

LINGOBAROMETER MOLDOVA

representative opinion
poll for target regions



Organization for Security and
Co-operation in Europe

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	4	VI. PERCEPTIONS AND EMERGING LANGUAGE TRENDS	63	CONCLUSIONS	102
I. SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS	8	6.1. Perceptions of Moldova as a multilingual society	64	ANNEX - SURVEY DESIGN	104
II. LANGUAGE IDENTITY AND LANGUAGE EXPERIENCE	15	6.2. Perceptions of languages spoken in Moldova	66	LIST OF FIGURES	108
2.1. Mother tongue and first language learned	15	6.3. Perceptions of demand for education from a language perspective	72		
2.2. Languages currently used	24	6.4. Perceptions of demand for mass media from a language perspective	76		
III. LANGUAGE USE IN EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT	31	6.5. Perceptions of language trends in long-term perspective	78		
IV. LANGUAGE USE IN MASS MEDIA	36	VII. ATTITUDES AND EXPECTATIONS ON THE USE OF MINORITY LANGUAGES	81		
V. LANGUAGE USE IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SERVICES	49	7.1. Education	82		
		7.2. Judiciary	86		
		7.3. Administrative and public services	91		
		7.4. Mass media	96		

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Context

The current study – *Lingobarometer 2024* – is an update and a thematic continuation of the *Ethnobarometer 2020*, with a distinct and focused emphasis on the linguistic dimensions of Moldova’s sociolinguistic landscape. While the *2020 Ethnobarometer* provided a broad overview of interethnic relations and socio-political attitudes, the *2024 Lingobarometer* zooms in on language use, linguistic preferences, perceived linguistic barriers, and access to services in one’s preferred or native language. In this way, it supports the development of evidence-based policies aimed at fostering linguistic inclusion, ensuring equitable access to services, and strengthening social cohesion.

This iteration of the study maintains methodological continuity with *Ethnobarometer 2020*, and presents a regionally representative survey conducted across six geographic and administrative regions, including urban and rural localities: (1) Municipality Chisinau;

(2) Municipality Balti; (3) Territorial Administrative Unit of Gagauzia; (4) Rayons Taraclia and Basarabeasca; (5) Rayons Briceni, Edinet and Ocnita; (6) Rayons Ialoveni, Hincesti, Straseni, Ungheni, Calarasi and Nisporeni. A total of 2,445 adult respondents from 153 localities were interviewed using the CAPI method, with approximately 400 respondents per region (sampling error $\pm 5\%$), allowing for comparative regional analysis. The data was collected in the period of March 17 – September 4, 2024.

The *Lingobarometer 2024* thus builds a coherent bridge with the 2020 baseline, while offering updated data and refined insights into Moldova’s linguistic landscape—critical for monitoring developments over time and informing inclusive policy measures. It is important to note that this study is based on a regionally representative survey conducted in selected areas of the Republic of Moldova. While the methodology ensures internal validity within each of the six surveyed regions, the findings do not claim to be representative of the entire population of the Republic of Moldova.

The survey specifically targets regions with compact populations of national minorities—such as Gagauzia, Taraclia, and the North—as well as regions with predominantly ethnic majority populations—such as the Center and Chisinau. This approach allows for a balanced comparison across Moldova’s diverse linguistic and ethnic landscape but should not be interpreted as reflecting the national population structure in its entirety.

To ensure that the *Lingobarometer* accurately captures how individuals perceive and express their linguistic identity, respondents were asked an open-ended question regarding their native or spoken language, allowing each person to freely choose how to formulate their response. As a result, both “Romanian” and “Moldovan” were recorded as distinct terms, reflecting the respondents’ own terminology rather than applying predefined categories. This approach, which respects sociolinguistic sensitivities and regional variations in how the state language is referred to across different

parts of the country, aligns with the methodology used in the 2024 National Population and Housing Census, conducted by the National Bureau of Statistics. For analytical purposes, however, both “Romanian” and “Moldovan” are treated as references to the same official state language. The two terms are considered analytically equivalent and are grouped under the umbrella terms “state language” or “Romanian”, which are used interchangeably throughout the report, in line with the national legal and institutional framework that officially recognizes Romanian as the state language of the Republic of Moldova.

Key Findings



Multilingual reality confirmed: A strong national consensus affirms Moldova’s multilingual character, with over 70% of respondents in every region totally agreeing that Moldova is a multilingual society. Optimism about the country’s multilingual future is equally widespread, especially among younger and minority respondents

High proficiency in mother tongue: Across all regions, self-assessed fluency in one’s mother tongue remains high. However, minority languages such as Gagauz, Ukrainian, Bulgarian, and Romani show early signs of transmission challenges, particularly outside their core regions.

Russian as a key early language: While often not declared as a mother tongue, Russian plays a central role as the first language learned in early childhood—especially in Gagauzia, Taraclia, and Balti. One in five respondents reported simultaneous acquisition of two languages, usually their mother tongue and Russian.

Variation in state language proficiency: Respondents identifying the state language as Romanian report higher fluency than those calling it Moldovan. This suggests that terminology choices may reflect deeper differences in linguistic competence, identity, or attitudes.

Media and information consumption: Russian remains the dominant language for media consumption nationwide, including news, entertainment, and political programming. The state language is primarily used in central and northern regions. Minority languages play a minimal role in the media landscape.

Access to legal and administrative services: There is strong regional variation in the language used for public service interactions. The state language dominates in Chisinau, the Center, and the North. Russian is the preferred language in Gagauzia and Taraclia, where there is also broad support for expanding services in minority languages.

Justice system expectations: In minority populated regions, there is overwhelming support for providing judicial services—including documents and interpretation—in minority languages. Conversely, support for exclusive use of the state language in courts is highest in the Center region.

Public attitudes toward multilingual services: Support for multilingual public services aligns with the ethnic composition of the region. Gagauzia and Taraclia show strong expectations for services in minority languages, while the Center region is more reserved, with higher levels of disagreement.

Future language outlook: Respondents expect Romanian and Russian to remain dominant in the future, while minority languages are seen as continuing primarily within their regions. English emerges as the most desired foreign language to learn, reflecting a growing interest in global communication.

Objectives and geographic coverage

The primary objectives of the *Lingobarometer 2024* are to inform and support the development of evidence-based policies that promote linguistic inclusion, ensure fair and equitable access to public services, and enhance social cohesion across the country. By capturing regionally nuanced data on everyday language experiences, the *Lingobarometer* contributes directly to shaping inclusive governance and aligning national policies with Moldova's international commitments pertaining to minority rights.

The study was carried out using a representative regional survey approach designed to capture diverse linguistic experiences across six distinct administrative and geographic areas of Moldova. The study targeted both urban and rural populations to ensure broad territorial and demographic representation.

The study employed regionally targeted coverage, encompassing both urban and rural localities across six distinct geographic and administrative areas of Moldova:

1. Municipality Chisinau;
2. Municipality Balti;
3. Territorial Administrative Unit of Gagauzia;
4. Rayons Taraclia and Basarabeasca;
5. Rayons Briceni, Edinet and Ocnita;
6. Rayons Ialoveni, Hincesti, Straseni, Ungheni, Calarasi and Nisporeni.

For the purposes of this research, several administrative groupings have been used to ensure clarity and consistency in regional analysis. The rayons of Briceni, Edineț, and Ocnița are collectively referred to as the North region, while Ialoveni, Hîncești, Strășeni, Ungheni, Călărași, and Nisporeni are grouped under the term Center region. Additionally, the rayons of Taraclia and Basarabeasca are most frequently referred to collectively as Taraclia throughout the report. This reflects their geographic proximity, shared demographic

characteristics, and similar linguistic patterns, and allows for a more concise presentation of findings.

Research methodology

Research method:	representative regional survey.
Research technique:	face-to-face interview based on a structured questionnaire.
Interview method:	CAPI – computer assisted personal interview. The data was collected through tablets connected online to the database server.
Target group:	general adult population 18 years old and above.



Sample size: 2445 respondents interviewed in total and distributed equally (about 400 respondents with sampling error of $\pm 5\%$) by the mentioned six regions:

- Municipality Chisinau – 398 respondents;
- Municipality Balti – 406 respondents;
- Territorial Administrative Unit of Gagauzia – 432 respondents;
- Rayons Taraclia and Basarabasca – 398 respondents;
- Rayons Briceni, Edinet and Ocnita – 408 respondents;
- Rayons Ialoveni, Hincesti, Straseni, Ungheni, Calarasi and Nisporeni – 403 respondents.

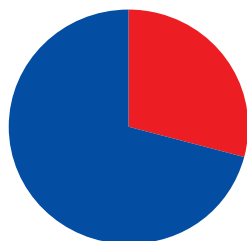


2445
respondents

Research tool: structured questionnaire with both closed and open-ended questions. The working language was Romanian and Russian, depending on the respondent's preferences. Overall, 50% of the questionnaires were completed in Romanian and 50% in Russian. Language distribution by the six regions was as follows:

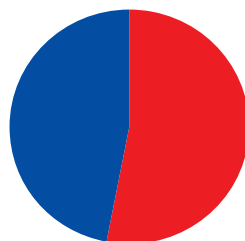
Municipality Chisinau

71% **29%**
Romanian Russian



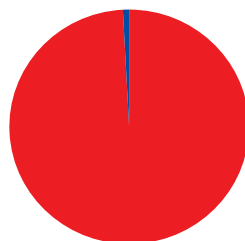
Municipality Balti

47% **53%**
Romanian Russian



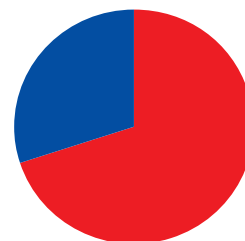
Territorial Administrative Unit of Gagauzi

1% **99%**
Romanian Russian



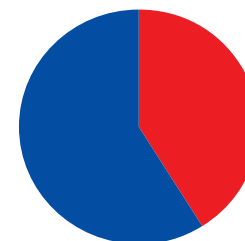
Rayons Taraclia and Basarabasca

30% **70%**
Romanian Russian



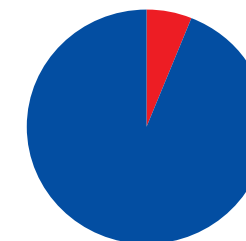
Rayons Briceni, Edinet and Ocnit

59% **41%**
Romanian Russian



Rayons Ialoveni, Hincesti, Straseni, Ungheni, Calarasi and Nisporeni

94% **6%**
Romanian Russian





I. SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS



CHISINAU

		Unweighted data		Weighted data to 2024 official statistics	
TOTAL		398	%	398	%
GENDER	Male	149	37%	162	41%
	Female	249	63%	236	59%
AGE GROUP	18-29 years	89	22%	95	24%
	30-49 years	119	30%	144	36%
	50 years +	190	48%	159	40%
LEVEL OF EDUCATION *	Low	61	15%	61	15%
	Middle	136	34%	132	33%
	High	201	51%	205	52%
TYPE OF LOCALITY	Urban	360	90%	360	90%
	Rural	38	10%	38	10%
LEVEL OF INCOME	Low	162	42%	154	40%
	Medium	173	44%	178	46%
	High	53	14%	56	14%

* Low level – up to 9 classes; Middle level – high school, vocational school, college; High level – university, master, PhD

		Unweighted data		Weighted data to 2024 official statistics	
TOTAL		398	%	398	%
ETHNIC GROUP	Moldovan	227	57%	229	58%
	Romanian	79	20%	79	20%
	Russian	45	11%	45	11%
	Ukrainian	38	10%	36	9%
	Gagauz	2	0.5%	3	0.6%
	Bulgarian	1	0.3%	1	0.4%
	Other	6	1.5%	6	1.6%
ETHNIC GROUP - 2	Ethnic majority (Moldovan/Romanian)	306	77%	308	77%
	Ethnic minority (Other ethnic groups)	92	23%	90	23%
SELF ASSESSED ETHNIC GROUP IN COMMUNITY	Ethnic majority	329	85%	329	85%
	Ethnic minority	60	15%	60	15%
DISABILITY STATUS	Have disability	28	7%	25	6%
	Don't have disability / Not sure	370	93%	373	94%
EMPLOYMENT STATUS	Employed in a state institution	69	17%	73	18%
	Employed in private sector, including self-employed	120	30%	134	34%
	Pensioner	146	37%	123	31%
	Unemployed / student / maternity leave	63	16%	68	17%



BALTI

		Unweighted data		Weighted data to 2024 official statistics	
TOTAL		406	%	406	%
GENDER	Male	166	41%	172	42%
	Female	240	59%	234	58%
AGE GROUP	18-29 years	90	22%	98	24%
	30-49 years	118	29%	136	34%
	50 years +	198	49%	172	42%
LEVEL OF EDUCATION *	Low	113	28%	112	28%
	Middle	187	46%	182	45%
	High	104	26%	110	27%
TYPE OF LOCALITY	Urban	367	90%	378	93%
	Rural	39	10%	28	7%
LEVEL OF INCOME	Low	210	52%	205	51%
	Medium	123	31%	125	31%
	High	68	17%	70	18%

* Low level – up to 9 classes; Middle level – high school, vocational school, college; High level – university, master, PhD

		Unweighted data		Weighted data to 2024 official statistics	
TOTAL		406	%	406	%
ETHNIC GROUP	Moldovan	264	65%	264	65%
	Romanian	17	4%	17	4%
	Russian	51	13%	52	13%
	Ukrainian	65	16%	63	16%
	Gagauz	2	0.5%	2	0.5%
	Bulgarian	1	0.2%	1	0.2%
	Other	6	1.5%	7	1.6%
ETHNIC GROUP - 2	Ethnic majority (Moldovan/Romanian)	281	69%	281	69%
	Ethnic minority (Other ethnic groups)	125	31%	125	31%
SELF ASSESSED ETHNIC GROUP IN COMMUNITY	Ethnic majority	295	73%	296	73%
	Ethnic minority	86	21%	86	21%
	Refused	25	6%	24	6%
DISABILITY STATUS	Have disability	29	7%	27	7%
	Don't have disability / Not sure	377	93%	379	93%
EMPLOYMENT STATUS	Employed in a state institution	43	11%	45	11%
	Employed in private sector, including self-employed	86	21%	95	24%
	Pensioner	168	41%	148	36%
	Unemployed / student / maternity leave	109	27%	117	29%



UTAG

		Unweighted data		Weighted data to 2024 official statistics	
TOTAL		432	%	432	%
GENDER	Male	148	34%	172	40%
	Female	284	66%	260	60%
AGE GROUP	18-29 years	63	15%	85	20%
	30-49 years	154	35%	149	34%
	50 years +	215	50%	198	46%
LEVEL OF EDUCATION *	Low	190	44%	181	42%
	Middle	158	37%	165	39%
	High	80	19%	82	19%
TYPE OF LOCALITY	Urban	157	36%	167	39%
	Rural	275	64%	265	61%
LEVEL OF INCOME	Low	284	66%	275	64%
	Medium	102	24%	107	25%
	High	27	6%	29	6%
	Refusal	19	4%	21	5%

* Low level – up to 9 classes; Middle level – high school, vocational school, college; High level – university, master, PhD

		Unweighted data		Weighted data to 2024 official statistics	
TOTAL		432	%	432	%
ETHNIC GROUP	Moldovan	22	5%	23	5%
	Romanian	1	0.2%	1	0.3%
	Russian	18	4%	21	5%
	Ukrainian	14	3%	15	3%
	Gagauz	349	81%	344	80%
	Bulgarian	21	5%	21	5%
	Other	7	2%	7	2%
ETHNIC GROUP - 2	Ethnic majority (Moldovan/Romanian)	23	5%	25	6%
	Ethnic minority (Other ethnic groups)	407	95%	405	94%
SELF ASSESSED ETHNIC GROUP IN COMMUNITY	Ethnic majority	240	55%	243	56%
	Ethnic minority	180	42%	179	41%
	Refused	12	3%	11	3%
DISABILITY STATUS	Have disability	49	11%	47	11%
	Don't have disability / Not sure	383	89%	385	89%
EMPLOYMENT STATUS	Employed in a state institution	82	19%	84	19%
	Employed in private sector, including self-employed	55	13%	59	14%
	Pensioner	175	40%	157	36%
	Unemployed / student / maternity leave	120	28%	133	31%



TARACLIA & BASARABEASCA

		Unweighted data		Weighted data to 2024 official statistics	
TOTAL		398	%	398	%
GENDER	Male	157	39%	170	43%
	Female	241	61%	228	57%
AGE GROUP	18-29 years	61	15%	73	19%
	30-49 years	122	31%	129	32%
	50 years +	215	54%	196	49%
LEVEL OF EDUCATION *	Low	174	44%	173	44%
	Middle	152	38%	154	39%
	High	69	18%	69	17%
TYPE OF LOCALITY	Urban	197	50%	198	50%
	Rural	201	50%	200	50%
LEVEL OF INCOME	Low	227	57%	223	56%
	Medium	129	33%	131	33%
	High	21	5%	21	5%
	Refusal	21	5%	23	6%

* Low level – up to 9 classes; Middle level – high school, vocational school, college; High level – university, master, PhD

		Unweighted data		Weighted data to 2024 official statistics	
TOTAL		398	%	398	%
ETHNIC GROUP	Moldovan	146	37%	148	37%
	Romanian	12	3%	13	3%
	Russian	20	5%	21	5%
	Ukrainian	23	6%	22	6%
	Gagauz	21	5%	22	6%
	Bulgarian	169	42%	166	41%
	Other	7	2%	8	2%
ETHNIC GROUP - 2	Ethnic majority (Moldovan/Romanian)	158	40%	160	40%
	Ethnic minority (Other ethnic groups)	239	60%	237	60%
SELF ASSESSED ETHNIC GROUP IN COMMUNITY	Ethnic majority	217	55%	218	55%
	Ethnic minority	157	39%	156	39%
	Refused	24	6%	25	6%
DISABILITY STATUS	Have disability	62	16%	59	15%
	Don't have disability / Not sure	336	84%	339	85%
EMPLOYMENT STATUS	Employed in a state institution	93	24%	95	24%
	Employed in private sector, including self-employed	47	12%	51	13%
	Pensioner	170	43%	156	40%
	Unemployed / student / maternity leave	81	21%	89	23%

**NORTH – Edinet, Briceni and Ocnita**

		Unweighted data		Weighted data to 2024 official statistics	
TOTAL		408	%	408	%
GENDER	Male	164	40%	175	43%
	Female	244	60%	233	57%
AGE GROUP	18-29 years	52	13%	67	16%
	30-49 years	146	36%	142	35%
	50 years +	210	51%	199	49%
LEVEL OF EDUCATION *	Low	110	27%	109	27%
	Middle	179	44%	181	45%
	High	115	29%	114	28%
TYPE OF LOCALITY	Urban	96	24%	100	25%
	Rural	312	76%	308	75%
LEVEL OF INCOME	Low	232	57%	227	56%
	Medium	95	23%	95	23%
	High	21	5%	21	5%
	Refusal	60	15%	65	16%

* Low level – up to 9 classes; Middle level – high school, vocational school, college; High level – university, master, PhD

		Unweighted data		Weighted data to 2024 official statistics	
TOTAL		408	%	408	%
ETHNIC GROUP	Moldovan	281	69%	278	68%
	Romanian	36	9%	37	9%
	Russian	26	6%	26	6%
	Ukrainian	55	13%	56	14%
	Roma	9	2%	9	2%
	Bulgarian	1	0.2%	1	0.3%
ETHNIC GROUP - 2	Ethnic majority (Moldovan/Romanian)	317	78%	316	77%
	Ethnic minority (Other ethnic groups)	91	22%	92	23%
SELF ASSESSED ETHNIC GROUP IN COMMUNITY	Ethnic majority	365	89%	364	89%
	Ethnic minority	32	8%	33	8%
	Refused	11	3%	11	3%
DISABILITY STATUS	Have disability	35	9%	34	8%
	Don't have disability / Not sure	373	91%	374	92%
EMPLOYMENT STATUS	Employed in a state institution	94	23%	92	23%
	Employed in private sector, including self-employed	71	18%	76	19%
	Pensioner	145	36%	138	34%
	Unemployed / student / maternity leave	94	23%	99	24%



CENTER – Ialoveni, Hincesti, Straseni, Ungheni, Calarasi and Nisporeni

		Unweighted data		Weighted data to 2024 official statistics	
TOTAL		403	%	403	%
GENDER	Male	163	40%	174	43%
	Female	240	60%	229	57%
AGE GROUP	18-29 years	50	12%	73	18%
	30-49 years	140	35%	139	34%
	50 years +	213	53%	192	48%
LEVEL OF EDUCATION *	Low	134	33%	134	33%
	Middle	181	45%	183	46%
	High	88	22%	86	21%
TYPE OF LOCALITY	Urban	101	25%	94	23%
	Rural	302	75%	309	77%
LEVEL OF INCOME	Low	235	59%	234	59%
	Medium	121	30%	118	30%
	High	44	11%	46	11%

* Low level – up to 9 classes; Middle level – high school, vocational school, college; High level – university, master, PhD

		Unweighted data		Weighted data to 2024 official statistics	
TOTAL		403	%	403	%
ETHNIC GROUP	Moldovan	314	78%	317	79%
	Romanian	63	16%	62	15%
	Russian	9	2%	8	2%
	Ukrainian	15	4%	14	4%
	Gagauz	1	0.2%	1	0.2%
	Other	1	0.2%	1	0.2%
ETHNIC GROUP - 2	Ethnic majority (Moldovan/Romanian)	377	93%	379	94%
	Ethnic minority (Other ethnic groups)	26	7%	24	6%
SELF ASSESSED ETHNIC GROUP IN COMMUNITY	Ethnic majority	365	91%	366	91%
	Ethnic minority	33	8%	32	8%
	Refused	5	1%	5	1%
DISABILITY STATUS	Have disability	37	9%	36	9%
	Don't have disability / Not sure	366	91%	367	91%
EMPLOYMENT STATUS	Employed in a state institution	97	24%	95	24%
	Employed in private sector, including self-employed	70	18%	73	18%
	Pensioner	146	36%	132	33%
	Unemployed / student / maternity leave	89	22%	102	25%

II. LANGUAGE IDENTITY AND LANGUAGE EXPERIENCE

2.1. MOTHER TONGUE AND FIRST LANGUAGE LEARNED



Mother tongue and language proficiency

The self-declared mother tongues of respondents across six regions of Moldova, based on an open-ended question that allowed multiple responses, reveal distinct regional patterns and underline the country's linguistic diversity. The state language holds a dominant position in the Center region (99%), Chisinau (77%) and the North (77%).

It also constitutes a majority in Balti with 59%, and ranks second in Taraclia with 36%. In contrast, it is a minority language in Gagauzia, accounting for only 6% (see **Figure 1**).

The Russian language is not the dominant mother tongue in any of the six surveyed regions, yet it consistently holds second place in each of them.

In Gagauzia, the Gagauz language is by far the predominant mother tongue, with 74% of the population identifying it as such.

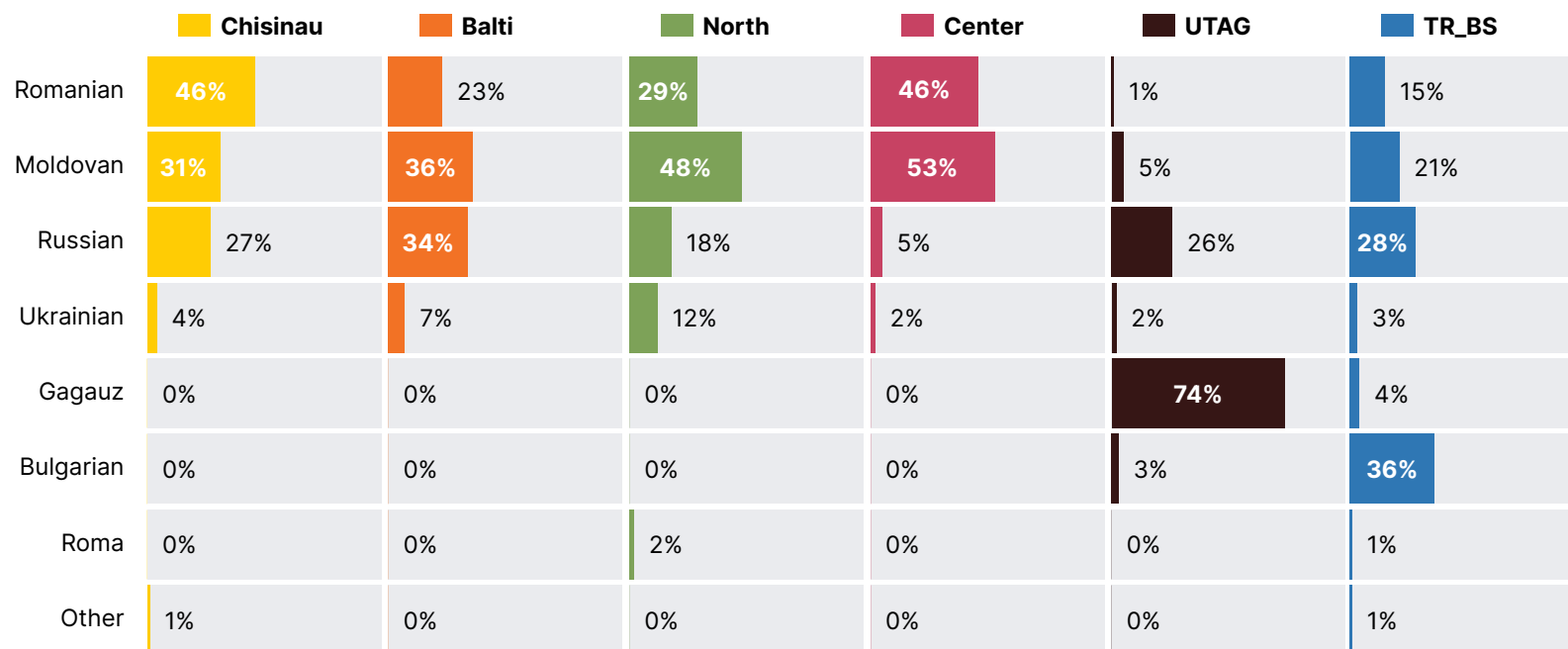
In Taraclia and Basarabeasca, the proportions of mother tongue speakers are more evenly distributed among three languages: the state language, Bulgarian and Russian.

The Ukrainian language has notable representation in the North and in Balti.

Figure 1. What is your mother tongue (-s)?

Multiple answer.

Open question



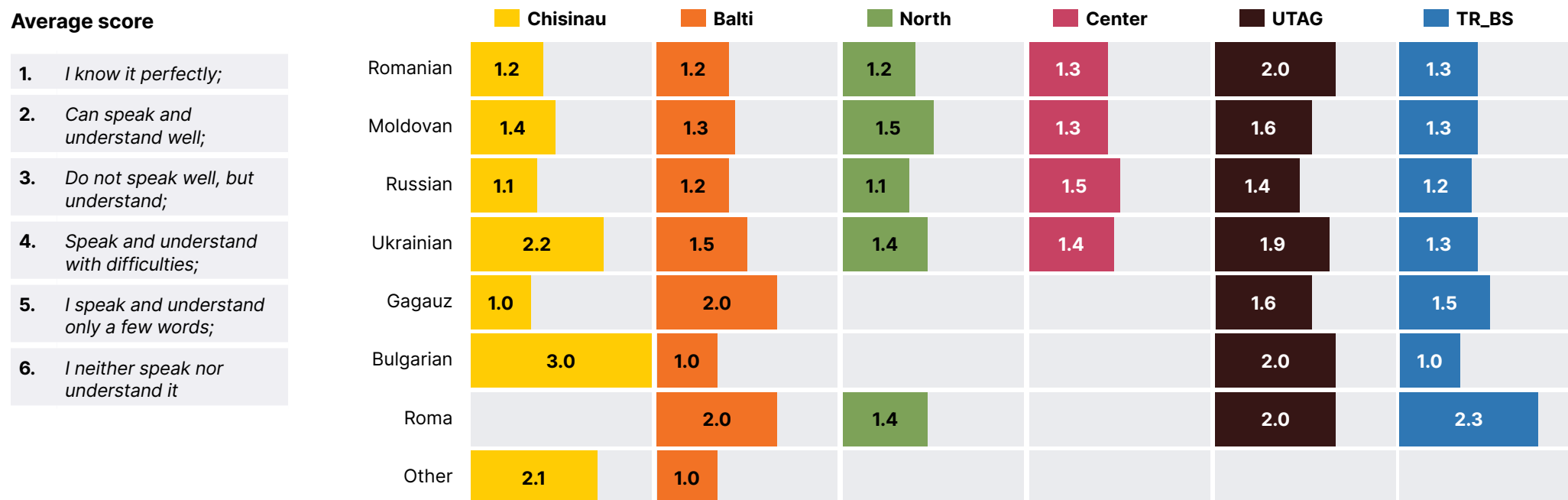
When referring to the state language, respondents from Chisinau most commonly used the term **Romanian**, while in all other regions the term **Moldovan** prevailed. Importantly, these designations reflect the respondents' own terminology, as no predefined options were provided during the interviews—answers were recorded exactly as stated by participants. Overall, the label *Romanian* is more frequently used by younger individuals, those with higher levels of education, and employees of state institutions, indicating that socio-demographic factors influence the way the state language is identified.

On average, approximately one in ten respondents reported having more than one mother tongue. This proportion is relatively consistent across all regions, with the exception of Balti, where only 1% reported multiple mother tongues.

Respondents were also asked to assess their proficiency in their mother tongue using a six-point scale. **Figure 2** illustrates the average proficiency scores, where a value closer to 1 indicates a higher level of proficiency.

Respondents across all surveyed regions demonstrated a high level of self-assessed proficiency in their declared mother tongue. In most cases, individuals reported either perfect knowledge or the ability to speak and understand their native language very well.

Figure 2. How do you assess your level of your mother tongue?



At the regional level, the highest self-assessed proficiency scores in mother tongue were recorded in the North region, with an average of 1.3 points across all languages, followed by Balti, the Center region and Taraclia, each with an average score of 1.4 points. Lower scores were reported by respondents in Chisinau (1.7 points) and Gagauzia (1.8 points).

Among minority language speakers, self-assessed knowledge of Gagauz, Bulgarian, Ukrainian, and Roma also remained high, though in some cases slightly lower than that of the state or Russian languages. This may reflect variations in access to education and media in minority languages or generational shifts in language transmission. In Gagauzia, for instance, Gagauz speakers reported good, though not perfect, command of their mother tongue, which may point to challenges in maintaining full fluency despite ethnic majority status in the region. Similarly, speakers of Ukrainian and Roma in northern regions assessed their skills positively but with slightly lower confidence than those using more dominant languages.

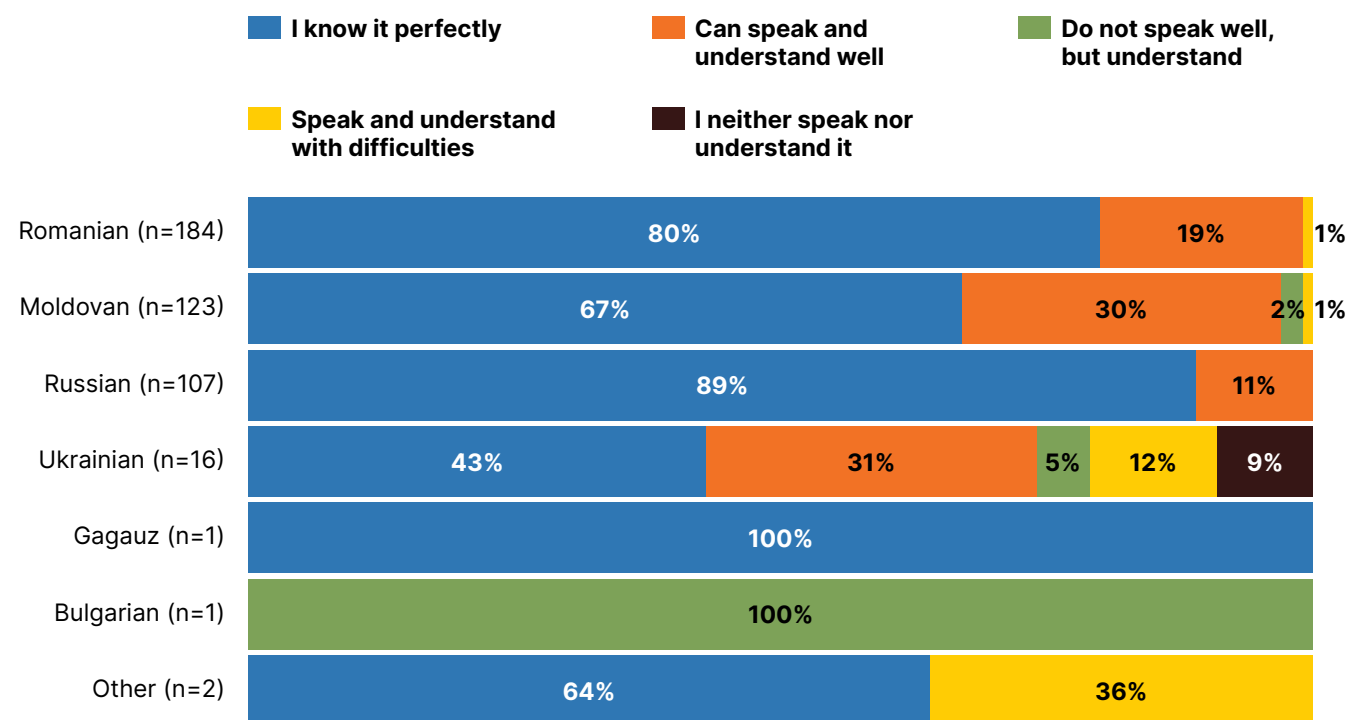
Overall, the findings confirm that most respondents maintain a strong connection to their linguistic roots, with particularly high proficiency among those who speak widely used or officially supported languages. At the same time, the slightly more modest scores among speakers of certain minority languages highlight the need for continued support for linguistic diversity and mother tongue use.

In Chisinau, respondents report high levels of proficiency in their declared mother tongues, particularly among speakers of widely used languages (see **Figure 2.1**). Russian speakers show the highest fluency, with 89% stating they know the language perfectly and the remaining 11% reporting strong command. In contrast, proficiency among Ukrainian

speakers is more varied—only 43% report perfect fluency, while others indicate lower competence or partial understanding, reflecting signs of language attrition in the capital. These results reflect Chisinau's strong linguistic competence in dominant languages and a more fragile situation for minority or less frequently used languages.

Figure 2.1. How do you assess your level of your mother tongue?

Chisinau



The results from Balti indicate high proficiency in primary languages and strong retention among most native language speakers, with slight variation in Ukrainian (see **Figure 2.2**).

The data from the North region reflect strong mother tongue proficiency, especially for Russian, with somewhat more mixed levels of fluency among Ukrainian and Roma speakers, as well as those who identify the state language as Moldovan, likely influenced by differences in linguistic environment, education, and community use (see **Figure 2.3**).

Figure 2.2. How do you assess your level of your mother tongue?

Balti

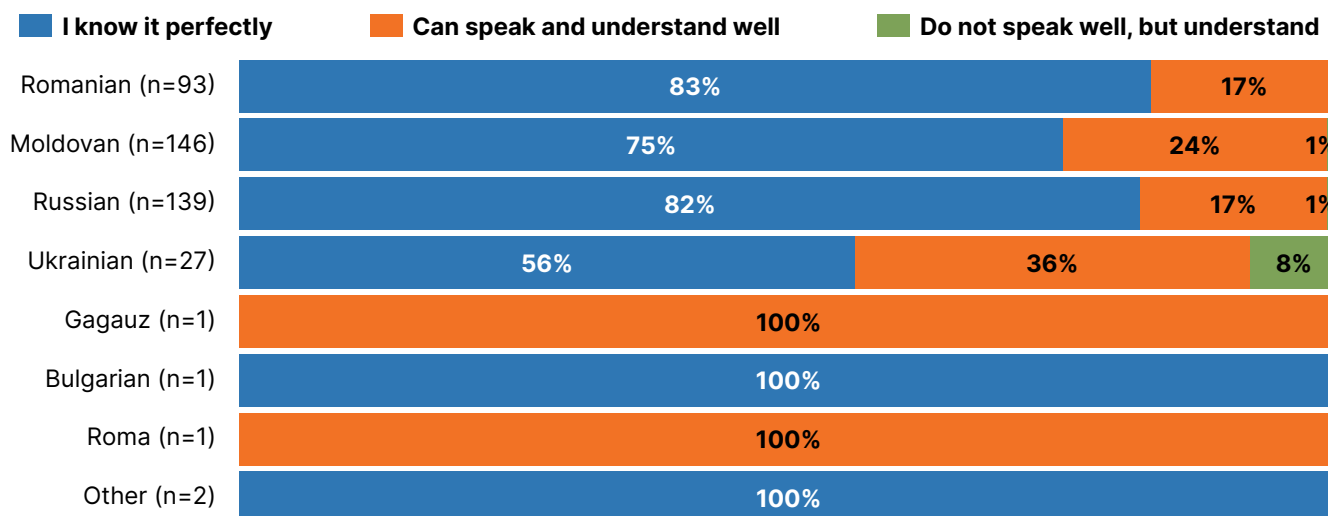
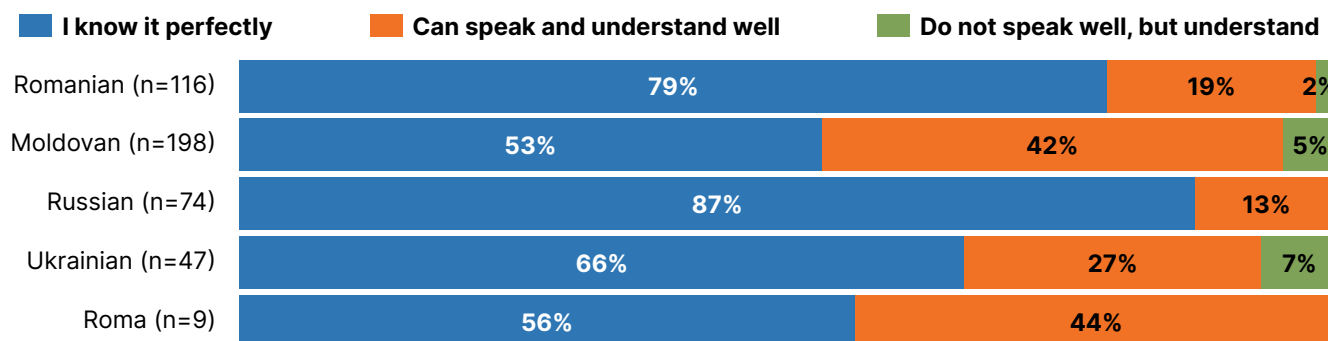


Figure 2.3. How do you assess your level of your mother tongue?

North



Respondents in the Center demonstrate a high level of mother tongue proficiency, particularly in Romanian, with modest variation among Russian and Ukrainian speakers that may reflect generational language shift or differences in language exposure (see **Figure 2.4**).

In Gagauzia, the data reveal a varied picture of self-assessed proficiency in mother tongues, reflecting the region's complex dynamics of language retention among both dominant and minority groups. Among Gagauz speakers—the largest group by far in the region—only 50% report knowing the language perfectly, while 47% state they can speak and understand it well, and 3% report limited understanding (see **Figure 2.5**). This indicates relatively high proficiency overall, but also points to potential erosion in full fluency.

Russian also remains a prominent mother tongue, with 62% of speakers reporting perfect knowledge and another 36% speaking and understanding it well. Only 1% report some difficulty, confirming Russian's solid role as a widely used and well-preserved language in Gagauzia.

Among Romanian/Moldovan speakers, just over half report perfect knowledge, and one-third say they can speak and understand the language well—highlighting a somewhat weaker position of the state language among those who consider it their mother tongue in this region.

Ukrainian and Bulgarian speakers show more signs of limited fluency.

Figure 2.4. How do you assess your level of your mother tongue?

Center

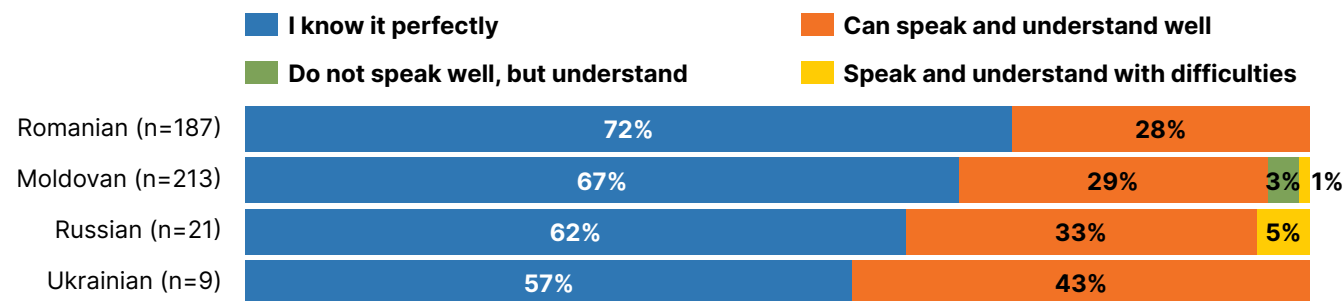
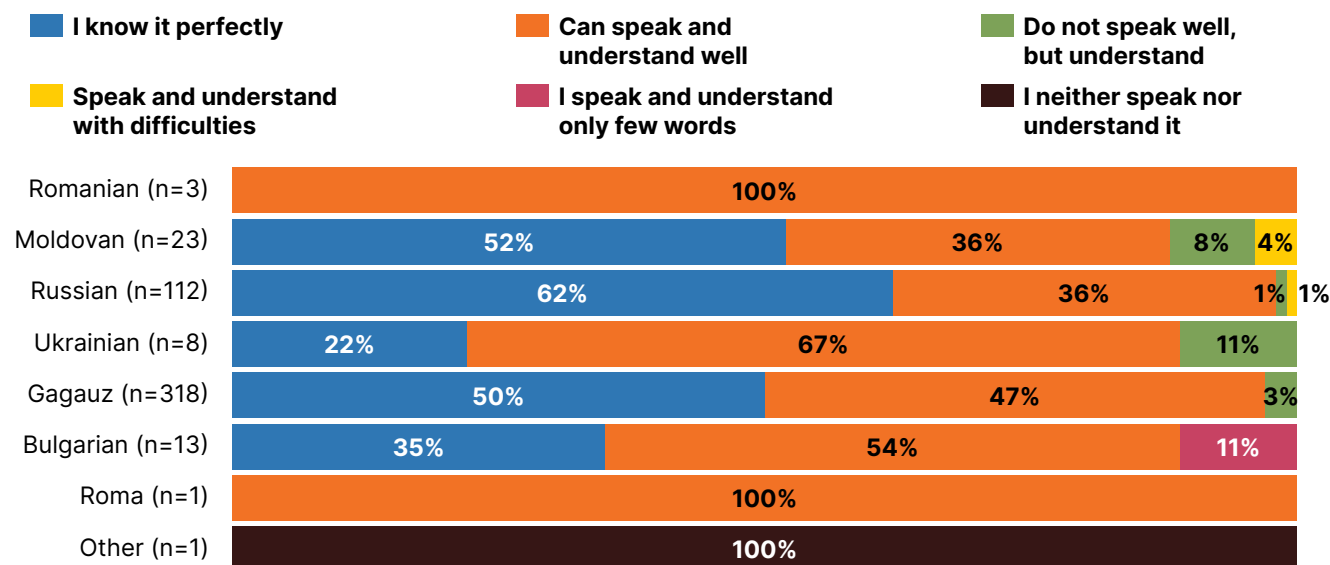


Figure 2.5. How do you assess your level of your mother tongue?

UTAG



Overall, while ATU Gagauzia remains a stronghold of Gagauz linguistic identity, the data show that even within the titular language group, perfect fluency is not universal. Russian maintains high levels of proficiency, while other minority languages—especially Ukrainian and Bulgarian—show signs of weakening intergenerational transmission.

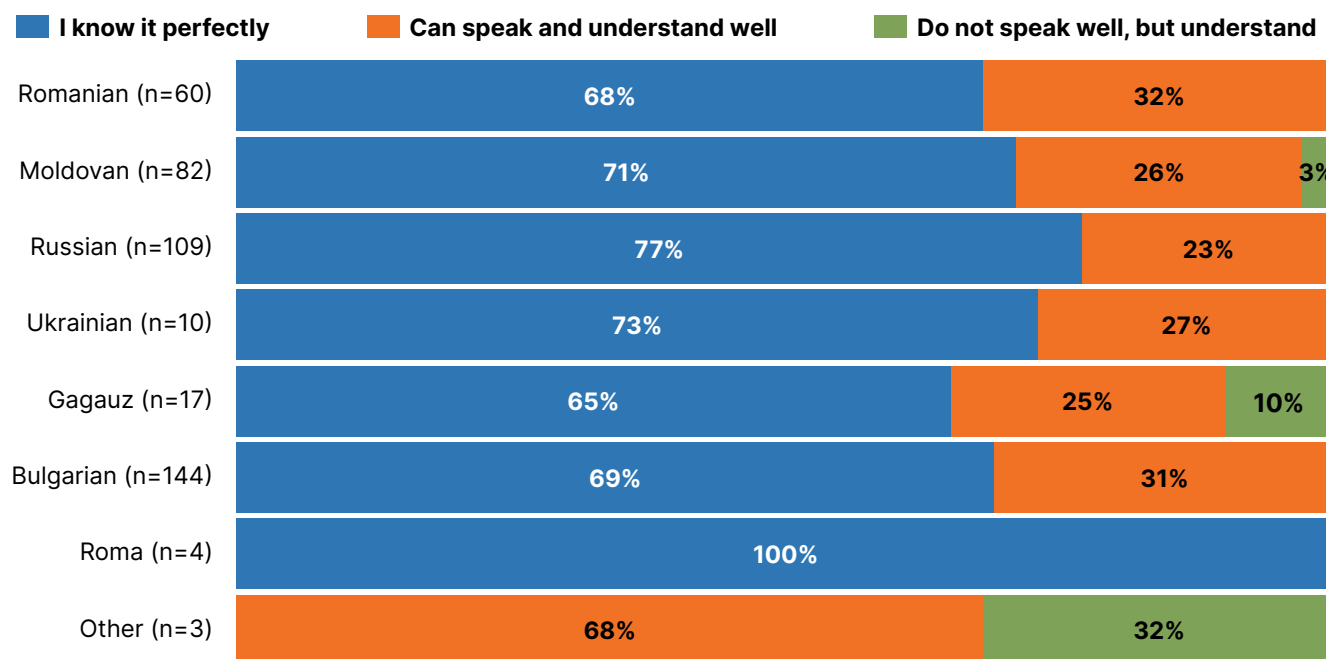
In Taraclia and Basarabeasca, respondents report high levels of self-assessed proficiency in their mother tongues across most language groups, indicating strong language retention in this multilingual region. For Bulgarian speakers—the largest minority language group in the region—69% report perfect fluency, and 31% state they can speak and understand it well,

indicating stable intergenerational transmission. Minority languages like Gagauz and Ukrainian also show strong retention in the region (see **Figure 2.6**).

Across above graphs, a consistent pattern emerges in the self-assessment of state language proficiency: respondents who referred to the language as *Romanian* reported significantly higher levels of fluency than those who identified it as *Moldovan*. This trend is most evident in Chişinău, Bălţi, and the North region, and suggests that terminology choice may be associated not only with linguistic identity, but also with varying levels of language competence and confidence. The exception to this pattern is found in Gagauzia, where overall proficiency in the state language remains low, regardless of the term used.

Figure 2.6. How do you assess your level of your mother tongue?

TR_BS



First language learned and proficiency

When asked about first language learned at home, the overall distribution closely mirrors that of the mother tongue, with one notable exception: in most regions, there is a significant shift toward a higher proportion of respondents identifying Russian as the first language acquired. This shift suggests that while Russian may not always be declared as a mother tongue in terms of identity, it often plays a primary role in early childhood language development. This trend is illustrated in **Figure 3**, with the following increases observed:

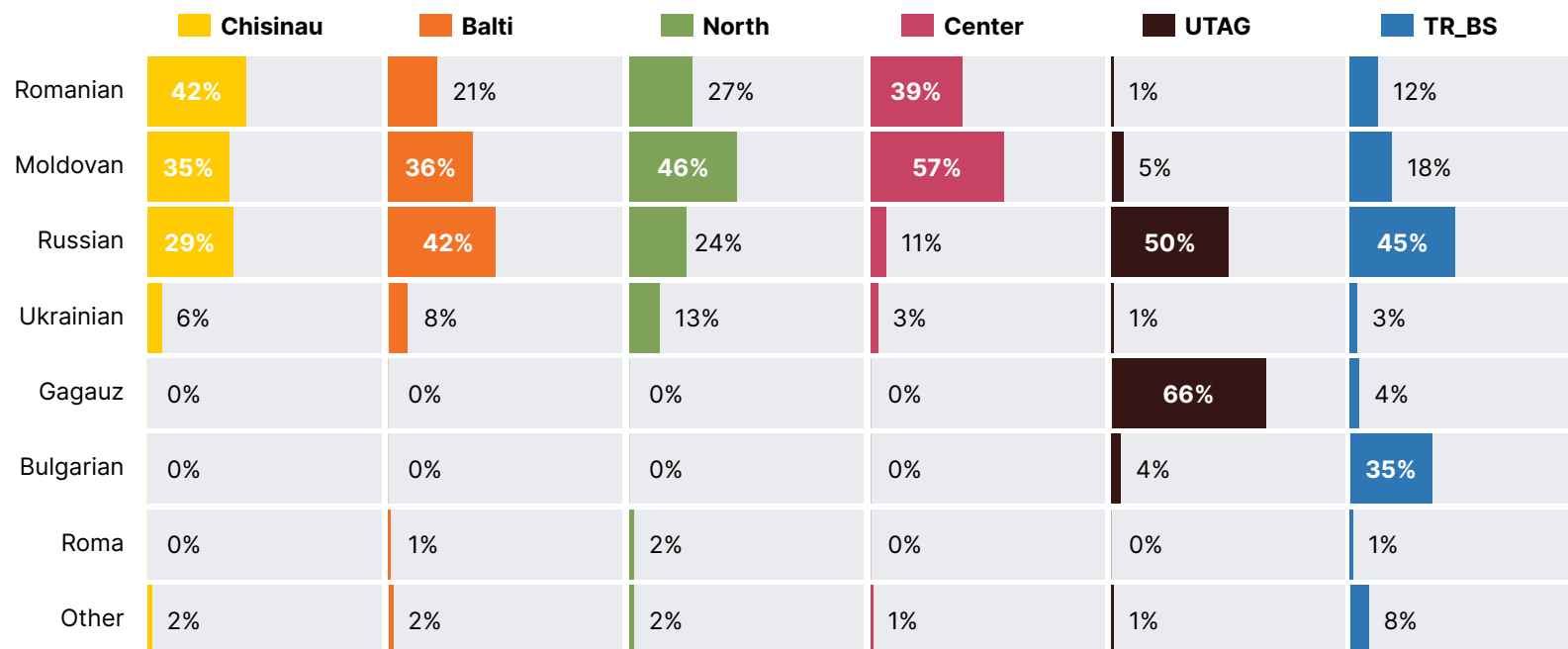
- **Chisinau** – from 27% (mother tongue) to 29% (first language learned)
- **Balti** – from 34% to 42%
- **North region** – from 18% to 24%
- **Center region** – from 5% to 11%
- **Gagauzia** – from 26% to 50%
- **Taraclia and Basarabeasca** – from 28% to 45%

These findings indicate that Russian often functions as a key language of early home communication, even in contexts where another language may be claimed as the mother tongue for cultural or identity-related reasons.

Figure 3. What is the language (-s) you first learned (at home)?

Multiple answer.

Open question



On average, one in five respondents reported having learned two languages simultaneously as their first languages—typically their mother tongue alongside Russian. The proportion of respondents with this dual language acquisition is significantly higher in Taraclia and Gagauzia, where one in four reported learning two languages from early childhood. In contrast, in other regions, this experience is less common, with the proportion closer to one in ten. This regional variation

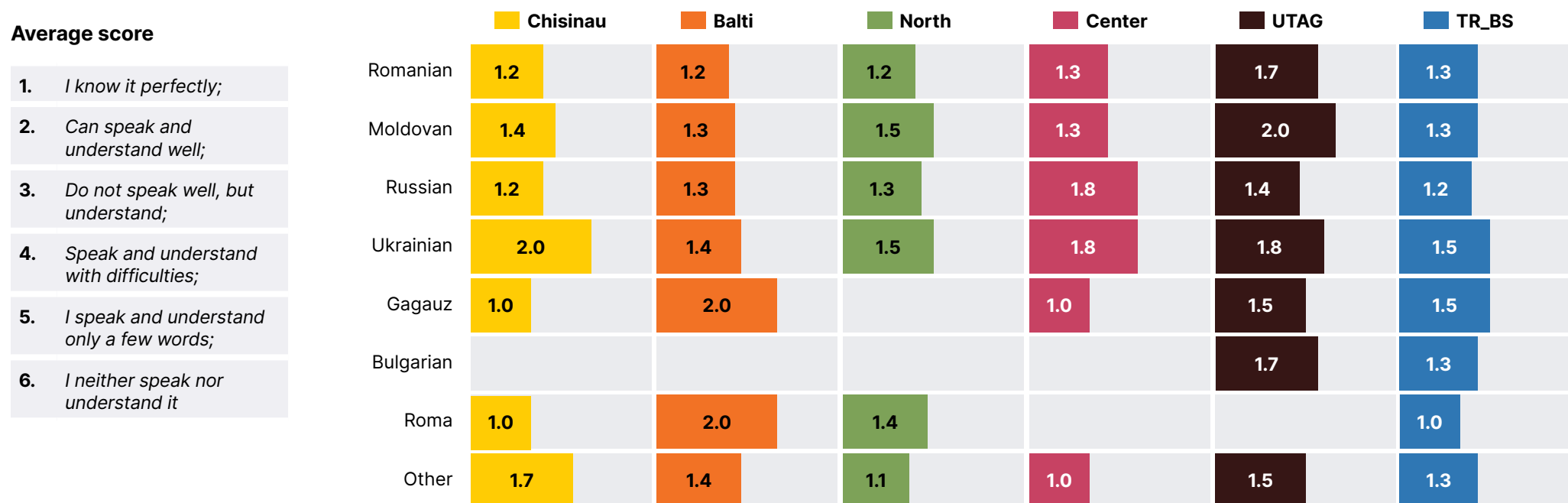
highlights the stronger presence of Russian in the early linguistic environment of minority-populated areas.

Overall, the data illustrate how the first language learned at home varies strongly by region and ethnic composition. While the state language—expressed as either Romanian or Moldovan—is dominant in central and northern regions, Russian plays a major role in urban and minority-populated areas, and minority

languages such as Gagauz and Bulgarian are prevalent in their respective communities.

Respondents across all surveyed regions report a high level of proficiency in the language or languages they first learned at home, confirming that early exposure at home is a strong predictor of lasting language competence (see **Figure 4**).

Figure 4. How do you assess your level of the language (-s) you first learned at home)?



Among those who first learned Romanian, fluency remains very high across all regions, with the strongest proficiency in Chisinau, Balti, and the North. Russian, widely used across Moldova, shows consistently high fluency levels regardless of region, confirming its entrenched position as a language of both early communication and everyday use.

Proficiency in Ukrainian is more regionally varied. In the North, where Ukrainian is more commonly spoken, self-assessed fluency remains high. However, in Chisinau, the Center, and Gagauzia, respondents report

slightly lower confidence, reflecting weaker language transmission in these areas. Similarly, Gagauz speakers report strong, though not perfect, retention in ATU Gagauzia, while fluency drops in other regions where the language is less commonly spoken.

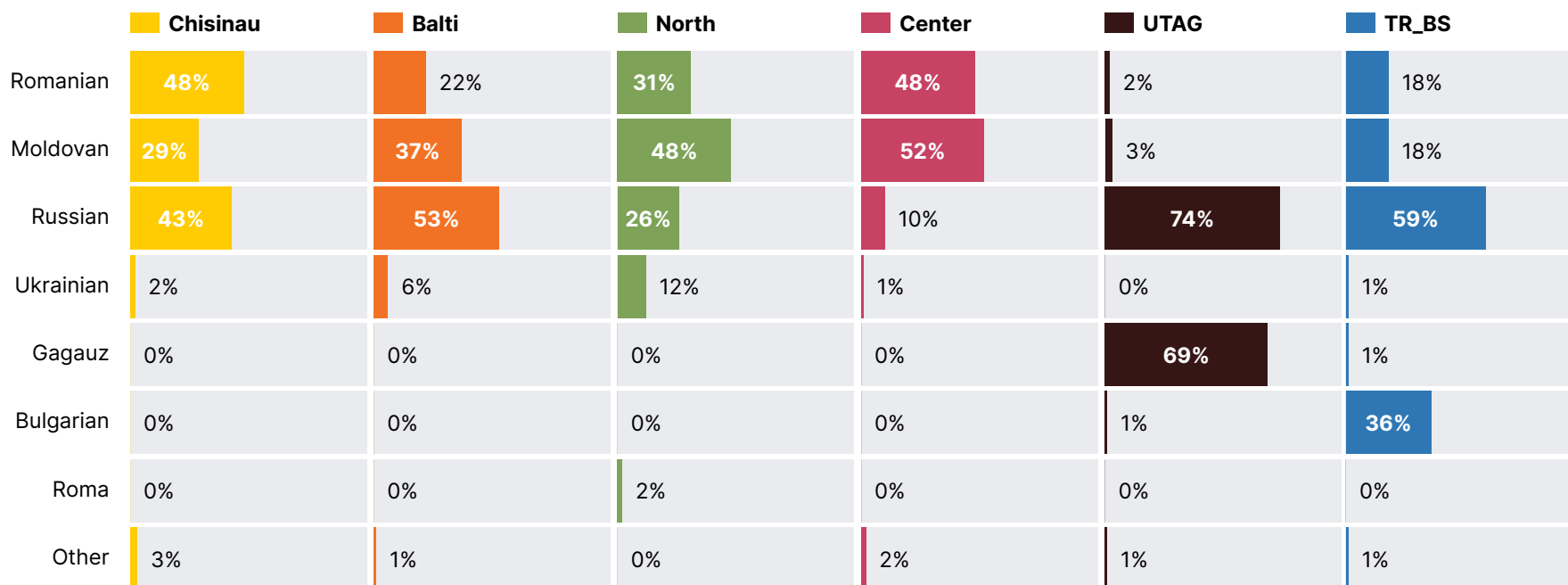
Bulgarian is best retained in Taraclia, where the community is most concentrated. Roma speakers in Chisinau and Taraclia/Basarabeasca report perfect knowledge of their language, while in other regions, proficiency remains high but slightly less consistent.

2.2. LANGUAGES CURRENTLY USED

Based on multiple-choice responses, the data for the languages currently used at home, highlight both continuity and change in home language practices, influenced by regional demographics, ethnic composition, and patterns of bilingualism (see **Figure 5**).

Figure 5. What is the language(-s) you use at home at present?

Multiple answer



In Chisinau, both Romanian and Russian are widely spoken at home, showing a near-balanced bilingual environment. In Balti, Russian is the dominant home language, reflecting the city's strong Russian-speaking tradition alongside significant use of the state language. Ukrainian is also present, though less prominently (6%).

The North region shows a more balanced picture between the state language and Russian, indicating a relatively high levels of multilingualism. Ukrainian (12%) is significantly more visible here than in other regions, affirming the historical presence of Ukrainian-speaking communities.

In the Center region, the state language predominates, while Russian and other languages have minimal use. This points to a predominantly ethnic majority population with strong state language retention in daily life.

In Gagauzia, Russian is the most frequently used home language, followed by Gagauz, reflecting a bilingual environment typical of the region. Use of the state language is minimal, underscoring the limited penetration of the state language in daily communication.

In Taraclia and Basarabasca, Russian is the dominant language, while Bulgarian and the state language are also moderately used in everyday life.

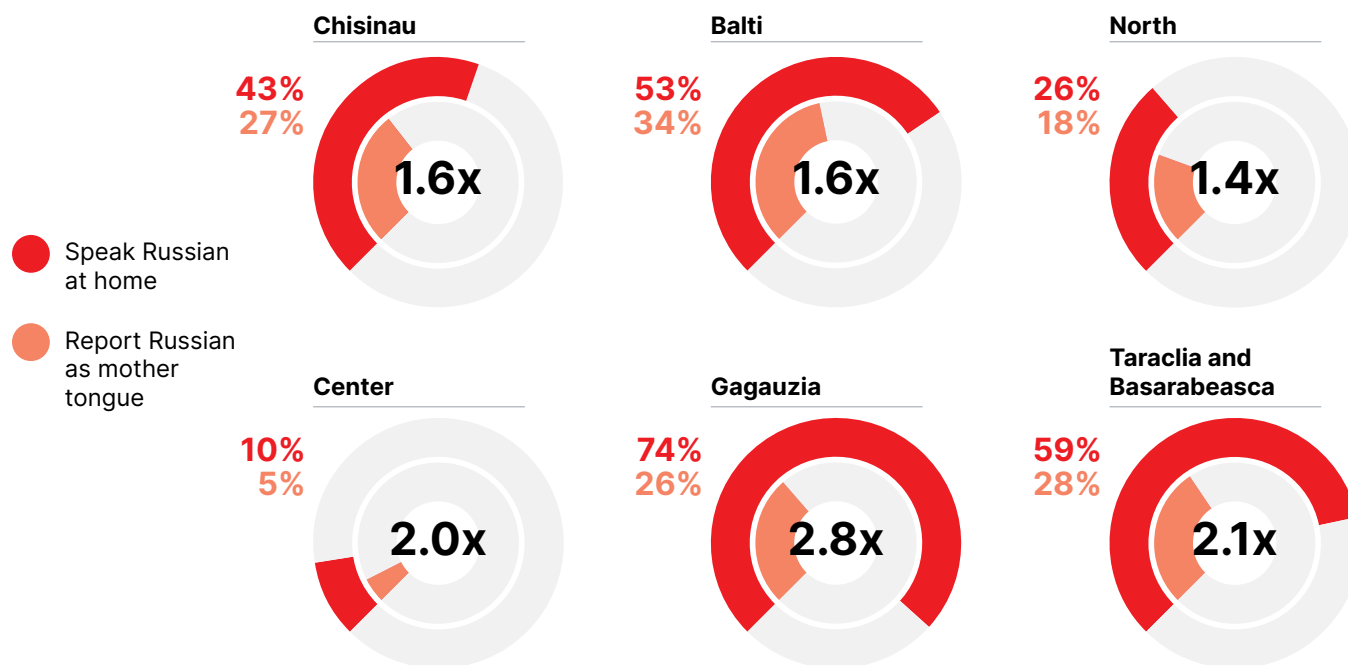
Overall, the data confirm that language use at home is shaped heavily by regional and ethnic contexts. The state

language (in both Romanian and Moldovan variants) is dominant in the Center and strong in Chisinau and the North, while Russian remains a key home language in all regions—especially in minority-dominated areas like Balti, Gagauzia, and Taraclia. Minority languages such as Gagauz and Bulgarian continue to play an important role in their respective regions, though they often coexist with or are supplemented by Russian.

Languages currently spoken at home correlate strongly with individuals' mother tongue: most people use the same language at home as their native language. This pattern holds for all languages, with the notable exception of Russian. The proportion of people speaking

Russian at home is significantly higher than the proportion identifying it as their mother tongue across all regions:

- **Chisinau** – 1.6 times (43% speak it at home vs. 27% report it as mother tongue)
- **Balti** – 1.6 times (53% vs. 34%)
- **North** – 1.4 times (26% vs. 18%)
- **Center** – 2.0 times (10% vs. 5%)
- **Gagauzia** – 2.8 times (74% vs. 26%)
- **Taraclia and Basarabasca** – 2.1 times (59% vs. 28%)



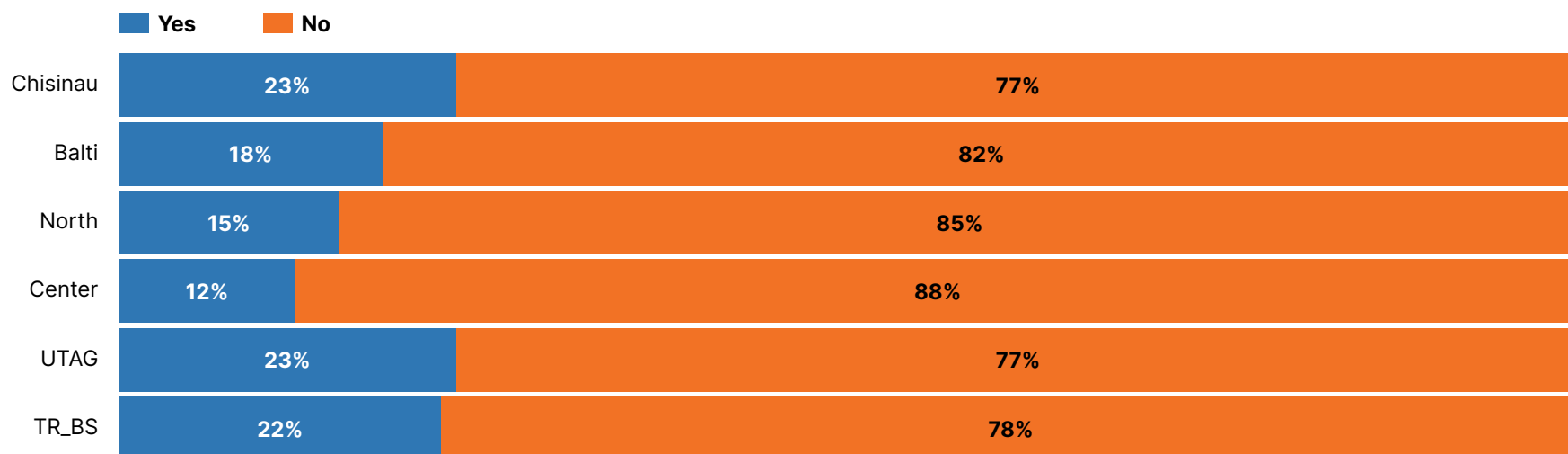
For all other languages, the ratio between home use and mother tongue within each region remains close de 1, indicating a strong overlap between linguistic identity and everyday communication. The case of Russian, however, highlights its continued function as a lingua franca in many households, particularly in multilingual or minority-populated regions.

Additionally, nearly one in five respondents report having at least one family member whose mother tongue or first language learned at home differs from

their own. This means that linguistic diversity within families is not necessarily widespread, but it is more common in certain areas—especially those with greater ethnic or linguistic diversity. The incidence of linguistically mixed marriages is notably higher in Chisinau, Gagauzia and Taraclia (approximately one in four), and significantly lower in the Center region (12%) – see **Figure 6**. These regions are known for their multicultural populations and higher rates of interethnic and interlinguistic households, which likely contributes to this pattern.

In Chisinau, mixed marriages are more frequently observed among older respondents (aged 55 years and above), individuals from ethnic minority groups, and those with a high level of education. In Gagauzia and Taraclia, such marriages are more common among younger respondents (aged 18-34), particularly those with higher education levels.

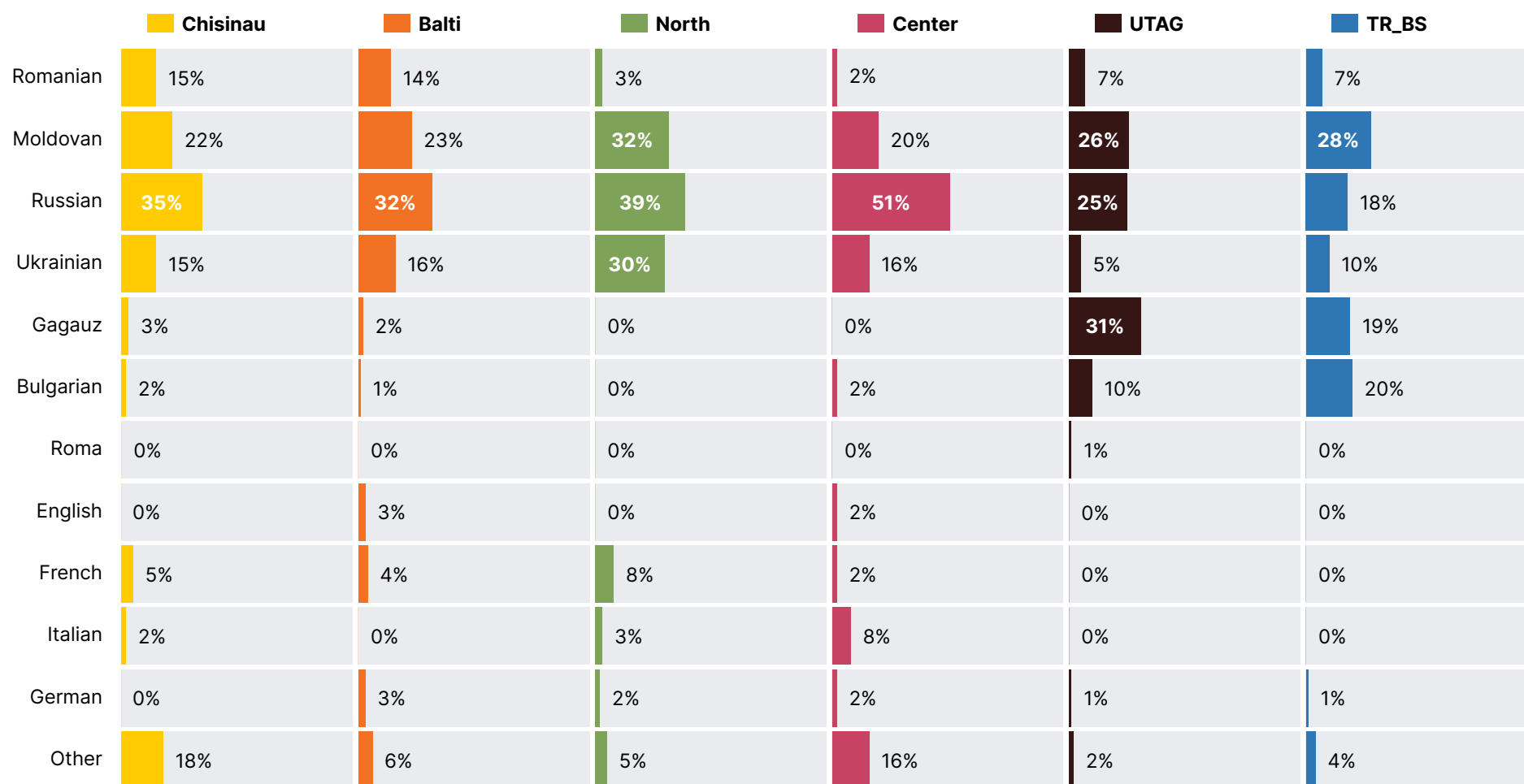
Figure 6. Do you have family members who have a different mother tongue or first language they learned at home than yours?



Across all six regions, Russian emerges as the most frequently cited language spoken by other family members, especially in the Center (51%), North (39%), and Chisinau (35%).

This reinforces the earlier observation that Russian plays a cross-cutting role in family and interethnic communication, even when it is not the respondent's own first language (see [Figure 7](#)).

Figure 7. What are these languages?

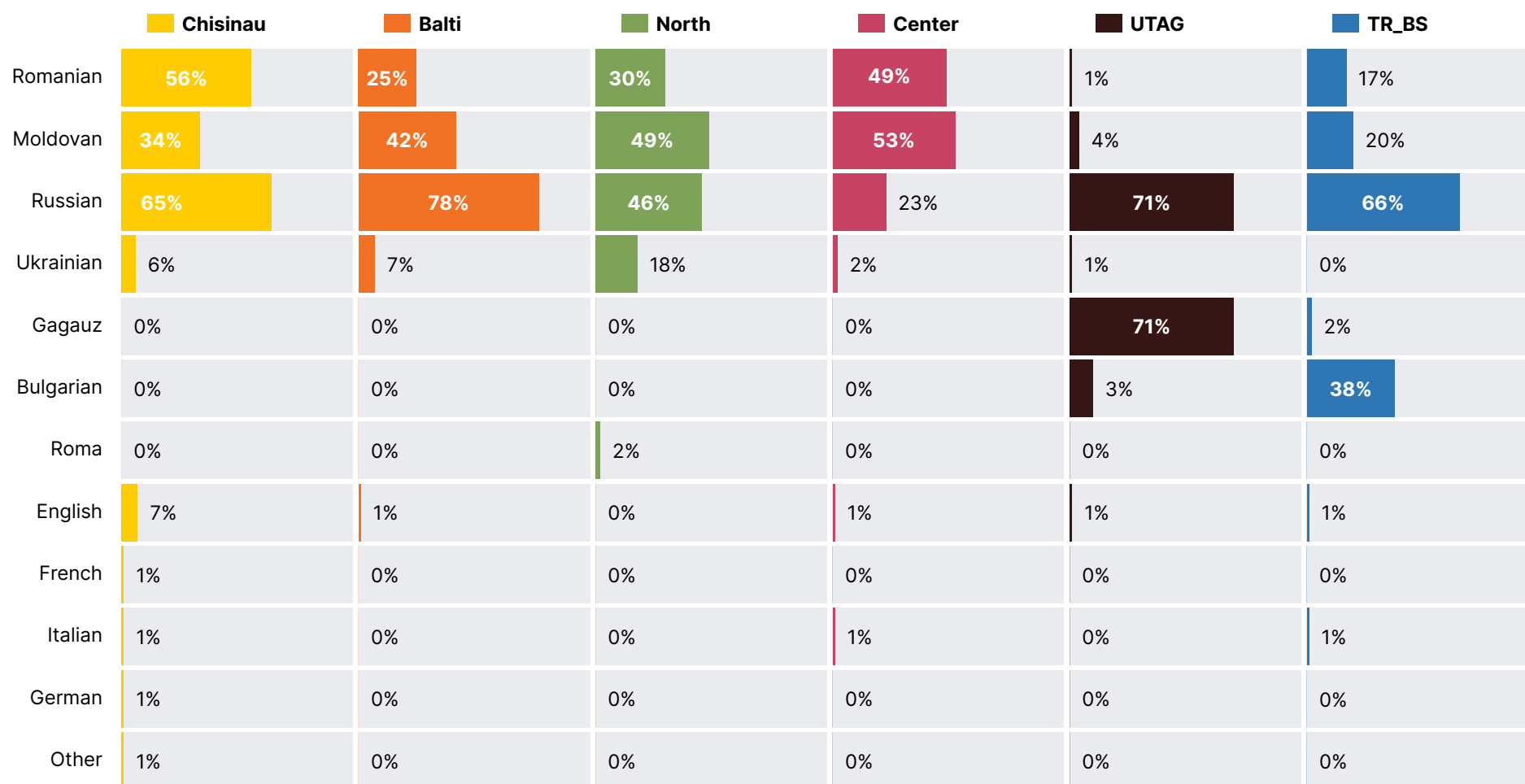


In regions with significant ethnic minority populations, such as Gagauzia and Taraclia, local languages are more often cited. Ukrainian is also notable, especially in the North (30%).

Other languages such as French, English, Italian, and German are mentioned in smaller percentages, reflecting limited but present foreign language influence, possibly due to education, migration, or mixed marriages.

Figures 8-10 illustrate the results on the languages used in communication with friends, neighbors, and colleagues. A key finding when comparing these figures is the consistency in language use patterns across these three types of interpersonal interactions.

Figure 8. Which language(s) do you speak with Friends?

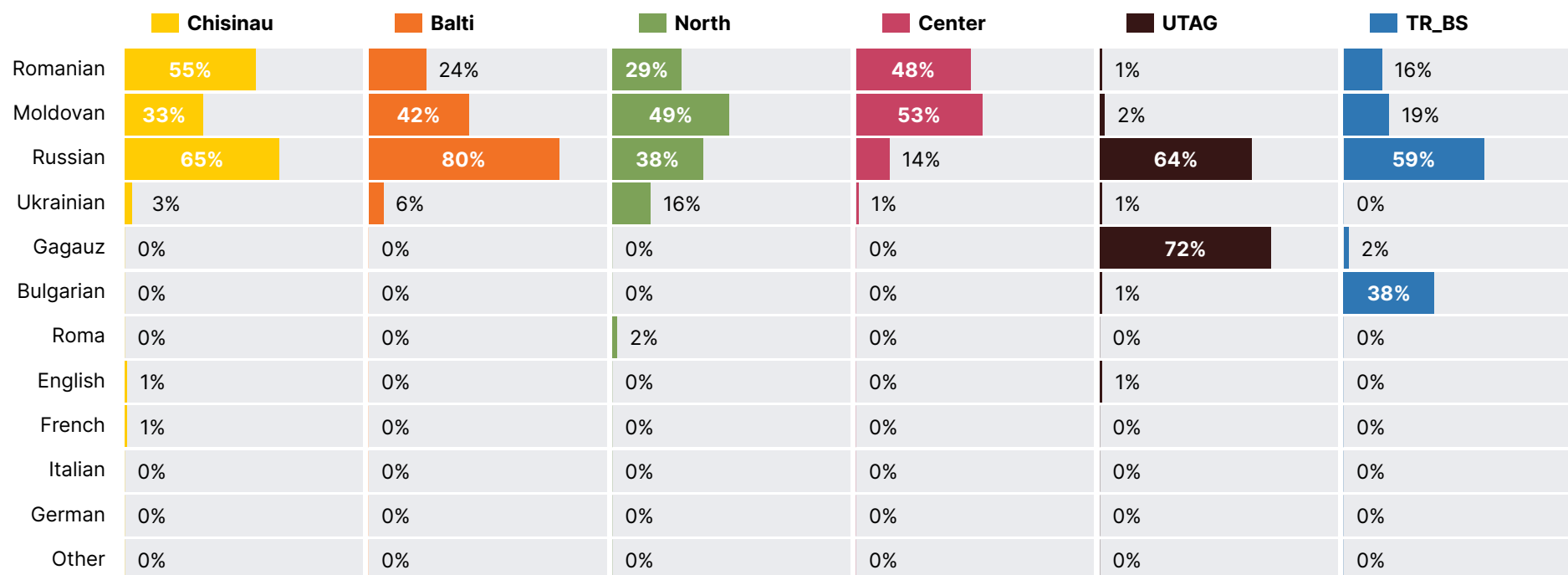


Across all regions, patterns of language use in everyday social interactions—whether with friends, neighbors, or colleagues—reveal the country’s deeply embedded multilingualism and regional diversity. Russian stands out as the most frequently used language across all three settings, particularly in urban and minority-populated regions. In Chisinau, Balti, Gagauzia, and Taraclia/Basarabeasca, a majority of respondents report speaking Russian with friends, neighbors, and colleagues, highlighting its enduring role as a common language that bridges ethnic and linguistic groups.

The state language—referred to as either Romanian or Moldovan depending on the region—remains prominent in the Center, North, and Chisinau. In these areas, it is used extensively in all domains of communication, with Moldovan tending to be more common in rural and minority-adjacent areas, and Romanian more frequently cited in the capital and the Center. This reflects both historical naming preferences and identity nuances, but functionally, both are used as the state language in parallel with Russian.

In regions with strong ethnic minority populations, such as Gagauzia and Taraclia, local languages maintain an important role in peer and community communication. In Gagauzia, Gagauz is widely spoken with friends (71%) and neighbors (72%), often alongside Russian. Similarly, in Taraclia, Bulgarian is spoken with friends and neighbors by more than a third of respondents. These figures demonstrate the persistence of minority languages in close social environments, even when not used in institutional settings.

Figure 9. Which language(s) do you speak with Neighbors?



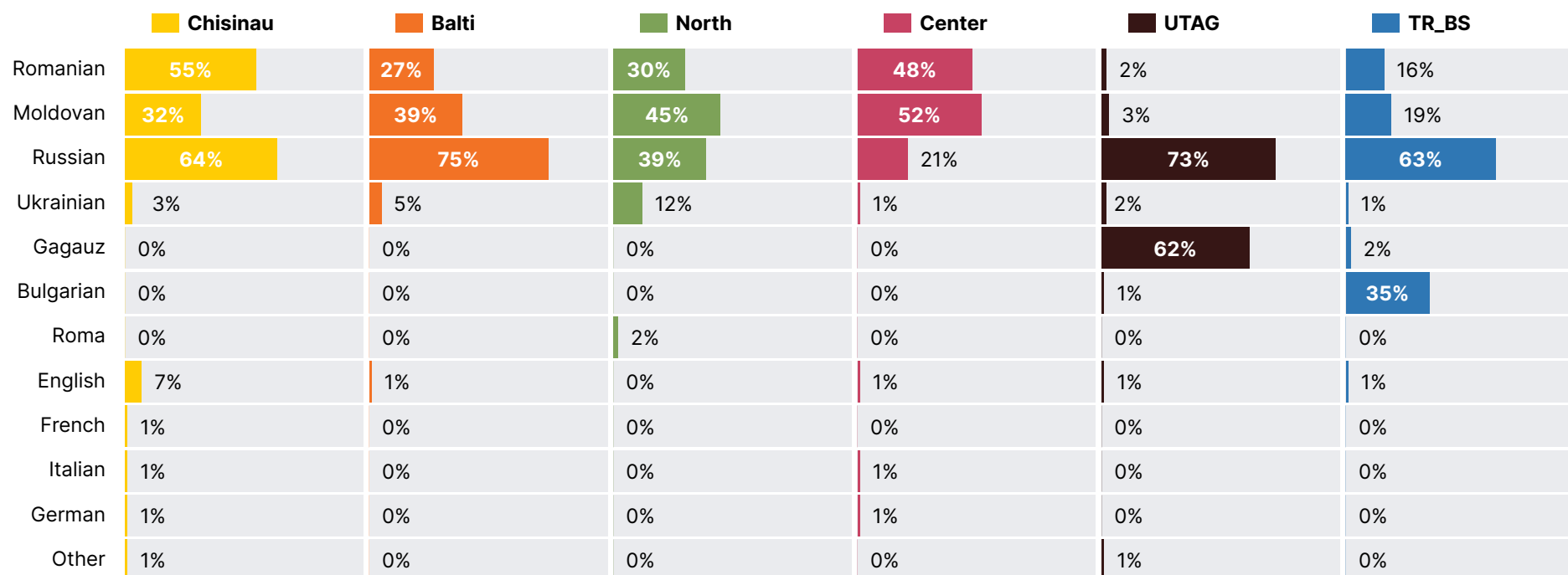
Language use with colleagues tends to be more standardized, with Russian playing a dominant role in workplace settings across most regions—particularly in Balti, Chisinau, Gagauzia, and Taraclia. In the Center and North, however, the state language continues to be used widely among colleagues, reflecting the linguistic makeup of those regions' public and professional sectors.

Native speakers of the state language demonstrate a high degree of openness to communicating in Russian, even within their own communities. This is particularly evident when comparing the share of respondents who report using Russian with the proportion who identify Russian as their mother tongue. In the Center region, the use of Russian is 4.2 times higher than the proportion of native Russian speakers, while in Chisinau, Balti, and the North, this ratio ranges from 2.2 to 2.4 times higher.

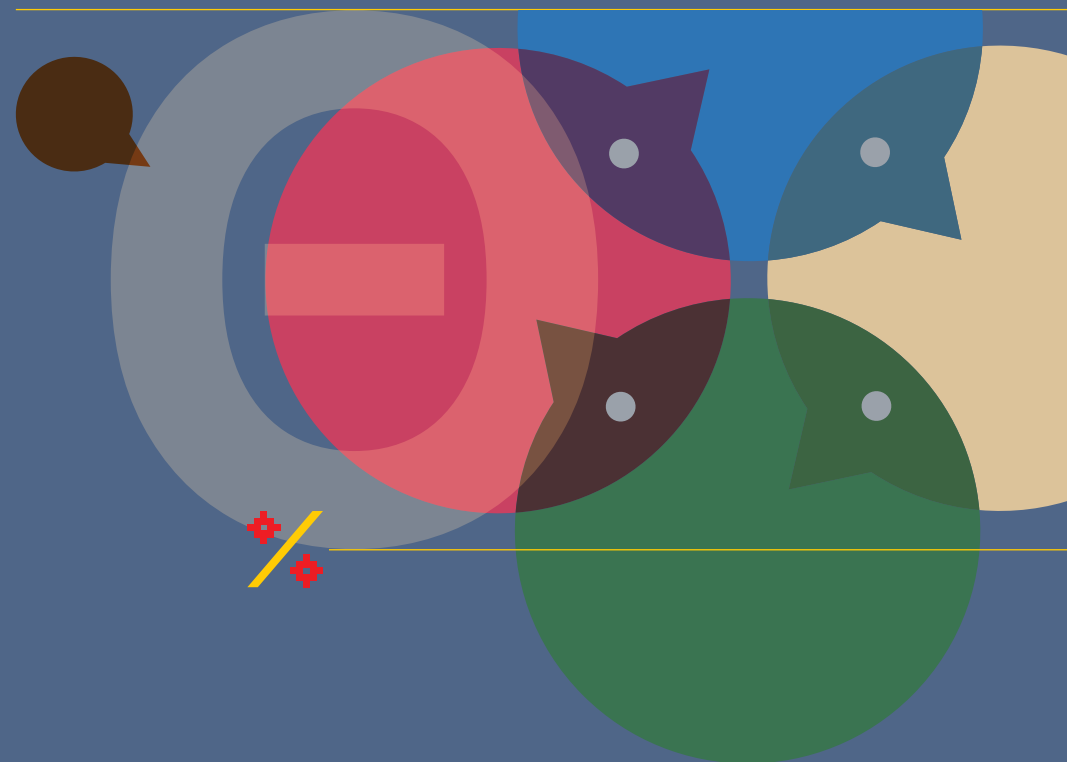
A similar pattern is observed in Gagauzia and Taraclia, where the share of respondents speaking Russian significantly exceeds the proportion of those who identify Gagauz or Bulgarian as their native language.

These trends confirm that Moldovans navigate multilingual environments with flexibility. While Russian functions as a cross-regional lingua franca, the state language and minority languages retain strong roles depending on geographic, ethnic, and social context.

Figure 10. Which language(s) do you speak with Colleagues?



III. LANGUAGE USE IN EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT



This chapter explores the use of languages in the educational system and workplace of the respondents.

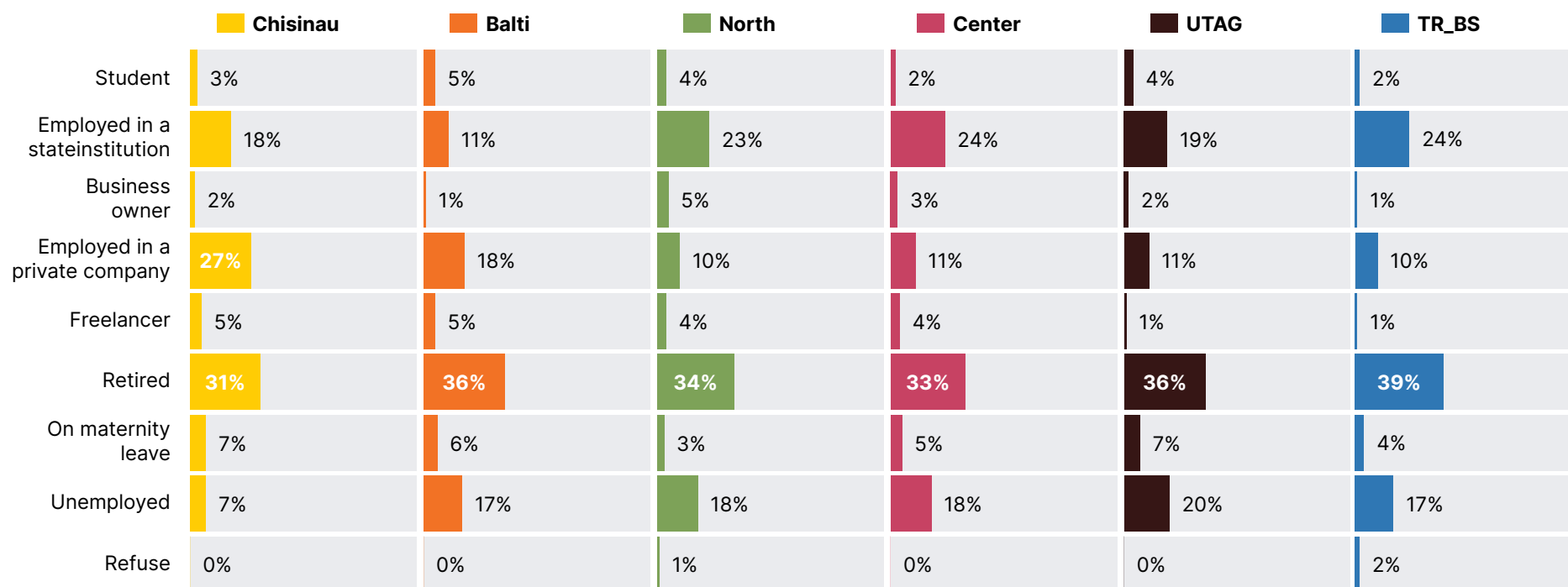
The first set of questions refers to the respondents' employment status at the time of the interview (see Figure 11). On average across the six regions, the data show that: 40% of respondents were engaged in some income-generating activity or participation in the labor market; 35% were retired; 16% were unemployed; 5% were on maternity leave; and 3% were students.

Employment status of respondents varied significantly across regions:

- The share of people engaged in income-generating activities show highest in Chisinau (52%) and in the North and Center regions (approximately 42%), while in the other regions only about one-third are economically active;
- The proportion of unemployed respondents is two to three times higher outside Chisinau;

- The share of those employed in state institutions is considerably lower in Balti (11%), but significantly higher (around one in four) in the North, Center and Taraclia;
- Employment in the private sector is notably more prevalent in Chisinau and Balti, where the share is two to three times higher than in other regions.

Figure 11. What is your current occupation?



The unemployment rate is significantly higher among individuals aged up to 55 years, those with a basic level of education, and rural residents.

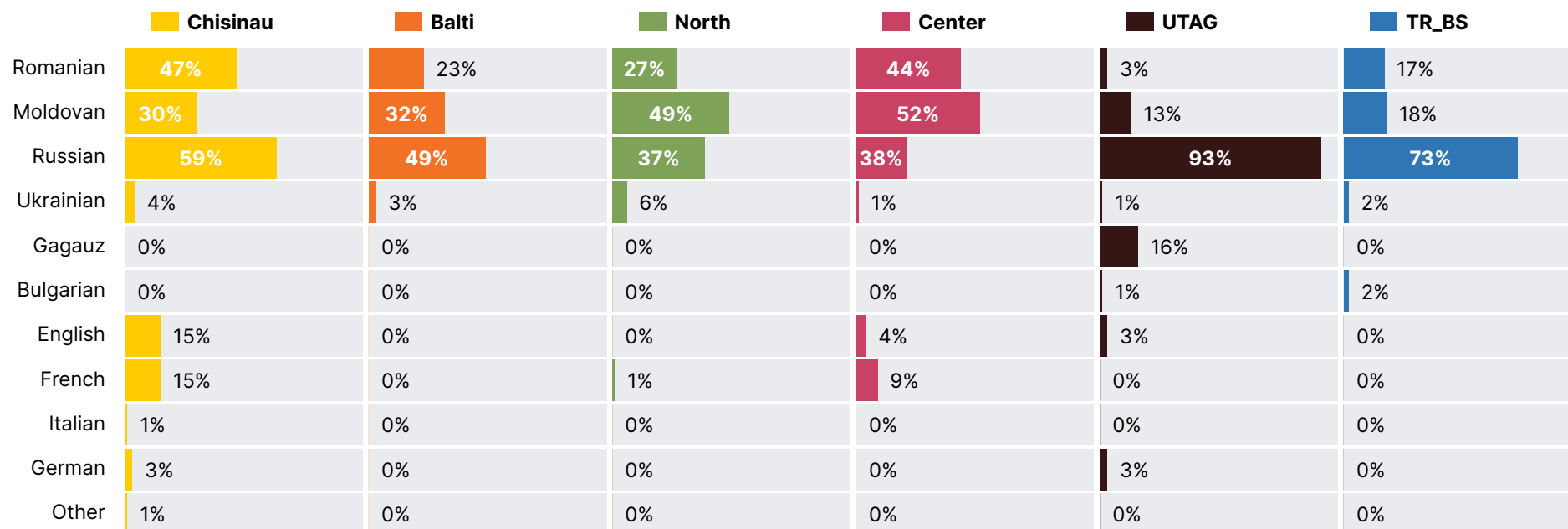
Overall, the graph reveals clear regional distinctions in employment patterns. Urban areas like Chisinau show higher engagement in private sector and freelance work, while rural and minority-dominated regions show a stronger presence of retirees, unemployed individuals,

and public sector employment. These findings underline Moldova's labor market disparities and the socio-economic challenges facing different regions.

At the general level, the two main languages of instruction reported by respondents were the state language (59%) and Russian (58%) (see **Figure 12**). Russian emerges as the most frequently reported language of instruction in several regions.

It is especially dominant in Gagauzia (93%) and Taraclia/Basarabeasca (73%), reflecting the historical prevalence of Russian-language schools in minority-populated areas. In Gagauzia, only 16% of respondents received education also in the state language or in Gagauz, while in Taraclia, 35% were educated in the state language and only 2% in Bulgarian.

Figure 12. What is / was the language (-s) of instruction during all levels of your education?

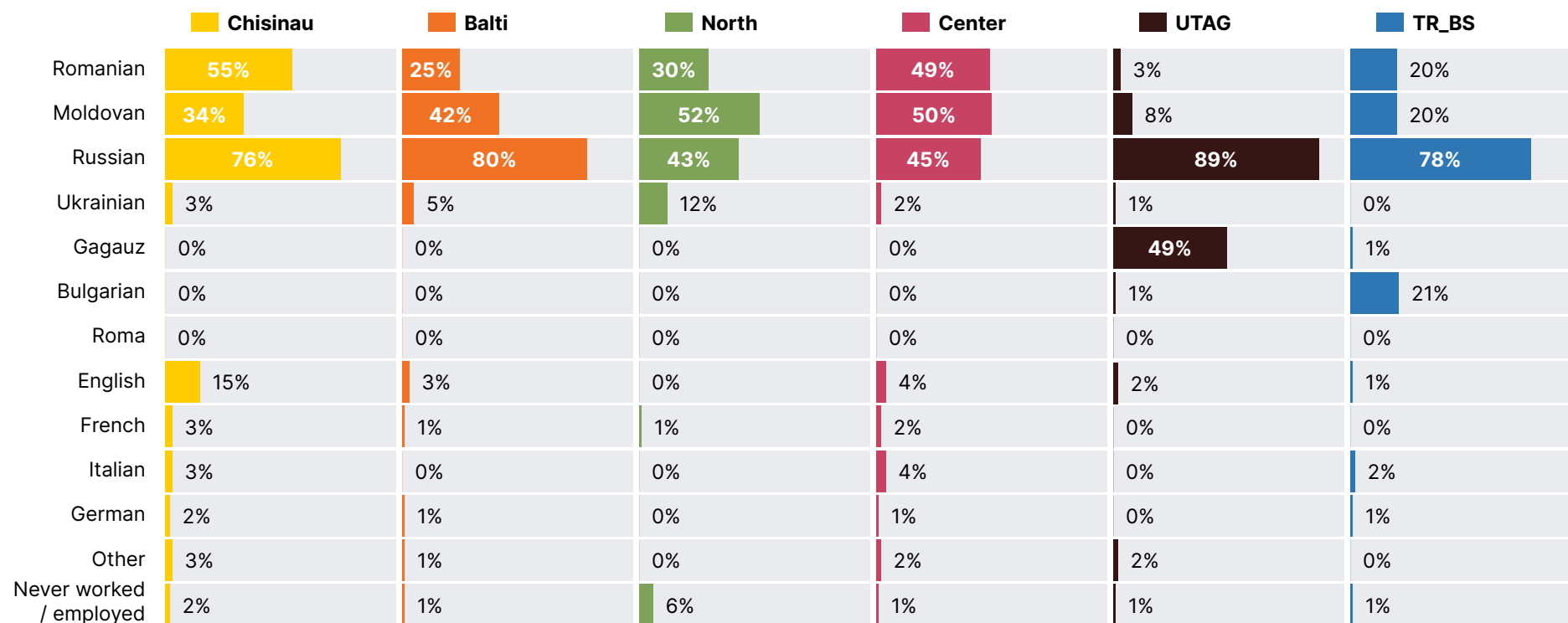


Respondents from Gagauzia who received instruction in the state language were more likely to be part of the ethnic majority, residents of urban areas, or individuals under the age of 35. In contrast, respondents from Chisinau, Balti, the North and Center regions who received instruction in Russian are more likely to be aged 55 and above and to have higher level of education.

Instruction in foreign languages, such as English, French, and German, appears mostly in Chisinau, where 15% of respondents report studying in English and French, and 3% in German. This reflects the capital's more internationalized educational options, possibly in private or bilingual schools.

Similar to the languages of instruction, the two main languages used in the workplace are the state language (64% on average across all regions) and Russian (69%) (see [Figure 13](#)).

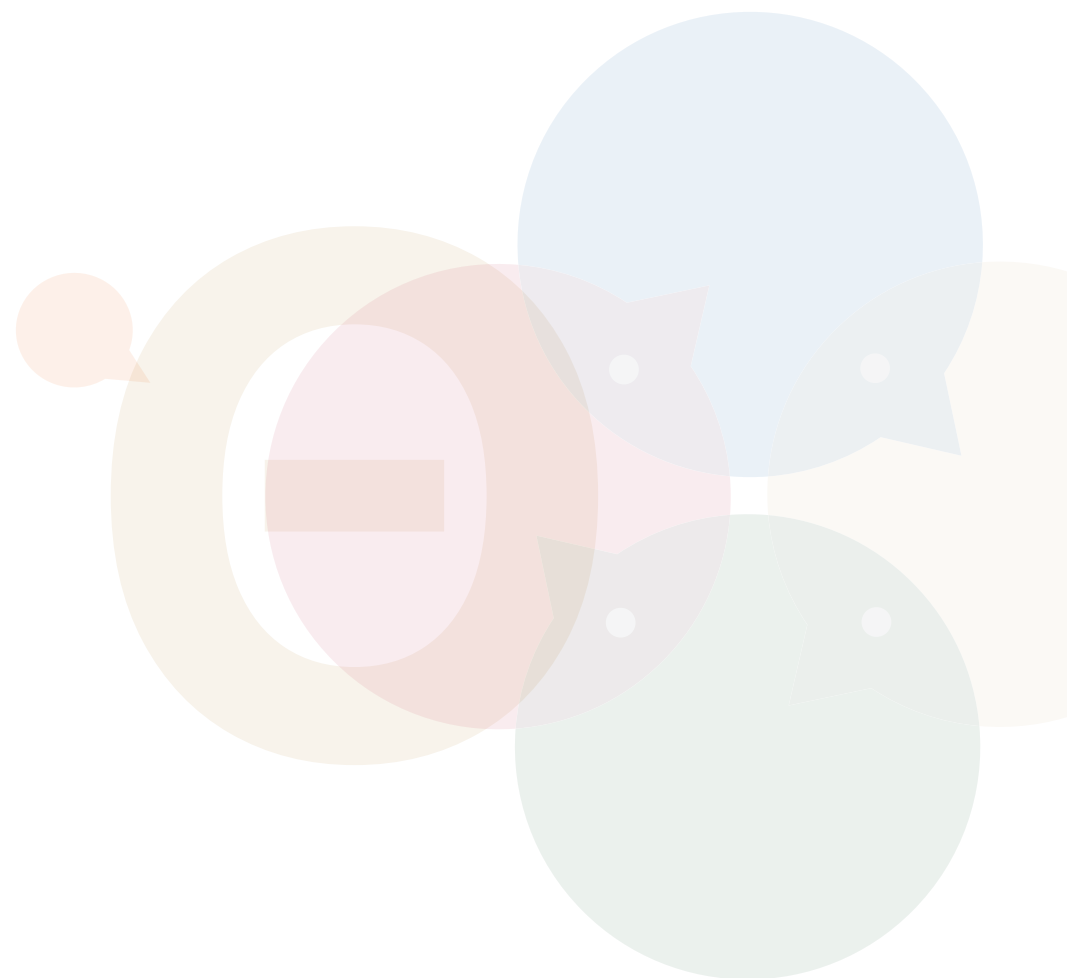
Figure 13. What was/were the language(-s) you used at ALL your workplace(s)?



Russian is the dominant language of communication in the workplace in Gagauzia (89%, compared to 49% for Gagauz and 11% for the state language), in Balti (80%, versus 67% for the state language) and Taraclia (78%, compared to 40% for the state language and 21% for Bulgarian). These findings suggest that in both Gagauzia and Taraclia, the respective ethnic languages function as minority languages in workplace communication within their own regions.

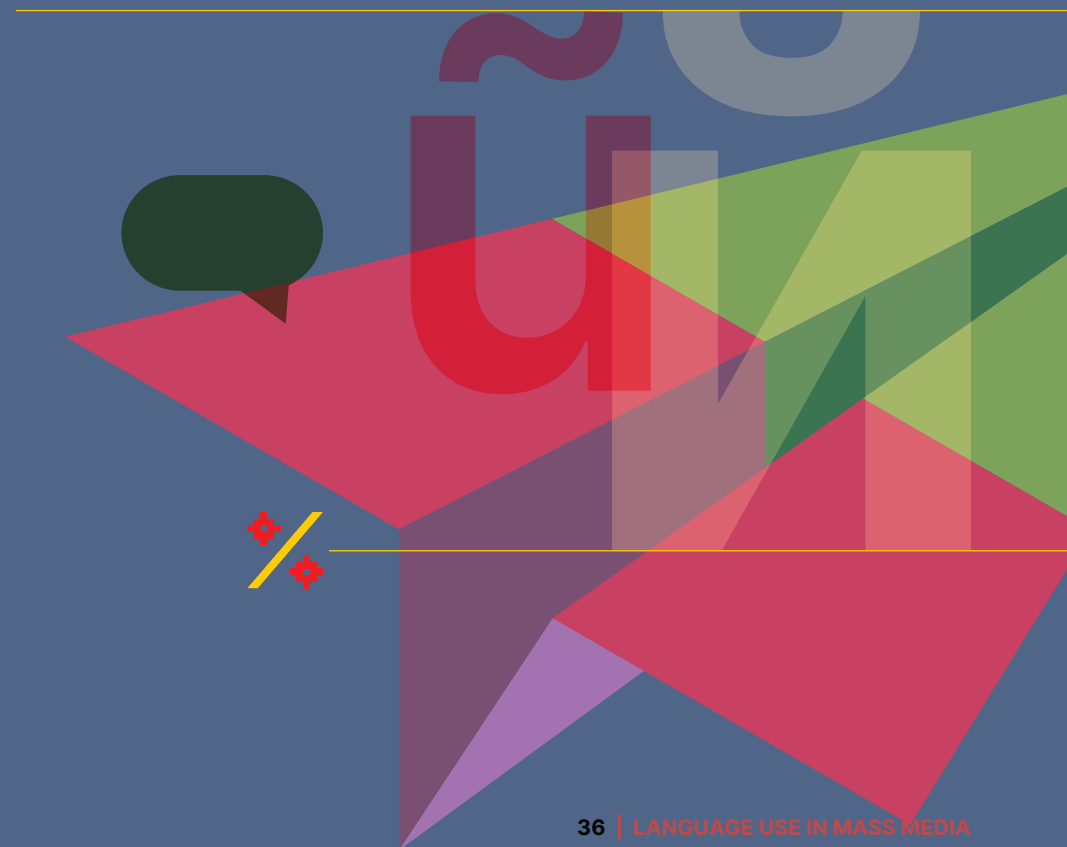
In contrast, the state language predominates in the remaining three regions, especially in the Center (99%, compared to 45% for Russian) and the North (82%, versus 43% for Russian). In Chisinau, the state language also dominates (89%), though the difference with Russian (76%) is less pronounced compared to other regions.

The use of Ukrainian for workplace communication is negligible overall and observed mainly in the North region.





IV. LANGUAGE USE IN MASS MEDIA



This chapter explores media consumption from a language perspective, focusing on the consumption of news, political programs, entertainment content (such as TV shows and movies), and the use of social media.

Reading and watching news

The highest proportion of regular news consumers is found in Chisinau (50%) and Balti (49%), suggesting that residents in urban centers are more actively engaged in current affairs, likely due to greater access to media

platforms and a stronger media culture. These cities also show relatively lower rates of people who never follow the news—9% in Chisinau and 16% in Balti (see **Figure 14**).

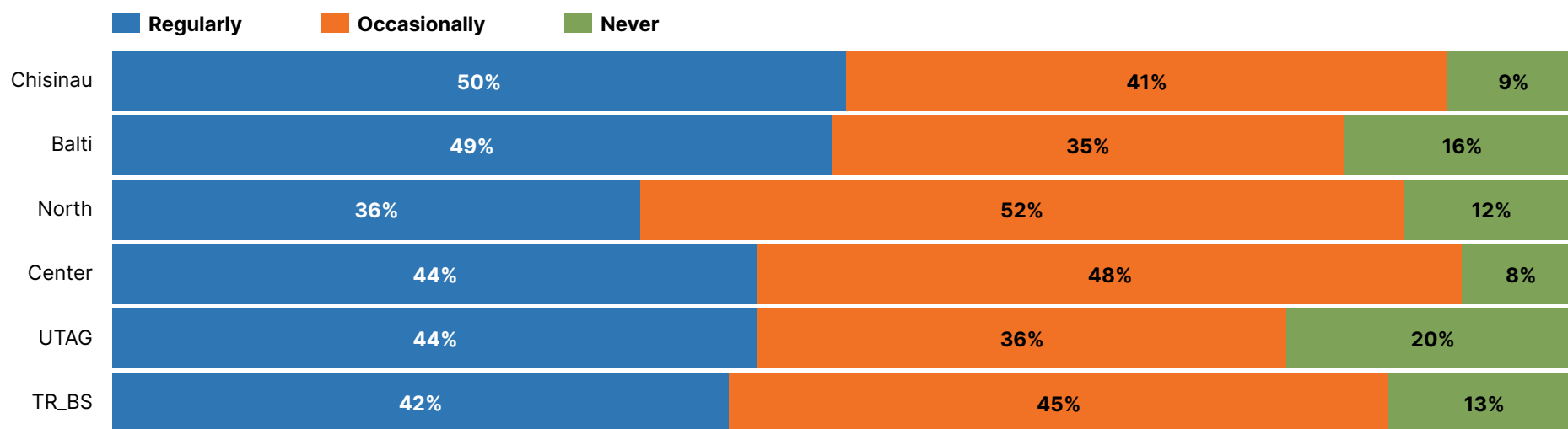
In contrast, the North region has the lowest share of regular news consumption (36%), with more than half of respondents (52%) stating they follow the news only occasionally. A similar pattern is observed in the Center, where 44% follow news regularly, but 48% do so only occasionally.

Gagauzia shows a relatively balanced distribution, with 44% reading or watching the news regularly, 36% occasionally, and a relatively high 20% never engaging

with the news. In Taraclia/Basarabeasca, 42% of respondents follow the news regularly, while 45% do so occasionally and 13% never.

Regular consumers of news are more likely to be individuals aged 55 and older, those with higher levels of education, and members of ethnic minority groups. In contrast, the core profile of inactive news consumers includes young people under 35, males, individuals with a basic level of education, members of the ethnic majority in Gagauzia, ethnic minorities in the North region, and unemployed individuals.

Figure 14. How often do you read or watch news?



Overall, the data show that while regular news consumption is relatively strong in urban and central regions, occasional engagement is more common in rural or minority-populated areas. The share of respondents who never consume news remains relatively low across regions but is notably higher in Gagauzia. These trends may reflect disparities in media infrastructure, linguistic preferences, or perceptions of the relevance and trustworthiness of news content.

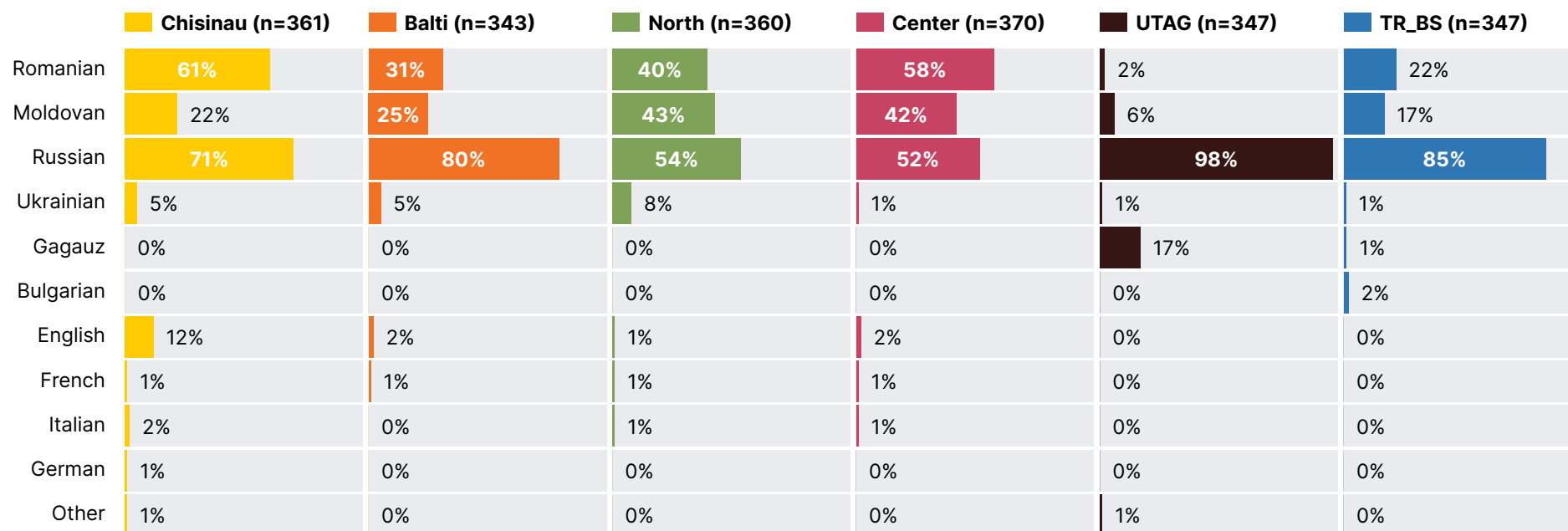
Across all regions, the language in which respondents consume daily news reflects the country's multilingual landscape and regional identities. Russian remains the dominant language for news consumption, especially in minority-populated areas. In Gagauzia, virtually all respondents (98%) reported reading or watching news in Russian, followed closely by Taraclia/Basarabeasca (85%) and Balti (80%). Even in more ethnically mixed regions such as Chisinau (71%), the North (54%), and

the Center (52%), Russian maintains a strong presence among ethnic groups as a primary source language for news (see **Figure 14.1**).

Figure 14.1. In what language(-s) do you read or watch daily news?

Multiple answer.

Open question.



The state language also emerges as a widely used source for news among the ethnic groups, though with notable regional variation. In the Center, the combined figure reaches 100% (58% Romanian, 42% Moldovan), followed closely by Chisinau (83%) and the North (83%). These regions show a strong institutional and societal presence of the state language in the information space.

In Balti, state language use for news consumption reaches 56%, which is substantial but still significantly lower than Russian. In contrast, in Taraclia/Basarabeasca, only 39% use the state language, and in Gagauzia, this share drops sharply to just 8%, indicating marginal penetration of state-language media in these southern regions.

Minority languages play a much smaller role. Gagauz is used by 17% of respondents in Gagauzia, reflecting a modest level of local-language media access. Ukrainian is cited by 8% in the North and 5% in Chisinau and Balti, while Bulgarian is used by just 2% in Taraclia. These results suggest that even within ethnically concentrated areas, consumption of news in minority languages remains limited.

Ethnic minorities in Moldova consume news almost exclusively in Russian, with state language usage remaining below 20% in all regions except Chisinau,

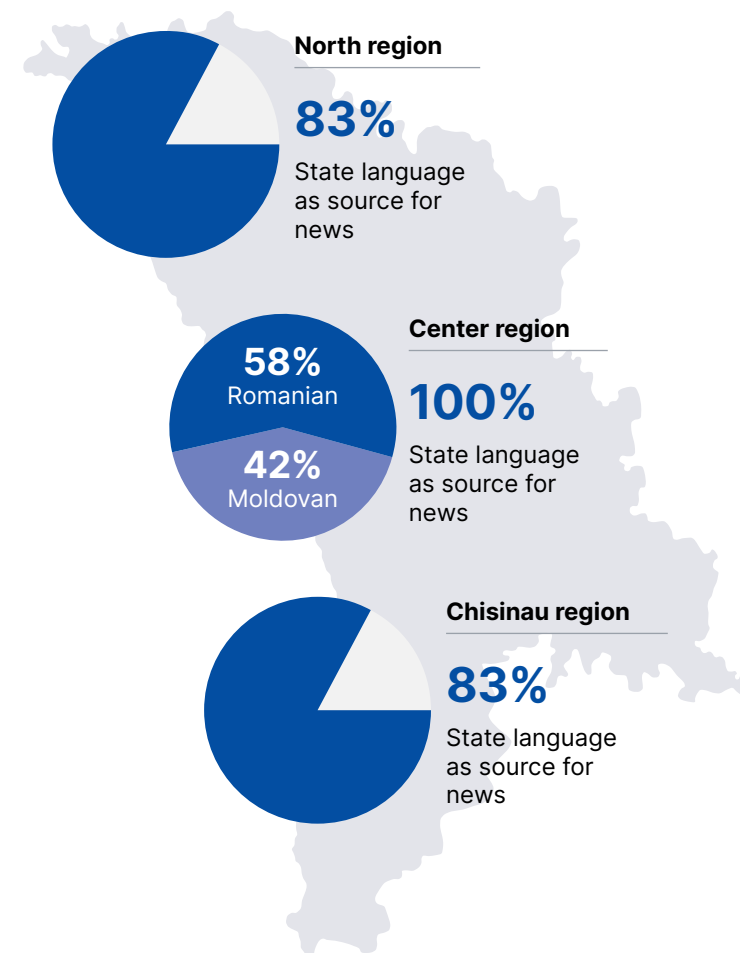
where up to 40% of minority respondents report using the state language for news. Conversely, members of the ethnic majority also demonstrate a high reliance on Russian-language news, with at least 60% consuming news in Russian across most regions.

The exception is the Center region, where state language usage among the ethnic majority is more prominent and Russian-language consumption drops to around 50%.

In summary, the results reveal a media environment where Russian remains the dominant language for news consumption across all regions, especially those with large ethnic minority populations and urban centers. The state language is widely used in central and northern regions but remains significantly underused in the southern districts. Minority languages play a minor role.

These findings highlight the enduring linguistic divides in Moldova's media landscape and the dual centrality of Russian and the state language in shaping how information is accessed.

The state language as source for news among the ethnic groups

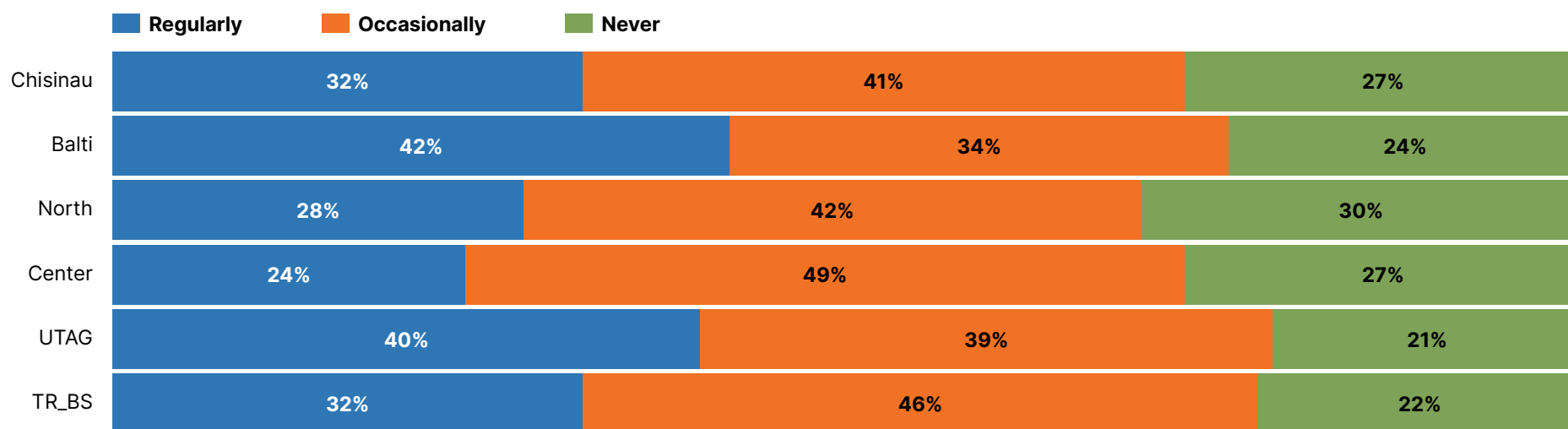


Reading and watching political discussions

Across the country, most respondents follow political content only occasionally, with regular engagement being more limited. Balti and Gagauzia stand out as regions with the highest rates of regular viewership—42% and 40% respectively—suggesting a

stronger interest or habit of following political discourse. In contrast, the Center and North show the lowest levels of regular engagement, at 24% and 28%, where nearly one-third of residents report never watching or reading political discussions at all (see [Figure 15](#)).

Figure 15. How often do you read or watch political discussions?



When it comes to the language of consumption, Russian dominates the political media space in nearly every region. It is used overwhelmingly in Gagauzia (98%) and

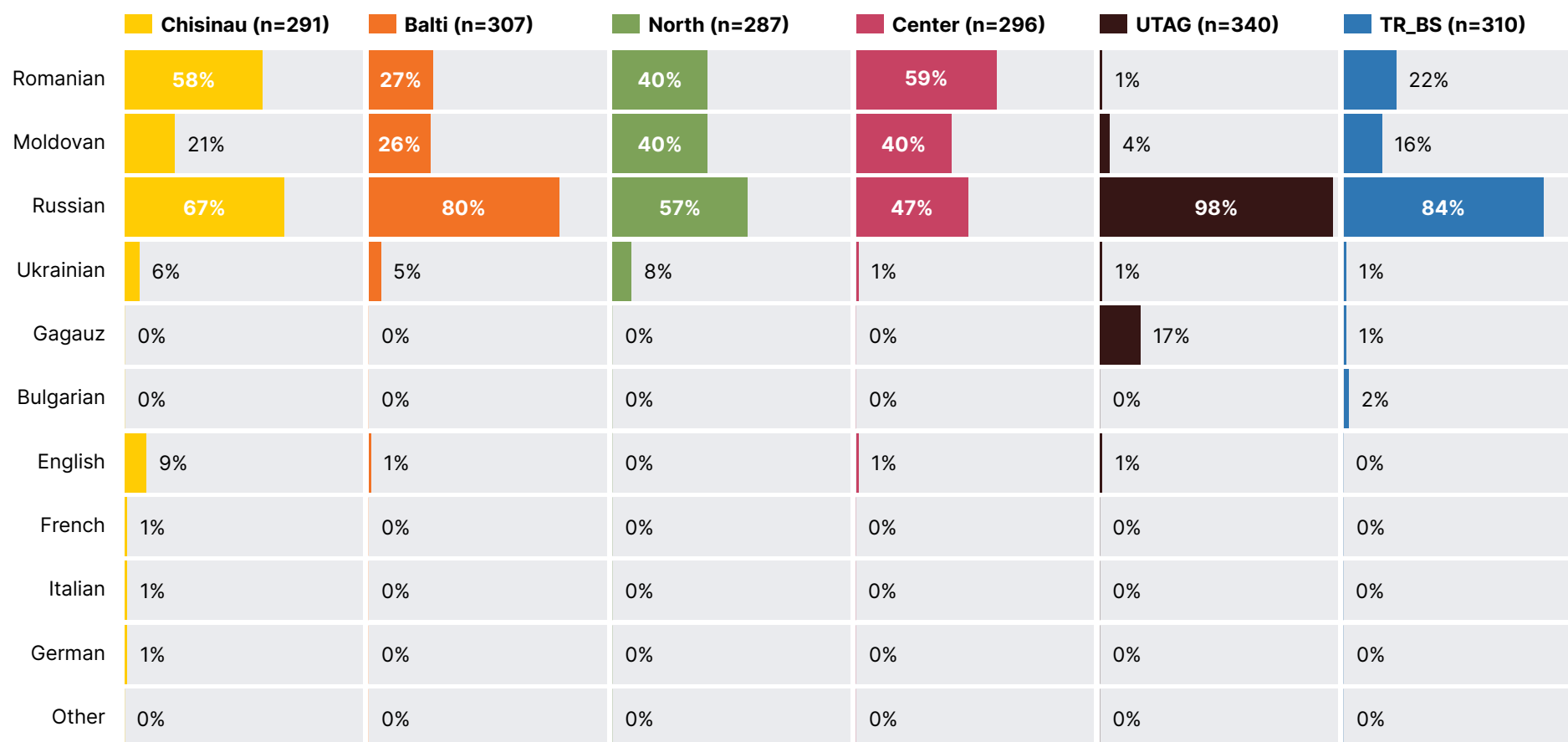
Taraclia/Basarabeasca (84%), but also leads in Balti (80%), Chisinau (67%), the North (57%), and the Center (47%). This consistent trend highlights the central role

Russian plays in informing the population about political developments, particularly among ethnic minorities and in multilingual environments (see **Figure 15.1**).

Figure 15.1. In what language(-s) do you read or watch political discussions?

Multiple answer.

Open question.



The state language, combining responses for both Romanian and Moldovan, has a strong presence in the Center (99%), Chisinau (79%), and the North (80%). However, its use drops significantly in southern regions, with only 5% in Gagauzia and 38% in Taraclia/Basarabeasca consuming political content in the state language. Even in Balti, where over half report using the state language, Russian remains the preferred medium for political discussions.

Minority languages such as Gagauz (17% in Gagauzia) and Ukrainian (ranging from 1% to 8% in some regions) are used far less frequently, indicating that minority populations rely primarily on Russian rather than their native tongues for political information.

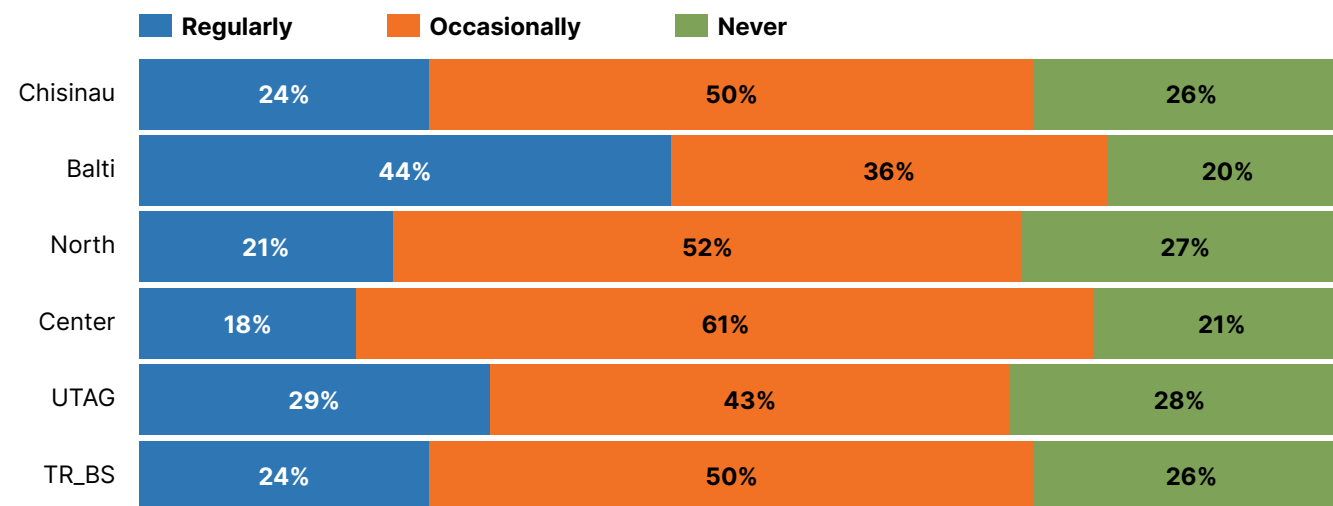
In summary, political media consumption in Moldova is shaped by both geography and language. While the state language is prominent in central and northern regions, Russian remains the primary language through which political discourse is accessed across the country, especially in areas with a high concentration of ethnic minorities. These linguistic differences reinforce broader sociocultural dynamics and reflects ongoing disparities in access, engagement, and language preference in Moldova's political information landscape.

Watching entertainment TV shows

Across Moldova, entertainment television is consumed with varying frequency, but the overall trend leans toward occasional rather than regular viewing. The highest proportion of regular viewers is observed in Balti, where 44% report watching entertainment shows regularly. Gagauzia follows with 29%, while Chisinau and Taraclia/Basarabeasca record similar levels at 24%.

The North and Center regions show lower rates of regular viewership (21% and 18%, respectively), with occasional viewing being the dominant pattern in these areas. In the Center, for example, 61% report watching entertainment shows occasionally. Meanwhile, around a quarter of respondents in most regions say they never engage with this type of content (see **Figure 16**).

Figure 16. How often do you watch entertainment TV shows?



When it comes to the language of consumption, Russian clearly dominates the entertainment media landscape across all regions. In Gagauzia and Taraclia/Basarabeasca, Russian is nearly universal, used by 98%

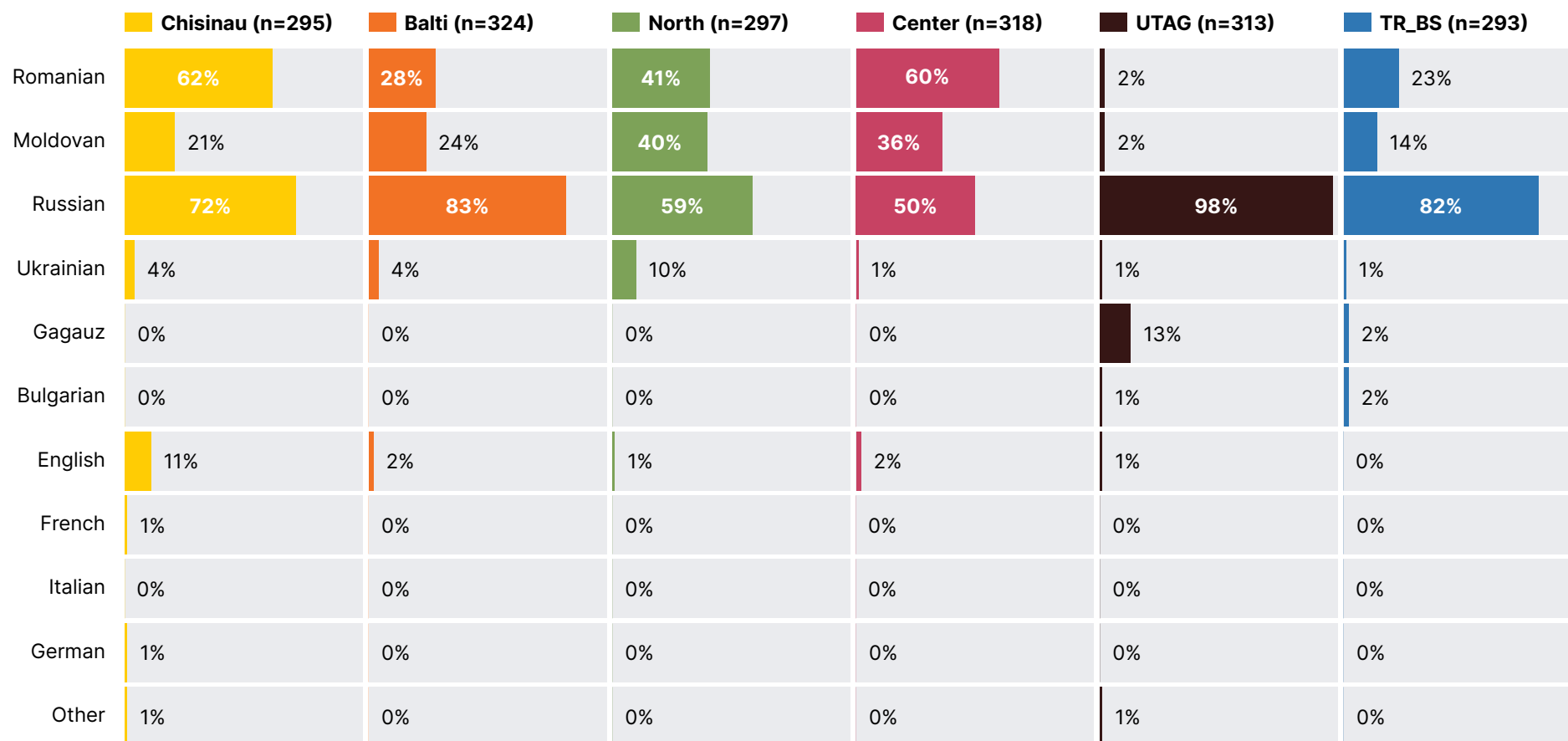
and 82% of viewers, respectively. Similarly high figures are seen in Balti (83%) and Chisinau (72%), while in the North and Center regions, Russian is used by 59% and 50% of viewers, respectively. This confirms Russian as

the principal language of mainstream entertainment, even beyond minority communities (see **Figure 16.1**).

Figure 16.1. In what language(-s) do you watch entertainment TV shows?

Multiple answer.

Open question.



The state language maintains a stronger foothold in Chisinau and central regions. In the southern regions, its presence diminishes considerably: only 4% of respondents in Gagauzia report using the state language for entertainment viewing. Taraclia and Basarabeasca present a comparatively stronger position, with 37% of respondents in these districts indicating they consume entertainment content in the state language.

Minority languages are used to a far lesser extent, mostly in the regions where those ethnic communities are concentrated. For example, Gagauz is used by 13% of viewers in Gagauzia, Ukrainian by 10% in the North, and Bulgarian by just 2% in Taraclia.

Overall, the data illustrate a clear linguistic divide in entertainment TV consumption: Russian remains the dominant language across most of the country, particularly in the south and among minorities, while the state language is more common in the capital and central regions. Minority languages play only a limited role, and their presence in the entertainment sector appears to be minimal.

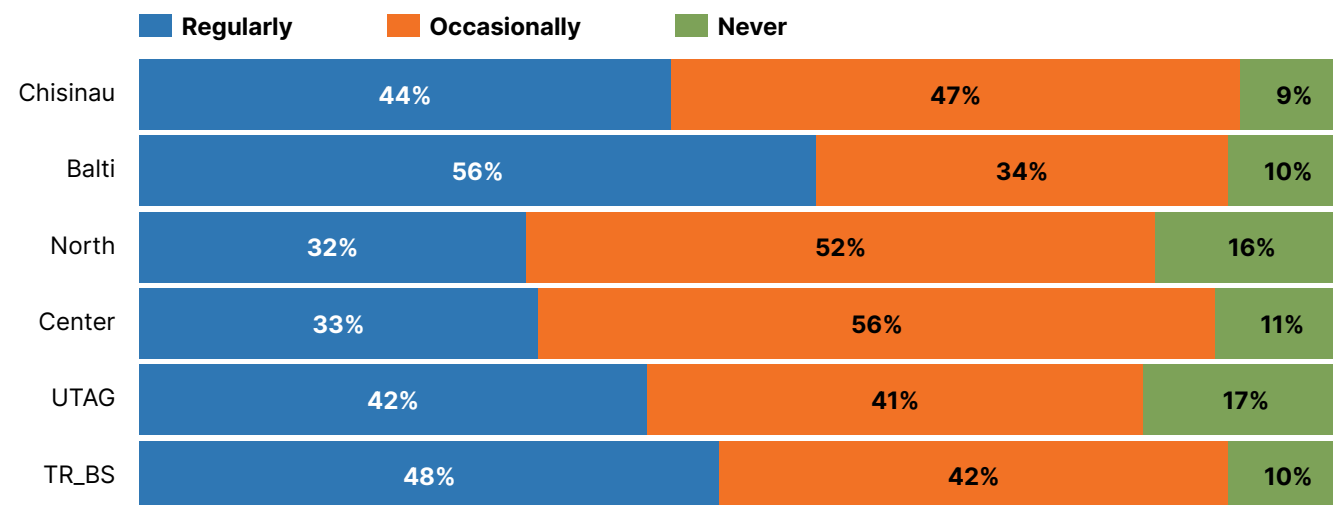
Watching movies

The data on movie consumption habits across Moldova reveals both regional differences in viewing frequency and stark contrasts in the languages used to watch movies.

In terms of frequency, regular movie watching is most prevalent in Balti (56%) and Taraclia/Basarabeasca (48%), followed by Chisinau (44%) and Gagauzia (42%).

The North and Center regions report lower shares of regular viewers, at 32% and 33%, respectively (see **Figure 17**).

Figure 17. How often do you watch movies?



When it comes to language preferences, Russian overwhelmingly dominates as the primary language for movie viewing. In all six surveyed regions, over three-quarters of respondents, report watching movies in

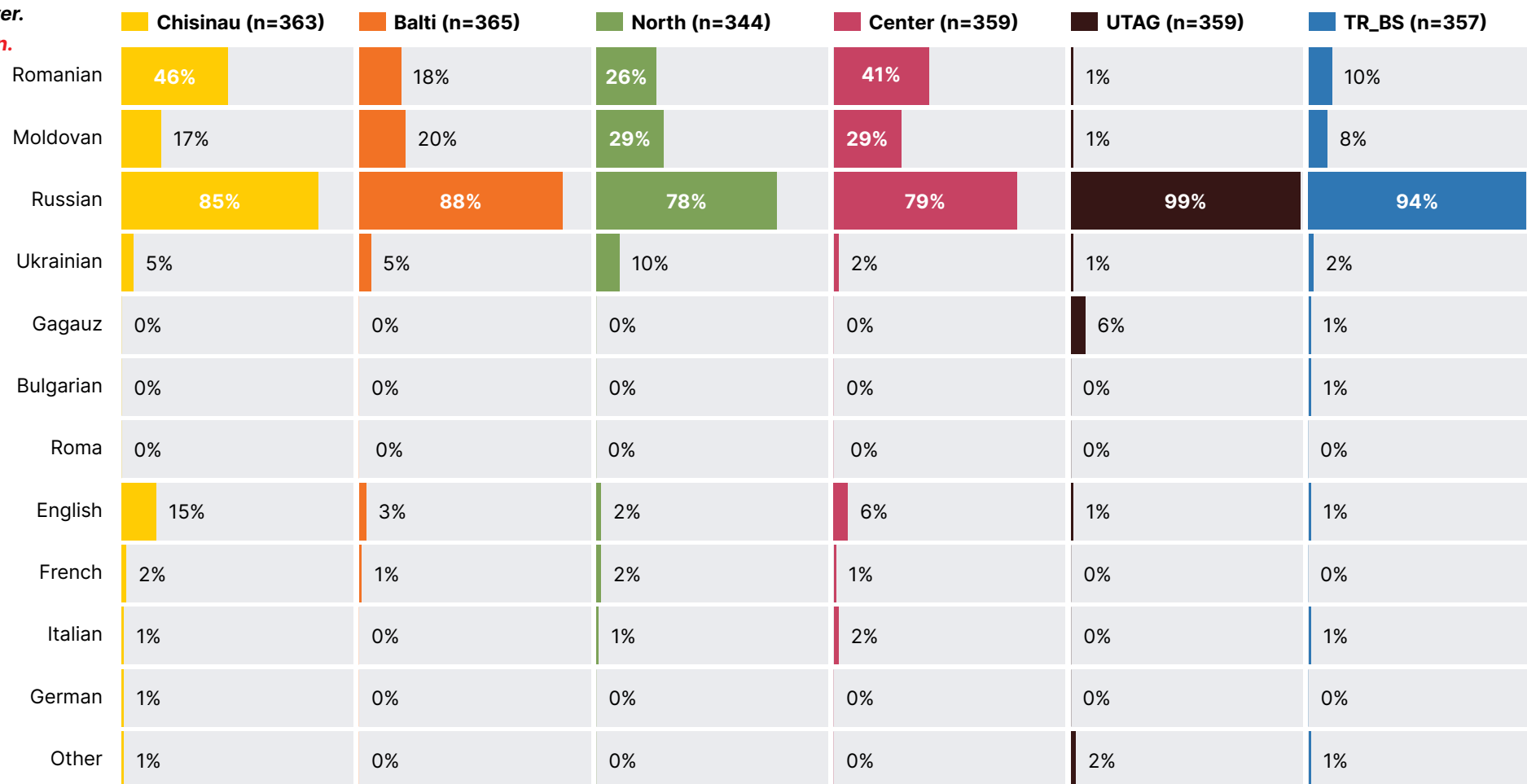
Russian, with the highest shares in Gagauzia (99%) and Taracilia/Basarabeasca (94%), and even in Chisinau (85%) and Balti (88%). In contrast, consumption of movies in the state language remains significantly

lower—ranging from just 2% in Gagauzia to 63% in Chisinau, and 47% in the Center region. Balti, North, and Taracilia show cumulative state language viewing below 50%.

Figure 17.1. In what language(-s) do you watch movies?

Multiple answer.

Open question.



Overall, while movie watching is a common activity across all regions, the clear linguistic preference for Russian—particularly in minority-dominated regions—underscores its dominant role in audiovisual entertainment. The state language holds a stronger position in Chisinau and the Center, but remains less prevalent in the South.

Consistent with the overall pattern, the survey indicates that the disparity between the share of ethnic majority members watching movies in Russian and the share of ethnic minority members watching movies in the state

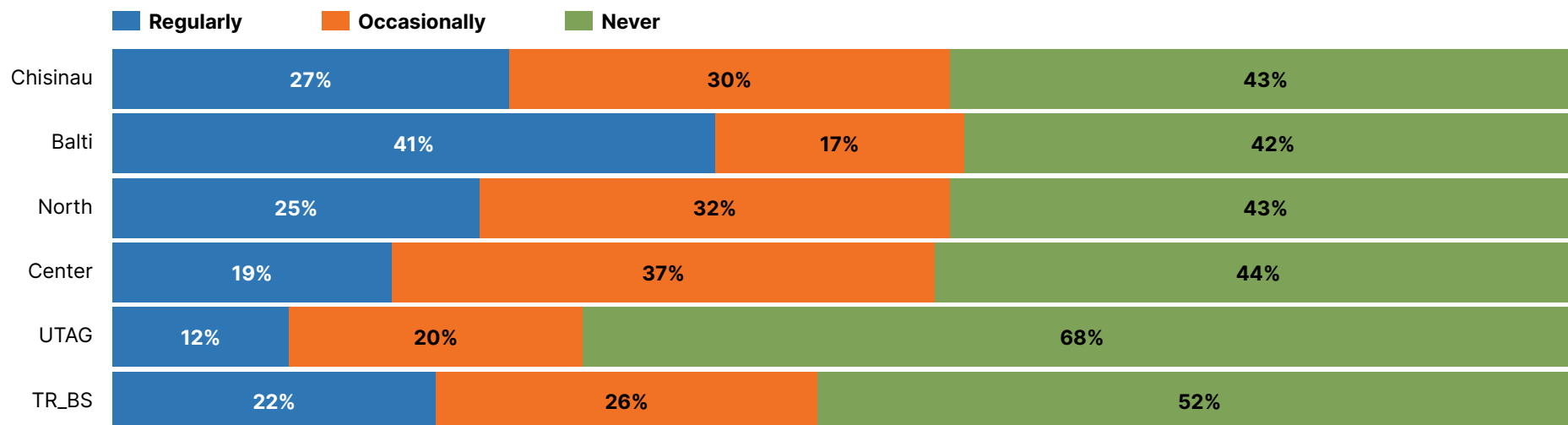
language is notably larger than the corresponding gaps observed for news and political content. This suggests that linguistic segmentation is more pronounced in the entertainment domain than in informational media.

Reading and writing social media posts

Across all six regions, engagement with social media—measured through the frequency of reading or writing posts—varies significantly. Regular activity is highest

in Balti (41%) and Chisinau (27%), while it drops sharply in southern regions like Gagauzia (12%) and Taraclia/Basarabeasca (22%). A large proportion of respondents in these southern areas report never using social media for this purpose (68% and 52%, respectively) (see **Figure 18**).

Figure 18. How often do you read/write social media posts?



The profile of individuals who are least active on social media typically includes people aged 55 and above, men, those with lower levels of education and income, as well as members of ethnic minority groups. In contrast, regular social media users are more likely to be under the age of 55, women, and individuals with a higher level of education.

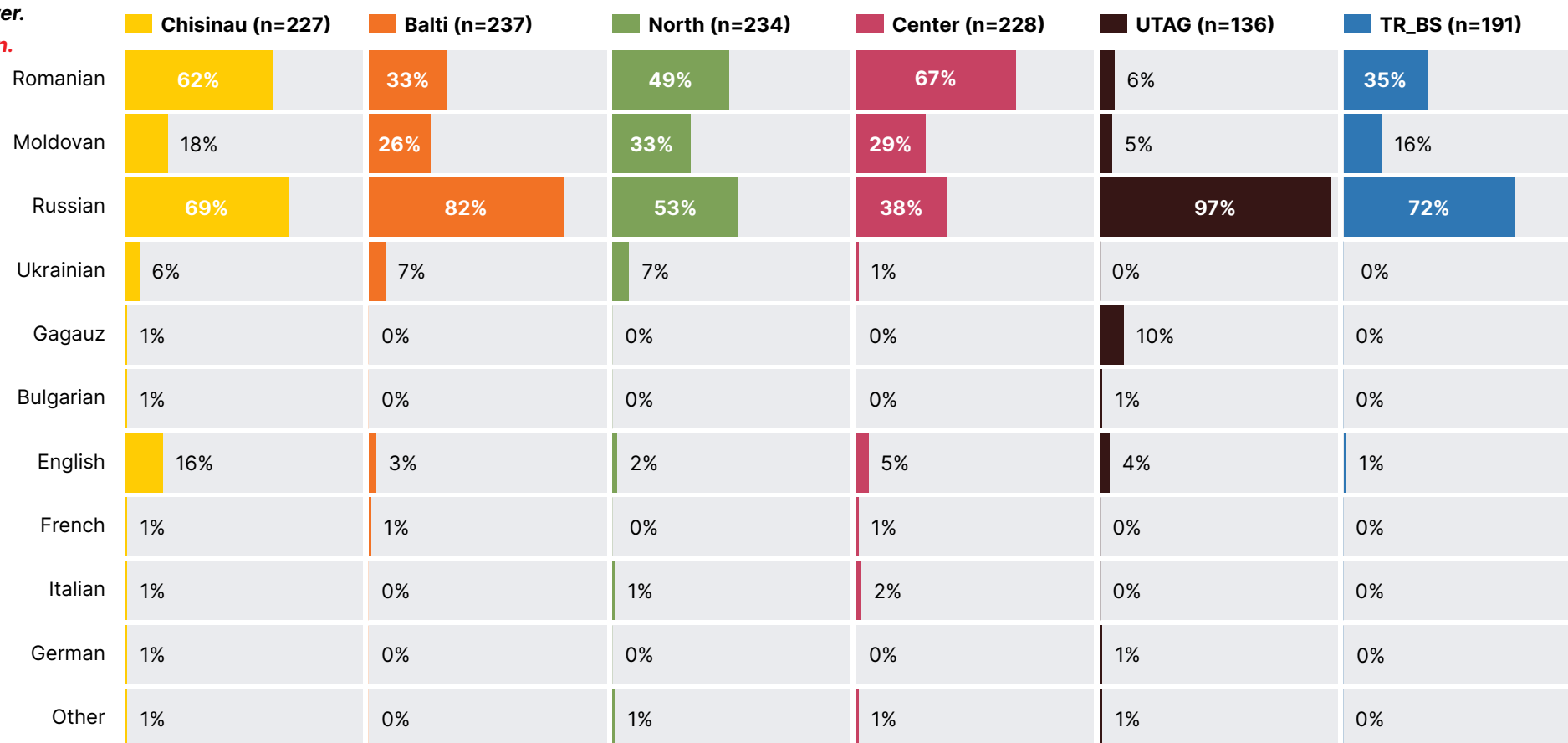
The linguistic breakdown of social media usage reinforces broader regional language patterns. Russian dominates social media interaction in nearly all regions—reaching 97% in Gagauzia, 82% in Balti, and 72% in Taraclia/Basarabeasca. Even in Chisinau, where state language use is relatively strong, 69% report using

Russian. In contrast, the state language sees its highest use in the Center region (67%), followed by Chisinau (62%) and the North (49%). Use of the state language is notably weaker in the southern regions, with just 6% in Gagauzia and 35% in Taraclia/Basarabeasca (see **Figure 18.1**).

Figure 18.1. In what language(-s) do you read/write social media posts?

Multiple answer.

Open question.





Ethnic minorities use social media almost exclusively in Russian. Only in a few regions—such as Chisinau, Balti, and the North—does the share of ethnic minorities using the state language on social media reach up to 20%. Conversely, members of the ethnic majority also tend to use Russian extensively on social media (at least 60% across most regions), with the notable exception of the Center region, where the state language is more prevalent.

These patterns suggest that while social media use itself is uneven across regions, Russian remains the dominant language for online engagement—especially among ethnic minorities and in regions where the state language is less prevalent in daily life.



V. LANGUAGE USE IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SERVICES



This chapter examines language use in communication with various public and private service providers, including healthcare institutions, the police, commercial entities, public authorities, and the judicial system.

Communication with healthcare service providers

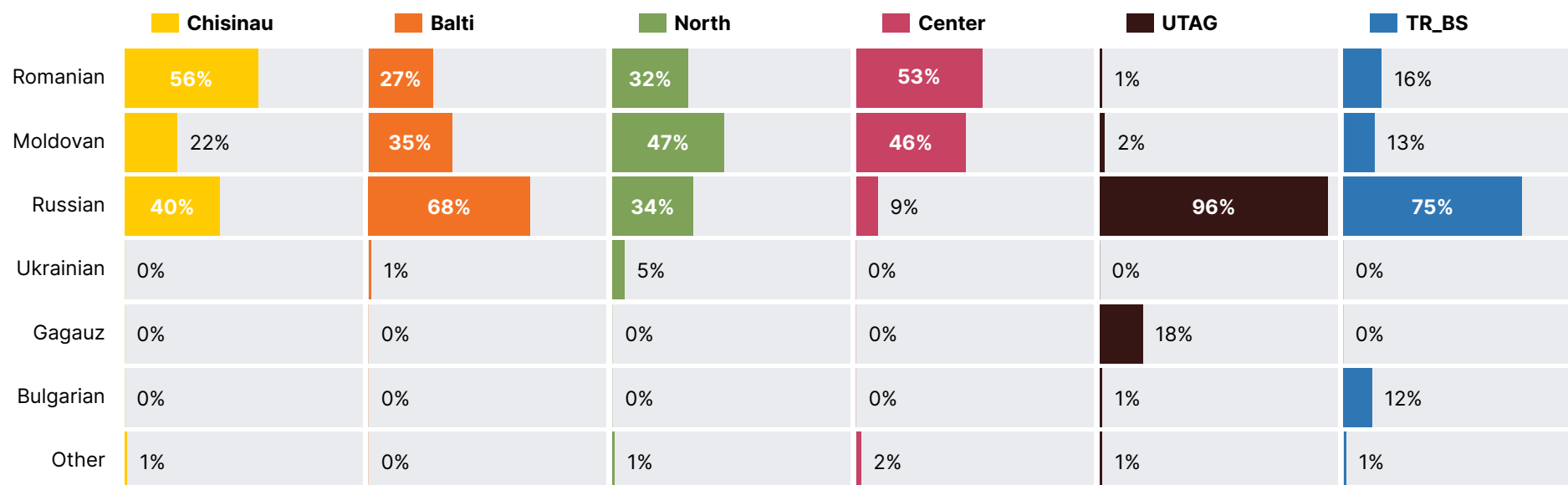
In Chisinau and the Center region, the state language is the primary language of communication with medical professionals—spoken by 78% and 99% of respondents respectively. Russian remains widely used

as well, especially in Chisinau (40%) (see **Figure 19**). In contrast, Russian dominates in Balti (68%) and is the most commonly used language in Gagauzia (96%) and Taraclia/Basarabeasca (75%), where use of the state language is notably low (3% and 29%, respectively). In these southern regions, some use of local minority languages is also reported—Gagauz in Gagauzia (18%) and Bulgarian in Taraclia (12%).

Figure 19. What language(-s) do you speak with your doctor/when at the hospital?

Open question.

Multiple answer.



Further cross-tabulation analysis reveals an asymmetry in interethnic language accommodation within healthcare settings. Members of the ethnic majority are more likely to use Russian when communicating with healthcare providers, with an average incidence of 40%. In contrast, only 25% of ethnic minority respondents report using the state language in similar interactions. This pattern is particularly pronounced in Gagauzia (92%), Balti (55%), and Taraclia (44%), where ethnic majority respondents report using Russian at significantly higher rates. Conversely, the use of the state language among ethnic minority respondents is more common in the Center region (70%) and

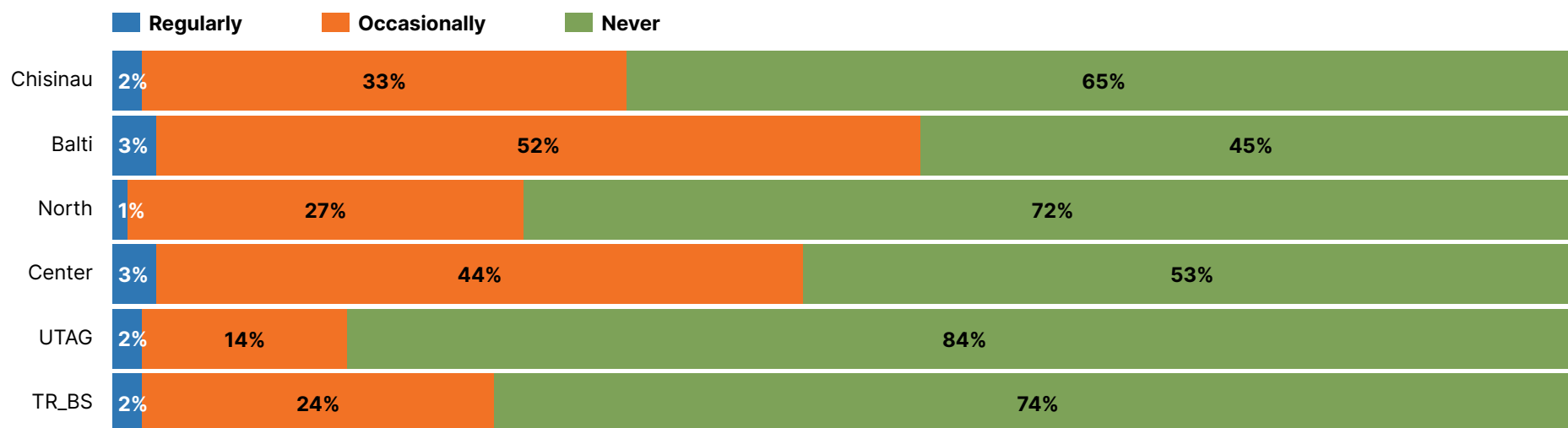
Chisinau (36%). This highlights a high degree of adaptation to local linguistic preferences and a stronger tendency for the ethnic majority to shift linguistically in service contexts compared to ethnic minorities.

Communication with police

The analysis of interactions with police officers reveals notable trends in both frequency and language use across different regions. Overall, communication with police is infrequent, with the vast majority of respondents

across all regions reporting that they “never” engage with police officers. Occasional communication is more prevalent in Balti and the Center region, with 52% and 44% respectively, while regular interaction remains very low (1–3%) throughout (see **Figure 20**).

Figure 20. How often do you communicate with police officers?



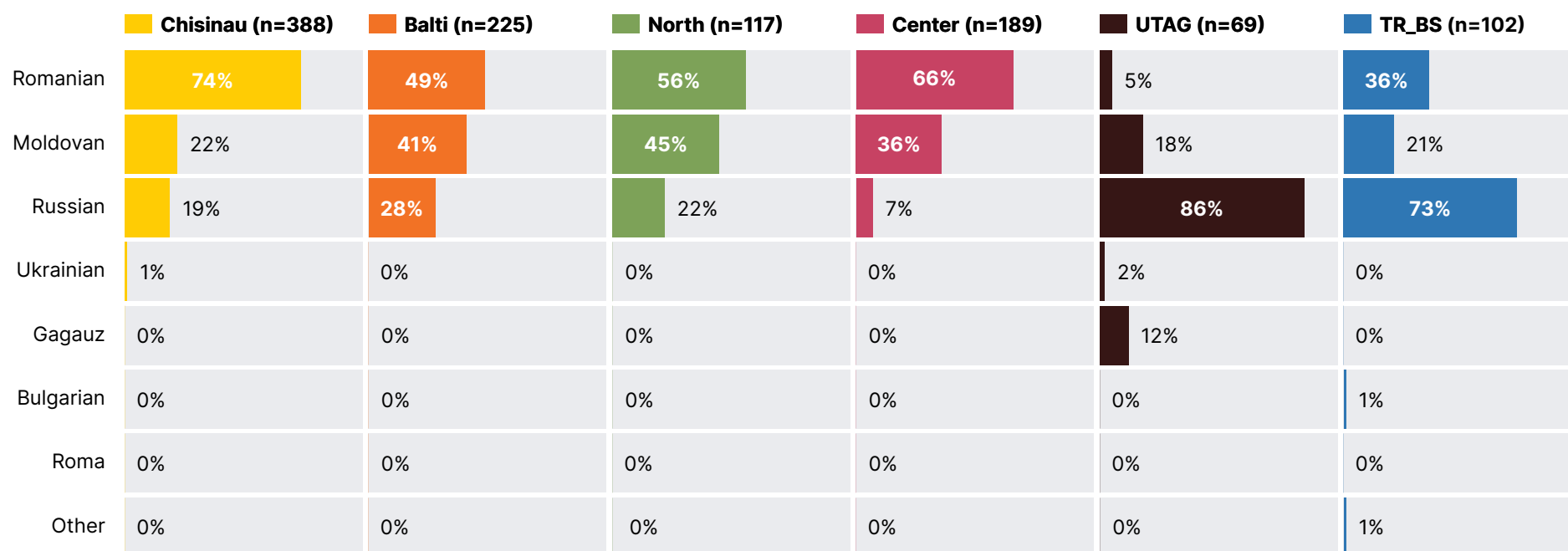
When examining the language used by police officers when addressing citizens, regional differences emerge. In Chisinau and the Center region, police primarily address individuals in the state language, with 74% and 66% respectively.

However, in Gagauzia and Taraclia/Basarabeasca, Russian dominates police communication—used by 86% and 73% of officers respectively—while state language usage drops significantly (see **Figure 20.1**).

Figure 20.1. In what language a police officer addresses you?

Open question.

Multiple answer.



When communication flows from respondents toward police officers, the state language tends to prevail over Russian across most regions. However, in Balti and Gagauzia, respondents are notably more likely to address police officers in Russian (see **Figure 20.2**).

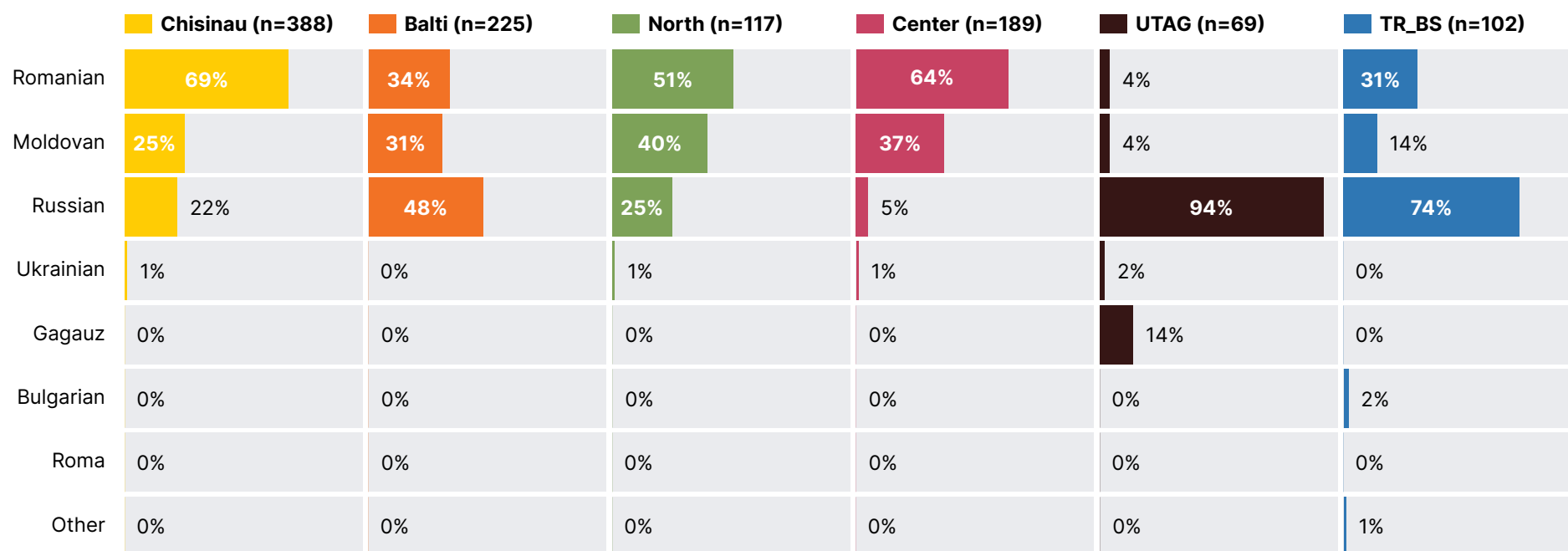
A comparison between the data in **Figures 20.1** and **20.2** reveals the most pronounced discrepancy in communication patterns between police officers and respondents. For example, in Balti, 28% reported being addressed by police in Russian, but 48% said they themselves responded in Russian. In Gagauzia, 86% reported being addressed in Russian, while 94%

indicated they responded in Russian. In contrast, while 23% of respondents stated they were addressed by police officers in the state language, only 8% reported using the state language themselves when responding—indicating a significant asymmetry in language use during these interactions.

Figure 20.2. In what language(-s) do you address a police officer?

Open question.

Multiple answer.

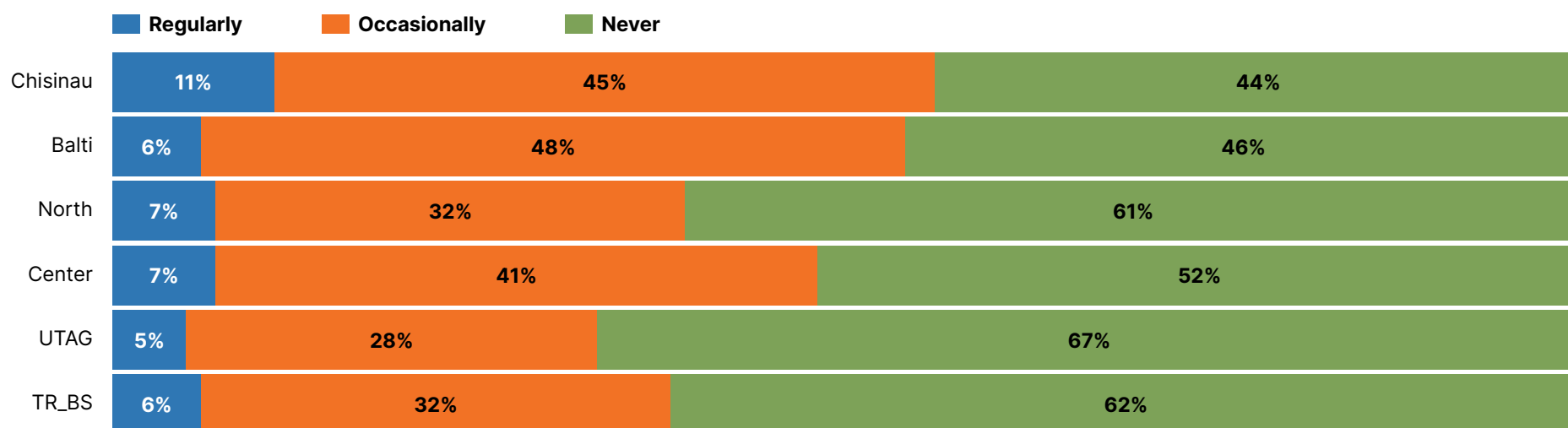


Consumption of legal documents

Engagement with official legislative documents issued by Parliament and the Government is generally low across all regions. In most areas, fewer than 10% of respondents report reading such documents regularly, with the highest frequency recorded in Chisinau (11%).

Occasional engagement peaks in Balti (48%) and Chisinau (45%), but in all other regions the majority of respondents—especially in Gagauzia (67%) and Taraclia/Basarabeasca (62%)—report never accessing these materials (see [Figure 21](#)).

Figure 21. How often do you read documents issued by the Parliament and the Government?



When it comes to the language in which people read legislative and official documents, strong regional differences emerge. In Chisinau and the Center region, the state language clearly dominates, used by 90% and 97% of respondents respectively. By contrast, in Gagauzia and Taraclia/Basarabeasca, Russian is overwhelmingly dominant, cited by 95% and 64% of

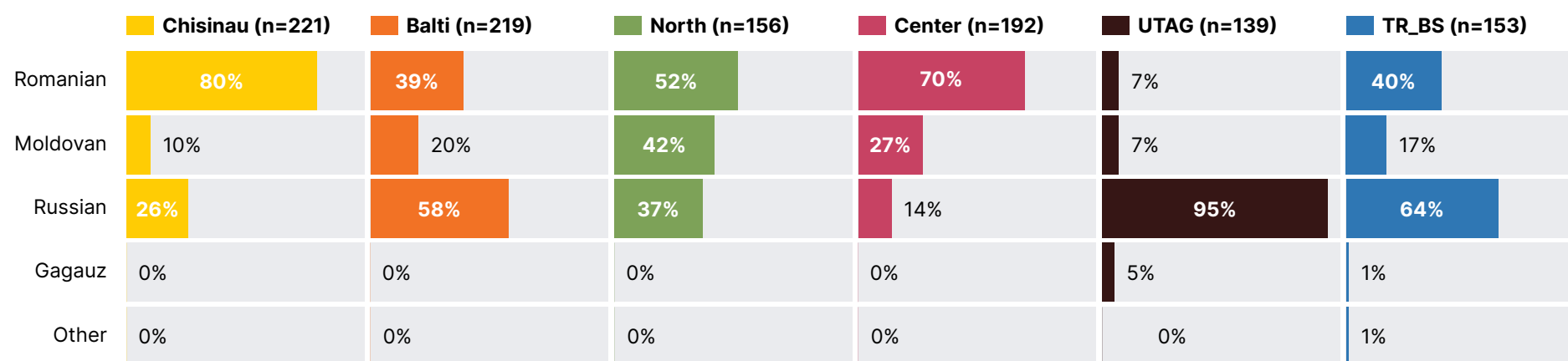
respondents respectively (see **Figure 21.1**). However, in Taraclia, the use of the state language is notably higher than in Gagauzia, with 57% of respondents indicating they read legislation and other state documents in the state language. The use of Russian is also substantial in Balti (58%) and the North (37%), where it either equals or surpasses the use of the state language.

The Gagauz language is mentioned modestly in Gagauzia (5%) as a language used to read legislation and other state documents. This limited use is largely due to the absence of official legal or administrative documents being developed and made available in Gagauz, which restricts its functional role in public governance and institutional communication.

Figure 21.1. In what languages do you read legislation and other state documents?

Open question.

Multiple answer.

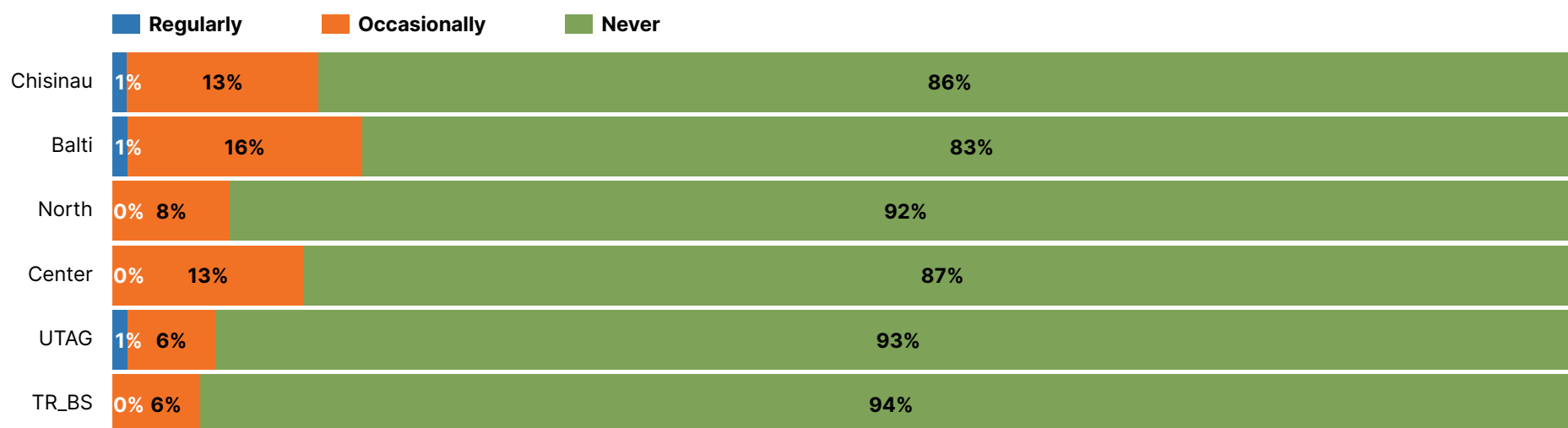


Overall, the findings reflect a clear linguistic segmentation in how legal and administrative information is accessed. While the state language is the primary medium for such documents in regions with a higher ethnic majority presence, Russian remains the key language in regions with concentrated ethnic minority populations.

Communication with legal service providers

Across all six regions, the vast majority of respondents—over 80% in every case—report that they have never participated in court proceedings. The highest levels of occasional participation are observed in Balti (16%) and Chisinau (13%) (see **Figure 22**).

Figure 22. How often do you participate in court proceedings?



Among those who have participated, language use in court reveals significant regional variation. The data shows that the state language dominates in Chisinau (87%) and the Center region (97%), and remains strong in the North (67%). In Balti and Taraclia/Basarabeasca, the state language is cited by 79% and 62% of respondents respectively.

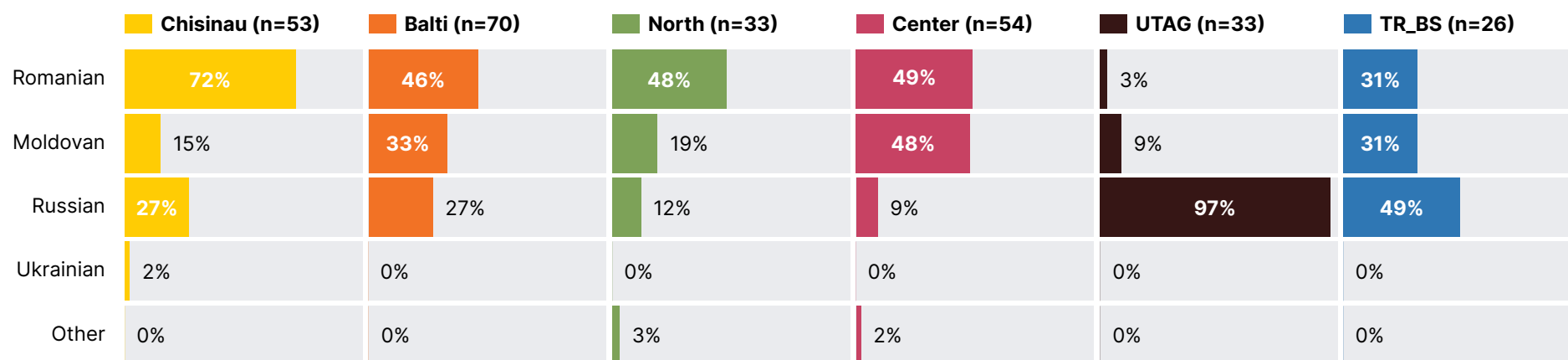
In Gagauzia, however, only 12% of participants reported using the state language, while 97% reported using Russian—reflecting a sharp linguistic difference. Similarly, in Taraclia/Basarabeasca, Russian is used by nearly half of respondents (49%). Use of Ukrainian or other languages is minimal across all regions (see **Figure 22.1**).

These figures confirm that while the state language is widely used in court settings in central and northern areas, Russian continues to serve as the dominant medium in southern minority regions, underscoring the importance of linguistic accommodation in judicial services.

Figure 22.1. In what language(-s) do / did you participate in court proceedings?

Open question.

Multiple answer.



Communication with public authorities

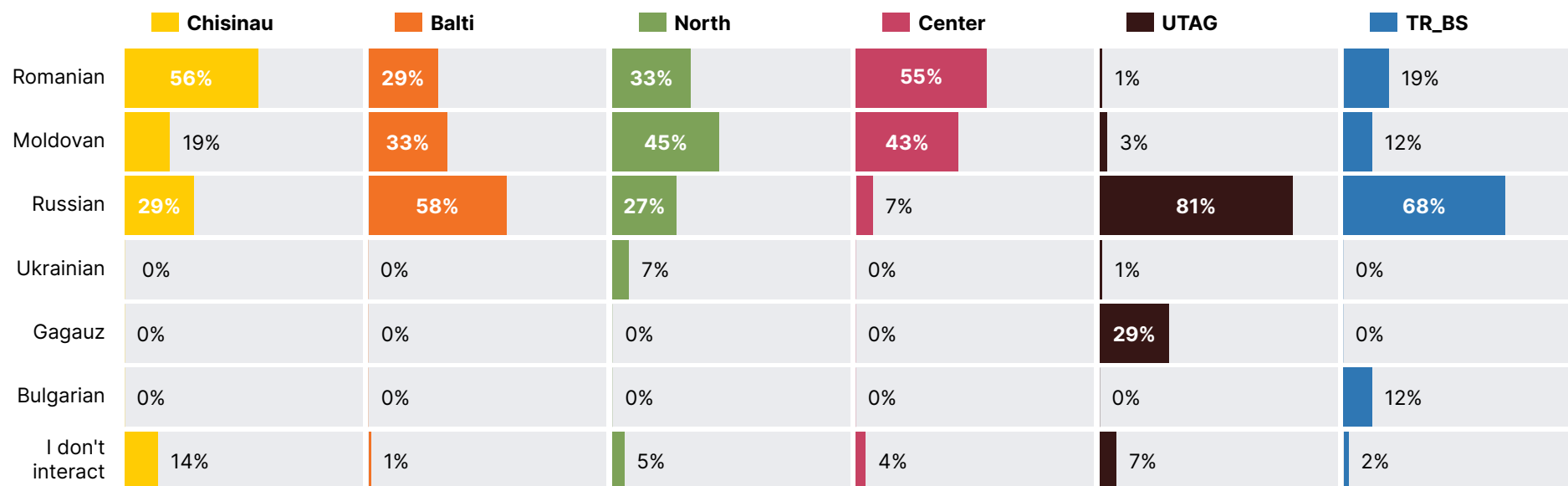
Figures 23.1, 23.2, and 23.3, depict the languages used by respondents in interactions with public authorities at local, rayon (district), and national levels. Across all three levels of administration, the state language and Russian dominate communication, with usage patterns differing notably by region and level of authority.

At the local level, the state language prevails in Chisinau (75%), the Center (98%), and to a lesser extent in the North (78%) and Balti (62%). However, in Gagauzia and Taracia, Russian is overwhelmingly dominant—used by 81% and 68% of respondents respectively. In Gagauzia, 29% also interact in Gagauz.

Figure 23.1. In what languages do you usually interact with authorities at local level?

Open question.

Multiple answer.



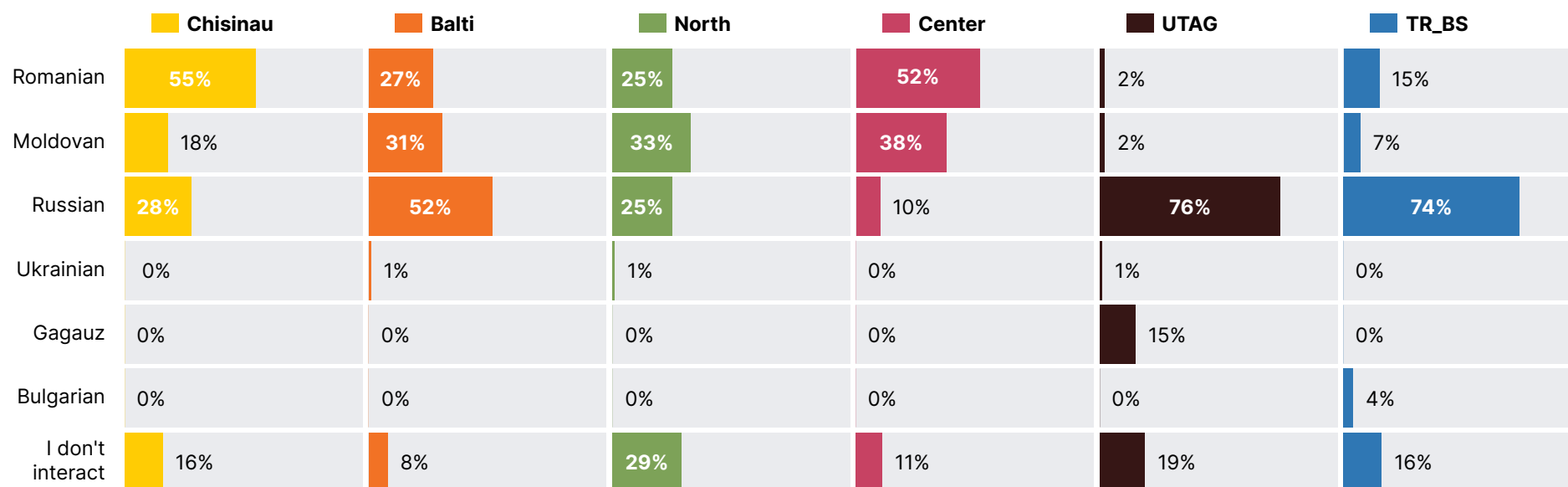
At the rayon level, the state language remains most prevalent in Chisinau (73%) and the Center (90%). Meanwhile, Russian is again the preferred language of interaction in Gagauzia (76%) and Taraclia (74%).

Balti and the North display more balanced bilingual usage, with the state language and Russian being used almost equally.

Figure 23.2. In what languages do you usually interact with authorities at rayon level?

Open question.

Multiple answer.



At the national level, the state language remains dominant in Chisinau (72%) and the Center (82%). However, in Gagauzia and Taraclia, interaction at

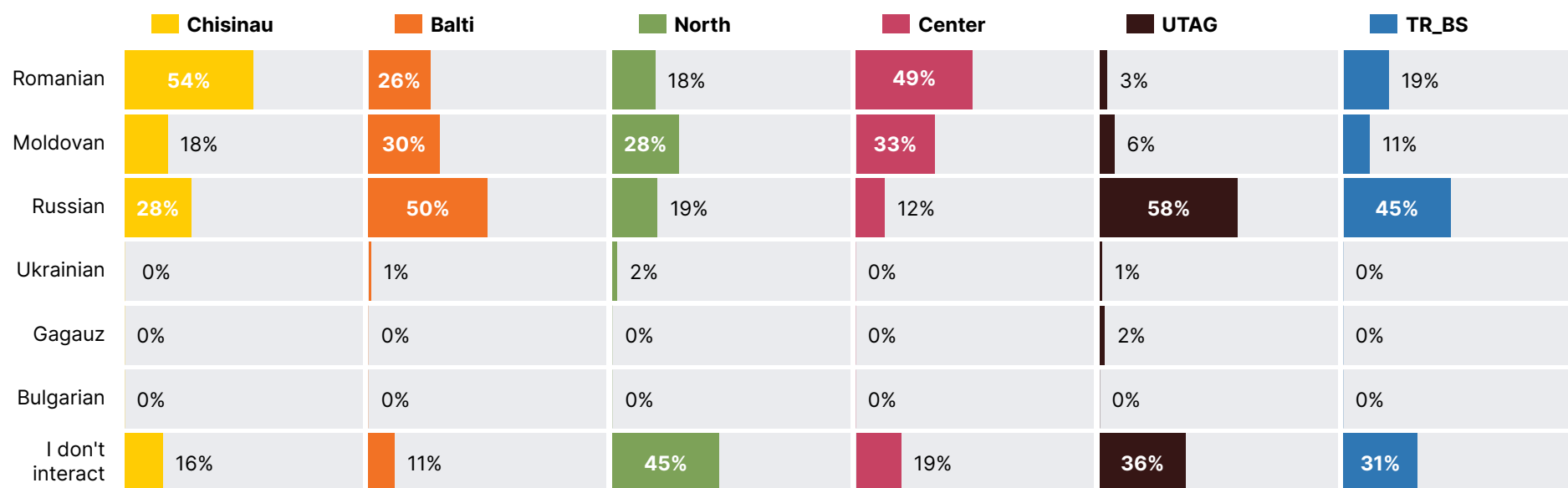
this level is still primarily conducted in Russian (58% and 45%, respectively), though with slightly reduced intensity compared to local and rayon levels.

Overall, the data highlight that while the state language is commonly used in regions with a strong ethnic majority presence, Russian continues to serve as a primary means of communication with public authorities in minority-dominated areas—especially Gagauzia and Taraclia.

Figure 23.3. In what languages do you usually interact with authorities at national level?

Open question.

Multiple answer.



Communication with salespeople

The survey also examined linguistic interactions in the retail sector (**Figures 24.1** and **24.2**), comparing the language used by salespeople when addressing customers and the language used by customers when addressing salespeople.

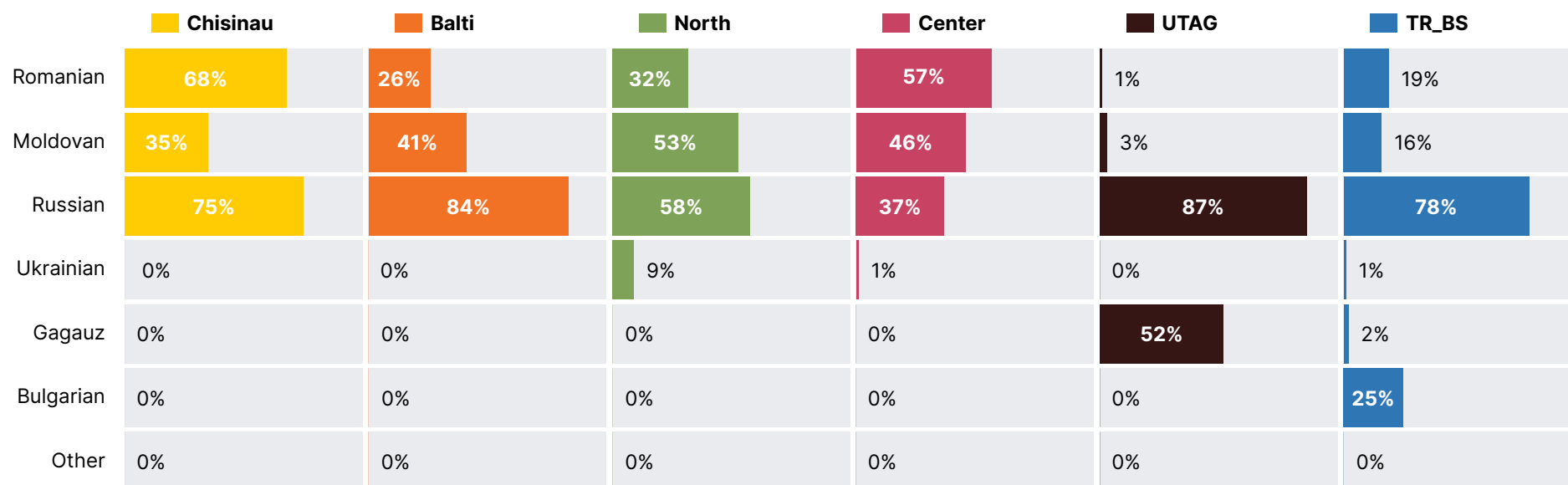
Interactions between customers and sales staff show clear regional linguistic patterns, with Russian being the dominant language of communication in most regions—particularly in the South. In Gagauzia, 87% of respondents reported being addressed in Russian and 87% said they responded in Russian. Similarly high

rates were recorded in Taraclia/Basarabeasca (78% addressed, 75% responded), Balti (84% addressed, 74% responded), and the North (58% addressed, 44% responded). These figures reflect the strong role of Russian in everyday commerce, especially in areas with a high concentration of ethnic minorities.

Figure 24.1. In what language a salesperson at the store addresses you?

Open question.

Multiple answer.



In contrast, use of the state language is considerably higher in central regions and the capital. In the North region, use of the state language is still strong, though Russian remains prominent.

By comparison, southern regions lag behind in use of the state language. In Gagauzia, only 4% of respondents were addressed in Romanian, and 2% responded in state language. In Taraclia/Basarabeasca, only 35% were addressed and 35% responded in the state language, showing slightly more use than in Gagauzia, but still indicating strong Russian-language dominance.

Additionally, Gagauz and Bulgarian languages are locally relevant: 52% of respondents in Gagauzia mentioned being addressed and responding in Gagauz, while in Taraclia/Basarabeasca, 25% reported use of Bulgarian in commerce interactions.

Notable discrepancies are observed between the language used by salespersons and the language used by customers in response—particularly in Chisinau. Here, 75% of respondents reported being addressed by sales staff in Russian, while only 30% indicated that they themselves initiated communication in Russian.

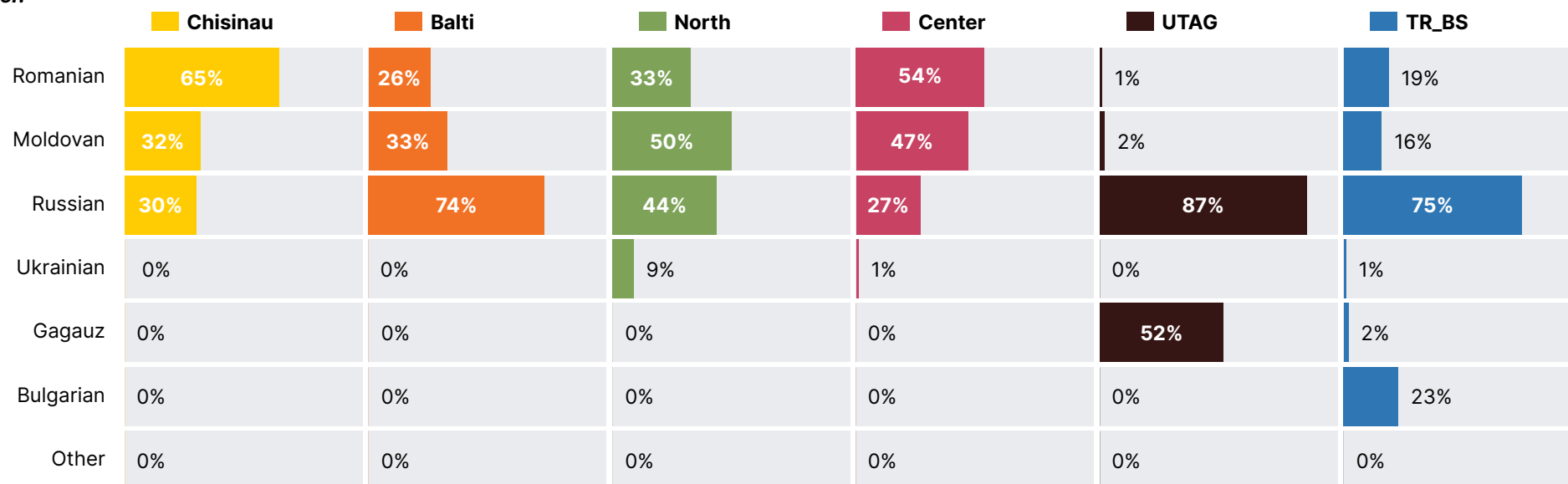
A similar pattern—though less pronounced—is also present in Balti, the Center, and the North region, suggesting an asymmetry in language choice that favors Russian on the part of retail service providers.

Cross-tabulated analysis reveals that members of the ethnic majority are significantly more likely to use Russian when communicating with salespeople—55% on average—compared to only 32% of ethnic minority respondents who report using the state language in such interactions. However, this pattern is strongly influenced by the surrounding linguistic environment and varies notably across regions. For example, in Chisinau, 77% of ethnic minority respondents reported using the state language when interacting with sales staff, while in Balti the share drops sharply to just 12%.

Figure 24.2. In what language(-s) do you address a salesperson at the store?

Open question.

Multiple answer.



VI. PERCEPTIONS AND EMERGING LANGUAGE TRENDS



This chapter examines public perceptions of Moldova as a multilingual society, mapping the linguistic landscape across the country. It explores the languages spoken in various regions, the population's demand for education and media in different languages, and anticipated trends in language use and linguistic preferences.

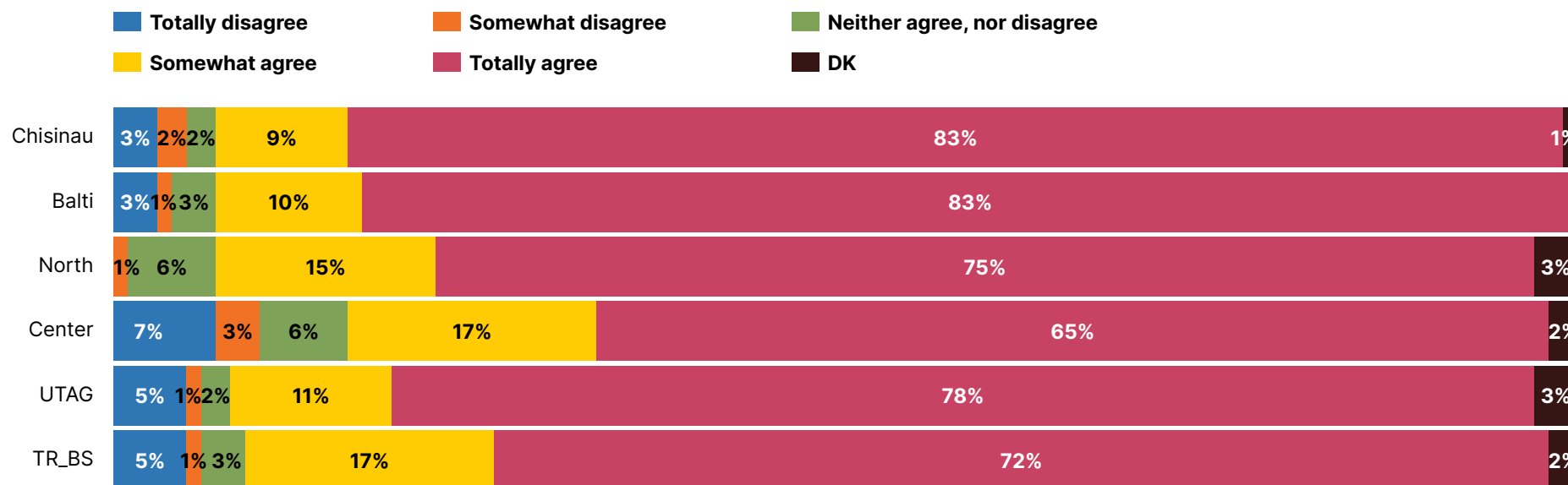
6.1. PERCEPTIONS OF MOLDOVA AS A MULTILINGUAL SOCIETY

There is broad national consensus regarding Moldova's multilingual character, with the majority of respondents across all six regions expressing strong agreement with this view. Chisinau and Balti show the highest levels of total agreement (83%), indicating a widespread recognition of linguistic diversity in the urban areas. The North region also reflects high agreement (75%),

though with a slightly higher proportion of neutral or disagreeing responses. The Center region shows comparatively lower affirmation (65% totally agree), with a notable share of respondents choosing "somewhat agree" (17%) or neutral (6%) (see **Figure 25**).

In the southern regions, Gagauzia (78%) and Taraclia/Basarabeasca (72%) also report strong agreement, but with slightly higher levels of neutrality and disagreement compared to Chisinau or Balti. Despite minor regional variations, the data confirms a broad societal perception across Moldova that the country is indeed multilingual.

Figure 25. Do you agree that Moldova is a multilingual society?

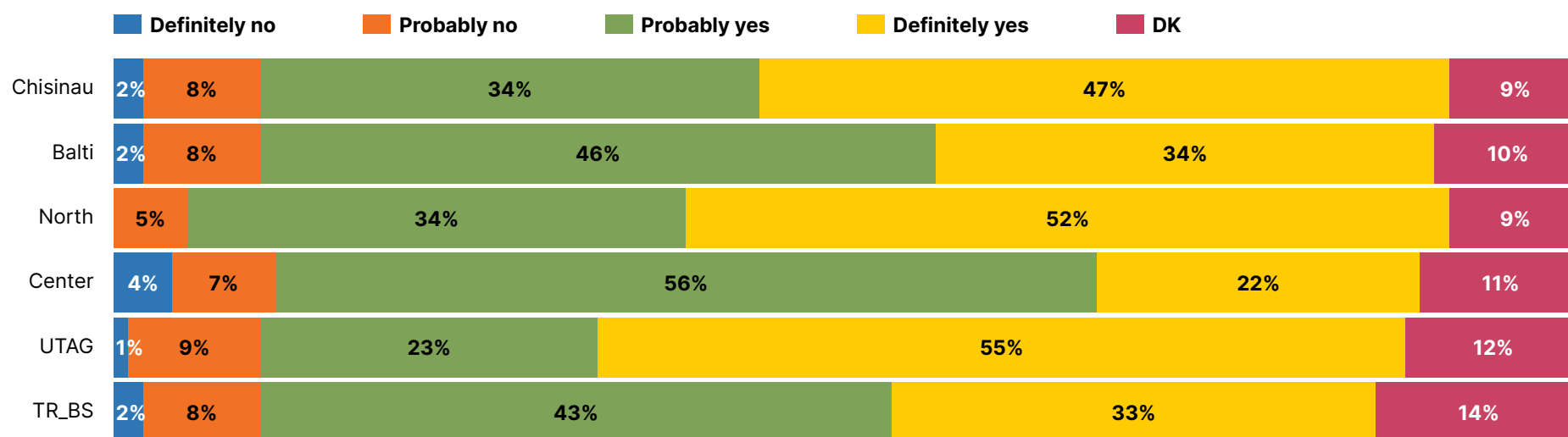


When asked about the future prospects regarding the continuation of Moldova as a multilingual society, public perception is largely optimistic, with the majority in every region believing that Moldova will continue to be or develop as a multilingual society (see **Figure 26**).

Respondents from the North and Gagauzia are the most confident, with 52% and 55% respectively responding “definitely yes.” Chisinau also shows strong optimism, with 47% “definitely yes” and another 34% “probably yes.” At the same time, levels of skepticism (those answering “definitely no” or “probably no”) remain low across all regions—generally below 10%.

In summary, the results suggest broad confidence across Moldova that multilingualism will persist or even strengthen in the country’s future, with only minor variations in certainty levels between regions. Across all surveyed regions, strong belief in the continuity of multilingualism is more prevalent among ethnic minority groups, younger respondents, and individuals with higher levels of education.

Figure 26. In your view, will Moldova be a multilingual society in the future?



6.2. PERCEPTIONS OF LANGUAGES SPOKEN IN MOLDOVA

Perceptions about languages spoken overall

Figures 27 and 27.1 illustrate how respondents perceive the linguistic landscape of Moldova, distinguishing

between first-mentioned and all-mentioned languages spoken across six regions.

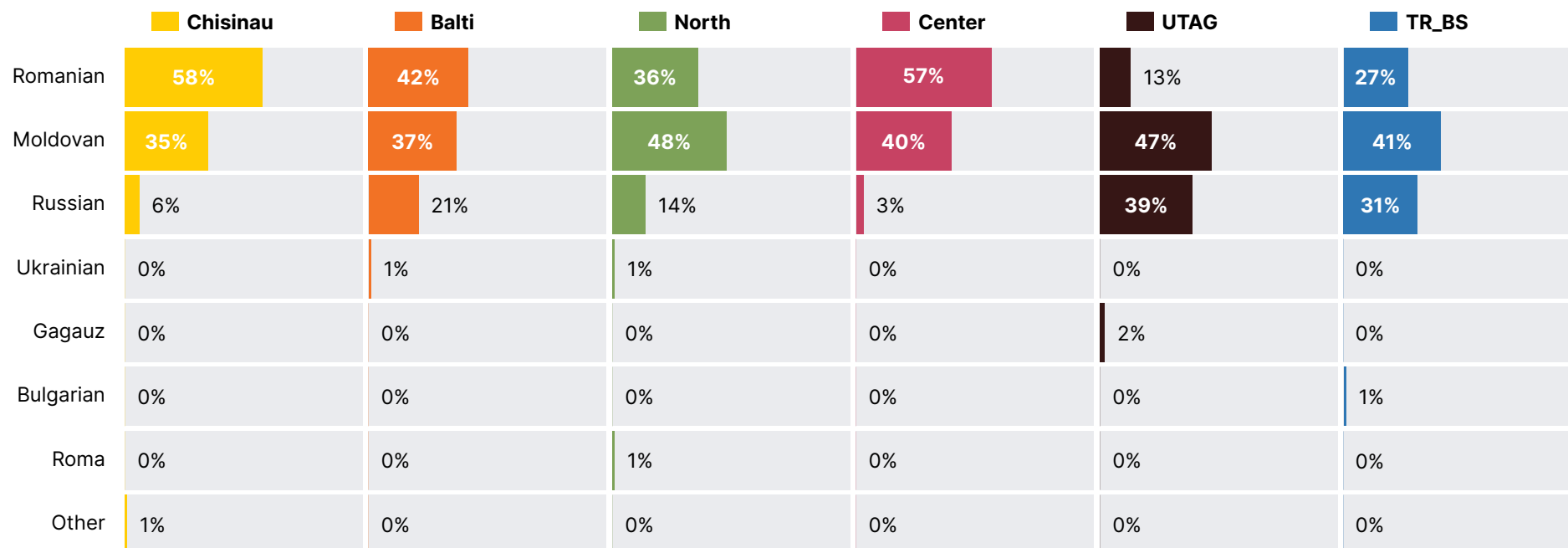
In terms of first mentions, respondents most frequently identify the state language (referring to it as Romanian or Moldovan) as the primary language spoken in Moldova. The state language leads across most regions, particularly in the Center (57% Romanian, 40% Moldovan) and Chisinau (58% Romanian, 35% Moldovan). However, in the South—especially Gagauzia and Taraclia/Basarabeasca—Russian

(39% and 31%, respectively) and Moldovan (47% and 41%) take precedence, while Romanian registers as a first mention for only 13% in Gagauzia and 27% in Taraclia/Basarabeasca.

The share of respondents identifying the state language specifically as Romanian is significantly higher in Chisinau (58%), the Center region (57%), and Balti (42%). In each of these regions, “Romanian” is mentioned more frequently than “Moldovan” when referring to the state language.

Figure 27. In your view (from your experience), what are the languages spoken IN MOLDOVA?

FIRST MENTION



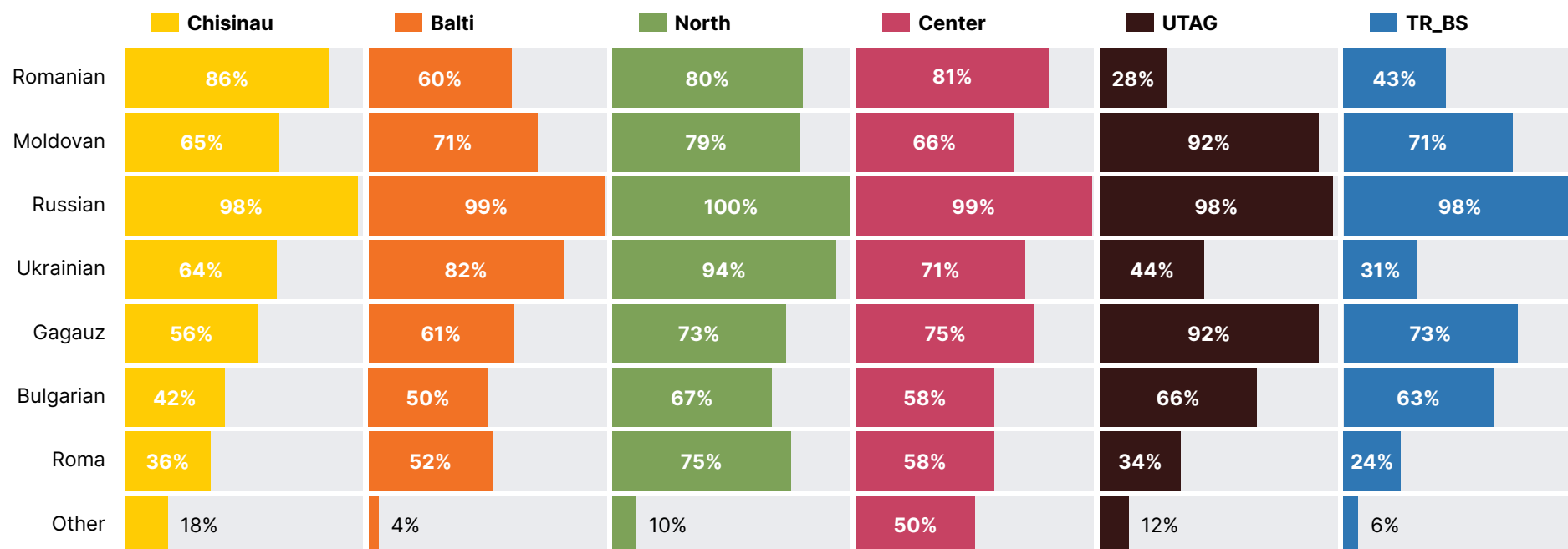
When considering all mentions, the picture becomes significantly more diverse, reflecting Moldova's multilingual reality. The state language and Russian emerge as the most widely acknowledged languages, with near-universal recognition across all regions.

The cumulative percentage of responses for Romanian and Moldovan frequently exceeds 100%, indicating that a considerable number of respondents perceive them as distinct languages. In addition, other minority languages—such as Ukrainian, Gagauz, Bulgarian, and

Roma—are commonly mentioned in the South and North, highlighting rich regional multilingualism.

Figure 27.1. In your view (from your experience), what are the languages spoken IN MOLDOVA?

ALL MENTIONS



The overall distribution of responses regarding perceptions of other minority languages spoken across all regions reveals as follows:

- **Gagauz** language is mentioned by 72% of respondents, with highest recognition in Gagauzia (92%), Taraclia (73%), and the Center region (75%);
- **Ukrainian** is cited by 64% overall, with particularly high mentions in the North region (94%) and Balti (82%);

- **Bulgarian** is acknowledged by 58% of respondents, especially in the North (67%), Gagauzia (66%), and Taraclia (63%);
- **Romani** is identified by 46%, predominantly in the North (75%) and Center region (58%), which are also the areas with a higher concentration of Roma communities;

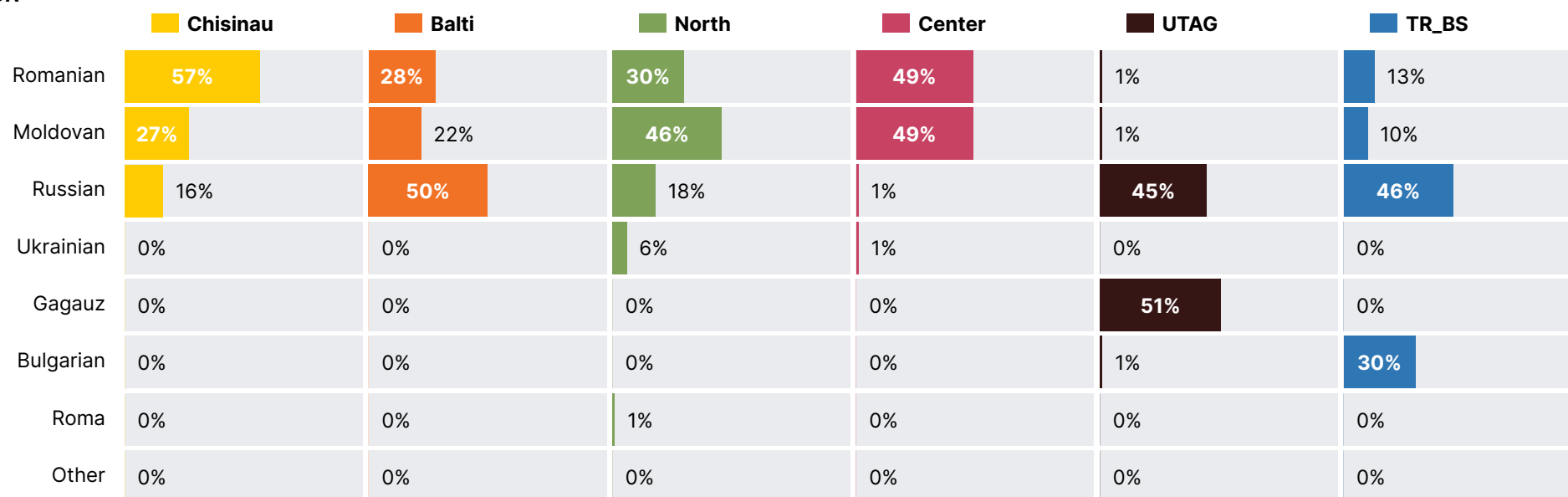
Mentions under the “Other languages” category refer primarily to English (by far the most frequently cited), followed by French and Italian.

Perceptions about languages spoken at the regional level

When asked to identify the first language spoken in their region or locality, most respondents named the state language, especially in Chisinau (84%) and the Center region (98%). However, Russian was frequently cited first language in Balti (50%), Gagauzia (45%), and Taraclia/Basarabeasca (46%). Gagauz also appeared prominently in Gagauzia (51%), reflecting the strong local identity (see **Figure 28**).

Figure 28. In your view (from your experience), what are the languages spoken IN YOUR REGION/ LOCALITY?

FIRST MENTION



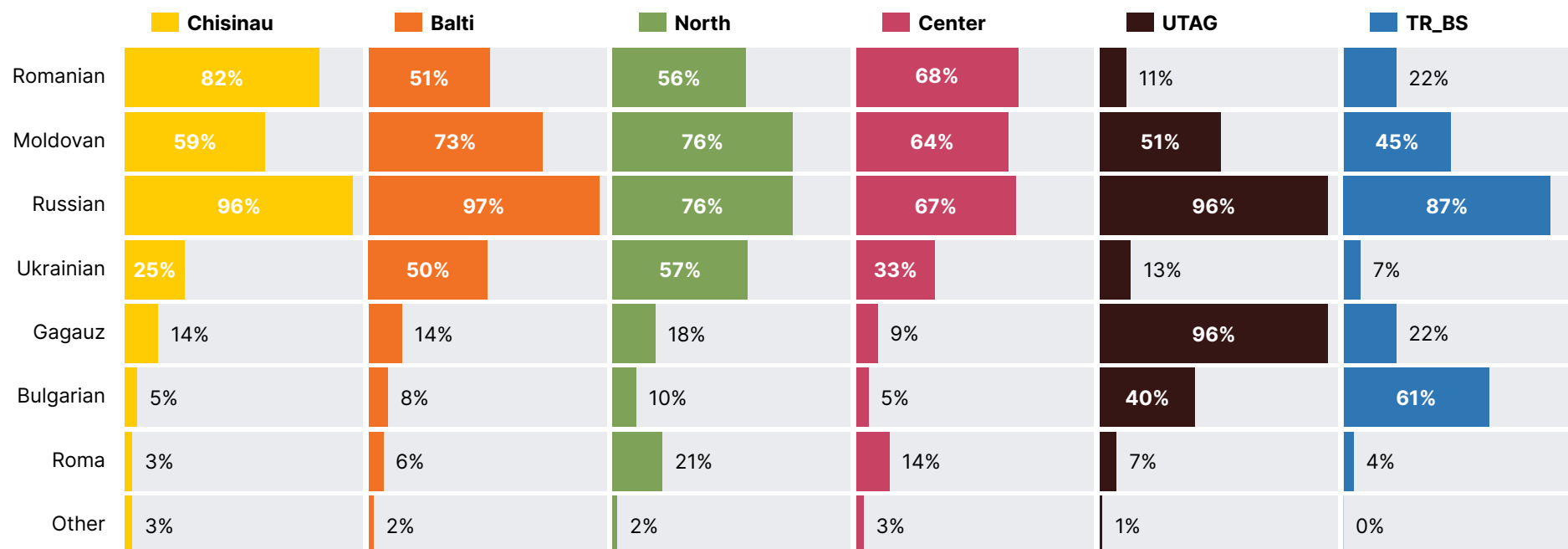
When multiple responses were allowed, Moldova's linguistic diversity became even more apparent. Russian emerged as the most broadly recognized language across all regions, while the state language also received wide acknowledgment—though to a lesser

extent in the southern regions. Minority languages such as Ukrainian, Gagauz, and Bulgarian were frequently mentioned in both the North and the South, confirming the picture of rich regional multilingualism (see [Figure 28.1](#)).

Overall, these results illustrate a complex multilingual fabric at the regional level, where Russian maintains high visibility, the state language holds strong in central and northern areas, and minority languages retain significance in areas with concentrated ethnic communities.

Figure 29. In your view (from your experience), what are the languages spoken IN YOUR REGION/ LOCALITY?

ALL MENTIONS



Perceptions about languages spoken less

Figure 30 illustrates perceptions of which languages tend to be spoken less in Moldova. Across all regions, minority languages—particularly Romani, Bulgarian, Gagauz, and Ukrainian—are most frequently seen as declining in use, with regional variations depending on the ethnic makeup

and local linguistic dynamics. Romani is perceived as the least spoken language in nearly all regions and Bulgarian follows closely. In contrast, the state language and Russian are rarely perceived as declining, indicating their stable presence in daily communication.

Figure 30. In your view (from your experience), what languages tend to be spoken LESS in Moldova?

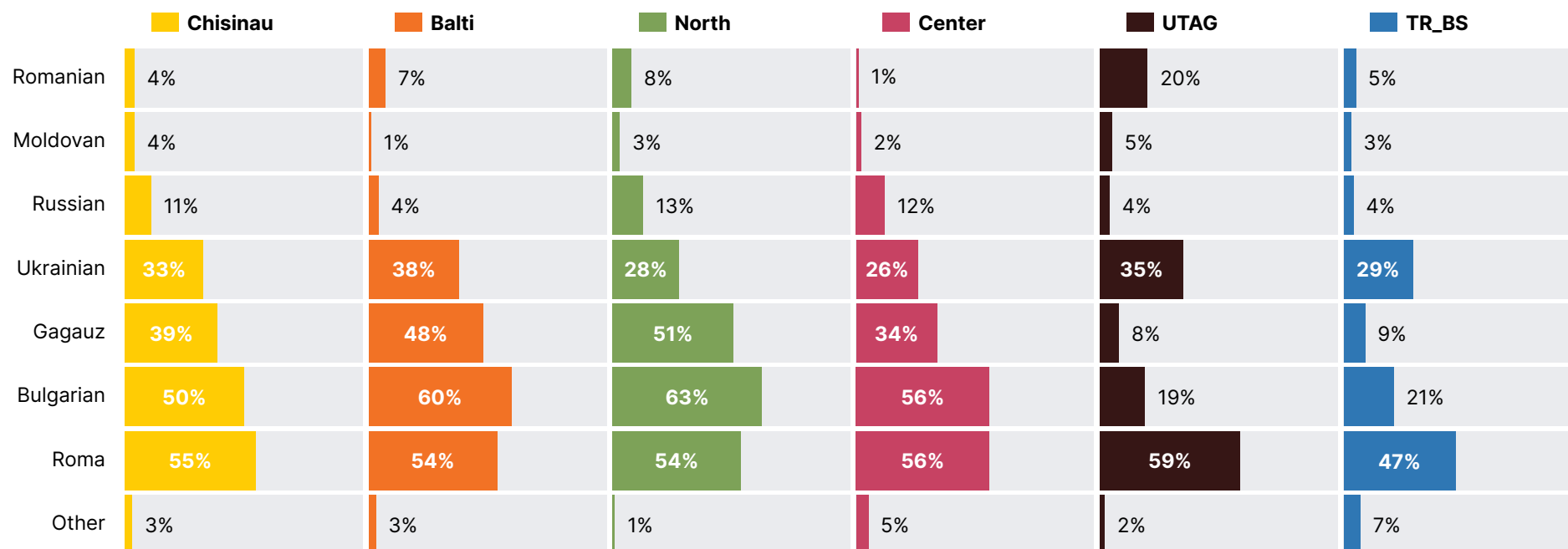


Figure 31 illustrates public perceptions of which languages are considered minority languages in Moldova. Across all regions, Romani, Bulgarian, and Gagauz are most frequently identified as minority languages, with particularly high recognition in the North and Center regions. Ukrainian also features prominently, especially in the Center and North.

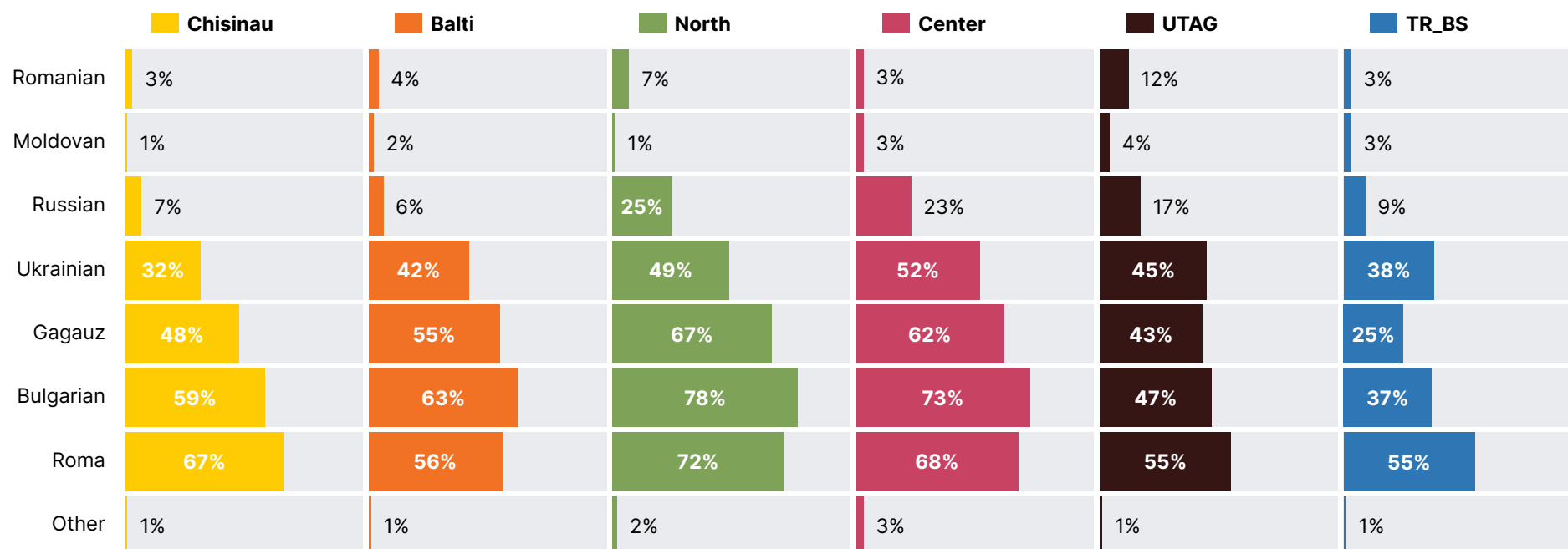
Interestingly, Russian is less frequently identified as a minority language, with only 6–25% of respondents recognizing it as such.

Overall, the data suggest a widespread awareness of smaller ethnic and linguistic communities, particularly Roma, Bulgarian, Gagauz, and Ukrainian, as being in need of minority language recognition, while Russian is perceived less in that category despite its wide use.

Figure 31. What languages do you consider minority languages in Moldova?

Open question.

Multiple answer.



6.3. PERCEPTIONS OF DEMAND FOR EDUCATION FROM A LANGUAGE PERSPECTIVE

Demand for education at the national level

Across the six surveyed regions, the dominant perception is that demand for education in the state language is increasing (45%), compared to 22% who believe it has remained the same, 13% who see it as decreasing, and 20% who are uncertain.

A clear majority of respondents in Chisinau (53%), Balti (56%), and especially the Center region (63%) believe that demand is increasing. In the North, views are more balanced, with 35% seeing an increase and 37% saying demand remains the same. In contrast, in Gagauzia and Taraclia, fewer respondents see rising demand—only 23% and 40% respectively—while a significant portion in Gagauzia (25%) and Taraclia (19%) believe demand is decreasing. These southern regions also report the highest shares of uncertainty.

Overall, the data reveal a generally positive trend in perceptions of growing demand for state-language education, especially in central and northern regions of

Moldova. In contrast, minority-populated areas in the south exhibit more hesitation or even signs of declining interest. Those who perceive an increasing demand are more likely to be younger individuals, women, members of the ethnic majority, and persons with medium to high levels of education and income—particularly those employed in state institutions.

Figure 32. In your view (from your experience), is the demand for schools providing education in STATE LANGUAGE in Moldova as a whole ...?

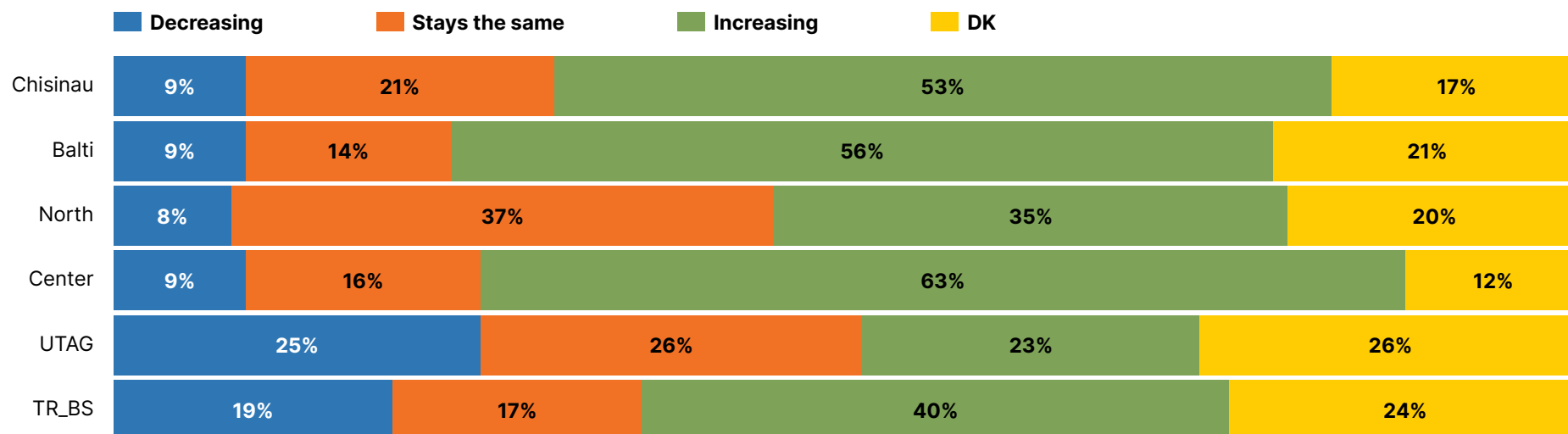
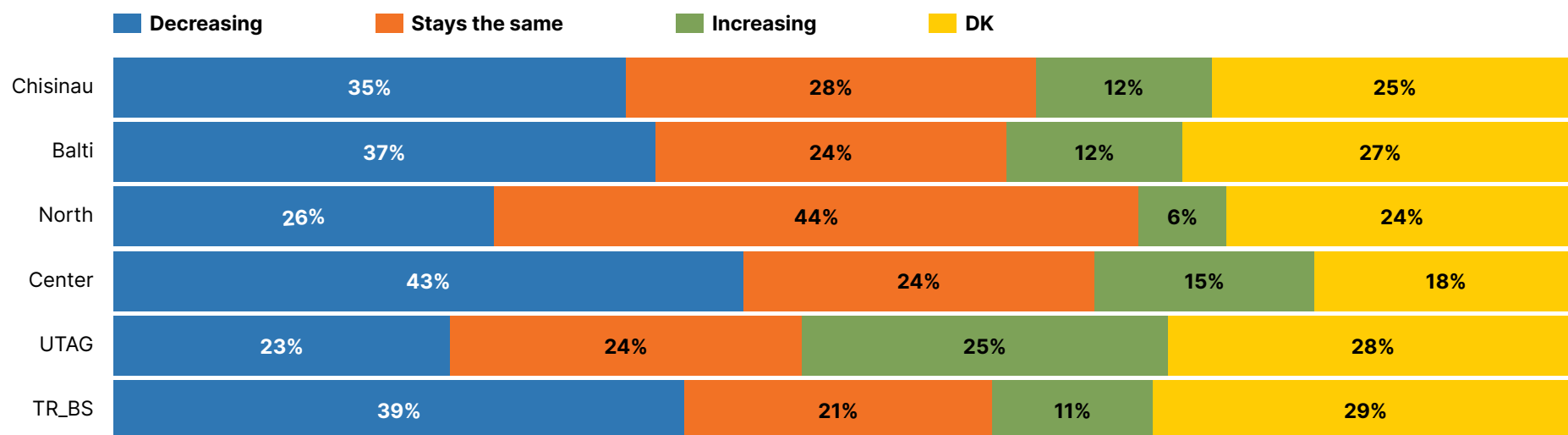


Figure 33 presents perceptions of the demand for schools providing education in national minority languages across Moldova. In most regions, a significant share of respondents believe that this demand is decreasing. Fewer respondents view demand as

increasing, with Gagauzia standing out as the only area where this view (25%) is more common than elsewhere, suggesting stronger support for minority-language education there.

Figure 33. In your view (from your experience), is the demand for schools providing education in NATIONAL MINORITY LANGUAGES in Moldova as a whole?

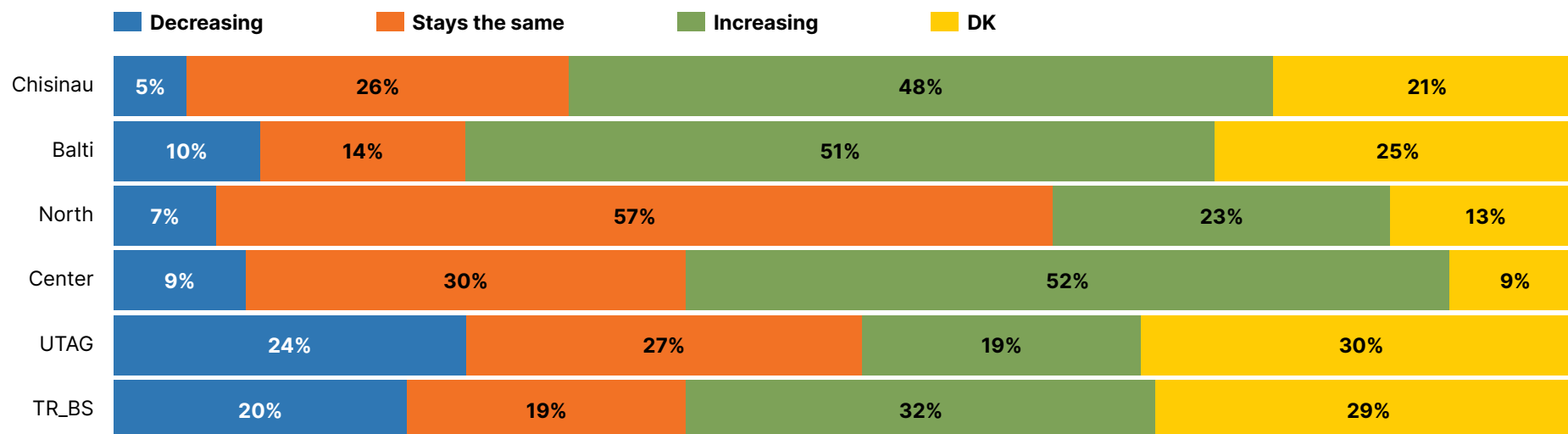


Demand at local level

Perceptions of demand for education in the state languages (**Figure 34**) and in national minority languages at the regional or community level (**Figure 35**) reflect the patterns observed at the national level.

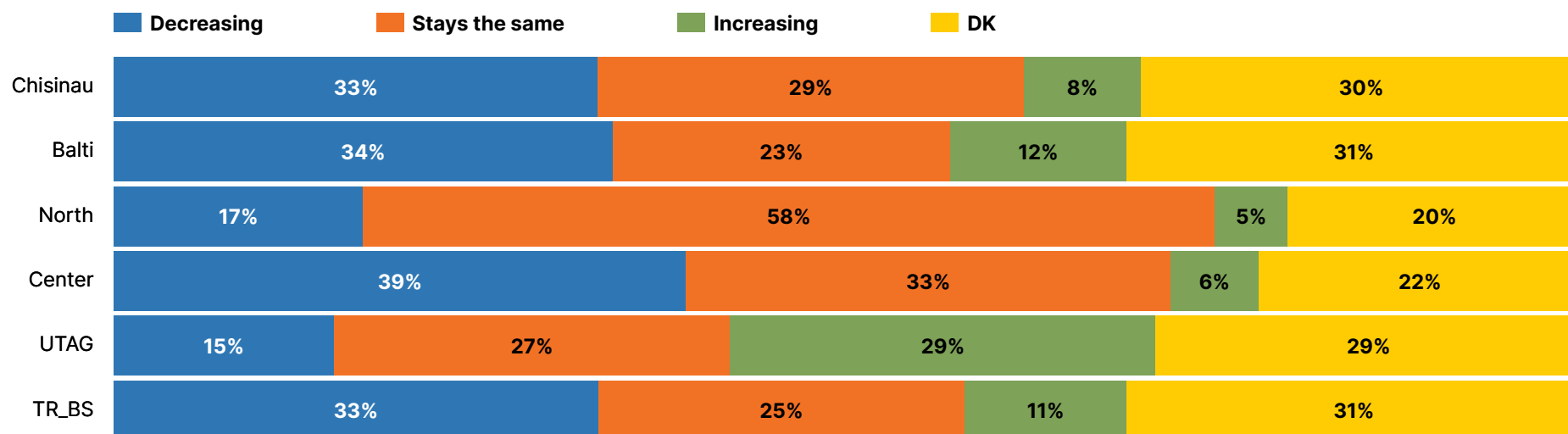
Perceived demand for state-language education is rising in most regions, particularly in central and urban areas, while minority-dominated southern regions reflect more ambivalence and uncertainty.

Figure 34. In your view (from your experience), is the demand for schools providing education in STATE LANGUAGE in your REGION/LOCALITY?



While minority-language education is perceived as stable in some areas (like the North), most regions view it as either declining or uncertain. Gagauzia remains a notable exception, where demand is more likely seen as increasing.

Figure 35. In your view (from your experience), is the demand for schools providing education in NATIONAL MINORITY LANGUAGE(-S) in your REGION/LOCALITY ...?



6.4. PERCEPTIONS OF DEMAND FOR MASS MEDIA FROM A LANGUAGE PERSPECTIVE

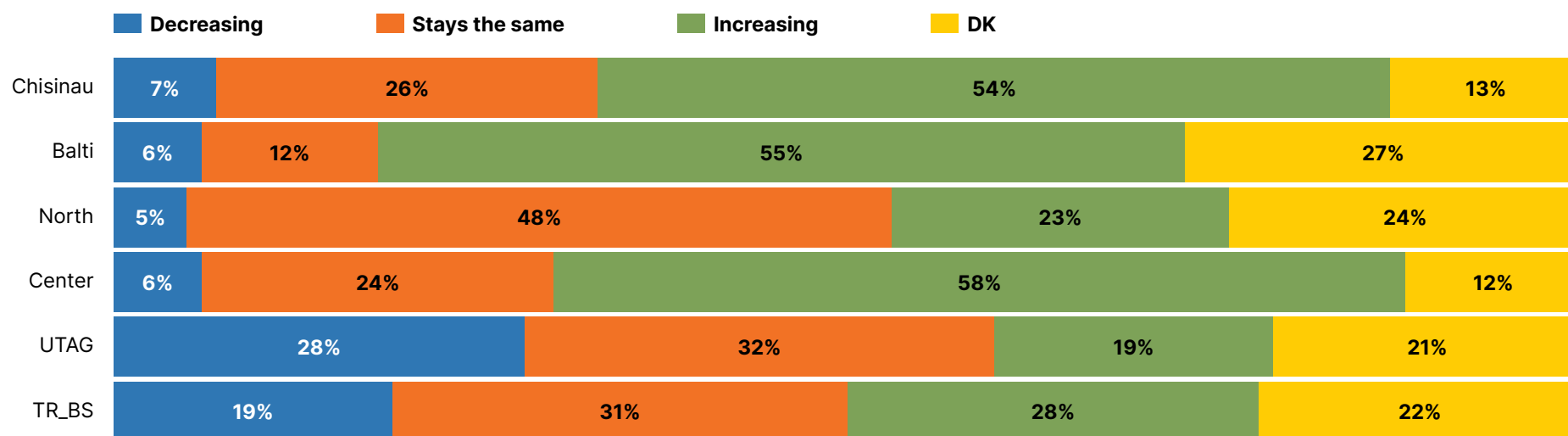
Perceptions of demand for mass media in the state language and in national minority languages largely mirror perceptions of demand for education in these languages. Overall, the dominant view is that demand for media in the state language is increasing

(reported by 40% of respondents on average across all regions), while demand for media content in national minority languages is seen as remaining the same (32% on average).

Respondents from the Center region (58%), Chisinau (54%), and Balti (55%) are most likely to perceive increasing demand for state-language media (see **Figure 36**). In contrast, respondents from the North tend to believe demand has remained unchanged (48%).

In Gagauzia, views are more evenly split between decreasing demand and no change, while in Taraclia, perceptions are divided between stable demand and a moderate increase in interest for state-language media content.

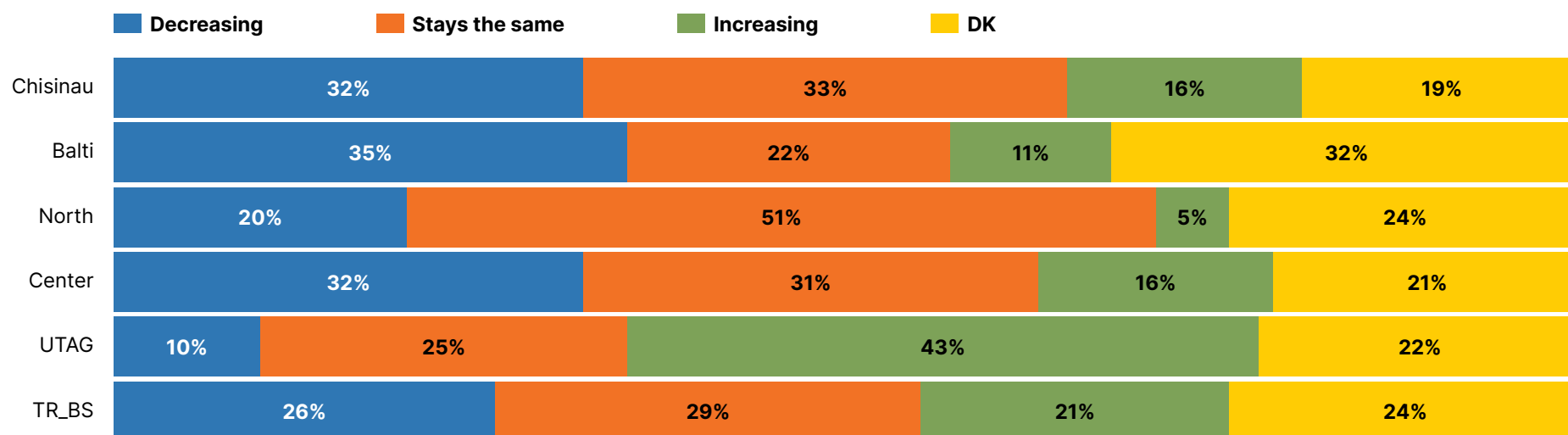
Figure 36. In your view (from your experience), is the demand for mass media in STATE LANGUAGE ...?



Most regions perceive demand for mass media in national minority languages as either decreasing or unchanged (**Figure 37**). The sense of decline is strongest in Balti, Chisinau, and the Center, while the North mainly sees demand as stable. Gagauzia stands out as the only region where a large share (43%) believes demand is increasing, followed by Taraclia with a modest 21%.

Overall, rising demand for minority-language media is mostly concentrated in southern regions, while central and northern areas reflect a trend of decline or stagnation.

Figure 37. In your view, is the demand for mass media in NATIONAL MINORITY LANGUAGES?



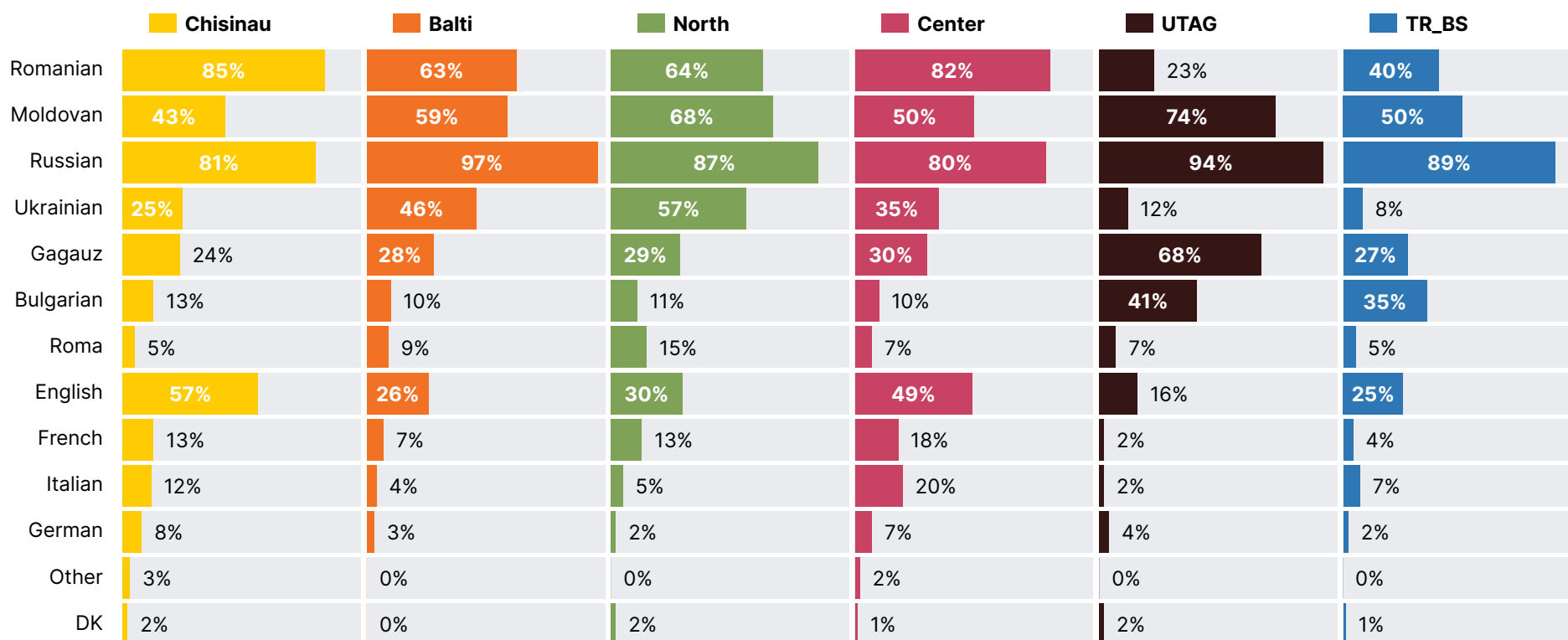
6.5. PERCEPTIONS OF LANGUAGE TRENDS IN LONG-TERM PERSPECTIVE

Respondents' perceptions of the languages that will be spoken in Moldova over the next twenty years largely reflect current language use patterns. The results confirm expectations of a continued multilingual society, with Romanian and Russian remaining dominant (see [Figure 38](#)).

Figure 38. Imagine a list of languages that will be spoken in Moldova in twenty years from now, start with the ones spoken most to the ones spoken least.

Open question.

Multiple answer.



Across all regions, the state language is regarded as a key language of the future. *Romanian* is especially emphasized in Chisinau (85%), the Center (82%), and the North (64%), while *Moldovan* is mentioned more frequently in Gagauzia (74%), Taraclia (50%), and the North (68%), reflecting continued dual naming preferences.

Russian is expected to retain a strong presence nationwide, with the highest shares in Balti (97%), Gagauzia (94%), and Taraclia (89%). Even in Chisinau and the Center, over 80% believe Russian will still be widely spoken.

Regional variation reflects current linguistic realities and identity dynamics, with minority languages expected to persist primarily in the areas where they are already most established. Among minority languages, Ukrainian is expected to remain more relevant in the North (57%),

Balti (46%), and the Center (35%). Gagauz is seen important in Gagauzia (68%), with marginal mentions elsewhere. Bulgarian is expected to persist primarily in Taraclia (35%) and Gagauzia (41%), while Romani appears most in the North (15%).

English emerges as the leading foreign language of the future, with especially high expectations in Chisinau (57%) and the Center (49%), indicating its growing role in education, media, and youth culture. Other foreign languages such as French, Italian, and German receive modest mentions, mostly in urban or central regions.

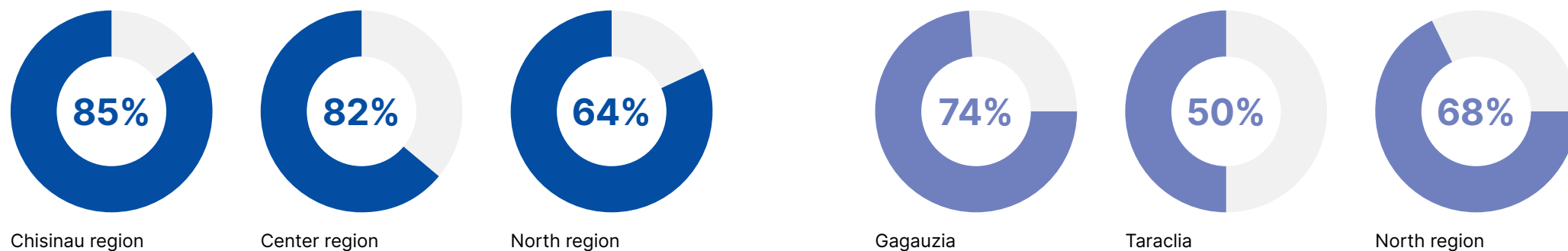
When asked which languages they would like to learn, approximately half of the respondents across all six regions mentioned that they are not interested in learning any additional language (Figure 39). This indicates a general lack of motivation for additional language acquisition among the population.

Interest in learning specific local languages such as Russian, Ukrainian, Gagauz, Bulgarian, or Romani remains very low across all regions, typically below 6%. Two notable exceptions are Gagauzia, where 41% of respondents expressed interest in acquiring the state language, and Taraclia, where 25% showed similar interest.

These findings may indicate evolving linguistic preferences and an increasing recognition of the role that state-language proficiency plays in facilitating integration into broader Moldovan society.

The state language as a key language of the future

● Romanian ● Moldovan



When respondents did express interest in learning a language, “Other” languages—likely referring to foreign languages such as English, French, or German—were mentioned most often. This is especially prominent

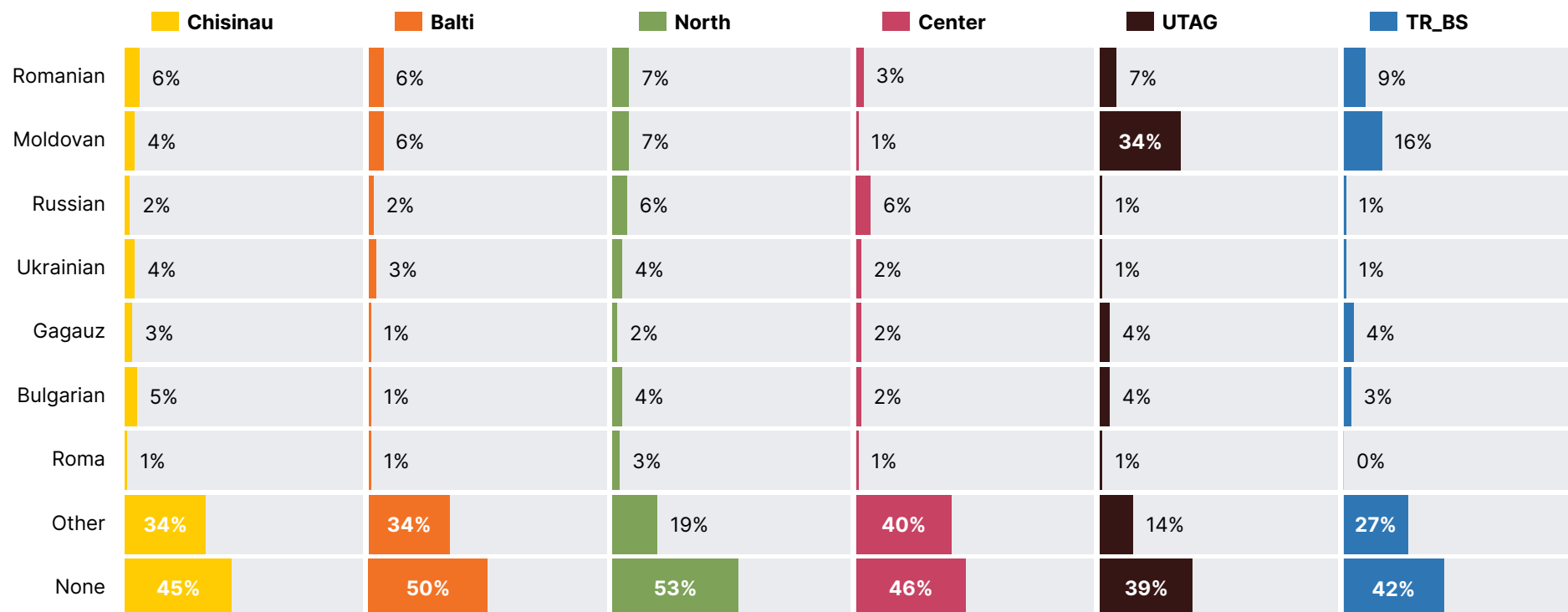
in the Center (40%), Chisinau (34%), and Balti (34%), pointing to growing interest in international languages over local ones.

The population groups least likely to be interested in learning additional languages are predominantly older respondents (aged 55 and above), those with a basic level of education, and individuals with low income.

Figure 39. Which of the languages spoken in Moldova would you like to learn, in addition to your main/usual language?

Open question.

Multiple answer.





VII. ATTITUDES AND EXPECTATIONS ON THE USE OF MINORITY LANGUAGES



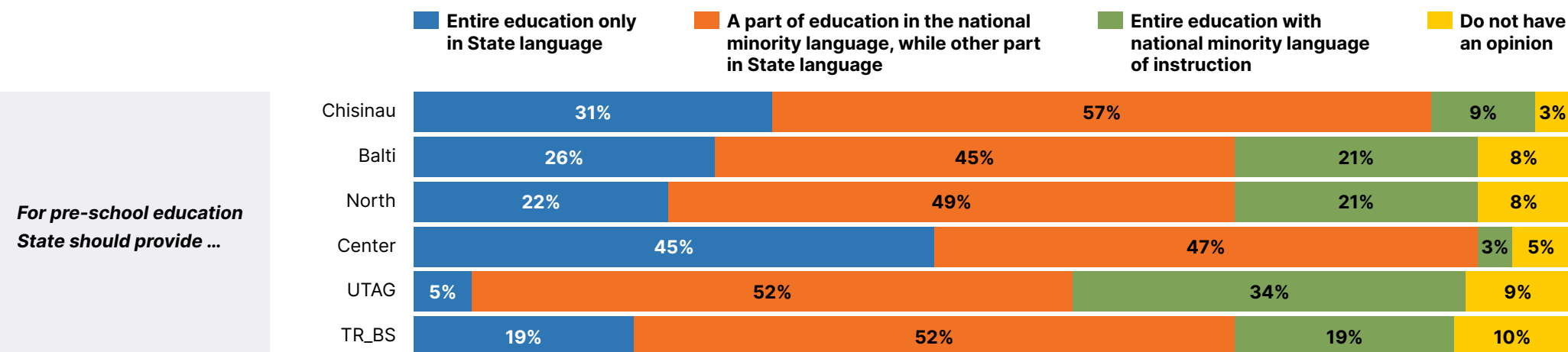
This chapter presents the findings on public attitudes and expectations concerning measures to be implemented for the use of ethnic minorities languages across various sectors, including education, justice, public services, and media.

7.1. EDUCATION

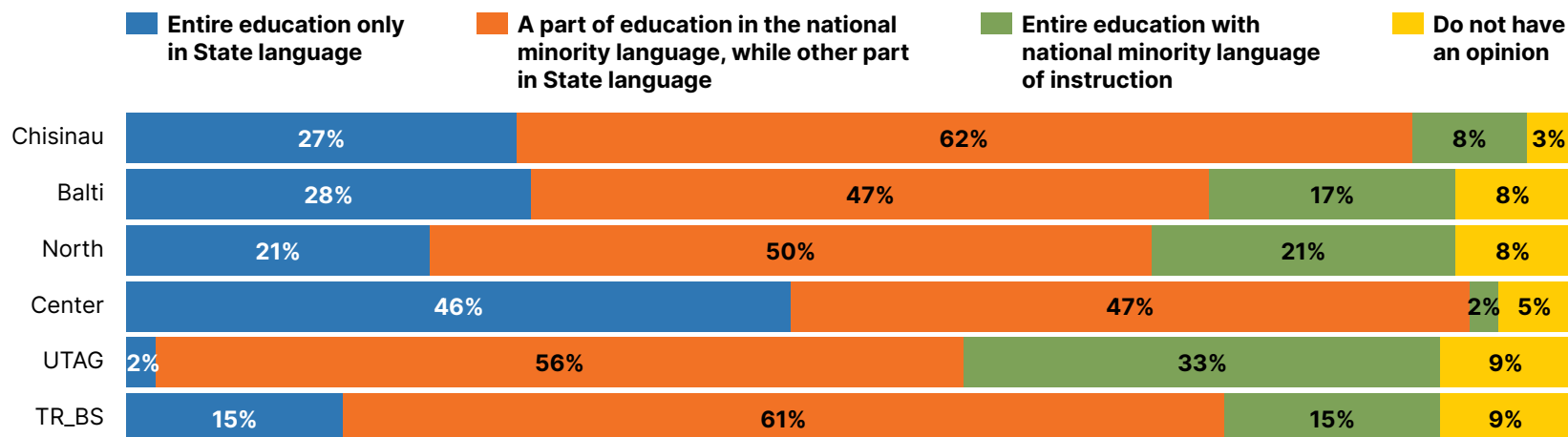
The results presented in **Figure 40** illustrate public attitudes toward the provision of education in national minority languages across four educational levels: pre-school, primary and secondary, vocational, and higher education. These views vary notably by region and reflect the linguistic diversity of Moldova.

Across all regions and education levels, the most widely supported model is a bilingual approach—where part of the instruction is delivered in the minority language and the rest in the state language. This mixed model is particularly favored in regions like Chisinau, the Center, and the North, suggesting a general preference for balancing state language integration with the preservation of minority languages in education.

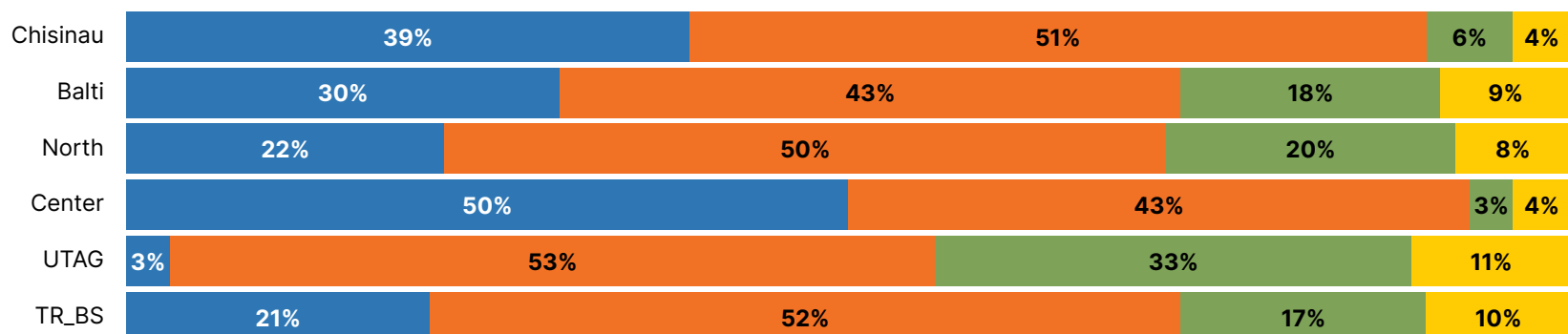
Figure 40. Some people say that State should make available education in the languages spoken by national minorities where speakers of these languages traditionally reside and/or constitute a significant proportion of the population. Which of the below options correspond best to your opinion?



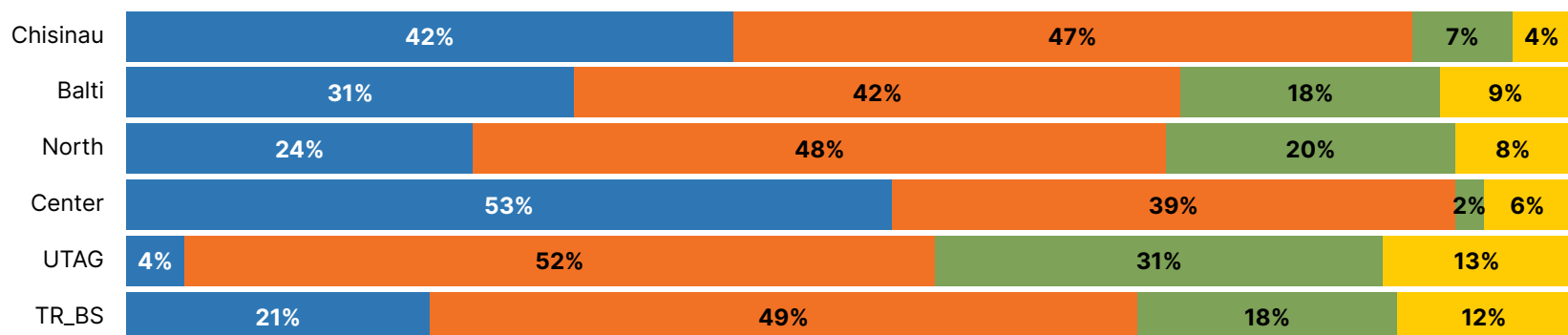
For primary / secondary education State should provide ...



For vocational education State should provide ...



For higher education State should provide ...



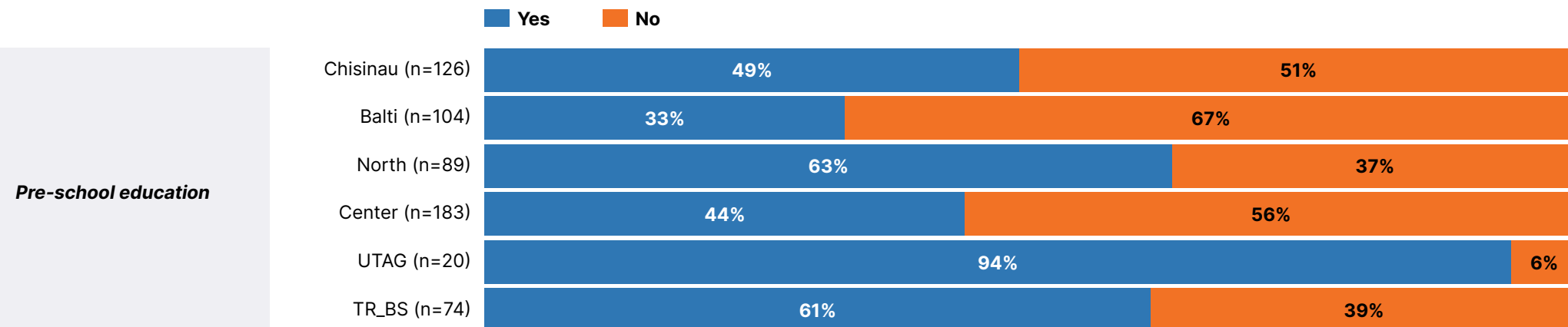
At all levels of education—from pre-school to higher education—the majority of respondents in Chisinau, Balti, the Center, and the North support instruction either exclusively in the state language or partially in the language of national minorities. In contrast, full instruction in minority languages or bilingual education receives greater support in Gagauzia and Taraclia, reflecting the more linguistically homogeneous environment in these regions.

Overall, the data reveal clear regional differences. Respondents from southern regions with a higher concentration of ethnic minorities, such as Gagauzia and Taraclia, express stronger support for full education in minority languages. In contrast, regions with a more ethnically mixed or majority population, such as Chisinau and the Center, prefer a bilingual model with greater emphasis on the state language. These findings highlight the need for flexible, regionally adapted

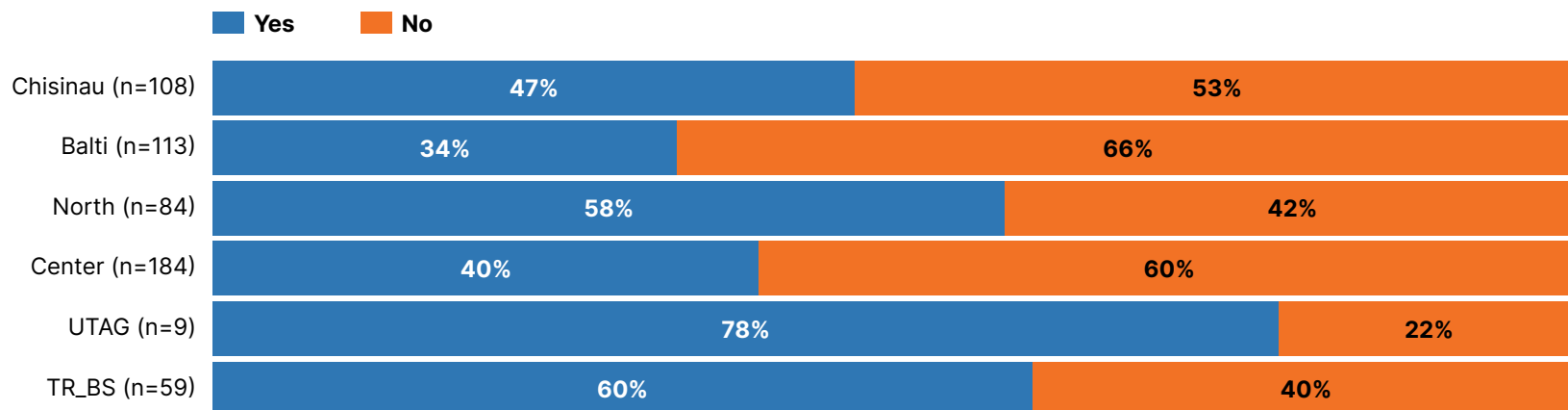
language policies in the education sector that respect both integration goals and linguistic diversity.

Figure 41 presents attitudes of respondents on whether the state should provide teaching of national minority languages as a subject across four levels of education: pre-school, primary/secondary, vocational, and higher education. The data reveal clear regional patterns that reflect the linguistic composition of different areas of Moldova.

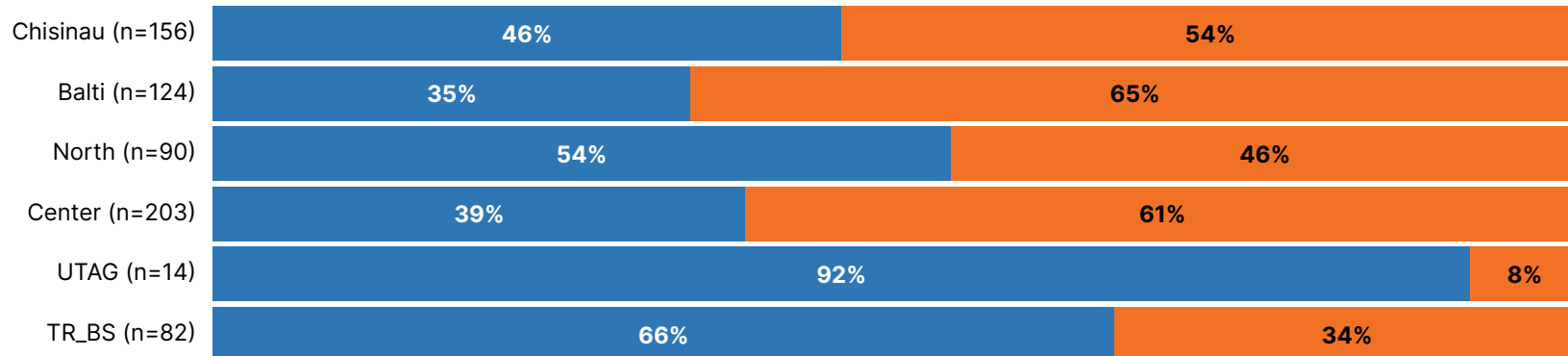
Figure 41. Do you consider that State should provide teaching of the national minority language as a subject for this level of education (Preschool, Primary /Secondary, Vocational and Higher)?



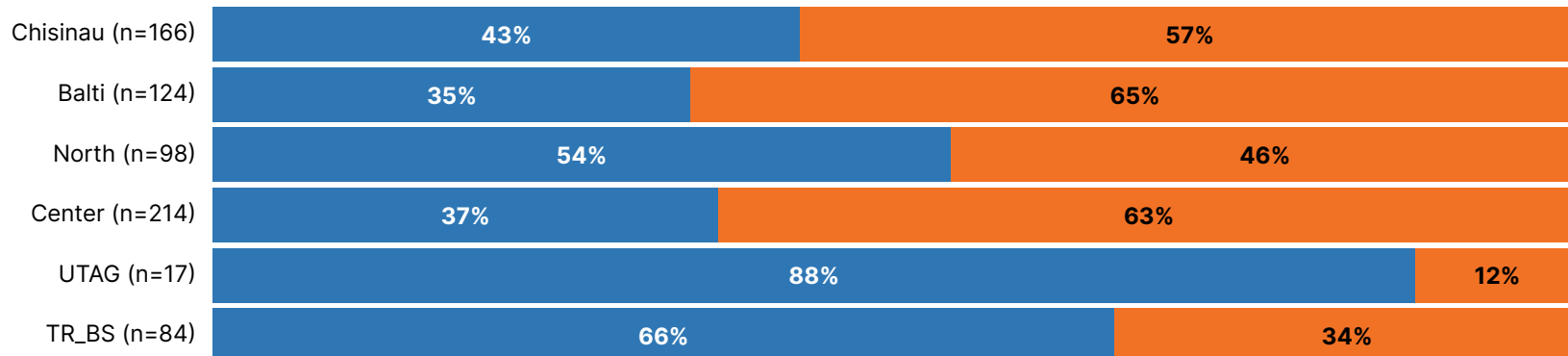
Primary / secondary education



Vocational education

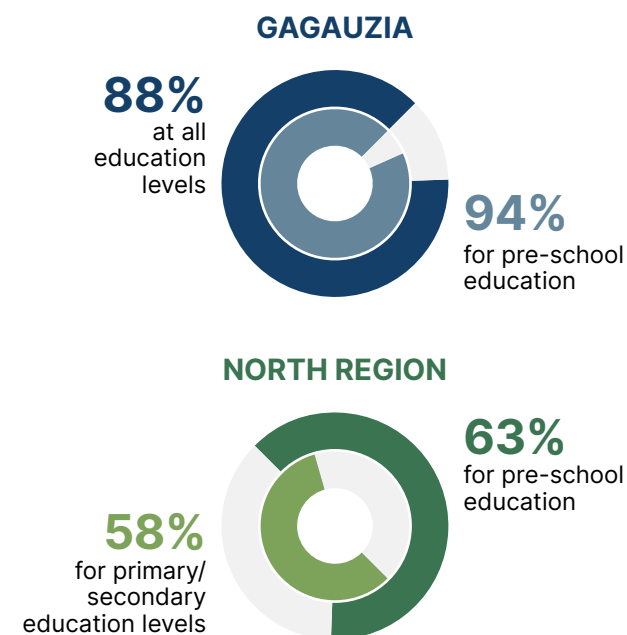


Higher education



Support for the teaching of national minority languages is highest in regions with significant minority populations, particularly in Gagauzia and Taraclia/Basarabeasca. In Gagauzia, support exceeds 88% at all education levels, peaking at 94% for pre-school education. Similarly, Taraclia/Basarabeasca shows consistent majority support, ranging from 60% to 66%, with the highest endorsement for higher education. These figures suggest a strong desire in these regions to preserve and promote minority languages through formal education, starting from early childhood and extending through to tertiary education.

Support for the teaching of national minority languages



In contrast, Balti consistently registers the lowest levels of support, with 65% to 67% of respondents opposing the inclusion of minority languages as a subject at all educational stages. The Center region also shows considerable opposition, with 56% to 63% of respondents against such measures. Chisinau presents a more divided picture, with support hovering just below 50% across all levels, indicating ambivalence or cautious attitudes toward integrating minority languages into the curriculum. The North region, by comparison, is generally more supportive, especially at the pre-school (63%) and primary/secondary (58%) levels.

Overall, the data show that support for teaching minority languages is strongest in southern regions with high concentrations of ethnic minorities, and significantly lower in central and northern regions where the state language is more dominant.

This highlights the importance of tailoring language education policies to reflect regional linguistic realities and community needs, particularly when aiming to preserve minority languages and promote inclusive education.

7.2. JUDICIARY

In the judicial sector, respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement regarding the use of ethnic minority languages in judicial districts where speakers of these languages traditionally reside and/or present a significant proportion of the population. The questions addressed the following aspects:

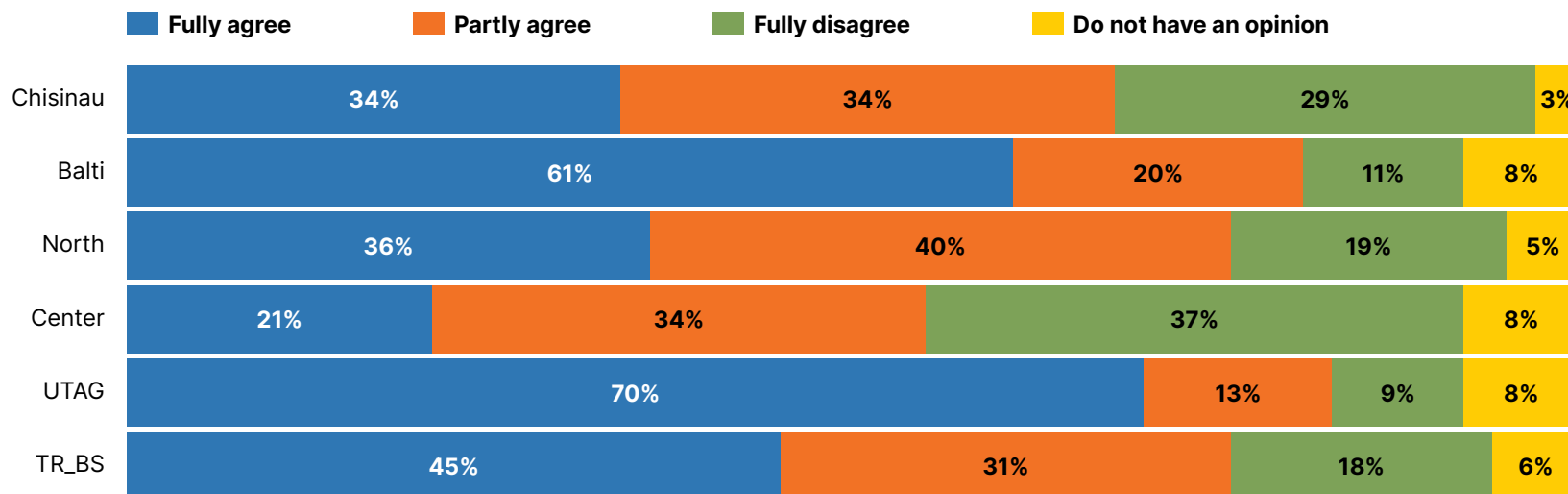
- Mandatory conduct of court proceedings in national minority languages;
- Guaranteeing the right to use national minority languages in court upon request;
- Providing relevant legal documents in national minority languages at no extra cost upon request;
- Offering translation or interpreter services free of charge upon request;
- Recognizing the validity of legal documents issued in national minority languages by relevant regional public institutions;
- Conducting all judicial proceedings and issuing all legal documents exclusively in the state language.

Figures 42.1 and 42.2 present a comprehensive picture of public attitudes toward the use of national minority languages in Moldova's judicial system, especially in regions where speakers of these languages form

a significant part of the population. The responses highlight clear regional differences in how linguistic inclusion in the justice system is perceived and supported.

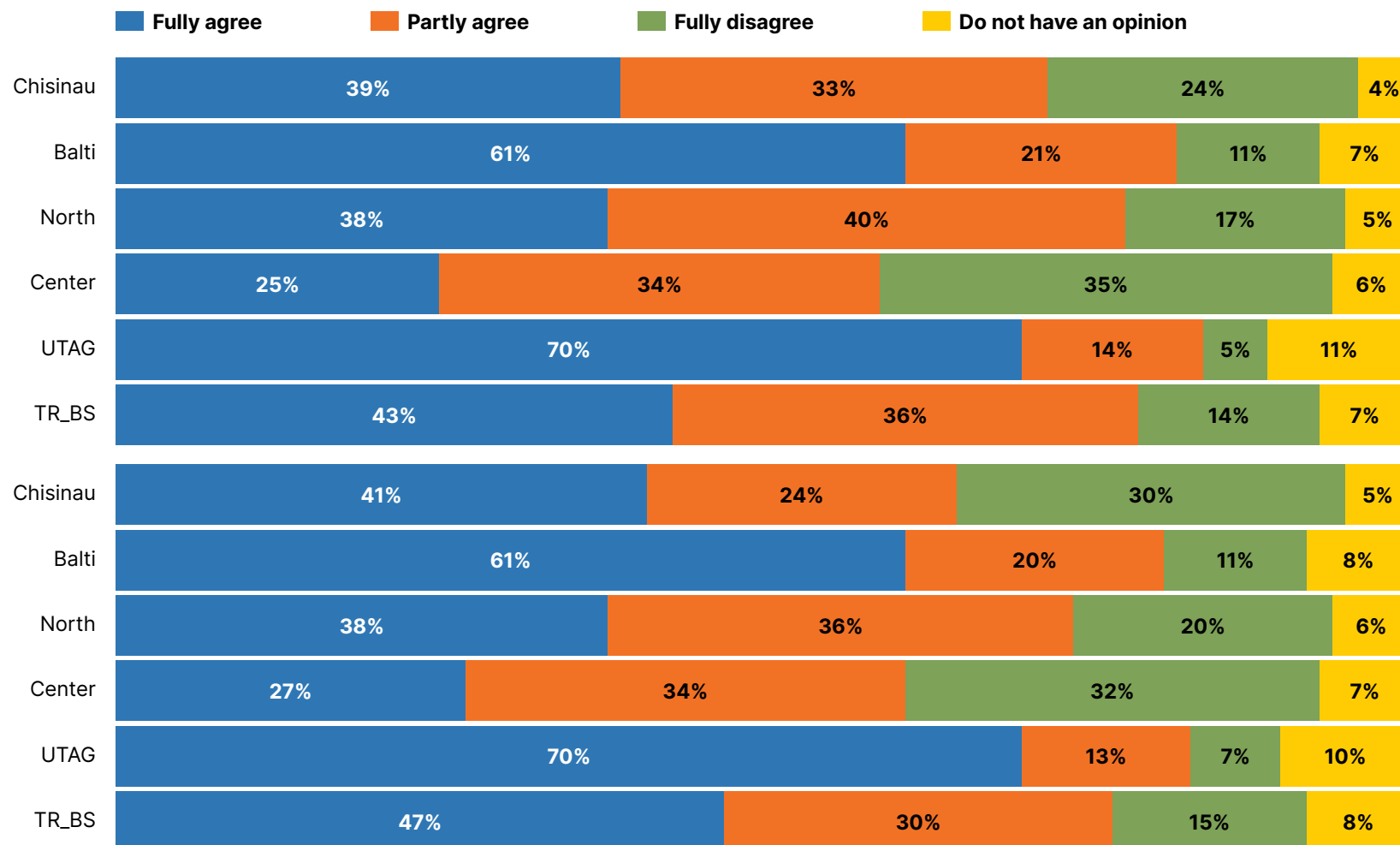
Figure 42.1. To what extent do you agree that State should provide the following services in the judicial districts where speakers of these languages traditionally reside and/or constitute a significant proportion of the population in relation to judicial system?

The courts, at the request of one of the parties, shall conduct the proceedings in the national minority languages



The courts, at the request of one of the parties, shall guarantee to use his/her national minority language

Documents connected with legal proceedings should be produced in the relevant national minority language, at the request of one of the parties and at no additional expense for the persons concerned



In regions with large minority populations—particularly Gagauzia and Taraclia/Basarabeasca—there is strong and consistent support for integrating minority languages into court services. In Gagauzia, around 70–75% of respondents fully agree that court proceedings should be conducted in a minority language upon request, that people should have the right to use their native language in court, and that related legal documents should be provided in minority languages free of charge.

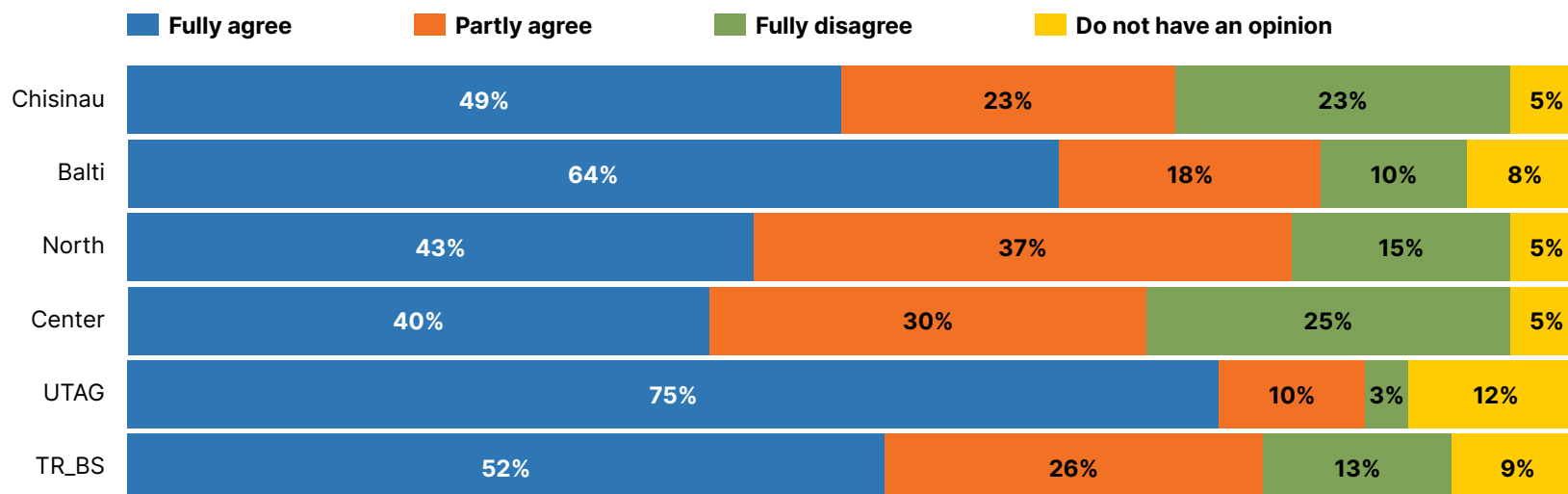
Respondents from Taraclia/Basarabeasca also shows high support, with more than 40% of respondents fully agreeing with these measures across the board. These regions also strongly support the legal recognition of documents drafted in minority languages and the availability of free interpretation and translation services during legal proceedings.

The situation is quite different in other parts of the country. In the Center region, attitudes are far more

cautious. It consistently shows the lowest levels of agreement and the highest levels of opposition, particularly regarding the conduct of proceedings in minority languages or the recognition of documents not drafted in the state language. Chisinau and the North region show more mixed opinions—while there is moderate support for some services, such as free interpretation or the right to use a minority language in court, there is also a notable share of respondents who express full disagreement or uncertainty.

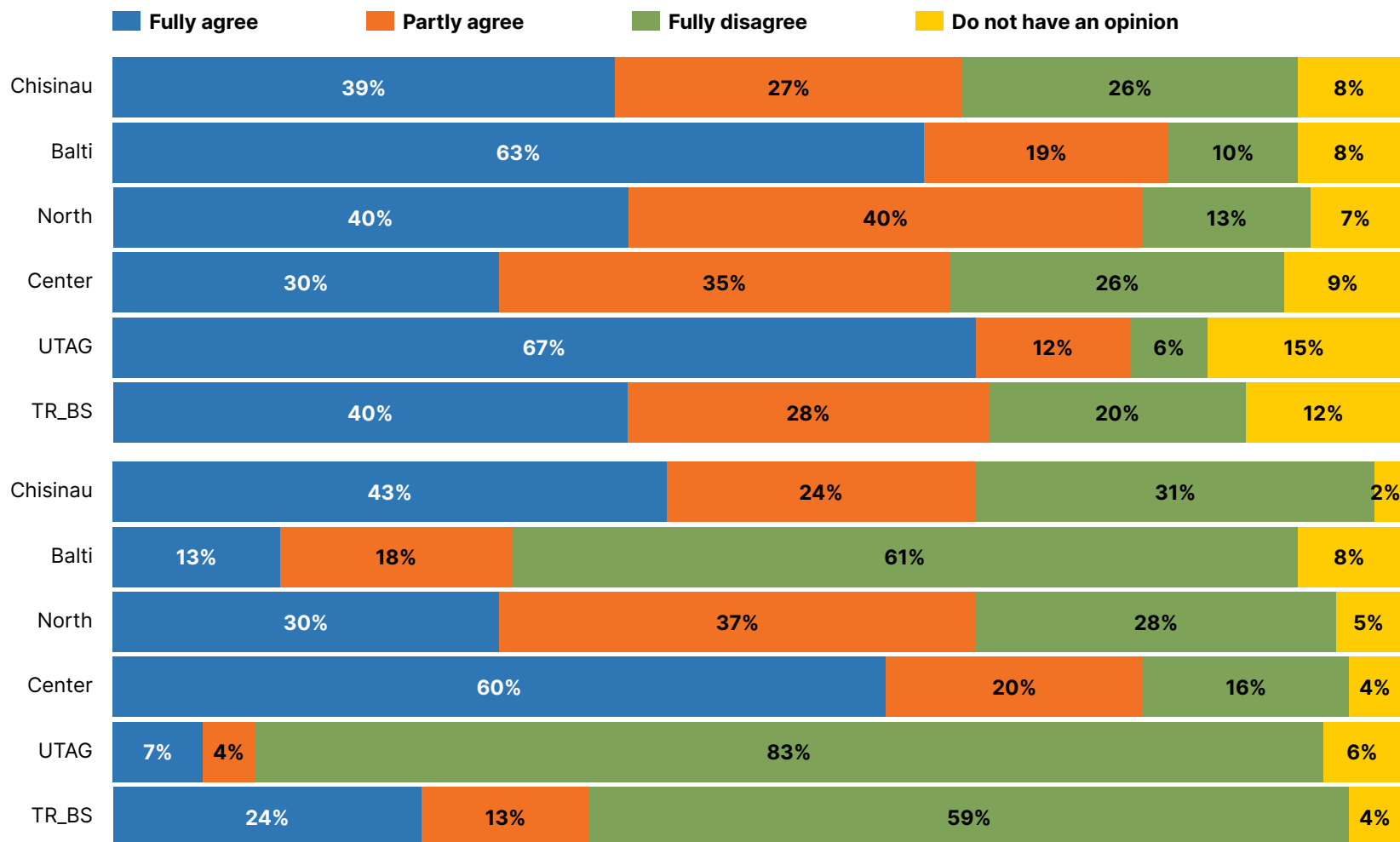
Figure 42.2. To what extent do you agree that State should provide the following services in the judicial districts where speakers of these languages traditionally reside and/or constitute a significant proportion of the population in relation to judicial system?

Interpreters and translation should be available at the request of one of the parties at no extra expense for the persons concerned



The validity of legal documents drawn up within the State should not be denied solely because they are drafted in a regional or minority language

All judicial proceedings and documents should be in State language only



One of the most telling findings emerges in the responses to whether judicial proceedings and documents should be conducted only in the state language. This restrictive position is overwhelmingly rejected in Gagauzia, where 83% of respondents fully disagree, and in Taraclia/Basarabeasca, where 59% express the same view. Even in the Center region—where views on the use of minority languages tend to be more cautious—a majority (60%) disagrees with the idea of limiting the justice system to the state language alone.

Respondents who are more likely to fully support the provision of judicial services exclusively in the state language tend to be older individuals, with higher

levels of education and income, belonging to the ethnic majority, and identifying Romanian as their native language. However, even within this group, at least half also express partial or full agreement with allowing the use of minority languages in the justice system.

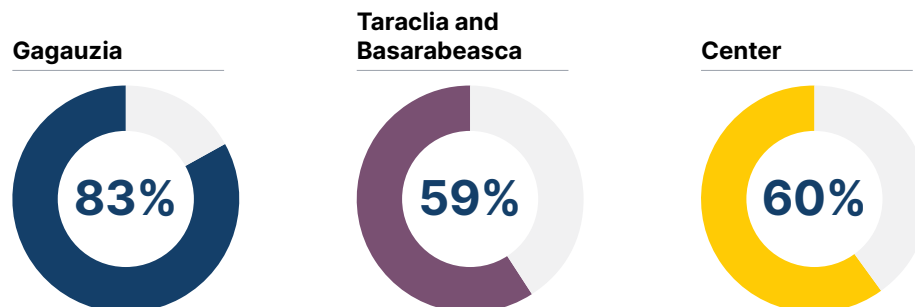
Overall, the data suggest a general expectation—particularly in regions with significant minority populations—that the judicial system should be accessible in the languages commonly spoken by local communities. Support for services such as minority-language court proceedings, interpretation, and recognition of legal documents appears strongest in areas where these needs are more visible and locally relevant.

7.3. ADMINISTRATIVE AND PUBLIC SERVICES

Similar to the questions on judicial services, respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement regarding the use of ethnic minority languages in administrative and public services within districts where national minorities constitute a significant share or the majority of the population. The questions addressed the following aspects:

- All administrative and public services, as well as official documents, should be available in the national minority language(s);
- Widely used administrative texts and forms should be available to the public in national minority language(s) or in bilingual formats;
- Administrative authorities should be allowed to issue documents in the national minority language(s);
- Speakers of national minority languages should be allowed to submit written or oral requests and receive responses in their language;
- Where possible, public officials and employees capable of providing services in national minority language(s) should be recruited, and translation should be offered at no cost to the service recipient;
- All administrative and public services should be provided exclusively in the state language.

Percentage of disagreement with the practice that judicial proceedings and documents should be conducted only in the state language



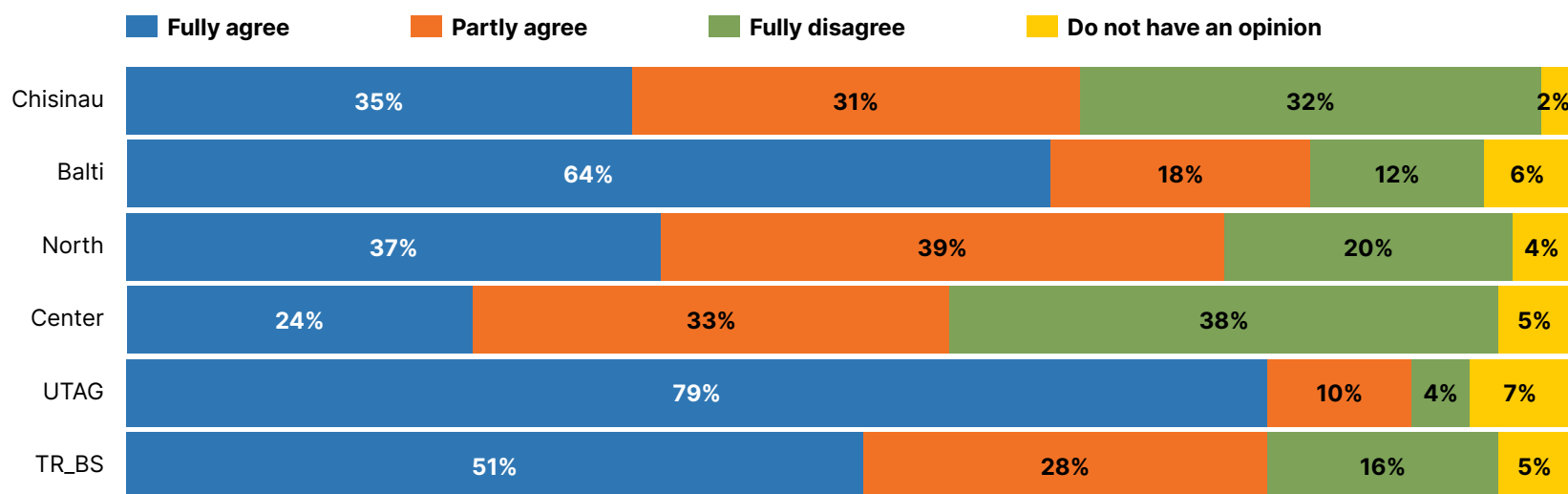
Figures 43.1 and 43.2 provide insight into public attitudes regarding the use of national minority languages in administrative and public services, specifically in districts where minority communities form a significant part or the majority of the population.

The strongest support for the use of minority languages in administration is observed in Gagauzia and Taraclia/Basarabeasca. In these regions, the majority of respondents—ranging from 76% to 79%—fully agree with all three proposed measures: making all services and documents available in minority languages, providing

bilingual or minority-language administrative forms, and permitting the issuance of documents in those languages by local authorities. These findings reflect a strong and stable public expectation for multilingual administrative services in areas where minorities are not only present but demographically dominant.

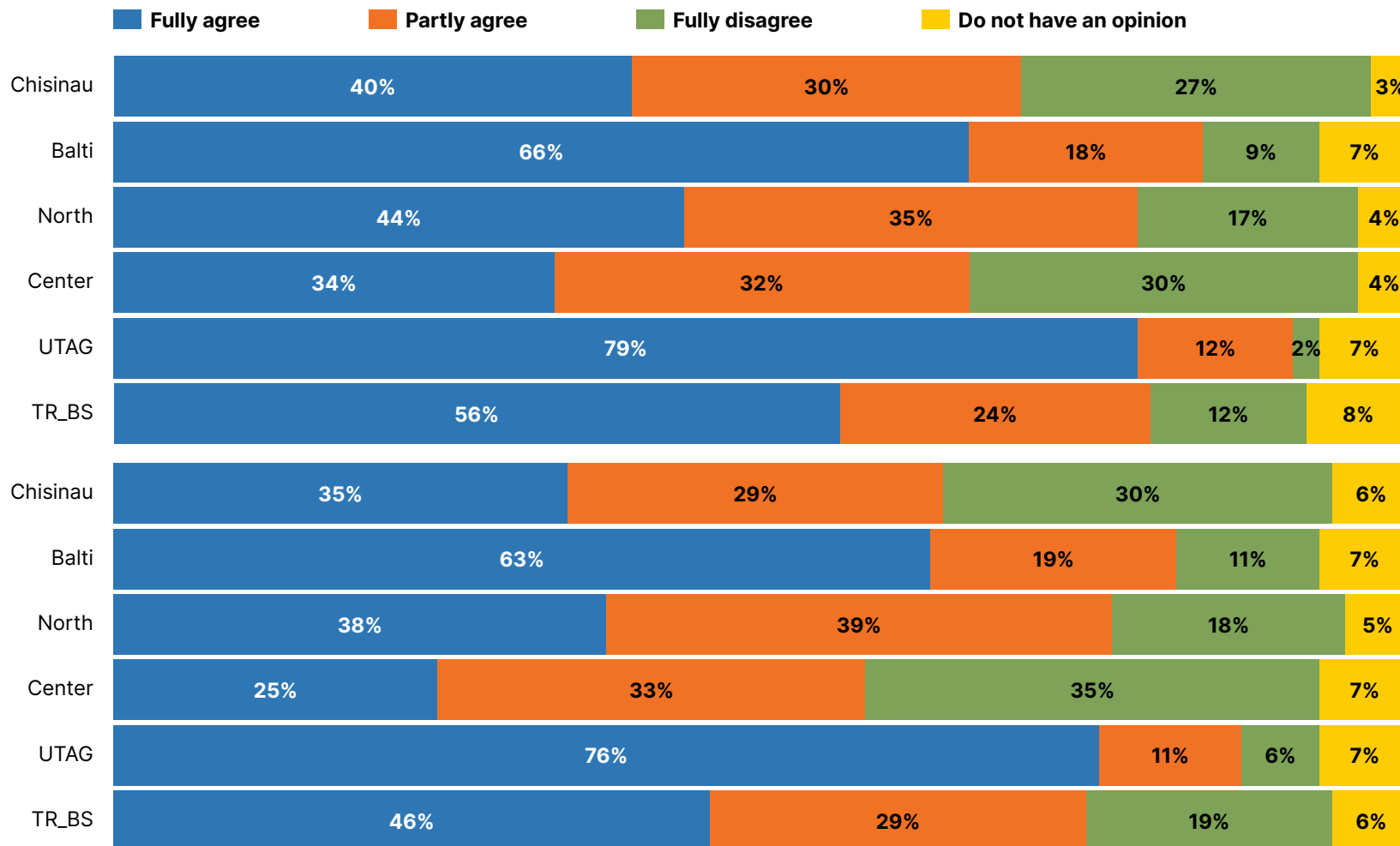
Figure 43.1. To what extent do you agree that State should provide the following services in relation to administrative services within the administrative districts where national minorities are a significant part of the population or constitute the majority?

All administrative and public services, and documents should be available in the national minority language(-s)



**Widely used
administrativetexts
and forms should
beavailable for the
population inthe national
minoritylanguage(-s) or
in bilingualversions**

**Administrative authorities
should be allowed to issue
documents in the national
minority language**

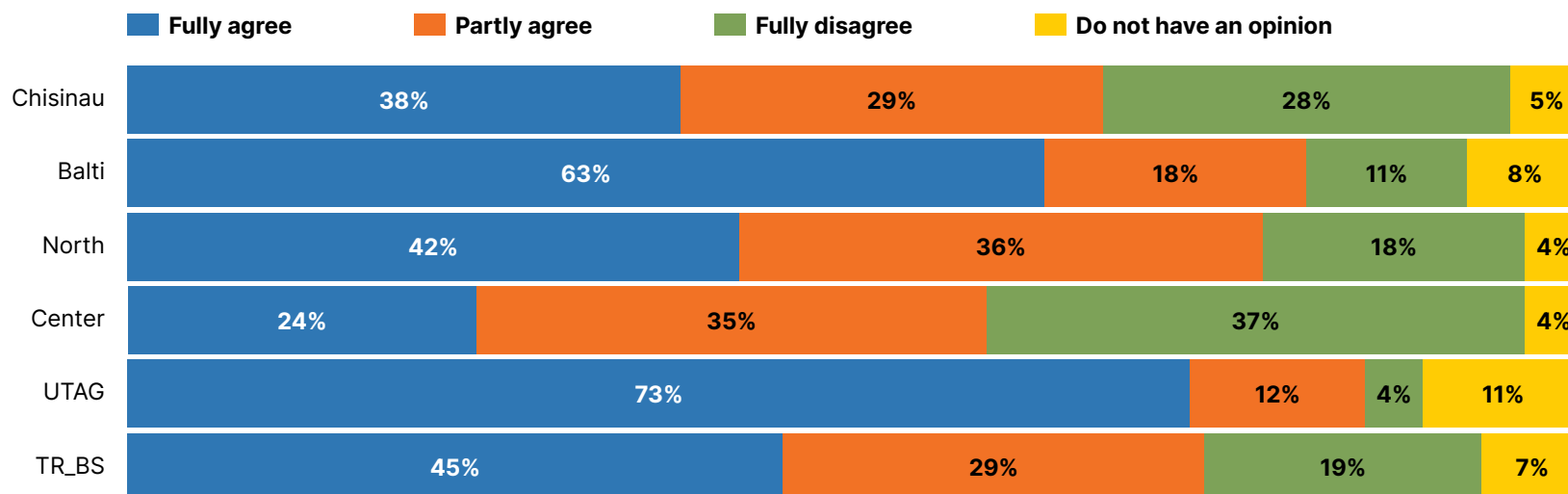


Balti also shows relatively high levels of agreement, particularly in terms of providing bilingual forms and issuing documents in minority languages, with more than 60% of respondents fully supporting these measures. In contrast, Chisinau and the North present more distinct attitudes. In these areas, support and opposition are more evenly split.

The most cautious attitudes are consistently found in the Center region, which shows the lowest levels of full agreement and the highest levels of full disagreement across all items. Only about a quarter of respondents in the Center fully support the use of minority languages in administrative services, while roughly one-third or more oppose it, particularly when it comes to making all documents and services available in minority languages.

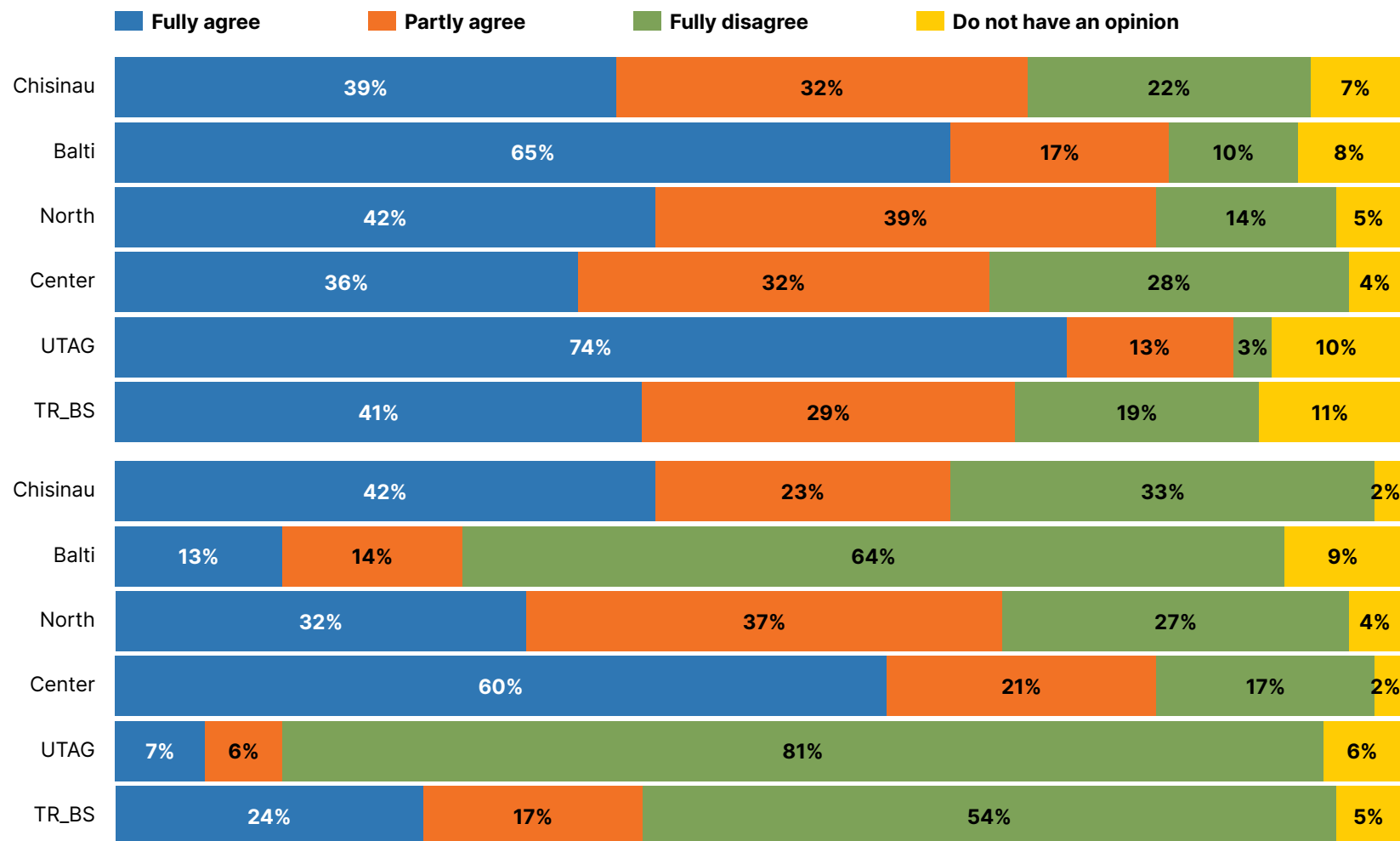
Figure 43.2. To what extent do you agree that State should provide the following services in relation to administrative services within the administrative districts where national minorities are a significant part of the population or constitute the majority?

Users of national minority languages are allowed to submit a written or oral request and receive a reply in the national minority language(-s)



Where possible, officials and employees capable to provide administrative services in the national minority language(-s) should be recruited and translation at no expense to the recipient of the services

All administrative and public services should be provided in State language only



In terms of socio-demographic profile, respondents most likely to fully support the provision of all administrative and public services in national minority languages are predominantly young people—though in regions like Taraclia and Balti, this trend is also evident among older respondents. Support is more common among individuals with a basic level of education, and is particularly strong among members of ethnic minority groups. However, it is noteworthy that even among the ethnic majority, at least half of respondents express partial or full agreement with the use of minority languages in public services.

Overall, the data show that public support for multilingual administrative services is closely tied to the ethnic and linguistic composition of each region. In areas where minority languages are spoken by a significant portion of the population, there is a clear demand for inclusive, accessible public services.

Conversely, in regions with fewer minorities, public opinion is more cautious. These findings underline the importance of a regionally sensitive approach to language policy in public administration—one that ensures linguistic rights and access where the demand is strongest.

7.4. MASS MEDIA

With regard to mass media, the level of public agreement was also assessed in relation to a set of proposed measures targeting administrative districts



Supporting the establishment of at least one radio station and one television channel in national minority languages;



Promoting the creation of at least one newspaper in national minority languages;



Ensuring the regular broadcasting of radio and television programs in minority languages;



Facilitating the regular publication of newspaper articles in regional or minority languages;



Guaranteeing the freedom to directly receive radio and television broadcasts from other countries in national minority languages;



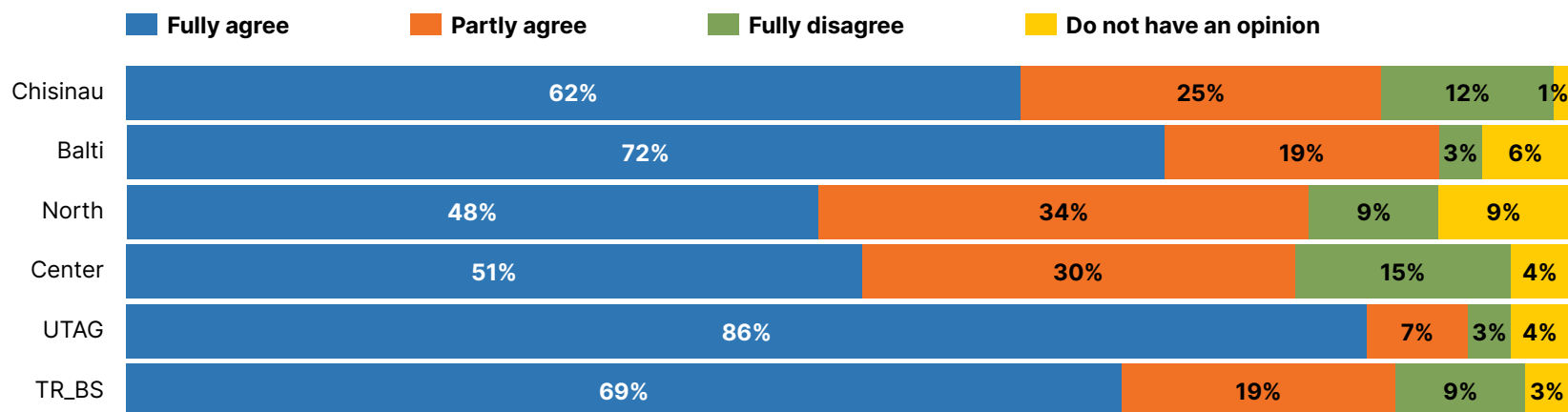
Refraining from opposing the retransmission of radio and television broadcasts from other countries in the national minority languages.

Figures 44.1 and 44.2 provide a detailed picture of public attitudes toward the role of the state in supporting access to mass media in national minority languages, particularly within administrative districts where national minorities form a significant part or

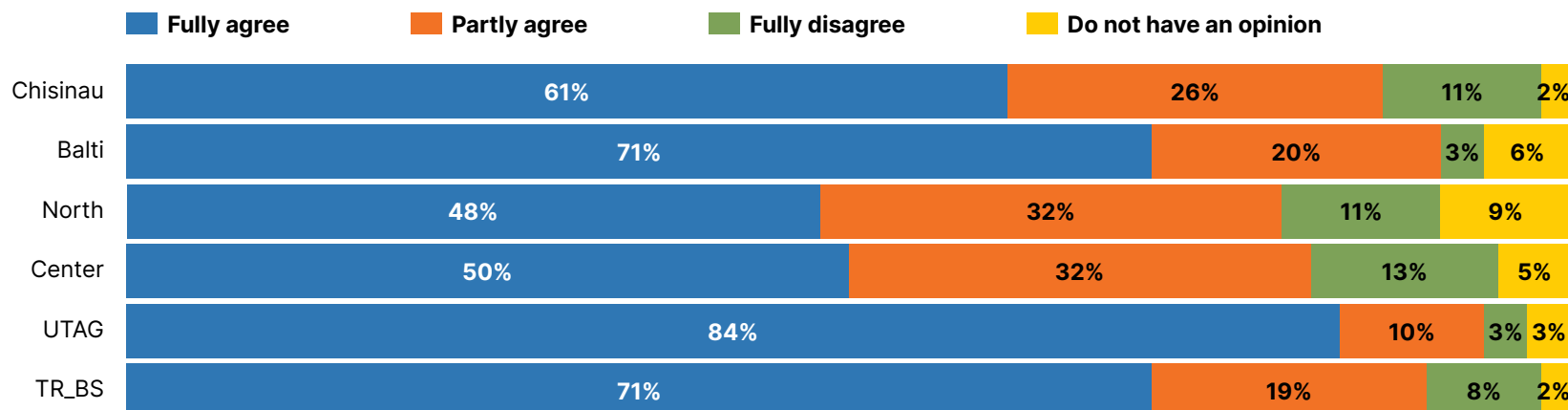
the majority of the population. The responses reveal both strong support for media inclusivity in minority-populated regions and more cautious views in other parts of the country.

Figure 44.1. To what extent do you agree that State should take the following measures with regard to the operation of mass media within the administrative districts where national minorities are a significant part of the population or constitute the majority?

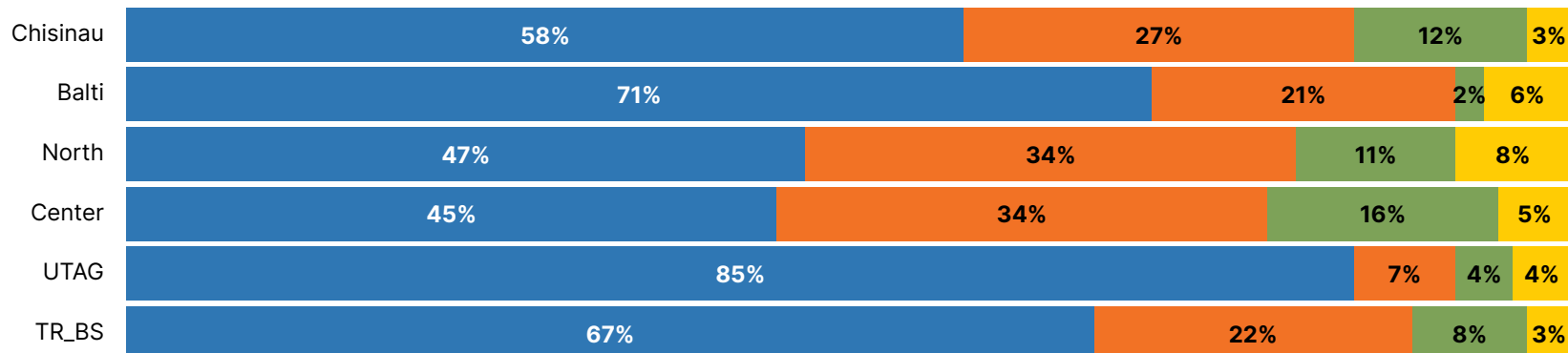
Support the creation of at least one radio station, one television channel in the national minority language(-s)



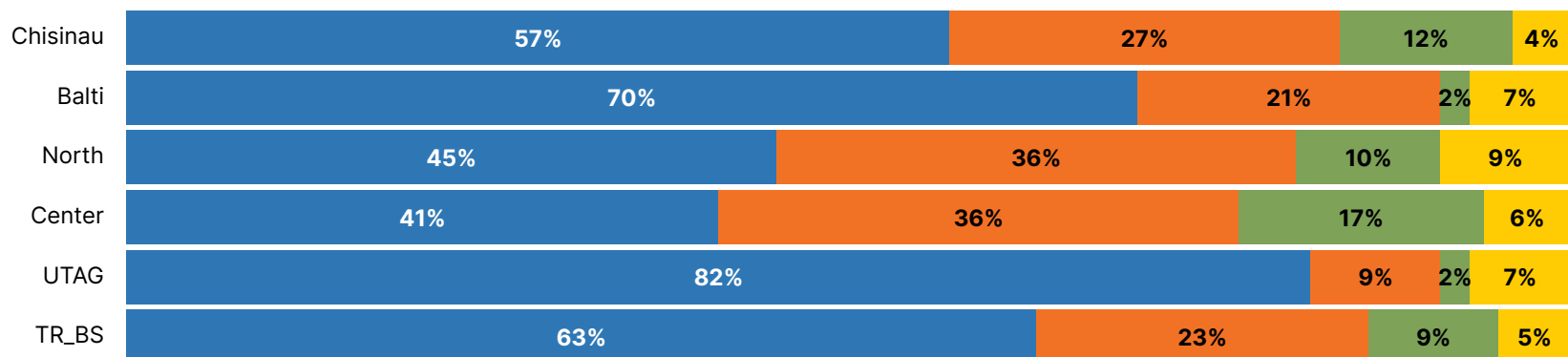
Support the creation of at least one newspaper in the national minority language(-s)



Support broadcasting of radio and television programmes in the minority language(-s) on a regular basis



Support publication of newspaper articles in the regional or minority languages on a regular basis



In regions such as Gagauzia and Taraclia, where national minorities represent the majority, public support for the development of minority-language media is overwhelmingly positive. In Gagauzia, over 80% of respondents fully agree that the state should support the creation of at least one radio station, one television channel, and one newspaper in national minority languages. There is also strong backing for the regular broadcasting of programs and the publication of newspaper articles in these languages. Taraclia/Basarabeasca follows a similar pattern, with nearly

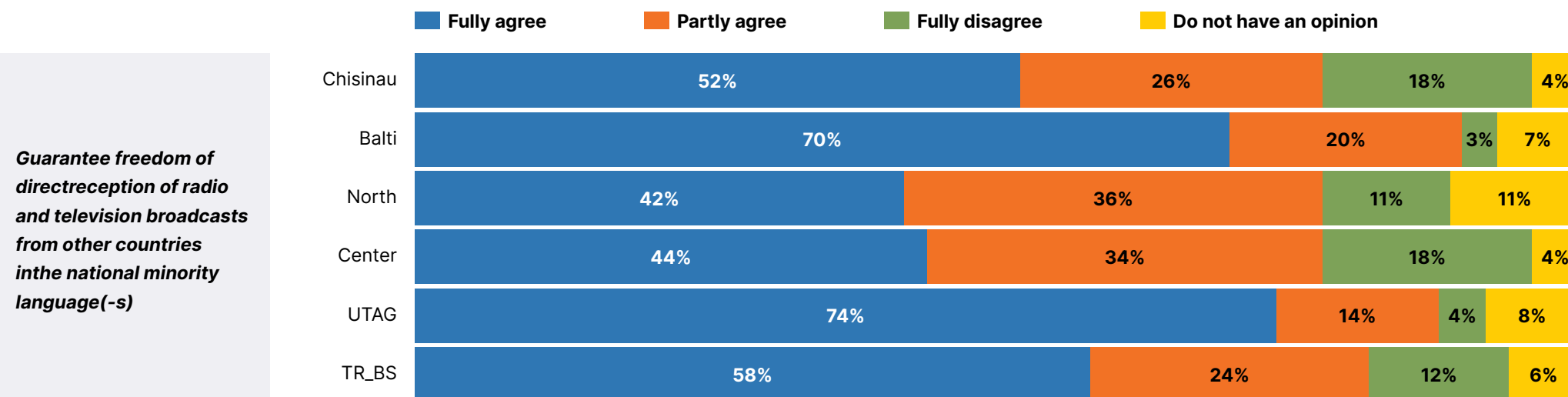
70% or more of respondents fully supporting each of these measures.

Balti also shows broad support for minority-language media, with around 70% of respondents fully agreeing with the need for regular programming and minority-language print media. In Chisinau, views are somewhat more reserved but still largely positive, with a majority of respondents—between 57% and 62%—fully agreeing with the key measures proposed. Meanwhile, the North and Center regions reflect more diverging opinions.

While around half of respondents in these regions support the creation of minority-language media, they also show higher levels of disagreement or uncertainty, indicating a more cautious stance.

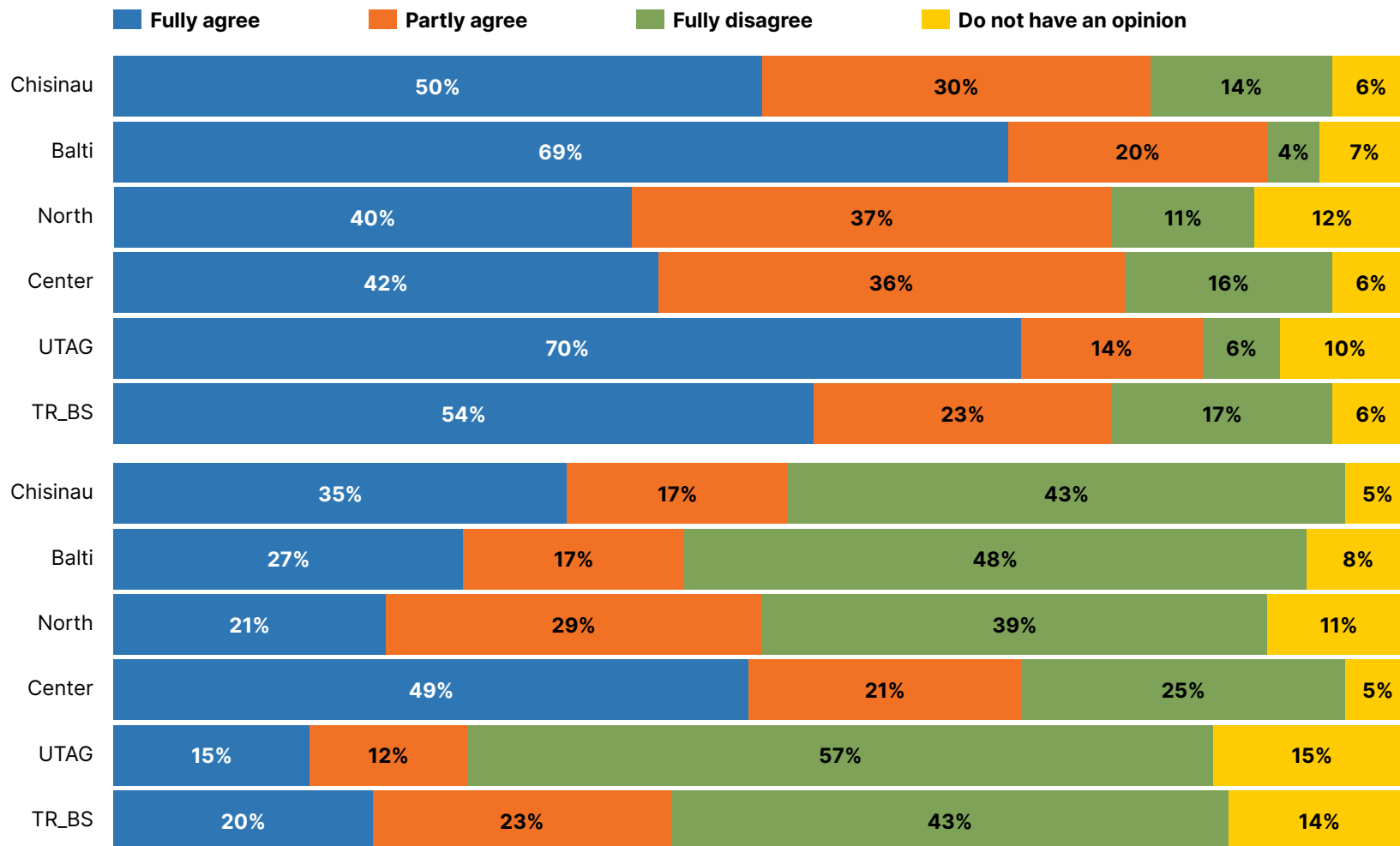
Figure 44.2 explores public views on the reception and retransmission of radio and television broadcasts from other countries in national minority languages. Here too, Gagauzia, Taraclia/Basarabeasca, and Balti show strong support, especially when compared to the more moderate views seen in Chisinau, the Center, and the North.

Figure 44.2. To what extent do you agree that State should take the following measures with regard to the operation of mass media within the administrative districts where national minorities are a significant part of the population or constitute the majority?



Not to oppose the retransmission of radio and television broadcasts from other countries in the national minority language(-s)

Introduce restrictions on the reception and retransmission from other countries in the national minority language(-s) in the interest of national security, territorial integrity, public safety and health, and prevention of crime



The most noticeable shift occurs in the final item of **Figure 44.2**, which addresses whether the state should introduce restrictions on the reception and retransmission of minority-language broadcasts from abroad for reasons related to national security, public order, or health.

Support for restrictions is significantly higher in Chisinau, the North, and the Center. Meanwhile, support for restrictions is weakest in Gagauzia and Taraclia/Basarabeasca, where the majority of respondents oppose this approach or remain undecided.

In summary, these figures highlight clear regional differences in perceptions of minority-language media. In minority populated areas such as Gagauzia and Taraclia, there is strong and consistent support for state-backed minority-language media and for unimpeded access to broadcasts from abroad. Other regions, particularly the Center, are more cautious—supporting certain measures but showing greater concern when it comes to foreign media and potential restrictions.

Those most likely to fully agree with such restrictions tend to belong to the ethnic majority, identify Romanian as their native language, and have higher levels of education.



CONCLUSIONS



The *Lingobarometer Moldova 2024* provides clear evidence that Moldova remains a genuinely multilingual society, with widespread public recognition and acceptance of linguistic diversity. The study highlights both the resilience of multilingualism and the regional variations that shape the everyday linguistic experiences of the country's population.

Several conclusions emerge:

1. Multilingualism is a core element of Moldova's identity

The overwhelming agreement across all surveyed regions that Moldova is a multilingual society—combined with optimism for its continuation—demonstrates that linguistic diversity is not only a demographic fact but also a shared value. This consensus cuts across ethnic, regional, and generational lines, suggesting that linguistic pluralism is broadly embraced as part of Moldova's national identity.

2. State language integration is progressing but not uniform

While overall fluency in the state language remains high, particularly in central and northern regions, important disparities persist. Southern minority regions such as Gagauzia and Taraclia show lower proficiency and reduced demand for state-language education. These findings underscore the need for targeted efforts to promote state-language acquisition in minority areas,

including early childhood programs, adult education, and state-supported bilingual education.

3. Erosion risks for minority languages

Minority languages such as Gagauz, Ukrainian, Bulgarian, and Romani continue to hold strong symbolic and cultural value in their respective communities, but they face challenges in intergenerational transmission—especially outside their core geographic areas. The relatively high levels of self-assessed fluency among minority language speakers in their home regions contrast with much lower use in media, education, or public services.

Without proactive measures—including minority-language schooling, cultural programming, and media content—these languages risk further marginalization. Support for regional initiatives, minority-language teacher training, and recognition of linguistic rights in line with the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages is crucial.

4. Russian remains a key language of communication

Russian occupies a unique position. While it is not the dominant mother tongue, it is often the first language learned and remains the primary medium for media consumption, workplace communication, and interethnic dialogue in many regions. Its role as a lingua franca—particularly in urban and minority-populated areas—underscores its functional importance across ethnic lines.

The high proportion of state-language speakers who also actively use Russian—particularly for media and interpersonal communication—suggests that bilingualism is widespread among the ethnic majority. Conversely, members of minority communities are more likely to rely exclusively on Russian, rather than their own native languages or the state language. This asymmetric bilingualism highlights the need for policies that strengthen multilingual competence across all groups.

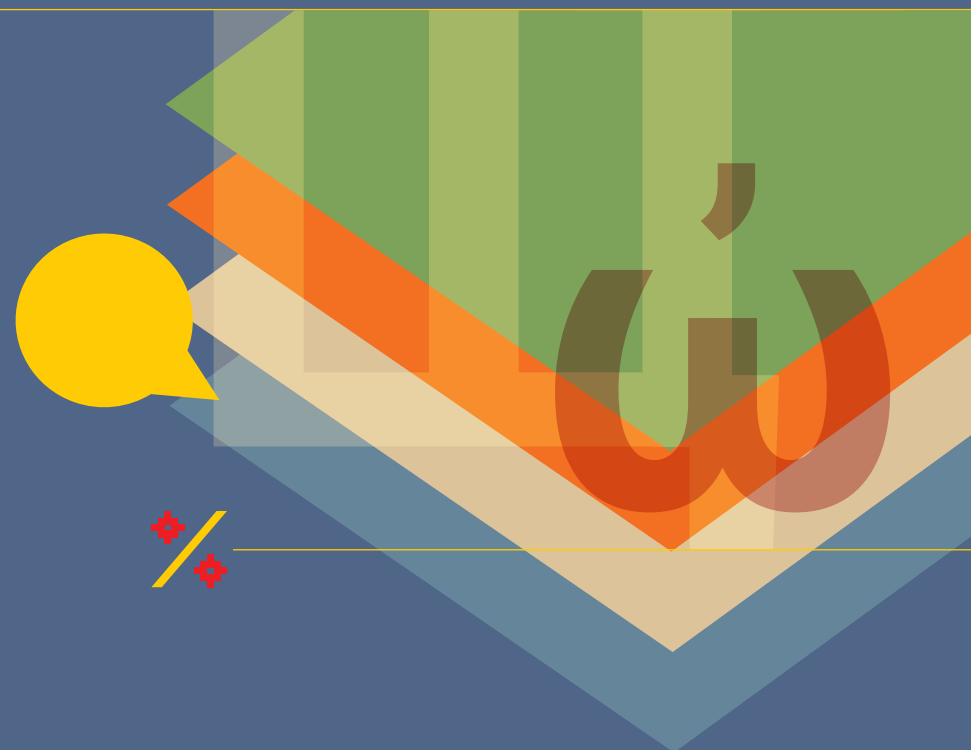
5. Regional imbalances in language accessibility

Respondents' experiences with public services—in administration, healthcare, education, and the justice system—reveal a fragmented linguistic reality. The state language dominates in official interactions in the Center and North, while Russian remains prevalent in Gagauzia and Taraclia. Minority languages are rarely used institutionally, even where they are widely spoken at home or in the community.

Support for multilingual public services tends to align with regional demographics: minority-populated regions expect and demand multilingual options, while monoethnic or majority-dominated areas are more reserved. These findings point to the need for differentiated policy approaches—strengthening the provision of services in the state language nationwide, while also ensuring institutional support for minority languages where relevant.



ANNEX - SURVEY DESIGN



Questionnaire structure

The questionnaire was organized into seven thematic sections:

- Language identity and linguistic experience
- Language use in education and employment
- Language use in mass media
- Language use in public and private services
- Perceptions and emerging language trends
- Demographics

Average duration of the interview:

21 minutes.

Data collection period, including pilot stage:

March 17 – September 4, 2024.

Geographical area: The survey covered

153 localities

across both urban and rural areas, ensuring territorial diversity and regional representativeness.

Sample design

Sample characteristics applied for each of the six regions:

➤ **stratified** – 2 stratification criteria were used:

- *by rayon* – “X” (number depend on the number of rayons included in sampled region) rayons as primary administrative territorial units;
- *by type of settlement* – villages, towns and municipalities;

➤ **strata volume** – the volumes of strata formed as a result of classification by rayon and type of settlements include the number of households based on the official statistics (Current evidence of population for 2022);

➤ **semi-probabilistic** (empirical sample) – settlements were selected based on a probabilistic scheme, while households were randomly selected;

➤ **multistage** – in order to minimize the cost of the survey a multistage sample design was used:

- *primary sampling unit (PSU) (settlement/locality)* – the settlements (153 localities) from each stratum included in the sample were randomly selected with probability proportional to size (PPS) from each region.
- *secondary sampling units (SSU)* – SSU's within localities included in the sample were randomly selected, using a common rule of selection, based on name of streets or geographical coordinates.
- *tertiary sampling unit (TSU – household)* – the households from each sampling unit included in the sample were randomly selected, using a statistical step.
- *ultimate sampling unit (USU – respondent)* – the respondent from each household included in the sample was randomly selected.

Reference population: totality of population existed in the surveyed country. The information for sample design is based on Current evidence of population for 2022. No area of the population was excluded from the sample.

Sampling frame: the list of all localities at the first sampling stage, the list of all SSU in every locality selected at the first stage for the second stage, the list of all households within each SSU obtained in the listing.

Sample scheme principles:

- Research sample included 480 (or 80 per each region) secondary sampling units (SSU) with a number of “5” households to be visited per SSU.
- The 480 SSU were distributed proportionally according to the above-mentioned stratification criteria. The strata was adjusted to contain at least “one” SSU. Adjusting principles: regrouping was performed only inside administrative-territorial units; the technique used excludes the mixing of urban and rural layers; only neighboring layers were merged; the larger stratum covers the smaller one (the localities were moved accordingly).
- The 480 SSU were selected on the basis of localities residing in each stratum. At least one sampling point was assigned per locality. However, when a stratum comprised only one locality, this one would include all sampling points distributed for that stratum.

Principles of PSU and SSU selection:

- The SSU included in sample were randomly selected based on street name and addresses in urban localities or geographical coordinates in rural localities.
- The “5” households to be visited from each SSU were selected randomly, using step approach (every 3rd and 5th). The next household to be visited was identified by adding the step to the number of the first selected household etc.

Principles of respondents' selection:

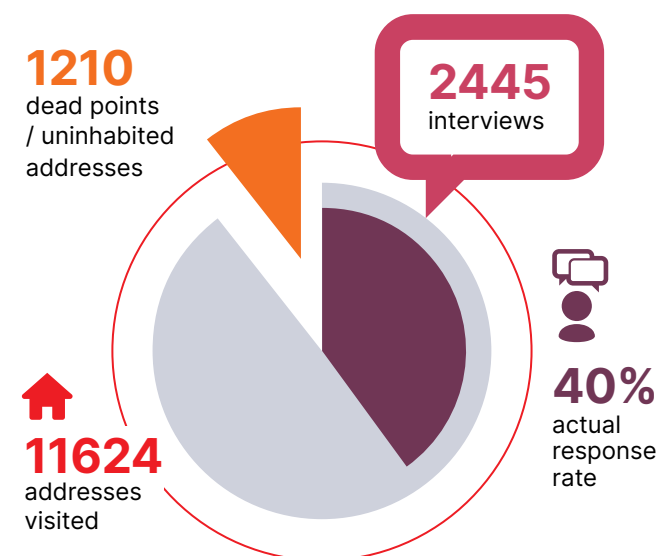
The respondent was selected using “last birthday” method from the date of interview.

If in the household was more than one-person aged 18+, the interviewer wrote down birthdays of all potential respondents, which were at home for at least 6 hours within the last 7 days. The interviewer selected to interview the person whose birthday would come first. In case of refusal, the interviewer moved to a pre-designated replacement household.

Principles of replacement:

Closest 1-3 households to the primary selected household that was not possible to interview due to certain reasons. Each interviewer kept records of visits and refusals.

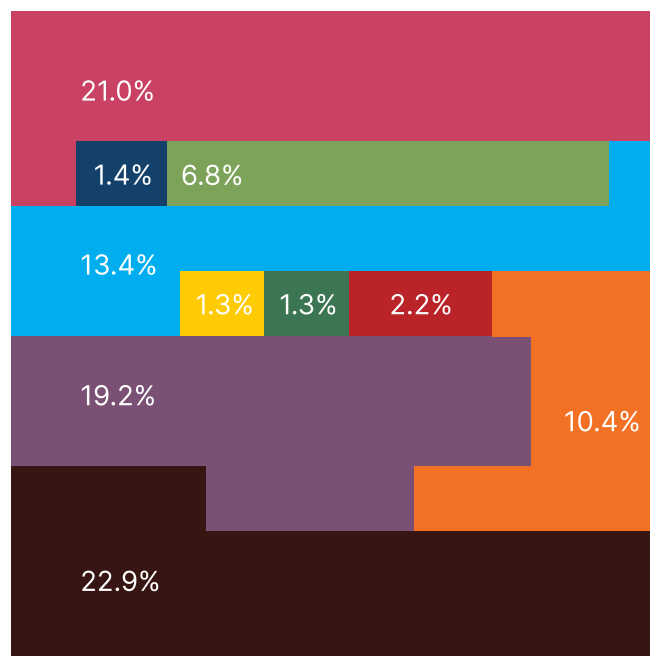
Participation rate: In order to complete 2445 interviews, 11624 addresses have been visited. Out of this number 1210 were dead points / uninhabited addresses, 3794 – non-contacts and 3628 refused to participate in the survey. The gross participation rate was 21%. The actual response rate, when excluding non-contacts and abandoned households or non-residential buildings was 40%. 6.3% of started interviews were abandoned by respondents before completion.



Quality control: Following verification of the quality of the field work, 10 questionnaires were rebutted: 7 interviews were identified as invalid due to non-confirmation of participation by the supposed respondents, 3 interviews were removed due to excessively short durations of the interview time (less than 3 minutes), which indicated insufficient time for proper data collection.

Distribution of face-to-face visits results:

Result	Quantity
Conducted	2445
Partial interview	165
Outright refusals at the door	2667
Refusal by selected respondent	796
Respondent unavailable during field period / after 3 calls-back	1562
Respondent physically or mentally unable/incompetent /ill	146
Respondent was drunk	149
Unknown if housing unit: no access	2232
Abandoned houses	1210
Non-residence: Non-residential (business)/abandoned home	252
Total	11624



Database weighting

To enhance the representativeness of the findings, separate databases were constructed for each of the six surveyed regions and subsequently weighted. The databases were weighted to reflect official distribution of population in surveyed areas according to the latest available data at the level of locality (usual resident population 2024). The variables used for the weighting procedure were the following: type of locality (urban and rural), gender (male and female), age groups (18-34 years, 35-54 years and 55+ years). The structure of the natural sample obtained registered significant differences at the level of age groups (under-representation of people aged 18-34 or 35-54 depending of region) and gender (under-representation of males). The weighting coefficient used was the average value between the profile of the official statistics and the profile of the survey sample, to balance the de facto population in the country and exclude those involved in labor migration, on the one hand, and balance internal mobility – which is predominantly from villages to large cities, especially for young people.

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.	What is your mother tongue (-s)?	16	Figure 7.	What are these languages?	27	Figure 17.1.	In what language(-s) do you watch movies?	45
Figure 2.	How do you assess your level of your mother tongue?	17	Figure 8.	Which language(s) do you speak with Friends?	28	Figure 18.	How often do you read/write social media posts?	46
Figure 2.1.	How do you assess your level of your mother tongue?	18	Figure 9.	Which language(s) do you speak with Neighbors?	29	Figure 18.1.	In what language(-s) do you read/write social media posts?	47
Figure 2.2.	How do you assess your level of your mother tongue?	19	Figure 10.	Which language(s) do you speak with Colleagues?	30	Figure 19.	What language(-s) do you speak with your doctor/when at the hospital?	50
Figure 2.3.	How do you assess your level of your mother tongue?	19	Figure 11.	What is your current occupation?	32	Figure 20.	How often do you communicate with police officers?	51
Figure 2.4.	How do you assess your level of your mother tongue?	20	Figure 12.	What is / was the language (-s) of instruction during all levels of your education?	33	Figure 20.1.	In what language a police officer addresses you?	52
Figure 2.5.	How do you assess your level of your mother tongue?	20	Figure 13.	What was/were the language(-s) you used at ALL your workplace(s)?	34	Figure 20.2.	In what language(-s) do you address a police officer?	53
Figure 2.6.	How do you assess your level of your mother tongue?	21	Figure 14.	How often do you read or watch news?	37	Figure 21.	How often do you read documents issued by the Parliament and the Government?	54
Figure 3.	What is the language (-s) you first learned (at home)?	22	Figure 14.1.	In what language(-s) do you read or watch daily news?	38	Figure 21.1.	In what languages do you read legislation and other state documents?	55
Figure 4.	How do you assess your level of the language (-s) you first learned at home)?	23	Figure 15.	How often do you read or watch political discussions?	40	Figure 22.	How often do you participate in court proceedings?	56
Figure 5.	What is the language(-s) you use at home at present?	24	Figure 15.1.	In what language(-s) do you read or watch political discussions?	41	Figure 22.1.	In what language(-s) do / did you participate in court proceedings?	57
Figure 6.	Do you have family members who have a different mother tongue or first language they learned at home than yours?	26	Figure 16.	How often do you watch entertainment TV shows?	42	Figure 23.1.	In what languages do you usually interact with authorities at local level?	58
			Figure 16.1.	In what language(-s) do you watch entertainment TV shows?	43			
			Figure 17.	How often do you watch movies?	44			

Figure 23.2.	In what languages do you usually interact with authorities at rayon level?	59
Figure 23.3.	In what languages do you usually interact with authorities at national level?	60
Figure 24.1.	In what language a salesperson at the store addresses you?	61
Figure 24.2.	In what language(-s) do you address a salesperson at the store?	62
Figure 25.	Do you agree that Moldova is a multilingual society?	64
Figure 26.	In your view, will Moldova be a multilingual society in the future?	65
Figure 27.	In your view (from your experience), what are the languages spoken IN MOLDOVA?	66
Figure 27.1.	In your view (from your experience), what are the languages spoken IN MOLDOVA?	67
Figure 28.	In your view (from your experience), what are the languages spoken IN YOUR REGION/ LOCALITY?	68
Figure 29.	In your view (from your experience), what are the languages spoken IN YOUR REGION/ LOCALITY?	69
Figure 30.	In your view (from your experience), what languages tend to be spoken LESS in Moldova?	70
Figure 31.	What languages do you consider minority languages in Moldova?	71
Figure 32.	In your view (from your experience), is the demand for schools providing education in STATE LANGUAGE in Moldova as a whole ...?	72

Figure 33.	In your view (from your experience), is the demand for schools providing education in NATIONAL MINORITY LANGUAGES in Moldova as a whole?	73
Figure 34.	In your view (from your experience), is the demand for schools providing education in STATE LANGUAGE in your REGION/ LOCALITY?	74
Figure 35.	In your view (from your experience), is the demand for schools providing education in NATIONAL MINORITY LANGUAGE(-S) in your REGION/LOCALITY ...?	75
Figure 36.	In your view (from your experience), is the demand for mass media in STATE LANGUAGE ...?	76
Figure 37.	In your view, is the demand for mass media in NATIONAL MINORITY LANGUAGES?	77
Figure 38.	Imagine a list of languages that will be spoken in Moldova in twenty years from now, start with the ones spoken most to the ones spoken least.	78
Figure 39.	Which of the languages spoken in Moldova would you like to learn, in addition to your main/usual language?	80
Figure 40.	Some people say that State should make available education in the languages spoken by national minorities where speakers of these languages traditionally reside and/ or constitute a significant proportion of the population. Which of the below options correspond best to your opinion?	82
Figure 41.	Do you consider that State should provide teaching of the national minority language as a subject for this level of education (Preschool, Primary /Secondary, Vocational and Higher)?	84

Figure 42.1.	To what extent do you agree that State should provide the following services in the judicial districts where speakers of these languages traditionally reside and/ or constitute a significant proportion of the population in relation to judicial system?	87
Figure 42.2.	To what extent do you agree that State should provide the following services in the judicial districts where speakers of these languages traditionally reside and/ or constitute a significant proportion of the population in relation to judicial system?	89
Figure 43.1.	To what extent do you agree that State should provide the following services in relation to administrative services within the administrative districts where national minorities are a significant part of the population or constitute the majority?	92
Figure 43.2.	To what extent do you agree that State should provide the following services in relation to administrative services within the administrative districts where national minorities are a significant part of the population or constitute the majority?	94
Figure 44.1.	To what extent do you agree that State should take the following measures with regard to the operation of mass media within the administrative districts where national minorities are a significant part of the population or constitute the majority?	97
Figure 44.2.	To what extent do you agree that State should take the following measures with regard to the operation of mass media within the administrative districts where national minorities are a significant part of the population or constitute the majority?	99

