Survey of Public Opinion in Macedonia
September 29 - October 5, 2015
Detailed Methodology

• The survey was conducted on behalf of the International Republican Institute’s Center for Insights in Survey Research by the Brima market research firm (member of Taylor Nelson Sofres and Gallup International) under the supervision of David Williams from Williams and Associates in Salem, Massachusetts.

• Data was collected from September 29 - October 5, 2015, using in-person, face-to-face methodology by trained professional interviewers.

• A total of 1,106 interviews was completed yielding 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 population sample distribution, with a random selection of households and respondents. The refusal rate stands at 382 cases, out of which 71 refused to take part in the survey due to resistance to political questions.

• The sample was prepared using the State Statistical Office data (2002 census results) for the population aged 18 and older, considering the structure of the population according to age, gender, education, type of housing, national affiliation and region and updated according to 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 the population aged 18 and older that live in the region. Second, the sampling plan consisted of 164 sampling points located according to urban/rural split, municipality size and nationality diffusion. Third, the selection of households was based on random route method, whereby in urban areas, every third household on the left-hand side of the street was selected. In rural areas, the wave-wise approach is applied and the selected household is 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 18 years and older.

• Figures in charts and tables may not add to 100 percent due to rounding error.

• This poll was conducted with support from the United States Agency for International Development.
Citizens Remain Skeptical Parties Will Implement Przino Agreement
The Przino Agreement

In early 2015, a series of wiretapped phone conversations were released by the opposition Social Democratic Party of Macedonia (SDSM) that implicated government officials in misconduct, including the cover-up of the death of a young man by a police officer in 2011. The release of the wiretaps led to large demonstrations and calls for the government’s resignation.

In June and July 2015, in an effort to reduce political tensions, the four largest Macedonian political parties (the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization - Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity (VMRO-DPMNE), SDSM, the Democratic Union for Integration (DUI) and the Democratic Party of Albanians (DPA)), under the auspices of European Union commissioner Johannes Hahn, negotiated the so-called Przino Agreement. The agreement laid out the following steps:

• SDSM would return to parliament, which their members had been boycotting since;

• A special prosecutor would be appointed to investigate allegations resulting from the wiretapping;

• SDSM would appoint ministers to the ministries of interior, labor and social policy;

• SDSM would have deputy ministers appointed to other ministries spelled out in the agreement;

• The current government would resign and would be replaced by a caretaker government in January 2016; and

• Parliamentary elections would be held on April 24, 2016.
Is the Republic of Macedonia more or less stable today than it was one year ago?
How would you describe the current internal political situation in Macedonia?
In your opinion, will the ongoing negotiations between the four parties lead to successful implementation of all aspects of the Przino agreement?
Do you support SDSM’s decision to return to Parliament?

- Yes: 67%
- No: 17%
- Don't Know/Refused to Answer: 16%
Recently, a special prosecutor, Katica Janeva, was appointed to investigate cases connected to the wiretapped conversations. Do you think that Ms. Janeva will be able to investigate these cases independently and without obstruction?

- Yes: 33%
- No: 22%
- I Am Not Familiar with This Issue: 28%
- Don't Know/Refused to Answer: 18%
Have you heard the tapped phone conversations released by the opposition?

- Yes, I Have Heard Most of Them
- Yes, I Have Heard Some of Them
- No, I Haven't, Though I Have Heard of Them
- No, I Haven't Heard of Them
- Don't Know/Refused to Answer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>October 2015</th>
<th>June 2015</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes, I Have Heard Most of Them</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes, I Have Heard Some of Them</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No, I Haven't, Though I Have Heard of Them</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No, I Haven't Heard of Them</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Know/Refused to Answer</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Do you think the recordings of tapped phone conversations are authentic?

June n=1,031; October n=1,015

- **October 2015**
  - Yes: 56%
  - No: 21%
  - Don't Know/Refused to Answer: 22%

- **June 2015**
  - Yes: 65%
  - No: 15%
  - Don't Know/Refused to Answer: 21%
Did these phone conversations affect your opinion about the officials who allegedly took part in them?

June n=1,031; October n=1,015

- **October 2015**
  - Yes, Improved My Opinion: 6%
  - Yes, Worsened My Opinion: 45%
  - No, Did Not Affect My Opinion: 42%
  - Don't Know/Refused to Answer: 7%

- **June 2015**
  - Yes, Improved My Opinion: 10%
  - Yes, Worsened My Opinion: 48%
  - No, Did Not Affect My Opinion: 33%
  - Don't Know/Refused to Answer: 9%
Did these phone conversations affect your opinion about how well Macedonia is governed?
June n=1,031; October n=1,015

October 2015
- Yes, Improved My Opinion: 5%
- Yes, Worsened My Opinion: 44%
- No, Did Not Affect My Opinion: 43%
- Don't Know/Refused to Answer: 8%

June 2015
- Yes, Improved My Opinion: 11%
- Yes, Worsened My Opinion: 48%
- No, Did Not Affect My Opinion: 33%
- Don't Know/Refused to Answer: 8%
According to you, who conducted these wiretaps?
n=1,015

The Administration for Security & Counter Intelligence (UBK)
- June 2015: 33%
- October 2015: 33%

A Foreign Secret Service Agency
- June 2015: 34%
- October 2015: 37%

Both
- June 2015: 1%
- October 2015: 1%

Other
- June 2015: 1%
- October 2015: 0%

Don't Know/Refused to Answer
- June 2015: 31%
- October 2015: 28%
Do you think your phone conversations...?

- Are not private and safe? That is, there is a possibility that my conversations are being listened to and/or recorded by a third party.
- Are private and safe? That is, you and the other person in the conversation are the only ones aware of the conversation.
- Don't Know/Refused to Answer
Concerned about State Institutions’ Ability to Protect Elections
Do you think that state institutions are capable of sufficiently addressing any irregularities, should they occur, on Election Day?

- Yes, They are Capable: 39%
- No, They are Not Sufficiently Capable: 35%
- No, They are Not Capable at All: 17%
- Don’t Know/Refused to Answer: 10%
If parliamentary elections were held today, how likely is it that you would vote?

- Very Likely: 54% (October 2015), 49% (June 2015), 49% (December 2014)
- Somewhat Likely: 25% (October 2015), 22% (June 2015), 20% (December 2014)
- Somewhat Unlikely: 7% (October 2015), 6% (June 2015), 6% (December 2014)
- Very Unlikely: 10% (October 2015), 8% (June 2015), 6% (December 2014)
- I Will Not Vote: 10% (October 2015), 8% (June 2015), 10% (December 2014)
- Don’t Know/Refused to Answer: 3% (October 2015), 6% (June 2015), 7% (December 2014)
If parliamentary elections were held today, how likely is it that you would vote?

By Age

- **55+ Years Old**
  - Very Likely: 67%
  - Somewhat Likely: 14%
  - Somewhat Unlikely: 3%
  - Very Unlikely: 4%
  - Would Not Vote: 7%
  - Don’t Know/Refused to Answer: 5%

- **35-54 Years Old**
  - Very Likely: 54%
  - Somewhat Likely: 19%
  - Somewhat Unlikely: 5%
  - Very Unlikely: 7%
  - Would Not Vote: 10%
  - Don’t Know/Refused to Answer: 6%

- **18-34 Years Old**
  - Very Likely: 39%
  - Somewhat Likely: 26%
  - Somewhat Unlikely: 6%
  - Very Unlikely: 7%
  - Would Not Vote: 14%
  - Don’t Know/Refused to Answer: 8%
As you may know, a credible voter list should contain all eligible voters in the country and not have any ineligible or duplicate voters in it. How confident are you in the credibility of the voter list in Macedonia?

- 31% I Am Very Confident
- 27% I Am Somewhat Confident
- 17% I Am Not That Confident
- 13% I Am Not Confident at All
- 12% Don't Know/Refused to Answer
Do you think there are conditions in the country to hold free and fair elections?

- **Definitely Yes**: 29%
- **Probably Yes**: 34%
- **Probably No**: 15%
- **Definitely No**: 15%
- **Don’t Know/Refused to Answer**: 7%
Do you believe that your vote on election day is secret?

In May 2014 the question was phrased “Do you believe that even though voting on Election Day was secret some political party knows who you voted for?”
Who do you think violates the secrecy of your vote?
Those who think that their vote on election day is not secret, n=341

- Political Parties, All of Them: 43%
- The Government: 19%
- VMRO-DPMNE: 6%
- DUI: 6%
- DPA: 1%
- State Election Commission: 6%
- The Police: 1%
- Refused to Answer: 6%
- Don’t Know: 13%
Have you, a member of your family, or someone you personally know ever been subjected to pressure such as force, threats, vote buying or other illegal means to vote in a particular way?

In Feb. 2014 responses refer to 2011, 2013 and 2014 elections
In May 2014 responses refer to 2014 elections
Which institution do you think is most responsible to ensure that the elections will be free, democratic and with no irregularities?

- State Election Commission: 33%
- Ministry of Internal Affairs/Police: 25%
- The Government: 20%
- Political Parties: 11%
- The Judiciary: 2%
- Don’t Know/Refused to Answer: 11%
Do you know how to check whether you are on the voter's list?

- Yes: 40%
- No: 56%
- Don't Know/Refused to Answer: 4%
Have you ever checked your status on the list?
Those who know how to check the voter list, n=447

- Yes, I Have Checked it Online: 31%
- Yes, I Have Checked it in Person: 10%
- Yes, I Have Checked it Another Way: 18%
- No: 38%
- I Don't Remember: 3%
- Don't Know/Refused to Answer: 1%
Some people have proposed that before a voter is issued a ballot paper in the polling station, the election board should record the voter’s fingerprints to confirm his or her identity. What is your opinion on this?

- 31% Strongly Support This
- 30% Somewhat Support This
- 17% Somewhat Oppose This
- 12% Strongly Oppose This
- 9% Don't Know/Refused to Answer
Some people have proposed that Macedonia should change to a system where voters would have to go to an appropriate facility to register themselves to vote. In your opinion, should we keep the current system or should we change to this new system?

- Definitely Keep the Current System: 30%
- Probably Keep the Current System: 17%
- Probably Change to This New System: 11%
- Definitely Change to This New System: 18%
- Don’t Know/Refused to Answer: 24%

Note: The current system automatically adds all Macedonian citizens to the voter list if they have housing within Macedonian territory and a Macedonian I.D. card or passport.
According to you, to what degree do the following institutions, through their work and activities, contribute to solving problems in our country?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Not Contribute at All</th>
<th>Do Not Contribute</th>
<th>Neither Contribute nor Not Contribute</th>
<th>They Contribute</th>
<th>They Contribute Greatly</th>
<th>Don't Know/Refused to Answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>State Election Commission</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor Unions</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civic Associations</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Parties</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bodies of Local Administration</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Enterprises</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Commission for Preventing Corruption</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Prosecution</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courts</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cadastre of Real Estates and Land Registry</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Custom Administration</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministries</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Government</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The President</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Assembly</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
To what degree did you trust the following according to their actions in the last 12 months?

- State Election Commission: 20% I Have No Trust at All, 22% I Have No Trust, 27% I Neither Trust nor Distrust Them, 18% I Trust Them, 3% I Fully Trust Them, 10% Don't Know/Refused to Answer
- Media: 19% I Have No Trust at All, 22% I Have No Trust, 36% I Neither Trust nor Distrust Them, 19% I Trust Them, 2% I Fully Trust Them, 3% Don't Know/Refused to Answer
- Labor Unions: 26% I Have No Trust at All, 26% I Have No Trust, 26% I Neither Trust nor Distrust Them, 12% I Trust Them, 2% I Fully Trust Them, 9% Don't Know/Refused to Answer
- Civic Associations: 17% I Have No Trust at All, 22% I Have No Trust, 29% I Neither Trust nor Distrust Them, 17% I Trust Them, 2% I Fully Trust Them, 14% Don't Know/Refused to Answer
- Political Parties: 27% I Have No Trust at All, 25% I Have No Trust, 30% I Neither Trust nor Distrust Them, 13% I Trust Them, 2% I Fully Trust Them, 3% Don't Know/Refused to Answer
- Bodies of Local Administration: 23% I Have No Trust at All, 22% I Have No Trust, 26% I Neither Trust nor Distrust Them, 20% I Trust Them, 6% I Fully Trust Them, 4% Don't Know/Refused to Answer
- Public Enterprises: 18% I Have No Trust at All, 20% I Have No Trust, 33% I Neither Trust nor Distrust Them, 20% I Trust Them, 2% I Fully Trust Them, 7% Don't Know/Refused to Answer
- State Commission for Preventing...: 25% I Have No Trust at All, 23% I Have No Trust, 27% I Neither Trust nor Distrust Them, 15% I Trust Them, 3% I Fully Trust Them, 8% Don't Know/Refused to Answer
- Public Prosecution: 23% I Have No Trust at All, 24% I Have No Trust, 25% I Neither Trust nor Distrust Them, 17% I Trust Them, 2% I Fully Trust Them, 10% Don't Know/Refused to Answer
- Courts: 25% I Have No Trust at All, 24% I Have No Trust, 25% I Neither Trust nor Distrust Them, 18% I Trust Them, 2% I Fully Trust Them, 2% Don't Know/Refused to Answer
- Cadastre of Real Estates and Land Registry: 18% I Have No Trust at All, 17% I Have No Trust, 27% I Neither Trust nor Distrust Them, 25% I Trust Them, 4% I Fully Trust Them, 10% Don't Know/Refused to Answer
- Custom Administration: 19% I Have No Trust at All, 22% I Have No Trust, 27% I Neither Trust nor Distrust Them, 18% I Trust Them, 3% I Fully Trust Them, 12% Don't Know/Refused to Answer
- Ministries: 20% I Have No Trust at All, 21% I Have No Trust, 29% I Neither Trust nor Distrust Them, 22% I Trust Them, 4% I Fully Trust Them, 4% Don't Know/Refused to Answer
- The Government: 26% I Have No Trust at All, 19% I Have No Trust, 21% I Neither Trust nor Distrust Them, 23% I Trust Them, 9% I Fully Trust Them, 3% Don't Know/Refused to Answer
- The President: 24% I Have No Trust at All, 16% I Have No Trust, 18% I Neither Trust nor Distrust Them, 25% I Trust Them, 13% I Fully Trust Them, 3% Don't Know/Refused to Answer
- The Assembly: 24% I Have No Trust at All, 23% I Have No Trust, 26% I Neither Trust nor Distrust Them, 19% I Trust Them, 4% I Fully Trust Them, 4% Don't Know/Refused to Answer
Anticipating Elections, Citizens Most Concerned about Bread and Butter Issues
In your opinion, what are the two most serious problems facing Macedonia today? Open-Ended

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>First</th>
<th>Second</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poverty, Low Standard of Living, Problems of Common People</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low/Non Payment of Salary or Pension</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic and Financial Crises</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Political Situation</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corruption</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Prices</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of the Country</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor Performance of the Current Government</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Prices for Agricultural Products</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security Crises, Peace/Stability, War, Terrorism</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entrance into NATO/European Union</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emigration of Youth</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interethnic Relations/Conflicts</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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**
  - December 2014: 41%
  - June 2015: 38%
  - October 2015: 28%

- **Democracy is Somewhat More Important to Me**
  - December 2014: 14%
  - June 2015: 15%
  - October 2015: 13%

- **Prosperity is Somewhat More Important to Me**
  - December 2014: 20%
  - June 2015: 15%
  - October 2015: 16%

- **Prosperity is Definitely More Important to Me**
  - December 2014: 22%
  - June 2015: 25%
  - October 2015: 25%

- **Don't Know/Refused to Answer**
  - December 2014: 9%
  - June 2015: 6%
  - October 2015: 7%
In your opinion, has unemployment increased or decreased over the last year?

- Increased
- Decreased
- Don't Know/Refused to Answer

Graph showing the percentage of people who believe unemployment has increased or decreased over the last year, from December 2007 to October 2015.
Overall, is Macedonia moving in the right or wrong direction?
According to you, does the government have an effective plan to address the economic problems Macedonia is facing?
How is your family’s economic situation compared with one year ago?
In the next two years, will the Macedonian economy get better, get worse or stay the same?
Using the scale in Macedonian schools, from one to five (one being the least important and five being the most important), how important is each of these issues in your daily life?

- EU Membership: 3.92 (June 2015), 3.78 (October 2015)
- Political Stability: 4.62 (June 2015), 4.64 (October 2015)
- Reducing Corruption: 4.64 (June 2015), 4.6 (October 2015)
- Lower Taxes: 4.68 (June 2015), 4.77 (October 2015)
- Employment: 4.78 (June 2015), 4.77 (October 2015)
- Lower Prices: 4.82 (June 2015), 4.73 (October 2015)
- Security: 4.83 (June 2015), 4.82 (October 2015)
- Higher Wages: 4.84 (June 2015), 4.54 (October 2015)
Speaking personally, is your overall quality of life...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Getting Better</th>
<th>Staying the Same</th>
<th>Getting Worse</th>
<th>Don't Know/Refused to Answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mar-06</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sep-06</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Nov-06</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mar-07</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Jun-07</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>50%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sep-07</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>48%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dec-07</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>48%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Apr-08</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Jun-08</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>35%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sep-08</td>
<td>33%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dec-08</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>34%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Feb-09</td>
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<td>27%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Apr-09</td>
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Getting Better
- Mar-06: 48%
- Sep-06: 49%
- Nov-06: 49%
- Mar-07: 52%
- Jun-07: 53%
- Sep-07: 48%
- Dec-07: 48%
- Apr-08: 31%
- Jun-08: 35%
- Sep-08: 33%
- Dec-08: 31%
- Feb-09: 26%
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- May-14: 13%
- Sep-14: 13%
- Dec-14: 13%
- Jun-15: 11%
- Oct-15: 14%

Staying the Same
- Mar-06: 51%
- Sep-06: 50%
- Nov-06: 50%
- Mar-07: 54%
- Jun-07: 53%
- Sep-07: 50%
- Dec-07: 50%
- Apr-08: 48%
- Jun-08: 48%
- Sep-08: 49%
- Dec-08: 47%
- Feb-09: 47%
- Apr-09: 45%
- Jun-09: 48%
- Sep-09: 47%
- Dec-09: 47%
- May-10: 40%
- Sep-10: 37%
- Dec-10: 37%
- Feb-14: 37%
- May-14: 37%
- Sep-14: 37%
- Dec-14: 37%
- Jun-15: 37%
- Oct-15: 36%

Getting Worse
- Mar-06: 50%
- Sep-06: 49%
- Nov-06: 49%
- Mar-07: 48%
- Jun-07: 48%
- Sep-07: 49%
- Dec-07: 48%
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- Dec-10: 37%
- Feb-14: 37%
- May-14: 37%
- Sep-14: 37%
- Dec-14: 37%
- Jun-15: 37%
- Oct-15: 36%

Don't Know/Refused to Answer
- Mar-06: 1%
- Sep-06: 1%
- Nov-06: <1%
- Mar-07: 1%
- Jun-07: 1%
- Sep-07: <1%
- Dec-07: 1%
- Apr-08: 1%
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- Sep-10: <1%
- Dec-10: 1%
- Feb-14: 1%
- May-14: 1%
- Sep-14: 1%
- Dec-14: 1%
- Jun-15: <1%
- Oct-15: <1%

Note: The percentages may not add up to 100% due to rounding and missing values.
Do you think that free speech and the free expression of ideas exists in Macedonia today?
Voter Attitudes and Participation
How, according to your opinion, could members of Parliament more effectively perform their jobs?

Multiple Responses

- By Communicating More Often with Citizens and Nongovernmental Organizations: 32%
- By Being More Independent from Their Party Leadership: 33%
- Through Well-Grounded and Informed Debates in Parliament: 28%
- By Working Together Across Party Lines on Issues of Great Importance: 27%
- Through Oversight of the Government: 15%
- By Improving Their Presentation and Public Speaking Skills: 15%
- By Communicating More Often with Citizens and Nongovernmental Organizations: 14%
- Don't Know/Refused to Answer: 0%
Is this government seeking to solve the corruption problem?
Has Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski done his job well enough to deserve re-election?

<table>
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<th>Date</th>
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<th>No</th>
<th>Don't Know/Refused to Answer</th>
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In your opinion, how can parties improve their candidate selection for Parliament?

Ranked Lowest to Highest

1. Introducing Open Party Lists
   - First: 38%
   - Second: 35%
   - Third: 28%

2. Improving Internal Party Procedures on Candidate Nomination
   - First: 38%
   - Second: 42%
   - Third: 19%

3. Include More Women Candidates
   - First: 53%
   - Second: 23%
   - Third: 24%
To what level do you agree with the statement?
“Government advertising in the media negatively affects press freedom.”

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<th>Somewhat Agree</th>
<th>Neither Agree nor Disagree</th>
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</table>
Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? “Politicians do not listen to the needs and ideas of young people.”
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?
Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? “Politicians do not listen to the needs and ideas of women.”
Did you, or a member of your family, have any experience with the courts within the last 12 months (as a witness, party in a case, filed a complaint or any other business in the courts)?

![Graph showing the percentage of individuals who had experience with the courts over different years.]
Do you think the courts in Macedonia resolve cases in a timely manner?

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<th>Neither Yes Nor No</th>
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Are all citizens equally treated under the court procedures and in deciding cases?

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<th>In General They Are Equally Treated</th>
<th>More or Less</th>
<th>Not Treated Equally</th>
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What is the main reason for unequal treatment? Those who believe citizens are not treated equally, n=607

- Political: 46%
- Economic/Social: 29%
- Ethnicity: 9%
- Don't Know/No Answer: 9%
- Religion: 3%
- Gender: 1%
What is the main reason for unequal treatment? Those who believe citizens are not treated equally, n=607

- Political: 46%
- Economic/Social: 54%
- Ethnic: 15%
- Corruption/Bribes/Money: 7%
- Don't Know: 5%
- Religious: 5%
- Refused to Answer: 2%
- Connections/Friends: 2%
- Other: 13%
- Gender: 1%
According to you, to what extent are the courts susceptible to political influence in deciding court cases?

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<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Do you think that all citizens have equal opportunities to access courts in order to exercise their rights?

- **They Absolutely Have Equal Opportunities**
- **In General They Have Equal Opportunities**
- **Neither Yes nor No**
- **In General They Have Unequal Opportunities**
- **They Do Not Have Equal Opportunities**
- **Refused to Answer**

### Survey Results:

- **October 2015**
  - They Absolutely Have Equal Opportunities: 8%
  - In General They Have Equal Opportunities: 17%
  - Neither Yes nor No: 20%
  - In General They Have Unequal Opportunities: 25%
  - They Do Not Have Equal Opportunities: 19%
  - Refused to Answer: 2%
- **September 2014**
  - They Absolutely Have Equal Opportunities: 7%
  - In General They Have Equal Opportunities: 18%
  - Neither Yes nor No: 23%
  - In General They Have Unequal Opportunities: 21%
  - They Do Not Have Equal Opportunities: 18%
  - Refused to Answer: 3%
- **February 2014**
  - They Absolutely Have Equal Opportunities: 13%
  - In General They Have Equal Opportunities: 19%
  - Neither Yes nor No: 23%
  - In General They Have Unequal Opportunities: 22%
  - They Do Not Have Equal Opportunities: 13%
  - Refused to Answer: 2%
- **2013**
  - They Absolutely Have Equal Opportunities: 10%
  - In General They Have Equal Opportunities: 25%
  - Neither Yes nor No: 19%
  - In General They Have Unequal Opportunities: 22%
  - They Do Not Have Equal Opportunities: 21%
  - Refused to Answer: 3%
- **2012**
  - They Absolutely Have Equal Opportunities: 10%
  - In General They Have Equal Opportunities: 25%
  - Neither Yes nor No: 19%
  - In General They Have Unequal Opportunities: 25%
  - They Do Not Have Equal Opportunities: 18%
  - Refused to Answer: 3%
- **2011**
  - They Absolutely Have Equal Opportunities: 12%
  - In General They Have Equal Opportunities: 23%
  - Neither Yes nor No: 18%
  - In General They Have Unequal Opportunities: 25%
  - They Do Not Have Equal Opportunities: 19%
  - Refused to Answer: 3%
- **2010**
  - They Absolutely Have Equal Opportunities: 6%
  - In General They Have Equal Opportunities: 17%
  - Neither Yes nor No: 28%
  - In General They Have Unequal Opportunities: 28%
  - They Do Not Have Equal Opportunities: 14%
  - Refused to Answer: 7%

*2010-2015 data provided by the Department of Social Research, Statistics Norway.*
What is the main reason for unequal access to the courts?

Those who do not believe all citizens have equal access to courts, n=461

- **Political Reasons**: 32%
- **Financial Reasons (Court Fees/Lawyer Fees)**: 30%
- **Low Level of Legal Culture of Citizens**: 10%
- **Lack of Information on How to File a Case**: 8%
- **Lack of Information on How Courts Operate**: 7%
- **Don't Know/No Answer**: 7%
- **Physical Barriers (Distance) of the Courts**: 1%
What is the main reason for unequal access to the courts?

Those who do not believe all citizens have equal access to courts, n=461
To what degree do you think corruption is spread in...

- There Is No Corruption
- There Is a Low Level of Corruption
- There Is an Average Level of Corruption
- Corruption Is Widespread
- Don't Know/Refused to Answer
If someone demanded a bribe from you in order to complete something of great importance, what would you do?

- I would report him/her to the police: 39%
- I would not pay and I would not do anything about it: 22%
- Depends on the circumstances: 18%
- I would report him/her to the SCPC*: 10%
- Don’t Know/Refused to Answer: 6%
- I would report him/her through an anonymous phone call: 4%
- I would report him/her to the media: 3%
- I would pay and not say anything: 3%
- I would report him/her to the public prosecution: 3%
- I would report him/her to the office of the Ombudsman: 2%
- I would report him/her to the local self-government: 1%

*State Commission for Prevention of Corruption
In your interactions with public officials over the past year, how often did you give cash (money) or a gift to, or do a favor for, the civil servant?
Which of the following statements best describe your knowledge about nongovernmental organizations or citizens’ associations in your community?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>I Am Very Well Informed about What They Do and the Services They Offer</th>
<th>I Am Informed about What They Do and the Services They Offer</th>
<th>I Am Not Informed about What They Do and the Services They Offer</th>
<th>I Am Not Informed about Any NGOs or Similar Groups in My Community</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>October 2015</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 2014</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 2014</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>25%</td>
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<td>22%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>28%</td>
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<td>2010</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Legend:
- Black: I Am Very Well Informed about What They Do and the Services They Offer
- Green: I Am Informed about What They Do and the Services They Offer
- Blue: I Am Not Informed about What They Do and the Services They Offer
- Red: I Am Not Informed about Any NGOs or Similar Groups in My Community

Dates:
- February 2014
- October 2015
- September 2014
- 2007
- 2008
- 2009
- 2010
- 2011
- 2012
- 2013
According to you, what is the motivation (principal reason) that citizens in Macedonia become members of citizens’ associations (NGO)?

- Because of Their Personal Interests: 32%
- In Order to Solve a Concrete Problem or Need: 15%
- In Order to Help Other People: 9%
- In Order to Realize the Program Goals of the NGO: 6%
- Because They Have a Considerable Amount of Free Time: 4%
- In Order to Be Social: 4%
- In Order to Influence National or Local Policies: 5%
- In Order to Improve Their Knowledge: 2%
- Don’t Know: 24%
To what degree are you motivated to engage in activities of citizens’ associations on issues you consider to be of social importance?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>I Am Not Motivated at All</th>
<th>I Am Not Motivated Enough</th>
<th>I Am Motivated Enough</th>
<th>I Am Fully Motivated</th>
<th>Don't Know/Refused to Answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>October 2015</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 2014</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 2014</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
What is the main reason you are motivated to engage in NGO activities?
Those Who Engage with NGOs, n=222

- In Order to Solve a Concrete Problem or Need: 26% (October 2015), 21% (September 2014), 10% (September/October 2013)
- In Order to Help Other People: 22% (October 2015), 16% (September 2014), 4% (September/October 2013)
- Because of My Personal Interests: 18% (October 2015), 15% (September 2014), 2% (September/October 2013)
- In Order to Improve My Knowledge: 13% (October 2015), 8% (September 2014), 5% (September/October 2013)
- In Order to Influence National or Local Policies: 11% (October 2015), 8% (September 2014), 2% (September/October 2013)
- In Order to Be Social: 10% (October 2015), 4% (September 2014), 2% (September/October 2013)
- In Order to Realize the Program Goals of the NGO: 9% (October 2015), 6% (September 2014), 3% (September/October 2013)
- Because I Have a Considerable Amount of Free Time: 3% (October 2015), 4% (September 2014), 1% (September/October 2013)
- Don't Know/Refused to Answer: 8% (October 2015), 4% (September 2014), 1% (September/October 2013)
What is the main reason you are not motivated to engage in NGO activities?
Those Who Do Not Engage with NGOs, n=732

- Personal Indifference: 27%
- I Don't Have a Specific Reason: 19%
- I Don't Believe Anything Will Be Changed: 20%
- It's Not My Business: 19%
- It Would Be a Waste of Time: 12%
- I Know They Will Not Hear Me Out: 11%
- I Am Afraid of the Consequences: 2%
- Older Person/Health Issues: 2%
- No Time: 2%
- Other: 1%
- Don't Know/Refused to Answer: 1%

October 2015
September 2014
September/October 2013
Please indicate if you have personally supported NGO activities in the last 12 months in any of the following ways.

**October 2015**

- Attending an Event or Activity by an NGO: 8% (Yes) - 92% (No)
- Participating in Advocacy or Oversight Activities: 3% (Yes) - 97% (No)
- Participating in Online Activities/Initiatives: 6% (Yes) - 94% (No)
- Participating as a Citizen Volunteer: 6% (Yes) - 94% (No)
- Providing Free Professional Services: 4% (Yes) - 97% (No)
- In-Kind Donations: 1% (Yes) - 99% (No)
- Donating Goods: 24% (Yes) - 76% (No)
- Donating Money: 14% (Yes) - 86% (No)

**September 2014**

- Attending an Event or Activity by an NGO: 9% (Yes) - 91% (No)
- Participating in Advocacy or Oversight Activities: 5% (Yes) - 95% (No)
- Participating in Online Activities/Initiatives: 8% (Yes) - 92% (No)
- Participating as a Citizen Volunteer: 7% (Yes) - 93% (No)
- Providing Free Professional Services: 6% (Yes) - 94% (No)
- In-Kind Donations: 4% (Yes) - 96% (No)
- Donating Goods: 25% (Yes) - 75% (No)
- Donating Money: 17% (Yes) - 83% (No)
In which area is the NGO activity that you have supported?

- Have Not Supported: 83%
- I Have Supported But I Don't Remember the Name: 11%
- Red Cross: 3%
- Charity: 1%
- Other: 1%
- Youth and Sports: 1%
- Education: 1%

Survey data from October 2015, September 2014, and February 2014.
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, etc.)

- 2011: 85%
- 2012: 90%
- 2013: 90%
- Feb-14: 92%
- Sep-14: 94%
- Oct-15: 89%

Yes | No
--- | ---
15% | 85%
10% | 90%
10% | 90%
8% | 92%
6% | 94%
11% | 89%
Euro-Atlantic Integration and Other Issue Attitudes
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 got its EU candidate member status?

- Close Today
- When It Got the Status of EU Candidate Country
- Don't Know/Refused to Answer

Feb-14: 23%
May-14: 27%
Sep-14: 25%
Dec-14: 28%
Jun-15: 21%
Oct-15: 25%
In how many years do you think Macedonia will become a member of the EU?

- **1-5 years**: 16% (October 2015), 25% (June 2015)
- **6-10 years**: 11% (October 2015), 26% (June 2015)
- **More than 10 years**: 23% (October 2015), 23% (June 2015)
- **Never**: 18% (October 2015), 27% (June 2015)
- **Don't know/Refused to answer**: 14% (October 2015), 16% (June 2015)
According to you, what is the reason for the slowdown in Macedonia's EU integration?

- **The Name Issue**: 48% (June 2015), 45% (October 2015)
- **Lack of Domestic Reforms**: 23% (June 2015), 28% (October 2015)
- **New Conditions Set by the EU**: 16% (June 2015), 15% (October 2015)
- **Don't Know/Refused to Answer**: 11% (June 2015), 10% (October 2015)
- **Government/Prime Minister**: N/A
- **Other**: 2% (June 2015), 0% (October 2015)

Note: The Government/Prime Minister response was not an option for respondents in the June 2015 poll.
Taking everything into account, would you say that Macedonia would benefit or not benefit from being a member of EU?

- 62% Would Benefit
- 29% Would Not Benefit
- 9% Don't Know/Refused to Answer
Generally speaking, do you think that Macedonia’s membership in the European Economic Area is a good thing or a bad thing?

- Good Thing: 54%
- Bad Thing: 15%
- Neither Good Nor Bad: 25%
- Don’t Know/Refused to Answer: 6%
Do you support Macedonia becoming a member of NATO?

- Yes: 89% 89% 90% 89% 91% 91% 89% 92% 90% 90% 89% 94% 92% 94% 91% 89% 89% 91% 87% 85% 78% 77% 83% 83% 74%
- No: 9% 11% 9% 9% 5% 8% 9% 6% 7% 5% 8% 10% 10% 6% 9% 11% 16% 15% 13% 12% 19%
- Don't Know/Refused to Answer: 3% 3% 3% 3% 2% 2% 4% 3% 2% 2% 2% 1% 1% 1% 1% 1% 2% 2% 3% 4% 4% 4% 6% 4% 5% 7% 7% 5% 7%

Given its capacities, how do you feel the Macedonian government is handling the current refugee crisis?

- The Government is Providing Too Much Support: 21%
- The Government is Providing Sufficient Support: 34%
- The Government is Providing Some Support but Needs to Do More: 11%
- The Government is Not Providing Sufficient Support: 16%
- I'm Not Aware of the Refugee Crisis: 7%
- Don't Know/Refused to Answer: 12%
In your opinion, how is the EU’s handling of the refugee crisis affecting Macedonia?

- Positively: 16%
- Negatively: 46%
- It Has No Effect: 17%
- Don't Know/Refused to Answer: 21%
Do you think climate change will affect you or your family in some way?

- Definitely Yes: 39%
- Probably Yes: 18%
- Maybe Yes, Maybe No: 27%
- Probably No: 4%
- Definitely No: 6%
- Don't Know/Refused to Answer: 5%
In your view, is climate change having any impact on the region (within Macedonia) where you live?
How important is it, in your view, to take collective action to reduce any negative impacts arising from climate change?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Definitely Important</th>
<th>Rather Important</th>
<th>Neither Important nor Unimportant</th>
<th>Rather Unimportant</th>
<th>Definitely Unimportant</th>
<th>Don't Know/Refused to Answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>October 2015</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 2014</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 2014</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1%</td>
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<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sources of Information
What is your primary source of political news?

Multiple Responses

- **Television**: 84% (September 2014), 90% (December 2014), 87% (June 2015), 90% (October 2015)
- **Radio**: 10% (September 2014), 5% (December 2014), 4% (June 2015), 7% (October 2015)
- **Print Media**: 16% (September 2014), 12% (December 2014), 13% (June 2015), 16% (October 2015)
- **Family/Friends**: 21% (September 2014), 15% (December 2014), 18% (June 2015), 23% (October 2015)
- **Political Parties**: 5% (September 2014), 2% (December 2014), 3% (June 2015), 4% (October 2015)
- **Internet/Web Pages**: 25% (September 2014), 19% (December 2014), 23% (June 2015), 23% (October 2015)
Which television station do you watch most often for political news?

- SITEL: 25% (June 2015), 23% (October 2015)
- AlsatM: 24% (June 2015), 24% (October 2015)
- Kanal 5: 15% (June 2015), 13% (October 2015)
- 24 Vesti: 12% (June 2015), 12% (October 2015)
- Telma: 10% (June 2015), 10% (October 2015)
- Do Not Watch TV: 6% (June 2015), 4% (October 2015)
- MTV (Macedonian Language): 5% (June 2015), 4% (October 2015)
- Alfa: 3% (June 2015), 3% (October 2015)
- MTV (Albanian Language): 2% (June 2015), 1% (October 2015)
- Local TV Station: 1% (June 2015)
- Other: 1% (June 2015)
- Don't Know/Refused to Answer: 2% (June 2015)
Which daily newspaper do you read most often for political news?

**June 2015**

- Do Not Read Newspapers: 67%
- Koha: 8%
- Dnevnik: 7%
- Vest: 5%
- Lajme: 4%
- Sloboden Pecat: 4%
- Vecer: 2%
- Utrinski Vesnik: 2%
- Nova Makedonija: 1%
- Don’t Know/Refused to Answer: 1%

**October 2015**

- Do Not Read Newspapers: 63%
- Koha: 9%
- Dnevnik: 7%
- Vest: 6%
- Lajme: 4%
- Sloboden Pecat: 4%
- Vecer: 2%
- Utrinski Vesnik: 2%
- Nova Makedonija: 1%
- Don’t Know/Refused to Answer: 2%
Which weekly newspaper do you read most often for political news?

- Do Not Read Weekly Newspapers: 90%
- Fokus: 5%
- Republika: 2%
- Kapital: 1%
- Don’t Know/Refused to Answer: 3%

Comparison:
- June 2015: 87%
- October 2015: 90%
Which Internet news portal/website do you read most often for political news?
Open-ended; Spontaneous First Mention; n=272

- Facebook: 22%
- Time.mk: 10%
- KURIR: 10%
- PORTALB.MK: 6%
- 24 VESTI: 5%
- Other: 4%
- +INFO: 3%
- Zurnal.com: 3%
- Tocka: 3%
- Ohridnews: 3%
- VECER: 2%
- LAJM: 2%
- REPUBLIKA: 2%
- SITE: 2%
- A1ON: 2%
- TELEGRAF: 2%
- PRES24: 1%
- KANAL 5: 1%
- Grid: 1%
- LIBERTAS: 1%
- STRUGALAJM: 1%
- Vesti: 1%
- Dozaz.mk: 1%
- BRIF: 1%
- VEST: 1%
- TETOVA1: 1%
- DNEVNIK: 1%
- Puls 24: 1%
- IDIVIDI: 1%
- ALSAT: 1%
Demographics
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