

# Western Balkans Regional Poll

February - March 2024



A PROJECT OF THE INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE

## Detailed Methodology

- The survey was conducted on behalf of the International Republican Institute's [Center for Insights in Survey Research](#) by [IPSOS](#).
- Data was collected between February 02, 2024 and March 05, 2024 through face-to-face interviews in respondents' homes. Further details on fieldwork period, margin of error, and response rate are listed on the following slide.
- The sample consisted of n=1,225 adults (Bosnia and Herzegovina), n=1,203 adults (Kosovo), n=1,220 adults (North Macedonia), n=1,036 adults (Montenegro), n=1,238 adults (Serbia) and n=1,216 (Albania). Inhabitants of poorly accessible areas were excluded. The share of excluded inhabitants is as follows: 0.3% for Bosnia and Herzegovina, 0.2% for Kosovo, 0.8% for North Macedonia, 1.4% for Montenegro, 0.6% for Serbia, and 1% for Albania.
- A multi-stage probability sampling method was used to design a nationally representative sample in each country. The sample was stratified by region and by urban/rural residency, followed by random selection of primary sampling units (PSUs) within each stratum. Households were selected by random walk in each of the PSU, and respondents were selected randomly from the list of all adults in the household. The sampling frame was based on population and housing census data and population estimates.
- The samples were weighted as follows:
  - Bosnia and Herzegovina: The sample was weighted for region, urbanicity, age, gender, and ethnicity as per the 2013 census. The sample was weighted for educational attainment using IPSOS' estimates.
  - Kosovo: The sample was weighted for region, age, urbanicity, and gender as per the 2011 census. The sample was weighted for educational attainment using MICS 2020 figures and ethnicity using MICS 2014 data.
  - North Macedonia: The sample was weighted for region, urbanicity, age, gender, ethnicity, and educational attainment as per the 2021 census.
  - Montenegro: The sample was weighted for region, urbanicity, age, and gender as per the 2017 estimates from the Statistical Office of Montenegro. The sample was weighted for ethnicity based on the 2011 census data and for educational attainment as per the MICS 2018 data.
  - Serbia: The sample was weighted for region, urbanicity, age, gender, ethnicity, and educational attainment as per the 2022 census data.
  - Albania: The sample was weighted for region, urbanicity, age, and gender as per the 2011 census.
- In survey questions with the text 'our country', in Kosovo only this text was replaced with the alternate phrase 'in Kosovo'.
- Charts and graphs may not add up to 100 percent due to rounding.

## Fieldwork Dates

Country	Fieldwork Dates	Response Rate	Margin of Error
<b>Bosnia and Herzegovina</b>	Feb. 03 - Mar. 03, 2024	40%	±2.8
<b>Kosovo</b>	Feb. 05 - Mar. 04, 2024	38%	±2.8
<b>Montenegro</b>	Feb. 02 - Mar. 04, 2024	36%	±3.0
<b>North Macedonia</b>	Feb. 04 - Mar. 04, 2024	38%	±2.8
<b>Serbia</b>	Feb. 03 - 26, 2024	21%	±2.8
<b>Albania*</b>	Feb. 03 - Mar. 05, 2024	39%	±2.8

\*Albania was first added to IRI's Western Balkans polling series in 2024. Prior IRI Western Balkans regionals polls can be accessed at <https://www.iri.org/resources/2022-western-balkans-regional-survey-january-february-2022/> (2022) and [https://www.iri.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/final\\_wb\\_poll\\_for\\_publishing\\_6.9.2020.pdf](https://www.iri.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/final_wb_poll_for_publishing_6.9.2020.pdf) (2020) and [https://www.iri.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/pdf\\_beacon\\_w\\_balkans.pdf](https://www.iri.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/pdf_beacon_w_balkans.pdf) (2019)

## Frequently Cited Disaggregate Bases

Disaggregate	Category	Base
Poll 2024 - Country	Bosnia and Herzegovina	n = 1,225
	Kosovo	n = 1,203
	Montenegro	n = 1,036
	North Macedonia	n = 1,220
	Serbia	n = 1,238
	Albania	n = 1,216
Poll 2022 - Country	Bosnia and Herzegovina	n = 1,501
	Kosovo	n = 1,520
	Montenegro	n = 1,008
	North Macedonia	n = 1,479
	Serbia	n = 1,504
Poll 2020 - Country	Bosnia and Herzegovina	n = 1,486
	Kosovo	n = 1,517
	Montenegro	n = 966
	North Macedonia	n = 1,472
	Serbia	n = 1,481

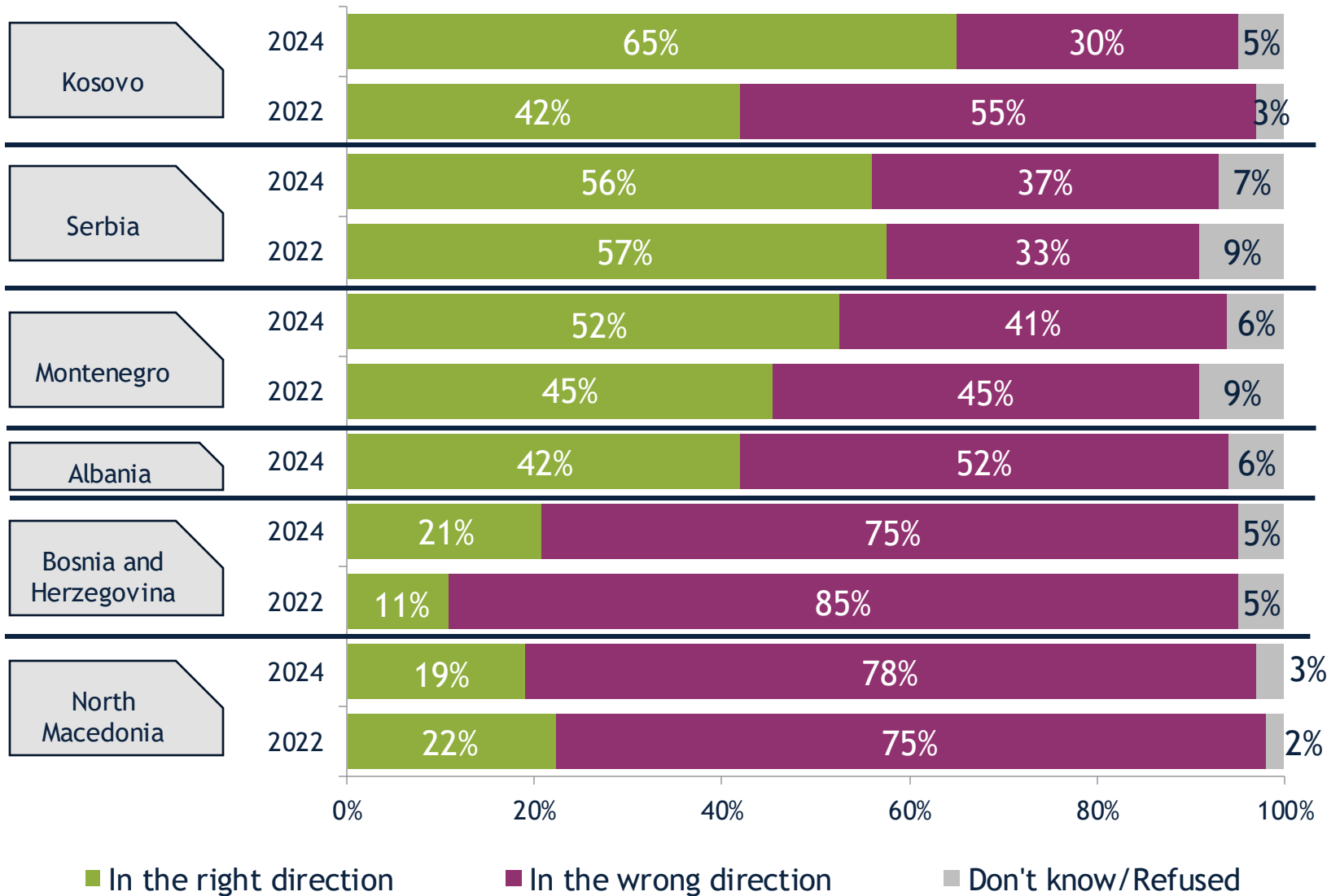
# General Outlook



A PROJECT OF THE INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE

Photo: Sergio Boscaino (CC) [www.flickr.com](http://www.flickr.com)

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





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

(Spontaneous response)

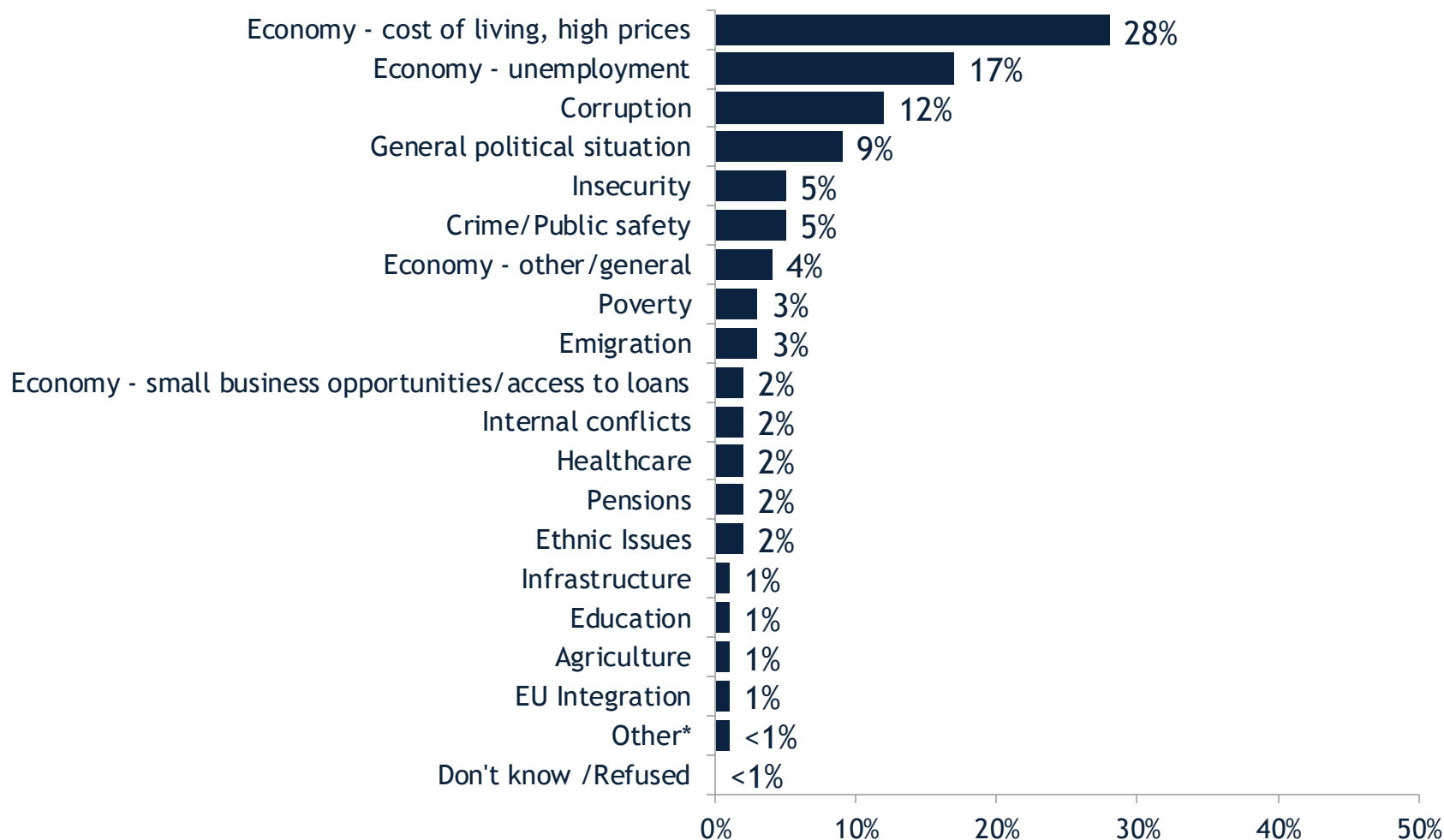


\*Responses receiving <1% are collapsed into *Other*.



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

(Spontaneous response)



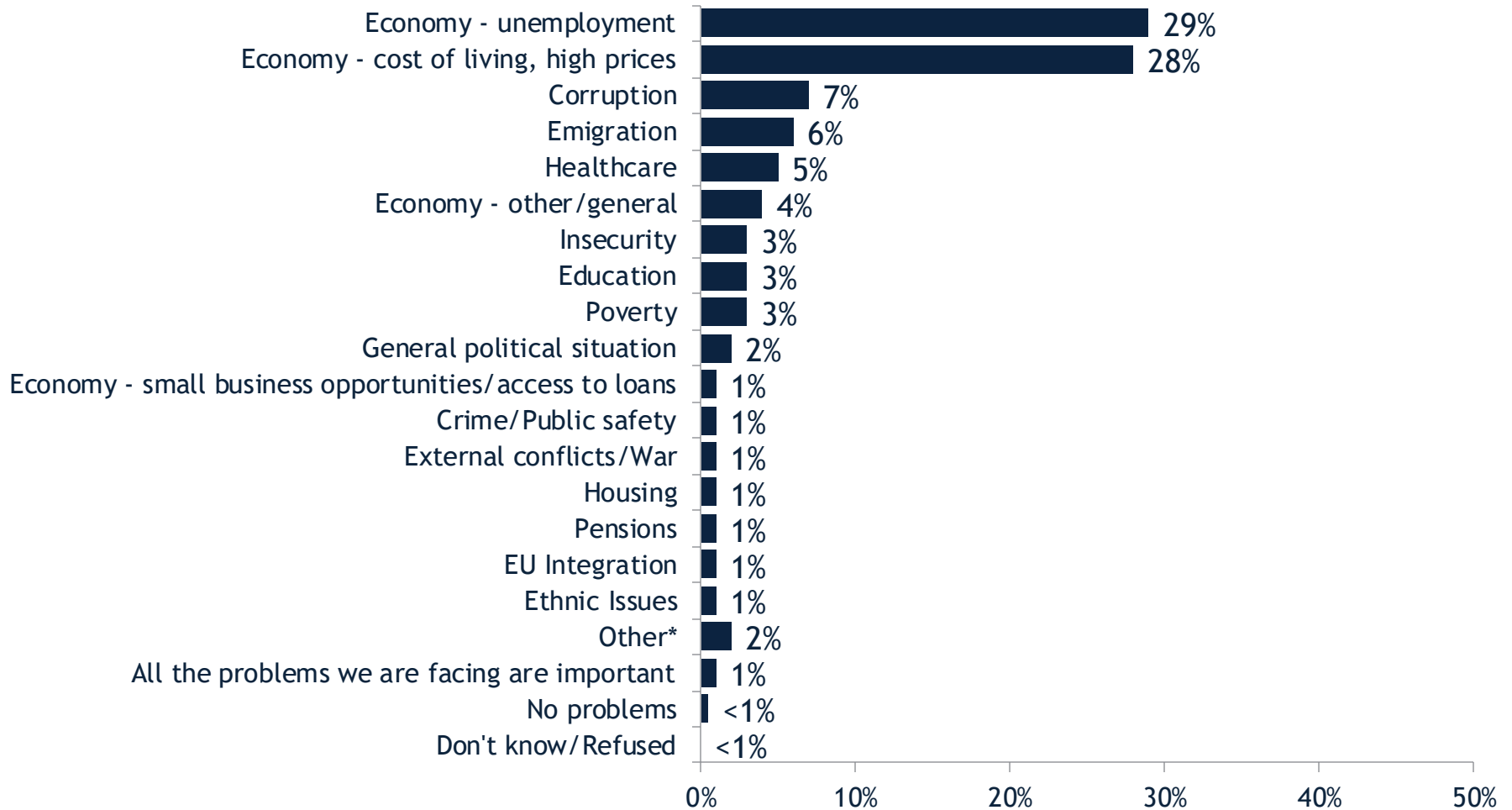
\*Responses receiving <1% are collapsed into *Other*.





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

(Spontaneous response)

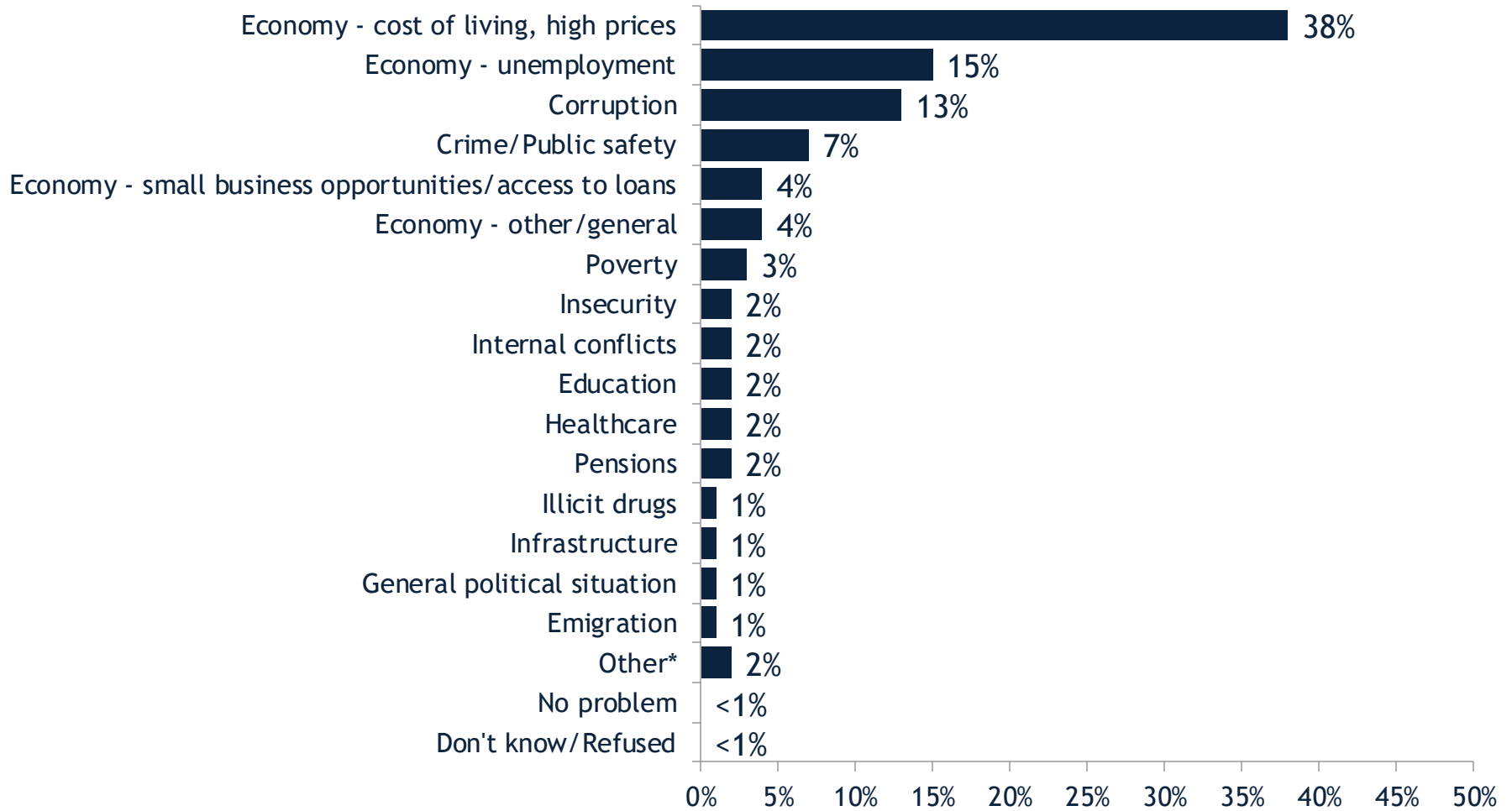


\*Responses receiving <1% are collapsed into *Other*.



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

(Spontaneous response)

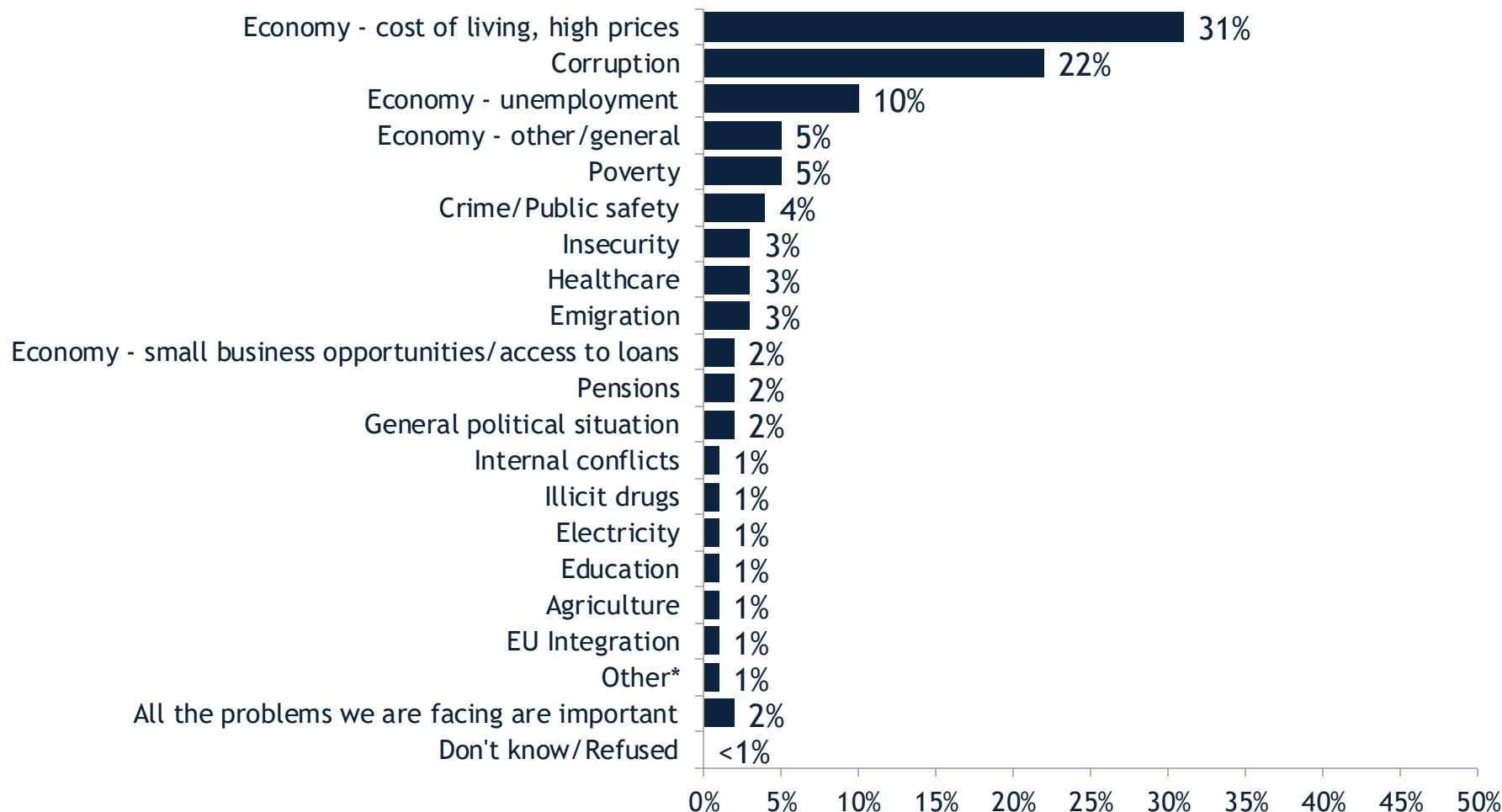


\*Responses receiving <1% are collapsed into *Other*.



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

(Spontaneous response)

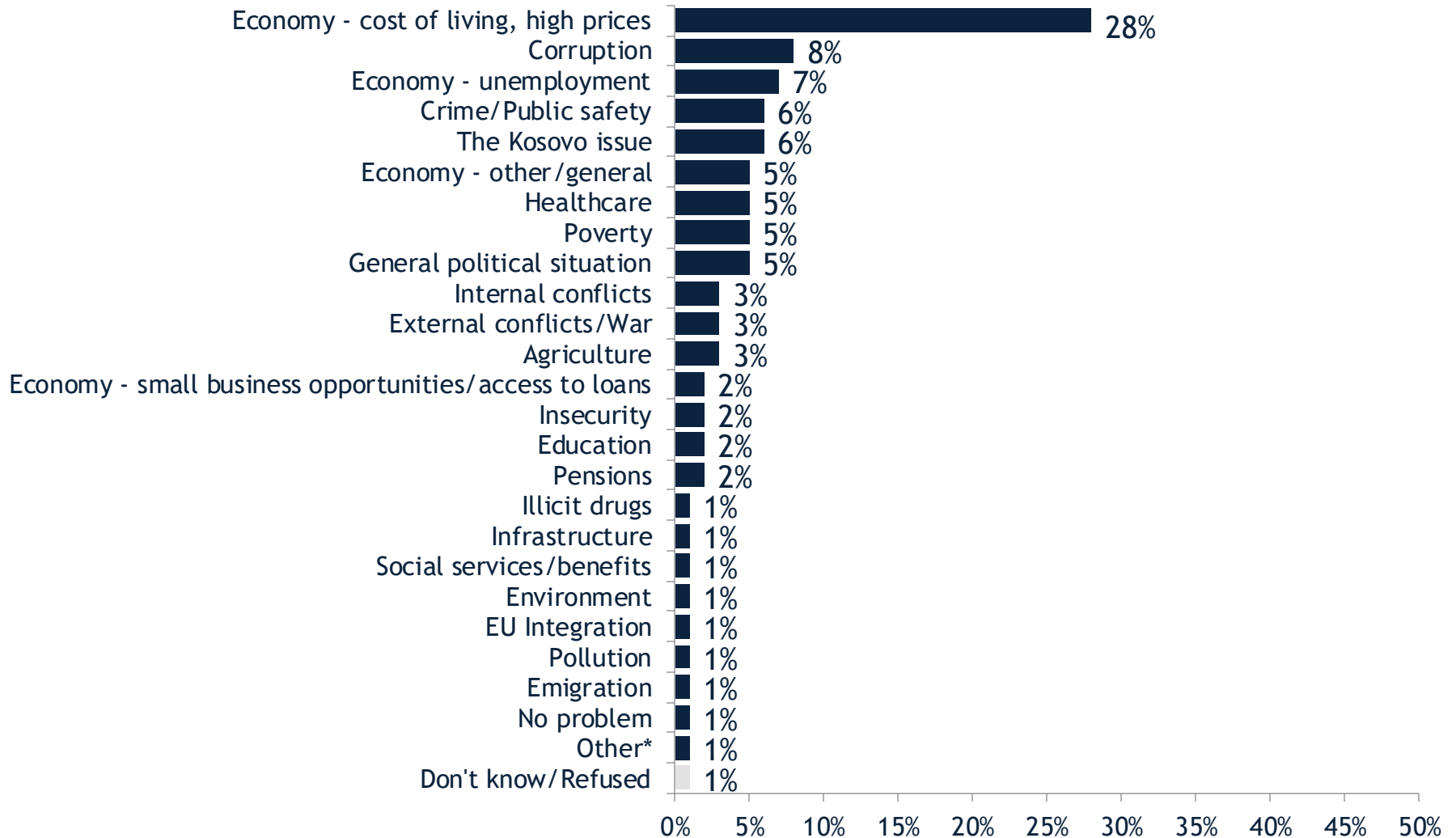


\*Responses receiving <1% are collapsed into *Other*.



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

(Spontaneous response)

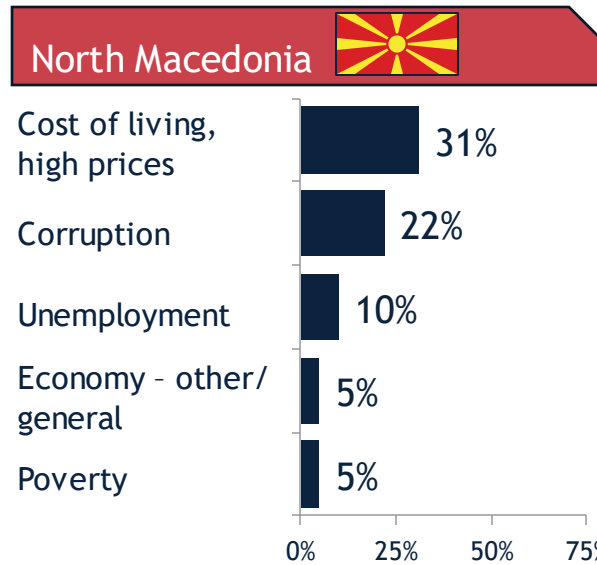
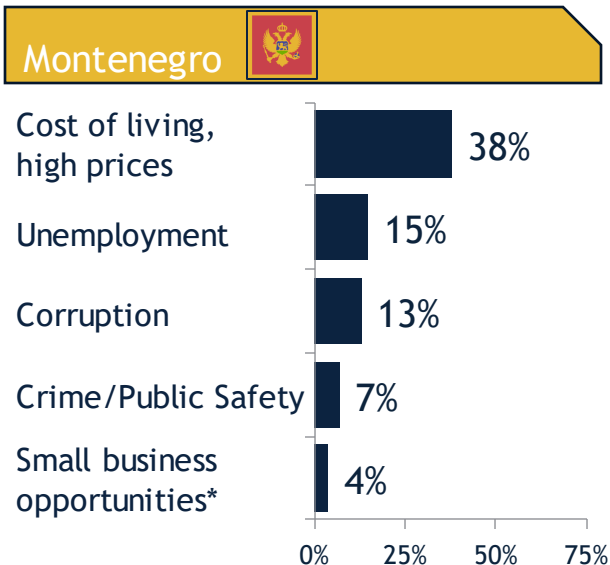
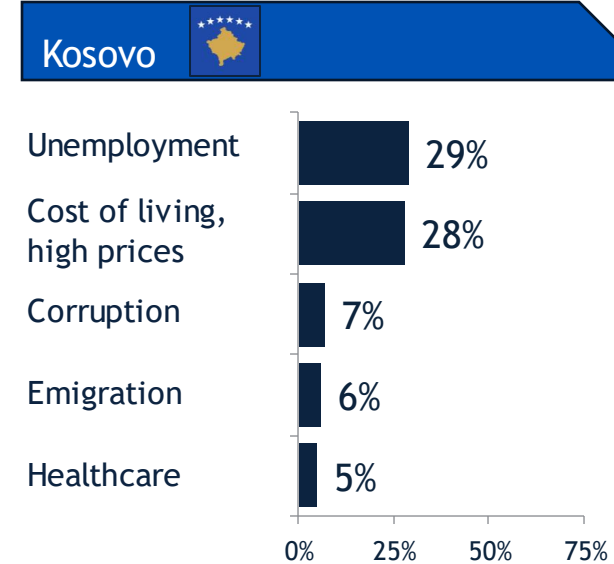
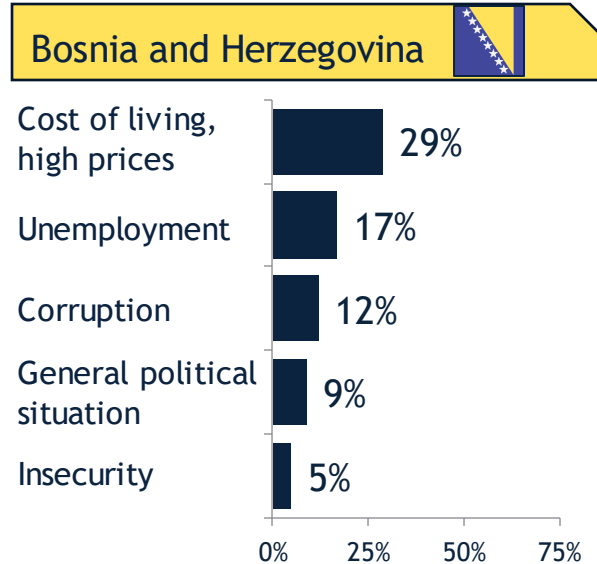
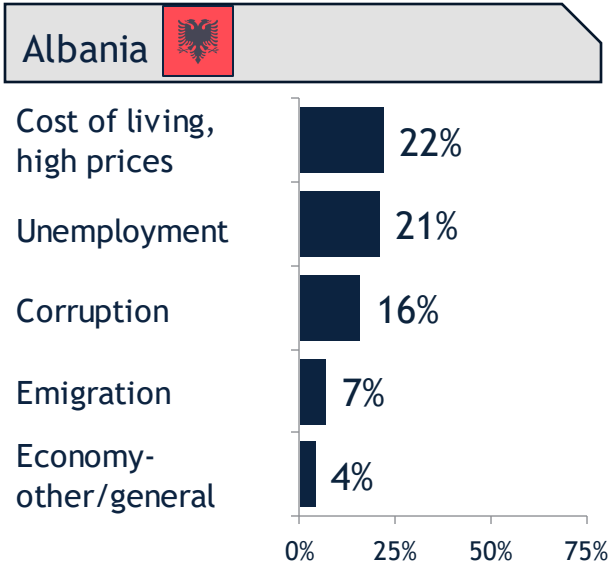


\*Responses receiving <1% are collapsed into *Other*.



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






(Spontaneous response, top 5 problems shown)



\*Full form: Small business opportunities/access to loans.

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

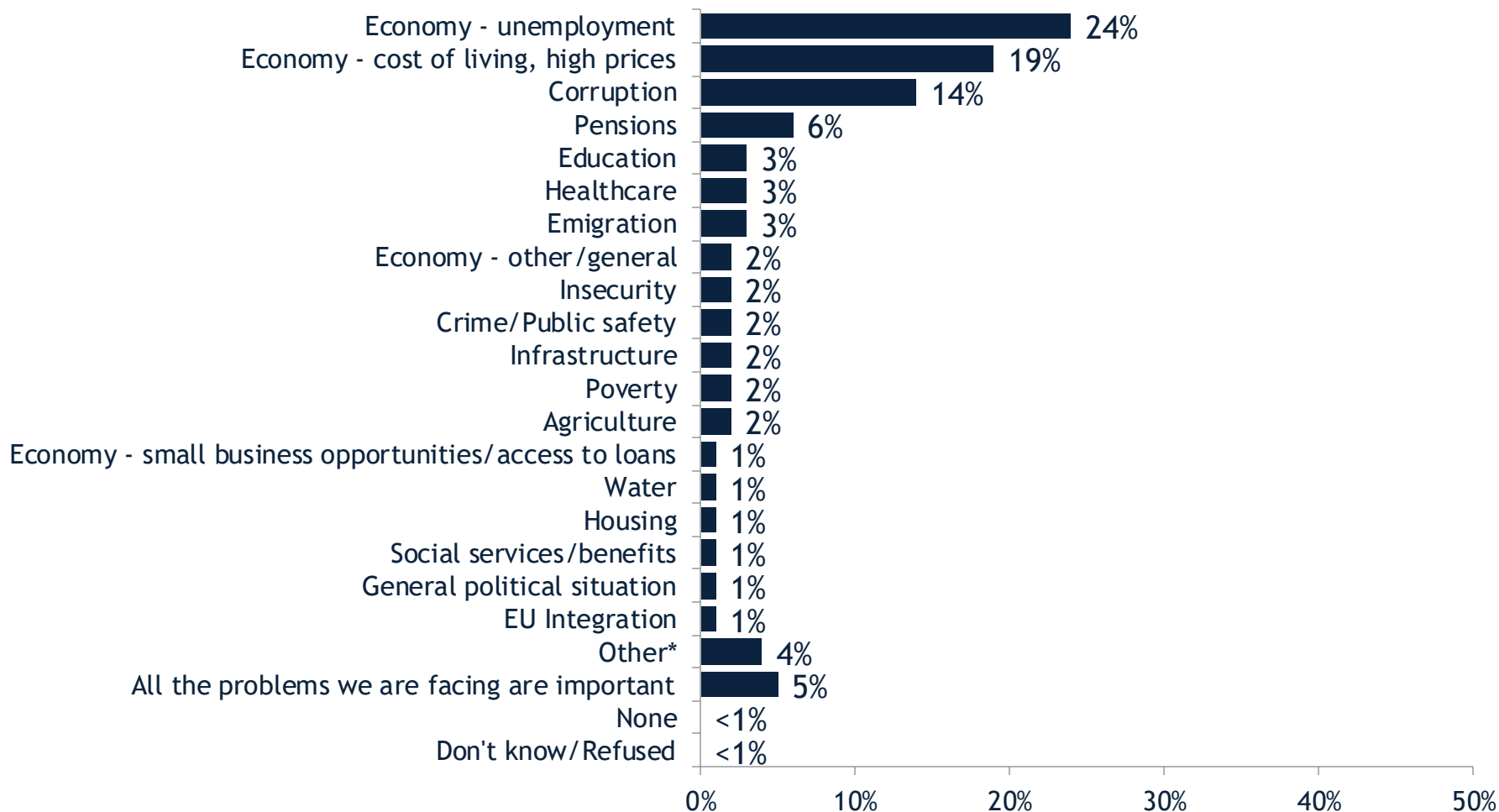
(Spontaneous response, top 5 problems shown)

	Problem 1	Problem 2	Problem 3	Problem 4	Problem 5
<b>Bosnia and Herzegovina</b> 	<b>Cost of living, high prices</b> 2024: 29% 2022: 22%	<b>Unemployment</b> 2024: 17% 2022: 24%	<b>Corruption</b> 2024: 12% 2022: 17%	<b>General political situation</b> 2024: 9% 2022: 9%	<b>Insecurity</b> 2024: 5% 2022: 3%
<b>Kosovo</b> 	<b>Unemployment</b> 2024: 29% 2022: 46%	<b>Cost of living, high prices</b> 2024: 28% 2022: 24%	<b>Corruption</b> 2024: 7% 2022: 8%	<b>Emigration</b> 2024: 6% 2022: 1%	<b>Healthcare</b> 2024: 5% 2022: 1%
<b>Montenegro</b> 	<b>Cost of living, high prices</b> 2024: 38% 2022: 18%	<b>Unemployment</b> 2024: 15% 2022: 37%	<b>Corruption</b> 2024: 13% 2022: 11%	<b>Crime/Public safety</b> 2024: 7% 2022: 5%	<b>Small business opportunities</b> 2024: 4% 2022: 2%
<b>North Macedonia</b> 	<b>Cost of living, high prices</b> 2024: 31% 2022: 38%	<b>Corruption</b> 2024: 22% 2022: 7%	<b>Unemployment</b> 2024: 10% 2022: 23%	<b>Economy - other/general</b> 2024: 5% 2022: 4%	<b>Poverty</b> 2024: 5% 2022: 5%
<b>Serbia</b> 	<b>Cost of living, high prices</b> 2024: 28% 2022: 30%	<b>Corruption</b> 2024: 8% 2022: 10%	<b>Unemployment</b> 2024: 7% 2022: 11%	<b>Crime/Public safety</b> 2024: 6% 2022: 4%	<b>The Kosovo issue</b> 2024: 6% 2022: --



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

(Spontaneous response)

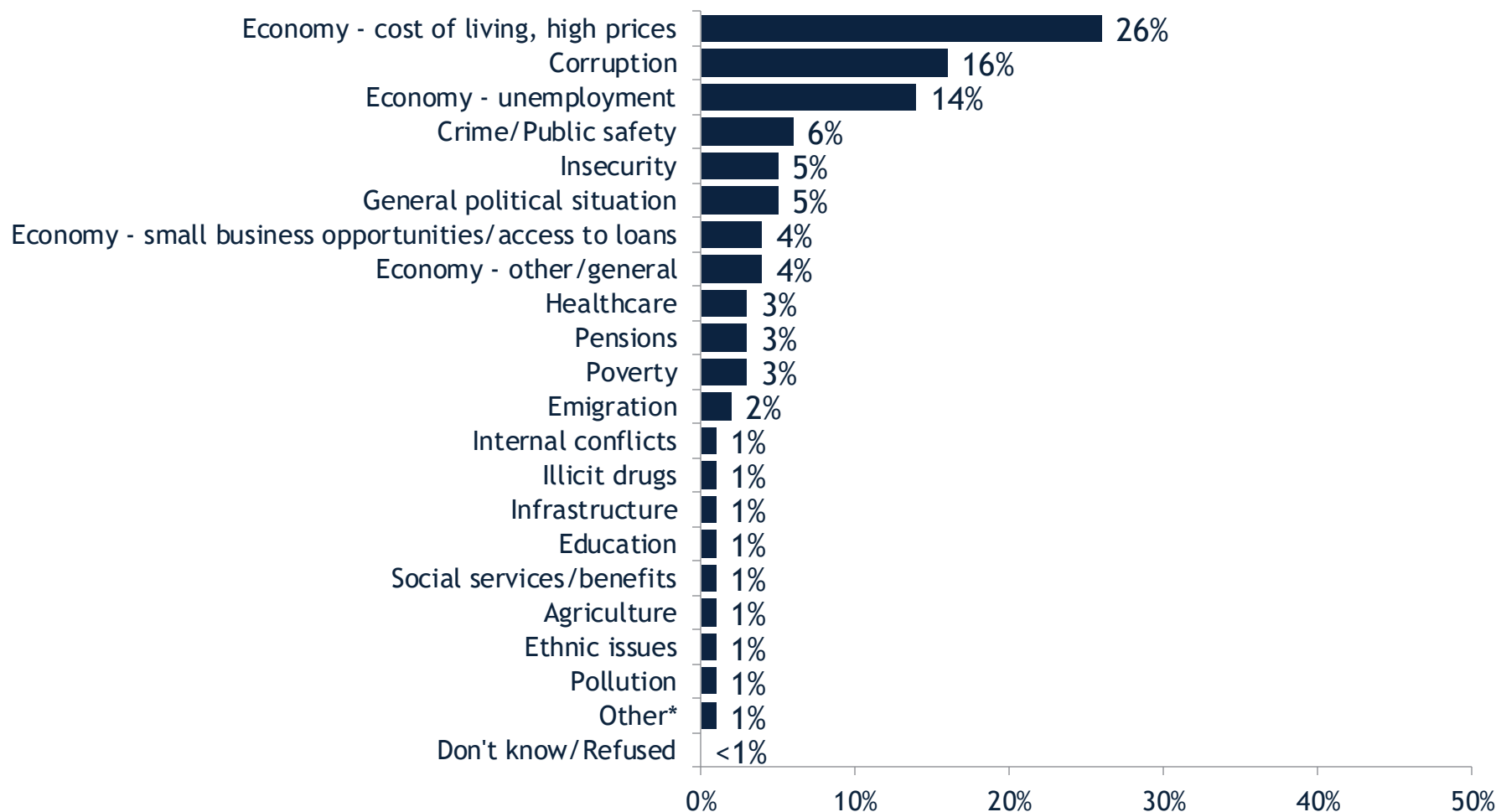


\*Responses receiving <1% are collapsed into *Other*.



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

(Spontaneous response)



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





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

(Spontaneous response)



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



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

(Spontaneous response)

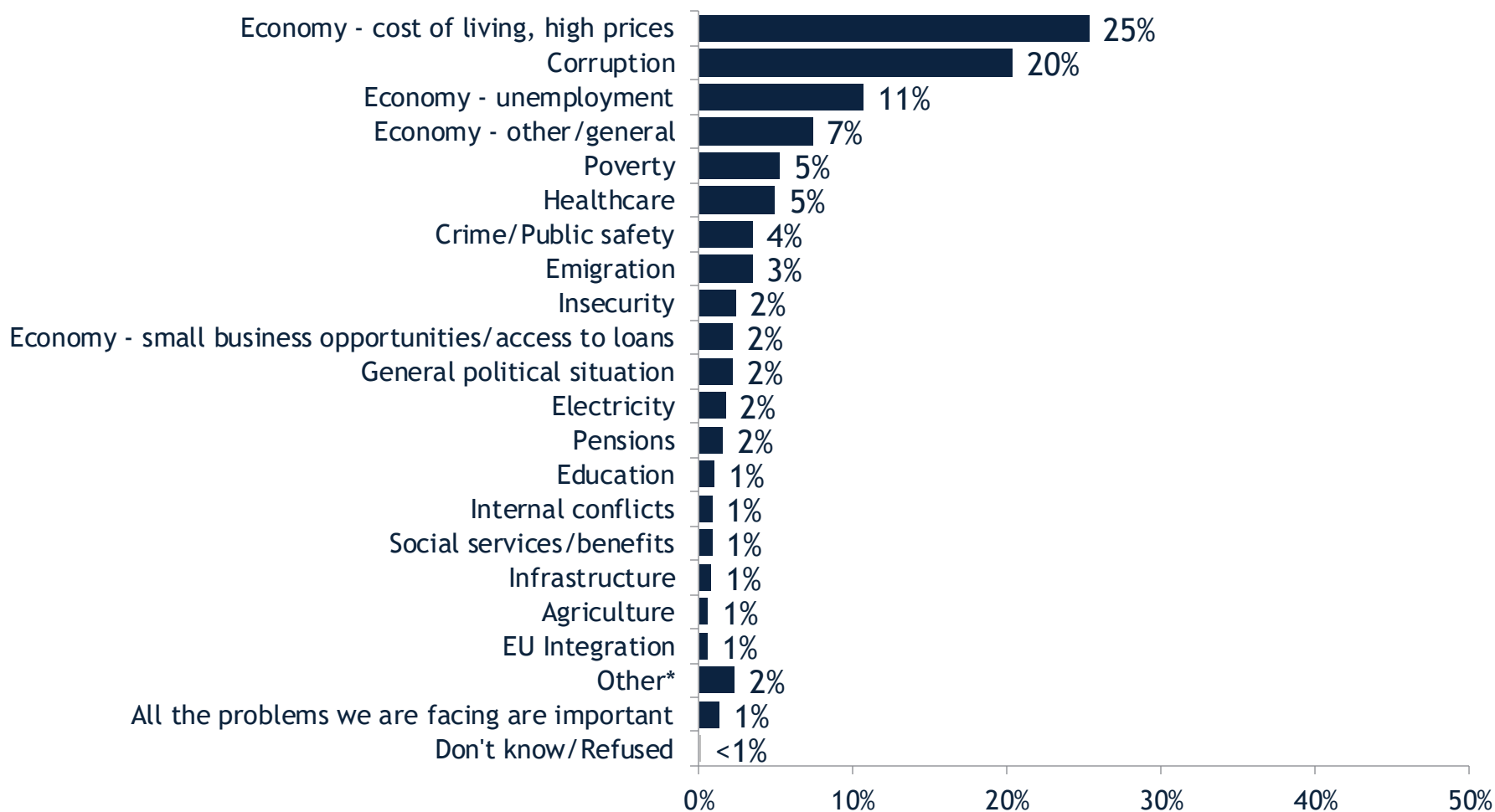


\*Responses receiving <1% are collapsed into *Other*.



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

(Spontaneous response)

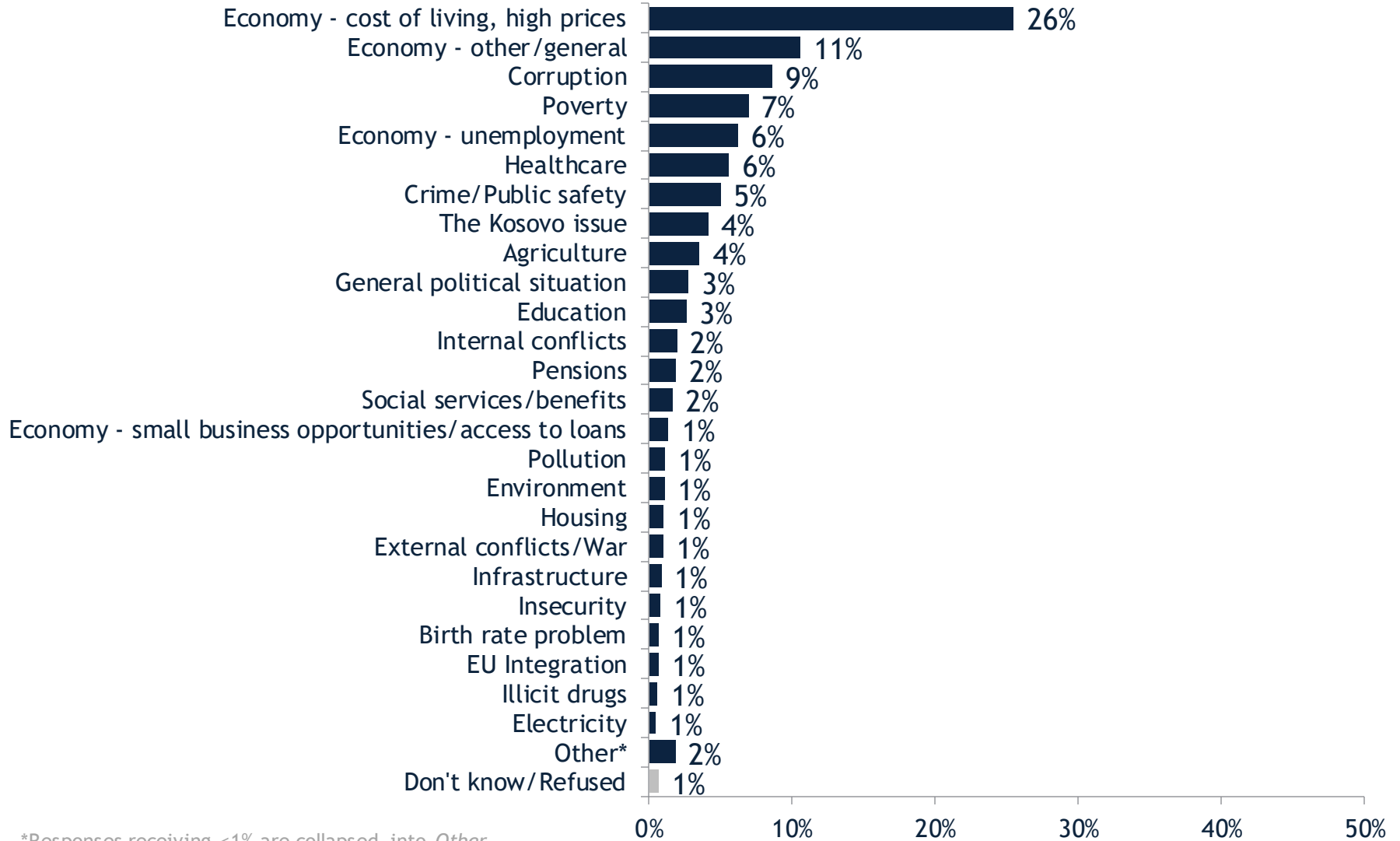


\*Responses receiving <1% are collapsed into *Other*.



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

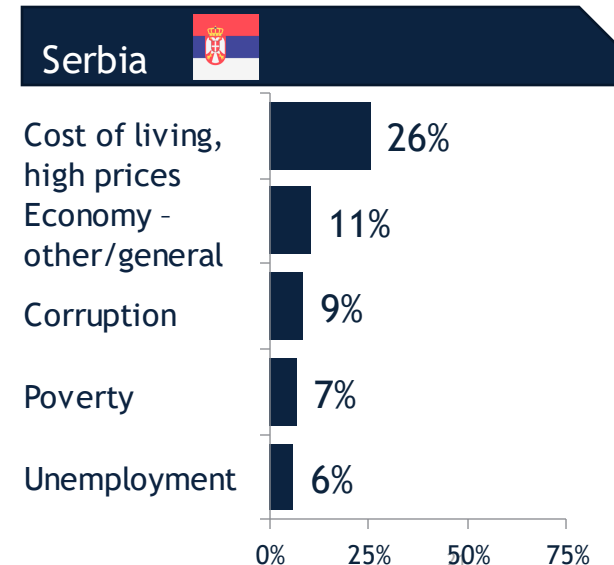
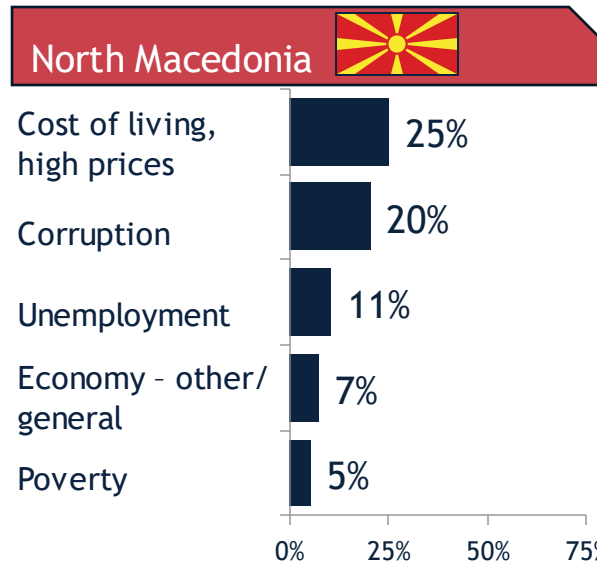
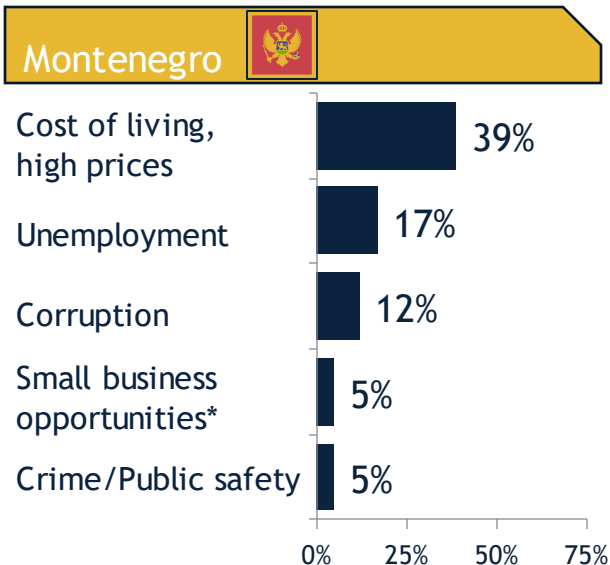
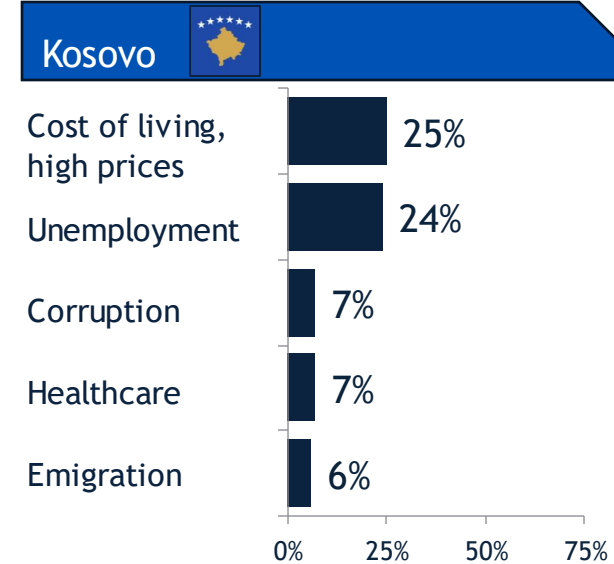
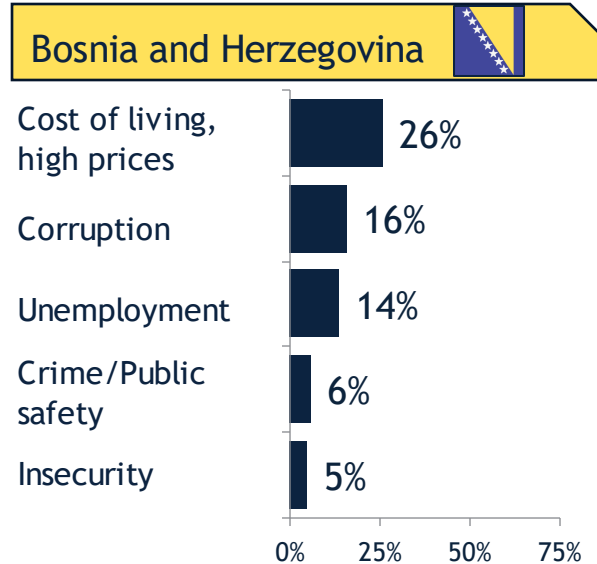
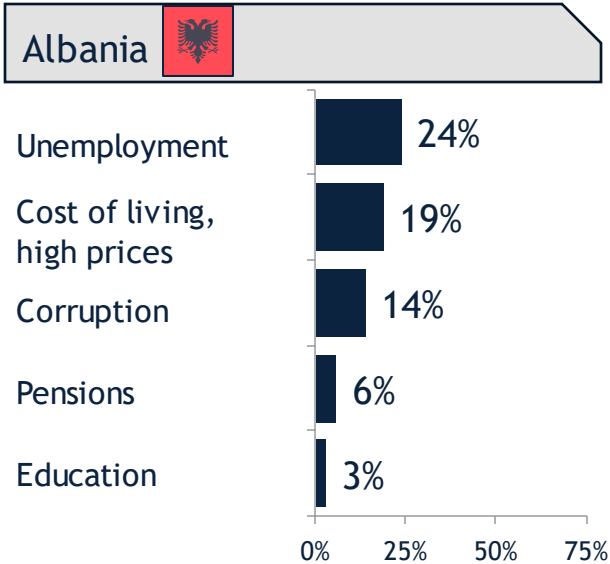
(Spontaneous response)



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

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






(Spontaneous response, top 5 issues shown)



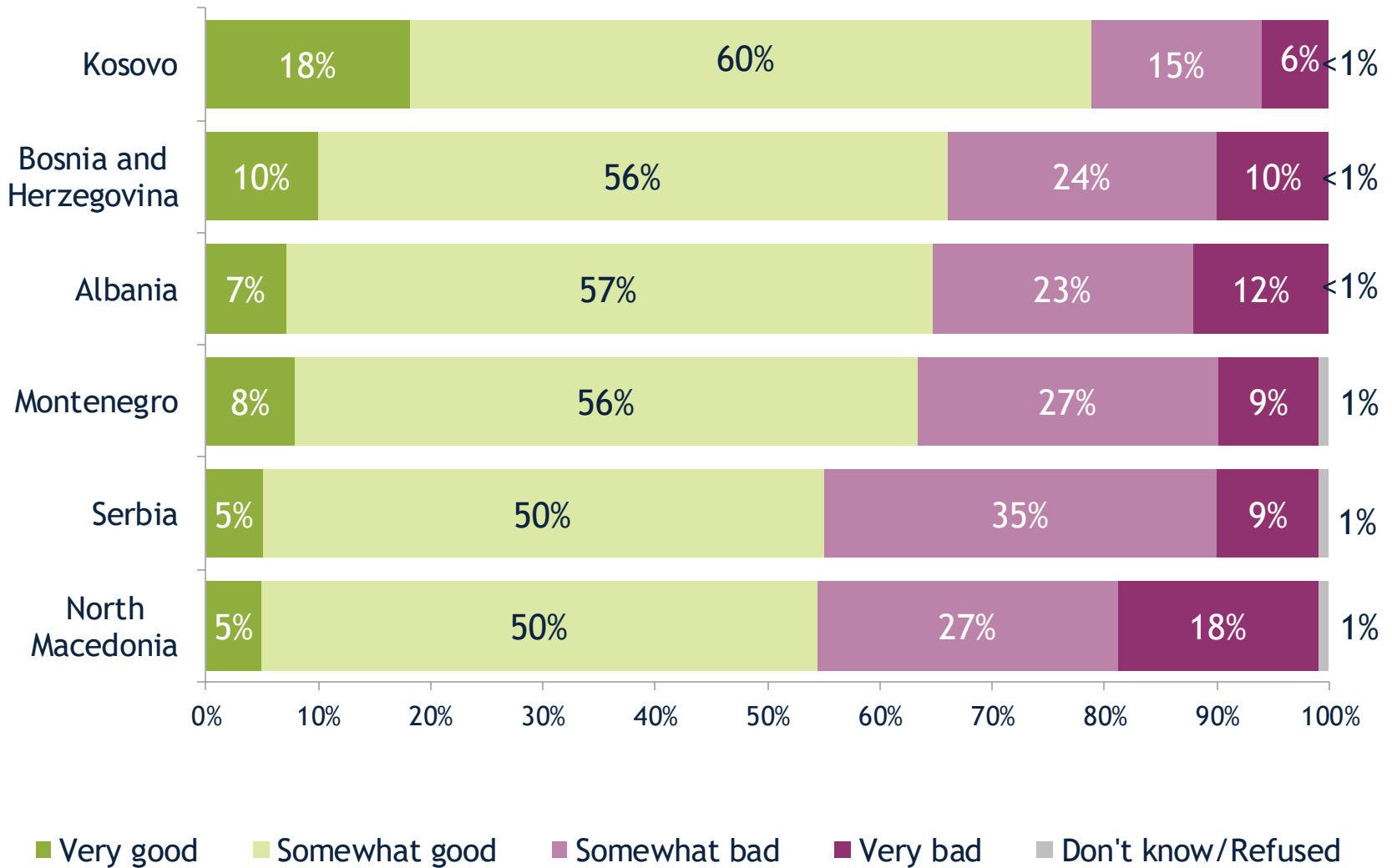
\*Full form: Small business opportunities/access to loans.

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

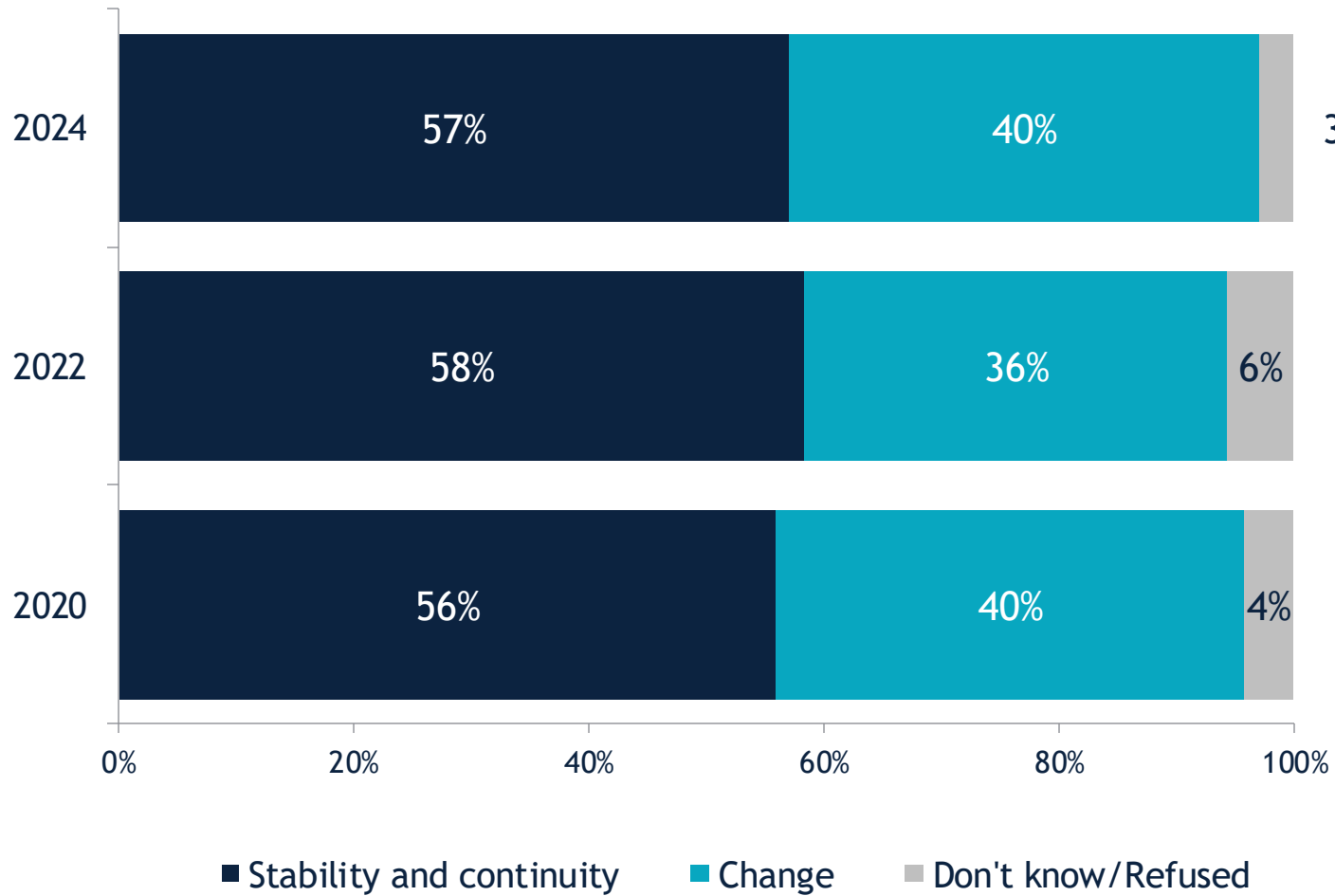
(Spontaneous response, top 5 issues shown)

	Issue 1	Issue 2	Issue 3	Issue 4	Issue 5
<b>Bosnia and Herzegovina</b> 	<b>Cost of living, high prices</b> 2024: 26% 2022: 25%	<b>Corruption</b> 2024: 16% 2022: 17%	<b>Unemployment</b> 2024: 14% 2022: 21%	<b>Crime/Public safety</b> 2024: 6% 2022: 4%	<b>Insecurity</b> 2024: 5% 2022: 4%
<b>Kosovo</b> 	<b>Cost of living, high prices</b> 2024: 25% 2022: 3%	<b>Unemployment</b> 2024: 24% 2022: 35%	<b>Corruption</b> 2024: 7% 2022: 16%	<b>Healthcare</b> 2024: 7% 2022: 5%	<b>Emigration</b> 2024: 6% 2022: 2%
<b>Montenegro</b> 	<b>Cost of living, high prices</b> 2024: 39% 2022: 18%	<b>Unemployment</b> 2024: 17% 2022: 37%	<b>Corruption</b> 2024: 12% 2022: 11%	<b>Small business opportunities</b> 2024: 5% 2022: 3%	<b>Crime/Public safety</b> 2024: 5% 2022: 6%
<b>North Macedonia</b> 	<b>Cost of living, high prices</b> 2024: 25% 2022: 27%	<b>Corruption</b> 2024: 20% 2022: 7%	<b>Unemployment</b> 2024: 11% 2022: 21%	<b>Economy - other/general</b> 2024: 7% 2022: 5%	<b>Poverty</b> 2024: 5% 2022: 6%
<b>Serbia</b> 	<b>Cost of living, high prices</b> 2024: 26% 2022: 29%	<b>Economy - other/general</b> 2024: 11% 2022: 6%	<b>Corruption</b> 2024: 9% 2022: 13%	<b>Poverty</b> 2024: 7% 2022: 5%	<b>Unemployment</b> 2024: 6% 2022: 14%

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



# What does Serbia need the most at this time?

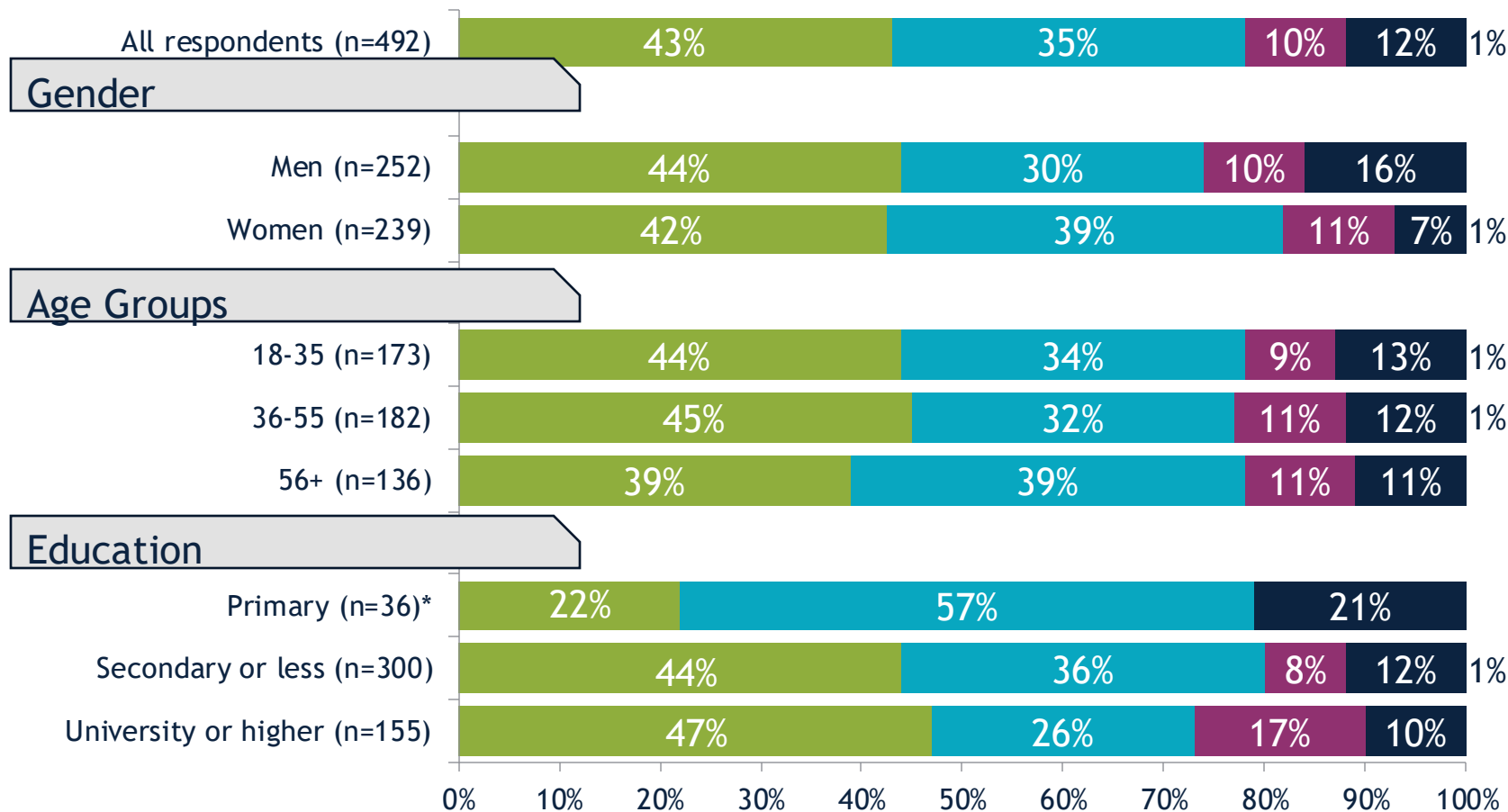






# Which one of the following types of change is most needed in Serbia now?

(Among Serbians who believe Serbia **needs a change**)



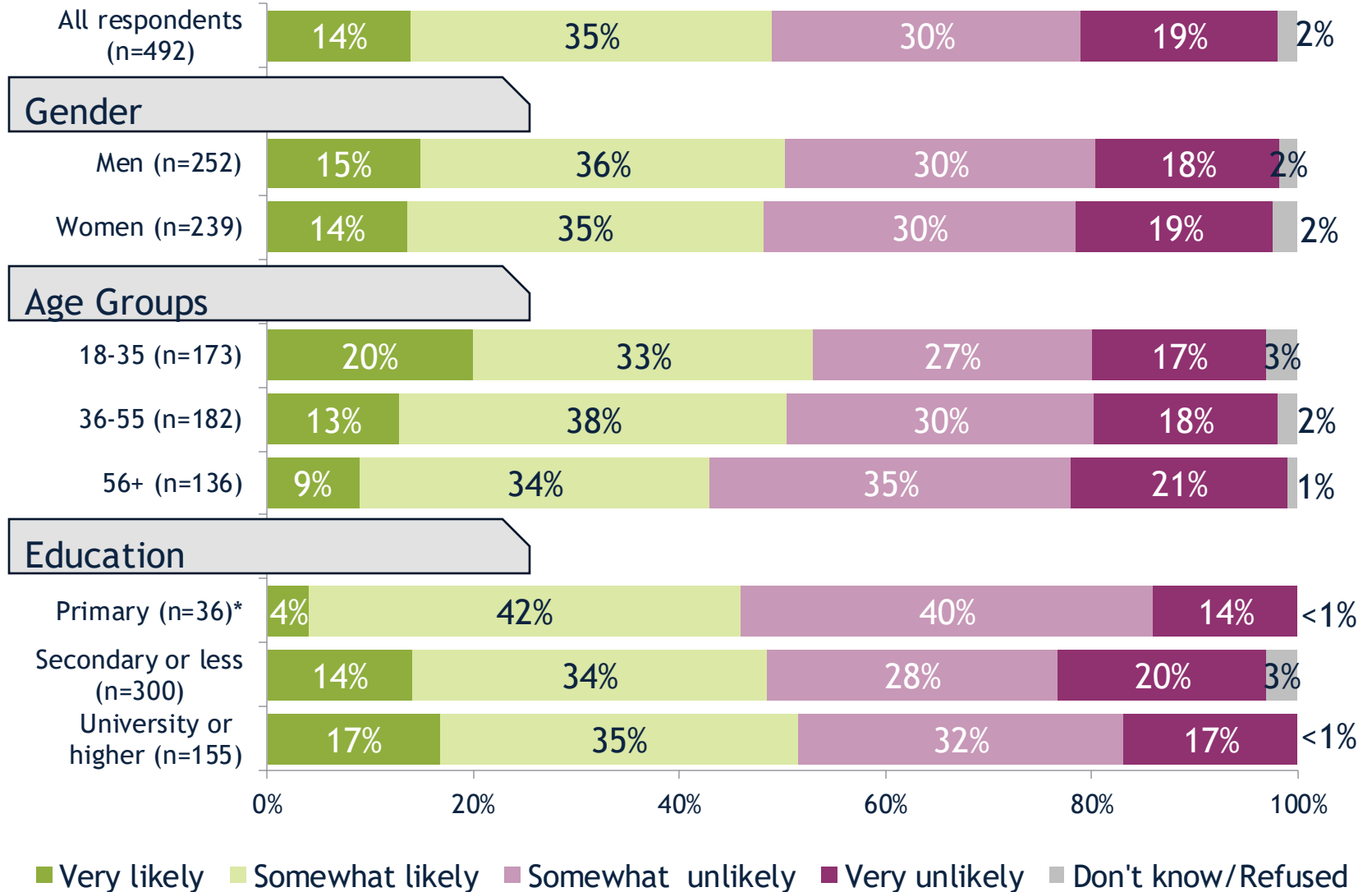
- Change of top political leaders and ruling parties
- Change of the economic situation and improvement of social justice
- Change of cultural standards and practices, including media and education standards and a reduction in violence
- Change of administrative standards, including professional managers in institutions and a reduction in corruption
- Don't know/Refused

\*Analysis should be interpreted with caution due to small sample size n.



# How likely do you think it is that such change can come to Serbia in the near future?

(Among Serbians who believe Serbia **needs a change**)



\*Analysis should be interpreted with caution due to small sample size n.

# Democracy and Human Rights

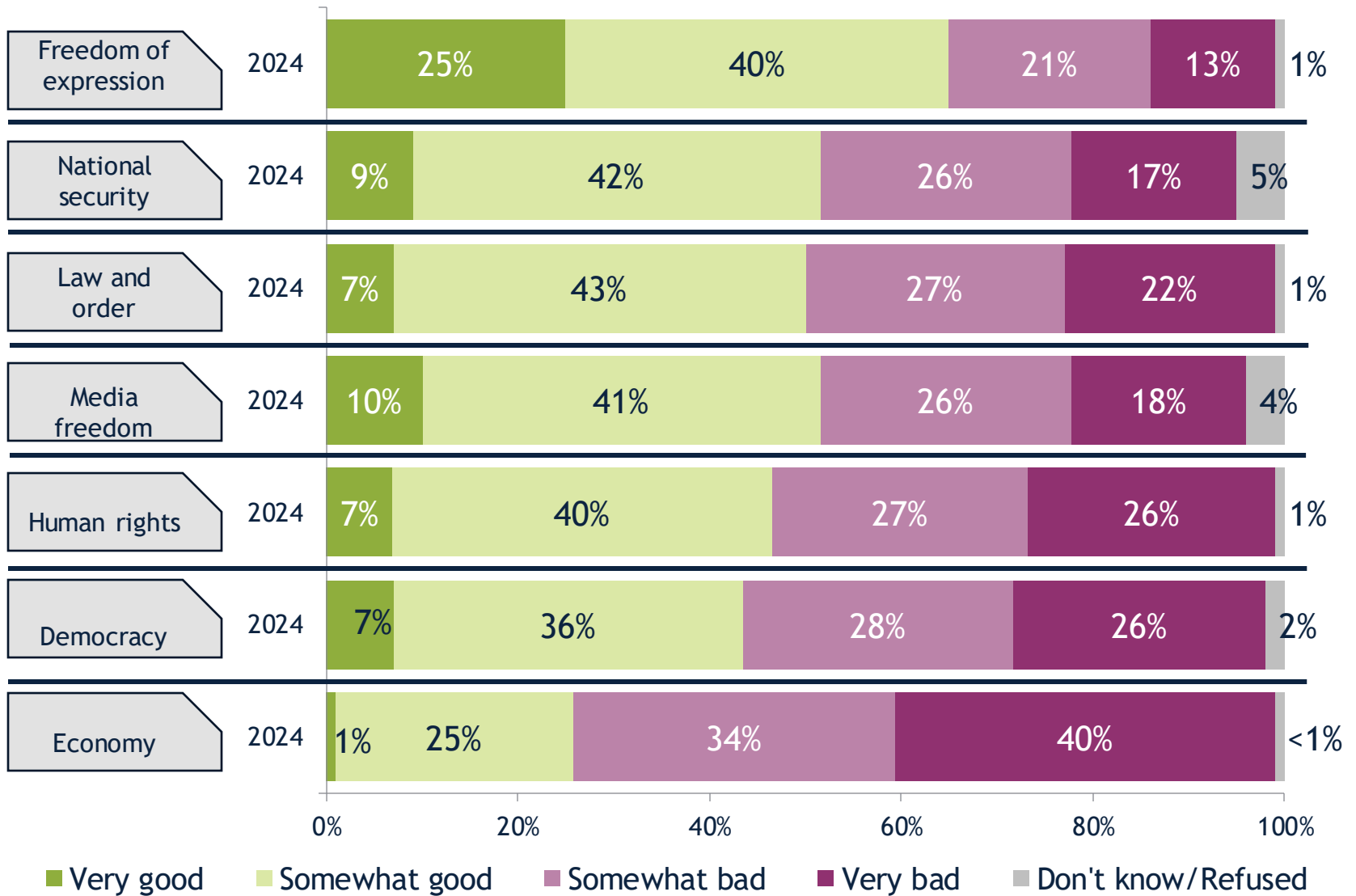


A PROJECT OF THE INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE

"Arms raised in protest" by Jacob Lund File#350865313 on  
adobestock.com

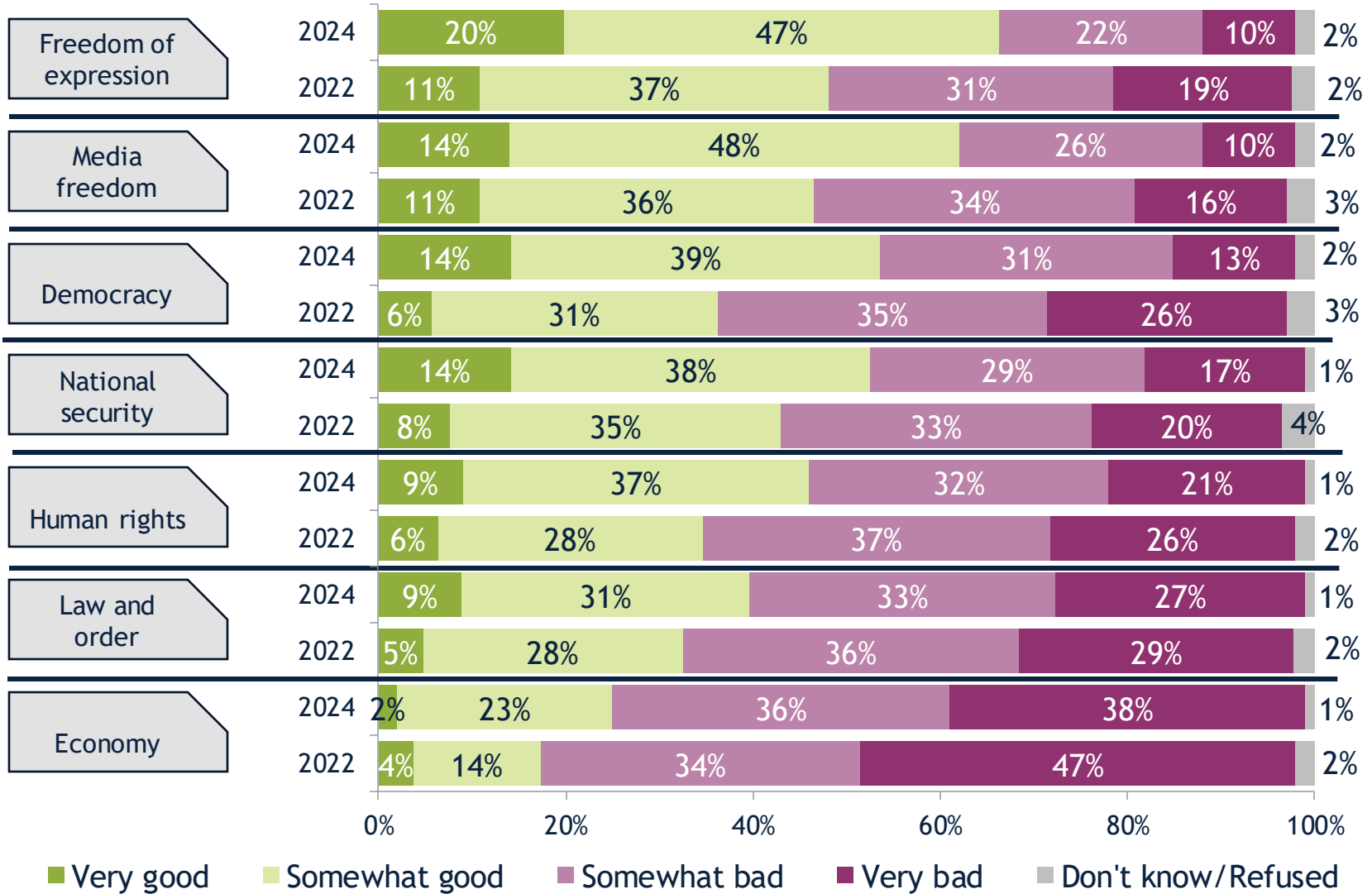


# How would you describe the current status of each of the following items in our country?



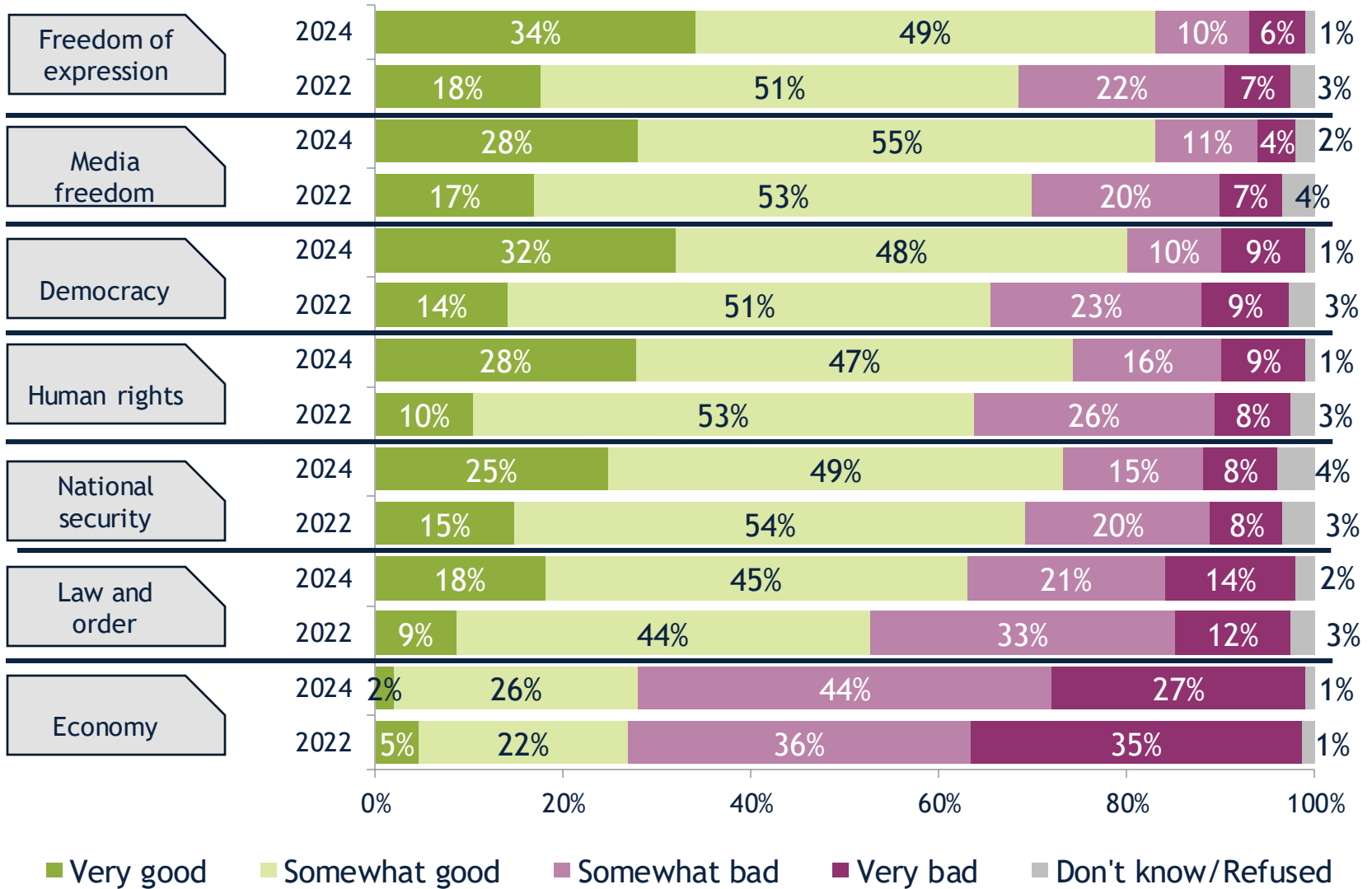


# How would you describe the current status of each of the following items in our country?



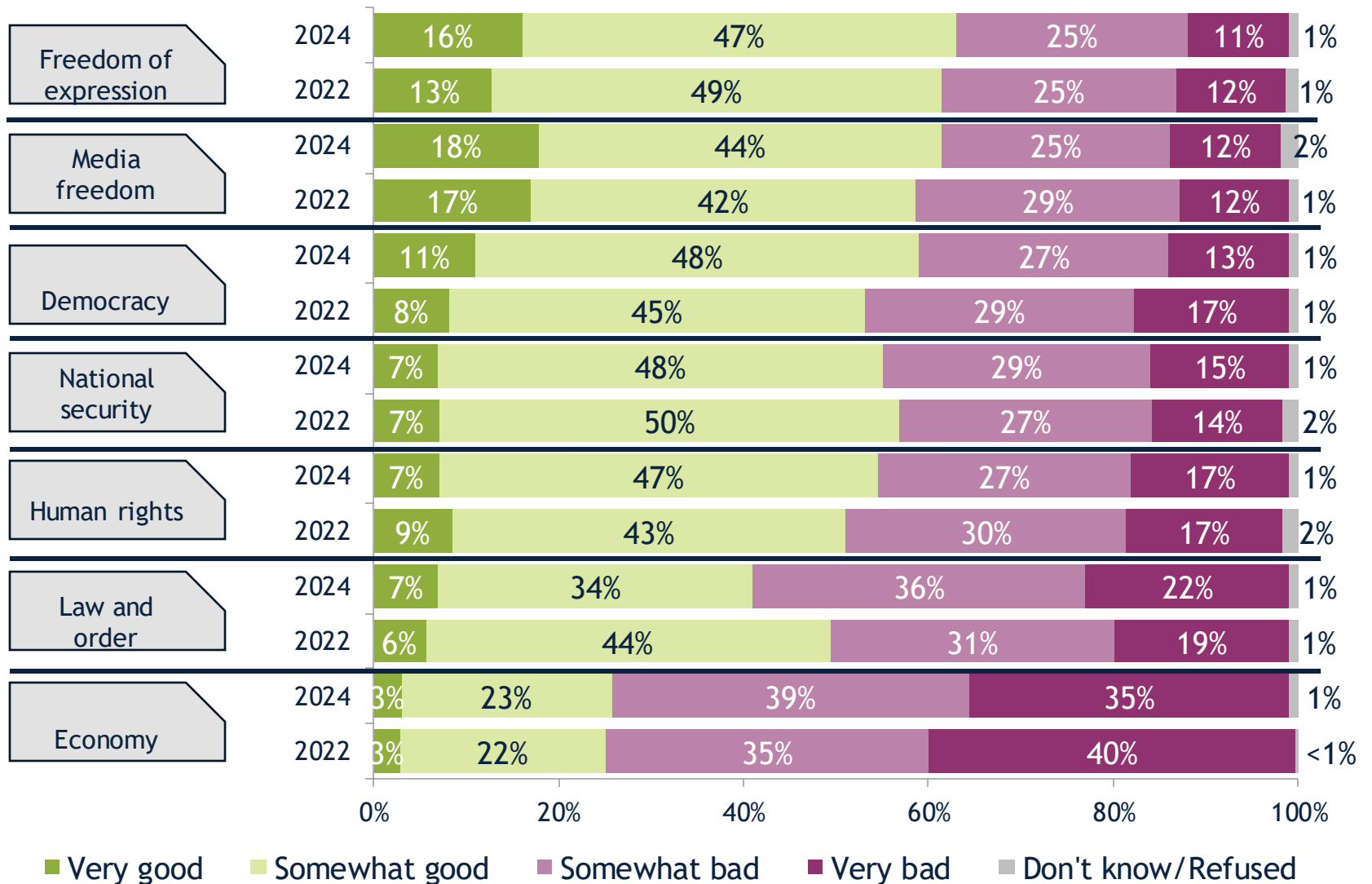


# How would you describe the current status of each of the following items in Kosovo?



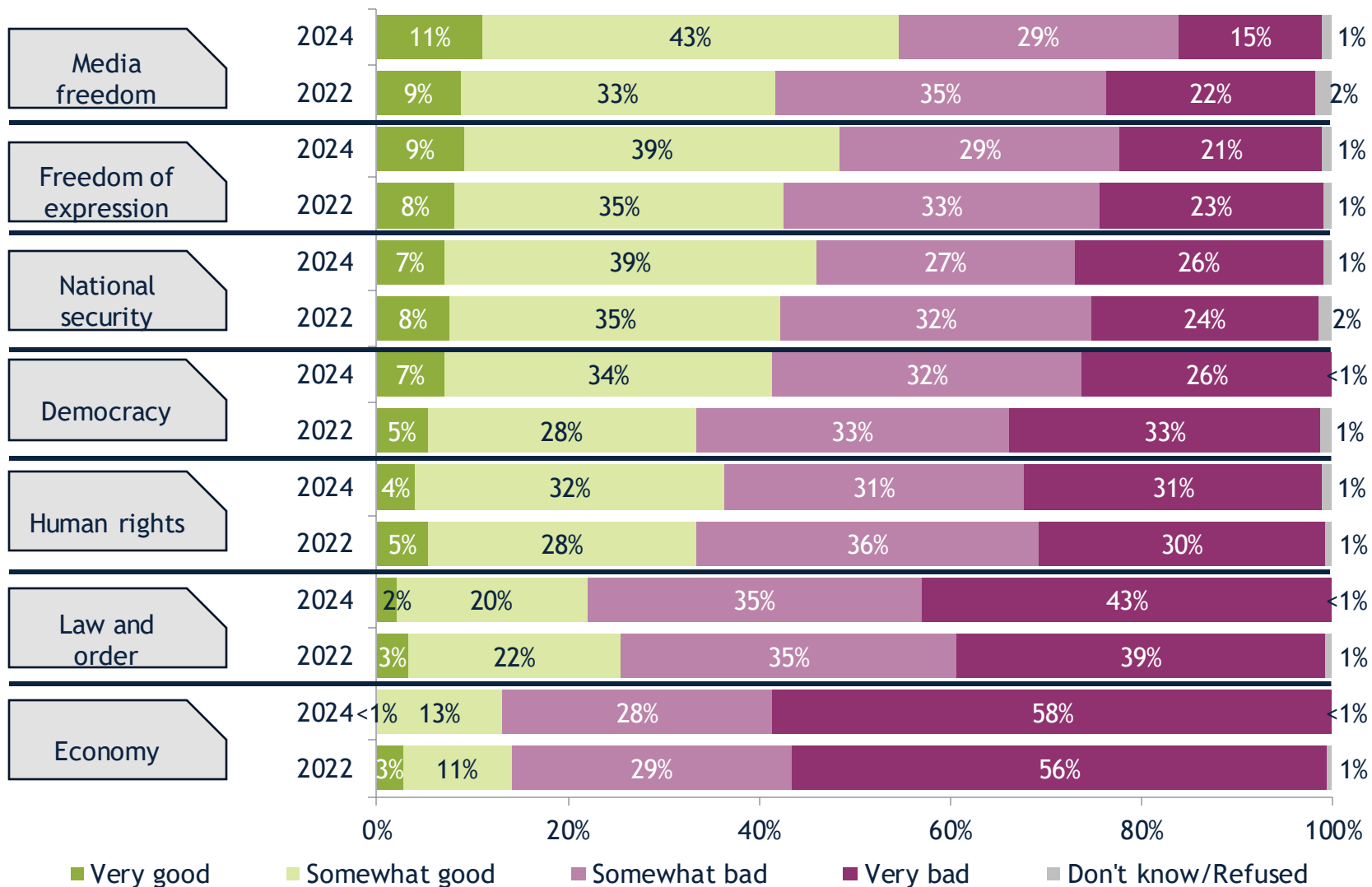


# How would you describe the current status of each of the following items in our country?



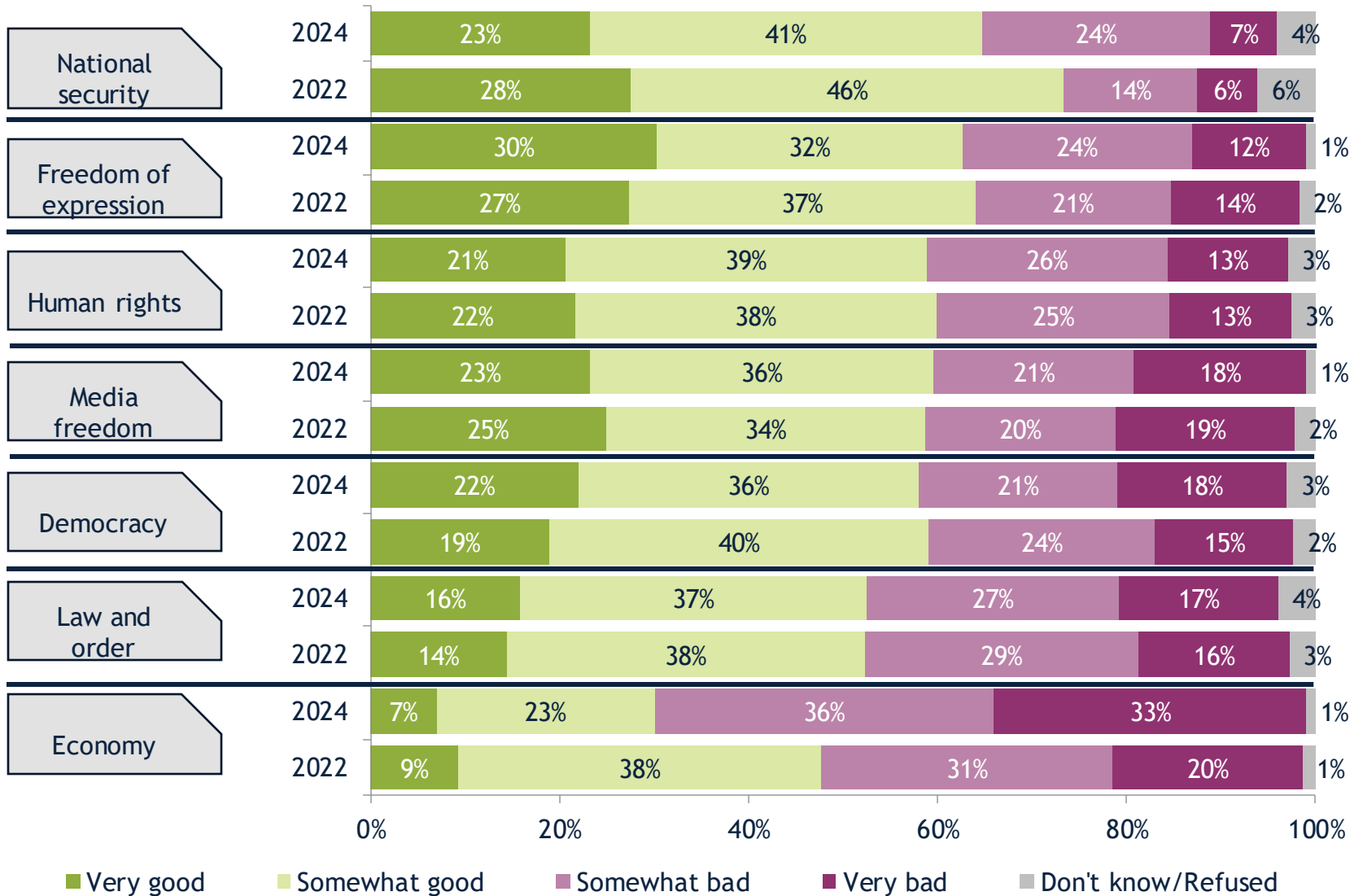


# How would you describe the current status of each of the following items in our country?





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



# Trust in Politicians and Institutions



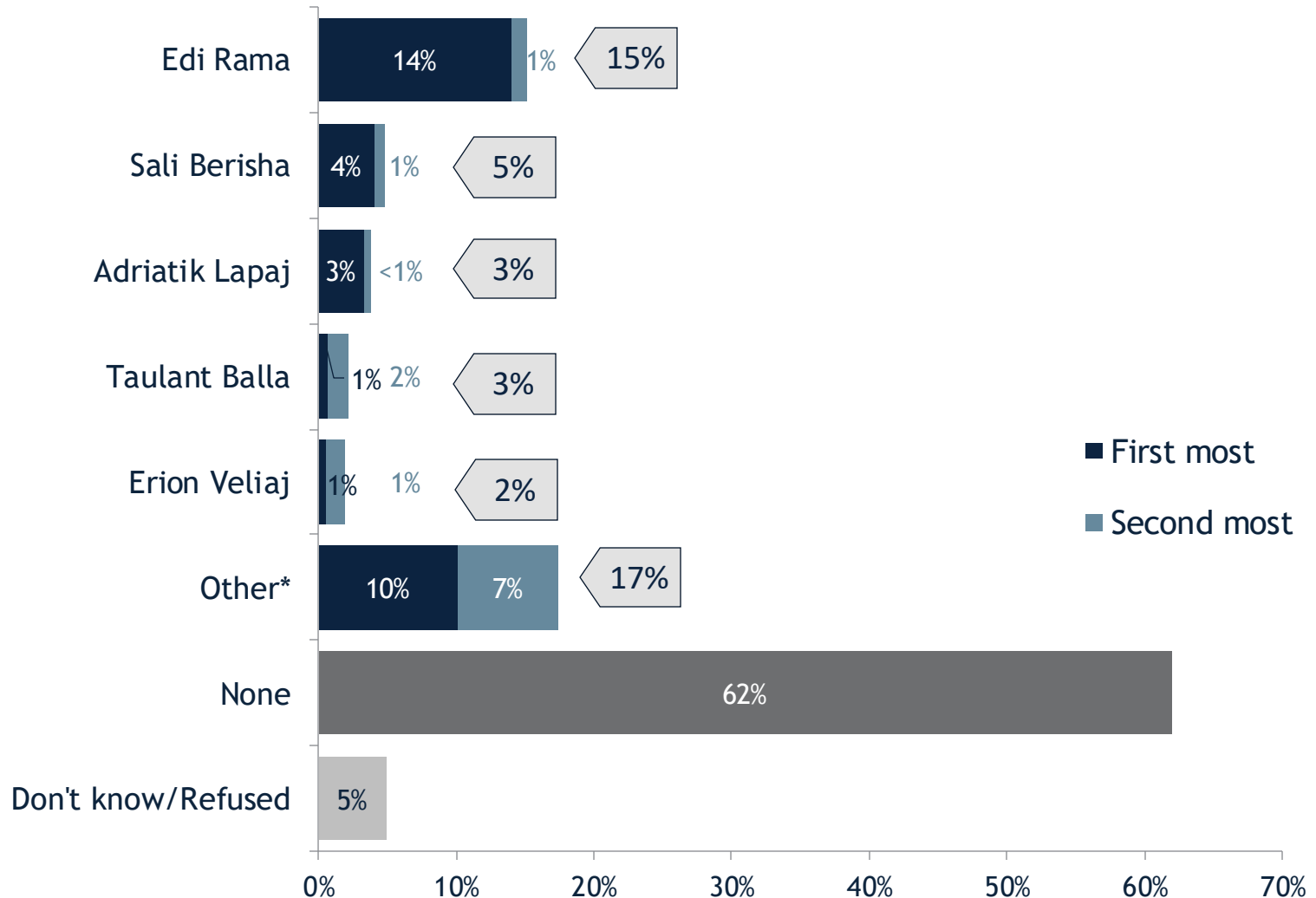
A PROJECT OF THE INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE

“United Nations General Assembly Hall in the UN Headquarters, New York, NY” by Basit D Soufi on commons.Wikimedia.org is licensed by CC 3.0 Unported.



# Which politician or public person do you trust the most?

(Spontaneous response, multiple responses allowed)

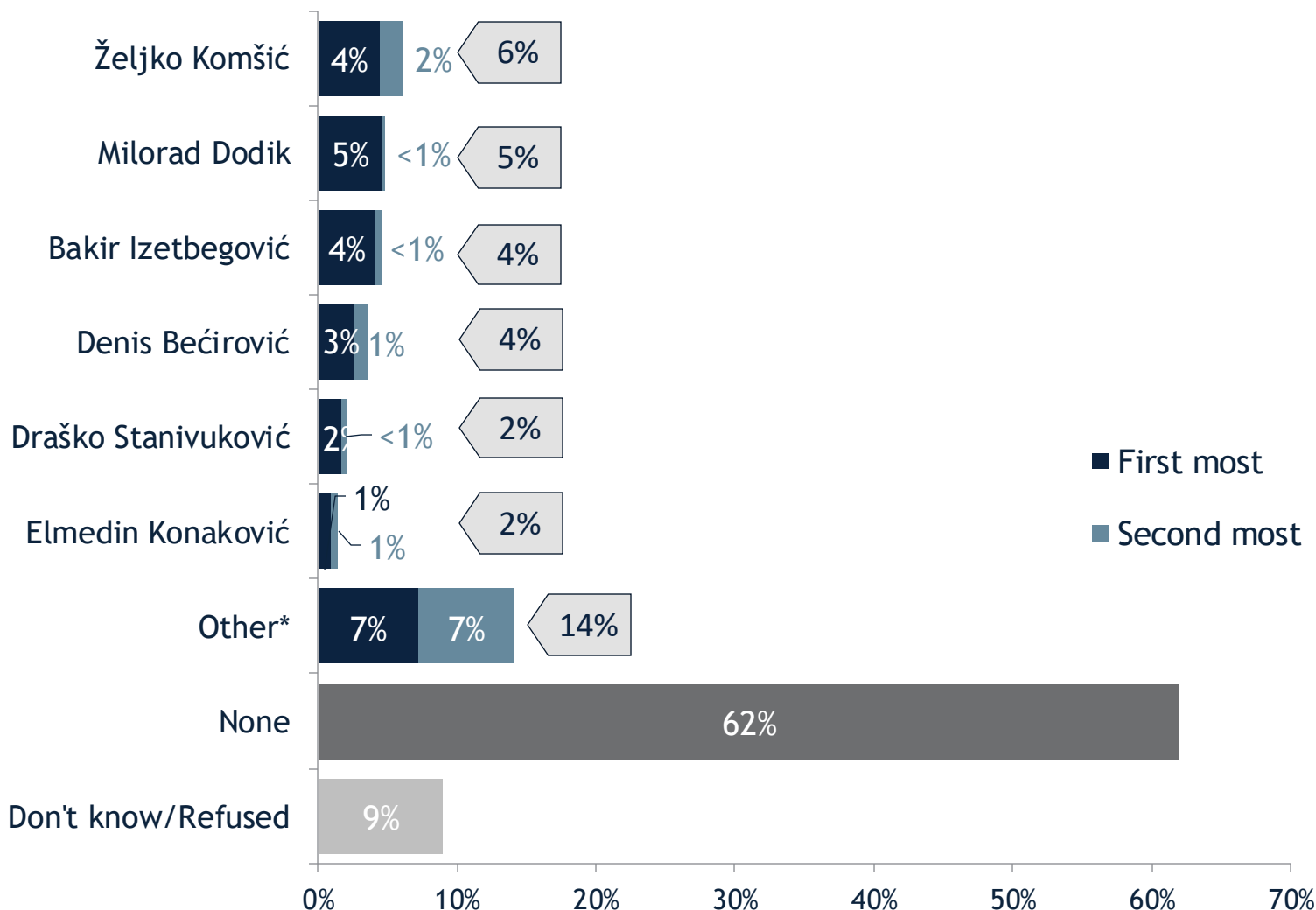


\*Total mentions <2% are collapsed into *Other*.



# Which politician or public person do you trust the most?

(Spontaneous response, multiple responses allowed)

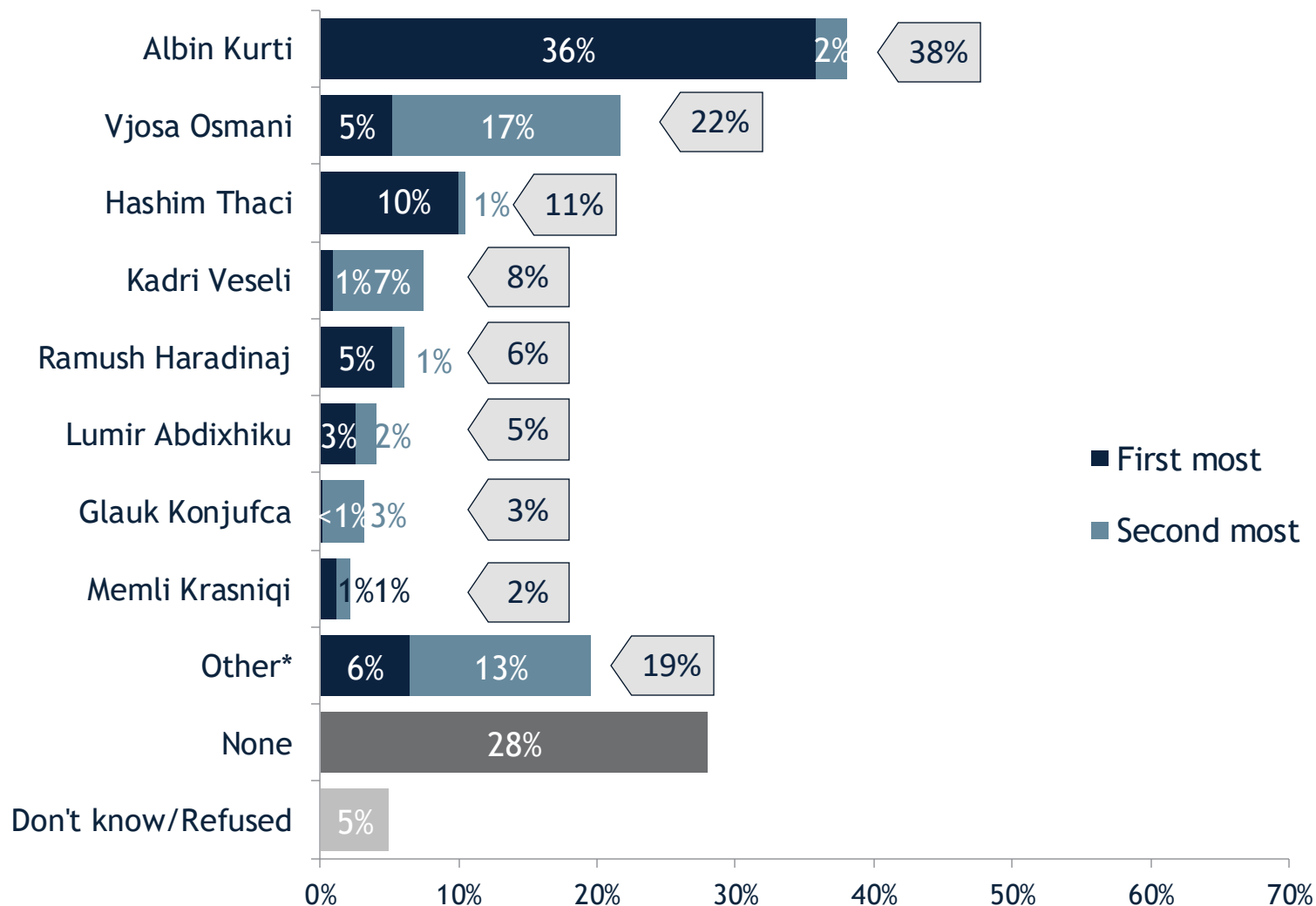


\*Total mentions <2% are collapsed into *Other*.



# Which politician or public person do you trust the most?

(Spontaneous response, multiple responses allowed)

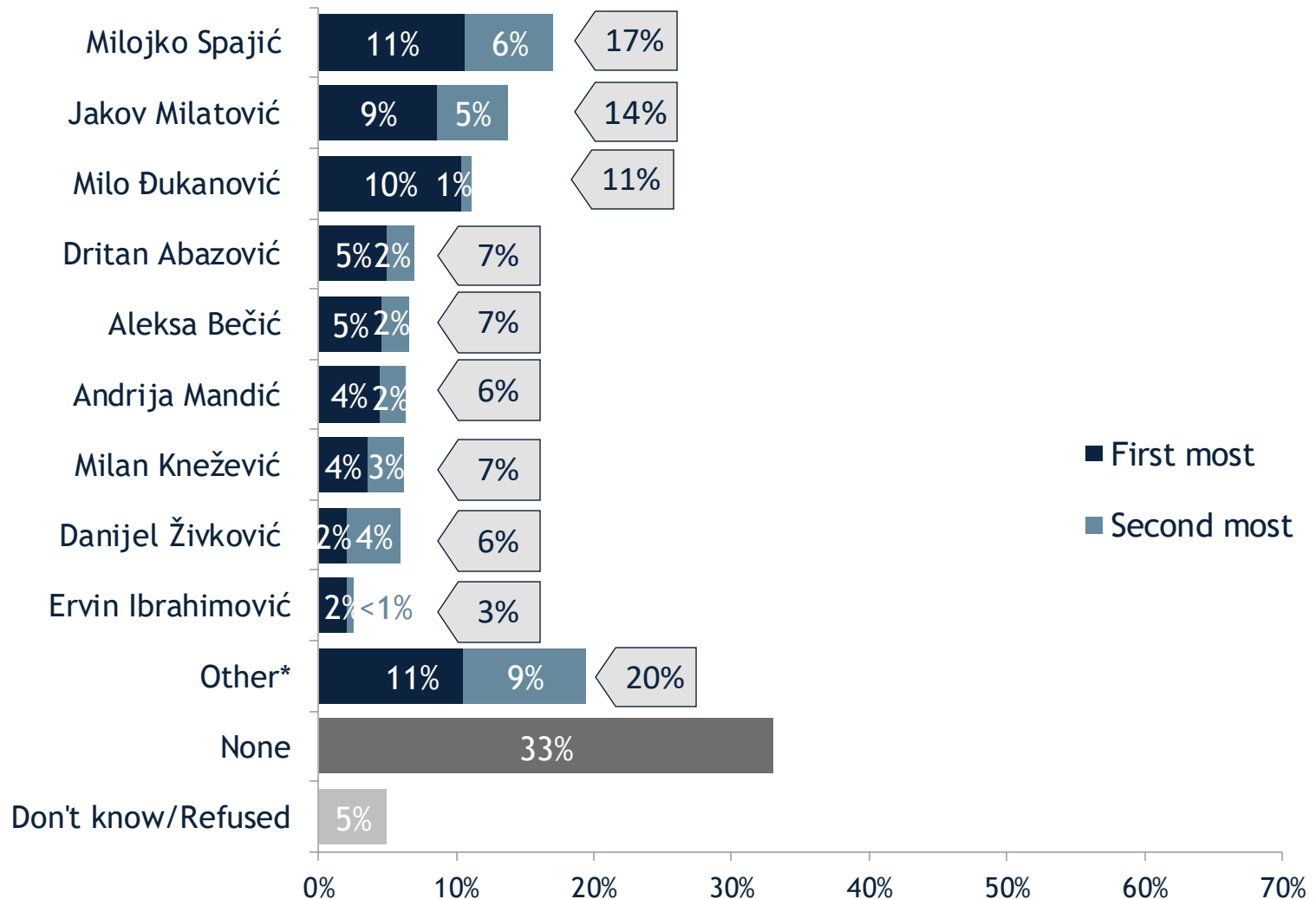


\*Total mentions <2% are collapsed into *Other*.



# Which politician or public person do you trust the most?

(Spontaneous response, multiple responses allowed)

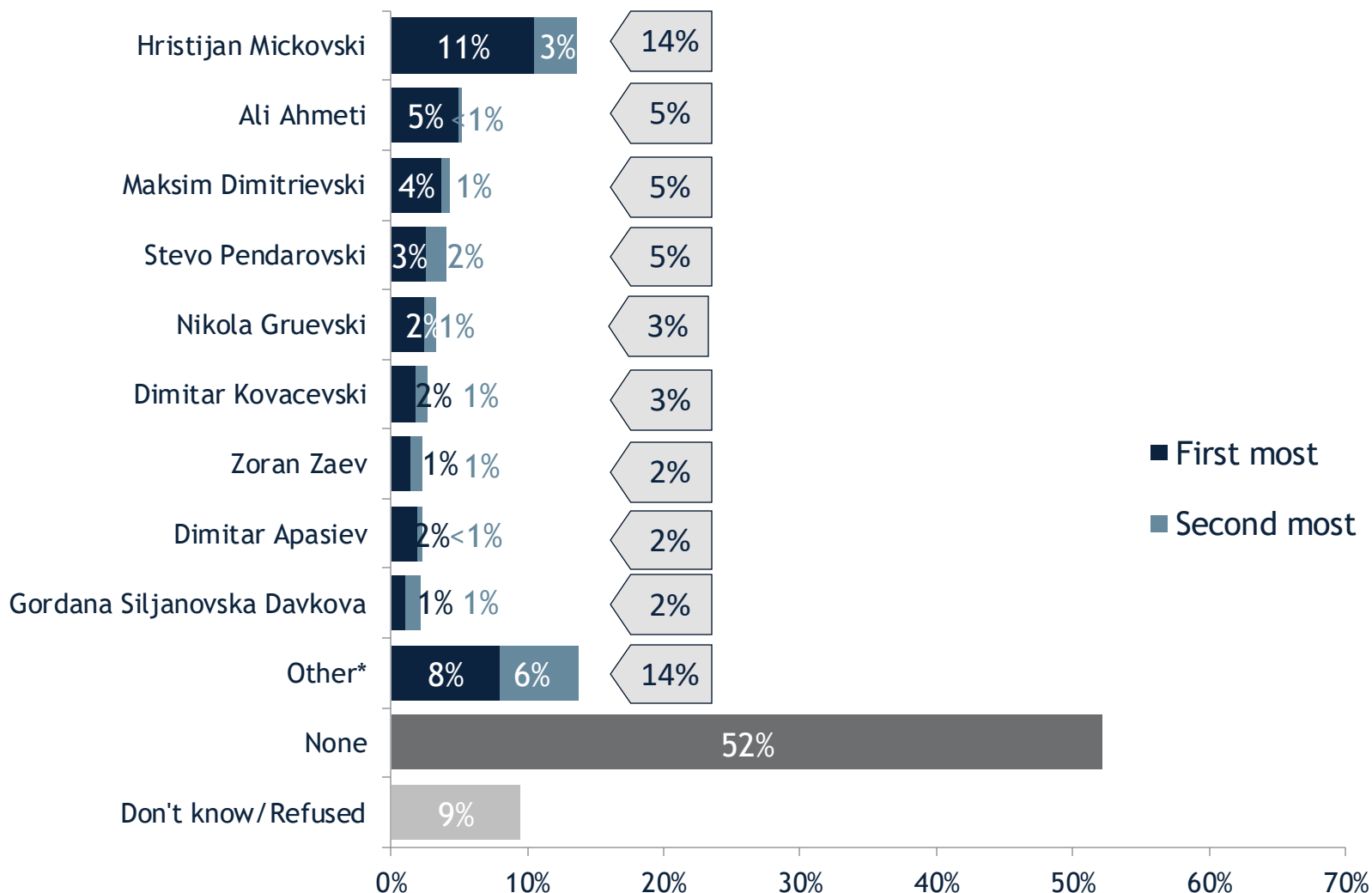


\*Total mentions <2% are collapsed into *Other*.



# Which politician or public person do you trust the most?

(Spontaneous response, multiple responses allowed)

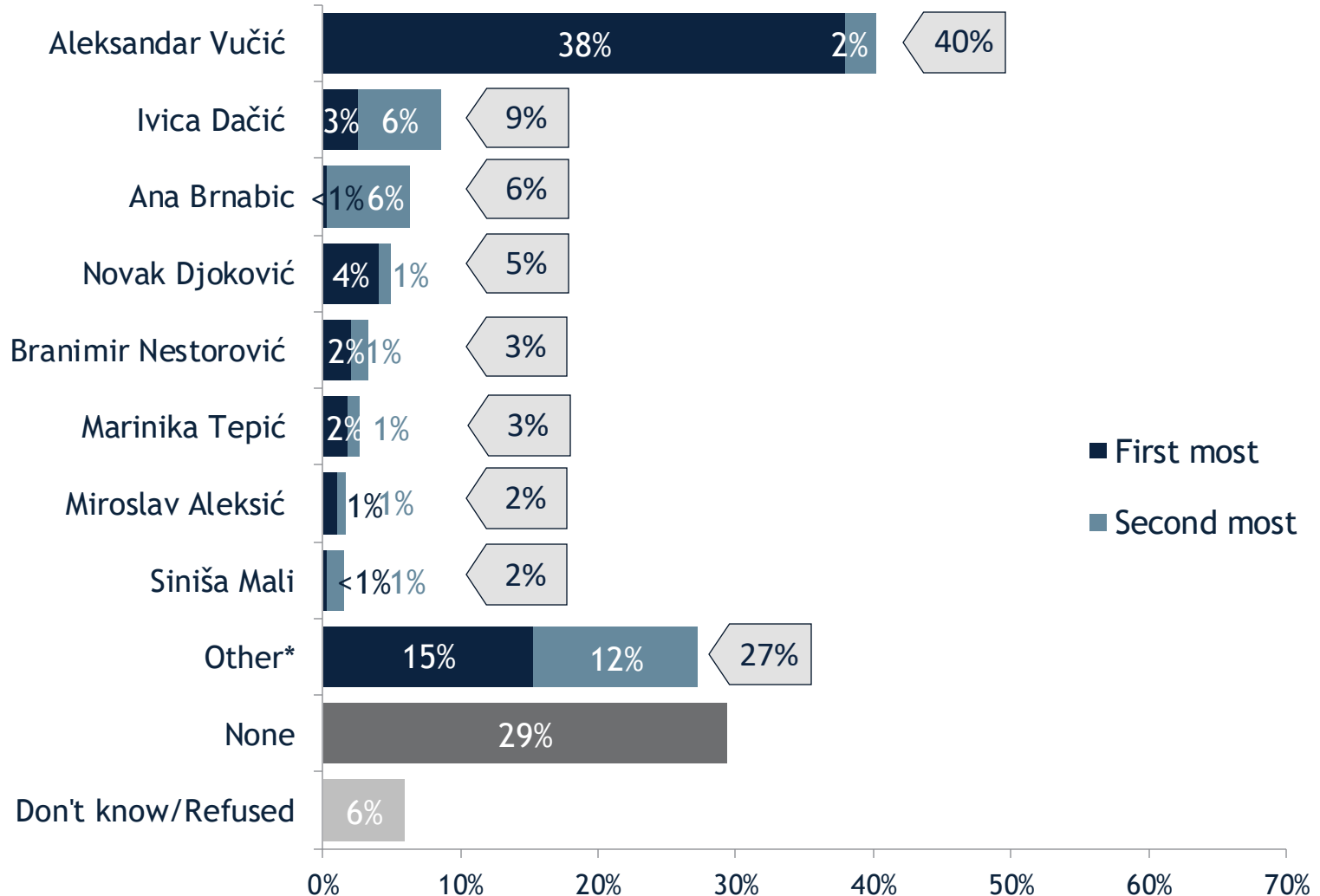


\*Total mentions <2% are collapsed into *Other*.



# Which politician or public person do you trust the most?

(Spontaneous response, multiple responses allowed)

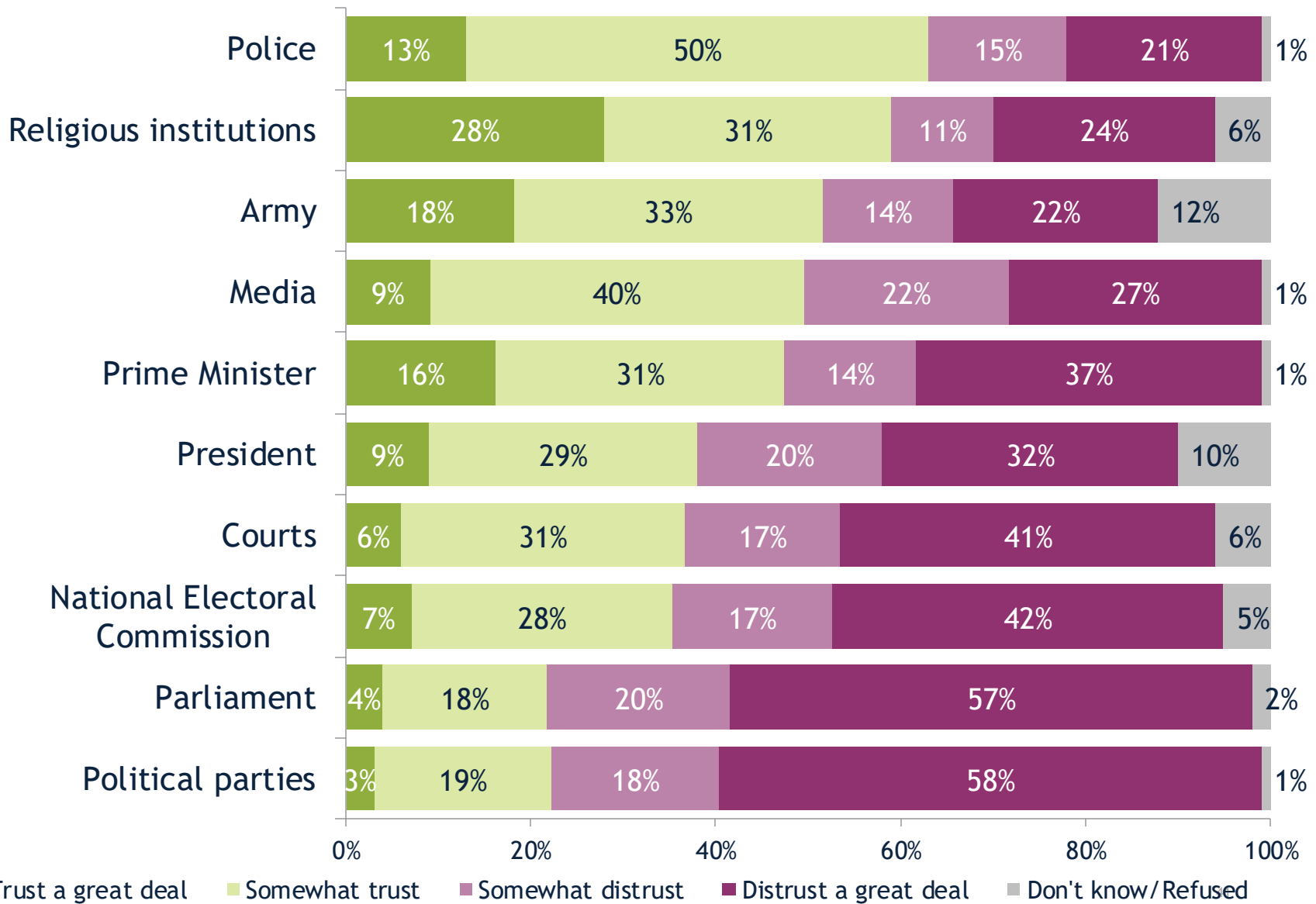


\*Total mentions <2% are collapsed into *Other*.





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

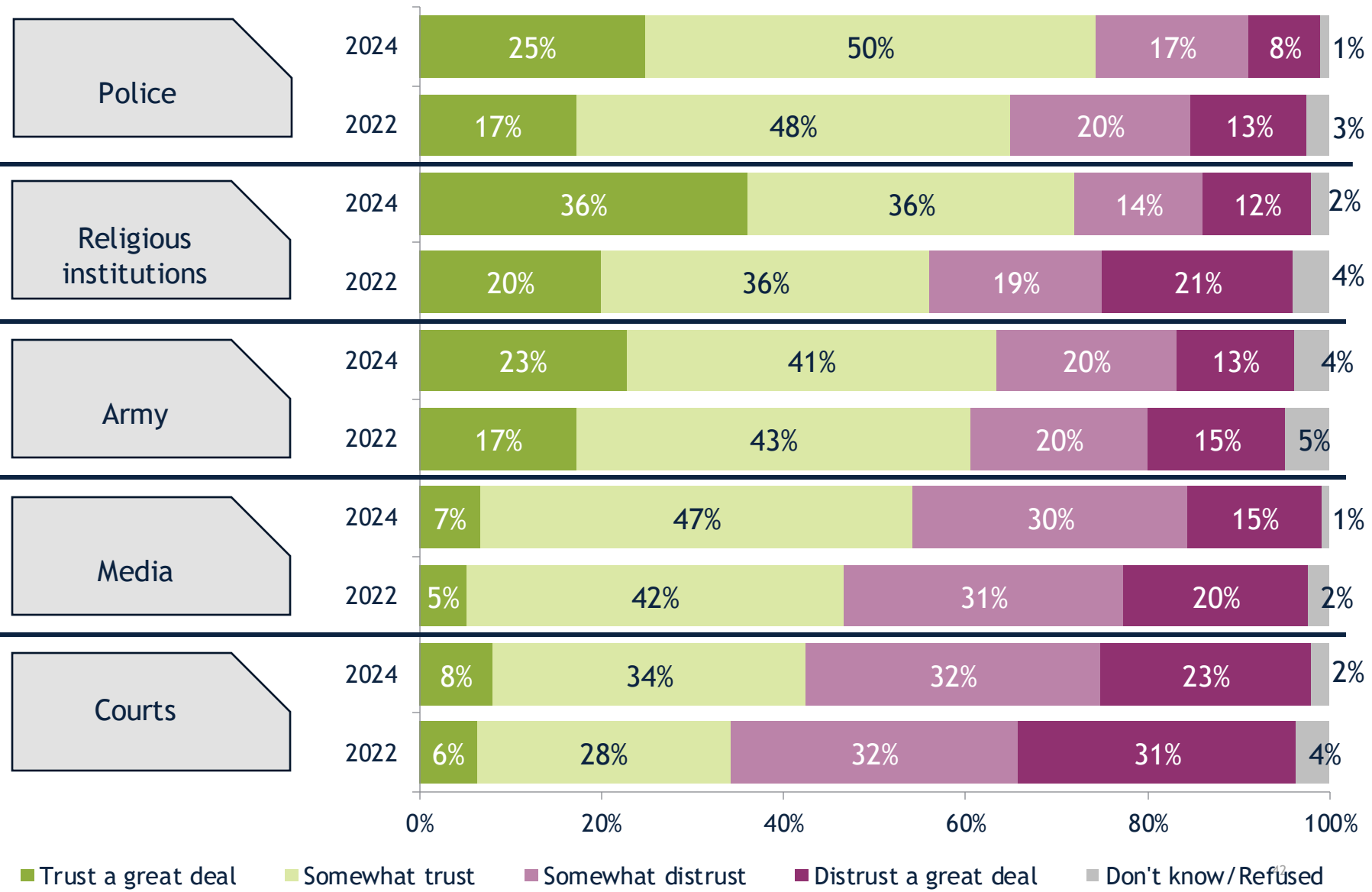


# To what extent do you trust or distrust each of the following institutions?

Trust in Institutions  
1/2



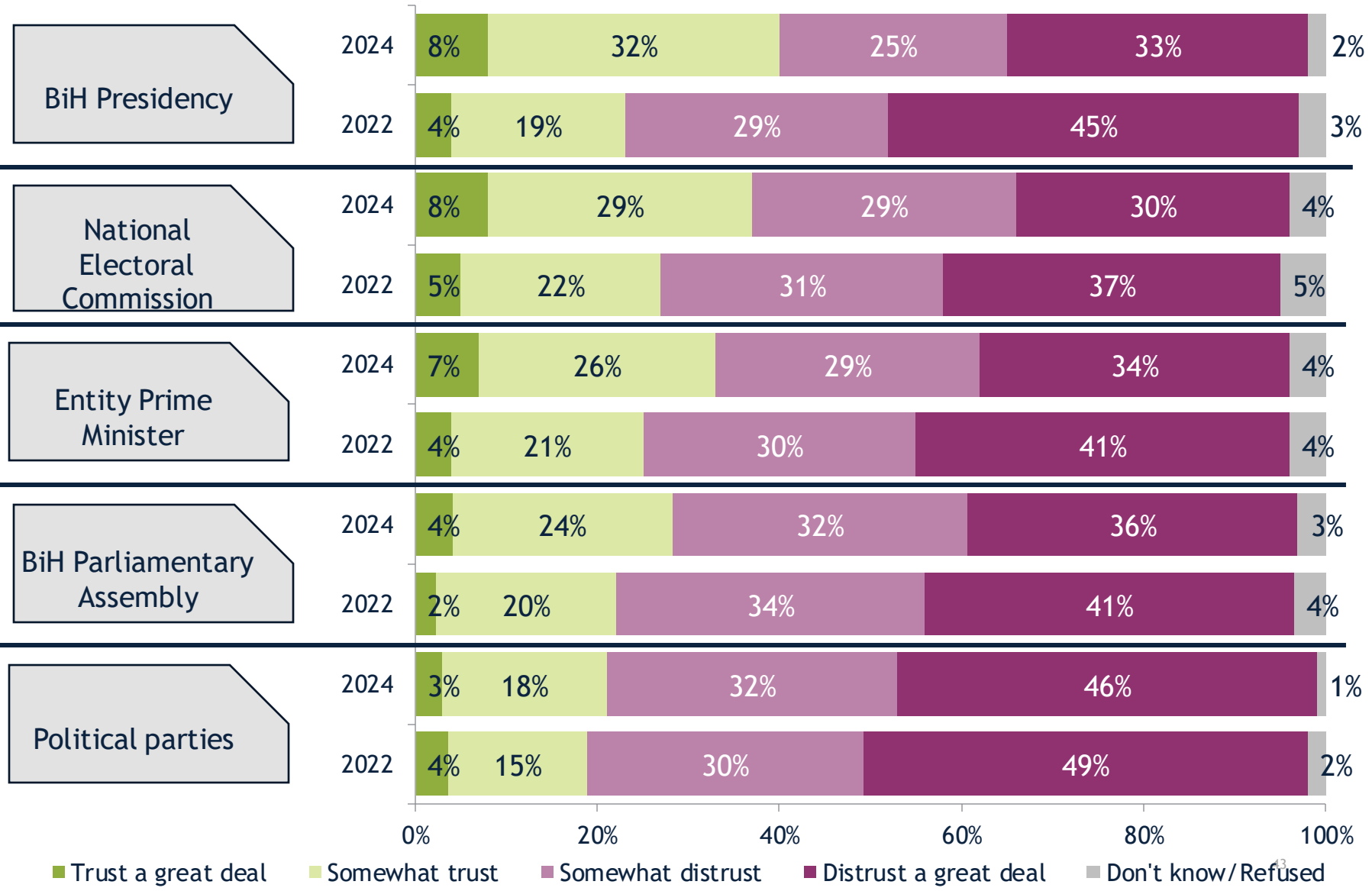
B  
O  
S  
N  
I  
A  
&  
H  
E  
R  
Z  
E  
G  
O  
V  
I  
N  
A



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



B  
O  
S  
N  
I  
A  
&  
H  
E  
R  
Z  
E  
G  
O  
V  
I  
N  
A

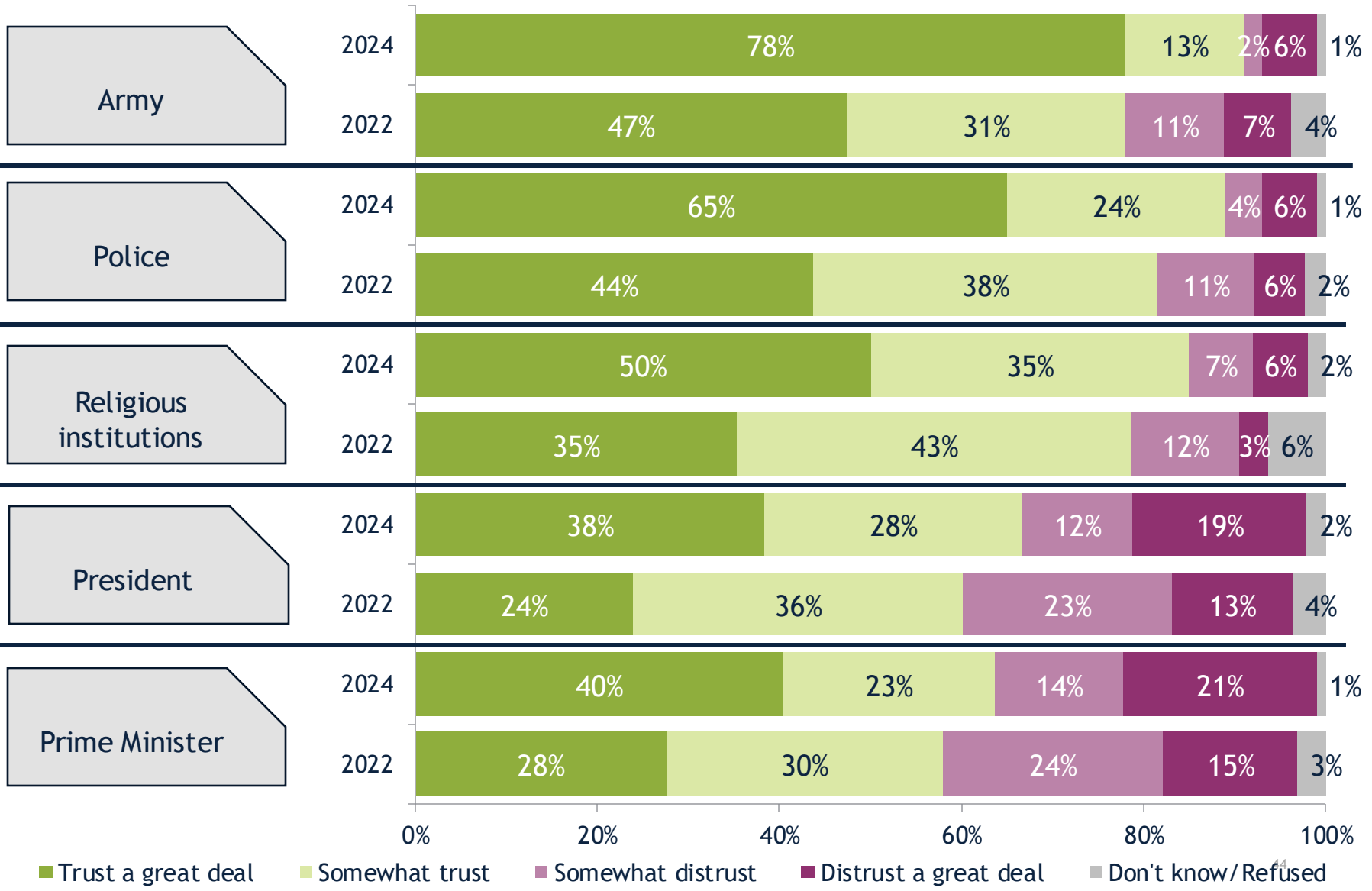


# To what extent do you trust or distrust each of the following institutions?

Trust in Institutions  
1/2



K  
O  
S  
O  
V  
O

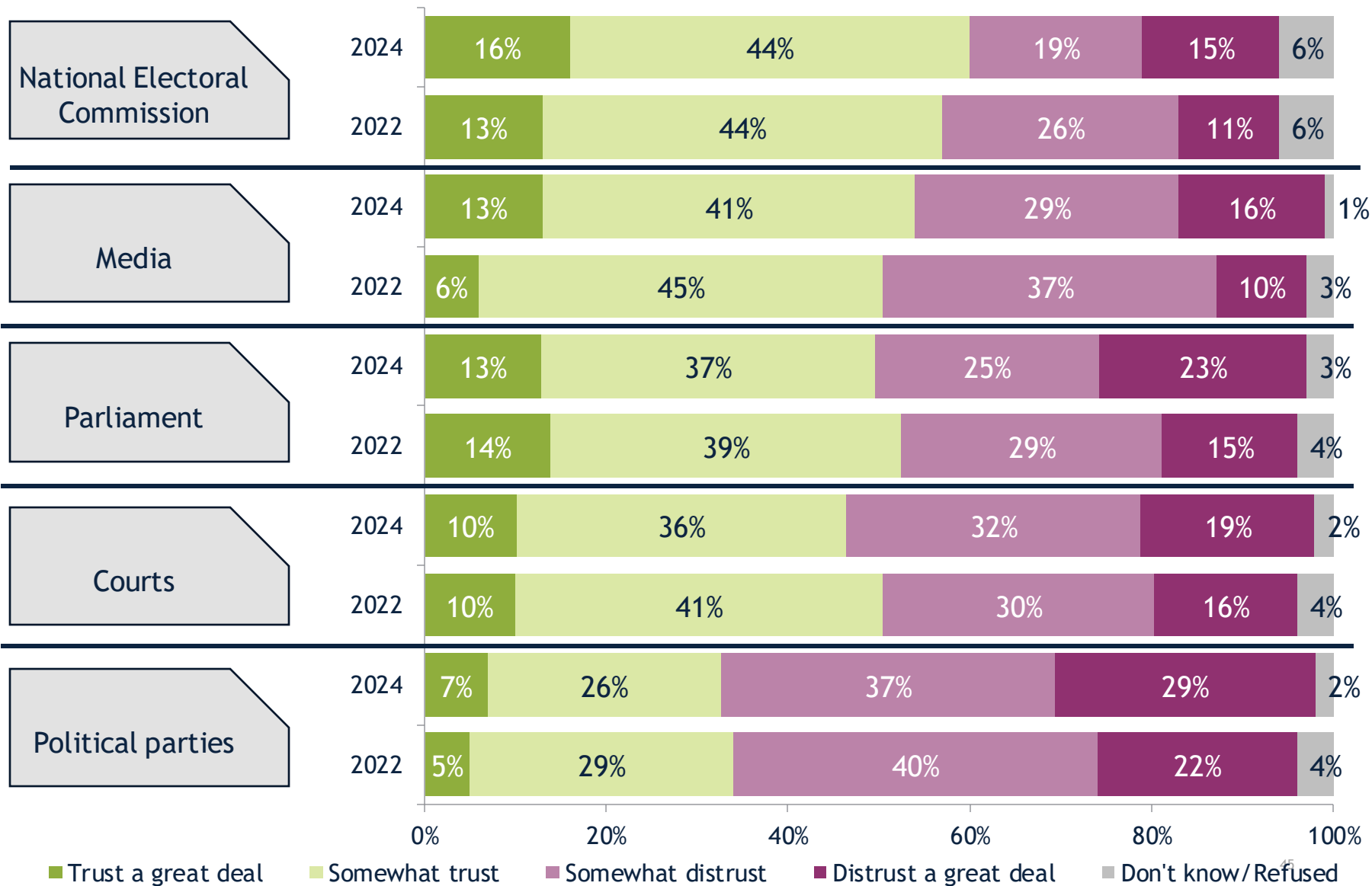


# To what extent do you trust or distrust each of the following institutions?

Trust in Institutions  
2 / 2



K  
O  
S  
O  
V  
O

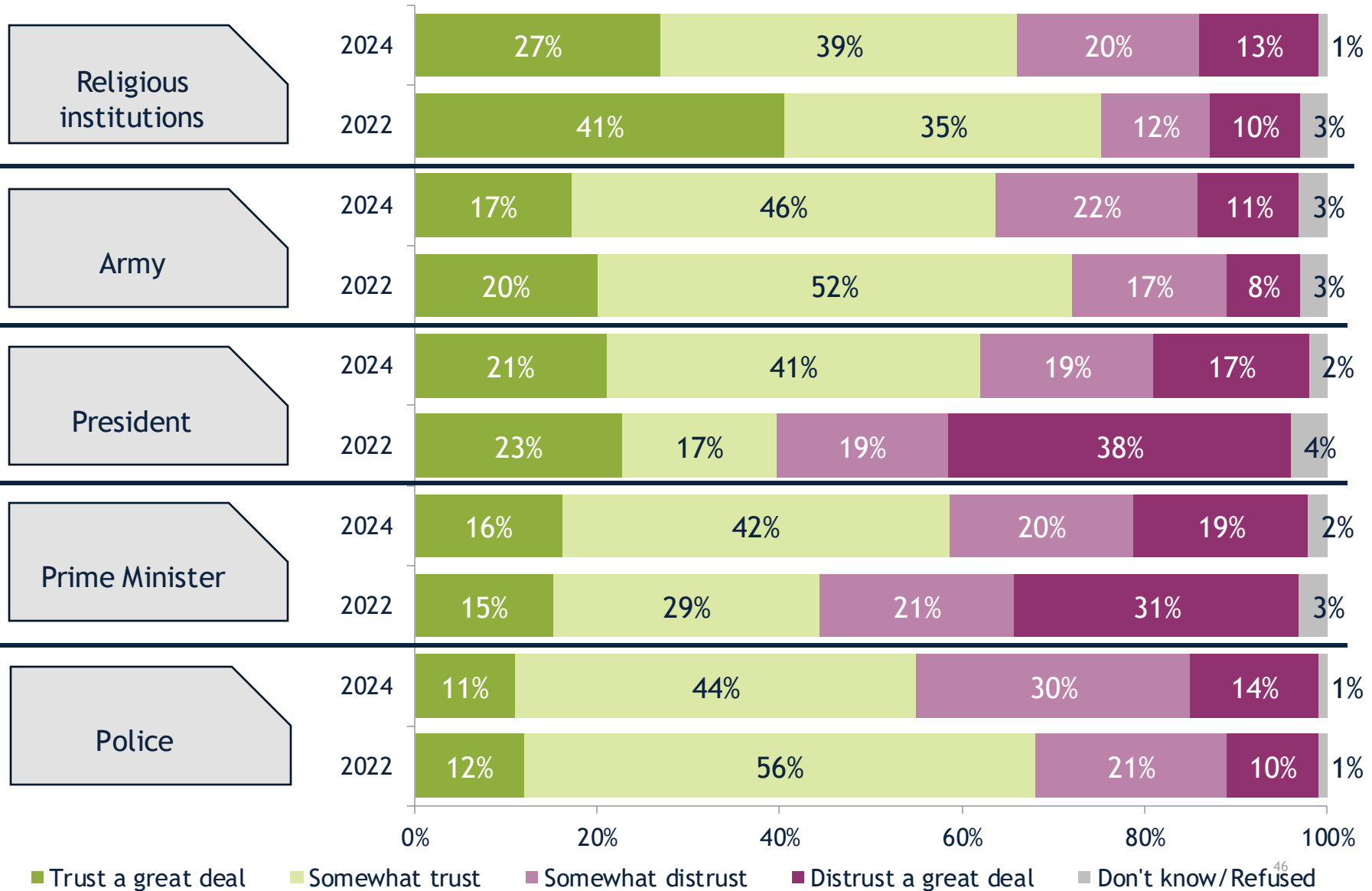


# To what extent do you trust or distrust each of the following institutions?

Trust in Institutions  
1/2



MONTENEGRO

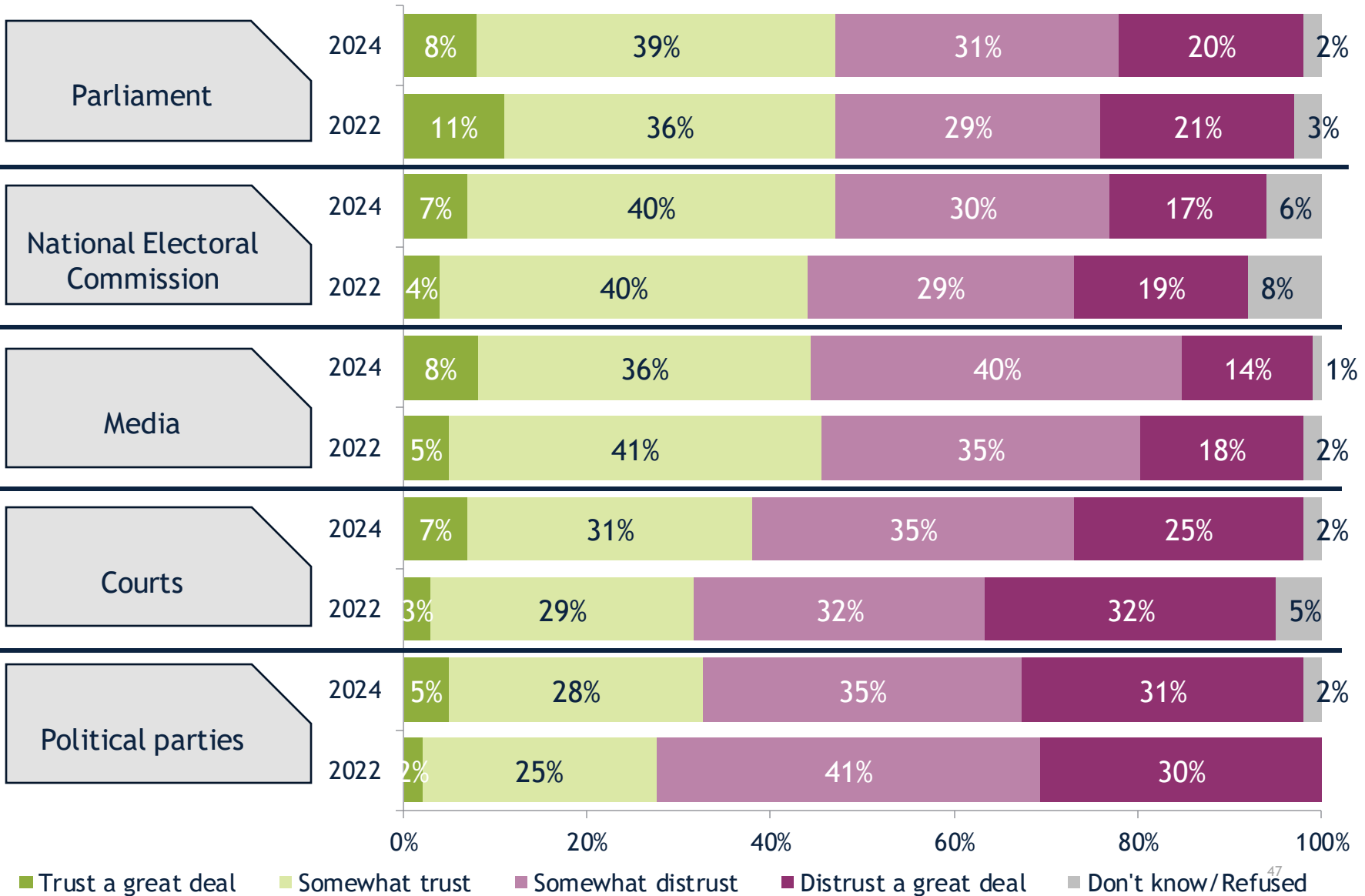


# To what extent do you trust or distrust each of the following institutions?

Trust in Institutions  
2 / 2



MONTENEGRO

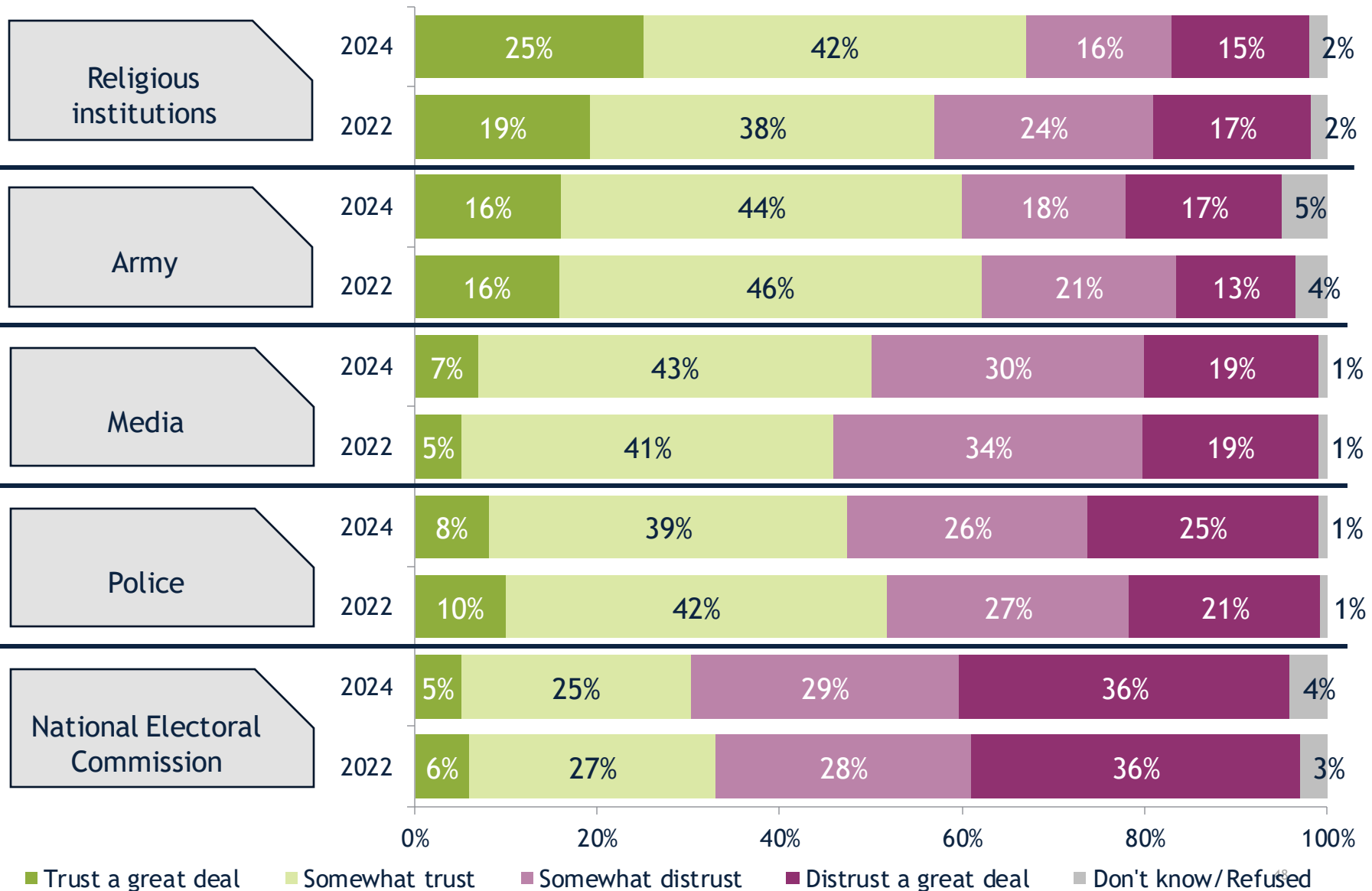


# To what extent do you trust or distrust each of the following institutions?

Trust in Institutions  
1/2



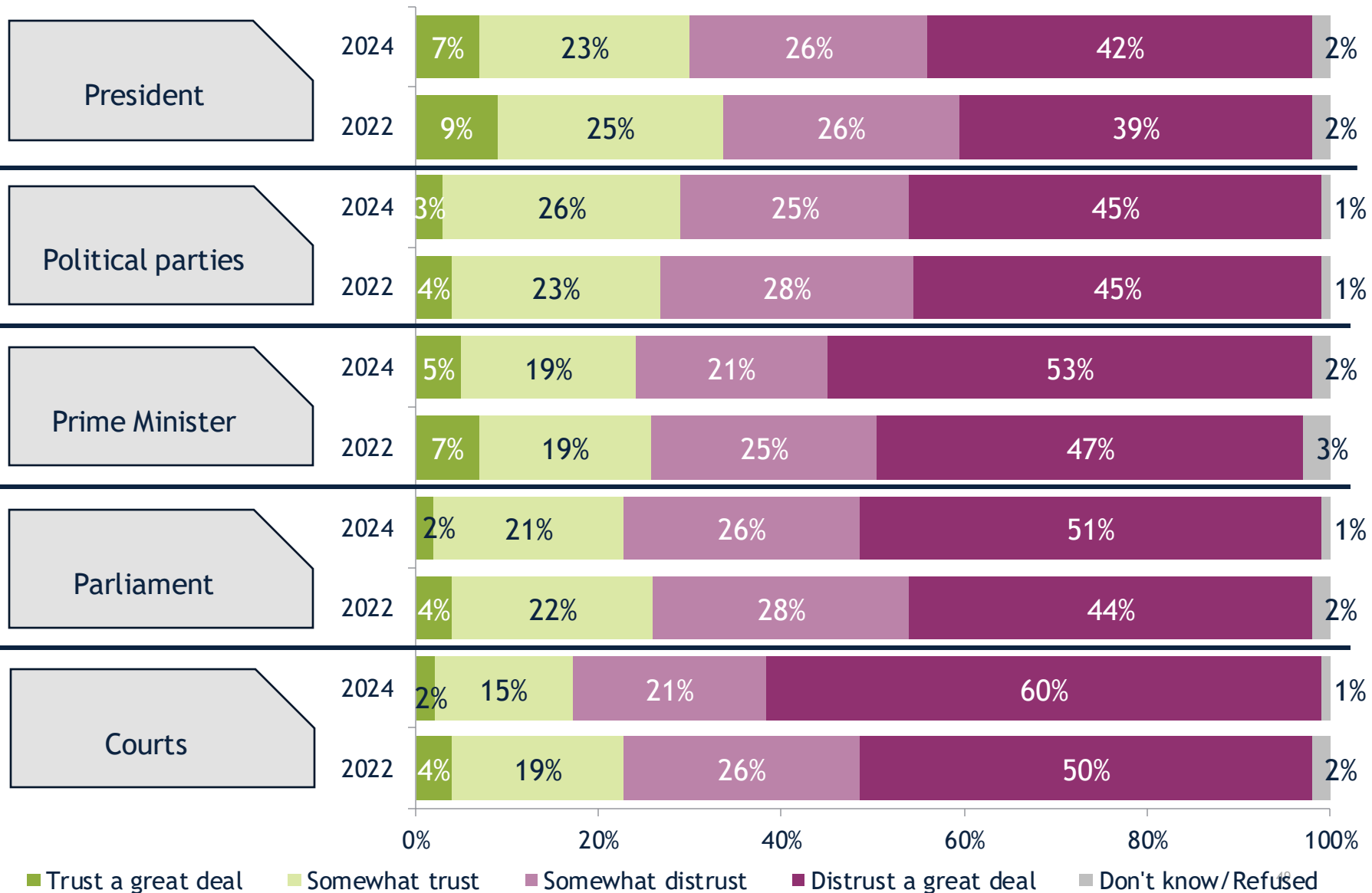
NORTH MACEDONIA





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

Trust in Institutions  
2/2

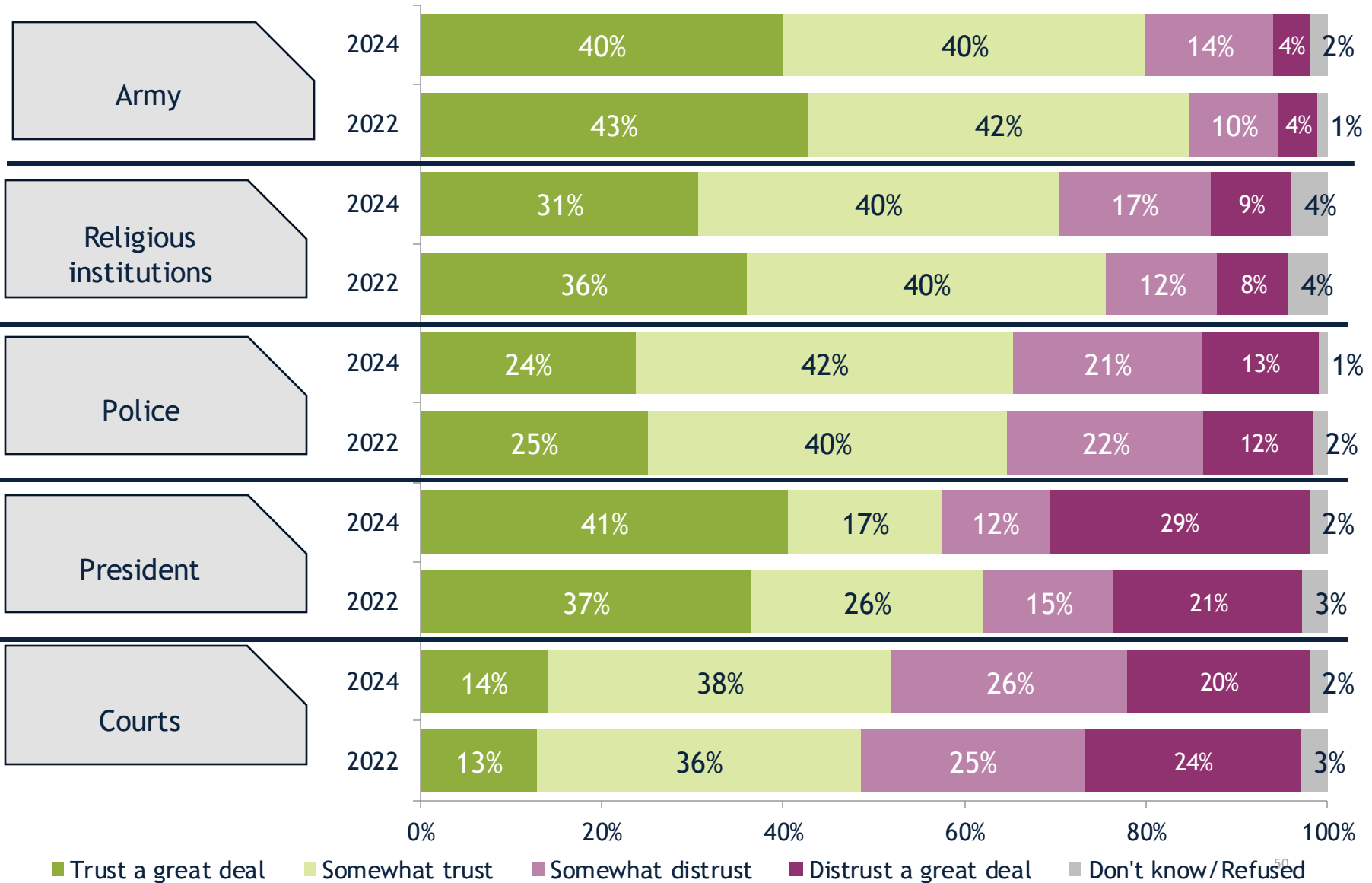


# To what extent do you trust or distrust each of the following institutions?

Trust in Institutions  
1/2



SERBIA

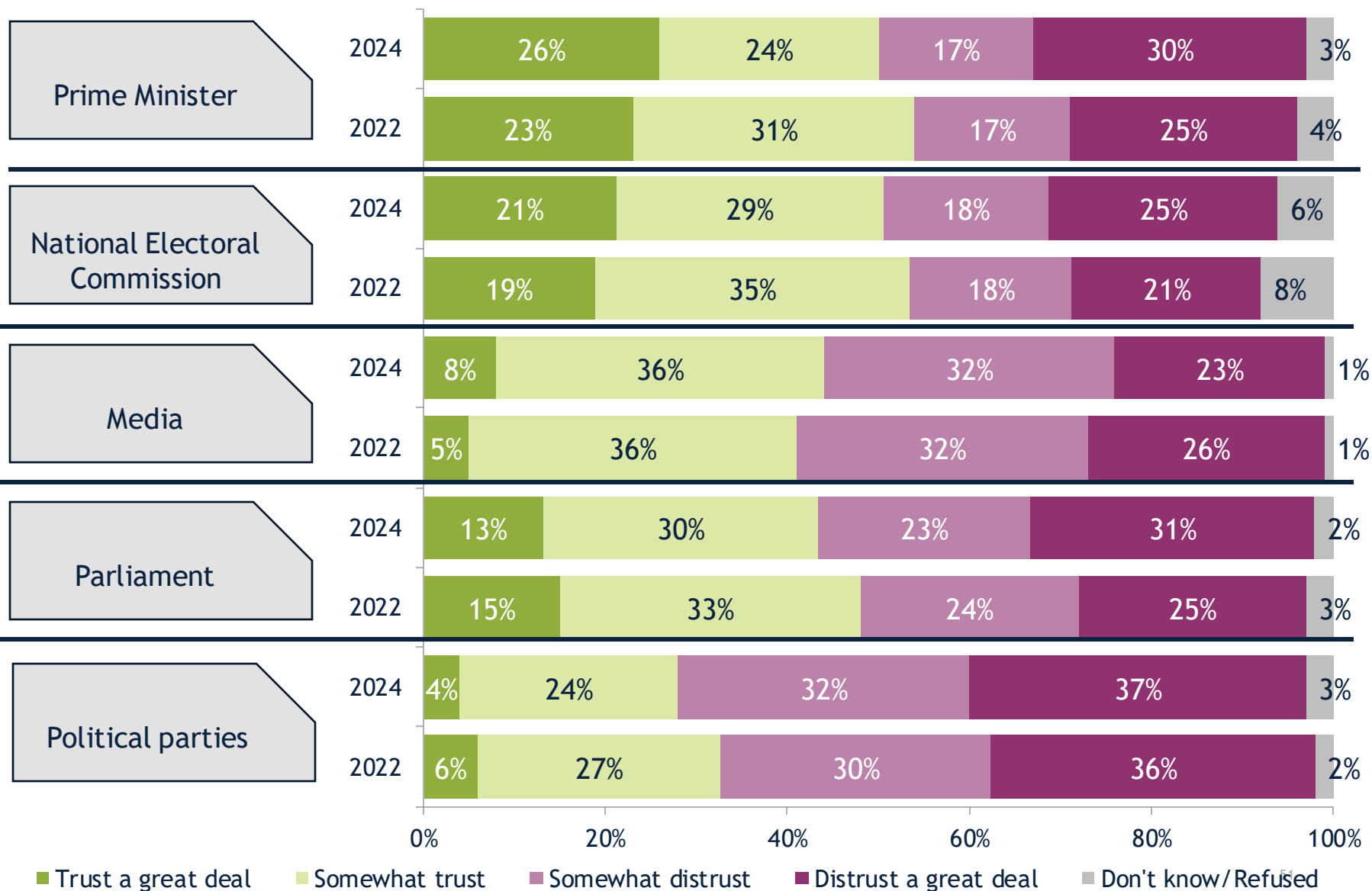


# To what extent do you trust or distrust each of the following institutions?

Trust in Institutions  
2 / 2



S  
E  
R  
B  
I  
A



# Foreign Relations and Foreign Influence



CENTER FOR  
INSIGHTS IN  
**SURVEY**  
**RESEARCH**

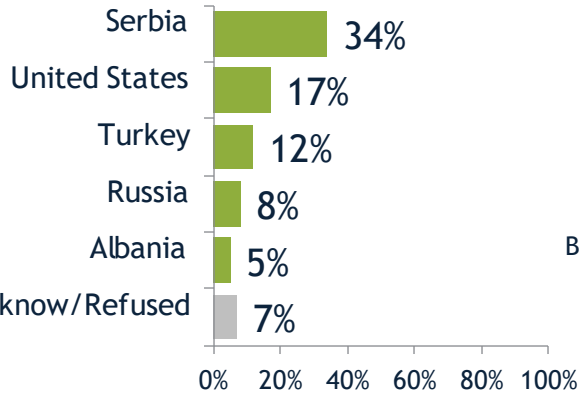
A PROJECT OF THE INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE

'Strasbourg, France: European Parliament in Strasbourg, France' by dogamesut, File#332717406 on Adobestock.com

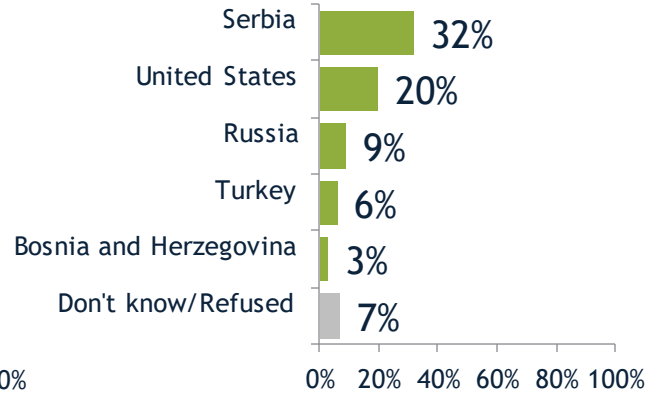
# Which country do you consider to be the most important ally for our country?

(Spontaneous response, top 5 responses displayed)

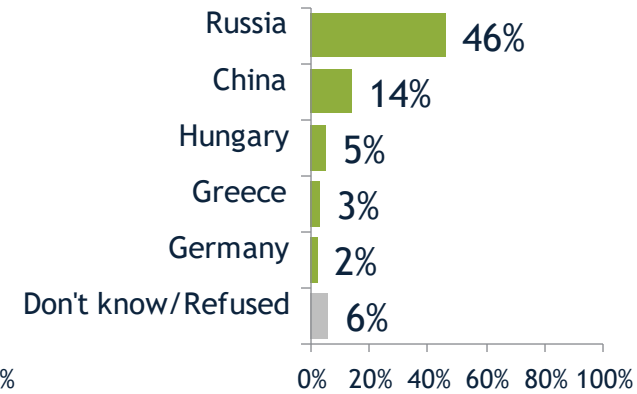
North Macedonia



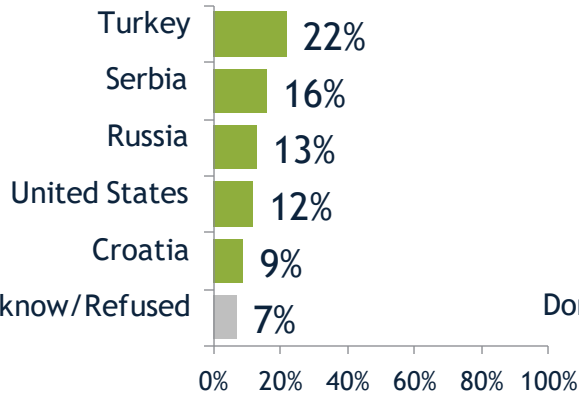
Montenegro



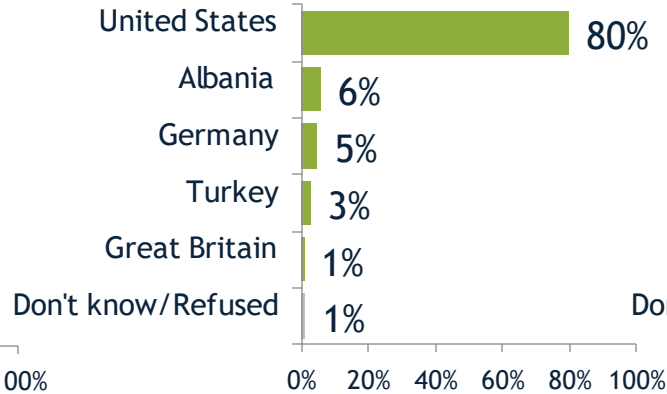
Serbia



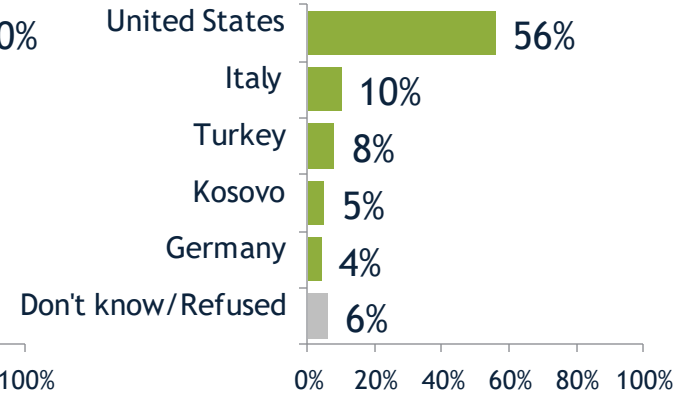
Bosnia and Herzegovina



Kosovo



Albania



# Which country do you consider to be the most important ally for our country?

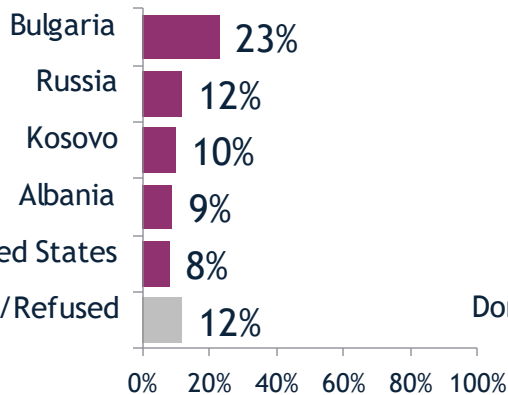


Ally (top 5 per column displayed)	All Respondents	Entity		Ethnic Background		
		Federation BiH (n=769)	Republika Srpska (n=456)	Bosniak (n=623)	Serb (=386)	Croat (n=187)
Turkey	22%	32%	5%	42%		
Serbia	16%		41%		47%	
Russia	13%		34%		38%	5%
United States	12%	18%	3%	21%	1%	9%
Croatia	9%	14%	2%	1%	1%	55%
Germany		10%		10%		6%
Austria		2%		3%		
China					2%	
Montenegro						2%
None	9%	11%	6%	11%	5%	10%
Don't know/Refused	7%	8%	5%	7%	6%	5%

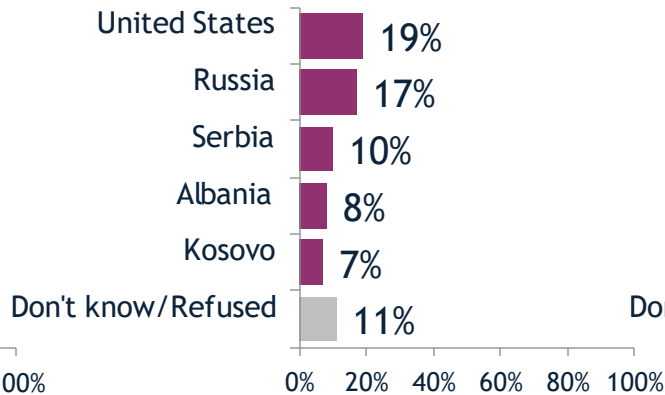
# Which country do you consider to be the most important threat for our country?

(Spontaneous response, top 5 responses displayed)

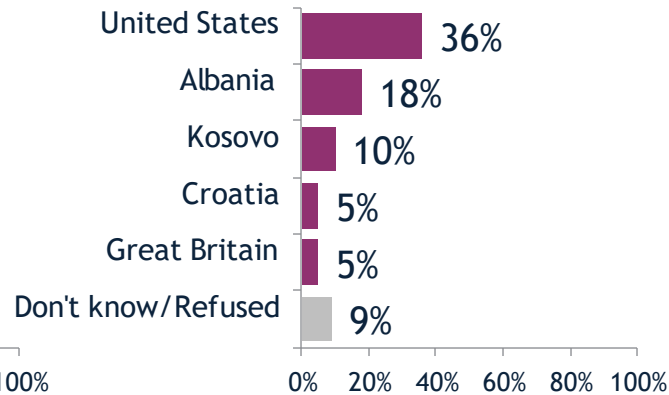
North Macedonia



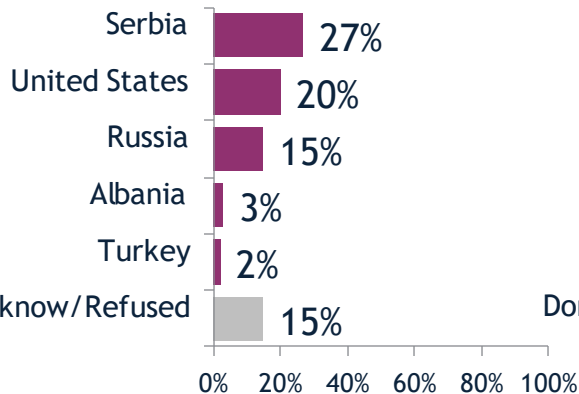
Montenegro



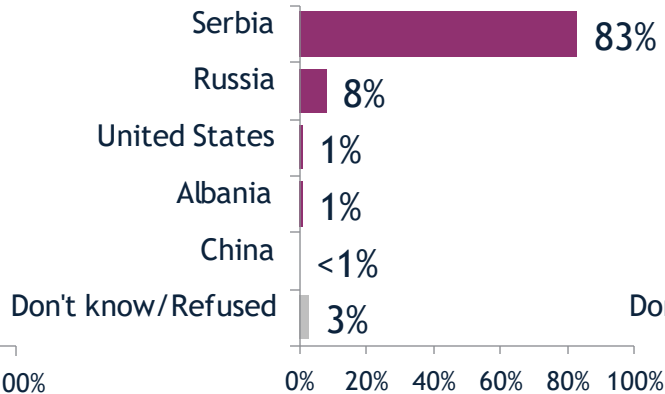
Serbia



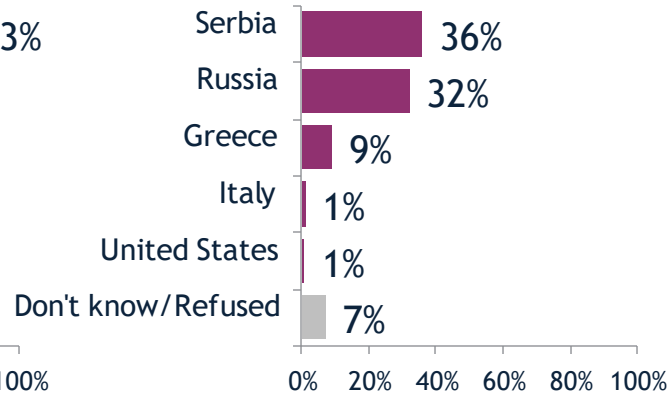
Bosnia and Herzegovina



Kosovo



Albania



# Which country do you consider to be the most important threat for our country?

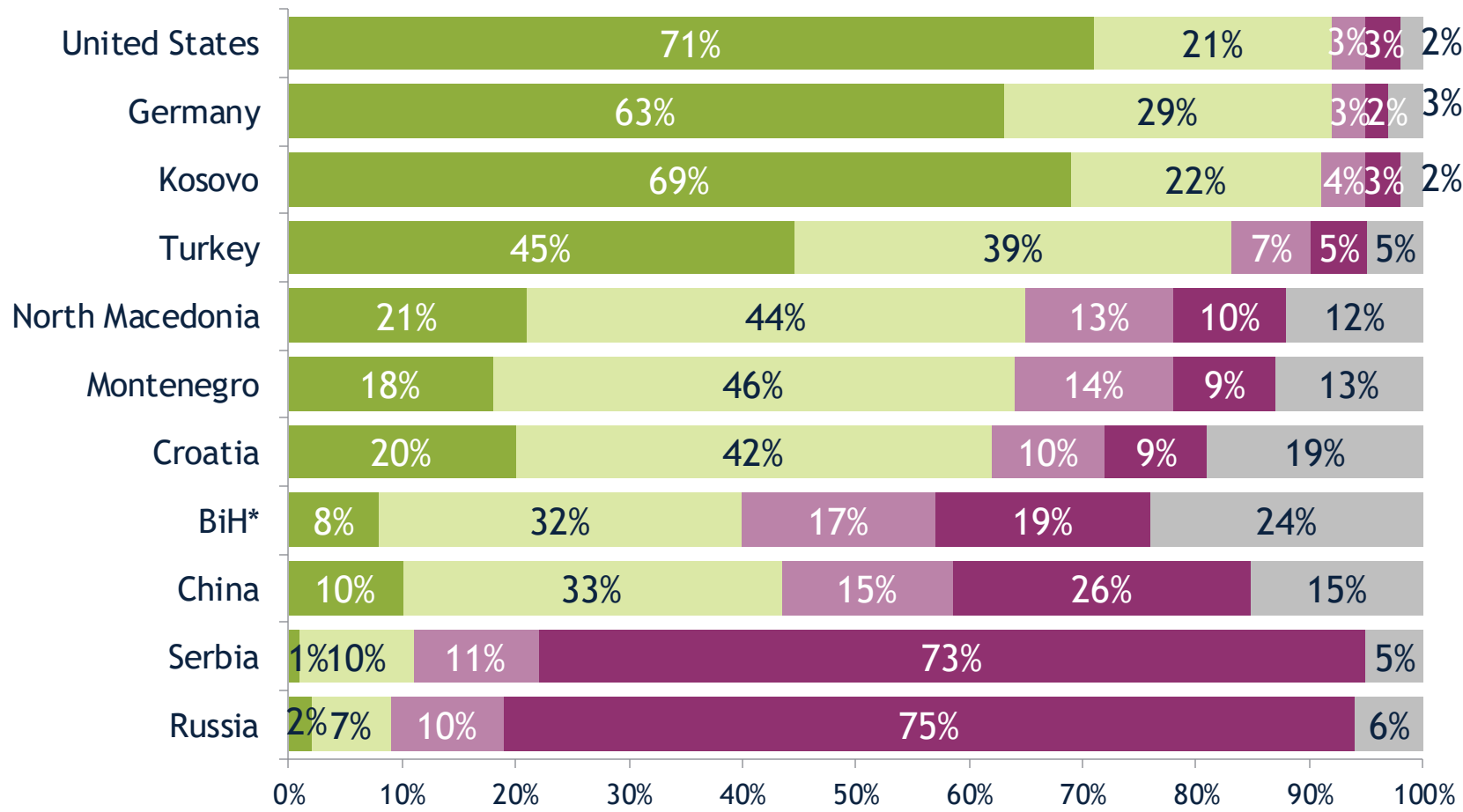


Threat (top 5 per column displayed)	All Respondents	Entity		Ethnic Background		
		Federation BiH (n=769)	Republika Srpska (n=456)	Bosniak (n=623)	Serb (=386)	Croat (n=187)
Serbia	27%	42%	4%	46%	2%	16%
United States	20%	5%	46%	5%	50%	11%
Russia	15%	19%	8%	22%	2%	16%
Albania	3%		6%		7%	5%
Turkey	2%		4%	1%	4%	
Croatia		1%		2%	3%	
China		1%				5%
None	12%	11%	12%	10%	12%	17%
Don't know/Refused	15%	16%	13%	12%	13%	24%





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

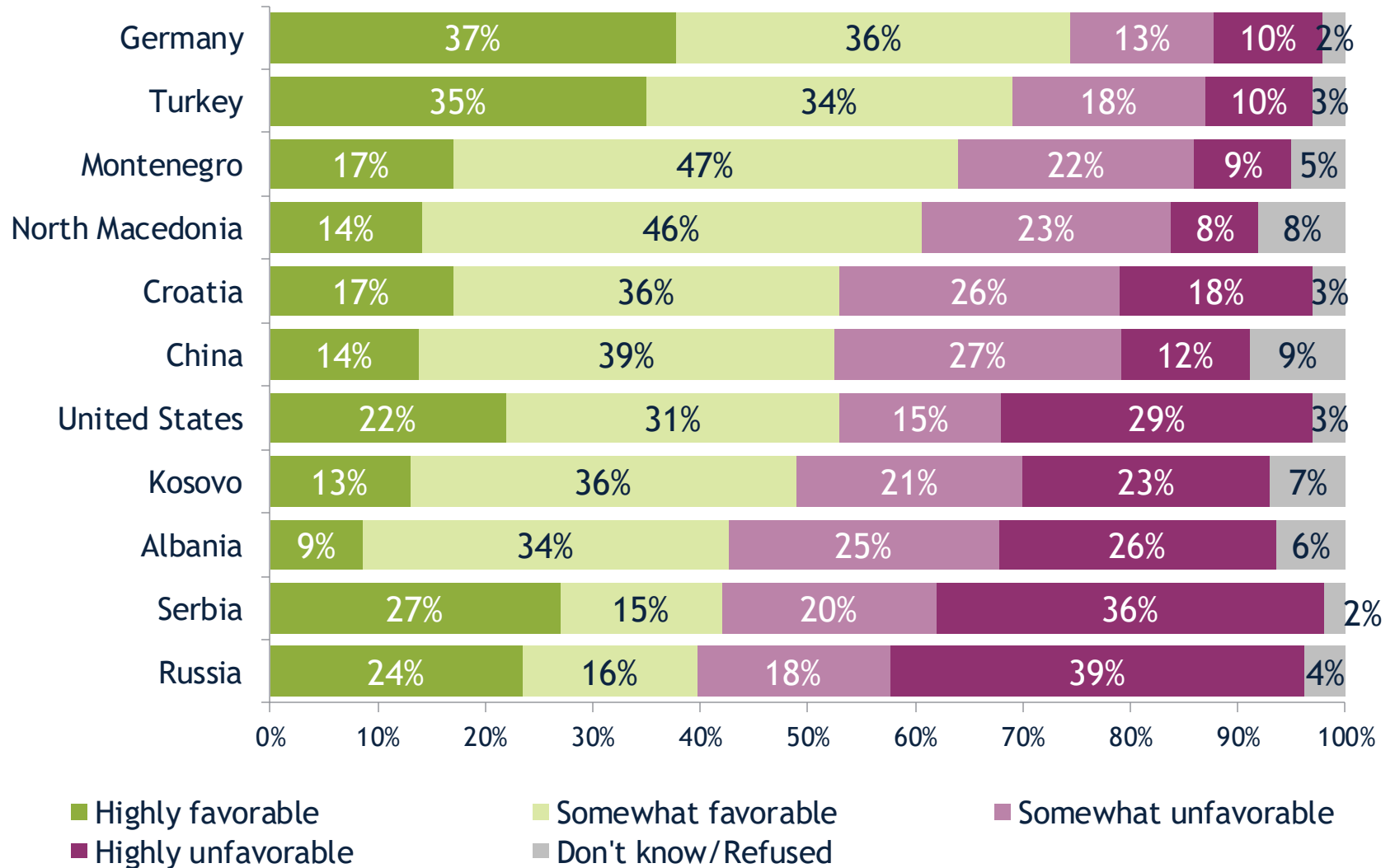


■ Highly favorable ■ Somewhat favorable ■ Somewhat unfavorable ■ Highly unfavorable ■ Don't know/Refused

\*Bosnia and Herzegovina



Please tell me your opinion of each of the following countries.



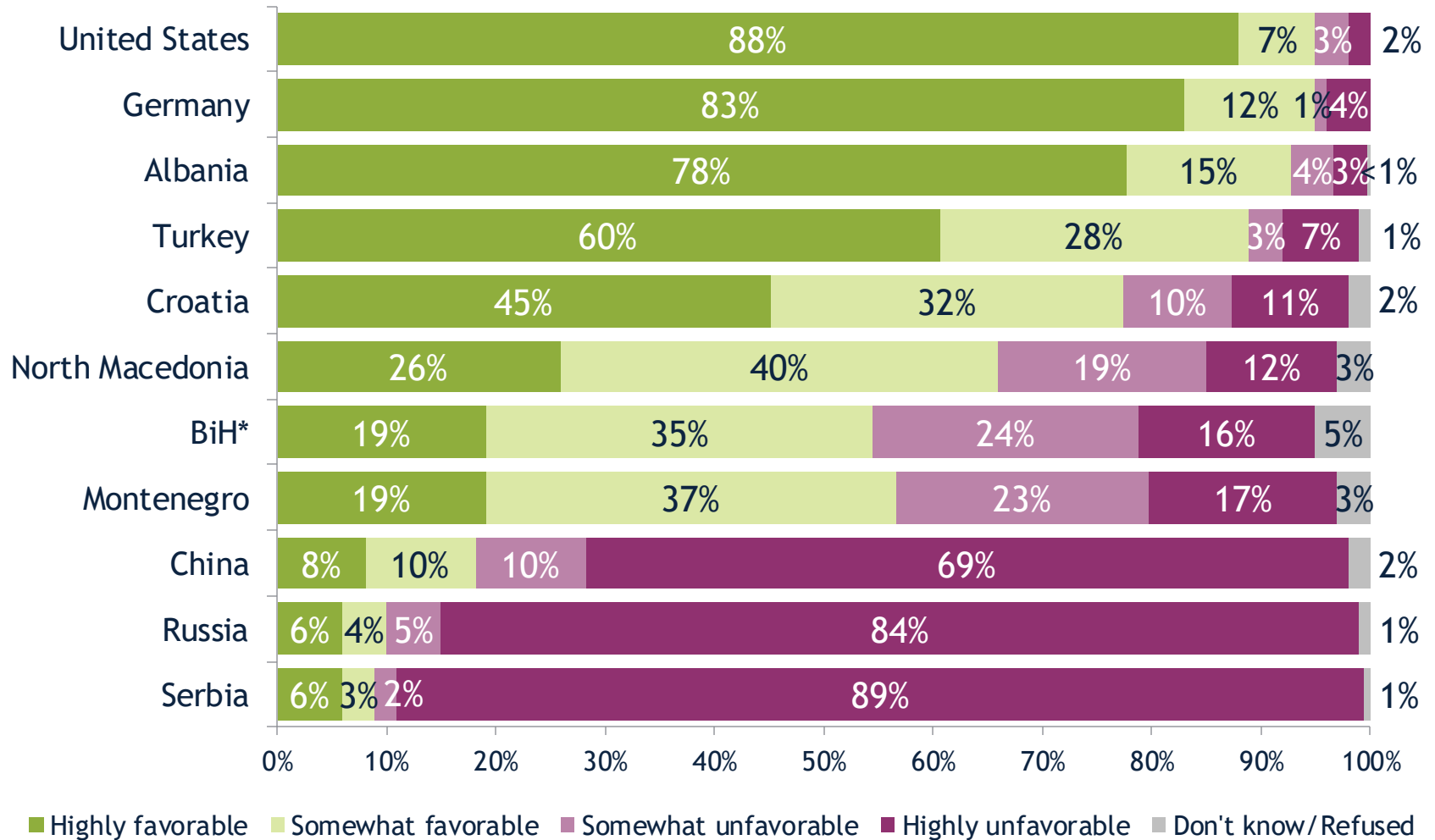


Please tell me your opinion of each of the following countries.

Favorable opinion (somewhat or very favorable) displayed	All Respondents	Entity		Ethnic Background		
		Federation BiH (n=769)	Republika Srpska (n=456)	Bosniak (n=623)	Serb (=386)	Croat (n=187)
Germany	74%	84%	57%	85%	54%	75%
Turkey	69%	81%	49%	88%	44%	56%
Montenegro	64%	58%	74%	59%	76%	54%
North Macedonia	60%	59%	62%	61%	61%	55%
Croatia	53%	58%	45%	49%	41%	89%
China	53%	39%	76%	36%	79%	55%
United States	53%	74%	18%	74%	11%	69%
Kosovo	49%	56%	36%	61%	32%	40%
Albania	43%	57%	18%	61%	11%	45%
Serbia	42%	15%	88%	12%	96%	32%
Russia	40%	13%	84%	13%	93%	18%



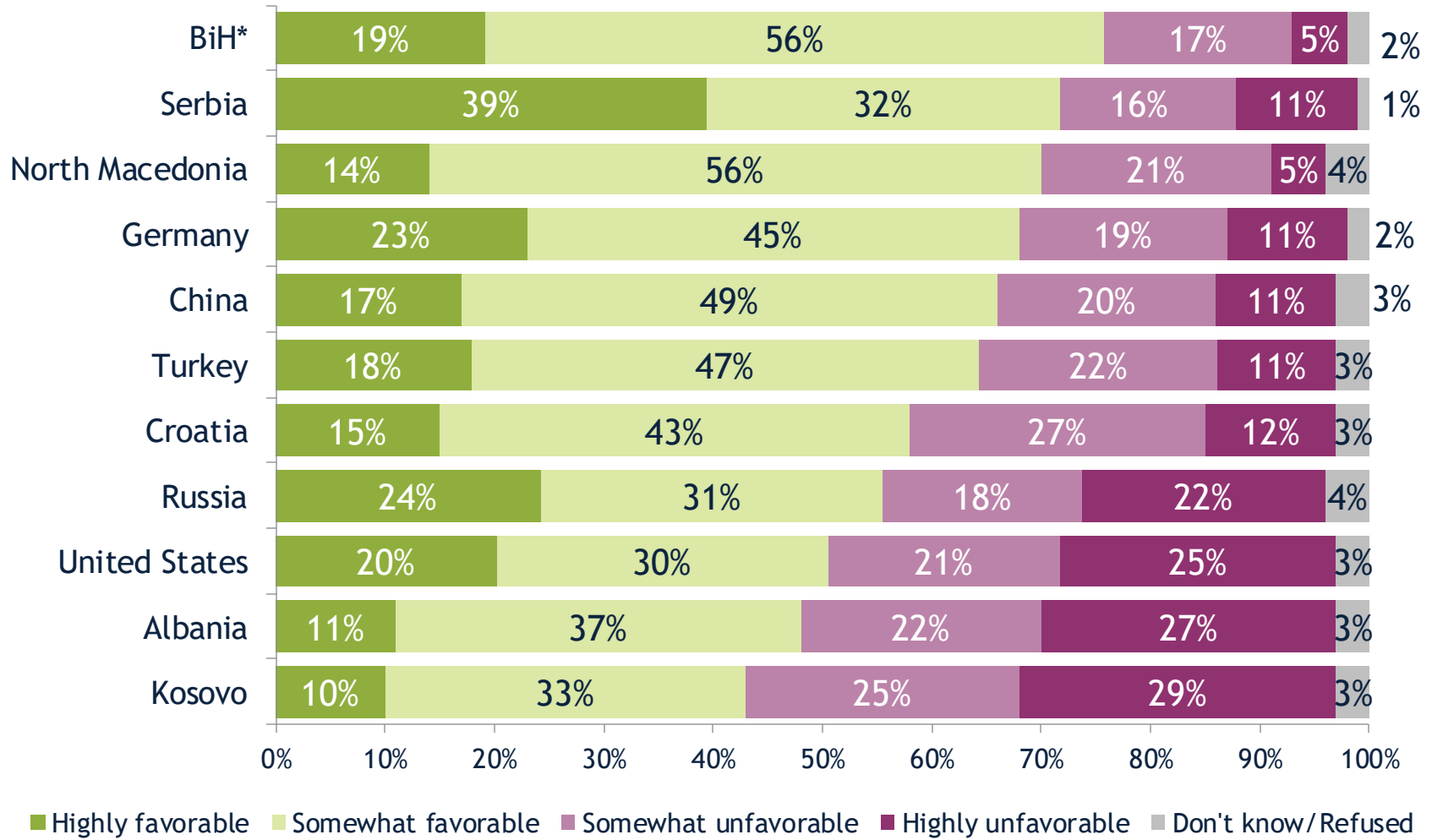
# Please tell me your opinion of each of the following countries.



\*Bosnia and Herzegovina



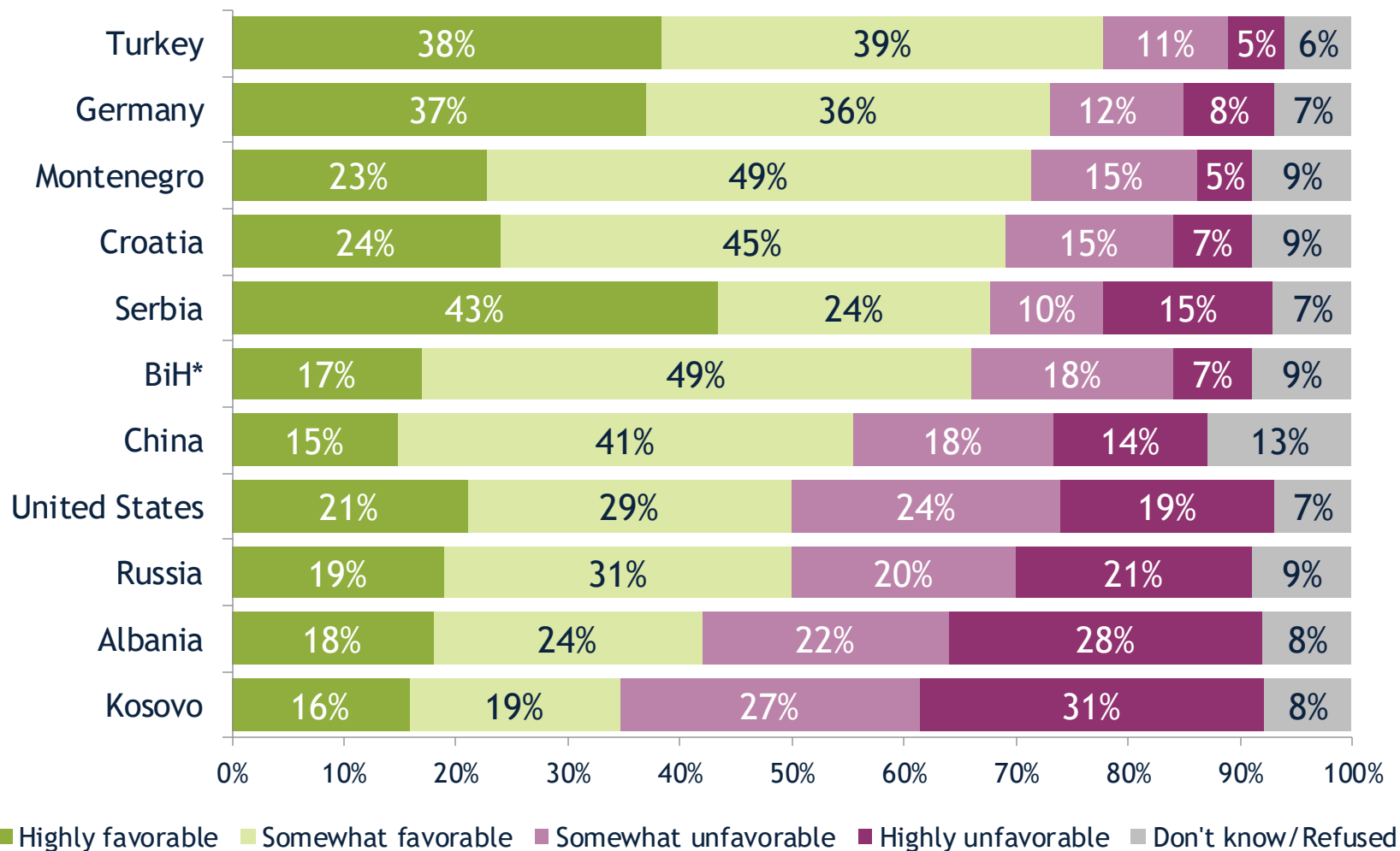
# Please tell me your opinion of each of the following countries.



\*Bosnia and Herzegovina



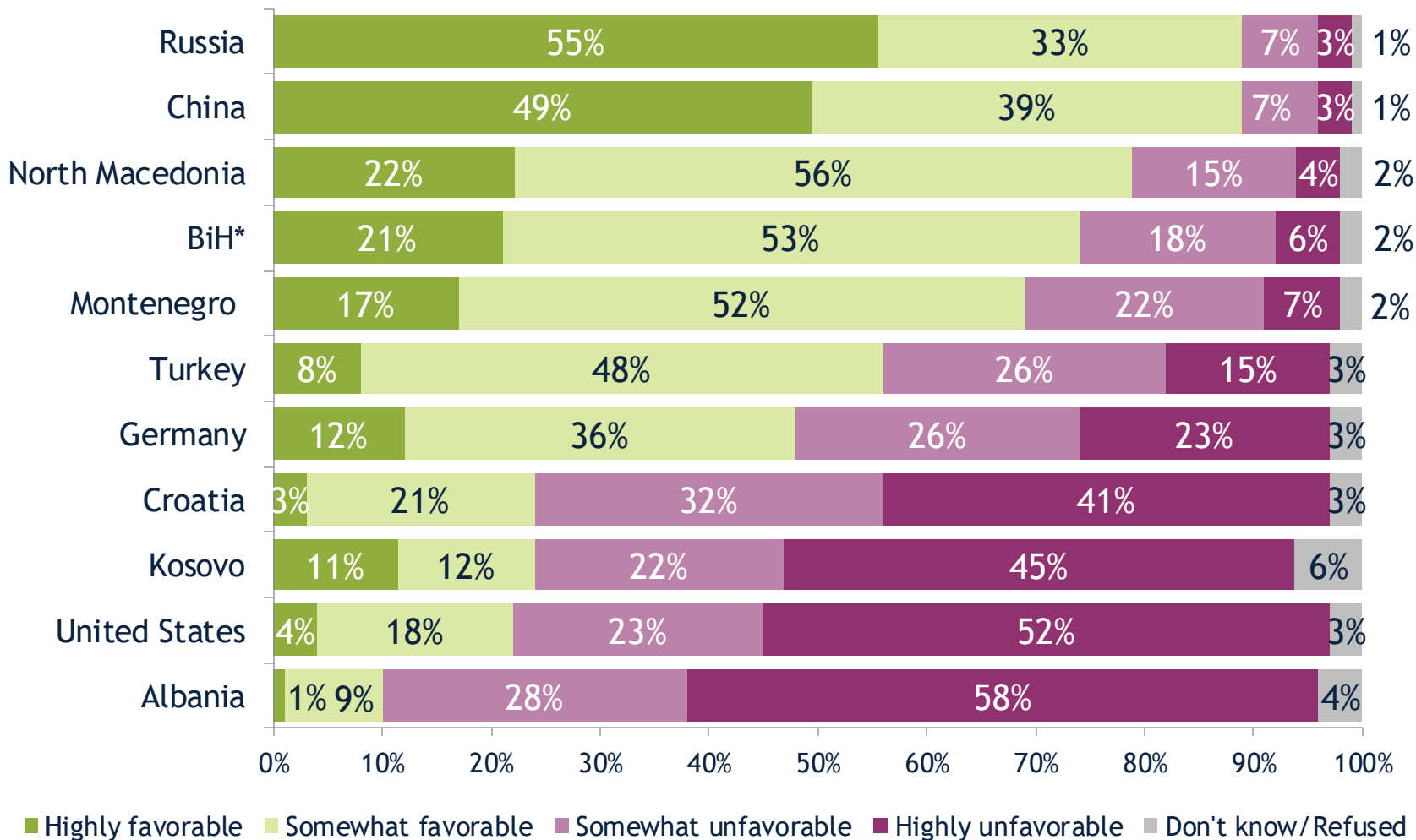
# Please tell me your opinion of each of the following countries.



\*Bosnia and Herzegovina



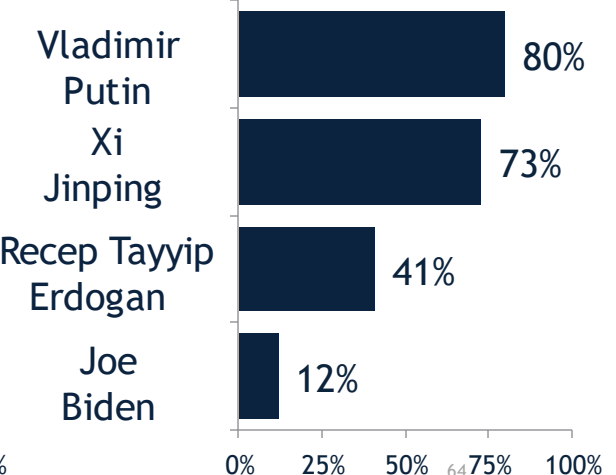
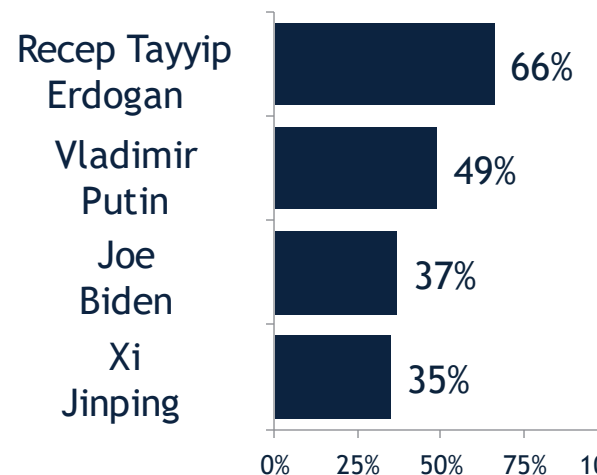
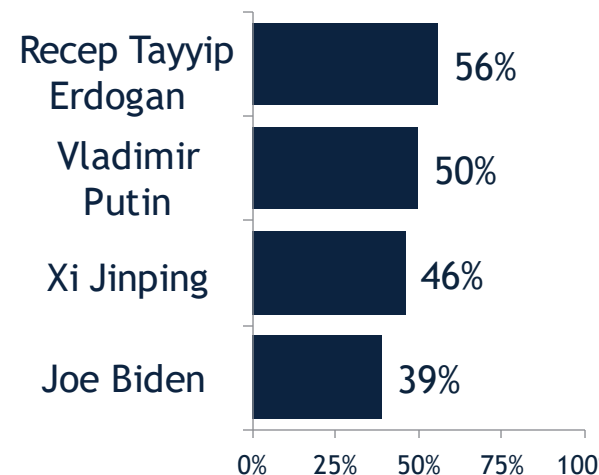
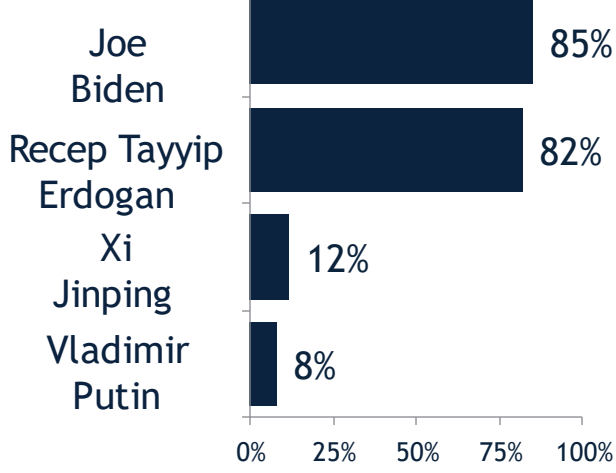
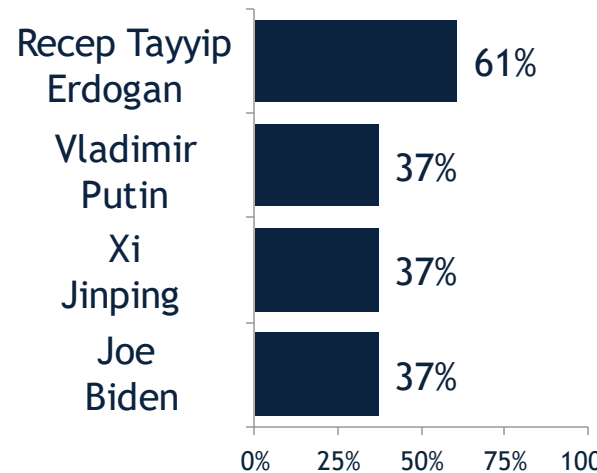
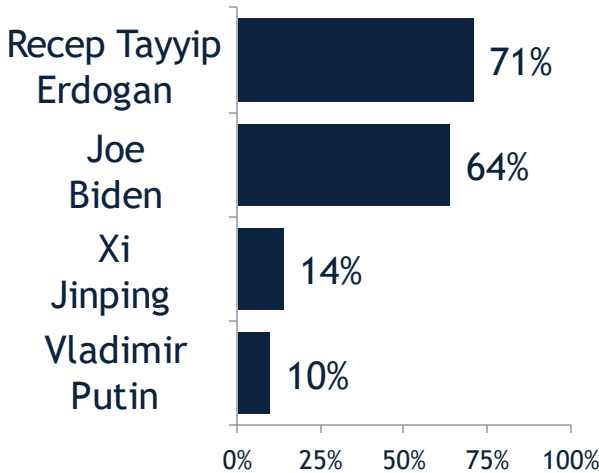
# Please tell me your opinion of each of the following countries.



\*Bosnia and Herzegovina

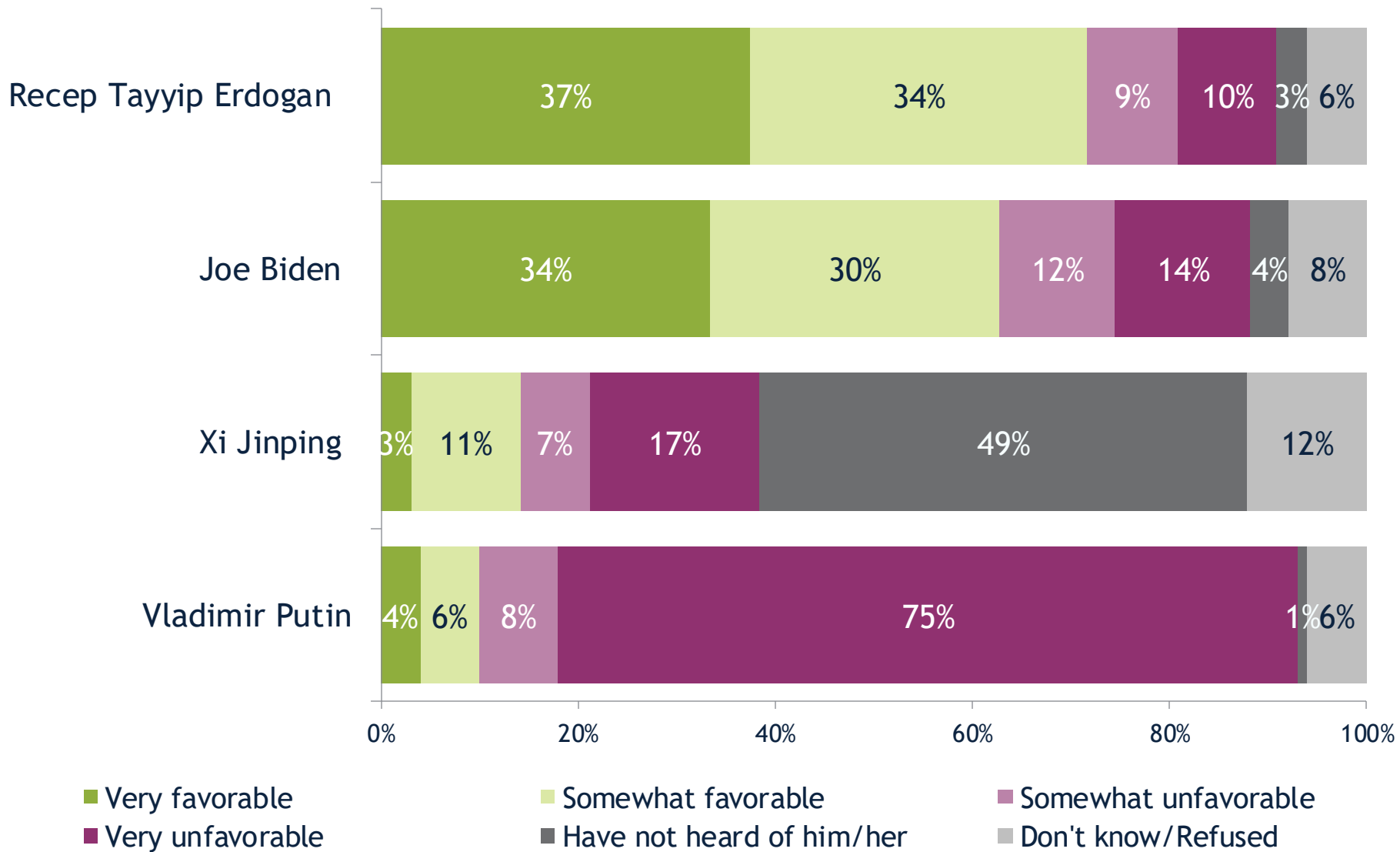
# Do you have a very unfavorable, somewhat unfavorable, somewhat favorable or very favorable opinion of the following world and regional leaders?

(Combined highly and somewhat favorable responses displayed)

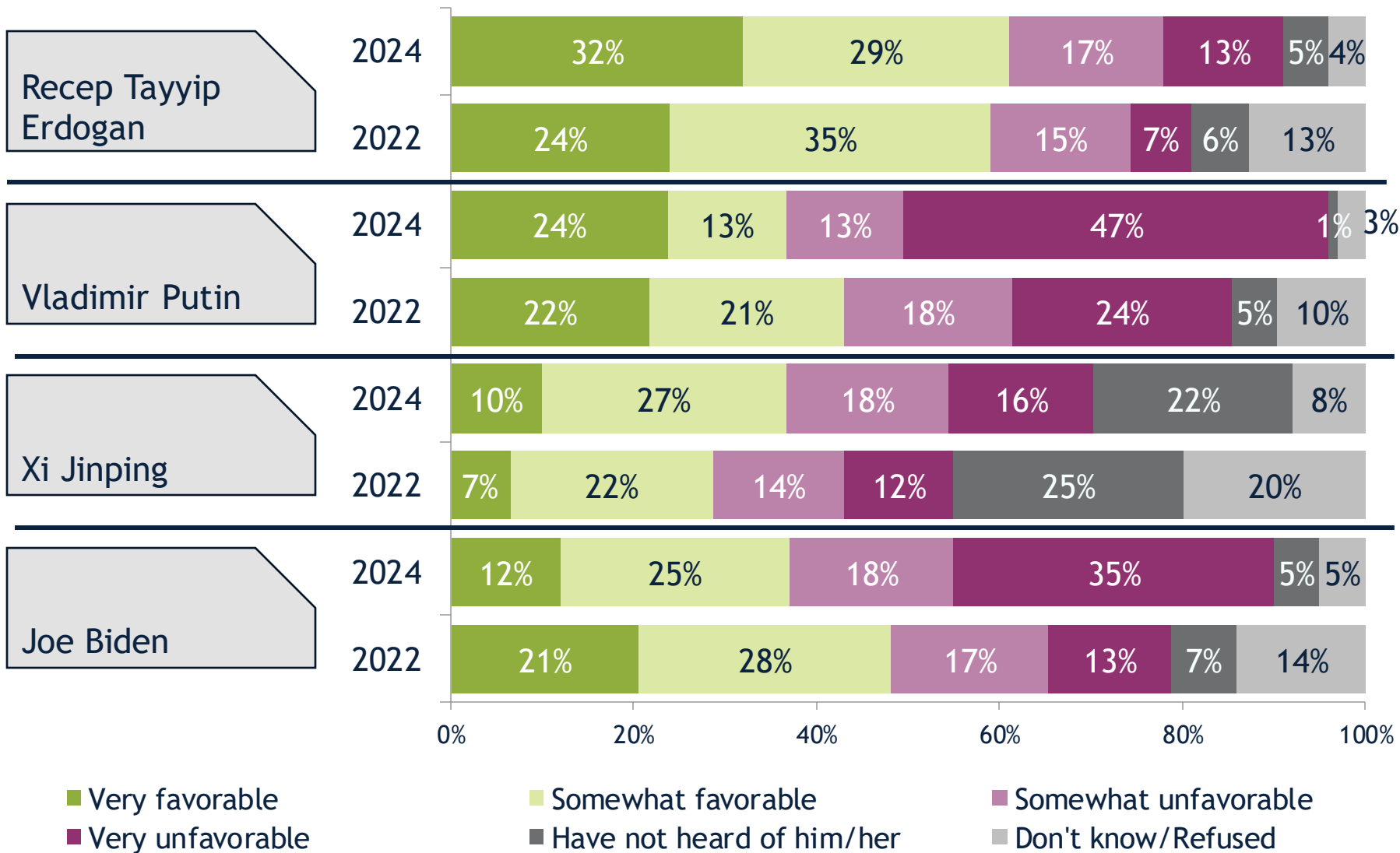




# Do you have a very unfavorable, somewhat unfavorable, somewhat favorable or very favorable opinion of the following world and regional leaders?



# Do you have a very unfavorable, somewhat unfavorable, somewhat favorable or very favorable opinion of the following world and regional leaders?

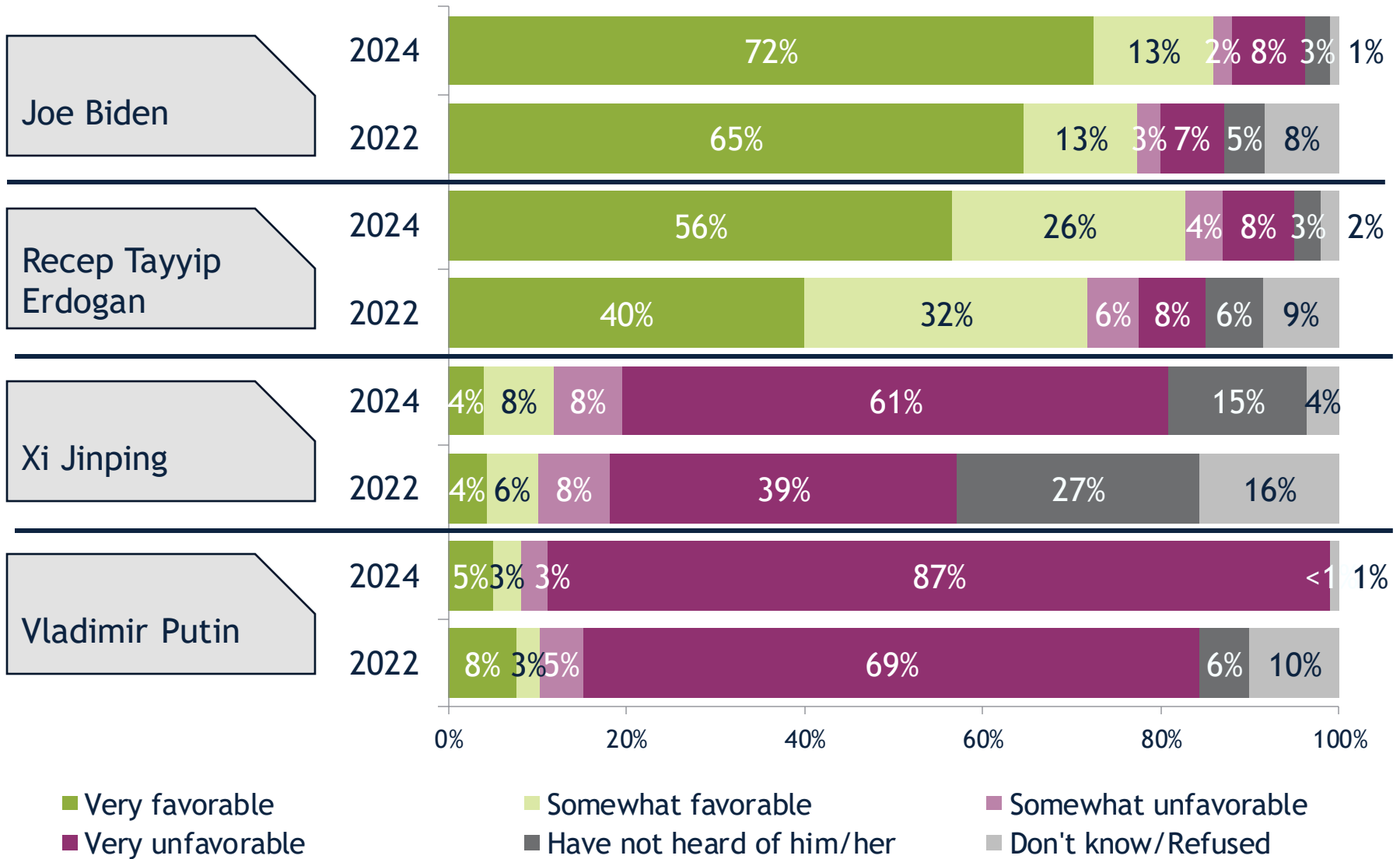


Do you have a very unfavorable, somewhat unfavorable, somewhat favorable or very favorable opinion of the following world and regional leaders?

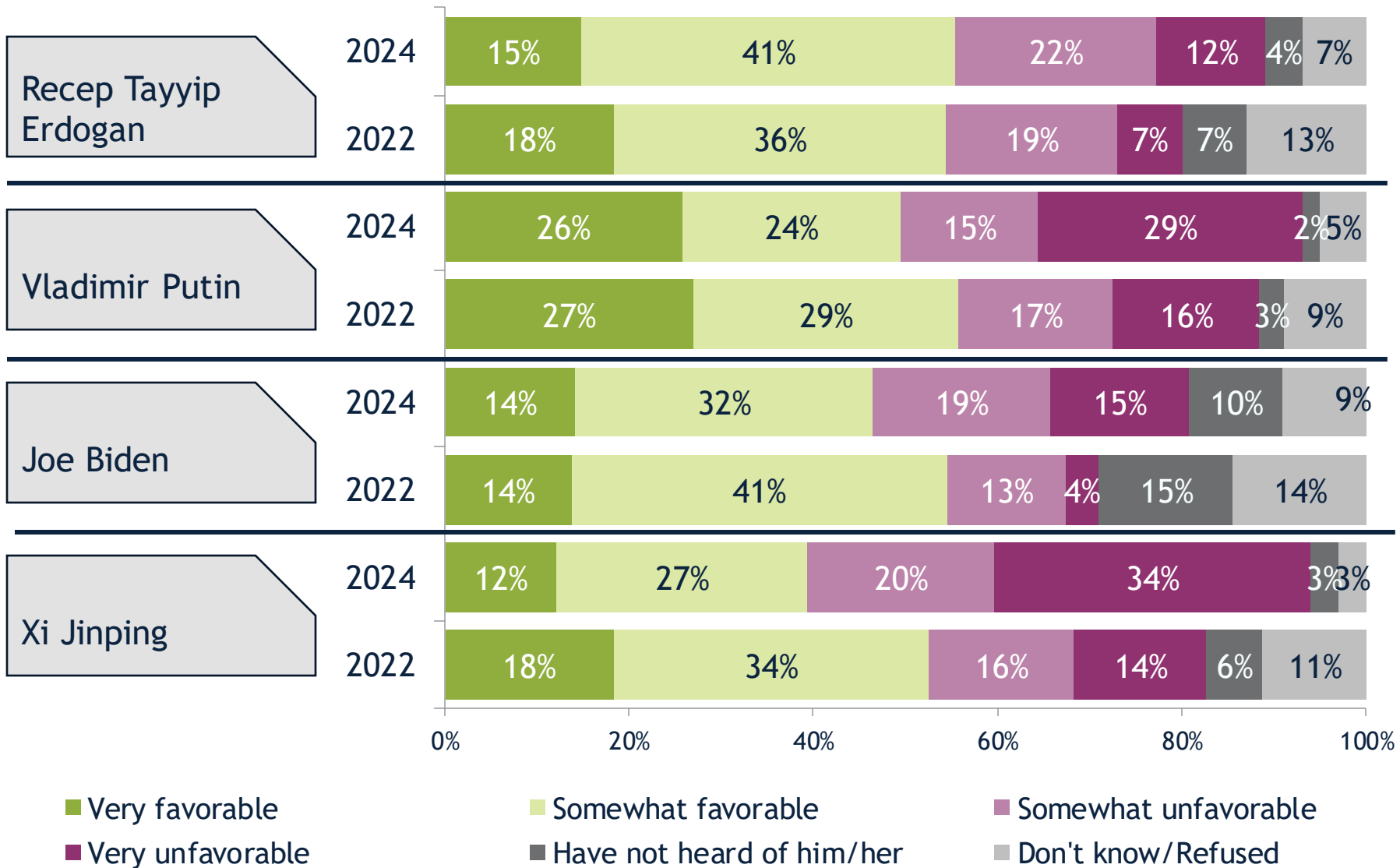


Favorable opinion (somewhat or very favorable) displayed	All Respondents	Entity		Ethnic Background		
		Federation BiH (n=769)	Republika Srpska (n=456)	Bosniak (n=623)	Serb (=386)	Croat (n=187)
Recep Tayyip Erdogan	61%	74%	39%	82%	32%	52%
Vladimir Putin	37%	11%	80%	12%	88%	10%
Xi Jinping	37%	26%	54%	24%	55%	43%
Joe Biden	37%	52%	12%	53%	5%	54%

# Do you have a very unfavorable, somewhat unfavorable, somewhat favorable or very favorable opinion of the following world and regional leaders?

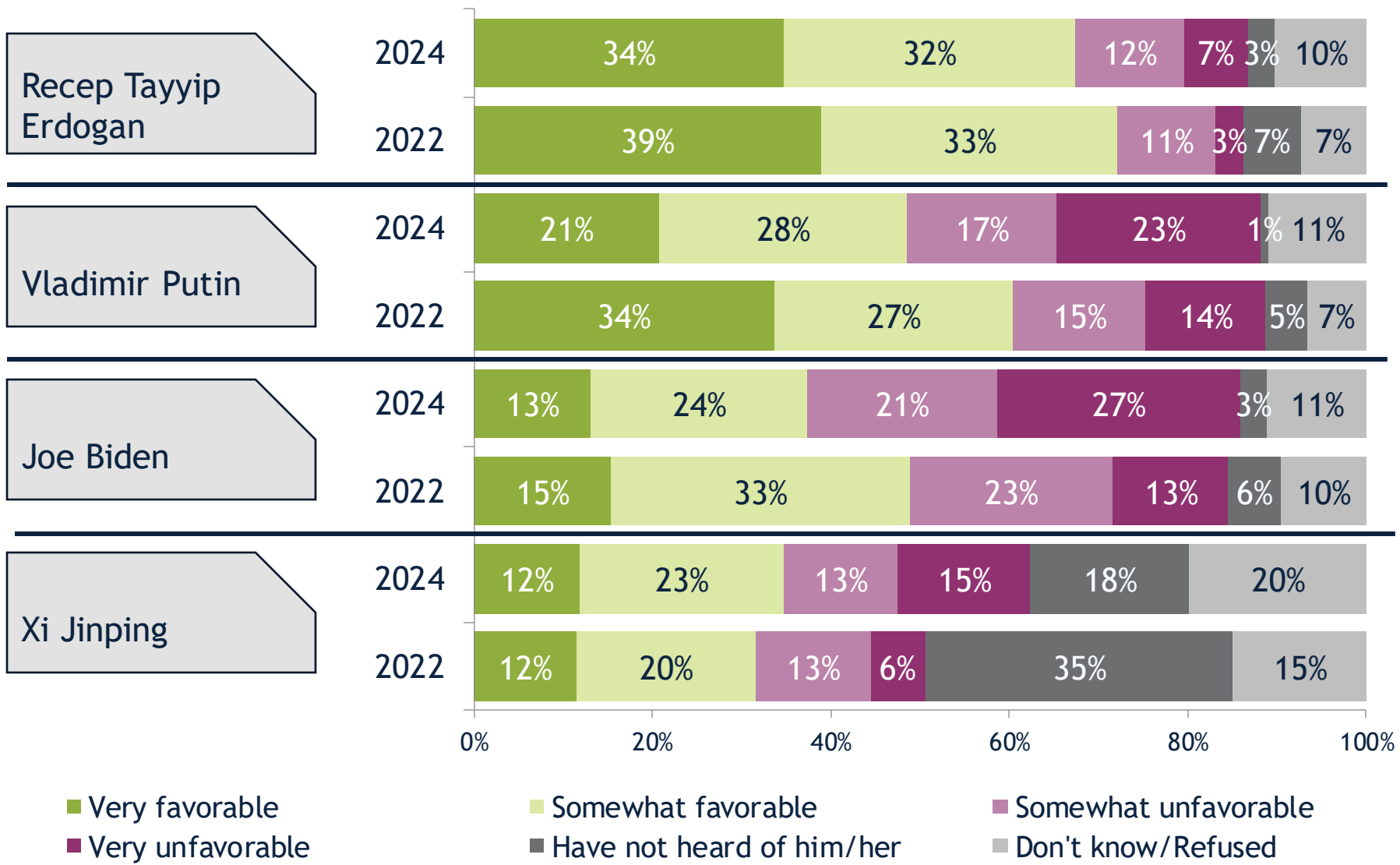


# Do you have a very unfavorable, somewhat unfavorable, somewhat favorable or very favorable opinion of the following world and regional leaders?

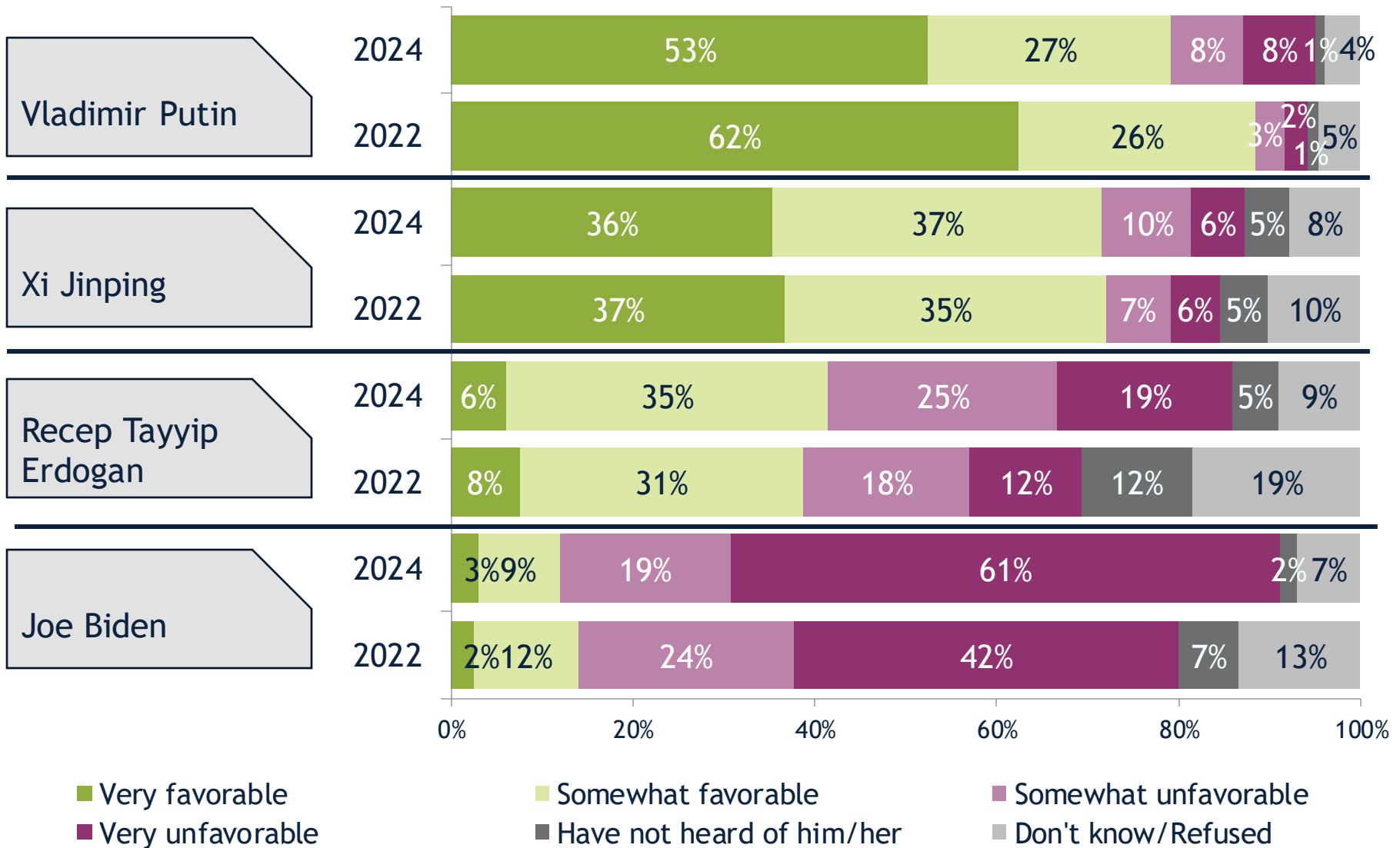




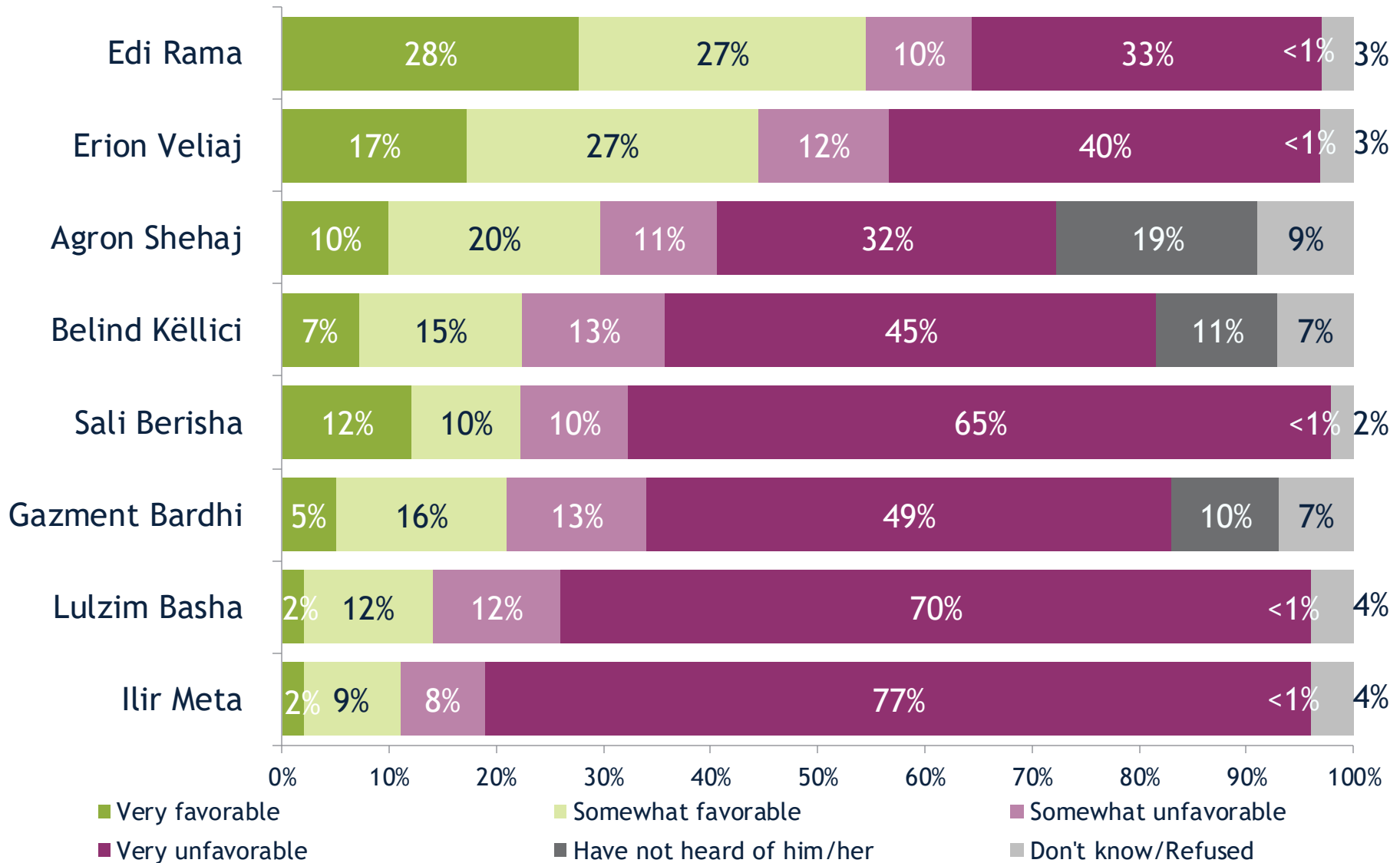
# Do you have a very unfavorable, somewhat unfavorable, somewhat favorable or very favorable opinion of the following world and regional leaders?



# Do you have a very unfavorable, somewhat unfavorable, somewhat favorable or very favorable opinion of the following world and regional leaders?



# Do you have a very unfavorable, somewhat unfavorable, somewhat favorable or very favorable opinion of the following national political leaders or have not heard of him/her at all?

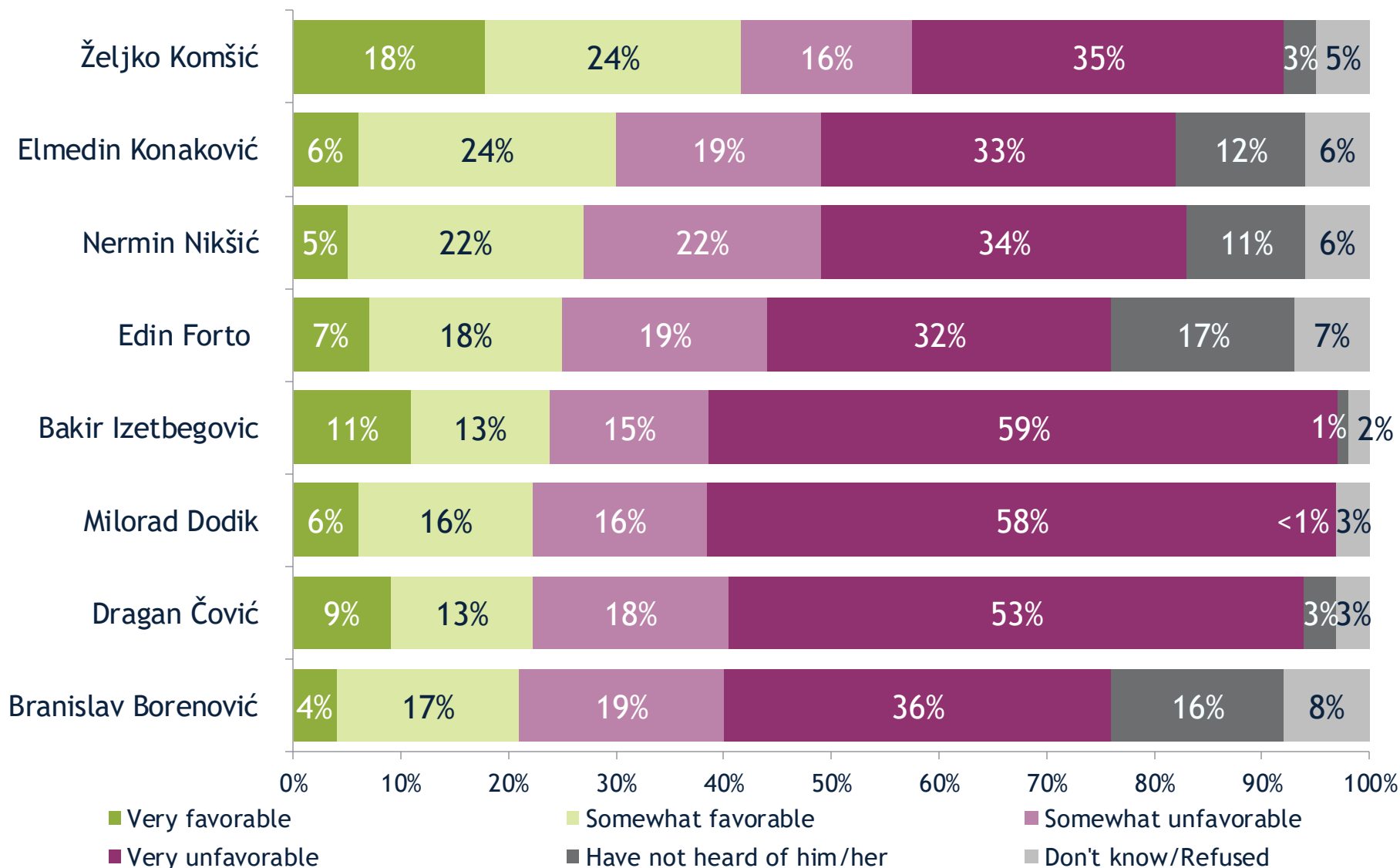




# Do you have a very unfavorable, somewhat unfavorable, somewhat favorable or very favorable opinion of the following national political leaders or have not heard of him/her at all?



B  
O  
S  
N  
I  
A  
  
A  
  
A  
N  
D  
  
H  
E  
R  
Z  
E  
G  
O  
V  
I  
N  
A

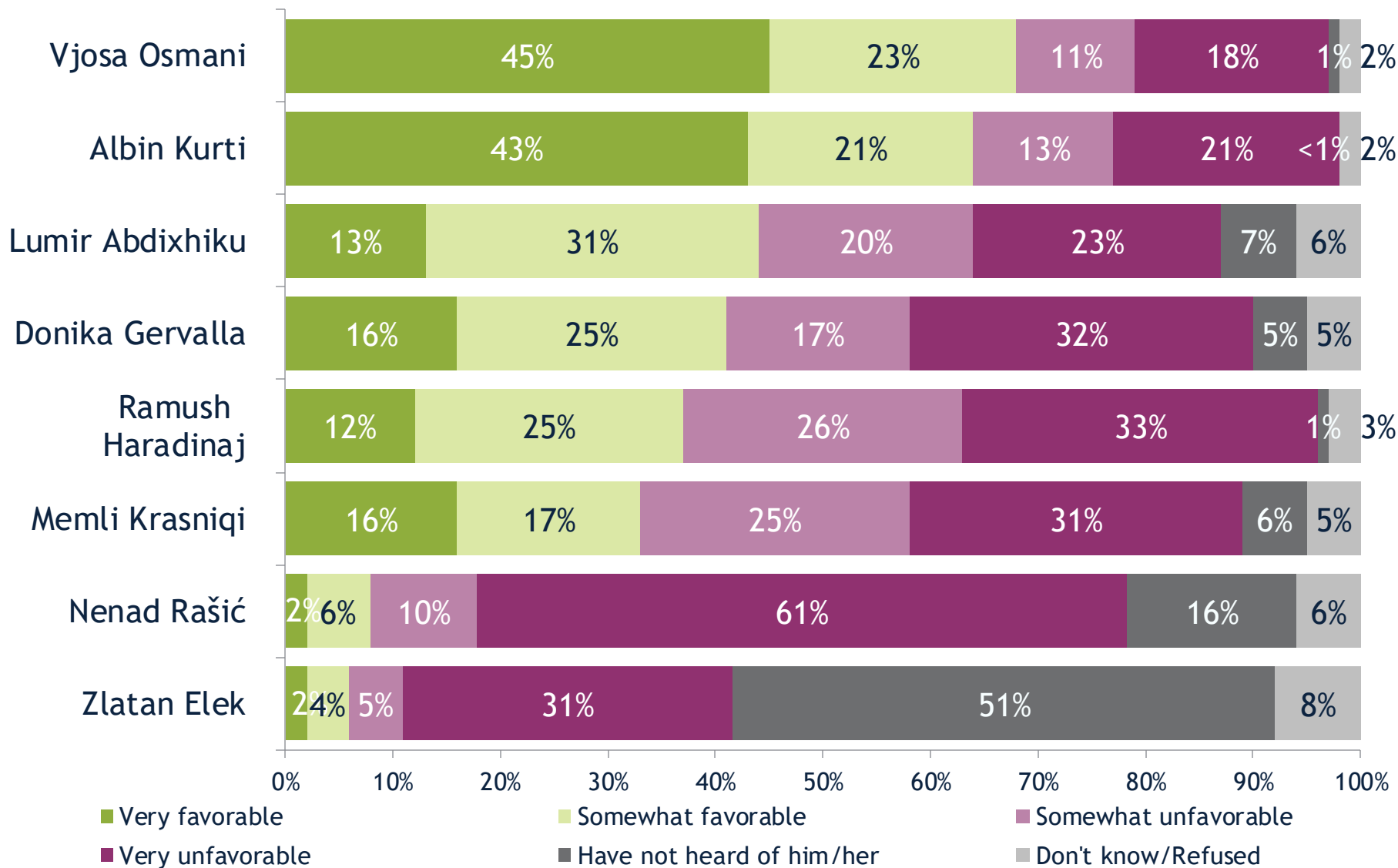




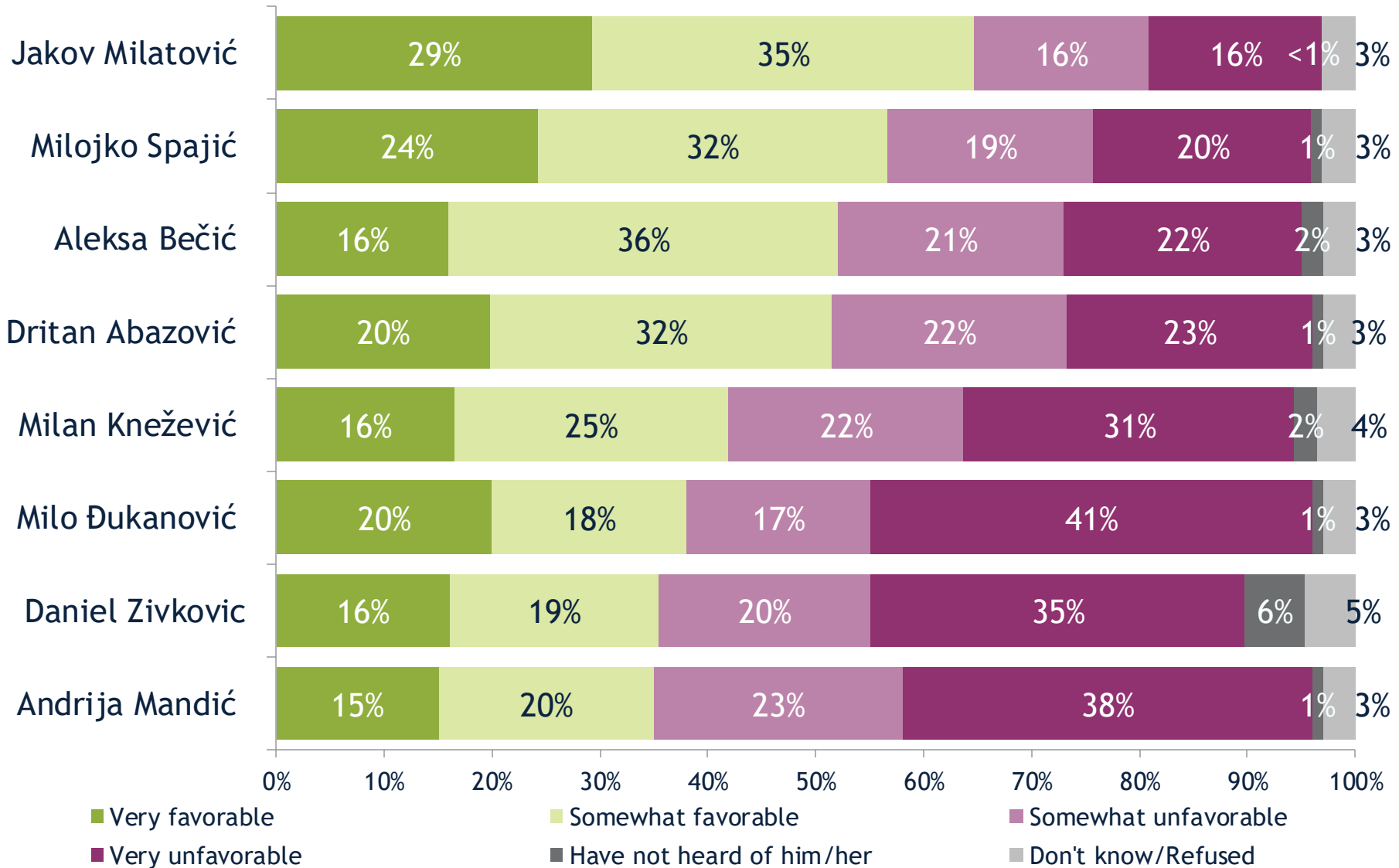
Do you have a very unfavorable, somewhat unfavorable, somewhat favorable or very favorable opinion of the following national political leaders or have not heard of him/her at all?

Favorable opinion (somewhat or very favorable) displayed	All Respondents	Entity		Ethnic Background		
		Federation BiH (n=769)	Republika Srpska (n=456)	Bosniak (n=623)	Serb (=386)	Croat (n=187)
Željko Komšić	42%	55%	18%	68%	12%	14%
Elmedin Konaković	30%	39%	16%	45%	11%	23%
Nermin Nikšić	27%	35%	14%	42%	9%	14%
Edin Forto	25%	32%	13%	36%	8%	21%
Bakir Izetbegovic	24%	32%	8%	41%	3%	4%
Milorad Dodik	22%	4%	54%	3%	60%	12%
Dragan Čović	22%	20%	25%	5%	25%	73%
Branislav Borenović	21%	11%	37%	12%	39%	17%

# Do you have a very unfavorable, somewhat unfavorable, somewhat favorable or very favorable opinion of the following national political leaders or have not heard of him/her at all?



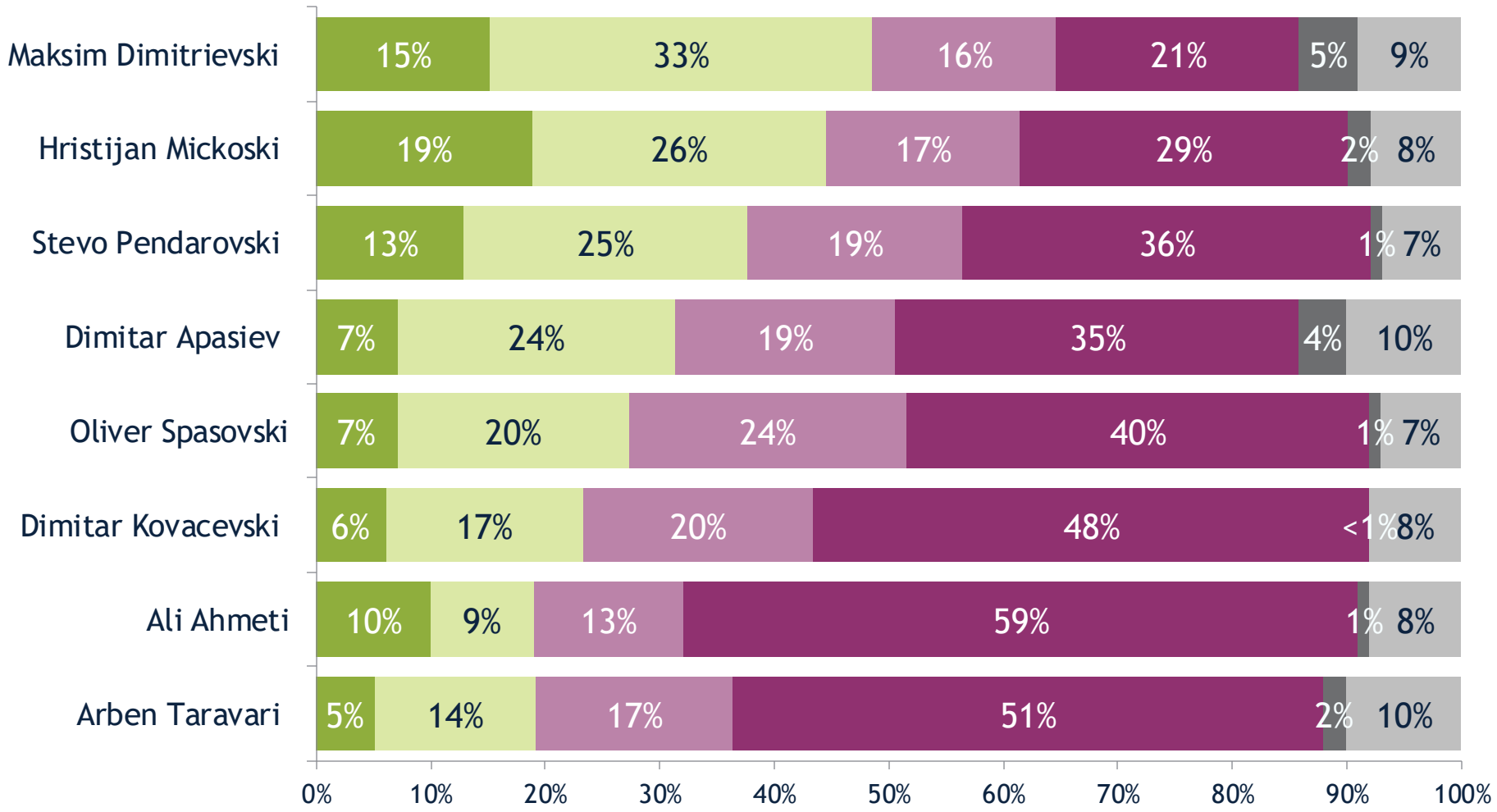
# Do you have a very unfavorable, somewhat unfavorable, somewhat favorable or very favorable opinion of the following national political leaders or have not heard of him/her at all?



# Do you have a very unfavorable, somewhat unfavorable, somewhat favorable or very favorable opinion of the following national political leaders or have not heard of him/her at all?

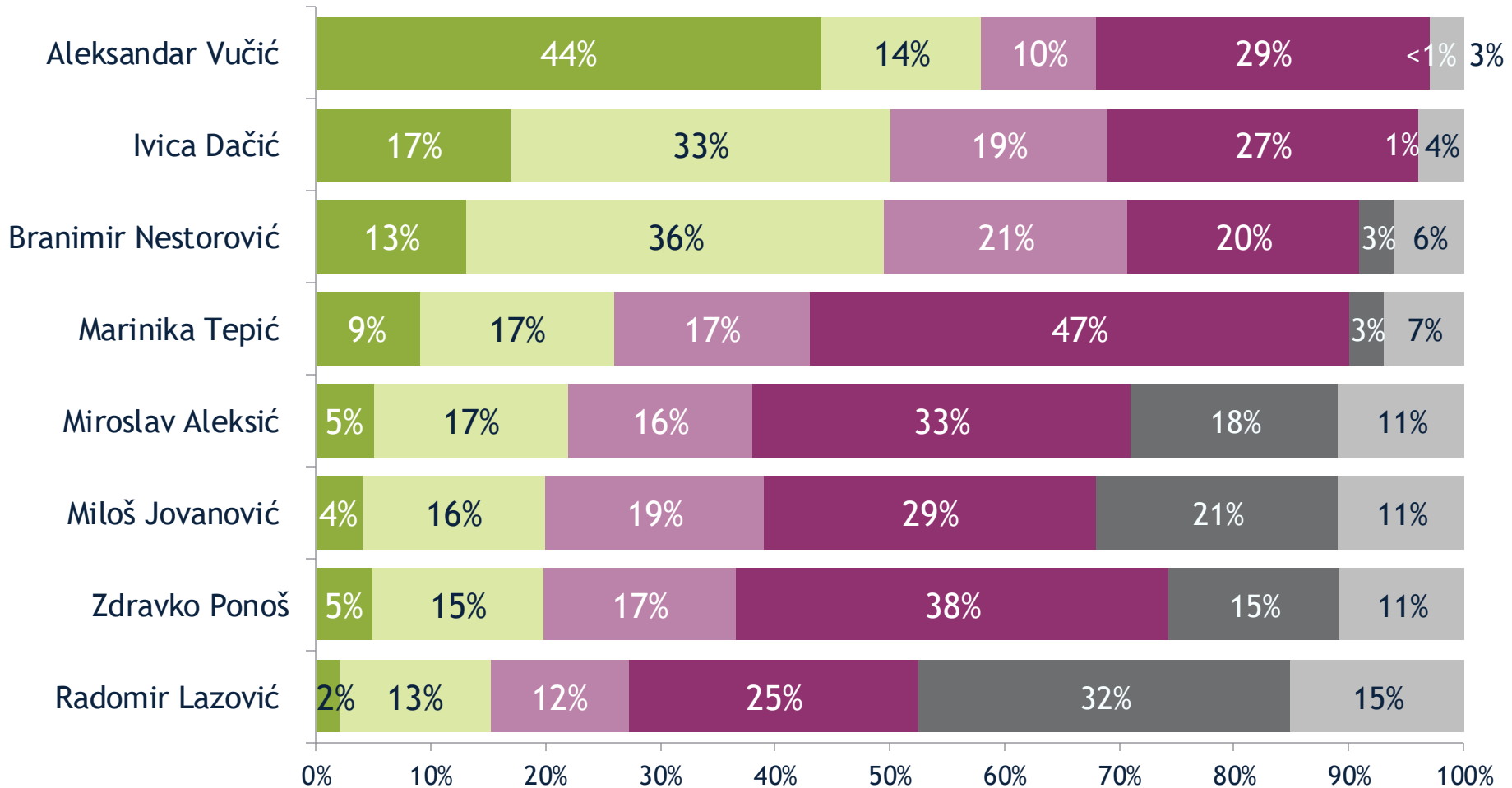


NORTH MACEDONIA



■ Very favorable     
 ■ Somewhat favorable     
 ■ Somewhat unfavorable  
■ Very unfavorable     
 ■ Have not heard of him/her     
 ■ Don't know/Refused

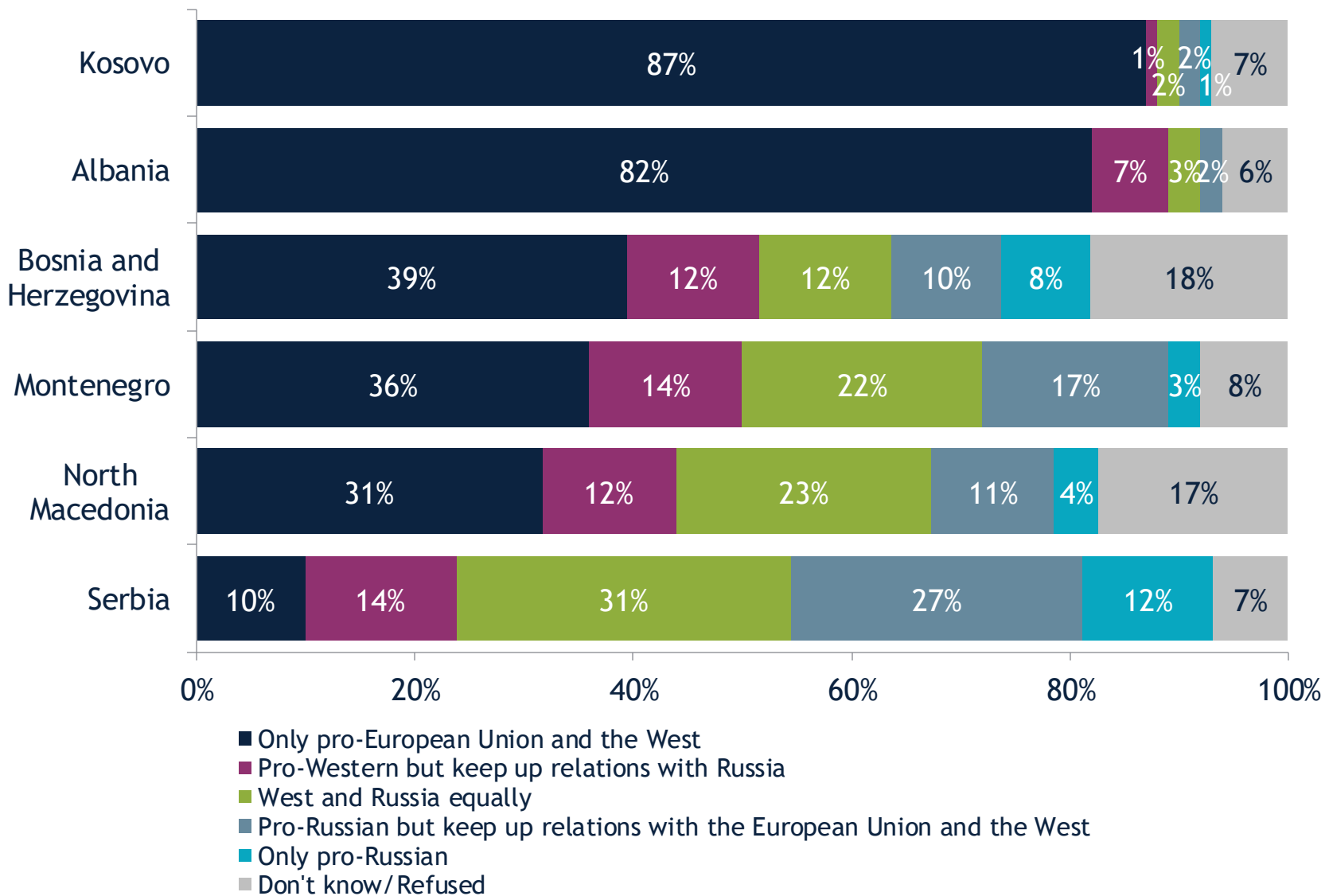
# Do you have a very unfavorable, somewhat unfavorable, somewhat favorable or very favorable opinion of the following national political leaders or have not heard of him/her at all?



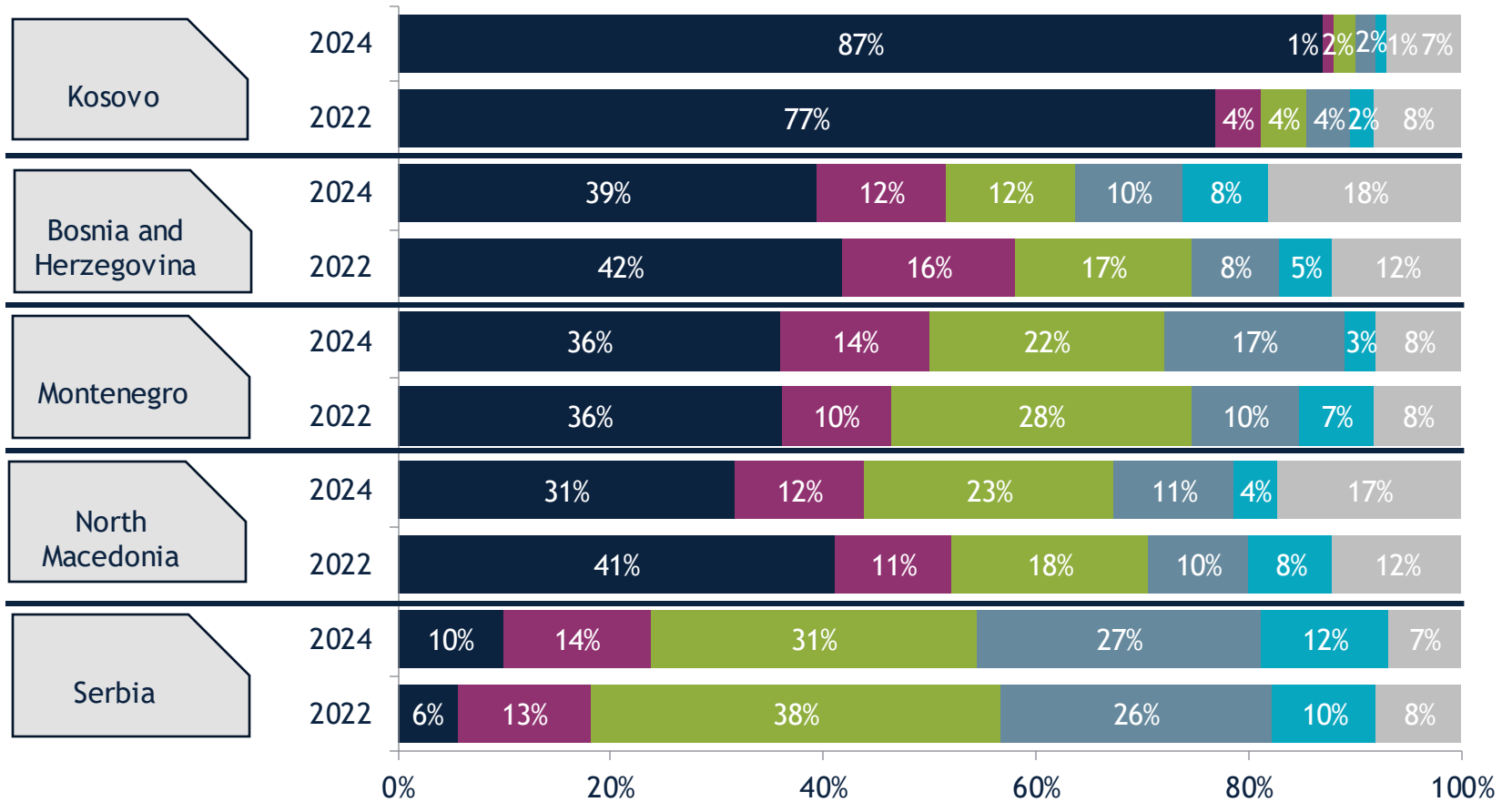
■ Very favorable     
 ■ Somewhat favorable     
 ■ Somewhat unfavorable  
■ Very unfavorable     
 ■ Have not heard of him/her     
 ■ Don't know/Refused



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



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



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



# War in Ukraine

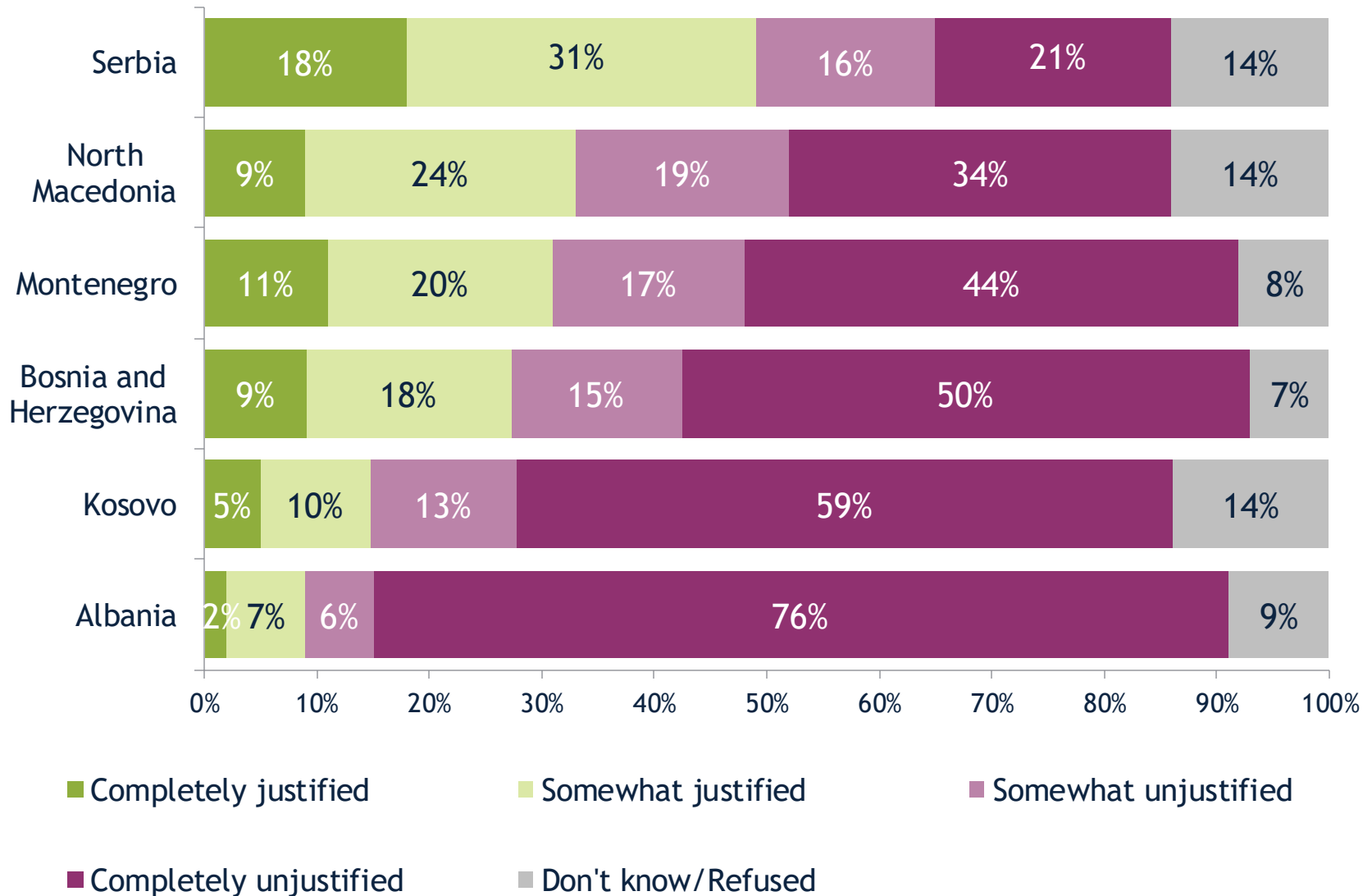


A PROJECT OF THE INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE



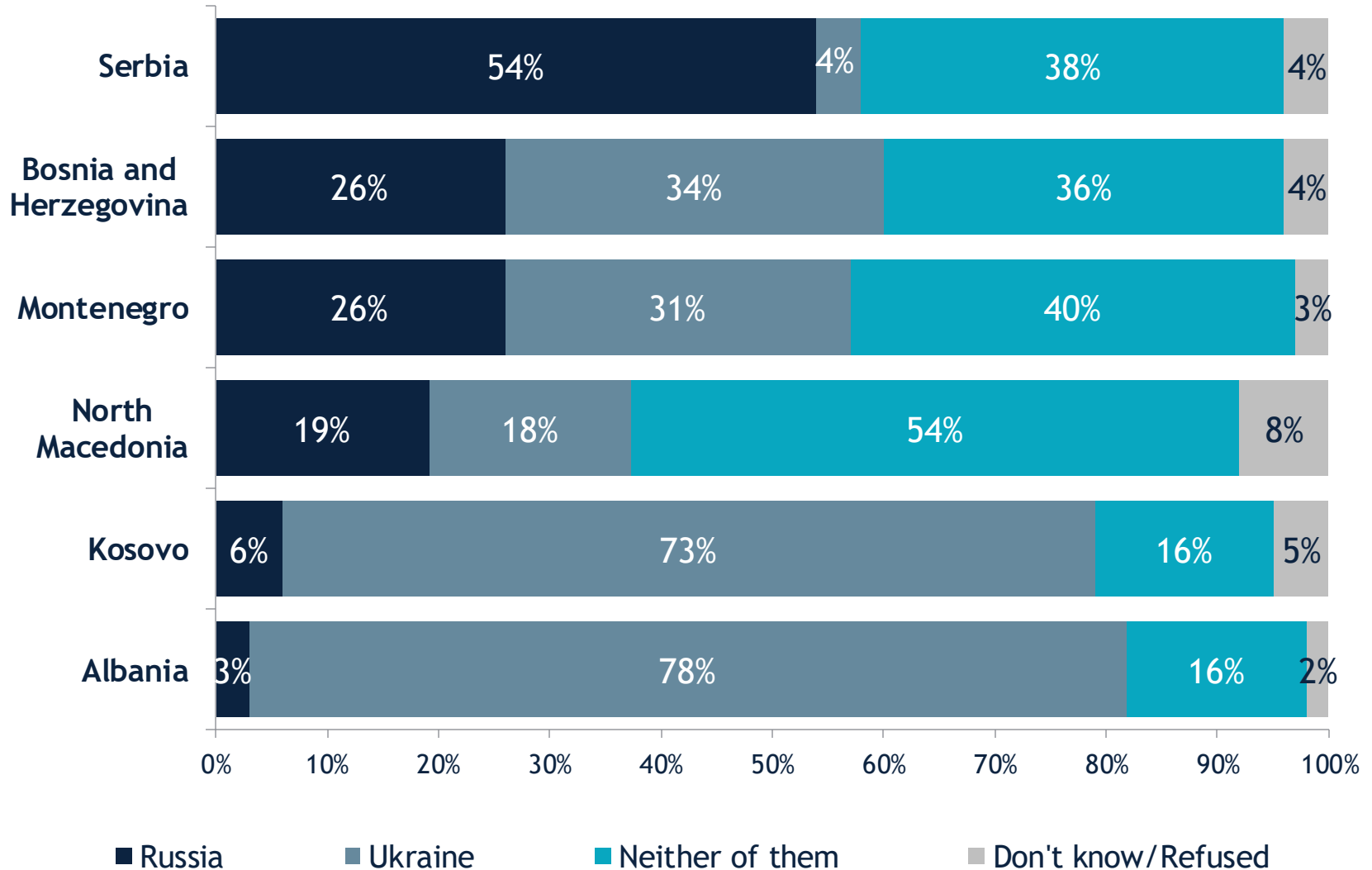
"Anti-terrorist operation in eastern Ukraine (War Ukraine)" by Ministry of Defense of Ukraine is licensed under [CC BY-SA 2.0](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.0/).

# To what extent do you think Russia's actions in Ukraine are justified or unjustified?

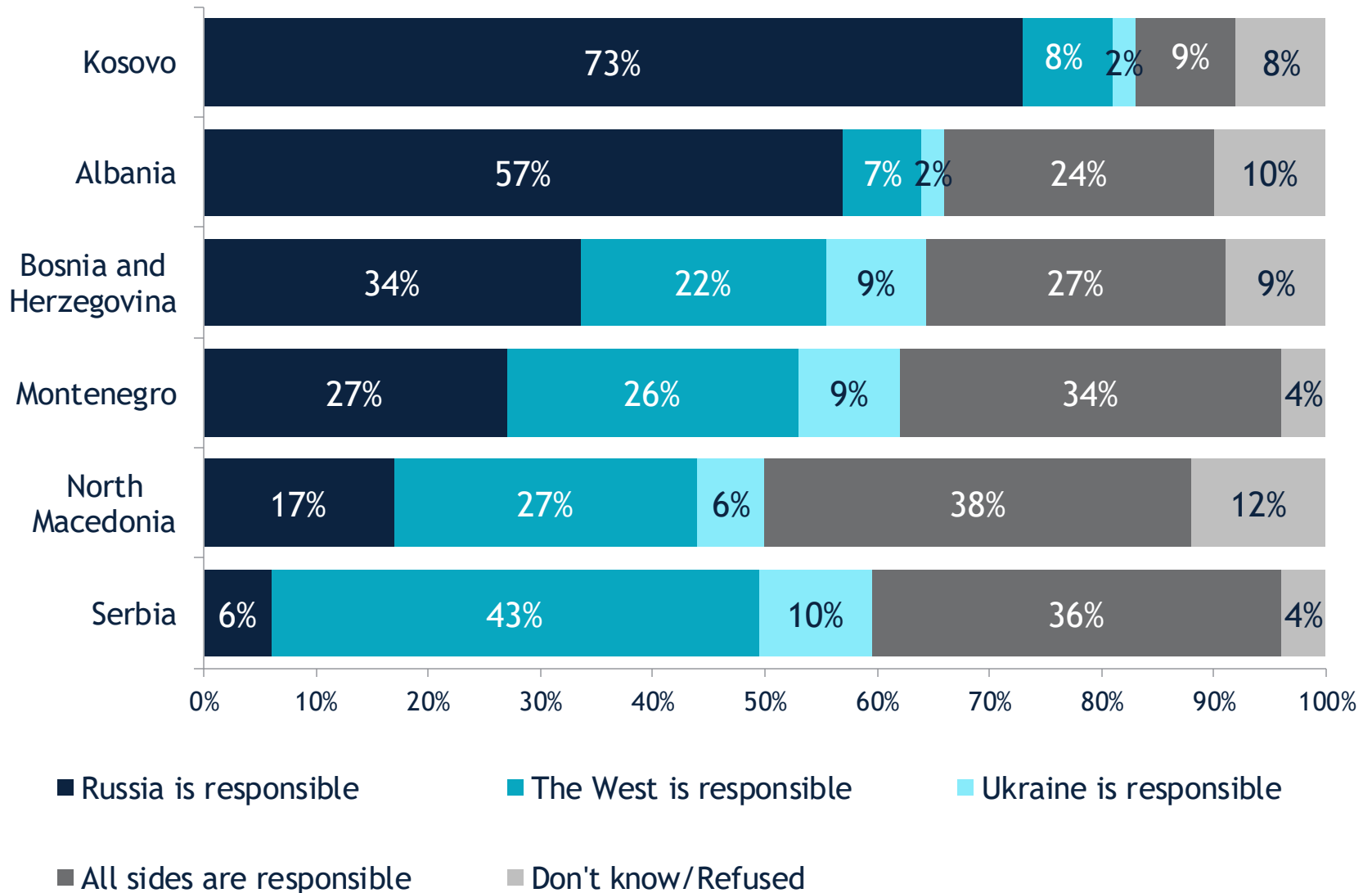




# In the military conflict between Russia and Ukraine, which side do you support?

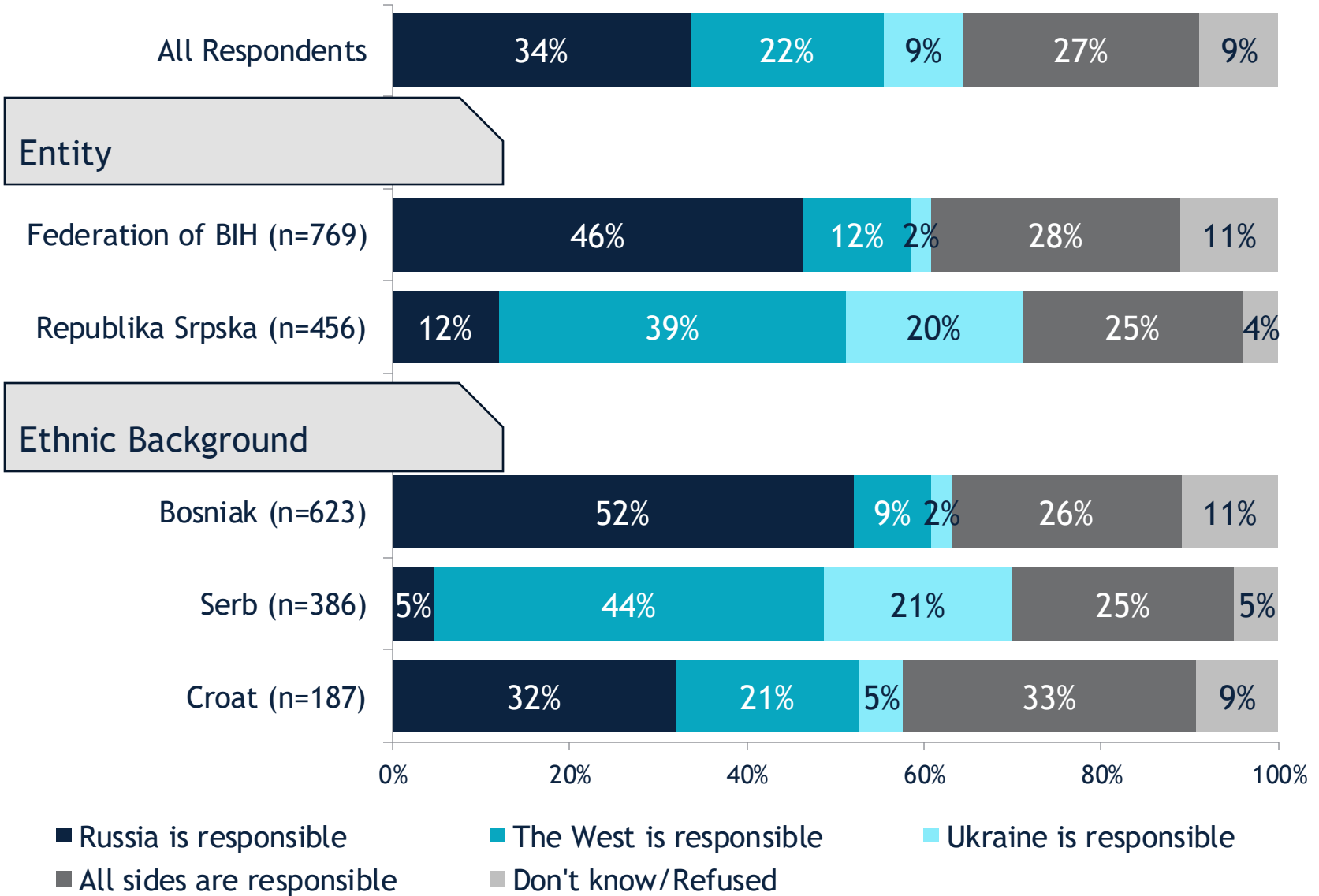


# Who is most responsible for the military conflict between Russia and Ukraine?



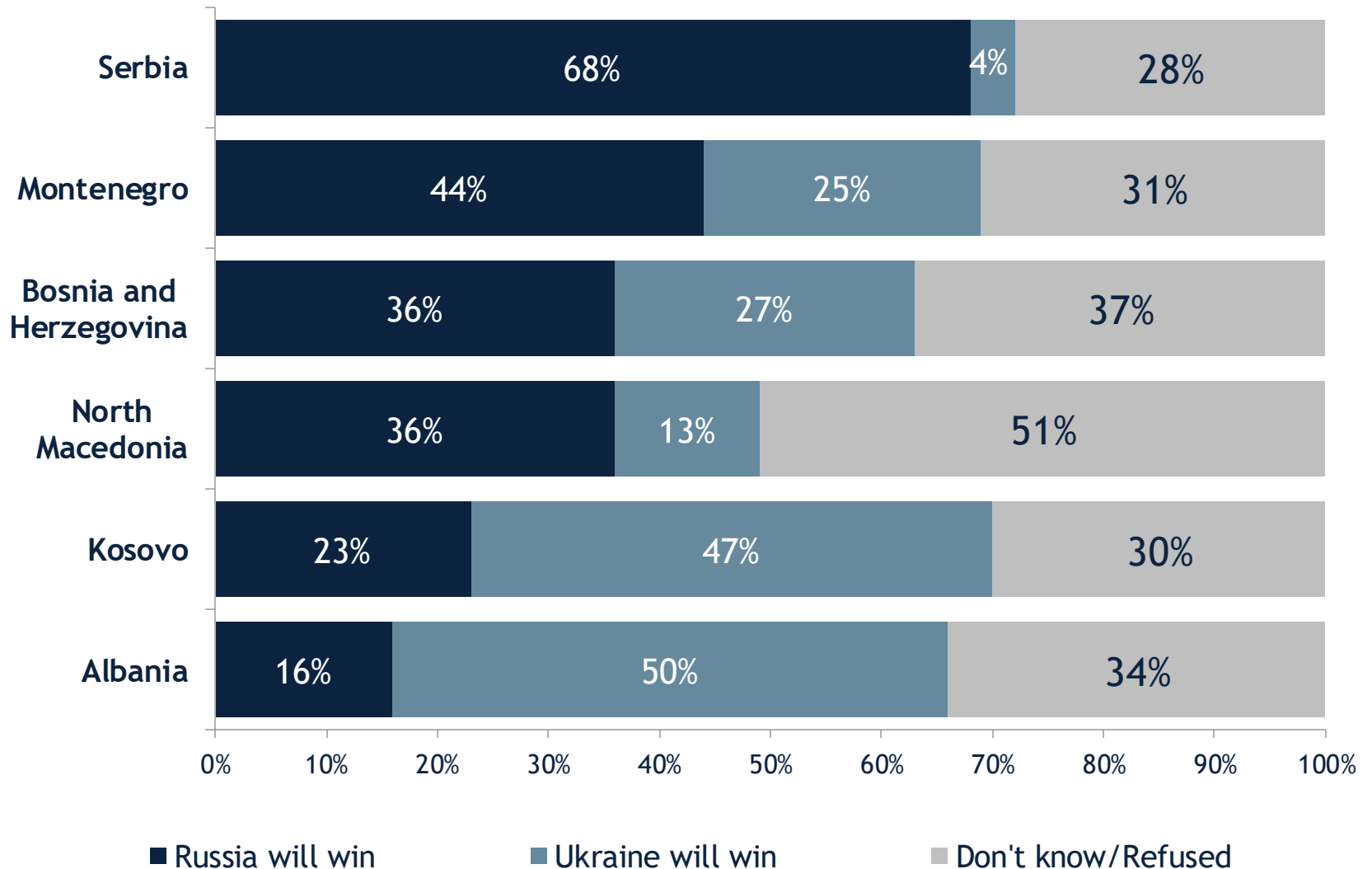


# Who is most responsible for the military conflict between Russia and Ukraine?

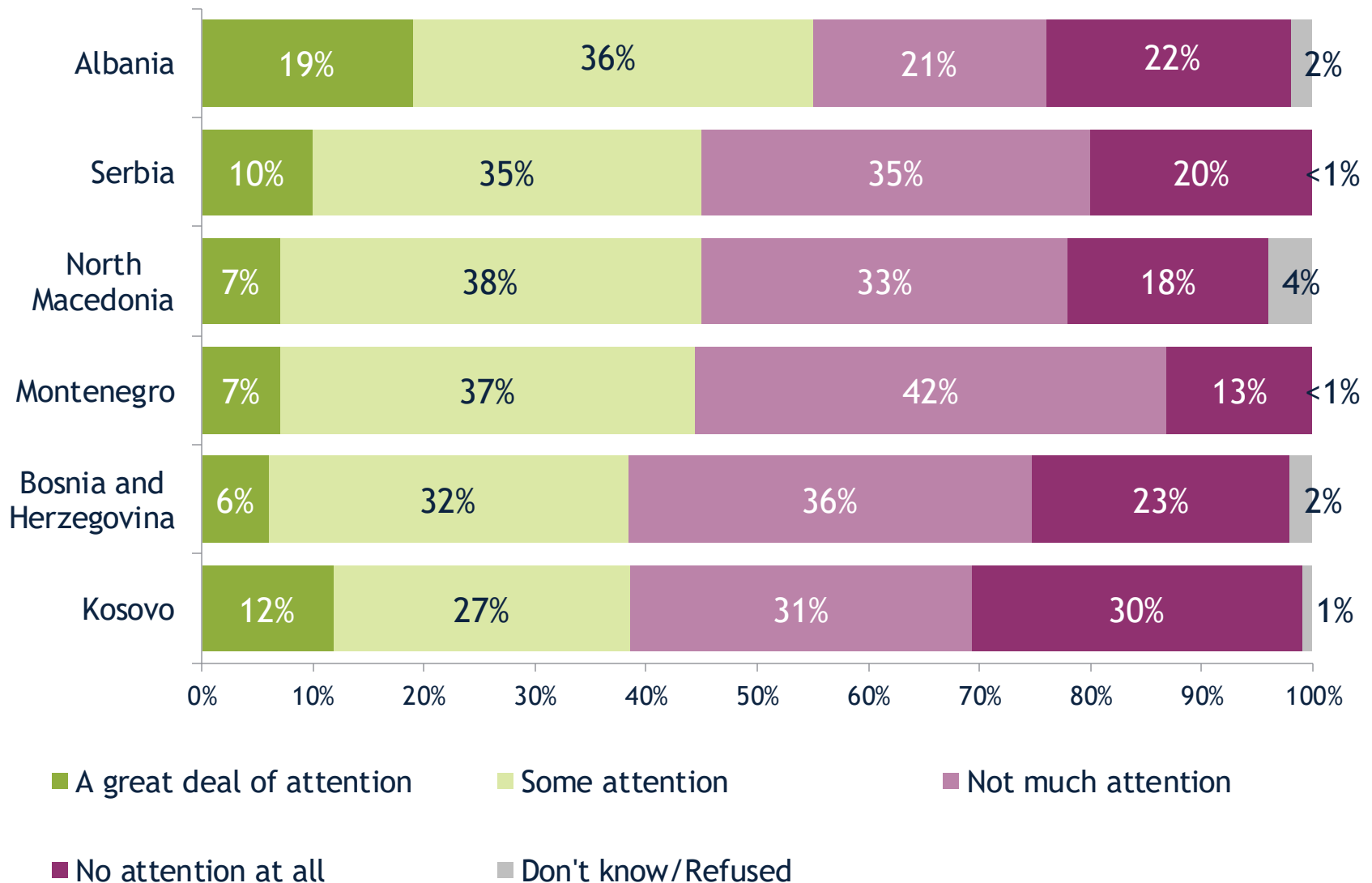




# Who do you think will win in the military conflict, Russia or Ukraine?



## How much attention are you paying to the situation in Ukraine?



# Security Issues



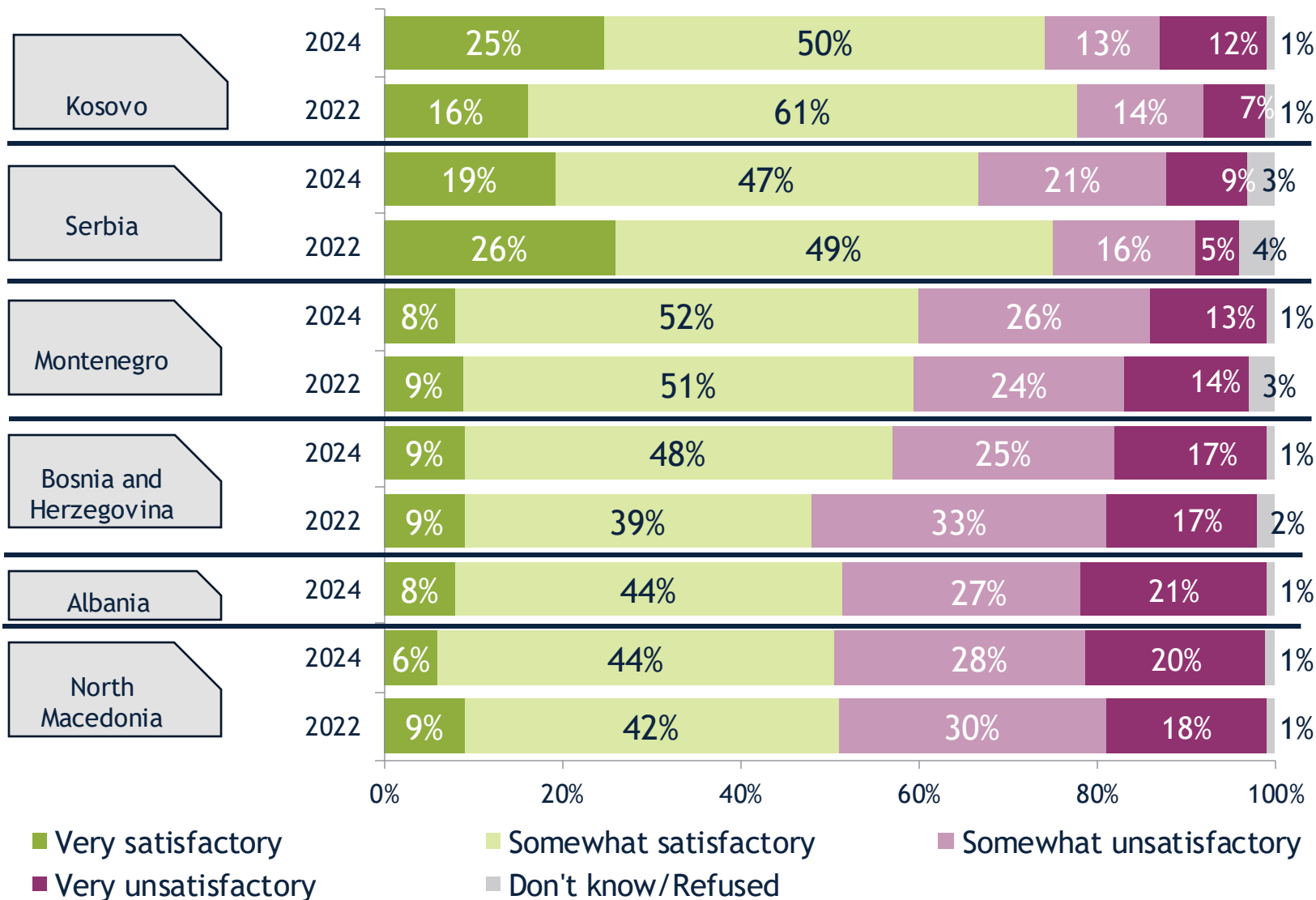
CENTER FOR  
INSIGHTS IN  
**SURVEY**  
**RESEARCH**

A PROJECT OF THE INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE

"Riot police in action in a city" by Joyce FILE#: 757982561 on  
Adobestock.com

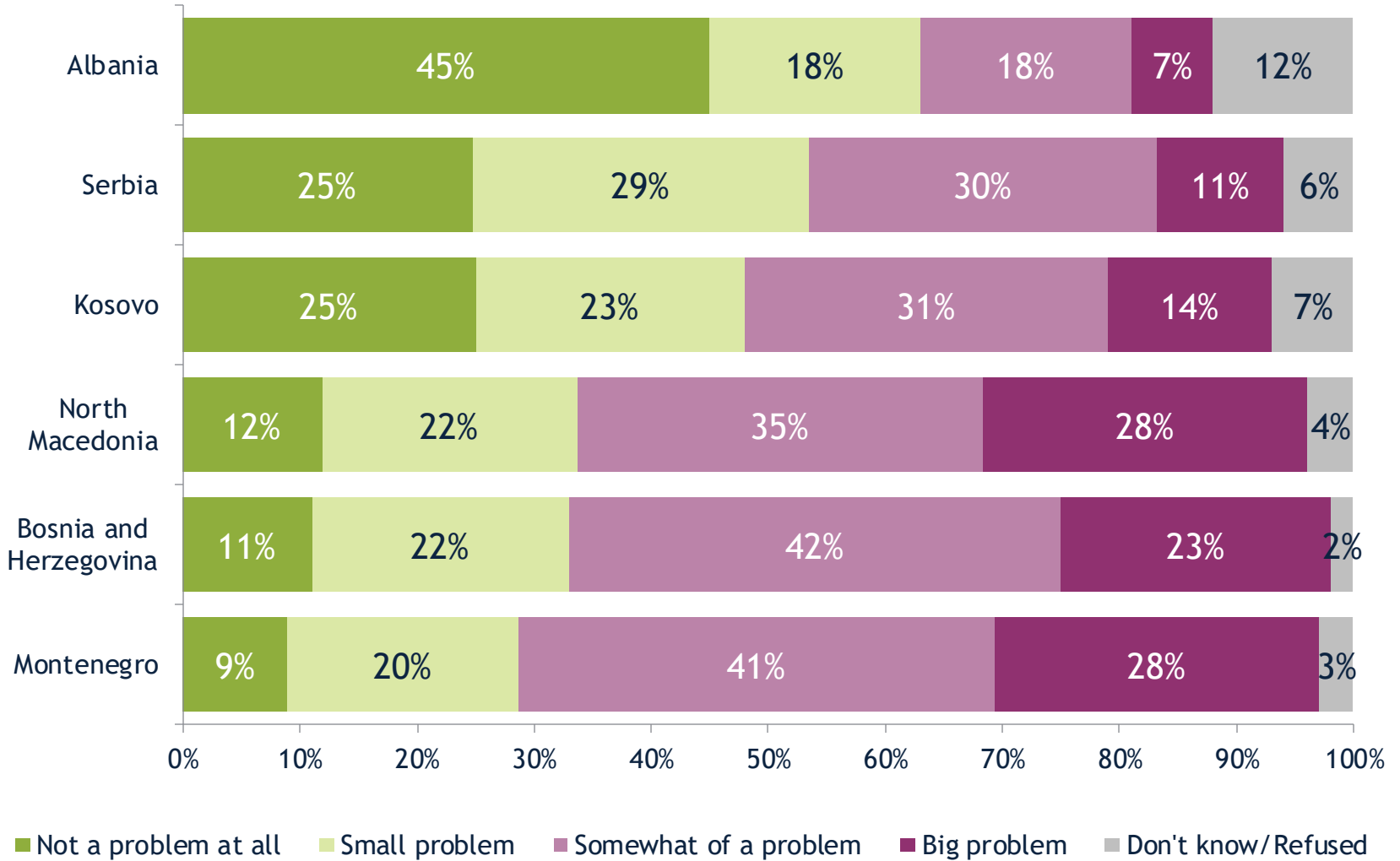


# How would you evaluate the security situation in the country?



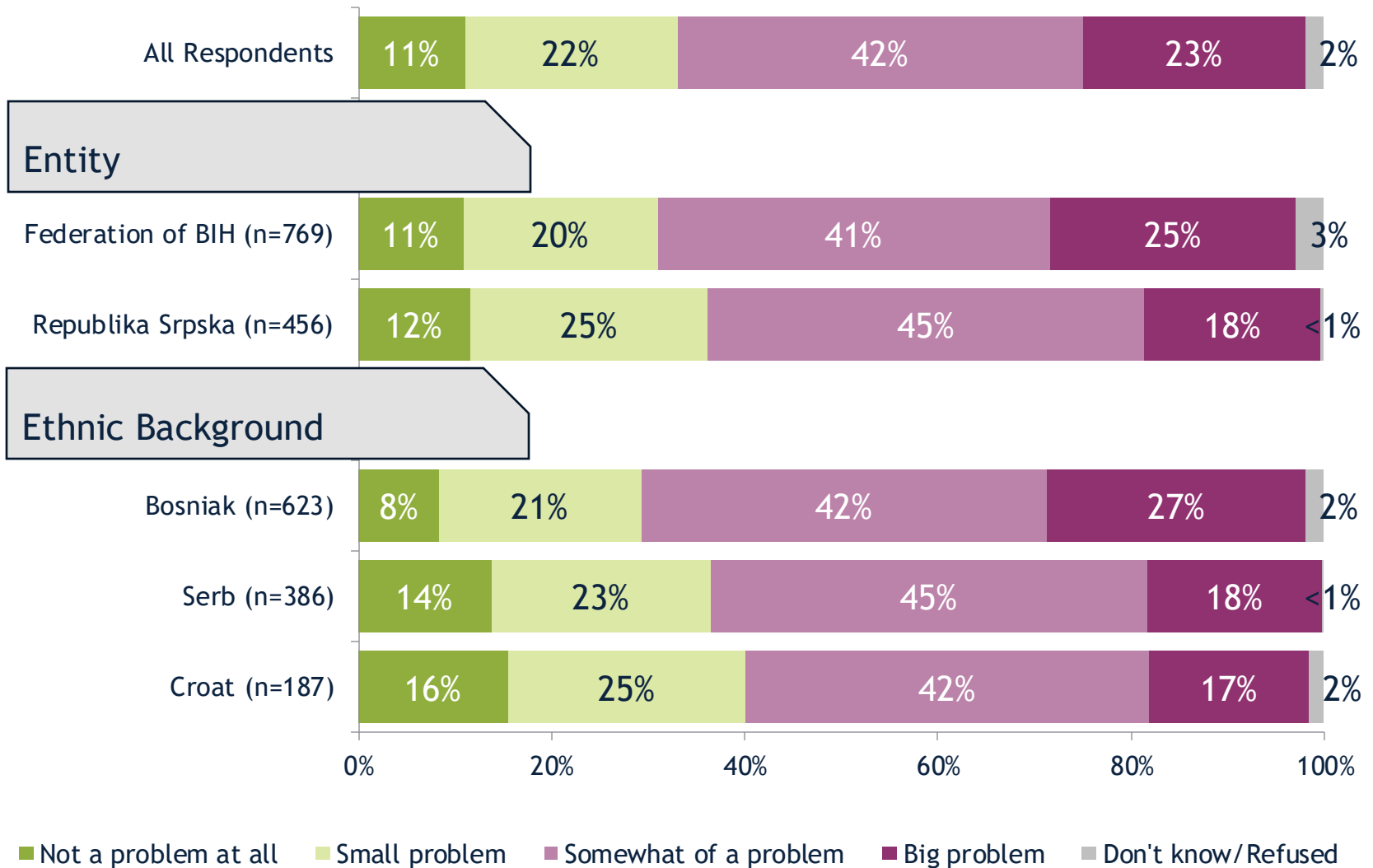


# To what extent is nationalism a problem in our country?



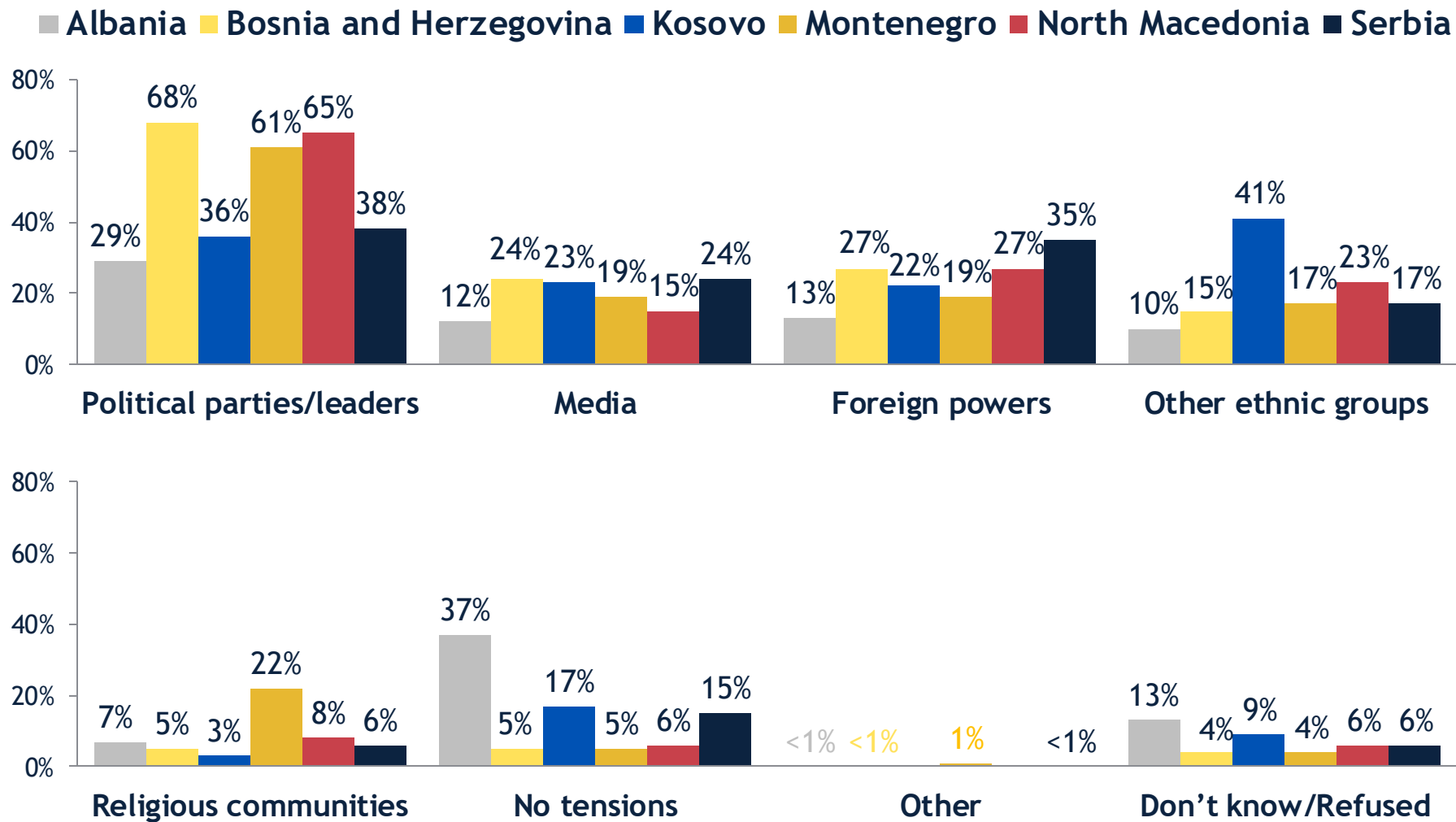


# To what extent is nationalism a problem in our country?



# Who would you say is most responsible for existing tensions between different ethnic groups?

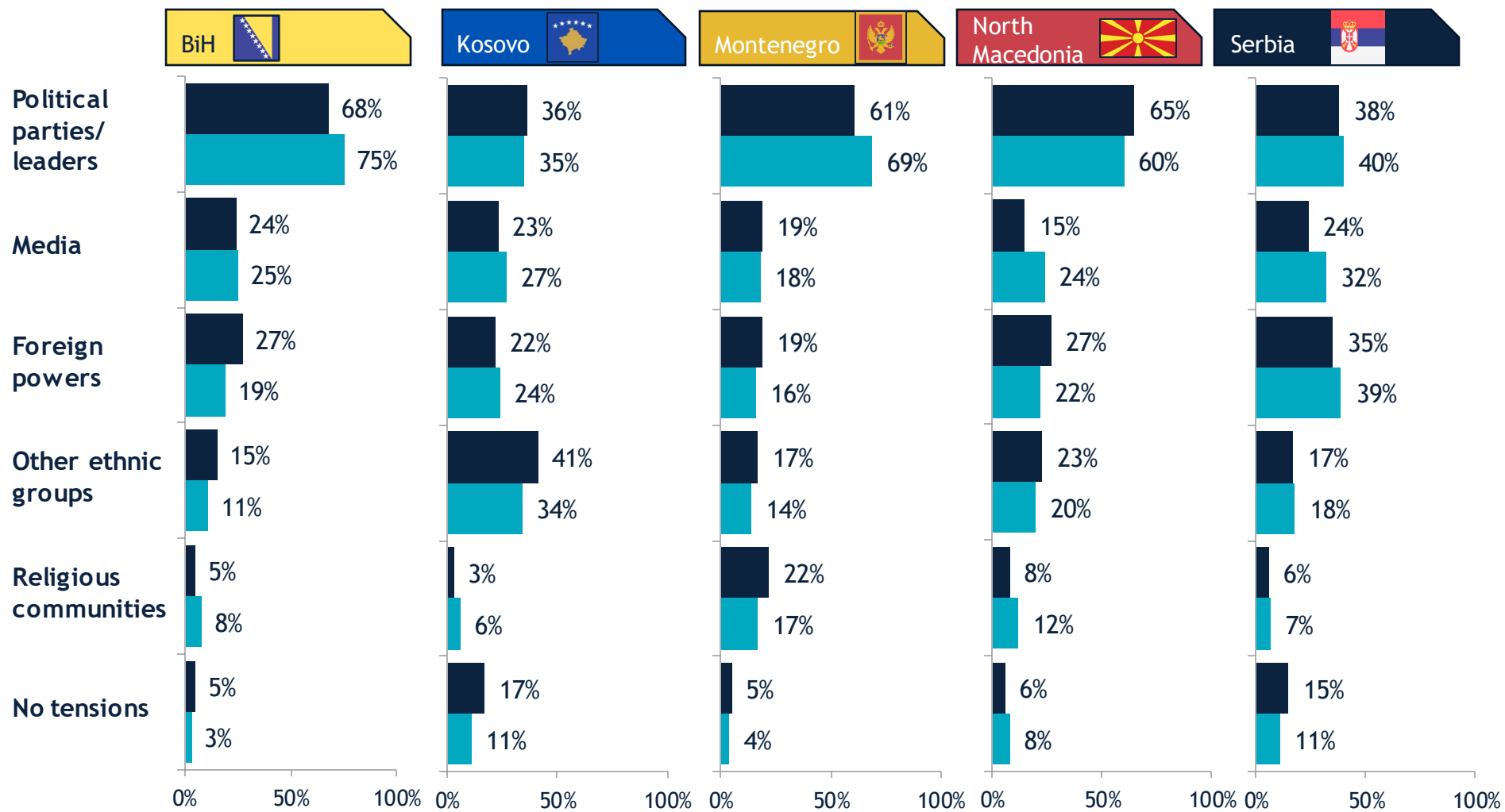
(Spontaneous response, multiple responses accepted)



# Who would you say is most responsible for existing tensions between different ethnic groups?

(Spontaneous response, multiple responses allowed)

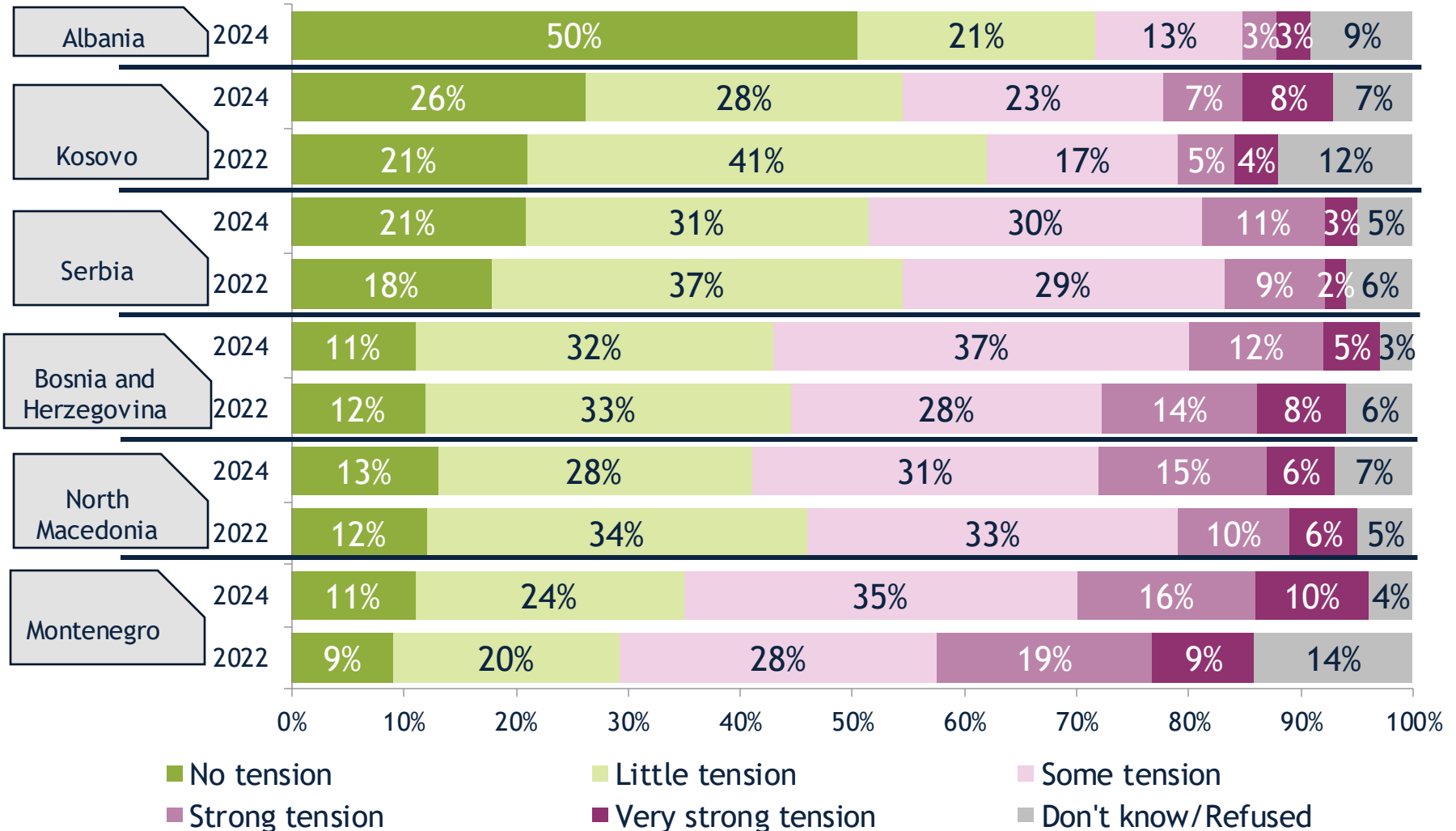
2024  
2022



Don't know/Refused responses not displayed.

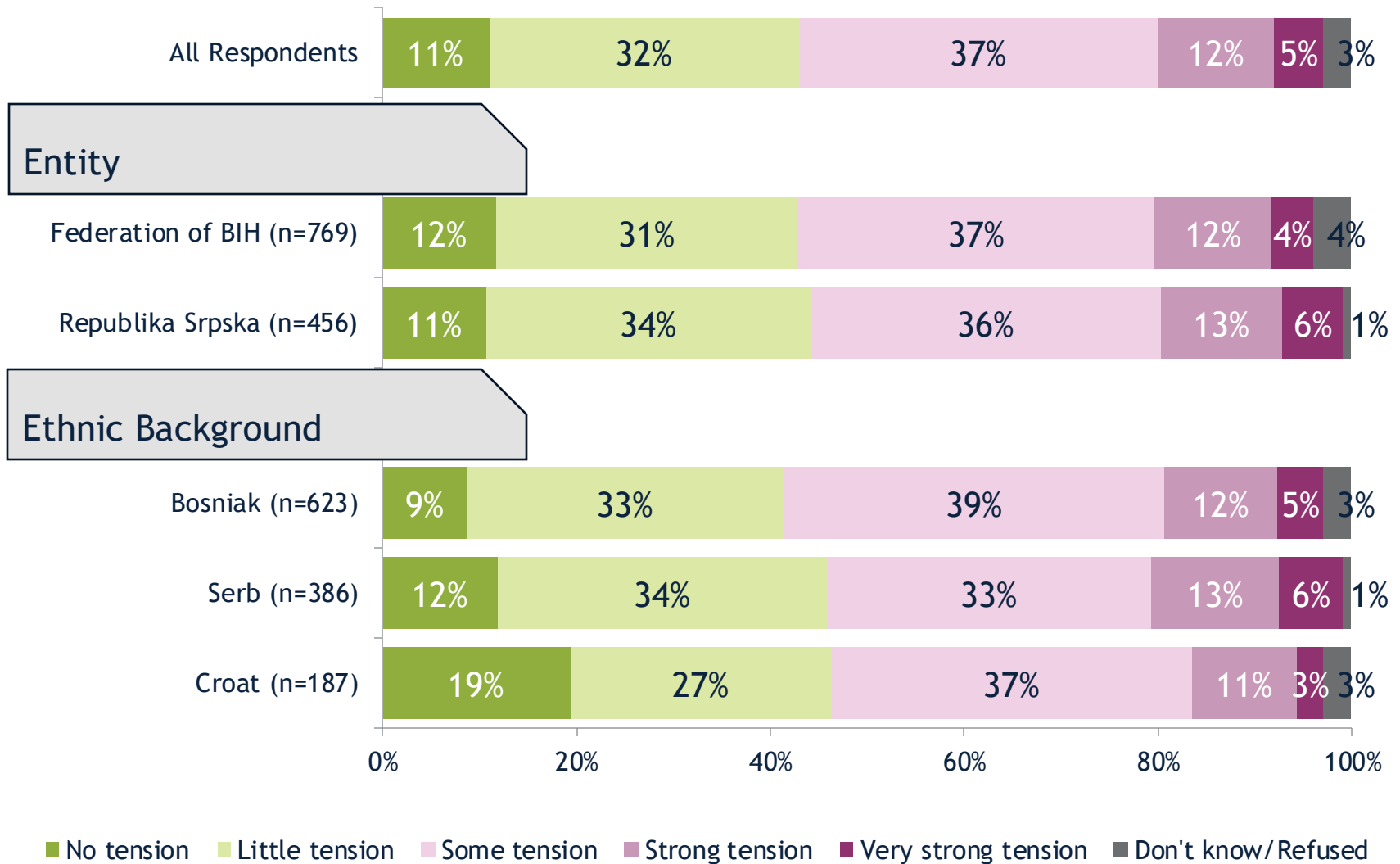


# How would you rate the level of intensity of tension between different ethnic groups in your country?





# How would you rate the level of intensity of tension between different ethnic groups in your country?

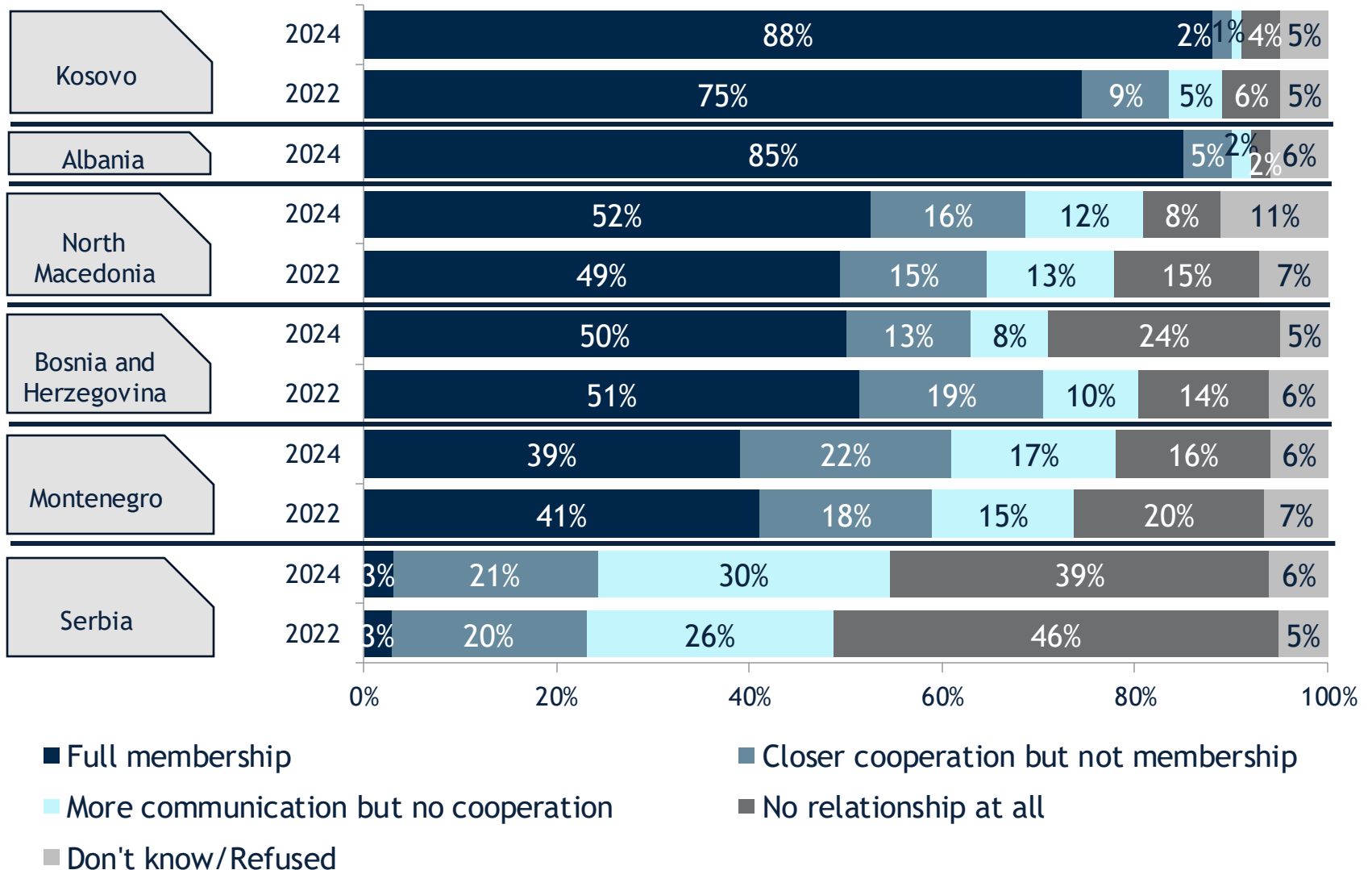


# NATO Integration





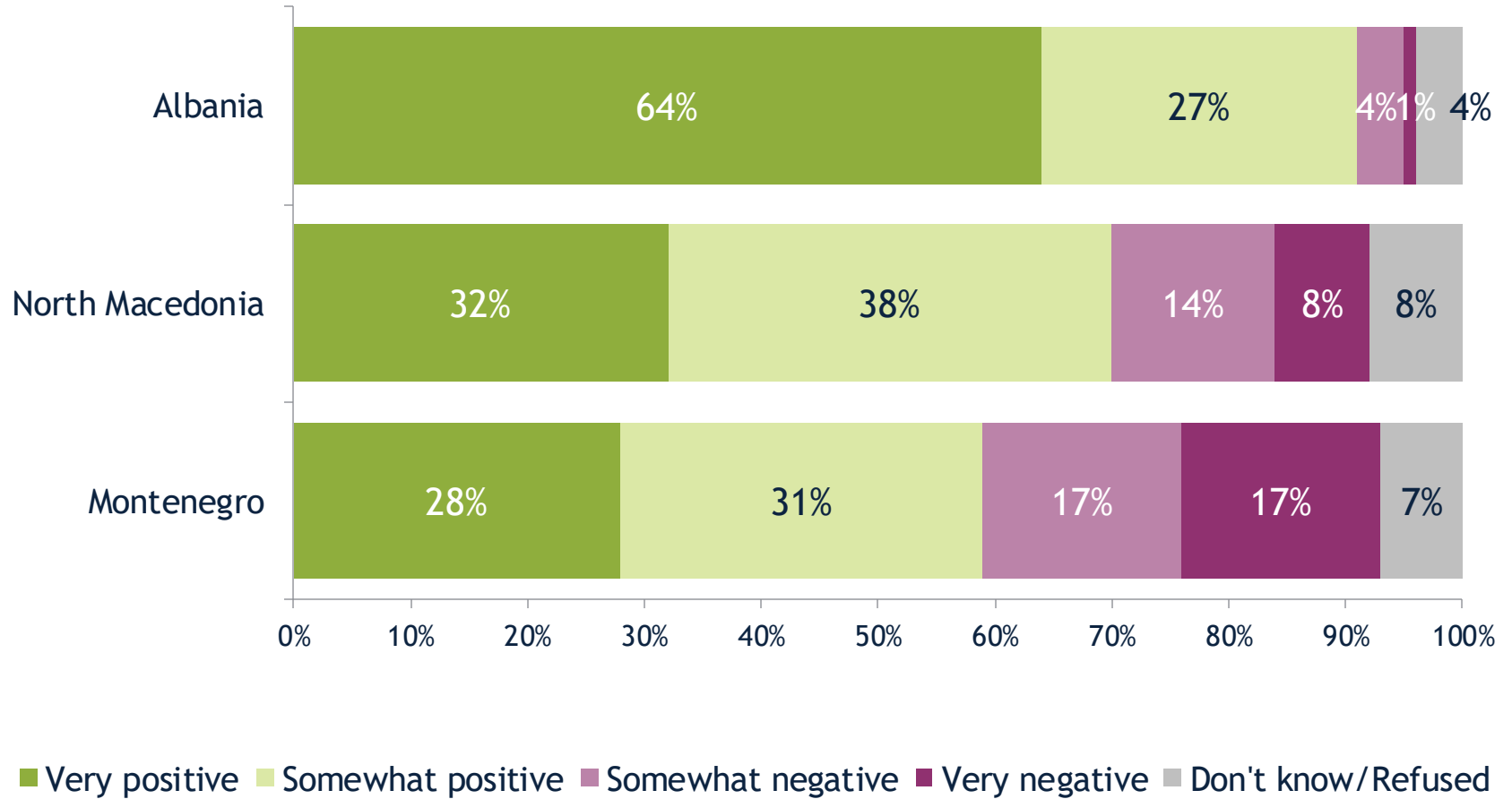
# In your opinion, our country's future is best served by having what kind of relationship with NATO?



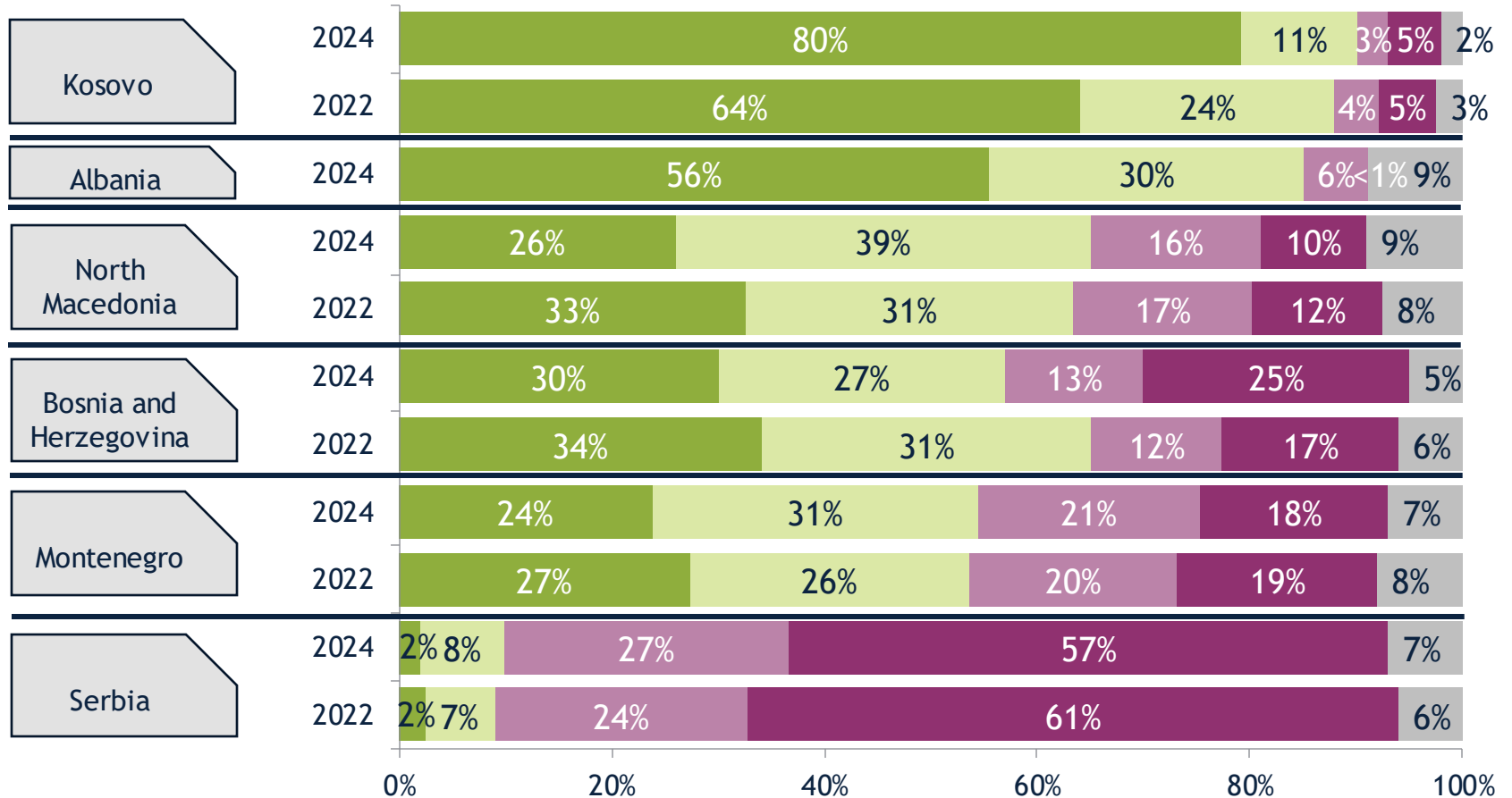
The fieldwork period for the 2022 surveys concluded just prior to the full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine.



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



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



■ Mostly positive 
 ■ Somewhat positive 
 ■ Somewhat negative 
 ■ Mostly negative 
 ■ Don't know/Refused

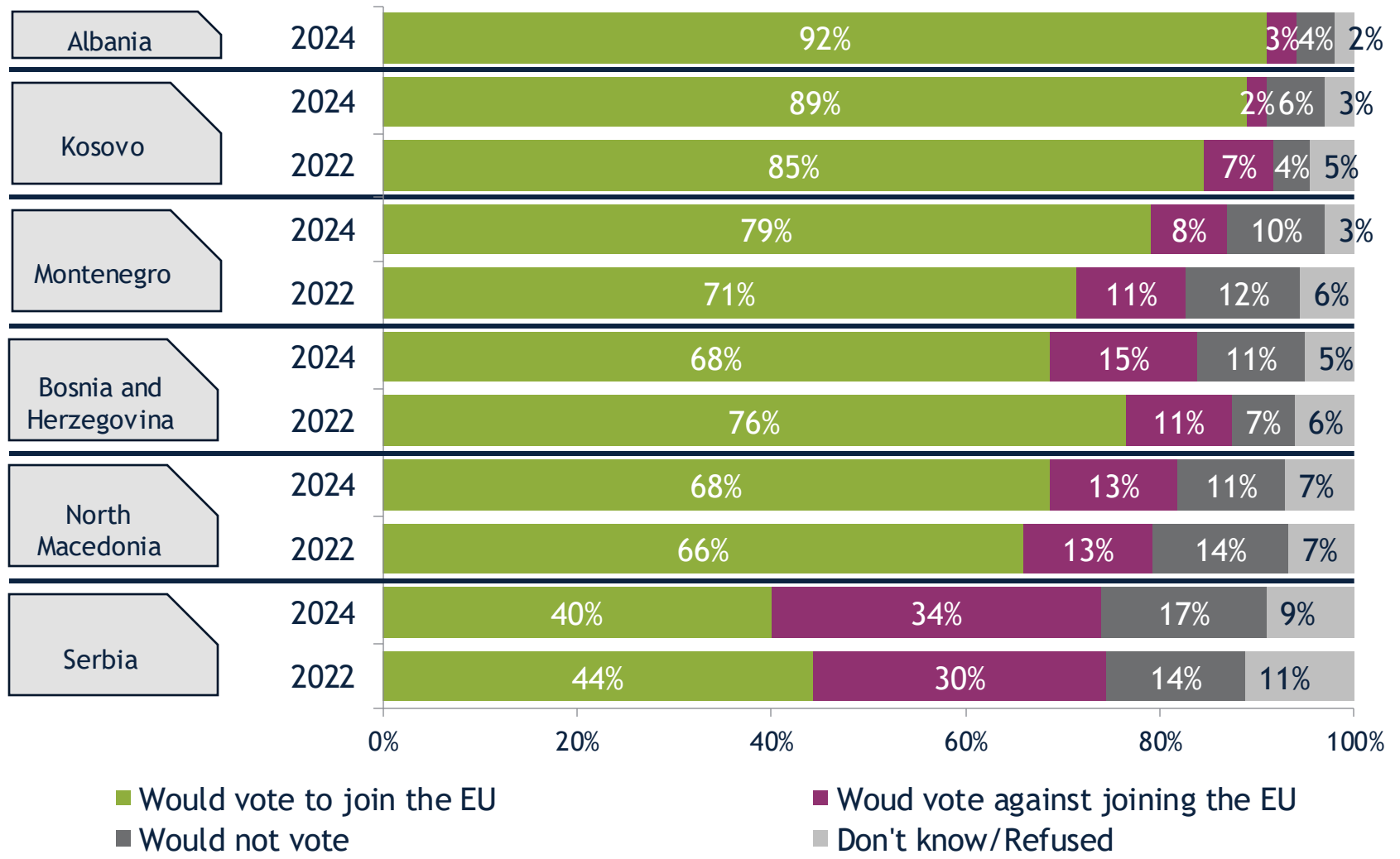
# EU Integration



A PROJECT OF THE INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE

“Waving European flag in front of a polluting factory chimney with smoke” by Martin Bergsma. FILE#: 559774955 on Adobestock.com

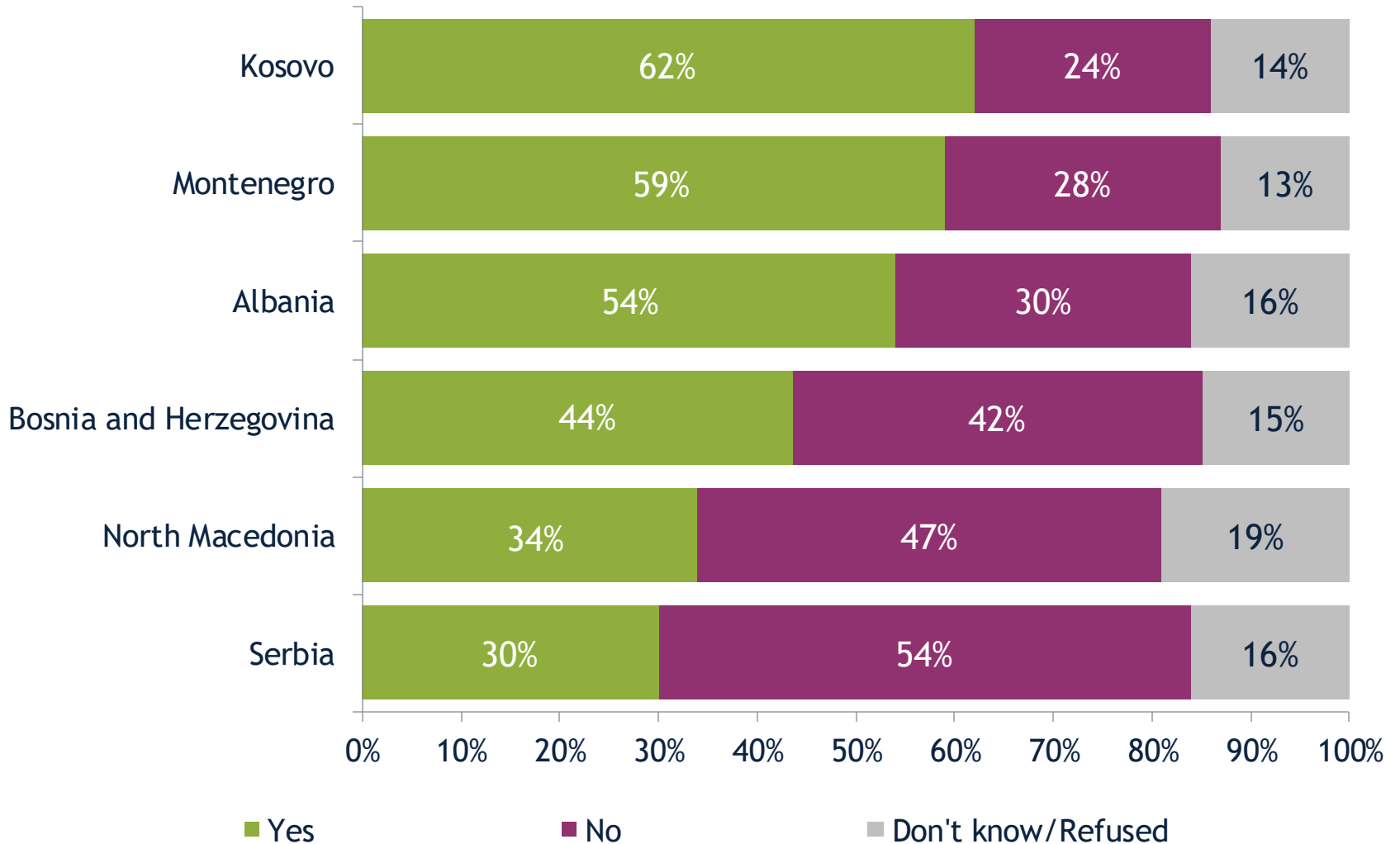
# If a referendum were held today on our country joining the European Union, how would you vote?



The fieldwork period for the 2022 surveys concluded just prior to the full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine.

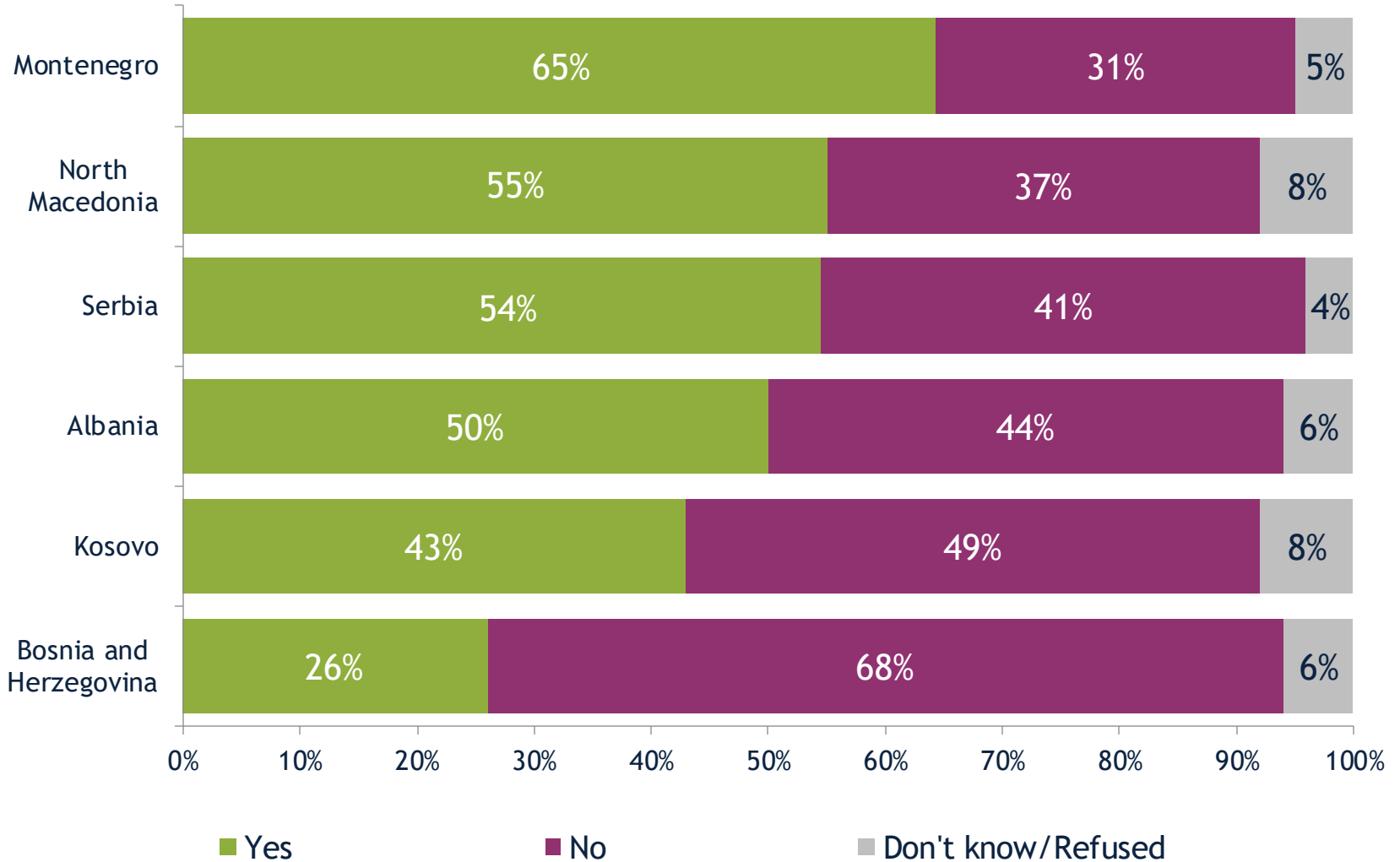


# Is the European Union serious in its intention to offer membership to Western Balkan countries?



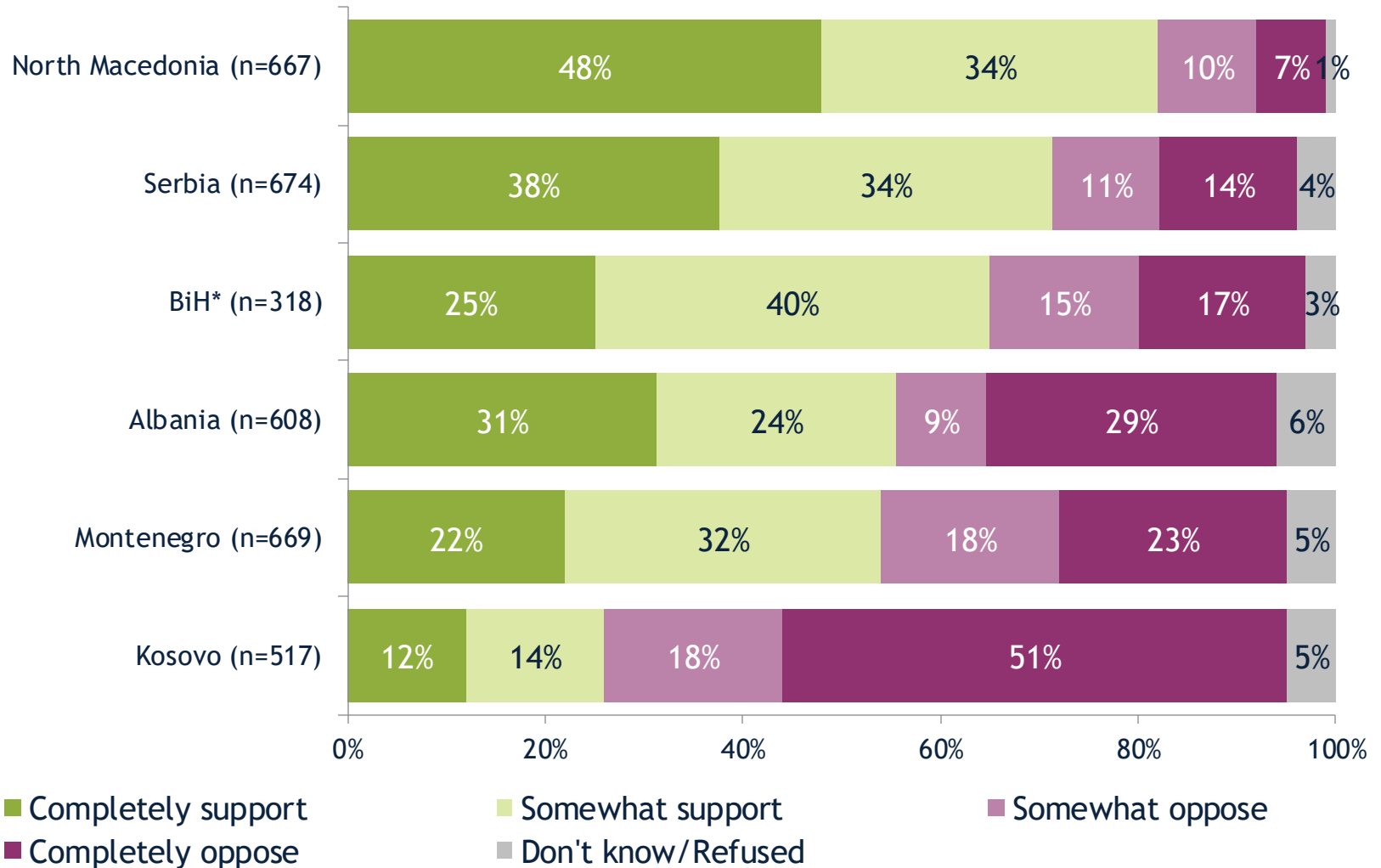


## Do you know what the Open Balkan Initiative is?



# Do you support or oppose the Open Balkan Initiative?

(Among those who said they know what the Open Balkan Initiative is)



\*Bosnia and Herzegovina



# Foreign Investment

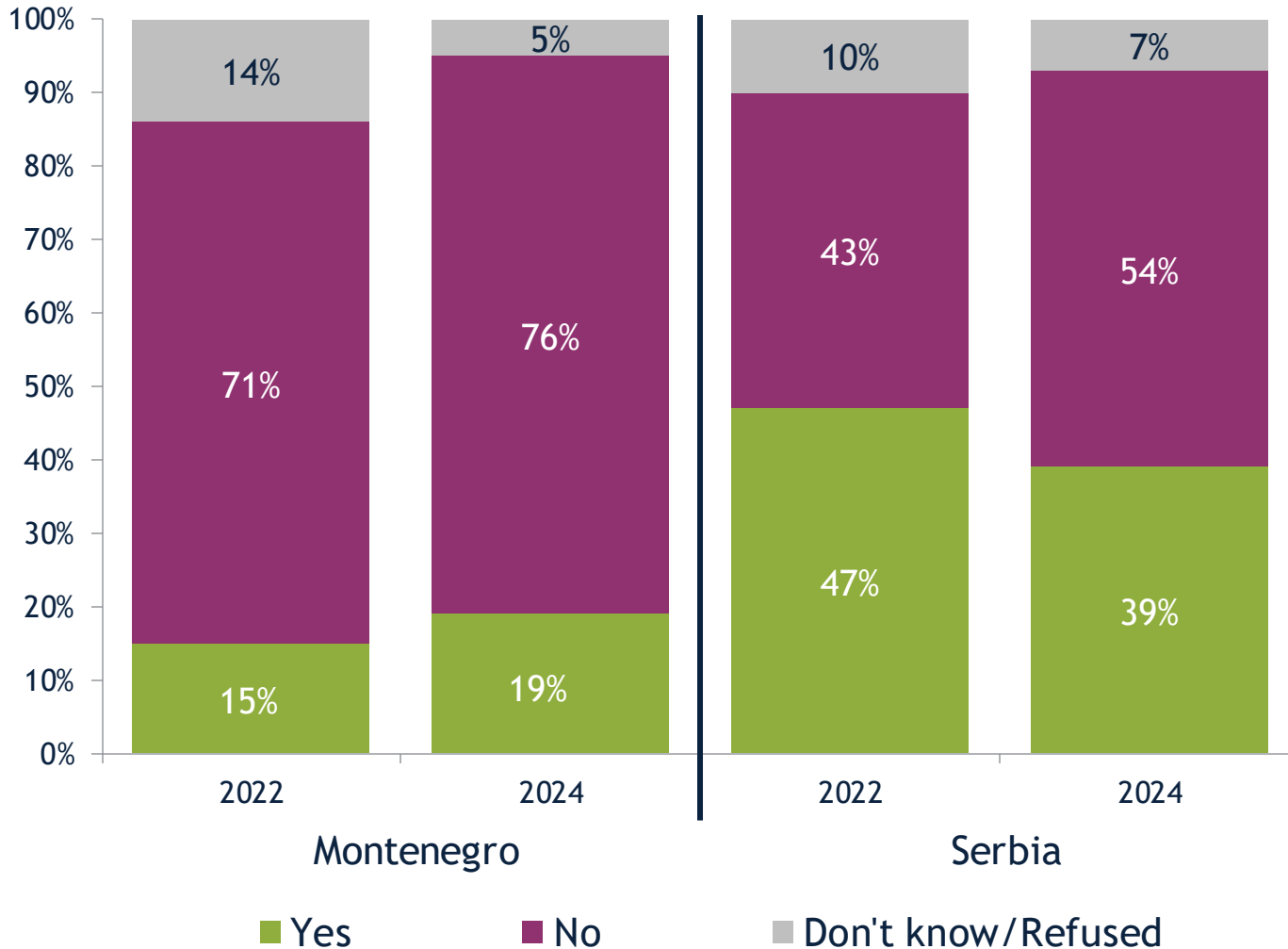


A PROJECT OF THE INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE



“Global money exchange coin gold currency business investment finance on international economy market 3d background of foreign transfer world financial cash or growth profit concept capital trading” by Lemonsoup14. FILE#: 607306523 on Adobestock.com

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



MONTENEGRO

SERBIA

## Which major Russian investment are you aware of?



(Spontaneous response, multiple responses accepted, total mentions shown, among those who said they are aware of major Russian investments in Montenegro and Serbia)

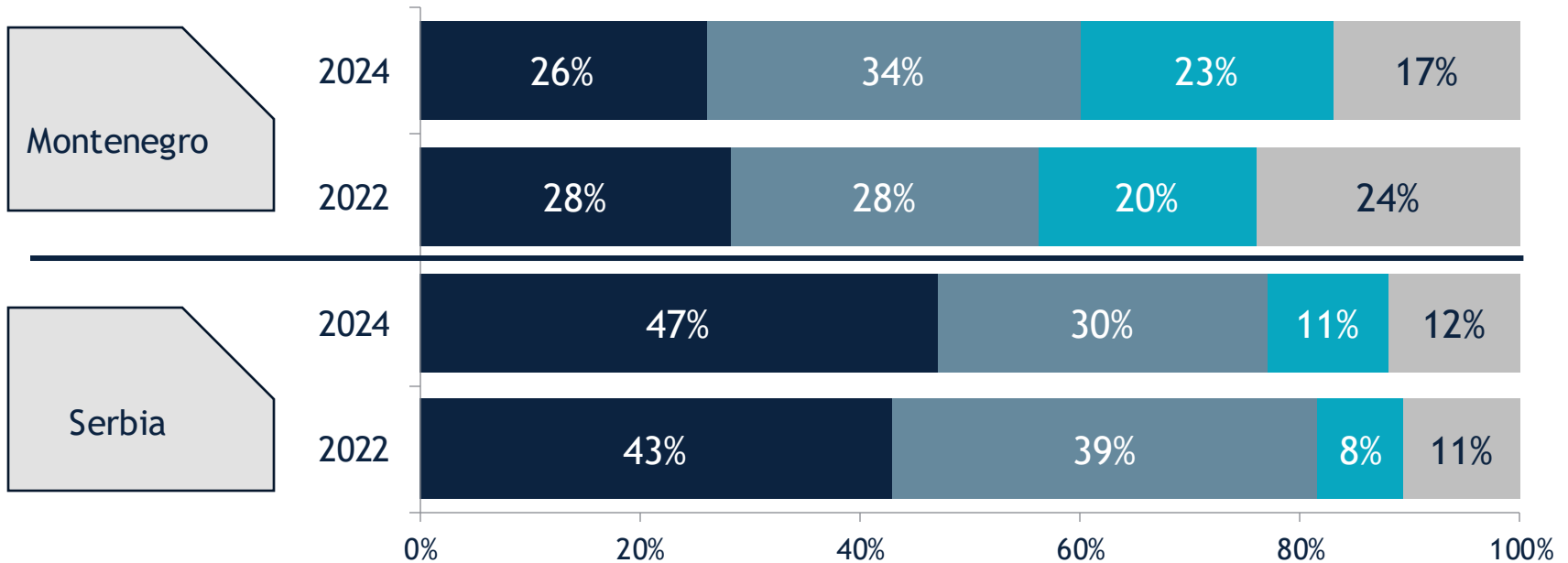
Major Russian investment	Montenegro (n=199)
Tourism (Hotels, resorts, investments on the coast)	21%
Buying real estate	17%
KAP Aluminum	10%
Economy/Production	8%
Nobelwood Beluga	6%
Weapons/Military industry	4%
Investments in the renovation of the church, monuments	4%
Infrastructure (roads, bridges)	1%
Railway	1%
Other	2%
Don't know/Refused	31%

Major Russian investment	Serbia (n=481)
Gas pipeline construction	31%
Gazprom	23%
NIS	19%
Weapons/Military Industry	6%
Economy/Production	4%
Lukoil	4%
Investments in the renovation of the church, monuments	4%
Investments in energy in general	3%
Railway	3%
Food stores/trade	2%
Infrastructure (roads, bridges)	1%
Favorable gas price	1%
Buying real estate	1%
Health	<1%
Petrohemija	<1%
Don't know/Refused	10%

MONTENEGRO

SERBIA

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



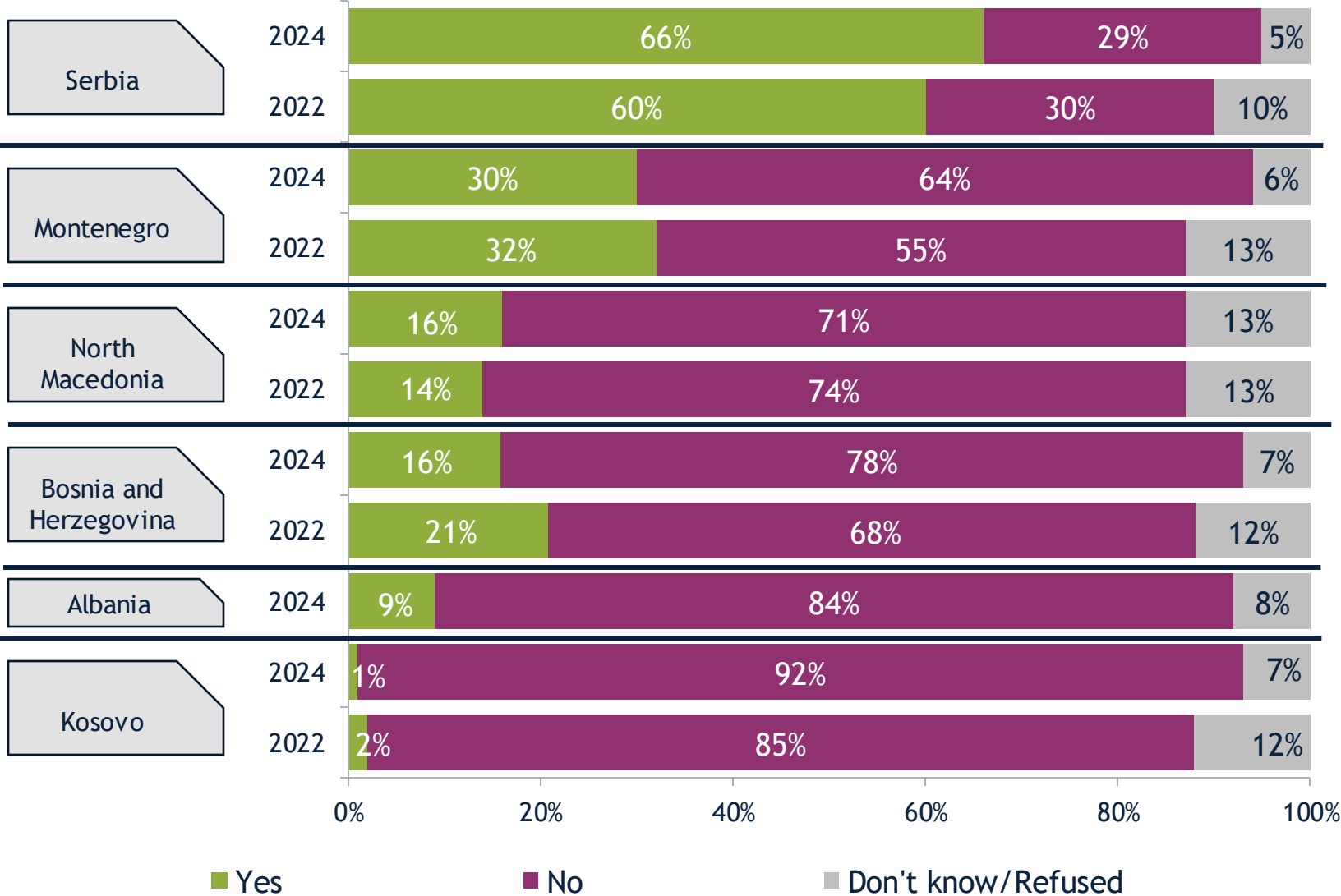
- Russian investment is primarily about economics, delivering benefits to both sides
- Russian investment gives some economic benefits to our country, but it always carries certain political expectations and conditions
- Russian investment is primarily about influence and control of our country
- Don't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

MONTENEGRO

SERBIA



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

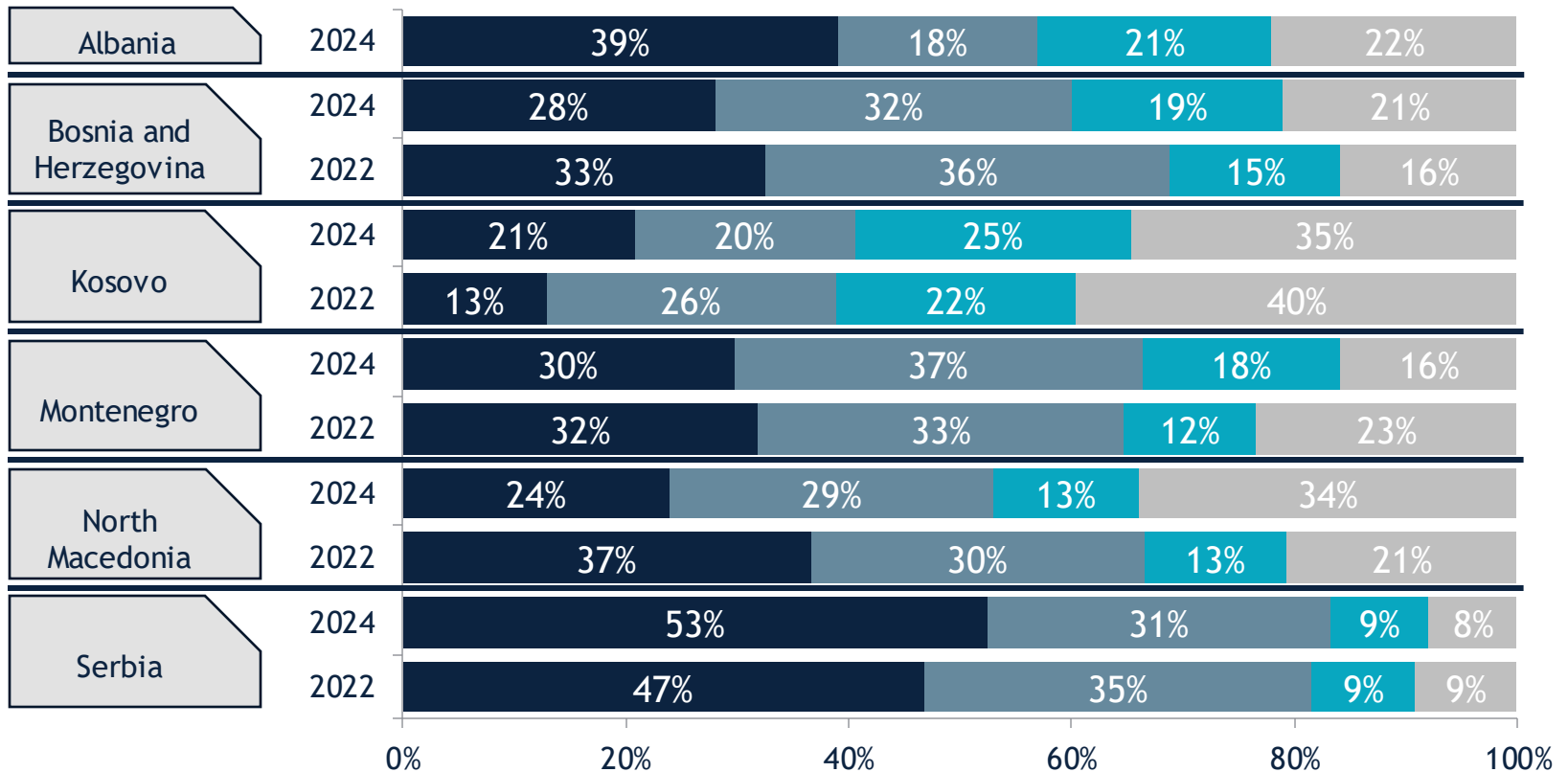


## Which major Chinese investment are you aware of?

(Spontaneous response, multiple responses accepted, total responses displayed; among those who are aware of major Chinese investment)

Major Chinese investment	Serbia (n=821)	Montenegro (n=306)	North Macedonia (n=197)	BiH* (n=194)	Albania (n=107)
Investments in infrastructure (roads, bridges)	<b>34%</b>	10%	<b>65%</b>	<b>47%</b>	17%
RTB Bor Copper (ZiJin)	28%	--	--	--	--
Industry (factories open)	15%	--	6%	3%	7%
Reconstruction of the railway	11%	--	--	1%	2%
Smederevo Ironworks	16%	--	--	--	--
Lingong Tire Factory	8%	--	--	--	--
Mining/Construction	5%	--	--	1%	7%
Fruska Gora Corridor	3%	--	--	--	--
Economy/Banking/Trade	3%	1%	4%	3%	<b>20%</b>
Mint, Sabac	2%	--	--	--	--
Investments in the energy sector (unspecified)	1%	--	5%	7%	4%
Investing in health and education	2%	9%	5%	4%	--
Bar Boljari Highway	--	<b>66%</b>	--	--	--
Stanari Thermal Power Plant	--	--	--	10%	--
Tuzla Thermal Power Plant (block 7)	--	--	--	9%	--
Banja Luka Prijedor Novigrad Highway	--	--	--	7%	--
Highway Corridor Vc/Highway through Sarajevo	--	--	--	1%	--
Bankers/Oil and natural gas	--	--	--	--	12%
Hydroelectric plant, Kozjak	--	--	3%	--	--
Other	1%	1%	--	2%	1%
Don't know/Refused	6%	16%	12%	11%	31%

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




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

# Corruption



CENTER FOR  
INSIGHTS IN  
**SURVEY**  
**RESEARCH**

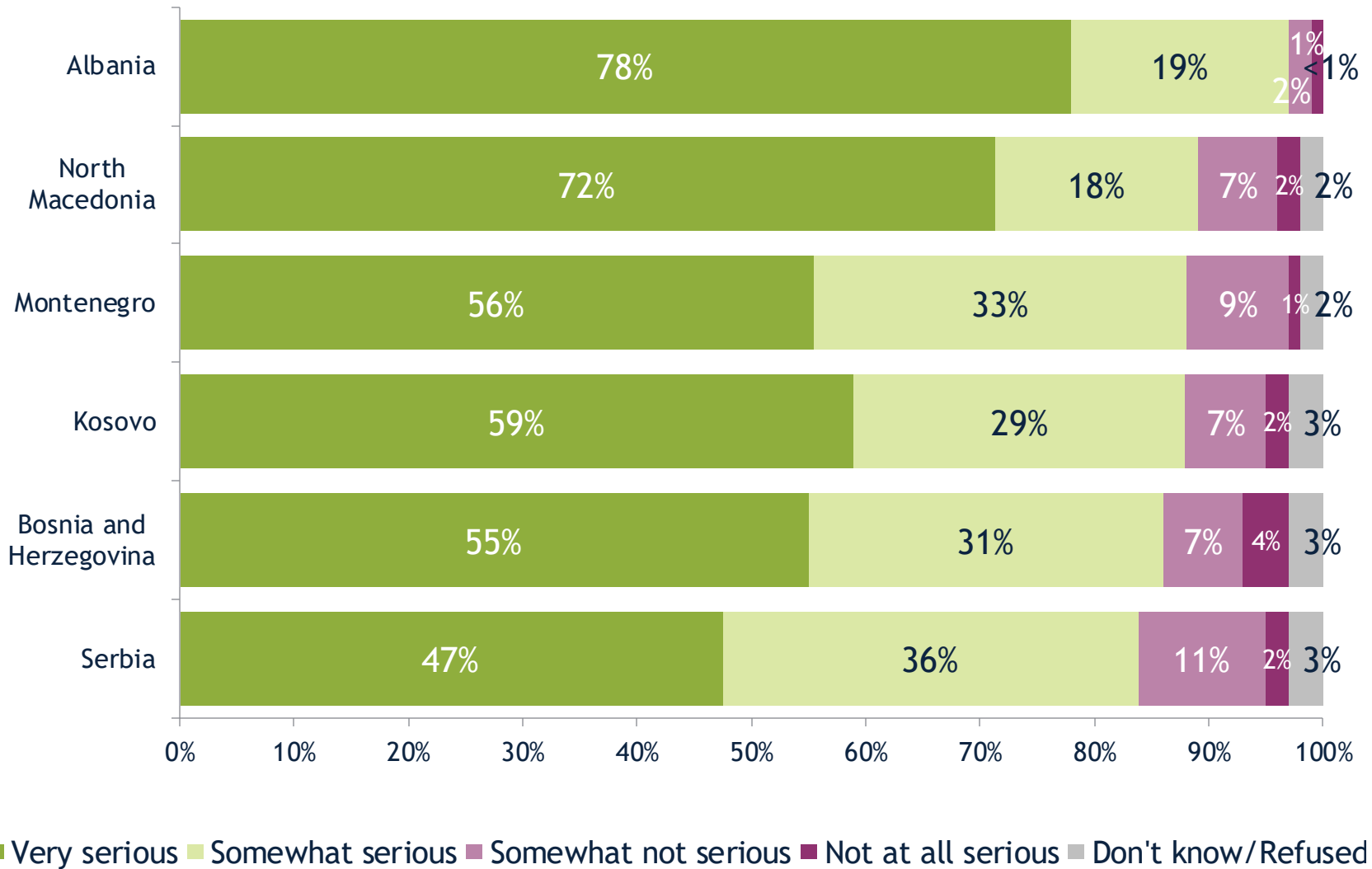
A PROJECT OF THE INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE



"Hand deliver the bribe money to others in cheating businessmen corruption on damage to exploit." by wirat, File #255310038 licensed on AdobeStock.com



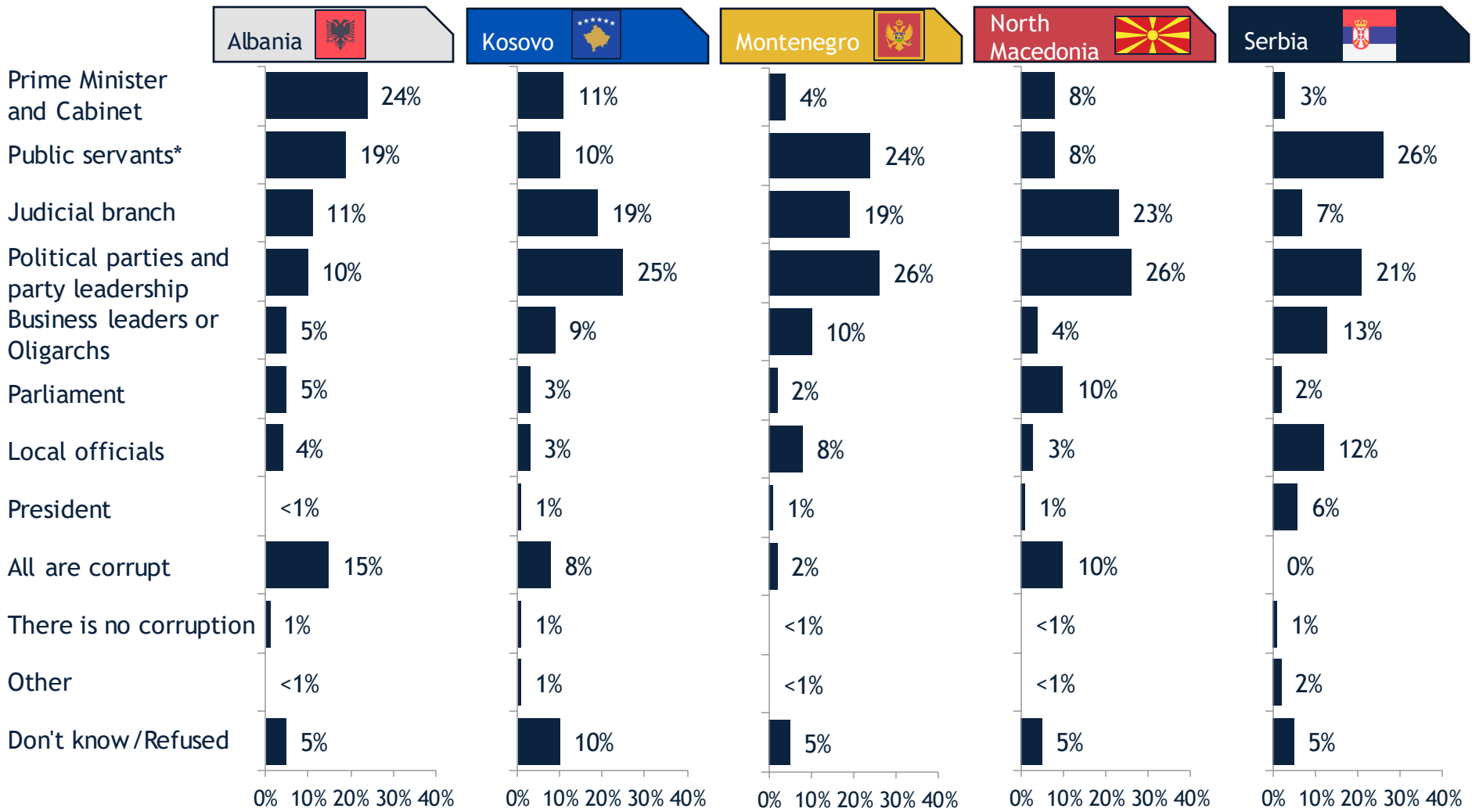
# Do you believe that corruption in our country is a serious problem or not?



## In your experience, what type of corruption is most common in our country?

Types of Corruption	Albania	BiH*	Kosovo	Montenegro	North Macedonia	Serbia
Stealing or deliberately mismanaging funds	34%	18%	29%	15%	26%	14%
Soliciting bribes or gifts	23%	24%	17%	22%	17%	24%
Acting in self-interest instead of interest of citizens	10%	20%	19%	21%	25%	24%
Extortion	7%	3%	9%	3%	6%	2%
Failure to investigate or prosecute wrongdoing	4%	13%	10%	17%	10%	9%
Making decisions based on connections as opposed to merit	4%	14%	9%	17%	12%	22%
All types of corruption are common in our country	15%	<1%	2%	1%	2%	1%
None of these exist in our country	1%	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%
Other	<1%	--	--	<1%	--	--
Don't know/Refused	2%	5%	3%	2%	2%	4%

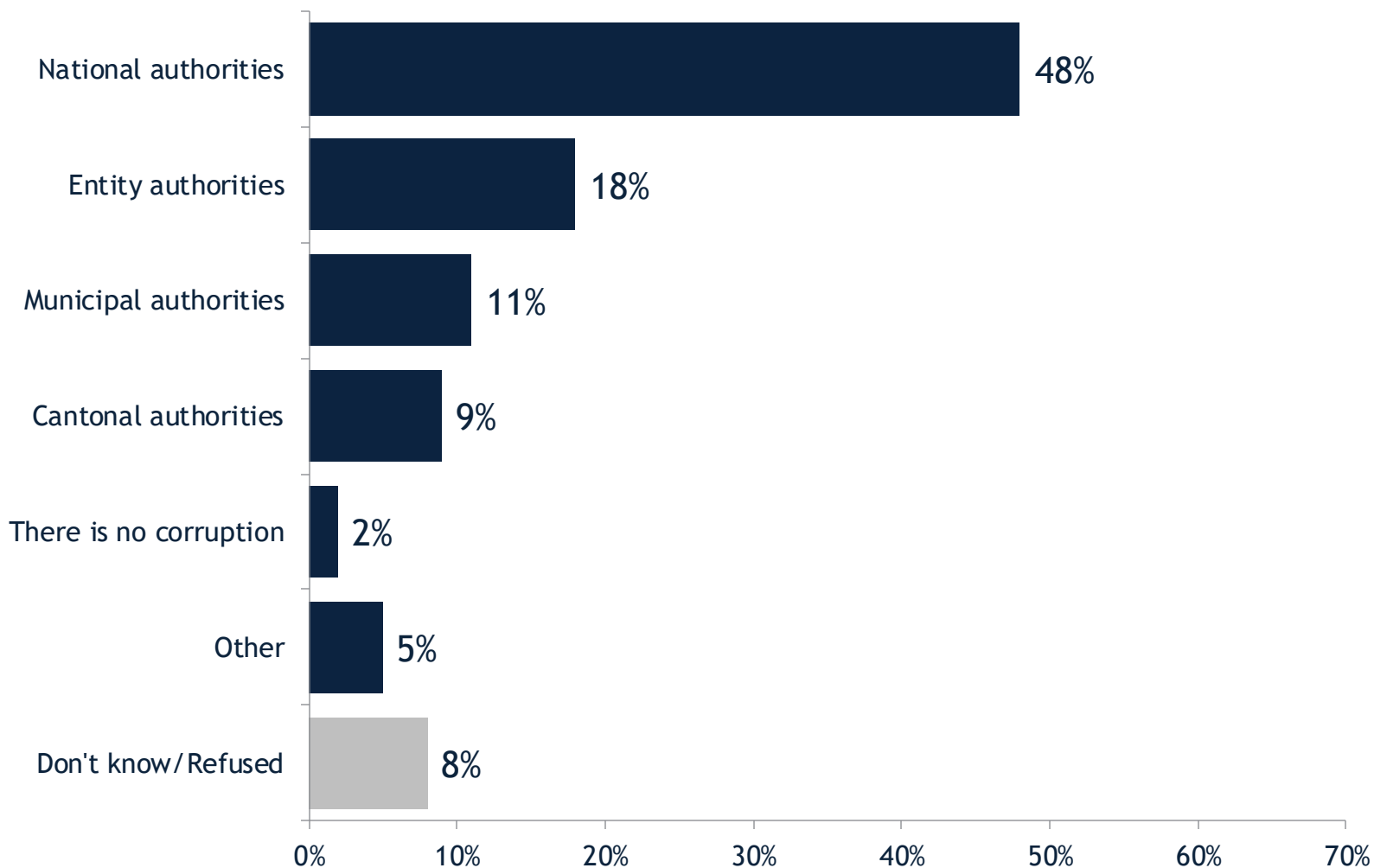
# Who among the authorities or other groups is most corrupt?



\*Public servants such as public doctors, public teachers, police

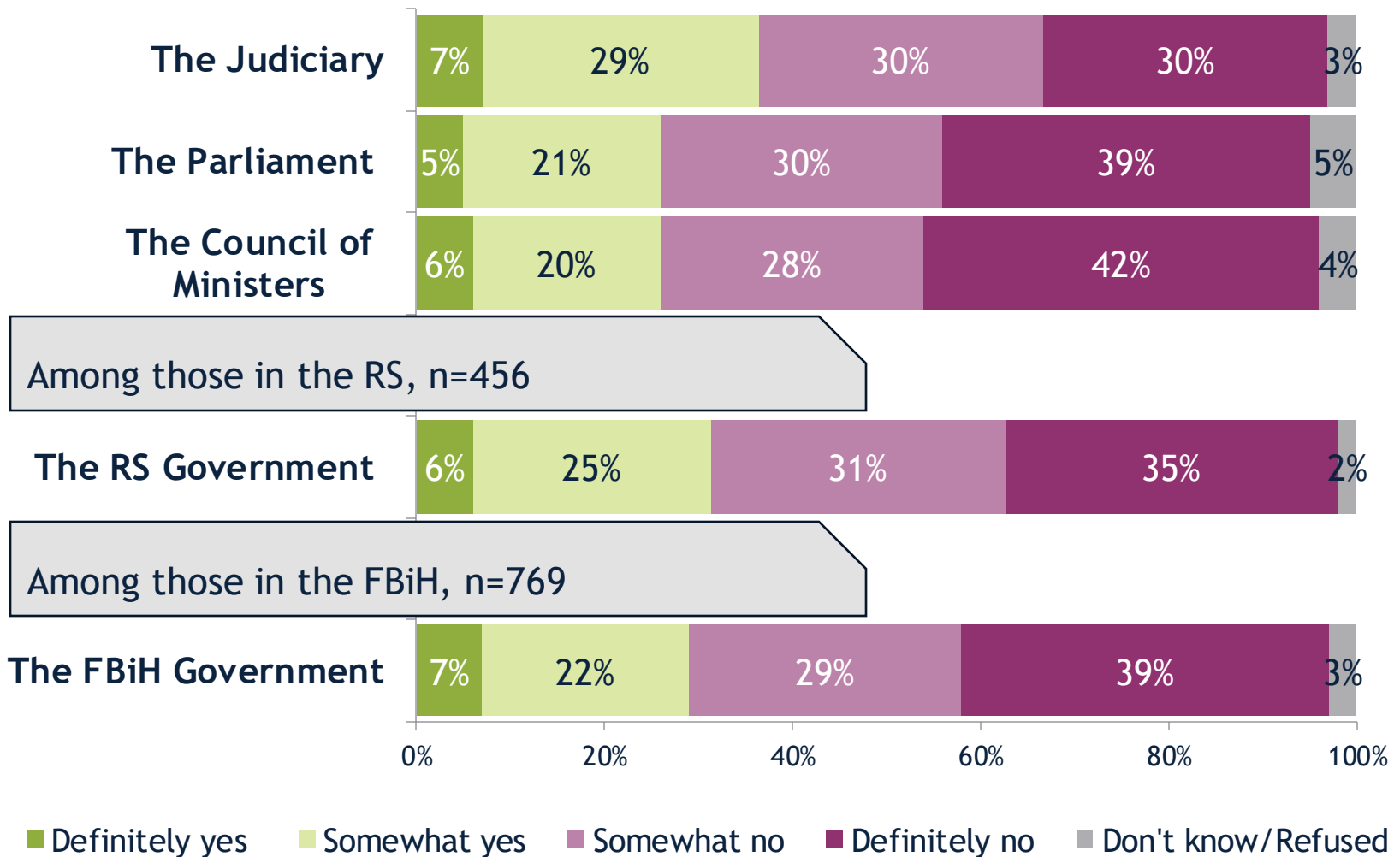


## At which level of government is corruption most prevalent?



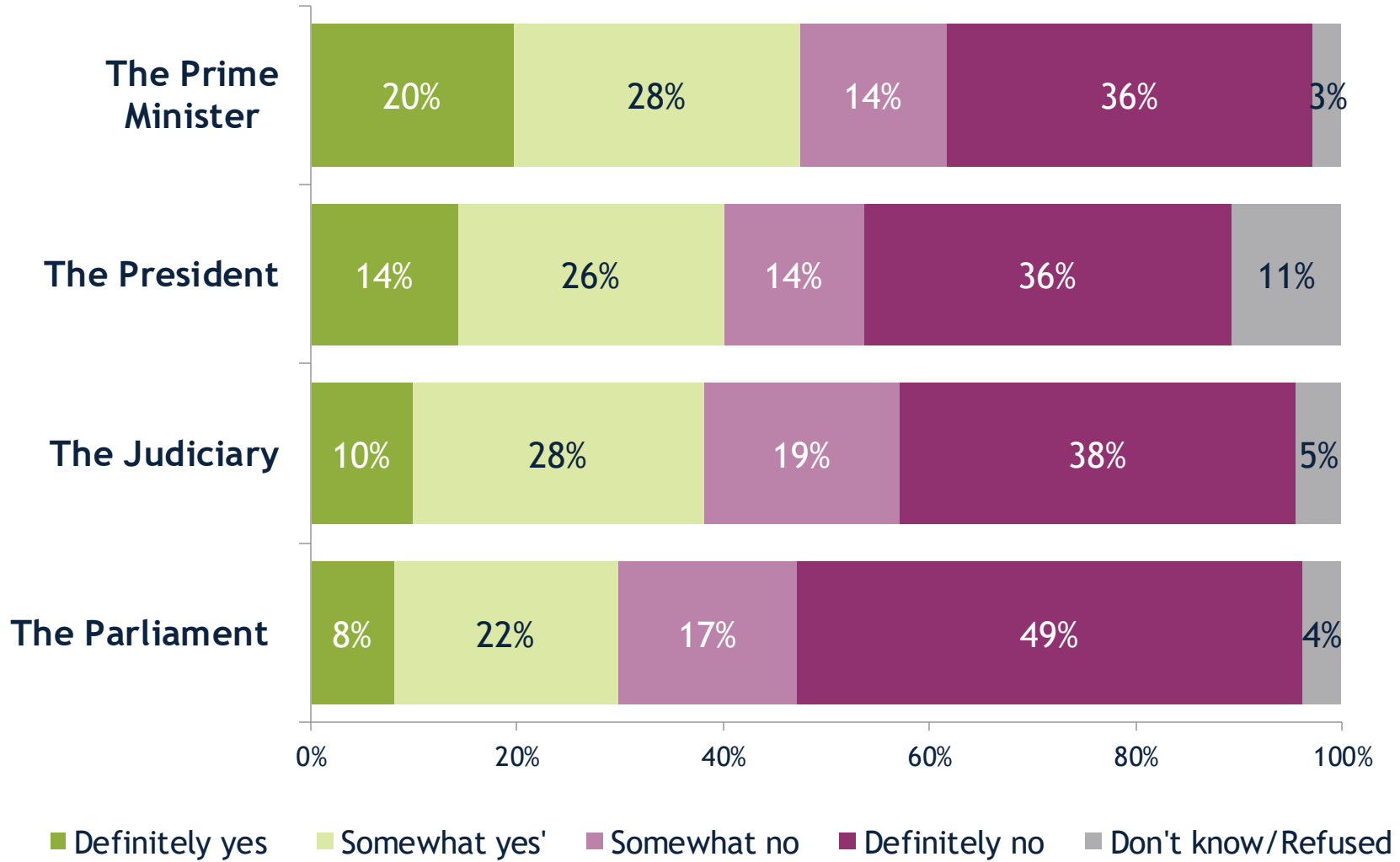


Please tell me if you think each of the following entities has a sincere desire and will to combat corruption in our country, or not?



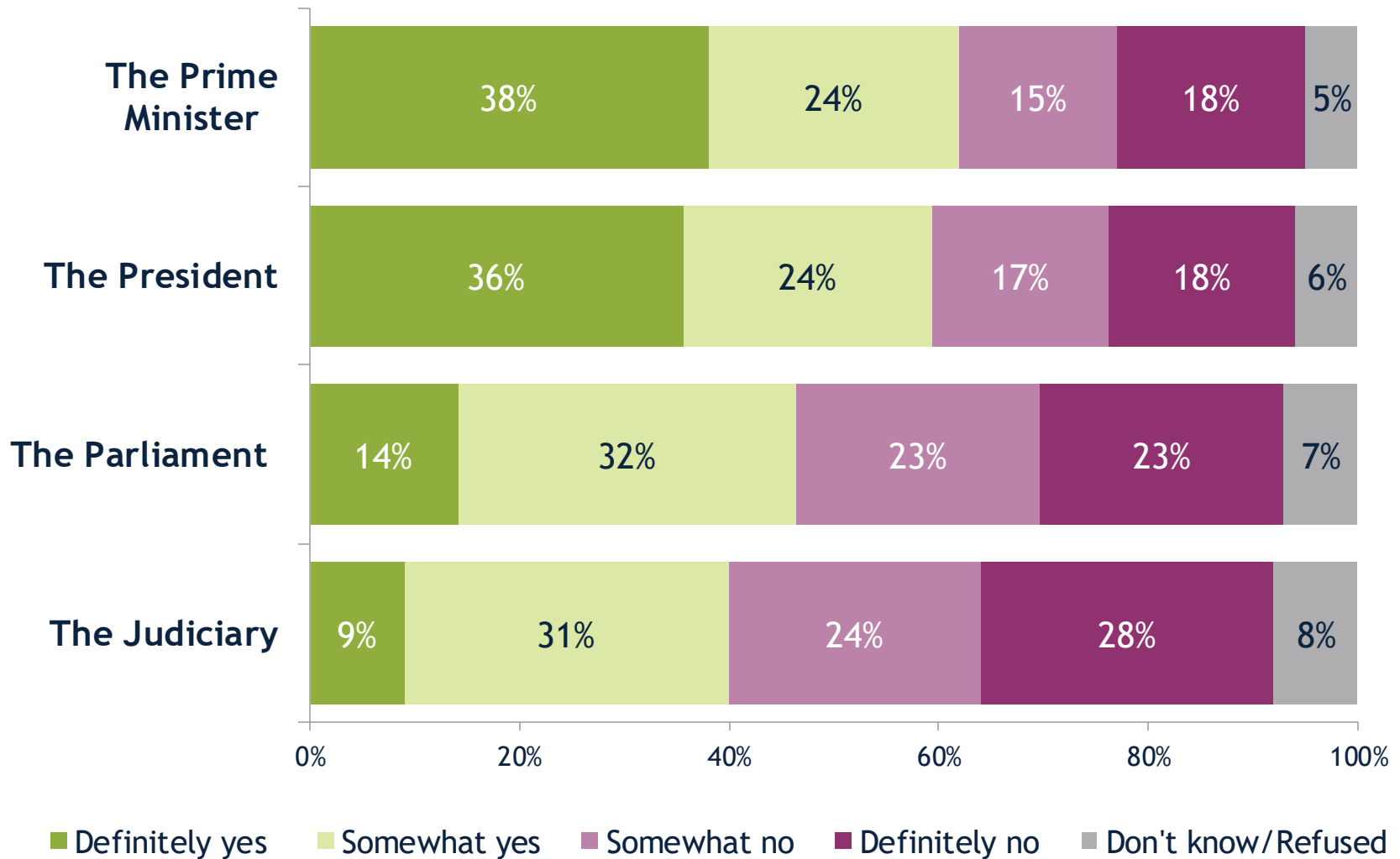


Please tell me if you think each of the following entities has a sincere desire and will to combat corruption in our country, or not?



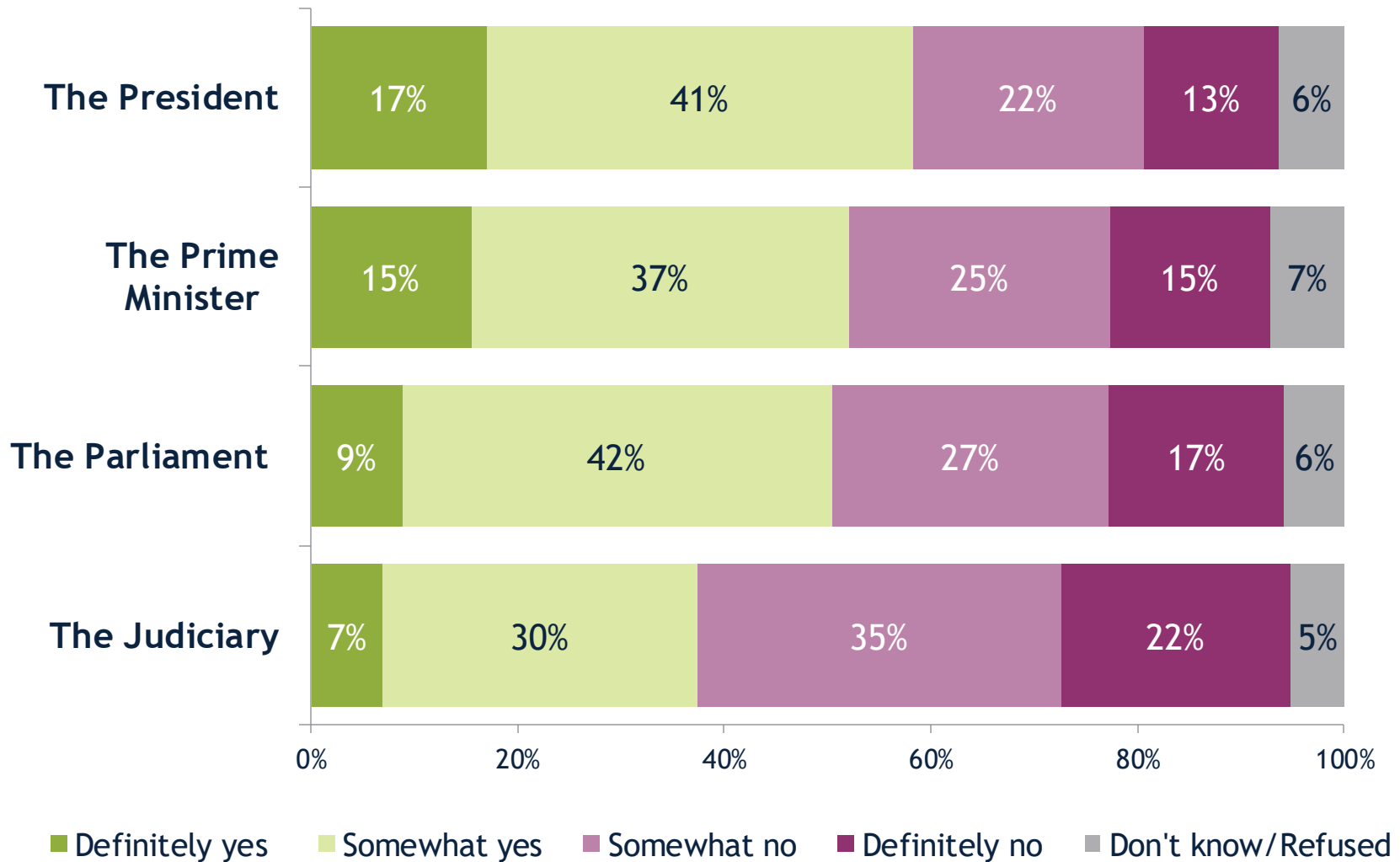


Please tell me if you think each of the following entities has a sincere desire and will to combat corruption in our country, or not?





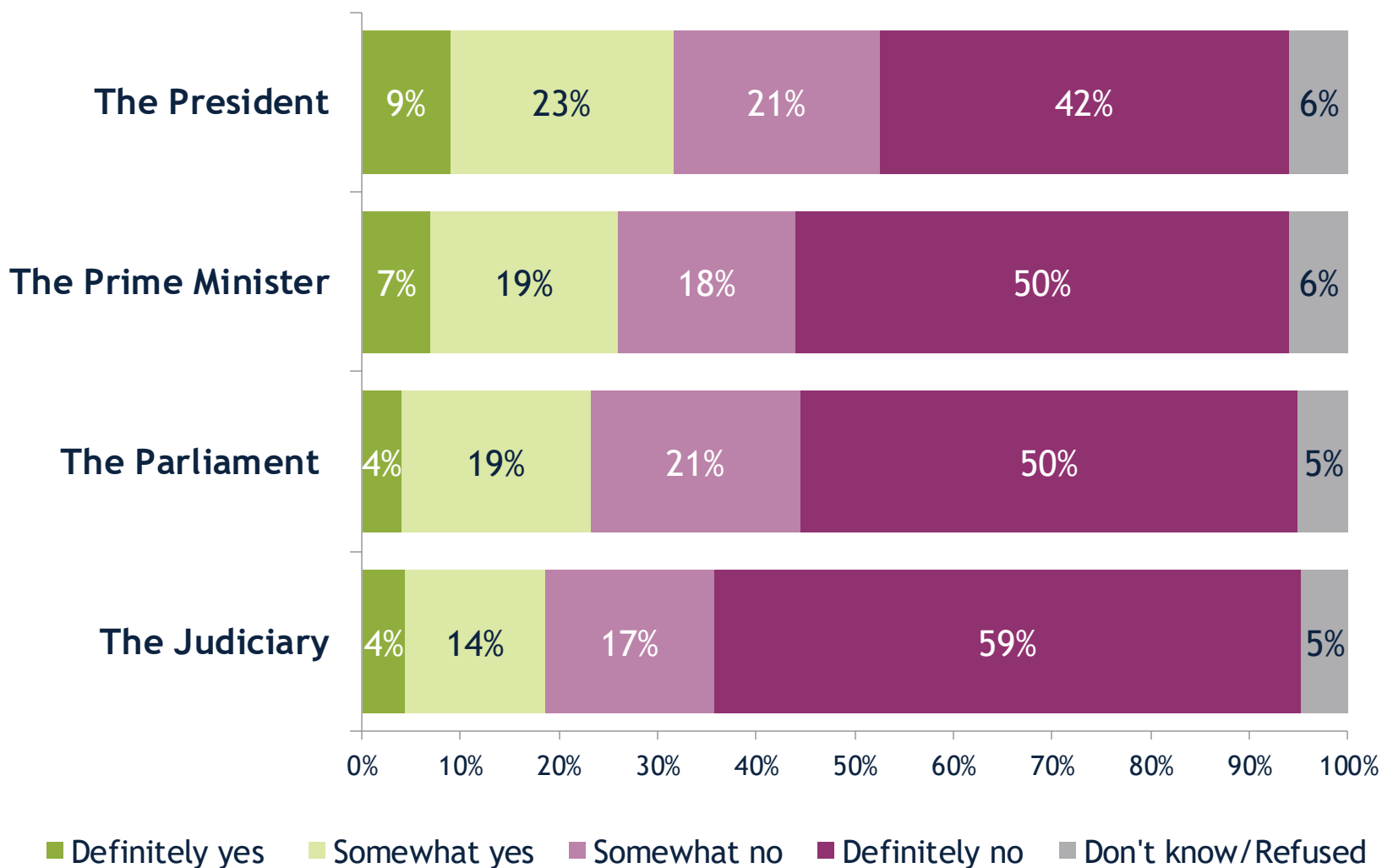
Please tell me if you think each of the following entities has a sincere desire and will to combat corruption in our country, or not?



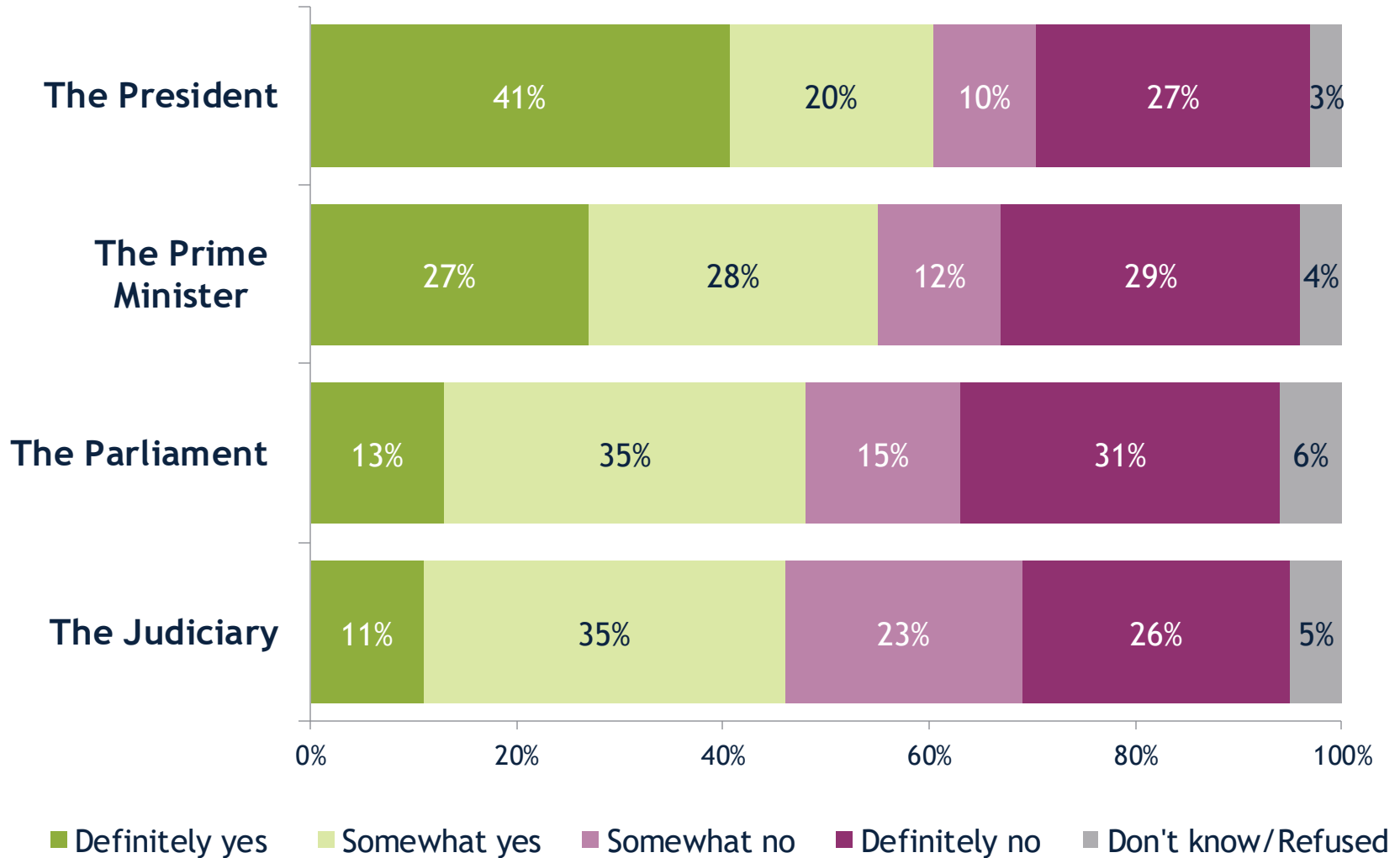




Please tell me if you think each of the following entities has a sincere desire and will to combat corruption in our country, or not?



Please tell me if you think each of the following entities has a sincere desire and will to combat corruption in our country, or not?



# Media Preferences

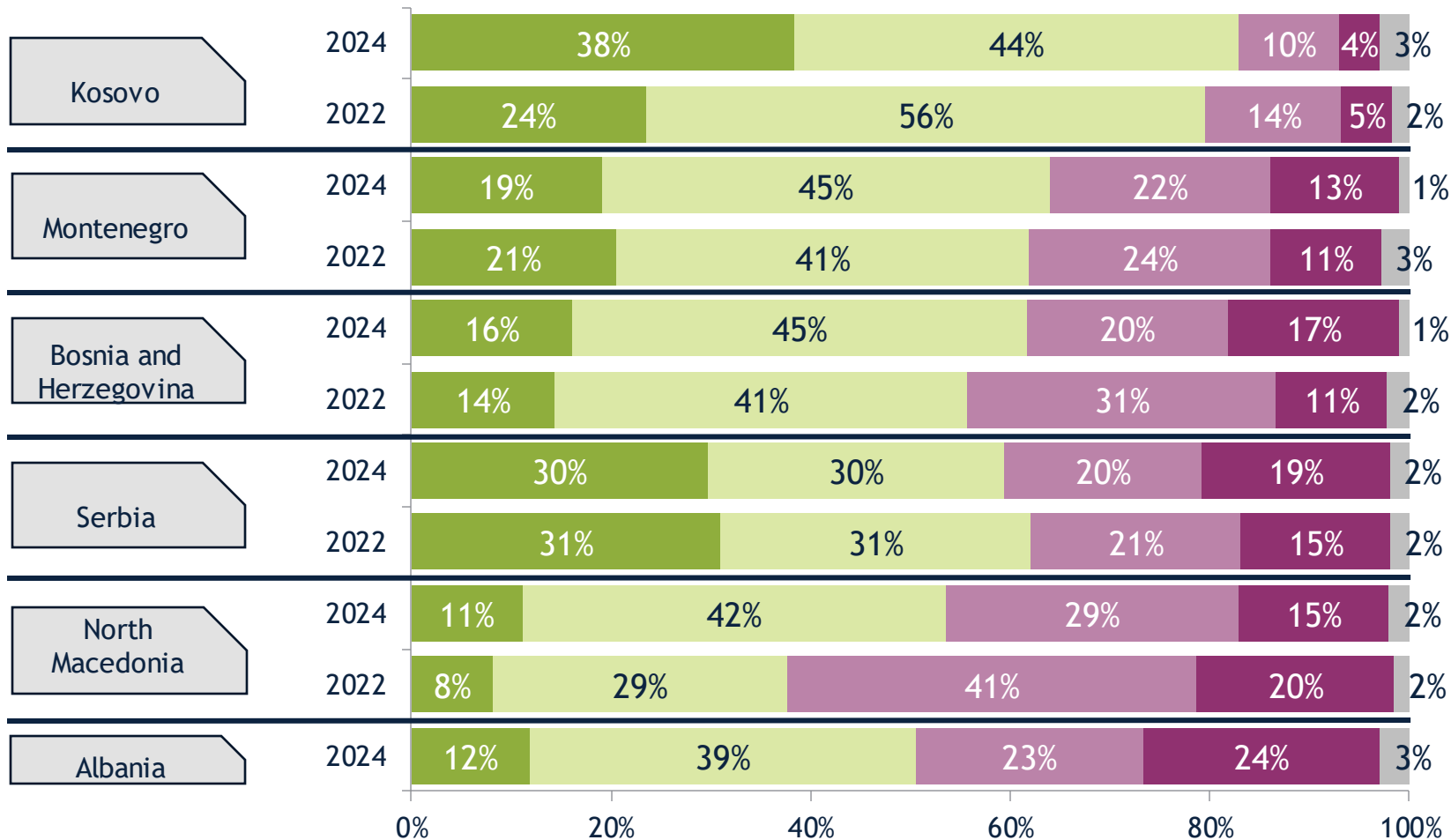


A PROJECT OF THE INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE



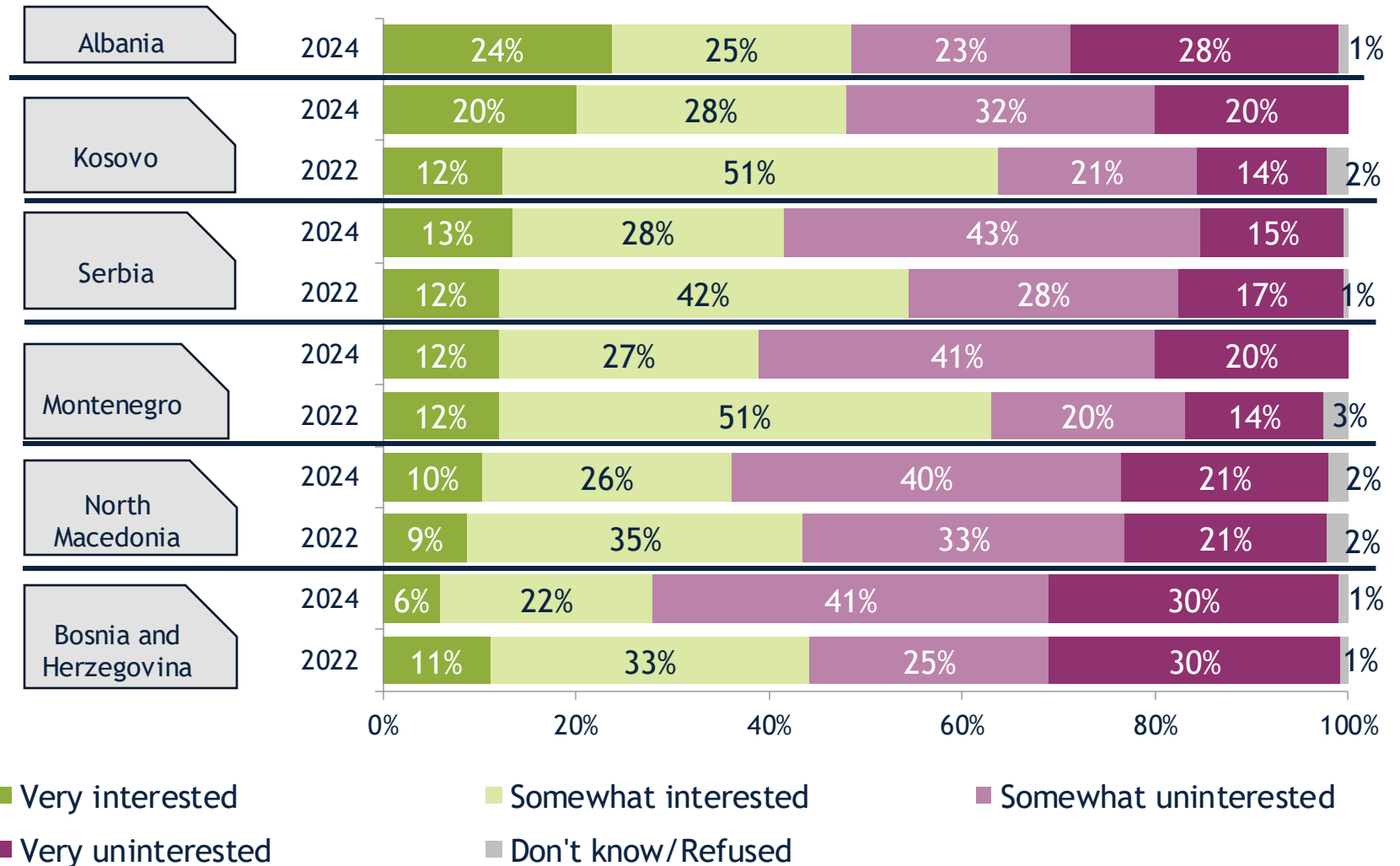
"Social network and city" by metamorworks. File#: 207856469 on  
adobestock.com

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



■ Very free  
 ■ Somewhat free  
 ■ Somewhat not free  
 ■ Very not free  
 ■ Don't know/Refused

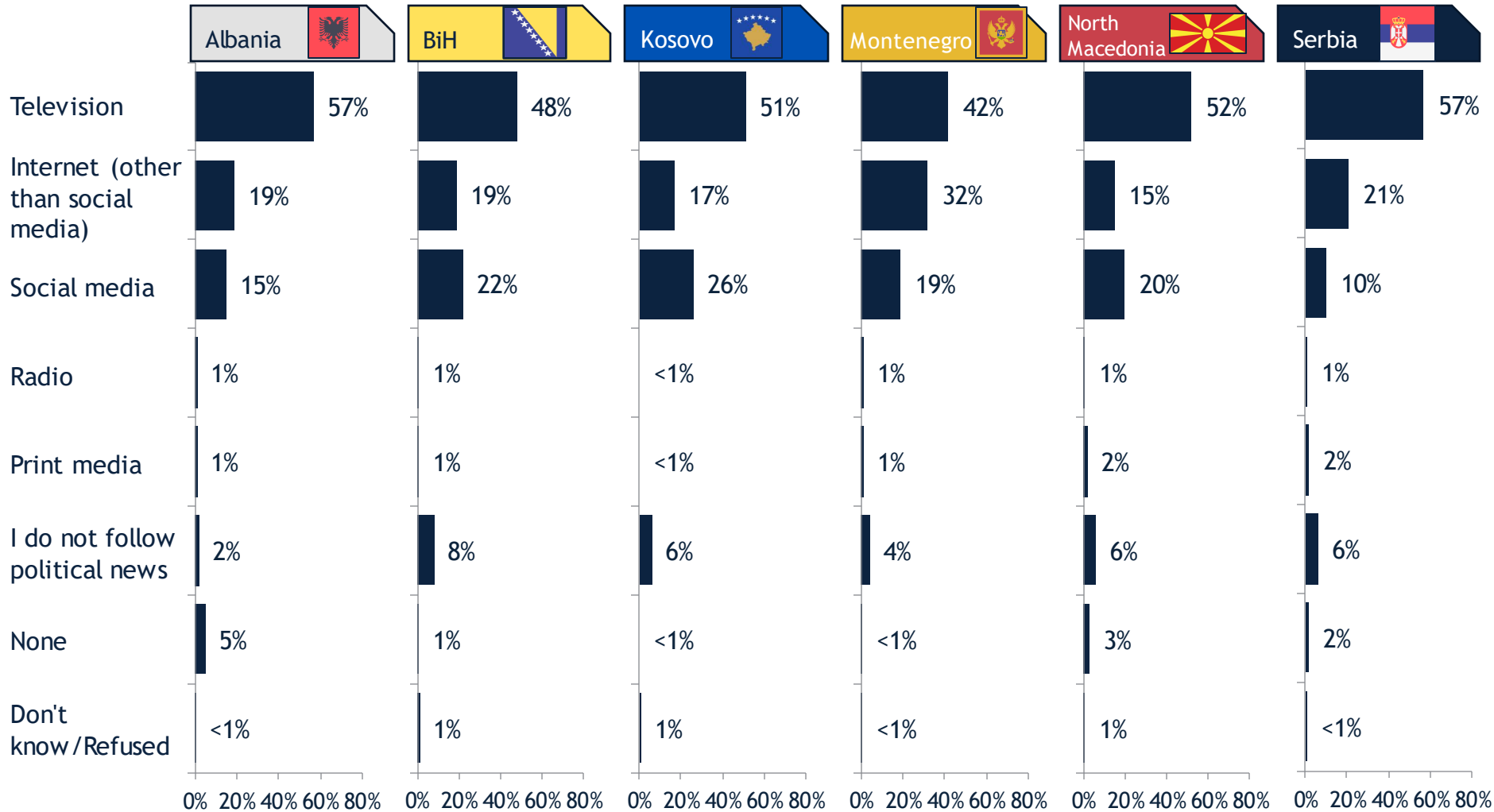
# How interested or uninterested are you in political news and information?










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

(Multiple responses allowed, first mention displayed)



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

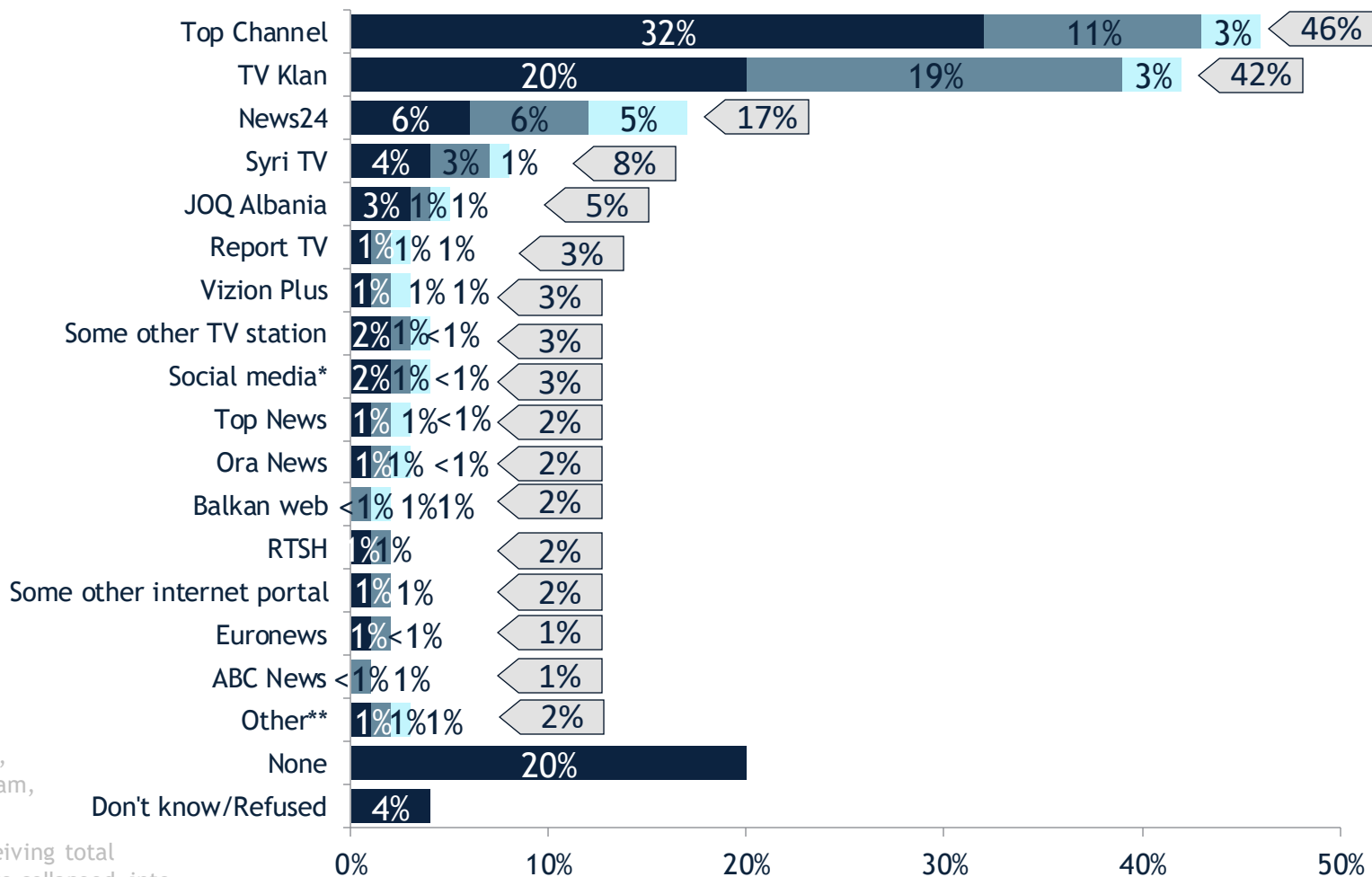
(Multiple responses allowed, first mention displayed)

	Television	Internet (Other than social media)	Social media	Radio	Print media	I do not follow political news
Bosnia and Herzegovina 	2024: 48% 2022: 52%	2024: 19% 2022: 22%	2024: 22% 2022: 18%	2024: 1% 2022: 2%	2024: 1% 2022: 2%	2024: 8% 2022: --%
Kosovo 	2024: 51% 2022: 55%	2024: 17% 2022: 18%	2024: 26% 2022: 21%	2024: <1% 2022: 2%	2024: <1% 2022: 3%	2024: 6% 2022: --%
Montenegro 	2024: 42% 2022: 51%	2024: 32% 2022: 28%	2024: 19% 2022: 15%	2024: 1% 2022: 1%	2024: 1% 2022: 1%	2024: 4% 2022: --%
North Macedonia 	2024: 52% 2022: 55%	2024: 15% 2022: 21%	2024: 20% 2022: 19%	2024: 1% 2022: 2%	2024: 2% 2022: 1%	2024: 6% 2022: --%
Serbia 	2024: 57% 2022: 57%	2024: 21% 2022: 25%	2024: 10% 2022: 11%	2024: 1% 2022: 1%	2024: 2% 2022: 2%	2024: 6% 2022: --%

# Which specific media outlets, such as a specific TV channel, radio station, newspaper, website etc. do you consider most trustworthy for political information? And what is your second most trustworthy media outlet? And what is your third most trustworthy media outlet?



(Spontaneous response, multiple responses accepted)



\*Social media(Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, You Tube)

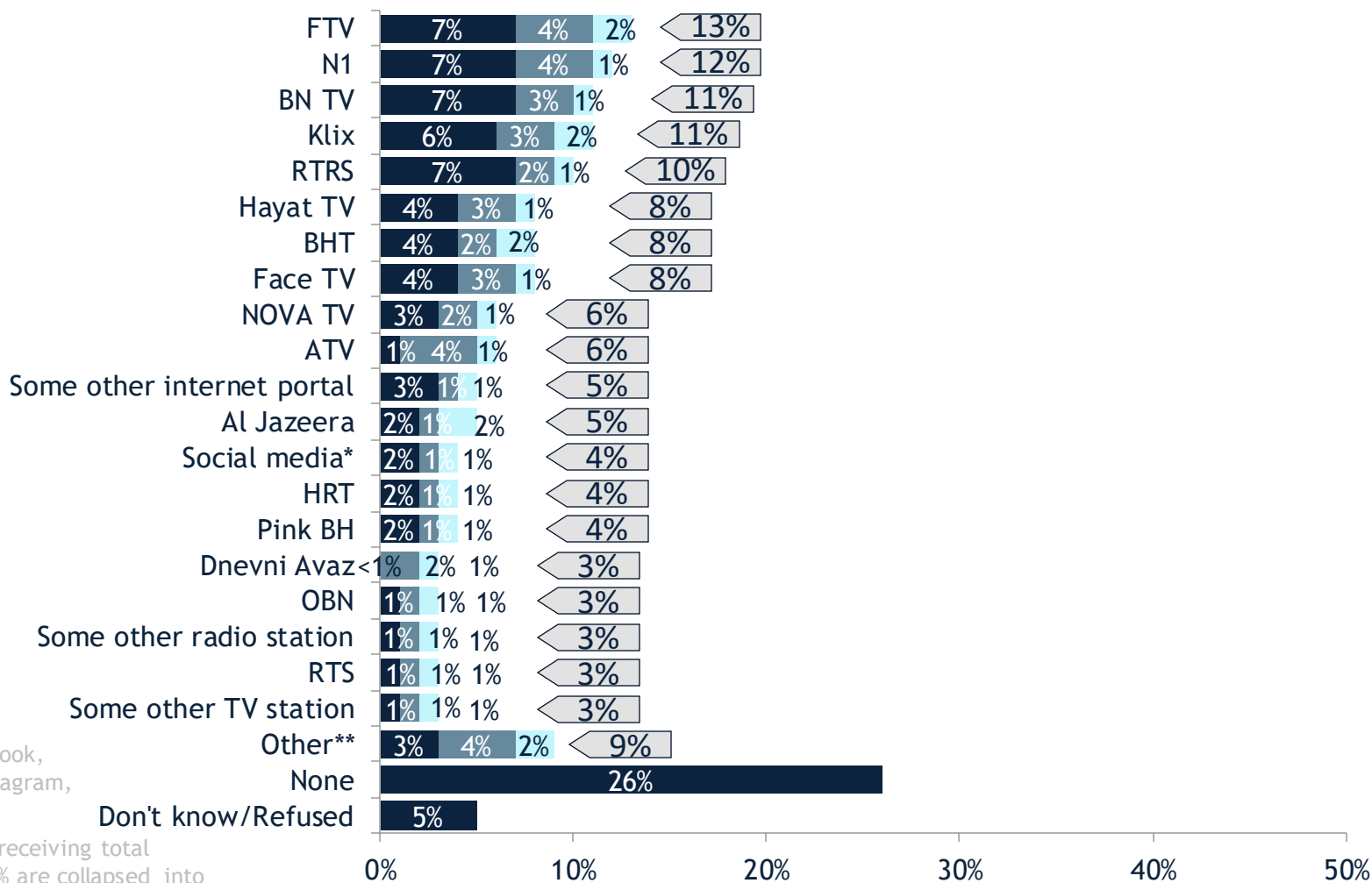
\*\*Responses receiving total mentions <3% are collapsed into other.





# Which specific media outlets, such as a specific TV channel, radio station, newspaper, website etc. do you consider most trustworthy for political information? And what is your second most trustworthy media outlet? And what is your third most trustworthy media outlet?

(Spontaneous response, multiple responses accepted)



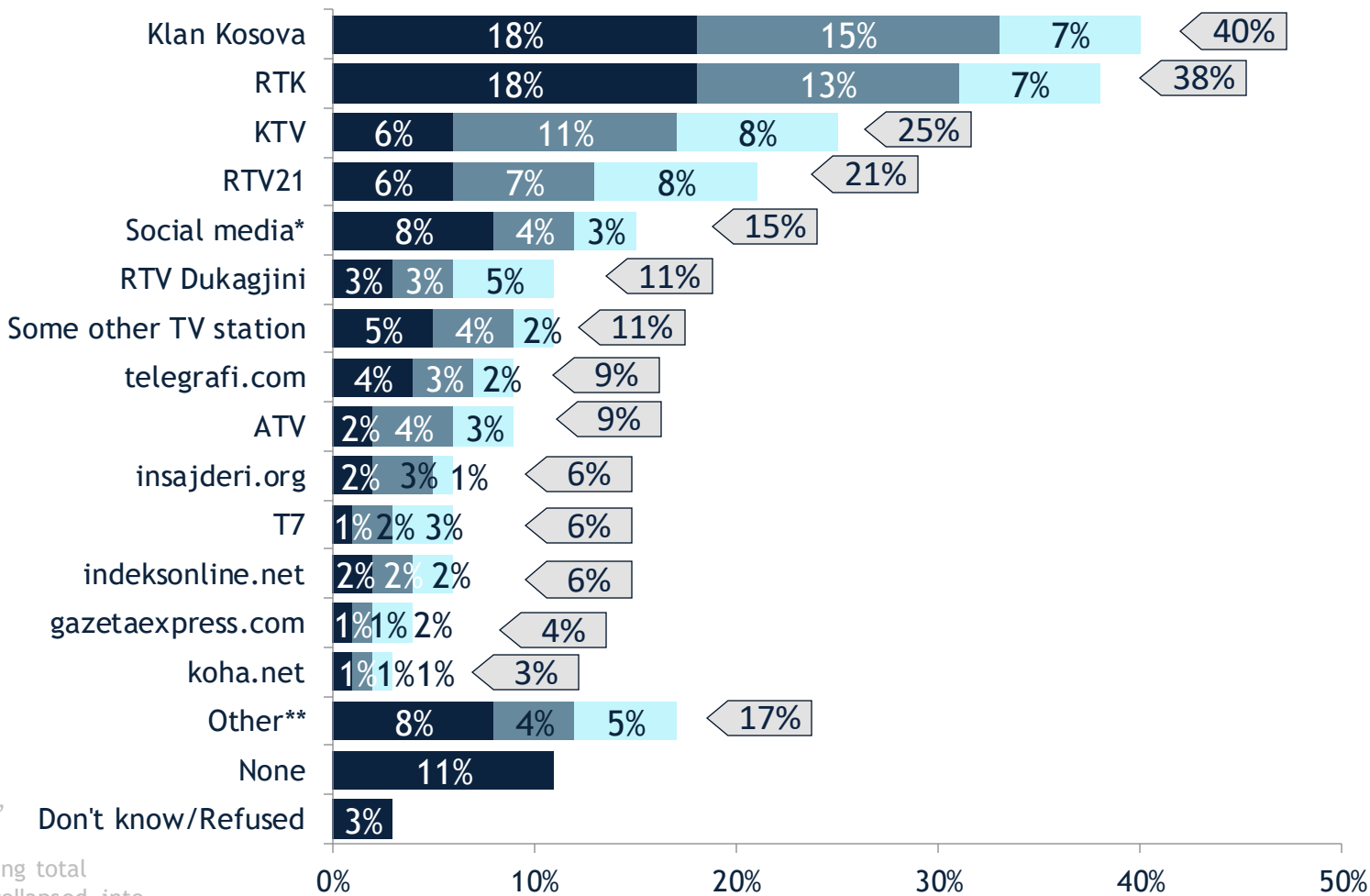
\*Social media(Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, You Tube)

\*\*Responses receiving total mentions <3% are collapsed into other.



# Which specific media outlets, such as a specific TV channel, radio station, newspaper, website etc. do you consider most trustworthy for political information? And what is your second most trustworthy media outlet? And what is your third most trustworthy media outlet?

(Spontaneous response, multiple responses accepted)



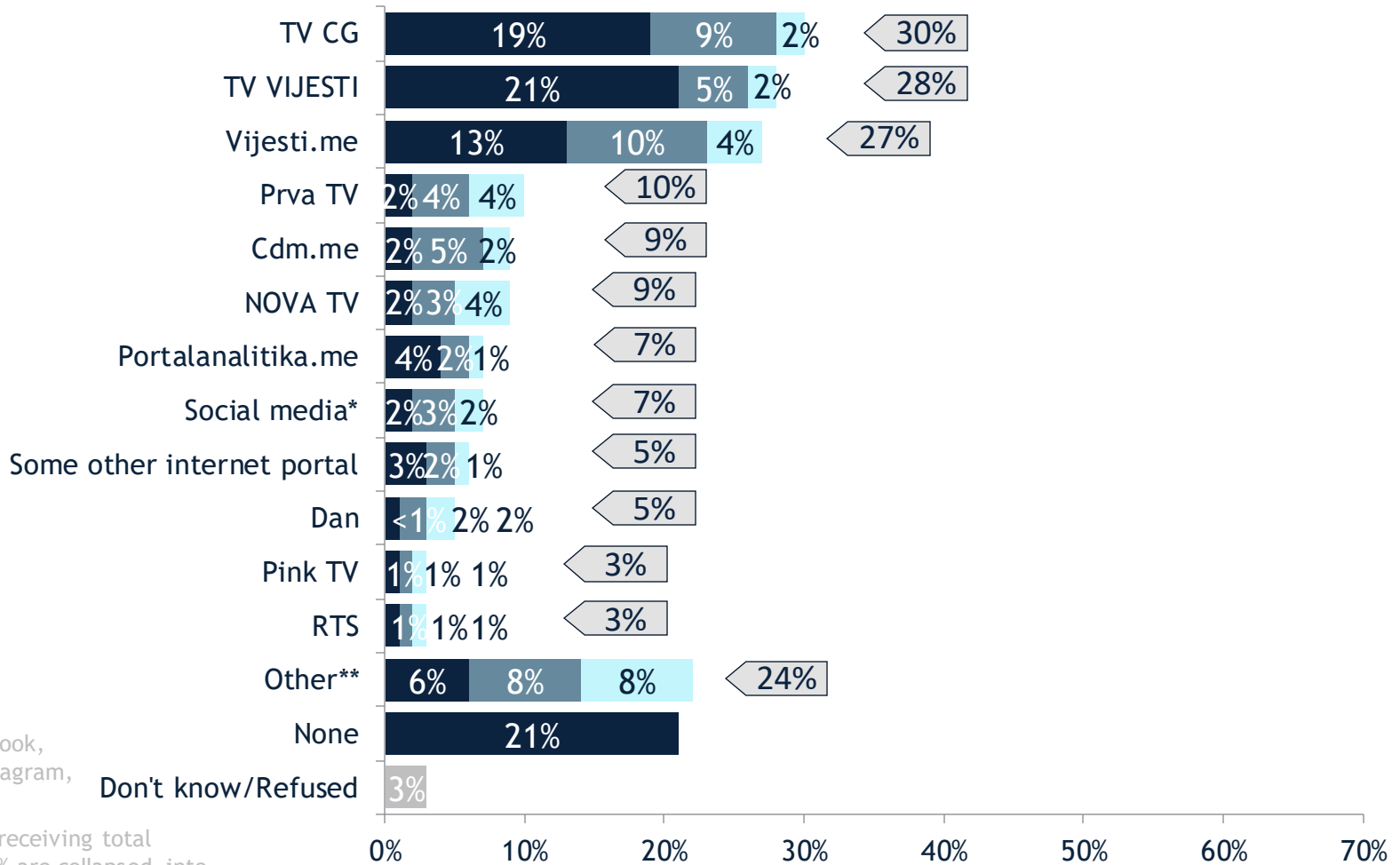
\*Social media(Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, You Tube)

\*\*Responses receiving total mentions <3% are collapsed into other.



# Which specific media outlets, such as a specific TV channel, radio station, newspaper, website etc. do you consider most trustworthy for political information? And what is your second most trustworthy media outlet? And what is your third most trustworthy media outlet?

(Spontaneous response, multiple responses accepted)



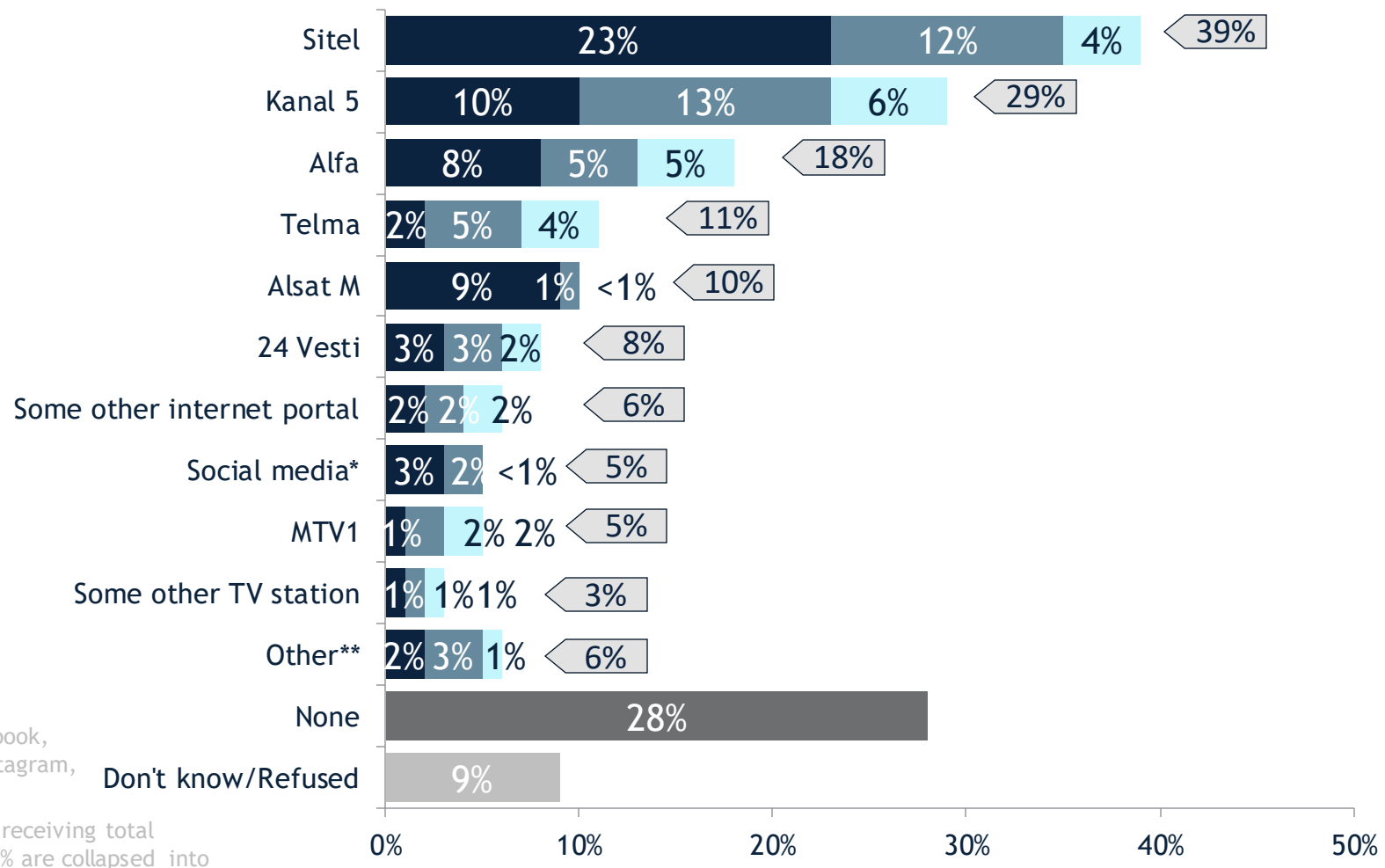
\*Social media(Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, You Tube)

\*\*Responses receiving total mentions <3% are collapsed into other.



# Which specific media outlets, such as a specific TV channel, radio station, newspaper, website etc. do you consider most trustworthy for political information? And what is your second most trustworthy media outlet? And what is your third most trustworthy media outlet?

(Spontaneous response, multiple responses accepted)



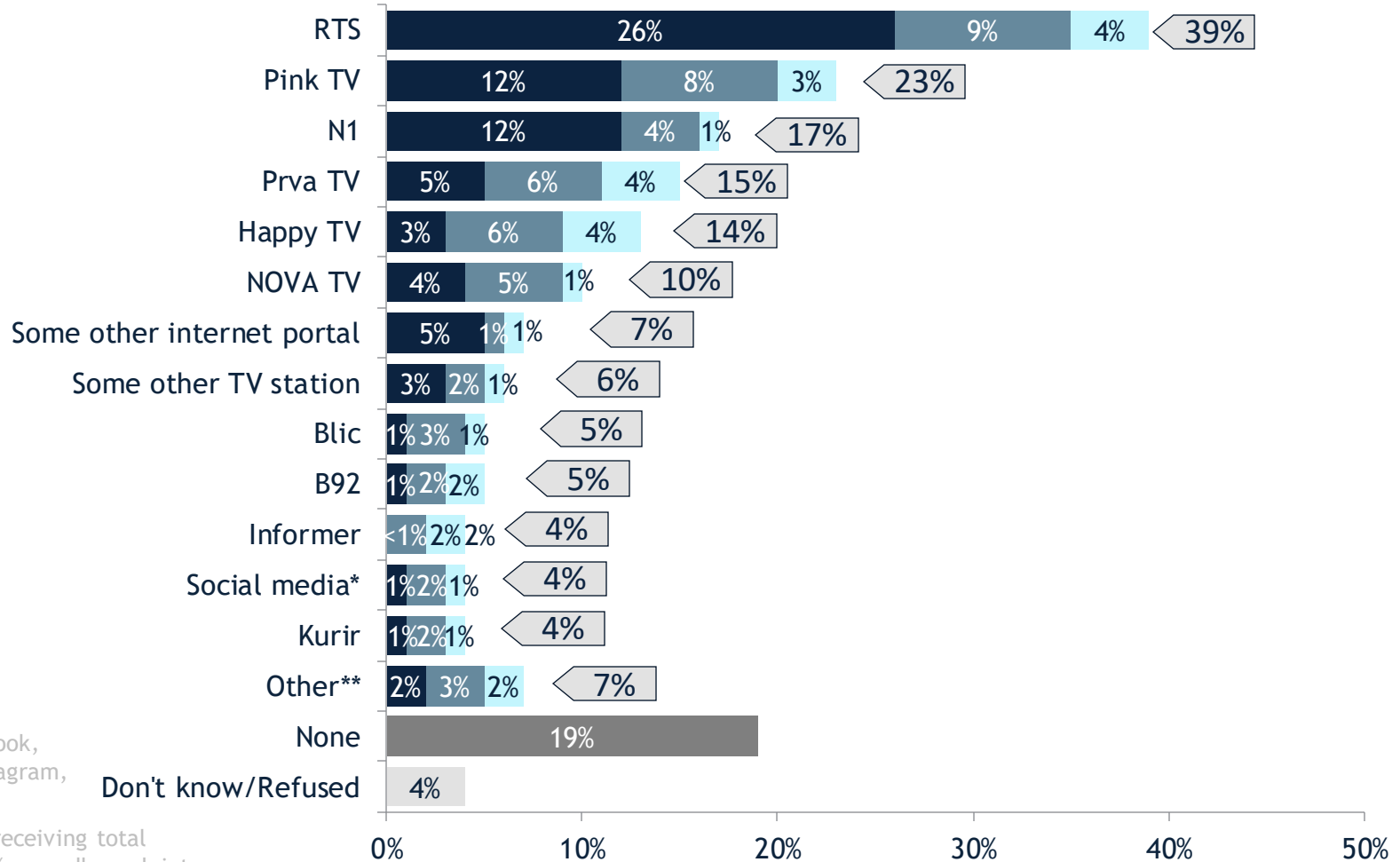
\*Social media(Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, You Tube)

\*\*Responses receiving total mentions <3% are collapsed into other.



# Which specific media outlets, such as a specific TV channel, radio station, newspaper, website etc. do you consider most trustworthy for political information? And what is your second most trustworthy media outlet? And what is your third most trustworthy media outlet?

(Spontaneous response, multiple responses accepted)

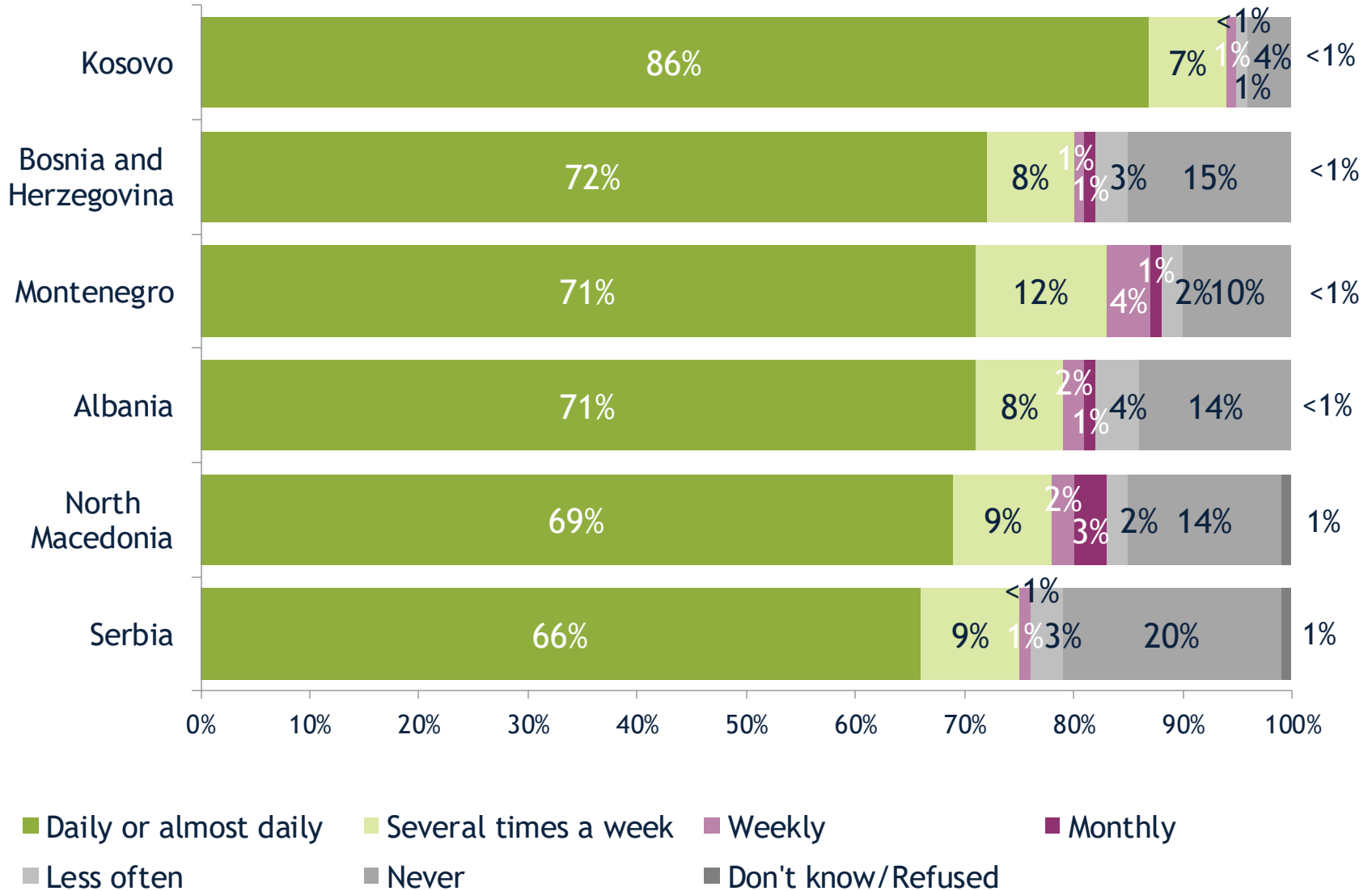


\*Social media (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, YouTube)

\*\*Responses receiving total mentions <3% are collapsed into other.



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



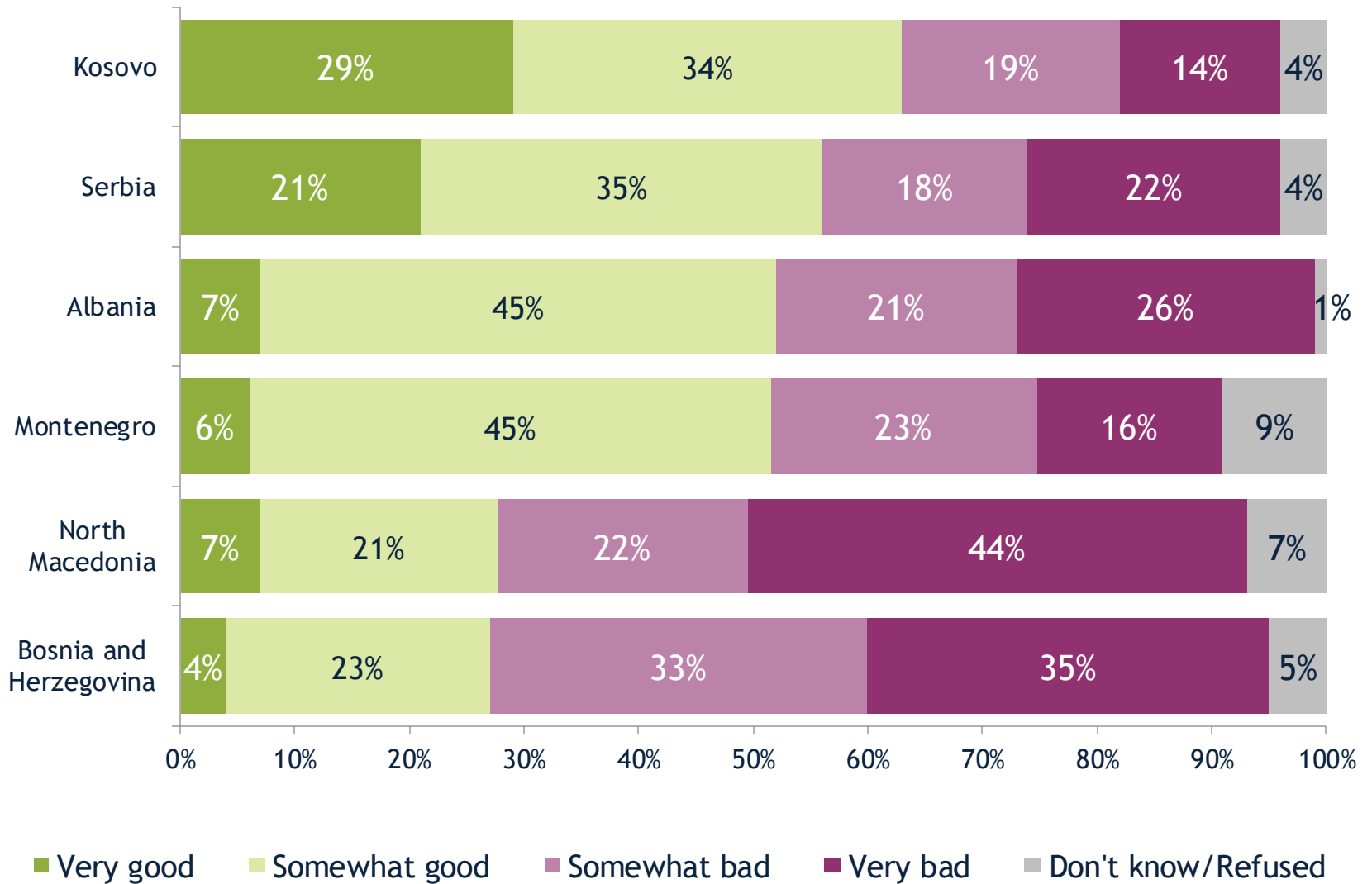
# National Issues



A PROJECT OF THE INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE

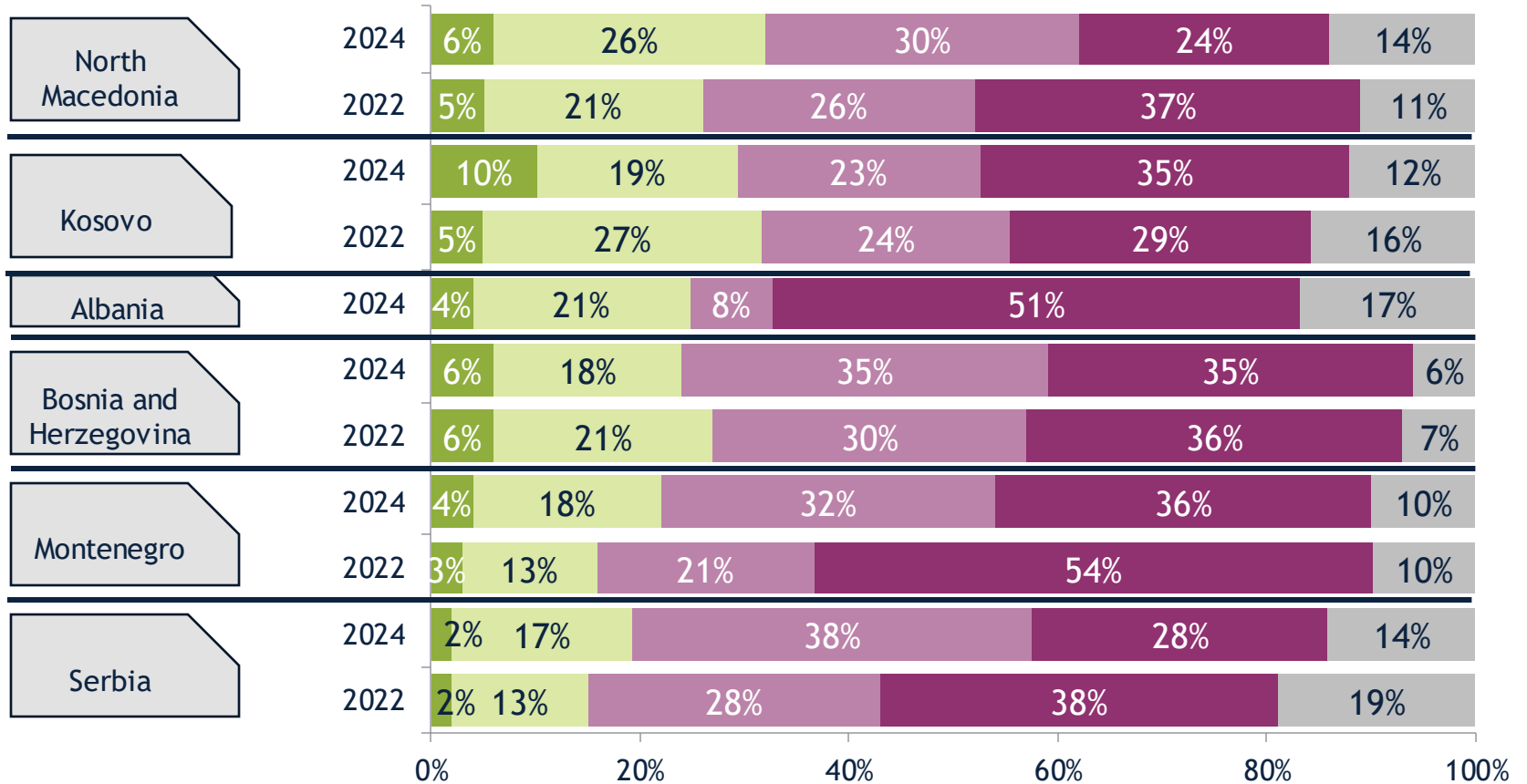
"brown and black jigsaw puzzle" by rivage on Unsplash.com

# How would you rate the performance of the national government?





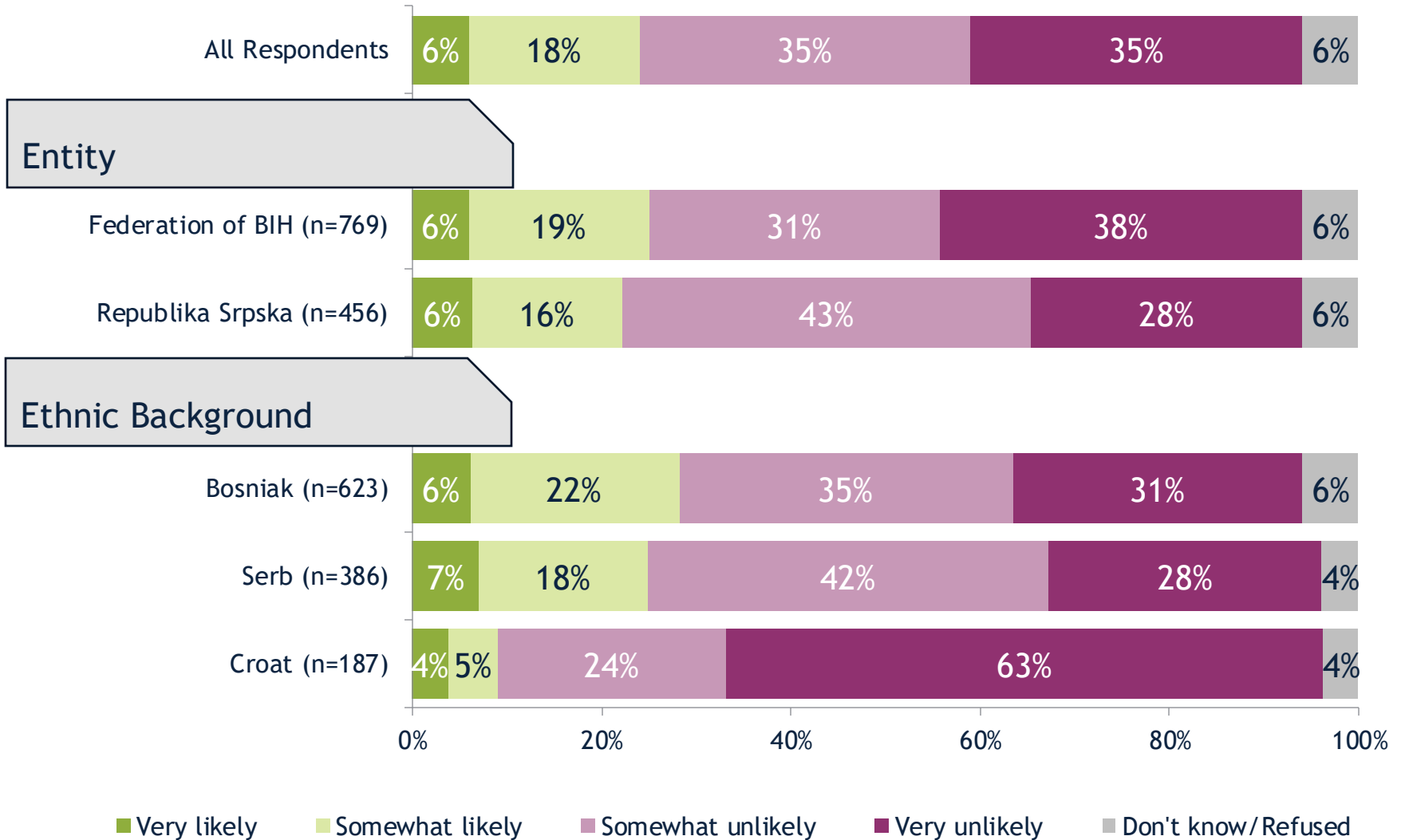
# What is the likelihood of an armed conflict in your country, either from an internal or external source, in the near future?



■ Very likely   
 ■ Somewhat likely   
 ■ Somewhat unlikely   
 ■ Very unlikely   
 ■ Don't know/Refused

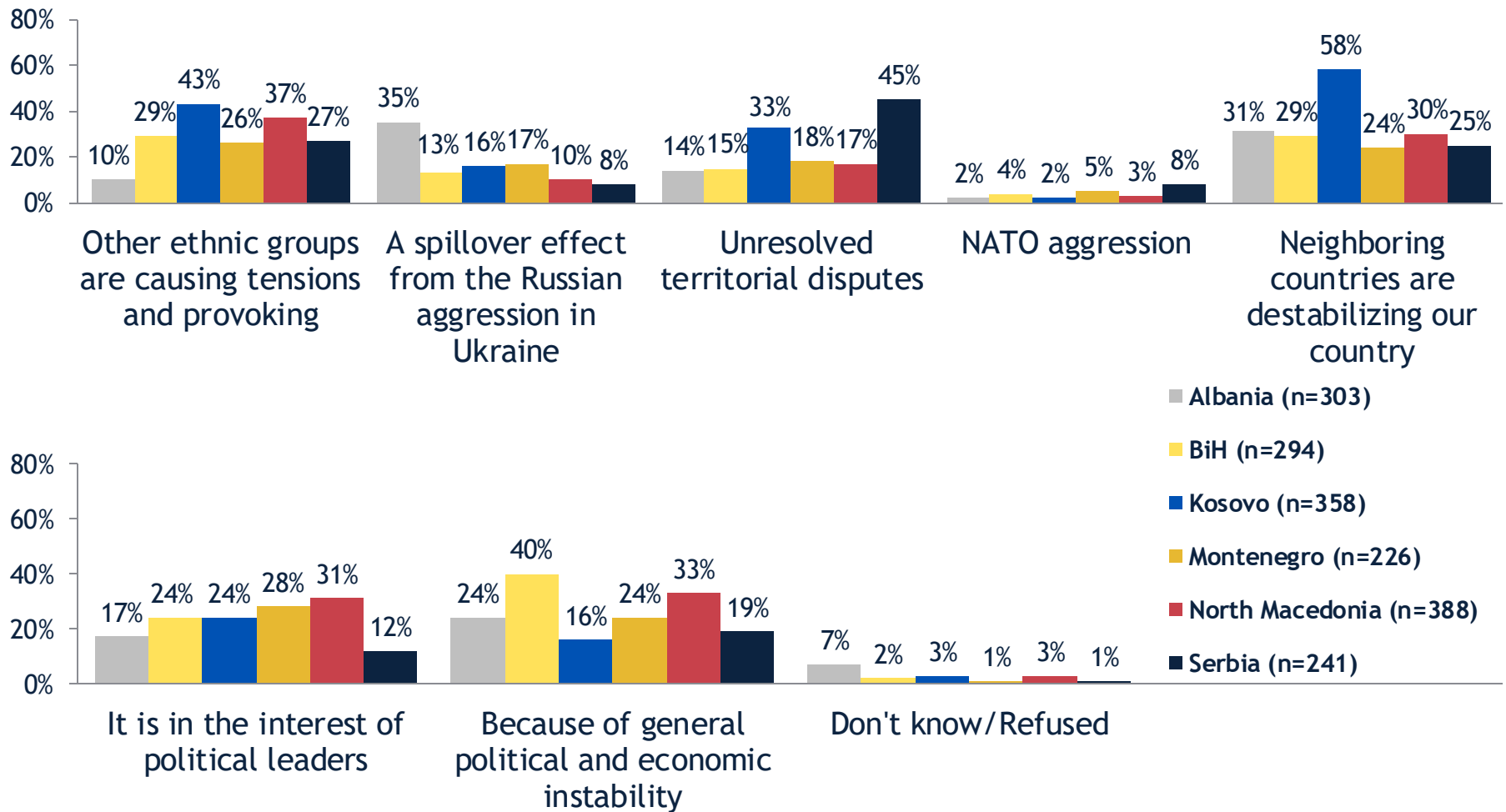


# What is the likelihood of an armed conflict in your country, either from an internal or external source, in the near future?



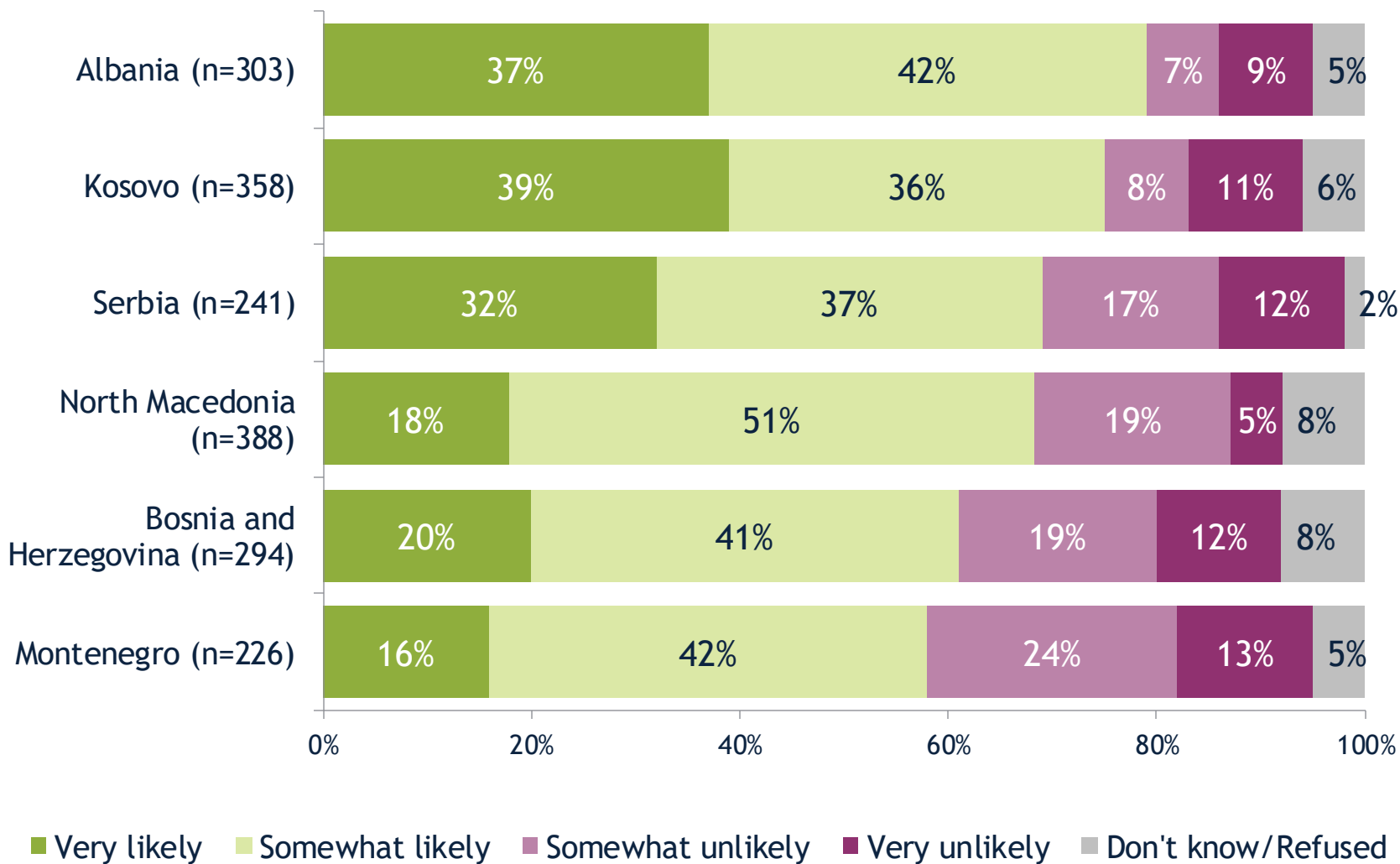
## Why do you think an armed conflict in the country is likely to happen?

(Among those who believe that an armed conflict is likely, spontaneous response, multiple responses accepted)



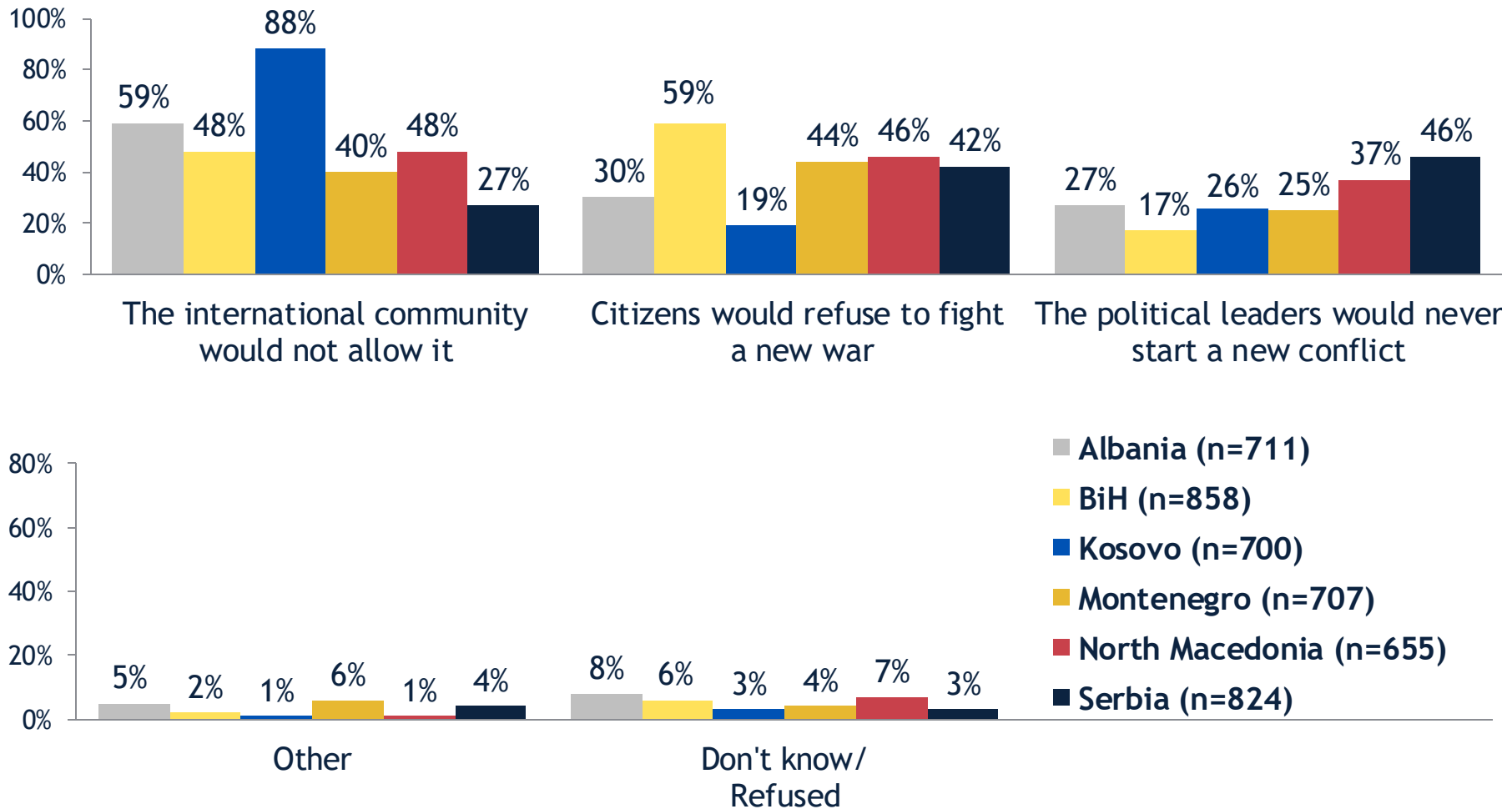
# What do you think is the likelihood of the international communities' intervention in case of an armed conflict in the country?

(Among those who think armed conflict is likely)



## Why do you think an armed conflict in the country is unlikely to happen?

(Spontaneous response, multiple responses accepted, among those who believe that an armed conflict is unlikely)



# Demographics

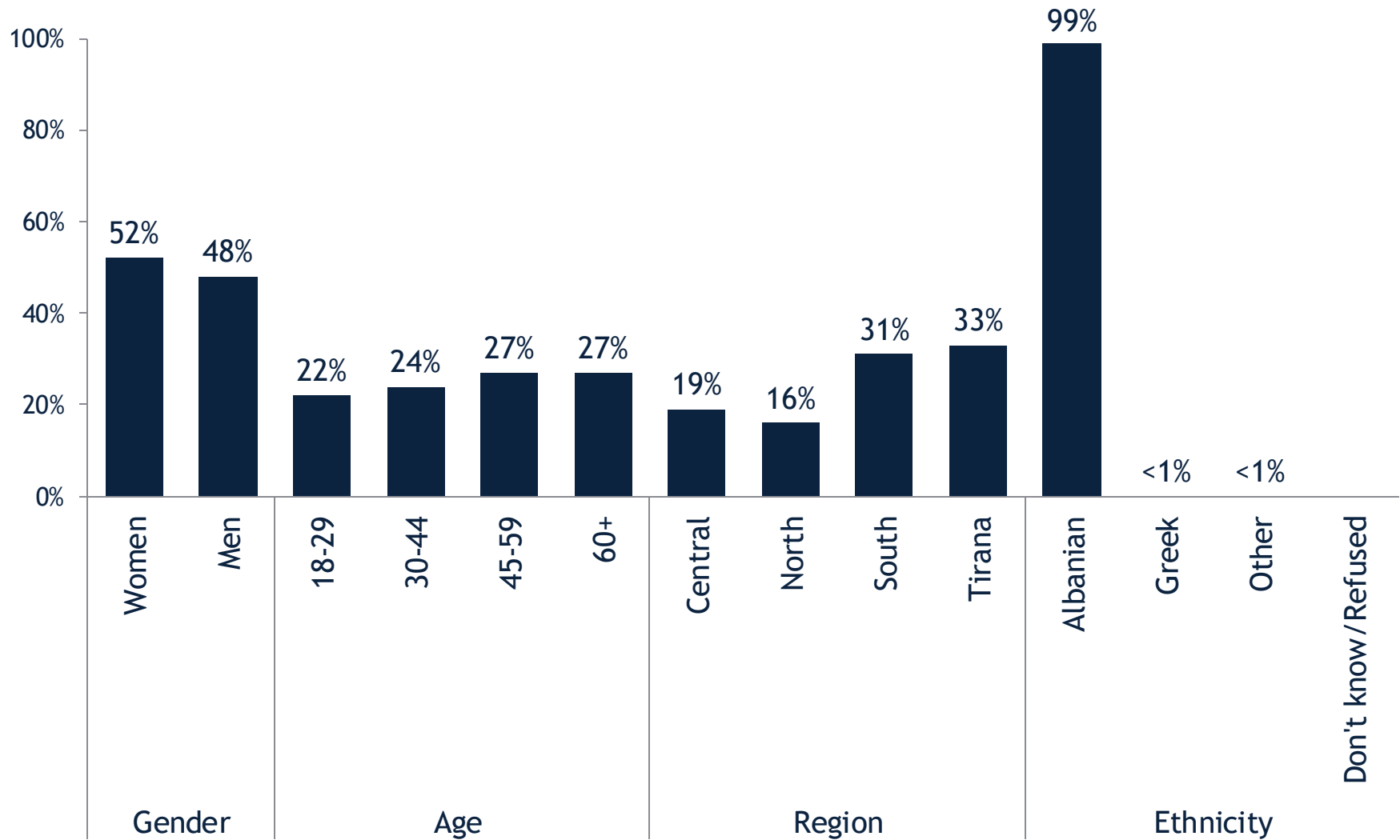


CENTER FOR  
INSIGHTS IN  
**SURVEY**  
RESEARCH

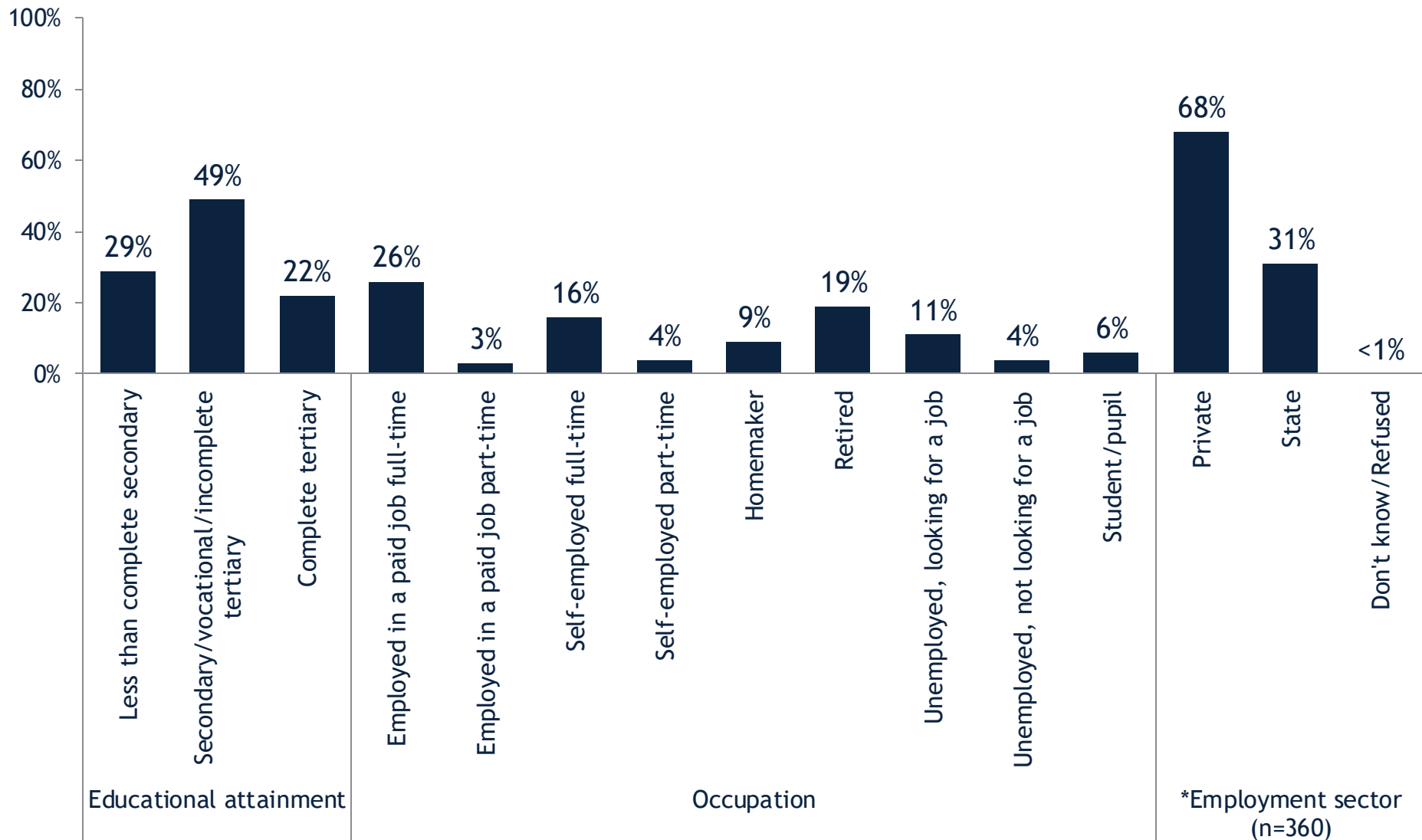
A PROJECT OF THE INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE

"People crowd texture background. Bird eye view. Toned" by  
Dmytro. File# 294250068

# Demographics - Albania



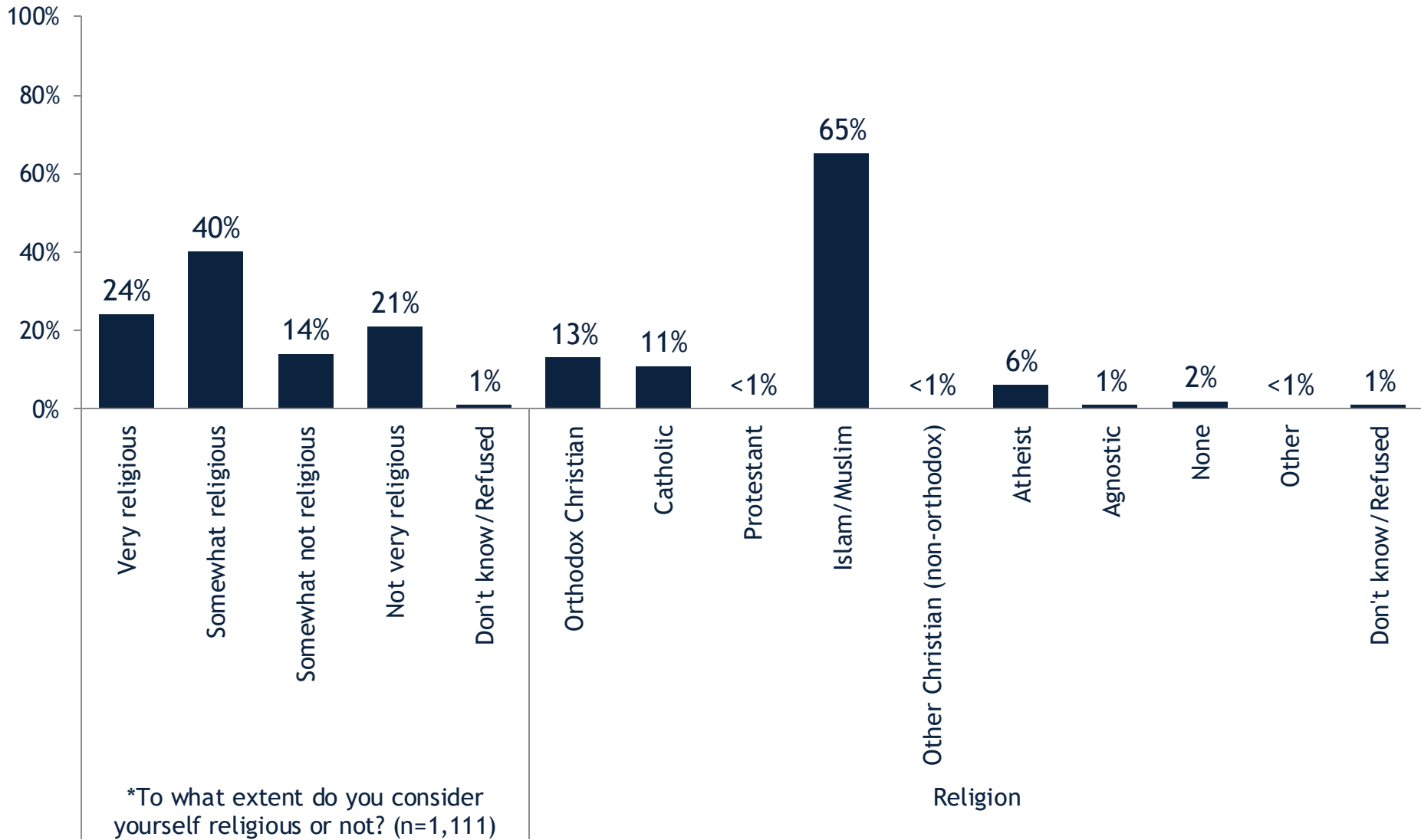
# Demographics - Albania



\*Among those who are employed.

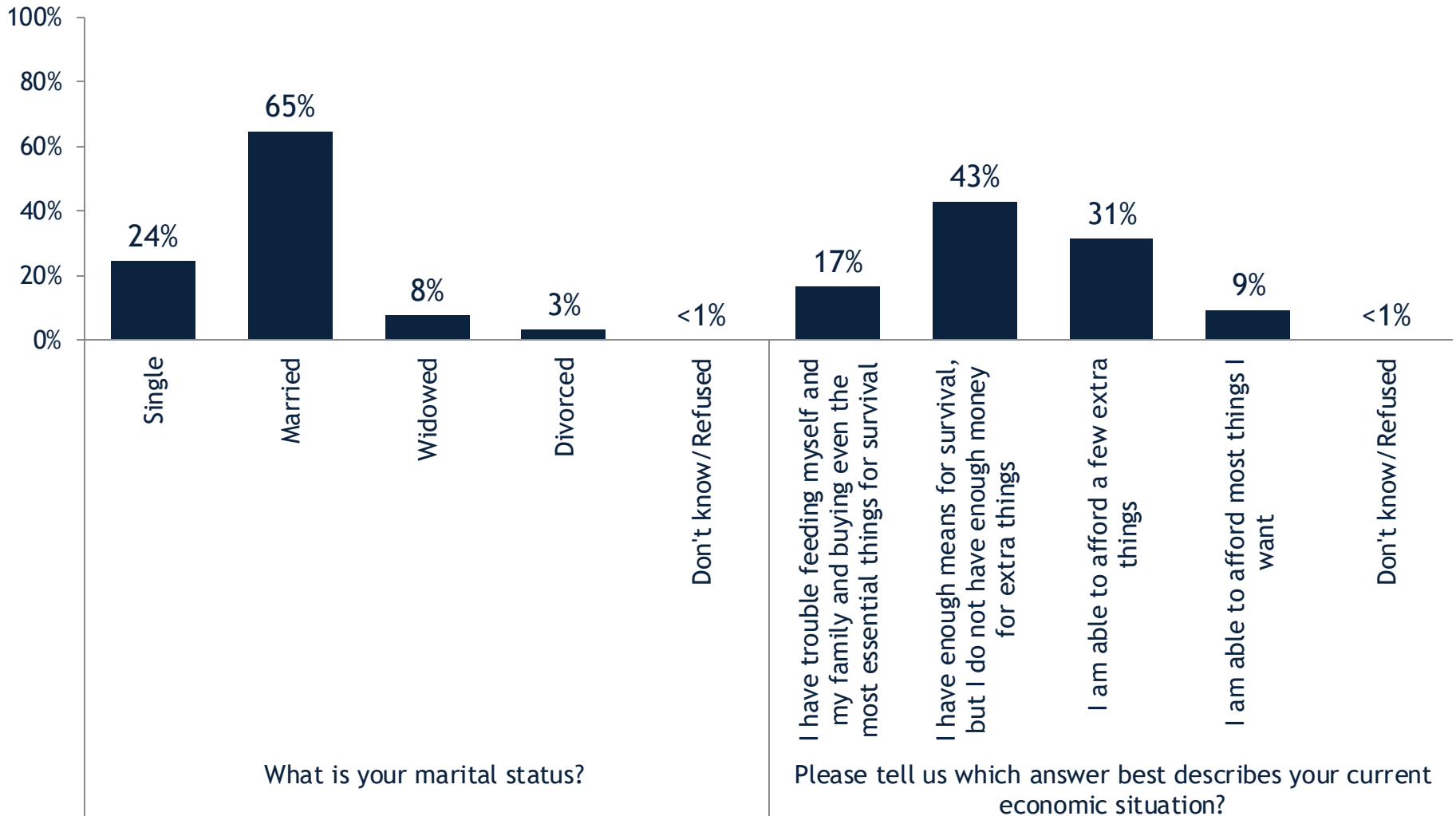


# Demographics - Albania

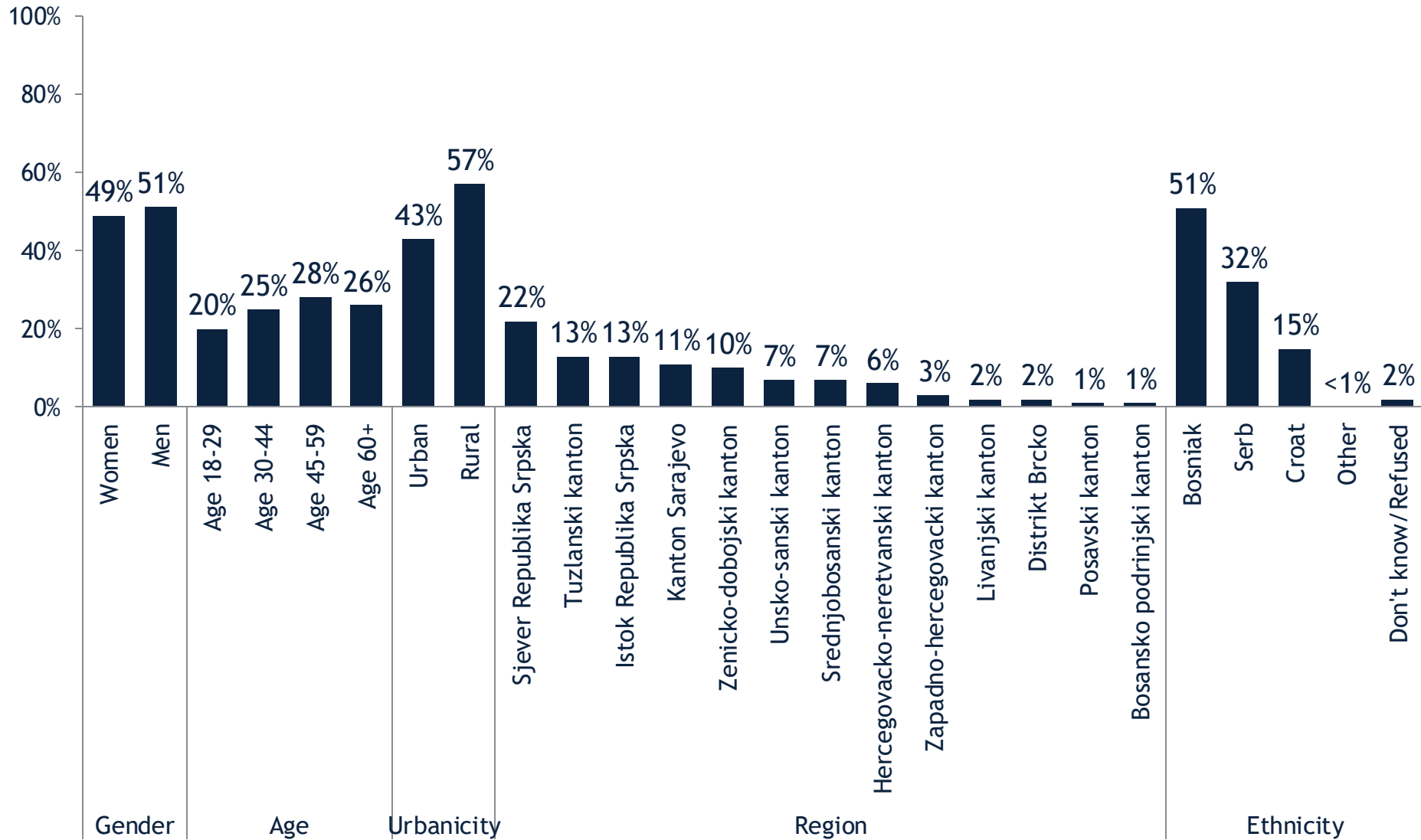


\*Among those who declared belonging to a religion.

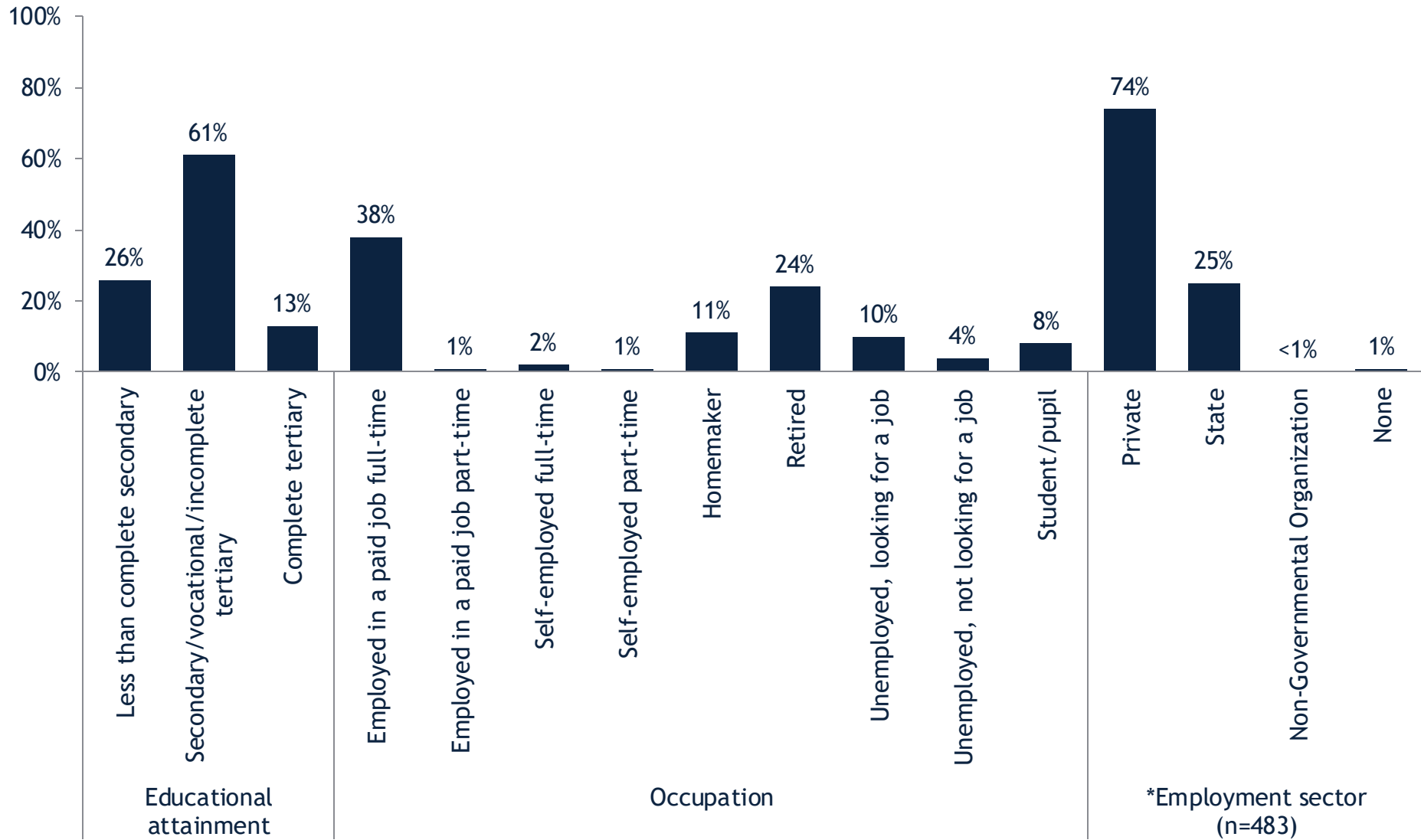
# Demographics - Albania



# Demographics - Bosnia and Herzegovina

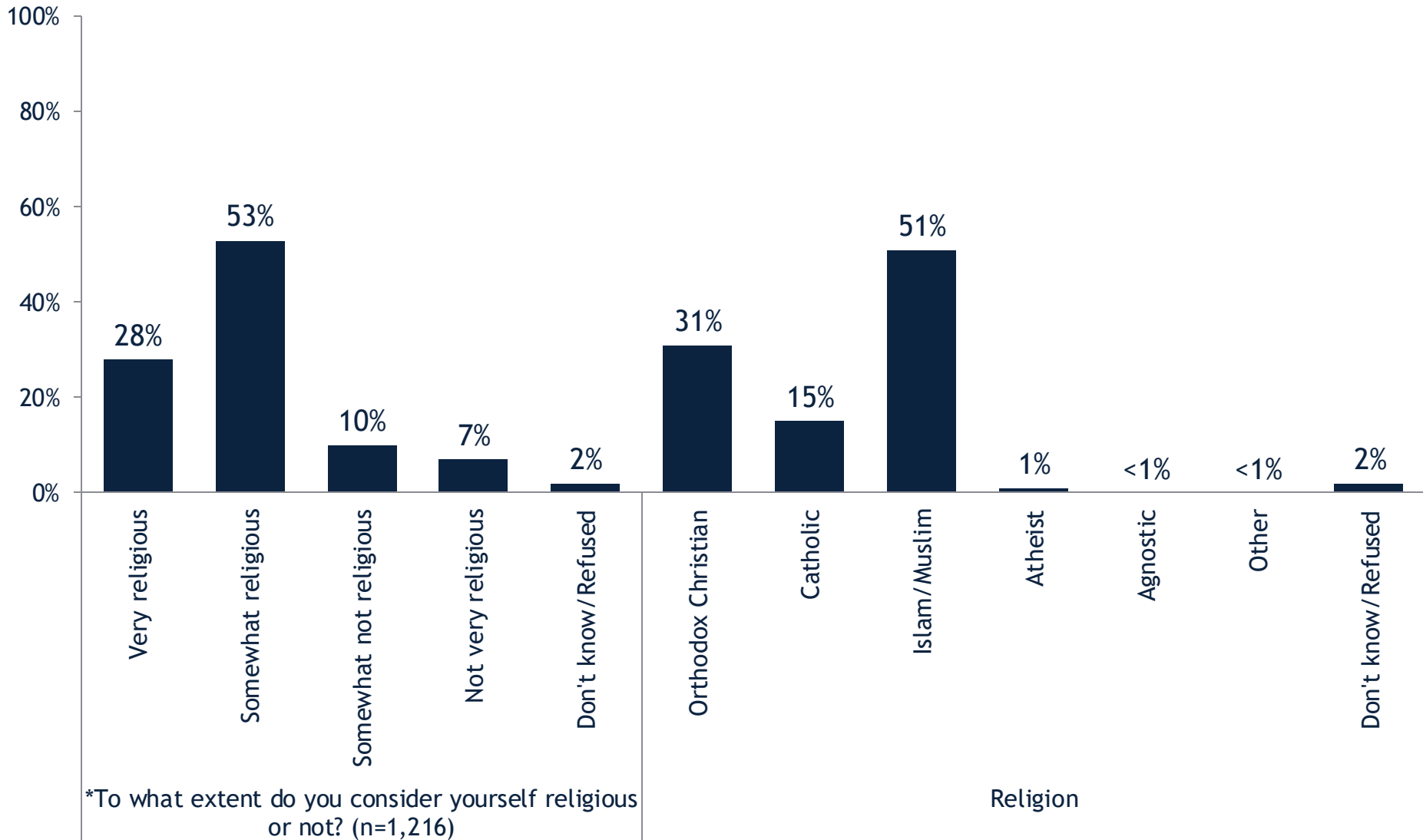


# Demographics - Bosnia and Herzegovina

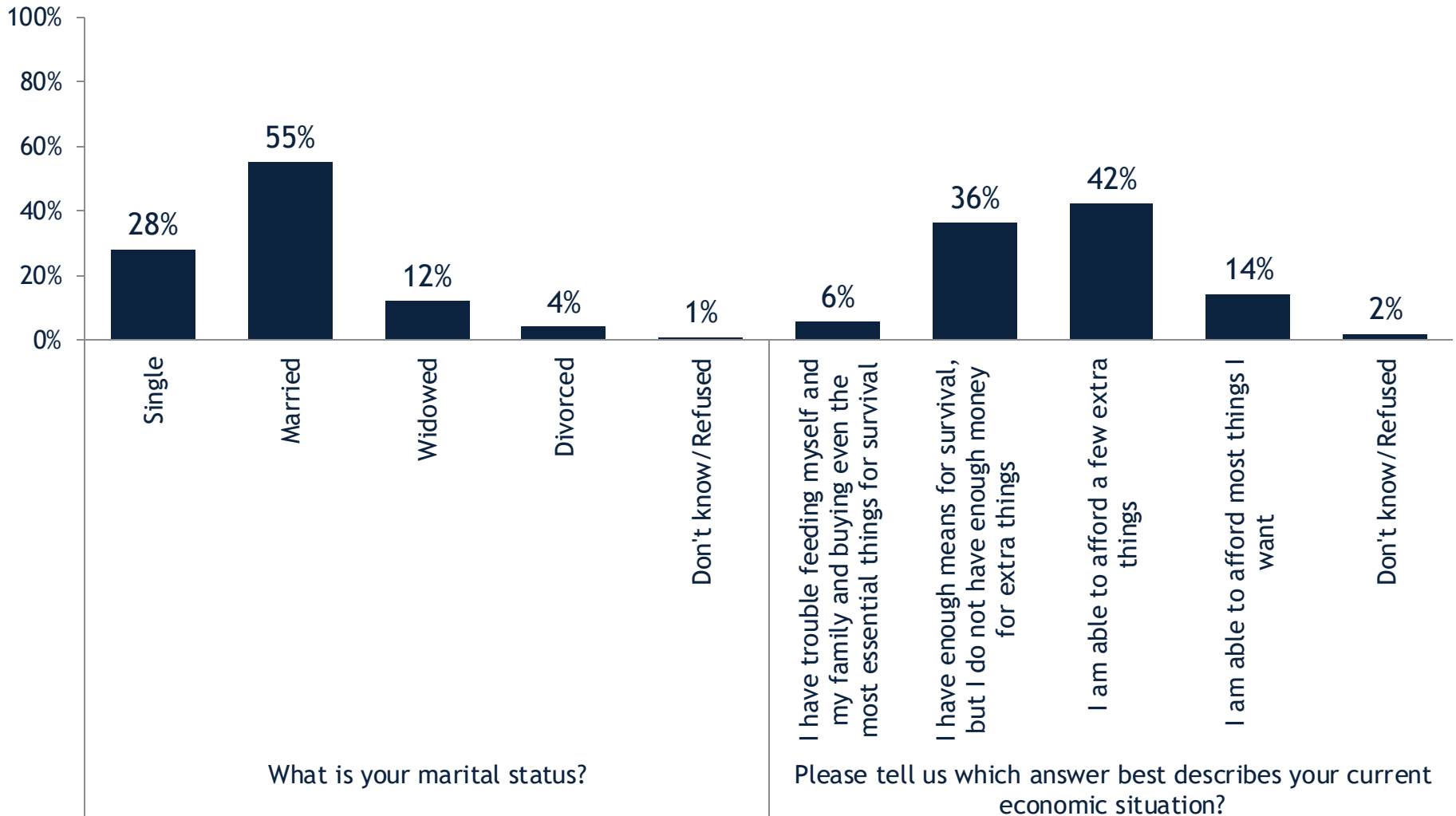


\*Among those who are employed.

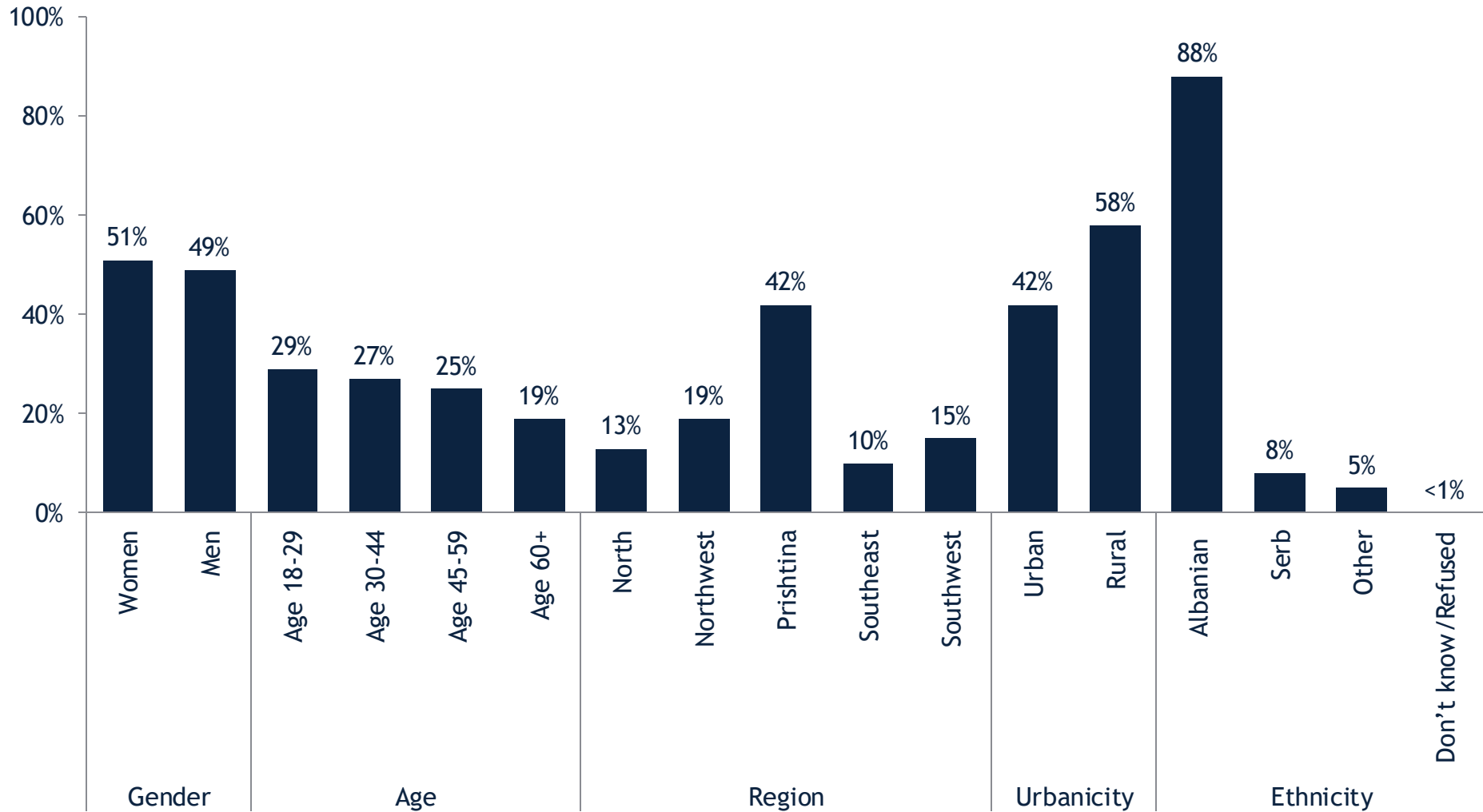
# Demographics - Bosnia and Herzegovina



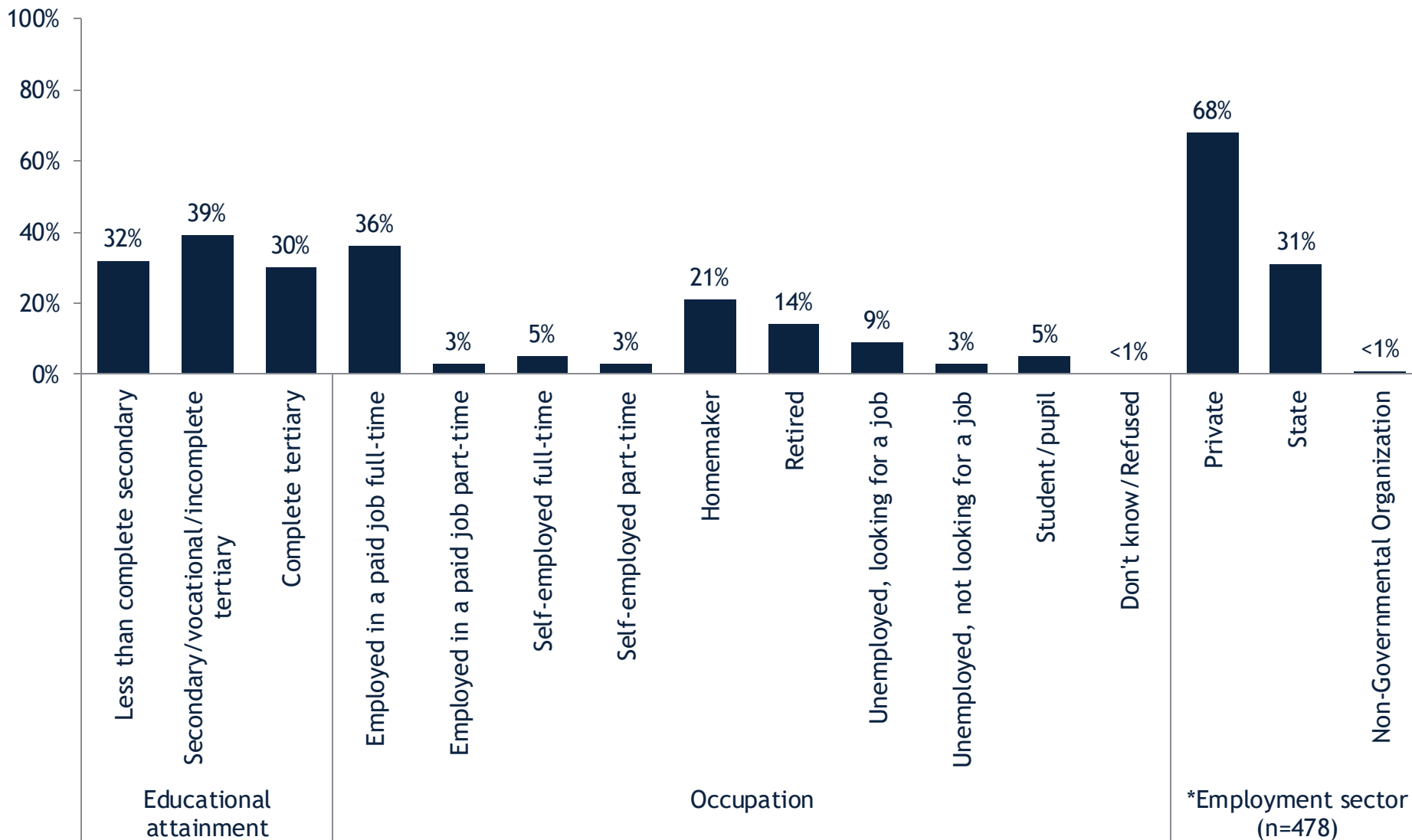
\*Among those who declared belonging to a religion.



# Demographics - Kosovo



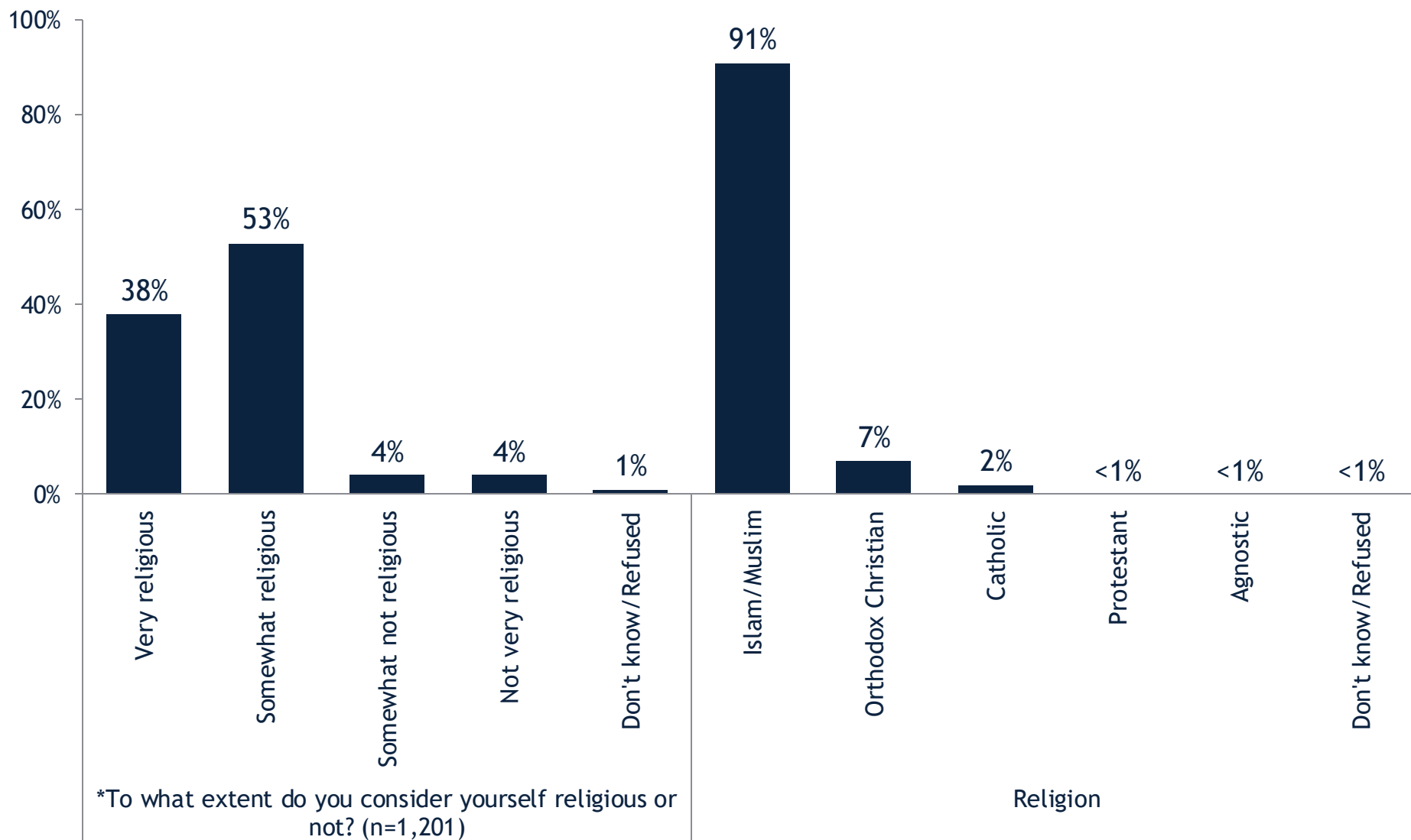
# Demographics - Kosovo



\*Among those who are employed.



# Demographics - Kosovo

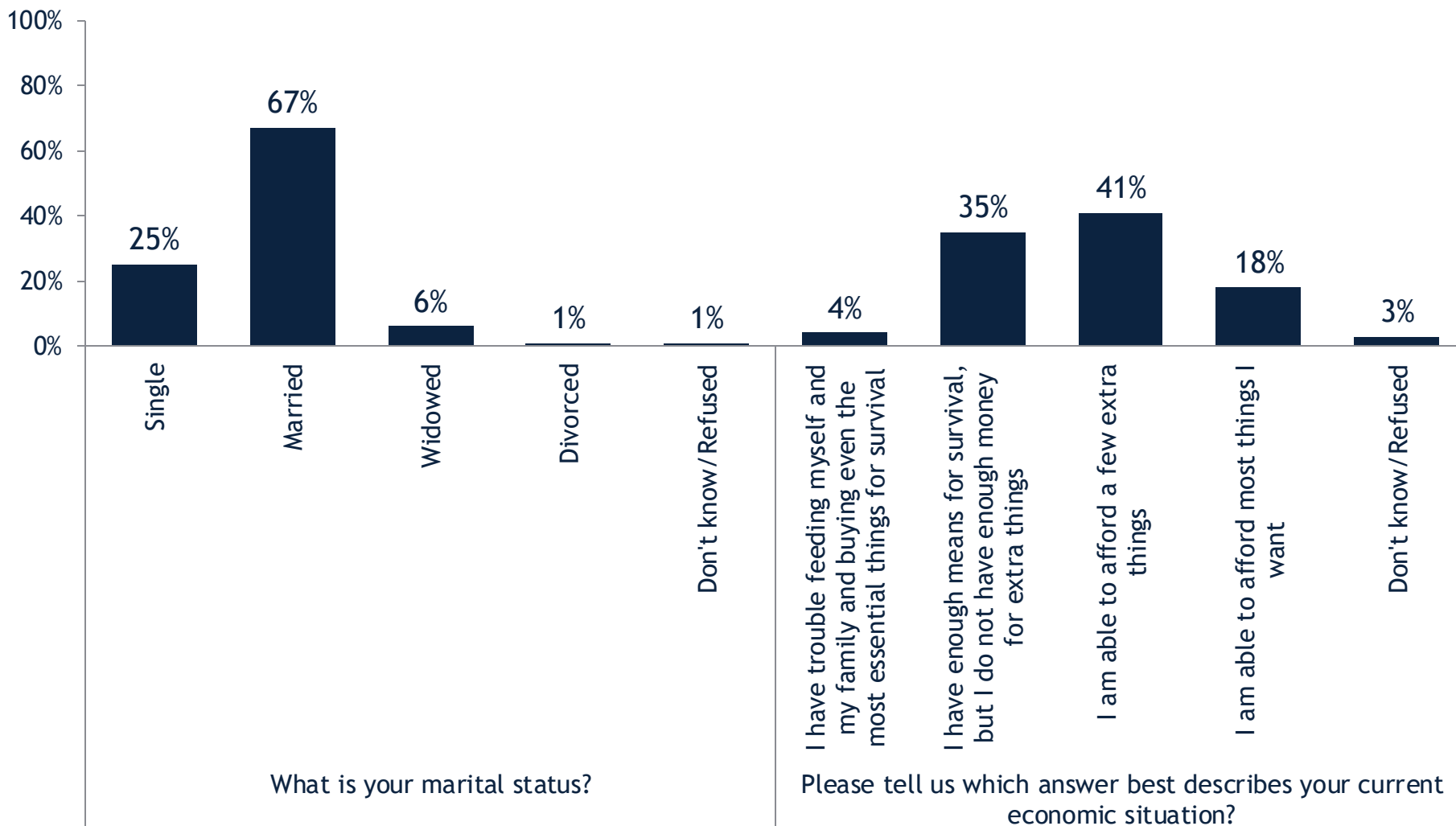


\*To what extent do you consider yourself religious or not? (n=1,201)

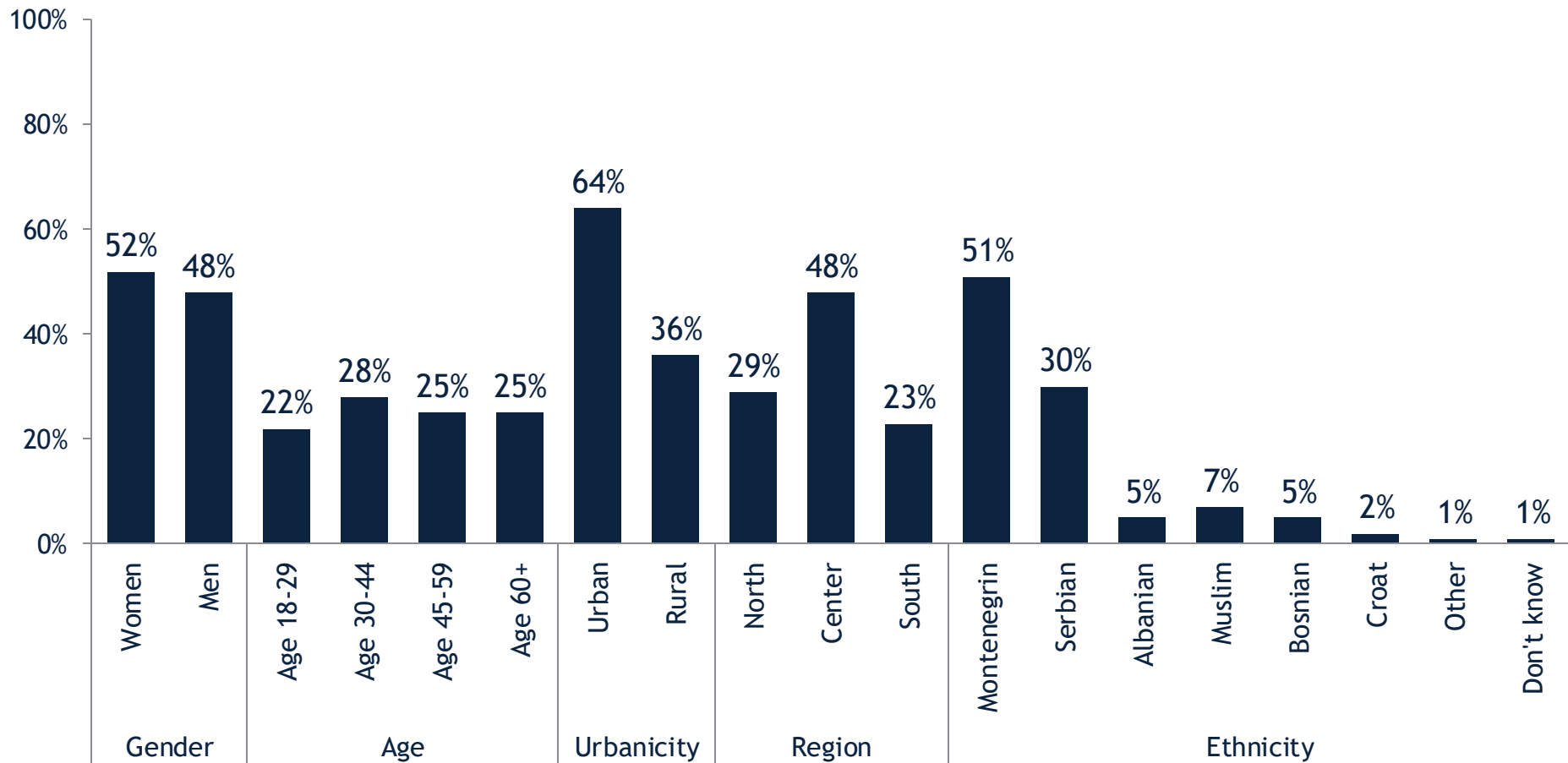
Religion

\*Among those who declared belonging to a religion.

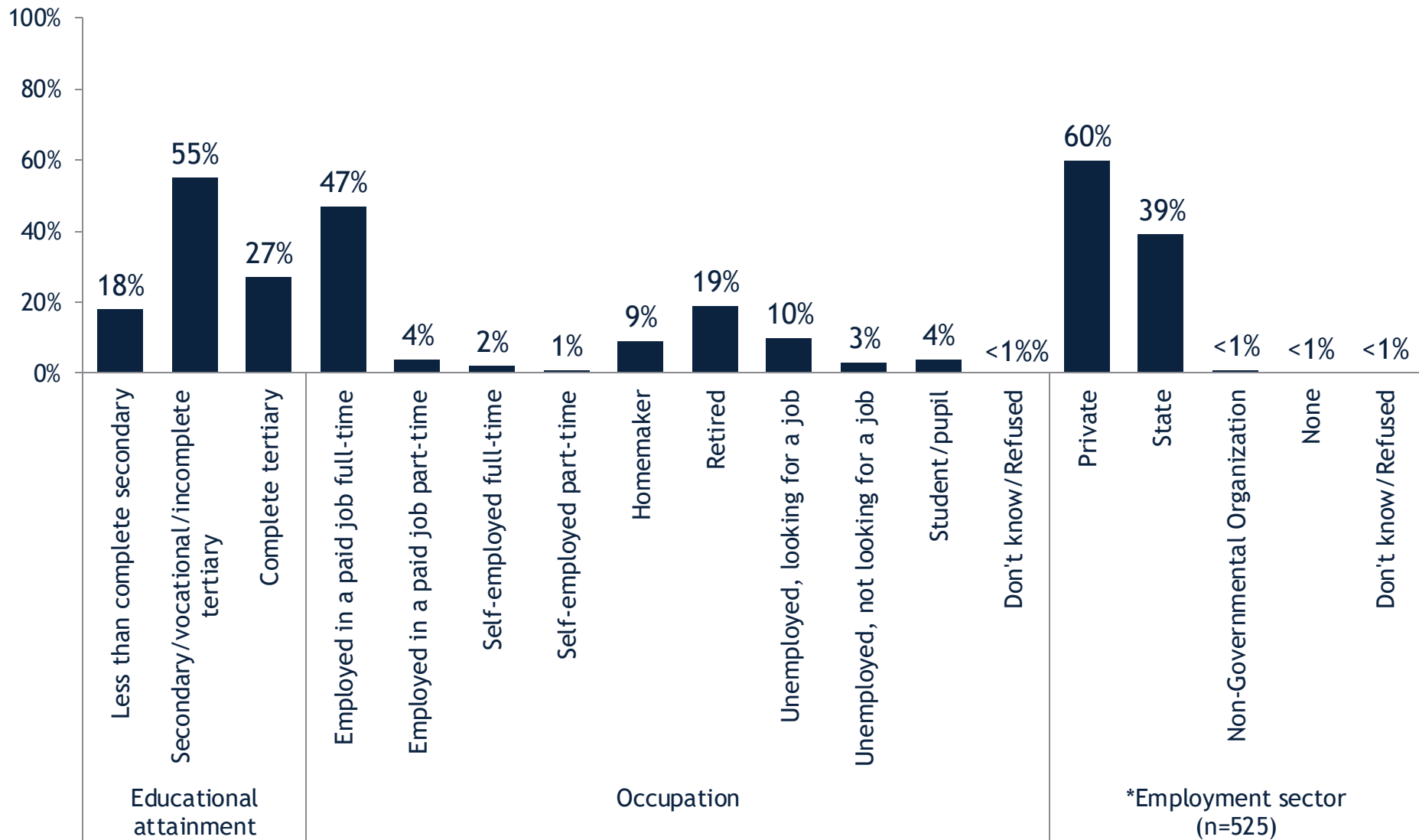
# Demographics - Kosovo



# Demographics - Montenegro

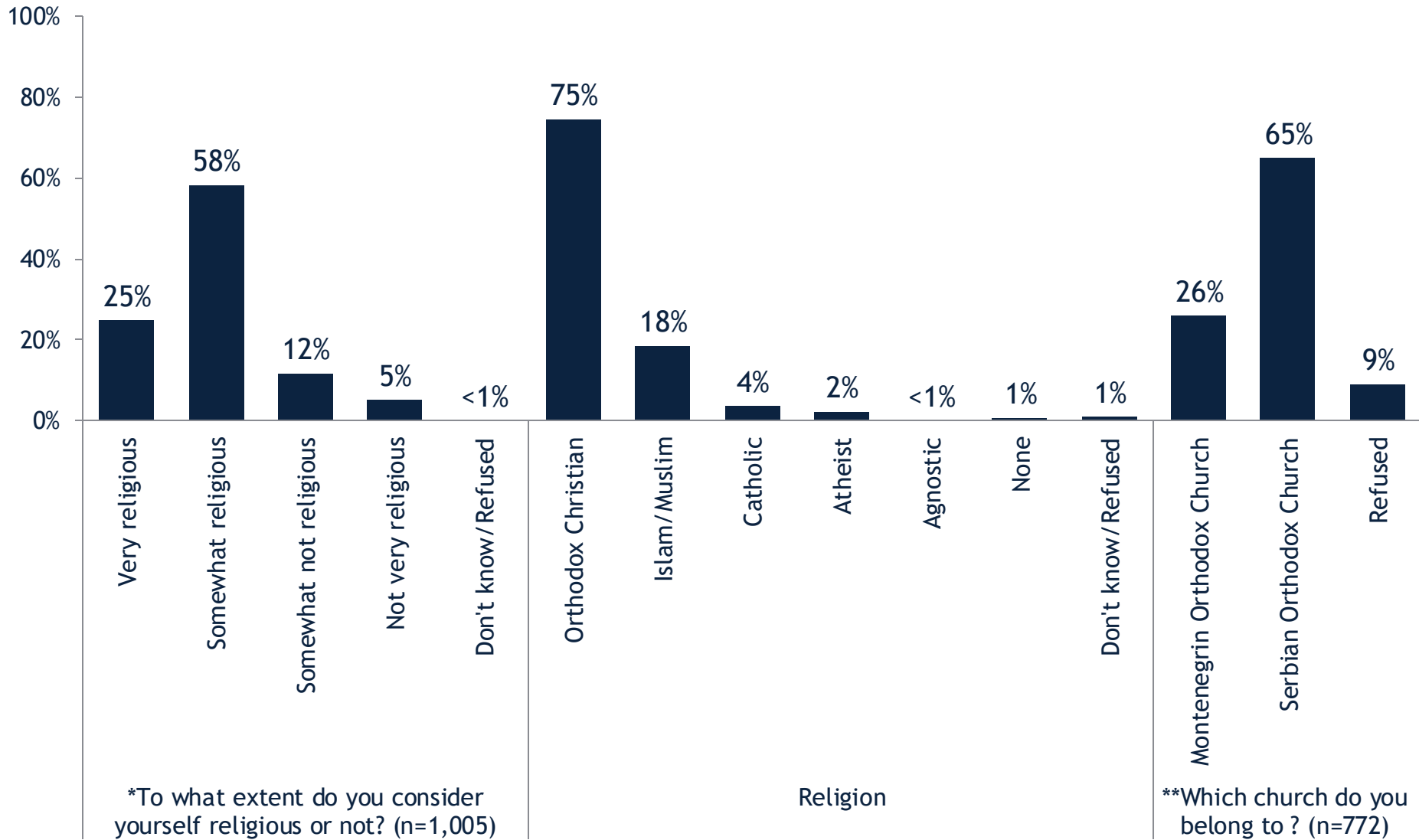


# Demographics - Montenegro



\*Among those who are employed.

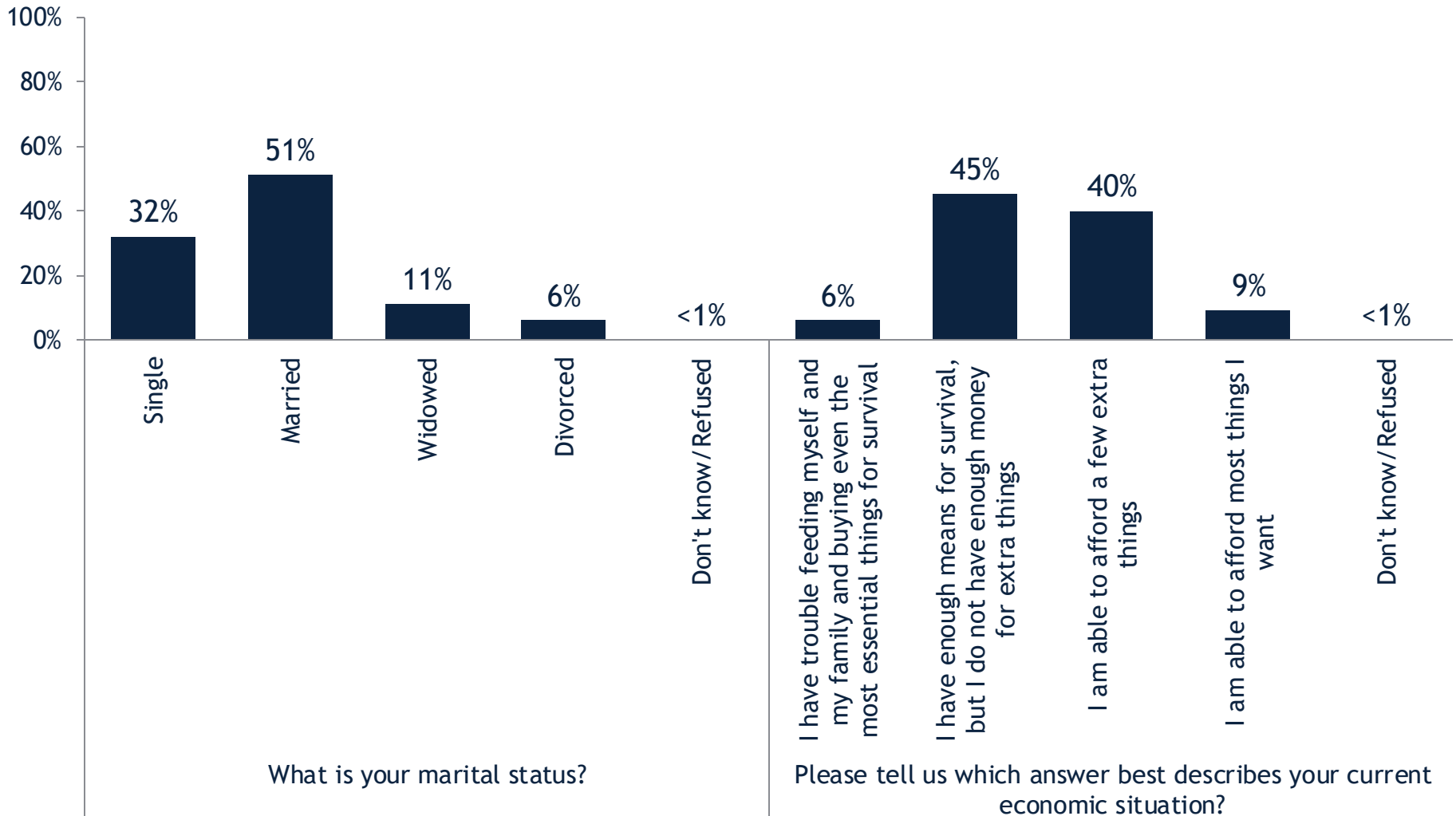
# Demographics - Montenegro



\*Among those who declared belonging to a religion.

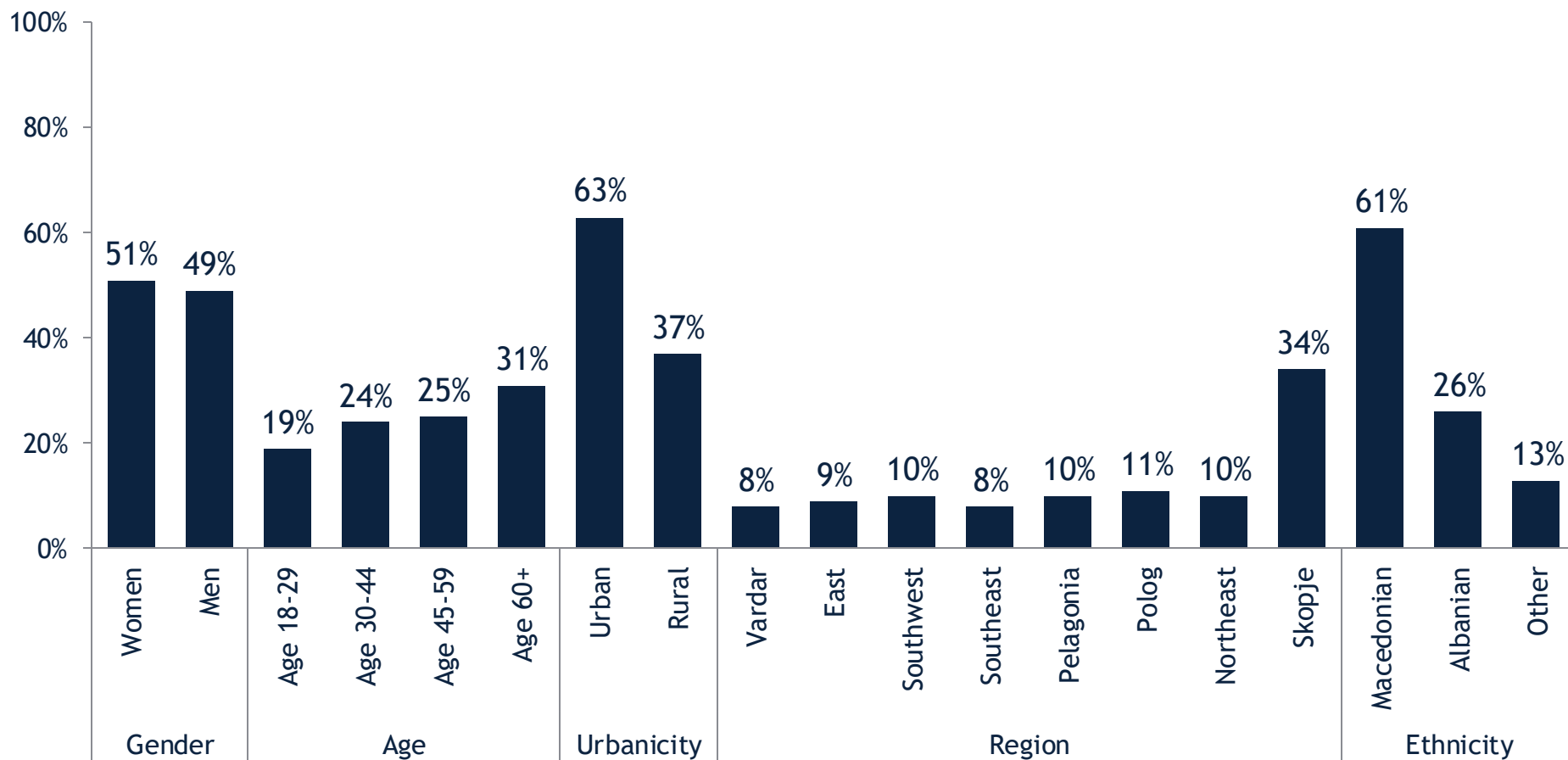
\*\*Among those who are Orthodox Christians.

# Demographics - Montenegro



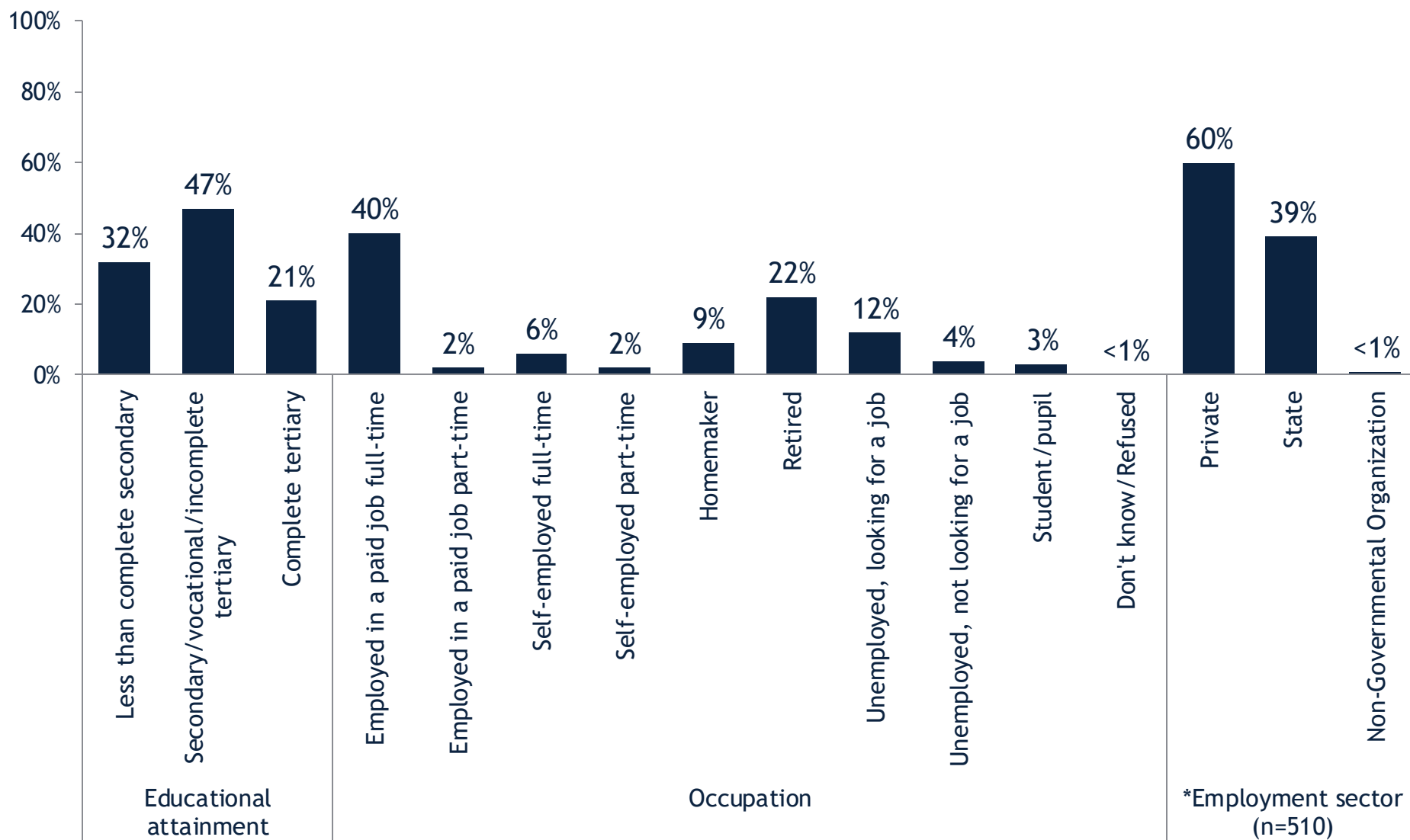


## Demographics - North Macedonia





## Demographics - North Macedonia

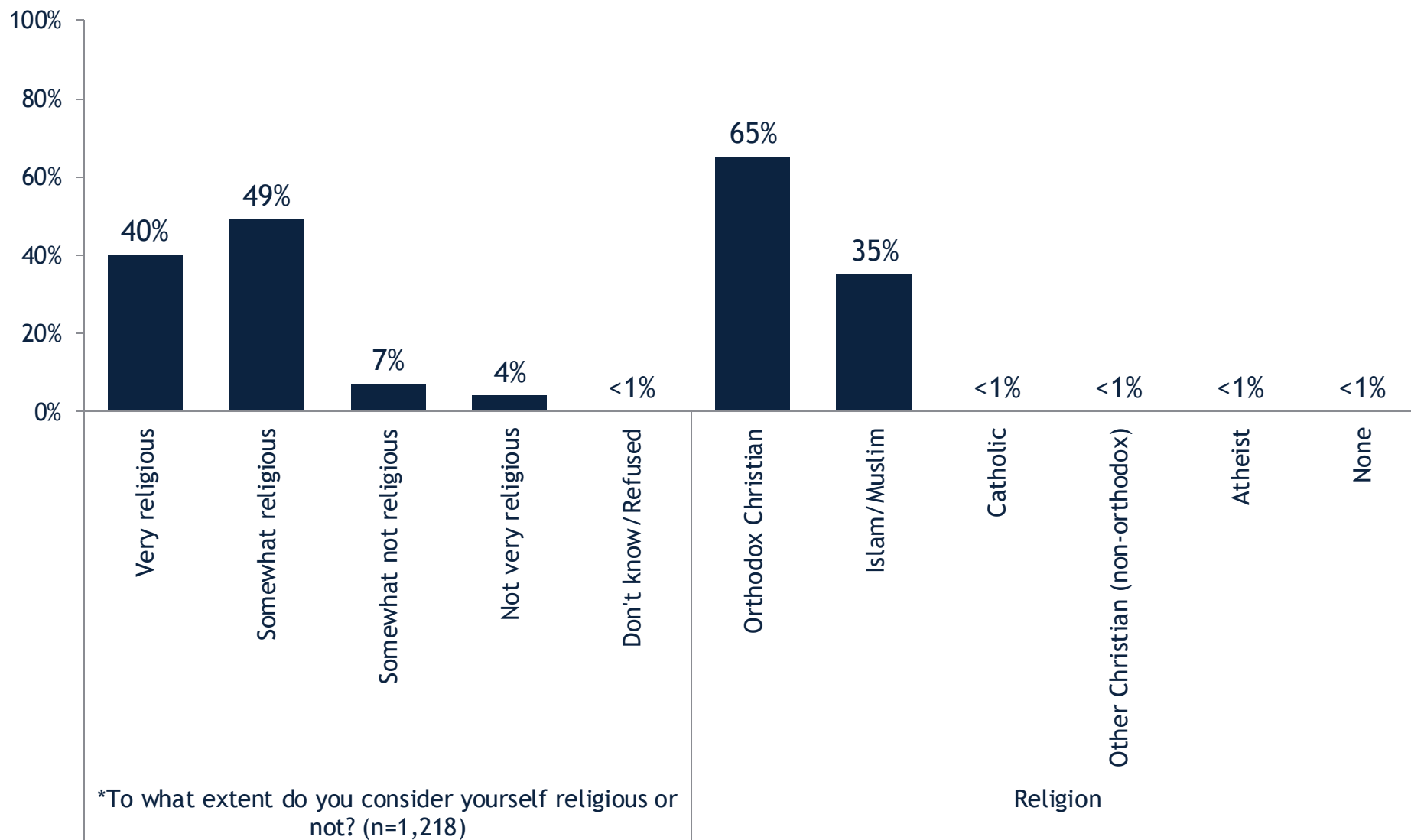


\*Among those who are employed.



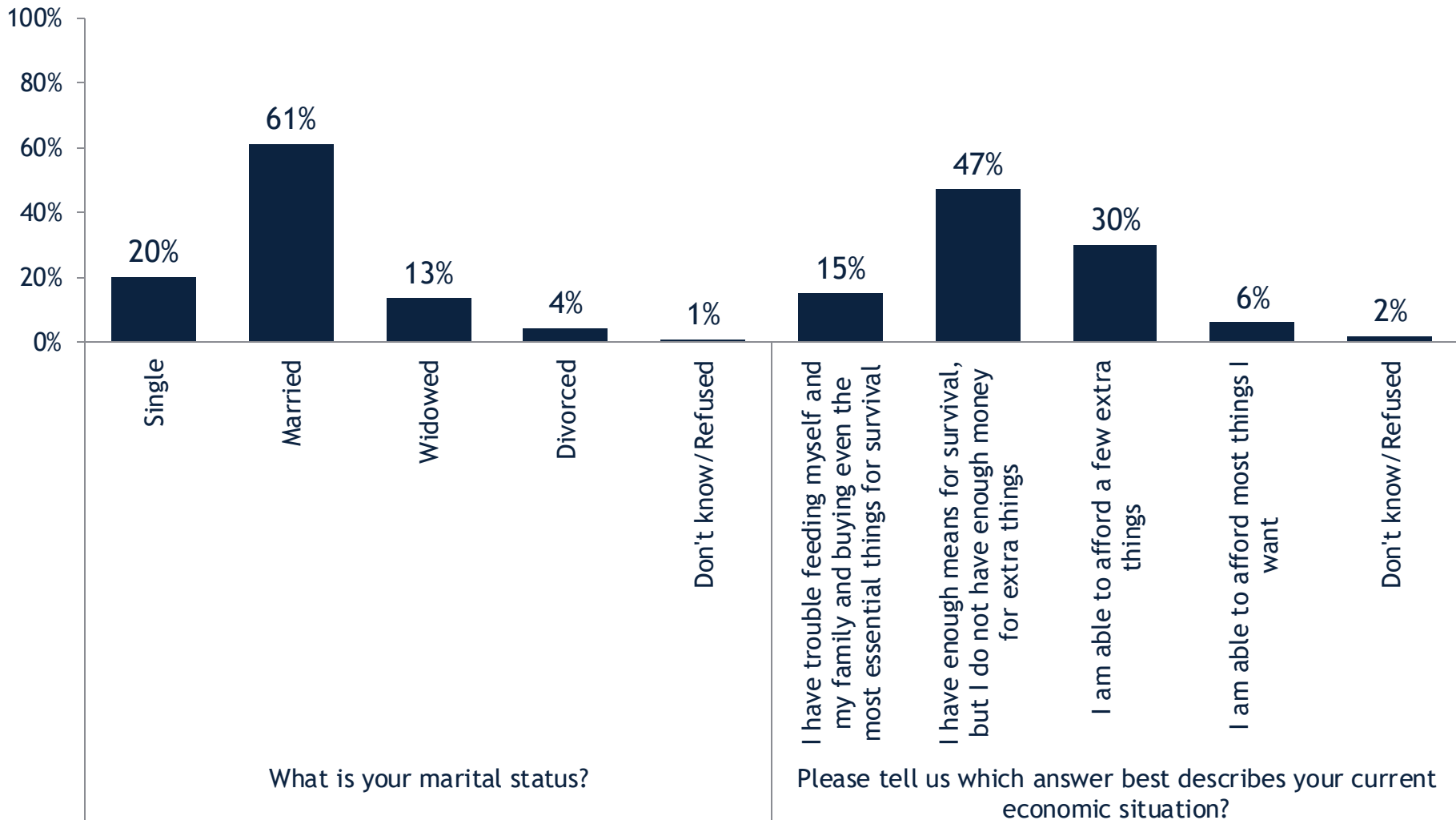


## Demographics - North Macedonia

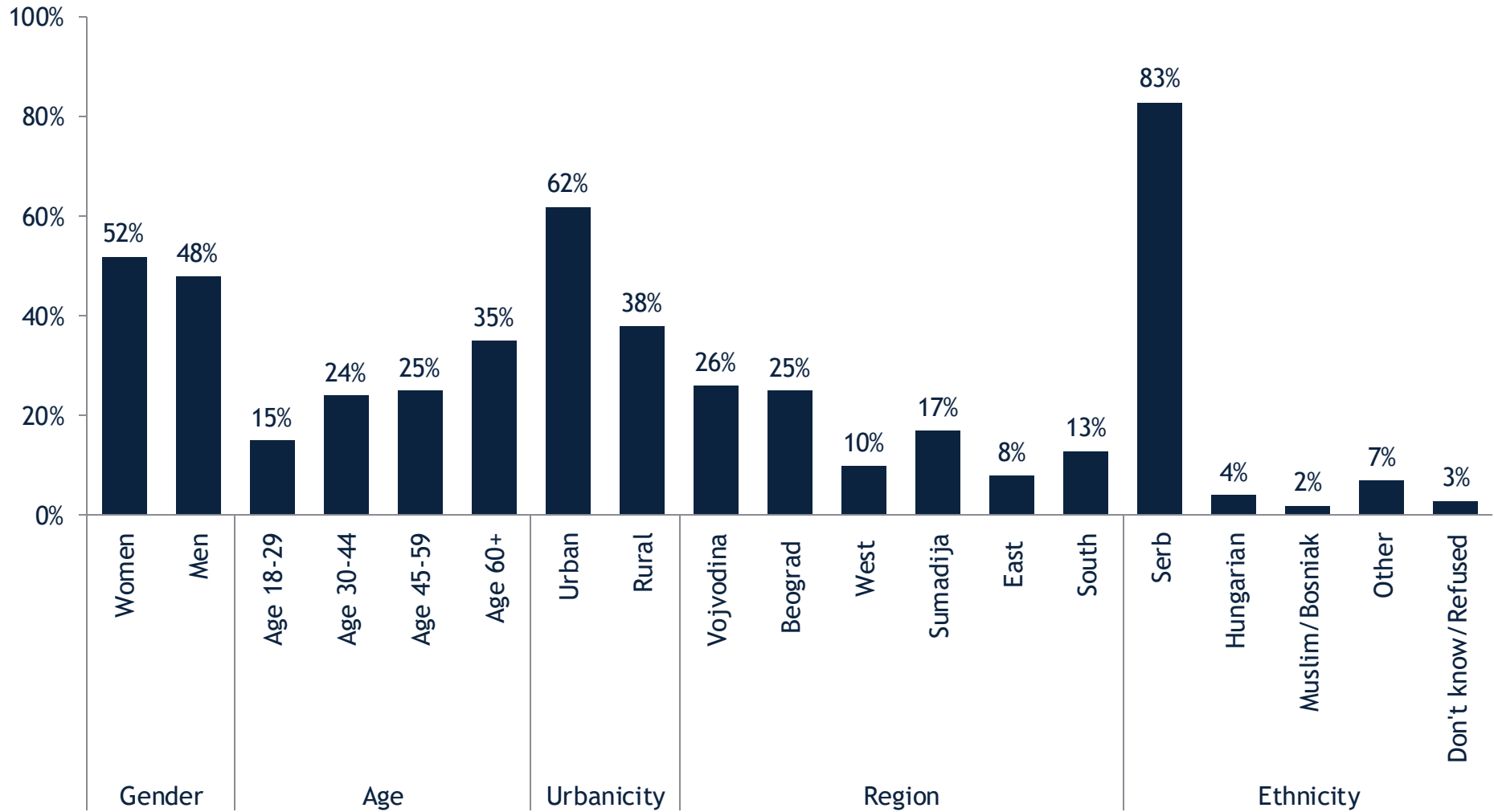


\*Among those who declared belonging to a religion.

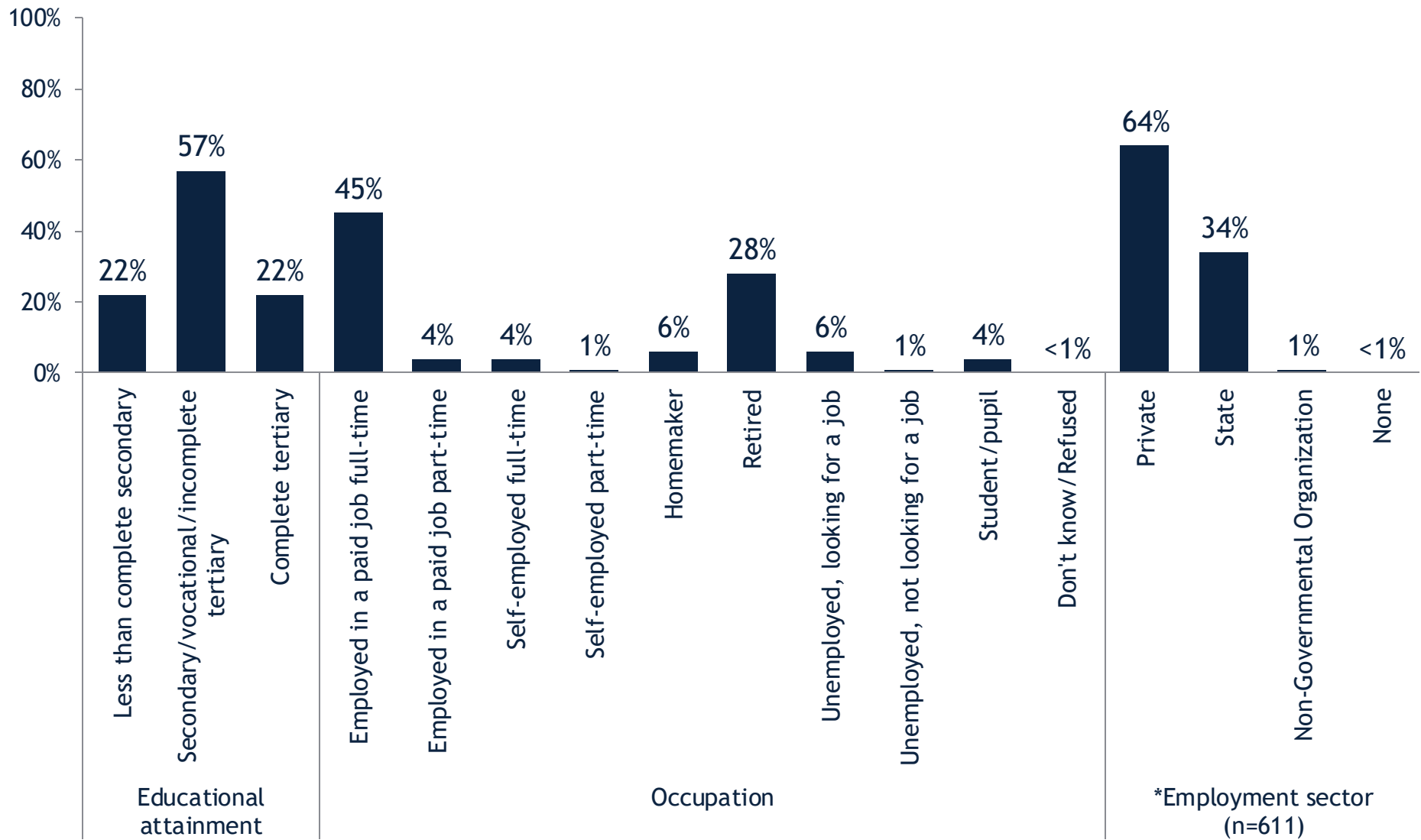
## Demographics - North Macedonia



# Demographics - Serbia

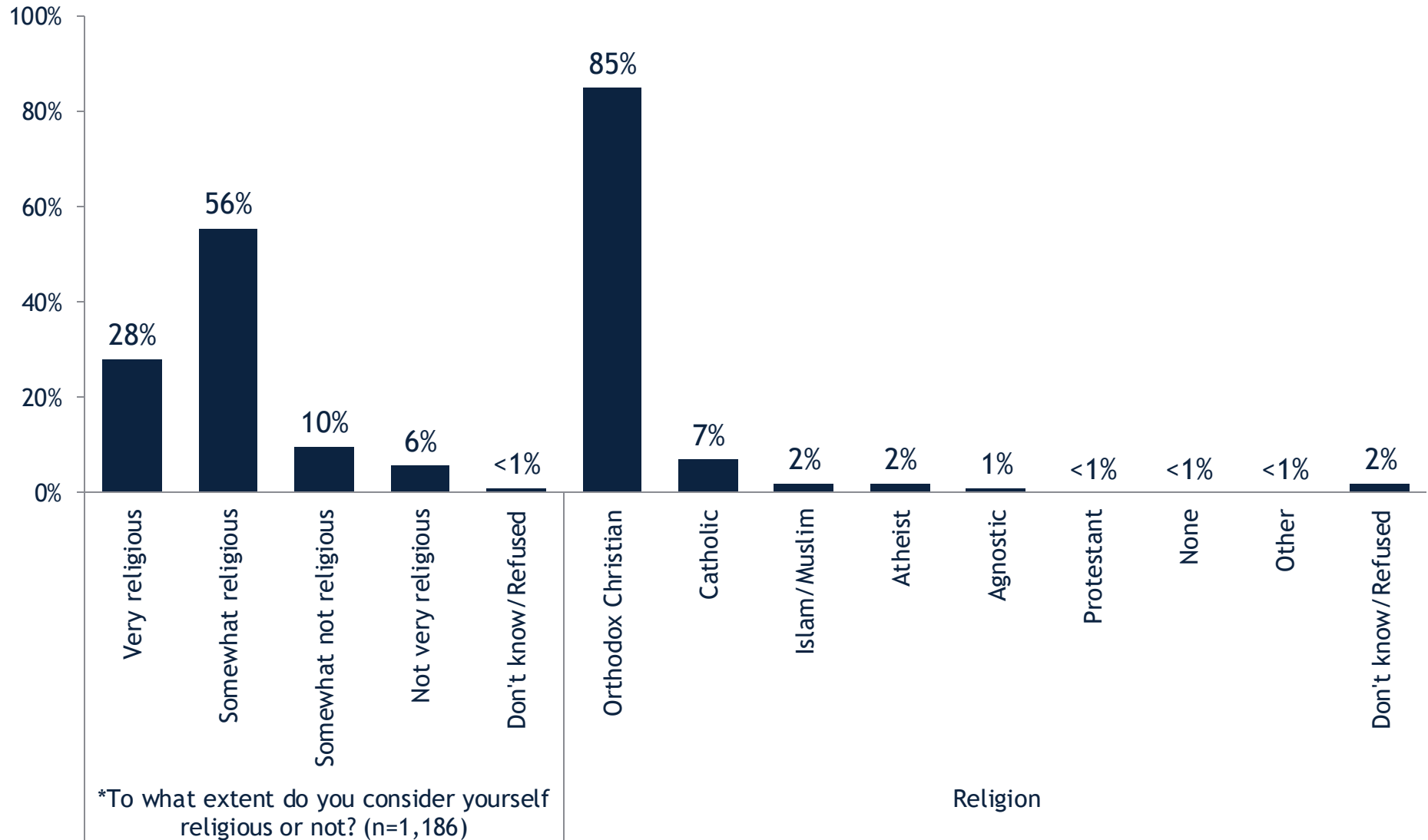


# Demographics - Serbia



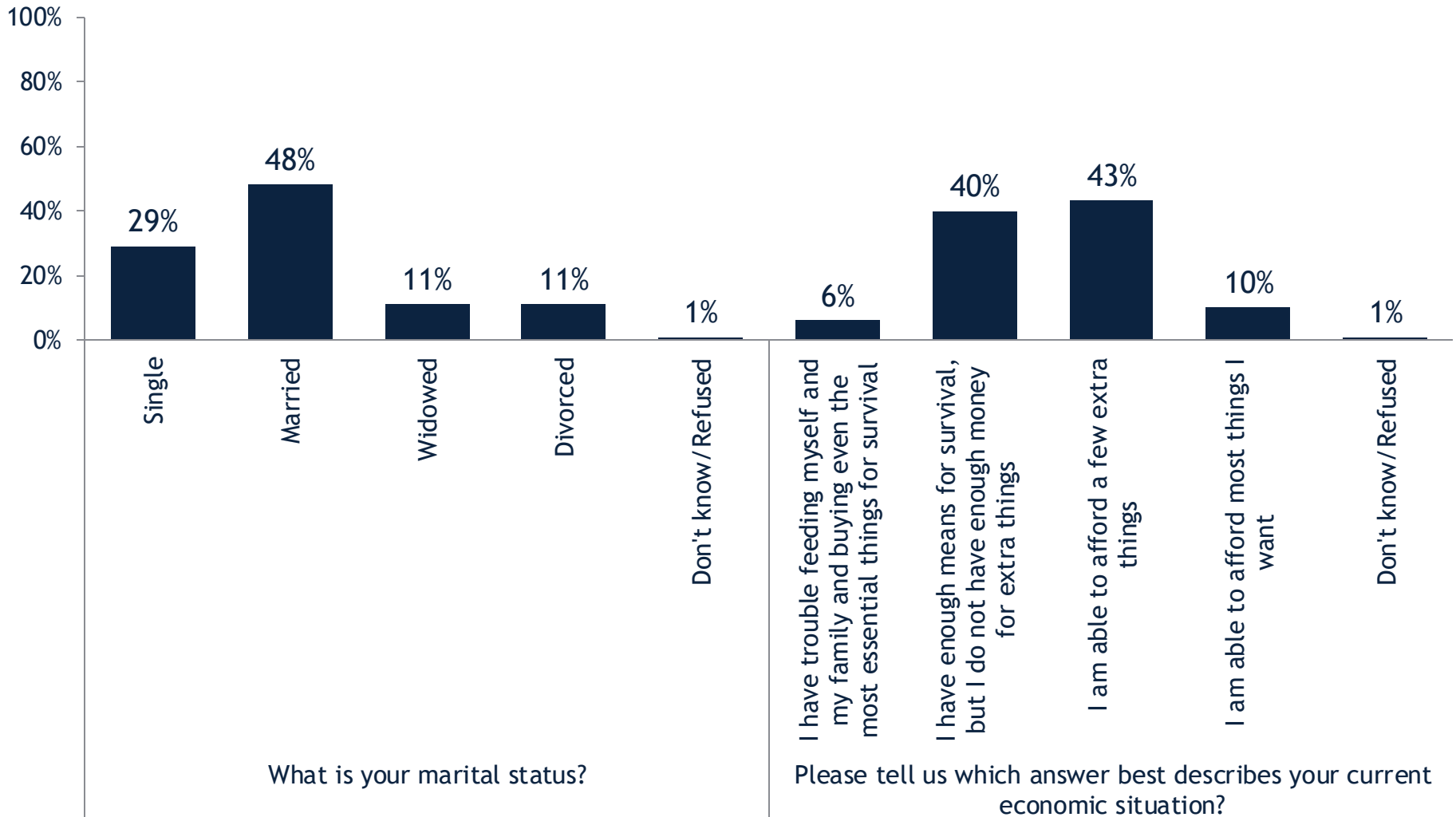
\*Among those who are employed.

# Demographics - Serbia



\*Among those who declared belonging to a religion.

# Demographics - Serbia



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

[www.IRI.org](http://www.IRI.org)



A PROJECT OF THE INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE

