Macedonia National Public Opinion Poll

June 28 - July 15, 2018





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Detailed Methodology

- The survey was conducted on behalf of the <u>Center for Insights in Survey Research</u> by <u>GfK Skopje</u> market research firm.
- Data was collected from June 28 to July 15, 2018, through face-to-face interviews by trained professionals.
- A nationally representative sample size of 1,100 respondents ages 18 and over was surveyed. The margin of error was plus or minus three percent at the midrange of the 95 percent confidence level. The response rate was 69 percent.
- The national sample was prepared using 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, housing type, ethnic affiliation and region, and was updated accordingly with estimates and primary information collected by GfK Skopje.
- A stratified multistage sampling probability sampling method was used with the random route and next birthday methods for respondent selection.
- Stratification was based on three stages:
 - Stage One: The number of respondents for each of the regions was specified in proportion to the size of its population (aged 18 and older).
 - Stage Two: Each region was stratified by the level of urbanization, i.e. urban and rural strata.
 - Stage Three: The sampling plan consisted of 150 sampling points located according to urban/rural split, municipality size and ethnic diffusion.
 - Stage Four: 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.
- The "next birthday method" was used to select respondents.
- This dataset has been weighed for gender, age, ethnicity and education.
- Figures in charts and tables may not add up to 100 percent due to rounding.
- Any data cited from previous surveys comes from surveys with comparable methodology.
- This poll was conducted with support from the <u>United States Agency for International Development</u>.

Political Context Prior to/During Data Collection

- 17 June 2018 Signing of agreement with Greece about resolution of name issue
- 17 June 2018 Protest of VMRO-DPMNE in Bitola against name change
- 20 June 2018 Parliament adopts the law ratifying the agreement with Greece
- 23 June 2018 Protest in Skopje against name change
- 26 June 2018 President Ivanov declares that he will not sign the agreement with Greece
- 26 June 2018 European Council provides a conditional recommendation for the date of negotiations for EU
- 29 June 2018 NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg announces that invitation will be sent to the country after fulfillment of the agreement with Greece
- 5 July 2018 Parliament once again adopts the law ratifying the agreement with Greece
- 12 July 2018 NATO conditional invitation sent to Macedonia

Political Party Glossary

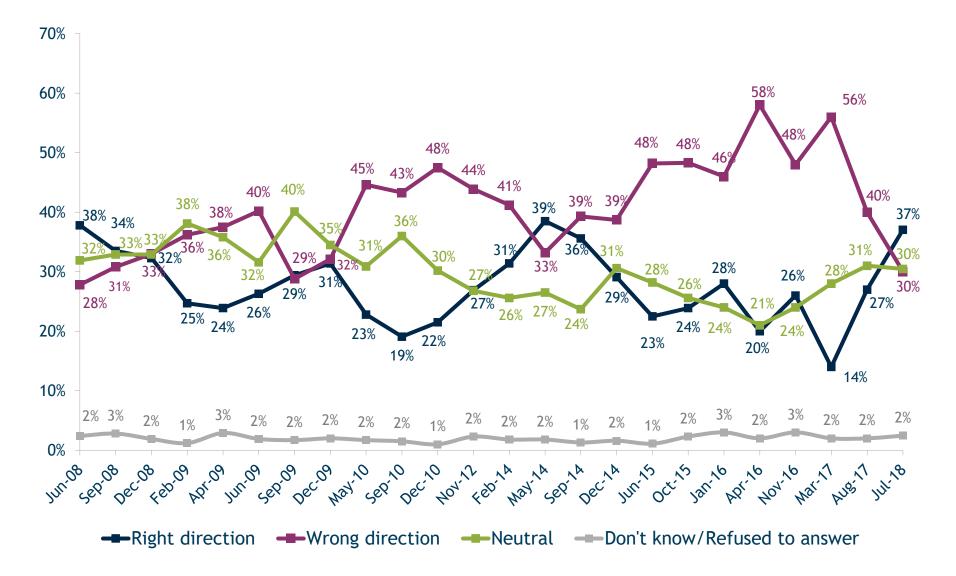
- VMRO-DPMNE: Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization -Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity
- SDSM: Social Democratic Union of Macedonia
- DUI: Democratic Union for Integration
- BESA: Movement BESA (party of Bilall Kasami)
- BESA: Movement BESA (party of Afrim Gashi)
- AA: Alliance for Albanians
- DPA: Democratic Party of Albanians
- NDR: National Democratic Revival

Perceptions of the Economic and Political State of Macedonia

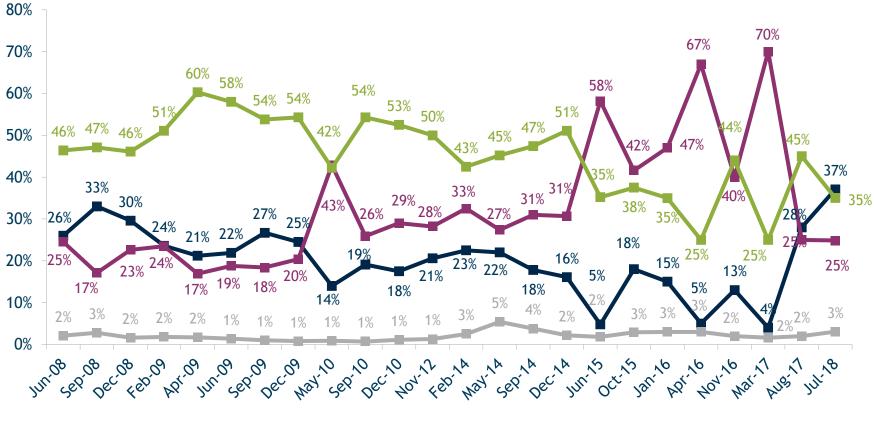




Overall, is Macedonia moving in the right or wrong direction?

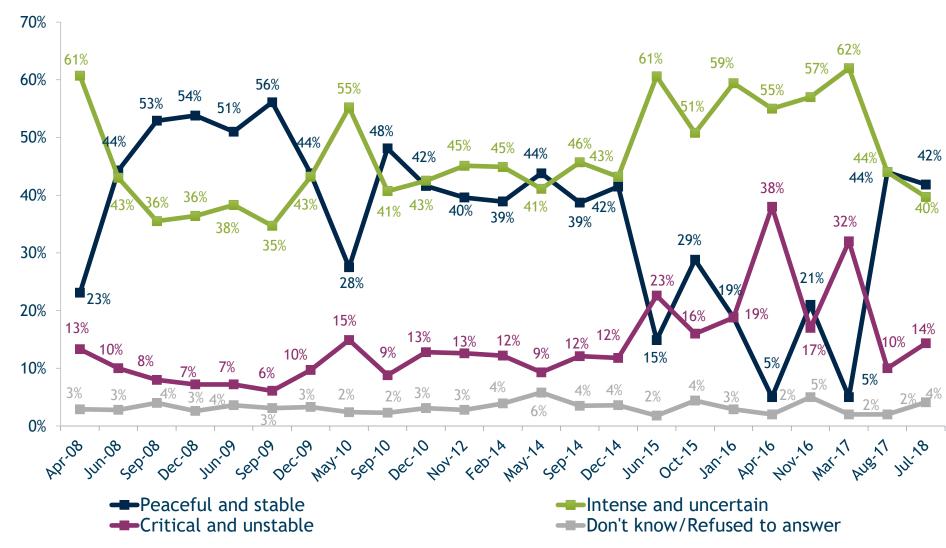


Is the Republic of Macedonia more or less stable today than it was one year ago?

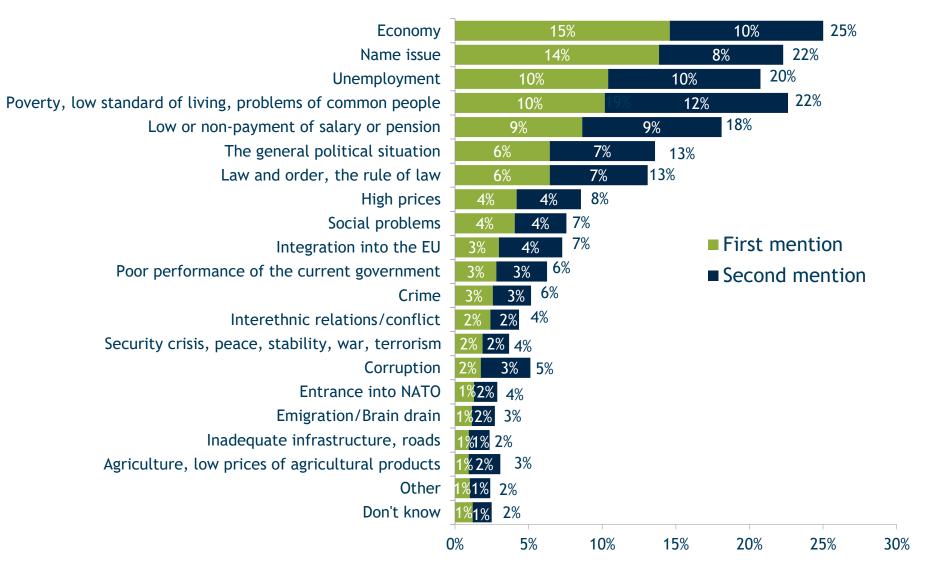


---More ----Less ----Same ----Don't know/Refused to answer

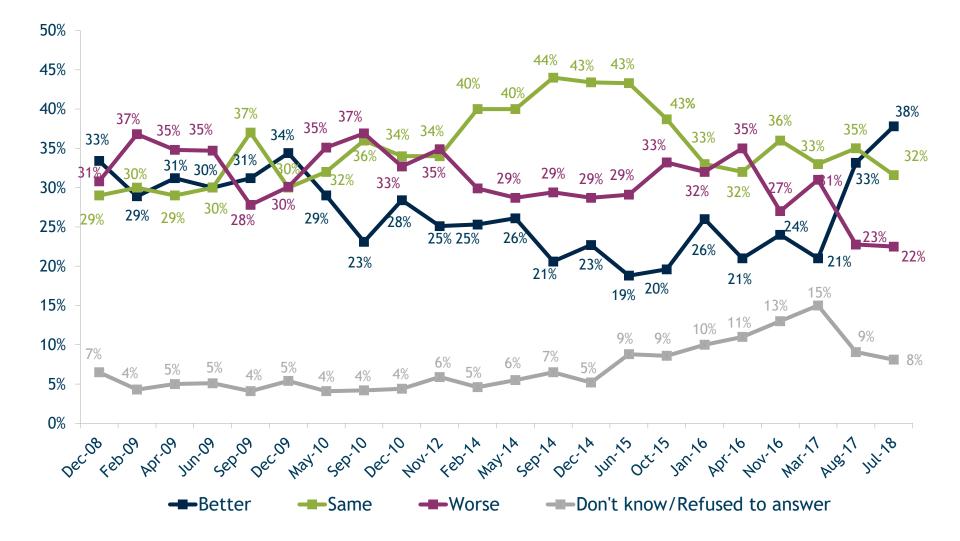
How would you describe the current internal political situation in Macedonia?



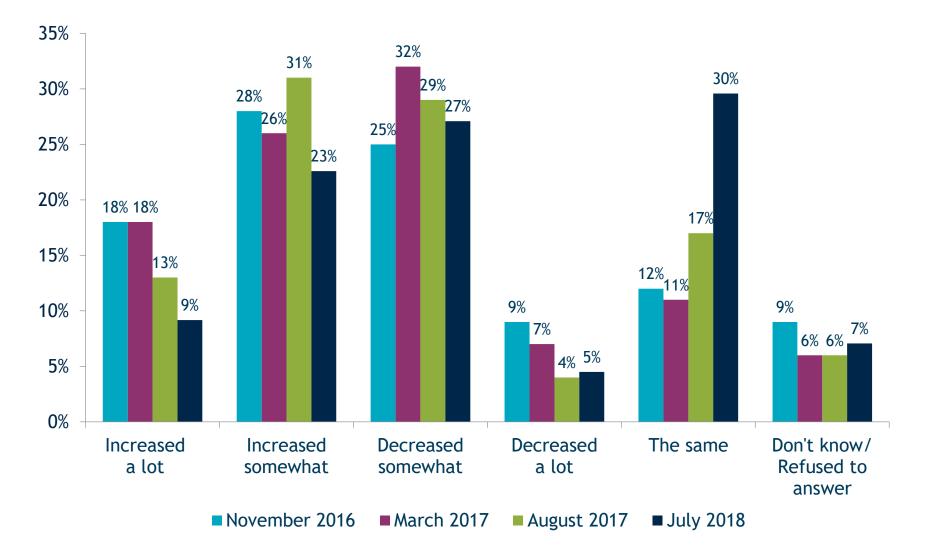
In your opinion, what are the two most serious problems facing Macedonia today? (Open-ended)



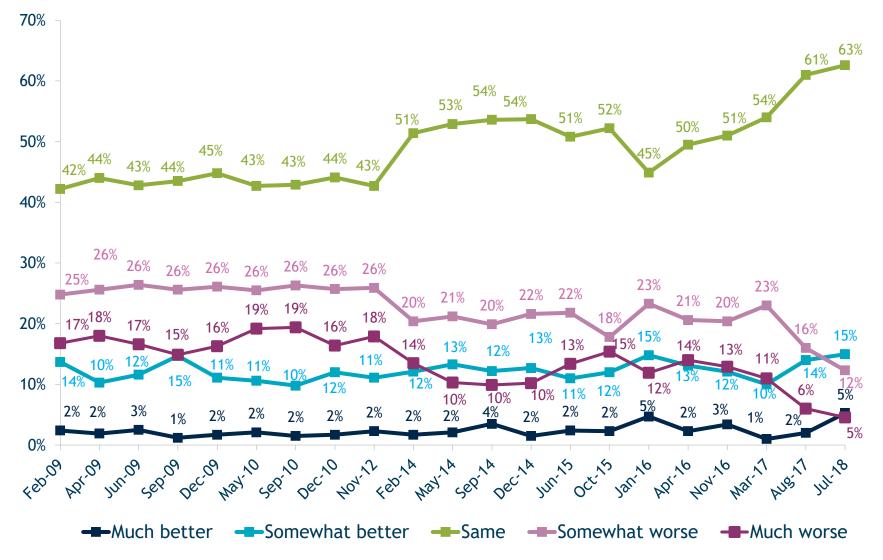
In the next two years, will the economy in Macedonia get better, get worse, or stay the same?



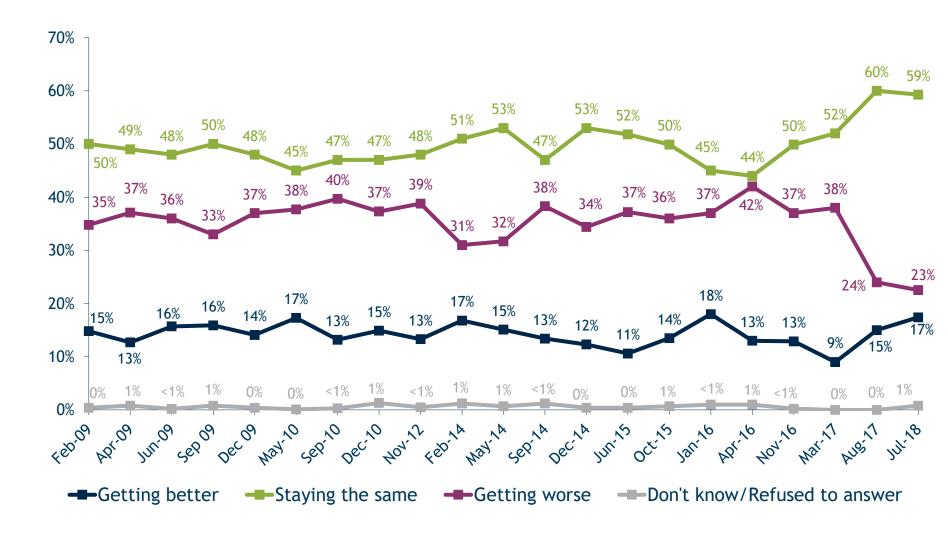
In your opinion, has unemployment increased or decreased over the last year?



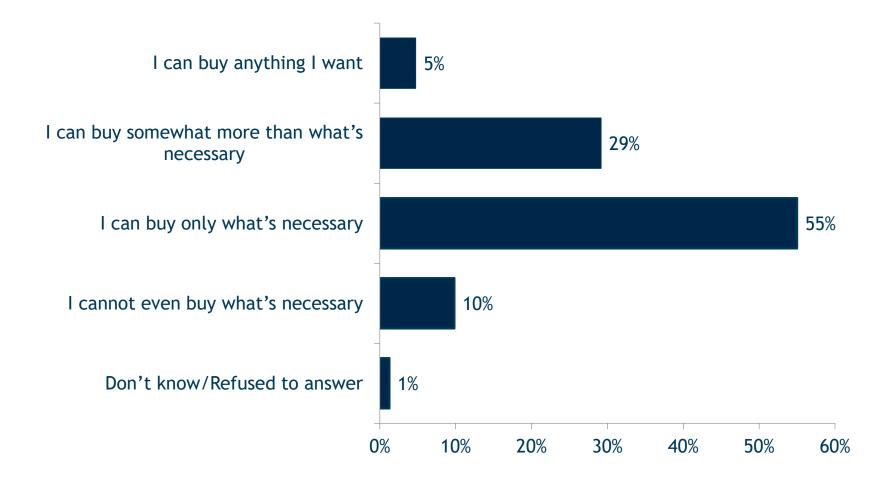
How is your family's economic situation compared to one year ago?



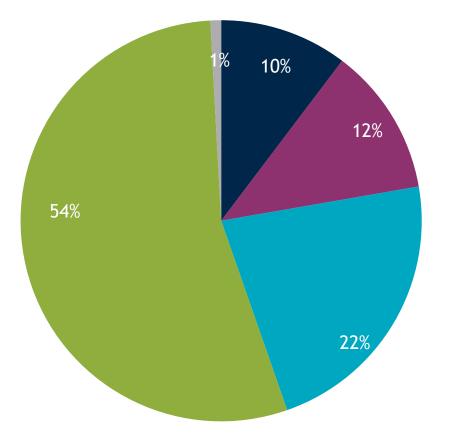
Speaking personally, is your overall quality of life...?



Which of the following statements applies to you?



Is there any member of your household who has emigrated to live and/or work abroad?

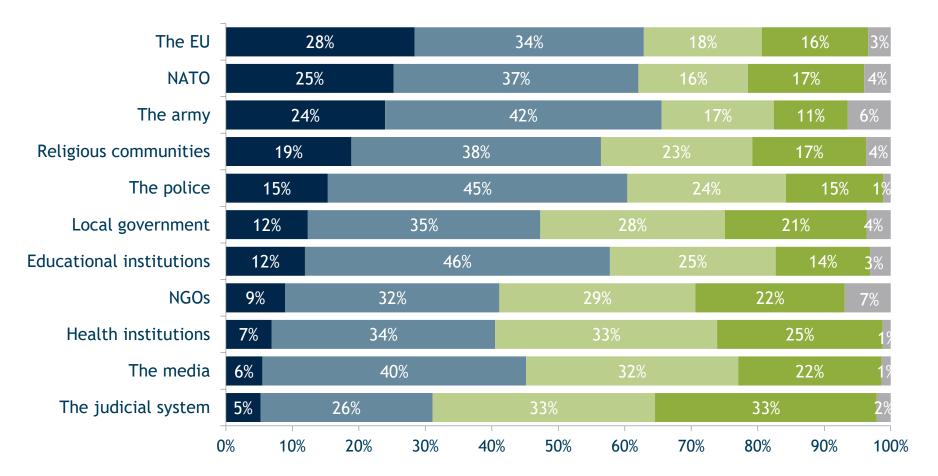


- Yes, in the last year
- Yes, in the last three years
- Yes, over three years ago

No

Refused to answer

For each of the following institutions: please state whether you completely trust, somewhat trust, somewhat distrust or completely distrust



Completely trust Somewhat trust Somewhat distrust Completely distrust Don't know/Refused to answer

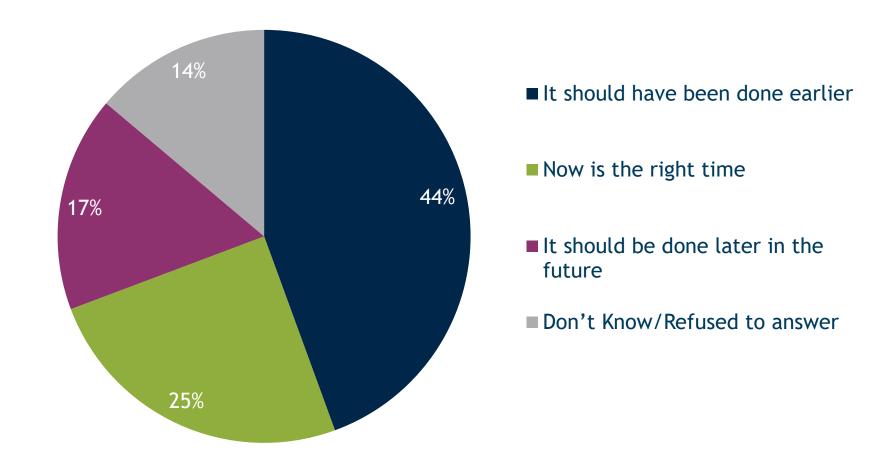
The Name Issue



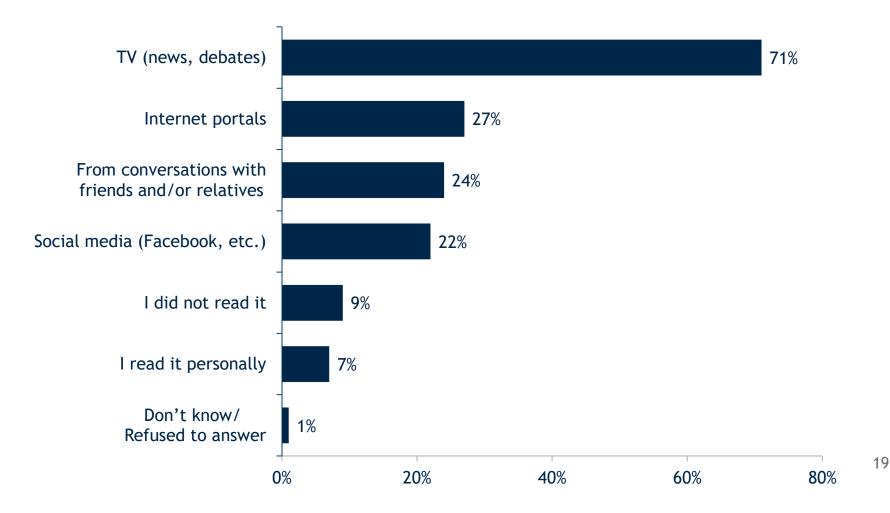
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Is now the right time for solving the dispute with Greece? Should it have been done earlier or should it be done later in the future?



How did you learn about the content of the name agreement between Macedonia and Greece? (Multiple answers possible)



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

The Government removed a major obstacle to EU and NATO integration with the name agreement

The citizens of Macedonia will gain economic prosperity and increased access to European funds by resolving the 27-year-old Macedonia-Greece name dispute

The security and safety of the citizens of Macedonia will be increased by resolving the 27-year-old Macedonia-Greece name dispute

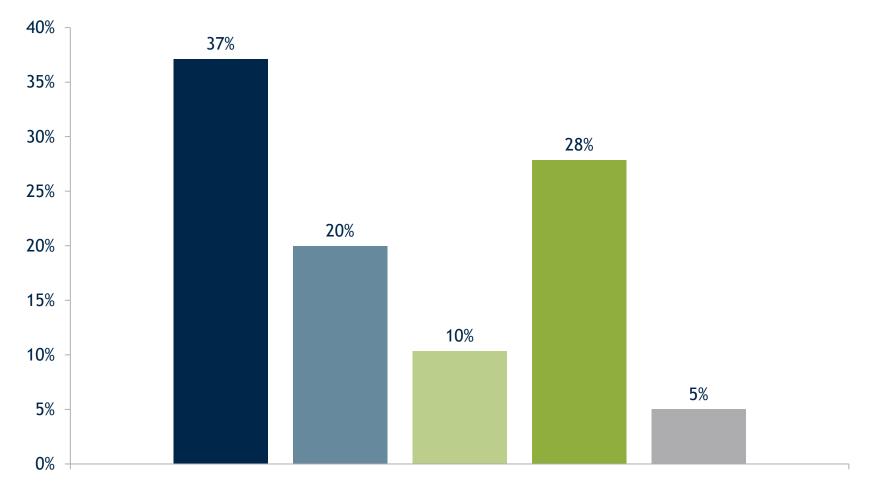
The speed and quality of reforms in Macedonia will increase by resolving the 27-year-old Macedonia-Greece name dispute

The governments of the Republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Greece permanently resolved the 27-year-old dispute with the name agreement

31%	25%	13%	23%	8%
27%	29%	14%	23%	8%
26%	26%	16%	24%	9 %
25%	27%	15%	23%	9 %
25%	25%	15%	25%	9 %

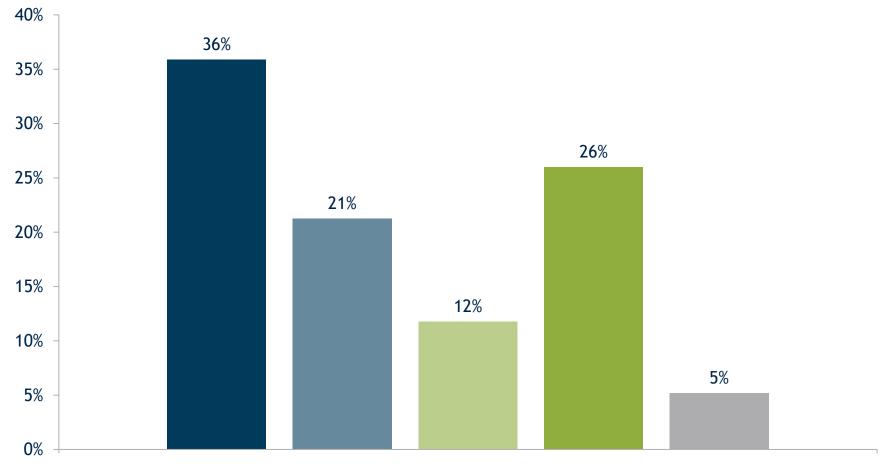
■ Strongly agree ■ Somewhat agree ■ Somewhat disagree ■ Strongly disagree ■ Don't know/Refused to answer

How much do you support or oppose the proposal for Macedonia to join the EU and NATO as the "Republic of North Macedonia?"



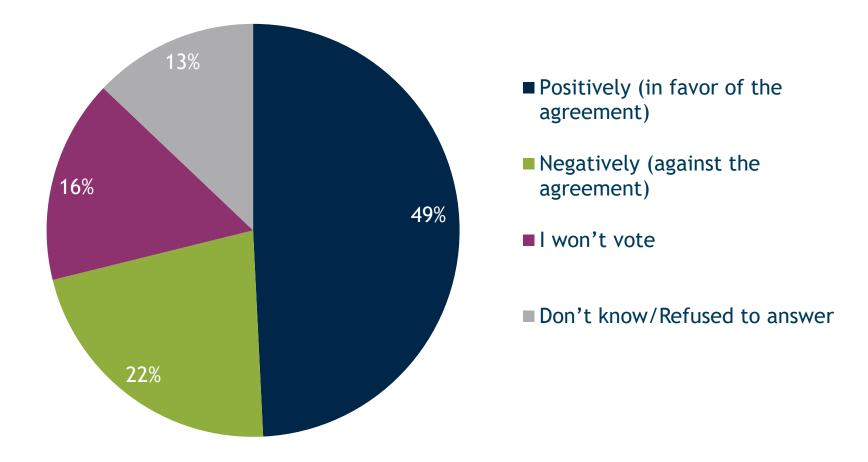
Completely support Somewhat support Somewhat oppose Completely oppose Don't know/Refused to answer

How strongly do you agree or disagree that the benefits of joining the EU and NATO justify the acceptance of the name "Republic of North Macedonia?"

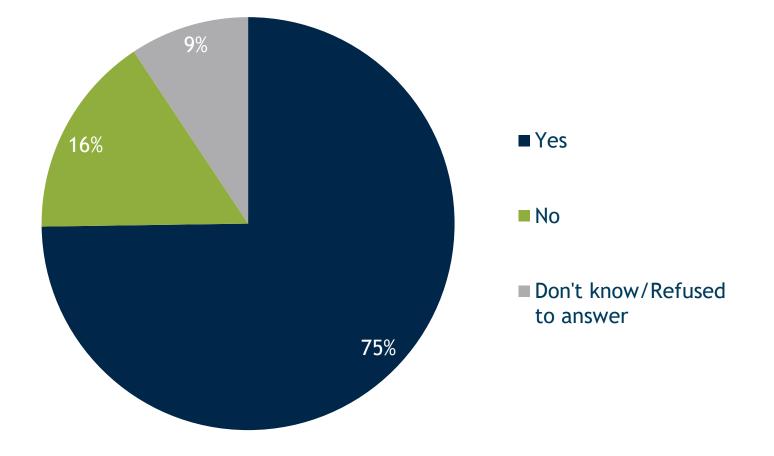


Strongly agree Somewhat agree Somewhat disagree Strongly disagree Don't Know/Refused to answer

How will you vote in the referendum on resolving the 27-year-old Macedonia-Greece name dispute?



Do you know that amendments to the Constitution need to be made in order to resolve the 27-year-old name dispute?

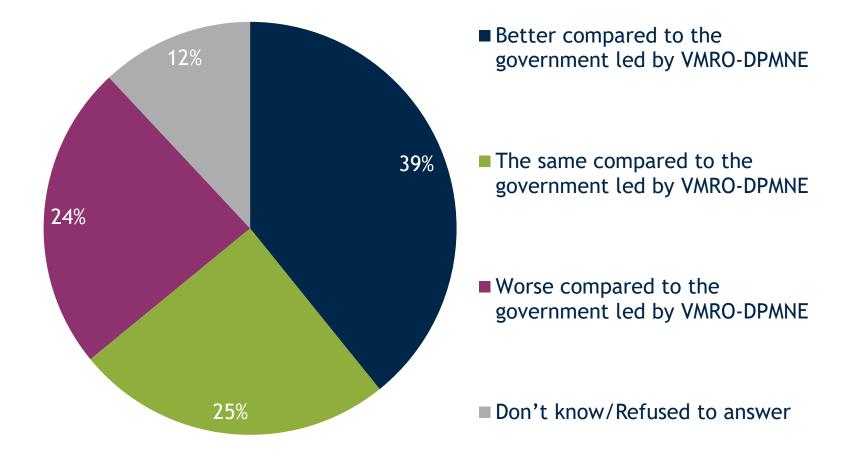


Perceptions of the Government's Performance

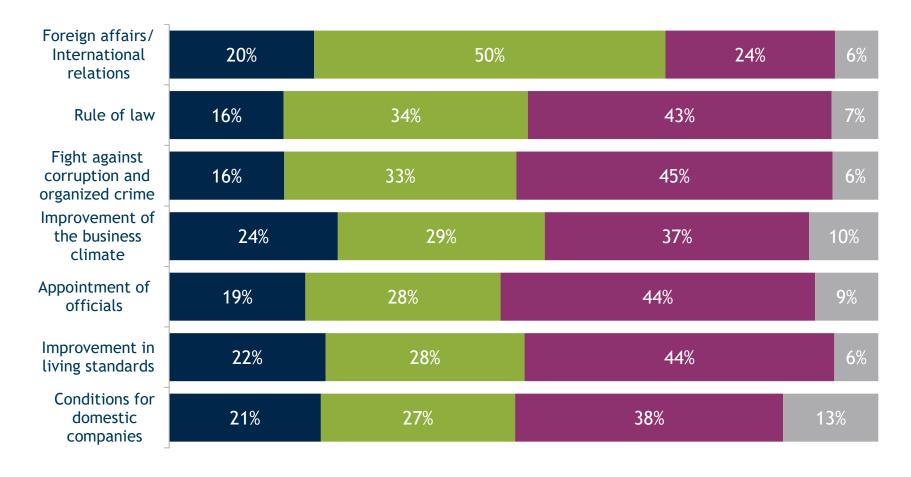




Please select the statement you agree with most: "The Government led by SDSM works..."



If we compare the previous government led by VMRO-DPMNE and the current government led by SDSM, which government is better in the following areas:

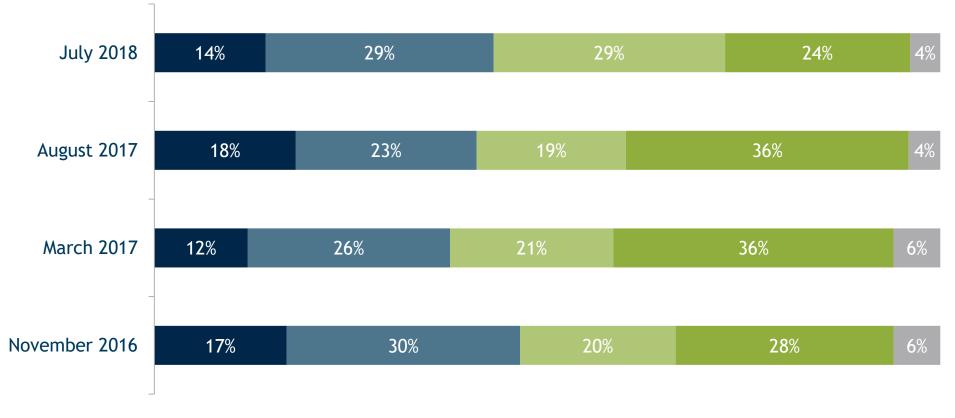


■ VMRO-DPMNE ■ SDSM ■ The same ■ Don't know/Refused to answer

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."

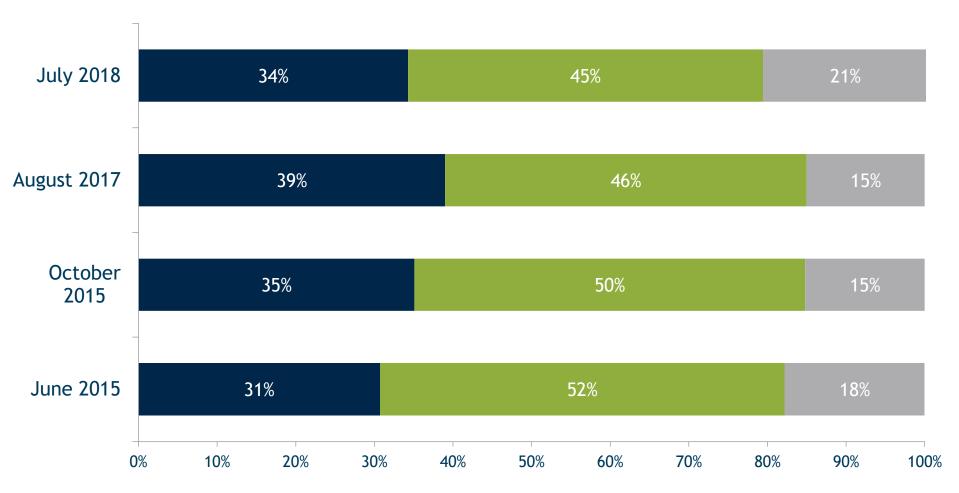
How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement:

"The rule of law exists in Macedonia."



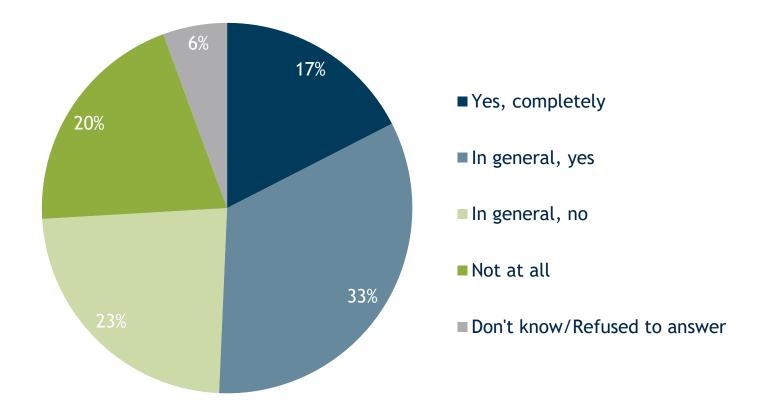
■ Strongly agree ■ Somewhat agree ■ Somewhat disagree ■ Strongly disagree ■ Don't know/Refused to answer

Do you think your phone conversations are:

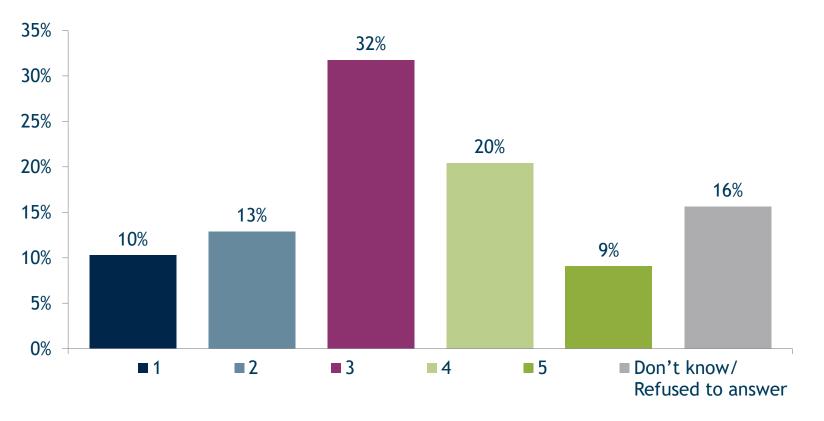


- Private and safe? That is, you and the other person in the conversation are the only ones aware of the conversation.
- Not private and safe? That is, there is a possibility that your conversations are being listened to and/or recorded by a third party.
- Don't know/Refused to answer

Following the change in power, has the government dedicated itself to solving the most important problem Macedonia is facing?

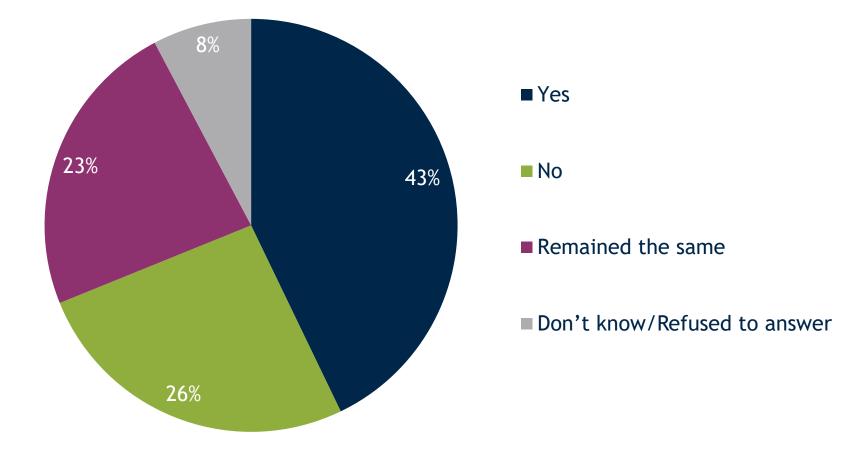


On a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 means you think the government gives more support to foreign investments and companies and 5 means you think the government gives more support to domestic investments and companies, where would you place your views?

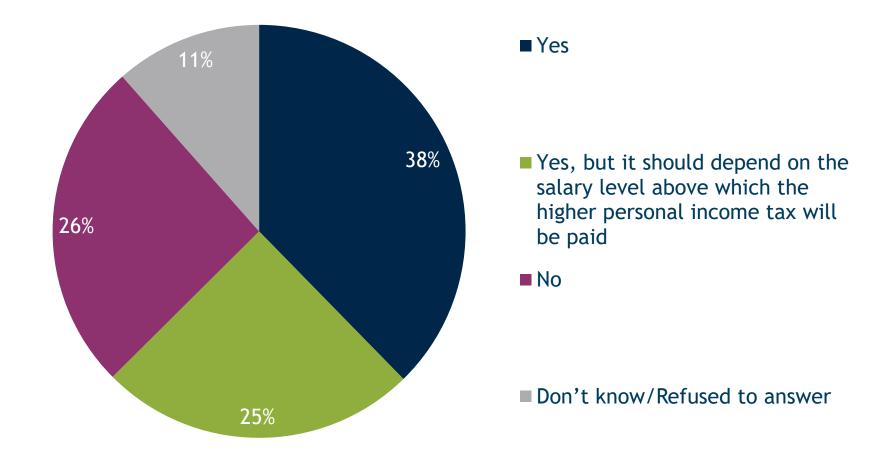


The government gives more support to foreign investments and companies The government gives more support to domestic investments and companies

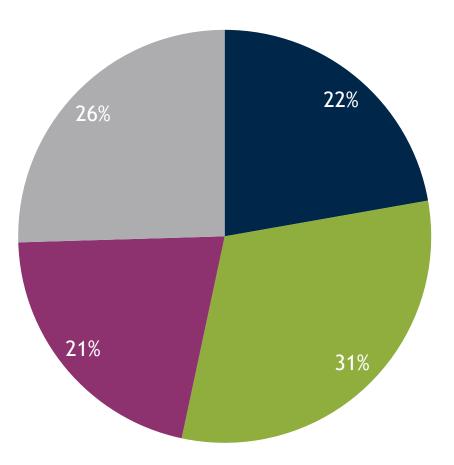
Do you think that the minimum monthly salary increased during the last year, following the election of the new government led by SDSM?



Some people believe that those who earn higher salaries should pay higher personal income tax, while others oppose this idea. Do you support this type of tax?

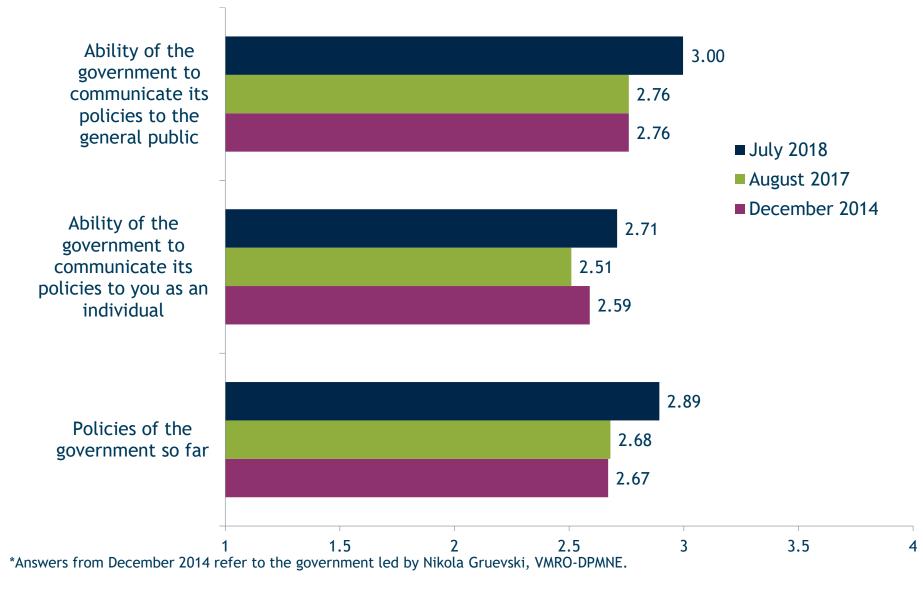


If higher taxes for people with higher incomes are introduced, how will companies react?

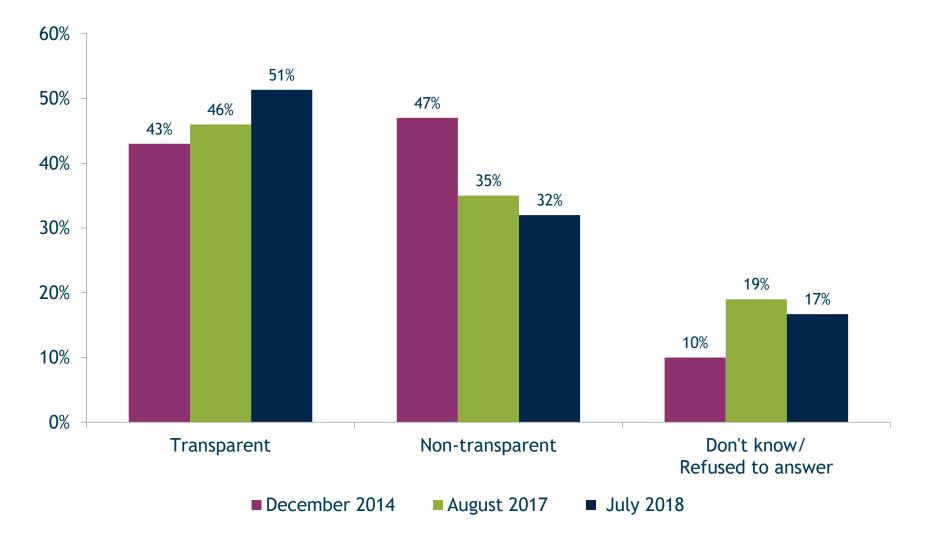


- They will pay the full amount of tax (the net salary of the employee will remain the same)
- They will find ways to pay a lower amount of tax to avoid payment of the full tax
- They will deduct the amount they need to pay for higher taxes from salary (the net salary will be decreased)
- Don't know/Refused to answer

Using the scale used in Macedonian schools, where 1 is unsatisfactory and 5 is excellent, what grade would you give for the...? (Mean score)

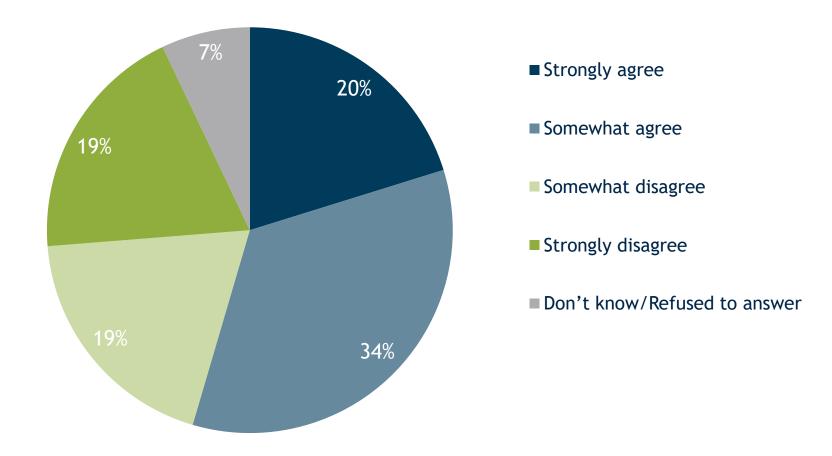


Based on its actions and behavior, do you consider the SDSM-led government to be transparent or non-transparent?



*Answers from December 2014 refer to the government led by Nikola Gruevski, VMRO-DPMNE.

How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "The SDSM-led government is open and accountable to the citizens/public"?



Which three ministers in the Government of Macedonia make the best impression on you and are doing the best job they can? (Multiple responses)

Zoran Zaev (Prime Minister) 2% 19% 5% Nikola Dimitrov (Minister of Foreign Affairs) 5% 5% Radmila Sekerinska (DPM and Minister of Defense) 4% 5% 3% Bujar Osmani (DPM for European Affairs) 4% 3% 3% Oliver Spasovski (DPM and Minister for Internal Affairs) 5% 4% Koco Angushev (DPM for Economic Affairs) 3% 3% 2% Renata Treneska Deskoska (Minister of Justice) 3% 3% Mila Carovska (Minister of Labor and Social Policy) 2% 3% Venko Filipce (Minister of Health) 1%^{1%} Arber Ademi (Minister of Education) Dragan Tevdovski (Minister of Finance) Other 6% 6% 6% None 31% Don't know/Refused to answer 18% 20% 0% 10%

First mention
 Second mention
 Third mention

* DPM stands for Deputy Prime Minister.

40%

30%

Which three government ministers leave the worst impression on you and are not doing their job as they should? (Multiple responses)

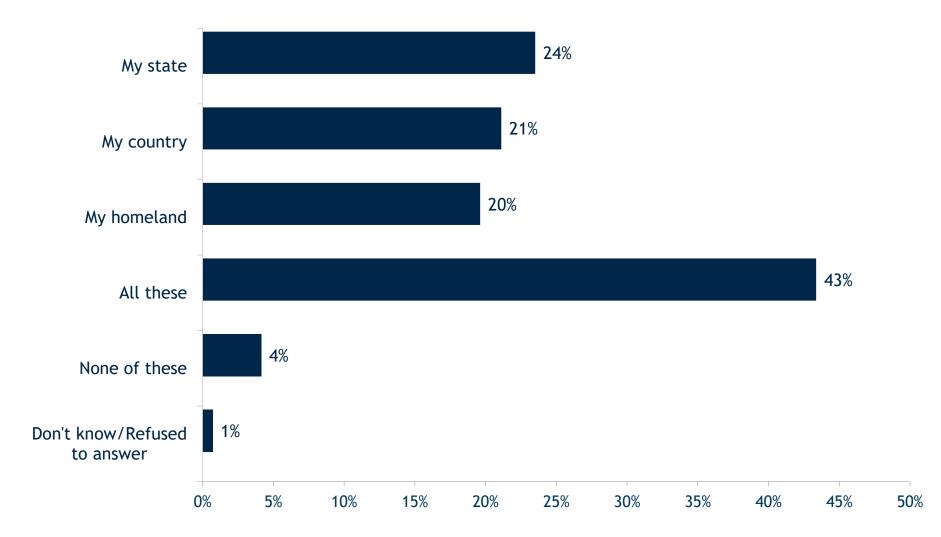
Zoran Zaev (Prime Minister)	18%				3%1 <mark>%</mark>				
-	-			40/	3 70 1 70				
Radmila Sekerinska (DPM and Minister of Defense)	4 %		3%	4%					
Venko Filipce (Minister of Health)	- -	2% 2%	6			Eirct r	montion		
Oliver Spasovski (DPM and Minister for Internal Affairs)	3% 4% 4%					 First mention Second mention 			
Koco Angushev (DPM for Economic Affairs)	3% 3	3 % 2 %				Third			
Nikola Dimitrov (Minister of Foreign Affairs)	2%	5%	4%						
Hazbi Lika (DPM for Implementation of the Ohrid Framework Agreement)	2% 2%	6 <mark>2</mark> %							
Bujar Osmani (DPM for European Affairs)	1%1%	3%							
Arber Ademi (Minister of Education)	1% <mark>2%</mark> 1%								
Sadula Duraku (Minister of Environment)	1% ^{1%} 1%								
Kreshnik Bekteshi (Minister of Economy)	1% ^{1%} 1%								
Other	_	9 %		10%		11%			
None		2	20%						
Don't know/Refused to answer				31%					
C	0%	5%	10%	15%	20%	25%	30%	35%	

Social Cohesion

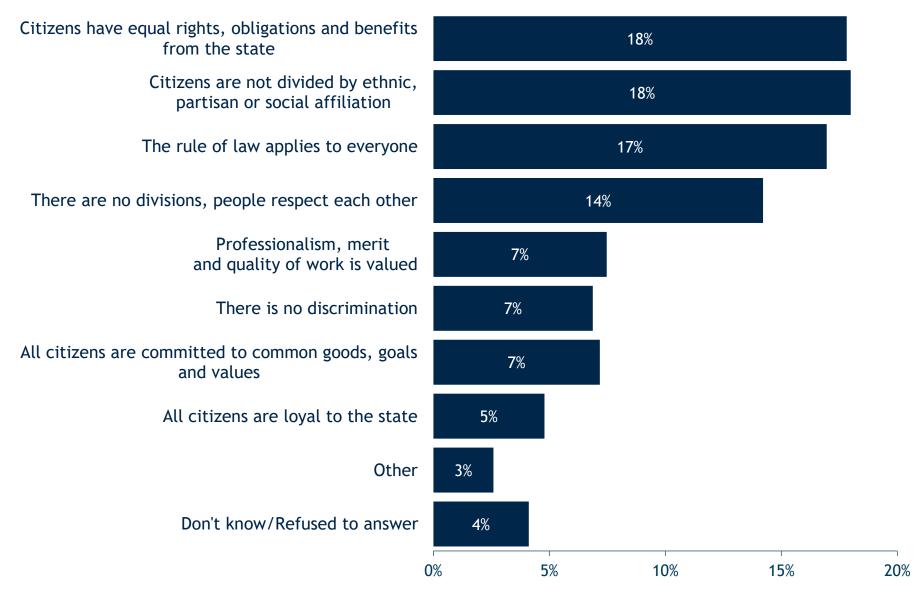




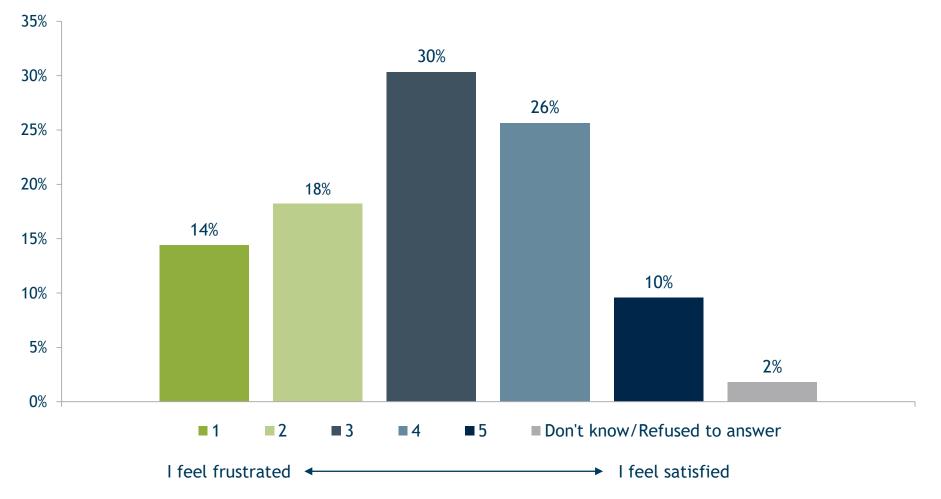
Macedonia is... (Multiple responses possible)



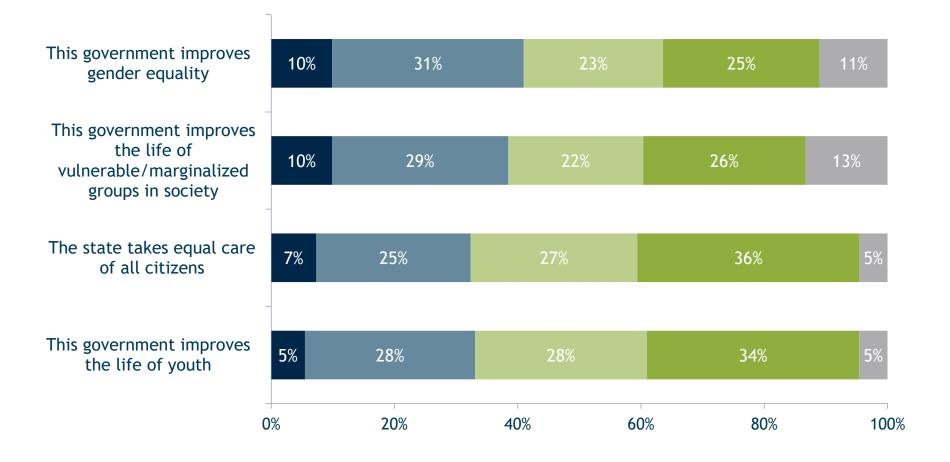
What does "one society" mean to you? (Open-ended)



On a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 means you feel completely frustrated with life in Macedonia and 5 means you feel completely satisfied, how would you rate your view of life in Macedonia?



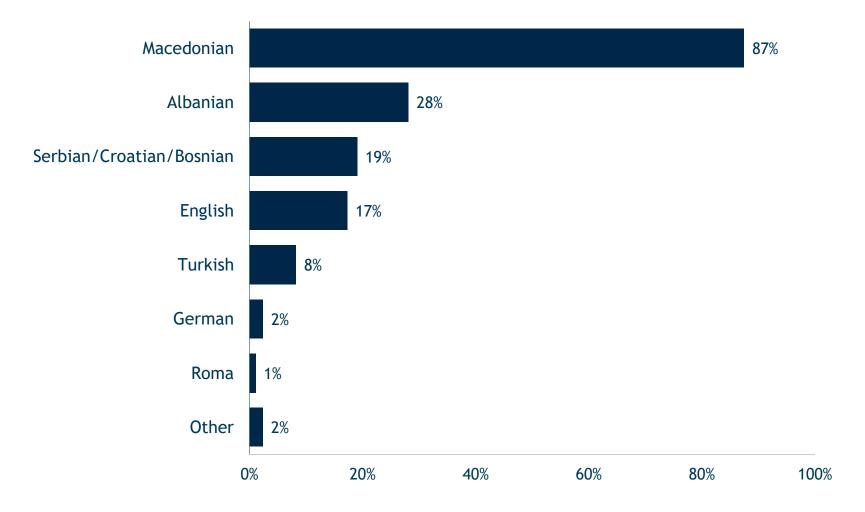
How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements:



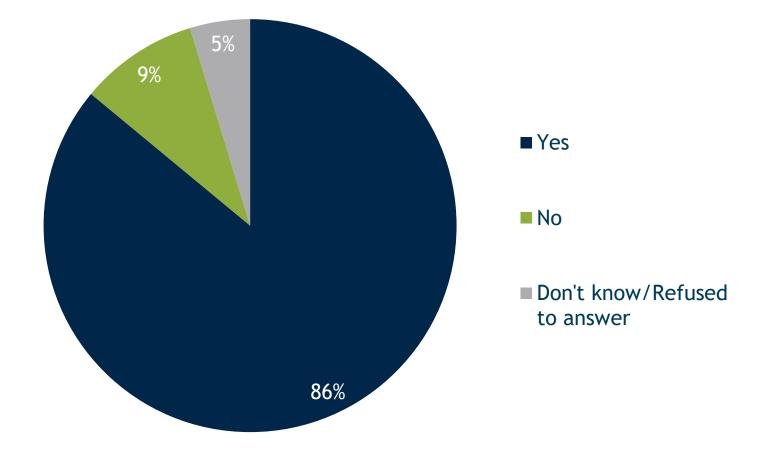
Strongly agree Somewhat agree Somewhat disagree Strongly disagree Don't know/Refused to answer

What languages do you speak at a level to be able to study and work in that language?

(Multiple responses possible)



Should all citizens, regardless of ethnic background, be proficient in Macedonian language as the official state language?

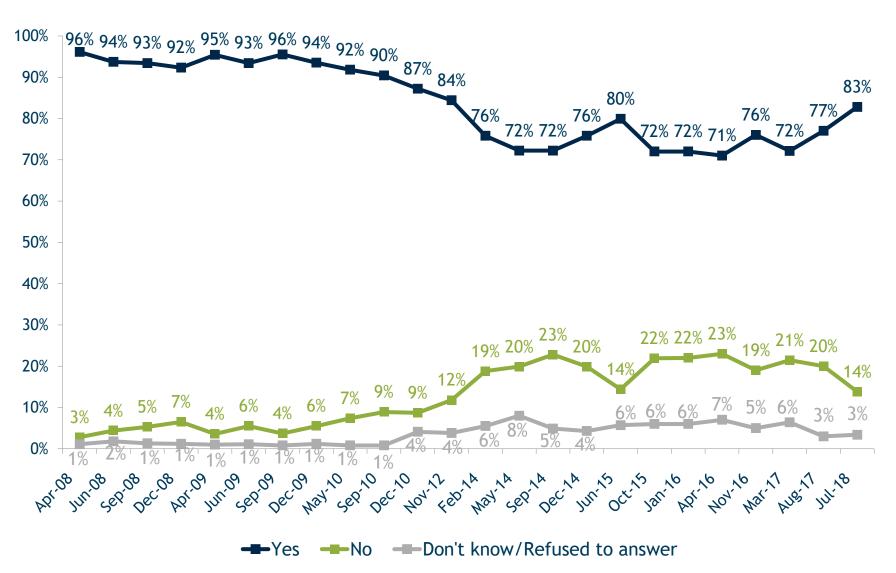


Attitudes Toward Euro-Atlantic Integration and Foreign Relations

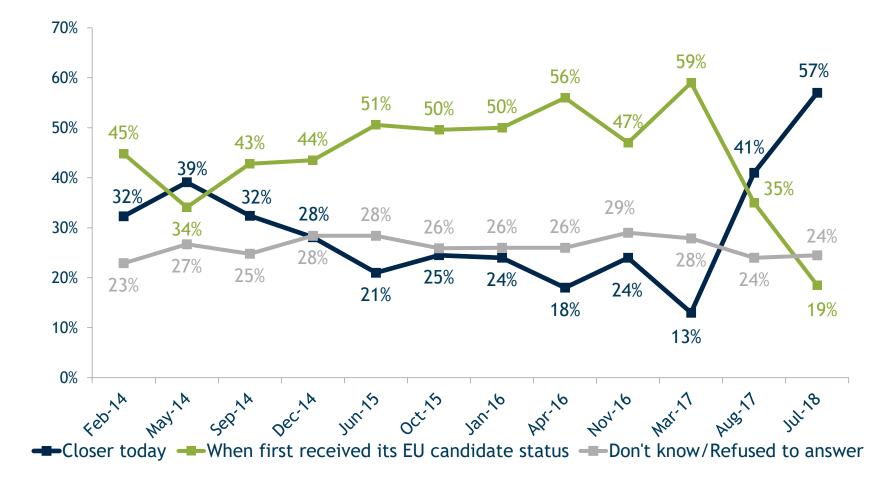




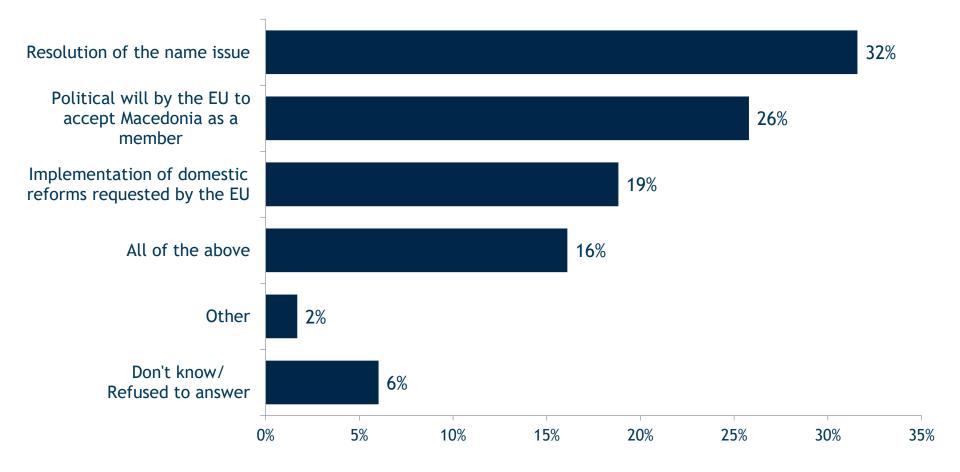
Do you support Macedonia becoming a member of the European Union?



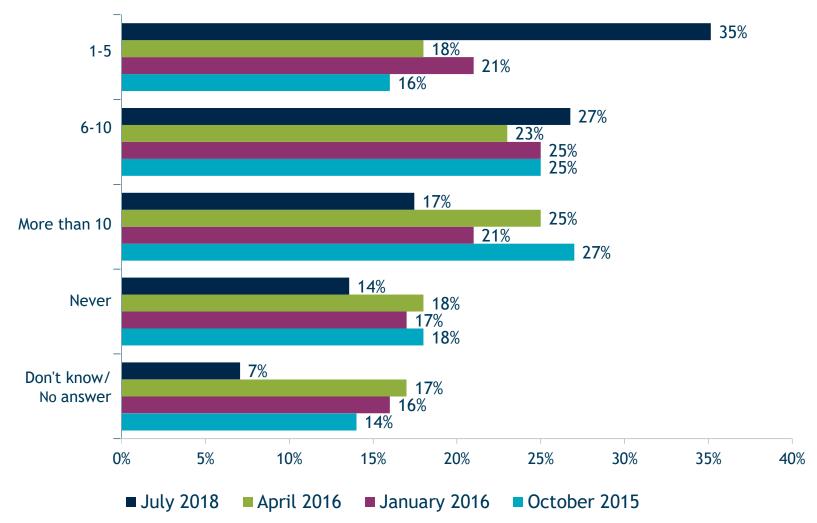
Do you think Macedonia is closer to EU entry today, or was it closer when it first received its EU candidate member status?



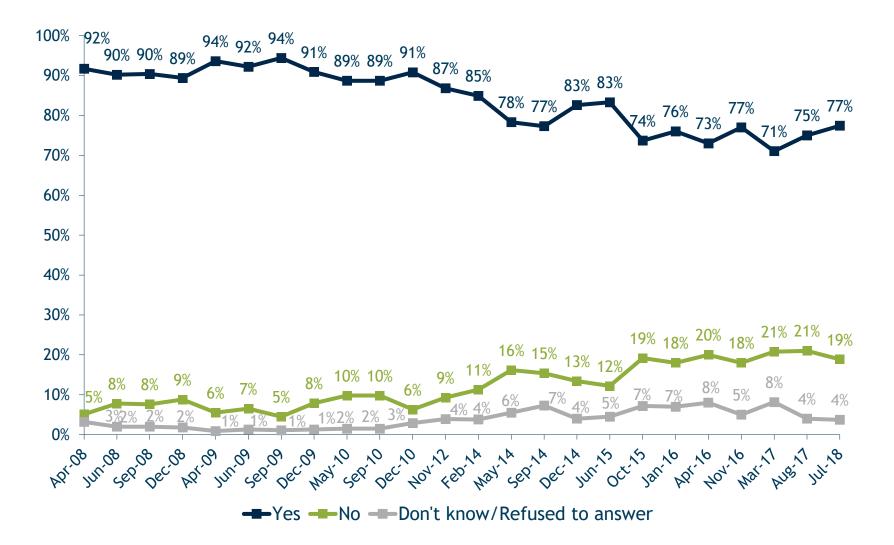
What is most important for Macedonia's accession into the EU?



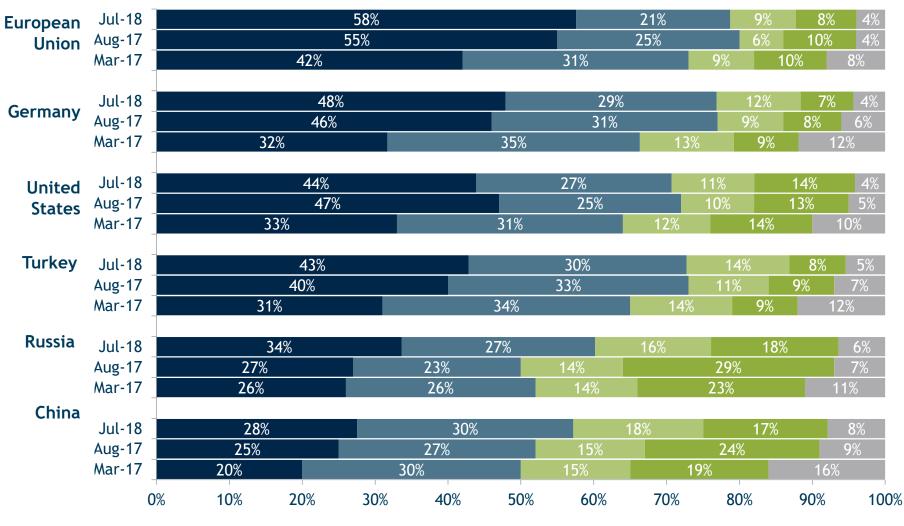
In how many years do you think Macedonia will become a member of the EU?



Do you support Macedonia becoming a member of NATO?

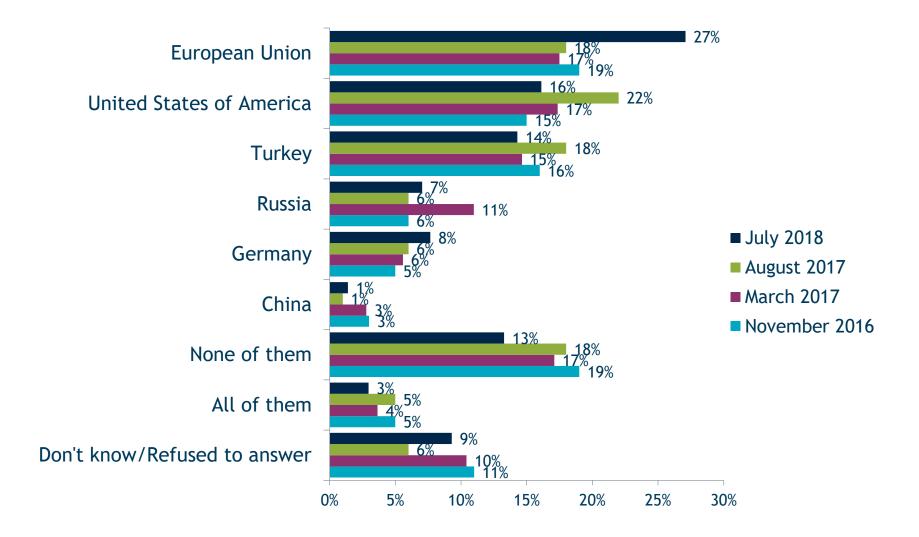


How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements: "Macedonia's interests are best served by maintaining strong relations with..."

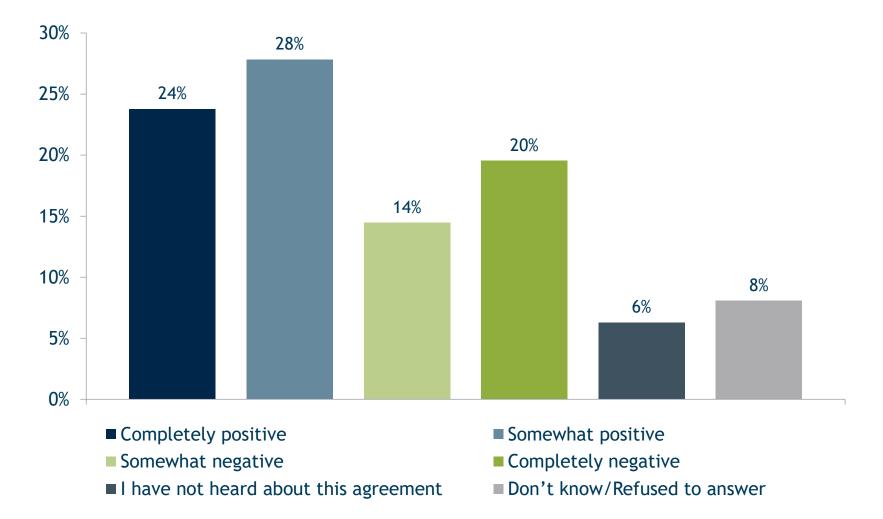


Strongly agree Somewhat agree Somewhat disagree Strongly disagree Don't know/Refused to answer

Which one of these countries helps Macedonia's national interests the most?



What is your opinion of the Good Neighborhood and Friendship Agreement with Bulgaria as ratified in the Macedonian Assembly?



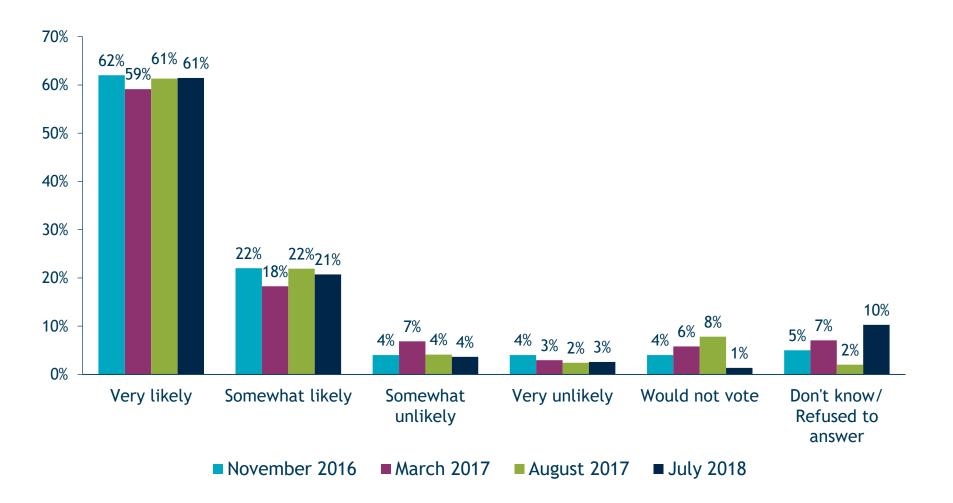
Elections and Political Parties



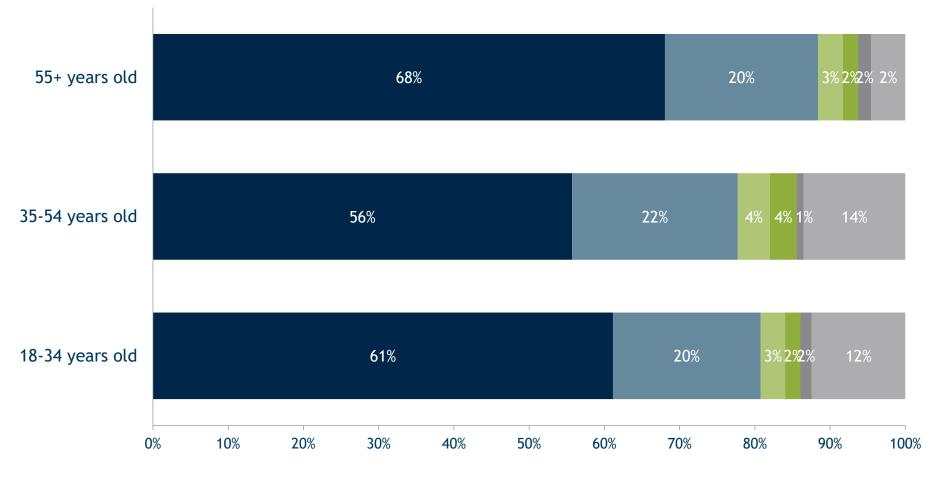
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If parliamentary elections were held today, how likely would you be to vote? (n=1,054)

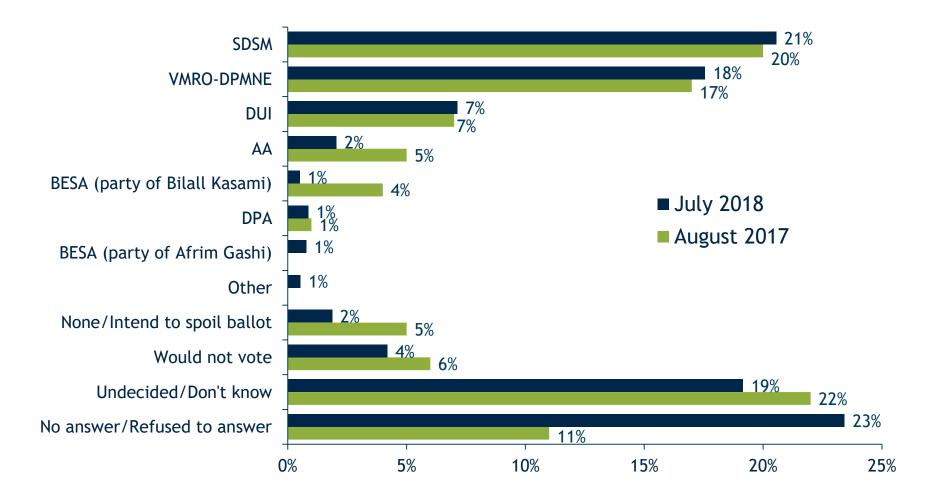


If parliamentary elections were held today, how likely would you be to vote? (n=1,054; Disaggregated by age)



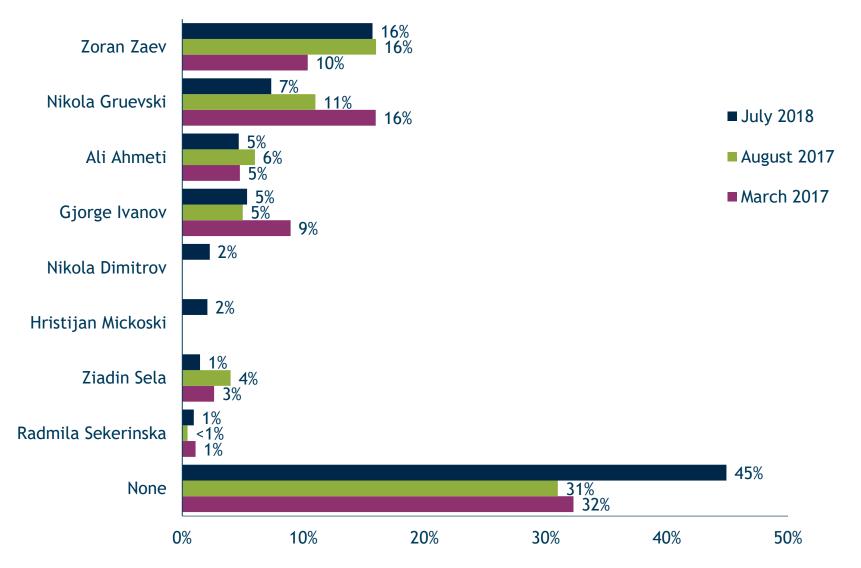
■ Very likely ■ Somewhat likely ■ Somewhat unlikely ■ Very unlikely ■ Would not vote ■ Don't know/Refused to answer

Which party would you vote for if parliamentary elections were held today?*

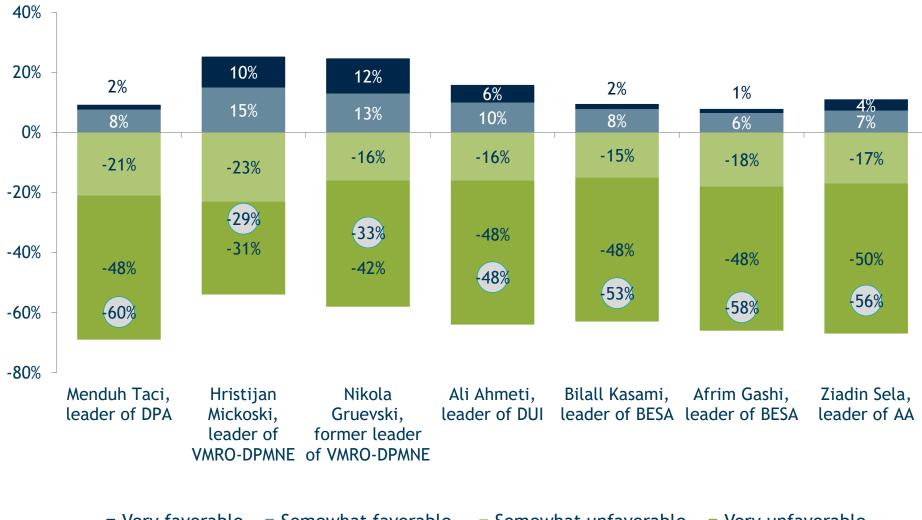


*See glossary of political parties on Slide 3.

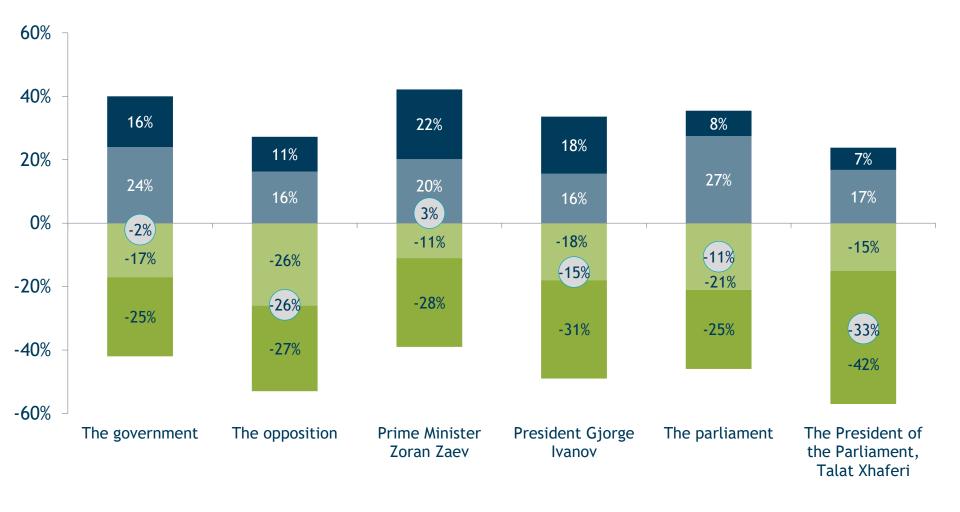
When you think about people in political life, who is the one person in Macedonia whom you view most favorably? (Open-ended)



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 each of them.

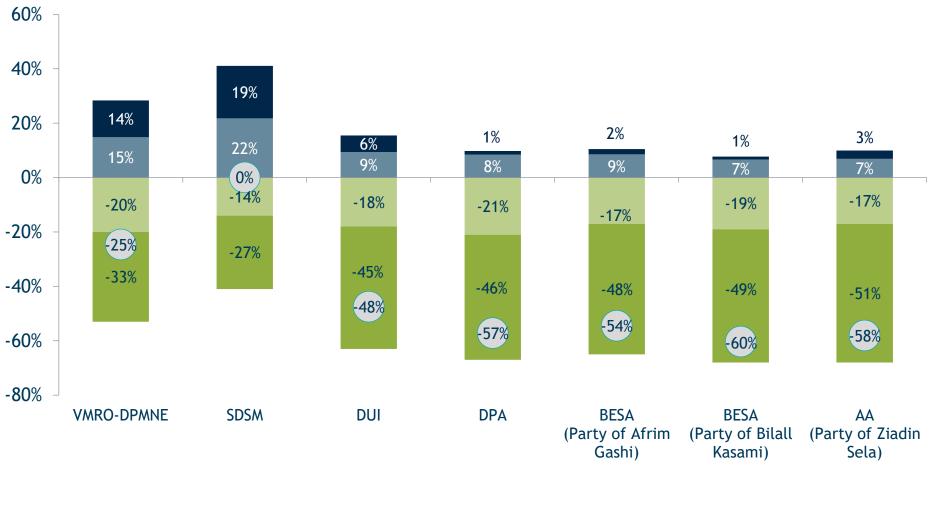


I will read you a list of institutions in Macedonia. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of that institution.



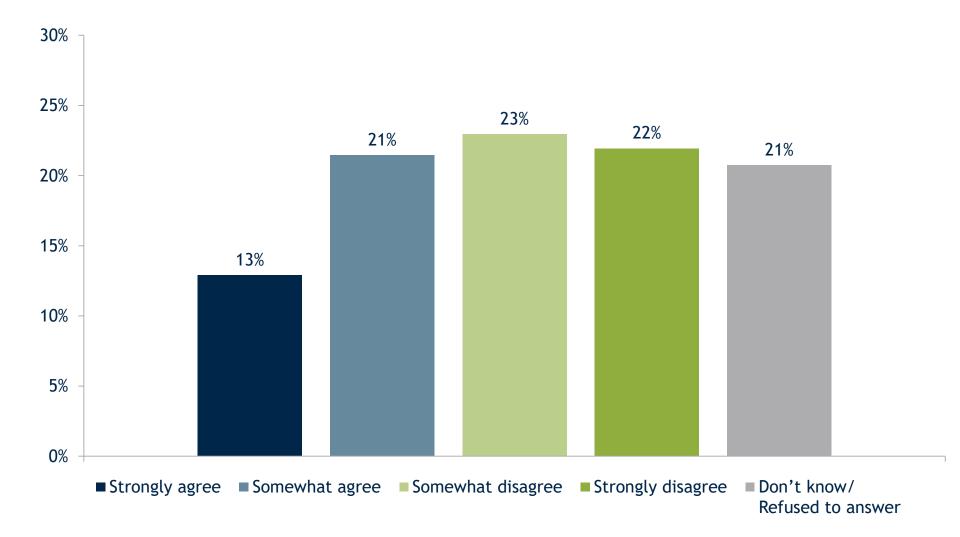
Very favorable Somewhat favorable Somewhat unfavorable Very unfavorable

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 favorable Somewhat favorable Somewhat unfavorable Very unfavorable

Do you agree that VMRO-DPMNE acts constructively in opposition?



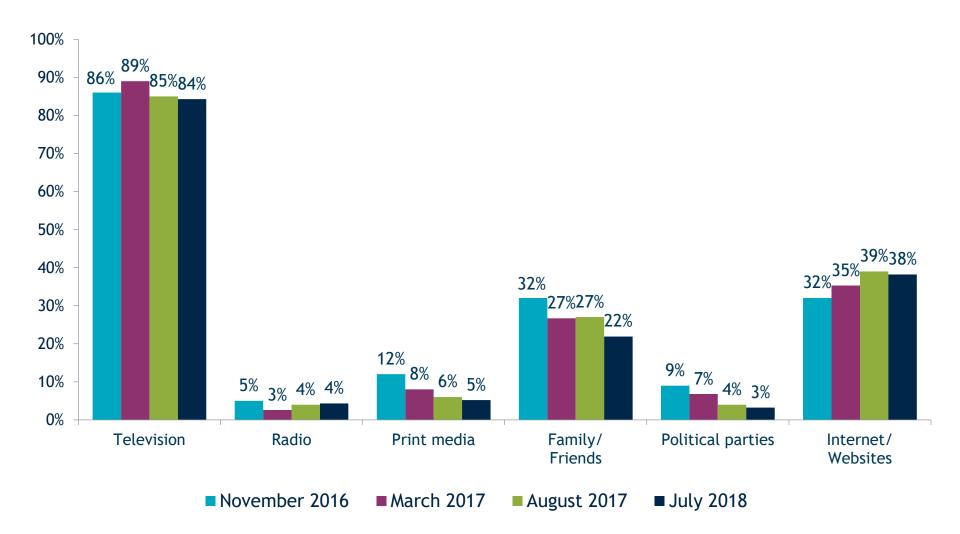
Sources of Political News



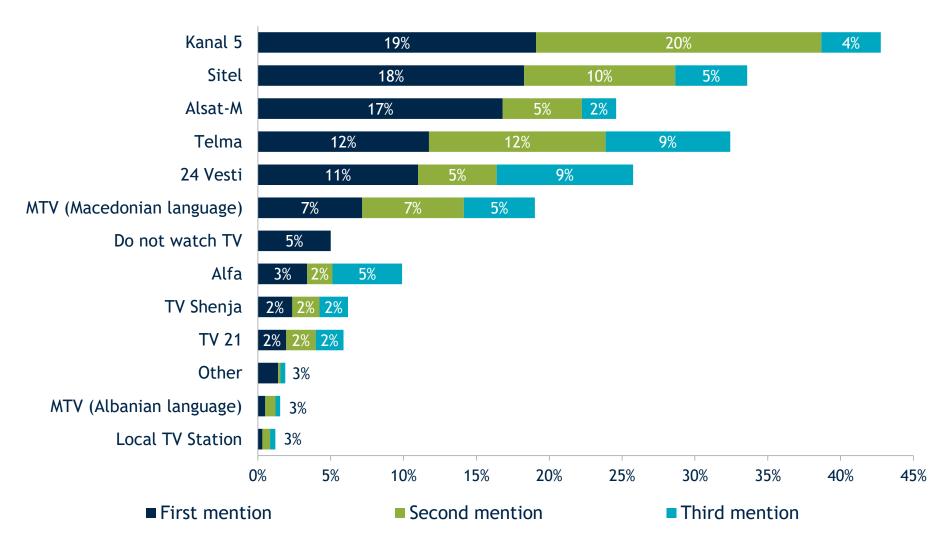
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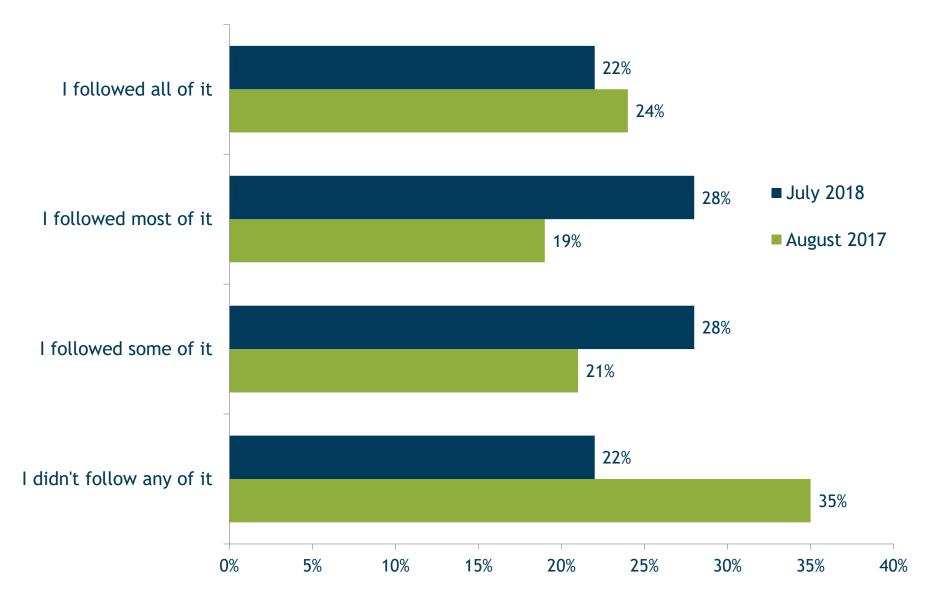
What is your primary source of political news? (Multiple answers)



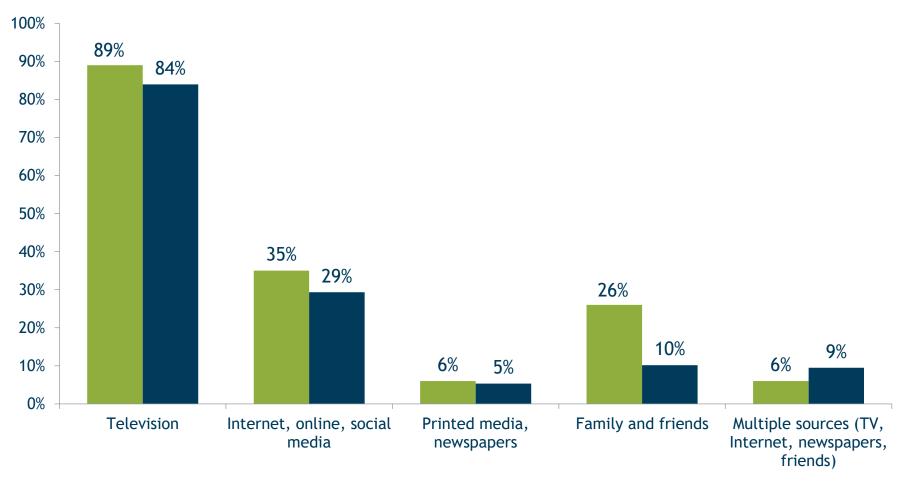
Which television station do you watch most often for political news? (Open ended; multiple answers)



How much did you follow political news yesterday?



Where did you follow political news yesterday? (Open ended; multiple answers, n=853: those who answered that they followed at least some political news yesterday)



August 2017 July 2018

* In August, 2017 n=711.

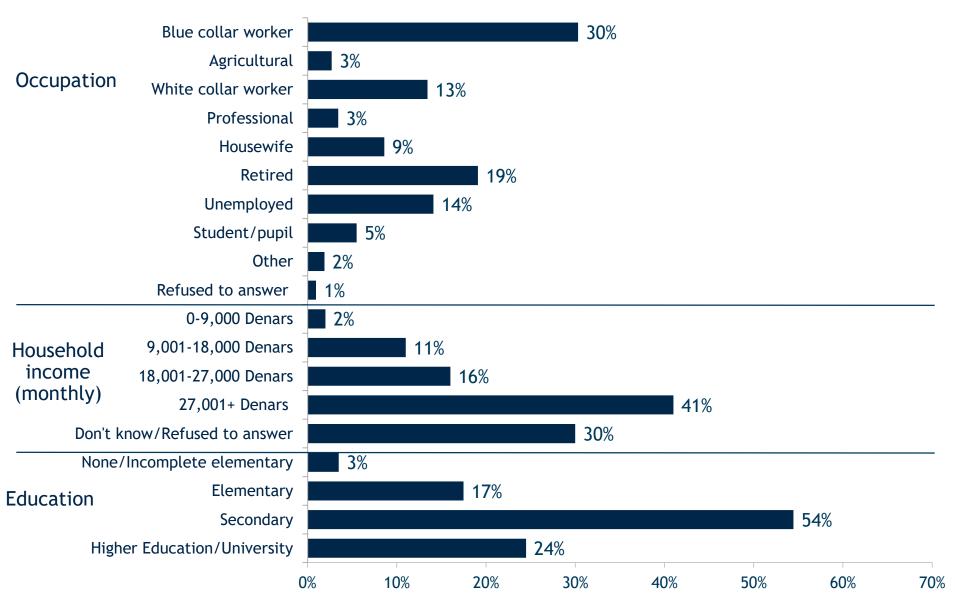
Demographics



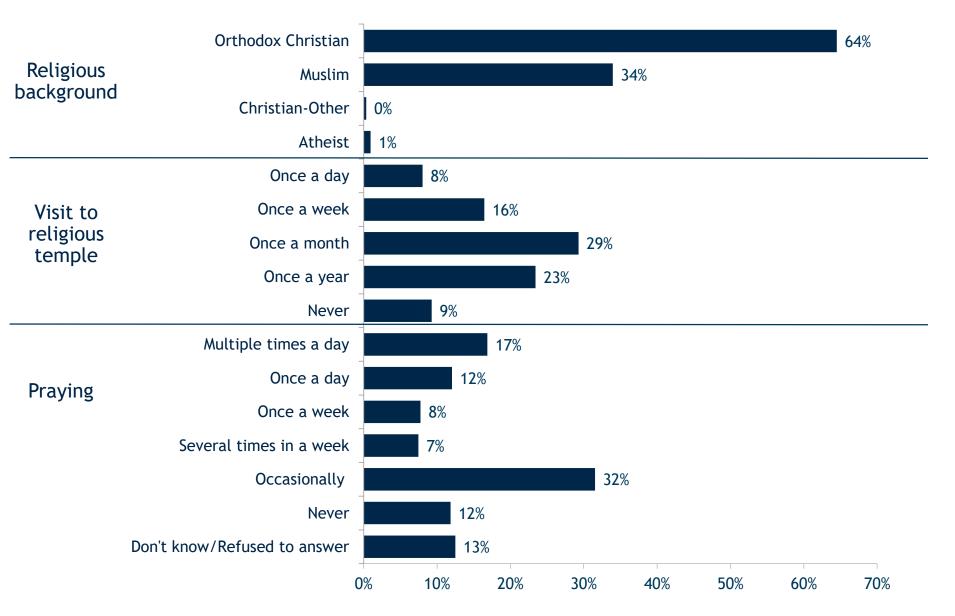
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Demographics



Demographics



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