3- neither good, nor bad
- 99- I don't know (SPONTANEOUS answer)

**26. After what period of time do you think Moldova will join EU?**

- 1- in 5 years
- 2- 10-15 years
- 3- 15-20 years
- 4- over 20 years
- 5 – will never integrate
- 99- I DON'T KNOW/I HAVE NO ANSWER

**27. Let's suppose that tomorrow Moldova will join European Union. Would you leave for a European country in this case?**

- 16. yes, but only for a definite period of time (work, studies, travel)
- 17. yes, I will leave for good
- 18. no, I will not leave
- 99. I DON'T KNOW/I HAVE NO ANSWER

**28. According to you, what of the following things constitute obstacles in the accession of Republic of Moldova to European Union? (max. 3 answers)**

- 1. Corruption in state structures
- 2. Instability of home policy
- 3. Ideology of current governing
- 4. Lack of political will in the achievements of objectives of European integration
- 5. Lack of administrative capacities for the implementation of assumed European integration objectives
- 6. The fragmentation of political opposition in Republic of Moldova
- 7. Limited interest of the European Union to include Republic of Moldova among its strategic priorities
- 8. Assumption of some responsibilities without support in home policy
- 9. Stagnation of social-economic reforms
- 10. The lack of occidental investments in Republic of Moldova
- 11. The current governing policy towards Romania
- 12. The illegal residence of munitions and Russian troops on the territory of Republic of Moldova
- 13. Neutrality of the country
- 14. Russian Federation Policy in the region
- 15. Non-resolution of the Transnistrian conflict
- 16. Others \_\_\_\_\_
- 99. I DON'T KNOW/I HAVE NO ANSWERS

**29. Considering as a whole, do you think RM as a member of European Union would obtain:**

- 1- Only advantages
- 2- More advantages than disadvantages
- 3- Neither advantages, nor disadvantages
- 4- More disadvantages than advantages
- 5- Only disadvantages
- 99- I don't know (SPONTANEOUS answer)

<b>30. How do you think, what influence does European integration of Republic of Moldova on the relations with the following countries?</b>	<b>Positive</b>	<b>No influence</b>	<b>Negative</b>	<b>I don't know, I have no answer</b>
1. Relations with Romania	1	2	3	9
2. Relations with Ukraine	1	2	3	9
3. Relations with Russia	1	2	3	9
4. Relations with the USA	1	2	3	9

<b>31. Tell me please what changes do you think will produce if Republic of Moldova joins European Union?</b>	<b>YES</b>	<b>NO</b>	<b>I DON'T KNOW/I HAVE NO ANSWER</b>
1. The growth of the economical potential of Republic of Moldova	1	2	9
2. Growth of foreign investments	1	2	9
3. Improvement of infrastructure	1	2	9
4. Growth of incomes, salaries/pensions	1	2	9
5. Reduction of corruption	1	2	9
6. Growth of the number of jobs	1	2	9
7. Development and modernization of agriculture	1	2	9
8. Free circulation of citizens, more opportunities for traveling and studying	1	2	9
9. Increased interest for environment protection	1	2	9
10. Resolution of the Transnistrian conflict	1	2	9
11. Social Service Development	1	2	9
12. Loss of national and cultural identity	1	2	9
13. Growth of financial assistance provided to Republic of Moldova	1	2	9
14. An economic crisis in Moldova	1	2	9
15. Imposing some taxes and norms of behaviour for economic agents from RM	1	2	9
16. Decreased of the sovereignty of RM	1	2	9
17. Destruction of collective households, strict laws in agriculture	1	2	9
18. Migration of active population to EU countries	1	2	9
19. Growth of prices, growth of inflation	1	2	9
20. More taxes	1	2	9
21. The abolition/bankruptcy of small and middle enterprises	1	2	9
22. Growth of criminality	1	2	9
23. No change	1	2	9
24. Others	1	2	9



<b>32. Do you think the following actions help Republic of Moldova to join European Union?</b>	<b>YES</b>	<b>NO</b>	<b>I DON'T KNOW/I HAVE NO ANSWERS</b>
1. Appointment of young and skilful persons in the public administration	1	2	9
2. Reasonable application of laws in Republic of Moldova and respect of European norms	1	2	9
3. Reintegration of Eastern districts in the constitutional environment of Republic of Moldova	1	2	9
4. Giving up Transdniestrian region	1	2	9
5. Civil servants learning several foreign languages	1	2	9
6. Eradication of corruption and good governing system	1	2	9
7. Outlaw of Communist Party from Republic of Moldova	1	2	9
8. Placement of EU flags on/inside the headquarters of the Town Hall	1	2	9
9. Studying about European Union in schools	1	2	9
10. Partnerships between Republic of Moldova and other European countries for the facilitation of university studies in Occident	1	2	9
11. The replacement of the current generation of politicians	1	2	9
12. Obtaining Romanian citizenship by the citizens of Republic of Moldova	1	2	9
13. Moldova's accession to North-Atlantic Alliance (NATO)	1	2	9
14. A good relation with Ukraine	1	2	9
15. A good relation with Romania	1	2	9
16. the prohibition issued to some categories of civil servants (mayors, judges, etc) from Republic of Moldova to own double citizenship	1	2	9
17. Others	1	2	9

#### **Section D – DEMOGRAPHICAL**

*The questions from this column will address to all interviewed persons*

<b>D1. Sex:</b>		<b>D2. Age (already reached):</b>  .....years old	
Masculine	1		
Feminine	2		
<b>D3. Please tell me what the last form of education graduated by you was.</b>			
- no school	1		
- primary school (forms 1-4)	2		
- gymnasium (forms 5-9)	3		
- industrial school	4		
- school (10-11 forms)	5		
- high school (10-12 forms)	6		
- college	7		
- university	8		
- post university degree	9		
- I don't know/I don't answer	10		
<b>D4. Please, tell me what you do in your life?</b>			
Full-time or part-tim employee (including selfemployed)	1		
Unemployed	2		
Pensioner	3		
Pupil / student	4		
House-wife	5		
Pensioner after a certain working experience	6		
Something else, what mainly _____	_ _		

<b>D5. How many members are there in your family/your house always?</b> <i>(Persons who in the army/study, who belong to these families are taken into consideration too). ONE SINGLE ANSWER</i>  _ _  persons			
<b>D6. Is there any family member gone abroad for work?</b> - Yes OPERATOR underline 1- in a European Union country; 2- ) in Russia, 3) another country _____ 99 No			
<b>D7 What about you, do you intend to leave the country?</b> 1- Yes, certainly 2- May be 3- No			
<b>D8. House:</b>		<b>D9. Nationality:</b>	
Rural	1	Moldovan/Romanian	1
Town	2	Russian	2
		Ukrainian	3
		Gagauzian	4
		Bulgarian	5
		other _____	6
		I DON'T KNOW/I HAVE NO ANSWER	99
<b>D10. Religion:</b>		<b>D11. Marital status:</b>	
Orthodox	1	Married	1
catholic	2	single	2
Another Christian	3	divorced	3
Other, and mainly .....	4	widow	4
No religion	5	other	5
I don't know	9		

**D12. What was the income of your family in February 2008?** |\_|\_|\_|. |\_|\_|\_| lei 98 = Doesn't know 99 = Doesn't answer

**D13. Locality** \_\_\_\_\_ |\_|\_|

**D14. District** \_\_\_\_\_ |\_|\_|

Operator \_\_\_\_\_ |\_|\_|

Operator: Thank you for your work! Please read the following sentence and then sign.

I declare that I have realized this interview in accordance with the requirements for face-to-face interview with a respondent who was selected according to instructions.

Signature of operator \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

**A Guide of interview for the assessment of perception towards the implementation of Republic of Moldova – European Union Action Plan**

**Q1. Where do you work and what is your present position?**

**Q2. What are your tasks and the field of activity of the institution you work in?**

**Q3. How do you assess the activity and the role of your institution in the European integration process? Success/failures**

**Q4. How do you think, how much are citizens of Republic of Moldova informed about:**

- European Union,
- The European integration process of Republic of Moldova, this one including the implementation of EURMAP and governmental policies of European integration?

**Q5. How do you think, to what degree does mass-media from Moldova cover such issues as:**

- European Union,
- The European integration process of Republic of Moldova, this one including the implementation of EURMAP and governmental policies of European integration?

**Q6. How do you think, is the information about the following issues sufficient and useful at this moment:**

- European Union,
- The European integration process of Republic of Moldova, this one including the implementation of EURMAP and governmental policies of European integration?

**Q7. How do you think, does the population understand the impact of governmental decisions connected with the implementation of EURMAP?**

**Q8. How do you appreciate the efforts of European integration and implementation of items f EURMAP of the following institutions:**

- Public authorities (Presidency, Government, Parliament, Responsible Agencies, LPA)
- Civil society, NGOs
- The diplomatic offices of EU states in Moldova
- Political parties.

**Q9. How do you think, to what degree the authorities of Republic of Moldova faced its obligations connected with the implementation of EURMAP?**

**Q10. What fields have recorded the biggest success, and what fields have recorded the least success? What is this fact due to, in your opinion?**

**Q11. How do you think, what does Republic of Moldova lack to realize efficiently the tasks of European integration of Republic of Moldova? And for the implementation of EURMAP?**

**Q12. To what degree the European Commission supported effectively efforts of RM of implementation of the Action Plan?**

**Q13. What would be the benefits of Republic of Moldova as a result of the efficient implementation of EURMAP?**

**Q14. How do you think, what will happen after the publication of the European Commission Survey on the implementation of EURMAP and the finalization of the term of APC? What would be the relation between EU and Moldova?**

**Q15. How do you think, what are the impediments in the accession of Republic of Moldova to European Union?**

**Q16. When do you think Moldova will join EU and in what conditions?**

**Q17. What do you think about the image of Republic of Moldova in European Union? What would be the causes, problems and eventually solutions for the improvement of Moldova's image in EU?**

Table 46: A comparative table about the appreciations of categories investigated in the research of implementation of main chapters of EURMAP <sup>1</sup>

<b>Action Plan (Political dialogue and reforms)</b>	YES (more realized/implemented)	NU (more unrealized/not implemented)
Street man		X
Institution man	X	
Expert		X
„Europe“	X	
<b>Action Plan (Cooperation for the resolution of the Transdnistrian conflict)</b>	YES (more realized/implemented)	NU (more unrealized/not implemented)
Street man		X
Institution man		X
Expert		X
„Europe“	X	
<b>Action Plan (Reform and social-economical development)</b>	YES (more realized/implemented)	NU (more unrealized/not implemented)
Street man		X
Institution man	X	
Expert		X
„Europe“		X
<b>Action Plan (Commerce, market and regulatory reform)</b>	YES (more realized/implemented)	NU (more unrealized/not implemented)
Street man		X
Institution man	X	
Expert		X
„Europe“		X
<b>Action Plan (Justice and Home Affairs)</b>	YES (more realized/implemented)	NU (more unrealized/not implemented)
Street man		X
Institution man		X
Expert		X
„Europe“	X	
<b>Action Plan (Transport, energy, telecommunications, environment and research)</b>	YES (more realized/implemented)	NU (more unrealized/not implemented)
Street man	X	
Institution man	X	
Expert	X	
„Europe“	X	
<b>Action Plan (Interhuman Contacts)</b>	YES (more realized/implemented)	NU (more unrealized/not implemented)
Street man	X	
Institution man	X	
Expert		X
„Europe“		X

<sup>1</sup> The mark „?” indicates I don't know/I do not answer, respectively the lack of a clear answer.



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