### Western Balkans Regional Poll

February 2, 2020 - March 6, 2020



#### **Detailed Methodology**

- The survey was conducted on behalf of the International Republican Institute's <u>Center for Insights in</u> <u>Survey Research</u> by <u>Ipsos Bosnia and Herzegovina</u>.
- Data was collected through in-home, in-person interviews using the CAPI (computer-assisted personal interviewing) method in each of the sampled countries. In each country, the margin of error is calculated at the 95 percent confidence level for the midrange for the full sample size.

Country	Fieldwork Dates	Sample Size	Margin of Error	Response Rate
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Feb. 7 - Feb. 29, 2020	n = 1,486	±2.5	66%
Kosovo	Feb. 11 - Mar. 4, 2020	n = 1,517	±2.5	85%
North Macedonia	Feb. 15 - Mar. 4, 2020	n = 1,472	±2.6	70%
Montenegro	Feb. 2 - Feb. 28, 2020	n = 966	±3.2	66%
Serbia	Feb. 10 - Mar. 6, 2020	n = 1,481	±2.5	50%

- Nationally representative samples for each state are based on a multistage stratification proportionate to population sample distribution.
  - Stage 1: PPS stratification across regions.
  - Stage 2: PPS stratification across urban and rural areas (defined by settlement).
  - Stage 3: Random selection of sampling points.
- Households were selected using a random route technique with a right-hand rule.
- Respondents were selected randomly using the Kish grid method.
- Interviews were conducted in Albanian, Bosnian, Macedonian, Montenegrin and Serbian.
- The data was weighted to the latest official census statistics for age, gender, educational attainment, urbanicity and region in each country.
- Charts and graphs may not add up to exactly 100 percent due to rounding.
- Cited bases are weighted.
- The poll was funded by the <u>National Endowment for Democracy</u>.

#### **Countries Polled**



Bosnia and Herzegovina



Kosovo



#### North Macedonia



Montenegro



#### Serbia

### **General Issues**



## In general, would you say that our country is heading in the right direction or in the wrong direction?

		■ In t	the right d	irection	■ In the	e wrong di	rection	■ Don't	know/Refuse	ed	
				53%				36%		1	1%
			45%					47%			8%
			33%				61%	6			6%
*****			469	6				49%			6%
	1	0%				87%	6				3%
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100

## Do you think that today's generation of young people has a good future in our country or not?

	G G	ood future		■ No	t a good fu	uture		Don't kno	ow/Refuse	ed	
			34%				54%			1	2%
			33%				58%				9%
		17%					81%				2%
*****				52%				42%			6%
	1	1%				84%					6%
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%

#### What is the most important problem facing our country today? (Top five responses; spontaneous responses)



#### What is the most important problem facing our country today? Bosnia and Herzegovina

(Spontaneous response)





#### What is the most important problem facing our country today? *Kosovo*

#### (Spontaneous response)





#### What is the most important problem facing our country today? North Macedonia

(Spontaneous response)





#### What is the most important problem facing our country today? *Montenegro*





### What is the most important problem facing our country today? Serbia







#### What specific issue should be the top priority for the government to address? Bosnia and Herzegovina

#### (Spontaneous response)





## What specific issue should be the top priority for the government to address?

Kosovo



## What specific issue should be the top priority for the government to address?

North Macedonia





#### What specific issue should be the top priority for the government to address? <u>Montenegro</u>





50%

### What specific issue should be the top priority for the government to address? Serbia

#### (Spontaneous response)





## How would you describe the current economic situation of your household?

Ver	y good	Sorr	newhat goo	od 🗖	Somewha	t bad	■ Very b	ad 🔳	Don't kı	now/Re	fused	
	5%			52%				29%			13%	1%
	9%			52	%			27	%		11%	2%
	5%			56%				29	9%		10%	1%
	10%				66%					22%	29	<b>%</b> 1%
	6%			45%				32%		1	6%	2%
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90	)%	100%

## When was life better for you, today or before the breakup of Yugoslavia?



How important or unimportant is it that all members of our country's adult population, including women, young adults, minorities, and people with disabilities, are included in political decision-making?

Very important Somewhat important Somewhat unimportant Very unimportant Don't know/Refused

			59%				26%		9%	3% 3%
			55%				34%		7	7% 2%2%
		489	%				38%		9%	3% <b>2</b> %
		45%				4(	0%		7%	5% 4%
		37%			29%		1	9%	13	3% 2%
0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	5 <b>100</b> %

### Which of the following statements best matches your own opinion of the role that religion should play in government and law-making?

- Religious texts should form the foundations of all policy and law-making
- The principles of religious teaching should be one consideration but not the only
- Religious views should not provide a source of justification for a policy or law
- Religion should be completely absent from government decision-making
- Don't know/Refused

6%	20	0%		23%			45%			6%
11%		20%		18%			41%		1	0%
6%	20	0%	179	%			50%			6%
1	6%	20	0%	14%		3,	1%		19%	
4%	17%		26%				50%			4%
0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%

## Would you say that our country's politics are moving toward more consensus or more polarization?

■ More consensus ■ More polarization ■ Don't know/Refused

			40%				35%			25%	
		:	33%			38%				29%	
			36%				45%			20%	
*****			34%		2	4%			42%		
		21%				55%				24%	
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%

## Is polarization of our country's politics a positive or negative development?

(Among those who said the country's politics are moving toward polarization)



#### Do people in our country feel free to openly express their opinions or are they afraid?

Very	y free	Some	ewhat free	• • • • • • •	Somewhat af	raid	Very afr	aid ∎	Don't kno	w/Refu	sed
		19%		28	%		28%		2	2%	3%
		16%		25%		2	9%		25%		5%
	8%		25%			429	6		2	23%	2%
*****		24%				54%			14	4%	4% 3%
	6%		29%			39	%		23	3%	3%
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%

### Are the media in our country free to independently cover any issue or not?

Very	free	Somew	hat free	Some Some	what not fre	e	Very not	free	■ Don't I	know/Ref	used
		24%		2	7%		23%			23%	3%
		21%		32	%		2	8%		15%	5%
	9%	6	30%				40%			18%	3%
*****		23%				54%				16%	4% 4%
	6%		34%				38%			20%	2%
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%

### **Democracy and Human Rights**



## How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the way democracy is developing in our country?



### How would you the describe the current status of each of the following items in our country? Bosnia and Herzegovina





### How would you the describe the current status of each of the following items in our country? *Kosovo*





### How would you the describe the current status of each of the following items in our country? North Macedonia

Somewhat bad Very bad

Don't know/Refused





Very good

Somewhat good

### How would you the describe the current status of each of the following items in our country? *Montenegro*





# How would you the describe the current status of each of the following items in our country? Serbia





## How likely or unlikely are ordinary people able to influence decisions made in our country?

Very	likely	Sor	newhat likel	y S	omewhat	unlikely	Very	unlikely	■ Don't kno	ow/Refu	used
		13%	22%	6	2	0%			44%		3%
		15%		28%			25%		27%		5%
		10%	23%			26%			37%		4%
*****		24	4%		389	%		14%	179	6	7%
	9	9%	25%			29%			36%		2%
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%

### Do you believe that democracy is the best possible form of government for our country or not?

■ Yes, it is the best possible form of government for our country.

■ No, there are other forms of government that could be equally good for our country.

■ No, there are other forms of government that are better than democracy.

Don't knc	w/Refused
-----------	-----------

				54%			2	.0%	13	%	1	3%
				61%				19%		12%		9%
				59%				20%		14%	/ 0	7%
*****					75%				119	6 4	%	11%
			45%				27%		2	0%		8%
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	6	90%	100

## Thinking about our country's current political system, do you believe it is a:

Full democracy Nearly full democracy Flawed democracy Not a democracy at all Don't know/Refused

	9%		3	1%		29	%		22%		
		20%		27%			31%		1	15%	6%
	8%	2	20%			38%			30%		4%
		19%			39%			26%		7%	9%
(****	4% 19%			46%					28%		3%
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100

#### Which one of these statements is closest to your opinion?

In a democracy, citizens should have more rights than responsibilities before the state.

In a democracy, there should be a balance between rights and responsibilities of the citizens before the state.

In a democracy, citizens should have more responsibilities than rights before the state.

Don't know/Refused

		14%				68%				12%	6%	
		24%		49%					19%			
		17%				62%				17%	3%	
*****		31%		37%				1	16%		16%	
		19%		57%					20%		4%	
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100	
### **Trust in Politicians and Institutions**



#### Which politician or public person do you trust the most? (Top five responses; spontaneous responses)





40%

50%

#### To what extent do you trust or distrust each of the following institutions? Bosnia and Herzegovina

Trust a great deal Somewhat trust Somewhat distrust Distrust a great deal Don't know/Refused



### To what extent do you trust or distrust each of the following institutions? *Kosovo*





#### To what extent do you trust or distrust each of the following institutions? North Macedonia



Don't know/Refused

#### To what extent do you trust or distrust each of the following institutions? *Montenegro*



### To what extent do you trust or distrust each of the following institutions? Serbia

Trust a great deal Somewhat trust Somewhat distrust Distrust a great deal Don't know/Refused



### Corruption



# To what extent, if any, has corruption had a negative impact on you?



It has had little negative impact

It has not had any negative impact

#### Other

#### Don't know/Refused

		19%		17% 17		7%	38%				1% 9%			
	1	13% 17%				14%		40%				1% 15%		
		43%					23%			14%		14% 1% 6%		6%
****			33%	<u>,</u>		189	%	11%	6	21%	<	1%	17%	
		17% 19%			9%	22%				3	8%	<		5%
	0%	10%	2	0%	30%	40%	50%	6	60%	70%	80%	9	0%	100

# In the past 12 months, how often, if at all, have you had to do a favor, give a gift or pay a bribe?

 Daily	Weekly	Monthly	∕ ■Less fr	equently	Not at all	Other	Don't know	/Refused	
2	% 5%	20%			6	4%			9%
2%	% 6%	18%			6!	5%			9%
1%3	3% 6%	20%			1	1% 3%			
4%	2% 4%	11%			<b>69</b> %			1	0%
1%2	% 7%	269	6			58%	1 1	<1	<mark>%</mark> 6%
0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	50% 7	0% 80%	90%	100%

### **Foreign Influence**



## Which country is the biggest foreign donor to our country? (Spontaneous response)



0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80%

#### Please tell me your opinion of each of the following countries Bosnia and Herzegovina



#### Please tell me your opinion of each of the following countries *Kosovo*



#### Kosovo and France asked in North Macedonia Only

#### Please tell me your opinion of each of the following countries North Macedonia

■ Highly favorable ■ Somewhat favorable ■ Somewhat unfavorable ■ Highly unfavorable ■ Don't know/Refused



#### Please tell me your opinion of each of the following countries Montenegro



#### Please tell me your opinion of each of the following countries Serbia



#### Which of these countries do you consider to be the most important economic partner or partners for our country? Bosnia and Herzegovina



#### Which of these countries do you consider to be the most important economic partner or partners for our country? *Kosovo*



#### Which of these countries do you consider to be the most important economic partner or partners for our country? *North Macedonia*



#### Which of these countries do you consider to be the most important economic partner or partners for our country? *Montenegro*



# Which of these countries do you consider to be the most important economic partner or partners for our country? Serbia



### Which of these countries do you consider to be the most important political partner or partners for our country? Bosnia and Herzegovina



### Which of these countries do you consider to be the most important political partner or partners for our country? *Kosovo*



### Which of these countries do you consider to be the most important political partner or partners for our country? North Macedonia



### Which of these countries do you consider to be the most important political partner or partners for our country? *Montenegro*



# Which of these countries do you consider to be the most important political partner or partners for our country? Serbia



### Which of these countries do you consider to be the most important political threat or threats for our country? Bosnia and Herzegovina



### Which of these countries do you consider to be the most important political threat or threats for our country? *Kosovo*



### Which of these countries do you consider to be the most important political threat or threats for our country? North Macedonia



### Which of these countries do you consider to be the most important political threat or threats for our country? *Montenegro*



### Which of these countries do you consider to be the most important political threat or threats for our country? Serbia



#### What should our country's foreign policy course be?

- Only pro- European Union and the West
- Pro-Western but keep up relations with Russia
- West and Russia equally
- Pro-Russian but keep up relations with the European Union and the West
- Only pro-Russian
- Don't know/Refused

	11	11% 18%				209	%	8%	8%		
		33%			11%	20%		11%	8%	16	5%
			43%			14%		22% 9		% 4%	9%
*****					8	5%			3	9% 3%1%	1% 8%
			43%			12%		18%		5%	11%
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	10

#### Are you aware of any major Russian investments in our country?

Don't know/Refused

Yes

■ No



70

# Which of the following statements best describes Russia's motivations to invest in our country?

- Russian investment is primarily about economics, delivering benefits to both sides
- Russian investment gives some economic benefits to our country, but it always carries certain political expectations and conditions
- Russian investment is primarily about influence and control of our country
- Don't know/Refused

			38%				38%			11	%
		3(	)%		20%		13%	37%			
		25%	6	23%			21%	31%			
*****	6%	7%		29%				57%			
		23%		28%			18%		32%		
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%

#### Are you aware of any major Chinese investments in our country?

■ Yes ■ No ■ Don't know/Refused


### Which of the following statements best describes China's motivations to invest in our country?

- Chinese investment is primarily about economics, delivering benefits to both sides
- Chinese investment gives some economic benefits to our country, but it always carries certain political expectations and conditions
- Chinese investment is primarily about influence and control of our country
- Don't know/Refused

			4	9%			89	% 11	1%		
			35%		2	2%	7%				
			36%		19	9%	11%	35%			
*****	7%	1	7%	13%				63%			
		23%			28%				35%		
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%

### **NATO Integration**



### In your opinion, our country's future is best served by having what kind of relationship with NATO?

- Full membership
- More communication but no cooperation
- Don't know/Refused

Closer cooperation but not membershipNo relationship at all

	5%	20	%		23%			48%			4%
			33%		19%		14%		25%		9%
				59%				18%	8%	10%	5%
*****					88%					3% 2%4	4% <sub>4%</sub>
			48	8%		1	15%	12%	20%	6	6%
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	1009

#### Asked in Montenegro Only

### Has NATO membership been positive or negative for our country? *Montenegro*





### How do you view the role of NATO in the world?



### **EU Integration**



### If a referendum were held today on our country joining the European Union, how would you vote?

■ Would vote to join the EU ■ Would vote against joining the EU ■ Would not vote ■ Don't know/Refused

			5	50%			28	%		13%	8%
				63%				18%		11%	8%
					74%				10%	10%	6%
*****						93%					3%2%%
					76%				11%	7%	5%
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100

### **Media Preferences**



### How interested or uninterested are you in political news and information?

■ Very interested ■ Somewhat interested ■ Somewhat uninterested ■ Very uninterested ■ Don't know/Refused

		15%				40%				20%	19
		17%			42%			20%		15%	7%
	12	2%		37%			26%			23%	2%
			28%			40%		1	4%	11%	7%
	8%		30%			26%			32%		5%
_	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%

### Which media platform do you use most frequently to gain political news and information?



#### Which specific media outlets, such as a specific TV channel, radio station, newspaper, website etc., do you consider most trustworthy for political information? (Top 10 responses) Bosnia and Herzegovina





Which specific media outlets, such as a specific TV channel, radio station, newspaper, website etc., do you consider most trustworthy for political information? (Top 10 responses) *Kosovo* 





Which specific media outlets, such as a specific TV channel, radio station, newspaper, website etc., do you consider most trustworthy for political information? (Top 10 responses) North Macedonia





Which specific media outlets, such as a specific TV channel, radio station, newspaper, website etc., do you consider most trustworthy for political information? (Top 10 responses) <u>Montenegro</u>





Which specific media outlets, such a specific TV channel, radio station, newspaper, website etc. do you consider most trustworthy for political information? (Top 10 responses)







### How often, if ever, do you use the internet or social media?

Daily or almost daily Several times a week Weekly Monthly Less often Never On't know/Refused

			51	%			11% 3%	5 1% 5%	2	8%	<b>2</b> %
			5	52%			12%	5% 3% 4%	2	21%	5%
				55%			10%	6% <b>2%</b> 4%	6	24%	1%
*****				669	%			11% 4	% 1% 2 <mark>%</mark>	11%	8%
				56%			11%	4%2%	7%	19%	4%
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%

### How frequently do you encounter information in the media, including social media, that you believe is misleading or false?

■ Daily or almost daily ■ Several times a week ■ Weekly ■ Monthly ■ Less often ■ Never ■ Don't know/Refused



## To what extent is misleading or false information in the media problematic for our country?

Very problematic Somewhat problematic Somewhat unproblematic Very unproblematic Don't know/Refused

			39%		36%				15% 3% 7%		
		30	0%		41%				14%	6%	9%
		30%			48%				1	4% 3%	6%
*****		2		36%				8%	16%		
***		27%			40%			21%		8%	6%
	0%	% 10% 20% 3			0% 40% 50% 60%				80%	90%	100

### Security Issues



# Which statement about refugees and migrants is closest to your opinion?

- Our country has a responsibility to help those in need by taking in refugees and migrants, regardless of the costs in financial, social, and security realms.
- Our country has a responsibility to help those in need by taking in refugees and migrants, but only after certain steps have been taken to ensure that they will not place excessive financial, social, or security burden on our country.
- Our country does not have a responsibility to help those in need by taking in refugees and migrants.

#### 6% 49% 38% 7% 45% 27% 10% 18% 40% 42% 10% 8% 30% 34% 11% 25% 21% 47% 26% 6% 0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%

#### Don't know/Refused

# To what extent is violent extremism a problem in our country?

Big problem	Somewhat i	f a problem	Small pro	lot a problem at all Do			on't know/Refused		
	26%		29%		18%	1	2%	17%	
	18%		31%		19%	199	%	16%	
	25%		35%	6	15%		10%	17%	
*****	19%		26%	17%		18%		23%	
	22%		34%			25%		12%	8%
C	0% 10%	20% 3	<b>60% 40%</b>	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%

## How would you evaluate the security situation in the country?



## In your opinion, what kind of extremism is more present in our country?

	Religiou	IS	■ Ethno	o-nationalist			leither ■ Don't kno			w/Refused	
		15%		37	7%		23%			25%	
		3	2%		25%	6	26%			18%	
		20%			45%			20%	6	16%	
*****		24%		10%			45%		l	22%	
		23%			39%			26	%	12%	,
_	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%

### To what extent do you support or oppose legal consequences, including prison terms, for citizens returning from participating in foreign conflicts?

Strongly support Somewhat support Somewhat oppose Strongly oppose Don't know/Refused 18% 24% 17% 11% 31% 29% 15% 8% 28% 21% 13% 11% 15% 33% 28% 33% 27% 11% 7% 22% 5% 31% 32% 20% 12% 0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%

## Do you believe that our country's citizens who are returning from fighting in foreign conflicts represent a security threat?



■ Yes ■ No ■ Don't know/Refused

## Would you support or oppose returnees from foreign conflicts reintegrating into society?



### **Demographics**















\**Employment Sector* is among those who are *employed full-time* or *employed part-time* (n=568).

\*\* Economic Situation is based on the question "Please tell us which answer best describes your current economic situation."

- Barely Subsistence = "I have trouble feeding myself and my family and buying even the most essential things for survival."
- Subsistence = "I have enough means for survival, but I do not have enough money for extra things."
- Adequate = "I am able to afford a few new extra things."
- More than Adequate = "I am able to afford most things I want."

















\**Employment Sector* is among those who are *employed full-time* or *employed part-time* (n=376).

\*\* Economic Situation is based on the question "Please tell us which answer best describes your current economic situation."

- Barely Subsistence = "I have trouble feeding myself and my family and buying even the most essential things for survival."
- Subsistence = "I have enough means for survival, but I do not have enough money for extra things."
- Adequate = "I am able to afford a few new extra things."
- More than Adequate = "I am able to afford most things I want."







### Demographics - North Macedonia




## Demographics - North Macedonia





# Demographics - North Macedonia



\**Employment Sector* is among those who are *employed full-time* or *employed part-time* (n=566).

\*\* Economic Situation is based on the question "Please tell us which answer best describes your current economic situation."

- Barely Subsistence = "I have trouble feeding myself and my family and buying even the most essential things for survival."
- Subsistence = "I have enough means for survival, but I do not have enough money for extra things."
- Adequate = "I am able to afford a few new extra things."
- More than Adequate = "I am able to afford most things I want."



# Demographics - North Macedonia















\**Employment Sector* is among those who are *employed full-time* or *employed part-time* (n=459).

\*\* Economic Situation is based on the question "Please tell us which answer best describes your current economic situation."

- Barely Subsistence = "I have trouble feeding myself and my family and buying even the most essential things for survival."
- Subsistence = "I have enough means for survival, but I do not have enough money for extra things."
- Adequate = "I am able to afford a few new extra things."
- More than Adequate = "I am able to afford most things I want."

















\**Employment Sector* is among those who are *employed full-time* or *employed part-time* (n=515).

\*\* Economic Situation is based on the question "Please tell us which answer best describes your current economic situation."

- Barely Subsistence = "I have trouble feeding myself and my family and buying even the most essential things for survival."
- Subsistence = "I have enough means for survival, but I do not have enough money for extra things."
- Adequate = "I am able to afford a few new extra things."
- More than Adequate = "I am able to afford most things I want."





# Center for Insights in Survey Research 202.408.9450 | info@iri.org www.IRI.org | @IRI\_Polls





A PROJECT FROM THE INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE



www.ipsos.com