Detailed Methodology

• The survey was conducted on behalf of the Center for Insights in Survey Research by Brima market research firm (member of Taylor Nelson Sofres and Gallup International).

• Data was collected between November 27 through December 23, 2021, through face-to-face interviews by trained professionals. A nationally representative sample size of 1,226 respondents aged 18 and over was surveyed. The margin of error was ± 2.8 points at a 95 percent confidence level. The response rate was 75 percent.

• The national sample was prepared according to 2019 population estimates from the State Statistical office for the population aged 18 and older. It also considered the structure of the population according to age, gender, residence, national affiliation and region, and was updated accordingly with estimates and primary information collected by BRIMA.

• A multi-stage 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: The sampling plan consisted of 182 sampling points located according to urban/rural split, municipality size and nationality diffusion.
  • Stage Three: 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.

• Figures in charts and tables may not add up to 100 percent due to rounding. Values between 0.1 percent and 0.4 percent are displayed as <1 percent.

• Any data cited from previous surveys comes from surveys with comparable methodology.

• This poll was conducted with support from the National Endowment for Democracy.

• The field work was conducted in the period of COVID-19 pandemic with all protective measures for interviewers and supervisors according to BRIMA’s protocol.
## Political Party Glossary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party Name</th>
<th>Description</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AfA: Alliance for Albanians</td>
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<td>Alternative</td>
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<td>BESA: Movement BESA</td>
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<td>DOM: Democratic Movement of Macedonia</td>
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<td>DPA: Democratic Party of Albanians</td>
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<td>DUI: Democratic Union for Integration</td>
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<td>LDP: Liberal Democratic Party</td>
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<td>The Left: Levica</td>
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<td>SDSM: Social Democratic Union of Macedonia</td>
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<td>TDP: Turkish Democratic Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>VMRO-DPMNE: Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization - Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity</td>
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Political Context

- January 26, 2022 - A new SDSM government, led by Dimitar Kovachevski, was elected in the Parliament.

- January 2022 - With Bulgaria’s veto as the most recent obstacle, North Macedonia is not yet granted EU accession negotiations despite being a candidate for membership since December 2005.

- October 31, 2021 - Prime Minister and leader of governing SDSM Zoran Zaev announces he will resign from the government and party position.

- October 31, 2021 - The local elections changed the balance of power at local level. The SDSM-led mayoral seats decreased from 57 to 16, while VMRO-DPMNE-led seats increased from 5 to 43, including the independent candidate it supported for the capital Skopje. DUI won 11 mayoral seats, one more than before, AfA and Alternative won two seats, while DPA, GROM the LDP/DOM coalition and two other independent candidates each won in one municipality.

- October 17 and October 31, 2021 - First and second round of local elections were held.
General and Economic Outlook of the Country
In general, would you say that North Macedonia is heading in the right direction or in the wrong direction?

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Right direction</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Wrong direction</th>
<th>Don't know/Refused to answer</th>
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<td>Nov-16</td>
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</table>
What is the most important problem facing North Macedonia today? ... And what is the second most important problem?

(Spontaneous responses)

- **Unemployment**: 17% (First mention), 11% (Second mention), 28% total
- **The economic situation**: 16% (First mention), 12% (Second mention), 28% total
- **Poverty, low standard of living, problems of common people**: 15% (First mention), 10% (Second mention), 25% total
- **Low or non-payment of salary or pension**: 11% (First mention), 10% (Second mention), 20% total
- **COVID-19/Vaccines**: 7% (First mention), 6% (Second mention), 13% total
- **Corruption**: 6% (First mention), 7% (Second mention), 13% total
- **High prices**: 6% (First mention), 12% (Second mention), 18% total
- **The general political situation**: 5% (First mention), 7% (Second mention), 11% total
- **Crime**: 4% (First mention), 4% (Second mention), 8% total
- **Integration in EU**: 4% (First mention), 3% (Second mention), 7% total
- **Health care**: 2% (First mention), 3% (Second mention), 4% total
- **Emigration (of the youth)**: 1% (First mention), 4% (Second mention), 5% total
- **Other ***: 7% (First mention), 12% (Second mention), 19% total
- **Don’t know**: <1%

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*Other includes all problems which have less than one percent first mention as most important problem.*
In your opinion, did Zaev’s Government dedicate itself to solving the first most important problem facing North Macedonia as you mentioned previously? (n = 1221, those who mentioned first important problem)
Over the next two years, will the economy in North Macedonia get better, get worse, or stay the same?
Is North Macedonia more or less stable today than it was one year ago?

<table>
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<th>Less stable</th>
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Speaking personally, is your overall quality of life...?

- Getting better
- Staying the same
- Getting worse
- Don't know/Refused to answer

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<th>Date</th>
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<th>Getting worse</th>
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<td>Somewhat better</td>
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<td>2%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>26%</td>
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</table>
Is your household monthly income sufficient to satisfy monthly needs?

- **Feb-20**: 9% Yes, completely, 35% Yes, somewhat, 39% Not sufficient, 17% Not at all, <1% Don't know/Refused to answer
- **Mar-20**: 5% Yes, completely, 32% Yes, somewhat, 39% Not sufficient, 23% Not at all, <1% Don't know/Refused to answer
- **Nov-21**: 5% Yes, completely, 36% Yes, somewhat, 40% Not sufficient, 19% Not at all, <1% Don't know/Refused to answer
How would you describe the current economic situation of your household?

- **Nov-21**: 2% Very good, 45% Somewhat good, 37% Somewhat bad, 14% Very bad, <1% Don't know/Refused to answer
- **Mar-21**: 3% Very good, 42% Somewhat good, 35% Somewhat bad, 20% Very bad, <1% Don't know/Refused to answer
- **Feb-20**: 5% Very good, 51% Somewhat good, 32% Somewhat bad, 11% Very bad, <1% Don't know/Refused to answer

Colors used: Very good (black), Somewhat good (dark blue), Somewhat bad (medium pink), Very bad (dark pink), Don't know/Refused to answer (gray).
Trust in Institutions and the Rule of Law
To what extent do you trust or distrust each of the following:

- **Banks**: 12% Trust a great deal, 51% Somewhat trust, 22% Somewhat distrust, 13% Distrust a great deal, 3% Don’t know/Refused to answer
- **Education institutions**: 10% Trust a great deal, 55% Somewhat trust, 20% Somewhat distrust, 13% Distrust a great deal, 3% Don’t know/Refused to answer
- **State Election Commission**: 9% Trust a great deal, 38% Somewhat trust, 26% Somewhat distrust, 22% Distrust a great deal, 5% Don’t know/Refused to answer
- **Your municipal government**: 9% Trust a great deal, 43% Somewhat trust, 23% Somewhat distrust, 20% Distrust a great deal, 5% Don’t know/Refused to answer
- **Opposition**: 9% Trust a great deal, 30% Somewhat trust, 28% Somewhat distrust, 29% Distrust a great deal, 4% Don’t know/Refused to answer
- **Public health care institutions**: 8% Trust a great deal, 49% Somewhat trust, 25% Somewhat distrust, 17% Distrust a great deal, 1% Don’t know/Refused to answer
- **Police**: 6% Trust a great deal, 49% Somewhat trust, 26% Somewhat distrust, 18% Distrust a great deal, 1% Don’t know/Refused to answer
- **Government**: 6% Trust a great deal, 29% Somewhat trust, 29% Somewhat distrust, 35% Distrust a great deal, 1% Don’t know/Refused to answer
- **Media**: 6% Trust a great deal, 48% Somewhat trust, 33% Somewhat distrust, 12% Distrust a great deal, 1% Don’t know/Refused to answer
- **CSOs/NGOs**: 5% Trust a great deal, 38% Somewhat trust, 25% Somewhat distrust, 21% Distrust a great deal, 11% Don’t know/Refused to answer
- **SCPC***: 4% Trust a great deal, 25% Somewhat trust, 31% Somewhat distrust, 34% Distrust a great deal, 6% Don’t know/Refused to answer
- **Parliament**: 3% Trust a great deal, 27% Somewhat trust, 34% Somewhat distrust, 33% Distrust a great deal, 2% Don’t know/Refused to answer
- **Courts/Judiciary**: 3% Trust a great deal, 21% Somewhat trust, 30% Somewhat distrust, 42% Distrust a great deal, 3% Don’t know/Refused to answer
- **Public Prosecution**: 2% Trust a great deal, 23% Somewhat trust, 30% Somewhat distrust, 39% Distrust a great deal, 5% Don’t know/Refused to answer
- **Political parties**: 2% Trust a great deal, 28% Somewhat trust, 32% Somewhat distrust, 36% Distrust a great deal, 1% Don’t know/Refused to answer

*SCPC = State Commission for Prevention of Corruption*
The rule of law in a democracy can be understood as: “a state when all people and institutions are accountable to the law and the Constitution, and the Constitution and the law are equally applied towards all.”

How strongly do you agree or disagree that rule of law exists in our country?

<table>
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<th>Month</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Somewhat agree</th>
<th>Somewhat disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
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<td>29%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 2017</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 2017</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 2016</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Now I would like to discuss corruption with you. When I say corruption, I mean having to do a favor, give a gift or pay a bribe because someone misuses their position for personal gain. To what extent, if any, has corruption had a negative impact on you?

- It has had a lot of negative impact
- It has had some negative impact
- It has had little negative impact
- It has not had any negative impact
- Don't know/Refused to answer

February 2020
- 26%
- 27%
- 27%
- 28%
- 7%

March 2021
- 21%
- 22%
- 20%
- 29%
- 8%

November 2021
- 14%
- 27%
- 27%
- 28%
- 5%
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: 1% (Not at all)
- Weekly: 2% (Not at all)
- Monthly: 6% (Not at all)
- Less frequently: 21% (Not at all)
- Not at all: 55% (November 2021)
- Don't know/Refused to answer: 8% (March 2021)

---

November 2021: 55%
March 2021: 53%
Feb 2020: 60%

---

Dates: November 2021, March 2021, Feb 2020
Government’s Performance
How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement: “The current Government is open and accountable to the citizens and the public”?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Somewhat agree</th>
<th>Somewhat disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
<th>Don’t know/Refused to answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nov-21</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar-21</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb-20</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul-18</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to you, to what extent [...] 

...do government officials adhere to the law in performing their jobs?

- November 2021:
  - Completely adhere to the law: 2%
  - Largely adhere to the law: 26%
  - Largely do not adhere to the law: 39%
  - Do not adhere to the law at all: 29%
  - Don't know/Refused to answer: 4%

- March 2021:
  - Completely adhere to the law: 3%
  - Largely adhere to the law: 26%
  - Largely do not adhere to the law: 32%
  - Do not adhere to the law at all: 34%
  - Don't know/Refused to answer: 5%

...would opposition politicians adhere to the law if they are elected?

- November 2021:
  - Would completely adhere to the law: 4%
  - Would largely adhere to the law: 27%
  - Would largely not adhere to the law: 32%
  - Would not adhere to the law at all: 27%
  - Don't know/Refused to answer: 10%

- March 2021:
  - Would completely adhere to the law: 5%
  - Would largely adhere to the law: 24%
  - Would largely not adhere to the law: 32%
  - Would not adhere to the law at all: 26%
  - Don't know/Refused to answer: 14%
Which three ministers in the Government are doing the best job?*
(Up to three responses permitted)**

- Zoran Zaev: 11% (First mention), 1% (Second mention), 1% (Third mention)
- Venko Filipce: 8% (First mention), 7% (Second mention), 5% (Third mention)
- Nikola Dimitrov: 5% (First mention), 5% (Second mention), 3% (Third mention)
- Bujar Osmani: 3% (First mention), 5% (Second mention), 2% (Third mention)
- Radmila Sekerinska: 3% (First mention), 4% (Second mention), 3% (Third mention)
- Artan Grubi: 3% (First mention), 1% (Second mention), 1% (Third mention)
- Arijanit Hoxha: 3% (First mention), 1% (Second mention), 1% (Third mention)
- Fatmir Bytyqi: 2% (First mention), 2% (Second mention), 1% (Third mention)
- Oliver Spasovski: 2% (First mention), 4% (Second mention), 3% (Third mention)
- Ljupcho Nikolovski: 1% (First mention), 1% (Second mention), 1% (Third mention)
- Kreshnik Bektshi: 1% (First mention), 2% (Second mention), 1% (Third mention)
- Fatmir Besimi: 1% (First mention), 2% (Second mention), 1% (Third mention)
- Goran Milevski: 1% (First mention), 1% (Second mention), 1% (Third mention)
- Naser Nuredini: 1% (First mention), 1% (Second mention), 1% (Third mention)
- None: 45%
- Don't know/Refused to answer: 8%

* First mentions less than one percent are not displayed.
** These government ministers are no longer in office. A new government was elected on January 16, 2022.
Which three ministers in the Government are not doing their job as they should?*

(Up to three responses permitted)**

*First mentions less than one percent are not displayed.

** These government ministers are no longer in office. A new government was elected on January 16, 2022.

- Zoran Zaev: 17% (First mention)
- Artan Grubi: 5% (Second mention), 2% (Third mention)
- Mila Carovska: 5% (First mention), 4% (Second mention), 5% (Third mention)
- Ljupcho Nikolovski: 4% (First mention), 4% (Second mention), 3% (Third mention)
- Oliver Spasovski: 2% (First mention), 5% (Second mention), 5% (Third mention)
- Radmila Sekerinska: 2% (First mention), 3% (Second mention), 3% (Third mention)
- Fatmir Bytyqi: 2% (First mention), 1% (Second mention)
- Bujar Osmani: 2% (First mention), 4% (Second mention), 3% (Third mention)
- Arijanit Hoxha: 2% (First mention), 1% (Second mention), 2% (Third mention)
- Nikola Dimitrov: 2% (First mention), 2% (Second mention), 2% (Third mention)
- Fatmir Besimi: 1% (First mention), 2% (Second mention), 2% (Third mention)
- Naser Nuredini: 1% (First mention), 2% (Second mention)
- Venko Filipce: 1% (First mention), 4% (Second mention), 3% (Third mention)
- Kreshnik Bektshi: 1% (First mention), 3% (Second mention)
- Jagoda Shahpaska: 1% (First mention), 2% (Second mention)
- Bojan Marichikj: 1% (First mention), 2% (Second mention), 3% (Third mention)
- Blagoj Bochvarski: 1% (First mention), 1% (Second mention), 1% (Third mention)
- Yeton Shaqiri: 1% (First mention), 1% (Second mention), 1% (Third mention)
- Irena Stefoska: 1% (First mention), 1% (Second mention), 1% (Third mention)
- All of them: 26% (First mention)
- Don't know/Refused to answer: 20%
Party Financial Transparency
How do you inform yourself about the work of political parties in the country?
*(Spontaneous responses and up to two responses accepted)*

- TV: 70%
- Facebook: 35%
- Other online websites: 13%
- Their website: 6%
- Twitter: 1%
- Mailing list: 1%
- Other: 1%

I do not seek information about the work of the political parties: 12%

Don't know: 1%
Where should a political party publish information so that it reaches you most easily?

- TV: 59%
- Facebook: 18%
- Their website: 7%
- Instagram: 5%
- Other websites: 4%
- Daily newspapers: <1%
- Radio: <1%
- Twitter: <1%
- Other: <1%
- Don't know/Refused to answer: 5%
Do you know if political parties in North Macedonia are allowed to receive funding from any of the following sources?

- Donations, gifts, contributions, grants, sponsorships: 77% yes, 10% no, 12% don't know/refused to answer
- State Budget: 76% yes, 13% no, 11% don't know/refused to answer
- Membership Fee: 74% yes, 13% no, 13% don't know/refused to answer
- Foreign sources: 67% yes, 19% no, 14% don't know/refused to answer
- Their own funds: 64% yes, 21% no, 15% don't know/refused to answer
- Bank Loans: 45% yes, 30% no, 25% don't know/refused to answer
- Sale of promotional and propaganda materials: 43% yes, 33% no, 24% don't know/refused to answer
One of the sources of political party financing is the budget of the Republic of North Macedonia.

Are you aware as to how much money from the budget is allocated annually to finance political parties in the country?*

* In 2020 the annual funding for parties was 3.4 million Euros and in 2021 the annual funding was 3.5 million Euros.
I will name a few institutions. Can you please tell me, for each of these, whether it exercises control over political party finances?

- Public Revenue Office: 55% Yes, it does, 27% No, it doesn't, 2% I have never heard of this institution, 16% Don't know/Refused to answer
- State Commission for Prevention of Corruption: 52% Yes, it does, 30% No, it doesn't, 2% I have never heard of this institution, 15% Don't know/Refused to answer
- State Audit Office: 48% Yes, it does, 26% No, it doesn't, 8% I have never heard of this institution, 18% Don't know/Refused to answer
- State Election Commission: 40% Yes, it does, 39% No, it doesn't, 3% I have never heard of this institution, 19% Don't know/Refused to answer
Every year, parties are obliged to prepare an annual report listing their received donations, an annual finance accounting report, and an annual financial report, which they submit to the State Audit Office, also known as SAO.

In your opinion, what share of political parties fulfill their obligation to submit their financial reports to the State Audit Office, also known as SAO?

- All of them submit their financial reports: 9%
- Most of them submit their financial reports: 27%
- Most of them do not submit their financial reports: 34%
- None of them submit their financial reports: 12%
- Don't know/ Refused to answer: 18%
In your opinion, do the relevant institutions fulfill their obligation to exercise control over the parties’ financial reports?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Completely fulfil their obligation</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat fulfil their obligation</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat do not fulfil their obligation</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completely do not fulfil their obligation</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know/Refused to answer</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Have you ever seen a party or any campaign financial report, for example, a donor list, campaign report, or annual report?
Last year, political parties received a total of roughly 5 million Euros from the state budget. In your opinion, are political parties transparent to citizens regarding the money they receive from the budget?

- 37% Completely transparent
- 32% Somewhat transparent
- 20% Somewhat not transparent
- 11% Completely not transparent
- 1% Don't know/Refused to answer
In your opinion, do political parties fulfill their legal obligation to publish their financial statements on their website?

- **Completely fulfil**: 24%
- **Somewhat fulfil**: 28%
- **Somewhat do not fulfil**: 21%
- **Completely do not fulfil**: 3%
- **Don’t know/Refused to answer**: 24%
On a scale of 1 to 5, how much do you think there is or there is not corruption and abuse in the financing of political parties?

- 1 = There is no corruption and abuse
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 = There is corruption and abuse
- Don’t know/Refused to answer
COVID-19 Pandemic
In your opinion, how is the government dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic?

Nov-21
- Very successful: 6%
- Somewhat successful: 42%
- Somewhat unsuccessful: 31%
- Very unsuccessful: 19%
- Don't know/Refused to answer: 2%

Mar-21
- Very successful: 4%
- Somewhat successful: 31%
- Somewhat unsuccessful: 30%
- Very unsuccessful: 32%
- Don't know/Refused to answer: 2%
In your opinion, how does the government deal with COVID-19 compared to the countries in the region?

- **Nov-21**: 6% Better, 53% Same, 39% Worse, 3% Don't know/Refused to answer
- **Mar-21**: 4% Better, 40% Same, 54% Worse, 2% Don't know/Refused to answer

The chart above shows the percentage of respondents who believe the government's handling of COVID-19 is better, the same, or worse compared to the countries in the region, with an option for those who do not know or refused to answer.
Were you surveyed during the September census?

- Yes, I was surveyed: 74%
- Yes, another member of the household gave census data on my behalf: 21%
- No, the enumerators did not come at my place: 4%
- No, we were not present during the census: 1%
- No, we rejected: 1%
- Don't know/Refused to answer: <1%
Elections and Political Parties
When you think about people in political life, who is the one person in North Macedonia whom you view most favorably?*

(Spontaneous response)

- Zoran Zaev
- Hristijan Mickoski
- Ali Ahmeti
- Ziadin Sela
- Dimitar Apasiev
- Nikola Gruevski
- Stevo Pendarovski
- Bilall Kasami
- Venko Filipce
- Boris Trajkovski
- None

“Don’t know” and mentions less than one percent are not displayed.
I will read you a list of names of political persons. Please tell me if you have a highly favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or highly unfavorable opinion of this individual. *(Net favorability of political persons, Don’t know/Refused to answer and I have not heard of this person are not displayed)*

*Zoran Zaev is no longer prime minister; however, he held this position at the time when the poll was fielded.*
I will read you a list of political parties. Please tell me if you have a highly favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or highly unfavorable opinion of this party.

(Net favorability of political parties, Don’t know/Refused to answer and I have not heard of this party are not displayed)
To which political party do you belong?*

- VMRO-DPMNE: 12% Nov-21, 12% Mar-21, 12% Feb-20
- SDSM: 11% Nov-21, 13% Mar-21, 11% Feb-20
- DUI: 6% Nov-21, 7% Mar-21, 7% Feb-20
- AfA: 4% Nov-21, 4% Mar-21, 4% Feb-20
- BESA: 2% Nov-21, 3% Mar-21, 4% Feb-20
- The Left: 1% Nov-21, 1% Mar-21, 2% Feb-20
- Alternative: 1% Nov-21, 1% Mar-21, 2% Feb-20
- Other*: 3% Nov-21, 3% Mar-21, 7% Feb-20
- Don't belong to any party: 50% Nov-21, 53% Mar-21, 52% Feb-20
- Refused to answer: 4% Nov-21, 3% Mar-21, 9% Feb-20

*Mentions less than one percent have been included into other.
How likely are you to vote in the parliamentary elections if they are held this Sunday?

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

Mar-17: 59% Very likely, 18% Somewhat likely, 7% Somewhat unlikely, 3% Very unlikely, 6% Would not vote, 7% Don't know/Refused to answer

Aug-17: 61% Very likely, 22% Somewhat likely, 4% Somewhat unlikely, 2% Very unlikely, 8% Would not vote, 2% Don't know/Refused to answer

Jul-18: 61% Very likely, 21% Somewhat likely, 4% Somewhat unlikely, 3% Very unlikely, 10% Would not vote, 10% Don't know/Refused to answer

Feb-20: 46% Very likely, 28% Somewhat likely, 7% Somewhat unlikely, 3% Very unlikely, 10% Would not vote, 6% Don't know/Refused to answer

Mar-21: 35% Very likely, 35% Somewhat likely, 9% Somewhat unlikely, 8% Very unlikely, 8% Would not vote, 5% Don't know/Refused to answer

Nov-21: 36% Very likely, 38% Somewhat likely, 9% Somewhat unlikely, 9% Very unlikely, 4% Would not vote, 4% Don't know/Refused to answer
How likely or unlikely are you to vote in the parliamentary elections if they are held this Sunday?  
*(Disaggregated by age)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Very likely</th>
<th>Somewhat likely</th>
<th>Somewhat unlikely</th>
<th>Very unlikely</th>
<th>Would not vote</th>
<th>Don’t know/Refused to answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18-35 years old</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36-55 years old</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56+ years old</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Legend:  
- **Dark blue**: Very likely  
- **Medium blue**: Somewhat likely  
- **Pink**: Somewhat unlikely  
- **Purple**: Very unlikely  
- **Green**: Would not vote  
- **Grey**: Don’t know/Refused to answer
If parliamentary elections were held this coming Sunday which party, if any, would you vote for?*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Nov-21</th>
<th>Mar-21</th>
<th>Feb-20</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VMRO-DPMNE</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDSM</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUI</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AfA</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Left</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BESA</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alternative</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None/Will spoil the ballot</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would not vote on the day</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of the elections</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided/Don't know</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refused to answer</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*See glossary of political parties on slide 3.
Social Cohesion
What language(s) do you speak at a level to be able to study and work in that language?
(Spontaneous response; multiple responses permitted)

- Macedonian: 88%
- Albanian: 29%
- Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian: 23%
- English: 18%
- Turkish: 7%
- German: 6%
- Roma: 3%
- Other*: 2%

*Mentions less than one percent have been combined into other.*
Should all citizens, regardless of ethnic background, be proficient in Macedonian as the official state language?

- **Nov-21**: 88% Yes, 12% No, 1% Don’t know/Refused to answer
- **Mar-21**: 82% Yes, 17% No, 2% Don’t know/Refused to answer
- **Feb-20**: 84% Yes, 15% No, 1% Don’t know/Refused to answer
- **Jul-18**: 86% Yes, 9% No, 5% Don’t know/Refused to answer
How familiar are you with the Ohrid Framework Agreement?

- Very familiar: 12%
- Somewhat familiar: 47%
- Somewhat unfamiliar: 20%
- Very unfamiliar: 20%
- Don't know/Refused to answer: 2%
Do you personally support or oppose the Ohrid Framework Agreement?*

**November 2021**
- Support: 41%
- Oppose: 38%
- Don't know/Uncertain: 20%

**December 2010**
- Support: 53%
- Oppose: 35%
- Don't know/Uncertain: 12%

**December 2001**
- Support: 49%
- Oppose: 43%
- Don't know/Uncertain: 9%

*Refused to answer is not displayed.*
Do you personally support or oppose the Ohrid Framework Agreement?

(Disaggregated by level of familiarity with Ohrid Framework Agreement)

All respondents

- Support: 41%
- Oppose: 38%
- Undecided/Don't know: 20%

Familiar (n=721)

- Support: 57%
- Oppose: 38%
- Undecided/Don't know: 5%

Unfamiliar (n=487)

- Support: 18%
- Oppose: 39%
- Undecided/Don't know: 43%

*Refused to answer is not displayed.*
Is there any member of your household who has emigrated to live and/or work abroad?

- **Yes, in the last year**
  - November 2021: 5%
  - March 2021: 7%
  - Feb 2020: 16%

- **Yes, in the last three years**
  - November 2021: 13%
  - March 2021: 11%
  - Feb 2020: 15%

- **Yes, three and more years ago**
  - November 2021: 22%
  - March 2021: 20%
  - Feb 2020: 19%

- **No**
  - November 2021: 59%
  - March 2021: 62%
  - Feb 2020: 49%

- **Refused to answer**
  - November 2021: <1%
  - March 2021: <1%
  - Feb 2020: 1%
Attitudes toward Euro-Atlantic Integration and Foreign Relations
Do you support North Macedonia becoming a member of the European Union?
Do you think North Macedonia is closer to EU entry today, or was it closer when it first received its EU candidate member status?*

*First received in December 2005

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Now</th>
<th>Then (when it first received its EU candidate status)</th>
<th>Don't know/Refused to answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nov-21</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar-21</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb-20</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul-18</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug-17</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar-17</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov-16</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr-16</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan-16</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct-15</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun-15</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec-14</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
What is most important for North Macedonia's accession to the EU?

1. Implementation of domestic reforms requested by the EU
   - Nov-21: 26%
   - Mar-21: 27%
   - Feb-20: 36%
   - Don't know/Refused to answer: 10%

2. Political will by the EU to accept N. Macedonia into the EU
   - Nov-21: 30%
   - Mar-21: 29%
   - Feb-20: 24%

3. Both of these
   - Nov-21: 38%
   - Mar-21: 34%
   - Feb-20: 30%

4. Other
   - Nov-21: <1%
   - Mar-21: 1%

5. Don't know/Refused to answer
   - Nov-21: 5%
   - Mar-21: 10%
   - Feb-20: 9%
Bulgaria recently vetoed the start of North Macedonia's negotiations with the EU. In your opinion, what should North Macedonia do in its relations with Bulgaria in order to unblock the negotiations?

- **It shouldn't do anything, EU countries should pressure Bulgaria**: 35% (Nov-21), 29% (Mar-21)
- **Should not accept any request and should not continue talks with Bulgaria**: 26% (Nov-21), 33% (Mar-21)
- **Carry on with the talks with Bulgaria without jeopardizing its positions**: 24% (Nov-21), 25% (Mar-21)
- **Accept Bulgaria’s demands on the language, the Friendship Treaty and the Macedonian minority in Bulgaria**: 9% (Nov-21), 7% (Mar-21)
- **Don't know/Refused to answer**: 6% (Nov-21), 7% (Mar-21)
In how many years do you think North Macedonia will become a member of the EU?

- Nov-21: 31% (1-5), 27% (6-10), 19% (More than 10), 17% (Never), 6% (Don't know/Refused to answer)
- Mar-21: 34% (1-5), 23% (6-10), 20% (More than 10), 15% (Never), 8% (Don't know/Refused to answer)
- Feb-20: 28% (1-5), 25% (6-10), 24% (More than 10), 15% (Never), 8% (Don't know/Refused to answer)
- Jul-18: 35% (1-5), 27% (6-10), 17% (More than 10), 14% (Never), 7% (Don't know/Refused to answer)
Do you support North Macedonia’s membership in NATO (Before March 2021, the question was “…becoming a member of NATO”?)

*North Macedonia became a member of NATO on March 27, 2020.*
How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements: “North Macedonia’s interests are best served by maintaining strong relations with…”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Nov-21</th>
<th>Mar-21</th>
<th>Feb-20</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European Union</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Strongly agree**
- **Somewhat agree**
- **Somewhat disagree**
- **Strongly disagree**
- **Don’t know/Refused to answer**
Which one of these countries (including the EU) helps North Macedonia’s national interests the most?

- European Union: 24%
- United States of America: 16%
- Turkey: 14%
- Russia: 14%
- Germany: 18%
- China: 3%
- None of them: 16%
- All of them: 3%
- Don’t know/Refused to answer: 9%
The Open Balkan initiative is an agreement among North Macedonia, Serbia, and Albania that aims to enable the free movement of people, goods, services, and capital and cooperation for protection from catastrophes among the three countries. Do you or do you not support the Open Balkan initiative?

- **39%** Completely support
- **36%** Somewhat support
- **10%** Somewhat do not support
- **8%** Completely do not support
- **7%** Don’t know/Refused to answer
Sources of Political News
How much did you follow political news yesterday?

- I followed all of it: 13% (November 2021), 15% (March 2021), 16% (February 2020), 22% (July 2018), 24% (August 2017)
- I followed most of it: 25% (November 2021), 25% (March 2021), 23% (February 2020), 28% (July 2018), 28% (August 2017)
- I followed some of it: 36% (November 2021), 33% (March 2021), 34% (February 2020), 28% (July 2018), 26% (August 2017)
- I did not follow any of it: 25% (November 2021), 26% (March 2021), 26% (February 2020), 22% (July 2018), 22% (August 2017)

* Don’t know/Refused to answer is not displayed.
Where did you follow political news yesterday? 
*(Spontaneous response; multiple responses permitted; among those who answered that they followed at least some political news yesterday)*

- **Television**: August 2017 (n=710; margin of error ± 3.6)
  - 89%
- **Internet, online, social media**: July 2018 (n=853; margin of error ± 3.4)
  - 84%
  - 81%
  - 81%
- **Printed media, newspapers**: February 2020 (n=888; margin of error ± 3.2)
  - 35%
  - 36%
  - 37%
  - 30%
- **Family and friends**: March 2021 (n= 1820; margin of error ± 2.3)
  - 26%
  - 20%
  - 17%
  - 15%
- **Multiple sources (TV, internet, newspapers, friends)**: November 2021 (n=916; margin error ± 3.2)
  - 6%
  - 9%
  - 7%
  - 10%
  - 11%
What are your most used sources of political news? (Multiple responses permitted)

- **Television**: 85% (August 2017), 84% (July 2018), 80% (February 2020), 79% (March 2021), 82% (July 2021)
- **Radio**: 4% (August 2017), 4% (July 2018), 4% (February 2020), 3% (March 2021), 6% (July 2021)
- **Print media**: 6% (August 2017), 5% (July 2018), 2% (February 2020), 2% (March 2021), 4% (July 2021)
- **Family and Friends**: 47% (August 2017), 38% (July 2018), 39% (February 2020), 39% (March 2021), 40% (July 2021)
- **Political parties**: 22% (August 2017), 29% (July 2018), 33% (February 2020), 33% (March 2021)
- **Internet/Websites**: 39% (August 2017), 38% (July 2018), 39% (February 2020), 47% (March 2021), 40% (July 2021)
Which television station do you watch most often for political news?
(Spontaneous response; multiple responses permitted)

- SITEL: 30% (First mention), 11% (Second mention), 4% (Third mention)
- Kanal 5: 14% (First mention), 22% (Second mention), 8% (Third mention)
- AlsatM: 15% (First mention), 7% (Second mention), 1% (Third mention)
- MTV (Macedonian language): 9% (First mention), 3% (Second mention), 2% (Third mention)
- MTV (Albanian language): 7% (First mention), 1% (Second mention), 1% (Third mention)
- 24 Vesti: 6% (First mention), 8% (Second mention), 8% (Third mention)
- Telma: 5% (First mention), 9% (Second mention), 8% (Third mention)
- Alfa: 3% (First mention), 3% (Second mention), 5% (Third mention)
- TV Shenja: 1% (First mention), 1% (Second mention), 1% (Third mention)
- TV 21: 1% (First mention), 4% (Second mention), 3% (Third mention)
- Local TV Station: <1% (First mention), <1% (Second mention), 1% (Third mention)
- Do not watch TV: 8% (First mention)
- Don't know/Refused to answer: 1% (First mention)
Demographics
Demographics

**Education**
- No formal education / Incomplete primary school: 3%
- Complete primary school: 22%
- Complete secondary school: 52%
- Complete tertiary/higher education: 23%

**Occupation**
- Blue-collar worker: 31%
- Agricultural: 3%
- White-collar worker: 13%
- Professional: 4%
- Housewife: 8%
- Retired: 21%
- Unemployed: 14%
- Student/Pupil: 6%
- Self employed, private business: 1%
- Refused to answer: <1%

**Working sector**
- Public sector: 28%
- Private sector: 72%
- Refused to answer: <1%

**Religious background**
- Orthodox Christian: 63%
- Muslim: 36%
- Christian-other: 1%
- Atheist: <1%

*Among people employed as blue-collar worker, white-collar worker, professional, self-employed or private business, n=583*