



WHAT DO THE ELECTORAL CANDIDATES PROMISE US?

Analysis of electoral programs of candidates for parliamentary elections 2025

Chisinau 2025

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INTRODUCTION

On September 28, 2025, ordinary parliamentary elections will be held in the Republic of Moldova to elect 101 members to the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova of the 12th legislature, the sole supreme legislative and representative body of the people. The elections will be declared valid if at least one third of the voters registered on the electoral rolls turn out at the polls. Access to parliament is conditional on reaching the electoral threshold set by law: 5% for political parties, 7% for electoral blocs and 2% for independent candidates. These elections are an essential test for consolidating democracy in the Republic of Moldova and for assessing how the principles of equal opportunities and fair representation between women and men are respected.

The Republic of Moldova is a parliamentary republic, with the Parliament exercising the central role in the political system. The Parliament of the Republic of Moldova is the supreme representative body and the sole legislative authority of the state, with powers that include adopting laws, approving the state budget, exercising parliamentary control over the executive and guiding national public policies. Thanks to these prerogatives, Parliament has a major role in promoting gender equality, protecting vulnerable groups and improving the quality of life of citizens through legislative initiatives and policies to ensure equal opportunities for all.

Electoral programs are a central tool for assessing this political will, as they are the expression of commitments made to citizens. They indicate the priorities that the parties and independent candidates intend to pursue in the exercise of their parliamentary mandate and outline the direction in which the legislative agenda may evolve. Analyzing these programs from the perspective of gender equality and inclusion therefore becomes indispensable in order to assess the extent to which the future Parliament will reflect the diversity of society and respond to the needs of all social groups, not just the majority.

The Center Partnership for Development (CPD) has been monitoring parliamentary and local elections from a gender equality perspective for more than 15 years. The analysis of the ordinary parliamentary elections of September 28, 2025 covers several areas: **(i)** the way men and women are presented on the lists of candidates: compliance with the minimum representation quota of 40% for both sexes at the stage of drawing up the lists of candidates for the early parliamentary elections and the positioning of candidates on the lists in accordance with the latest legislation (minimum of four candidates for every ten seats); **(ii)** the income and economic possibilities of male and female candidates: analysis of the income statements of male and female candidates and their correlation with their presence on the lists of candidates. **(iii)** Male and female candidates' access to the media: the analysis covers four types of media products: news, talk shows, election debates and spots. The aim of the monitoring is to identify the level of presence of women in general in TV media during the election campaign and their correlation with their presence on the candidate lists. **(iv)** Voters' perceptions of women and men candidates: this analysis was based on an opinion survey in which respondents comment on gender roles in the family, household and society; **(v)** Parties' electoral programs: examining political commitments to gender equality and inclusion by assessing the measures and promises made in electoral programs and the willingness of parties to support legislative initiatives in this area; **(vi)** Gender analysis of lower hierarchical electoral bodies and the electoral apparatus: assessment of the composition of constituency councils, electoral bureaus and electronic system operators in order to identify the degree of compliance with the principle of gender balance and the barriers that may limit women's participation in election administration structures.

This study is the fourth report conducted by the Center for Partnership for Development (CPD) on the monitoring and evaluation of electoral programs from a gender equality and social inclusion perspective. The analysis aims to examine the extent to which the political commitments made by political parties and independent candidates integrate the principles of equity and non-discrimination, by assessing the measures and promises made in their electoral programs, as well as their willingness to support legislative initiatives in the field of equal opportunities and protection of vulnerable groups. In the electoral race for

the September 2025 elections, out of a total of 32 applications submitted for registration, the Central Electoral Commission admitted 23 electoral contestants: 15 political parties, four electoral blocs and four independent candidates. The present analysis takes into account all these electoral contestants and their political programs, with the exception of the "Democracy at Home" Party, which did not submit an electoral program and therefore could not be included in the comparative assessment.

GLOSSARY

CEC - Central Electoral Commission

PAS - Political Party "Party Action and Solidarity"

PDA - "Democracy at Home" Political Party

PP CUB - Coalition for Unity and Welfare Political Party

PP ALDE - Political Party Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe

PNM - Political Party National Moldovan Party

PSDE - Political Party European Social Democratic Party

PP MRM - Political Party MIȘCAREA RESPECT MOLDOVA

BE PATRIOTIC - Electoral Bloc "Patriotic of Socialists, Communists, Heart and Future of Moldova"

BE ALTERNATIVA - "ALTERNATIVA" Electoral Bloc

BE ÎMPREUNĂ - "ÎMPREUNĂ" Electoral Bloc

PP LOC - Political Party League of Cities and Communes

PP AUR - Political Party ALIANȚA PENTRU UNIREȚA ROMÂNILOR

PAM - "MOLDOVENII" Alliance Political Party

PL - Liberal Party

BE BUN - Electoral Bloc "Blocul Electoral Bloc Unirea Națiunii"

PP "Moldova Mare" - "MOLDOVA MARE" Political Party

PP NOI - New Historical Option Political Party

PP CALIN - "Christian Social Union of Moldova" Political Party

PP "Partidul Nostru" - "Partidul Nostru" Political Party

CI - Independent candidates

METHODOLOGY OF ANALYSIS OF ELECTORAL PROGRAMS

The analytical report was prepared based on the analysis of electoral programs of candidates and candidates for the 2025 parliamentary elections. The programs were collected by accessing the official websites of the electoral contestants, through direct requests, as well as by monitoring social media pages and accounts (Facebook, Instagram, TikTok and YouTube channels).

In order to ensure an objective and unbiased assessment, a *scorecard* evaluation tool was used to assess the level of inclusiveness and the extent to which gender equality was promoted in the electoral programs. The assessment was carried out through 9 assessment areas: (i) Gender equality and inclusion as a politically supported value, (ii) Health, (iii) Education, (iv) Social protection, (v) Rural development, (vi) Agriculture, (vii) Infrastructure, (viii) Labor market and economic empowerment and (ix) Protection against gender-based violence. For each assessment area, 38 assessment indicators were defined, as follows:

Evaluation Domain	Indicators for evaluation of electoral programs	Level of inclusion and promotion of gender equality			
		Incipient (0.0 - 0.74 points)	Medium (0.75 - 1.50 points)	Enhanced (1,51- 2,18 points)	Advanced (2,19 - 3,0 points)
Gender equality and inclusion as a politically supported value	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The electoral candidate generally promotes gender equality, inclusion, human rights - A general discourse as a political actor based on inclusion, non-discrimination - During his political career, he has undertaken measures and actions that show openness towards issues of inclusion, non-discrimination and equal opportunities. - Other aspects suggesting political will on these issues 				
Health	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Access to health services, including sexual and reproductive health - Prevention and treatment for gender-specific diseases or vulnerable groups - Maternal and child health (e.g. support for antenatal and post-natal care) - Improving the situation of health care workers - Other measures to ensure inclusion and reduce inequalities 				
Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Universal access to quality education (more flexible curricula, educational infrastructure, dropout prevention, support teachers, inclusive education, etc) - Improving the status and working conditions of education employees - Linking vocational training to existing needs on the labor market - Other measures to ensure inclusion and reduce inequalities 				
Social protection	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Support for families with children/single parent families, - Care services (for children, elderly, disabled people, etc); - Protection measures for vulnerable groups 				

	(pensions, allowances, social assistance) - Other measures to ensure inclusion and reduce inequalities				
Rural development	- Support programs for vulnerable rural women and households - Access to basic infrastructure and services in rural areas (e.g. transport, drinking water, sanitation, etc.) - Local economic development policies, including rural employment, micro-credit, entrepreneurship training, etc. - Equal access to quality education and health services for the rural population - Other measures to ensure inclusion and reduce inequalities				
Agriculture	- Equal access to agricultural resources (land, credit) for women and vulnerable groups - Training and support measures for agricultural entrepreneurship (e.g. training, credit facilities) - Social protection policies for seasonal workers and small agricultural producers - Other measures to ensure inclusion and reduce inequalities				
Infrastructure	- Investments in gender-sensitive infrastructure (e.g. urban design that takes into account safety, the needs of women and people with disabilities) - Accessible public transport and safe lighting - Public services adapted to diverse needs (e.g. access ramps, adapted toilets) - Other measures to ensure inclusion and reduce inequalities				
Labor market and economic autonomy	- Support for female entrepreneurship and entrepreneurship of vulnerable people (e.g. microcredit funds, mentoring); - Reduce informal work and facilitate transition to formal forms of employment - Work-life balance measures (e.g. parental leave, flexitime) - Other economic support measures				
Protection against gender-based violence	- Legislation and services to prevent and combat domestic violence and gender-based violence - Support measures for victims (centers, services, hotlines) - Social and economic reintegration programs for survivors (e.g. psychological counseling, training courses) - Anti-violence awareness and education campaigns (e.g. programs in schools, training for authorities) - Other support measures				

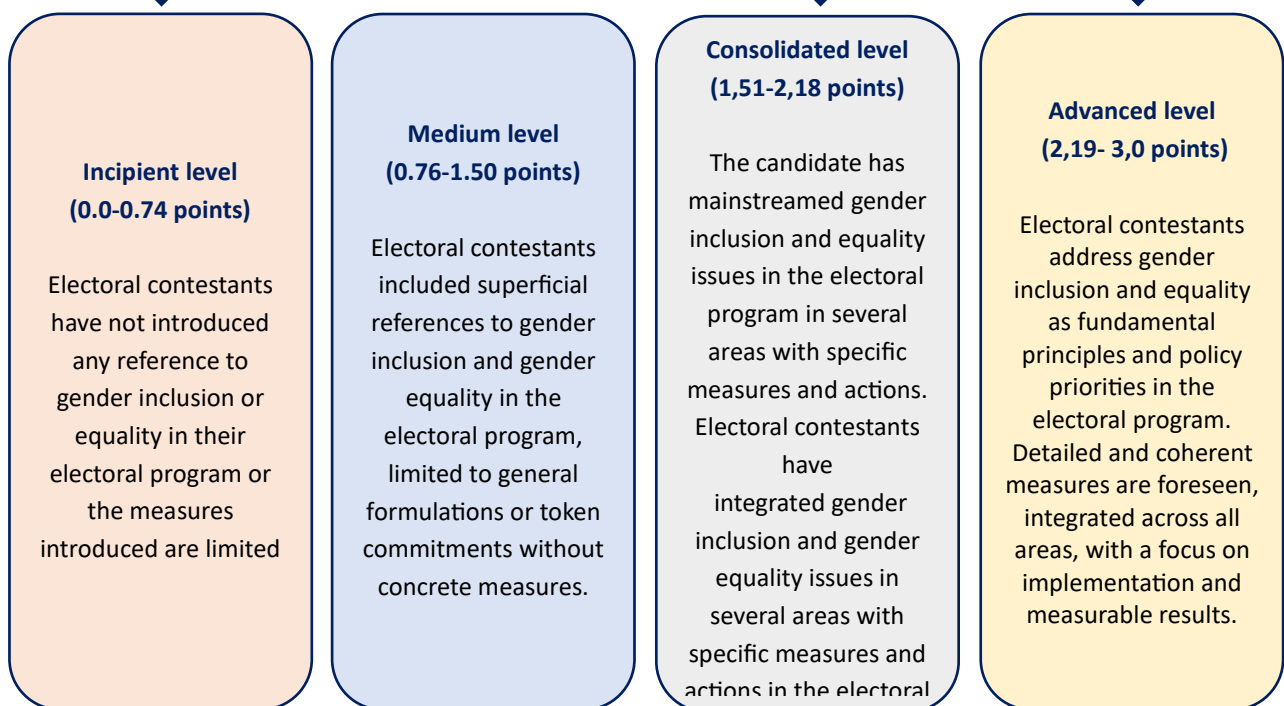
In terms of evaluation indicators, the areas of evaluation of electoral programs have been categorized through 4 levels as follows:

Level of inclusion and gender equality	Assessment
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Incipient (0,00 - 0,74 points)	Election program contains no or extremely limited reference to the assessed theme
Moderate (0,75- 1,50 points)	The electoral program mentions the assessed theme in a general way, without clear commitments, concrete measures or identified resources
Enhanced (1,51 - 2,18 points)	The electoral program includes specific commitments and measures on the assessed theme, but these remain limited in scope or level of detail
Advanced (2,19- 3,0 points)	The electoral program treats the assessed theme as a priority, with complex, well-defined measures, linked to other public policy areas and with a high degree of feasibility

By applying the arithmetic average, we were able to assess how inclusive and how much gender equality is advocated by the electoral contestants. Thus, the parties could be categorized as follows:

CLASSIFICATION OF ELECTORAL CONTESTANTS ACCORDING TO HOW INCLUSIVE AND HOW MUCH THEY ADVOCATE FOR GENDER EQUALITY IN THEIR ELECTORAL PROGRAMS

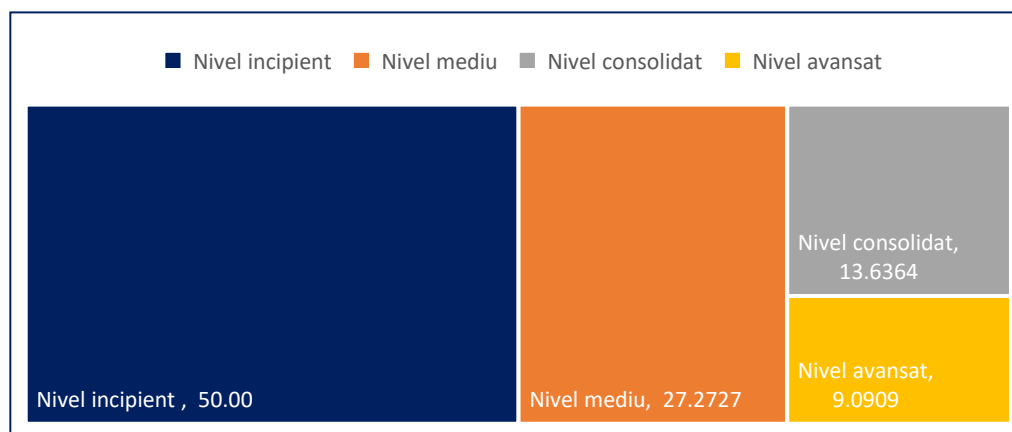


INCLUSION AND EQUALITY IN ELECTORAL PROGRAMS

The analysis of the electoral programs from the perspective of gender, social inclusion and relevance to the actual duties of the Members of Parliament reveals significant shortcomings. One notable aspect is that several parties did not present a public electoral program at all, reflecting a lack of transparency and ownership towards the electorate. Even for those parties that have published programs, their content is often couched in very general and vague language, with statements of principle and populist formulas predominating, while concrete measures or clear deadlines for implementation are almost non-existent. There is also a misunderstanding of the institutional role of parliamentarians in many of these programmatic documents. Many of the promises and proposals included go beyond the direct remit of an MP and fall within the competence of other authorities (government or local government). For example, some programs promise local job creation or the development of infrastructure in communities, which are not normally within the direct power of a legislature or an individual MP. This can be put down to either a lack of information among candidates about the limits of the parliamentary mandate or a tendency to resort to populist promises designed to attract votes, without any real coverage in the policies that an MP can directly influence.

The gender equality and social inclusion dimension is largely neglected in the electoral offer proposed for the 2025 parliamentary elections. The analysis of the electoral programs shows that half of the electoral contestants (50%, 11 parties) are at an incipient level, which denotes a lack of clear measures or commitments in this direction. Nearly a third (27.3%, 6 parties) are at medium level, which means that they mention equality and inclusion issues, but only fragmentarily and without well-defined policies - vague, general mentions of "equal rights" or "combating discrimination", without identifying target groups and without proposing specific actions or resources for implementation. Only 13.6% of the parties (3) reach the consolidated level, proposing more structured measures with greater impact, but these remain incomplete and without cross-cutting integration in the program. Very few contenders, only 9.1% (2 parties), reach the advanced level, i.e. treat equality and inclusion as central principles, integrated in all areas of proposed policies. The prevalence of the incipient level shows not only a lack of political will but also a gap between public discourse and written commitments, suggesting that gender equality and inclusion are treated marginally, as secondary themes rather than strategic objectives.

Figure 1. Overall ranking of electoral contestants according to the level of inclusion and equality promoted, %



Source: Authors' calculations based on analysis of electoral programs, CPD, 2025

The electoral contestants put before voters diverse electoral programs, with the level of integration of gender equality and inclusion principles varying considerably. Overall, the approach is rather modest, with the overall average score of the parties being only 0,90 (on a scale from 0 to 3, where 0 indicates a complete lack of commitment and 3 indicates advanced level). Only 2 parties managed to reach an advanced level with concrete measures and explicit commitments to promote women and protect vulnerable groups. The majority are at an incipient or medium level, with sporadic and indirect references to these themes, failing to address equal opportunities or, worse, promoting messages against inclusion.

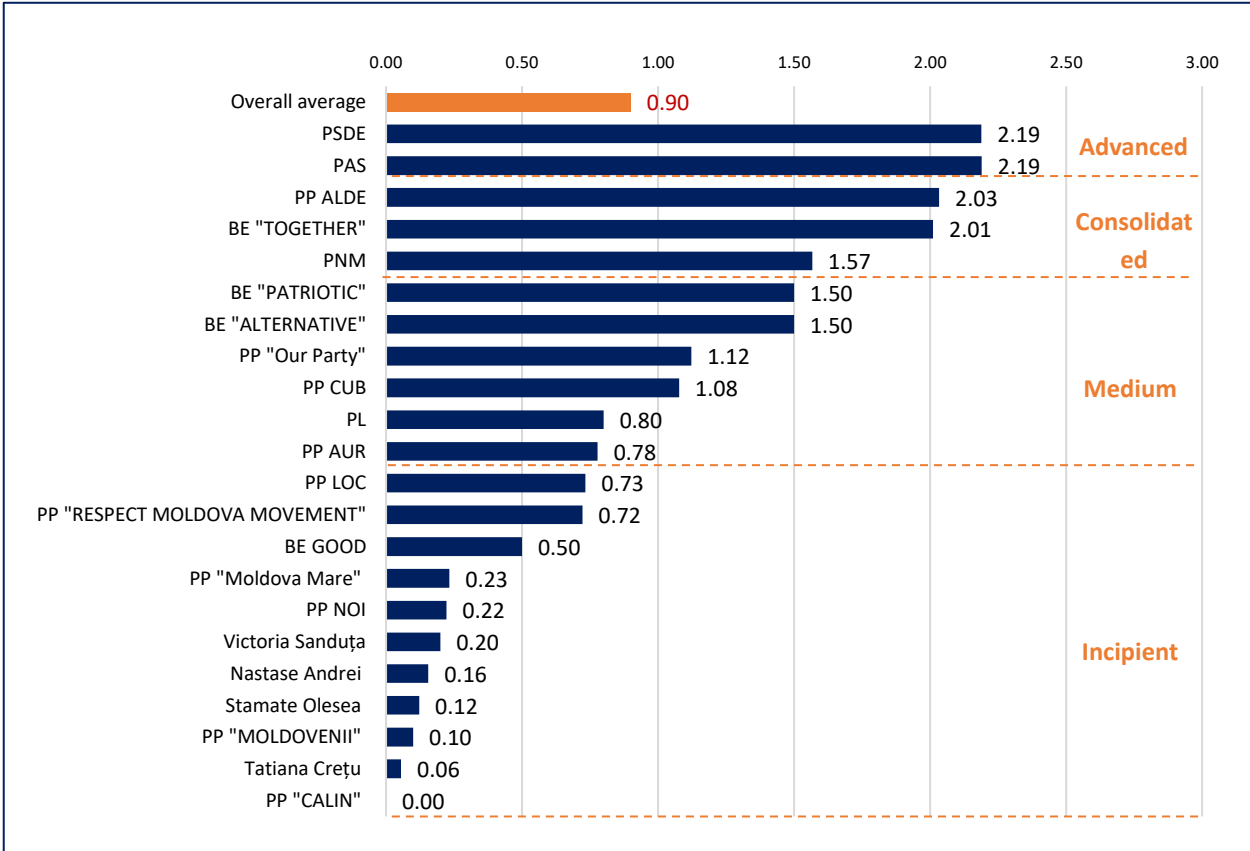
The leading parties are the Action and Solidarity Party (2.19 points) and the European Social Democratic Party (2.19 points), which were placed at the advanced level. Analyzing the program of the **European Social Democratic Party (PSDE)**, we find that it presents a complex program, ranking advanced in terms of mainstreaming and addressing gender inclusion and equality in the electoral program, due to the fact that clear mentions of gender equality and the promotion of women in decision-making structures are combined with policies that indirectly support the economic autonomy of women and other vulnerable groups. In the electoral program, the PSDE proposes multiple interventions that explain the accumulated score, such as: support measures for parents (day care centers, expansion of day care services), support measures for people with disabilities, elderly people (financial support, support services, community centers, etc.). The electoral contestant also proposes diversified measures to increase access to health and education for all the groups analyzed, through the development and modernization of infrastructure adapted to the needs of different disadvantaged population groups, the creation of optimal working conditions for specialists, and the improvement of the quality of services. These measures are predominantly focused on disadvantaged communities, especially rural areas, and are complemented by initiatives to support farmers and micro-enterprises, also targeting support for women in these sectors. It is important to note that the PSDE is among the few to address gender-based violence in its electoral program. Analyzing the electoral programs, but also the existence of political will to promote inclusion and equity, we observe that **the program of the Action and Solidarity Party (PAS)** stands out for its relatively inclusive approach. It aims to reduce the inequalities and barriers faced by people with disabilities, women from vulnerable groups, parents with children, as well as other groups at risk, such as discrimination in the labor market, limited access to services or economic vulnerability. The party proposes measures to develop health, education and regional development, expand and improve the quality of health, education and social protection services, improve the working conditions of specialists in these fields, etc. Education is given a broad chapter, with the aim of modernizing the infrastructure and equipping schools, including making them accessible for children with special needs. Improving working conditions and teachers' salaries are also priorities. In social protection, PAS is advancing an extensive set of financial support and inclusion measures for families with young children, people with disabilities and the elderly. A notable element is the commitment to the integration of people with disabilities not only through infrastructure and care services, but also by empowering them for independent living. Agriculture and rural development are supported through subsidies, capacity building and financial and technical support for local farmers and producers, which, even if not explicitly targeting vulnerable groups, contributes to creating opportunities and improving access to essential services for rural communities. However, the gender-based violence dimension remains insufficiently covered, with the only references being related to the prevention of bullying and violence in the educational environment, which has considerably lowered the overall score given to this electoral program.

Only three parties ranked at the consolidated level of promoting the principles of gender equality and inclusion, including the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe (2.03), the Electoral Bloc "Together" (2.01) and the National Moldovan Party (1.57). PP ALDE has a comprehensive program, with a focus on domestic violence prevention, health centrality and service networks for women and children. It introduces violence protection centers in every district and expands cancer screening programs, thus scoring high on health and violence protection. Support for people with disabilities and investment in inclusive education are marked. Agriculture and the labor market are covered but without gender specific measures, subsidies are proposed for employers who recruit people with disabilities but no mention of women farmers. BE "Together" has a community-centered approach, with community centers for all vulnerable groups and extensive mobility (accessible rural public transport) and infrastructure programs. It stands out in the areas of education and social protection, with scholarships, support services for students and investment in after-school centers. In agriculture and rural development, it focuses on support to small farmers and the local market, but without subject-specific measures. PP PNM proposes harmonization with the EU Common Agricultural Policy: subsidies per hectare, tax exemptions for farmers who create jobs and free advisory services for farmers. Social protection includes higher minimum pensions and substantial child allowances. However, the program does not specifically address gender equality, housing for young people and support for pensioners are foreseen, but there is no mention of rural women or vulnerable groups.

The "Patriotic" Electoral Bloc, the "Alternative" Electoral Bloc, the Coalition for Unity and Well-Being Political Party and the "Our Party" Political Party are at the **average level** in terms of mainstreaming inclusion and equity issues in their electoral programs. BE "Patriotic" has a generous social program (pension increases, services for pensioners) and large agricultural subsidies, but it promotes the traditional family and does not mention the protection of women victims of violence, lacking gender measures. BE Alternativa proposes special tax measures for business and local development projects, but neglects the gender dimension. PP CUB adopts a pro-European discourse, talking about a fund for social and local modernization, but has no explicit measures on women or minorities. PP Our Party promises massive social housing and facilities for young people, but completely ignores gender violence and women's rights. These parties are followed by two other parties that score below 1 point but are more advanced than the entry-level ones, namely the Liberal PP and the PP Alliance for the Unity of Romanians. The score is determined either by incompletely developed programs or by a total disregard for gender or inclusiveness. PL (0.80) has a unionist discourse, emphasizing tax cuts and unification with Romania, but does not include measures for equal opportunities or protection of women. PP AUR (0.78) promises high wages and pensions and unification of the labor market with Romania, but does not include measures to protect victims of violence or include women in agriculture.

The last group categorized at the **incipient level** are the parties that scored less than 0.74 points in the assessment process, and is represented by the following parties: the PP League of Cities and Communes (0.73 points), the PP Respect Moldova Movement (0.72 points), parties that focus on local or general issues, not expressing views on gender or vulnerable groups, and the BUN Bloc (0.50 points) that presents the union with Romania as a universal solution to all existing barriers and inequalities. These parties are followed by smaller parties and independent candidates, such as PP Moldova Mare, PP Noua Opțiune Istorica, Victoria Sanduța, Andrei Năstase, Olesea Stamate, Political Party "Moldovenii", Tatiana Crețu, Political Party Christian Social Union of Moldova score very low (0.00 - 0.23 points), as they either did not present electoral programs or they are limited to patriotic declarations without social measures, none of them explicitly addressing gender equality or protection against violence.

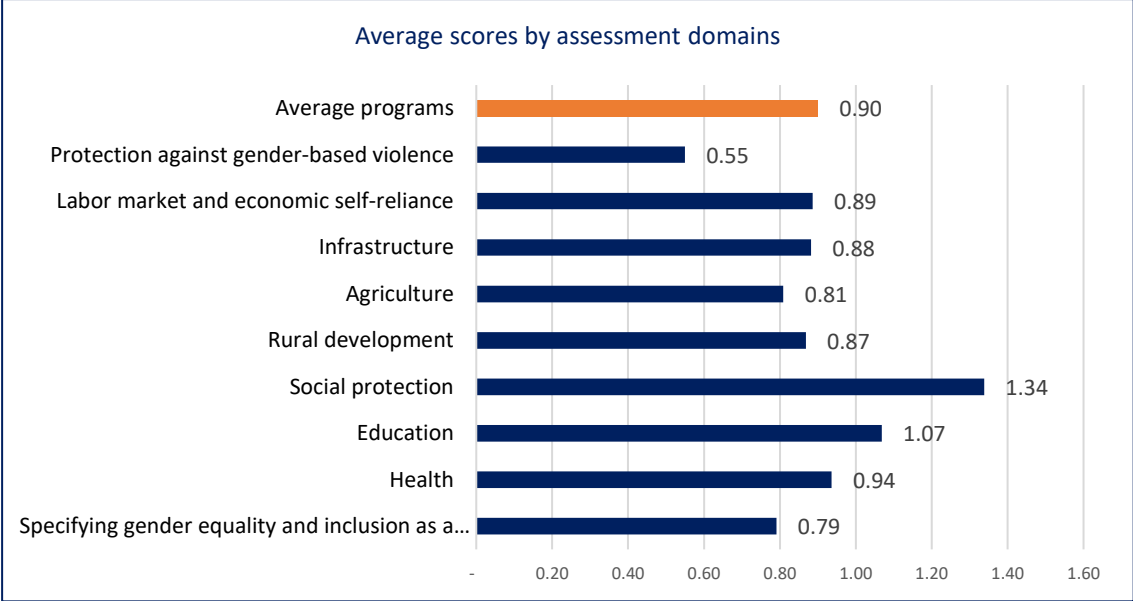
Figure 2. Average level of integration of inclusion and equality in electoral programs, by electoral contestants, points



Source: Authors' calculations based on analysis of electoral programs, CPD, 2025

The detailed analysis of the programs also shows significant differences in the level of approach to inclusion and equity in different areas of assessment. For some areas of interventions, the parties have set more inclusive goals, which also integrate issues that come to ensure equity for various groups, for others less so, or even areas where these concerns are almost completely absent. Best covered are the traditional socio-economic sectors, such as social protection and education, where many parties have foreseen actions with an inclusive impact. On the other hand, issues such as combating gender-based violence or the explicit assumption of gender equality as a political value appear as major gaps. This suggests that gender equality and inclusion are often treated tangentially in the parties' public agendas, more easily integrated where they coincide with general social policies, but neglected in areas that require dedicated commitment.

Figure 3. Overall level of mainstreaming of inclusion and equality, by areas of assessment, points



Source: Authors' calculations based on analysis of electoral programs, CPD, 2025

In the field of education, some electoral programs deal extensively with inclusion and equal opportunities, while others omit them almost completely. Parties with advanced programs in education, such as PP PSDE, PP PAS, PP ALDE or BE "Together", integrate concrete measures for equal opportunities. For example, PP PAS proposes the extensive modernization of the education system by renovating and equipping schools, expanding the network of nurseries (creating about 5000 new places) and updating the curriculum with financial, media and health education. The PP PAS program foresees in-service training and incentives for teachers (including *First House* type facilities for young teachers) and *anti-bullying* initiatives or remedial programs for pupils with difficulties. The PP PSDE also emphasizes equitable access to education, proposing additional funding for rural schools and the modernization of school infrastructure (water, sewage, internet) in disadvantaged communities. Another example is the BE "Together", which analyses the causes of vulnerabilities in education (demographic decline, underfunding, insufficient staff) and proposes inclusive solutions: equitable access to early childhood education through investment in crèches and kindergartens, direct support for children from vulnerable families (school supplies, free food in kindergarten, transport) and community education centres in disadvantaged areas. They treat education as a priority, targeting both overall quality and inclusion of marginalized groups (e.g. In contrast, parties with incipient approaches in this field, e.g. PP PL, PP AUR or newer parties such as PP NOI, PP CALIN, PP "Moldova Mare", either omit inclusion measures or limit themselves to general statements. Some programs mention only vague intentions (e.g. investment in schools through diaspora funds), without details on inclusive curriculum or support for disadvantaged pupils. PP AUR, for example, treats education more through the prism of the union with Romania. They propose unification of the education system and mutual recognition of diplomas, plus scholarships in Romania for young people from Moldova. However, these objectives ignore the issue of inclusion: there are no measures for inclusive education, adapting institutions for pupils with special needs or supporting girls and boys equally. The parties with

the lowest scores in this chapter either do not mention education at all in their platform (in which case it is completely missing from the electoral program) or present generic promises without reference to vulnerable groups. The gaps are therefore obvious: there are no provisions on preventing school drop-out in poor communities, on inclusive education for children with disabilities or on teacher training for disadvantaged backgrounds.

There is also a significant contrast in the area of health. Leading parties, such as PP ALDE, PP PSDE or PP PAS, propose policies aimed at expanding access to health services and mainstreaming gender and inclusion. PP ALDE's program is notable for its focus on prevention and universal access, including innovative elements: for example, it introduces the "Youth Health Voucher" program which is a package of free medical services (check-ups, basic dentistry, psychological counseling) for 200,000 young people annually, benefiting both women and men. The ALDE PP also proposes modern health education in schools through the compulsory "Health and Responsibility" course (covering nutrition, chronic disease prevention, mental health and balanced sex education), an initiative that directly addresses the needs of young people. ALDE PP measures also target vulnerable groups: the "Total Inclusion" strategy aims to adapt the healthcare system for people with disabilities and marginalized communities, and the programme foresees massive investments in prevention (free screening for oncological and cardiovascular diseases, targeting 100,000 patients per year) and a dedicated free cancer screening programme for 100,000 women per year, addressing a specific women's health need. In contrast, other advanced parties such as PP PAS and PP PSDE emphasize strengthening primary health care and expanding health infrastructure in rural areas, which has inclusive implications. For example, the PP PSDE acknowledges problems such as the exodus of doctors and outdated infrastructure, proposing structural measures: revising the medical university curriculum, doubling the number of residents, digitizing medical records, increasing staff salaries and equipping emergency services. These actions, although not explicitly mentioning women, contribute to improving access to services for vulnerable groups (e.g. rural population or the elderly), reducing territorial health inequalities. In the opposite camp, parties with weak approaches (e.g. PP PL, PP AUR, PP NOI, PP CALIN, etc.) either omit the subject of health or give it minimal treatment, without a gender or social inclusion dimension. Some programs limit themselves to platitudes such as "ensuring equal access to quality health services for all citizens", without detailing how specific categories (pregnant women, people with disabilities, minorities, etc.) will be served. For example, some platforms declare the intention to guarantee equal access to health services and emphasize primary and preventive medicine, but the measures remain very general and do not explicitly address sexual and reproductive health or support for health workers in disadvantaged areas. Parties such as AUR treat health in a nationalistic key, focusing on cooperation with Romania (for access to medicines, possibly unification of standards) and issues such as food security, but completely neglecting the gender perspective. In addition, parties such as PP NOI or PP CALIN hardly include the health chapter at all, representing a major absence. For example, in some of these parties, health is missing as a distinct area in the electoral program.

In the infrastructure section, only a few programs demonstrate a real mainstreaming of inclusion principles, while most omit this perspective. The SSP PP is characterized by massive planned investments in infrastructure, linked to community needs and reducing urban-rural disparities. The PP PAS program envisages the rehabilitation and construction of thousands of kilometers of roads, new bridges over the Prut, modernization of water and sewage networks and extension of public street lighting. One aspect worth mentioning is the inclusion of a specific measure: the construction of modern sanitary facilities in all rural schools to eliminate toilets in the courtyard and improve hygiene conditions for pupils. This intervention would reduce a major inequality that particularly affects girls in rural areas (access to decent conditions influences school attendance of adolescent girls). Some advanced programs also propose gender-sensitive and inclusive infrastructure. For example, BE "Together" suggests a national plan of local and national infrastructure projects to ensure decent living conditions in every locality so that "no one is left behind". This block proposes extending public transport in rural areas (through the "*Bus for Villages*" program), developing multimodal stations and reducing the isolation of small communities. The *Bus for Villages* measure aims to connect each larger village to the public transport network with new vehicles that are accessible to people with disabilities, an initiative that would facilitate the mobility of rural residents, including women, and their access to services and opportunities. At the same time, parties such

as the ALDE PP are integrating objectives of accessibility of urban infrastructure: the ALDE PP program foresees the complete adaptation of public buildings and a significant part of urban transport to be accessible to people with disabilities, which shows a concern for inclusion in infrastructure development. Such measures, such as expanded street lighting, accessible public transport, urban planning that takes into account women's safety, indicate a strengthened approach that recognizes that infrastructure is not neutral, but must be designed to serve different population groups equally. In contrast, parties with low scores on this chapter show either major gaps or a vision limited to gross investment without an inclusion component. The PL PP, for example, does not include in its program any reference to gender-sensitive infrastructure, with projects that take into account women's safety in public spaces or the accessibility of transport for people with reduced mobility completely missing. The PP PL program is limited to general investments (roads, water, sewage, rural public transport) aimed at improving village life, but does not include programs dedicated to women or vulnerable rural households. Other formations (such as PP AUR or PP NOI) do not even have a separate section on infrastructure and transportation, or in some, the only mentions are collateral (e.g. the need for laboratories and running water in schools), without any strategy for community infrastructure development. This absence shows a lack of vision in addressing infrastructure as a tool to reduce inequalities. Moreover, some speeches focus exclusively on large-scale projects (highways, railways, airports) or populist messages, ignoring practical issues such as public lighting (essential for women's safety) or adapting local transport for the elderly and disabled.

Social protection is the area with the best integration, on average, of inclusion and equality objectives, a sign that most parties have paid attention to the needs of vulnerable groups in social policies to one extent or another. Even so, differences between programs are notable. PP PSDE stands out with a broad and well-articulated program, covering multiple vulnerable groups and reflecting a strengthened inclusion perspective. The PP PSDE recognizes challenges such as the lack of care services and proposes concrete solutions: the creation of a national network of free day-care centres and crèches, offering educational activities for children and support for parents, facilitating the reintegration of mothers into the labour market. The PSDE program subsidizes day-care places for low-income and single-parent families and foresees the development of home care services as well as the establishment of community centres for the elderly. The PP PSDE also proposes legislative reforms to support the sharing of family responsibilities (e.g. increased family responsibility for fathers) and support measures for informal carers (monthly allowance, professionalization of personal assistants for people with severe disabilities). This integrated set of policies shows a deep understanding of the concept of social inclusion: not just financial support, but also accessible services to enable vulnerable groups such as single mothers, dependent elderly, people with disabilities to lead a dignified and active life in the community. Other progressive parties such as PP ALDE or BE "Together" also include important measures. The ALDE PP, for example, combines health policies with social protection: it offers free women-specific screening (for cancer) and subsidies for employers who hire people with disabilities, facilitating their integration into the labor market. BE "Together" and other left-wing parties promise to reduce socio-economic inequalities through support mechanisms for families with children and young people - from increased allowances and social housing to tax breaks and mentoring programs for young people from disadvantaged backgrounds. Such measures emphasize a forward-looking approach, where social protection is not limited to uniform financial benefits, but includes targeted interventions that take into account gender and vulnerability. At the opposite pole, parties with weak approaches to social protection focus narrowly on demographic or financial issues, with omissions highlighting the lack of an inclusive vision. Parties such as AUR approach social protection mainly through the prism of the union with Romania, for example, they propose harmonization of the pension system with the Romanian one and partial liberalization of contributions (the possibility of directing part of social contributions to private funds). Although the measure could bring efficiency benefits, it is not accompanied by any guarantee of gender equity (women, who often have lower pensions, are not mentioned) or support for disadvantaged groups. In addition, the discourse of AUR and other similar parties does not prioritize vulnerable groups at all, and there are no commitments to support families with many children, the homeless or ethnic minorities. Some of the new parties (PP NOI, PP CALIN, etc.) offer practically no consistent social protection solutions, confining themselves to slogans about "welfare" without any concrete content. The consequence of these shortcomings is that specific needs, from single mothers' access to childcare services to the social inclusion of people with

disabilities, remain unaddressed. Where the leading parties propose community centres and personalized assistance, the trailing parties either remain silent or consider general income increases sufficient, ignoring the fact that vulnerable groups need dedicated measures to truly benefit from equal opportunities.

In the area of the labor market, electoral programs range from detailed plans for the integration of disadvantaged groups to simplistic visions focused only on general economic growth. Among leaders, PP PSDE and PP ALDE offer notable examples of mainstreaming gender equality and inclusion in employment policies. PP PSDE, for example, aims to double GDP and create more than 300 thousand well-paid jobs, but links these macro goals with micro inclusion measures. The PSDE PP PSDE program supports partnerships between vocational schools and companies and the development of dual education to ensure the training of skills demanded by the market. Moreover, the PSDE tackles head-on the major obstacle to women's participation in the labor market, which is the lack of childcare services, by expanding the network of free day-care centers and nurseries, precisely to support mothers in returning to work. This policy recognizes that unequal distribution of care responsibilities is a key factor in economic gender inequality. The PP PSDE program also mentions supporting social entrepreneurship in vulnerable communities and reducing welfare dependency through social economy initiatives as a way to create jobs tailored to disadvantaged groups. For its part, the ALDE PP emphasizes the integration of people with disabilities: it proposes to subsidize 50% of the salary for employers who hire people with disabilities, as well as to fully adapt public buildings and urban transport to facilitate their access to jobs. The ALDE PP also includes the training of rehabilitation specialists so that disabled employees are supported in the long term, and the extension of subsidies to the health sector (for employers who employ disabled people in the medical sector), representing an integrated approach that tackles physical and professional barriers alike. Another example of a strengthened approach is provided by the PP PAS, which provides for increased subsidies for employers who recruit people with disabilities, their integration into entrepreneurial initiatives and the launch of the "Mobility for Dignity" program (which provides assistive equipment and housing adaptations for people with disabilities, reducing barriers to employment). PP PAS has also created the "After 16" initiative, which supports young people with intellectual disabilities to make the transition from school to working life through vocational training and supported employment. All these examples point to a clear effort by PP PAS to directly address the causes of exclusion from the labor market, be it the lack of childcare for parents (especially mothers), discrimination or unsuitable jobs for people with disabilities, or the need to support entrepreneurship for vulnerable groups. In contrast, parties with incipient approaches to the labor market treat the subject superficially, often without any reference to the gender dimension or disadvantaged groups. The PL illustrates this situation: its economic program speaks generically about business development and support for young and vulnerable people, but does not include policies dedicated to female entrepreneurship or measures to reduce informal work, which disproportionately affects women. Thus, PP PL proposes tax breaks and business loans in general, but does not mention microcredit or mentoring lines for women who want to start a business, nor does it address the issue of undeclared work (where many women work as nannies, carers or maids without a contract, for example). PP AUR, for its part, focuses on the national component of the labor market: it advocates for Moldovan citizens to have equal employment rights in Romania and the Republic of Moldova, without discrimination in pay or taxation, and argues that Moldova must stop being an exporter of cheap labor. In practice, however, the concrete measures proposed by the AUR for the labor market are about tax coordination with Romania and ensuring equal treatment for companies in the two countries, which are macro objectives and do not include anything specific for women, the long-term unemployed or other vulnerable groups. Other parties (e.g. PP NOI, PP "Moldova Mare") do not present any set of employment measures, some of them only promising well-paid jobs and stopping labor migration, without indicating any training programs, facilities for parents or incentives for hiring disadvantaged groups.

In our analysis of agriculture, we found a marked polarization between parties that propose coherent policies, with an emphasis on the inclusion of small farmers and modernization of the sector, and those that settle for general promises or omit the topic altogether. Only a few parties treat agriculture as a strategic sector to be modernized in a fair way. The Party of European Social Democrats (PSDE) proposes an ambitious modernization package such as rapid compensation and state-guaranteed loans for farmers, a single agricultural tax and access to technology through subsidies and grants, and the development of

agro-industrial centres. The Social Democrat vision includes revitalizing villages and supporting small producers through cooperativization and long-term contracts with the state, but does not detail measures to ensure equal access to land or credit for women. The Moldovan National Party (PNM) makes the link with the EU Common Agricultural Policy and advocates direct payments per hectare and tax exemptions for farmers who create jobs locally; the focus is on free advice, county agri-food markets and facilitating small producers' access to finance, but does not explicitly address the gender dimension or the situation of seasonal workers. Also in an advanced zone of inclusion is PAS, which offers advance subsidies, preferential loans for micro-farmers, free distribution of diesel and rehabilitation of irrigation systems; the program introduces support mechanisms for seasonal workers during periods of inactivity and "Agricultural Chambers" advisory centers, but does not discuss women's access to resources or training in agricultural entrepreneurship. A populist-protectionist approach to small producers is presented by the Our Party, which proposes the reintroduction of centralized purchasing for agricultural products and guaranteed outlets for family households; although it focuses on "peasants", the program does not contain specific measures for women farmers. At an intermediate level, there are parties that recognize the importance of agriculture but offer generalized solutions. BE "Patriotic" (PSRM-PCRM) aims to increase the subsidy fund to 2.5 billion lei and to reimburse VAT and excise duties on diesel, without differentiating between large and small farms or including policies for women in agriculture. BE "Alternativa" and the Coalition for Unity and Welfare (PP CUB) promise special tax regimes and protection for indigenous producers, promoting efficient irrigation and local processing, but do not mention gender equality. The "Respect Moldova" movement focuses on social measures (increased pensions, support for families) and only states support for farmers and processors; it does not detail access to credit or training programs for family farming. The rest of the contenders address agriculture minimally or omit agriculture altogether. The Liberal Party, AUR and the Unirea Națiunii Bloc look at the sector through identity lenses, such as union with Romania or protection of traditions, leaving aside agricultural policy per se. The new parties PP NOI, PP NOI, PP CALIN and the "Moldova Mare" party do not present any coherent plan for agriculture, and topics such as women's access to land, protection of seasonal workers or support for rural entrepreneurship are missing. The independent candidates (e.g. Olesea Stamate, Victoria Sanduța) either do not deal with agriculture at all or limit themselves to general mentions about protecting agricultural policy in negotiations with the EU, without offering solutions for small producers or vulnerable groups. This analysis shows that although a small number of programmes propose complex measures to revitalize the agri-food sector and include small households, the gender dimension and the protection of seasonal workers remain largely unaddressed, and most policy competitors lack a unified vision linking agriculture with equal opportunities and social inclusion.

In the field of rural development, the analysis of electoral programs shows a polarization similar to that in agriculture. Some parties propose coherent policies that address inclusion and reduce urban-rural disparities, while others limit themselves to general promises or ignore the subject altogether. In the foreground are parties such as PP PSDE, PP PAS, BE "Together" and PP PNM, whose programmes treat the village as a space to be modernized and connected to the national economy, but also as a place of solidarity and equal opportunities. In the PP PSDE, the rural development program is built around access to quality public services, infrastructure and social cohesion. It proposes investments in water supply and sanitation for villages, modernization of local and regional roads, as well as the extension of the network of crèches and kindergartens so that rural mothers can resume their work. At the same time, the PP PSDE provides funding for home care services for the elderly and disabled. Another element is the "rural resilience" program, under which farmers affected by drought or calamities will receive rapid compensation and guaranteed loans. The focus is on village revitalization, but the program does not differentiate by gender in terms of access to land or financing. PP PAS approaches rural development through integrated infrastructure projects: rehabilitating roads, extending street lighting, building bridges and creating public transportation networks linking each village to the big cities. The program also provides for the modernization of schools and rural health centers, as well as the installation of modern toilets in all rural schools, a detail relevant for girls' comfort and attendance. The SAP introduces a support mechanism for seasonal agricultural workers and village youth, but does not include measures dedicated to women's access to resources or entrepreneurial training programs. The BE "Together" focuses on connecting villages to services and opportunities, explicitly identifying vulnerable groups such as the elderly, people

with disabilities, children and young people. The program foresees community centers in every village, mobile health services, a "Bus for Villages" program to provide disability-friendly public transport, and a fund for upgrading basic infrastructure (water, sanitation, energy). Although it does not use gendered language, the approach is cross-cutting, aiming to reduce isolation and rural poverty. And the PP NPM proposes to align with European and Romanian rural development standards. The program talks about the standardization of public services between counties, the establishment of regional markets and county agricultural advisory services for all farmers. It promises investment in transport and internet infrastructure in villages, as well as programs to reintegrate young people by supporting rural SMEs. However, the gender dimension is only implicit, with no concrete measures for rural women mentioned. Forms of partial approach to rural development appear in the programs BE "Patriotic", BE "Alternativa" and PP CUB. BE "Patriotic" promises massive investment in basic infrastructure, plus the construction of 18 regional industrial platforms to create jobs. Although it concerns itself with the village, it does not differentiate between men and women or between large farms and small households. BE "Alternativa" proposes special tax regimes and the protection of indigenous producers, but does not explicitly address the social dimension of the village, the program focusing more on economic incentives. PP CUB and other centre-right parties talk about decentralization and local autonomy, supporting investments in infrastructure, but do not present initiatives on social services or access to resources for vulnerable groups in rural areas. The minimalist category includes parties that omit rural development altogether or treat it through other objectives. The unionist parties (PL, AUR, Blocul BUN) believe that the problems of the villages will be solved by uniting with Romania, without presenting concrete national programs. The party "Noua Opțiune Istorica", "Moldova Mare" and PP CALIN do not have a clear program for the village, and other independent candidates (Olesea Stamate, Victoria Sanduța) do not even mention the subject - a sign that for them the rural environment is not a priority. These programs completely lack references to equal access to land, credit for women, care services or adapted infrastructures.

Protection against gender-based violence is a clear test of political will to support gender equality, and the differences between programs are striking. Only a few parties propose comprehensive actions to prevent and combat domestic and gender-based violence. One example of good practice comes from a party with an advanced approach such as PP ALDE: the program foresees the creation of a network of protection centers against domestic violence, with at least one center in each district, thus ensuring uniform coverage nationwide. The same party includes strong prevention measures: annual medical and psychological screening for ~250,000 schoolchildren, national programs to prevent child sexual and physical abuse, as well as parenting education through schools and community centers. The program also integrates the gender dimension into health policies, providing women with access to free cancer screening (100,000 women per year benefiting), an example of an intervention that, although health-related, has a direct impact in combating violence (given that many victims of gender-based violence do not have easy access to medical services). In addition, national awareness and legal protection strengthening campaigns are planned, targeting both women and children, a sign that the issue is being addressed both preventively and from the perspective of sanctioning and deterring aggressors. Other progressive parties, e.g. BE "Together", have also included measures related to violence in their social sections: some focus on combating human trafficking and criminal networks, legal education in schools and campaigns on citizens' rights. Although these initiatives do not directly target domestic violence, they contribute to a safer and more informed environment that can help victims of violence to seek support. Moreover, there are strong commitments from some emerging parties: the PNM (National Moldovan Party), for example, has committed in its political program to combat gender-based violence, even if the specific topic is not detailed in the election program. The PNM talks about zero tolerance towards violence against women and supports initiatives in this direction in its political manifesto, which signals an ideological sensitivity to the problem. On the other hand, many parties show serious shortcomings in this area. Some programs only mention violence in passing without offering specific solutions. For example, one mid-level program (possibly PAS) makes only one explicit reference to violence, and that limited to the school environment: it proposes a program to prevent bullying and violence in schools and universities, and to double the number of school counselors and psychologists. While this is a useful measure

(prevention of youth violence), this program makes no mention of domestic violence or gender-based violence, no legislation to combat it, no services for victims (such as shelters, hotlines) or reintegration programs for survivors. It therefore only partially addresses the problem, ignoring the most critical segment - violence against women in the private sphere. Other major parties (PL, AUR) and most small parties (PP NOI, PP CALIN, PP Moldova Mare, etc.) do not address the issue at all. A party such as AUR, known for its ultraconservative rhetoric, not only does not mention any policy against domestic violence, but its campaigns emphasize "traditional values", which often implies minimizing issues such as domestic violence.

FINDINGS

The analysis of the electoral programs of the 2025 parliamentary election candidates reveals major shortcomings. Many political parties have not publicly made clear commitments on gender equality and social inclusion and some have not published an electoral program at all. The principles of equal opportunities and non-discrimination appear only marginally in most electoral offers, with a few notable exceptions. The most important findings of this analysis are summarized below:

- A few parties and candidates did not present any public electoral program, and many of those who have programs use general and populist language without concrete measures or clear timeframes. This indicates a lack of ownership towards the electorate.
- There is also a misunderstanding of the institutional role of parliamentarians in many of these programmatic documents. Many of the promises and proposals included go beyond the direct powers of an MP and fall within the remit of other authorities (government or local government).
- Approximately 50% of the electoral competitors assessed do not include any measures or clear references to gender equality or social inclusion in their programs. Almost a third limit themselves to vague mentions of "equal opportunities" or "combating discrimination", without identifying specific target groups or actions.
- Only ~4.5% of electoral contestants treat equal opportunities and inclusion as central principles, mainstreamed across their platforms. In other words, only one or two parties have an advanced program in which these themes are developed through detailed measures and linked to other policies.
- On a scale from 0 to 3, the overall average score of parties on mainstreaming gender equality and inclusion in their programs is only 0.90. This modest level highlights that, overall, gender equality remains a marginal issue on the current electoral agenda.
- Only five parties stand out positively: the European Social Democratic Party (PSDE), the Action and Solidarity Party (PAS), the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe (ALDE), the electoral bloc "ÎMPREUNĂ" and the Moldovan National Party (PNM) scored the best in the analysis (scores above 1.5 out of 3). Their programs include relatively comprehensive measures for vulnerable groups - from expanding the network of crèches and day-care centers for children and the elderly, to subsidies for small farmers, employment facilities for people with disabilities or even shelters for victims of domestic violence.
- At the opposite pole, non-existent or purely symbolic programs: Many small parties and independent candidates score close to zero. This can be explained either by the absence of a real electoral program or by platforms focused strictly on patriotic slogans (e.g. union with Romania) without concrete social proposals. Thus, themes such as gender equality, the fight against violence or the inclusion of disadvantaged people are completely omitted in their case.
- Social protection - popular, but not necessarily inclusive: Most parties promise social protection measures (pension increases, child allowances, social benefits, etc.), and this is the most frequently mentioned chapter. However, few programs specify *how* they will actually support vulnerable groups. Key proposals such as available care services (crèches for young children, home care for the elderly and disabled), measures for single parents or incentives for the inclusion of the disadvantaged in the labor market are often missing.
- Education and health - present in the discourse, but with inclusion gaps: the parties with advanced programs foresee investments in schools and hospitals (modernization of infrastructure, equipment, staffing), but only a few specifically mention inclusive education or reproductive health. For example, there is talk of renovating schools and expanding the network of family doctors in villages, but topics such as preventing school drop-out in poor communities, integrating children with special needs into education or women's access to specific health services remain insufficiently addressed.

- Gender-based violence - the most neglected theme: Combating violence against women and domestic violence is almost absent from electoral offers. Only one or two parties propose concrete measures in this area. Notably, ALDE promises the establishment of shelters for victims in every district and national prevention campaigns, but the vast majority of parties make no mention of services for victims, improved legislation or reintegration programs for survivors of violence.
- Equal opportunities - a peripheral campaign issue: Overall, the analysis highlights a gap between public discourse and concrete commitments: gender equality and social inclusion are treated by most candidates as secondary issues. Only a few electoral programs give them the status of strategic priorities, which raises questions about the future commitment of the future Parliament to the principles of equal opportunities for all citizens.

Annex 1. Assessment of electoral programs

Electoral contestants	Field of evaluation									Programs average
	Gender equality and inclusion as a politically supported value	Health	Education	Social Protection	Rural Development	Agriculture	Infrastructure	Labor market and economic self-reliance	Protection against gender-based violence	
Domain average	0,79	0,94	1,07	1,34	0,87	0,81	0,88	0,89	0,55	0,90
Political Party "Parti Action and Solidarity Party" (PAS)	3,00	2,50	2,50	2,70	1,80	2,00	2,30	2,40	0,50	2,19
Stamate Olesea	-	0,30	0,50	0,10	-	0,20	-	-	-	0,12
Năstase Andrei	-	0,20	0,20	1,00	-	-	-	-	-	0,16
Political Party Coalition for Unity and Welfare (CUB)	0,50	1,50	1,00	1,00	1,50	1,00	1,30	1,40	0,50	1,08
Crețu Tatiana	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0,50	-	0,06
Political Party Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe (ALDE)	2,80	2,10	1,70	2,30	1,20	1,50	2,20	1,80	2,70	2,03
Political party National Moldovan Party PNM	2,00	1,30	2,20	3,00	0,60	1,50	1,50	1,00	1,00	1,57
Political Party European Social Democratic Party PSD	2,50	1,50	1,70	2,50	2,50	2,50	2,50	2,00	2,00	2,19
Political Party MIȘCAREA RESPECT MOLDOVA PPMRM	0,50	0,80	2,30	1,50	0,20	0,50	0,20	0,50	-	0,72
Electoral Bloc "Patriotic of Socialists, Communists, Heart and Future of Moldova" BE Patriotic	-	2,20	1,40	2,20	2,00	2,00	1,20	2,00	0,50	1,50
Electoral Bloc "ALTERNATIVE"	1,50	1,50	1,60	1,90	1,50	0,80	2,00	1,20	1,50	1,50
Political Party League of Towns and Municipalities PP LOC	1,00	1,00	1,50	1,50	0,10	1,00	-	0,50	-	0,73

Political Party ALIANȚA PENTRU UNIREȚA ROMÂNILOR PP AUR	0,30	0,80	0,30	1,30	1,50	1,20	1,00	0,50	0,10	0,78
"ÎMPREUNĂ" Electoral Bloc	1,80	2,00	2,80	3,00	2,30	1,40	1,50	1,00	2,30	2,01
"MOLDOVENII" Alliance Political Party PPAM	-	0,20	0,30	-	0,30	-	-	0,10	-	0,10
Liberal Party PL	0,50	0,50	0,50	1,5	0,70	0,70	0,80	1,70	1,00	0,80
Electoral Bloc "Bloc Unirea Națiunii" Bloc BUN	-	0,20	-	1,00	1,30	-	1,50	0,50	-	0,50
"Partidul Nostru" political party	-	1,50	1,90	1,70	1,20	1,20	1,10	1,50	-	1,12
Victoria Sanduța	1,00	-	0,30	0,50	-	-	-	-	-	0,20
Political Party "Christian Social Union of Moldova" CALIN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
"New Historical Option" Party PP NOI	-	0,30	0,50	0,20	0,30	0,20	0,10	0,40	-	0,22
Party Moldova Mare"	-	0,20	0,30	0,70	0,10	0,10	0,20	0,50	-	0,23

ABOUT THE PARTNERSHIP FOR DEVELOPMENT CENTER

Established in 1998, the *Center "Partnership for Development" (CPD)* is a public institution which aims to contribute to the promotion of an inclusive discourse on gender issues, the status of women and equal opportunities for women and men. CPD stands out as a non-governmental structure, which advocates the implementation of the concept of gender equality in all areas of life, the promotion of public policies in the field, addressing issues related to the role of women in society and their empowerment, the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women, being at the same time a center for documentation, information and training for NGOs and initiative groups.

Aim. To develop and strengthen resources and mechanisms for the equitable empowerment of women and men in order to promote gender equality in the Republic of Moldova by supporting a coherent approach to influencing policies.

Mission. CPD promotes the values of gender equality as part of an open society in order to strengthen a genuine gender partnership.

Vision. CPD advocates for the building of a community with equal prospects and opportunities for its members, a society in which women and men are full citizens, able to solve problems together, benefit equally from new opportunities and engage fully in political, economic and social activities.

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