Graphs with the external public perceptions on Romania's foreign and security capacity (views from Ukraine and the Republic of Moldova)

To observe Romania's actorness in the eastern neighbourhood we conducted nation-wide questionnaire-based surveys both in Ukraine and in the Republic of Moldova. The surveys were conducted by two contracted companies (one for Ukraine, one for the Republic of Moldova) in August-September 2019 and were based on a representative quota sample. The sample size for Ukraine included 2000 participants, while for the Republic of Moldova the sample size included 1212 participants from both rural and urban areas. The sample size respected gender, age, and regional breakdown of the population in each country. The survey questions (identical for each country) were grouped around six main sections corresponding to each of the factors, which, according to our analysis, shape a country’s external profile, namely: size (surface and population) and geographic location; economic weight; military capabilities; historical experience and culture; domestic institutional capacity and expertise; membership in international organizations. In addition, two more sections reflecting general assessment of the bilateral relations and attitudinal trends towards Romania have been introduced.

The data from this study cannot be used without the consent of the authors.

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General aspects
How many times have you visited Romania in the last 10 years (between 2009 -2019)? (%)

- More than five times
- Five times
- Four times
- Three times
- Twice
- Once time
- Never

- Republic of Moldova
- Ukraine
Think about what you know/have heard about your country and Romania. Do you believe that your country and Romania have good relations? (%)
Think about what you know/have heard about your country and Romania. Do you believe that your country and Romania have close relations? (%)

- Strongly agree
- Somewhat agree
- Neither disagree nor agree
- Somewhat disagree
- Strongly disagree
- I don’t know

Legend:
- Republic of Moldova
- Ukraine
Think about what you know/have heard about your country and Romania. Do you believe that relations between your country and Romania have improved in the last years? (%)

- Strongly agree
- Somewhat agree
- Neither disagree nor agree
- Somewhat disagree
- Strongly disagree
- I don’t know

Comparison between the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine.
1. Size (geography and population)
To what extent do you believe that Romania is a large country (surface-wise)? (%)
To what extent do you believe that Romania is a large country (population-wise)? (%)

- Not at all
- Very little
- Somewhat
- Considerably
- To a great extent
- I don’t know

Republic of Moldova
Ukraine
To what extent do you believe that Romania has an advantageous geographical position? (%)

- Not at all
- Very little
- Somewhat
- Considerably
- To a great extent
- I don’t know

[Bar chart showing responses for Romania, Moldova, and Ukraine]
Do you believe that Romania has the size (surface and population) to exert significant influence in the region? (%)

- Not at all
- Very little
- Somewhat
- Considerably
- To a great extent
- I don't know

Republic of Moldova
Ukraine
Do you believe that Romania has a geographical position needed in order to be able to play a significant role in the region? (%)

- Not at all
- Very little
- Somewhat
- Considerably
- To a great extent
- I don’t know

Republic of Moldova vs Ukraine
Do you believe that Romania could receive a large number of persons in case of an emergency in your country? (%)
Which of the neighbouring countries do you perceive as being the closest? (question for the respondents in Republic of Moldova) (%)
Which of the neighbouring countries do you perceive as being the closest? (question for the respondents in Ukraine) (%)
2. Economic weight
Do you consider that Romania’s economy is stable? (%)
Do you consider that Romania’s economy is well developed? (%)
Do you consider that Romania’s economy is varied (diverse)? (%)
Do you consider that Romania’s economy is prosperous? (%)

- Not at all
- Very little
- Somewhat
- Considerably
- To a great extent
- I don’t know

Republic of Moldova vs Ukraine
Do you consider that Romania’s economy plays an important role in the region? (%)
Do you consider that Romania’s economy plays an important role in the European Union? (%)

- Not at all
- Very little
- Somewhat
- Considerably
- To a great extent
- I don’t know

Republic of Moldova
Ukraine
Do you consider that Romania’s economy could be a model for economic development for the other countries in the region? (%)
How important do you consider Romania’s foreign investments in your country? (%)

- Of little importance
- Somewhat important
- Neither important nor unimportant
- Considerably important
- Very important
- I don’t know

Republic of Moldova
Ukraine
How often do you buy products made in Romania? (%)
How important the economic cooperation between your country and Romania is? (%)

- Republic of Moldova
- Ukraine

- Of little importance
- Somewhat important
- Neither important nor unimportant
- Considerably important
- Very important
- I don’t know

This work is supported by a grant of Ministry of Research and Innovation,
CNCS - UEFISCDI, project number PN-III-P1-1.1-TE-2016-0073, within PNCDI II
3. Military capacity
In your opinion, is Romania strong in terms of military power? (%)
Do you consider that Romania is a reliable military partner? (%)
Do you consider that Romania is able to provide military assistance in case of an emergency in your country? (%)

- Not at all
- Very little
- Somewhat
- Considerably
- To a great extent
- I don't know

[Bar chart showing responses from Republic of Moldova and Ukraine]
Do you consider that military cooperation between your country and Romania is desirable? (%)

- Republic of Moldova
- Ukraine

Not at all
Very little
Somewhat
Considerably
To a great extent
I don’t know
Do you consider that military cooperation between your country and Romania should be reinforced by joint military exercises? (%)
In case of a military conflict involving your country do you think that Romanian military forces should support the ones in your country? (%)
In case of a military conflict involving your country, do you think that Romania should take part in the resolution of the conflict? (%)
In case of a military conflict involving your country do you think that Romania could protect / offer support to displaced citizens? (%)

Chart Title

Strongly agree | Somewhat agree | Nor disagree or agree | Somewhat disagree | Strongly disagree | I don’t know

Republic of Moldova | Ukraine

This work is supported by a grant of Ministry of Research and Innovation, CNCS - UEFISCEDI, project number PN-II-P1-1.1-TE-2016-0073, within PNCDI II
Thinking about the conflict in Transnistria (for the respondents in the Republic of Moldova) / Donbas (for the respondents in Ukraine), do you believe that Romania should have been more involved at the diplomatic level? (%)
Thinking about the conflict in Transnistria (for the respondents in the Republic of Moldova) / Donbas (for the respondents in Ukraine), do you believe that Romania should have offered more assistance to your country? (%)

- Strongly agree
- Somewhat agree
- Nor disagree or agree
- Somewhat disagree
- Strongly disagree
- I don’t know

[Bar chart showing responses for Republic of Moldova and Ukraine]
Thinking about the conflict in Transnistria (for the respondents in the Republic of Moldova) / Donbas (for the respondents in Ukraine), do you believe that Romania should have not be involved at all? (%)

- Strongly agree: Republic of Moldova (~30%), Ukraine (~23%)
- Somewhat agree: Republic of Moldova (~15%), Ukraine (~15%)
- Nor disagree or agree: Republic of Moldova (~10%), Ukraine (~20%)
- Somewhat disagree: Republic of Moldova (~15%), Ukraine (~10%)
- Strongly disagree: Republic of Moldova (~5%), Ukraine (~10%)
- I don't know: Republic of Moldova (~10%), Ukraine (~20%)
4. History and culture
In your opinion, how close the culture of your country and Romania’s are? (%)
In your opinion, how close the history of your country and Romania’s are? (%)

- Not at all close
- Somewhat close
- Neither close nor distant
- Considerably close
- Extremely close
- I don’t know

Republic of Moldova vs. Ukraine
In your opinion, how close the traditions of your country and Romania’s are? (%)
How well do you know Romanian cuisine? (%)
How well do you know Romanian art? (%)
How well do you know Romanian music? (%)

Not at all
Very little
Somewhat
Considerably
To a great extent
I don't know

Republic of Moldova
Ukraine

This work is supported by a grant of Ministry of Research and Innovation, CNCS - UEFISCDI, project number PN-III-P1-1.1-TE-2016-0073, within PNCDI III
How well do you know Romanian literature? (%)
How would you assess the cultural cooperation between your country and Romania? (%)

- Very poor
- Poor
- Neutral
- Good
- Very good
- I don’t know

Republic of Moldova

Ukraine

This work is supported by a grant of Ministry of Research and Innovation, CNCS - UEFISCDI, project number PN-III-P1-1.1-TE-2016-0073, within PNCDI II
How would you assess the diplomatic relations between your country and Romania? (%)
In your opinion, at the level of relations between your country and Romania, to which extent the following issues are problematic: History? (%)
In your opinion, at the level of relations between your country and Romania, to which extent the following issues are problematic: Minority rights? (%)
In your opinion, at the level of relations between your country and Romania, to which extent the following issues are problematic: Territorial disputes? (%)

- Not at all
- Very little
- Somewhat
- Considerably
- To a great extent
- I don't know

- Republic of Moldova
- Ukraine
To your knowledge, are there or have there ever been disputes/disagreements between your country and Romania? (%)

![Bar chart showing the percentage of respondents from Republic of Moldova and Ukraine who answered yes or no to the question.](chart.png)
5. Domestic political stability and administrative capacity
Do you believe that Romania can be considered a positive example on the rule of law for the other countries in the region? (%)

- Republic of Moldova
- Ukraine

- Not at all
- Very little
- Somewhat
- Considerably
- To a great extent
- I don’t know
Do you believe that Romania can be considered a positive example on democracy for the other countries in the region? (%)

- Not at all
- Very little
- Somewhat
- Considerably
- To a great extent
- I don’t know

Republic of Moldova vs Ukraine
Do you believe that Romania can be considered a positive example on fight against corruption for the other countries in the region? (%)

- Not at all
- Very little
- Somewhat
- Considerably
- To a great extent
- I don't know

Republic of Moldova
Ukraine
Do you believe that Romania can be considered a positive example on human rights for the other countries in the region? (%)

- Not at all
- Very little
- Somewhat
- Considerably
- To a great extent
- I don't know

*Republic of Moldova*  *Ukraine*
Do you believe that Romania can be considered a positive example on political stability for the other countries in the region? (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Republic of Moldova</th>
<th>Ukraine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very little</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Considerably</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To a great extent</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don't know</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Do you believe that Romania can be considered a positive example on administrative capacity for the other countries in the region? (%)

- Not at all
- Very little
- Somewhat
- Considerably
- To a great extent
- I don’t know

[Bar chart showing responses for Romania, Moldova, and Ukraine.]
Do you believe that Romania can be considered a positive example on freedom of speech for the other countries in the region? (%)

- Not at all
- Very little
- Somewhat
- Considerably
- To a great extent
- I don’t know

Republic of Moldova
Ukraine
Do you believe that Romania can be considered a positive example on policy towards minorities for the other countries in the region? (%)

- Not at all
- Very little
- Somewhat
- Considerably
- To a great extent
- I don’t know

Republic of Moldova

Ukraine
6. Membership in international organizations
Do you believe that Romania’s membership in the EU has had a positive impact on its development? (%)

- Not at all
- Very little
- Somewhat
- Considerably
- To a great extent
- I don’t know

Republic of Moldova vs. Ukraine
Do you believe that Romania’s membership in NATO has had a positive impact on its security? (%)

- Not at all
- Very little
- Somewhat
- Considerably
- To a great extent
- I don’t know

Republic of Moldova
Ukraine
In your opinion, has Romania the capacity to represent the interests of the region in the EU? (%)

- Republic of Moldova
- Ukraine

- Not at all
- Very little
- Somewhat
- Considerably
- To a great extent
- I don't know
In your opinion, has Romania the capacity to represent the interests of the region in NATO? (%)

- Not at all
- Very little
- Somewhat
- Considerably
- To a great extent
- I don't know

Republic of Moldova
Ukraine
In your opinion, can Romania be considered an example of successful integration in the EU? (%)
In your opinion, can Romania be considered an example of successful integration in NATO? (%)
What format of cooperation with Romania would you prefer? (%)
How would you assess Romania’s role in supporting the European integration of your country? (%)

- Very limited
- Limited
- Average
- Above average
- High
- I don’t know

Republic of Moldova
Ukraine
How would you assess Romania’s role in supporting your country’s integration in NATO? (%)
Attitudes
Do you consider Romania as a neighbour to be (please select a number reflecting your opinion):

- 0.0
- 10.0
- 20.0
- 30.0
- 40.0
- 50.0
- 60.0

Bad

2

3

4

Good

Republic of Moldova

Ukraine
Do you consider Romania as a neighbour to be (please select a number reflecting your opinion):

- Republic of Moldova
- Ukraine
Do you consider Romania as a neighbour to be (please select a number reflecting your opinion):

- 0.0
- 10.0
- 20.0
- 30.0
- 40.0
- 50.0
- 60.0

Not important

Republic of Moldova
Ukraine

Important
Do you consider Romania as a neighbour to be (please select a number reflecting your opinion):
To what extent do you believe Romania respects its immediate neighbours? (%)

- Not at all
- Very little
- Somewhat
- Considerably
- To a great extent
- I don’t know

Bar chart showing responses for Republic of Moldova and Ukraine.