Macedonia
National Public Opinion Poll
March 4 - 12, 2017
Detailed Methodology

- The survey was conducted on behalf of the Center for Insights in Survey Research by the Brima market research firm in cooperation with Chariot LLC.

- Data was collected from March 4 to 12, 2017, through face-to-face interviews by trained professionals.

- A total of 1,108 interviews were completed, with an overall margin of error of plus or minus three percent at the midrange of the 95 percent confidence level. A nationally representative sample was based on a multistage stratification proportionate to the population sample distribution, with a random selection of households and respondents. The response rate was 71 percent.

- The sample was prepared using the State Statistical Office data (2002 census results) for the population aged 18 and older. It also considered the structure of the population according to age, gender, education, housing type, national affiliation and region, and was updated accordingly with estimates and primary information collected by Brima.

- Stratification was based on three stages. First, the number of respondents for each of the regions was specified in proportion to the size of its population (aged 18 and older). Second, the sampling plan consisted of 163 sampling points located according to urban/rural split, municipality size and nationality diffusion. Third, the selection of households was based on a random route method. In urban areas, every third household on the left-hand side of the street was selected. In rural areas, the “wave-wise” approach was applied, in which the interviewer selects every fourth inhabited house/dwelling on both sides of the interviewer’s route/track, counting from the first house on the left.

- Some questions were asked using the “sealed envelope method,” in which the respondent provides the answer anonymously to the interviewer in a sealed envelope.

- The “next birthday method” was used to select respondents 18 years and older.

- Figures in charts and tables may not add up to 100 percent due to rounding.

- This poll was conducted with support from the United States Agency for International Development.
Political Party Glossary

- VMRO-DPMNE: Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization - Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity
- SDSM: Social Democratic Union of Macedonia
- DUI: Democratic Union for Integration
- Movement BESA
- MR-DPA (Alliance for Albanians): Movement for Reform - Democratic Party of Albanians
- DPA: Democratic Party of Albanians
- GROM: Citizens Option for Macedonia
- DOM: Democratic Renewal of Macedonia
- NDR: National Democratic Revival
Local Government and Local Governance
Can you please tell me the name of your mayor?*

*Municipalities in Macedonia are run by directly-elected mayors. There are 80 municipalities in Macedonia; the city of Skopje is a separate local government unit.
How many of your municipal councilors can you name?*

*A municipal council in Macedonia can be composed of between 9 to 33 councilors, elected from closed proportional party lists.
Overall, are things in your municipality moving in the right or wrong direction?

- **Right direction**: 23%
- **Wrong direction**: 37%
- **Neutral (neither right nor wrong direction)**: 35%
- **Don't know/Refused to answer**: 5%
How satisfied or unsatisfied are you with the past performance of each of the following:

- Your mayor: 43% Very satisfied / Somewhat satisfied, 51% Somewhat unsatisfied / Very unsatisfied, 5% Don't know / Refused to answer
- Your municipal council: 39% Very satisfied / Somewhat satisfied, 47% Somewhat unsatisfied / Very unsatisfied, 14% Don't know / Refused to answer
- The local administration of your municipality: 42% Very satisfied / Somewhat satisfied, 46% Somewhat unsatisfied / Very unsatisfied, 11% Don't know / Refused to answer
What are the most serious problems facing your municipality today?

- Unemployment/The local economy: 29%
  - First mention: 17%
  - Second mention: 12%
- Infrastructure: 27%
  - First mention: 14%
  - Second mention: 13%
- Urban planning and development: 19%
  - First mention: 12%
  - Second mention: 7%
- Water supply and sewage service: 18%
  - First mention: 12%
  - Second mention: 6%
- Local government corruption: 11%
  - First mention: 5%
  - Second mention: 6%
- Public hygiene/Garbage collection: 11%
  - First mention: 5%
  - Second mention: 6%
- Healthcare: 11%
  - First mention: 5%
  - Second mention: 6%
- Pollution/The environment: 9%
  - First mention: 4%
  - Second mention: 5%
- Responsiveness and efficiency of local government: 8%
  - First mention: 3%
  - Second mention: 5%
- Kindergartens/Elderly care/Social care: 7%
  - First mention: 2%
  - Second mention: 5%
- Public transport: 7%
  - First mention: 3%
  - Second mention: 4%
- Safety/Crime: 6%
  - First mention: 3%
  - Second mention: 3%
- Education and schools: 6%
  - First mention: 3%
  - Second mention: 3%
- Street lighting: 5%
  - First mention: 1%
  - Second mention: 4%
- Culture: 4%
  - First mention: 2%
  - Second mention: 2%
- Sport and recreation: 2%
  - First mention: 1%
  - Second mention: 1%
- Prevention and protection from natural disasters: 2%
  - First mention: 1%
  - Second mention: 2%
Which has more of an impact on your quality of life?

- National government: 59%
- Local government: 23%
- Don't know/Refused to answer: 18%
Which level of government is more responsive to citizen concerns?

- National government: 30%
- Local government: 24%
- Both: 26%
- Neither: 7%
- Don't know/Refused to answer: 13%
Would you vote for a candidate from another ethnic community for mayor (e.g. Albanian, Macedonian, Serb, Roma, Turk, Vlach) if you thought s/he would better represent you?

- Yes: 43%
- No: 48%
- Don't know/Refused to answer: 9%
To what extent would local policy-focused televised candidate debates be useful in informing your decision for whom to vote in the upcoming local elections?

- They would be very useful: 21%
- They would be somewhat useful: 33%
- They would not be so useful: 12%
- They would be useless: 16%
- I do not watch/I would not watch such debates: 12%
- Don't know: 6%
Elections and Electoral Conditions
Do you think the conditions are in place in the country to hold free and fair elections?

- **October 2015**: 63% Definitely yes/Probably yes, 30% Definitely no/Probably no, 7% Don’t know
- **January 2016**: 59% Definitely yes/Probably yes, 35% Definitely no/Probably no, 6% Don’t know
- **April 2016**: 48% Definitely yes/Probably yes, 45% Definitely no/Probably no, 7% Don’t know
- **November 2016**: 62% Definitely yes/Probably yes, 29% Definitely no/Probably no, 8% Don’t know
- **March 2017**: 57% Definitely yes/Probably yes, 33% Definitely no/Probably no, 10% Don’t know
As you may know, a credible voter list should contain all eligible voters in the country and should not contain any ineligible or duplicate voters. How confident are you in the accuracy of the voter list in Macedonia?

- **Very confident**
- **Somewhat confident**
- **Not that confident**
- **Not confident at all**
- **Don’t know/Refused to answer**

**March 2017**
- 14% Very confident
- 35% Somewhat confident
- 25% Not that confident
- 15% Not confident at all
- 11% Don’t know/Refused to answer

**November 2016**
- 19% Very confident
- 29% Somewhat confident
- 22% Not that confident
- 18% Not confident at all
- 10% Don’t know/Refused to answer

**April 2016**
- 15% Very confident
- 26% Somewhat confident
- 23% Not that confident
- 26% Not confident at all
- 10% Don’t know/Refused to answer
Do you believe that your vote on Election Day is secret?*

* In May 2014 the question was phrased as follows: “Do you believe that even though casting your vote on Election Day was secret, some political party knows for whom you voted?”
Who do you think violates the secrecy of your vote?
(Those who think that their vote on election day is not secret, n=244)

- **Political parties (in general)**
  - March 2017: 28%
  - November 2016: 28%
  - April 2016: 38%

- **VMRO-DPMNE**
  - March 2017: 18%
  - November 2016: 21%
  - April 2016: 17%

- **The State Election Commission**
  - March 2017: 16%
  - November 2016: 7%
  - April 2016: 3%

- **The government**
  - March 2017: 13%
  - November 2016: 19%
  - April 2016: 15%

- **DUI**
  - March 2017: 7%
  - November 2016: 11%
  - April 2016: 15%

- **The police**
  - March 2017: 1%
  - November 2016: 0%
  - April 2016: 0%

- **SDSM**
  - March 2017: 0%
  - November 2016: 0%
  - April 2016: 0%

- **DPA**
  - March 2017: 0%
  - November 2016: 1%
  - April 2016: 0%

- **Don’t know/Refused to answer**
  - March 2017: 15%
  - November 2016: 11%
  - April 2016: 18%
Have you, a relative or someone you know personally ever been subjected to pressure (such as force, threats, vote-buying or other illegal actions) to vote in a particular way?*

* In April 2016, this question referred to previous election cycles. In November 2016 and March 2017 the question was asked using the “sealed envelope method.” See “Methodology” for details.
Would you prefer to vote for an individual candidate, a party list, or both?

![Bar Chart]

- **Candidate**
  - November 2016: 22%
  - March 2017: 19%

- **Party list**
  - November 2016: 16%
  - March 2017: 14%

- **Both**
  - November 2016: 43%
  - March 2017: 54%

- **Don’t know**
  - November 2016: 19%
  - March 2017: 13%
Would you vote for a candidate from a different ethnic group/community (e.g. Albanian, Macedonian, Serb, Roma, Turk, Vlach) if you think s/he will better represent you in Parliament?

- Yes: 42% (November 2016) vs 42% (March 2017)
- No: 47% (November 2016) vs 49% (March 2017)
- Don't know: 11% (November 2016) vs 9% (March 2017)
How likely are you to vote in the upcoming local elections?

- Very likely: 61%
- Somewhat likely: 21%
- Somewhat unlikely: 5%
- Very unlikely: 3%
- Would not vote: 4%
- Don't know/Refused to answer: 6%
Which party would you vote for if municipal elections were held today?

- VMRO-DPMNE: 28%
- SDSM: 16%
- DUI: 8%
- Movement BESA: 7%
- MR-DPA: 2%
- DPA: 2%
- GROM: 1%
- LDP: 1%
- Other: 4%
- I would not vote: 4%
- None/Intend to spoil ballot: 5%
- Undecided/Don’t know: 5%
- No answer/Refused to answer: 17%
How important were each of the following in determining the party/coalition for which you voted in the December 2016 parliamentary elections?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Very important</th>
<th>Important</th>
<th>Not important</th>
<th>Not important at all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It protects my ethnic identity</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The values and the stances of the party</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Its election program/Proposed policies</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic benefits/Incentives for me or my family</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The party leader</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My family supports that party</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To change the government/The governing parties</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
If parliamentary elections were held today, how likely would you be to vote?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>April 2016</th>
<th>November 2016</th>
<th>March 2017</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very likely</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat likely</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat unlikely</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very unlikely</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would not vote</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know/Refused to answer</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

April 2016, November 2016, March 2017
If parliamentary elections were held today, how likely would you be to vote?

(Disaggregated by age)

- **55+ Years old**
  - Very likely: 67%
  - Somewhat likely: 17%
  - Somewhat unlikely: 4%
  - Very unlikely: 4%
  - Would not vote: 7%
  - Don't know/Refused to answer: 1%

- **35-54 Years old**
  - Very likely: 59%
  - Somewhat likely: 18%
  - Somewhat unlikely: 6%
  - Very unlikely: 3%
  - Would not vote: 7%
  - Don't know/Refused to answer: 8%

- **18-34 Years old**
  - Very likely: 52%
  - Somewhat likely: 20%
  - Somewhat unlikely: 11%
  - Very unlikely: 5%
  - Would not vote: 6%
  - Don't know/Refused to answer: 6%
For which party would you vote if parliamentary elections were held today?*

- VMRO-DPMNE: 26% (March 2017), 27% (November 2016), 27% (April 2016)
- SDSM: 18% (March 2017), 18% (November 2016), 17% (April 2016)
- DUI: 7% (March 2017), 7% (November 2016), 6% (April 2016)
- Movement BESA: 6% (March 2017), 7% (November 2016), 6% (April 2016)
- MR-DPA (Alliance for Albanians)**: 3% (March 2017), 2% (November 2016), 1% (April 2016)
- DPA: 3% (March 2017), 3% (November 2016), 2% (April 2016)
- Other: 6% (March 2017), 6% (November 2016), 4% (April 2016)
- None/Intend to spoil ballot: 9% (March 2017), 7% (November 2016), 6% (April 2016)
- Would not vote: 4% (March 2017), 0% (November 2016), 4% (April 2016)
- Undecided/Don't know: 5% (March 2017), 4% (November 2016), 5% (April 2016)
- No answer/Refused to answer: 22% (March 2017), 22% (November 2016), 23% (April 2016)

*Question asked using the “sealed envelope method.” See “Methodology” for more detail.
**In the November 2016 poll, MR-DPA was listed as Alliance for Albanians, as the party led a coalition under this name for the December 2016 elections.
Top Priorities for the New Government
What should the new government’s top two priorities be for the first two months? (Open-ended)

- **Creating new jobs**: 38%
- **Ending the political crisis**: 29%
- **Growing the economy**: 32%
- **Higher wages and pensions/Lower prices and taxes**: 15%
- **Curbing corruption/Rule of law/EU “Priebe” reform priorities**: 14%
- **Decreasing poverty**: 14%
- **Albanian rights**: 6%
- **Youth policies**: 6%
- **Preserving the unity of the country and rejecting the Albanian platform**: 4%
- **Peace and stability**: 5%
- **Stabilization of interethnic relations**: 3%
- **EU Integration**: 4%
- **Education**: 3%
- **Other**: 12%
- **Don’t Know**: 9%

*The EU “Priebe” reforms are a set of reforms for Macedonia recommended in a European Commission report prepared by Reinhard Priebe*
In your opinion, what are the two most serious problems facing Macedonia today?

(Open-ended)

- **Current political situation/The political crisis**: 32% (First mention), 13% (Second mention), 45%
- **Unemployment**: 21% (First mention), 16% (Second mention), 37%
- **Poverty/Low standard of living/Problems of common people**: 10% (First mention), 13% (Second mention), 23%
- **Economic crisis**: 8% (First mention), 10% (Second mention), 18%
- **Endangerment of national unity due to the Albanian platform**: 5% (First mention), 2% (Second mention), 7%
- **Interethnic relations/Conflict**: 3% (First mention), 3% (Second mention), 6%
- **Security crisis/Peace/Stability/War/Terrorism**: 3% (First mention), 3% (Second mention), 6%
- **Poor performance of the current government**: 2% (First mention), 2% (Second mention), 4%
- **Low or non-payment of salary or pension**: 2% (First mention), 6% (Second mention), 8%
- **Crime**: 2% (First mention), 4% (Second mention), 6%
- **Name issue***: 2% (First mention), 2% (Second mention), 4%
- **Problems with the opposition**: 1%
- **Law and order/Rule of law**: 2% (First mention), 3%
- **Corruption**: 3% (First mention), 4%
- **Emigration/Emigration of youth**: 3% (First mention), 4%
- **High prices**: 2% (First mention), 3%

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*There is an ongoing diplomatic dispute over the official name of Macedonia.*
Overall, is Macedonia moving in the right or wrong direction?
How would you describe the current internal political situation in Macedonia?
Is the Republic of Macedonia more or less stable today than it was one year ago?
Should there be early parliamentary elections?

- Yes: 44%
- No: 41%
- Don't know: 15%
To what extent do you support or not support President Ivanov’s decision to withhold the mandate to form a government from SDSM president Zoran Zaev?*

*President Ivanov has refused to grant a mandate to form a government to the SDSM-led coalition despite the fact that SDSM has a parliamentary majority.
Should the president give the mandate to form a government to the leader of the party that has the support of a majority of parliamentarians?

- Yes, he should: 50%
- No, he shouldn’t: 10%
- It depends on the consequences for the country: 12%
- It depends who the leader is: 5%
- Don't know/Refused to answer: 10%
To what degree do you trust the following based on their actions during the last 12 months?

- State Commission for Preventing Corruption
- Political parties
- Courts
- Media
- Public Prosecution Office
- The Assembly
- State Election Commission
- Municipal government
- National government
- The healthcare system
- The President
- Special Public Prosecutor
- The education system

I trust them/I trust them fully
I have no trust/I have no trust at all
Do you support the work of the Special Public Prosecutor for the resolution of the wiretapping scandal?

- I completely/Somewhat support it: 63% (April 2016), 51% (November 2016), 53% (March 2017)
- I completely/Somewhat do not support it: 26% (April 2016), 36% (November 2016), 37% (March 2017)
- Don’t know/Refused to answer: 12% (April 2016), 13% (November 2016), 9% (March 2017)
The rule of law in a democracy can be understood as “a state where all people and institutions are accountable to the law and the Constitution, and the Constitution and the law are equally applied to all.”

How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

“The rule of law exists in Macedonia.”

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>November 2016</th>
<th>March 2017</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Completely/Somewhat agree</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completely/Somewhat disagree</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>6%</td>
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</table>
In your opinion, how important is the work of the Special Public Prosecutor in ensuring the rule of law in Macedonia?
Ethnic Albanian Issues and Albanian Language
Which of the following are the two most important priorities for improving the status of ethnic Albanians in Macedonia?*

*(ethnic Albanians only, n=280)*

- Increasing the standard of living/Decreasing poverty of ethnic Albanians: 34%
- Integration with EU and NATO: 33%
- Creating jobs/Increasing employment of ethnic Albanians: 28%
- Wider official use of the Albanian language: 28%
- Proportional representation for ethnic Albanian employees in state and public institutions: 19%
- Non-partisan judiciary which treats all ethnicities equally and fights corruption: 14%
- Efficient institutions with equal treatment of ethnic Albanians without ethnic and partisan influence: 12%
- Don’t know: 2%

*Aggregated two responses.*
How satisfied are you with the current level of utilization of the Albanian language in communication with institutions at the national and local level? 
(*ethnic Albanians only, n=280*)

**National level**

- Very satisfied: 49%
- Somewhat satisfied: 19%
- Somewhat unsatisfied: 28%
- Very unsatisfied: 2%
- Don't know: 2%
How satisfied are you with the current level of utilization of the Albanian language in communication with institutions at the national and local level? (ethnic Albanians only, n=280)
When it comes to the utilization of the Albanian language in Macedonia, would you say “The utilization of the Albanian language by state and local institutions is...”:

- Adequate: 52%
- Not adequate and should be widened, but not necessarily made official throughout the entire territory of Macedonia: 18%
- Should be official throughout the entire territory of Macedonia: 18%
- Don’t know/Refused to answer: 12%
What languages do you speak at a level to be able to study and work in that language?

(Multiple responses possible)

- Macedonian: 80%
- Albanian: 28%
- Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian: 16%
- English: 12%
- Turkish: 5%
- German: 2%
- Roma: 2%
- Other: 1%

(Multiple responses possible)
Thinking about the status of Albanians as the second largest ethnic community in Macedonia, which of the following is closest to your opinion?

“As the second largest ethnic community in Macedonia, ethnic Albanians...”

- Have all the rights to which they are entitled to under the Constitution, in law and in practice: 61%
- Have all the rights to which they are entitled to under the Constitution, in law but not in practice: 9%
- Have all the rights to which they are entitled to under the Constitution, in law and in practice: 19%
- Do not have all the rights to which they are entitled to under the Constitution, in law or in practice: 11%
- Don't know/Refused to answer: 11%
In your opinion, is the joint platform of Albanian political parties in Macedonia...?

- Positive for both the rights of ethnic Albanians and interethnic relations: 32%
- Positive for the rights of ethnic Albanians, but negative for interethnic relations: 27%
- Negative for both the rights of ethnic Albanians and interethnic relations: 21%
- I have not heard of such a platform: 6%
- Don’t know: 15%
Jobs and the Economy
In your opinion, has unemployment increased or decreased over the last year?
In the next two years, will the economy in Macedonia get better, get worse, or stay the same?
How would you place your views on this scale (where “1” = complete support for more foreign investment and “7” = complete support for more domestic investment; 2 - 6 = views that lie in between).

“In order to grow the economy, the Government of Macedonia should...”

- Support more foreign investments and companies (1 to 3)
- In between (4)
- Support more domestic investments and companies (5 to 7)
- Don’t know
To what extent is membership in a political party necessary for getting a job in the state administration/sector or government institutions in Macedonia today?

Completely necessary: 49% (November 2016), 51% (March 2017)
Somewhat necessary: 22% (November 2016), 26% (March 2017)
Somewhat unnecessary: 8% (November 2016), 8% (March 2017)
Completely unnecessary: 11% (November 2016), 5% (March 2017)
Don't know: 10% (November 2016), 10% (March 2017)

Polling dates:
- November 2016
- March 2017
Do you know someone personally who has received a state job because they are members of, or are close to, a political party?

- Yes: 57% (November 2016), 59% (March 2017)
- No, I don’t know of anyone like that: 27% (November 2016), 27% (March 2017)
- I don’t know if the people I know have received a job like that: 11% (November 2016), 11% (March 2017)
- Refused to answer: 6% (November 2016), 4% (March 2017)
To what extent is membership in a political party necessary for getting a job in the private sector in Macedonia today?

- Completely necessary: 34%
- Somewhat necessary: 22%
- Somewhat unnecessary: 11%
- Completely unnecessary: 8%
- Don’t know: 25%
Do you personally know someone who has received a job in the private sector because they are members of, or are close to, a political party?

- Yes: 24%
- No, I don’t know of anyone like that: 60%
- I don’t know if the people I know have received a job like that: 13%
- Refused to answer: 3%
Do you think it is better to work in the private sector or in the public sector/state administration?

- Definitely in the public sector: 46%
- Probably in the public sector: 21%
- Probably in the private sector: 10%
- Definitely in the private sector: 7%
- Does not matter: 9%
- Neither: 2%
- Don't know: 4%
Is there any member of your household who has emigrated to live and/or work abroad?

- Yes, in the last year: 1%
- Yes, in the last three years: 7%
- Yes, over three years ago: 9%
- No: 12%
- Refused to answer: 70%
Speaking personally, is your overall quality of life...?
How is your family’s economic situation compared with one year ago?
To which political party do you belong or would consider joining?*

*Question asked using the “sealed envelope method.” See “Methodology” for more details.
Which party, in your opinion, is most active in your village/town/city?

- VMRO-DPMNE
- SDSM
- DUI
- Movement BESA
- DPA
- MR-DPA
- GROM
- Other
- None
- Don't know/Refused to answer

March 2017:
- VMRO-DPMNE: 40%
- SDSM: 11%
- DUI: 9%
- Movement BESA: 2%
- DPA: 2%
- MR-DPA: 2%
- GROM: 1%
- Other: 3%
- None: 10%
- Don't know/Refused to answer: 15%

November 2016:
- VMRO-DPMNE: 40%
- SDSM: 11%
- DUI: 8%
- Movement BESA: 4%
- DPA: 3%
- MR-DPA: 2%
- GROM: 1%
- Other: 2%
- None: 12%
- Don't know/Refused to answer: 13%

April 2016:
- VMRO-DPMNE: 40%
- SDSM: 11%
- DUI: 9%
- Movement BESA: 2%
- DPA: 3%
- MR-DPA: 1%
- GROM: 1%
- Other: 1%
- None: 12%
- Don't know/Refused to answer: 16%

March 2017 vs November 2016:
- VMRO-DPMNE: Increase of 0%
- SDSM: Increase of 0%
- DUI: Increase of 1%
- Movement BESA: Increase of 2%
- DPA: Increase of 1%
- MR-DPA: Increase of 0%
- GROM: Increase of 1%
- Other: Increase of 1%
- None: Decrease of 1%
- Don't know/Refused to answer: Increase of 16%
In your opinion, which party works hardest for your support?

- VMRO-DPMNE: March 2017 - 29%, November 2016 - 30%
- SDSM: March 2017 - 13%, November 2016 - 14%
- DUI: March 2017 - 7%, November 2016 - 6%
- Movement BESA: March 2017 - 6%, November 2016 - 5%
- MR-DPA: March 2017 - 2%, November 2016 - 3%
- DPA: March 2017 - 3%, November 2016 - 3%
- Other: March 2017 - 2%, November 2016 - 4%
- None: March 2017 - 25%, November 2016 - 24%
- Don't know/Refused to answer: March 2017 - 13%, November 2016 - 14%
I will read you a list of political parties in Macedonia. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of that party.

- **Very/Somewhat favorable**
- **Very/Somewhat unfavorable**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Very Favorable</th>
<th>Somewhat Favorable</th>
<th>Very Unfavorable</th>
<th>Somewhat Unfavorable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VMRO-DPMNE</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>-15%</td>
<td>-52%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDSM</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>-19%</td>
<td>-54%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUI</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>-66%</td>
<td>-77%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DPA</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>-69%</td>
<td>-77%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DOM</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>-48%</td>
<td>-62%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movement BESA</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>-50%</td>
<td>-65%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MR-DPA (Alliance for Albanians)</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>-59%</td>
<td>-69%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NDR</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>-52%</td>
<td>-60%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I will read you a list of institutions in Macedonia. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of that institution.

- **Very/Somewhat favorable**
  - The Government: 37%
  - The opposition: 34%
  - Former PM Nikola Gruevski: 37%
  - President Gjorge Ivanov: 42%
  - The Parliament: 33%
  - The media: 48%
  - The President of the Parliament: 32%
  - The Special Prosecutor: 44%

- **Very/Somewhat unfavorable**
  - The Government: -13%
  - The opposition: -21%
  - Former PM Nikola Gruevski: -16%
  - President Gjorge Ivanov: -9%
  - The Parliament: -22%
  - The media: -4% (48% very/somewhat favorable)
  - The President of the Parliament: -21%
  - The Special Prosecutor: -1% (44% very/somewhat favorable)
When you think about people in political life, who is the one person in Macedonia that you view most favorably? (Open-ended)
I will read you a list of public figures in Macedonia. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of that person. If you have never heard of that person please say so.

- **Very/Somewhat favorable**
  - Gjorge Ivanov: 41%
  - Nikola Gruevski: 37%
  - Zoran Zaev: 36%
  - Ali Ahmeti: 12%
  - Liljana Popovska: 14%
  - Menduh Thaci: 7%
  - Billal Kasami: 14%
  - Katica Janeva: 44%

- **Very/Somewhat unfavorable**
  - Gjorge Ivanov: -10%
  - Nikola Gruevski: -17%
  - Zoran Zaev: -17%
  - Ali Ahmeti: -64%
  - Liljana Popovska: -47%
  - Menduh Thaci: -71%
  - Billal Kasami: -39%
  - Katica Janeva: -44%

25%
Support for Euro-Atlantic Integration
Do you support Macedonia becoming a member of the EU?
Do you think Macedonia is closer to EU entry today, or was it closer when it first received its EU candidate member status?
What is the reason for the slowdown in Macedonia’s EU integration?

- The name issue: 44% (March 2017), 47% (November 2016)
- Lack of domestic reform: 28% (March 2017), 29% (November 2016)
- New conditions set by the EU: 16% (March 2017), 15% (November 2016)
- Don’t know/Refused to answer: 10% (March 2017), 8% (November 2016)
- Other: 2% (March 2017), 1% (November 2016)
Do you support Macedonia becoming a member of NATO?

[Graph showing percentages over time]
How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

“Macedonia’s interests are best served by maintaining strong relations with...”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Mar-17</th>
<th>Nov-16</th>
<th>Apr-16</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>European Union</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov-16</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr-16</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov-16</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr-16</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov-16</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr-16</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>America</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov-16</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr-16</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov-16</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr-16</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov-16</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr-16</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Which one of these countries helps Macedonia’s national interests the most?

- **European Union**: 22% (March 2017), 19% (November 2016), 17% (April 2016)
- **United States of America**: 19% (March 2017), 17% (November 2016), 15% (April 2016)
- **Turkey**: 16% (March 2017), 15% (November 2016), 12% (April 2016)
- **Russia**: 11% (March 2017), 11% (November 2016), 6% (April 2016)
- **Germany**: 7% (March 2017), 6% (November 2016), 5% (April 2016)
- **China**: 3% (March 2017), 3% (November 2016), 1% (April 2016)
- **None of them**: 19% (March 2017), 19% (November 2016), 17% (April 2016)
- **All of them**: 5% (March 2017), 5% (November 2016), 4% (April 2016)
- **Don't know**: 13% (March 2017), 11% (November 2016), 10% (April 2016)
Sources of Political News
What is your primary source of political news?

(Multiple answers)

- Television: 88% (April 2016), 86% (November 2016), 89% (March 2017)
- Radio: 7% (April 2016), 5% (November 2016), 3% (March 2017)
- Print media: 13% (April 2016), 12% (November 2016), 8% (March 2017)
- Family/Friends: 30% (April 2016), 32% (November 2016), 27% (March 2017)
- Political parties: 5% (April 2016), 9% (November 2016), 7% (March 2017)
- Internet/Websites: 37% (April 2016), 32% (November 2016), 35% (March 2017)
Which television station do you watch most often for political news?

- **SITEL**: 25% (March 2017), 23% (November 2016), 20% (April 2016)
- **Alsat M**: 17% (March 2017), 19% (November 2016), 21% (April 2016)
- **Kanal 5**: 13% (March 2017), 13% (November 2016), 13% (April 2016)
- **24 Vesti**: 12% (March 2017), 13% (November 2016), 13% (April 2016)
- **Telma**: 9% (March 2017), 10% (November 2016), 11% (April 2016)
- **MTV (Macedonian Language)**: 4% (March 2017), 5% (November 2016), 5% (April 2016)
- **TV 21**: 3% (March 2017), 3% (November 2016), 3% (April 2016)
- **TV Shenja**: 2% (March 2017), 2% (November 2016), 2% (April 2016)
- **Do not watch TV**: 8% (March 2017), 6% (November 2016), 8% (April 2016)
Which daily newspaper do you read most often for political news?

- **Dnevnik**: 5% (March 2017), 7% (November 2016), 7% (April 2016)
- **Lajme**: 4% (March 2017), 3% (November 2016), 4% (April 2016)
- **Koha**: 4% (March 2017), 5% (November 2016), 7% (April 2016)
- **Vest**: 3% (March 2017), 3% (November 2016), 4% (April 2016)
- **Sloboden Pecat**: 2% (March 2017), 4% (November 2016), 3% (April 2016)
- **Nova Makedonija**: 1% (March 2017), 1% (November 2016), 1% (April 2016)
- **Utrinski Vesnik**: 1% (March 2017), 2% (November 2016), 2% (April 2016)
- **Vecer**: 1% (March 2017), 2% (November 2016), 1% (April 2016)
- **Do not read daily newspapers**: 70% (March 2017), 67% (November 2016), 76% (April 2016)
Which weekly newspaper do you read most often for political news?

- Do not read weekly newspapers: 88% (March 2017), 81% (November 2016), 85% (April 2016)
- Kapital: 1% (March 2017), 1% (November 2016), 1% (April 2016)
- Republika: 2% (March 2017), 4% (November 2016), 3% (April 2016)
- Fokus: 3% (March 2017), 5% (November 2016), 5% (April 2016)
Do the following TV stations favor a particular political party?

- **MTV**
  - Mar-17: 41% VMRO-DPMNE, 2% SDSM, 20% DUI, 35% Not in favor of any party, 1% DPA, 36% Don't know
  - Nov-16: 45% VMRO-DPMNE, 2% SDSM, 15% DUI, 36% Not in favor of any party, 1% DPA, 36% Don't know

- **Sitel**
  - Mar-17: 69% VMRO-DPMNE, 2% SDSM, 20% DUI, 22% Not in favor of any party, 1% DPA, 25% Don't know
  - Nov-16: 67% VMRO-DPMNE, 1% SDSM, 20% DUI, 25% Not in favor of any party, 1% DPA, 25% Don't know

- **Telma**
  - Mar-17: 5% VMRO-DPMNE, 38% SDSM, 1% DUI, 35% Not in favor of any party, 1% DPA, 38% Don't know
  - Nov-16: 5% VMRO-DPMNE, 35% SDSM, 20% DUI, 38% Not in favor of any party, 1% DPA, 38% Don't know

- **Kanal 5**
  - Mar-17: 51% VMRO-DPMNE, 4% SDSM, 13% DUI, 30% Not in favor of any party, 3% DPA, 33% Don't know
  - Nov-16: 52% VMRO-DPMNE, 3% SDSM, 12% DUI, 33% Not in favor of any party, 2% DPA, 33% Don't know

- **Alsat M**
  - Mar-17: 1% VMRO-DPMNE, 8% SDSM, 28% DUI, 13% Not in favor of any party, 2% DPA, 46% Don't know
  - Nov-16: 2% VMRO-DPMNE, 5% SDSM, 22% DUI, 17% Not in favor of any party, 3% DPA, 48% Don't know

- **24 Vesti**
  - Mar-17: 4% VMRO-DPMNE, 32% SDSM, 22% DUI, 39% Not in favor of any party, 22% DPA, 42% Don't know
  - Nov-16: 7% VMRO-DPMNE, 22% SDSM, 25% DUI, 42% Not in favor of any party, 17% DPA, 42% Don't know
To what extent do you agree or disagree that the media in Macedonia are free and independent?

- 15% The media are free and independent
- 18% Most of the media are free and independent, but some are not
- 34% Some of the media are free and independent, but most are not
- 23% No media in Macedonia are free and independent
- 10% Don’t know/Refused to answer
To what degree do you agree or disagree with this statement: “I find it more difficult to be friends with someone who disagrees with me on political issues.”

- Completely agree: 51%
- Somewhat agree: 16%
- Somewhat disagree: 7%
- Completely disagree: 5%
- Don't know/Refused to answer: 22%
Attitudes towards Democracy, Women and Youth
If you could have only one or the other, which is more important to you: a democratic system of government or a prosperous economy?

- Democracy is definitely more important to me
- Democracy is somewhat more important to me
- Prosperity is somewhat more important to me
- Prosperity is definitely more important to me
- Don't know/Refused to answer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Democracy</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prosperity</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>经济发展</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

October 2015: 32% Democracy, 13% Prosperity; November 2016: 33% Democracy, 18% Prosperity; April 2016: 32% Democracy, 15% Prosperity; January 2016: 33% Democracy, 14% Prosperity; October 2015: 28% Democracy, 13% Prosperity.
Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? “Politicians do not listen to the needs and ideas of young people.”

Agree: 60% (April 2016), 66% (November 2016), 65% (March 2017)
Disagree: 33% (April 2016), 28% (November 2016), 26% (March 2017)
Don’t know/Refused to answer: 7% (April 2016), 6% (November 2016), 8% (March 2017)
Do you think that free speech and free expression exists in Macedonia today?
Have you engaged in activities to address a social or community problem in the last 12 months (e.g. participated in a protest, filed a complaint, initiated or supported an online petition)?

*Responses before 2014 are taken from previous surveys not conducted by IRI.*
Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? “Politicians do not listen to the needs and ideas of women.”
If there are two candidates running for office and they have the same qualifications aside from the fact that one is a man and one is a woman, which candidate are you more likely to support?
Demographics
## Demographics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-34</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-54</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-65+</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ethnicity</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macedonian</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albanian</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkish</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roma</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbian</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other ethnic groups include Roma (3%), Turkish (3%), Serbian (2%), and Other (3%).
## Demographics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White collar worker</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural worker</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue collar worker</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refused to answer</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household Income (Monthly)</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-9,000 Denars</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9,001-18,000 Denars</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18,001-27,000 Denars</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27,001 Denars or more</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know/Refused to answer</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None/Incomplete elementary</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Education/University</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>