

# NATIONAL POLL OF NORTH MACEDONIA

September - October 2022



A PROJECT OF THE INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE

## 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).
- A nationally representative sample of 1,207 respondents aged 18 and over was surveyed September 23 through October 13, 2022. The margin of error was  $\pm 2.8$  points at a 95 percent confidence level. The response rate was 69 percent.
- The national sample was prepared according to census data from 2021 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, education, national affiliation and region.
- 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 180 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](#).

## Frequently Cited Disaggregate Bases

Disaggregate	Category	Base
Age Groups	18-35	n = 342
	36-55	n = 421
	56+	n = 444
Electoral Unit	Electoral Unit 1	n = 221
	Electoral Unit 2	n = 230
	Electoral Unit 3	n = 200
	Electoral Unit 4	n = 197
	Electoral Unit 5	n = 193
	Electoral Unit 6	n = 166

*Margin of error will vary with sample size n.*

## Previous IRI North Macedonia polls

Poll	Fieldwork Dates	Total Sample Size
<u>National Survey of North Macedonia</u>	September 23 - October 13, 2022	n = 1,207
<u>National Survey of North Macedonia</u>	November 27 - December 23, 2021	n = 1,226
<u>National Survey of North Macedonia</u>	March 4 - April 6, 2021	n = 1,222

### *About the Center for Insights In Survey Research (CISR)*



Research and qualitative and quantitative public opinion data is a cornerstone of IRI's approach to programming. Our data ensures citizens' needs are at the center of the political debate and guide our projects' goals. To date, IRI has conducted more than 1,000 polls in over 100 countries, surveying more than 1.5 million people and measuring community attitudes on a wide range of issues.

IRI's research approach integrates CISR's methodological polling best practices protocol and field partner in-depth knowledge of the local research environment. This close collaboration begins at project design, with carefully calibrated sampling and instrument development, and continues throughout the entire fieldwork cycle to ensure the collection of reliable qualitative and quantitative data.

← For more of IRI's public opinion research, see [CISR's content](#).

## Political Party Glossary

### Party Abbreviations

**AfA:** Alliance for Albanians

Alternative

**BESA:** Movement BESA

**DOM:** Democratic Movement of Macedonia

**DPA:** Democratic Party of Albanians

**DUI:** Democratic Union for Integration

**LDP:** Liberal Democratic Party

**The Left:** Levica

**SDSM:** Social Democratic Union of Macedonia

**TDP:** Turkish Democratic Party

**VMRO-DPMNE:** Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization - Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity

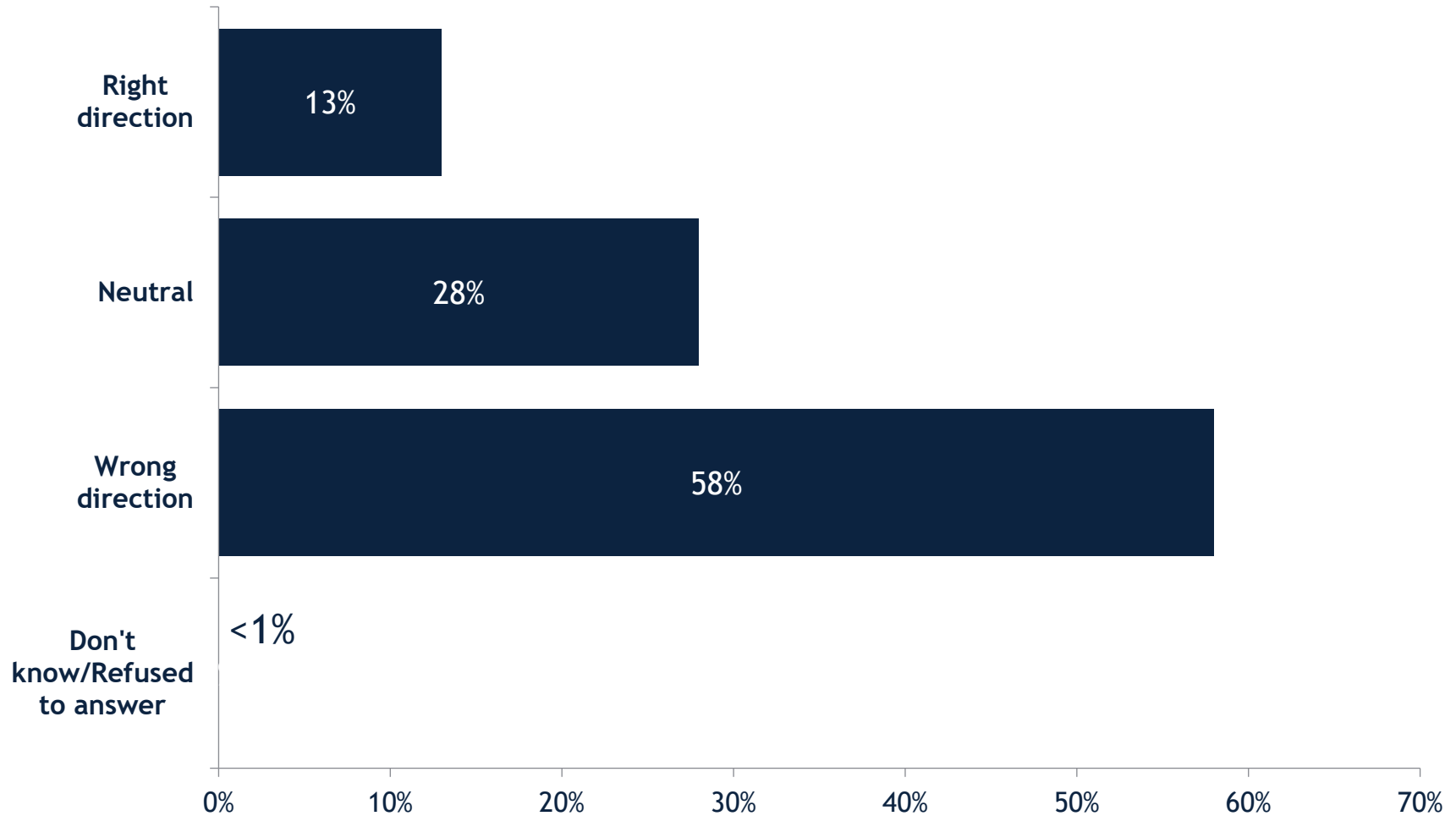
## Political Context Timeline

- **January 2022:** North Macedonia's European Accession (EU) negotiations continued to be blocked by a veto from EU-member state Bulgaria. A new SDSM government, led by Dimitar Kovachevski, was also elected in Parliament.
- **June 2022:** The French presidency proposed a compromise between Bulgaria and North Macedonia, offering Skopje an EU accession negotiation framework that incorporates a number of Bulgaria's demands under a two-phase process:
  - Phase 1: A first intergovernmental conference that initiates the EU screening process.
  - Phase 2: A second intergovernmental conference that marks the start of accession negotiations once North Macedonia changes the constitution to include a Bulgarian minority.
- **July 16 and 17, 2022:** The Parliament and the Government of North Macedonia accepted the proposed negotiation framework.
- **July 19, 2022:** North Macedonia and the EU hold an intergovernmental conference marking the start of the opening of accession talks with the European Union.
- **July-September 2022:** Opposition parties VMRO-DPMNE and Levica separately initiate referenda that would overturn the negotiation framework approved by the current government. Both initiatives have been rejected after failing to fulfill the legal requirements for referenda.

# General Outlook

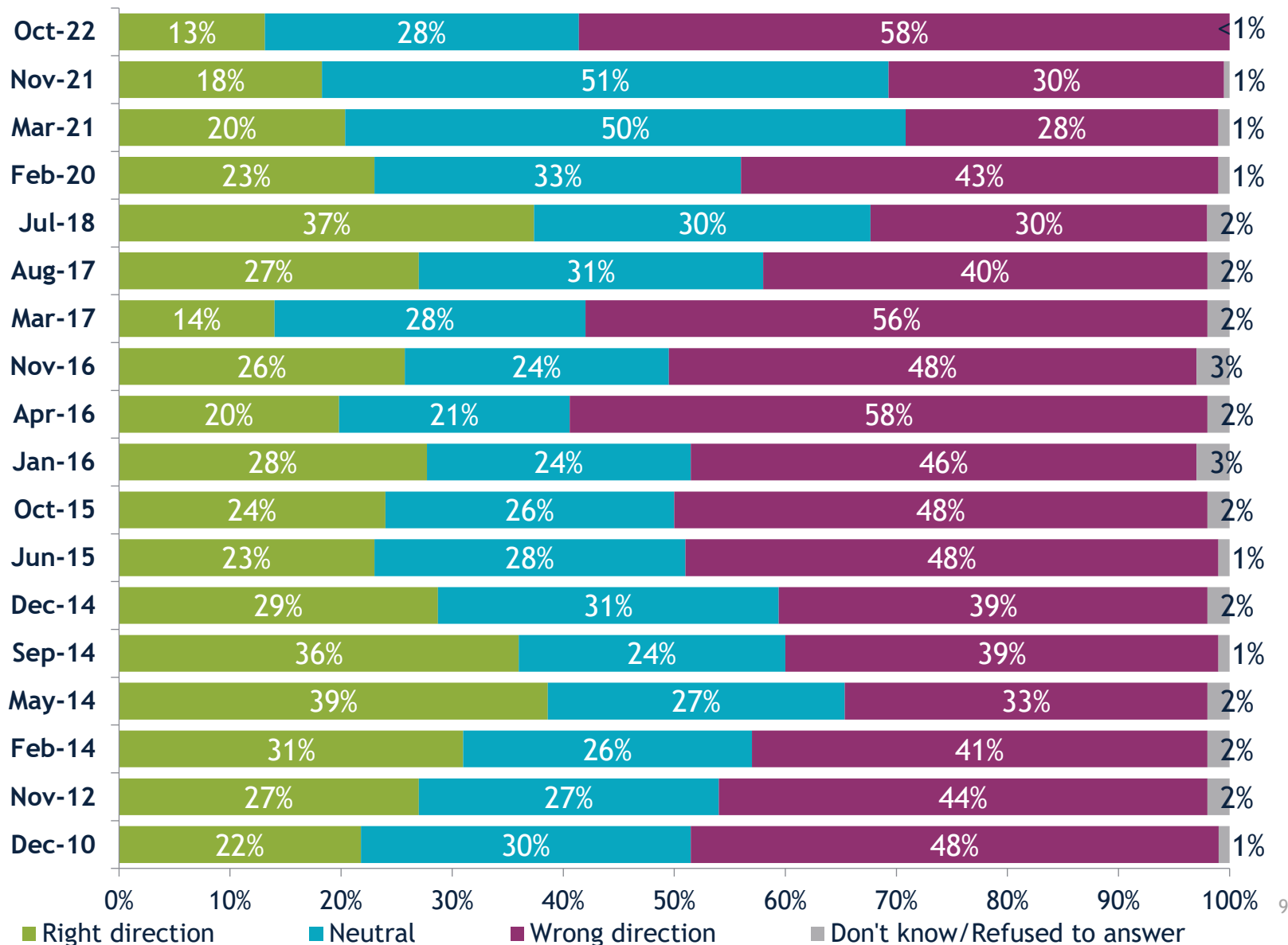


# In general, would you say that North Macedonia is heading in the right direction or in the wrong direction?



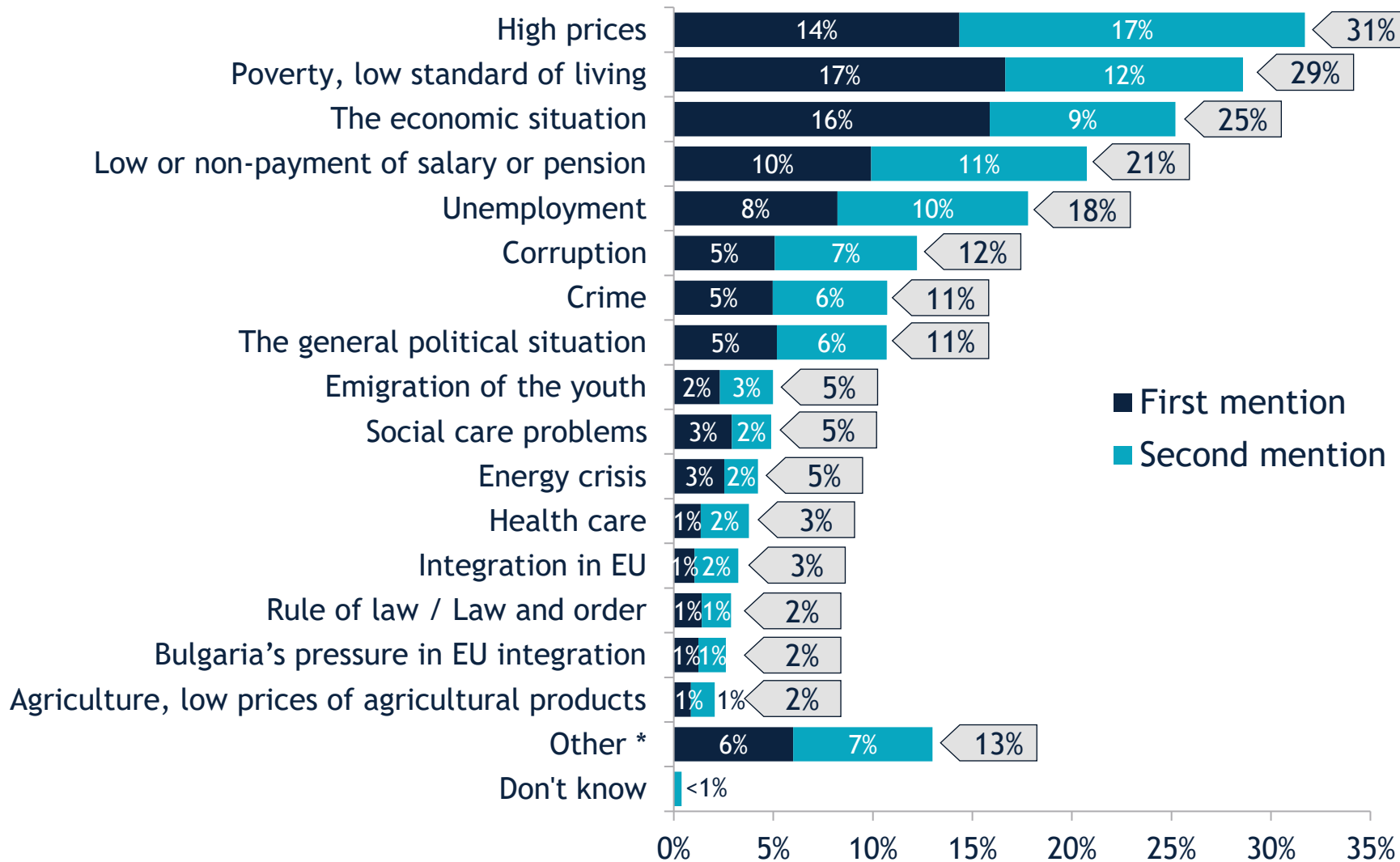


# In general, would you say that North Macedonia is heading in the right direction or in the wrong direction?



# What is the most important problem facing North Macedonia today? And what is the second most important problem?

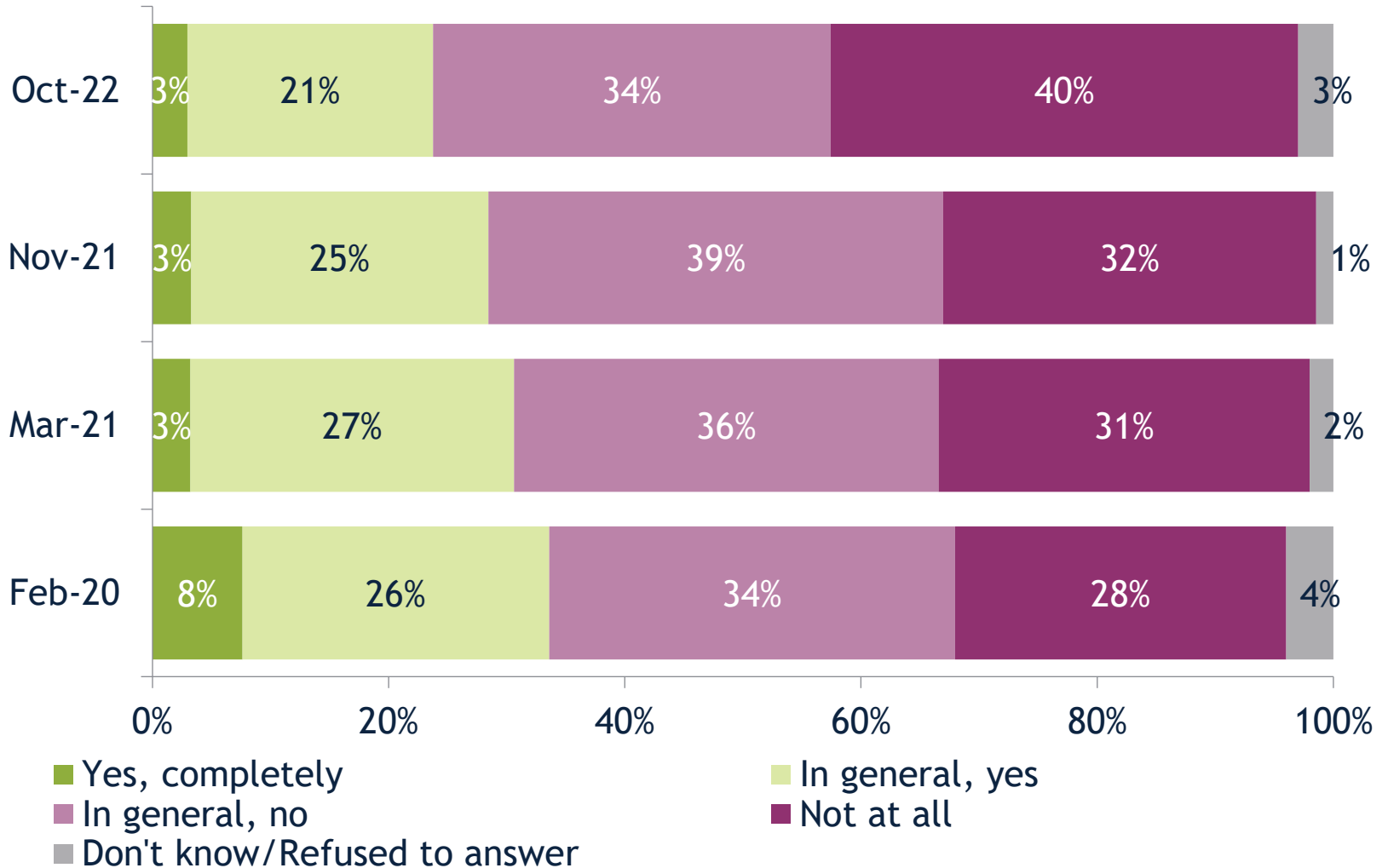
(Spontaneous response)



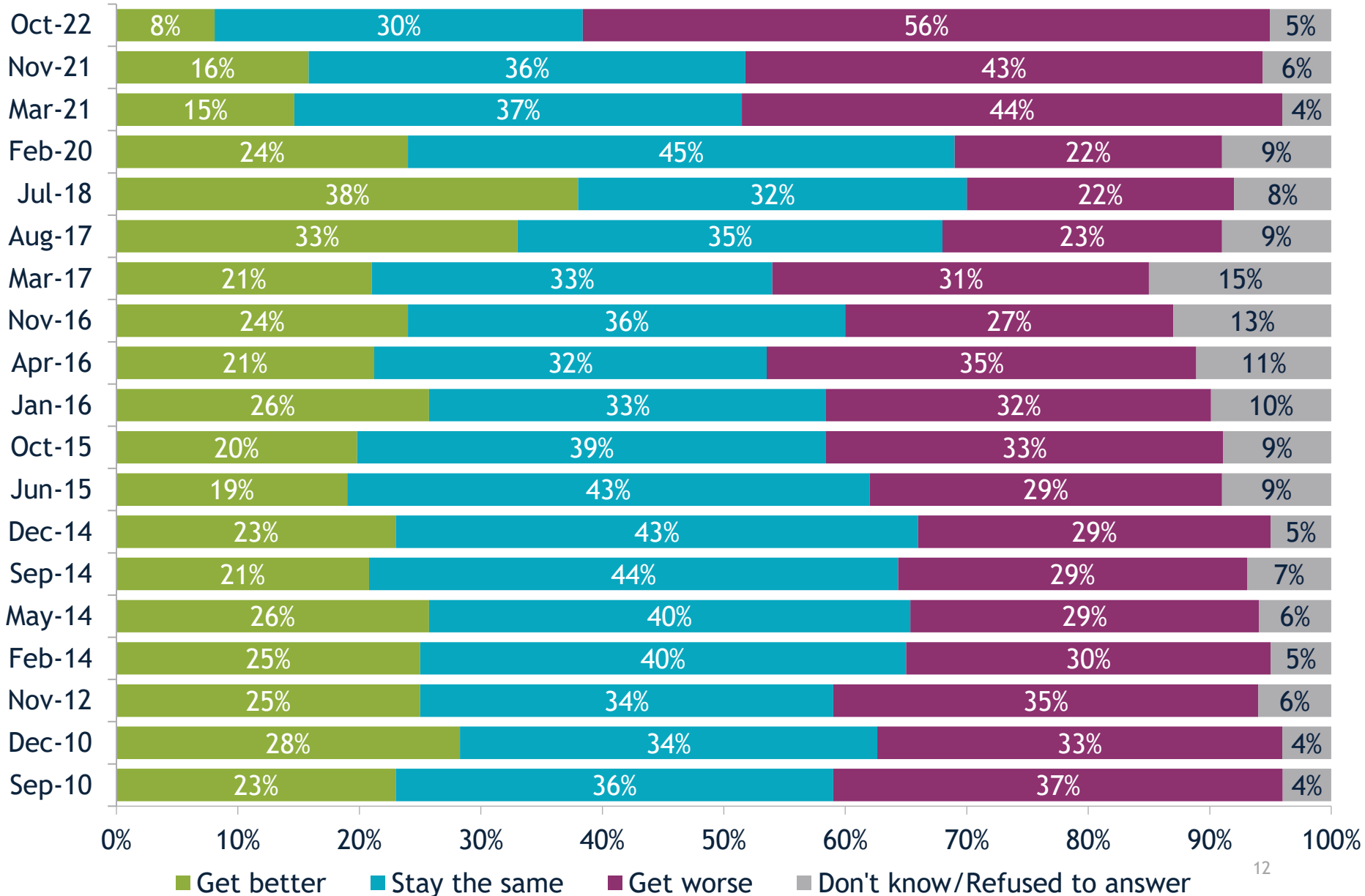
\*Responses receiving <1% cumulatively are collapsed into *Other*.

# In your opinion, did Kovacevski's Government dedicate itself to solving the first most important problem facing North Macedonia as you mentioned previously?

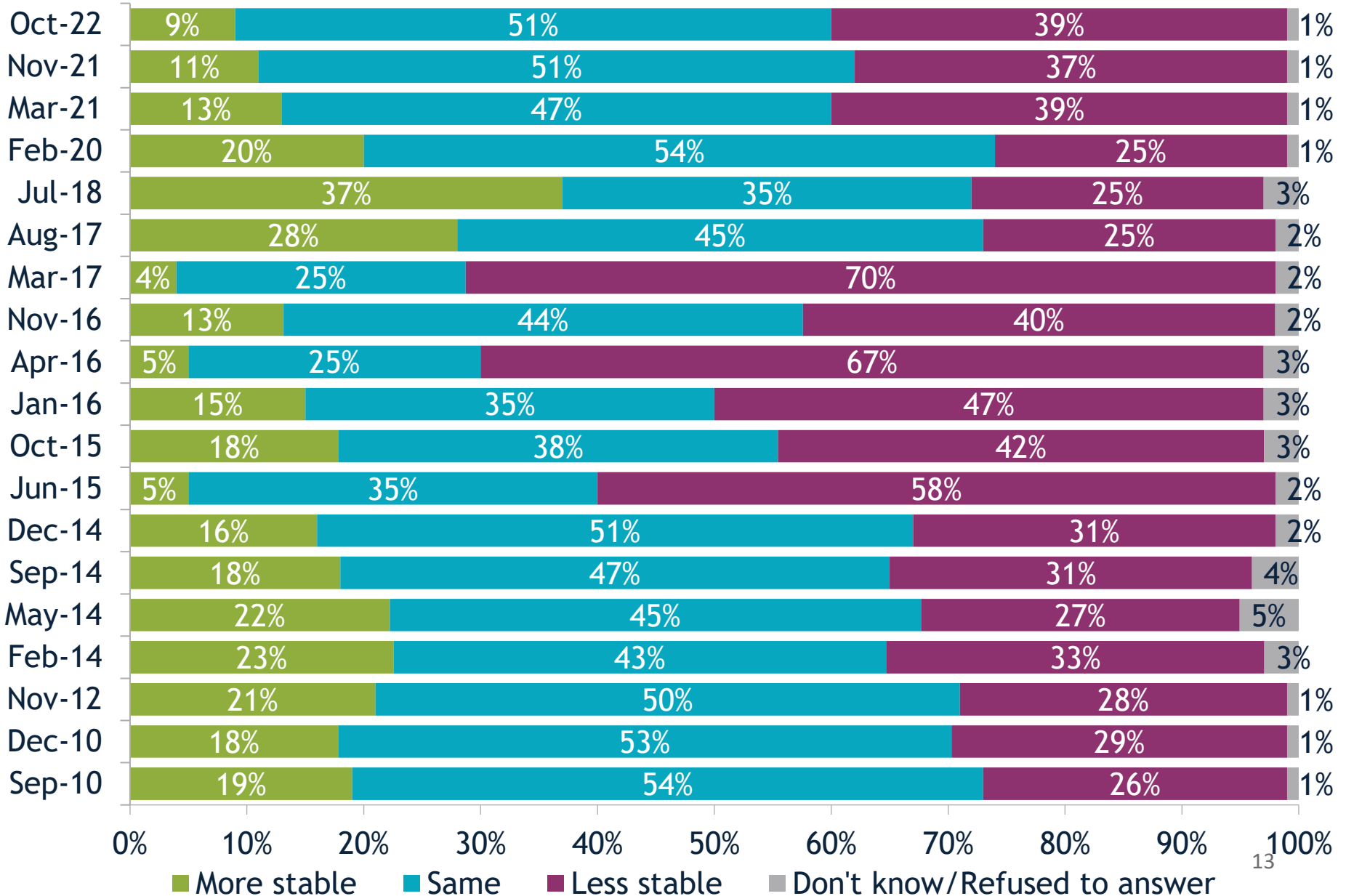
(Among those who mentioned a first important problem, n=1,207)



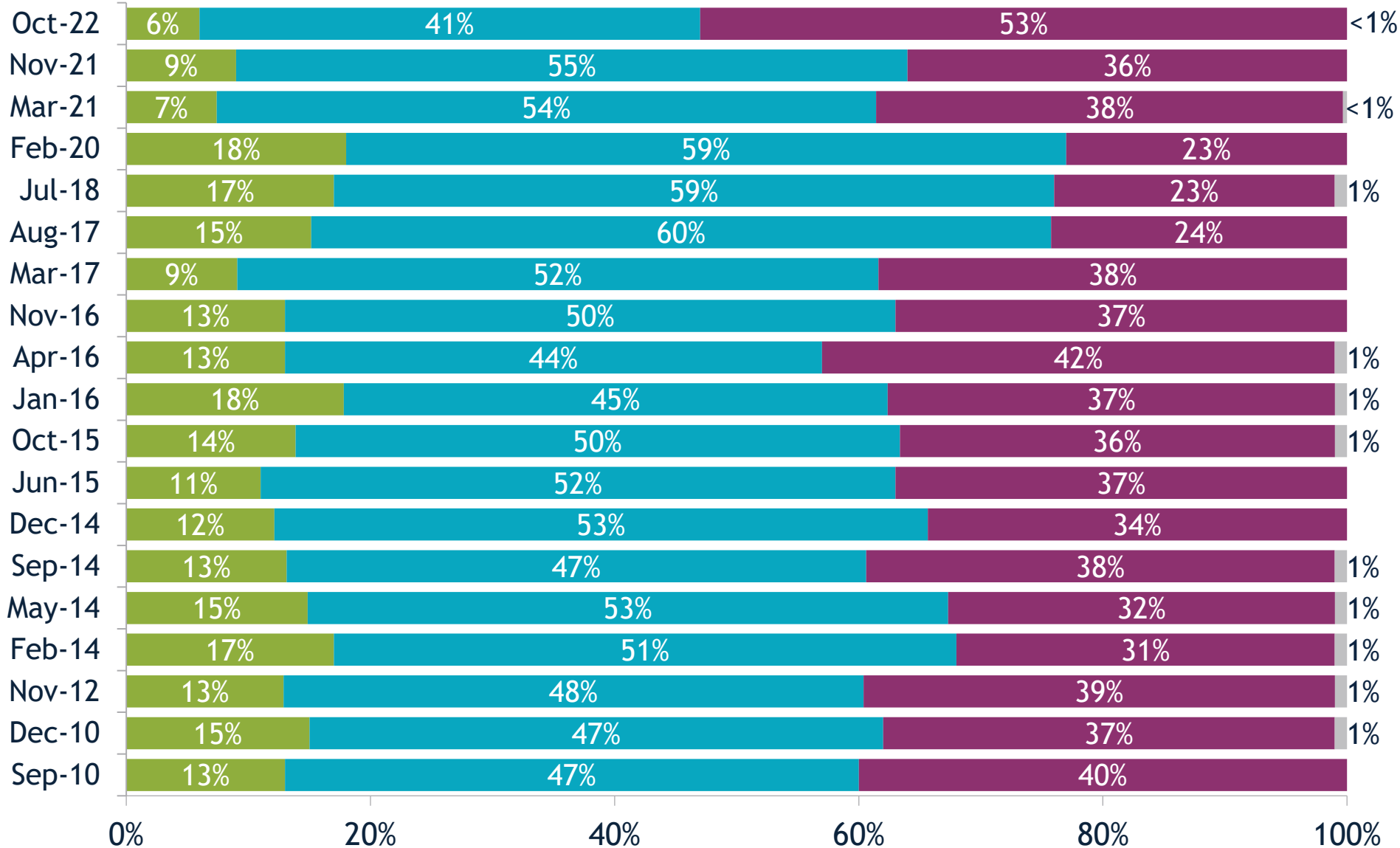
# In the next two years, will the economy in North Macedonia get better, get worse, or stay the same?



# Is North Macedonia more or less stable today than it was one year ago?

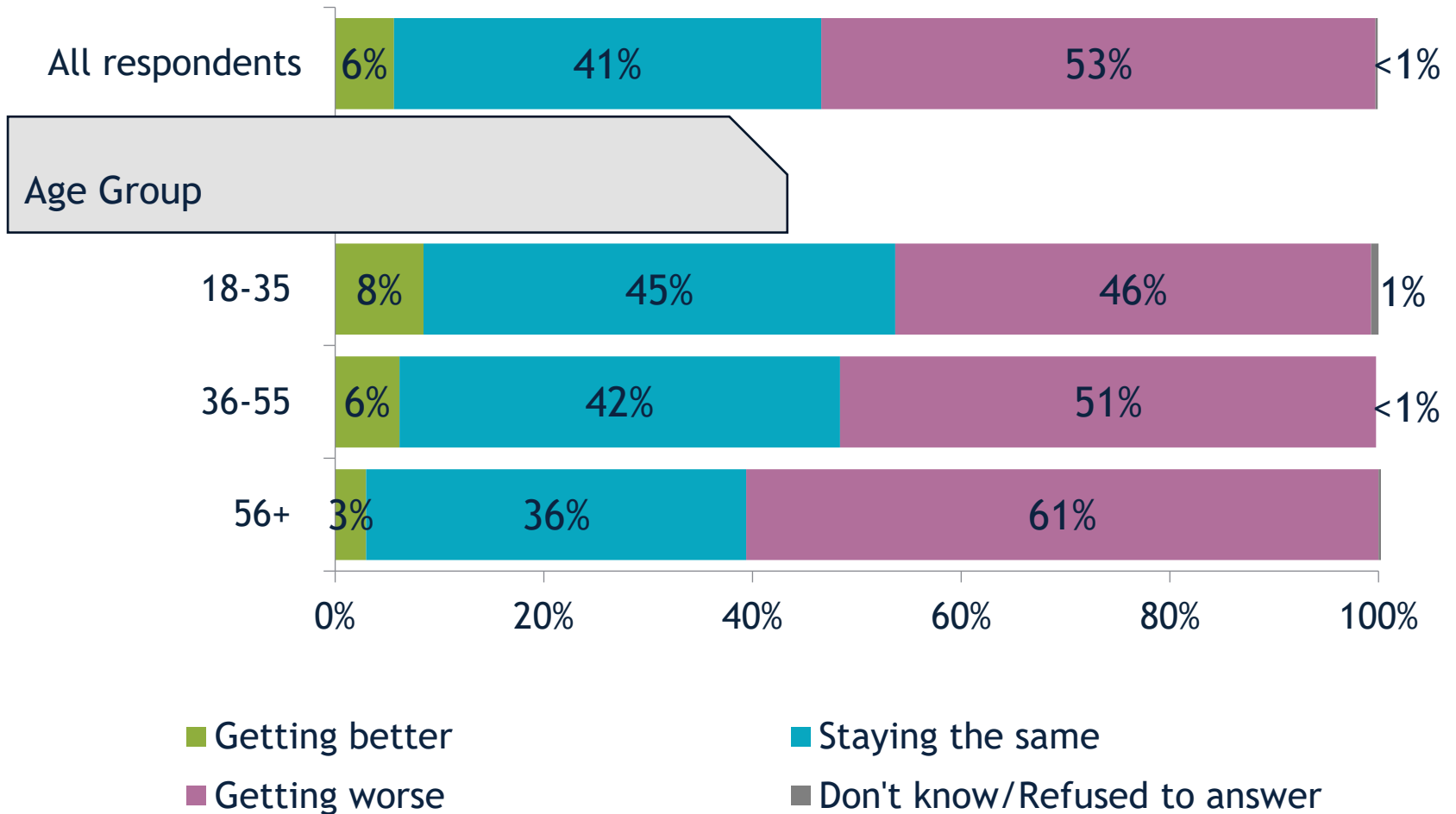


# Speaking personally, is your overall quality of life...?

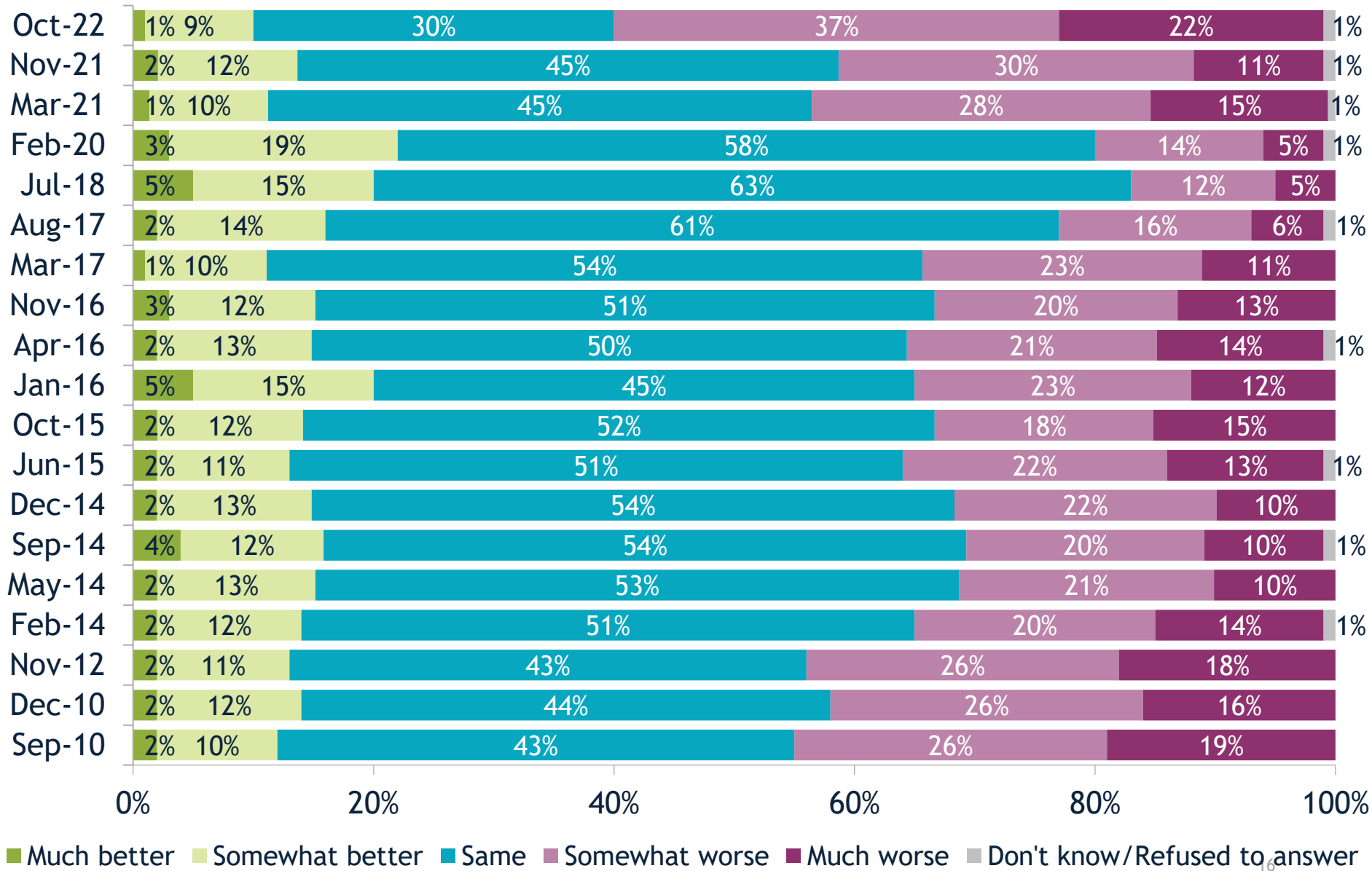


■ Getting better 
 ■ Staying the same 
 ■ Getting worse 
 ■ Don't know/Refused to answer

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



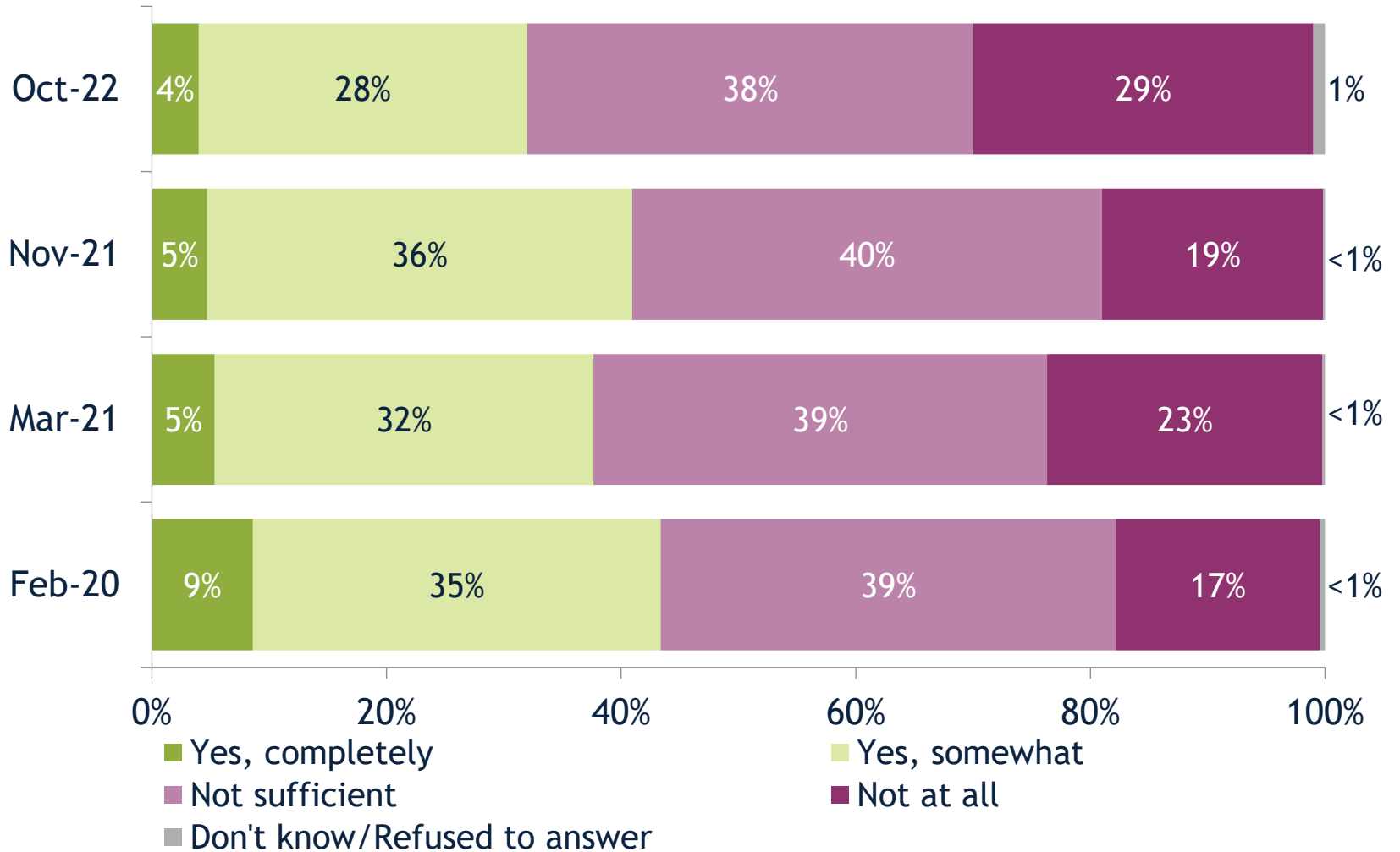
# How is your family's economic situation compared to one year ago?



■ Much better 
 ■ Somewhat better 
 ■ Same 
 ■ Somewhat worse 
 ■ Much worse 
 ■ Don't know/Refused to answer



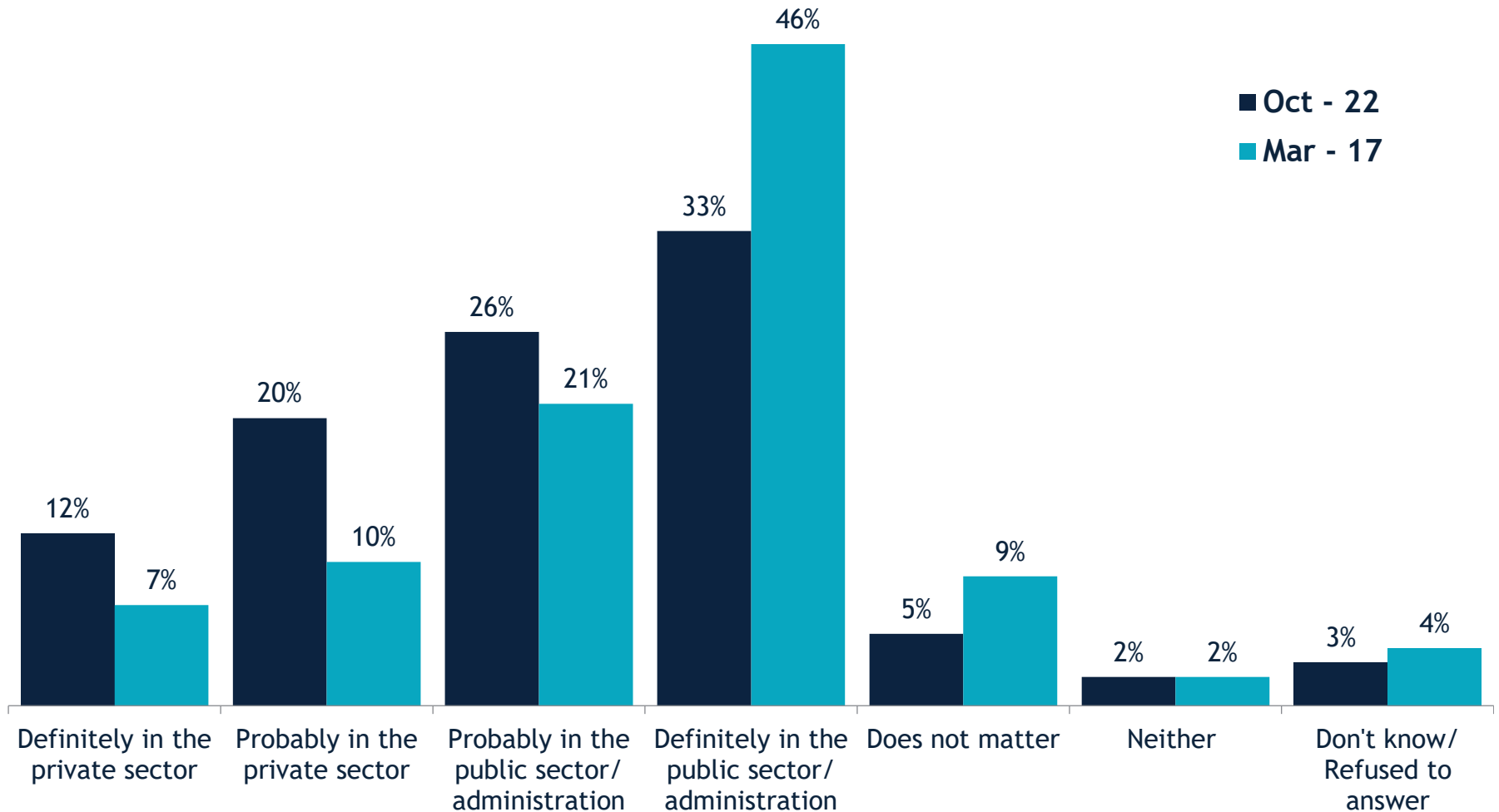
# Is your household monthly income sufficient to satisfy monthly needs?



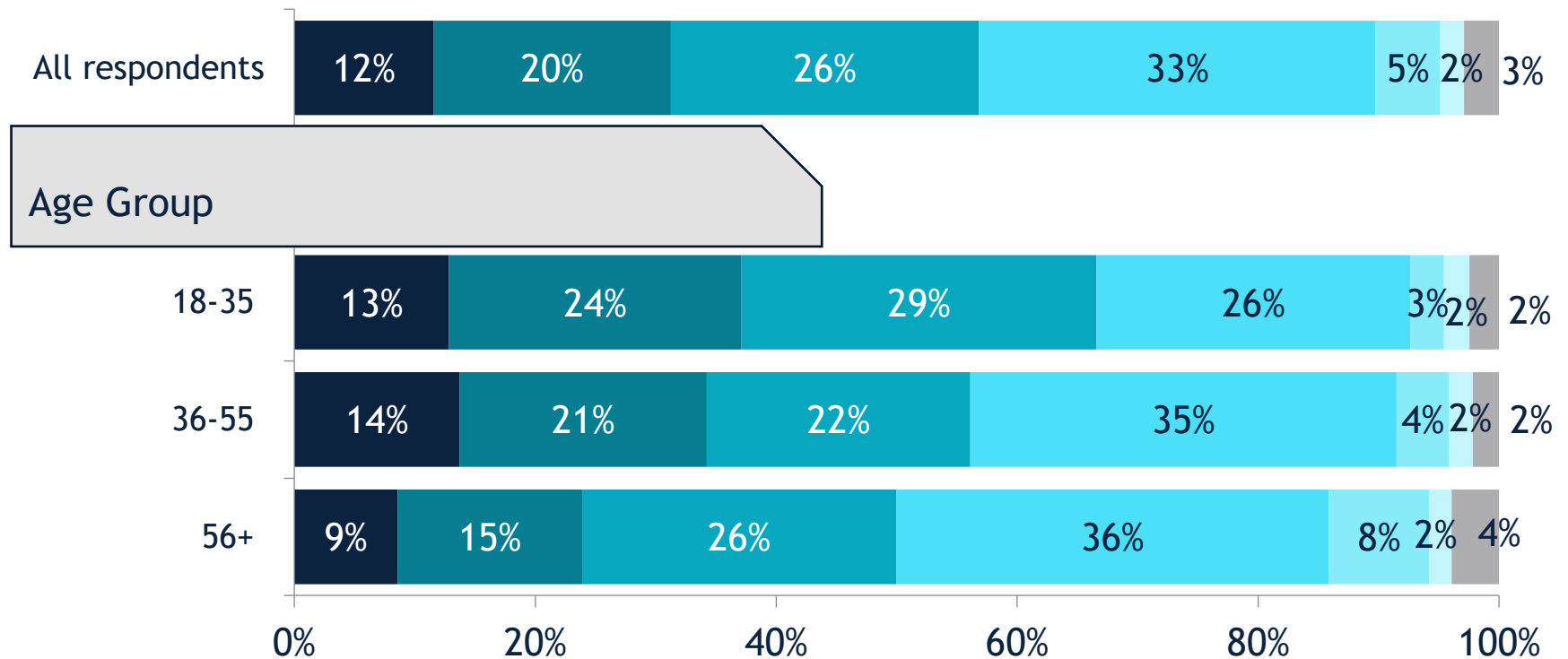
# How would you describe the current economic situation of your household?



# Do you think it is better to work in the private sector or in the public sector/administration?



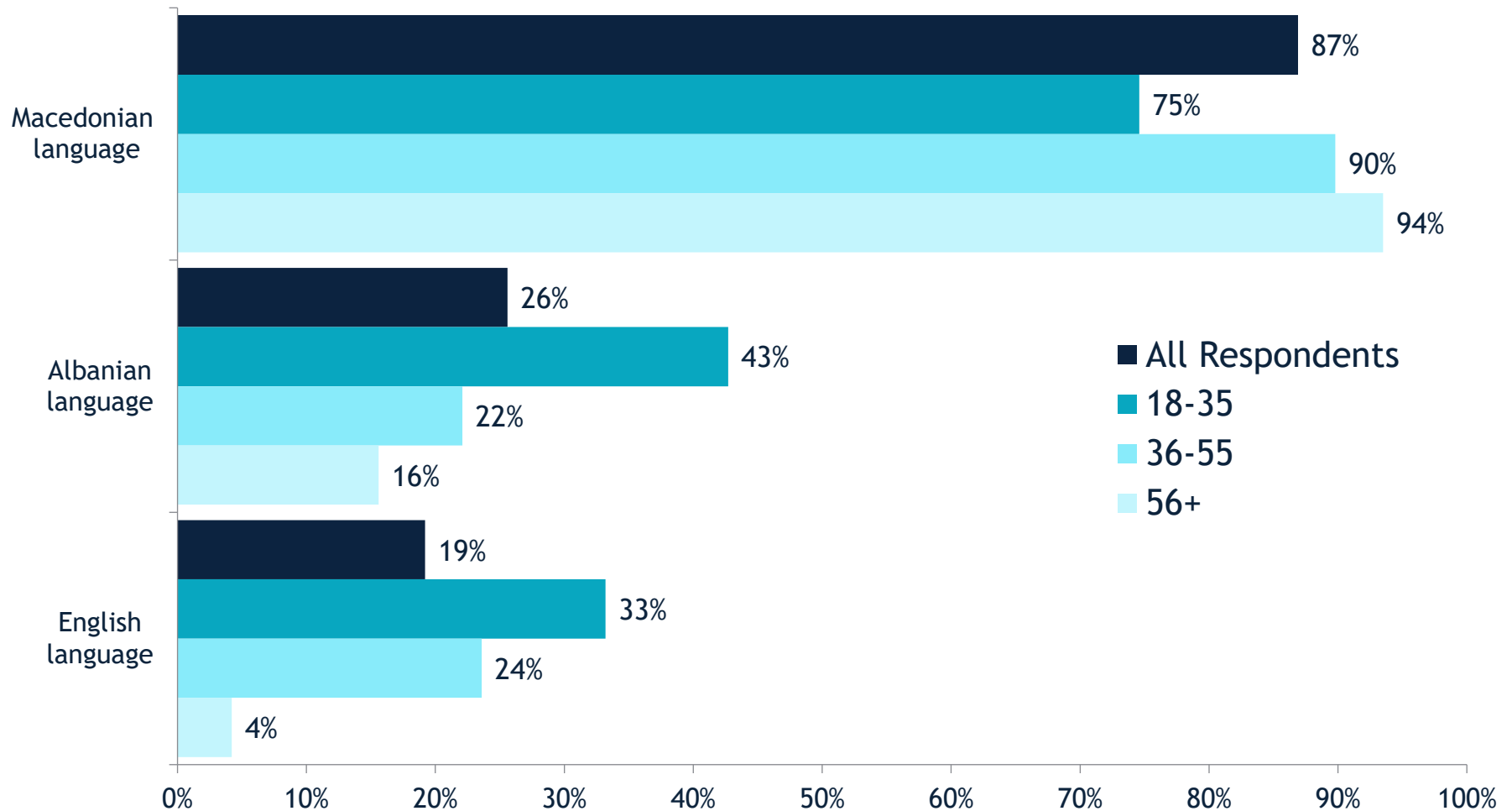
# Do you think it is better to work in the private sector or in the public sector/administration?



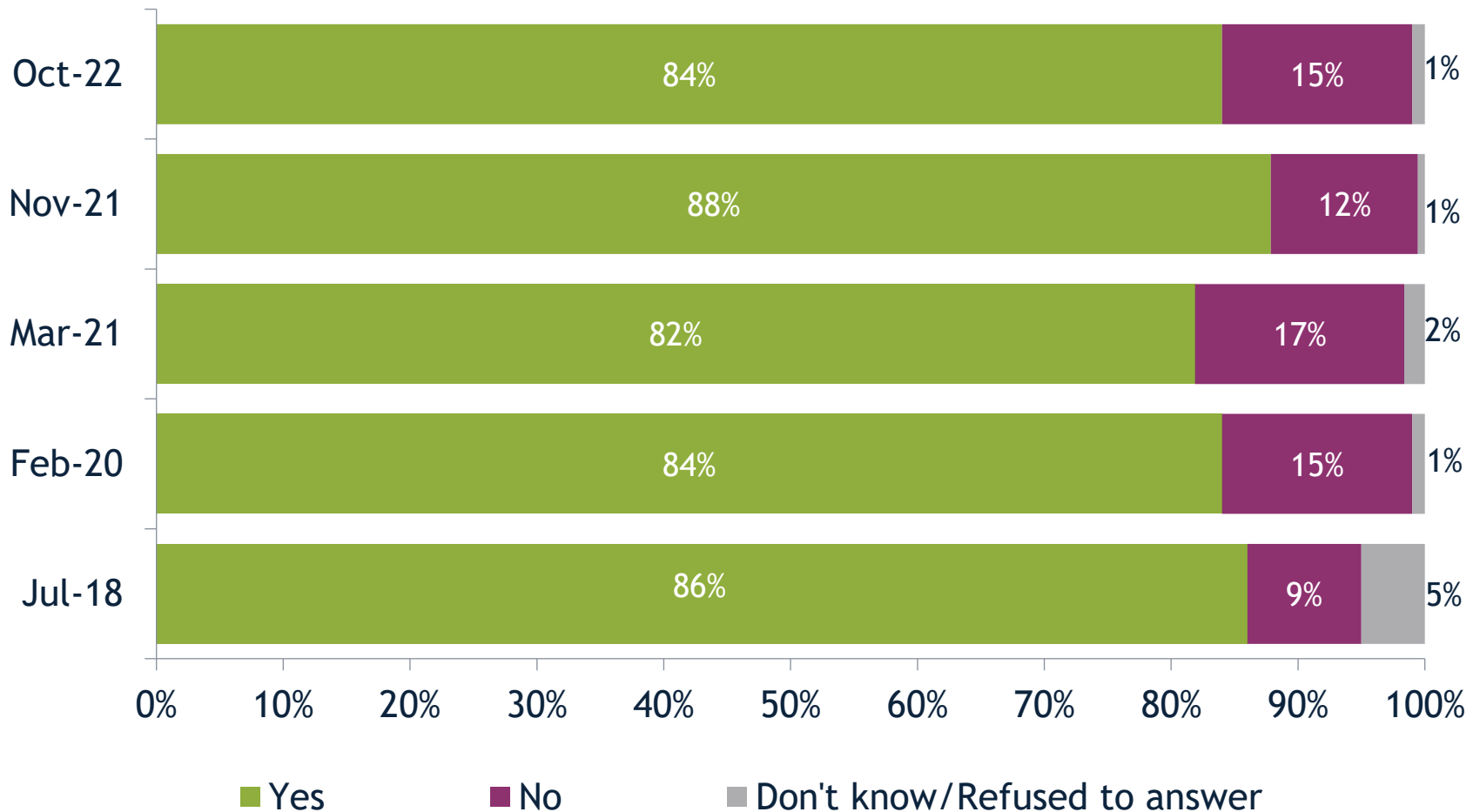
- Definitely in the private sector
- Probably in the private sector
- Probably in the public sector/administration
- Definitely in the public sector/administration
- Does not matter
- Neither
- Don't know

# What language(s) do you speak at a level to be able to study and work in that language?

(Multiple answers possible; data for *Macedonian*, *Albanian*, and *English* responses displayed)



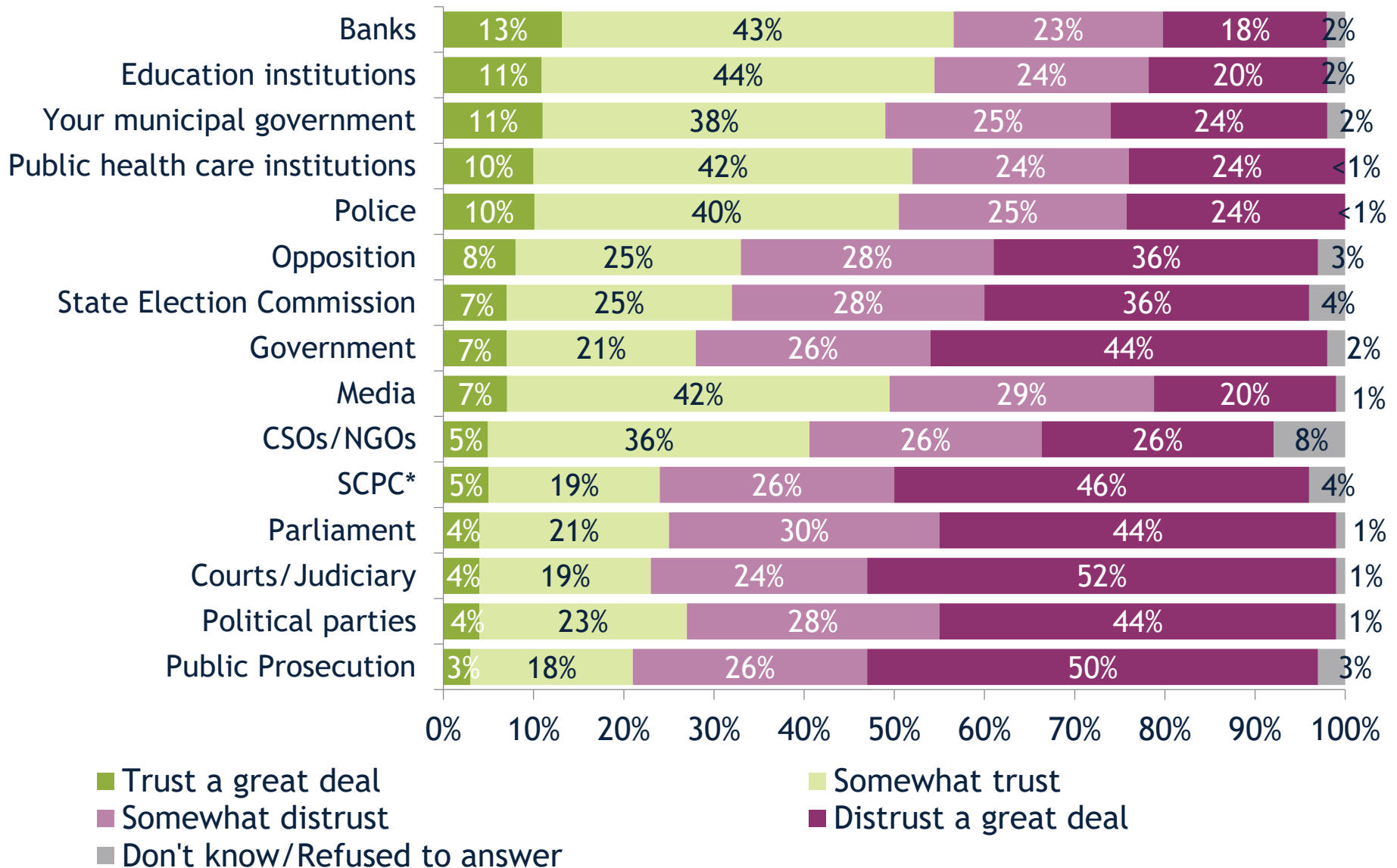
# Should all citizens, regardless of ethnic background, be proficient in Macedonian as the official state language?



# Trust in Institutions and the Rule of Law



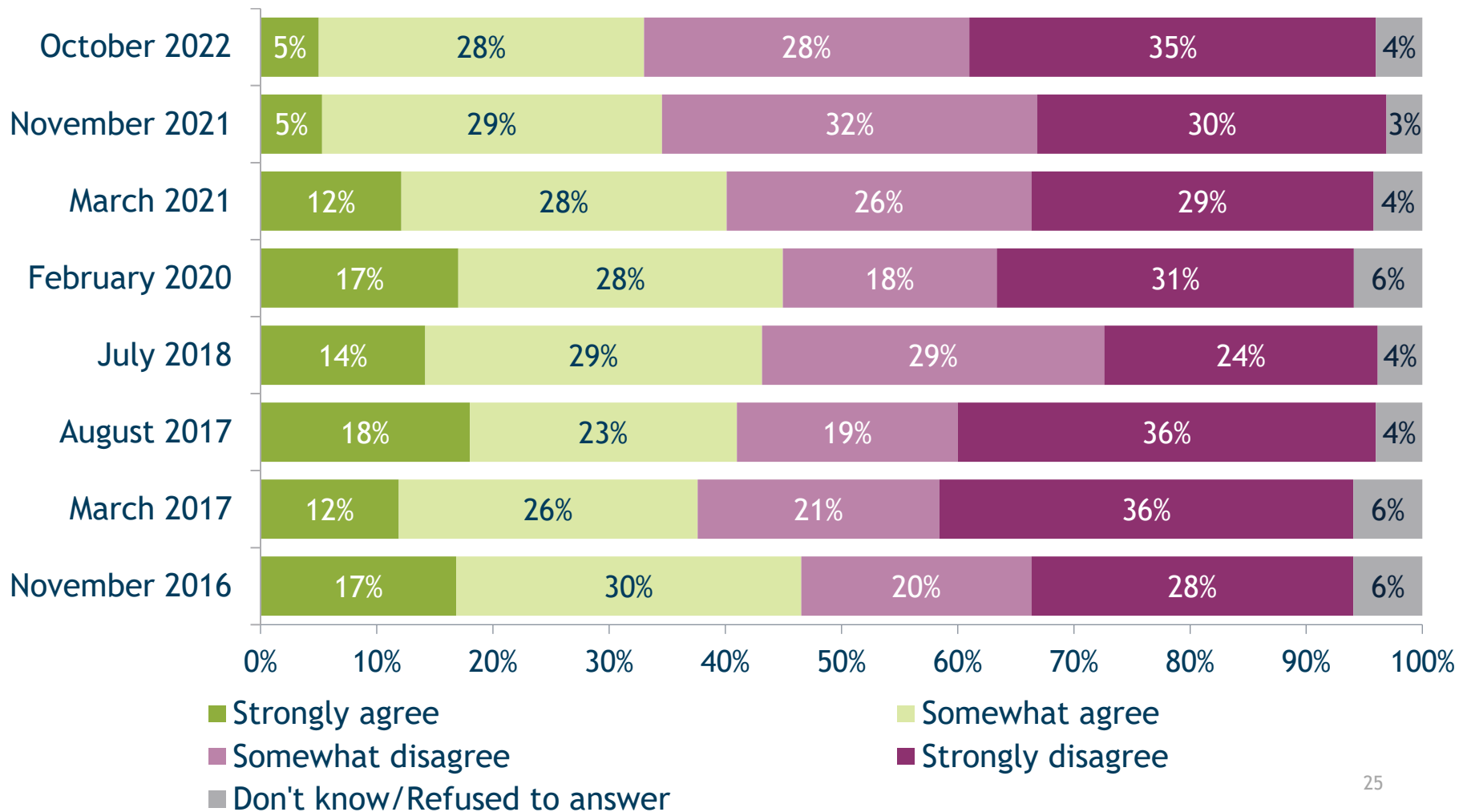
# To what extent do you trust or distrust each of the following?



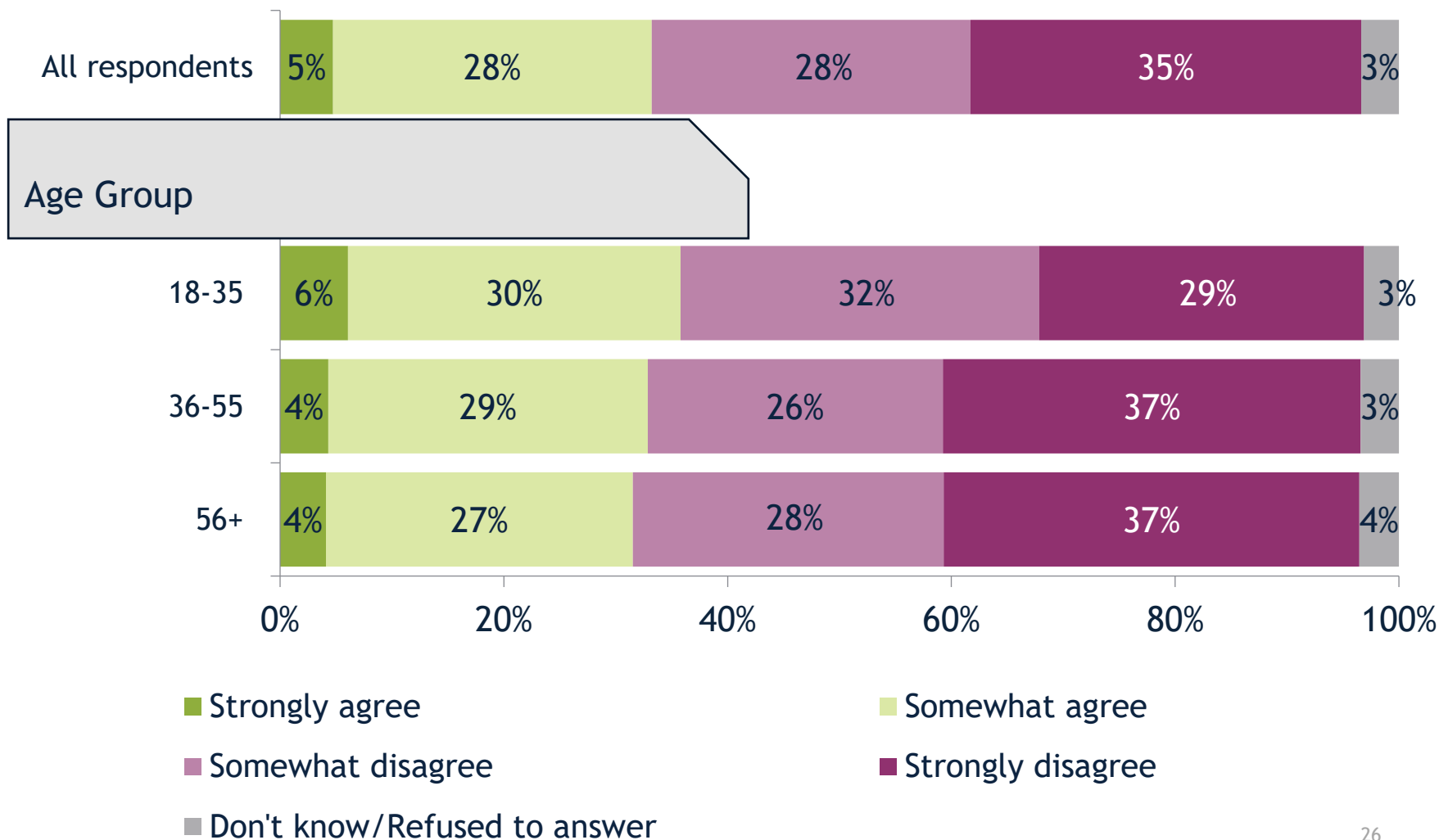
\*SCPC = State Commission for Prevention of Corruption



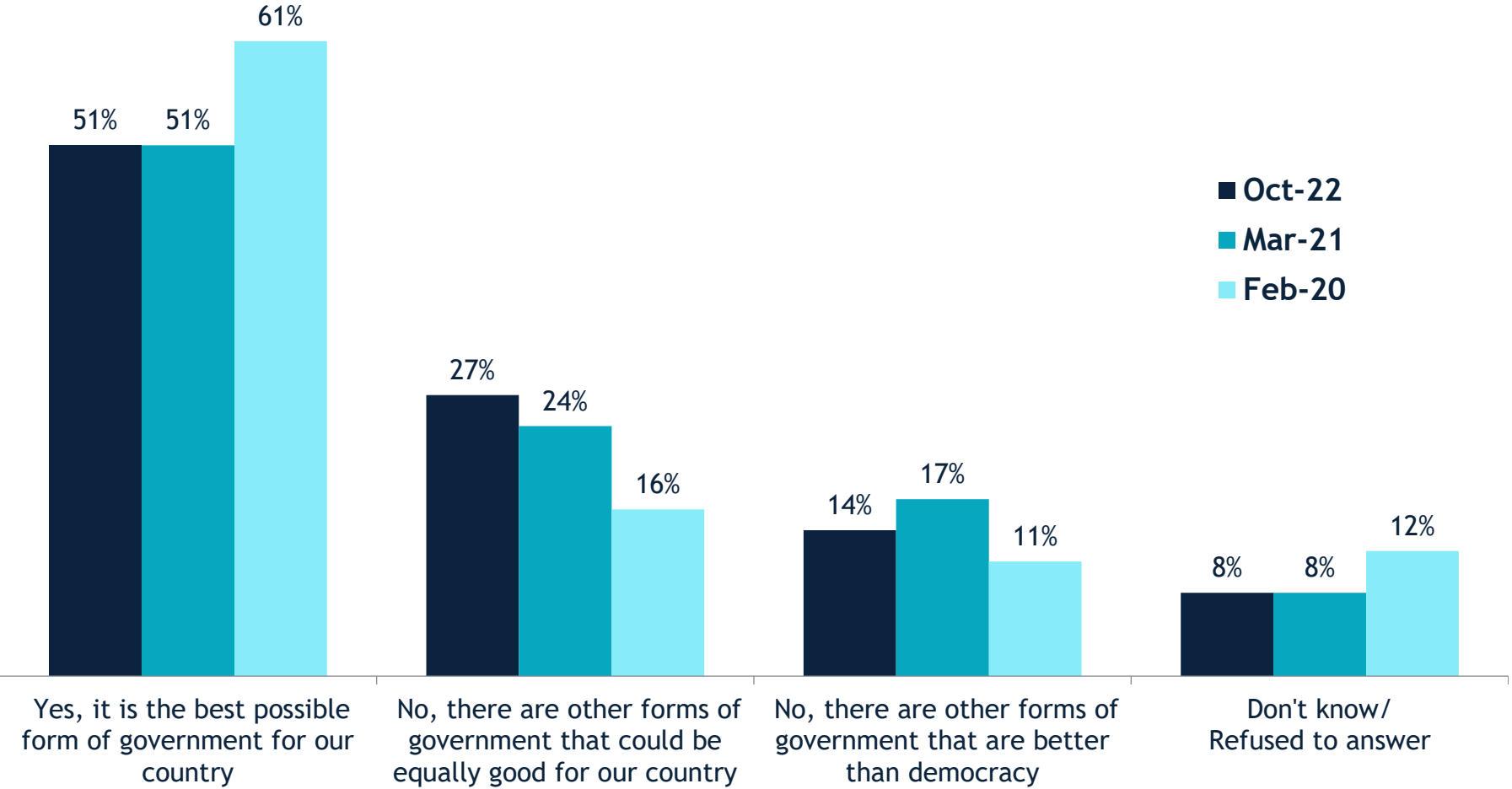
The rule of law in a democracy can be understood as: “A state when all people and institutions are accountable to the law and the Constitution, and the Constitution and the law are equally applied towards all.” How strongly do you agree or disagree that rule of law exists in our country?



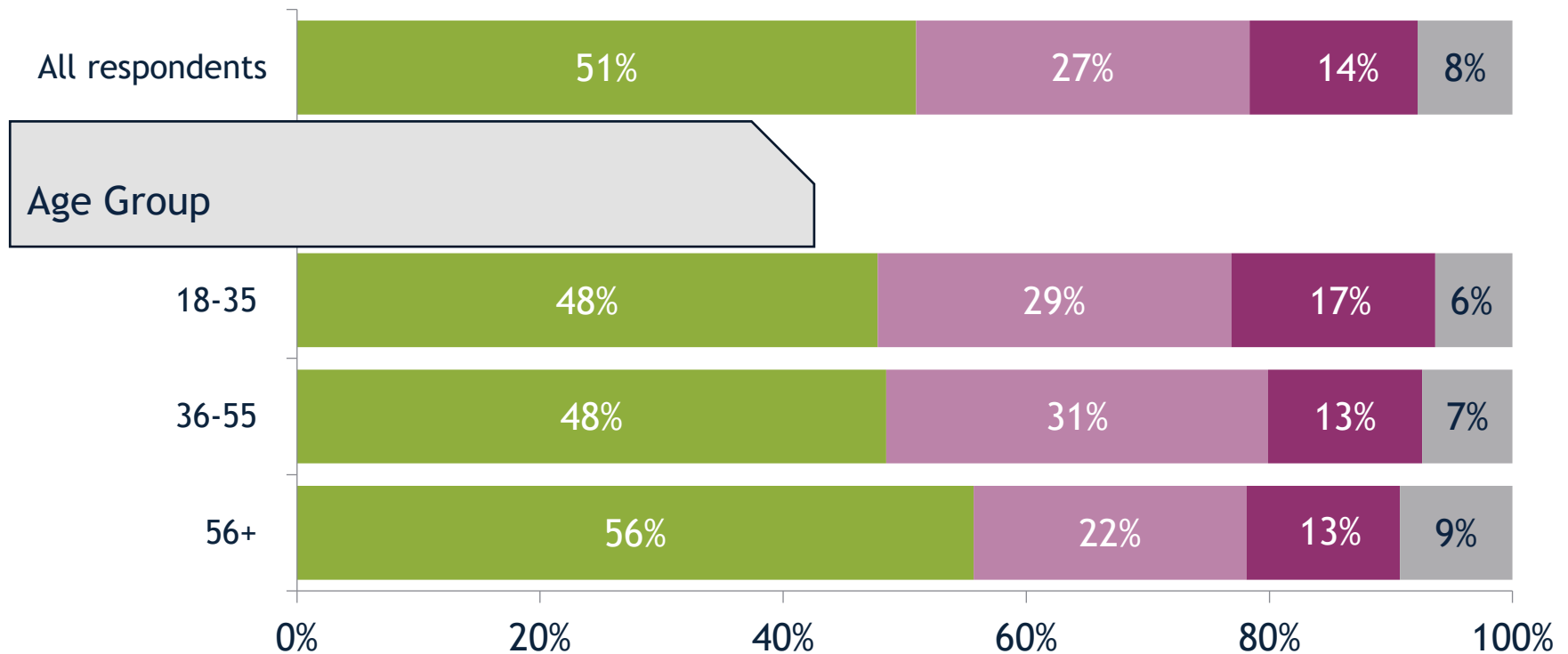
The rule of law in a democracy can be understood as: “A state when all people and institutions are accountable to the law and the Constitution, and the Constitution and the law are equally applied towards all.” How strongly do you agree or disagree that rule of law exists in our country?



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

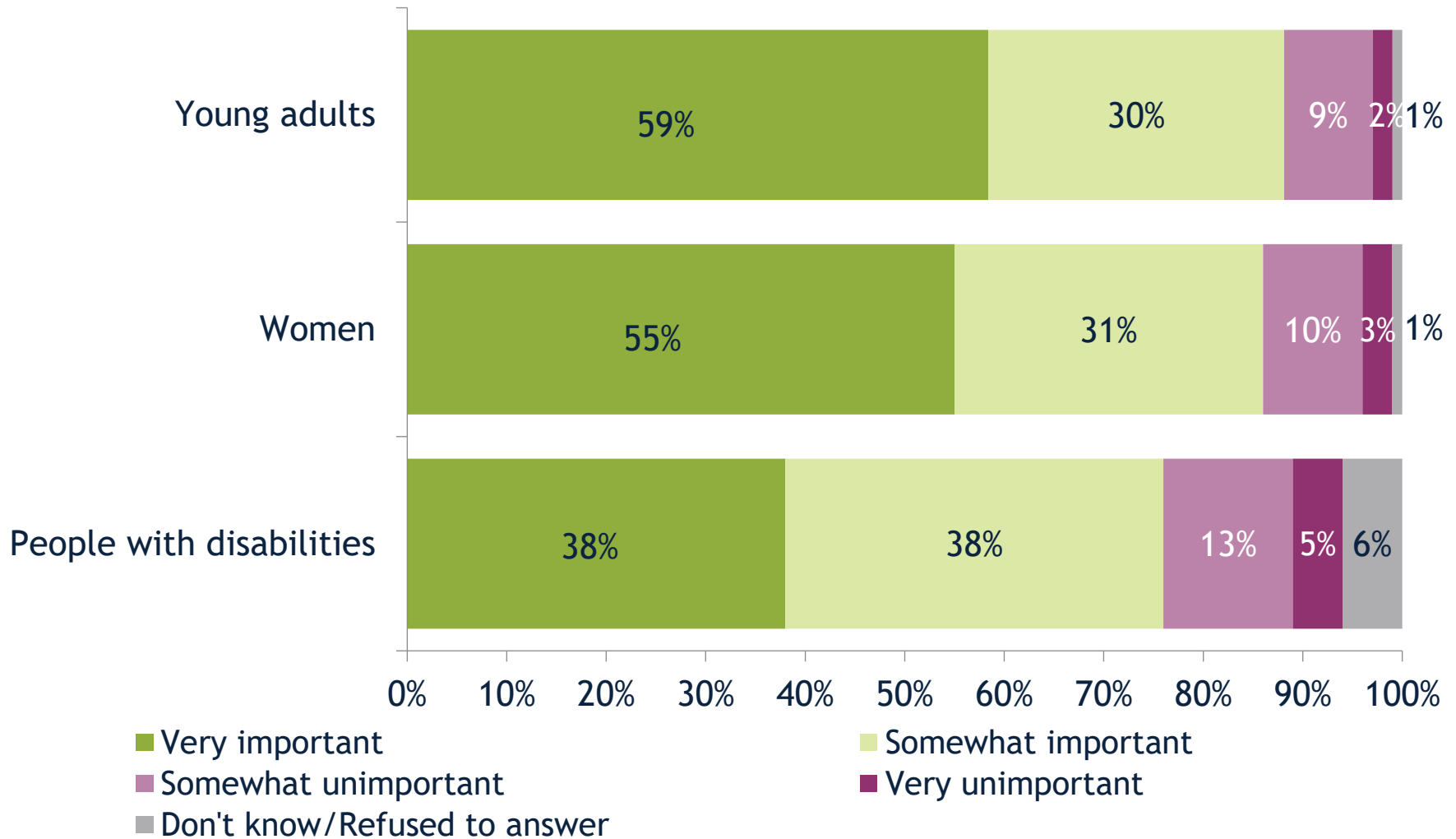


# Do you believe that democracy is the best possible form of government for our country or not?



- 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 know/Refused to answer

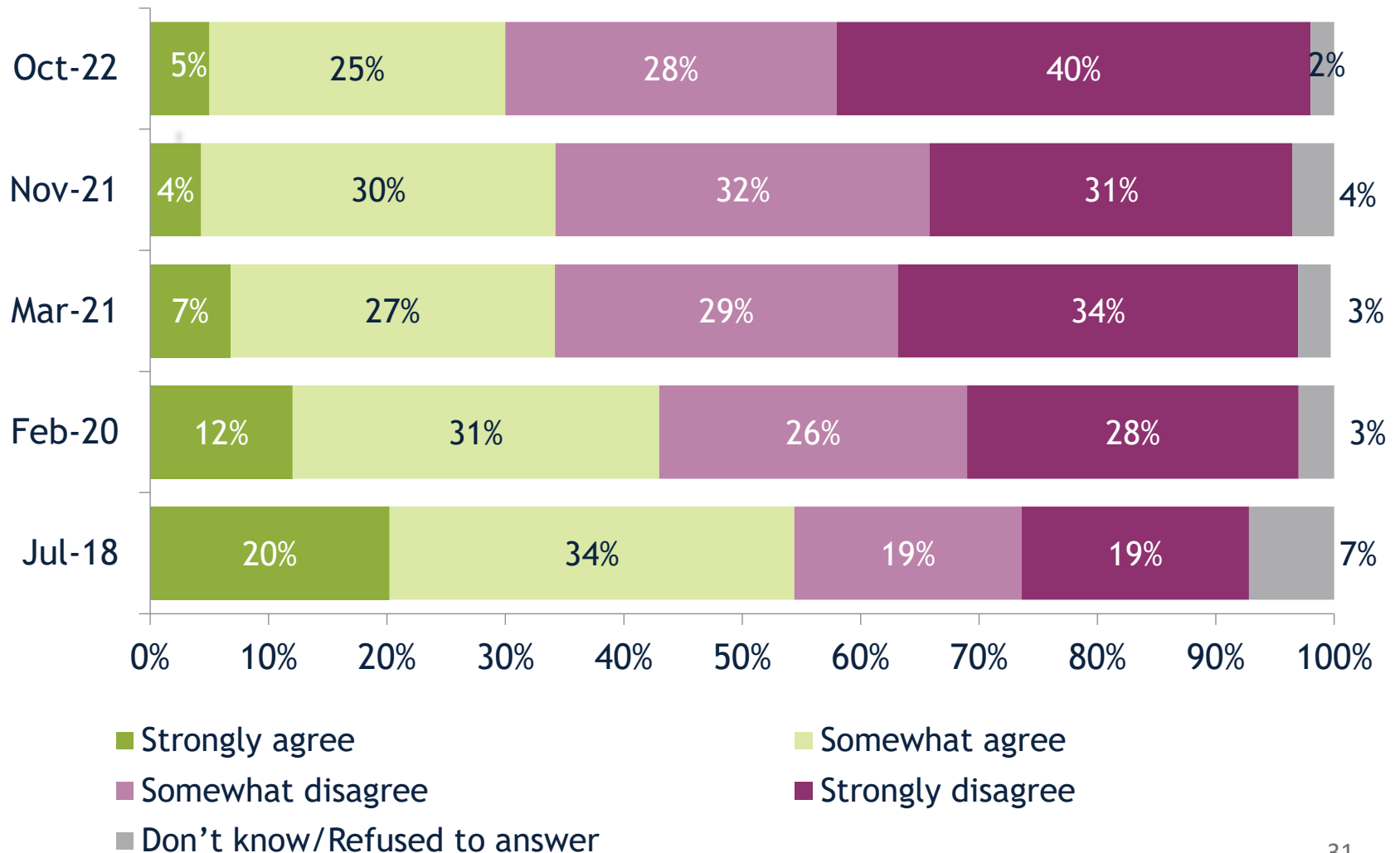
# How important or unimportant is it that all members of our country's adult population are included in political decision making? How important is that [...] are included?



# Government's Performance

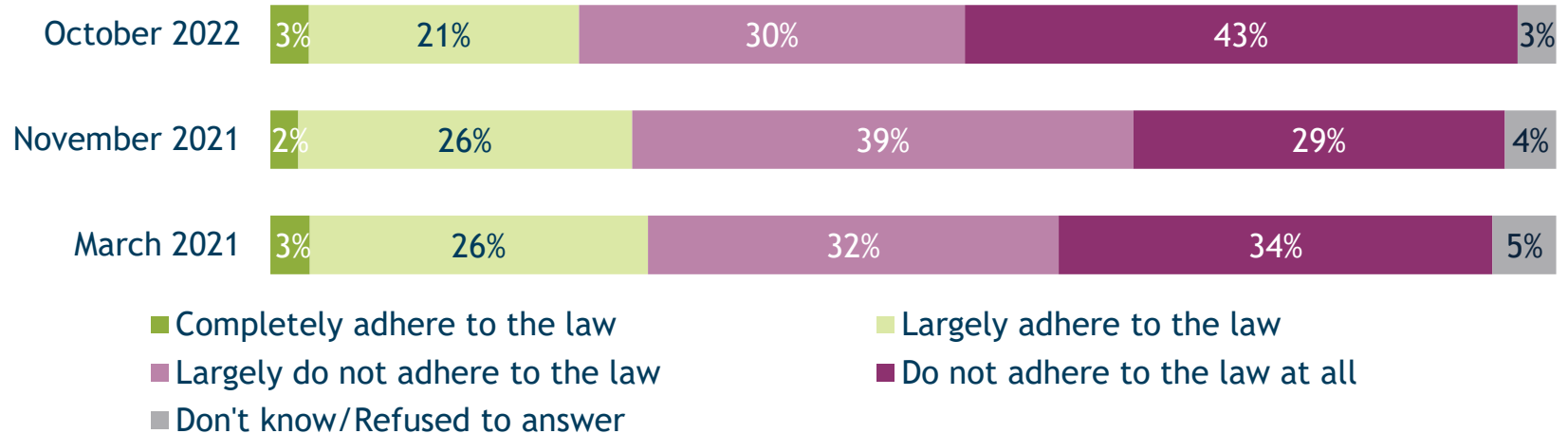


# How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement: “The current Government is open and accountable to the citizens and the public”?

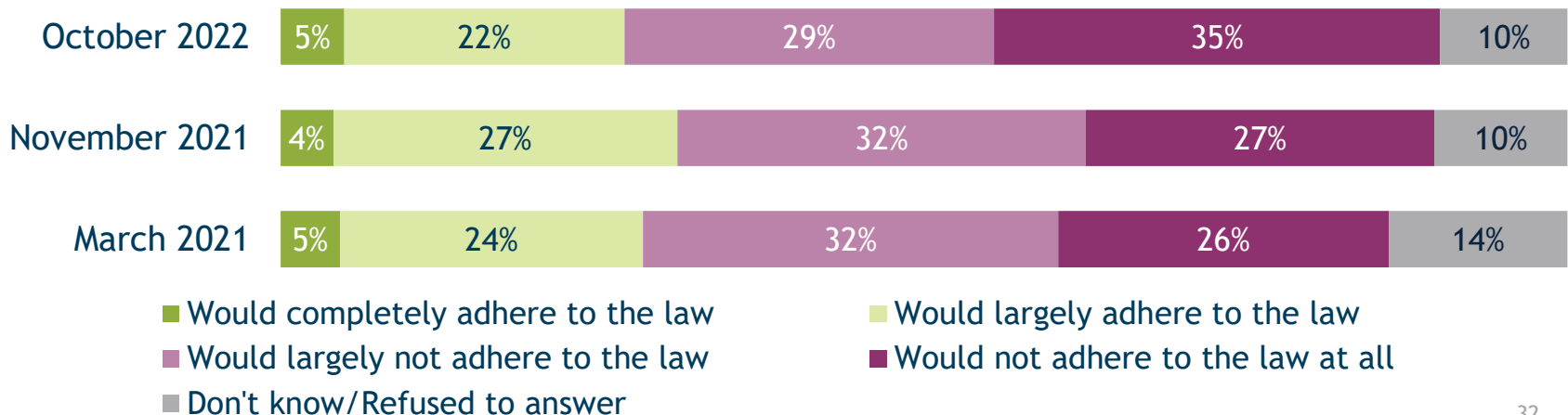


## According to you, to what extent [...]

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

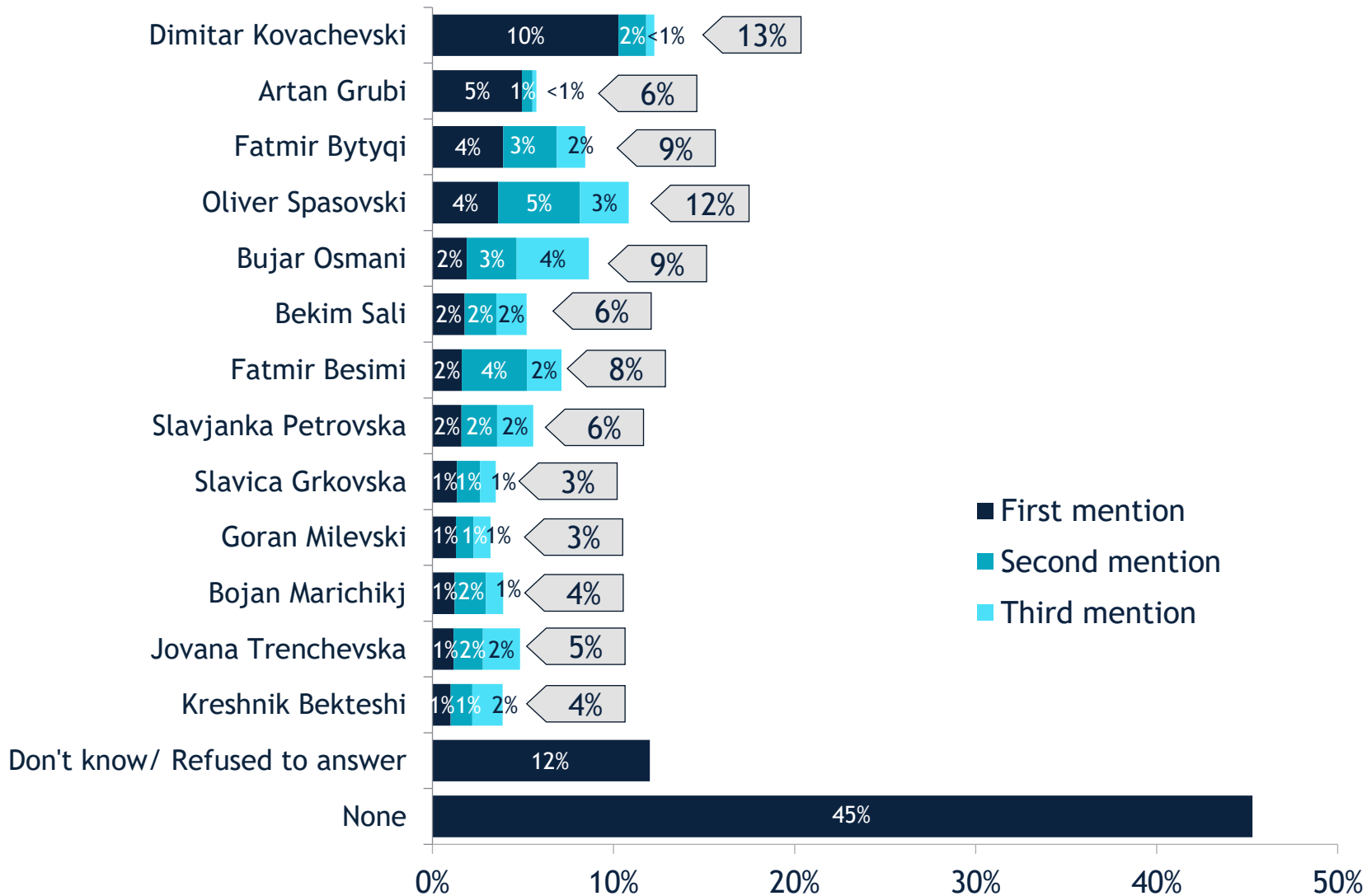


...would **opposition politicians** adhere to the law if they are elected?





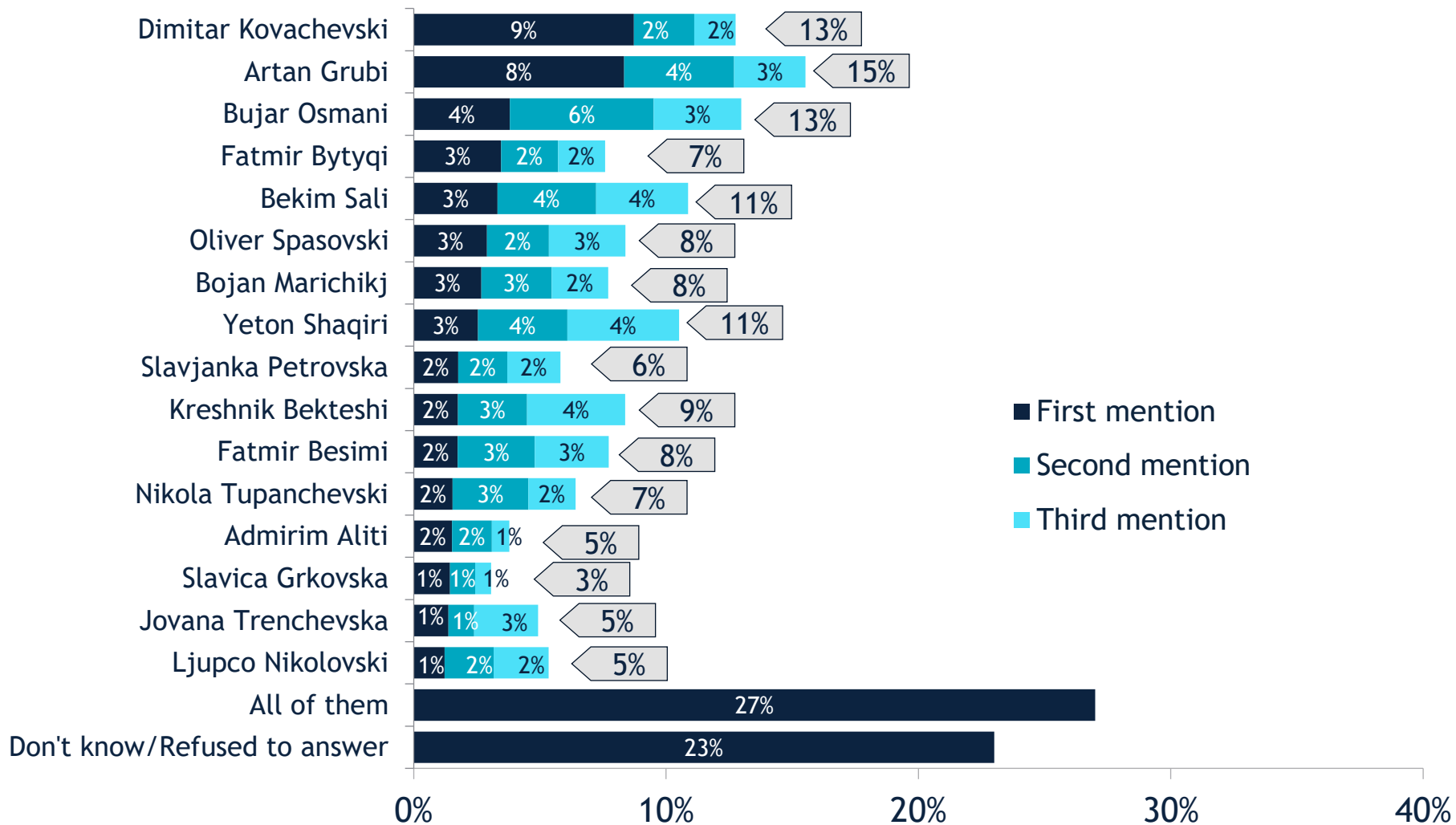
# Which three ministers in the Government are doing the best job?\*



\* First mentions less than one percent are not displayed.

\*\* Up to three responses permitted

# Which three ministers in the Government are not doing their job as they should?\*



\*First mentions less than one percent are not displayed.

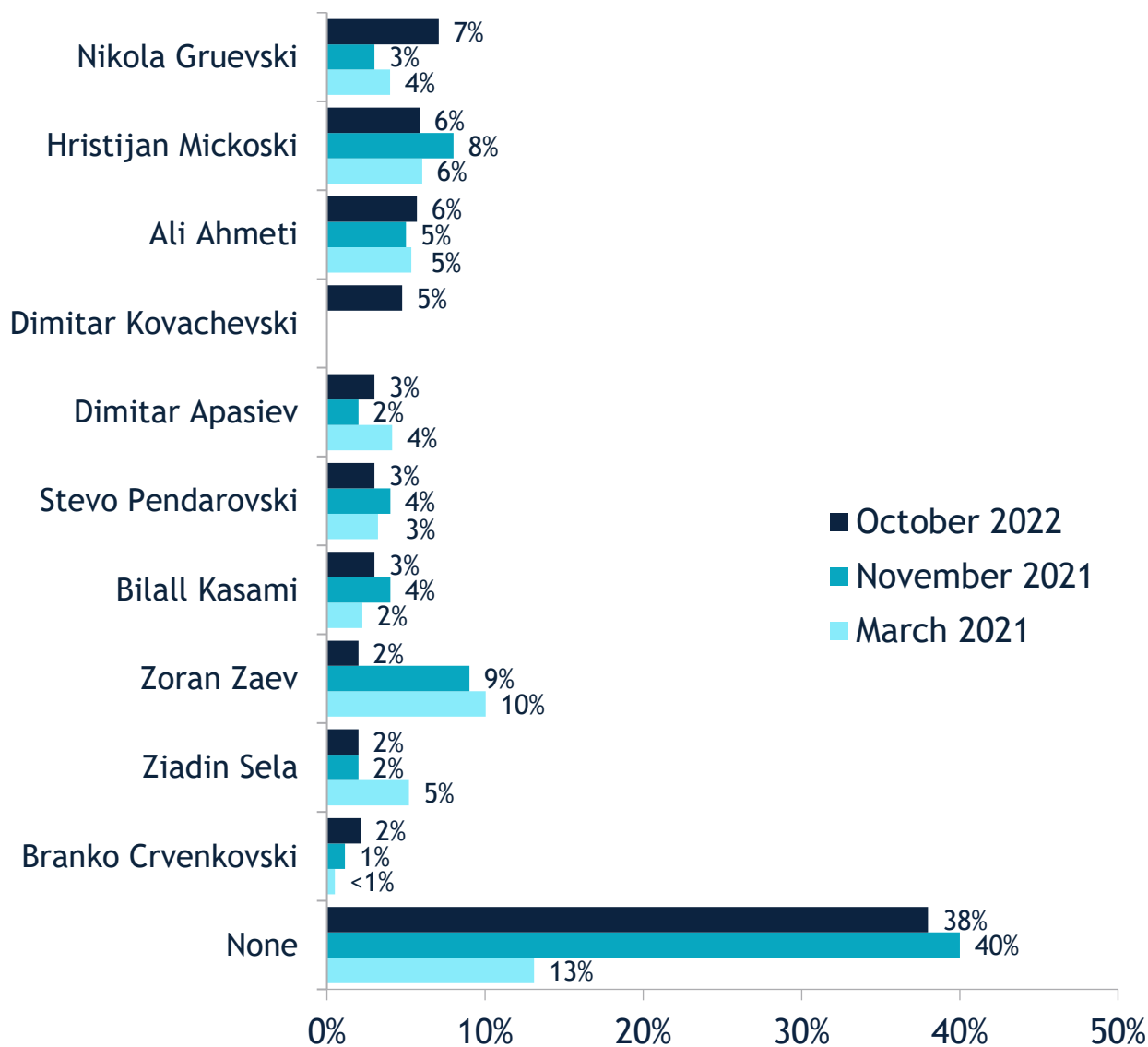
\*\* Up to three responses permitted

# 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?\*

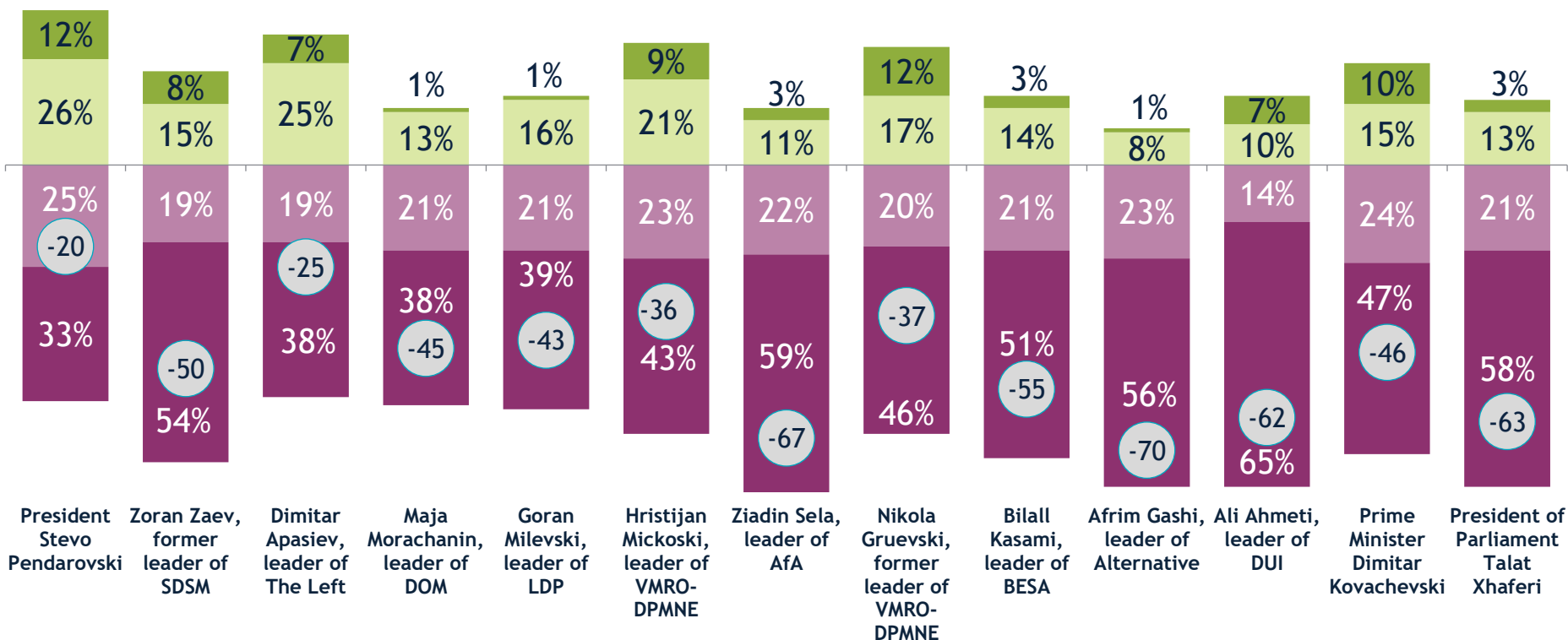
(Spontaneous response)



\*Responses receiving <1% are not displayed  
 "Don't know" and mentions less than one percent are not displayed.

# I will read you a list of names of political figures. Please tell me if you have a highly favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or highly unfavorable opinion of this individual.

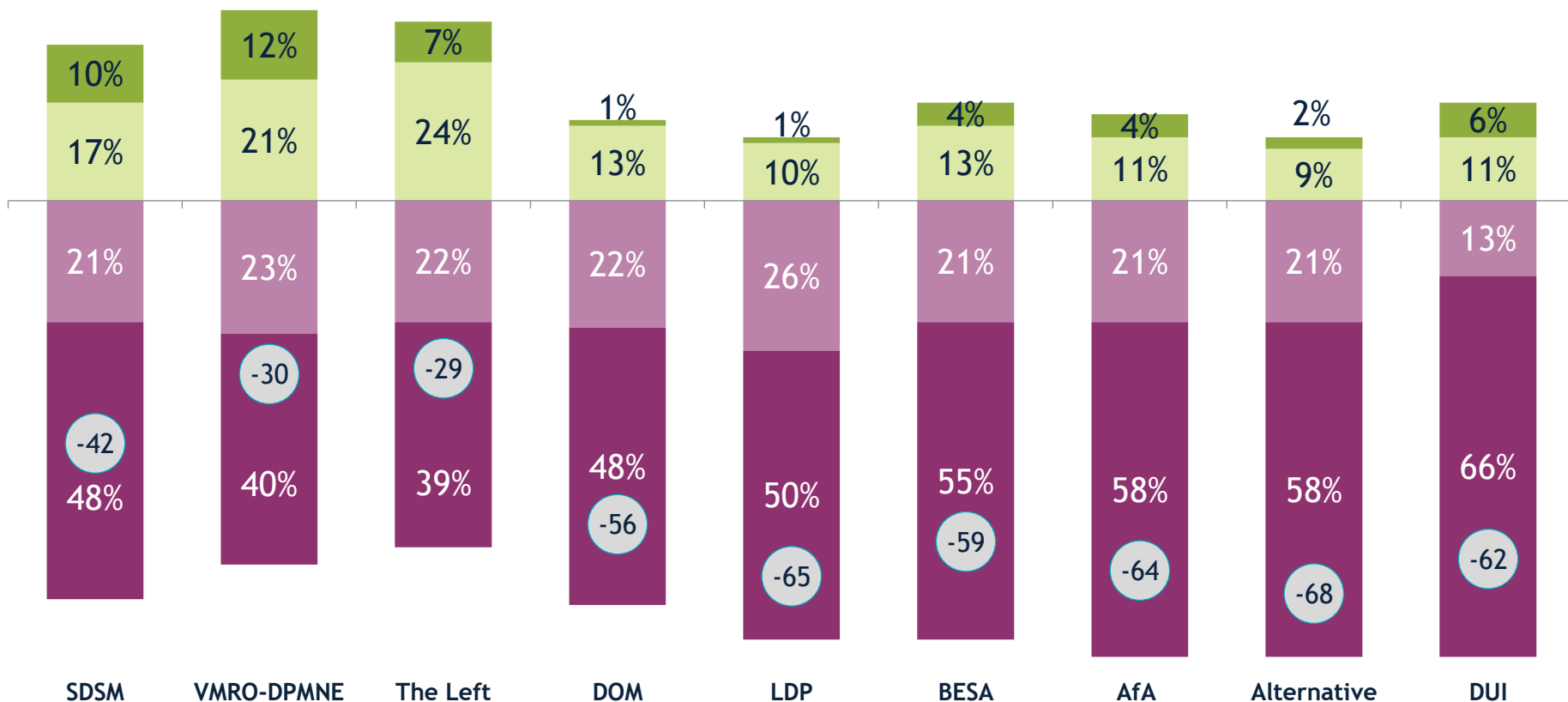
(Net favorability of political persons, “Don’t know/Refused to answer” and “I have not heard of this person” are not displayed)



■ Highly favorable ■ Somewhat favorable ■ Somewhat unfavorable ■ Highly unfavorable

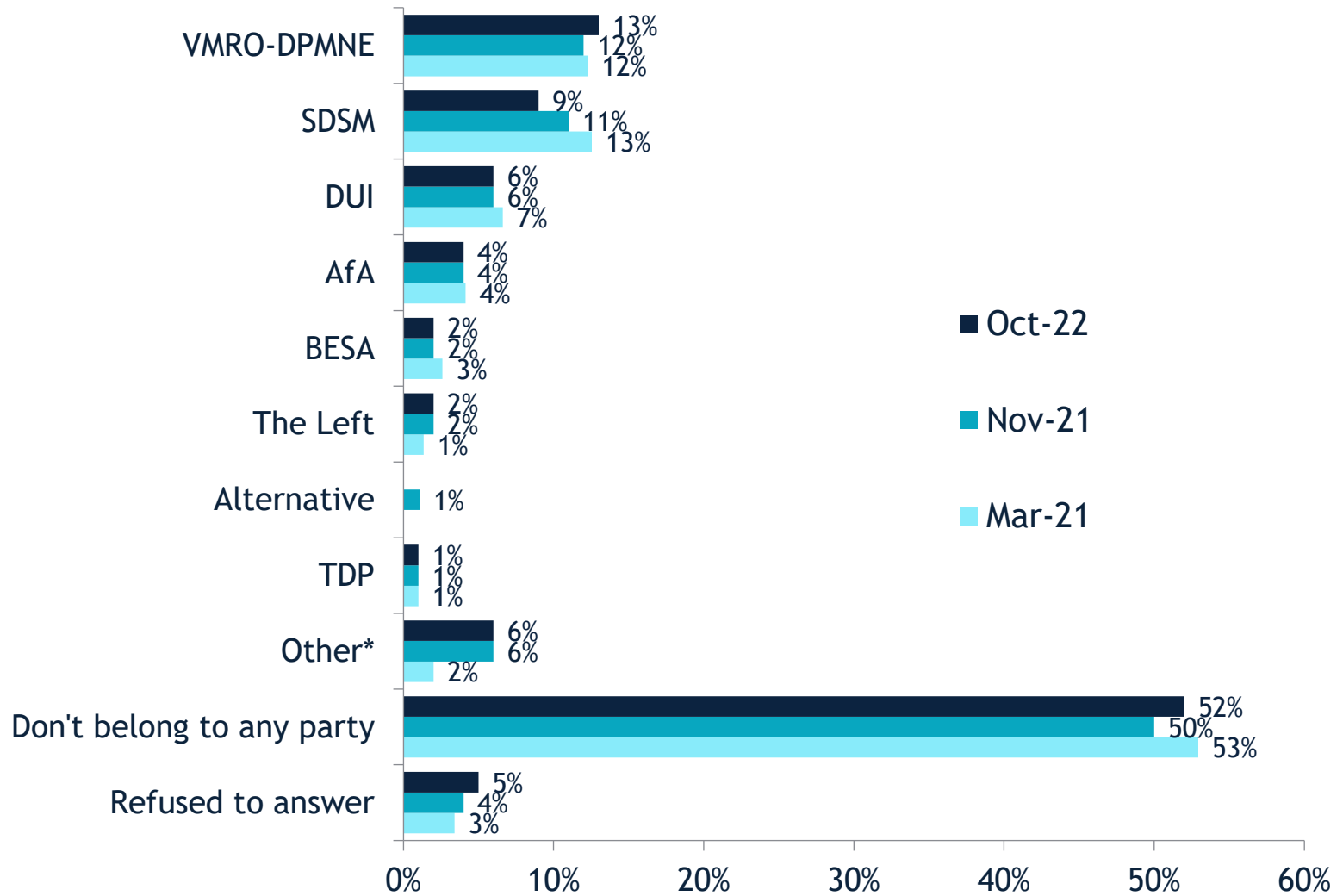
# I will read you a list of political parties. Please tell me if you have a highly favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or highly unfavorable opinion of this party.

(Net favorability of political parties, “Don’t know/Refused to answer” and “I have not heard of this party are not displayed”)



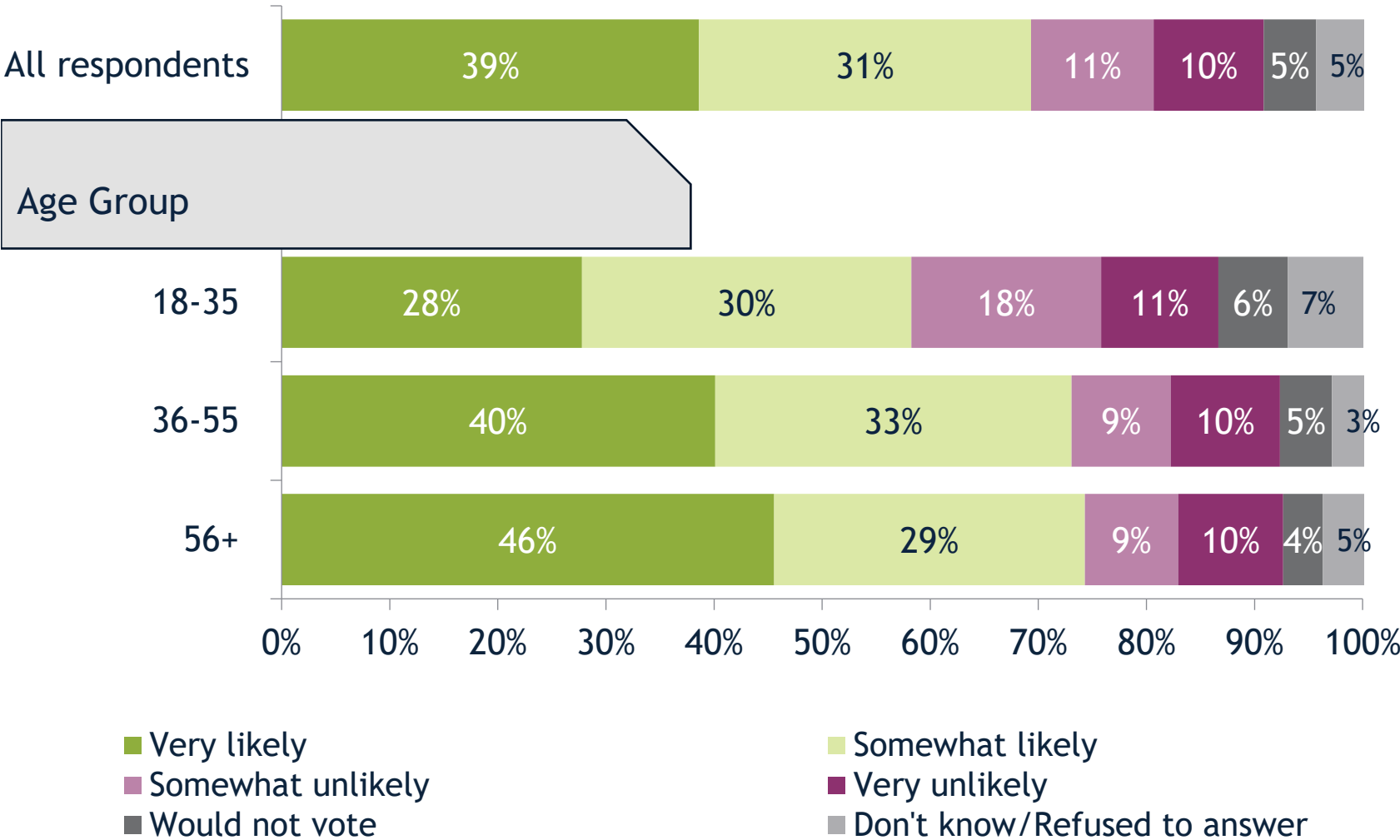
■ Highly favorable   
 ■ Somewhat favorable   
 ■ Somewhat unfavorable   
 ■ Highly unfavorable

# To which political party do you belong?\*



\*Mentions less than one percent have been included into other.

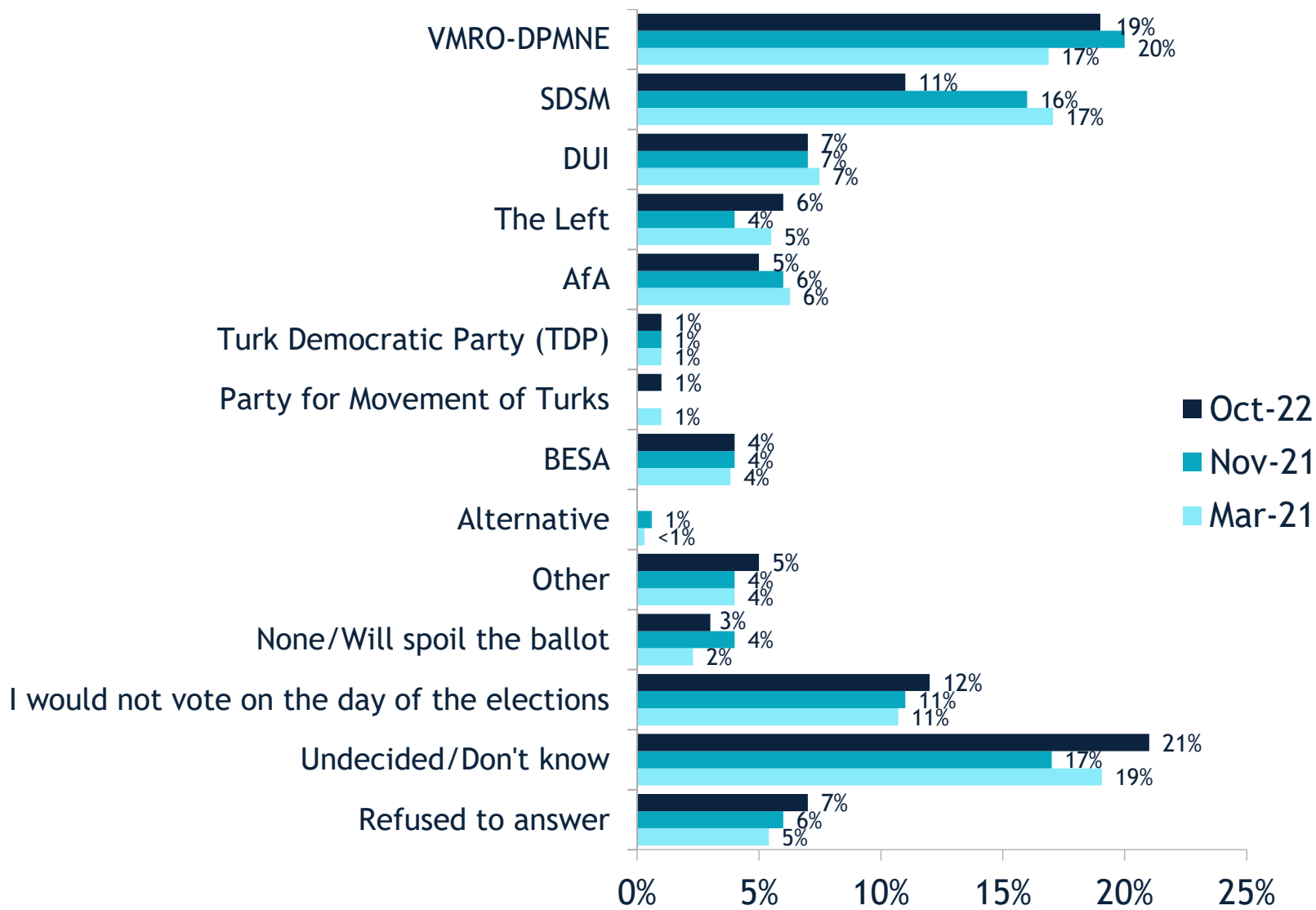
# How likely or unlikely are you to vote in the parliamentary elections if they are held this Sunday?





# If parliamentary elections were held this coming Sunday which party, if any, would you vote for?\*

(Spontaneous response)



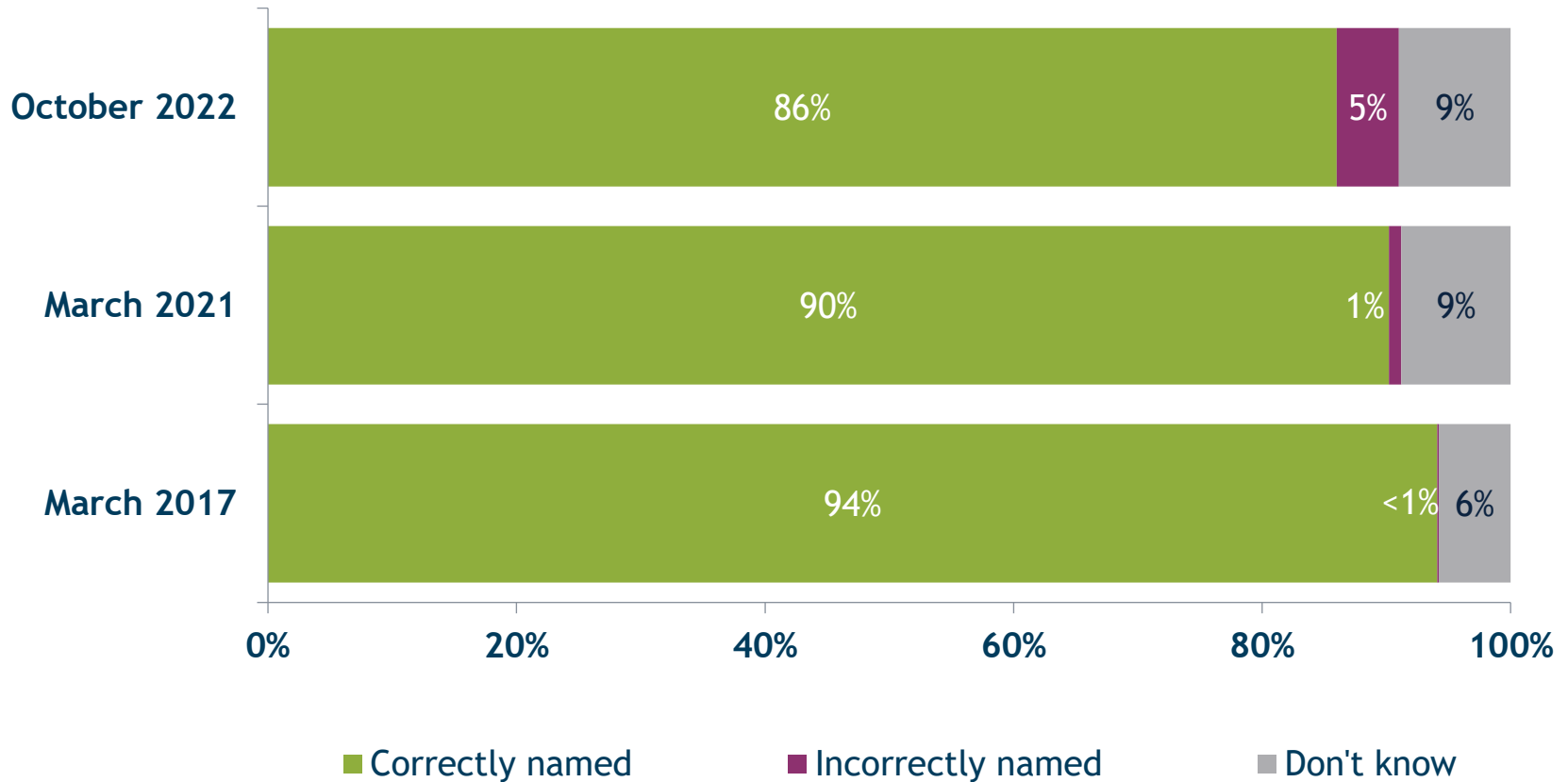
\*See glossary of political parties on slide 4.

# Local Issues and Local Government Performance



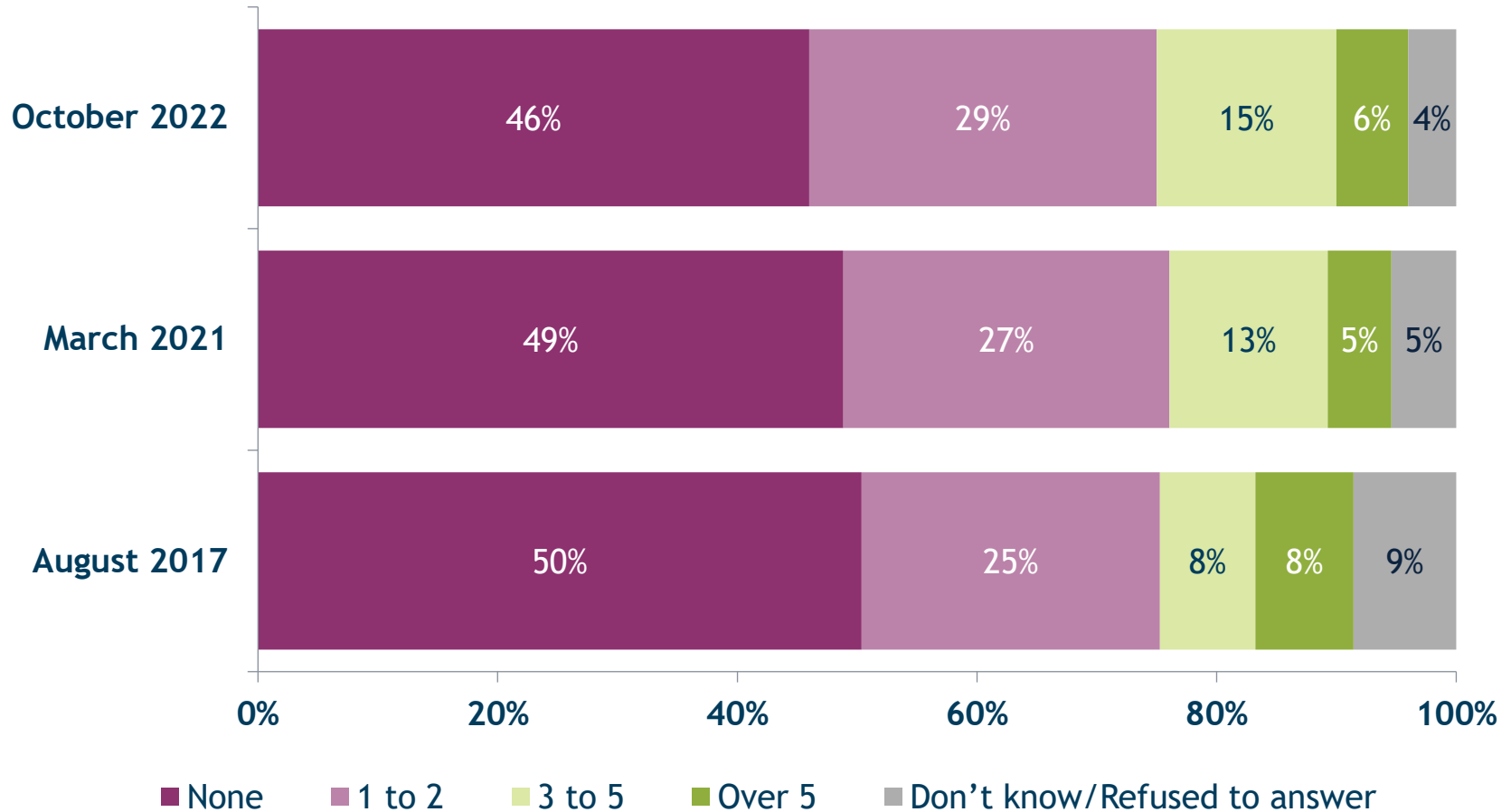
## Can you tell me the name of your mayor?\*

(Spontaneous response)



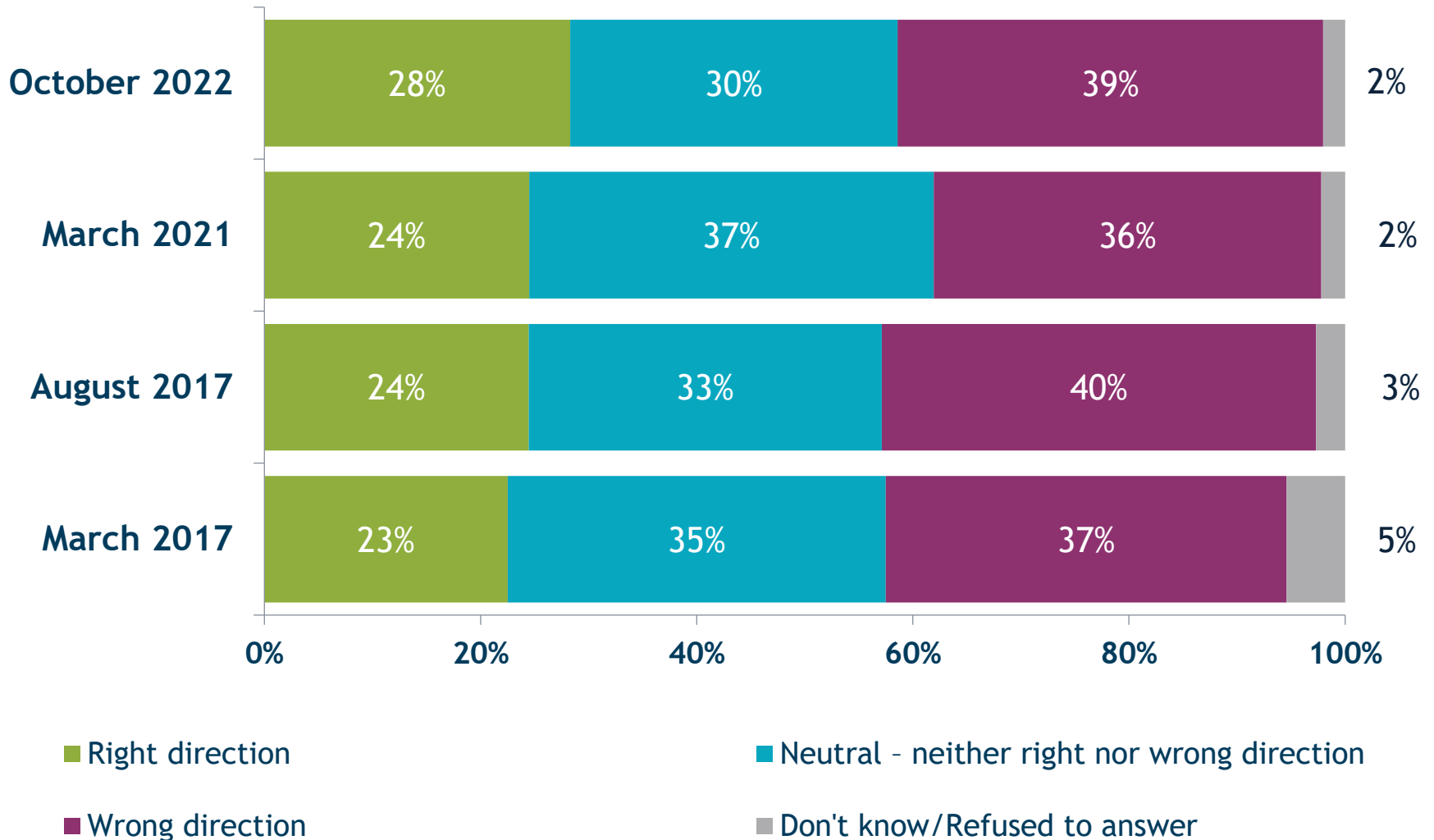
\*Municipalities in North Macedonia are run by directly-elected mayors. There are 80 municipalities, and the city of Skopje is a separate local government unit.

## How many of your municipal councilors can you name?\*

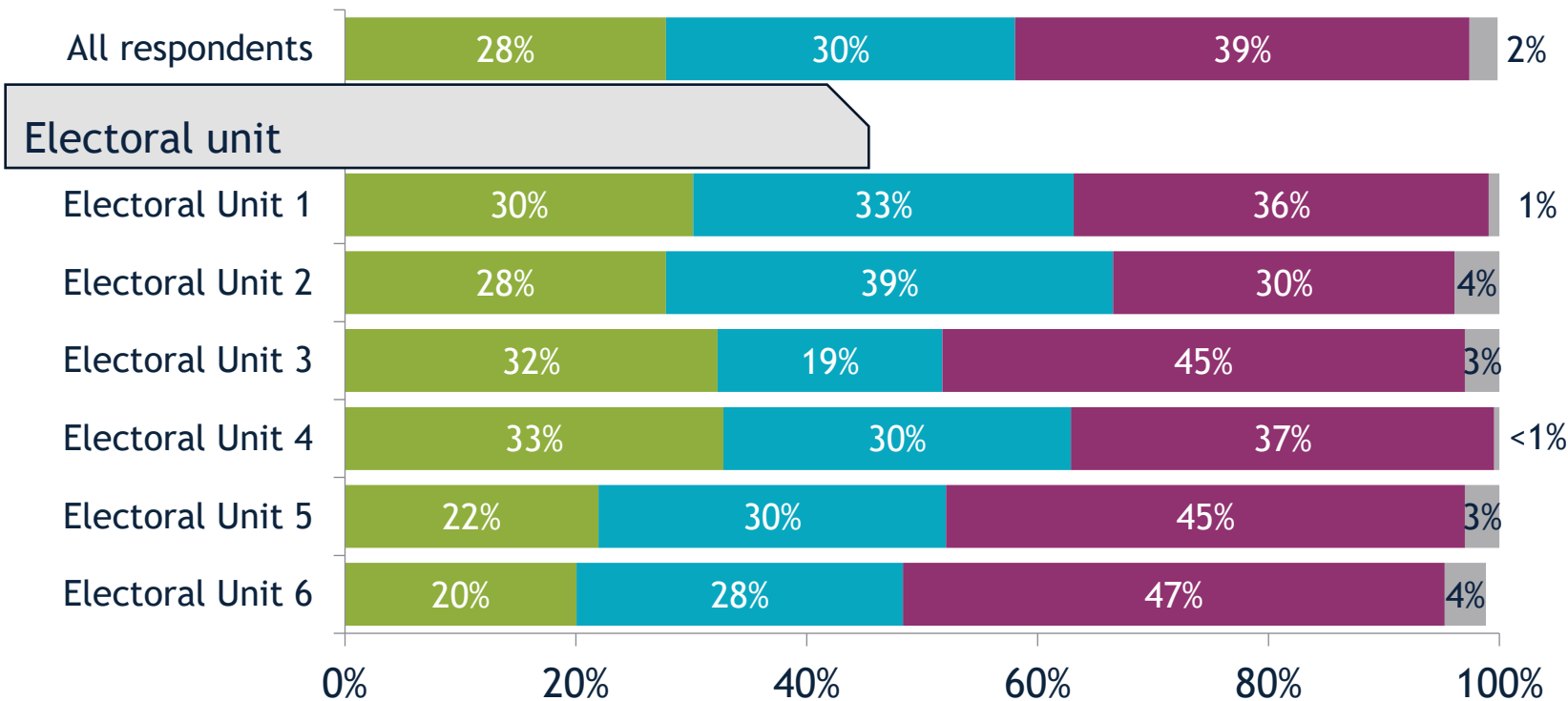


\*A municipal council in North Macedonia can be composed of between 9 to 33 councilors, elected from closed proportional party lists.

# Overall, are things in your municipality moving in the right or wrong direction?

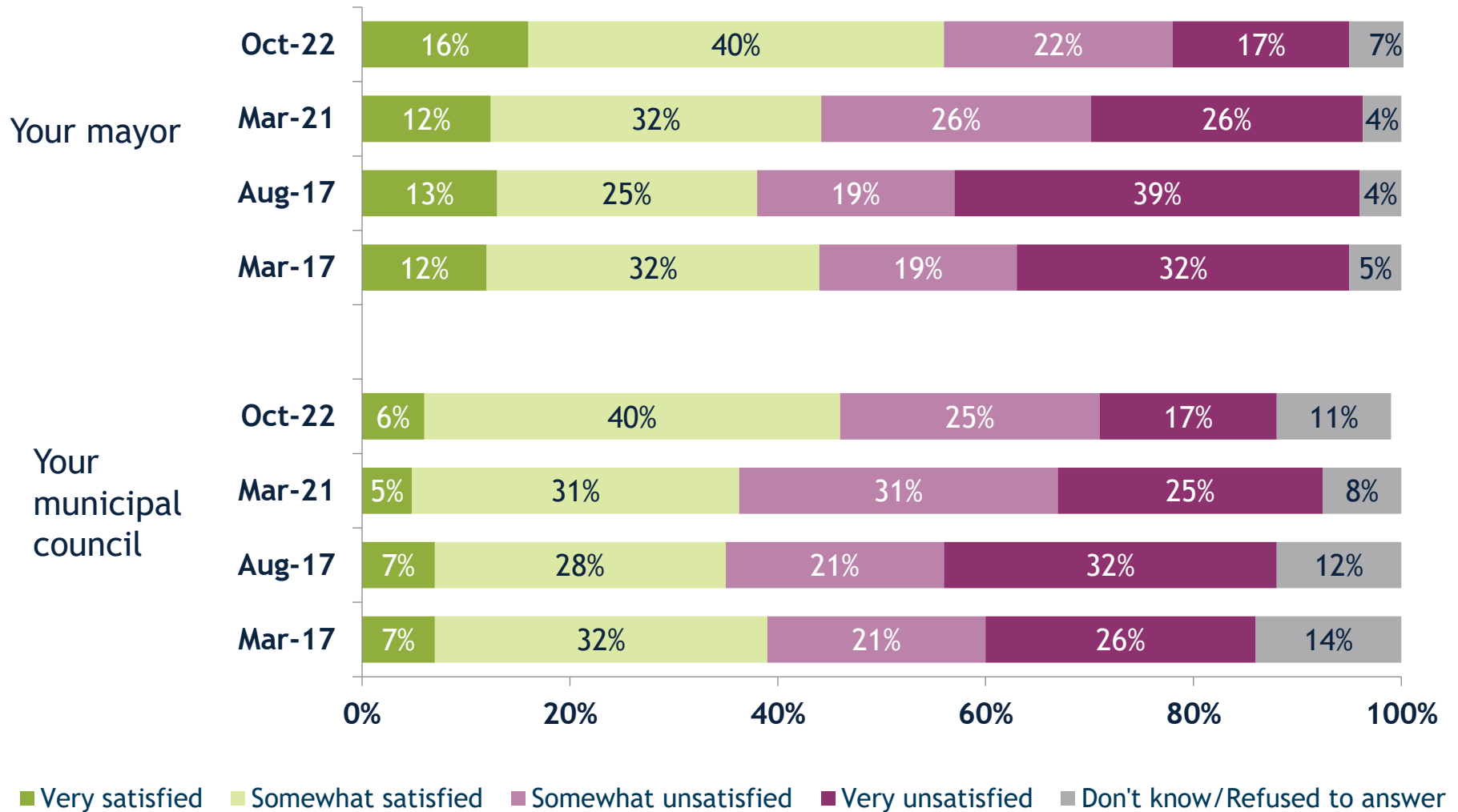


# Overall, are things in your municipality moving in the right or wrong direction?

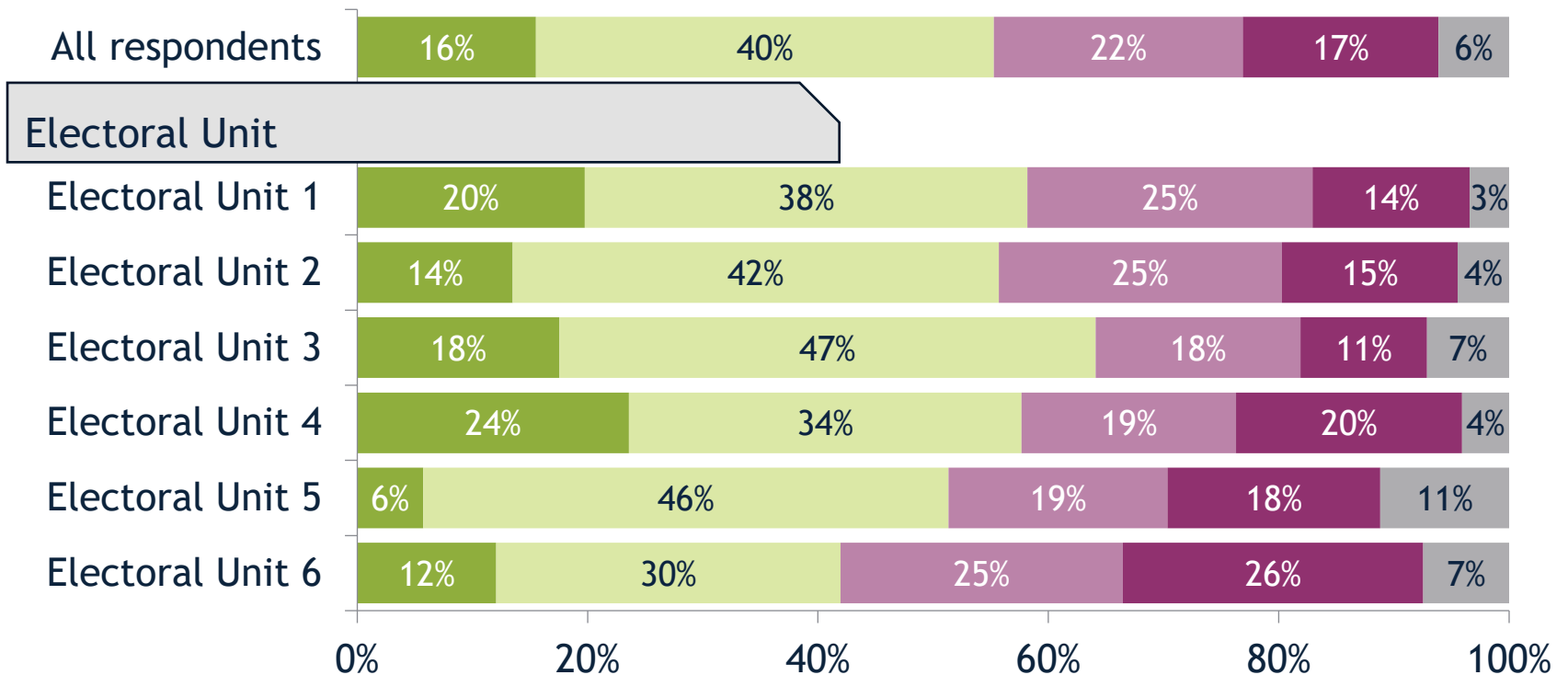


- Right direction
- Wrong direction
- Neutral neither right nor wrong direction
- Don't know/ Refused to answer

## How satisfied or unsatisfied are you with the past performance of each of the following:



# How satisfied or unsatisfied are you with the past performance of your mayor?



■ Very satisfied

■ Somewhat satisfied

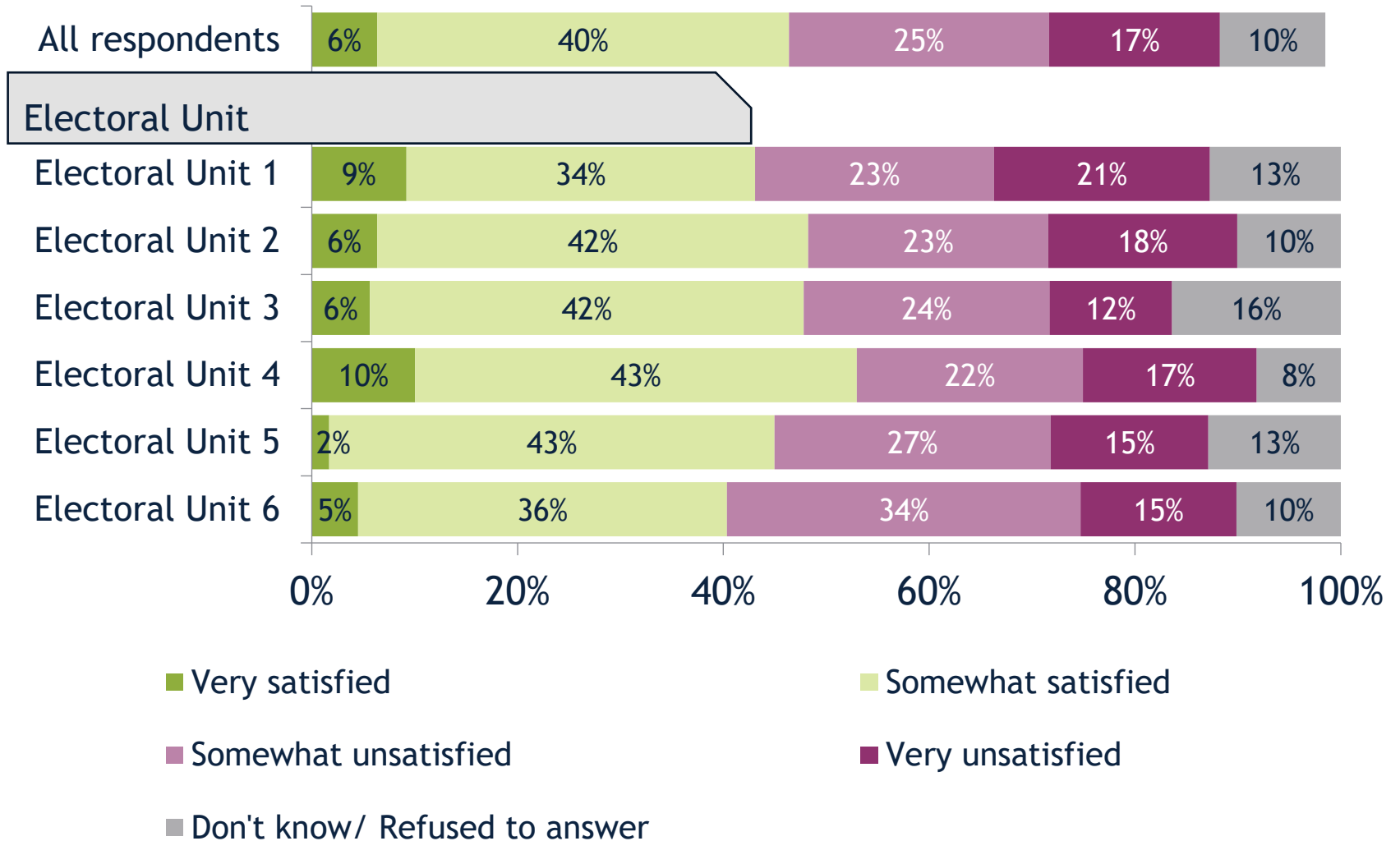
■ Somewhat unsatisfied

■ Very unsatisfied

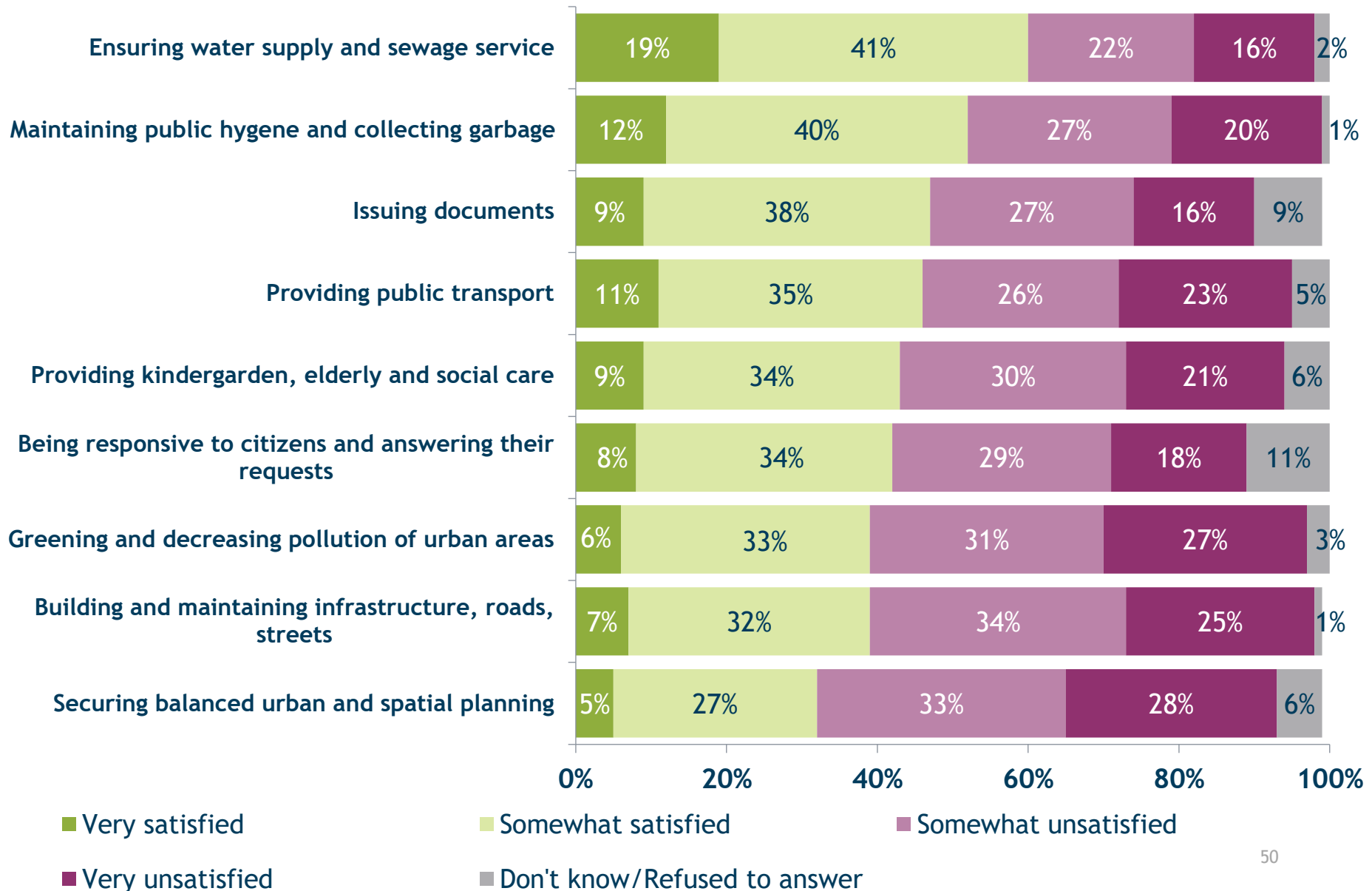
■ Don't know/ Refused to answer



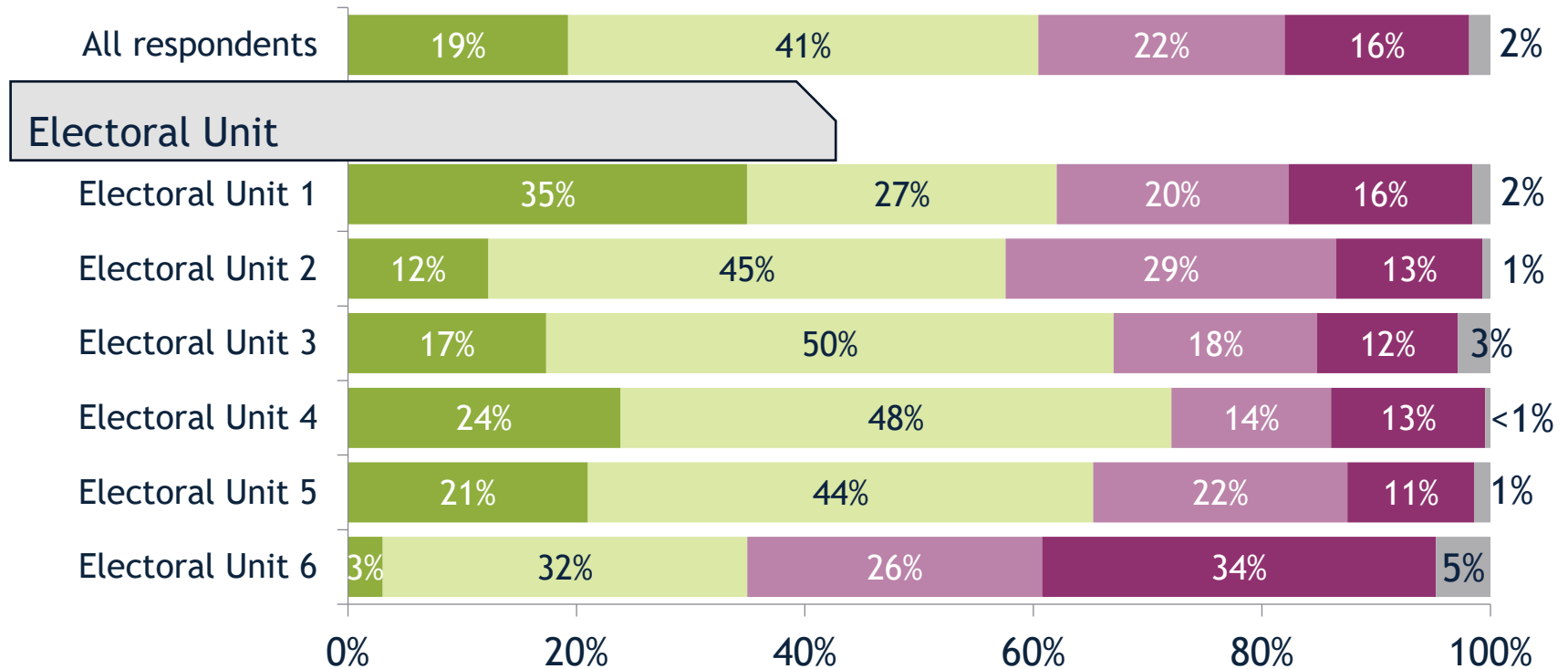
# How satisfied or unsatisfied are you with your municipal council?



# How satisfied or unsatisfied are you with how your municipality performs in ...?

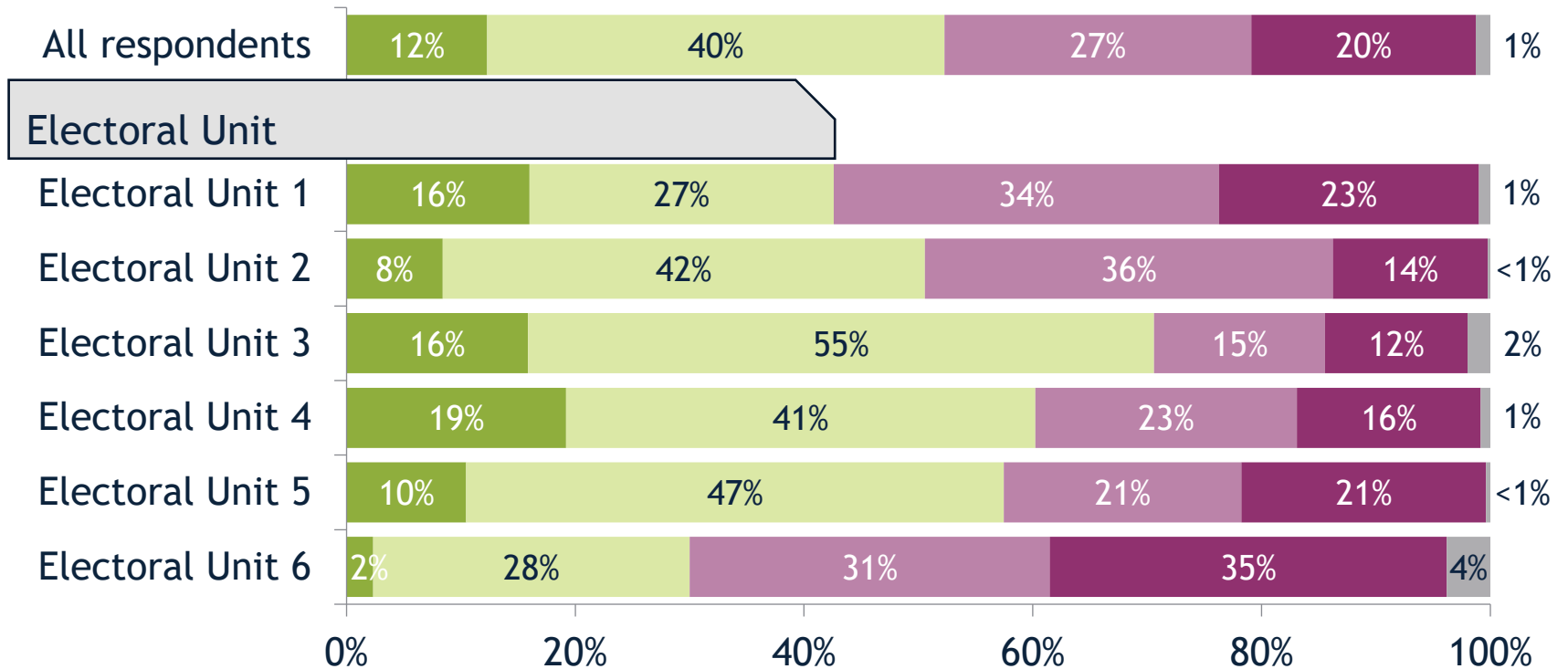


# How satisfied or unsatisfied are you with how your municipality performs in: Ensuring water supply and sewage service



- Very satisfied
- Somewhat satisfied
- Somewhat unsatisfied
- Very unsatisfied
- Don't know/ Refused to answer

# How satisfied or unsatisfied are you with how your municipality performs in: Maintaining public hygiene and collecting garbage



Very satisfied

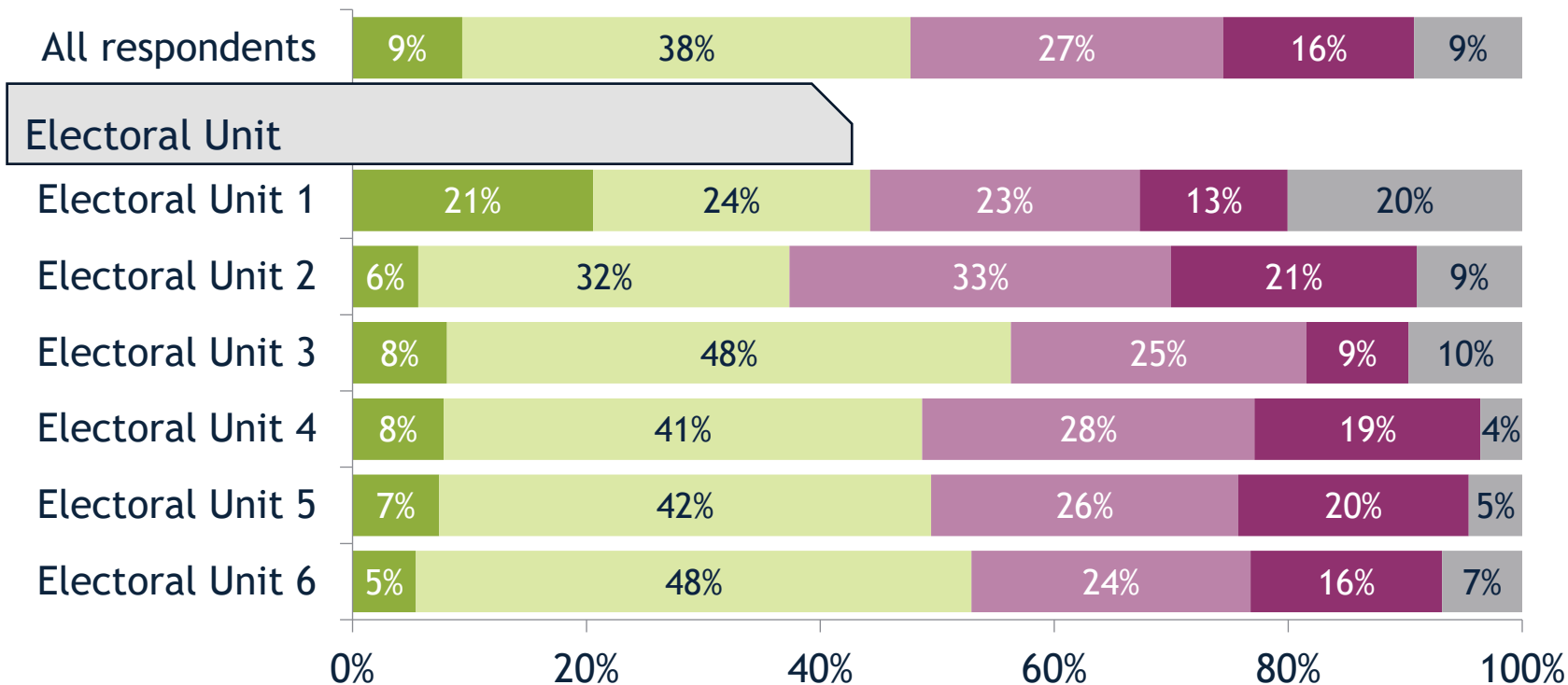
Somewhat satisfied

Somewhat unsatisfied

Very unsatisfied

Don't know/ Refused to answer

# How satisfied or unsatisfied are you with how your municipality performs in: Issuing documents



Very satisfied

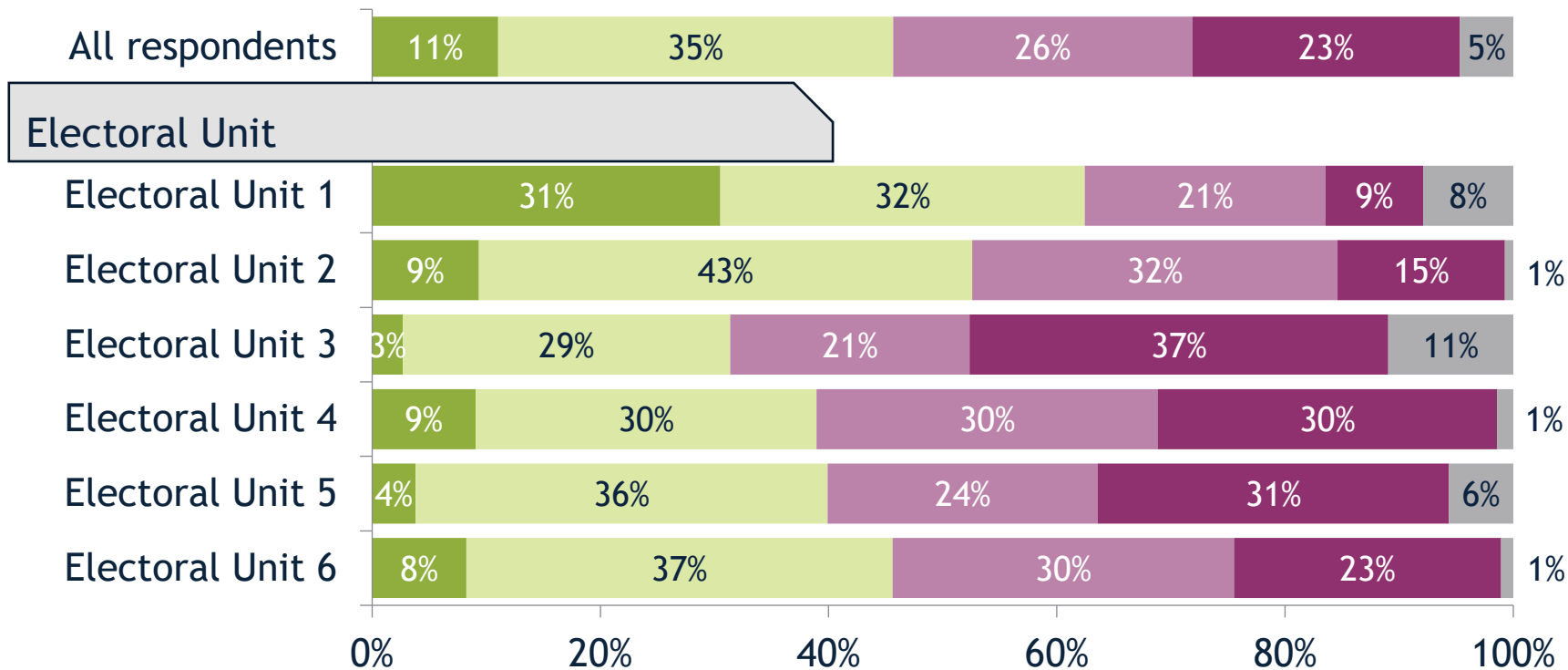
Somewhat satisfied

Somewhat unsatisfied

Very unsatisfied

Don't know/ Refused to answer

# How satisfied or unsatisfied are you with how your municipality performs in: Providing public transport



Very satisfied

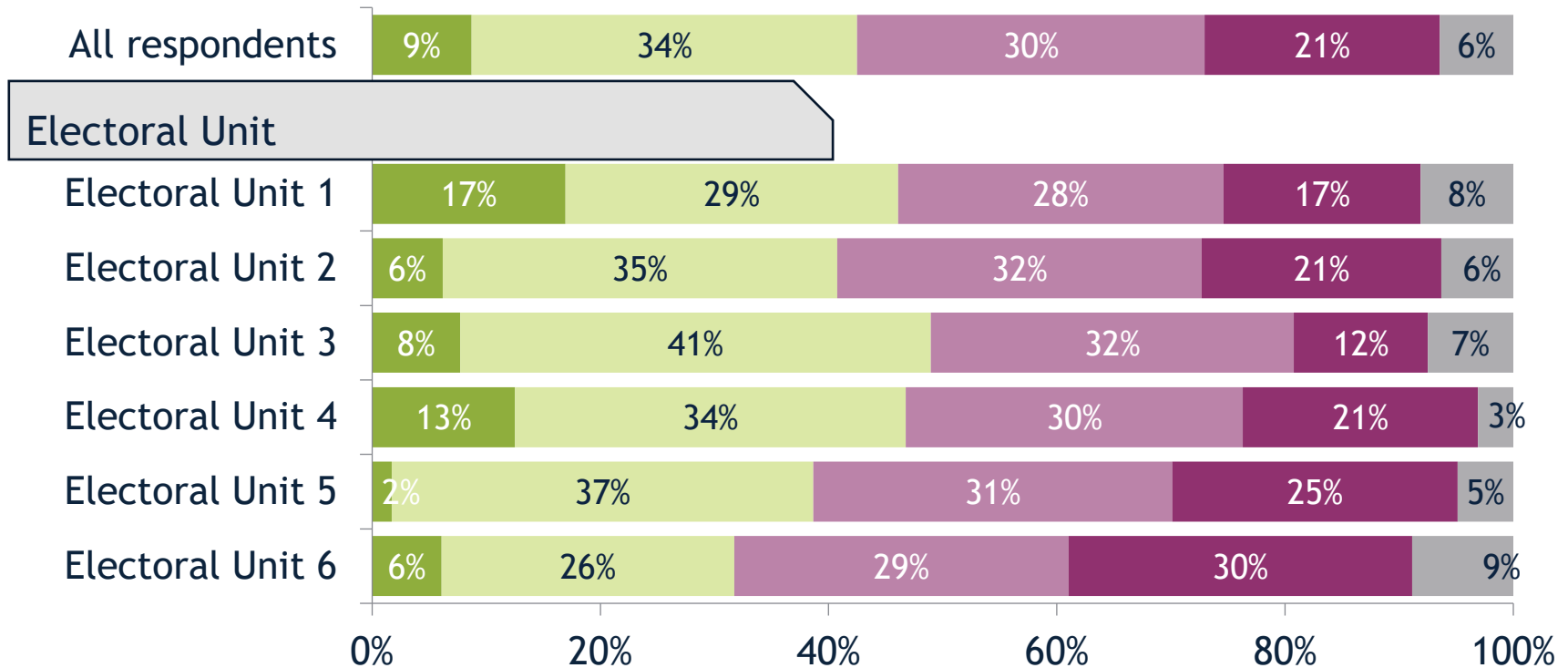
Somewhat satisfied

Somewhat unsatisfied

Very unsatisfied

Don't know/ Refused to answer

# How satisfied or unsatisfied are you with how your municipality performs in: Providing kindergarten, elderly and social care



Very satisfied

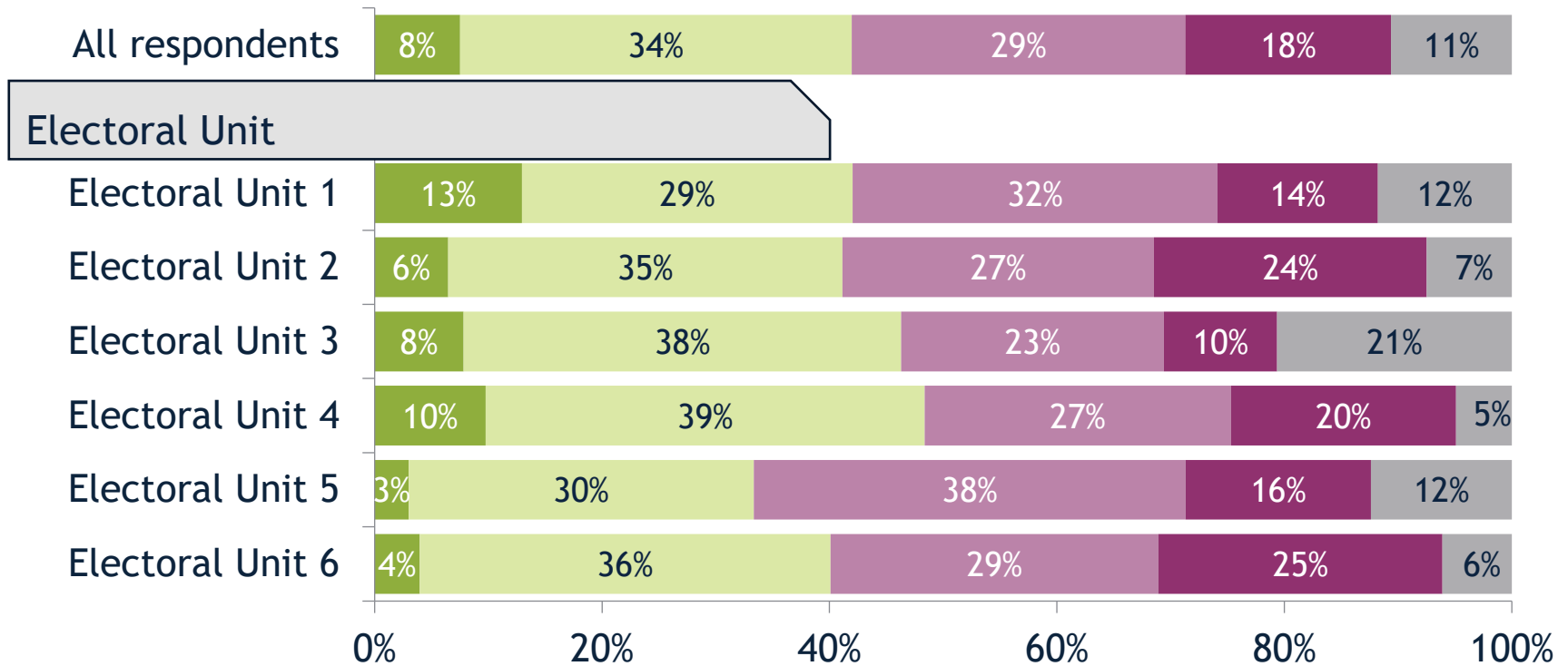
Somewhat satisfied

Somewhat unsatisfied

Very unsatisfied

Don't know/ Refused to answer

# How satisfied or unsatisfied are you with how your municipality performs in: Being responsive to citizens and answering their requests



Very satisfied

Somewhat satisfied

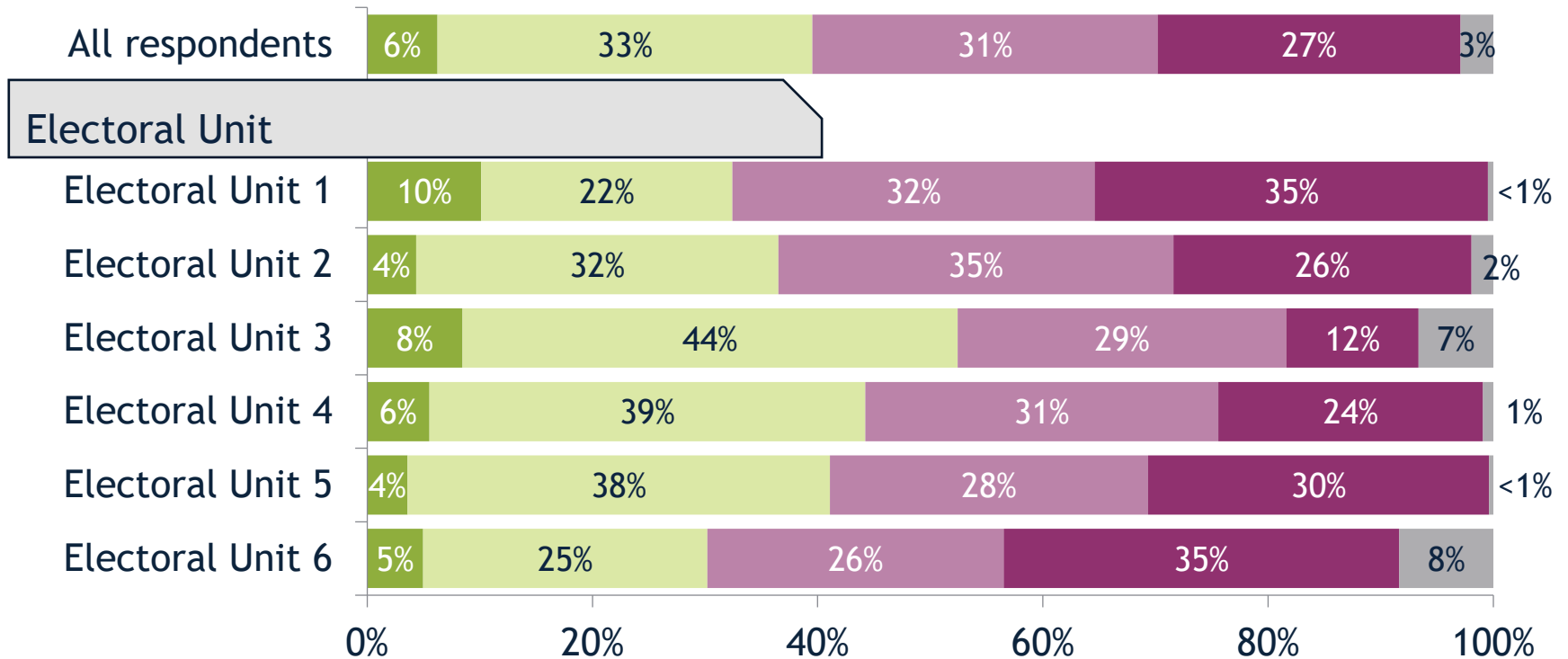
Somewhat unsatisfied

Very unsatisfied

Don't know/ Refused to answer



# How satisfied or unsatisfied are you with how your municipality performs in: Greening and decreasing pollution of urban areas



Very satisfied

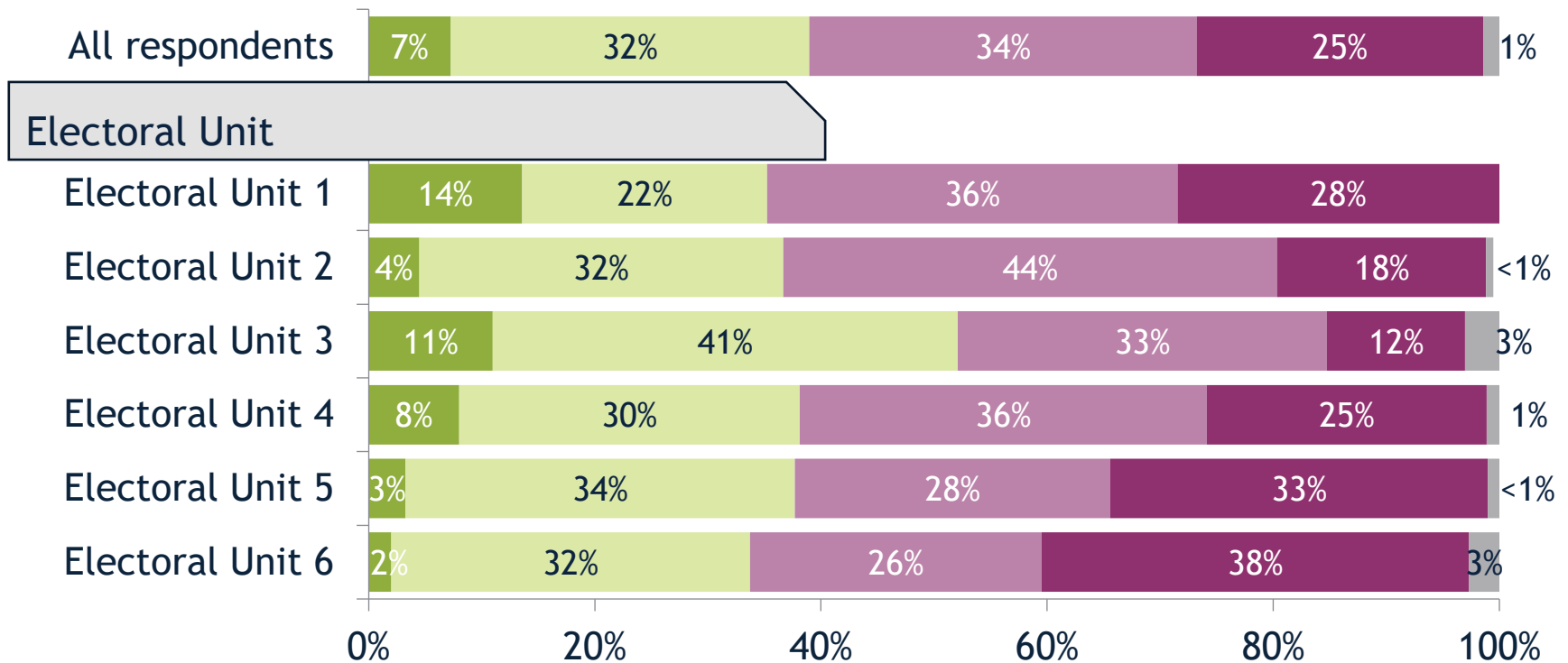
Somewhat satisfied

Somewhat unsatisfied

Very unsatisfied

Don't know/ Refused to answer

# How satisfied or unsatisfied are you with how your municipality performs in: Building and maintaining infrastructure, roads, streets



Very satisfied

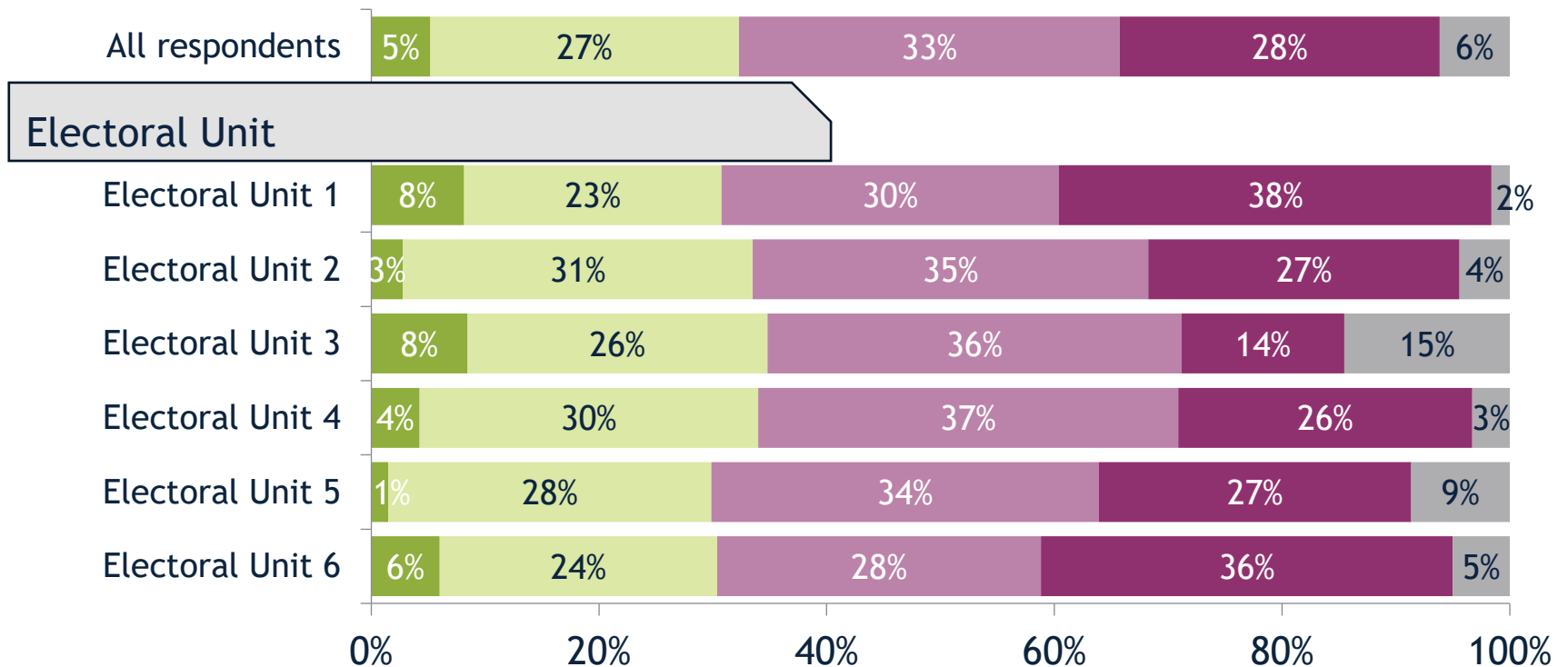
Somewhat satisfied

Somewhat unsatisfied

Very unsatisfied

Don't know/ Refused to answer

# How satisfied or unsatisfied are you with how your municipality performs in: Securing balanced urban and spatial planning



Very satisfied

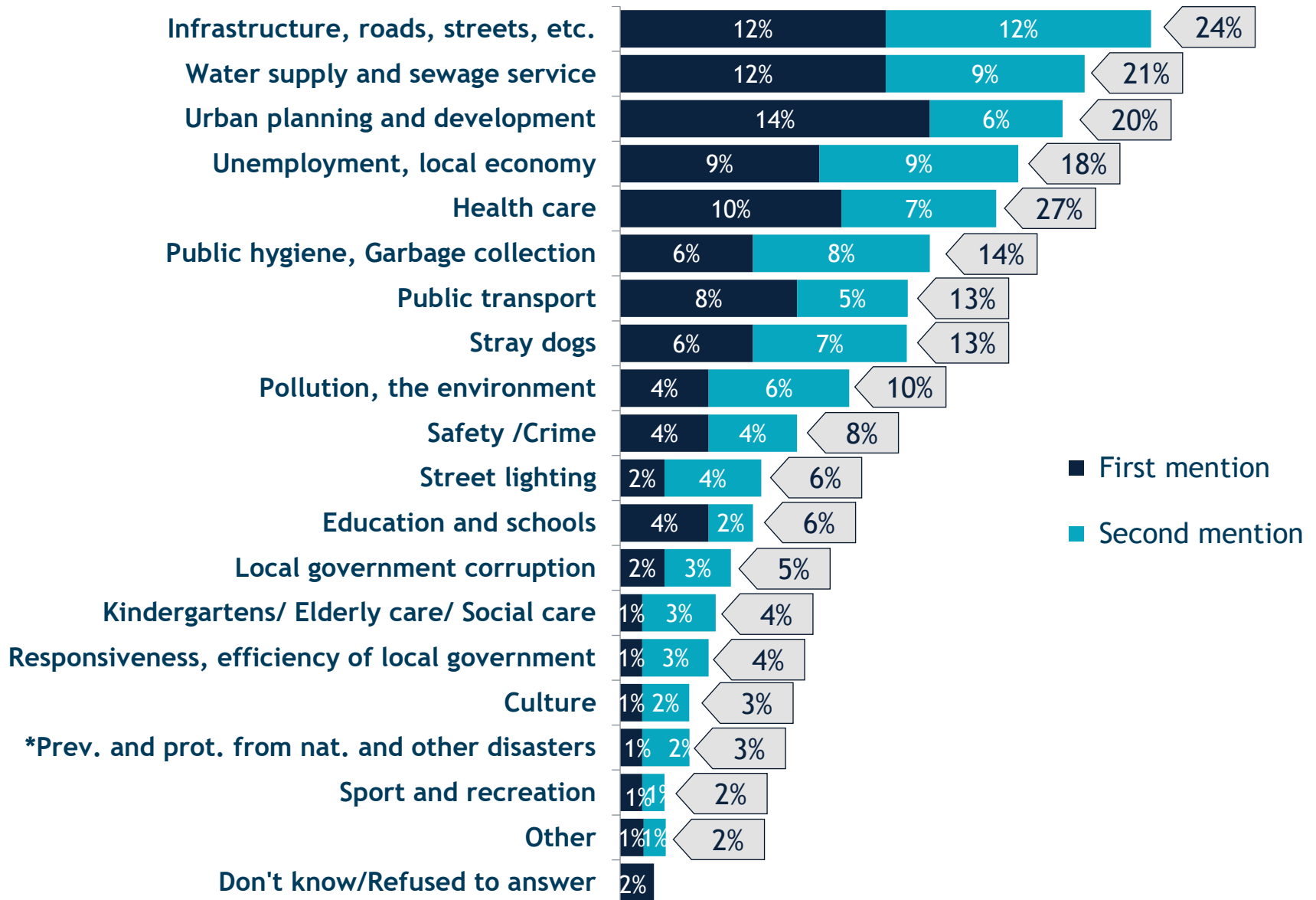
Somewhat satisfied

Somewhat unsatisfied

Very unsatisfied

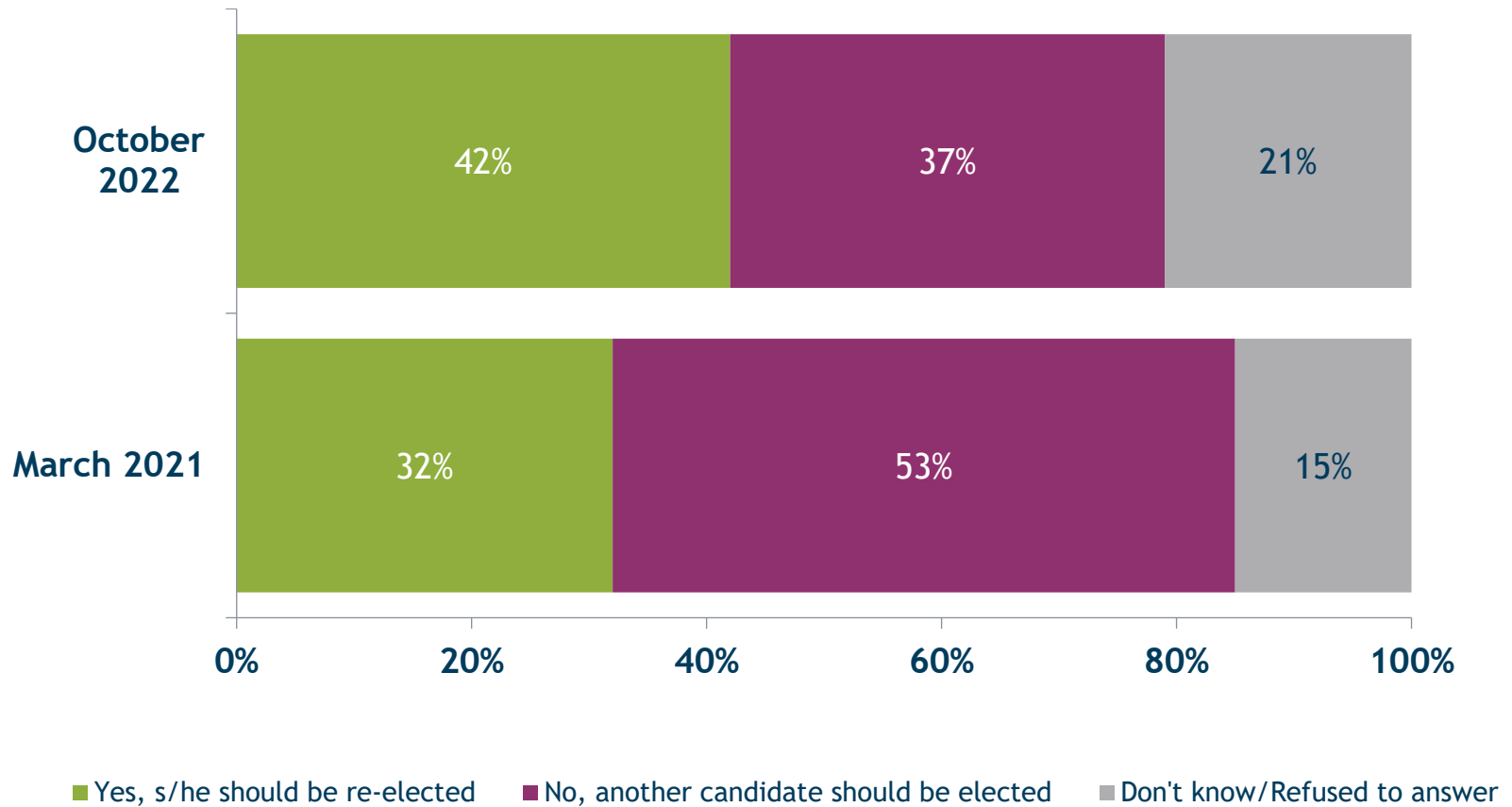
Don't know/ Refused to answer

# In your opinion, what are the most serious problems facing your municipality today?

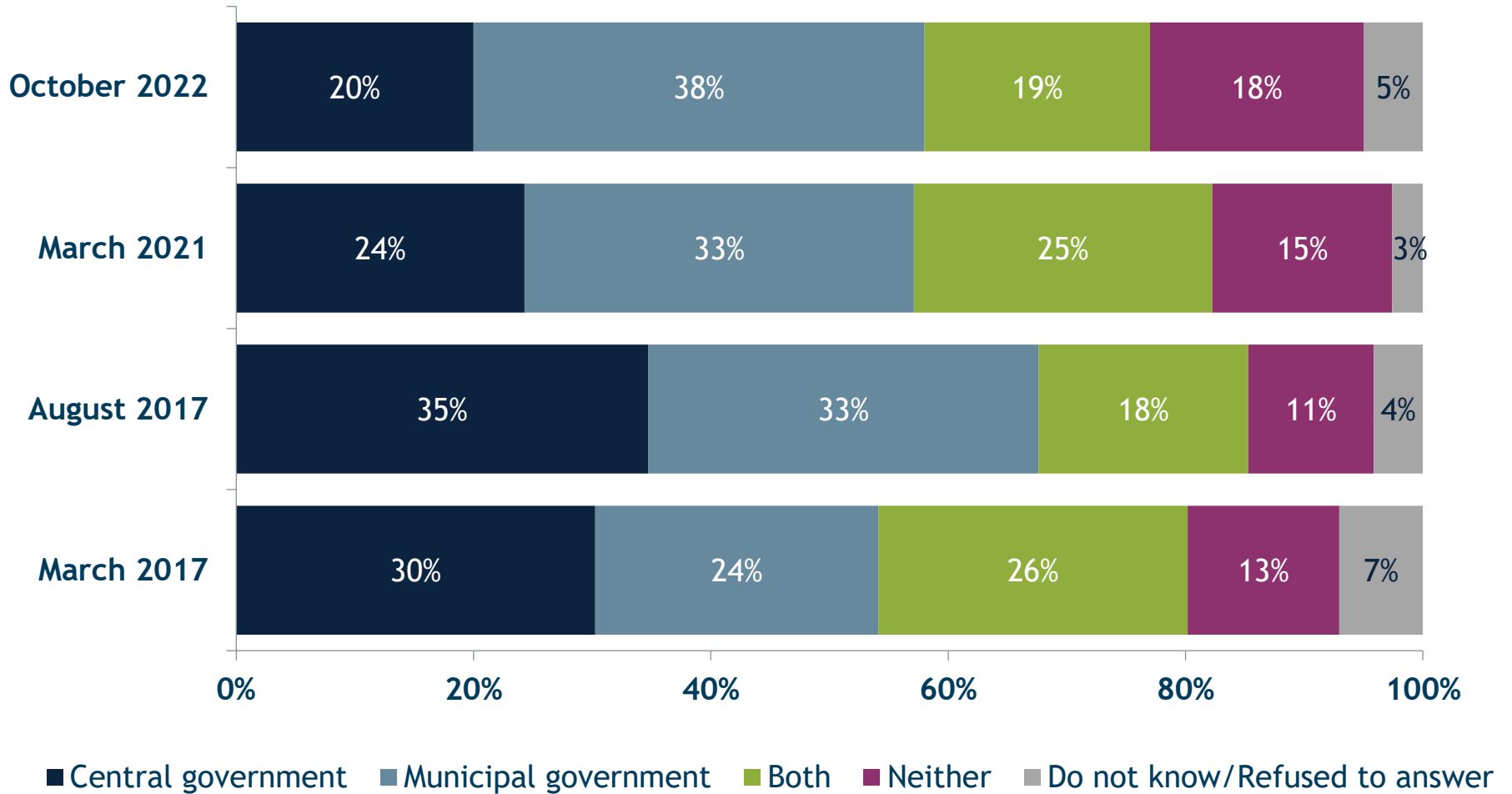


\*Prevention and protection from natural and other disasters

# Does the mayor in your municipality do his/her job well enough to be re-elected or should a new mayor should be elected?

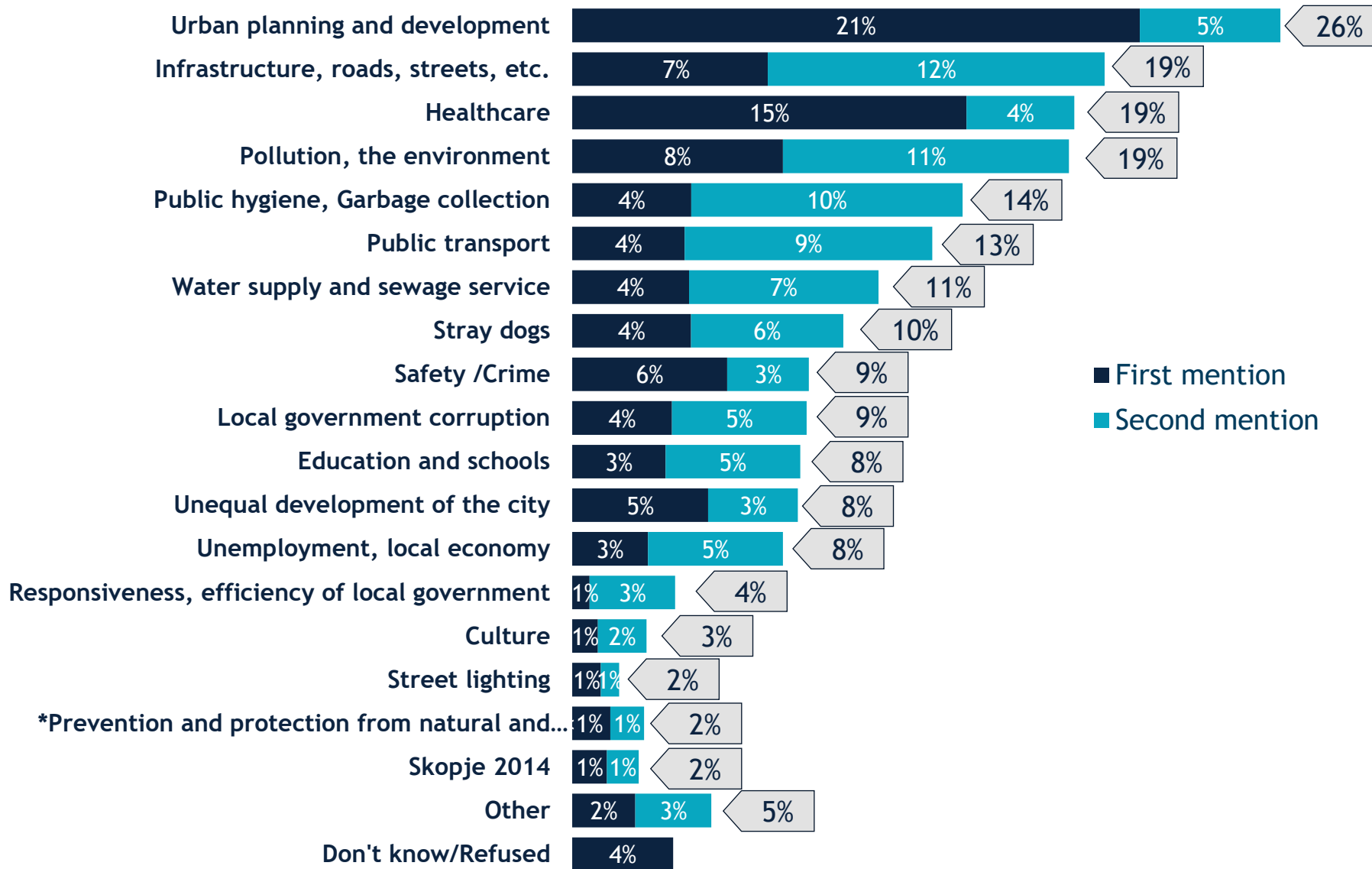


# Which level of government is more responsive to citizen concerns?



# What are the two most serious problems facing Skopje today?

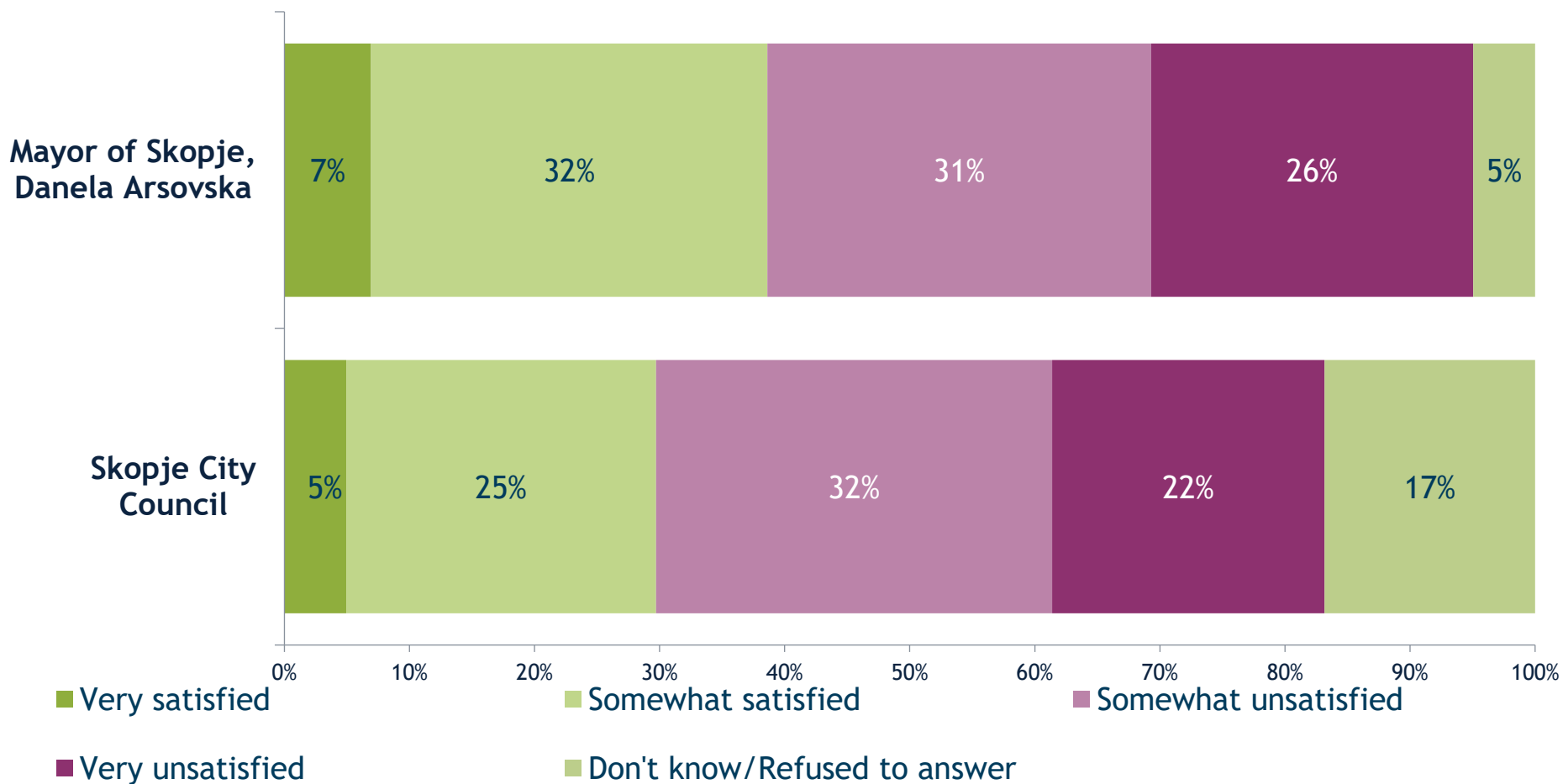
(Respondents from Skopje: n=390; margin of error ±4.96%)



\*Prevention and protection from natural and other disasters  
Responses receiving ≤1% are collapsed into *Other*

# How satisfied or unsatisfied are you with the past performance of each of the following:

(Respondents from Skopje: n=390; margin of error  $\pm 4.96\%$ )

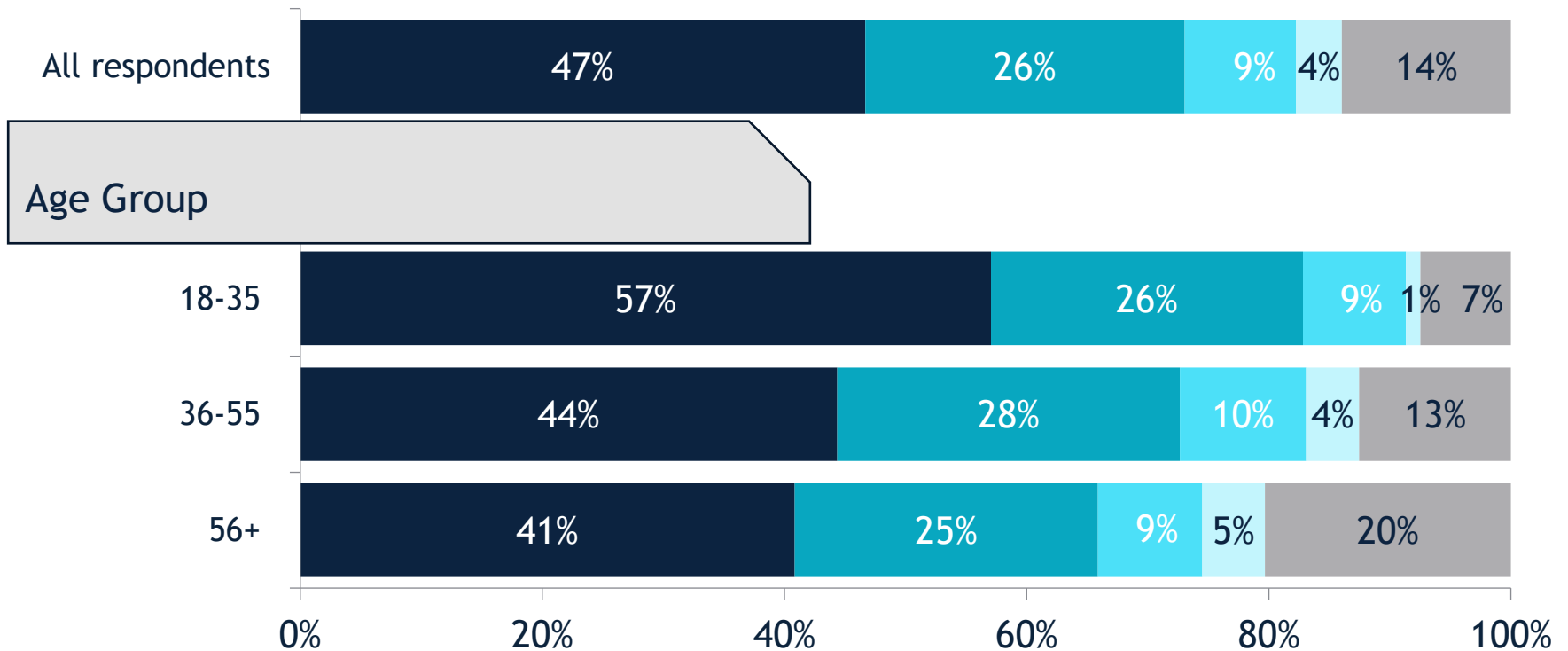




# Attitudes toward Euro-Atlantic Integration and Foreign Relations

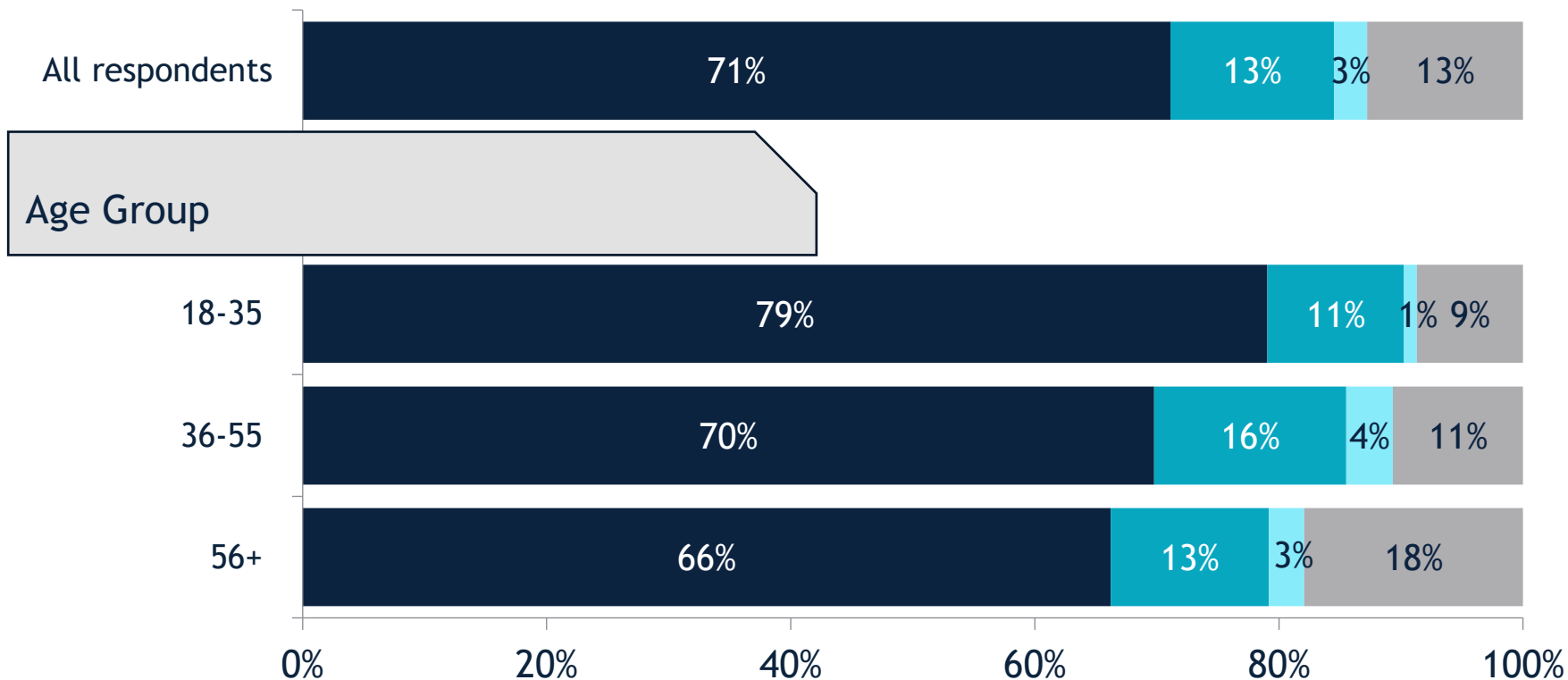


# What should our country foreign policy course be?



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

# If our country could only join one international economic union, which one should it be?



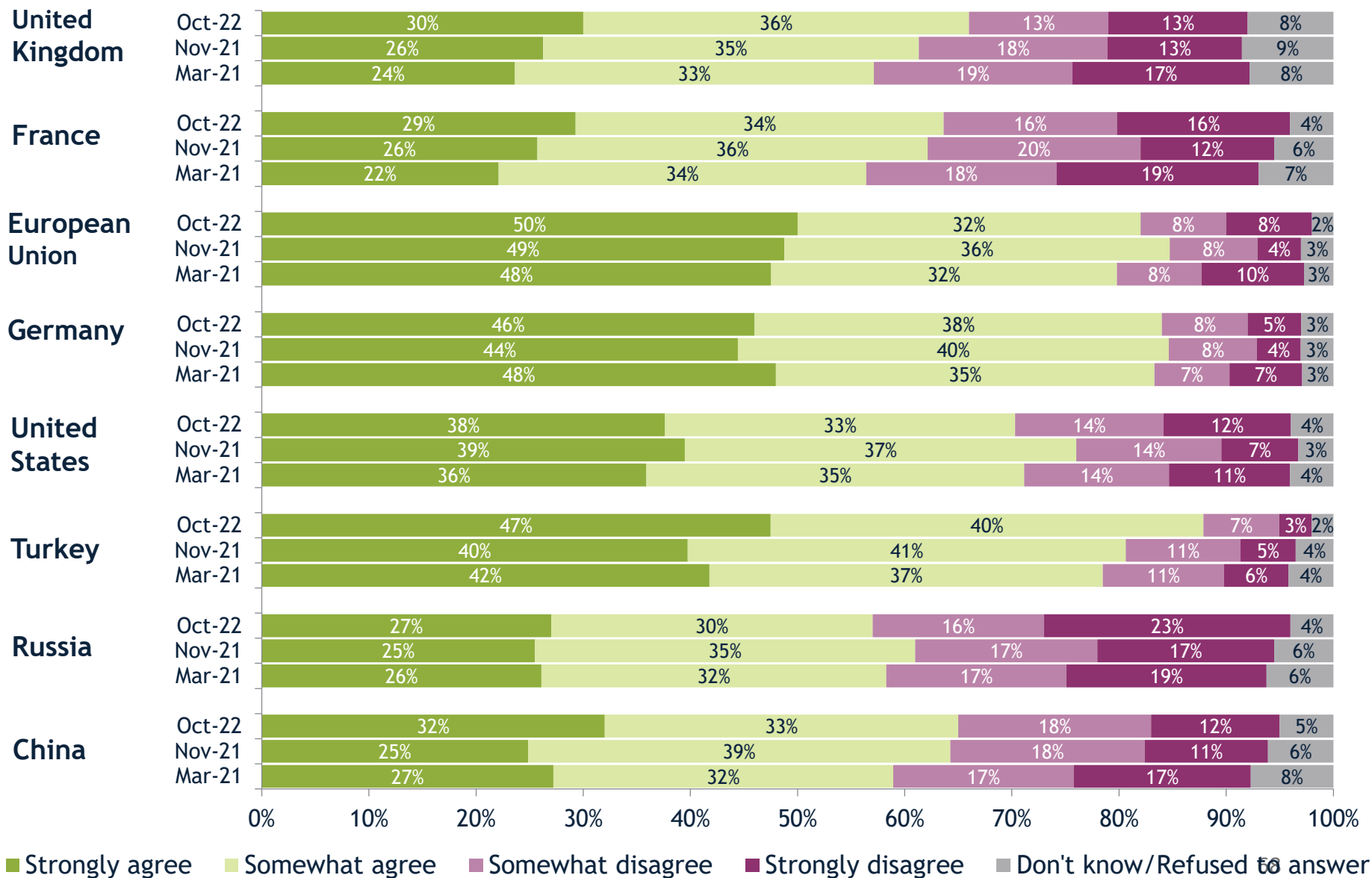
■ The European Union

■ The Eurasian Economic Union, consisted of Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgystan and Russia

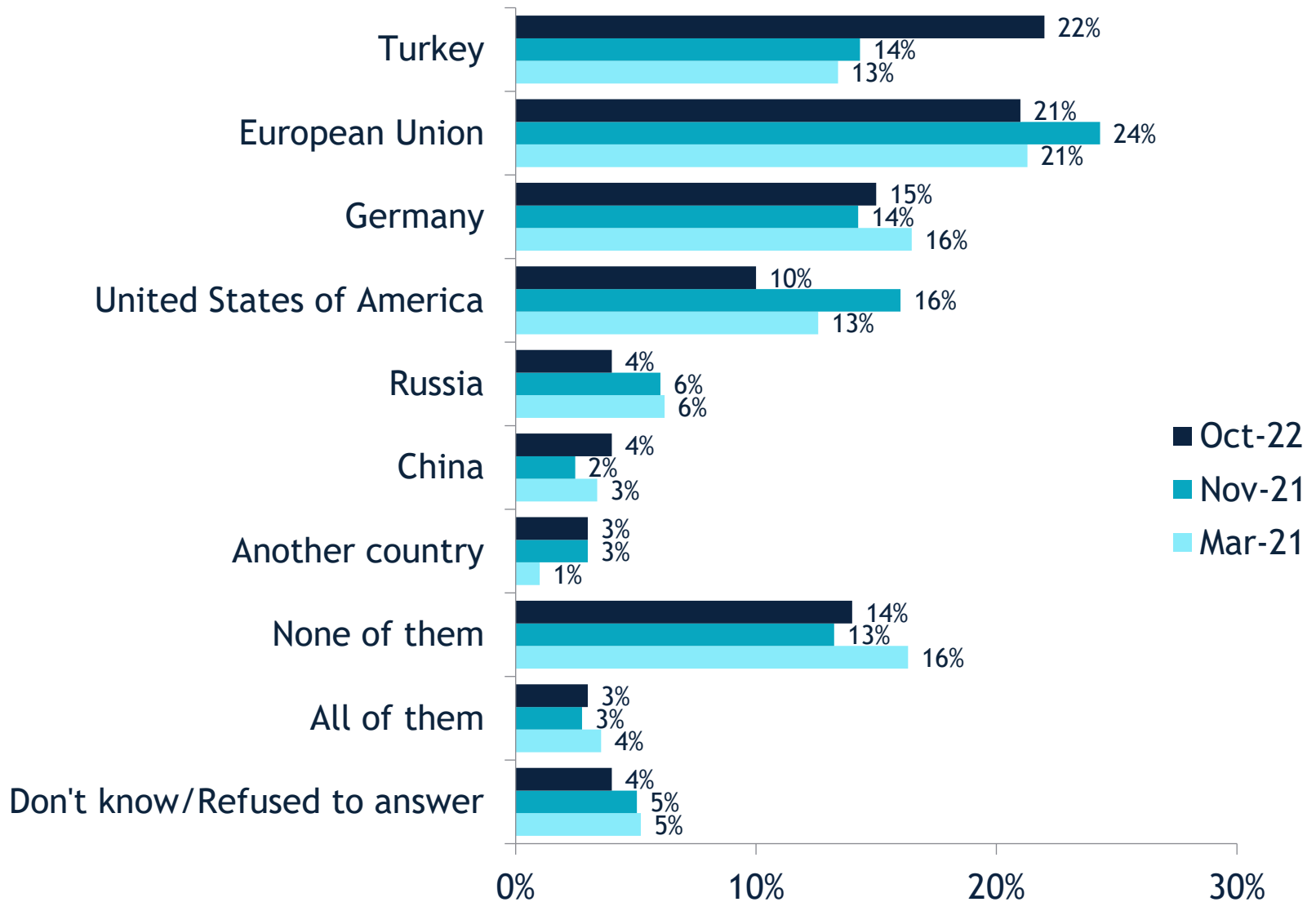
■ Other

■ Don't know/Refused to answer

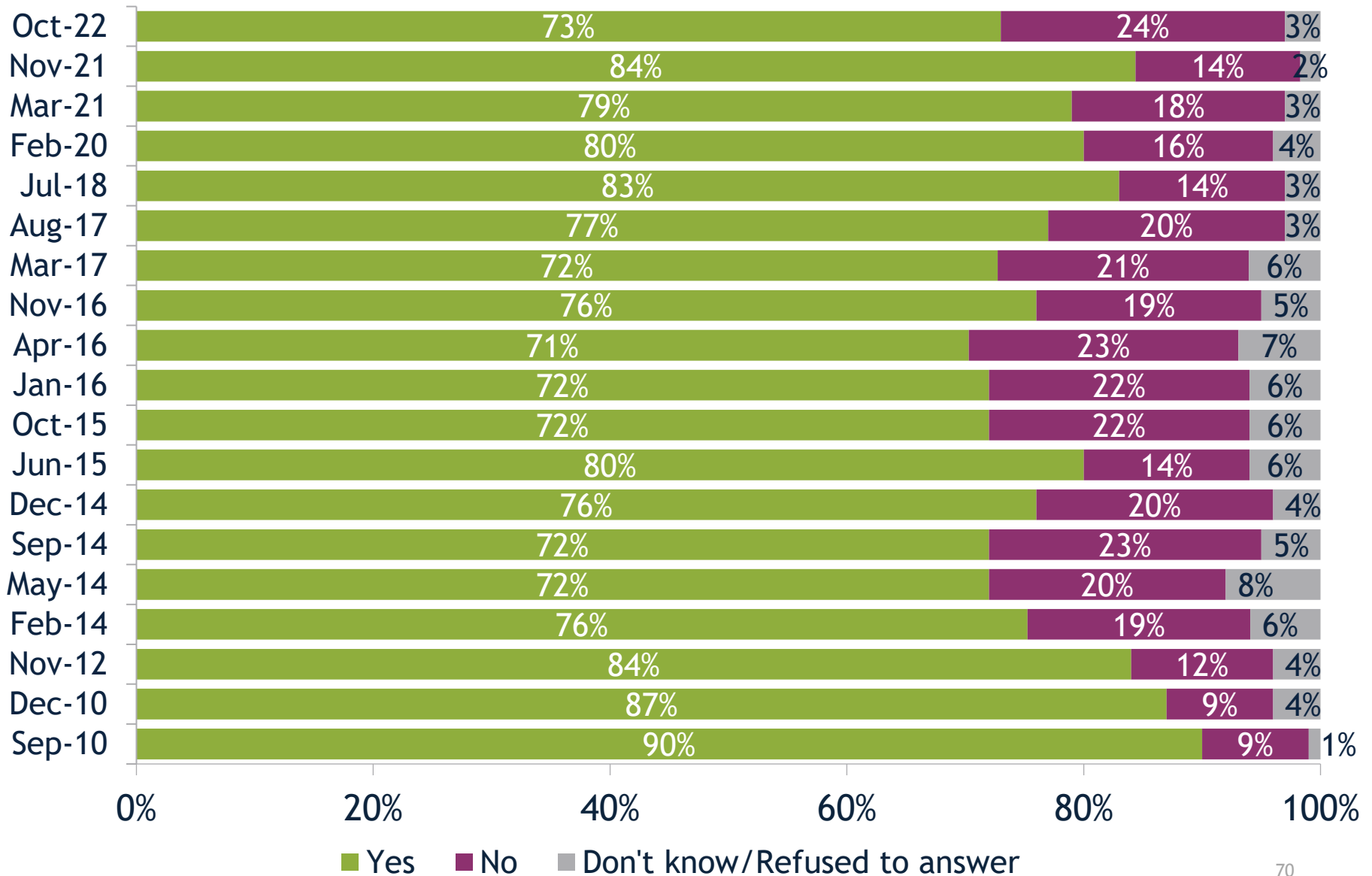
# How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements: “North Macedonia’s interests are best served by maintaining strong relations with...?”



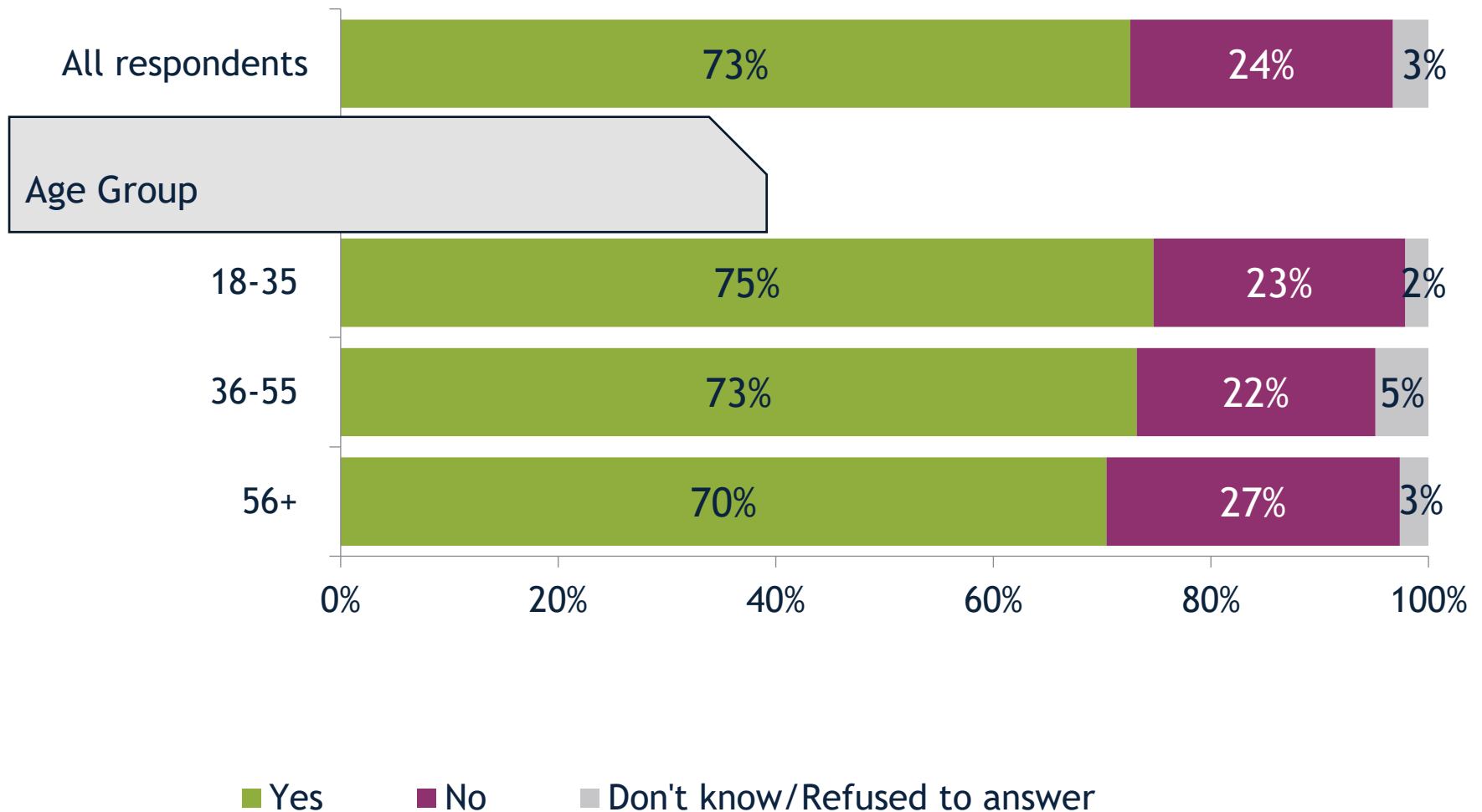
# Which one of these countries (including the EU) helps North Macedonia's national interests the most?



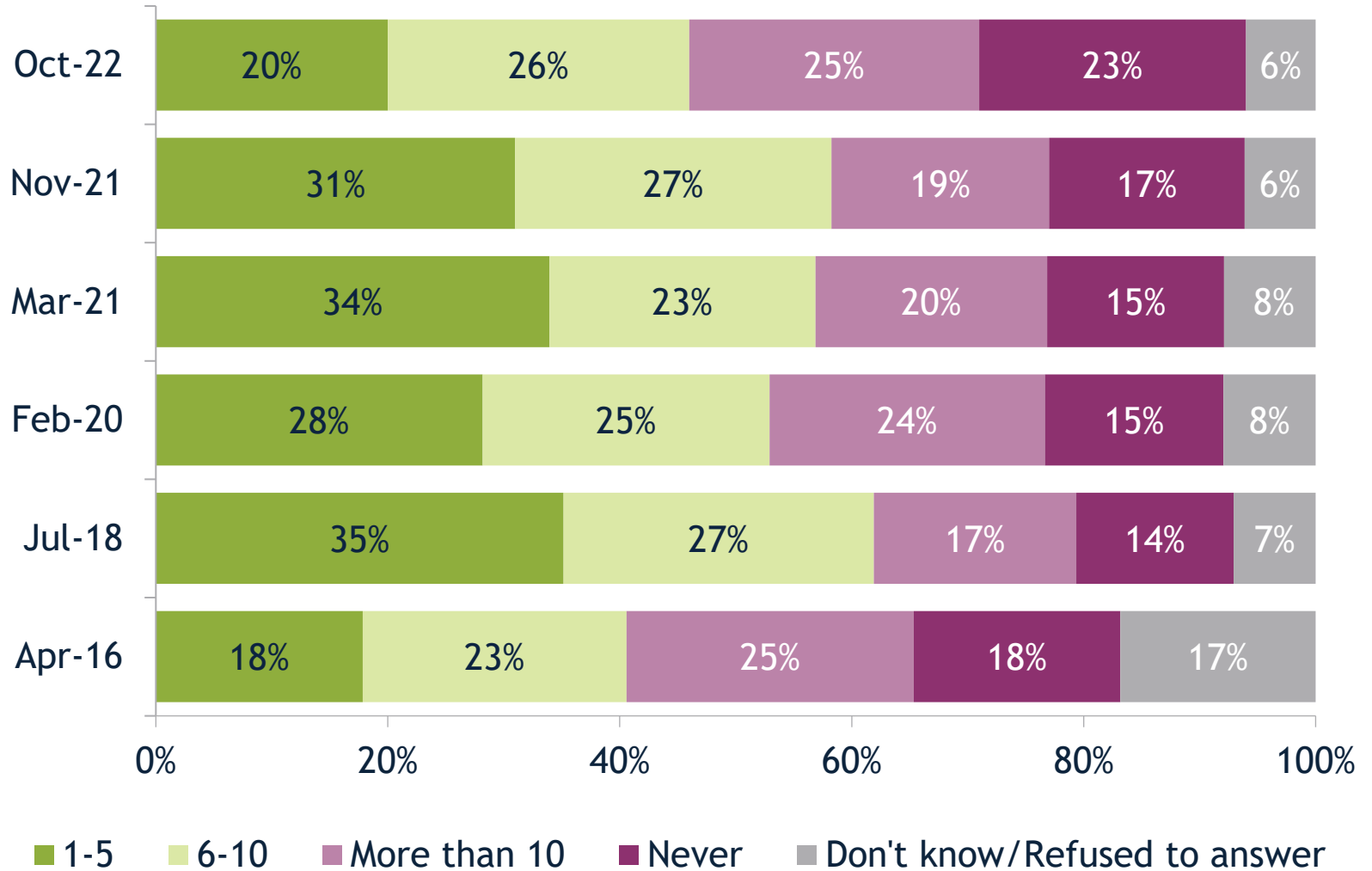
# Do you support North Macedonia becoming a member of the European Union (EU)?



# Do you support North Macedonia becoming a member of the EU?

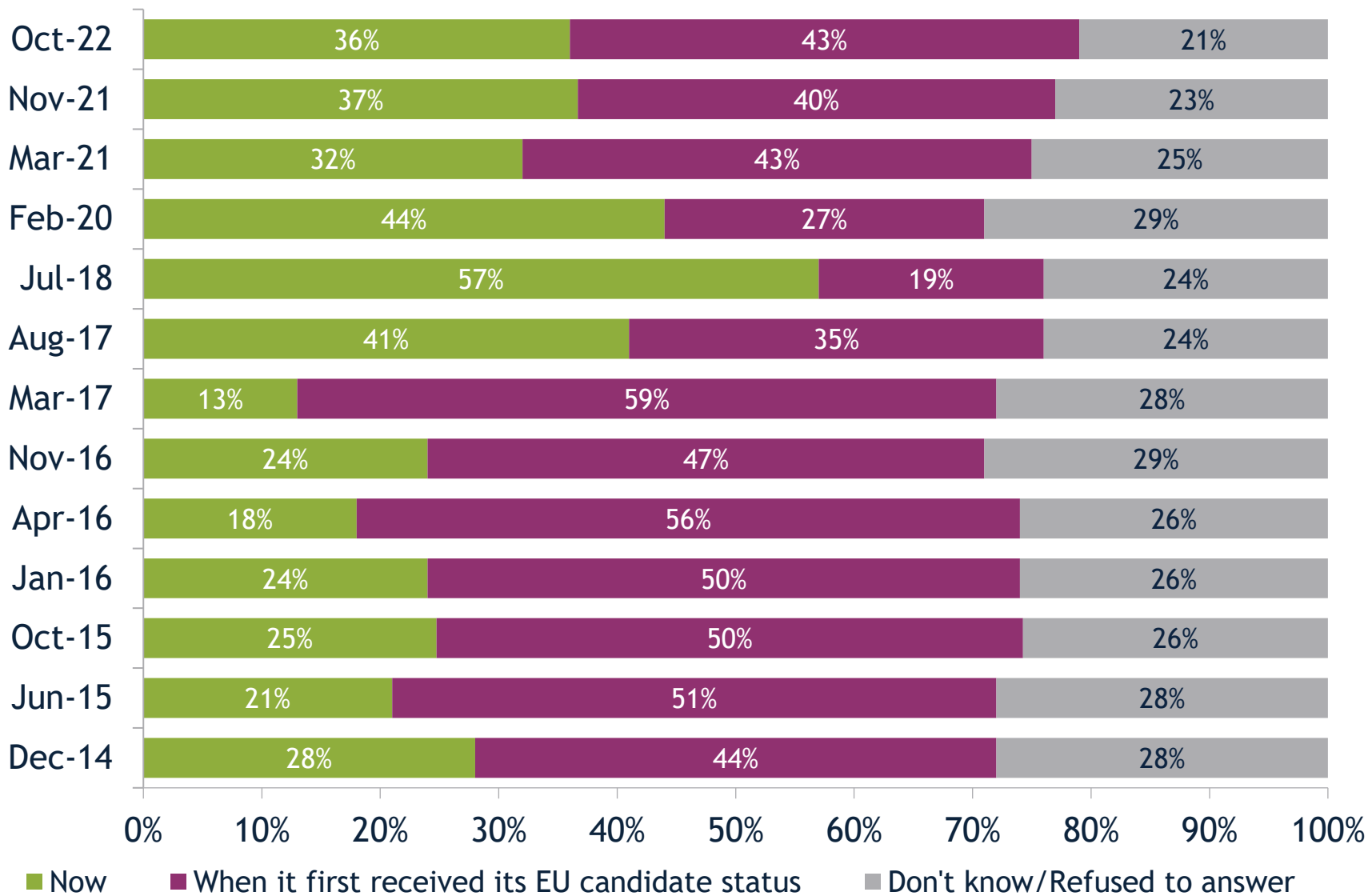


# In how many years do you think North Macedonia will become a member of the EU?





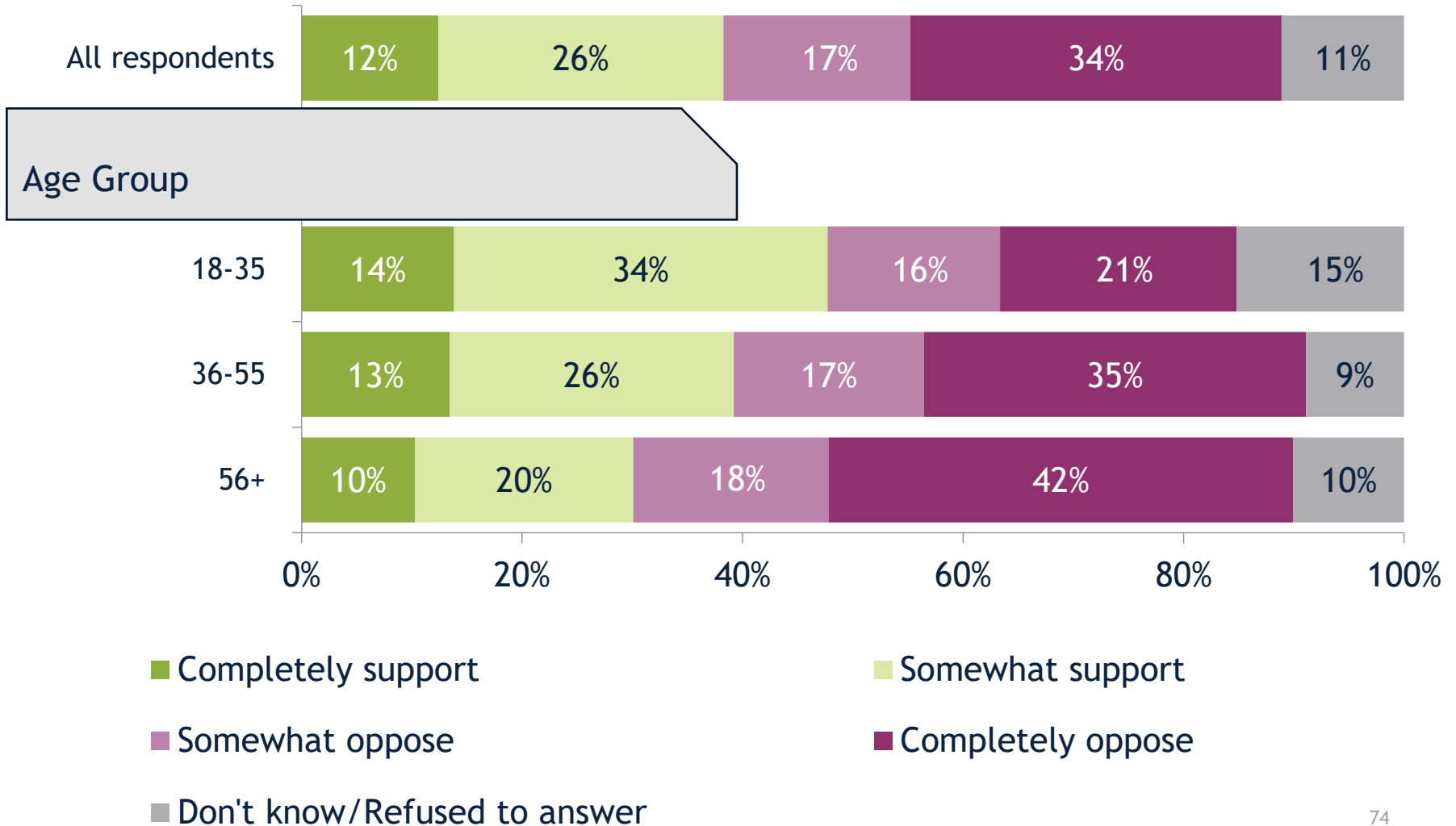
# Do you think North Macedonia is closer to EU entry today, or was it closer when it first received its EU candidate member status?\*



\*First received in December 2005.

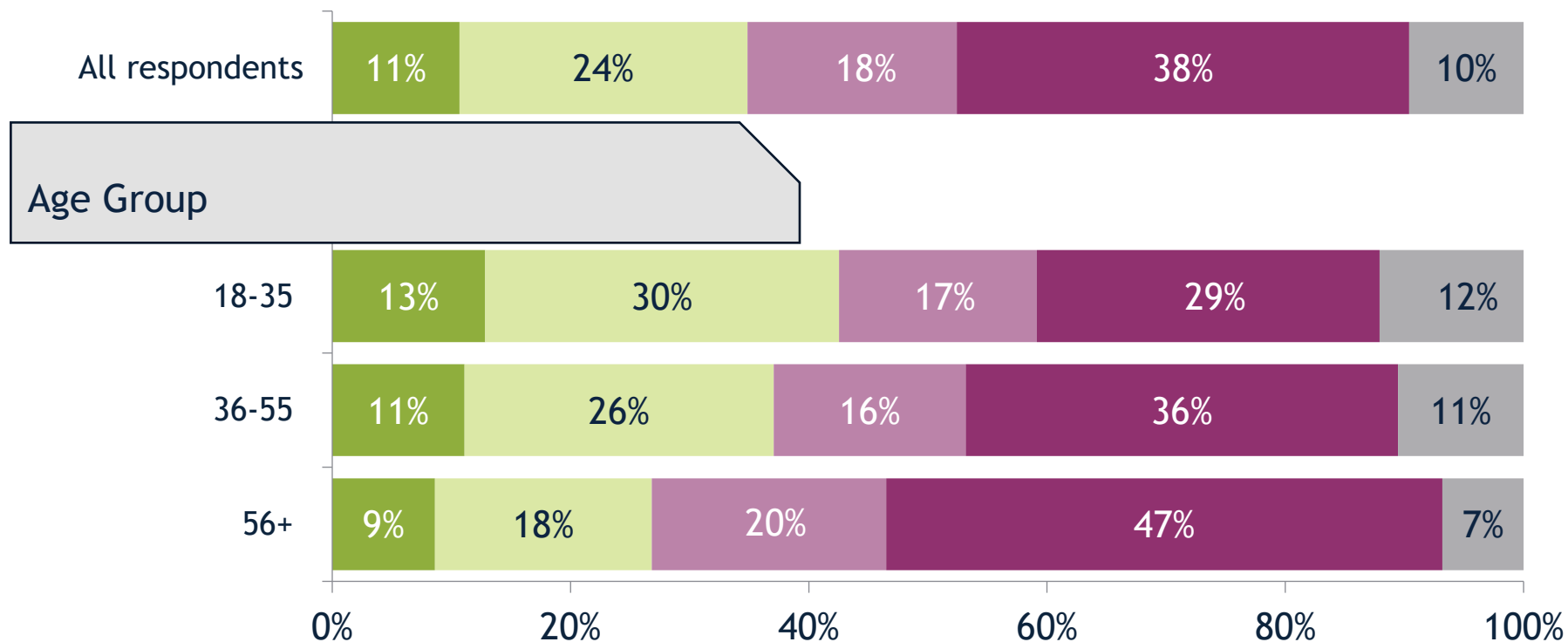
Recently, North Macedonia started the accession negotiation process with the EU under a Negotiation Framework proposed by the French presidency.

Do you support or do you oppose this negotiation process?



# For the EU accession negotiations to continue, North Macedonia has agreed to include the Bulgarian community in its constitution.

## Do you approve or disapprove of this?



■ Completely approve

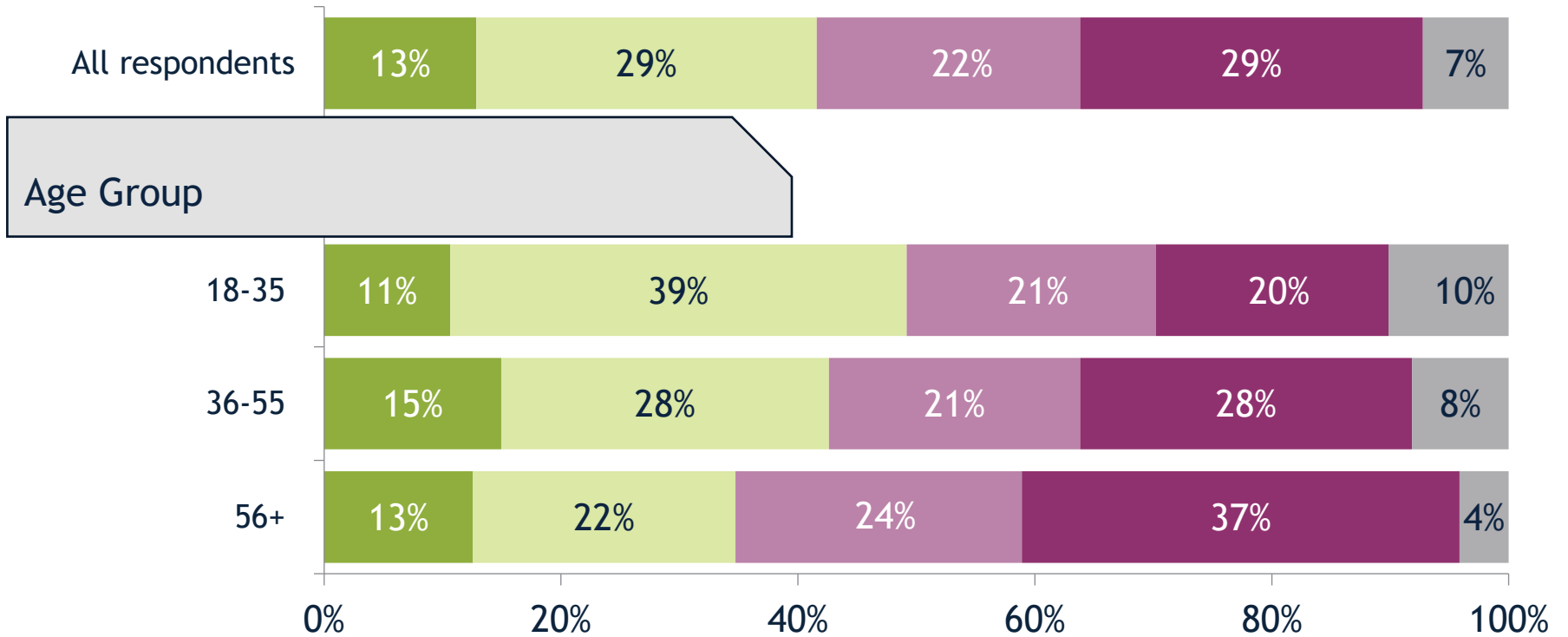
■ Somewhat approve

■ Somewhat disapprove

■ Completely disapprove

■ Don't know/Refused to answer

# In your opinion, is the Macedonian language protected or jeopardized in North Macedonia's accession negotiations with the EU?



- It is completely protected
- It is somewhat jeopardized
- Don't know/Refused to answer

- It is somewhat protected
- It is completely jeopardized

# VMRO-DPMNE proposes holding a referendum on the following question. How will you act?

“Are you in favor of abandoning the validity of the 2018 law on the ratification of the Treaty of Friendship, Good-Neighborliness and Cooperation between North Macedonia and Bulgaria.”



■ I will vote in favor of cancelling the law

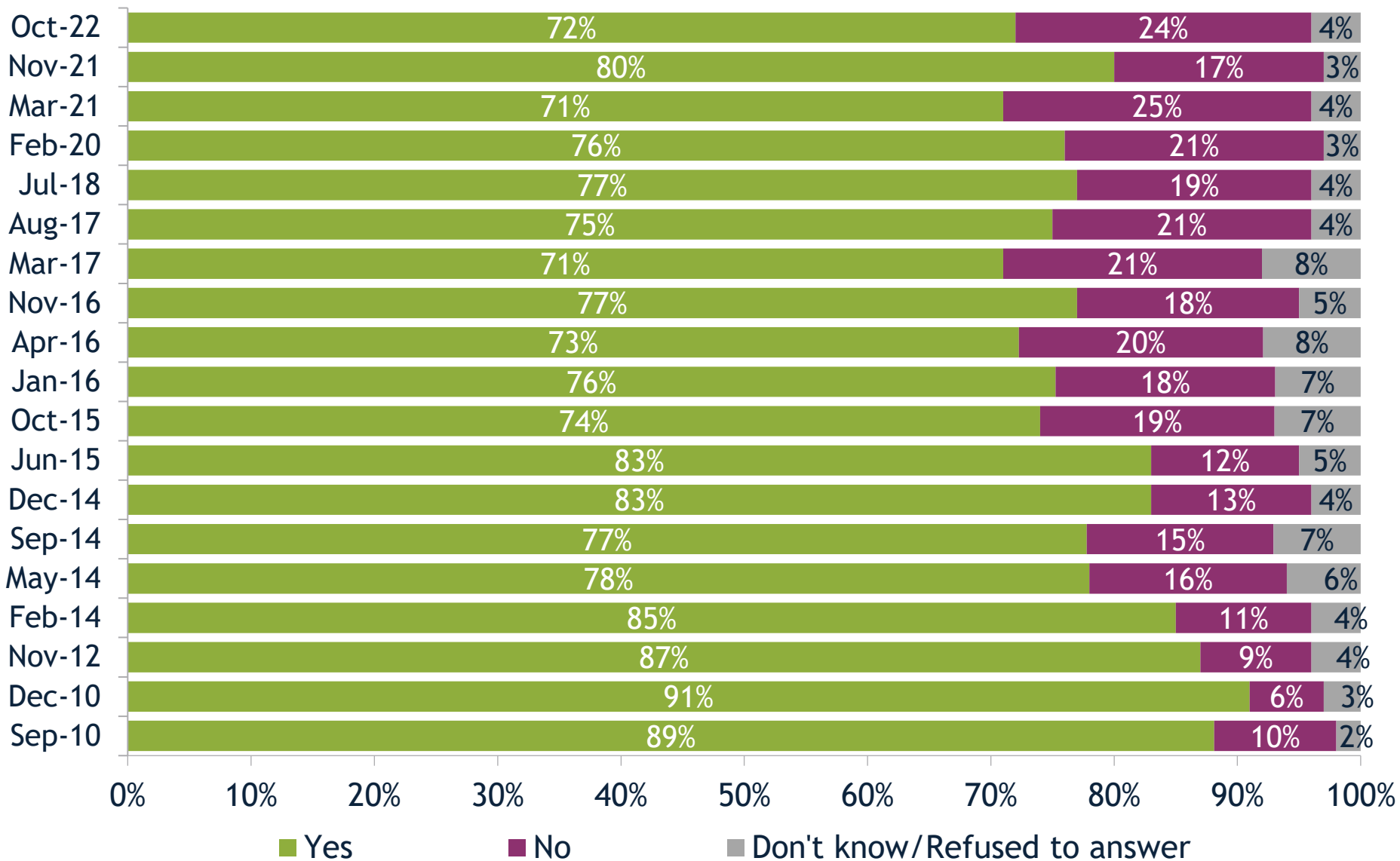
■ I will vote against cancelling the law

■ I will not come out to vote

■ I will destroy my ballot

■ Don't know/Refused to answer

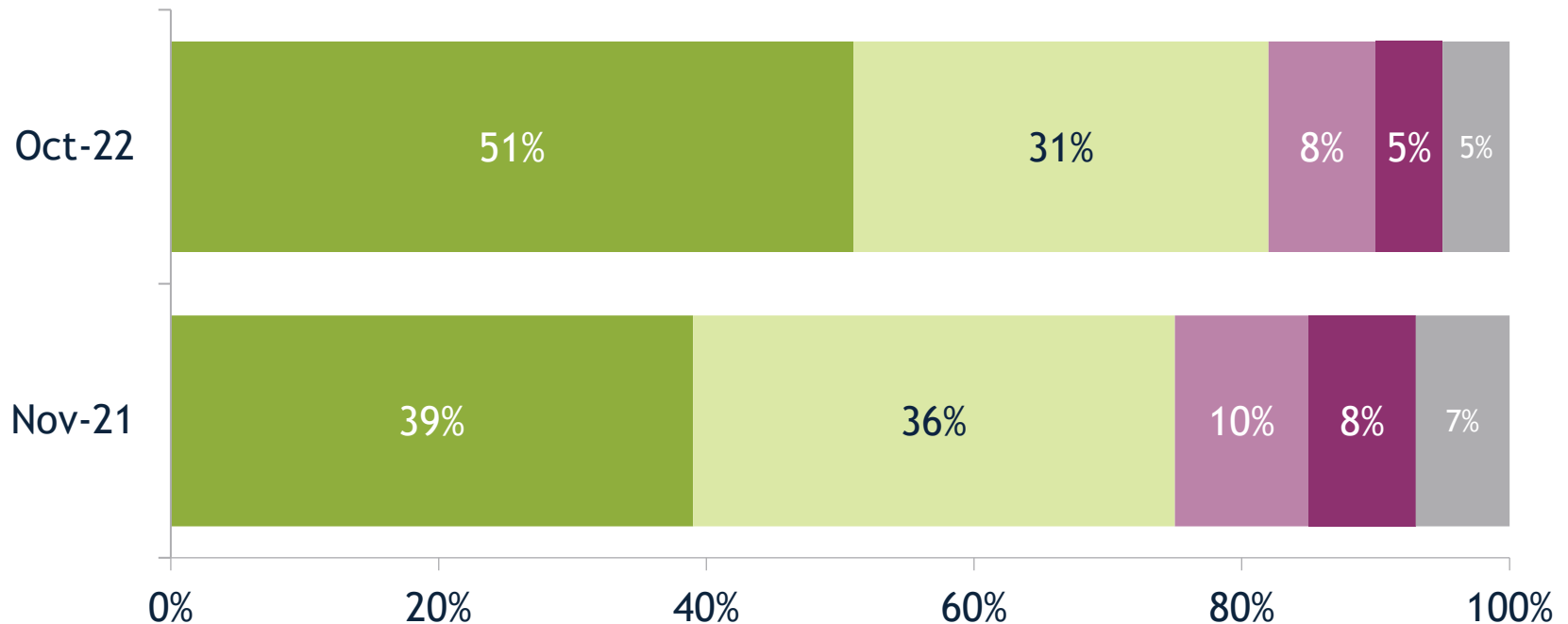
# Do you support North Macedonia's membership in NATO? (Before March 2021, the question was "...becoming a member of NATO"?)



\*North Macedonia became a member of NATO on March 27, 2020.

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?



■ Completely support the initiative

■ Somewhat support the initiative

■ Somewhat do not support the initiative

■ Completely do not support the initiative

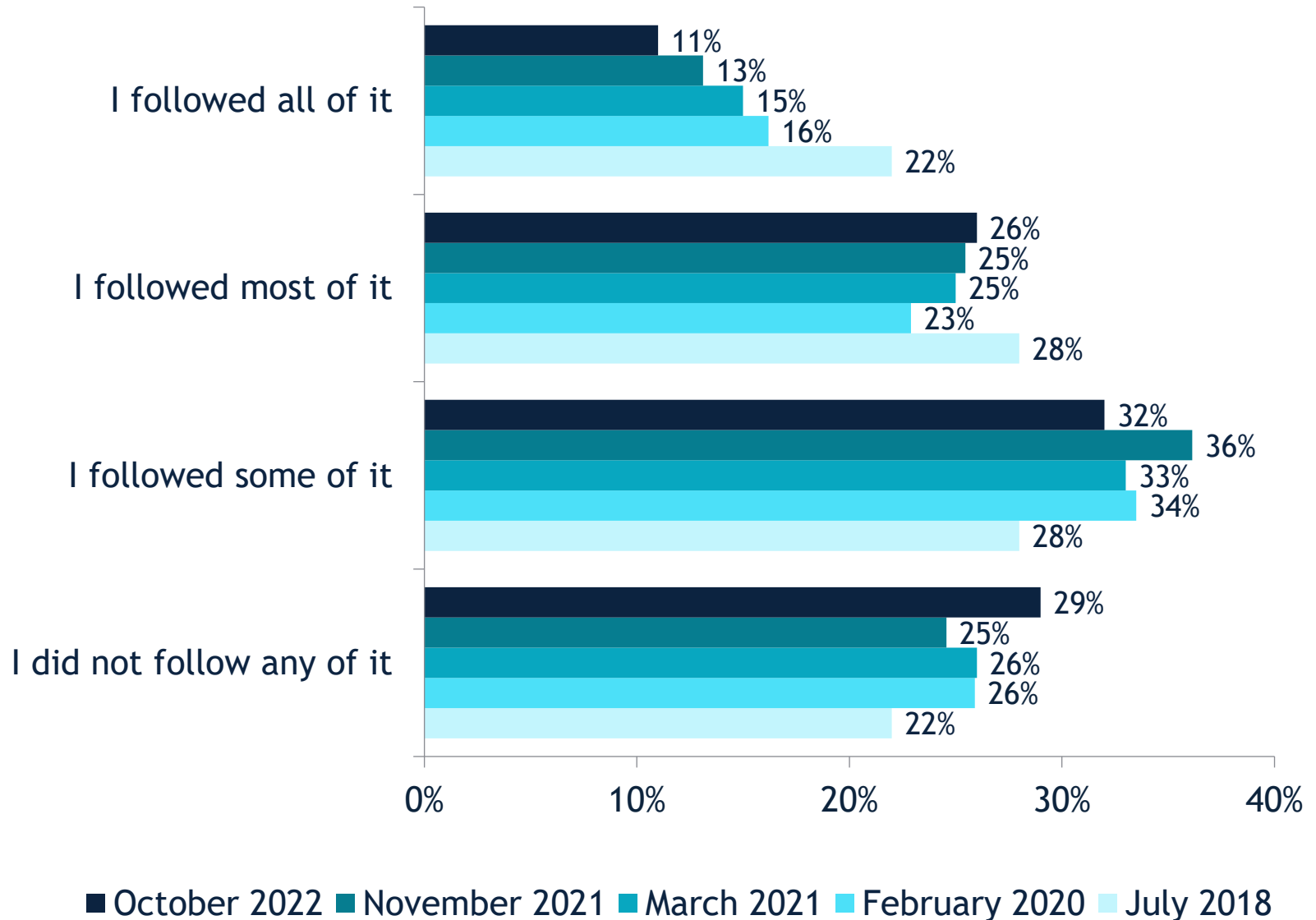
■ Don't know/Refused to answer

# Sources of Political Information



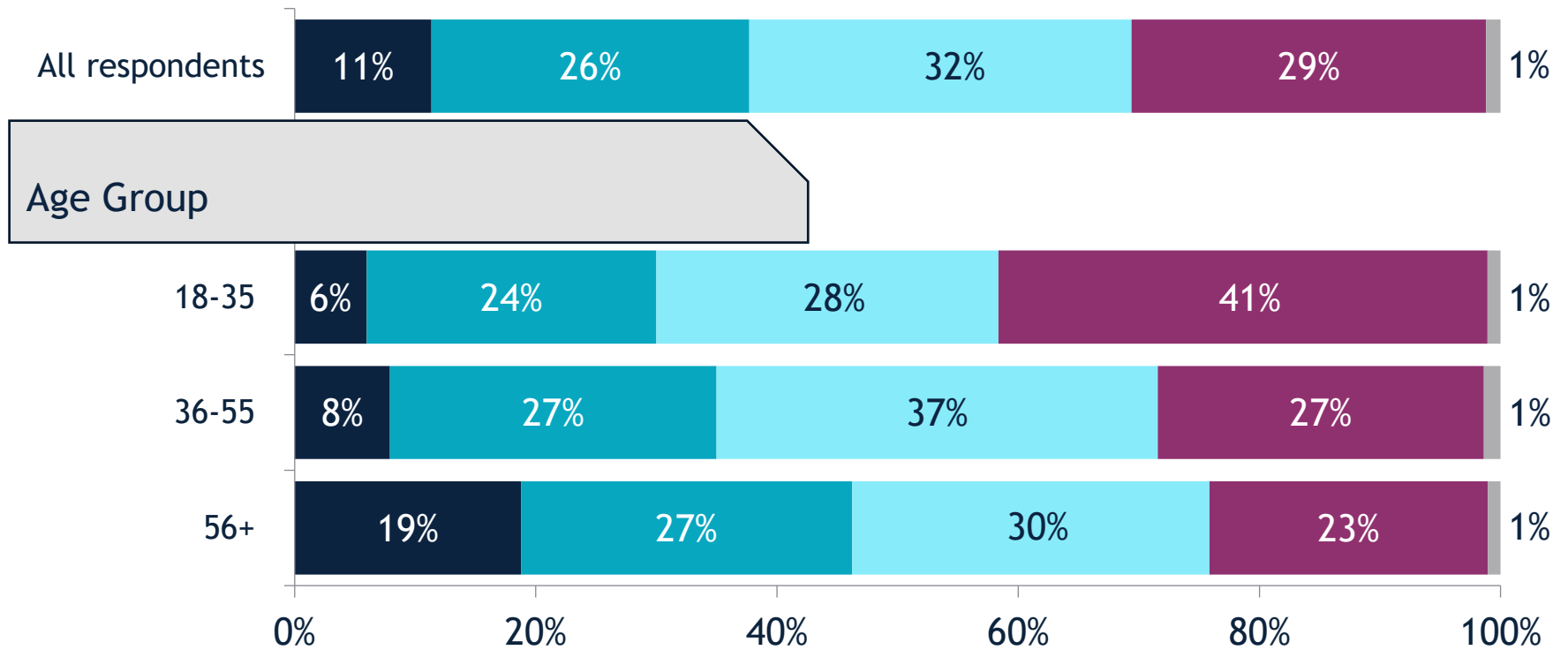


# How much did you follow political news yesterday?



\* Don't know/Refused to answer is not displayed.

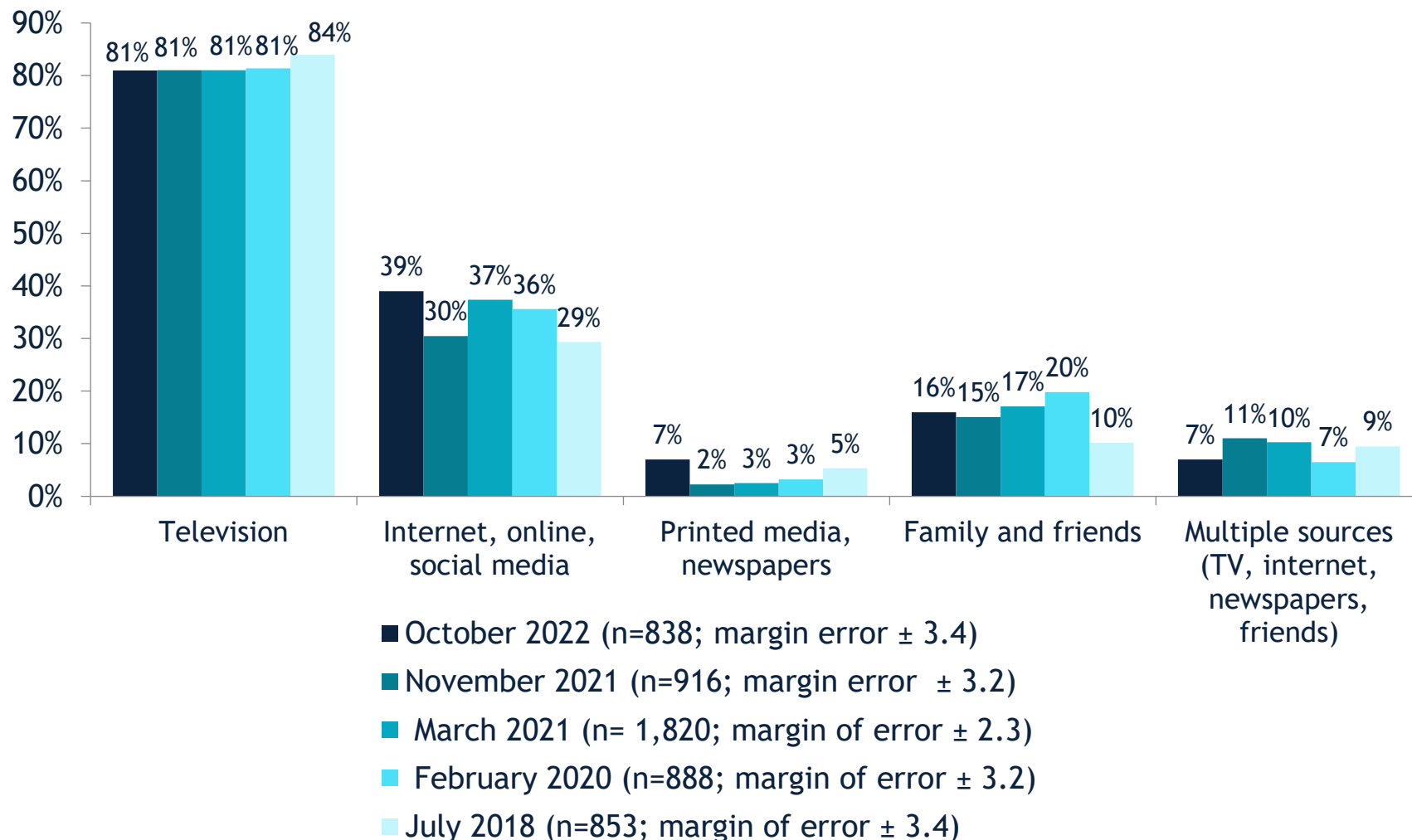
# How much did you follow political news yesterday?



- I followed all of it
- I followed most of it
- I followed some of it
- I did not follow any of it
- Don't know/Refused to answer

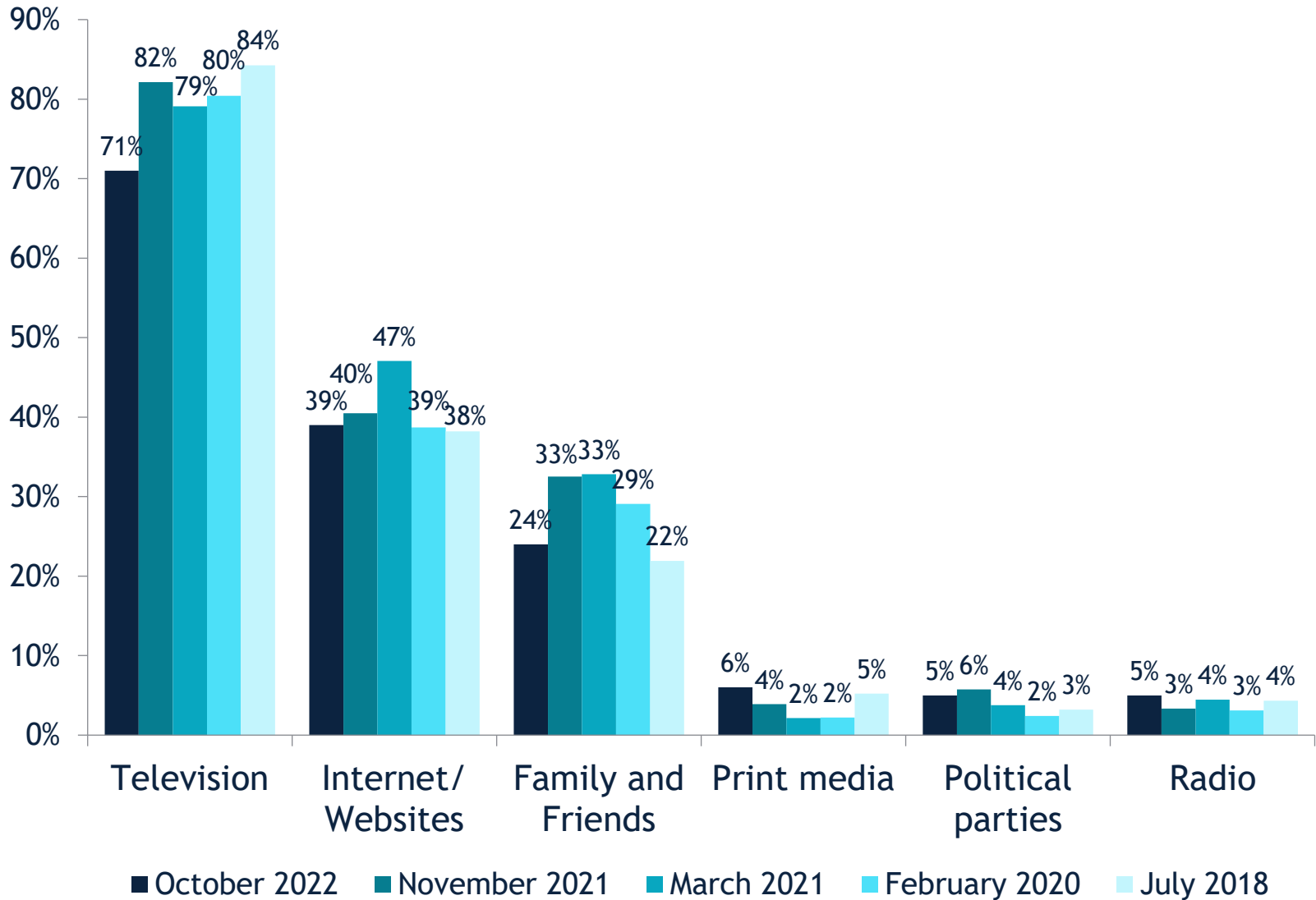
# Where did you follow political news yesterday?

(Spontaneous response; multiple responses permitted; among those who answered that they followed at least some political news yesterday)



# What are your most used sources of political news?

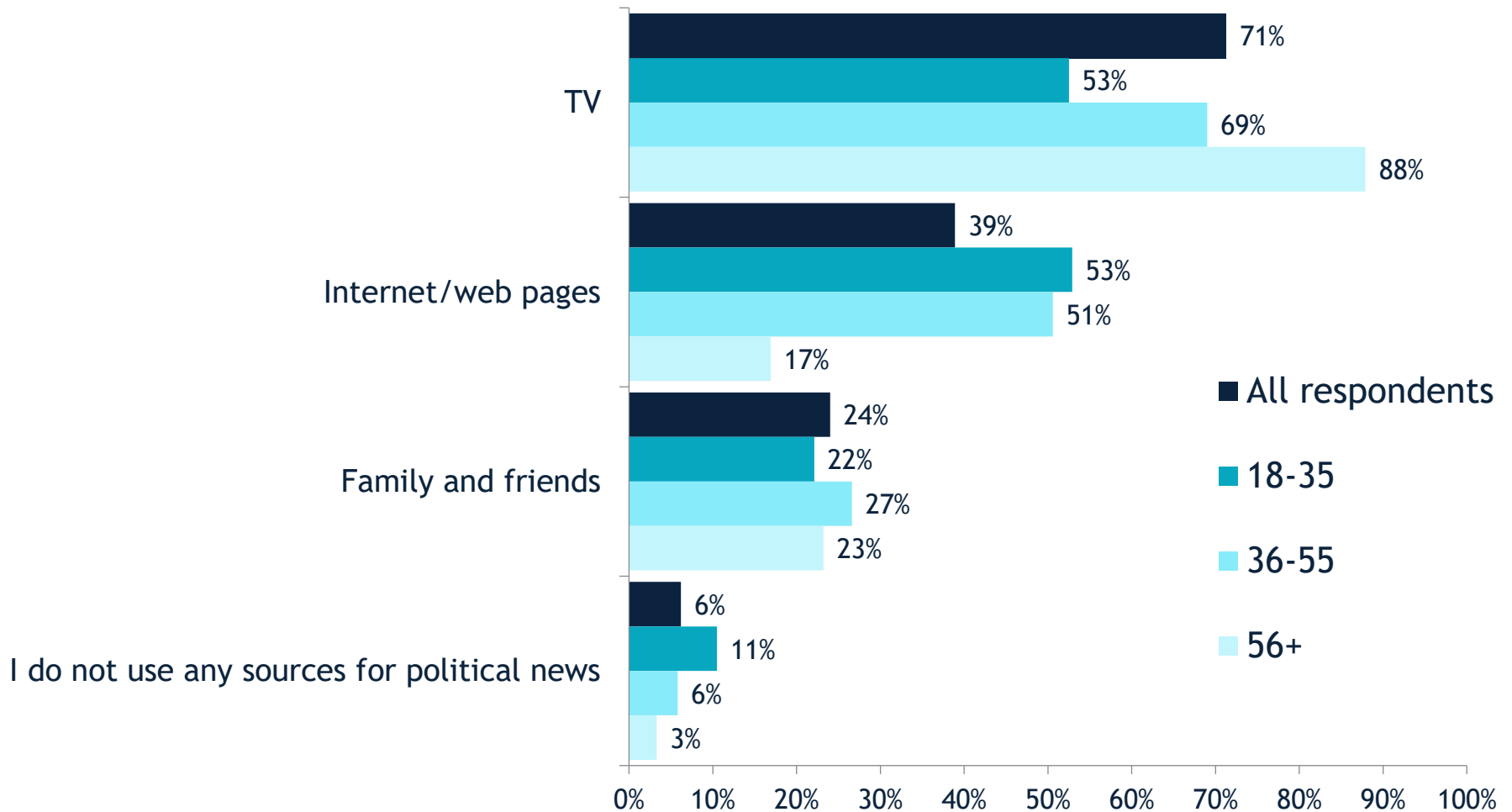
(Multiple responses permitted)



# What are your most used sources of political news?

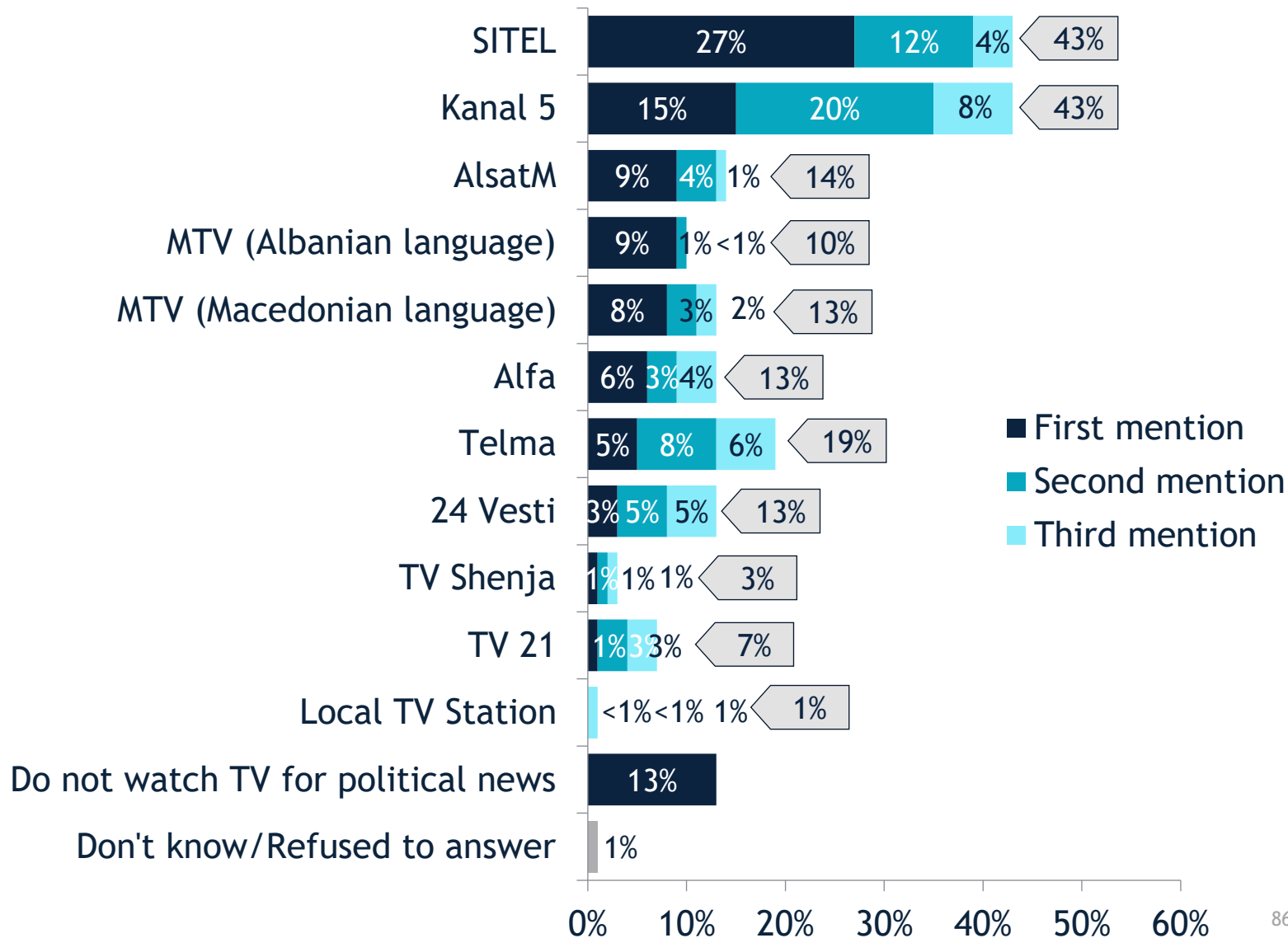
(Multiple answers possible)

(Disaggregated by age)

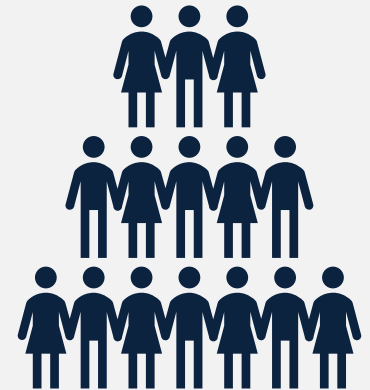


# Which television station do you watch most often for political news?

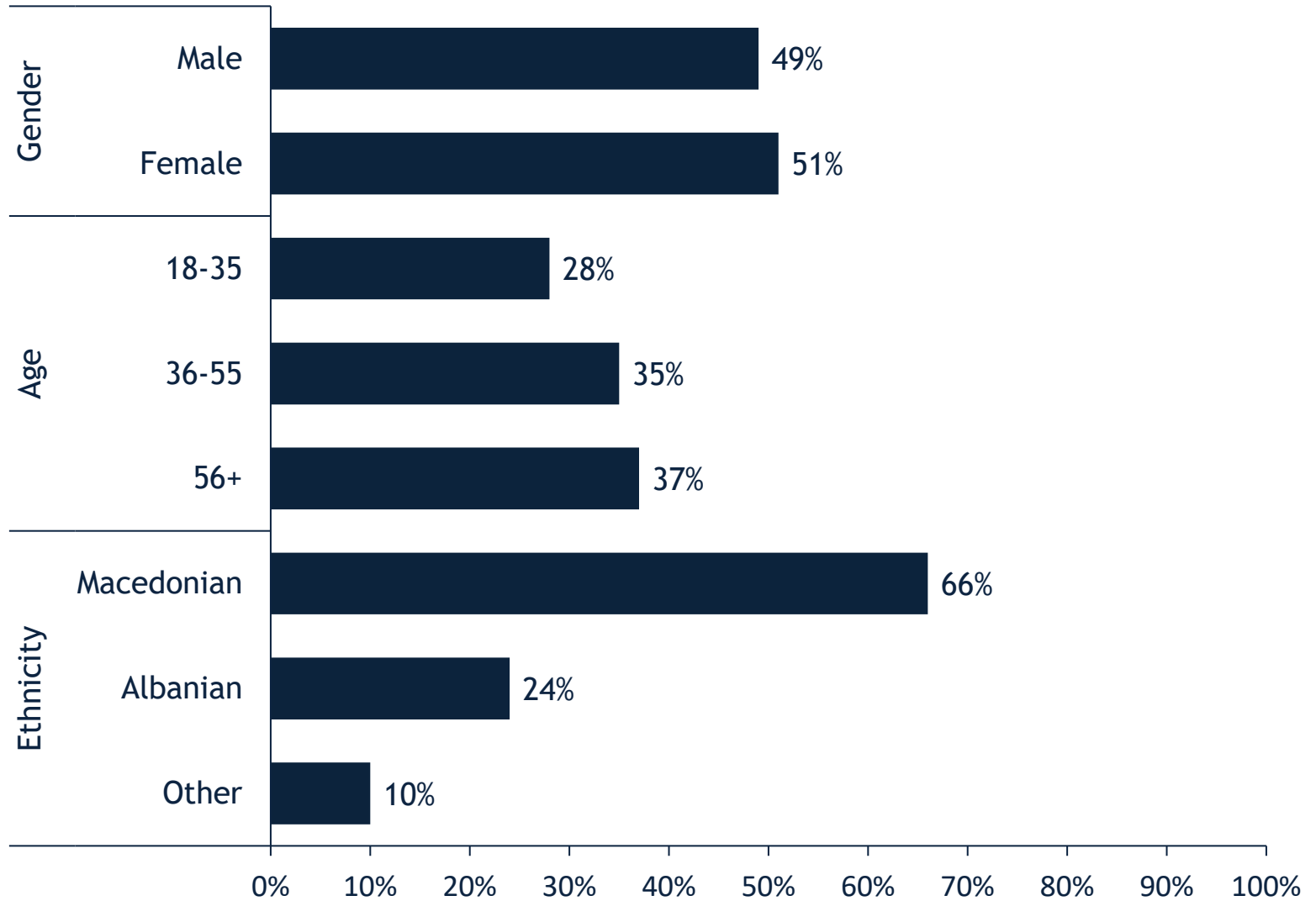
(Spontaneous response; multiple responses permitted - first 3 responses displayed)



# Demographics

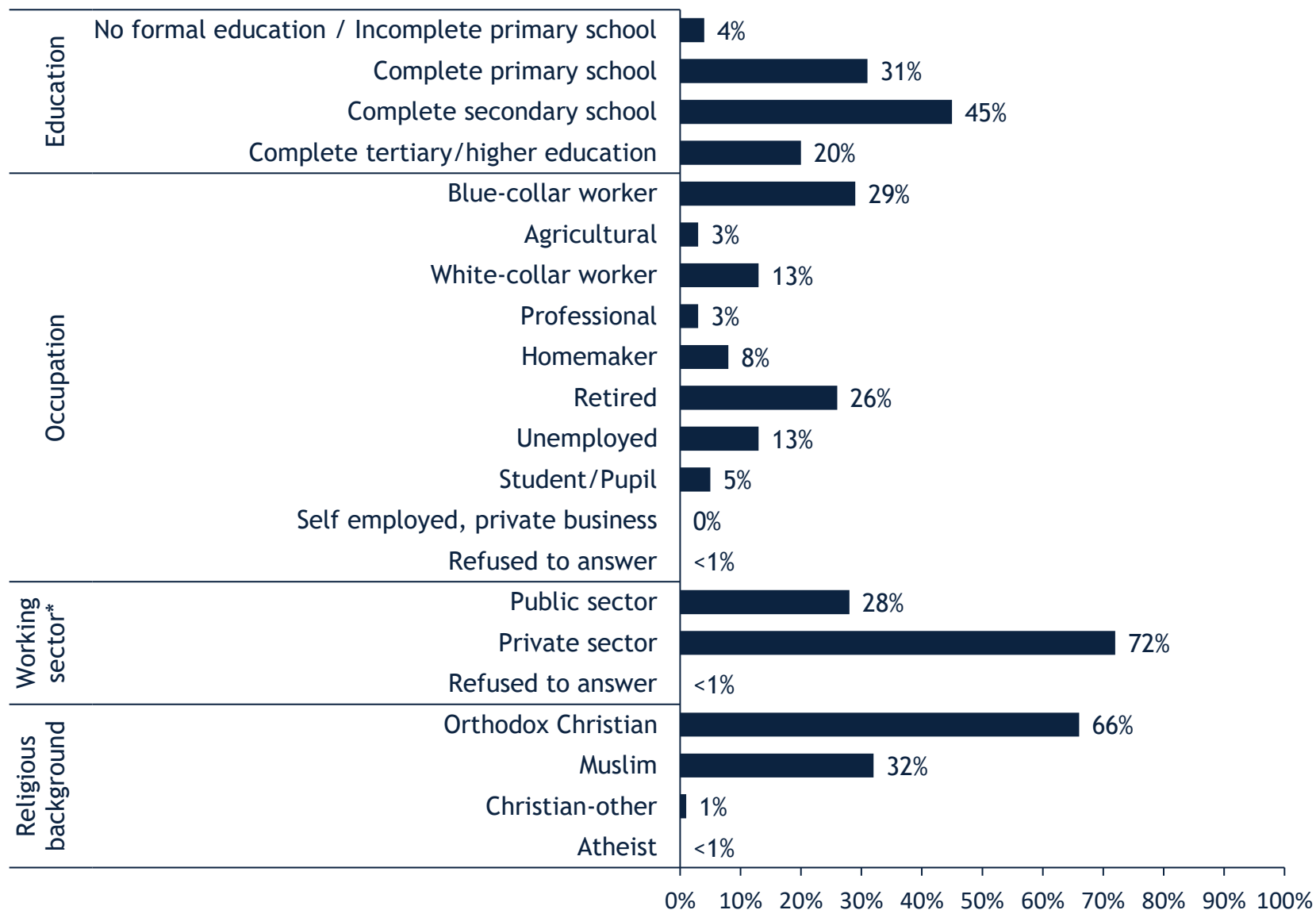


# Demographics





# Demographics



\*Among people employed as blue-collar worker, white-collar worker, professional, self-employed or private business, n=550

Center for Insights in Survey Research  
202.408.9450 | info@IRI.org

[www.IRI.org](http://www.IRI.org) | [@IRI\\_Polls](https://twitter.com/IRI_Polls)

