

# NATIONAL SURVEY OF NORTH MACEDONIA

April - May 2023



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).
- Data was collected between April 8 and May 4, 2023, through CAPI-administered face-to-face interviews at respondents' homes.
- The sample consisted of n=1,204 respondents and is representative of the population of North Macedonia, aged 18 and older. The sample was designed according to data from the 2021 Census from the State Institute of Statistics.
- A multi-stage probability sampling method was used to design a nationally representative sample of North Macedonia. The sample was stratified by regions and urbanicity. Municipalities are primary sampling units and were selected via probability proportionate to size (PPS).
- Households were selected through a random route method that varied depending on the urbanicity of the stratum. Respondents were selected under a nationality quota and by using the 'next birthday' method to select respondents within households.
- The achieved sample was weighted by age, gender, nationality, region, urbanicity, and educational attainment according to data from the 2021 Census.
- The response rate is 74%.
- The margin of error for the midrange of the full sample does not exceed  $\pm 2.8$  points at the 95% confidence level.
- Figures in charts and tables may not add up to 100 percent due to rounding. Cited bases are weighted.
- Previous surveys cited in this report were conducted using a 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 = 336
	36-55	n = 422
	56+	n = 445
Electoral Unit	Electoral Unit 1	n = 240
	Electoral Unit 2	n = 204
	Electoral Unit 3	n = 202
	Electoral Unit 4	n = 196
	Electoral Unit 5	n = 200
	Electoral Unit 6	n = 161

*Margin of error will vary with sample size n. Cited bases are weighted.*

## 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 Renewal 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

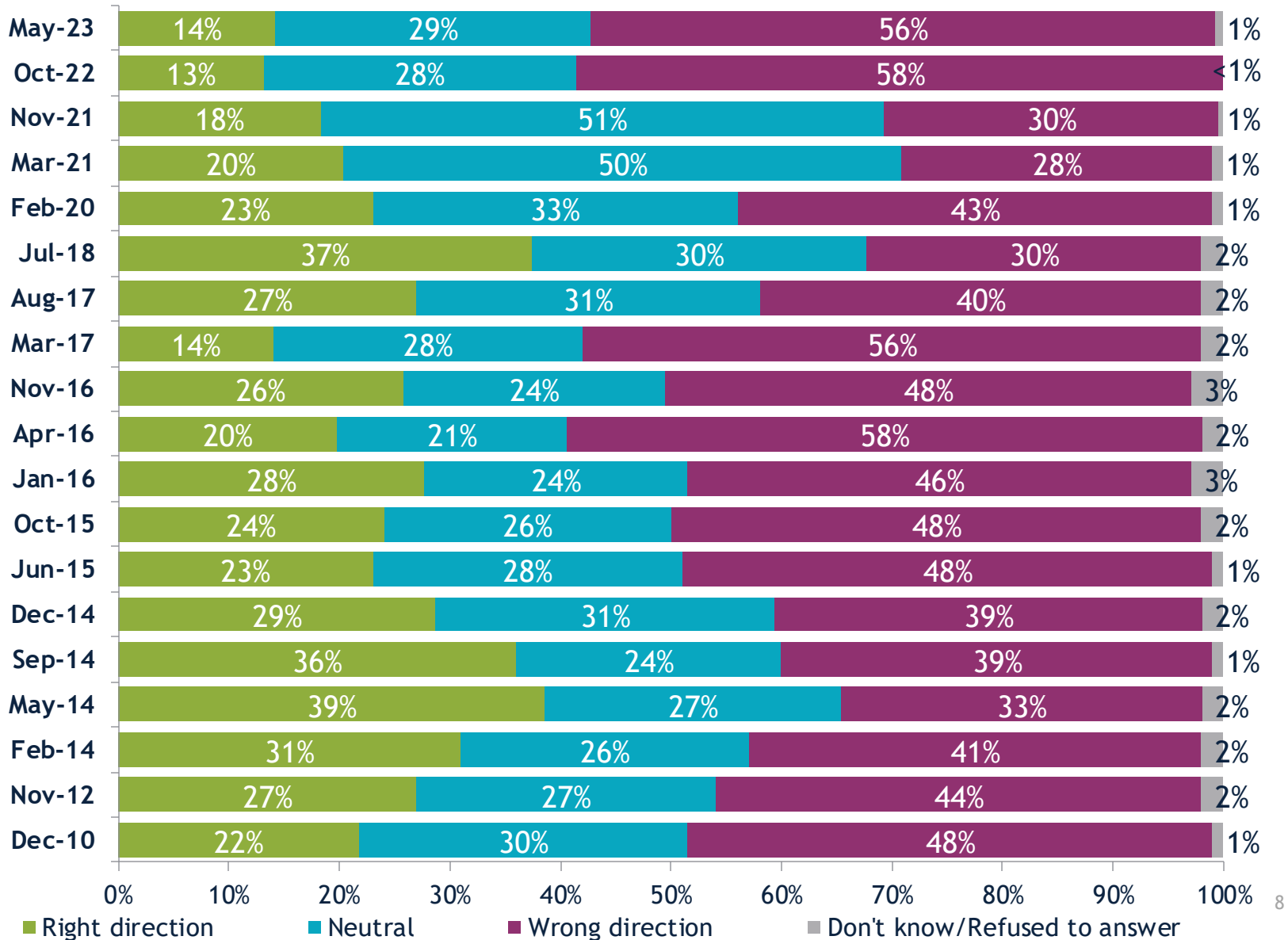
## Political Context Timeline

- **October 2022 - March 2023:** A series of fake bomb threats had been sent to schools, state institutions and commercial sites across the country causing temporary closures of these sites by the police to check the validity of the threats.
- **November 2022:** North Macedonia and the European Commission started the meetings for bilateral negotiations screening on the level of compliance and of harmonization of the Macedonian with the EU legislation. This process is expected to be completed in November 2023.
- **February 2023:** To increase the parliamentary majority Prime Minister Kovachevski welcomed the second largest ethnic Albanian party Alliance for Albanians (AfA) to join the government coalition, which was given three ministerial mandates. This change in the balance of power caused the smaller ethnic Albanian party Alternativa to leave the government coalition.
- **April 2023:** The Government formed a working group tasked to draft the government's initiative for constitutional amendments that will include the Bulgarian minority in the Constitution. The largest opposition party VMRO-DPMNE has stated that it will not support constitutional changes and will not participate in the working group assessing the process as illegitimate, dictated by Bulgaria and without guarantees for the Macedonian language and identity.
- **2022-2023:** European Union and EU Member States officials have issued numerous statements confirming that North Macedonia will not be admitted to the European Union unless constitutional changes to include the Bulgarian minority in its constitution are adopted.
- **2022-2023:** The relations between North Macedonia and Bulgaria have become more tense as Bulgaria's Vice-President and Prime Minister started visiting Bulgarian non-governmental organizations in North Macedonia which carry names of historical figures who have affiliation with the World War II Bulgarian government and are negatively perceived in North Macedonia.

# General Outlook



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

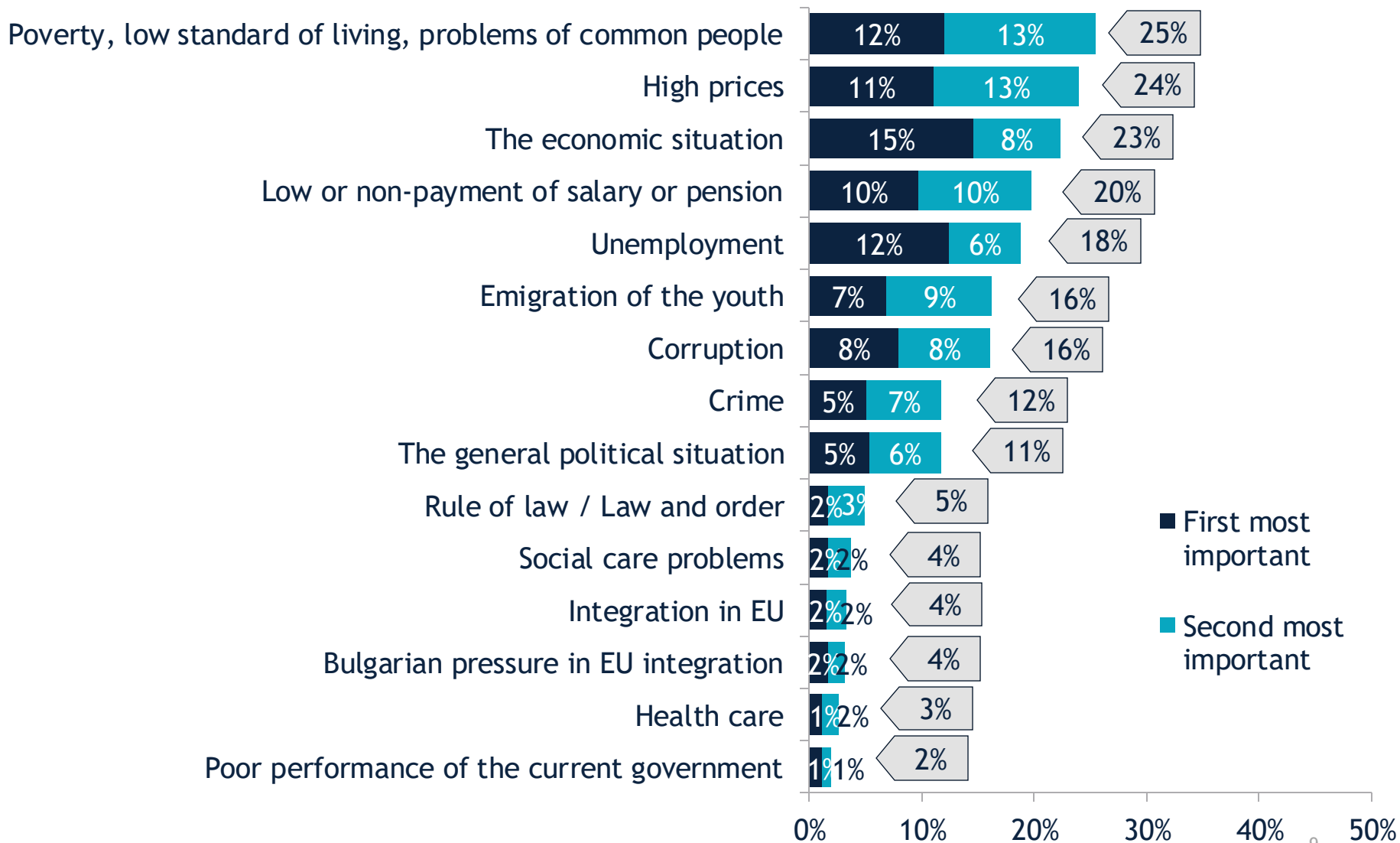






# What is the most important problem facing North Macedonia today? And what is the second most important problem?

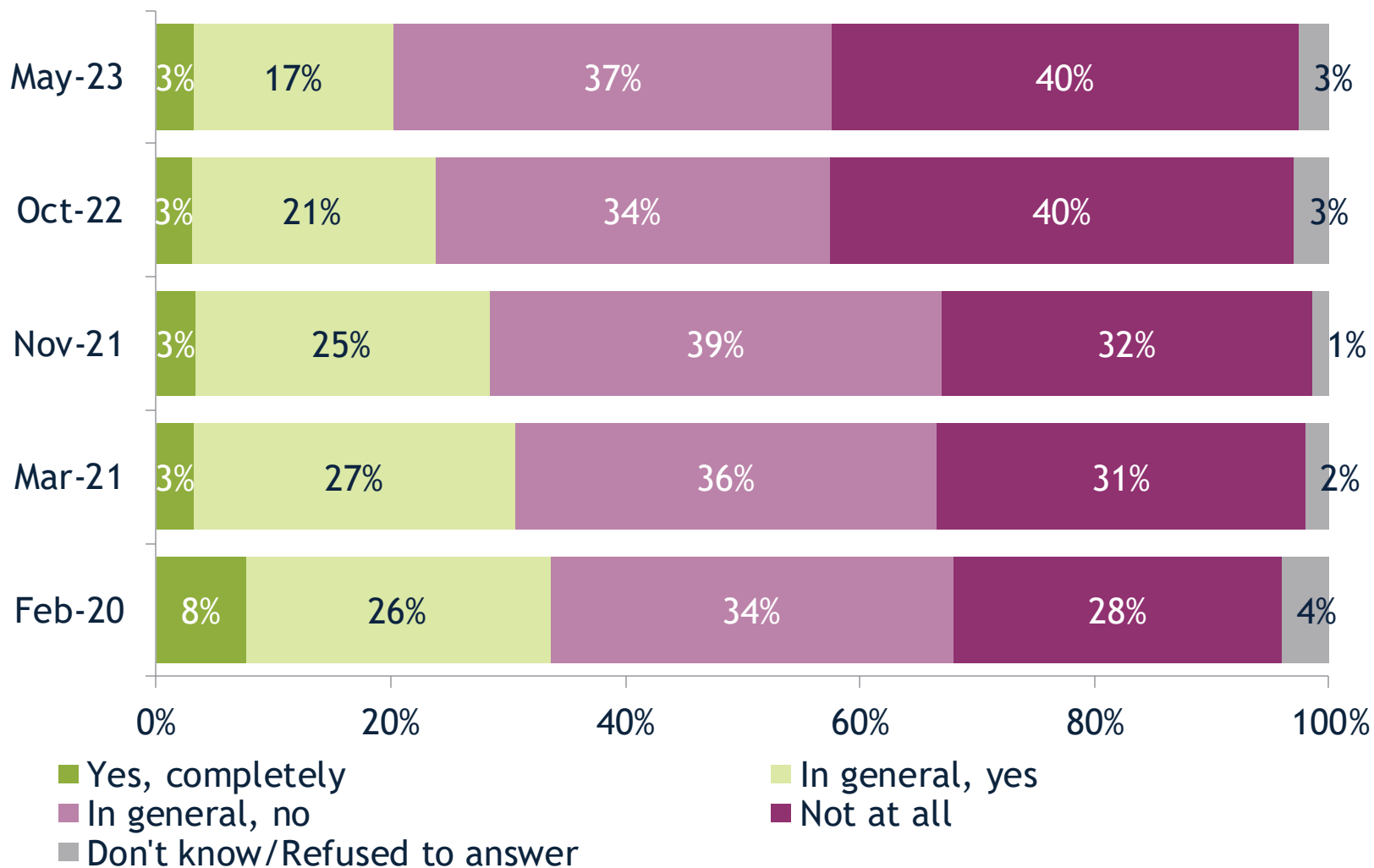
(Spontaneous response)



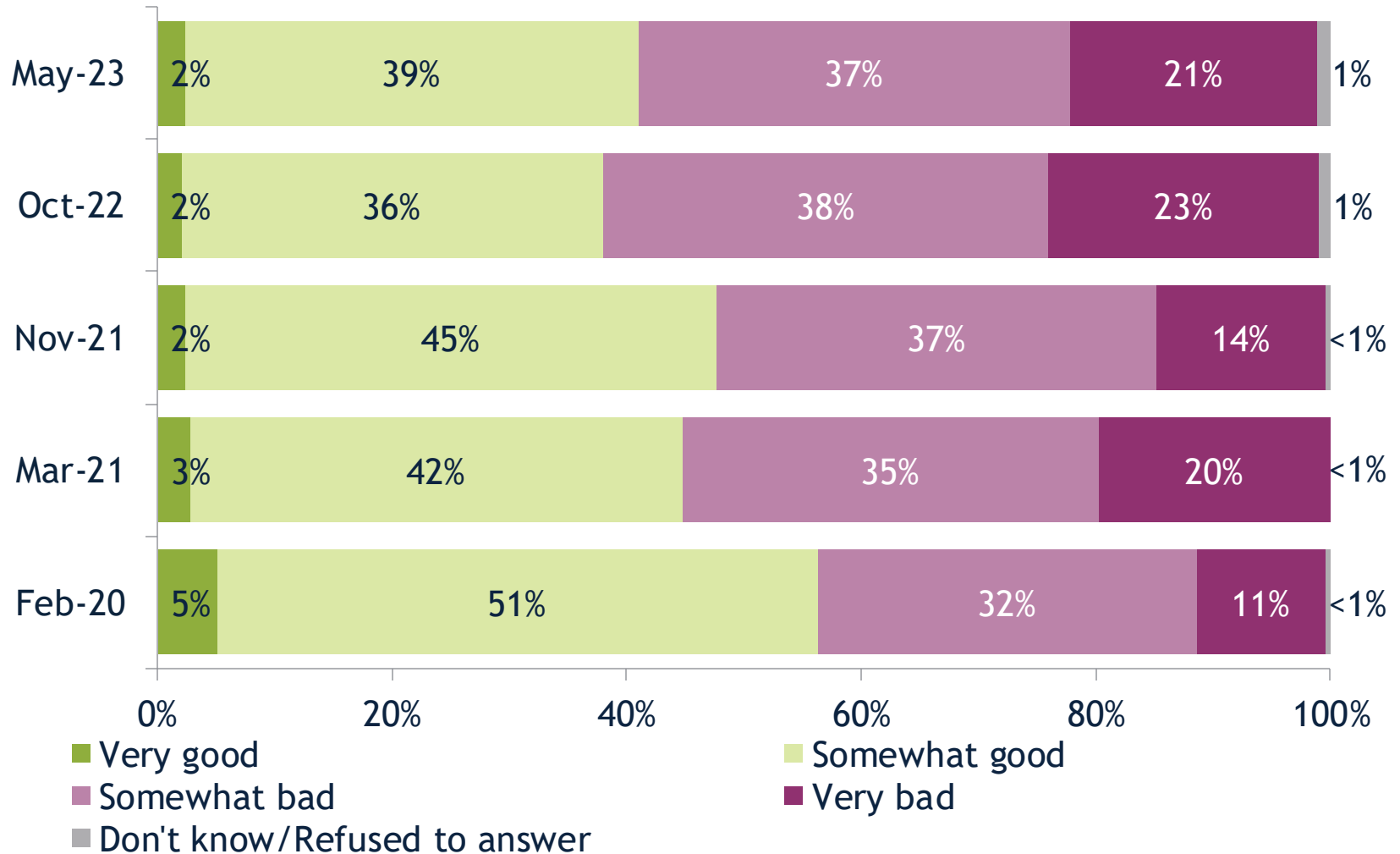
Top 15 responses displayed.

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

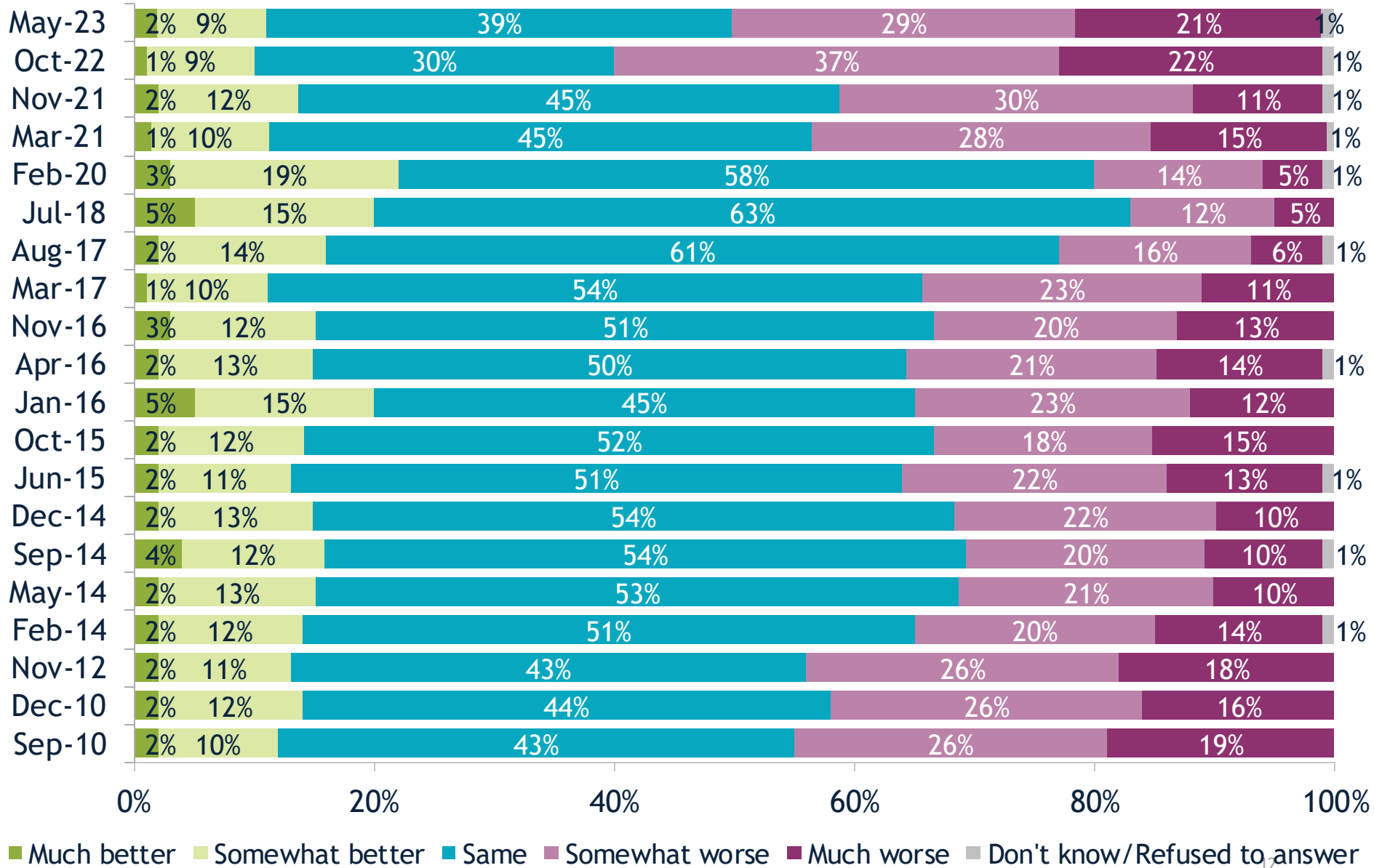
(Among those who mentioned a first important problem, n=1,199)



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

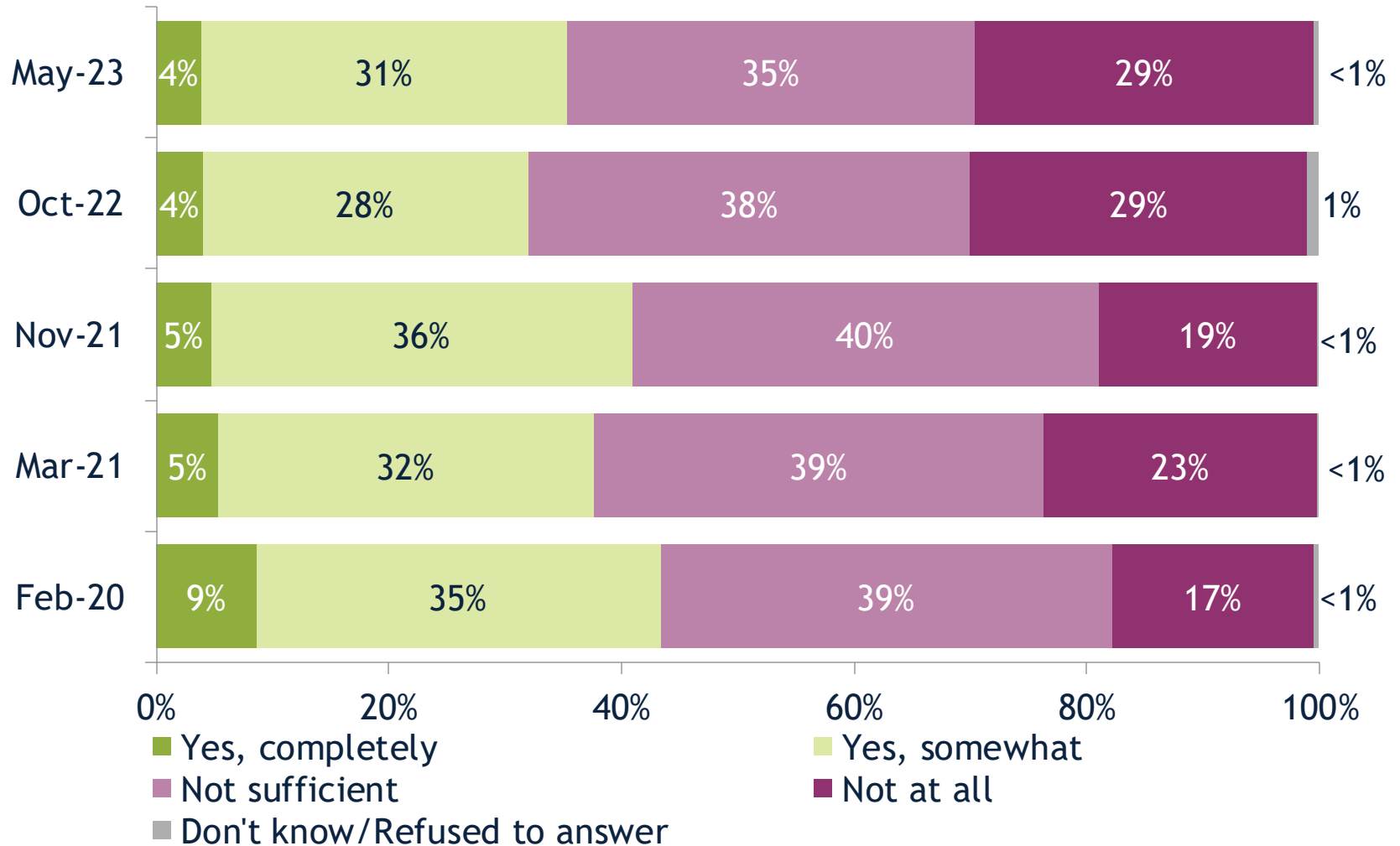


# How is your family's economic situation compared to one year ago?

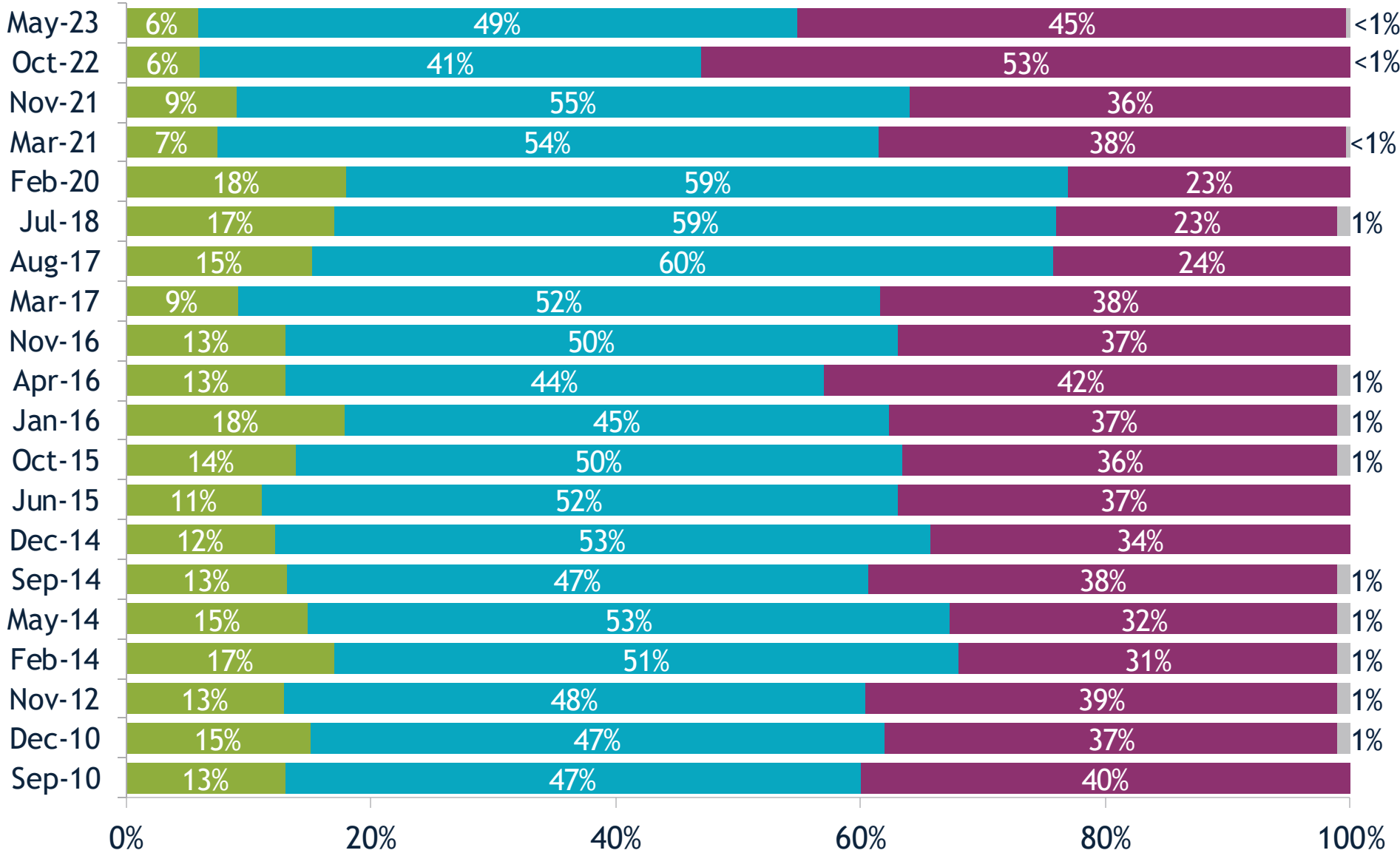




# Is your household monthly income sufficient to satisfy monthly needs?

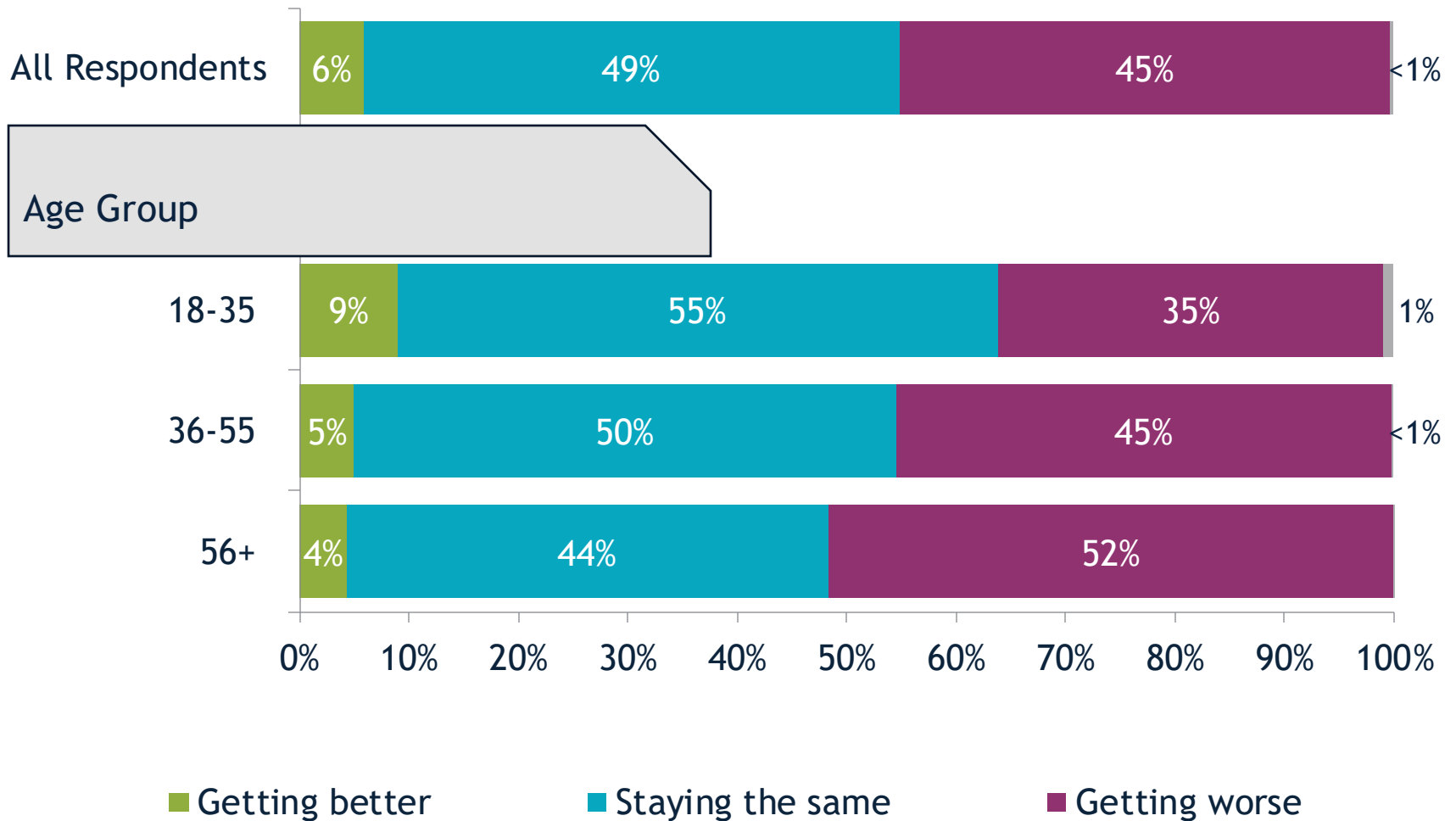


# Speaking personally, is your overall quality of life...?

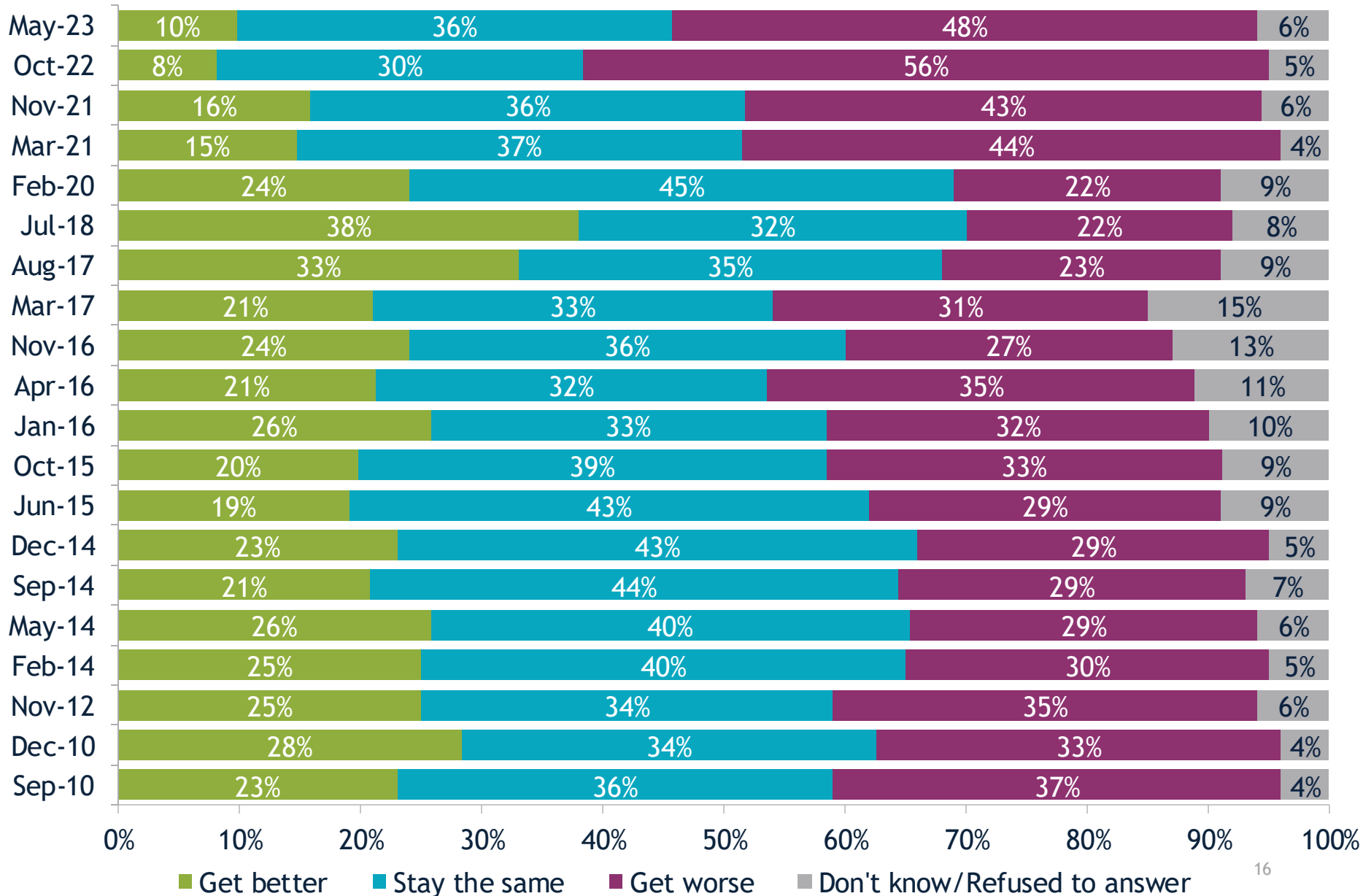


■ Getting better
 ■ Staying the same
 ■ Getting worse
 ■ Don't know/Refused to answer

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

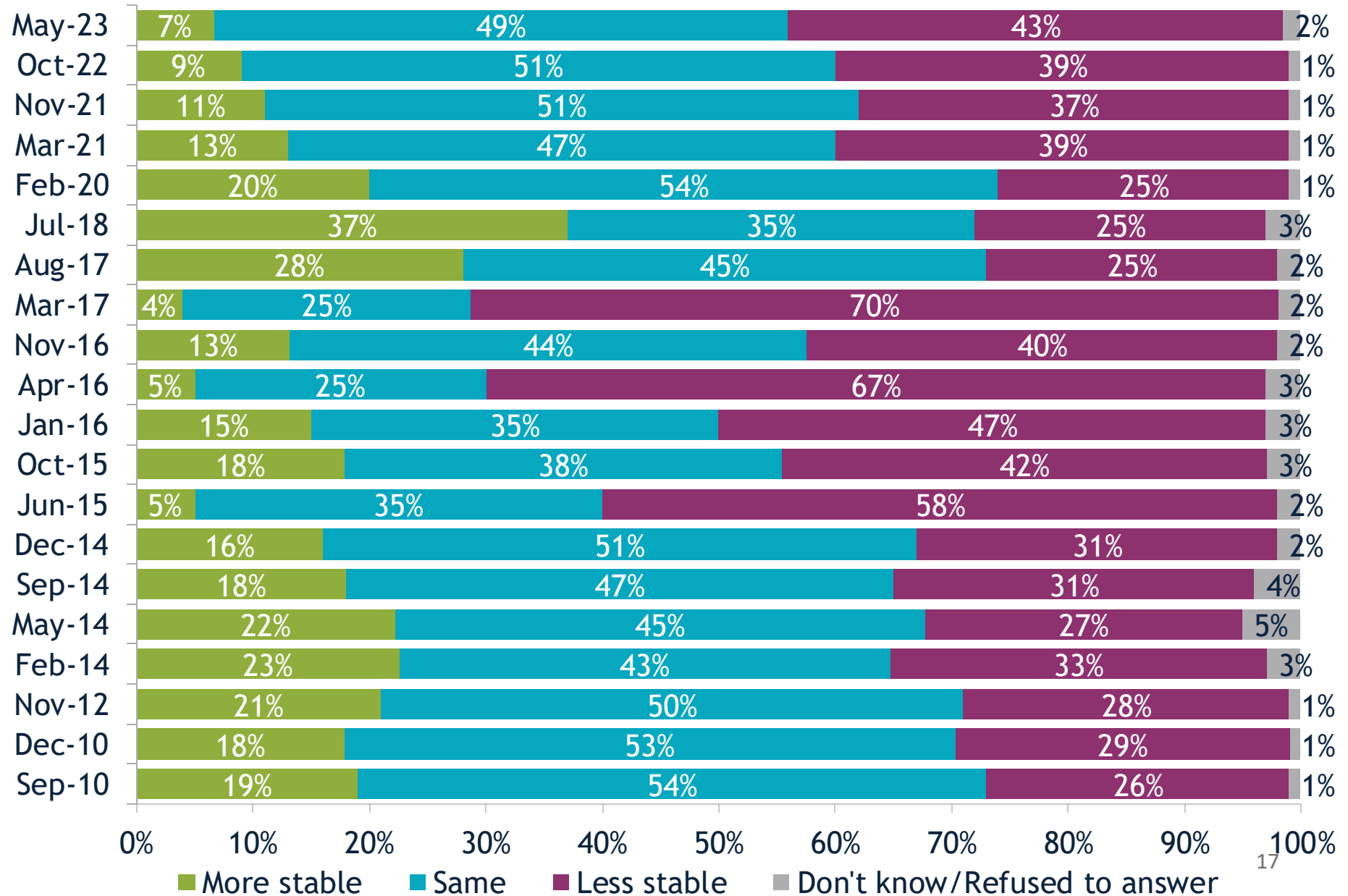


# In the next two years, will the economy in North Macedonia get better, get worse, or stay the same?



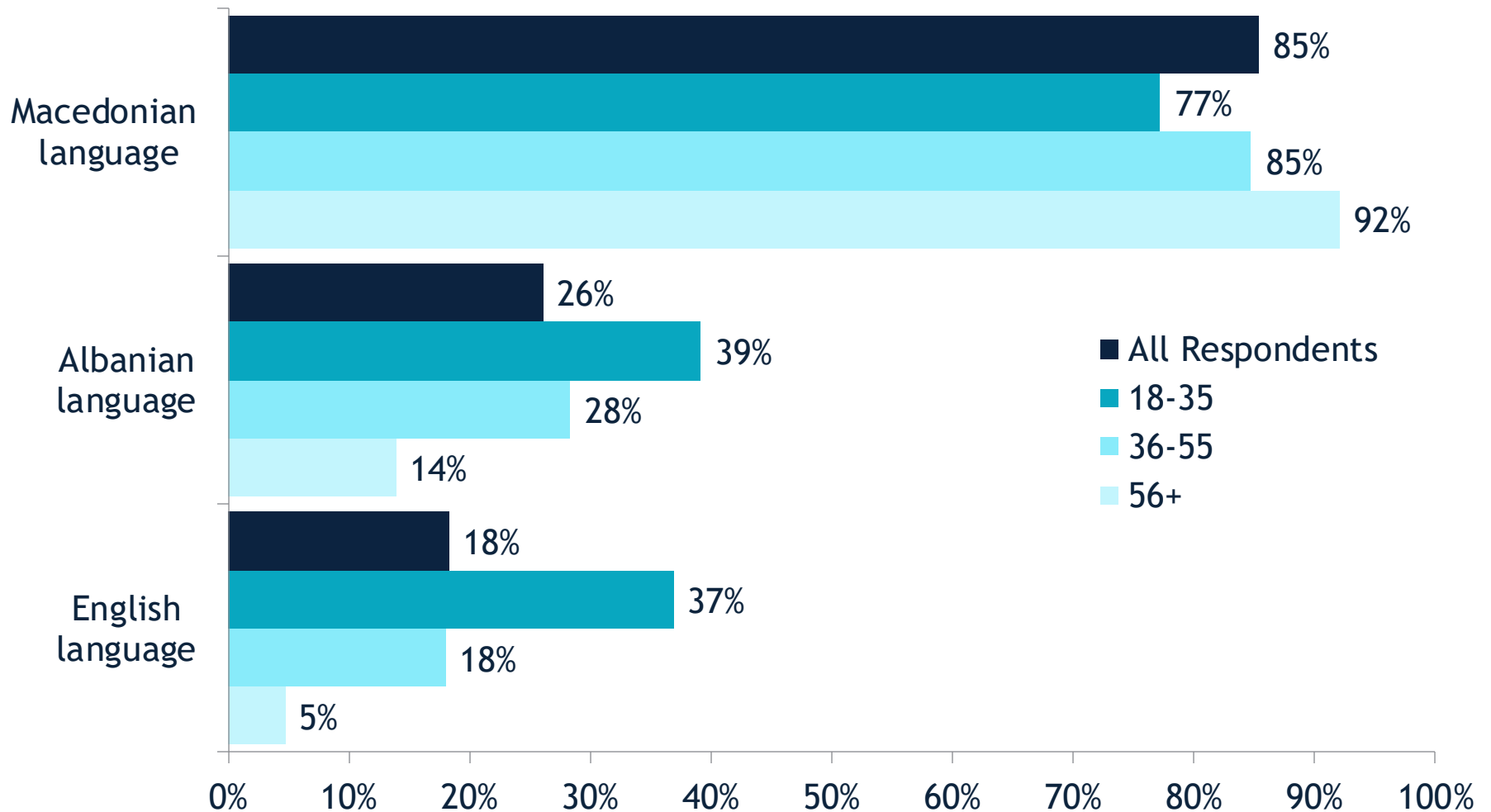


# Is North Macedonia more or less stable today than it was one year ago?

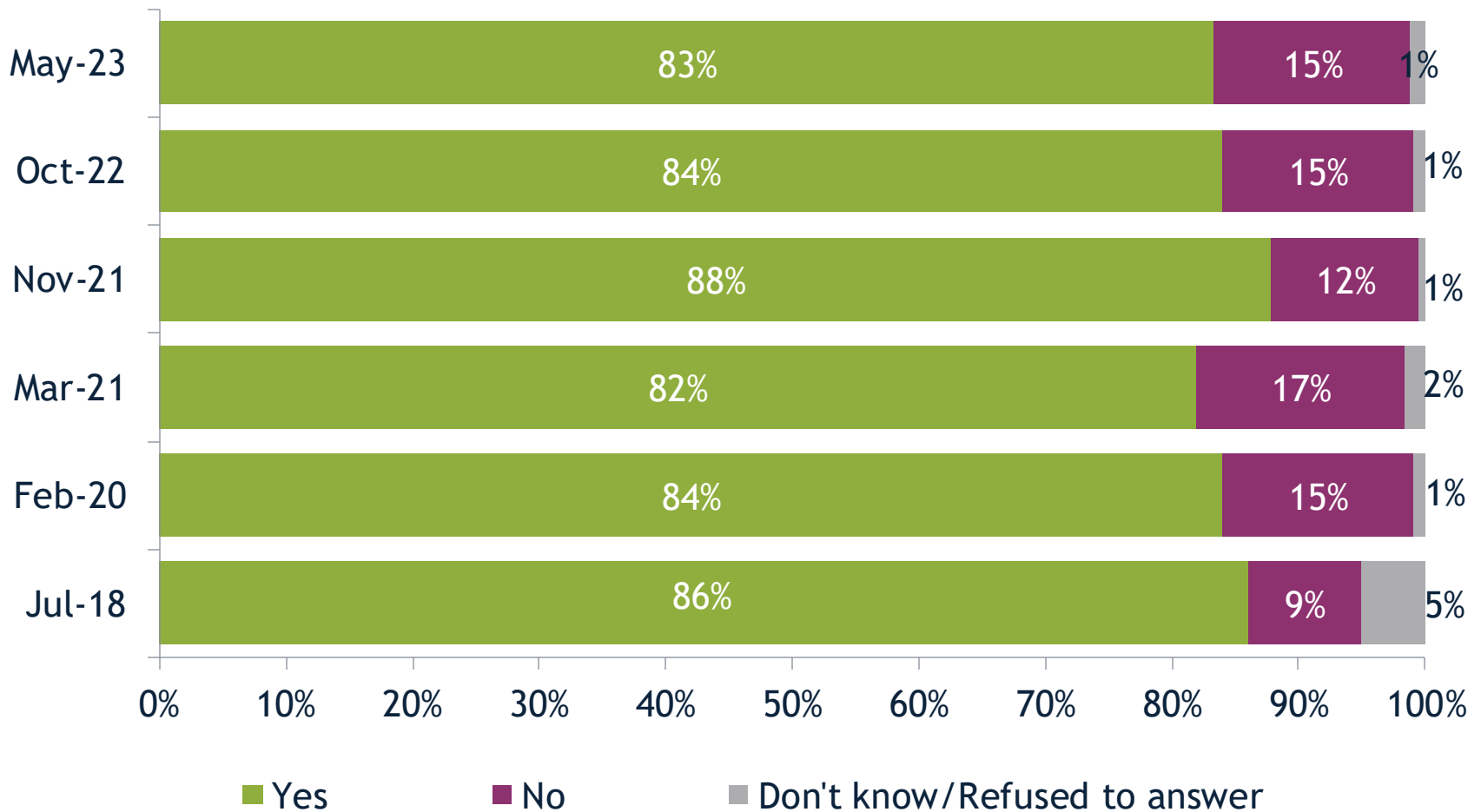


# What language(s) do you speak at a level to be able to study and work in that language?

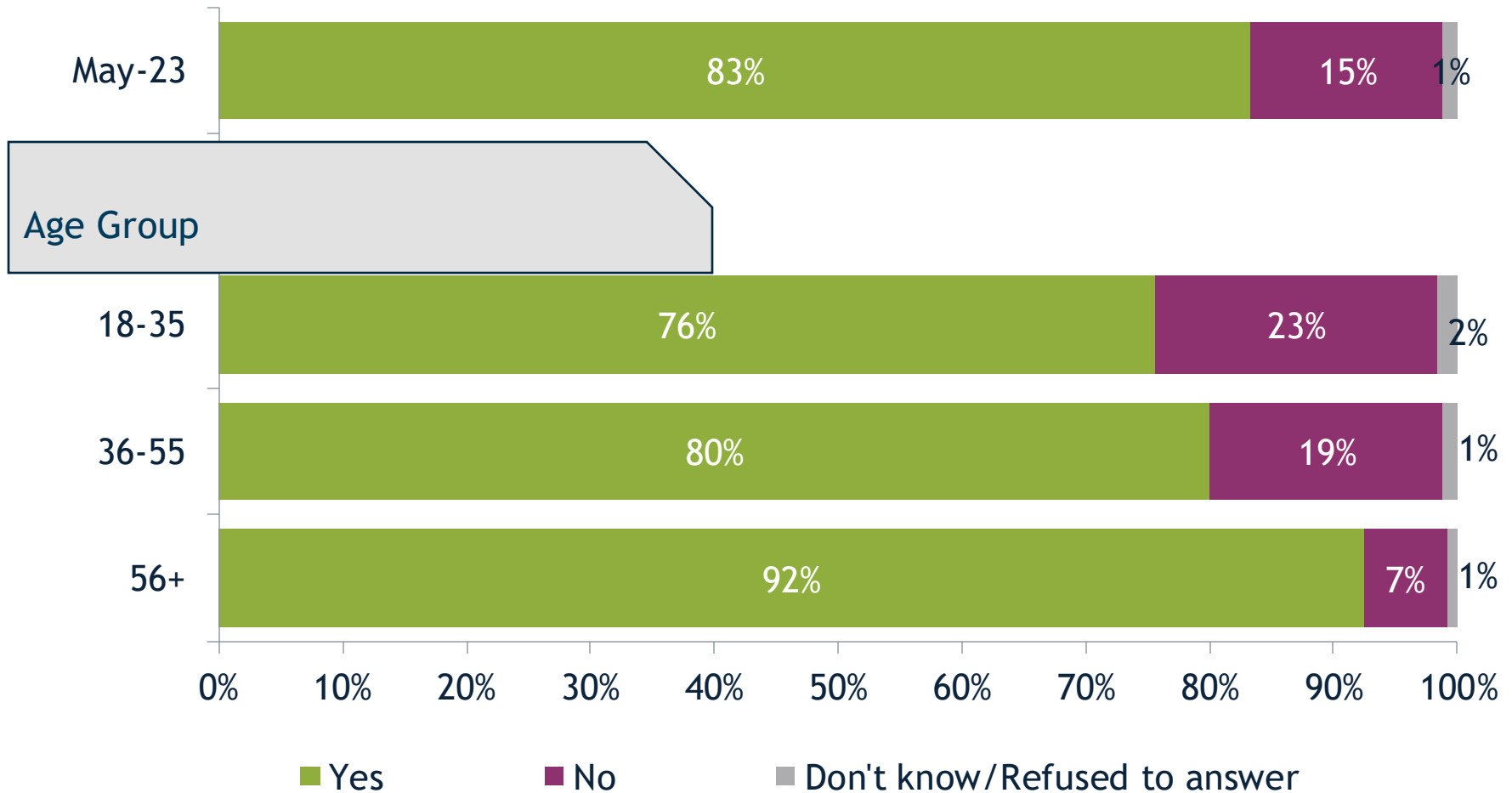
(Spontaneous response; multiple answers possible; data for *Macedonian*, *Albanian*, and *English* responses displayed)



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



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

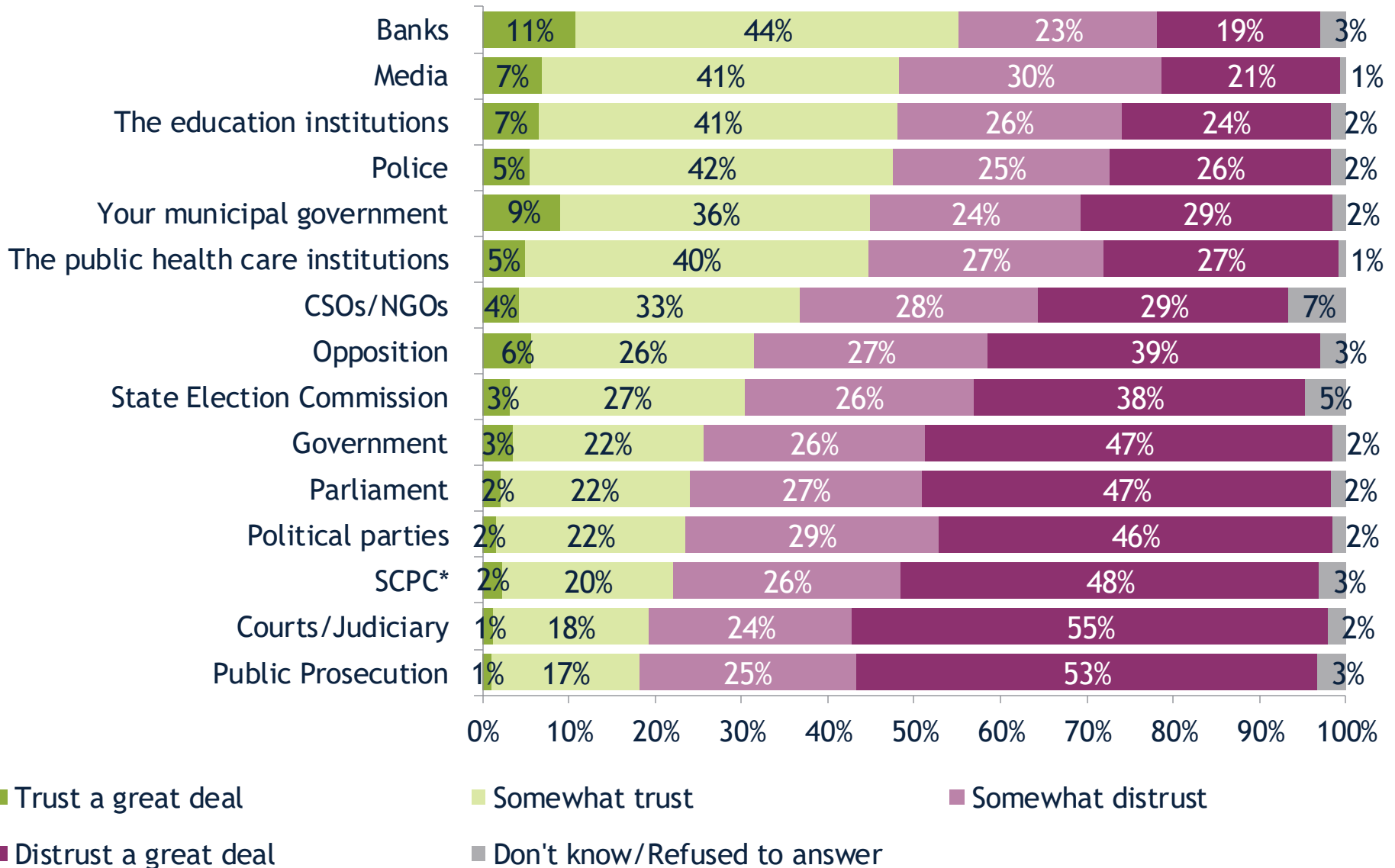


# Trust in Institutions and the Rule of Law



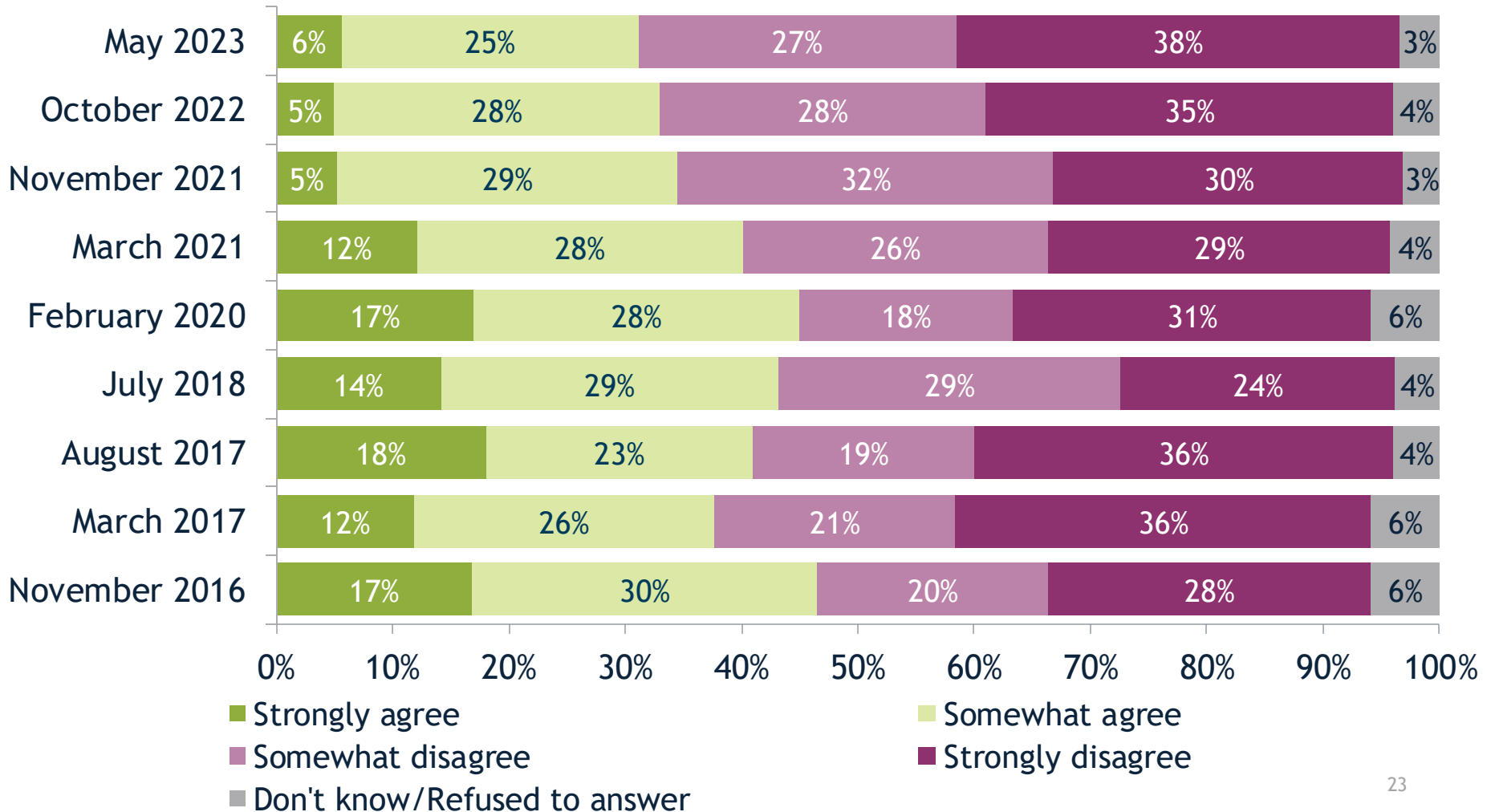


# To what extent do you trust or distrust each of the following?



\*SCPC - State Commission for Prevention of Corruption

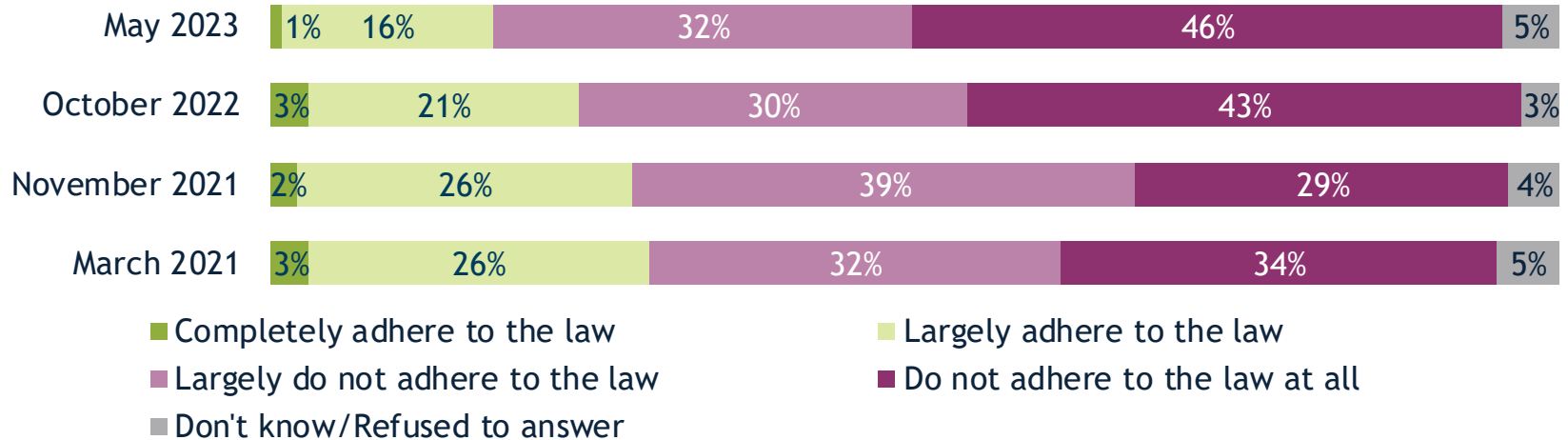
▶ The rule of law in a democracy can be understood as: “A state when all people and institutions are accountable to the law and the Constitution, and the Constitution and the law are equally applied towards all.” How strongly do you agree or disagree that rule of law exists in our country?



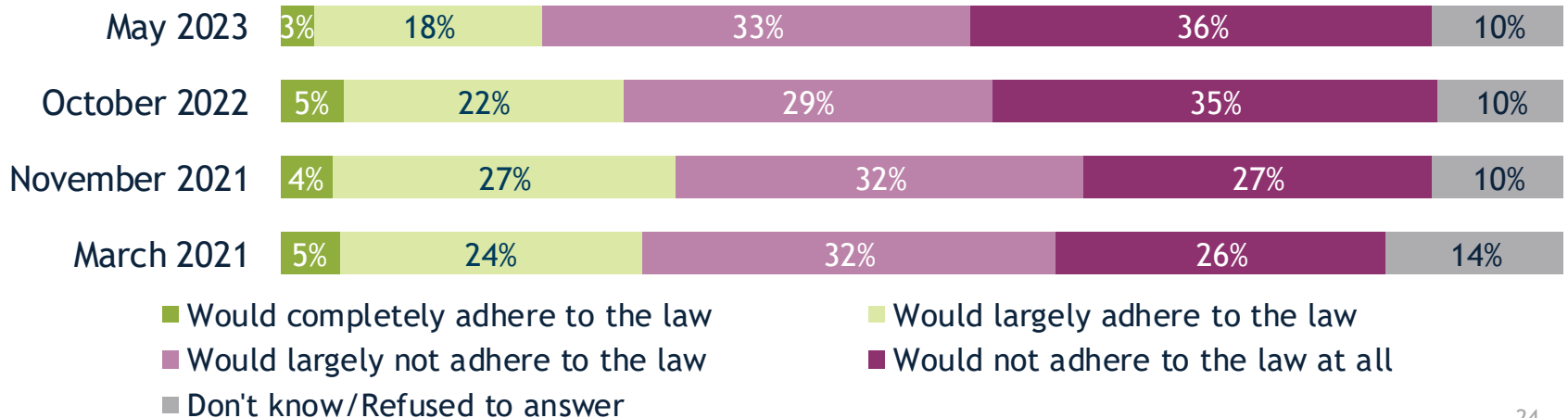


## According to you, to what extent [...]

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



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



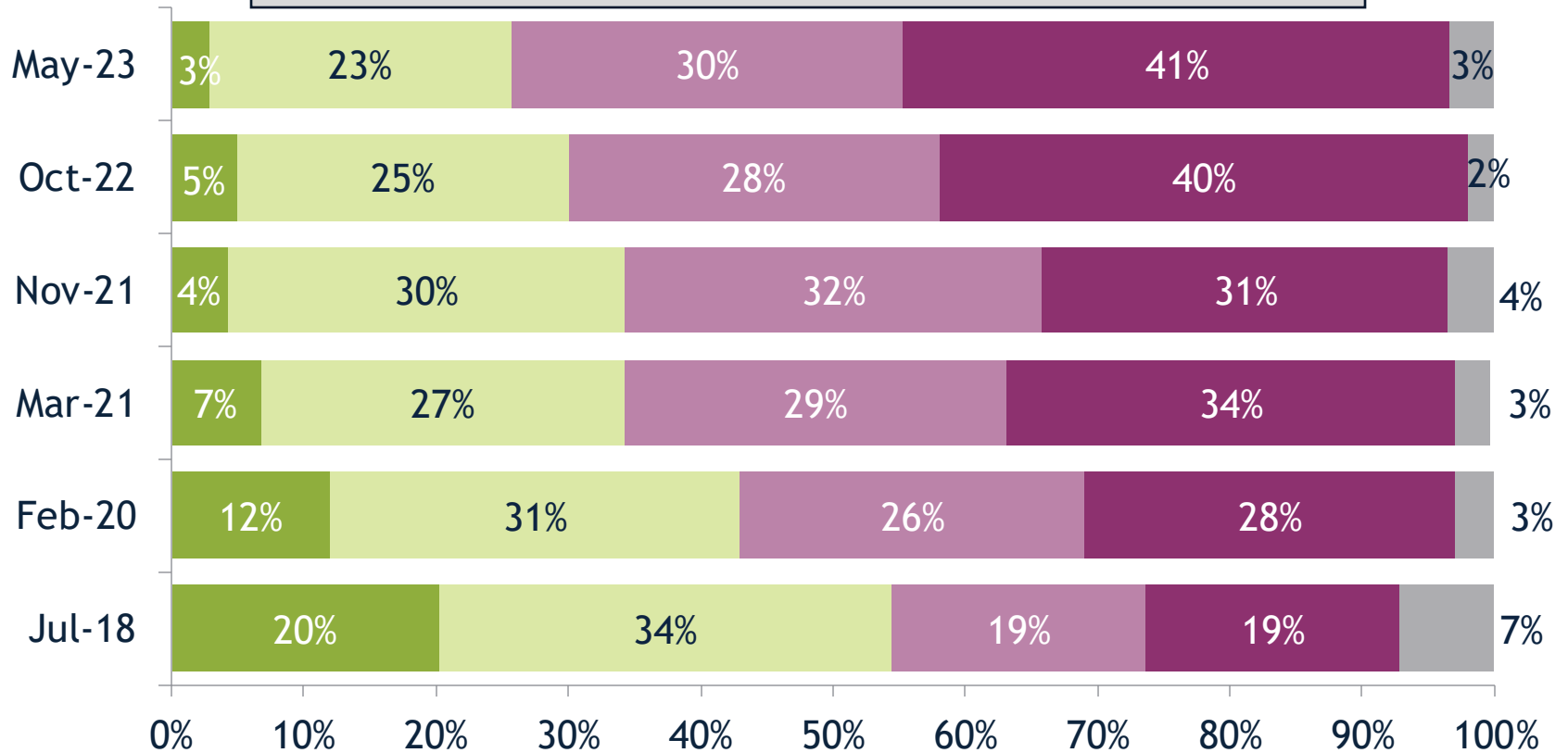


# Government's Performance



# How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

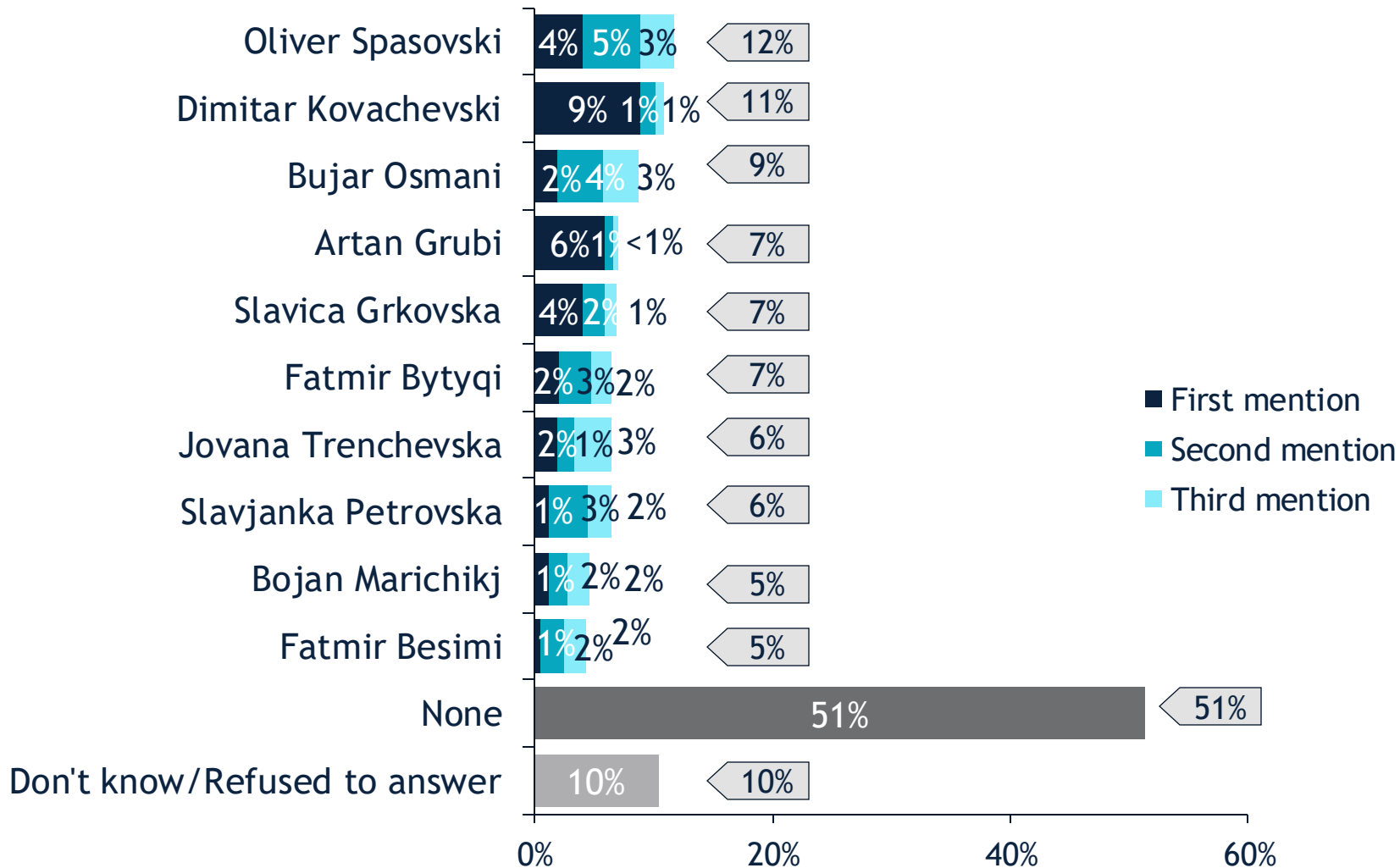
*The current government is open and accountable to the citizens and the public*



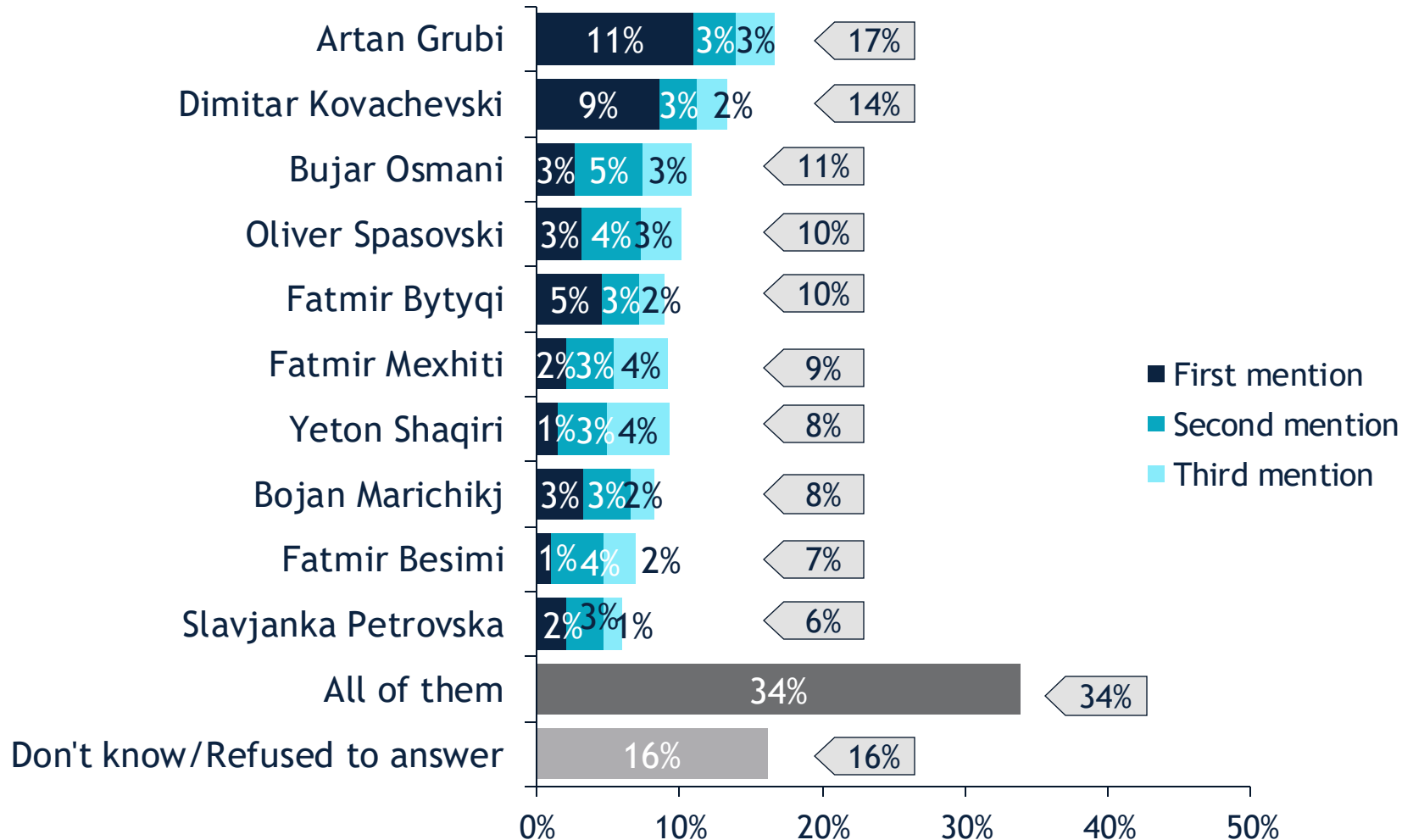
- Strongly agree
- Somewhat agree
- Somewhat disagree
- Strongly disagree
- Don't know/Refused to answer



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



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

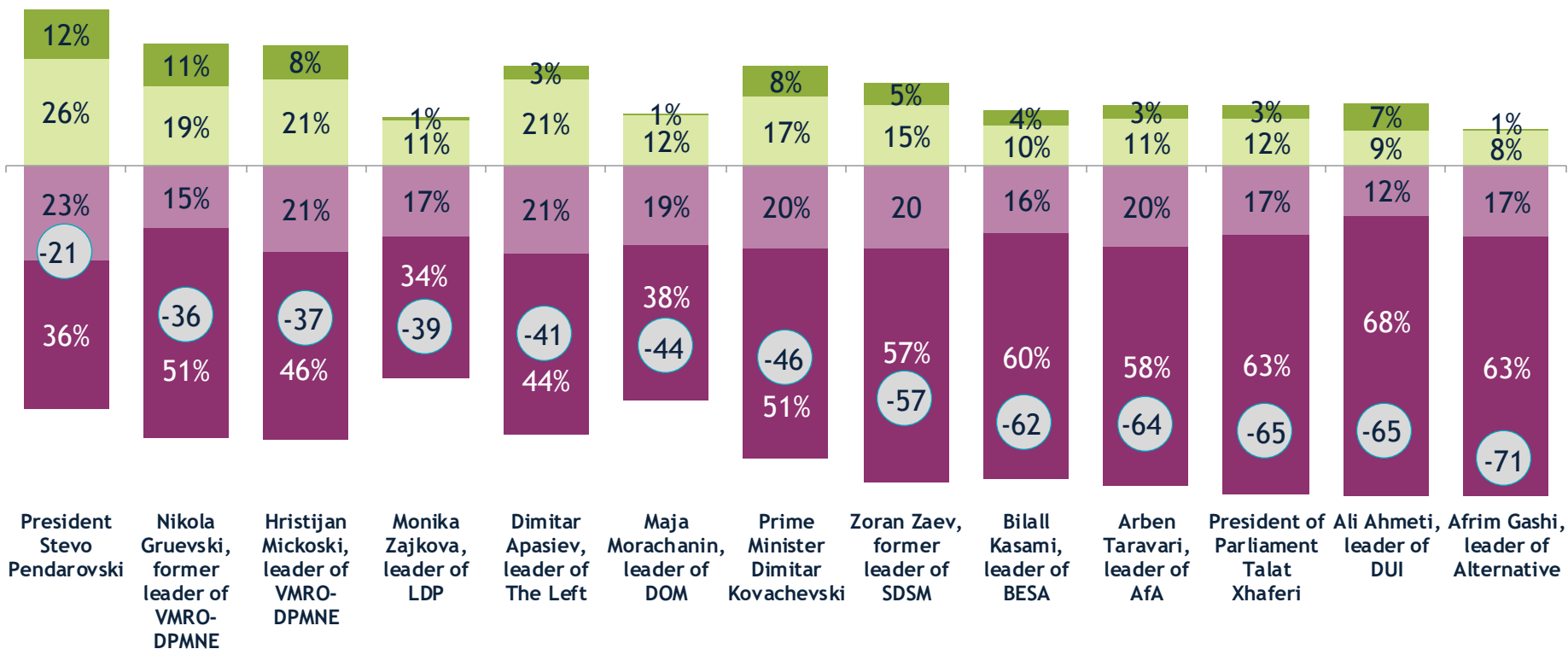


# Elections and Political Parties



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 included in circles)

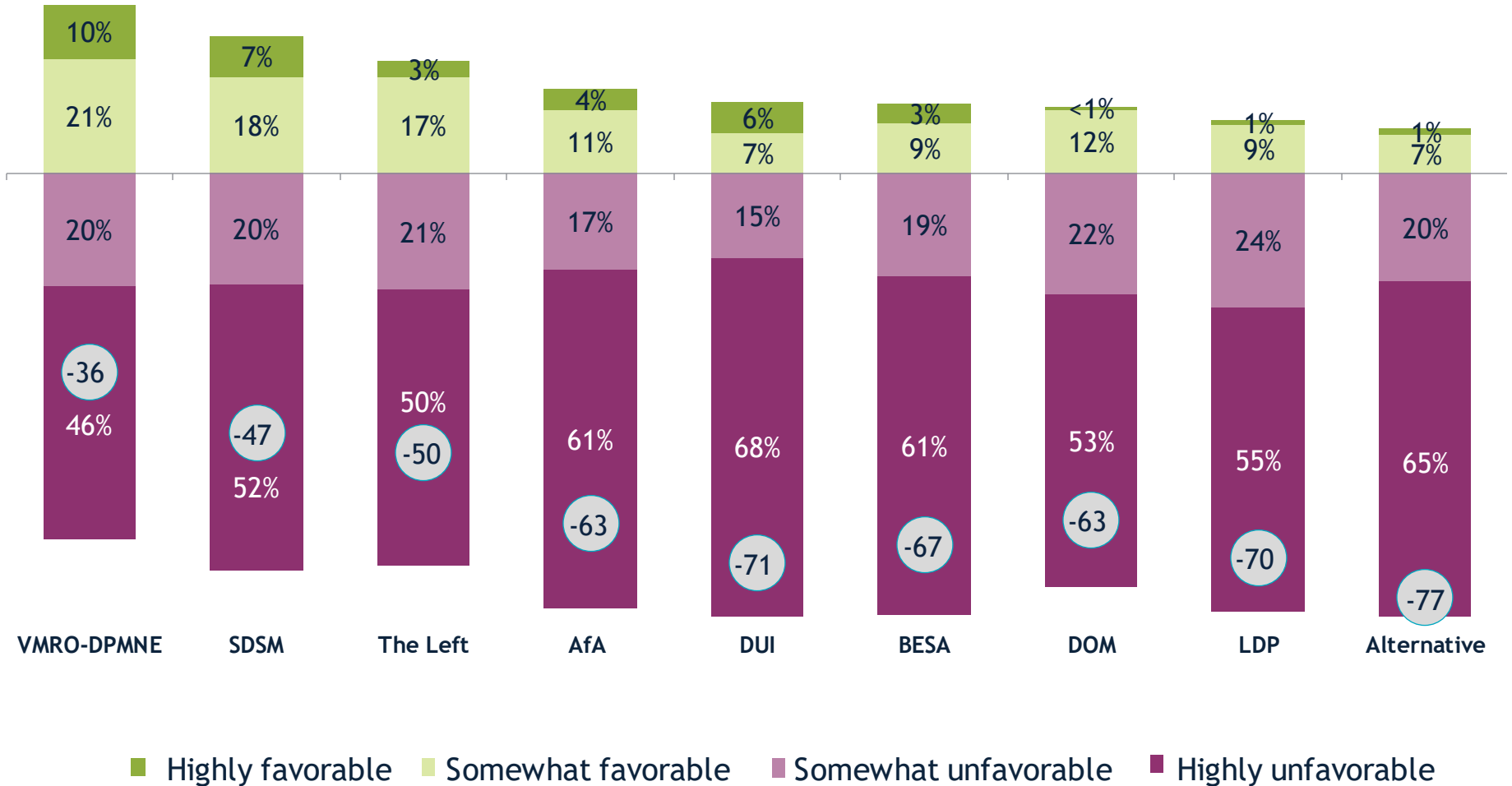


■ Highly favorable ■ Somewhat favorable ■ Somewhat unfavorable ■ Highly unfavorable

\*“Don’t know/Refused to answer” and “I have not heard of this person” are not displayed

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**.\*

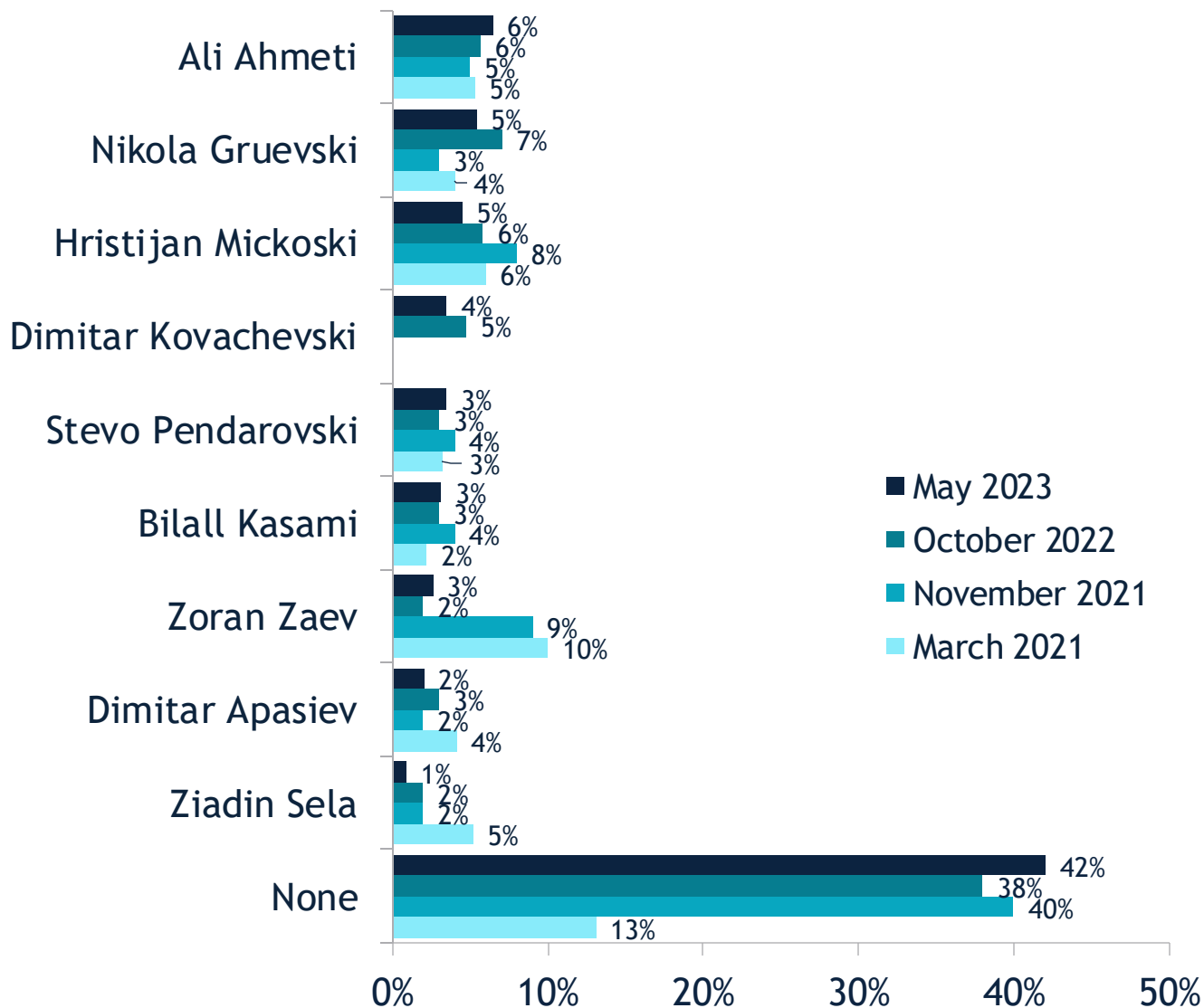
(Net favorability of political parties included in circles)



\*“Don’t know/Refused to answer” and “I have not heard of this party” are not displayed

# When you think about people in political life, who is the one person in North Macedonia whom you view most favorably?\*

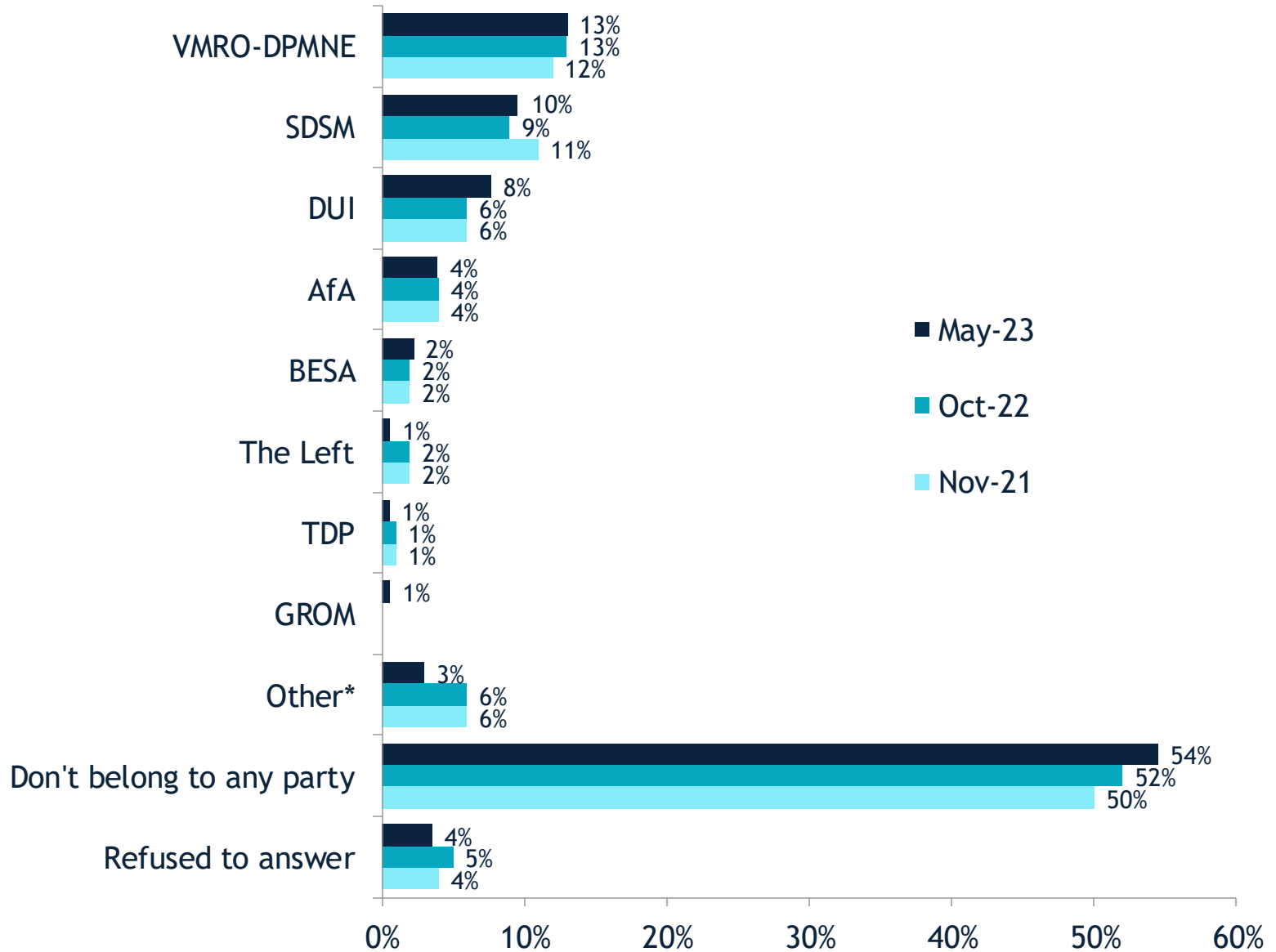
(Spontaneous response)



\*“Don’t know” and mentions less than one percent are not displayed.

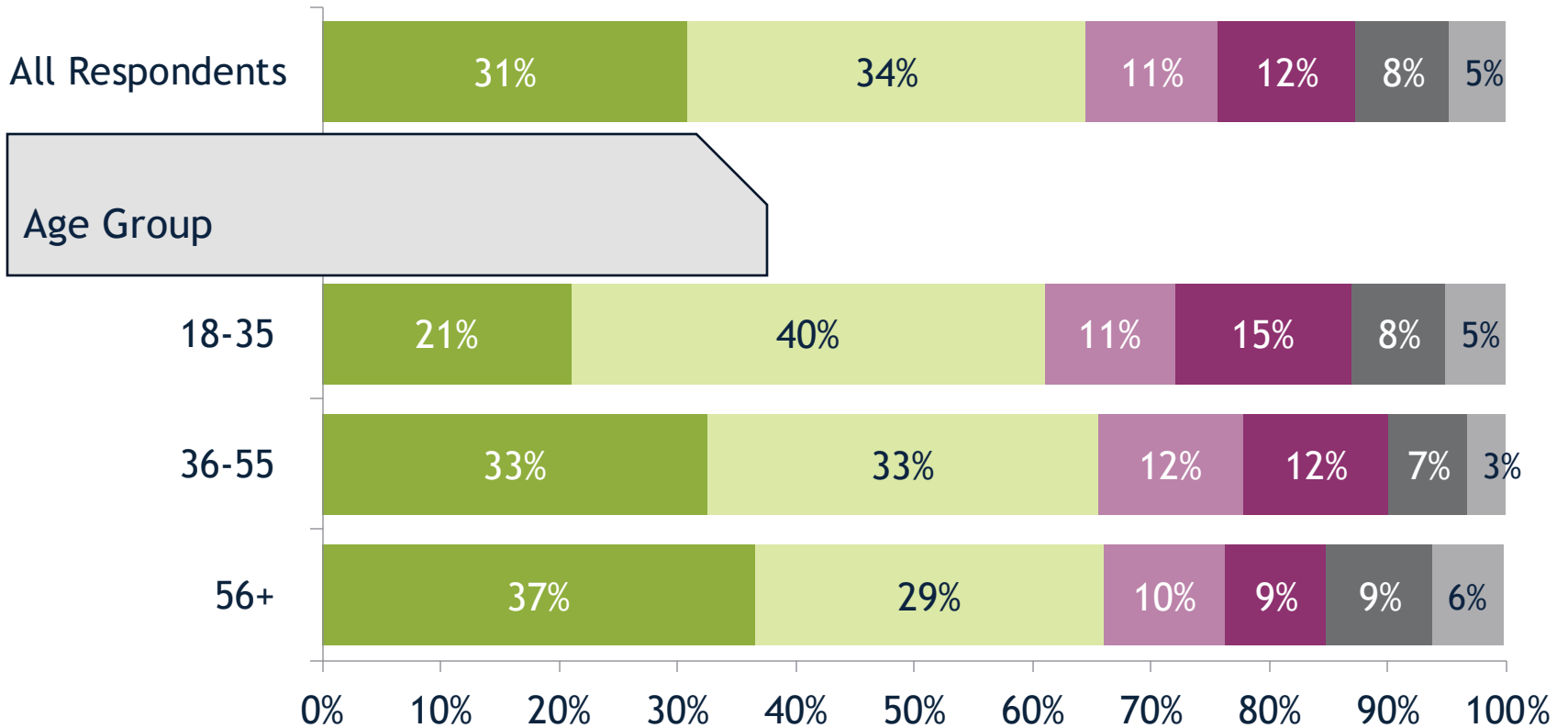


# To which, if any, political party do you belong?\*



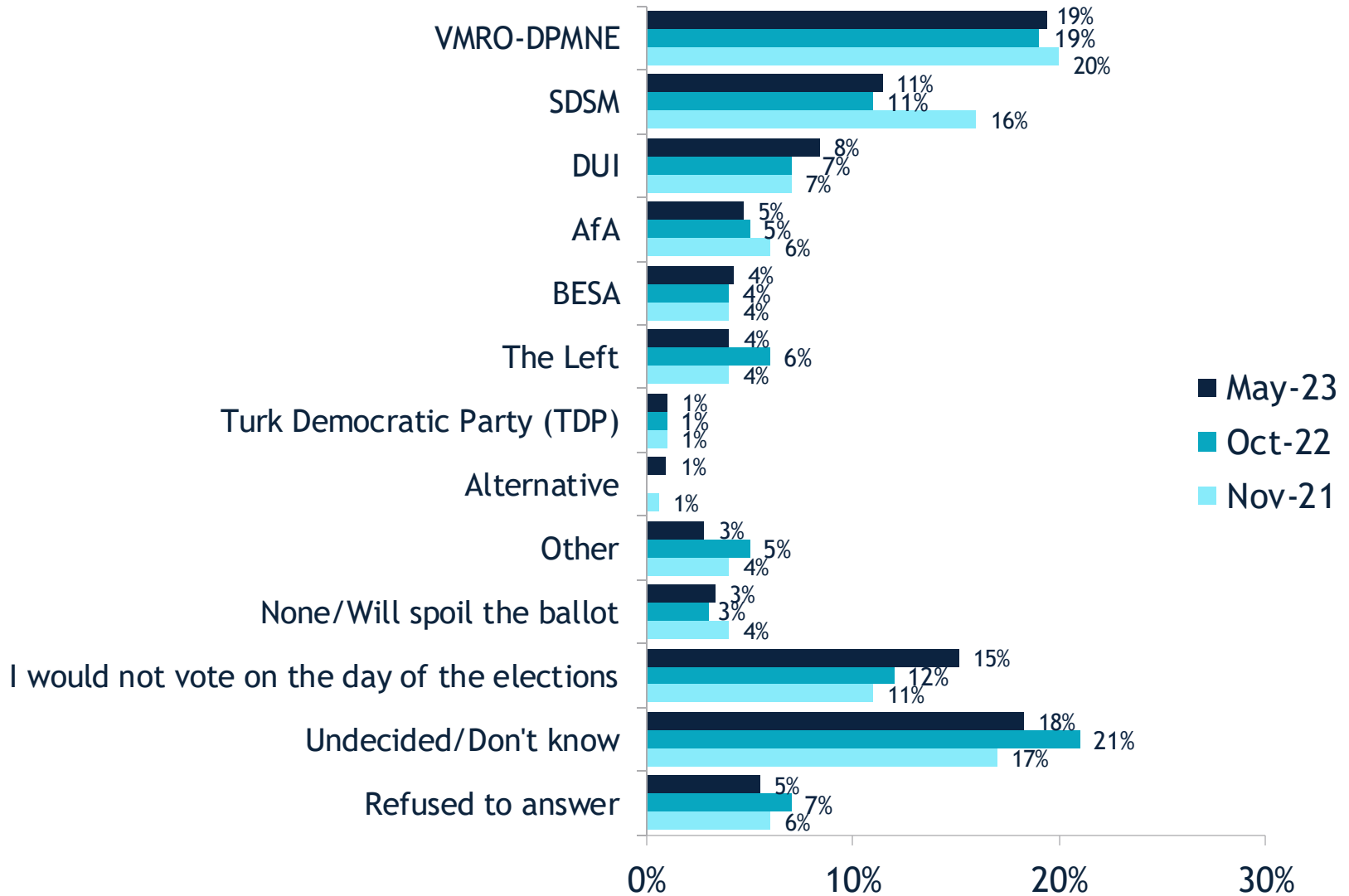
\*Mentions less than one percent have been combined into other.

# How likely or unlikely 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

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



\*See glossary of political parties on slide 4.

\*\*Mentions less than one percent are collapsed into other.

# Local Issues and Local Government Performance





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

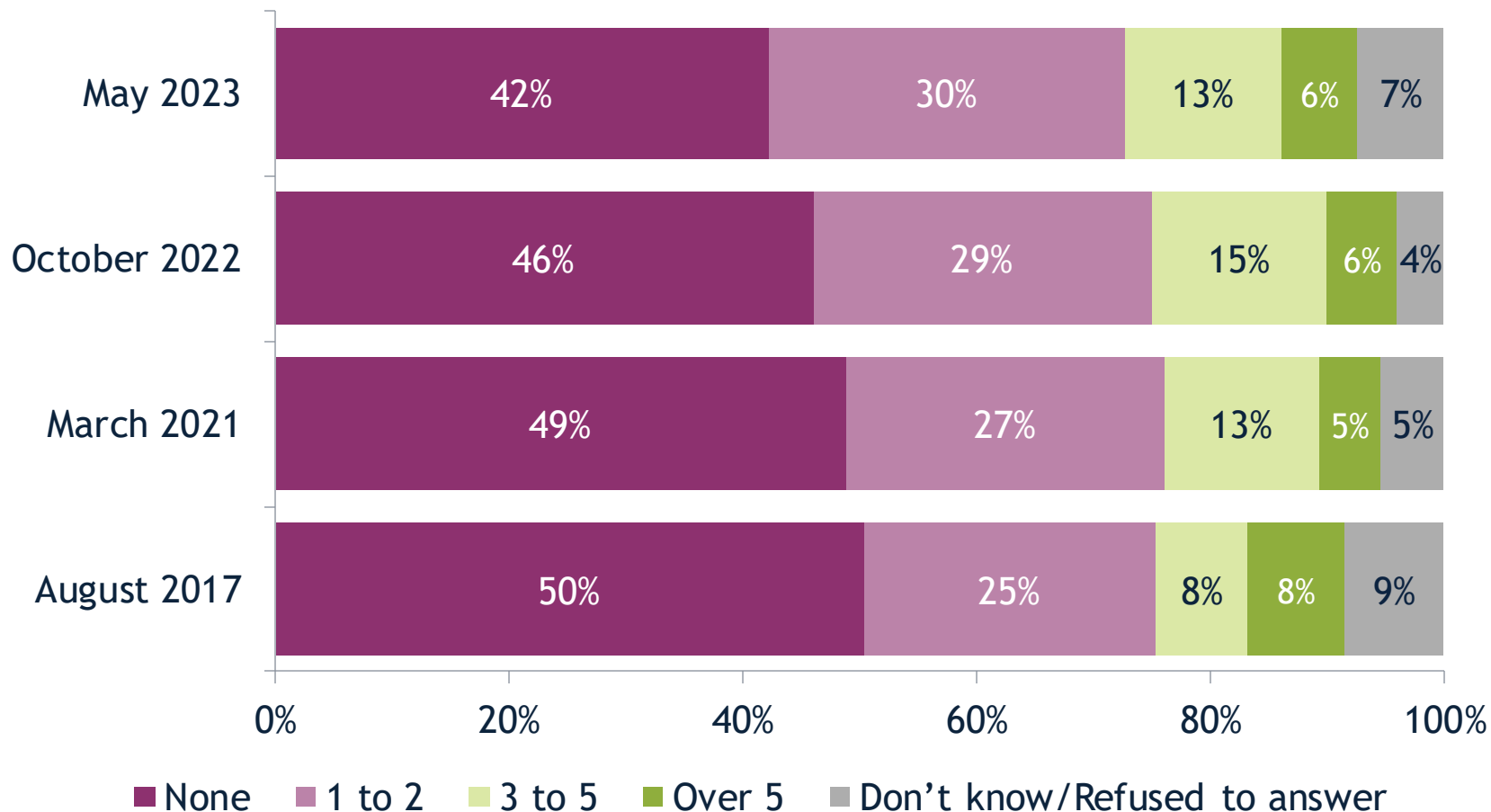
(Spontaneous response)



\*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.

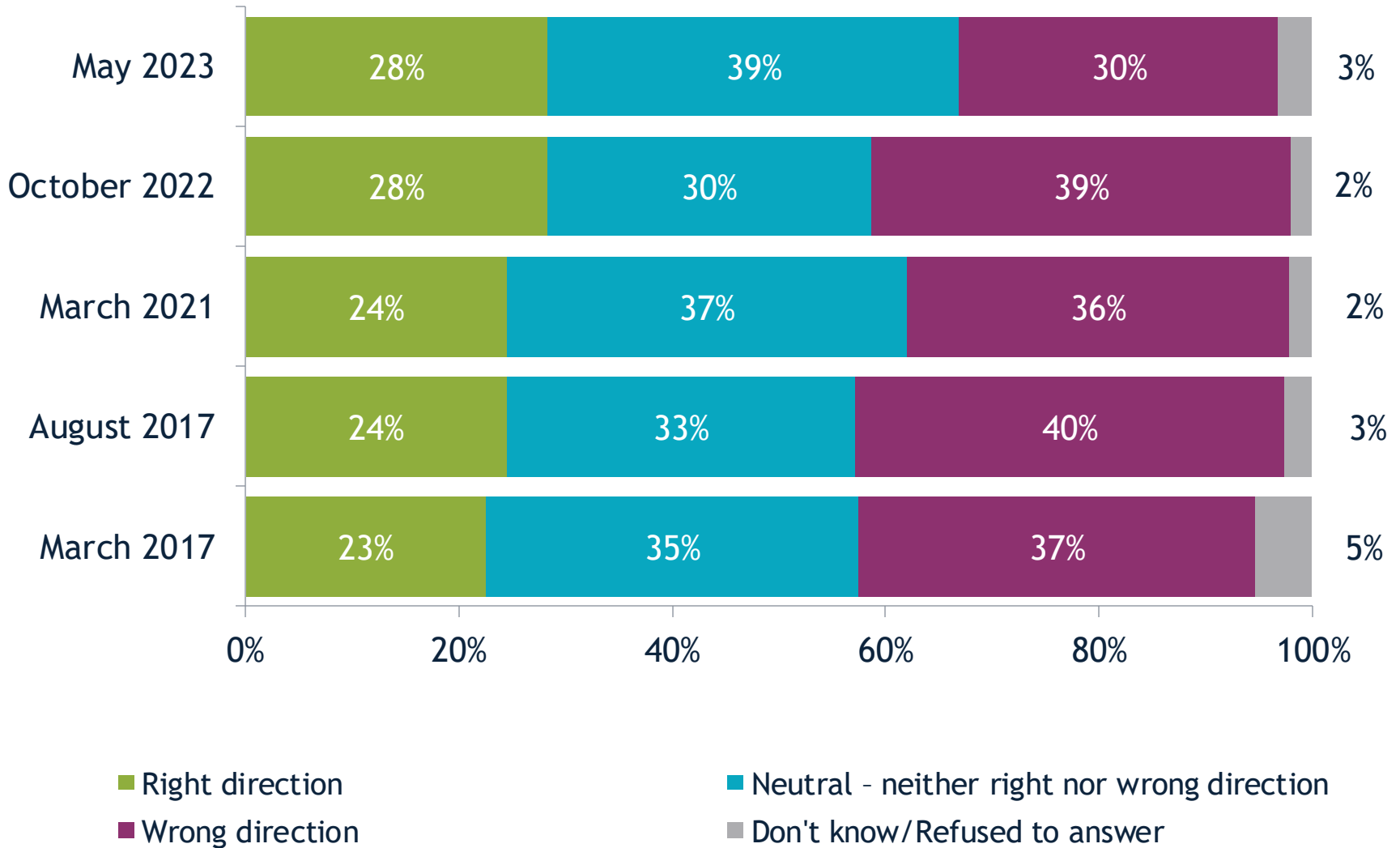


## How many of your municipal councilors can you name?\*

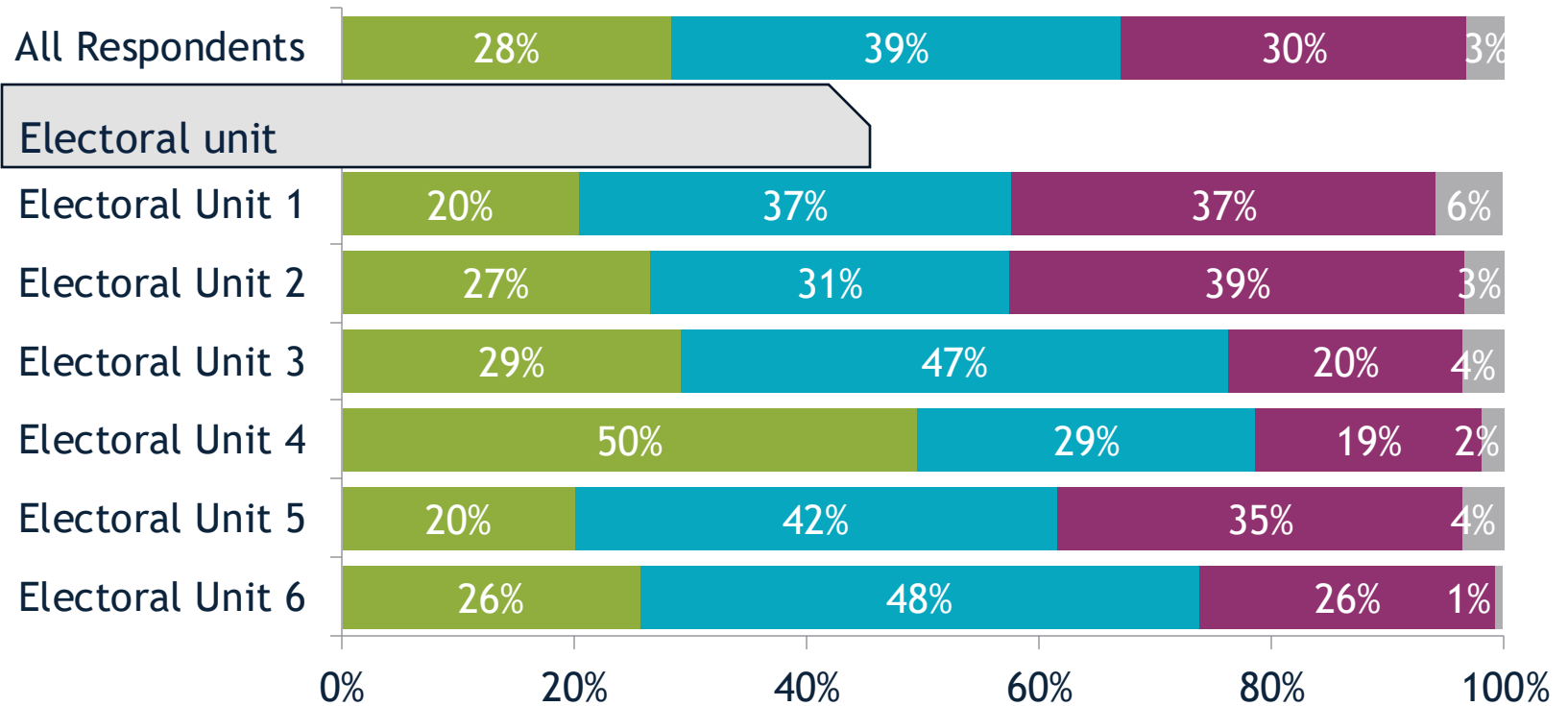


\*A municipal council in North Macedonia can be composed of between 9 to 33 councilors, elected from closed proportional party lists.

# 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?

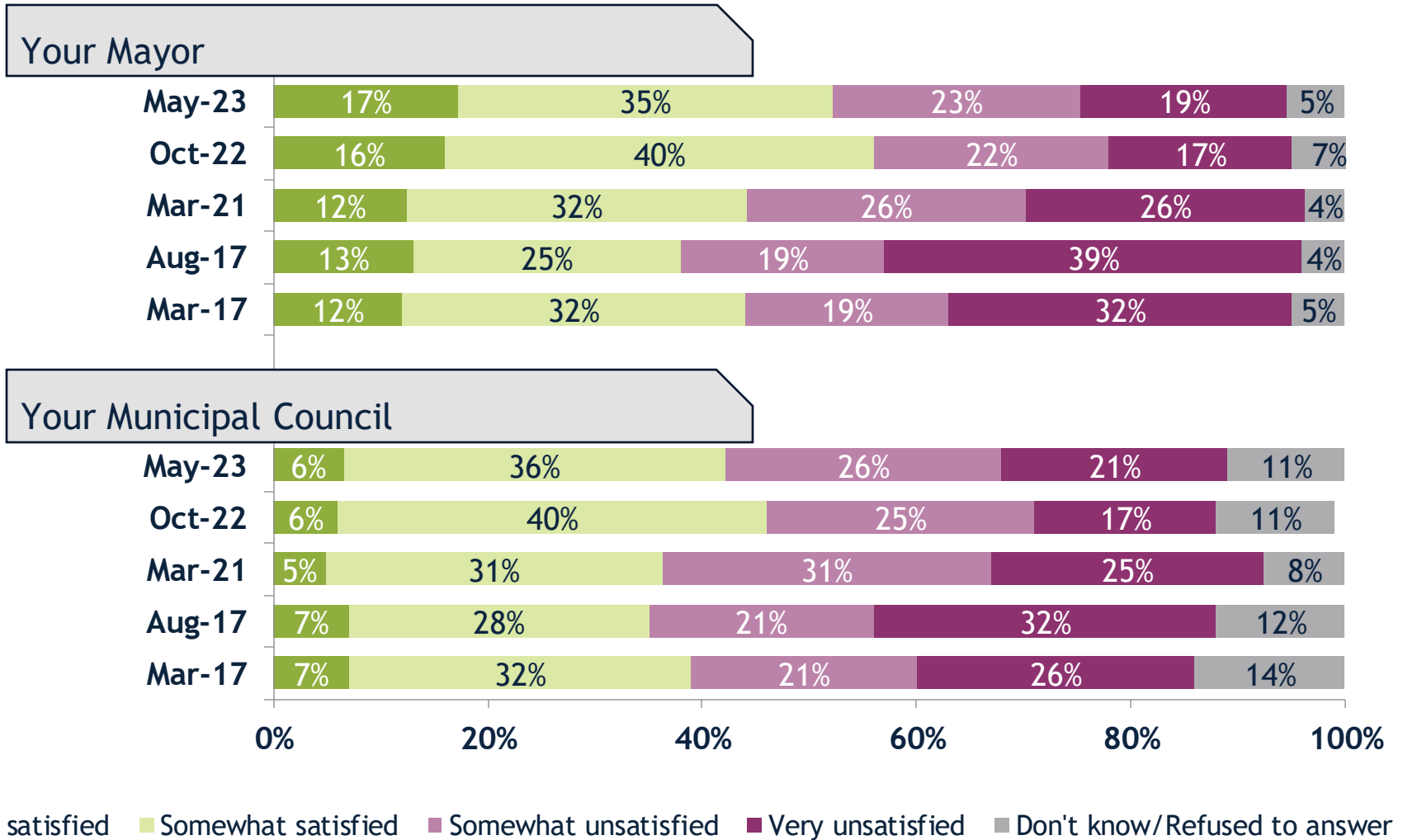


■ Right direction  
■ Wrong direction

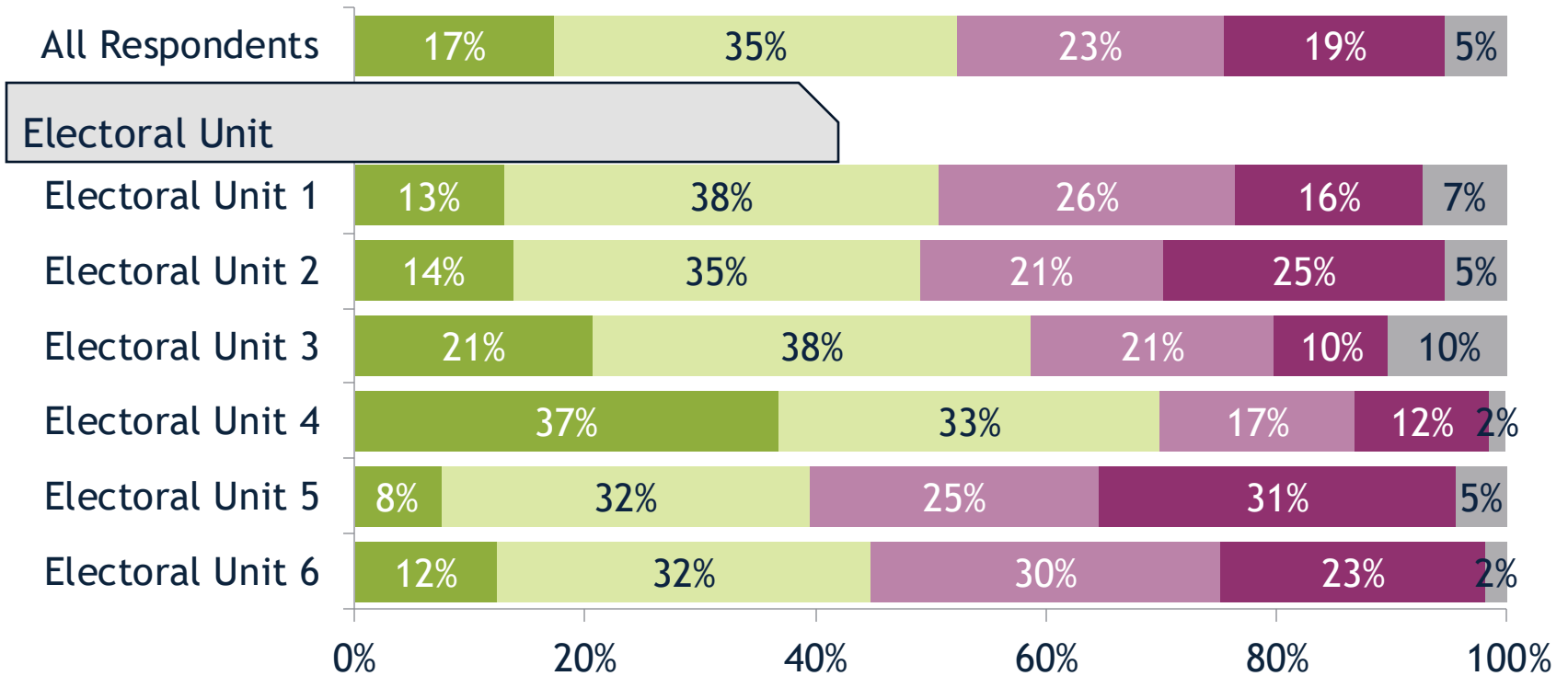
■ Neutral neither right nor wrong direction  
■ Don't know/ Refused to answer



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

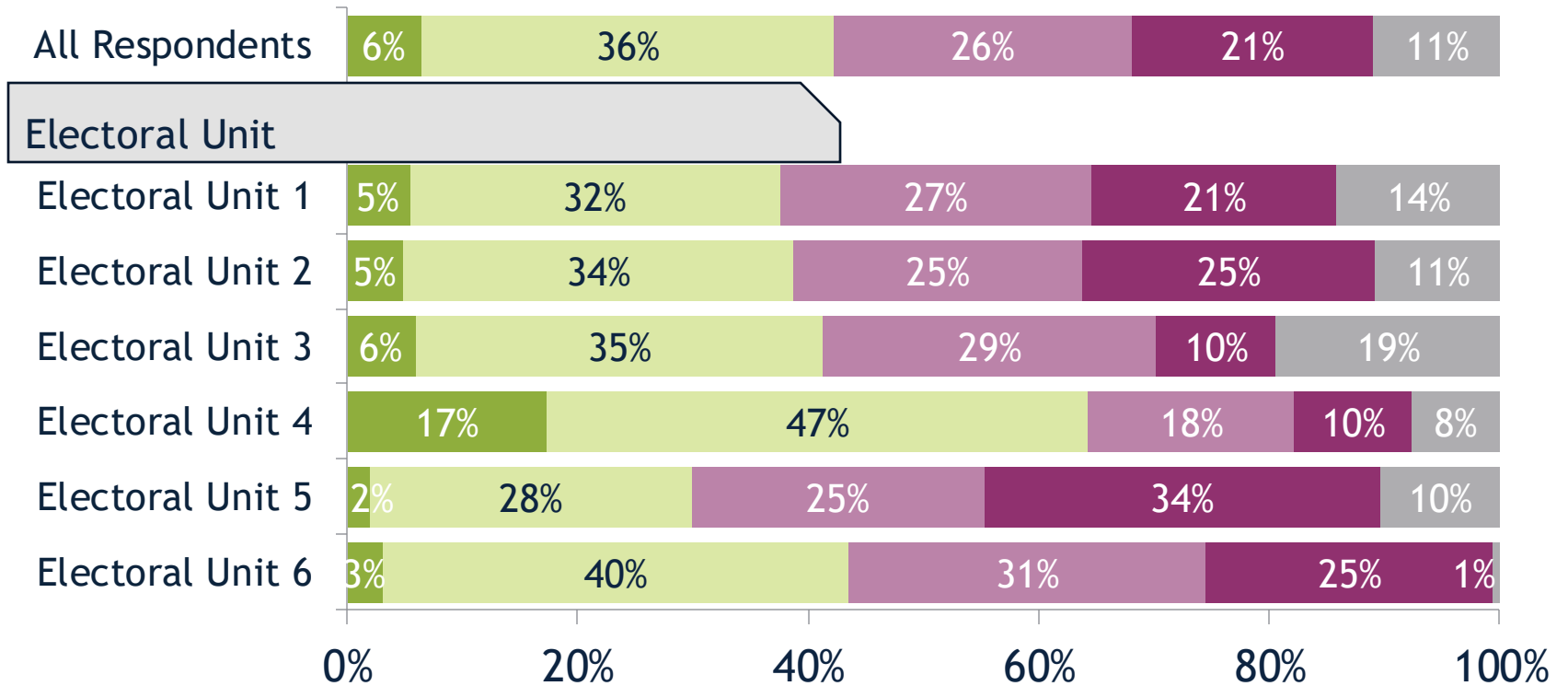


# How satisfied or unsatisfied are you with the past performance of your mayor?



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

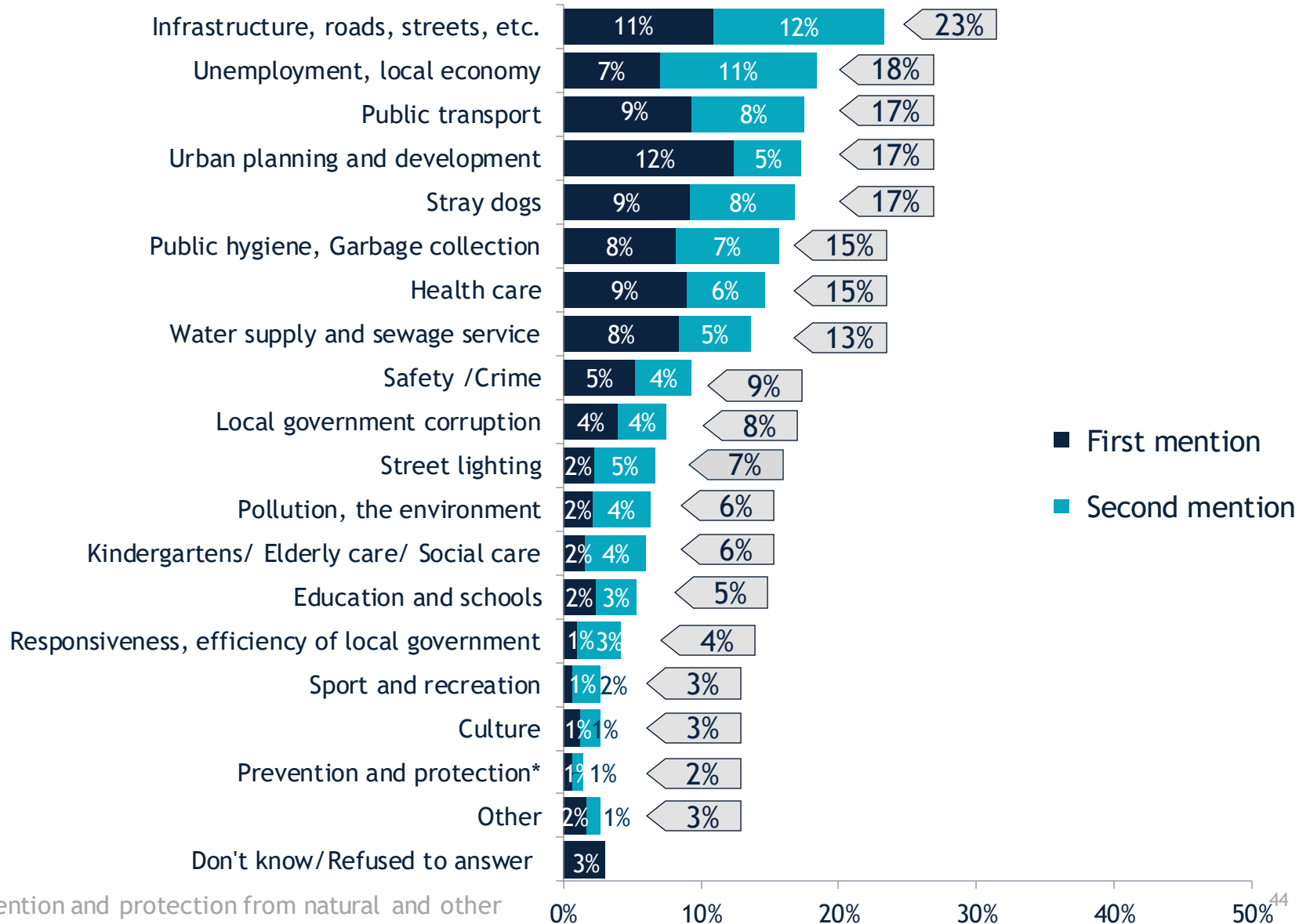
# How satisfied or unsatisfied are you with your municipal council?



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

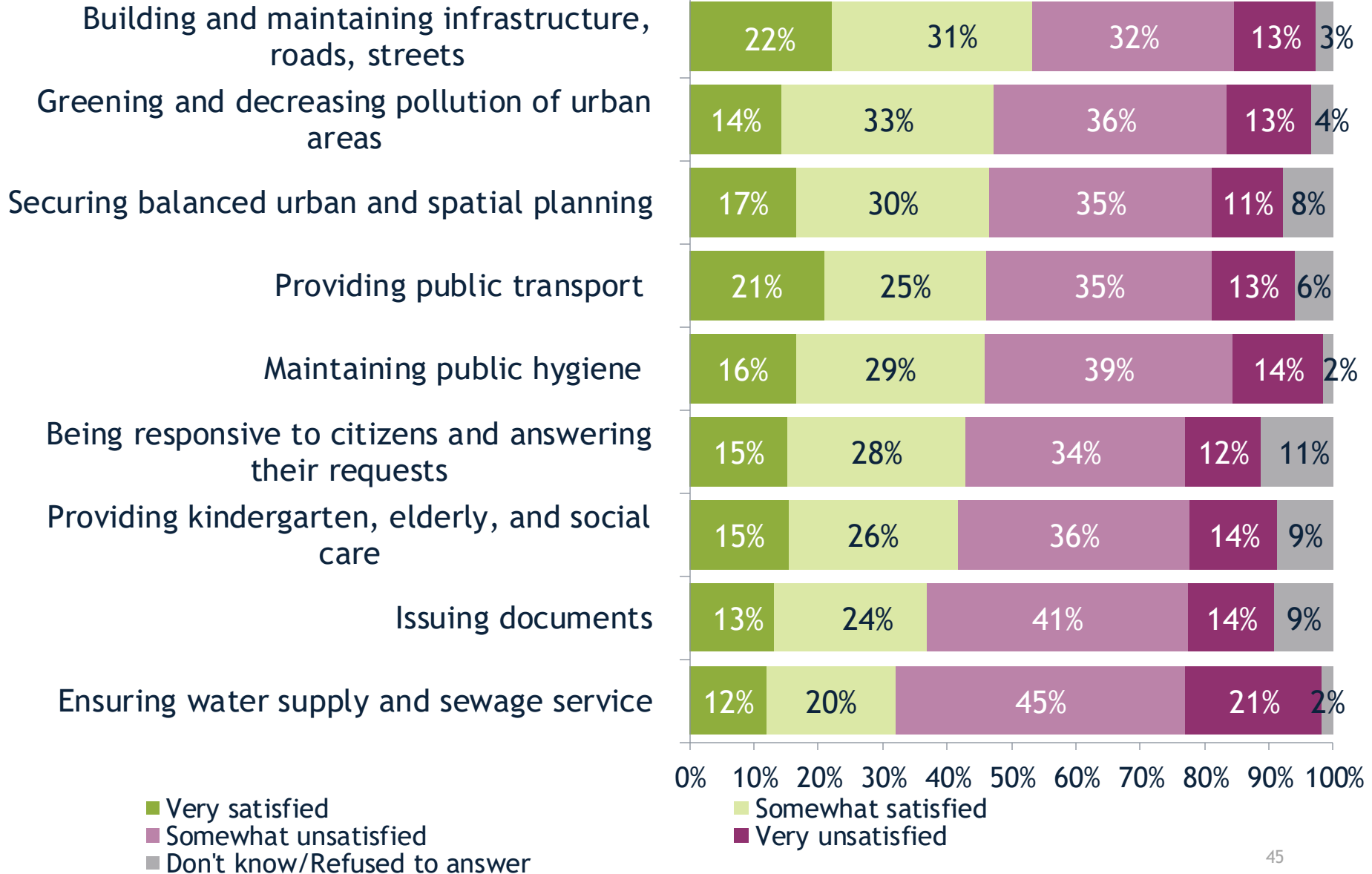
# In your opinion, what are the most serious problems facing your municipality today?

(Up to two responses accepted)



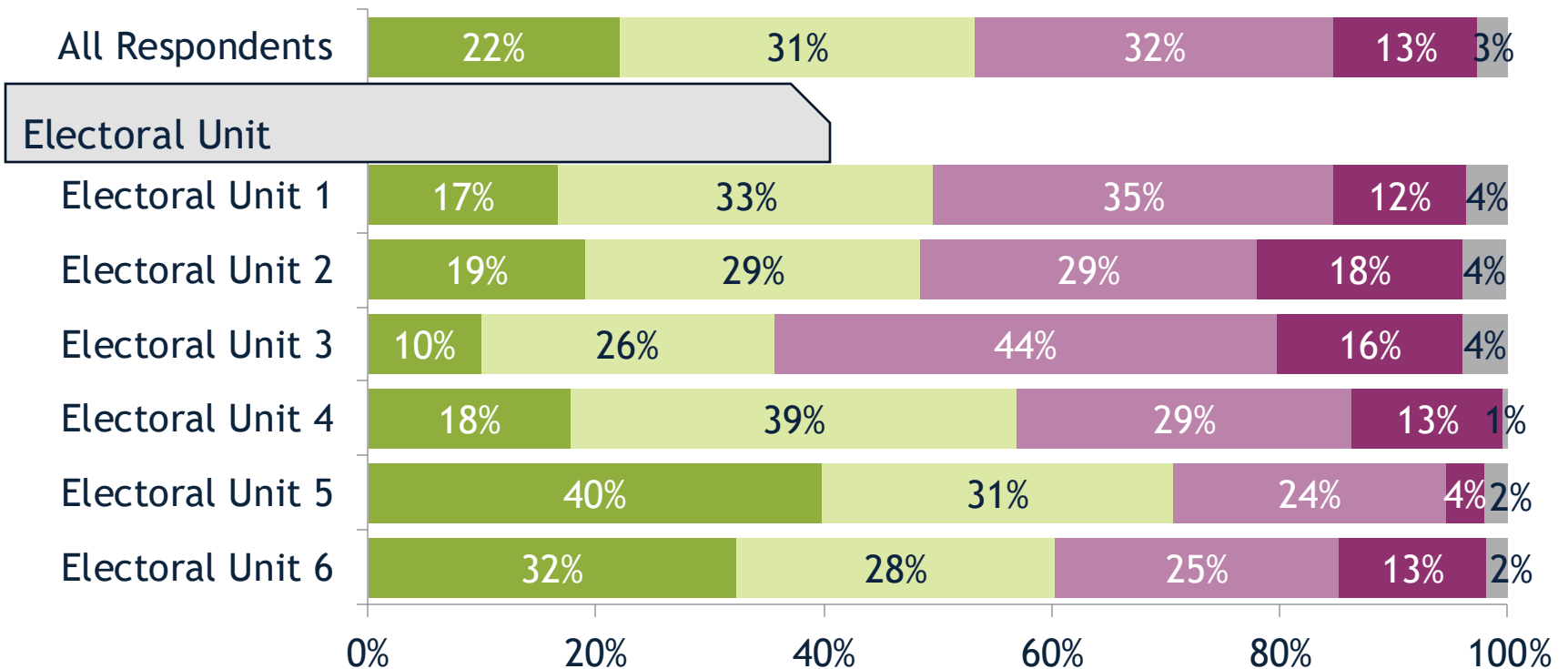
\*Prevention and protection from natural and other disasters

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



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

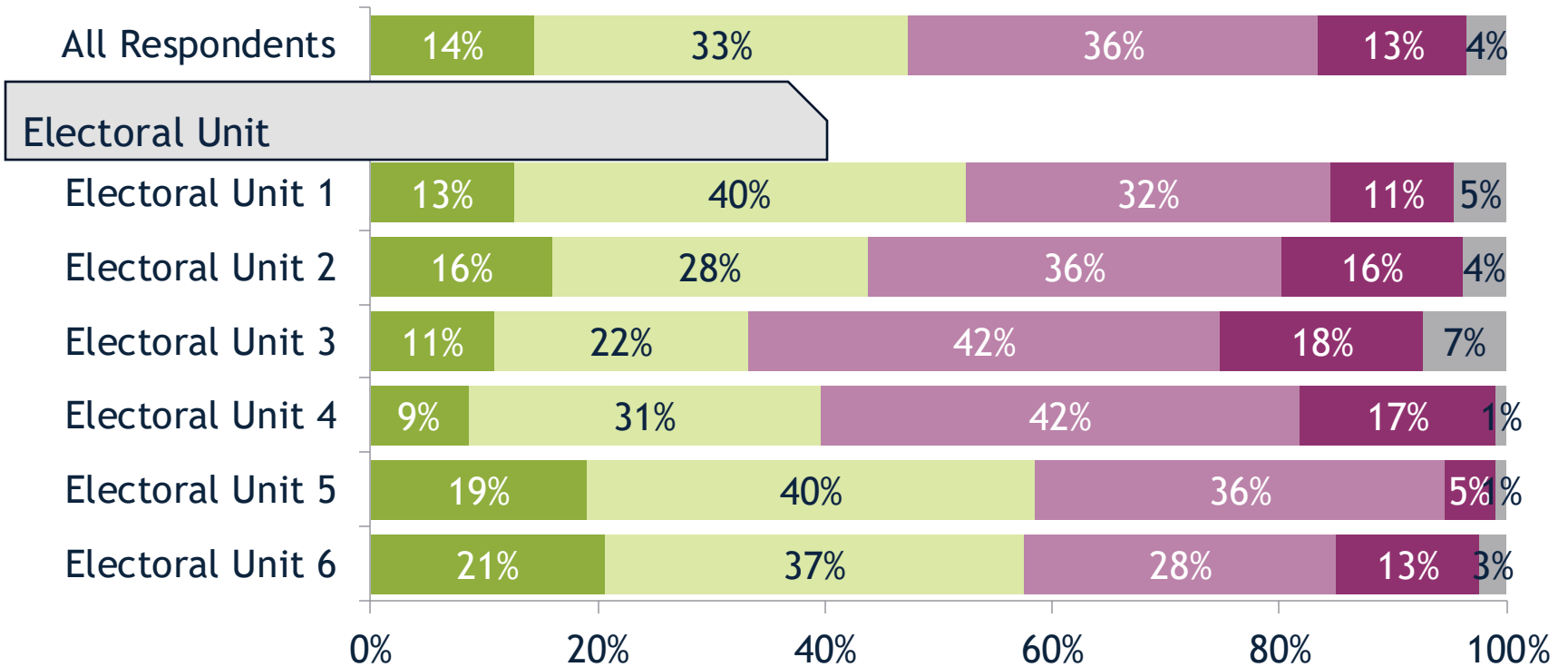
## *Building and maintaining infrastructure, roads, streets*



- 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...?

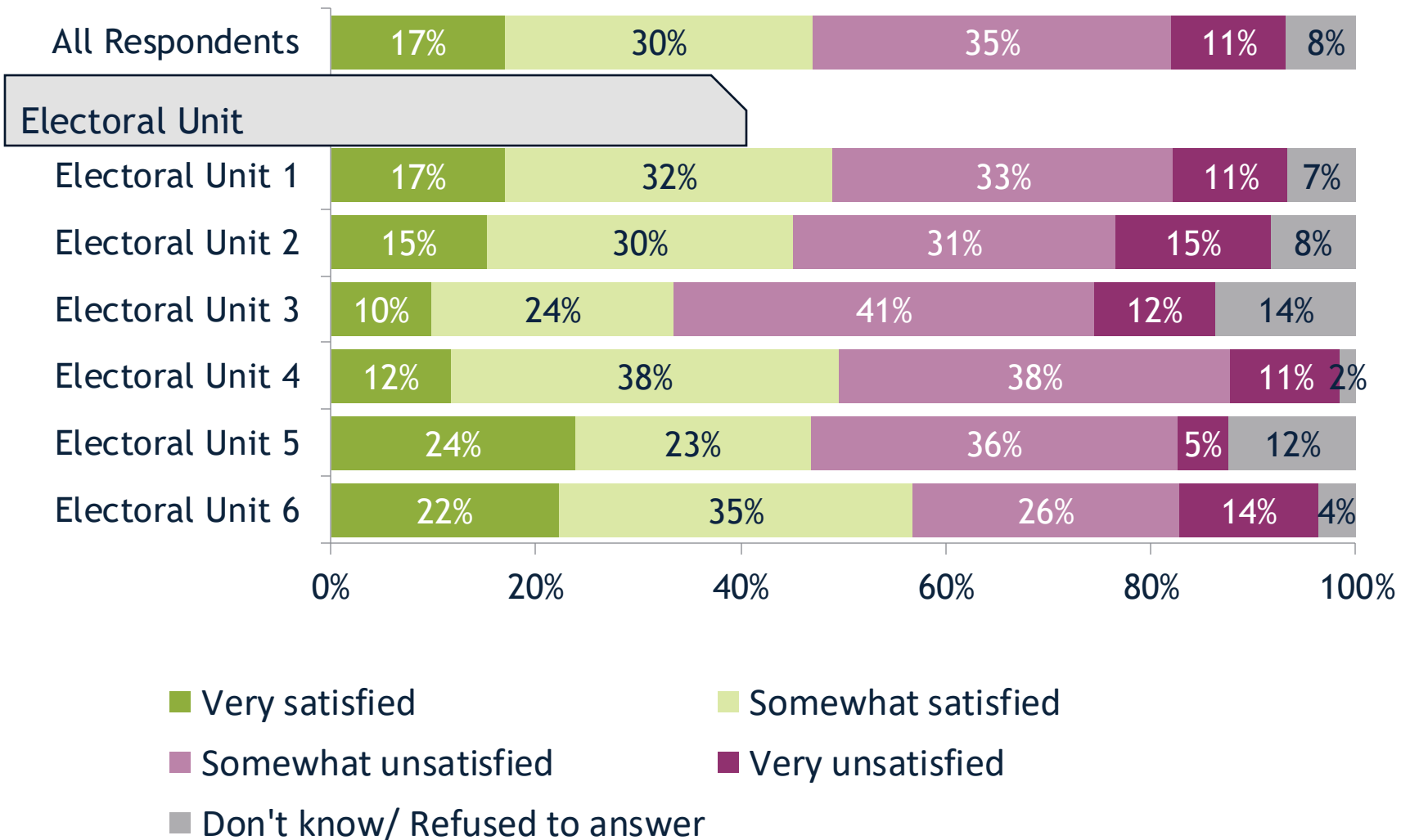
## *Greening and decreasing pollution of urban areas*



- 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...?

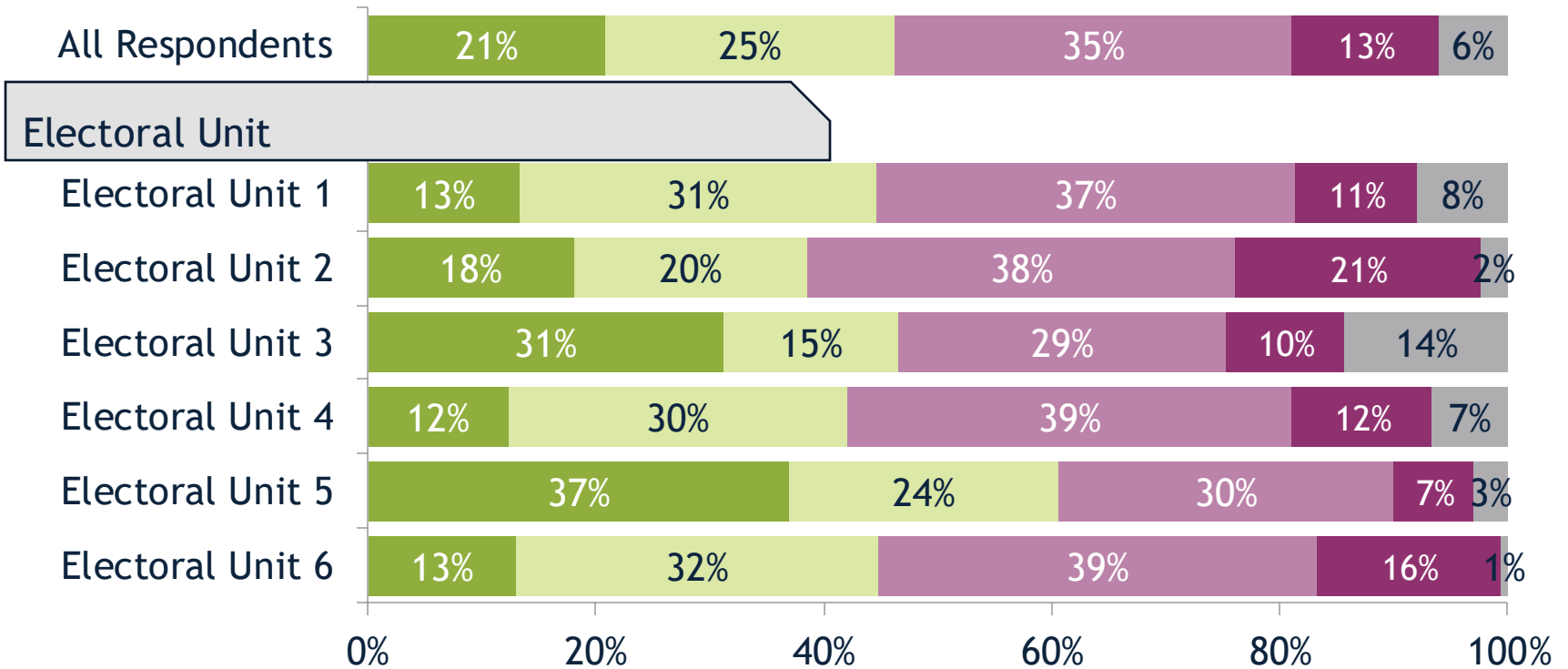
## *Securing balanced urban and spatial planning*





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

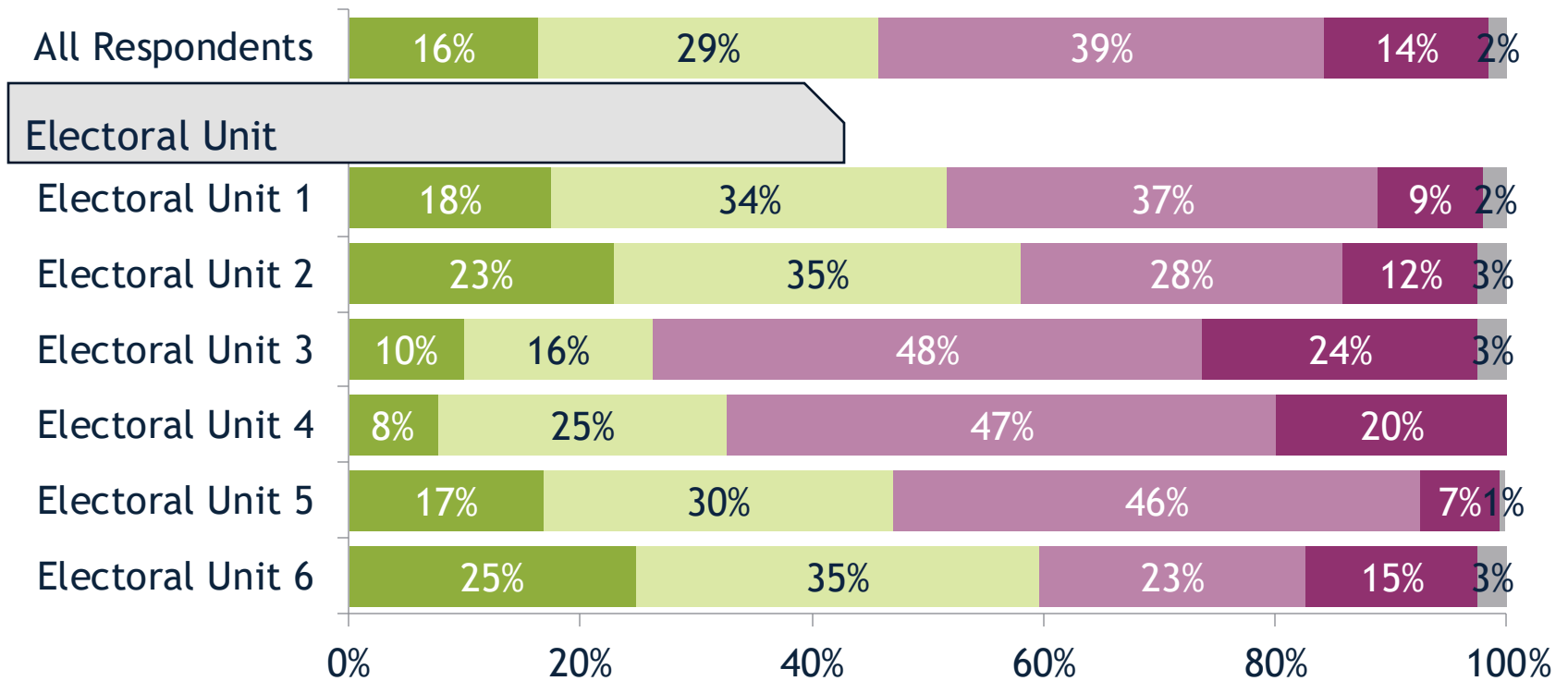
## Providing public transport



- 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...?

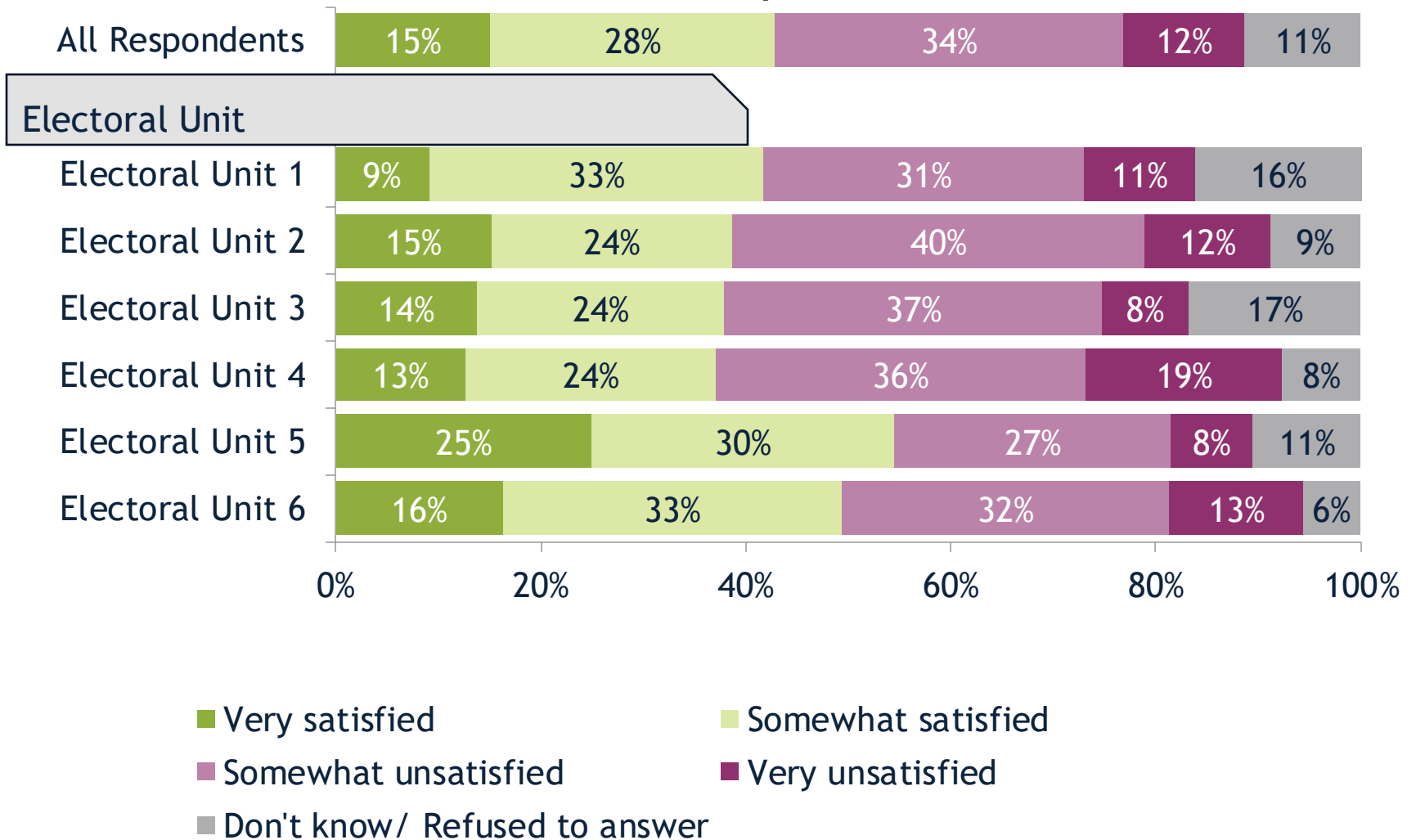
## Maintaining public hygiene



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

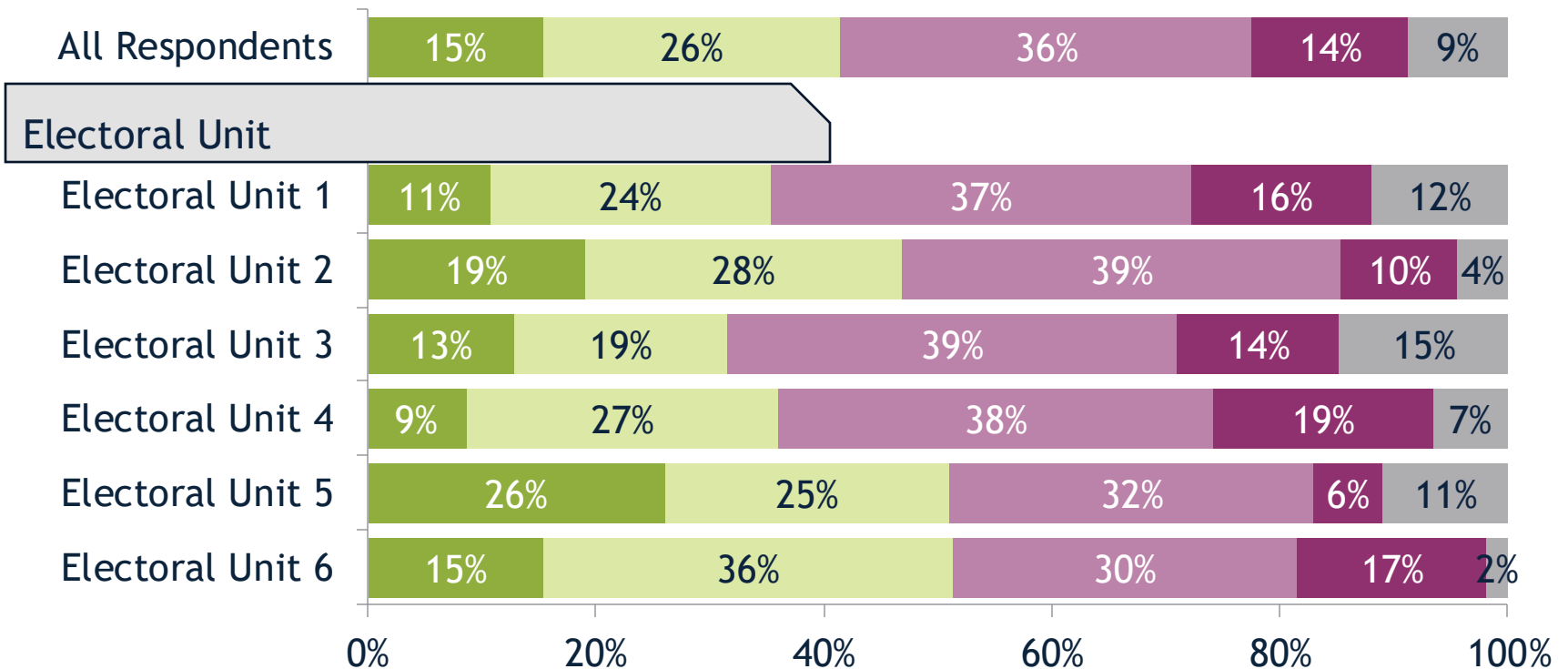
# How satisfied or unsatisfied are you with how your municipality performs in...?

## *Being responsive to citizens and answering their requests*



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

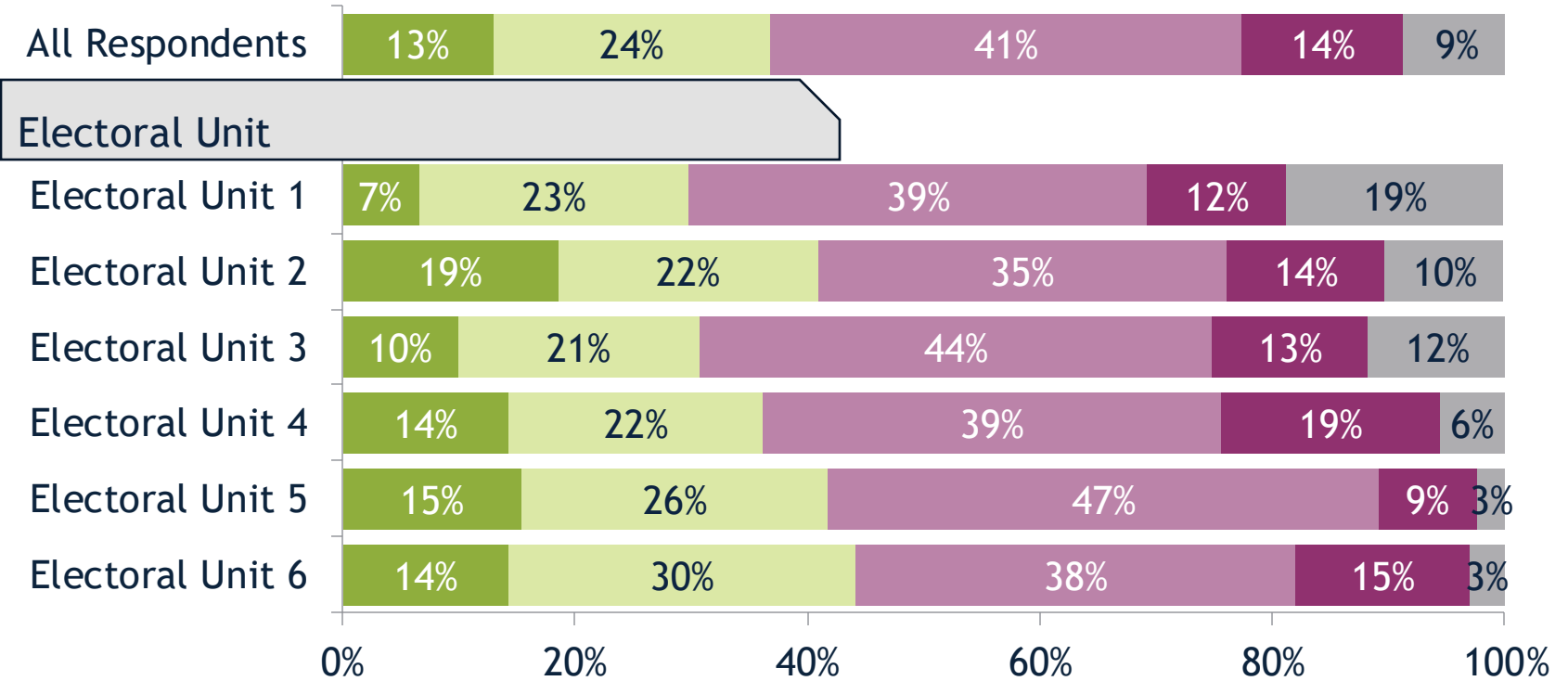
## *Providing kindergarten, elderly and social care*



- 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...?

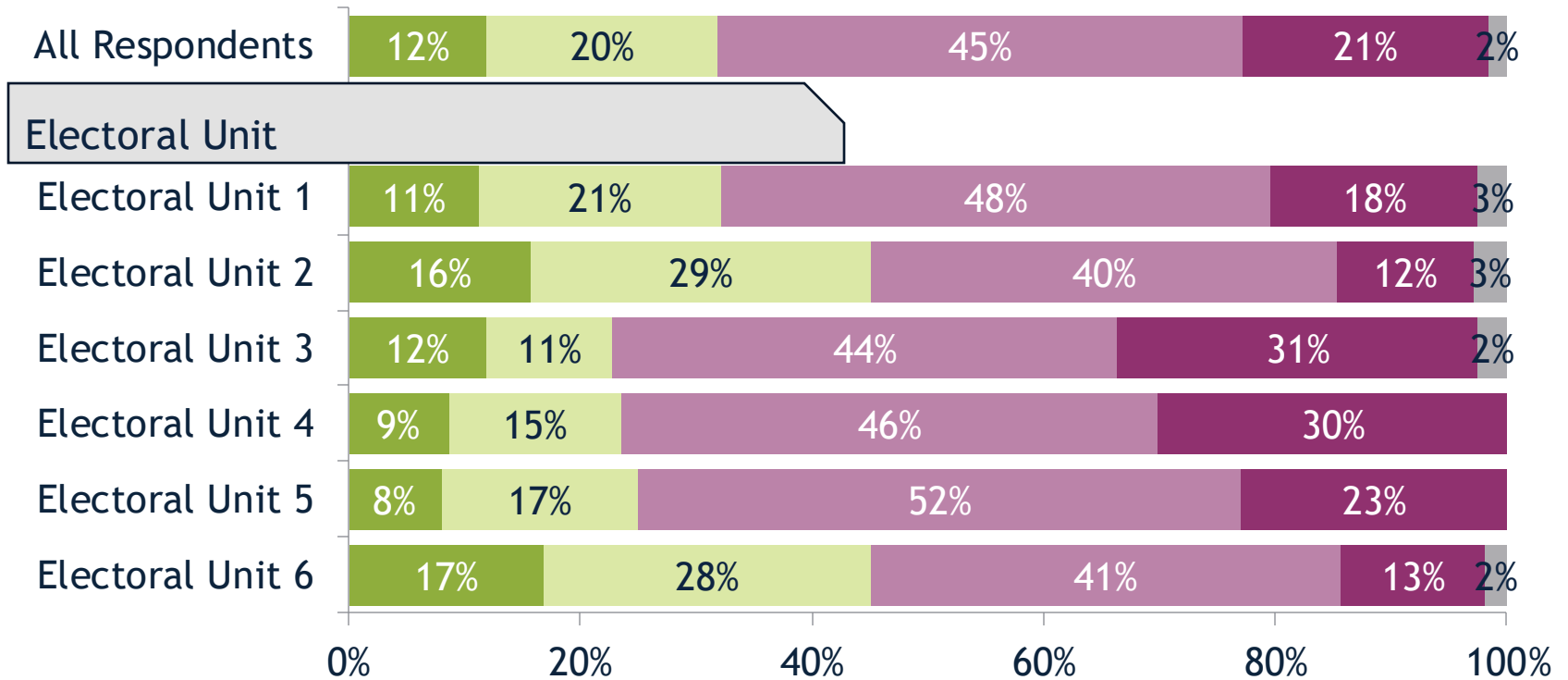
## Issuing documents



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

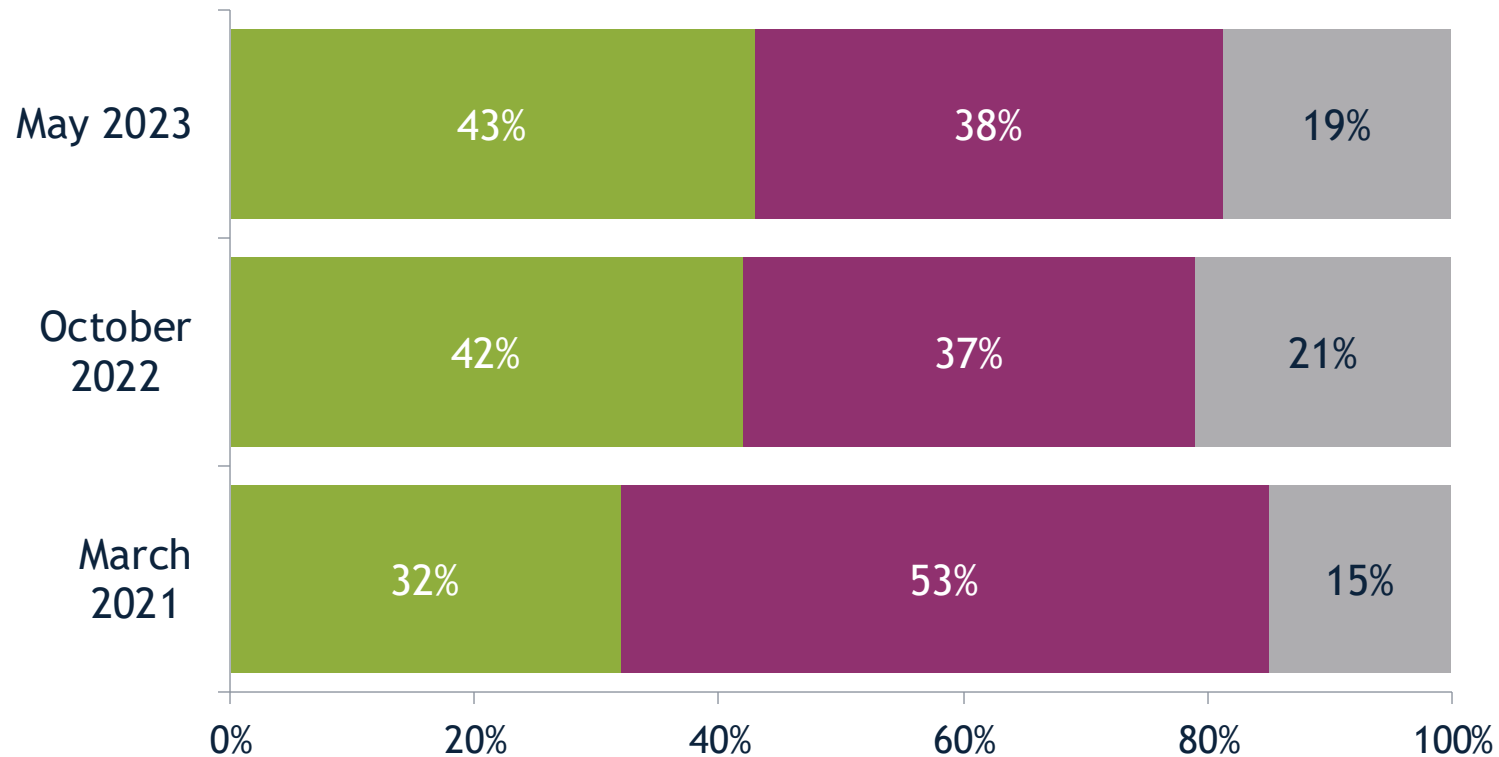
# How satisfied or unsatisfied are you with how your municipality performs in...?

## Ensuring water supply and sewerage service



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

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

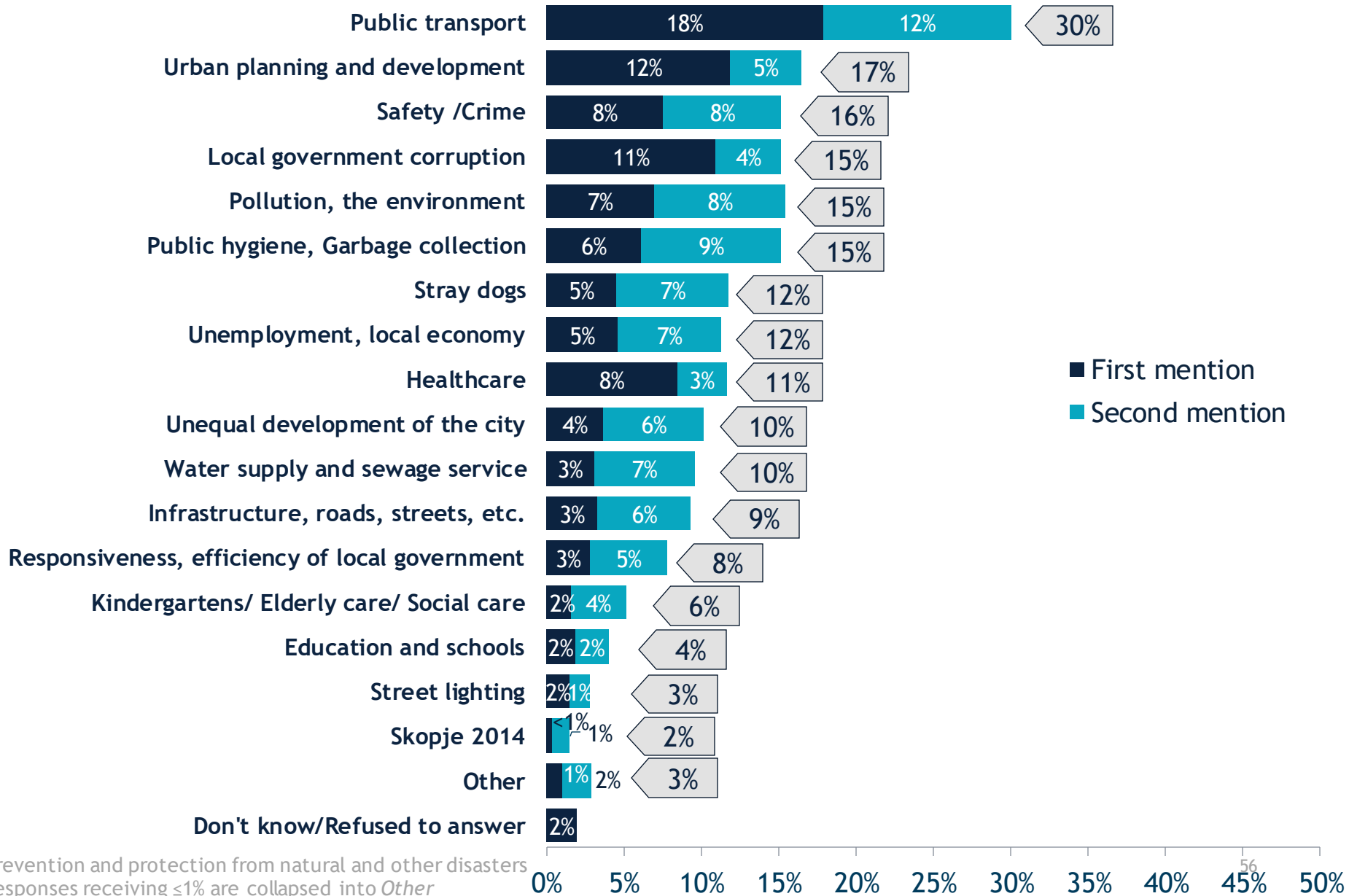


■ Yes, s/he should be re-elected  
■ Don't know/Refused to answer

■ No, another candidate should be elected

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

(Respondents from Skopje: n=389; margin of error ±4.97 points)

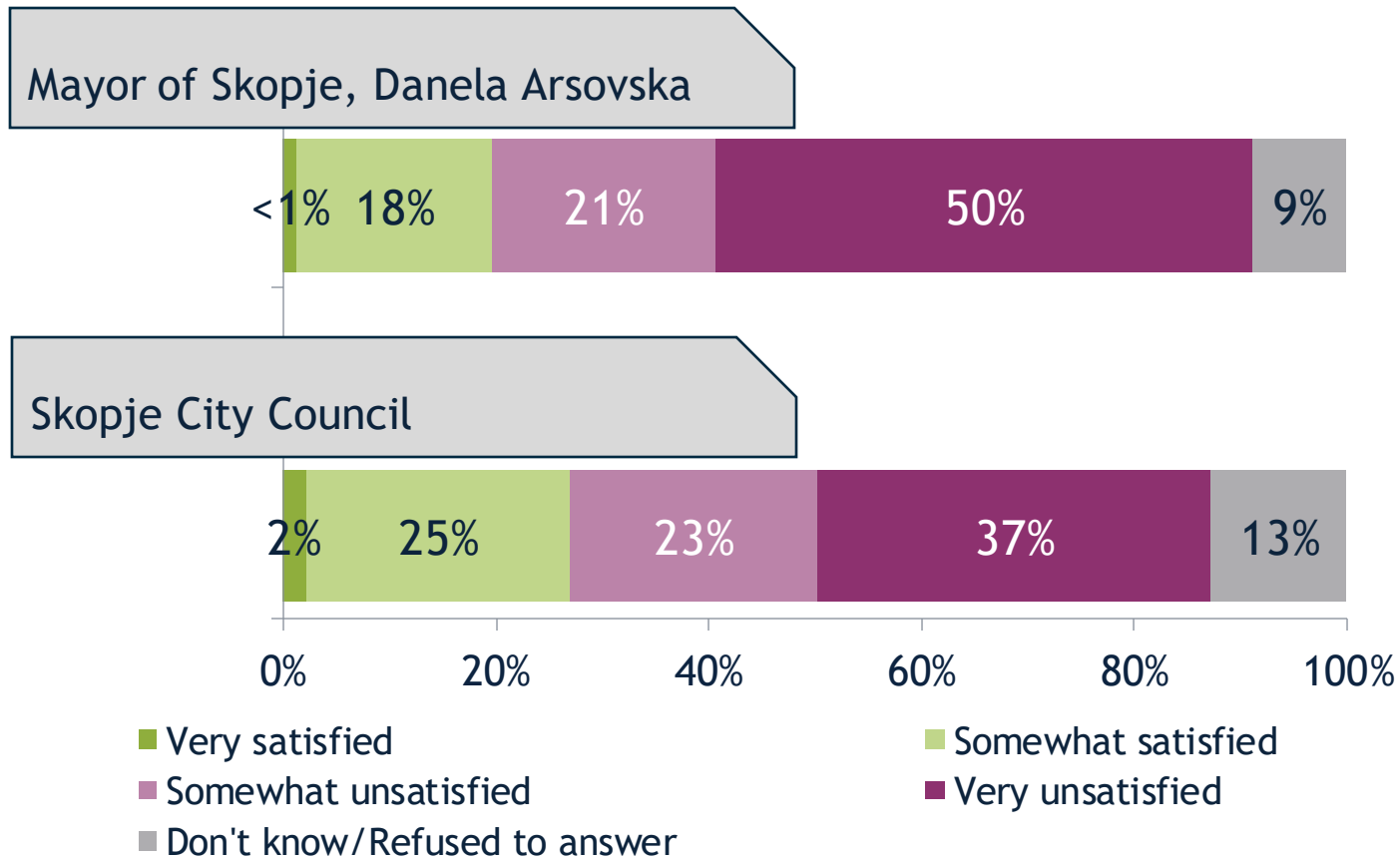


\*Prevention and protection from natural and other disasters  
Responses receiving ≤1% are collapsed into *Other*



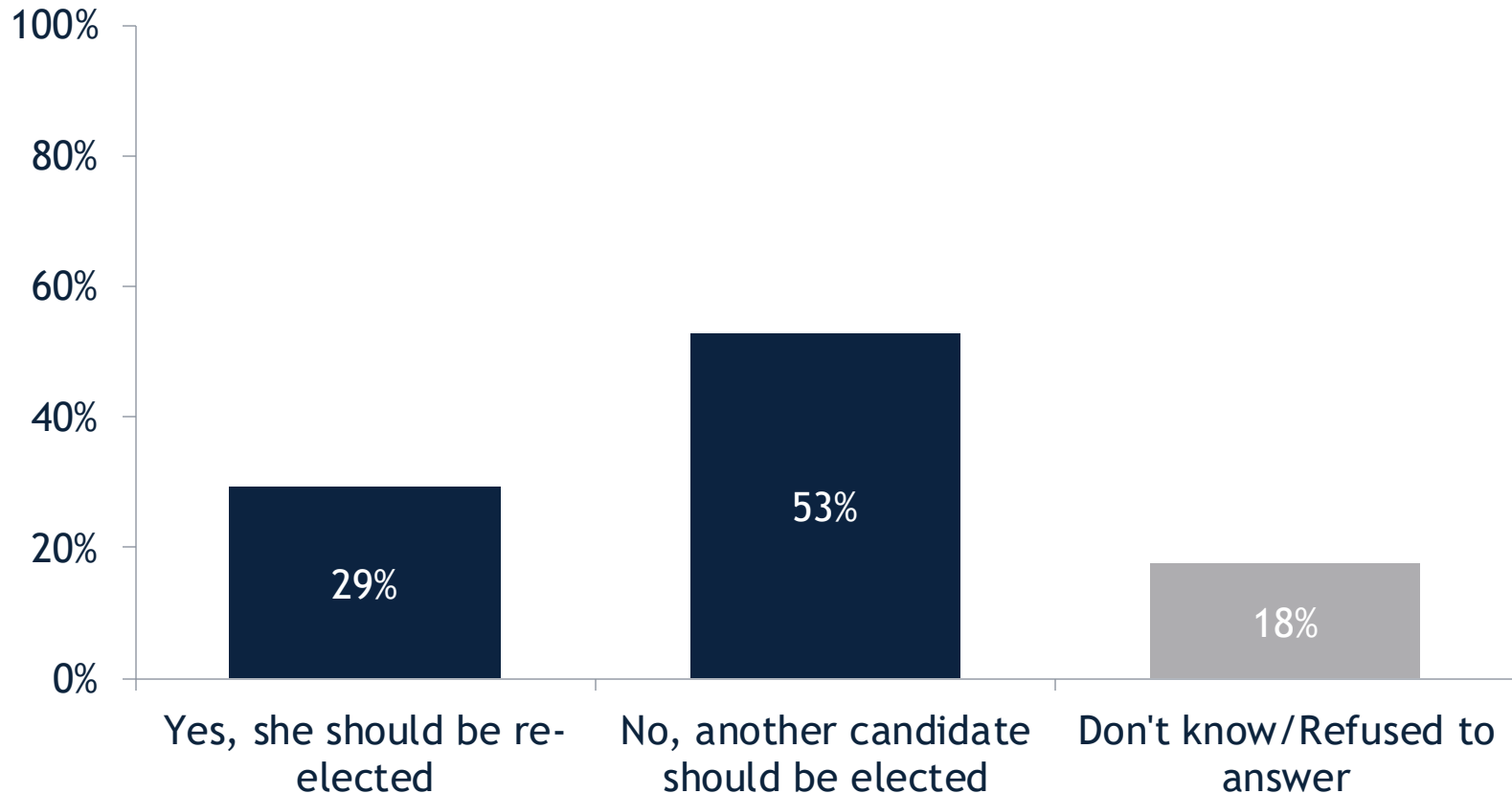
# How satisfied or unsatisfied are you with the past performance of each of the following?

(Respondents from Skopje: n=389; margin of error  $\pm 4.97$  points)



# Does the mayor of Skopje, Danela Arsovska, do her job well enough to be re-elected or should a new mayor be elected?

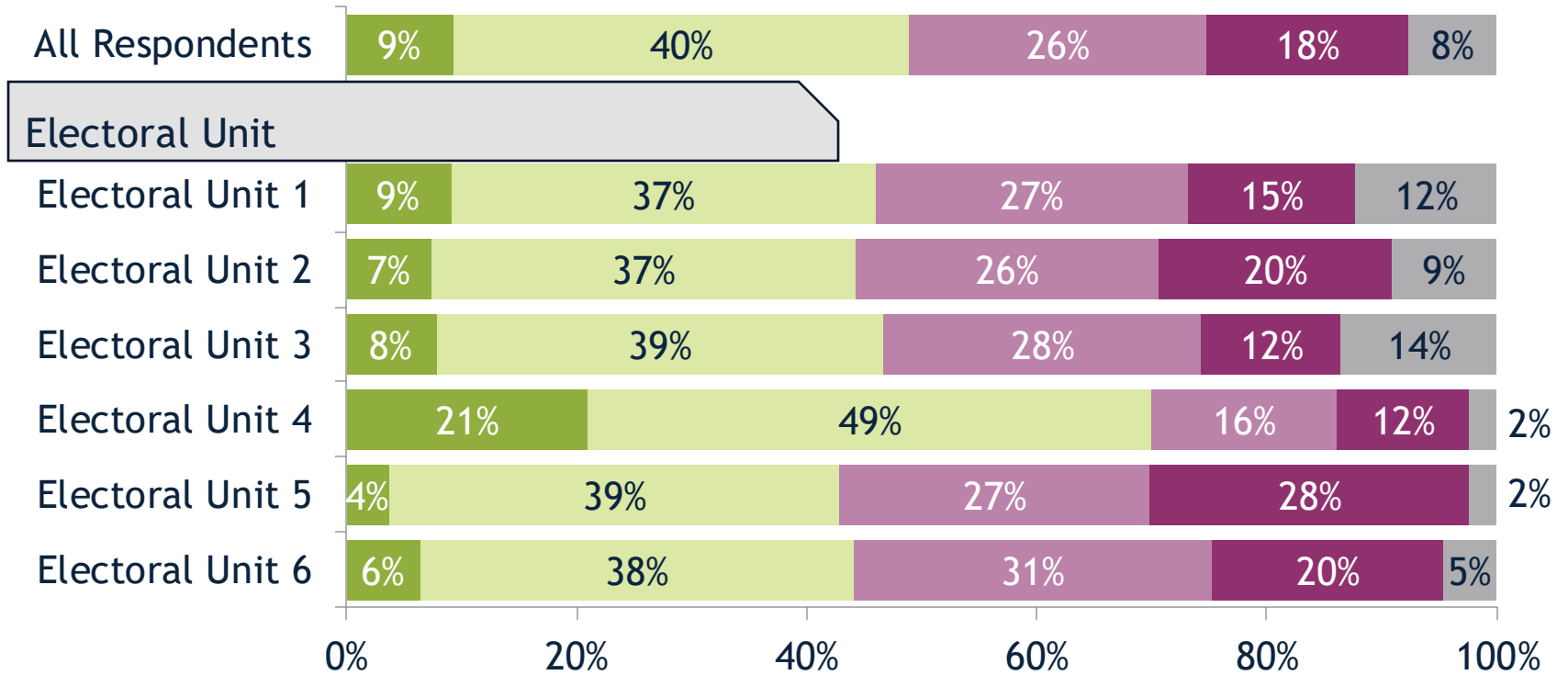
(Respondents from Skopje: n=389; margin of error  $\pm 4.97$  points)



# Local Government Responsiveness

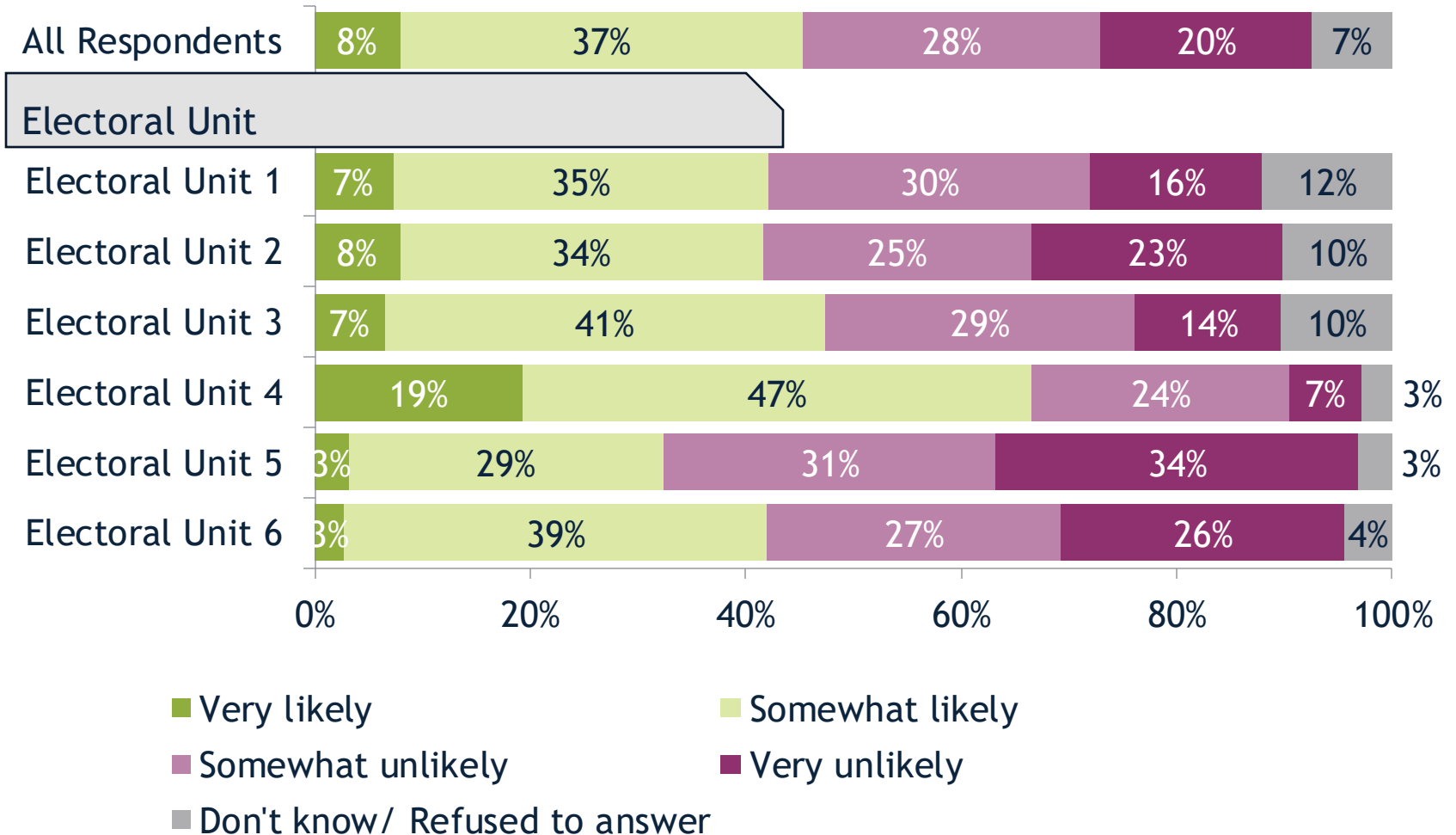


**If you reach out to your municipality to inform it about a local problem in your neighborhood, how likely or unlikely do you think is that the municipality will respond to you?**

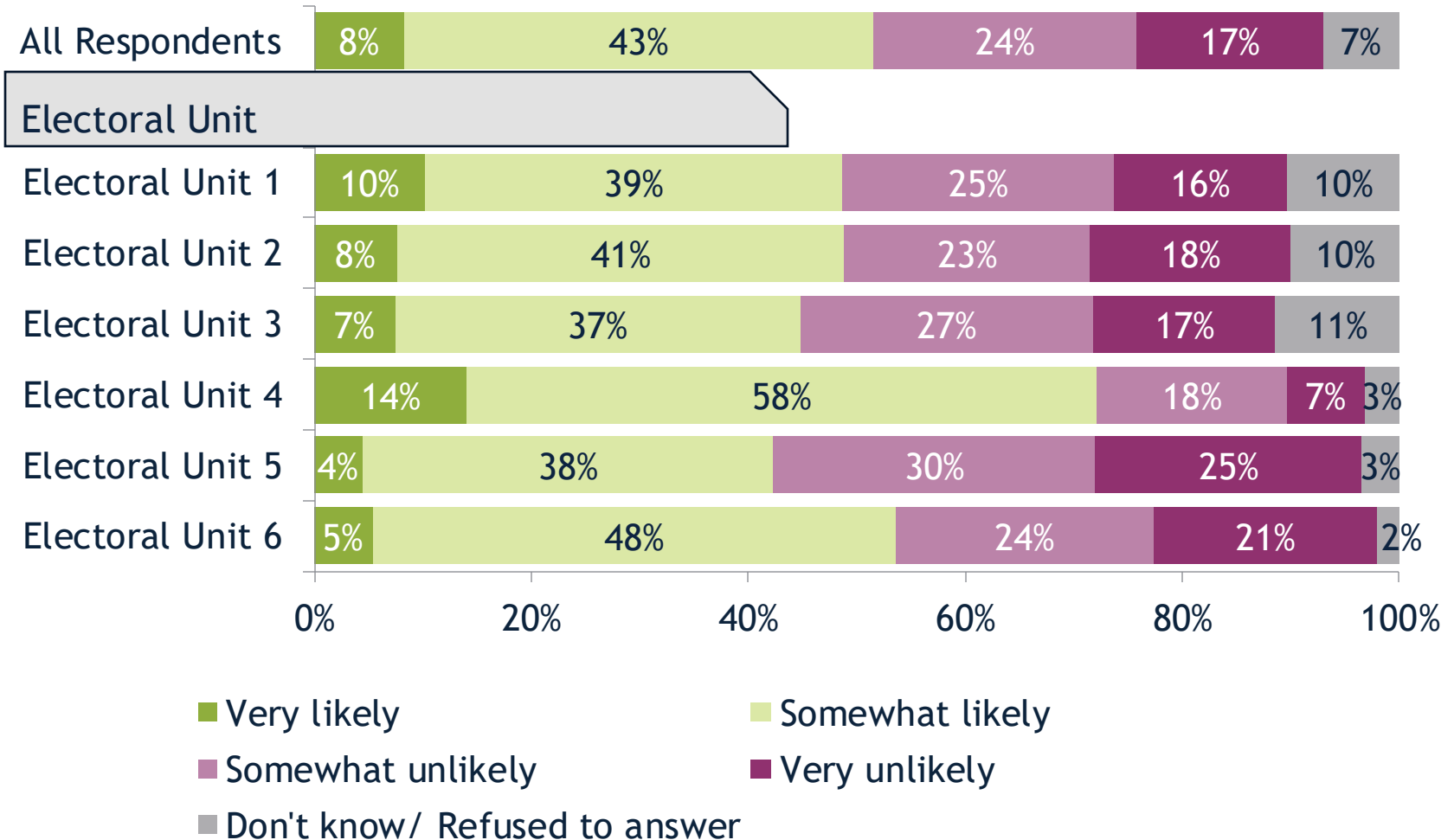


- Very likely
- Somewhat likely
- Somewhat unlikely
- Very unlikely
- Don't know/ Refused to answer

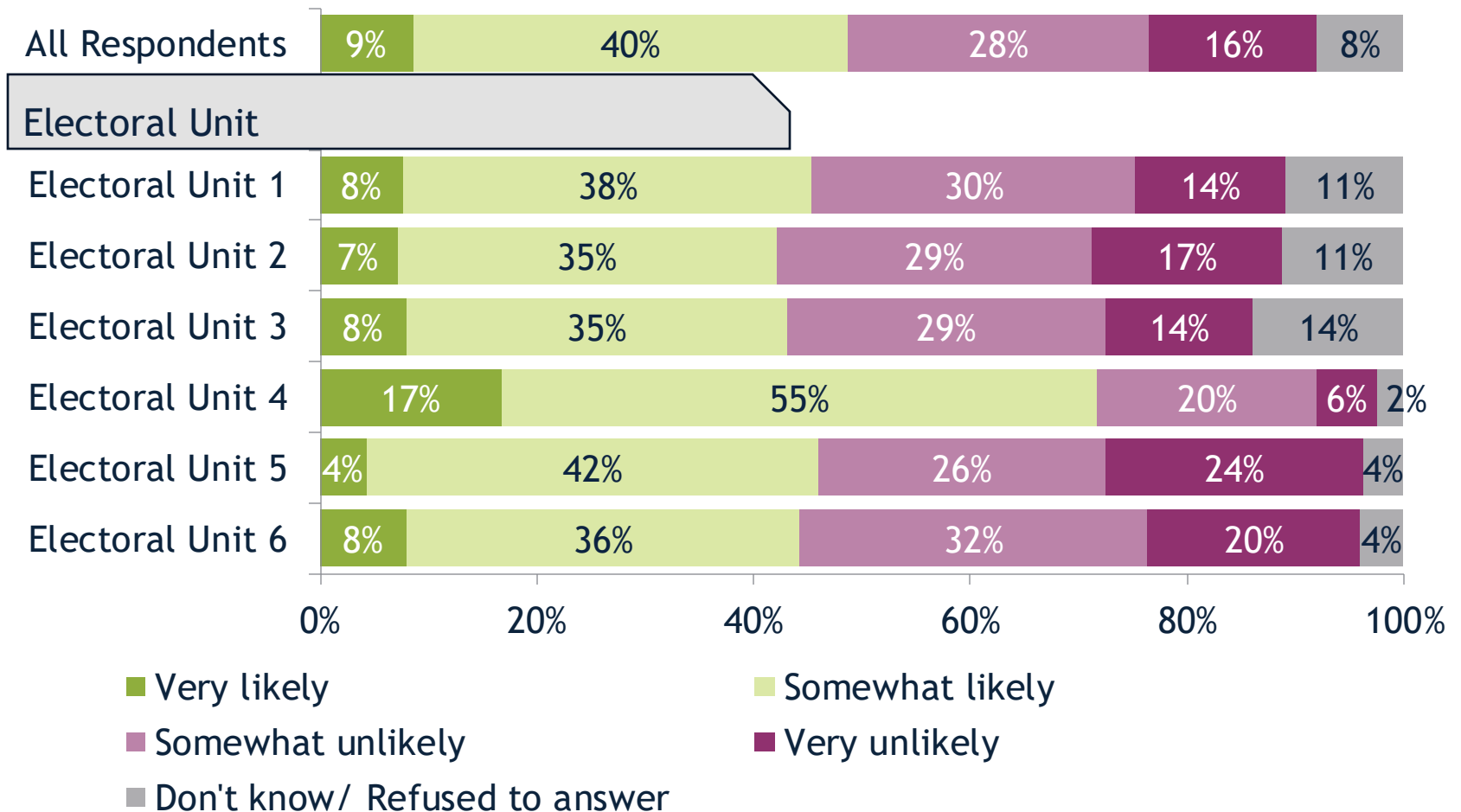
# If your municipality is about to make a decision affecting your neighborhood, how likely or unlikely is it that the opinions of local residents will be considered?



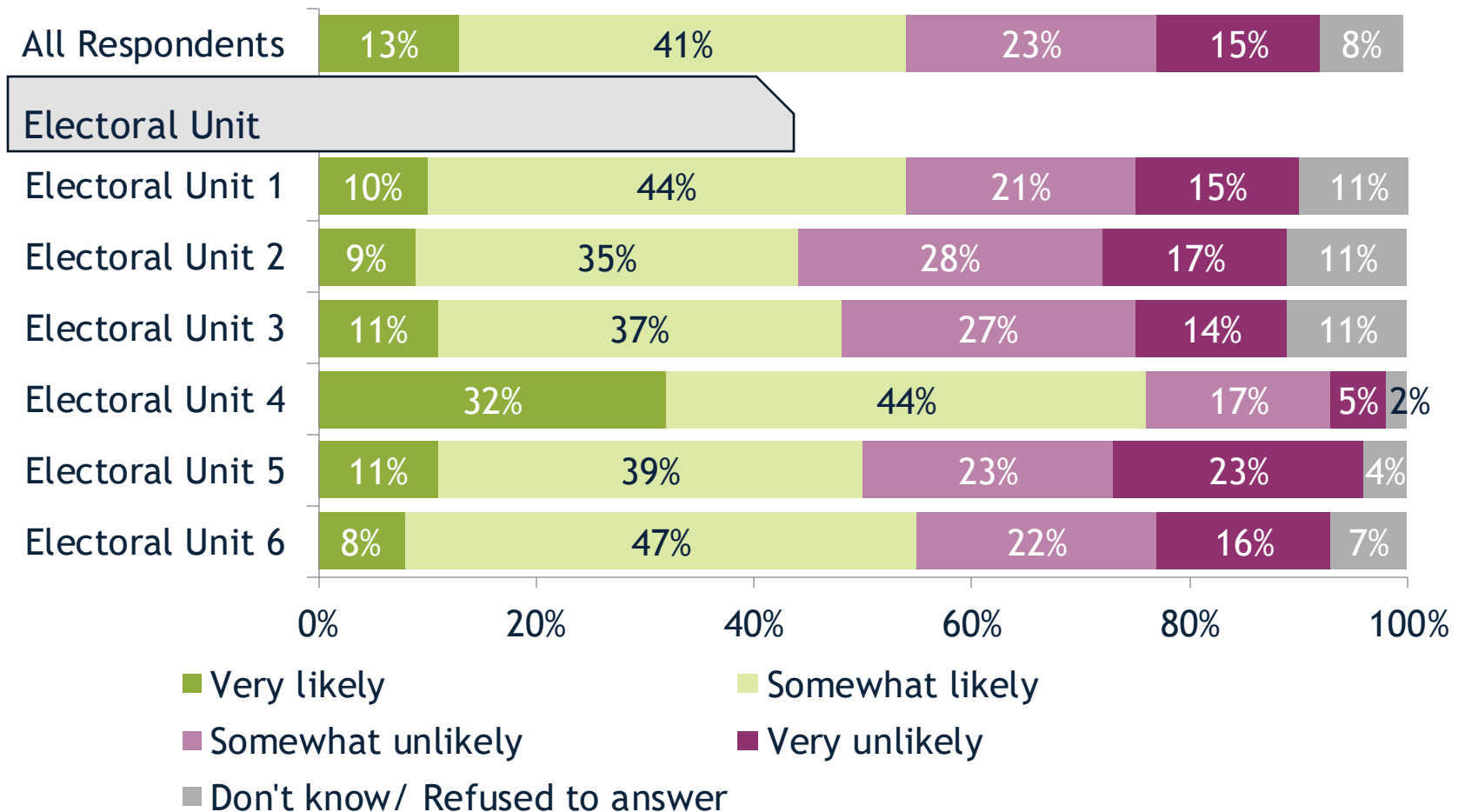
**If a municipal service in your municipality is functioning poorly and the municipality is aware of that, how likely or unlikely do you think is that the municipality will improve that service?**



**If residents from your municipality complain that a municipal service is functioning poorly, how likely or unlikely do you think is that the municipality will improve that service?**

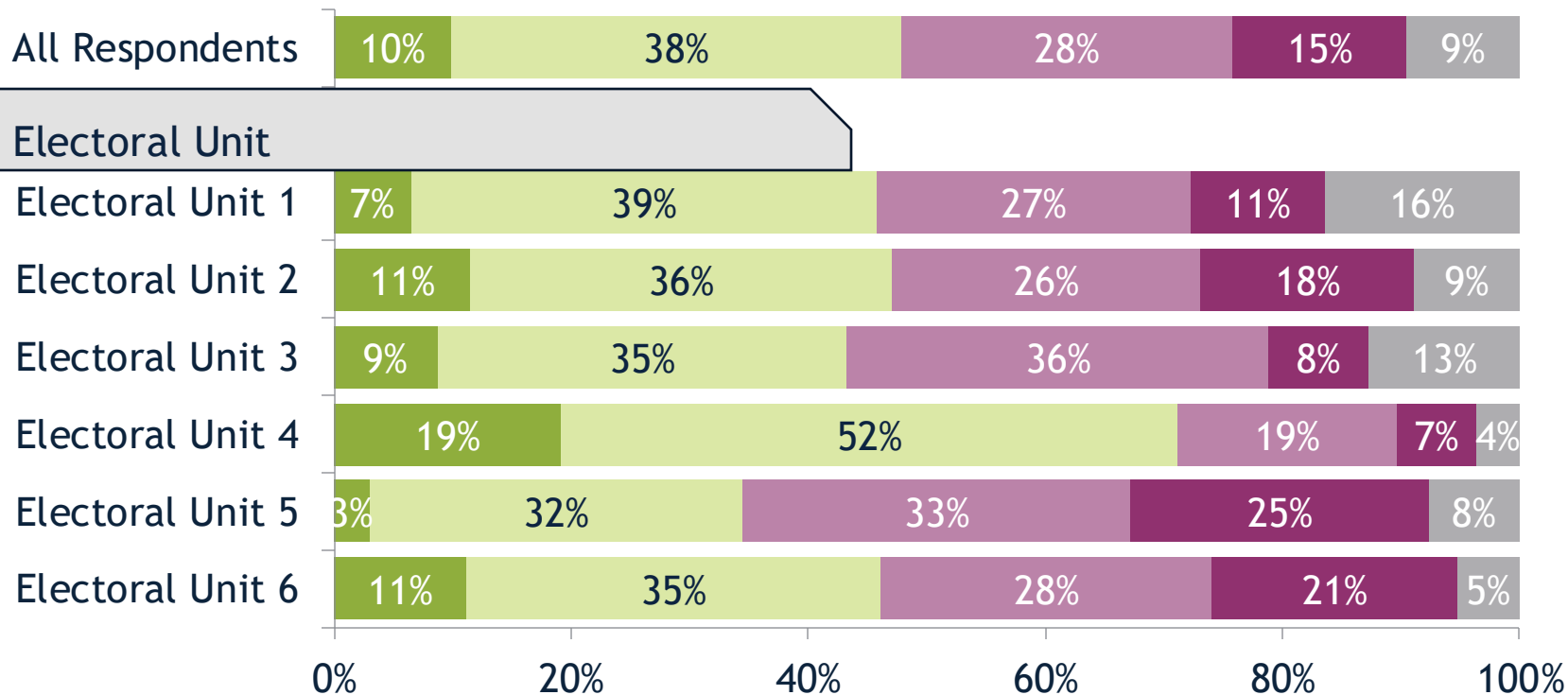


If you reach out to your municipality to request a small but useful intervention for local residents such as to clean solid waste or to install a garbage can, how likely or unlikely do you think is that the municipality will fulfil this request?



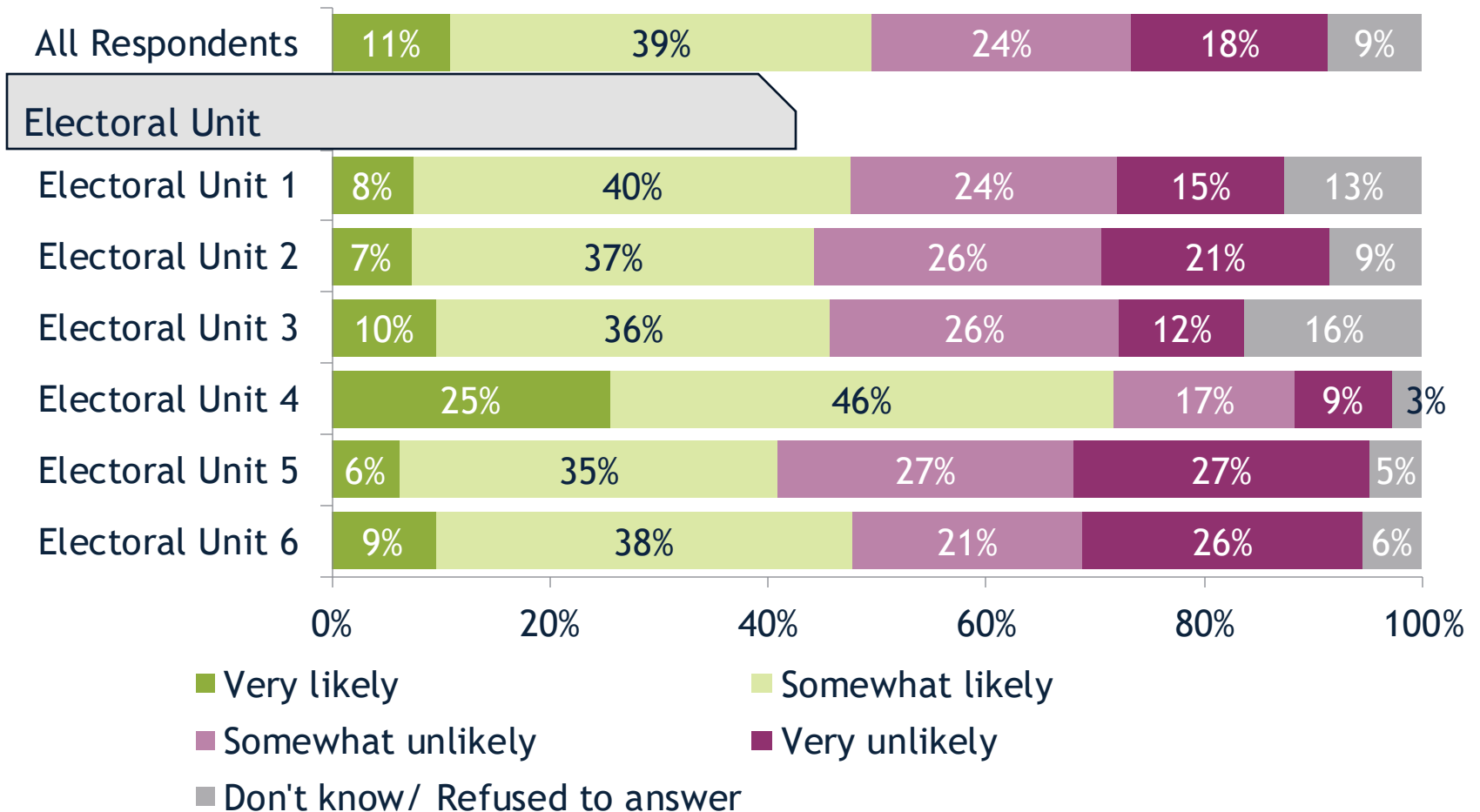


If a resident or civic organization shares a request with your municipality to introduce a new local public service that will benefit local residents and that the municipality can fund, such as subsidies for installing energetically efficient windows or caregiver visits to senior citizens, how likely or unlikely do you think is it that the municipality will introduce the service?

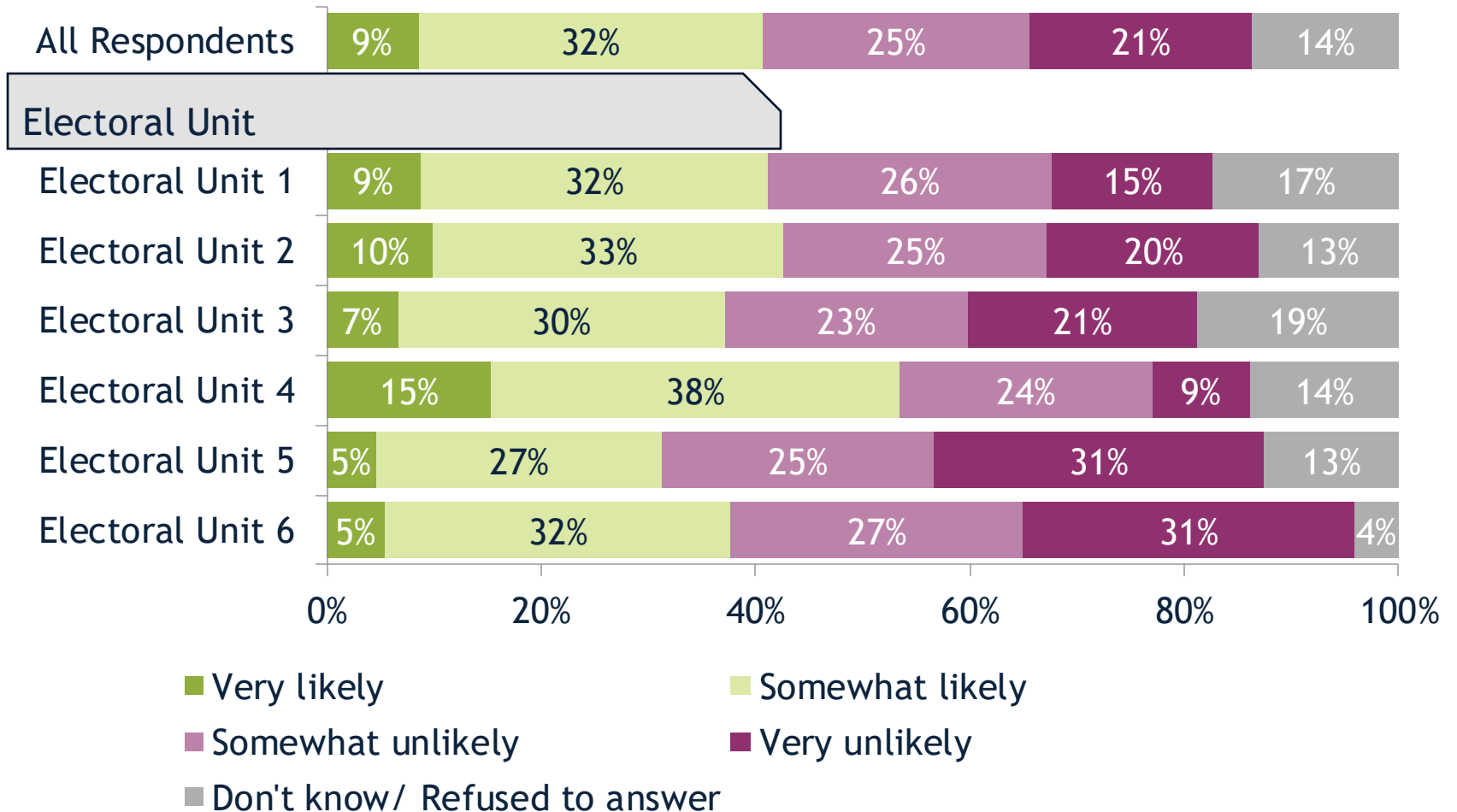


- Very likely
- Somewhat likely
- Somewhat unlikely
- Very unlikely
- Don't know/ Refused to answer

If you need information about a local administrative procedure such as for building an annex to your home or issuing a property tax declaration, how likely or unlikely is it that the information will be easily available from the municipality?



If your municipality organizes a budget forum, which is a public discussion with citizens on planning a portion of its budget, how likely or unlikely is it that the municipality will accept citizens' suggestions expressed in the forum?

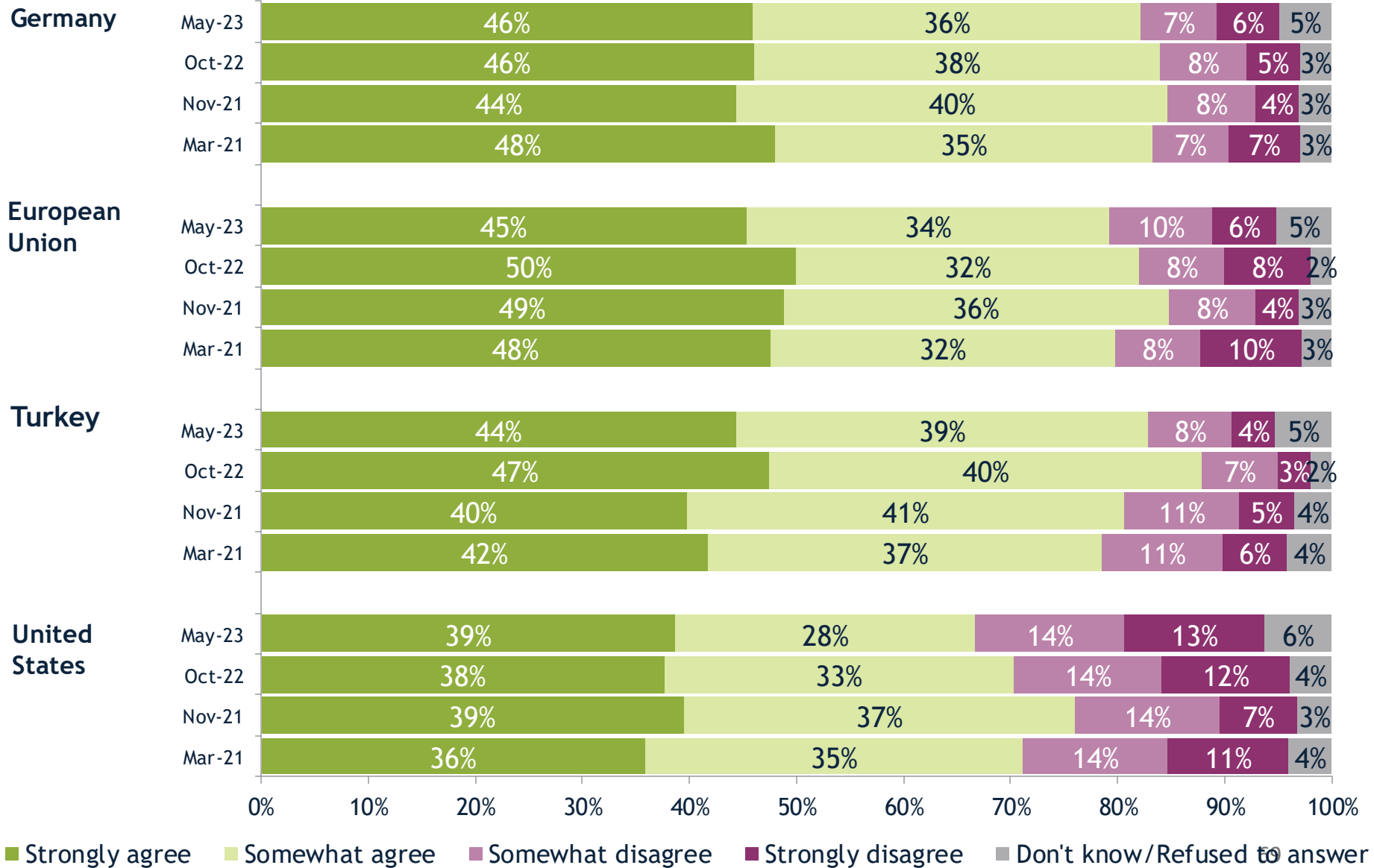


# Attitudes Toward Euro-Atlantic Integration and Foreign Relations



# How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

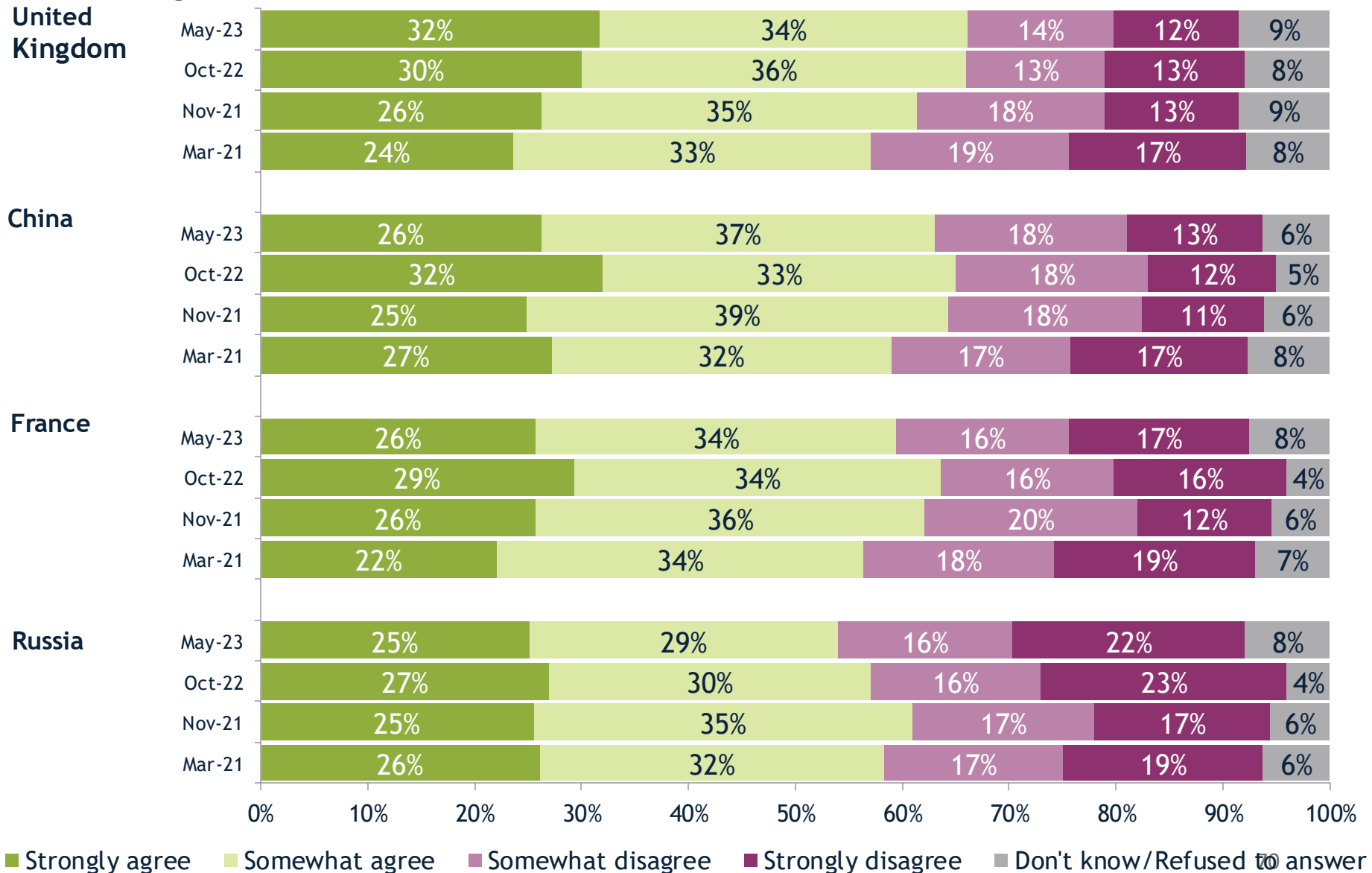
“North Macedonia’s interests are best served by maintaining strong relations with...?”



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

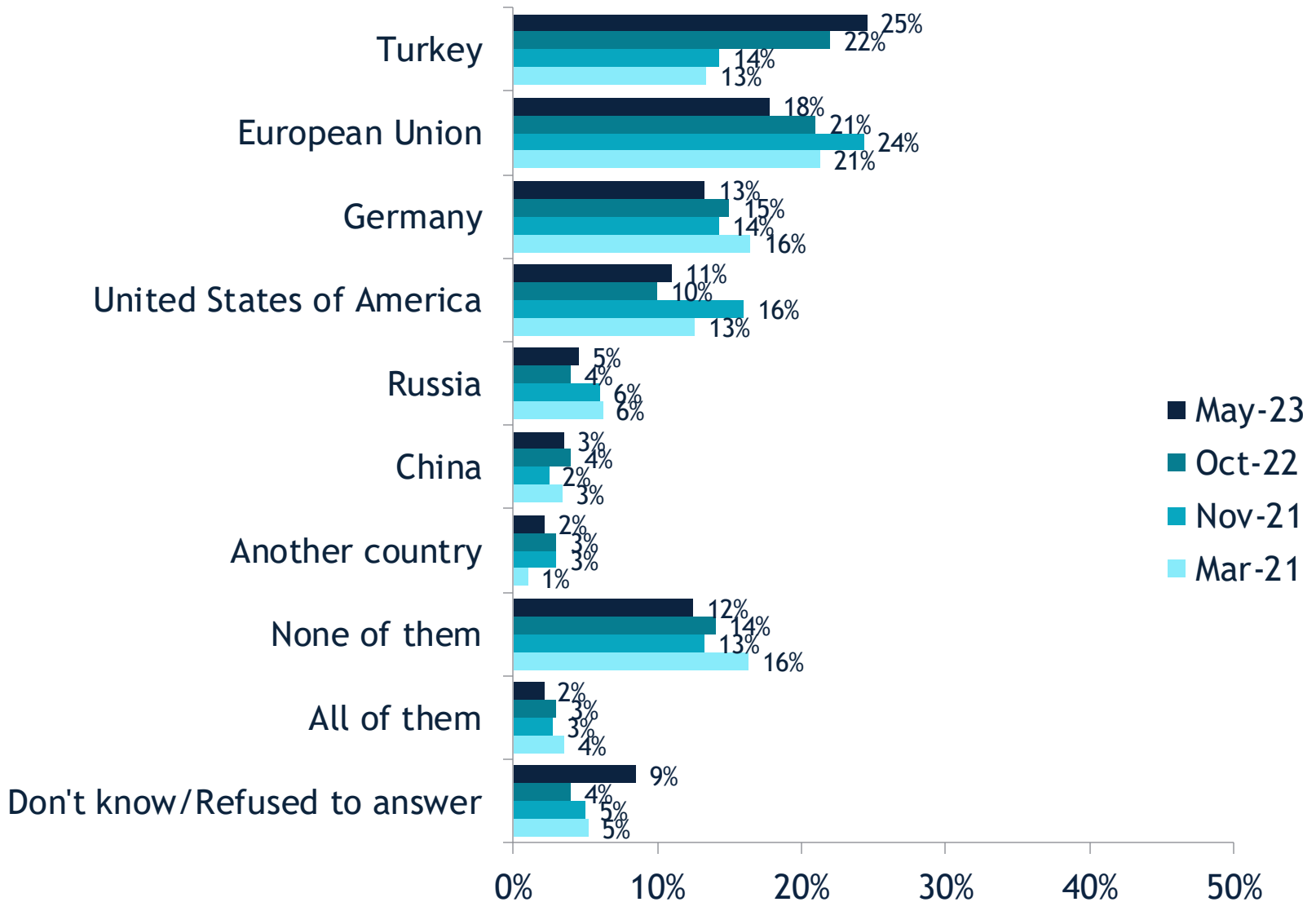
# How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

## “North Macedonia’s interests are best served by maintaining strong relations with...?”



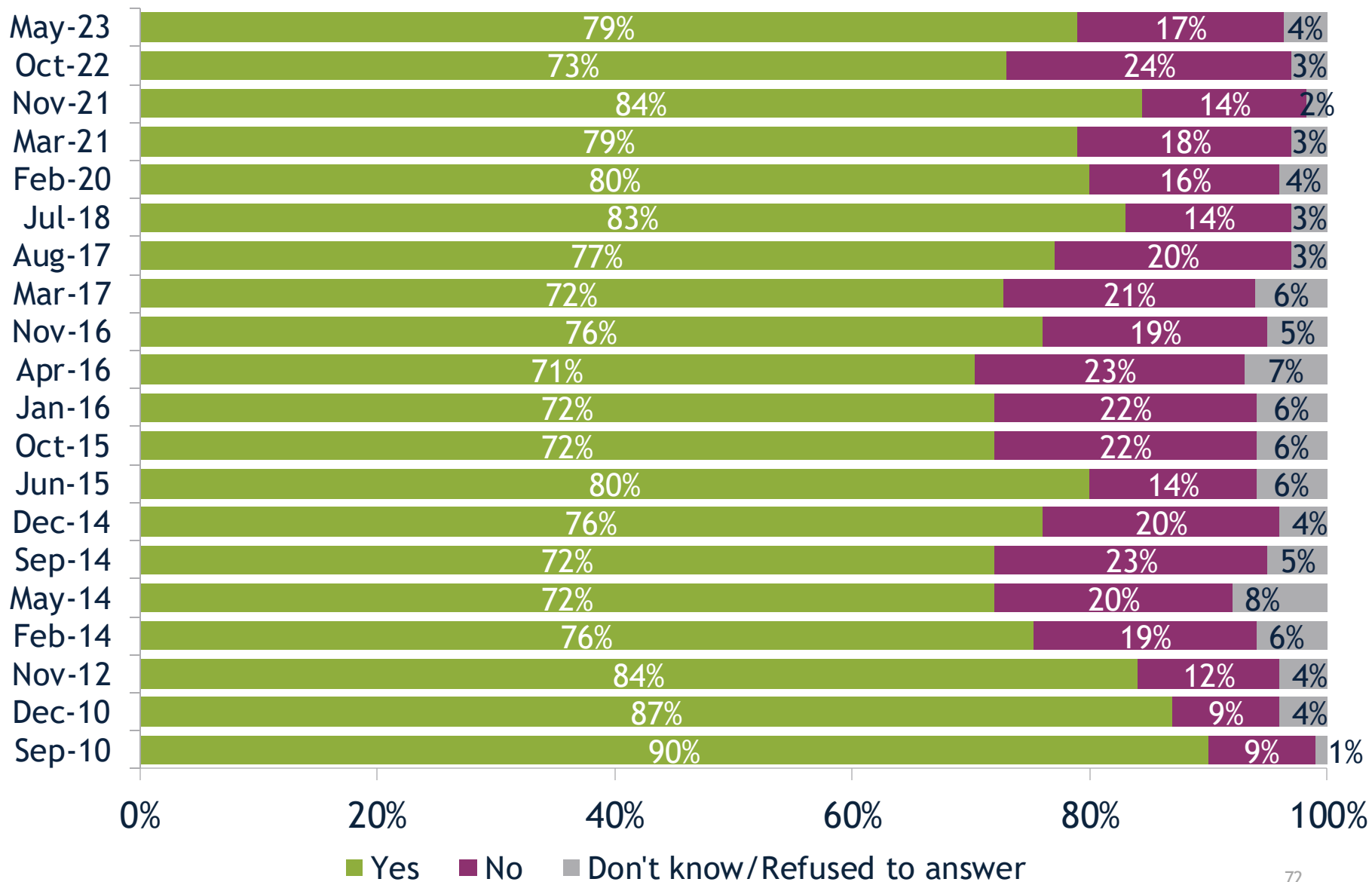
■ Strongly agree  
 ■ Somewhat agree  
 ■ Somewhat disagree  
 ■ Strongly disagree  
 ■ Don't know/Refused to answer

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



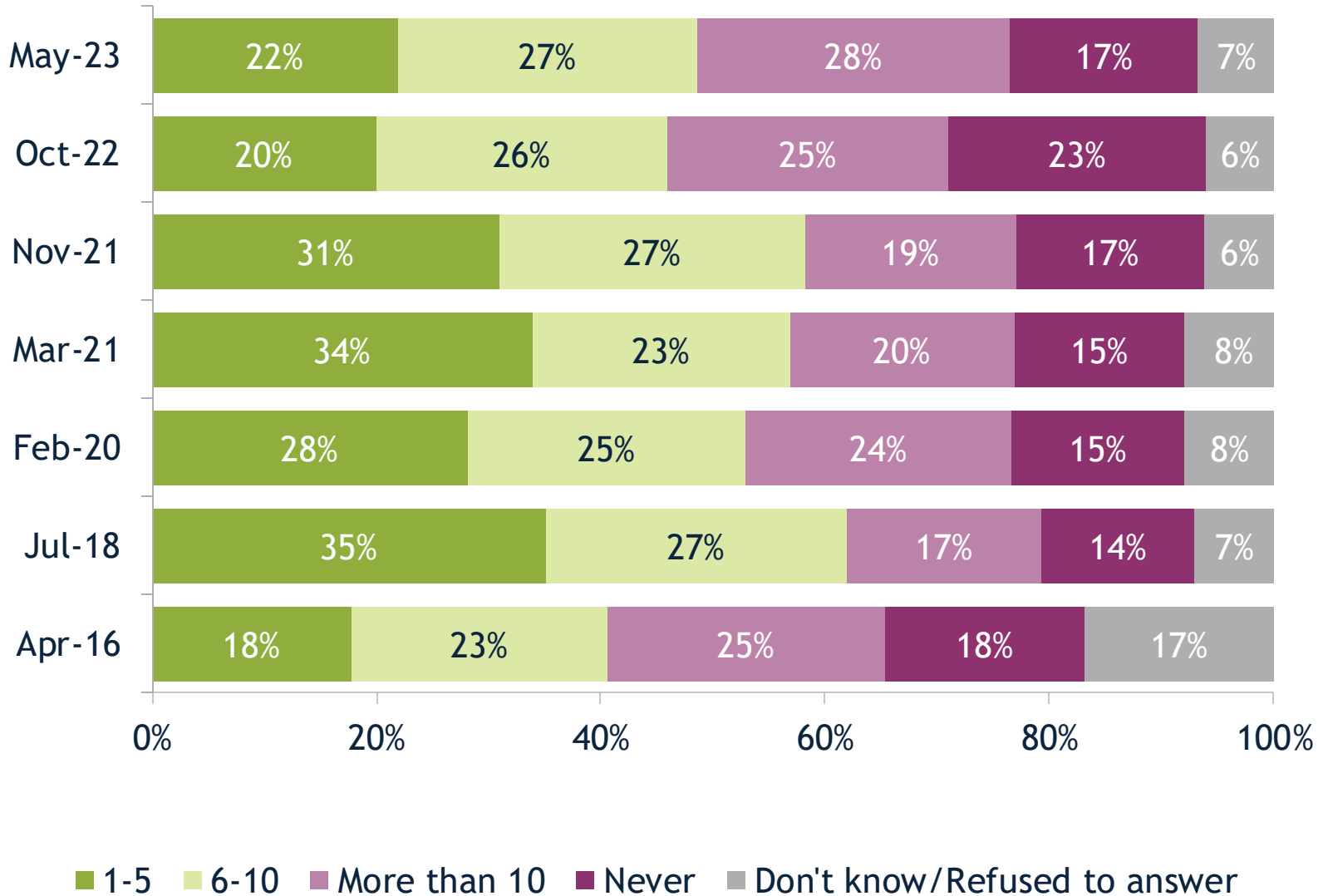


# Do you support North Macedonia becoming a member of the European Union (EU)?

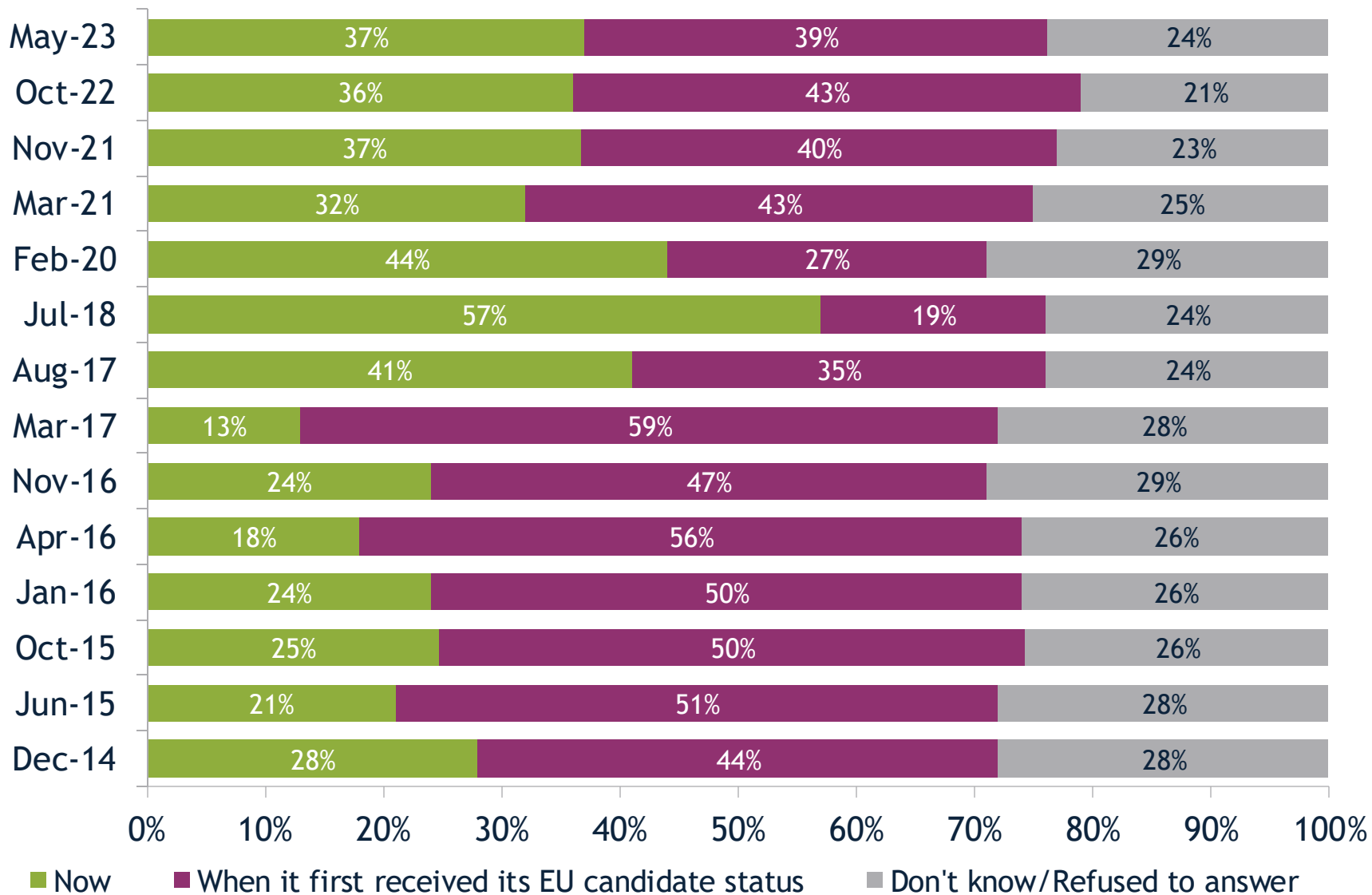




# In how many years do you think North Macedonia will become a member of the EU?



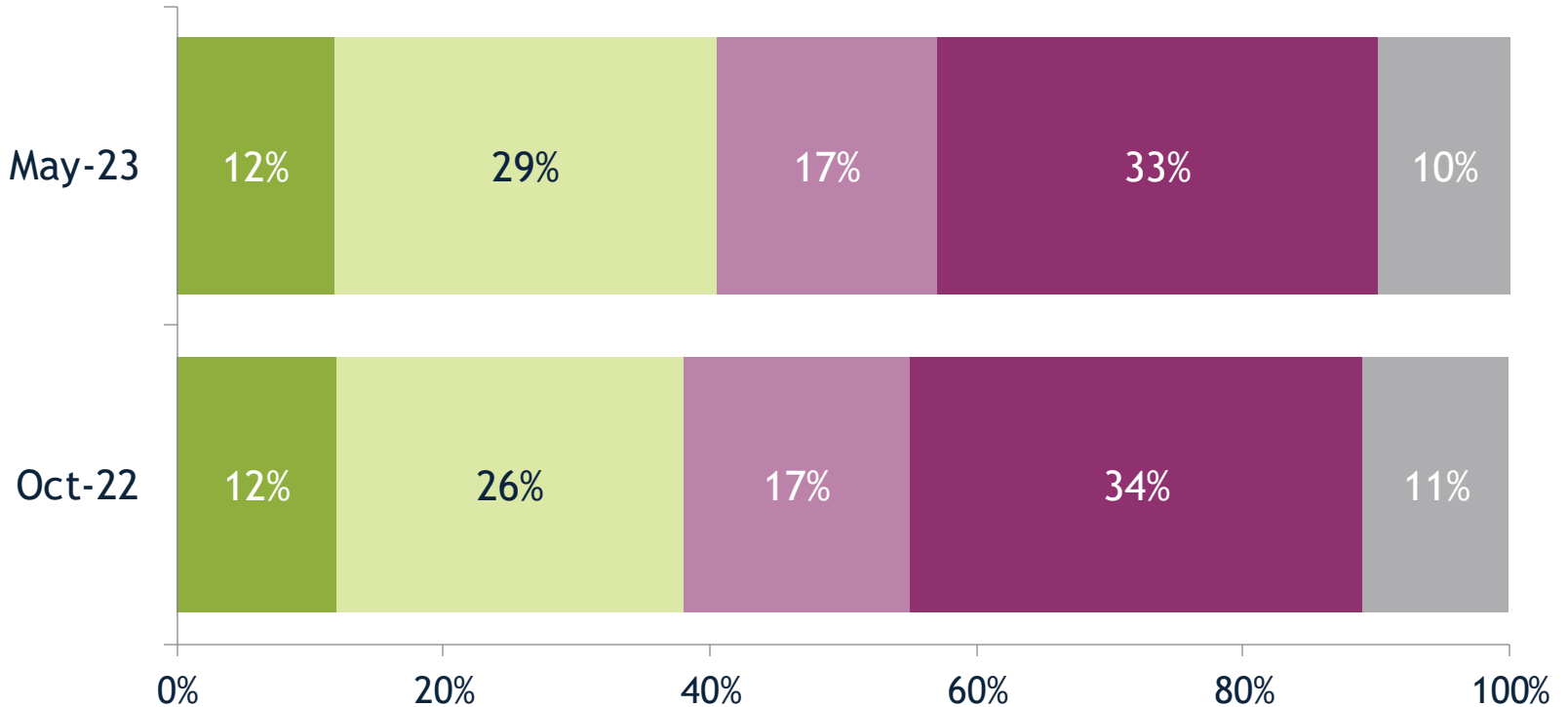
# Do you think North Macedonia is closer to EU entry today, or was it closer when it first received its EU candidate member status?\*



\*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.

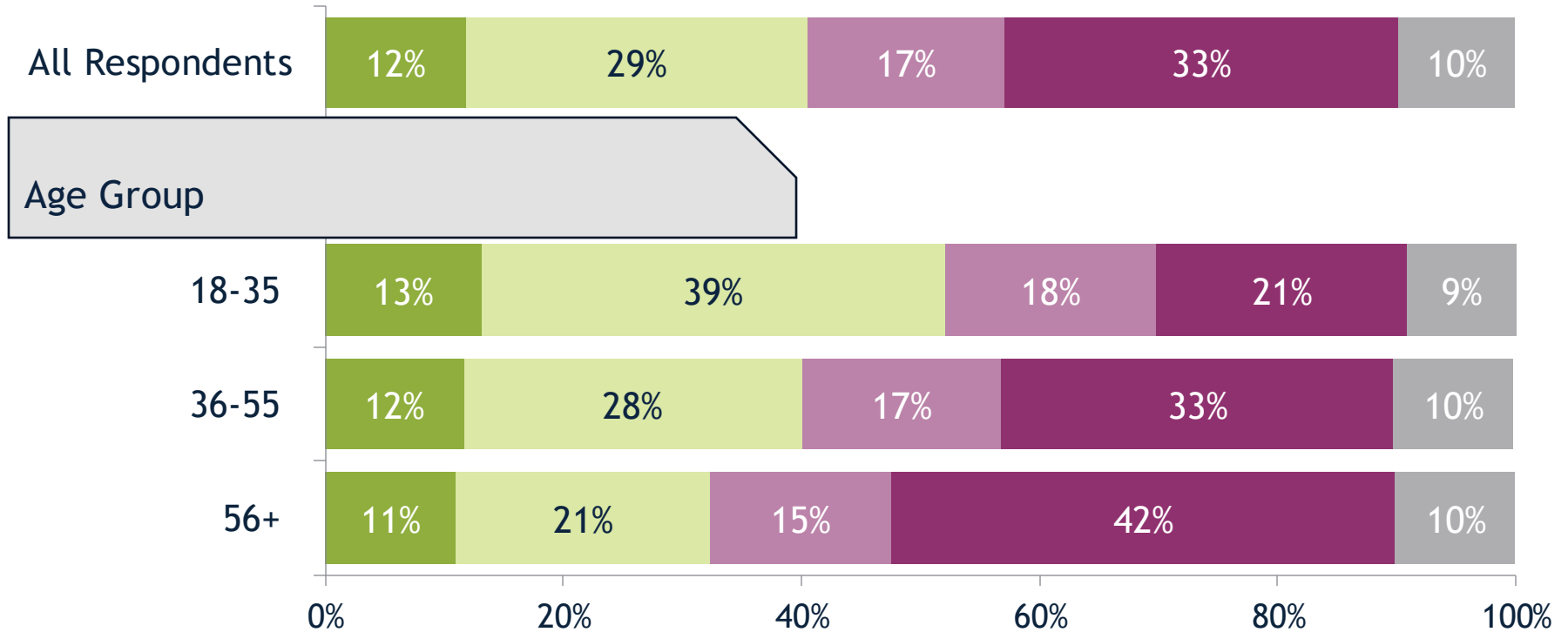
Do you support or do you oppose this negotiation process?



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

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?

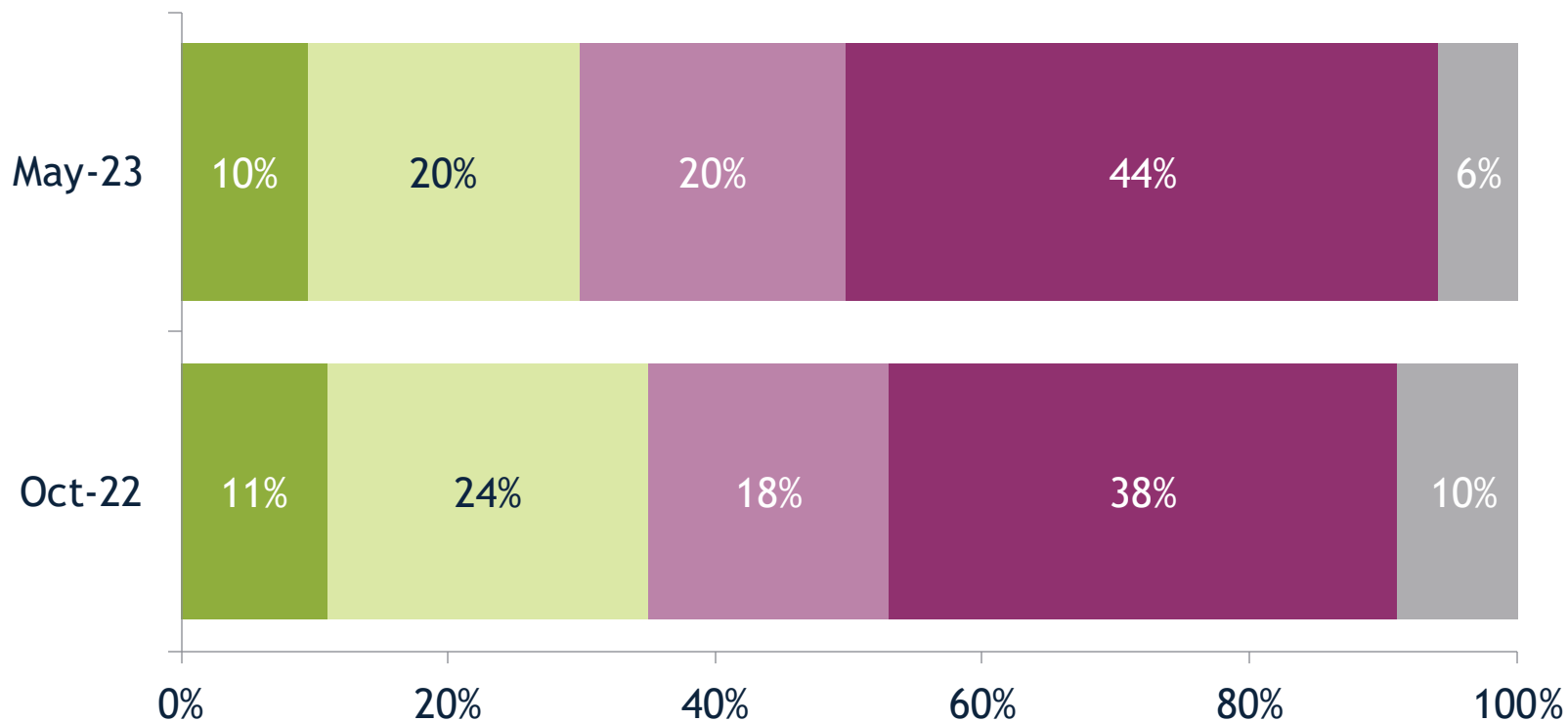


- Completely support
- Somewhat support
- Somewhat oppose
- Completely oppose
- Don't know/Refused to answer



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

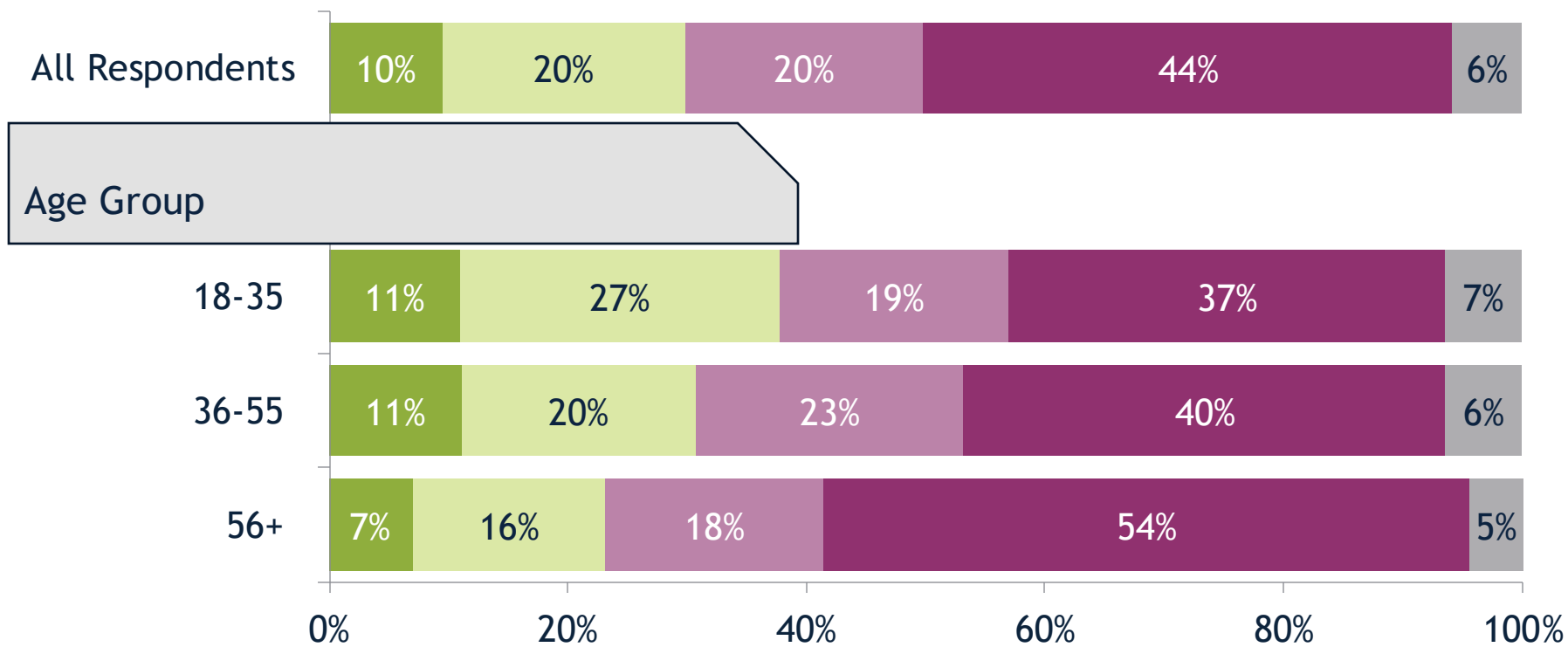
Do you approve or disapprove of this?



- Completely approve
- Somewhat approve
- Somewhat disapprove
- Completely disapprove
- Don't know/Refused to answer

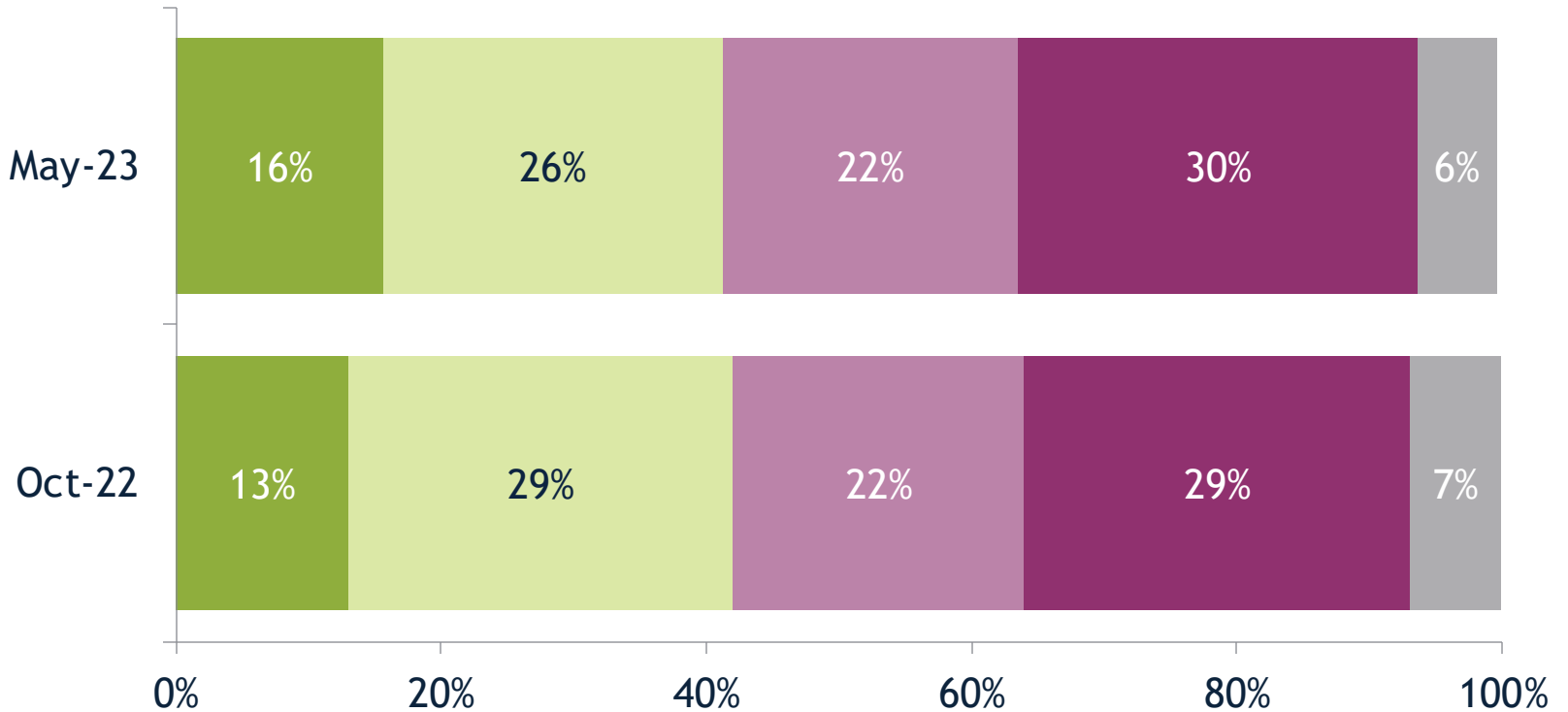
▶ For the EU accession negotiations to continue, North Macedonia has agreed to include the Bulgarian community in its constitution.

Do you approve or disapprove of this?



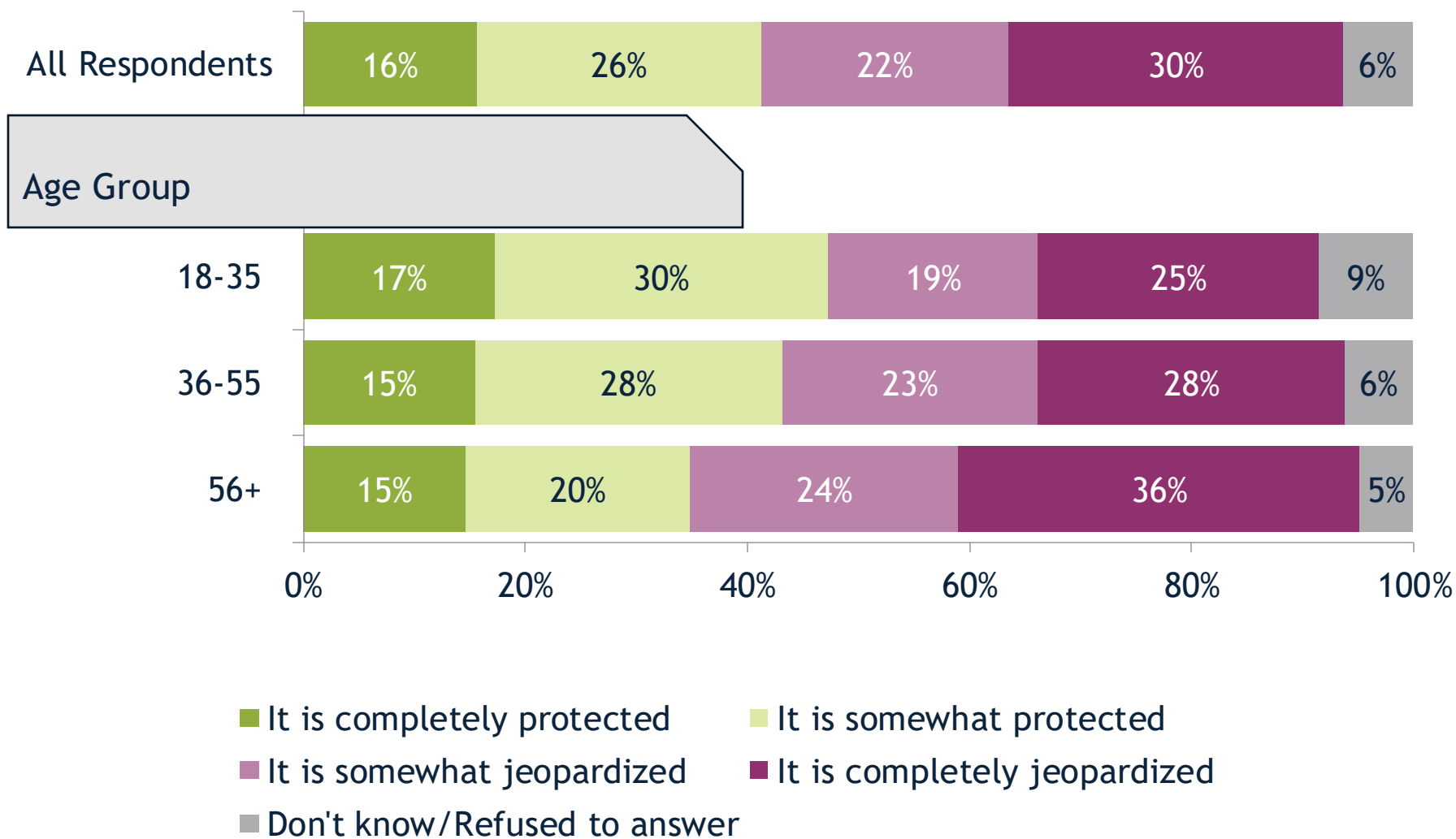
- Completely approve
- Somewhat approve
- Somewhat disapprove
- Completely disapprove
- Don't know/Refused to answer

# 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 protected
- It is somewhat jeopardized
- It is completely jeopardized
- 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?

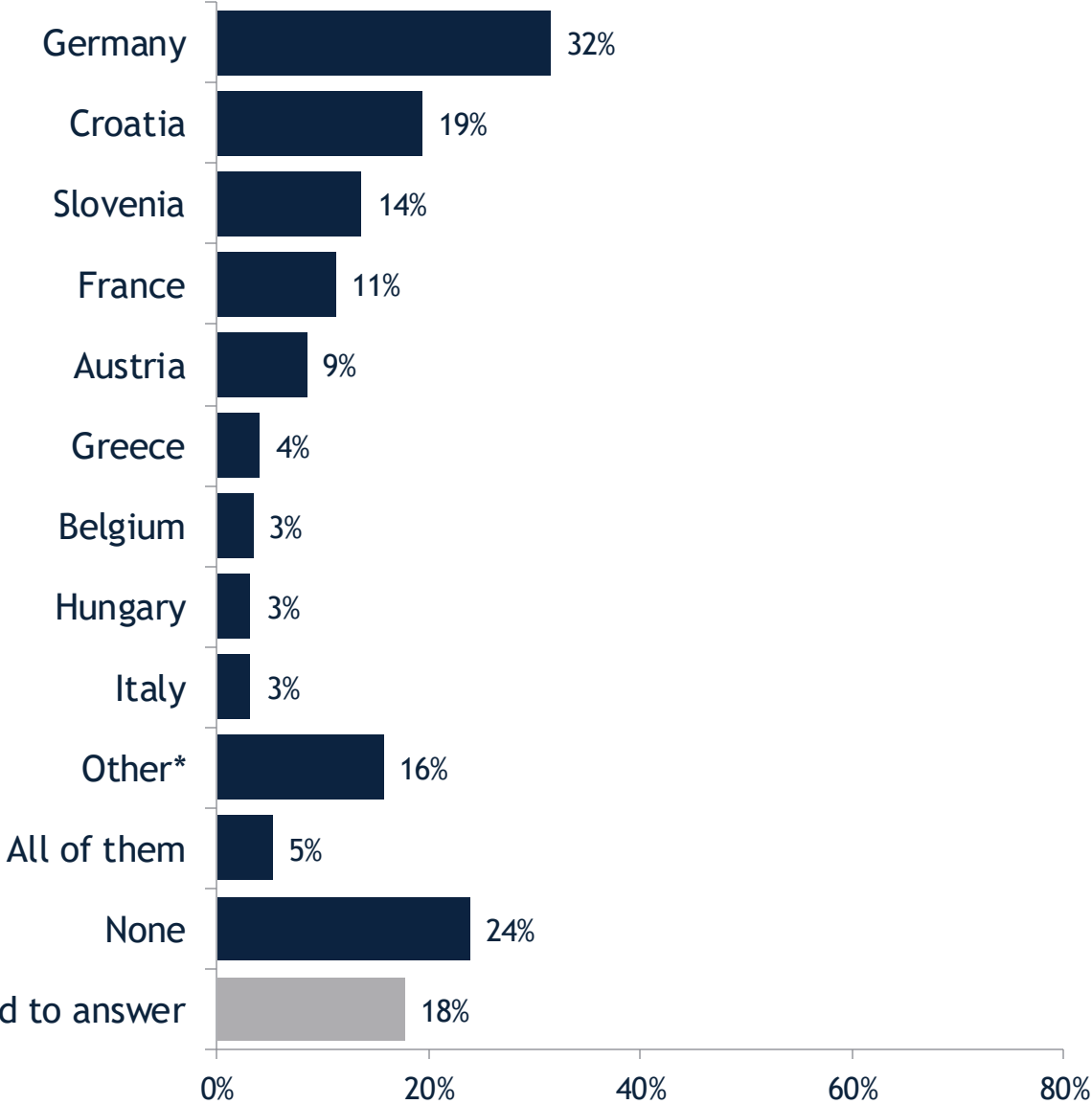






# Which EU countries are the biggest supporters of North Macedonia's accession in the EU?

(Spontaneous response; Up to three responses accepted)

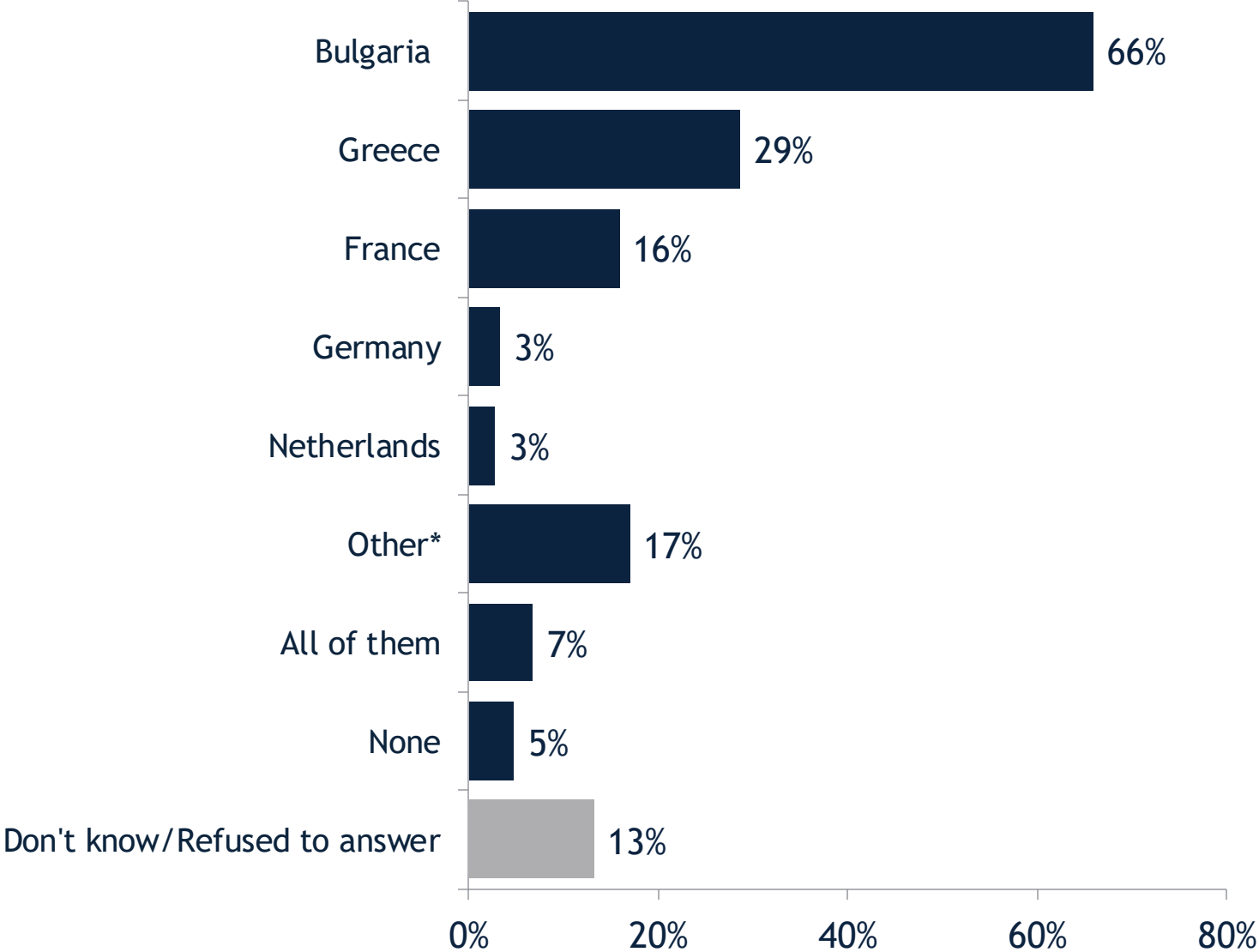


\*Mentions <3% are collapsed into other.



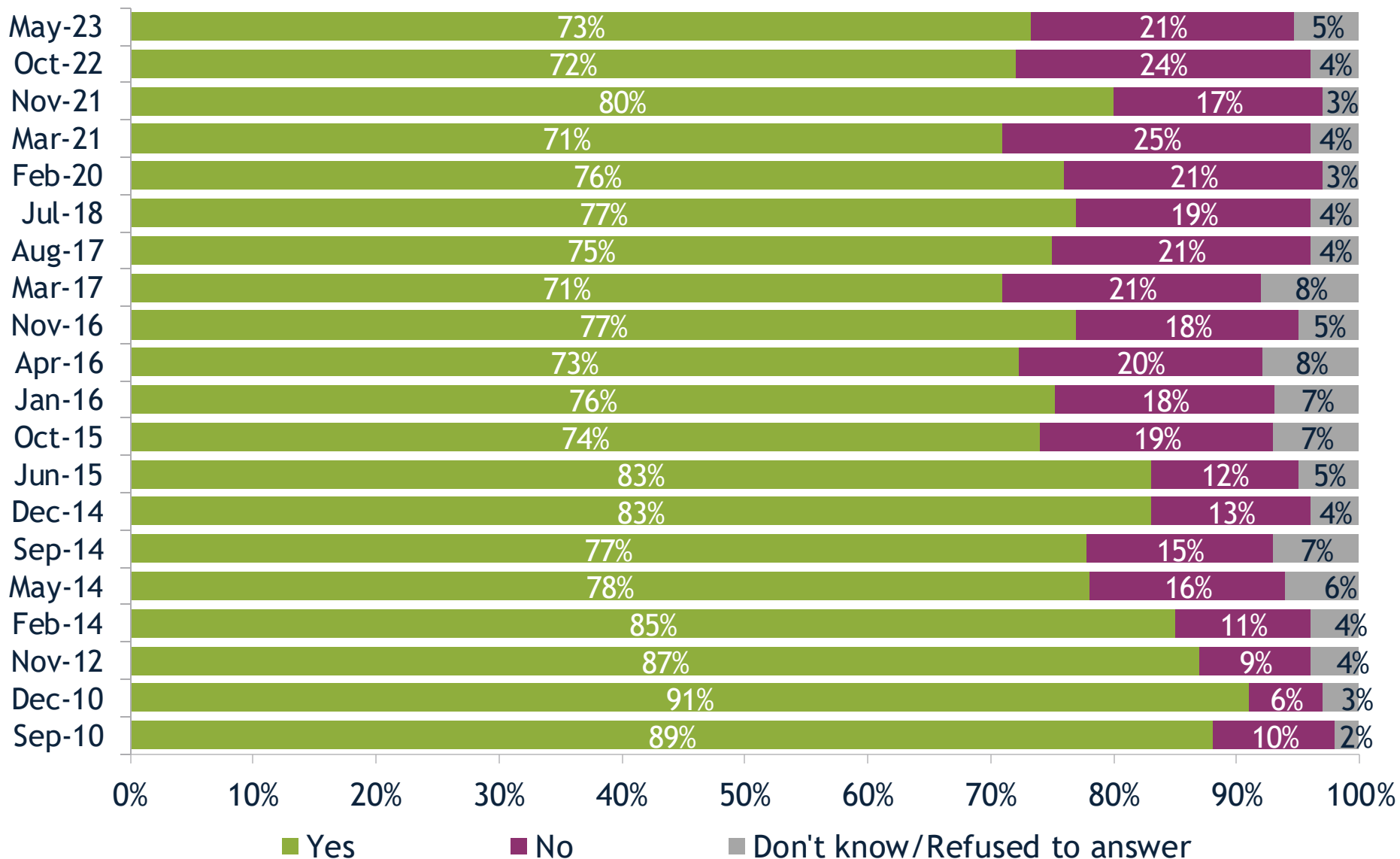
# Which EU countries are the biggest opponents of North Macedonia's accession in the EU?

(Spontaneous response; Up to three responses accepted)



\*Mentions <3% are collapsed into other.

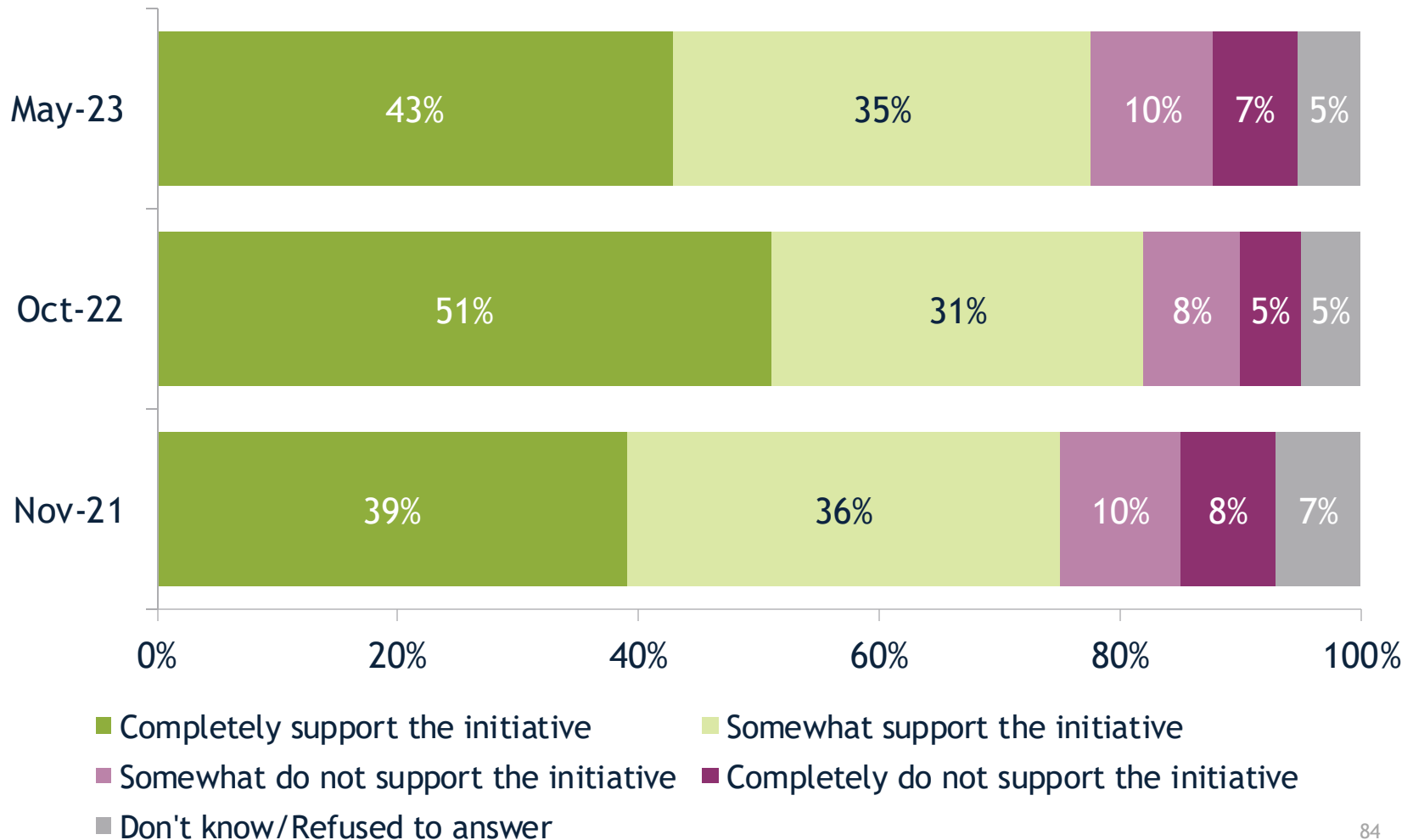
# Do you support North Macedonia's membership in NATO? (Before March 2021, the question was "...becoming a member of NATO"?)



\*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?

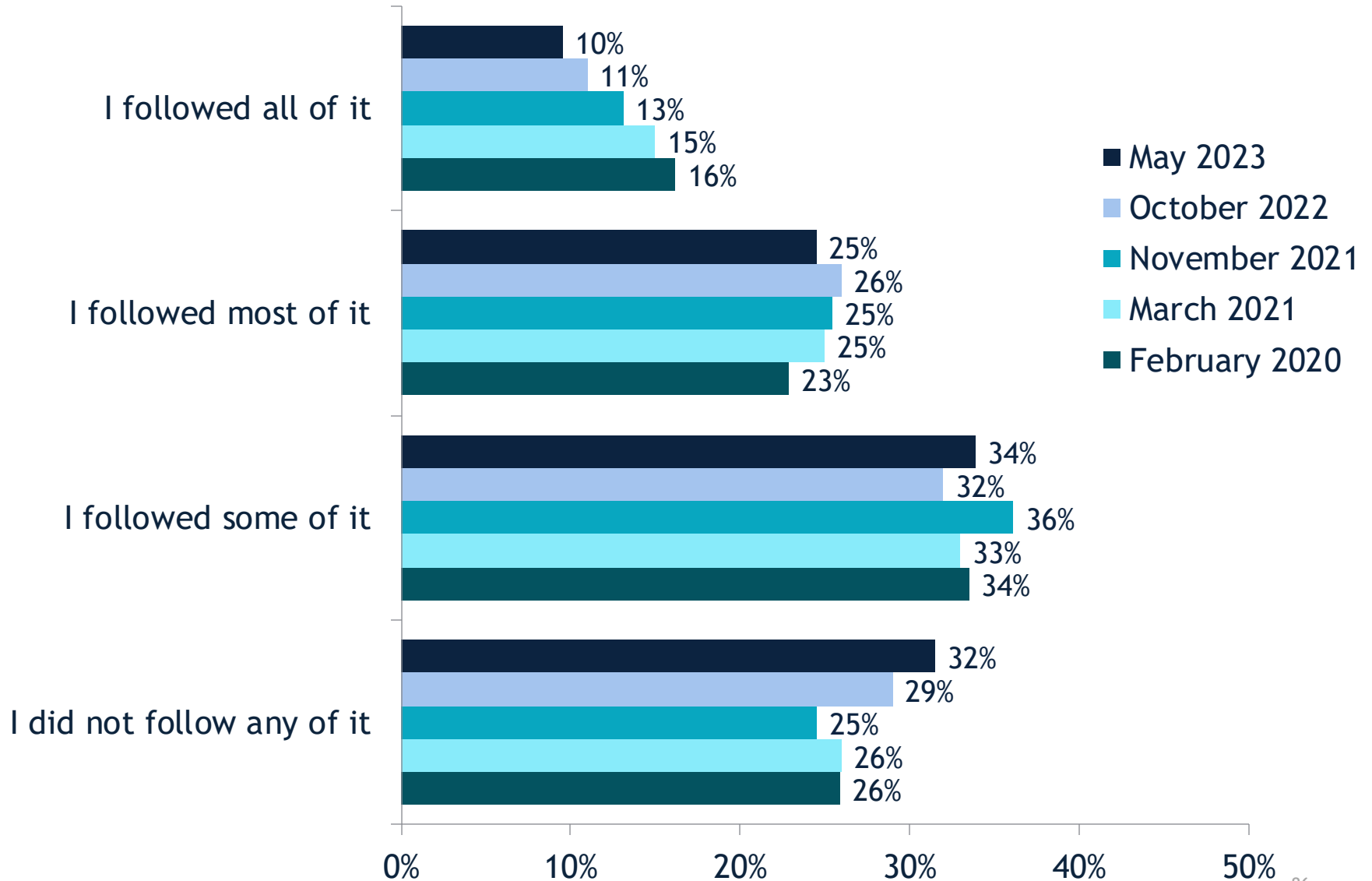


# Sources of Political Information



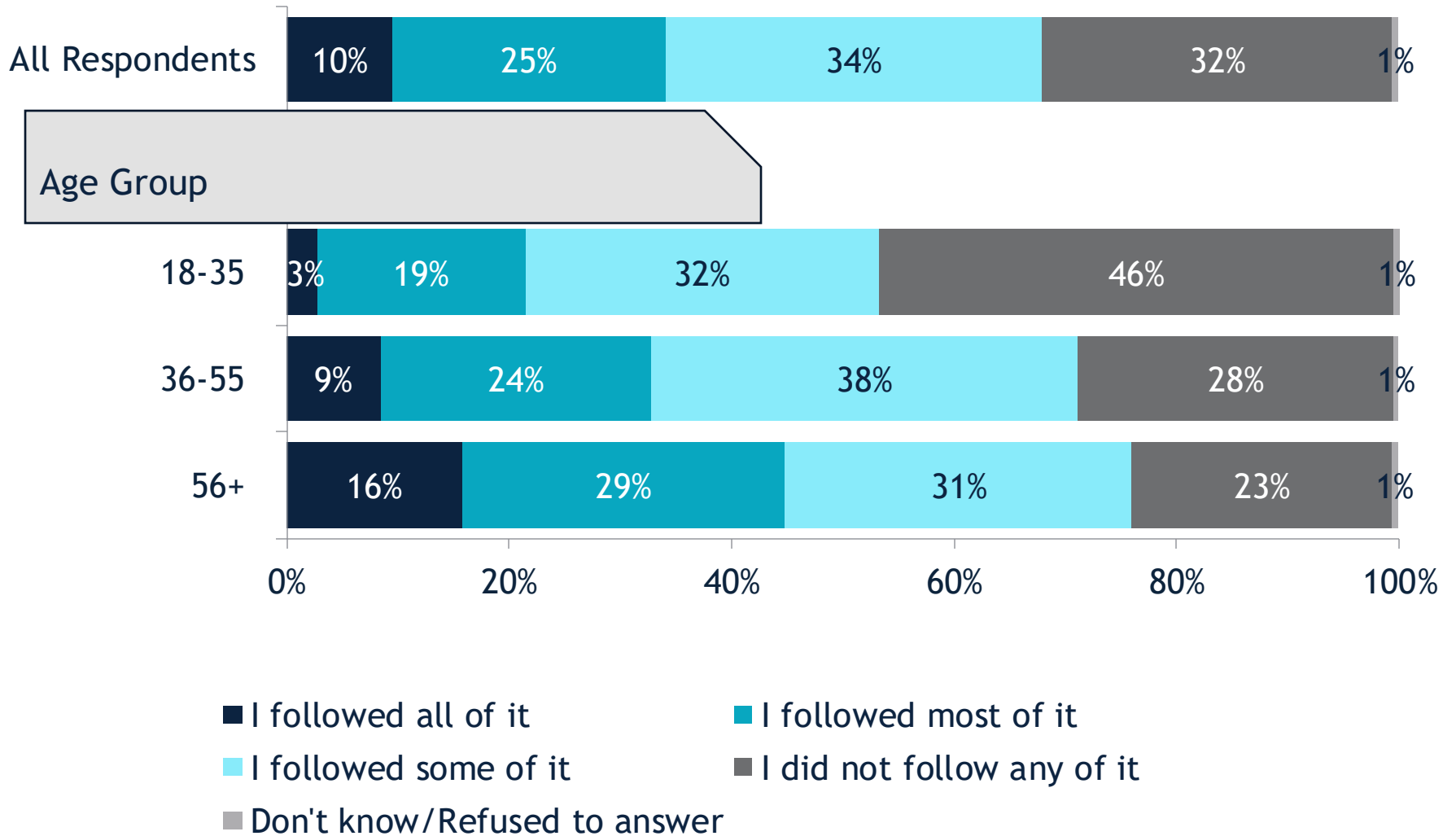


# How much did you follow political news yesterday?



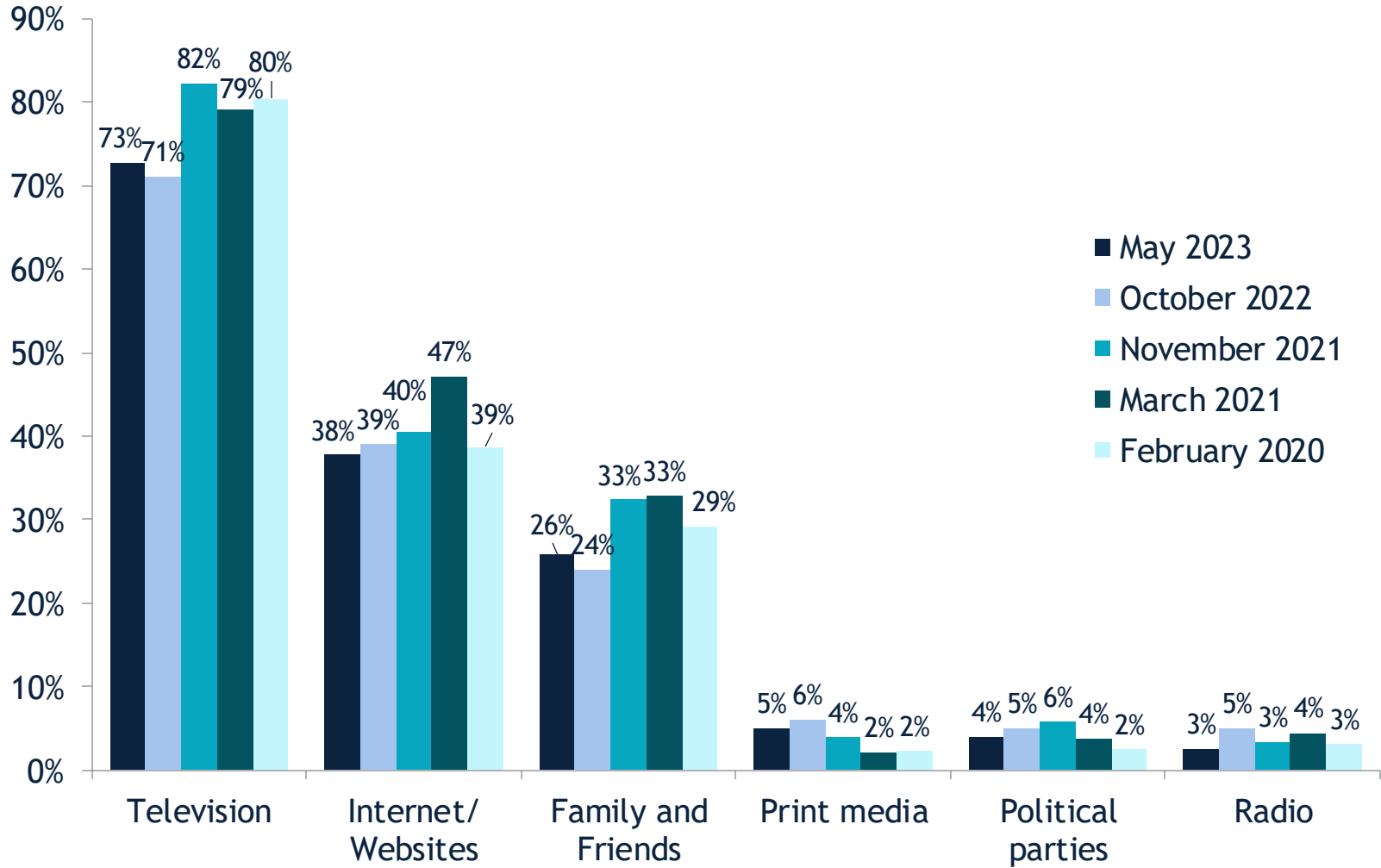
\* Don't know/Refused to answer is not displayed.

# How much did you follow political news yesterday?



# What are your most used sources of political news?

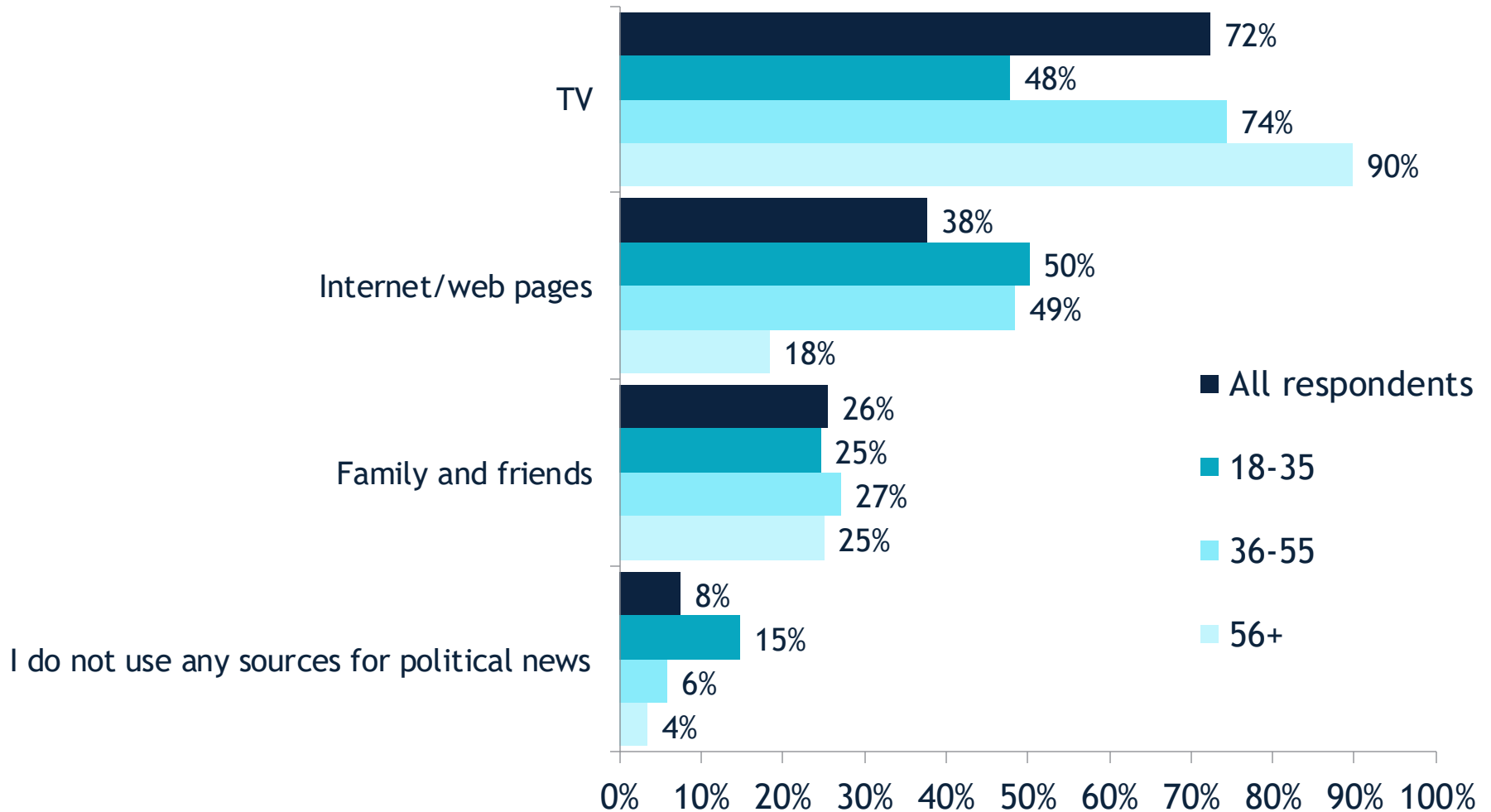
(Multiple responses permitted)





# What are your most used sources of political news?

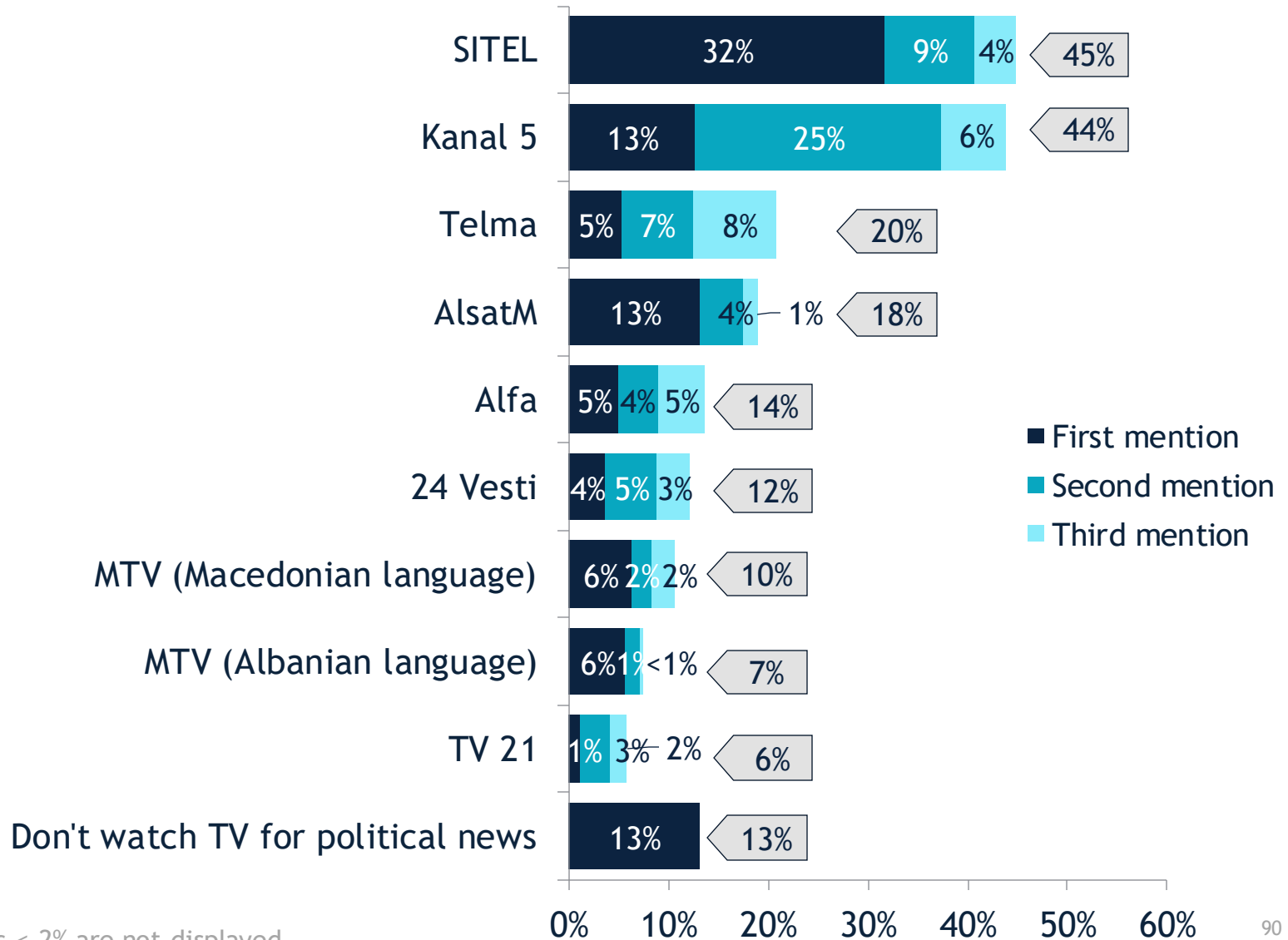
(Multiple responses accepted; disaggregated by age)



Top three responses displayed.

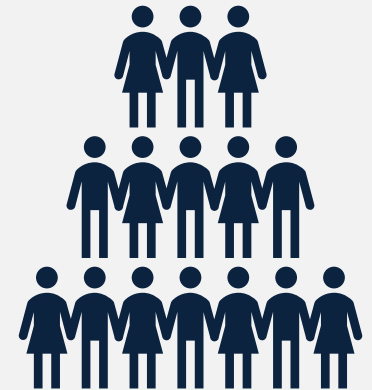
# Which television station do you watch most often for political news?

(Spontaneous response; up to three responses accepted)

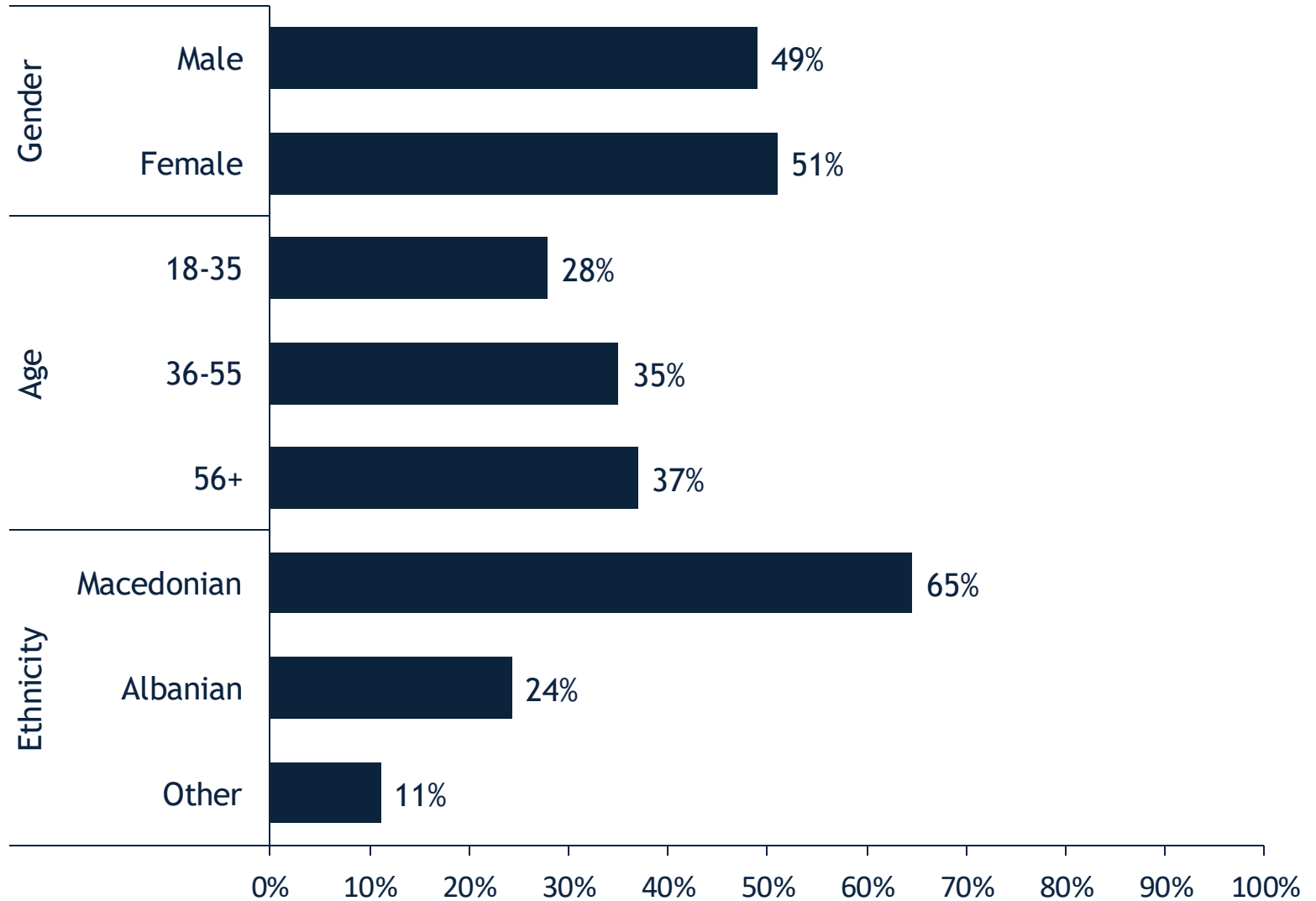


Total mentions < 2% are not displayed.

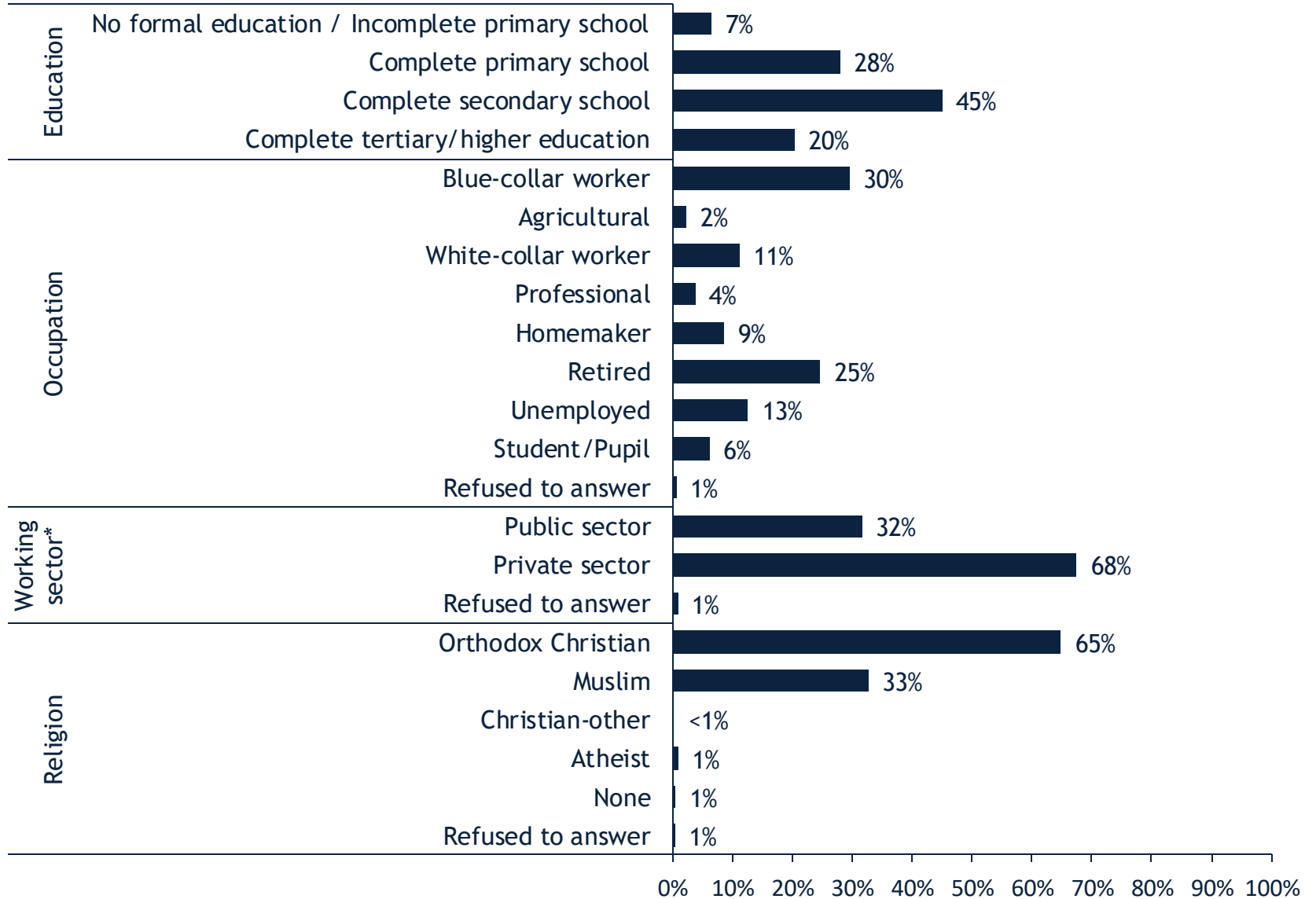
# Demographics



# Demographics



# Demographics



\*Among people employed as blue-collar worker, white-collar worker, professional, self-employed or private business, n=536

Center for Insights in Survey Research  
202.408.9450 | info@IRI.org  
[www.IRI.org](http://www.IRI.org) | @IRI\_Polls

