

# Western Balkans Regional Poll

May-July 2025



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## Detailed Methodology

- Data collection for this survey was conducted by [Ipsos](#) based on a questionnaire designed by International Republican Institute (IRI.) Data analysis and report preparation were performed entirely by IRI's [Center for Insights in Survey Research](#).
- Data was collected between May 10 and July 07, 2025 through face-to-face interviews at respondents' homes. Further details on fieldwork period, margin of error, interview languages, and response rate are listed on the following slide.
- The sample consisted of n=1,219 adults (Bosnia and Herzegovina), n=1,164 adults (Kosovo), n=1,221 adults (North Macedonia), n=1,020 adults (Montenegro), and n=1,216 adults (Serbia.) 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, and 0.6% for Serbia.
- 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 which are based on data from the 2013 Census.
  - Kosovo: The sample was weighted for region, age, urbanicity, ethnicity and gender as per the 2024 census, and for education on Ipsos estimates based on the 2024 census. For trending to prior surveys, note that previous surveys had been weighted to the 2011 census parameters for regions, age, urbanicity and gender, while educational attainment was based on the MICS 2020 figures and ethnicity on the 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, education, ethnicity, and gender as per the 2023 census. For trending to prior surveys, note that there has been a 10 point shift towards urban populations since the 2011 census, which was used for previous surveys.
  - Serbia: The sample was weighted for region, urbanicity, age, gender, ethnicity, and educational attainment as per the 2022 census data.
- 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	Interview Language	Response Rate	Margin of Error*
<b>Bosnia and Herzegovina</b>	May 16- July 7, 2025	Bosnian/Serbian/Croatian	38%	±3.2
<b>Kosovo</b>	May 13- June 25, 2025	Albanian (94%), Serbian (6%)	33%	±3.3
<b>Montenegro</b>	May 10- June 24, 2025	Montenegrin	32%	±3.5
<b>North Macedonia</b>	May 11- June 19, 2025	Macedonian (72%), Albanian (28%)	38%	±2.8
<b>Serbia</b>	May 10- June 05, 2025	Serbian	22%	±3.2

\*Includes design effect (DEFF)

## Frequently Cited Disaggregate Bases

Poll		Category	Base
Poll 2025		Bosnia and Herzegovina	n = 1,219
		Kosovo	n = 1,164
		Montenegro	n = 1,020
		North Macedonia	n = 1,221
		Serbia	n = 1,216
<a href="#">Poll 2024</a>		Bosnia and Herzegovina	n = 1,225
		Kosovo	n = 1,203
		Montenegro	n = 1,036
		North Macedonia	n = 1,220
		Serbia	n = 1,238
<a href="#">Poll 2022</a>		Bosnia and Herzegovina	n = 1,501
		Kosovo	n = 1,520
		Montenegro	n = 1,008
		North Macedonia	n = 1,479
		Serbia	n = 1,504
<a href="#">Poll 2020</a>		Bosnia and Herzegovina	n = 1,486
		Kosovo	n = 1,517
		Montenegro	n = 966
		North Macedonia	n = 1,472
		Serbia	n = 1,481

# General Outlook

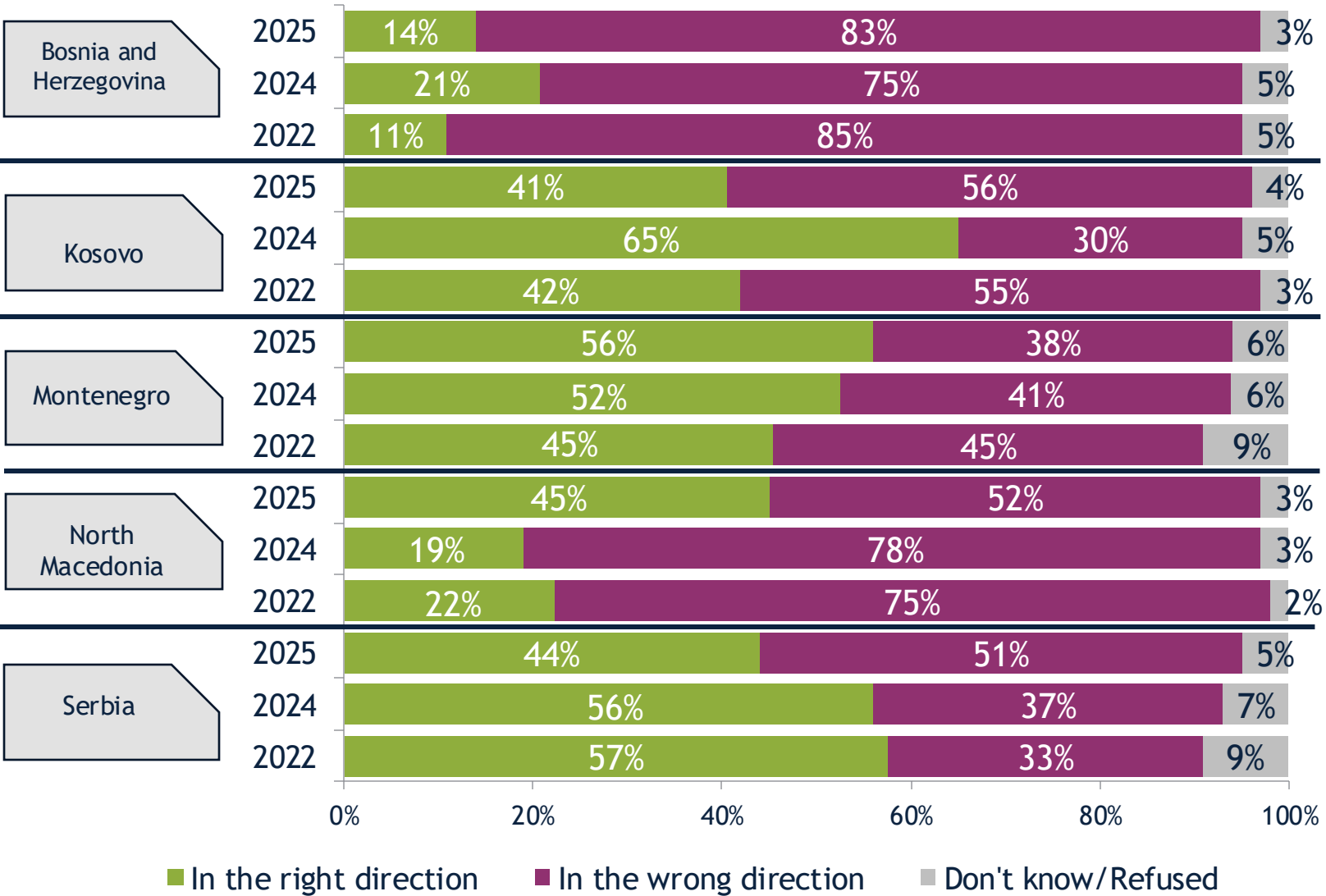


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Photo: Sergio Boscaino (CC) [www.flickr.com](http://www.flickr.com)



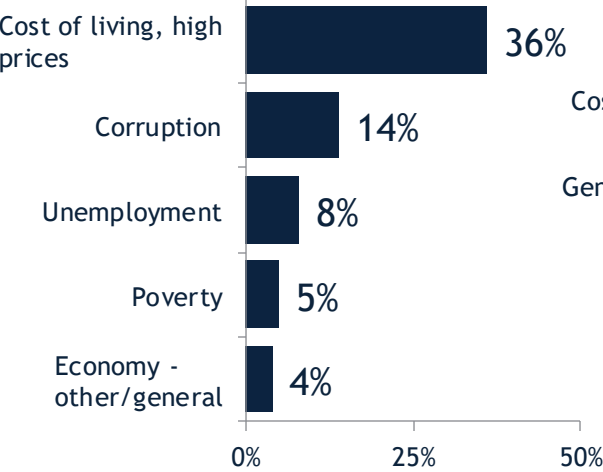
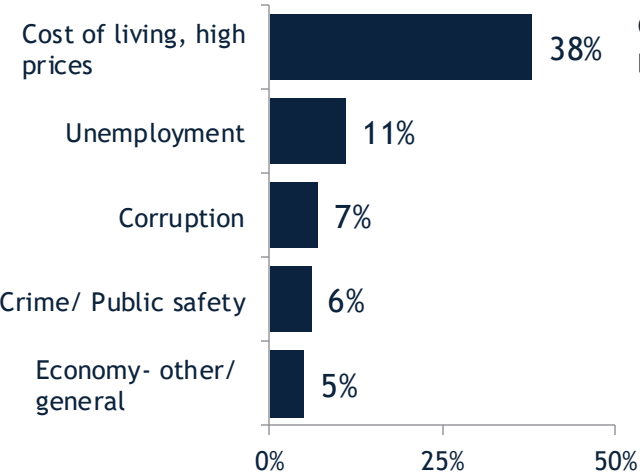
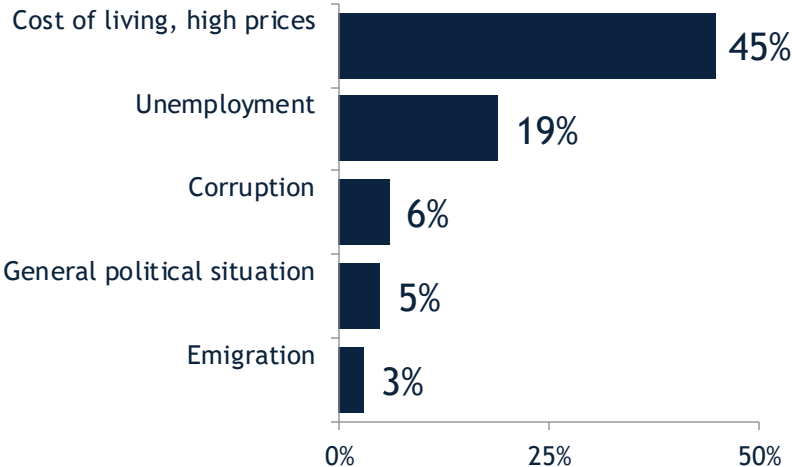
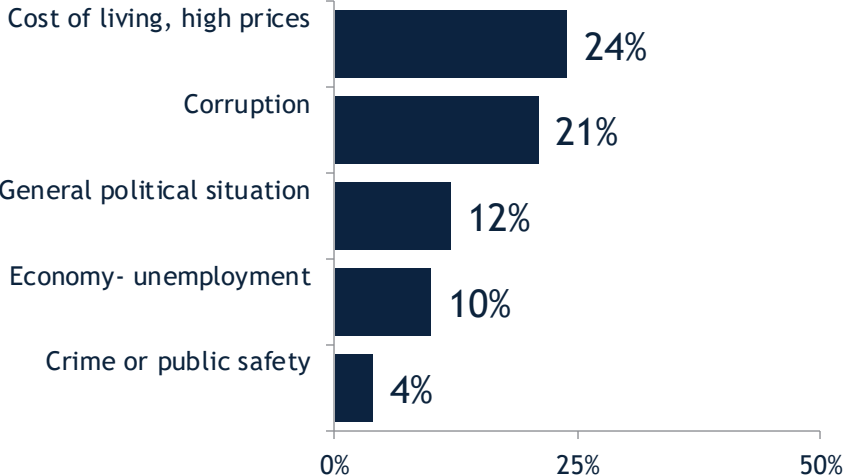
# In general, would you say that our country is heading in the right direction or the wrong direction?





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






(Spontaneous response, top 5 problems shown)





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

(Spontaneous response, top 5 problems shown)

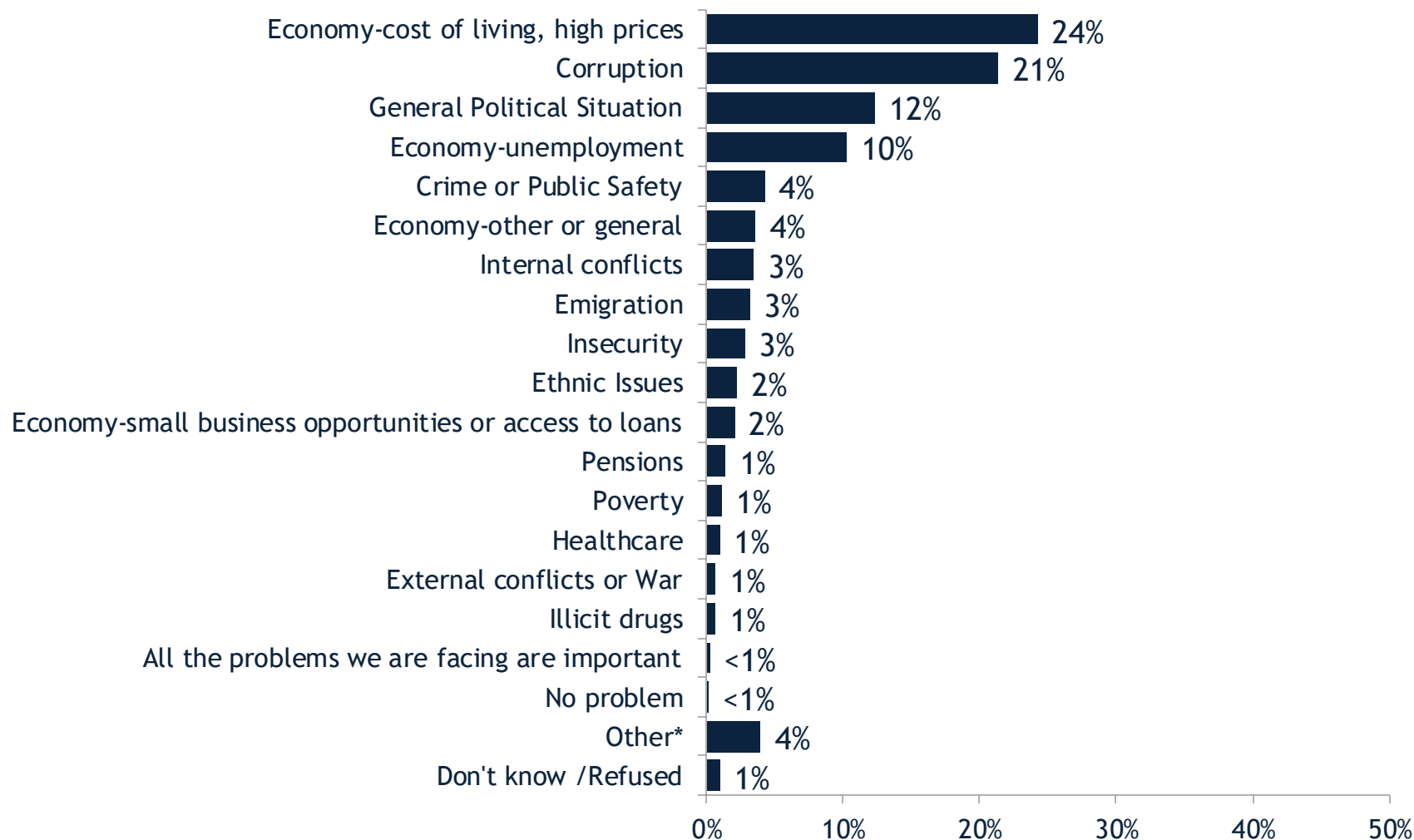
	Problem 1	Problem 2	Problem 3	Problem 4	Problem 5
Bosnia and Herzegovina 	Cost of living, high prices 2025: 24% 2024: 28%	Corruption 2025: 21% 2024: 12%	General political situation 2025: 12% 2024: 9%	Unemployment 2025: 10% 2024: 17%	Crime/Public safety 2025: 4% 2024: 5%
Kosovo 	Cost of living, high prices 2025: 45% 2024: 28%	Unemployment 2025: 19% 2024: 29%	Corruption 2025: 6% 2024: 7%	General political situation 2025: 5% 2024: 2%	Emigration 2025: 3% 2024: 6%
Montenegro 	Cost of living, high prices 2025: 38% 2024: 38%	Unemployment 2025: 11% 2024: 15%	Corruption 2025: 7% 2024: 13%	Crime/Public safety 2025: 6% 2024: 7%	Economy - other/general 2025: 5% 2024: 4%
North Macedonia 	Cost of living, high prices 2025: 36% 2024: 31%	Corruption 2025: 14% 2024: 22%	Unemployment 2025: 8% 2024: 10%	Poverty 2025: 5% 2024: 5%	Economy - other/general 2025: 4% 2024: 5%
Serbia 	Corruption 2025: 29% 2024: 8%	Cost of living, high prices 2025: 23% 2024: 28%	General political situation 2025: 9% 2024: 5%	Internal conflicts: 2025: 7% 2024: 3%	Unemployment 2025: 4% 2024: 7%





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

(Spontaneous response)

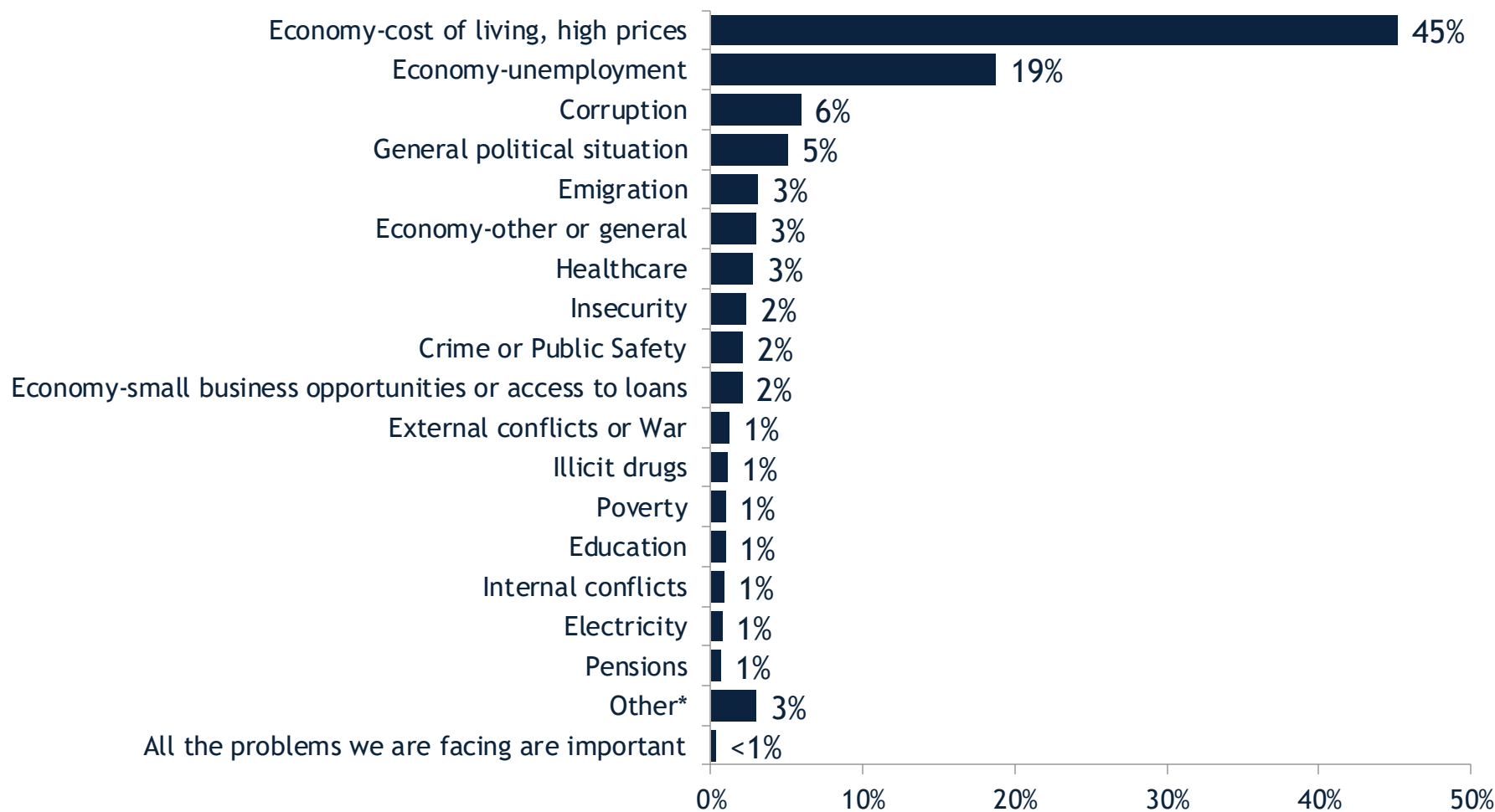


\*Responses receiving <1% are collapsed into *Other*.



## What is the most important problem facing Kosovo today?

(Spontaneous response)

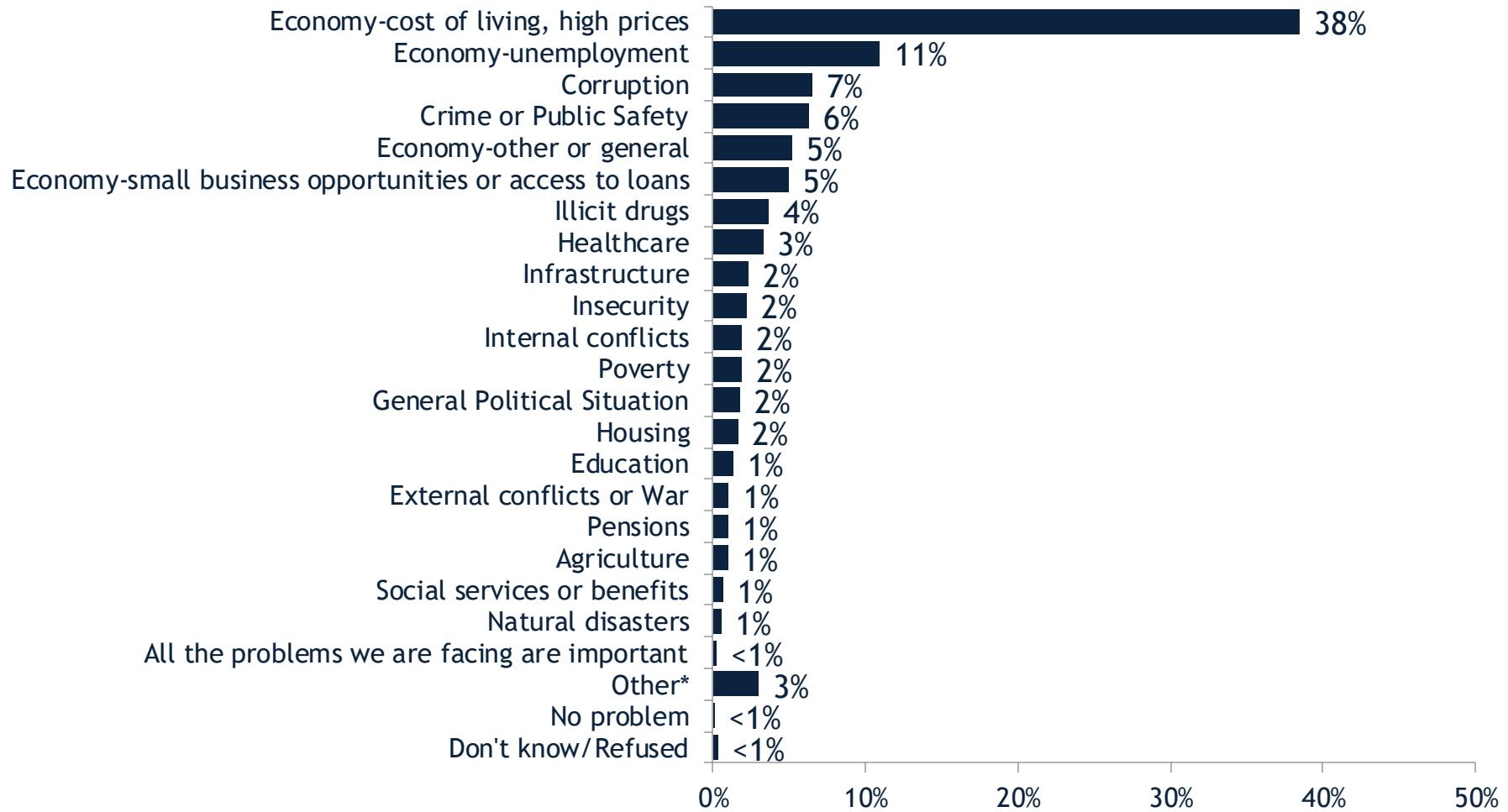


\*Responses receiving <1% are collapsed into *Other*.



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

(Spontaneous response)

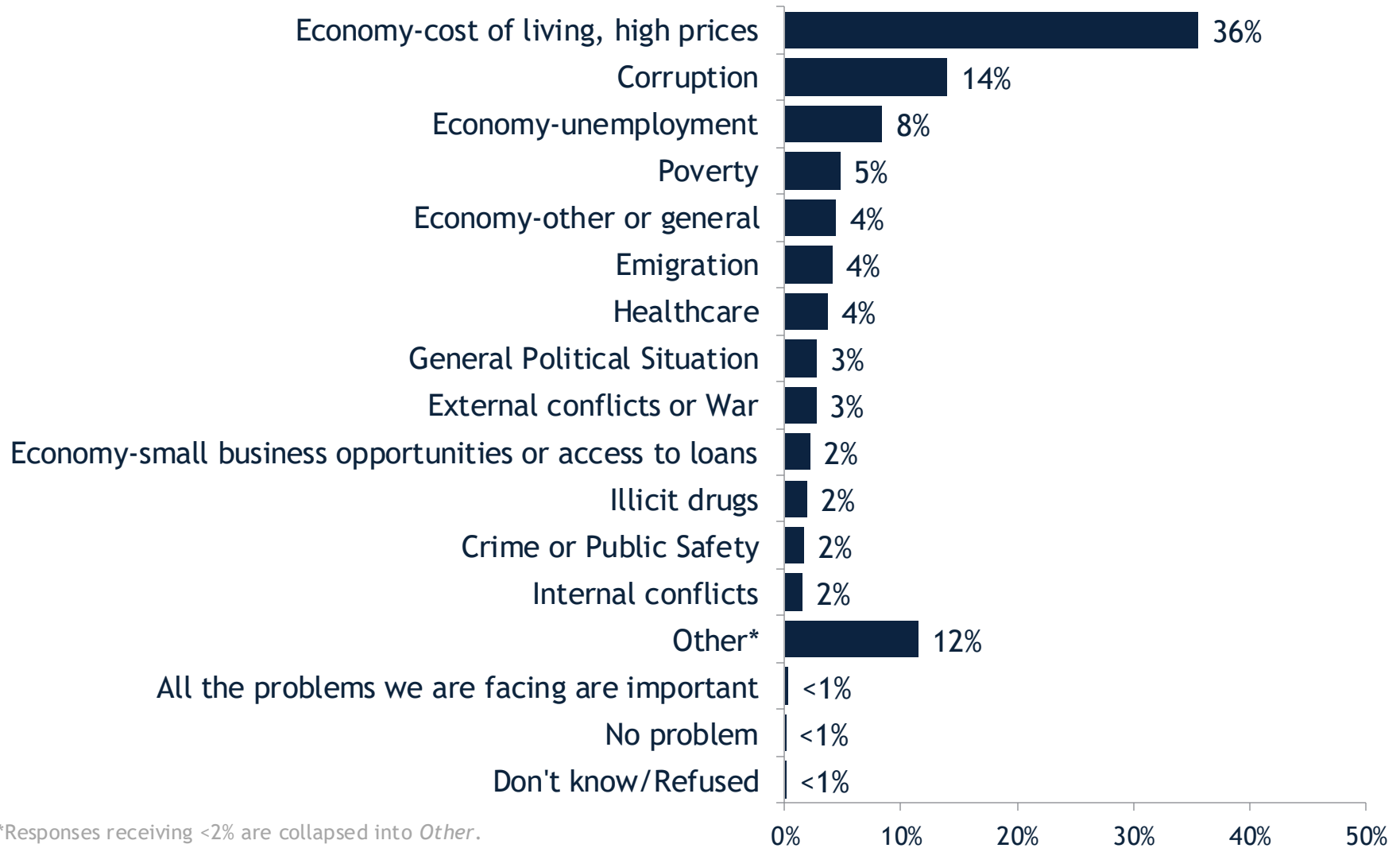


\*Responses receiving <1% are collapsed into *Other*.



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

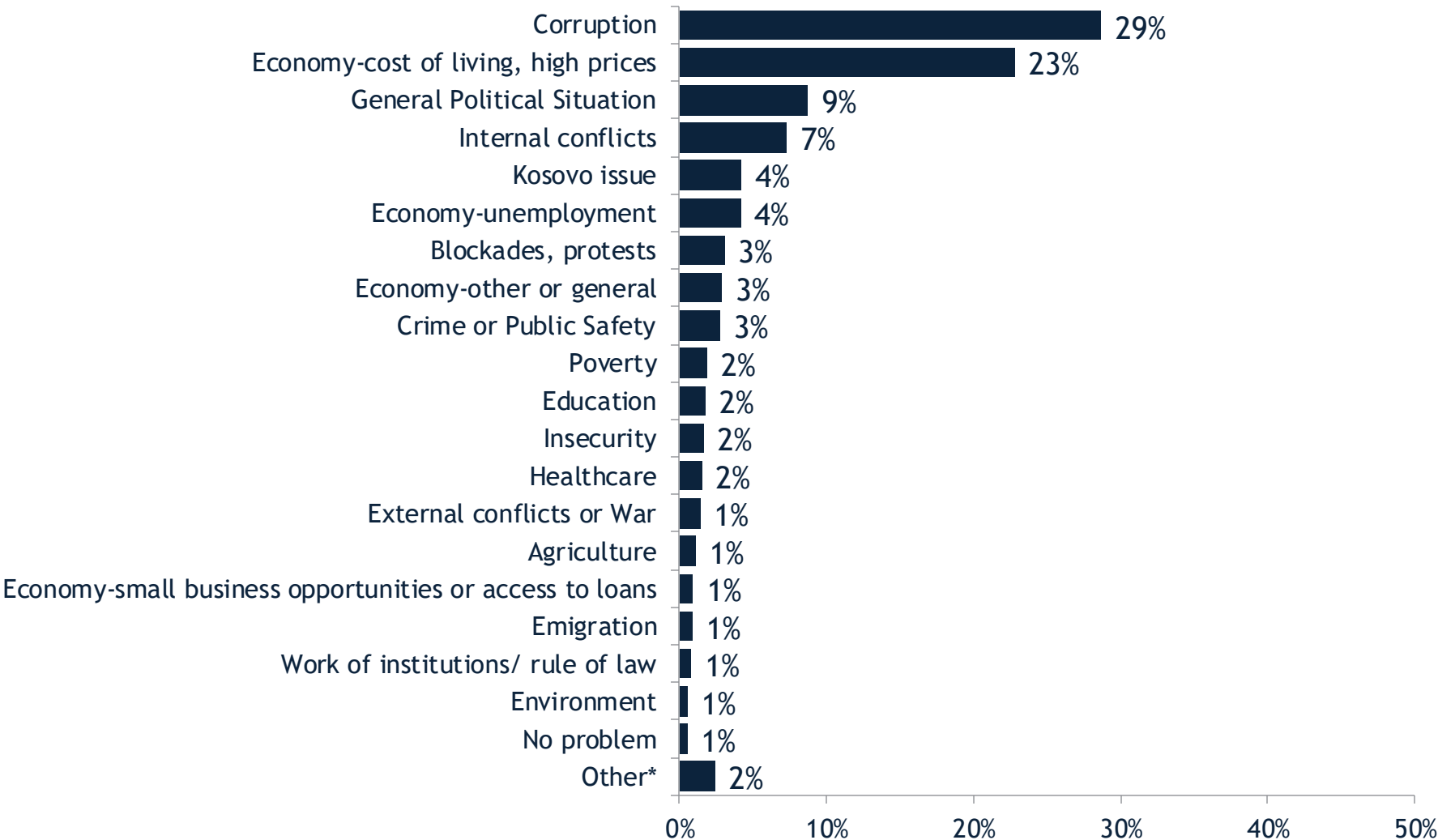
(Spontaneous response)





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

(Spontaneous response)



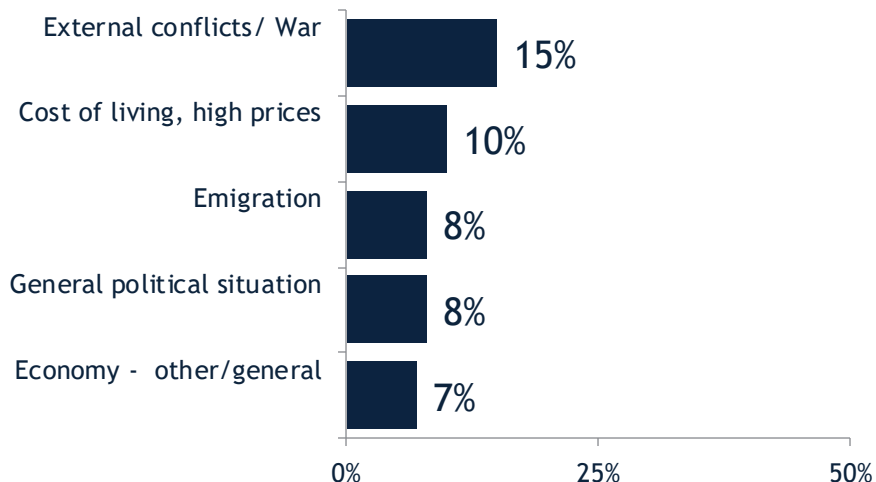
\*Responses receiving <1% are collapsed into *Other*.



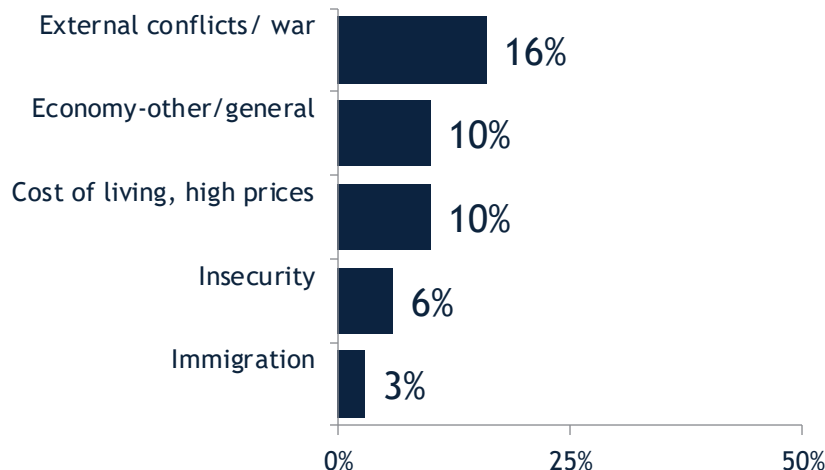
# What about at the European level? What is the most important problem facing Europe today?

(Spontaneous response, top 5 issues shown)

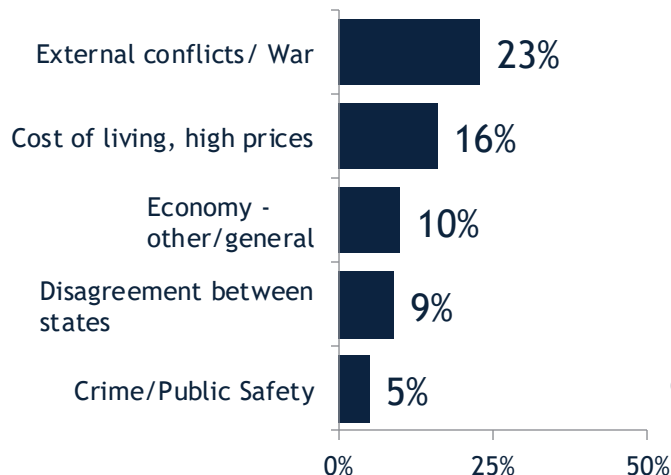
## Bosnia and Herzegovina



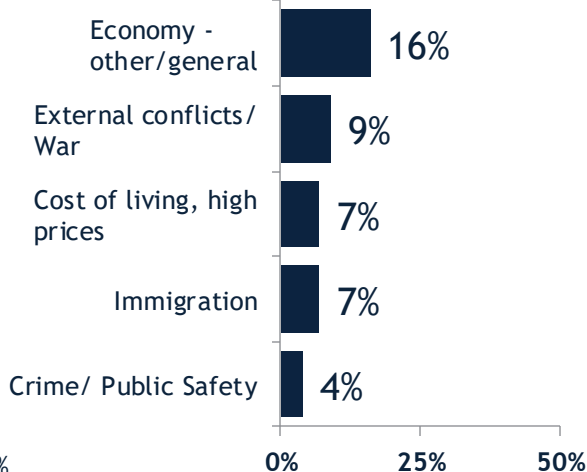
## Kosovo



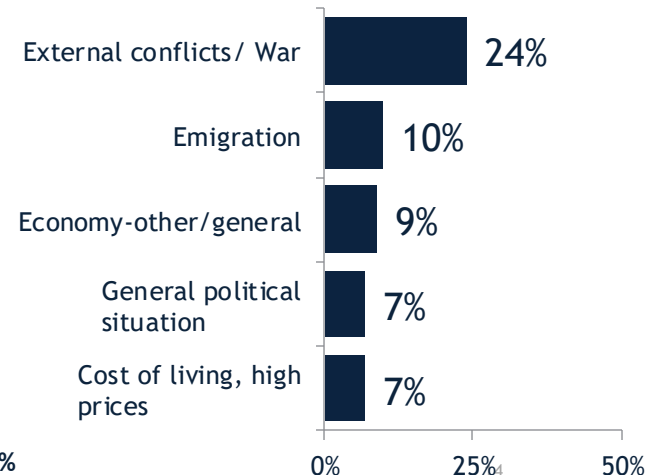
## Montenegro



## North Macedonia



## Serbia

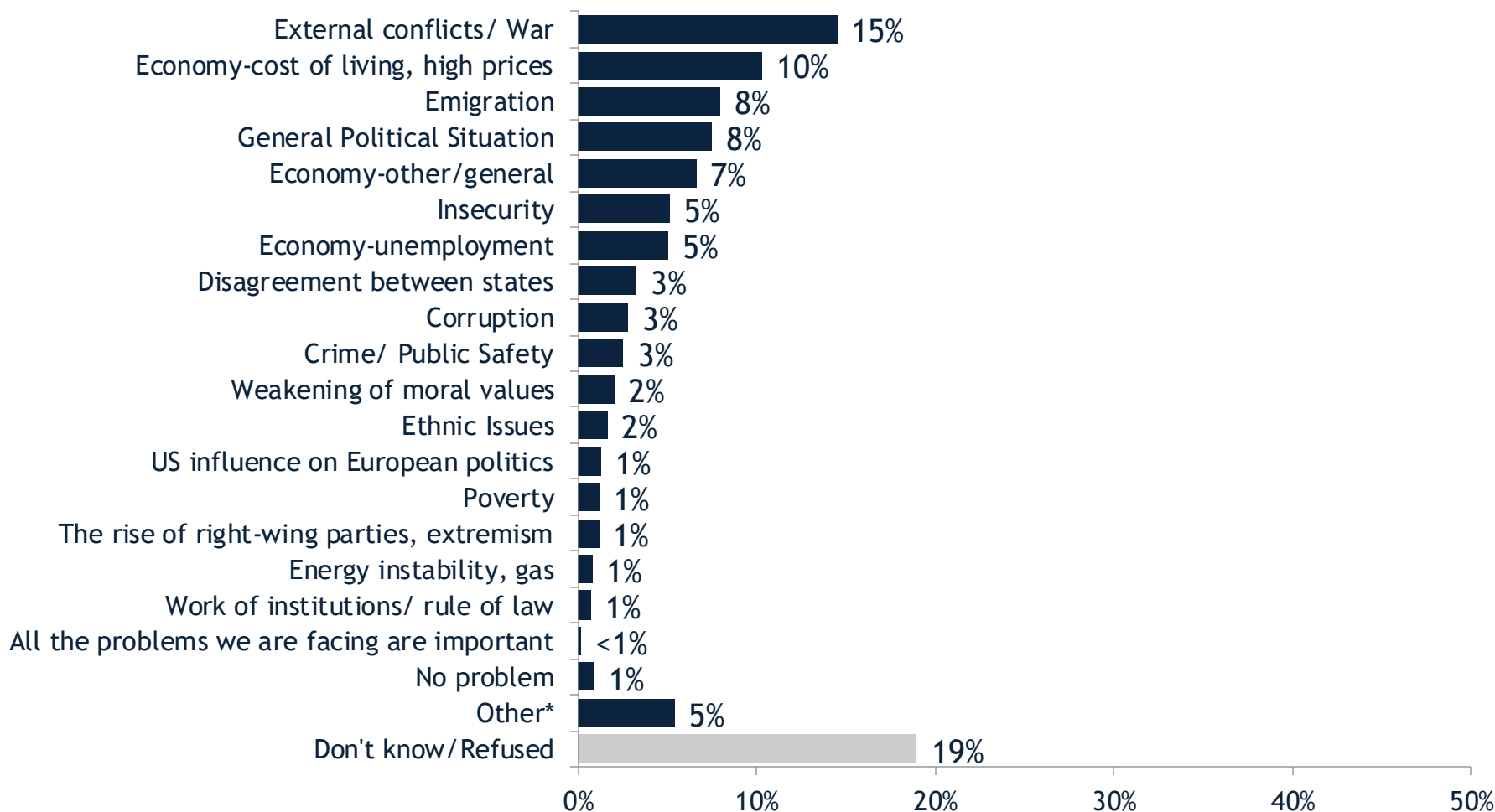


\*Full form: Small business opportunities/access to loans.



# What about at the European level? What is the most important problem facing Europe today?

(Spontaneous response)

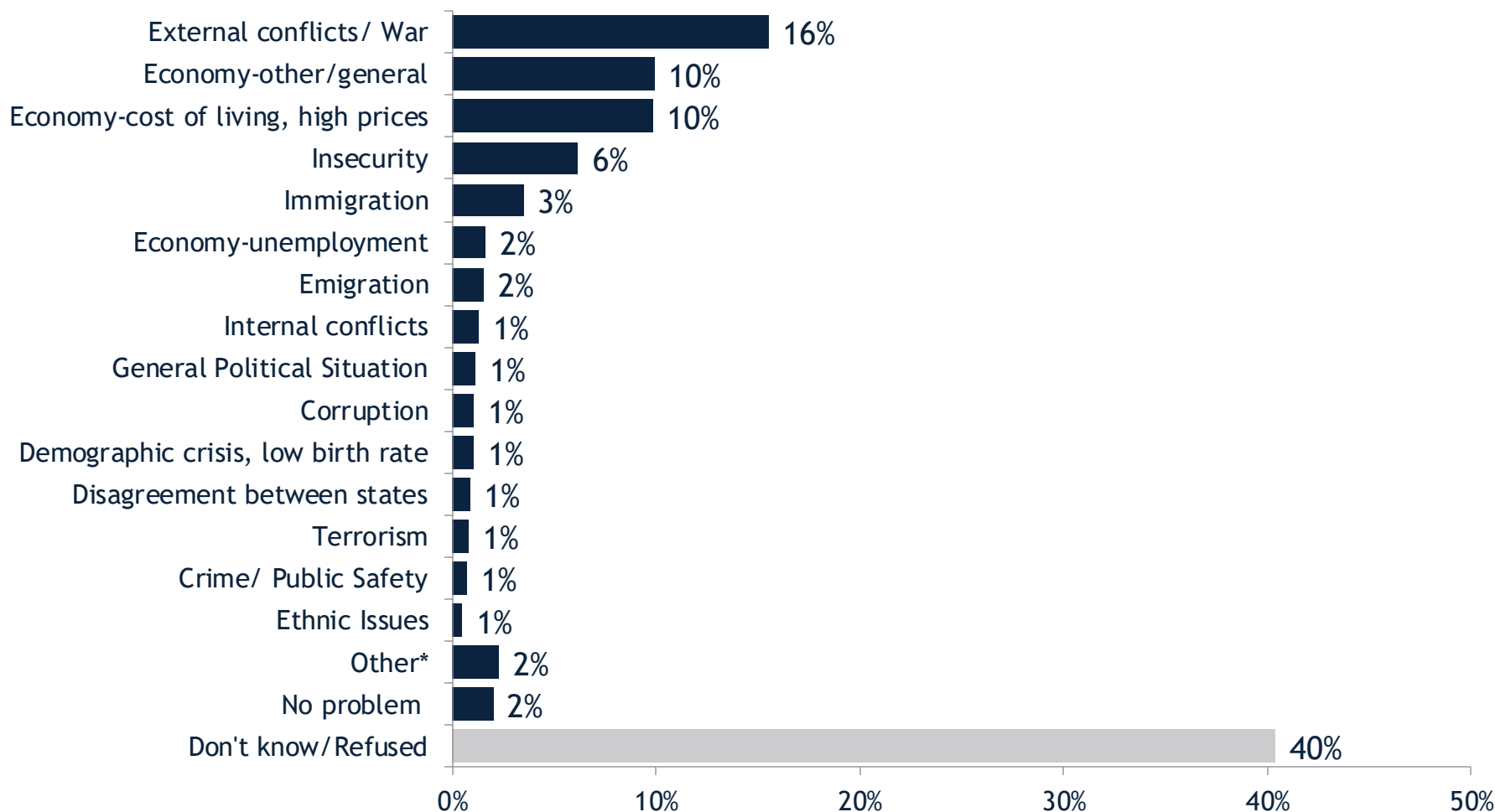


\*Responses receiving <1% are collapsed into *Other*.



# What about at the European level? What is the most important problem facing Europe today?

(Spontaneous response)



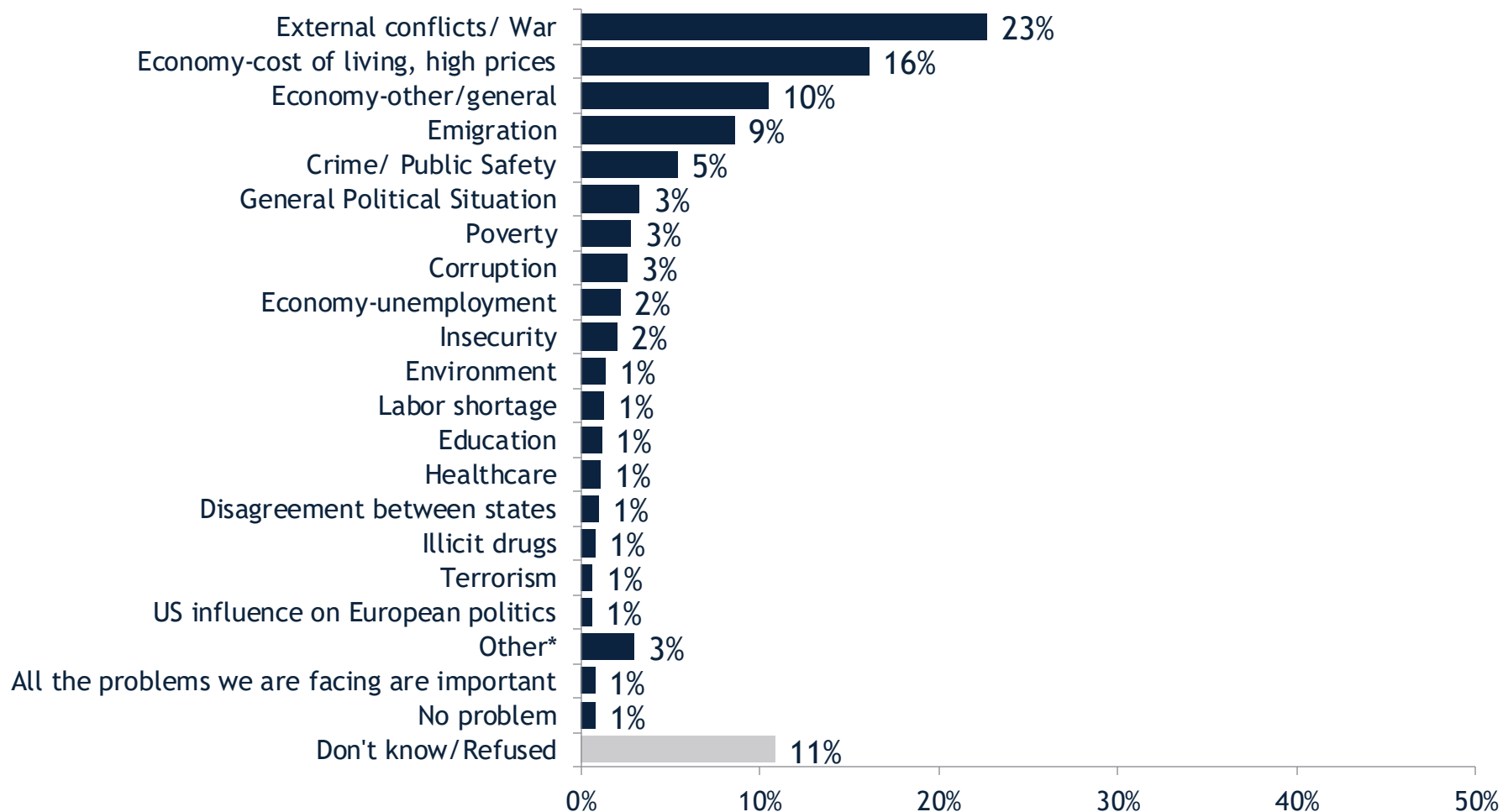
\*Responses receiving <1% are collapsed into *Other*.





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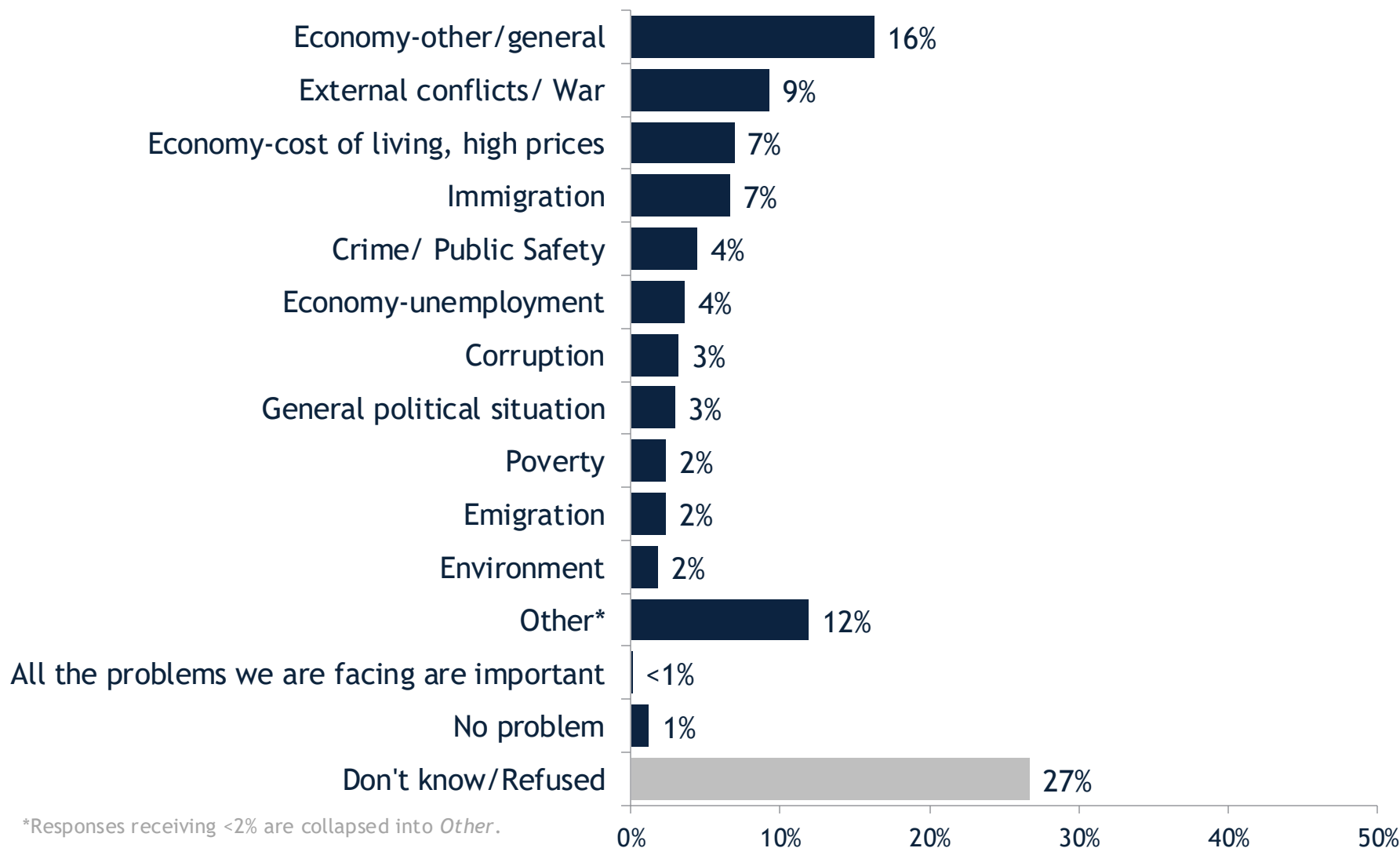


\*Responses receiving <1% are collapsed into *Other*.



# What about at the European level? What is the most important problem facing Europe today?

(Spontaneous response)





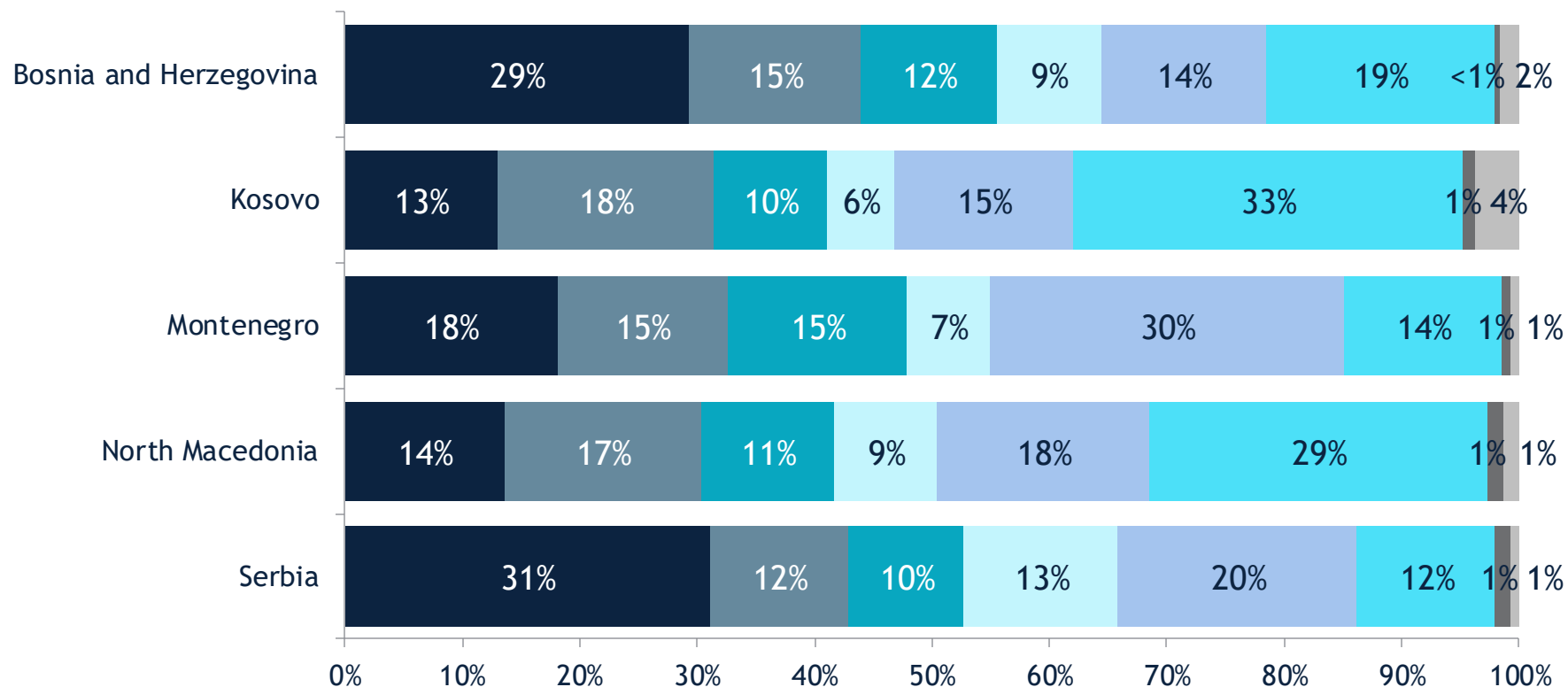
# What about at the European level? What is the most important problem facing Europe today?

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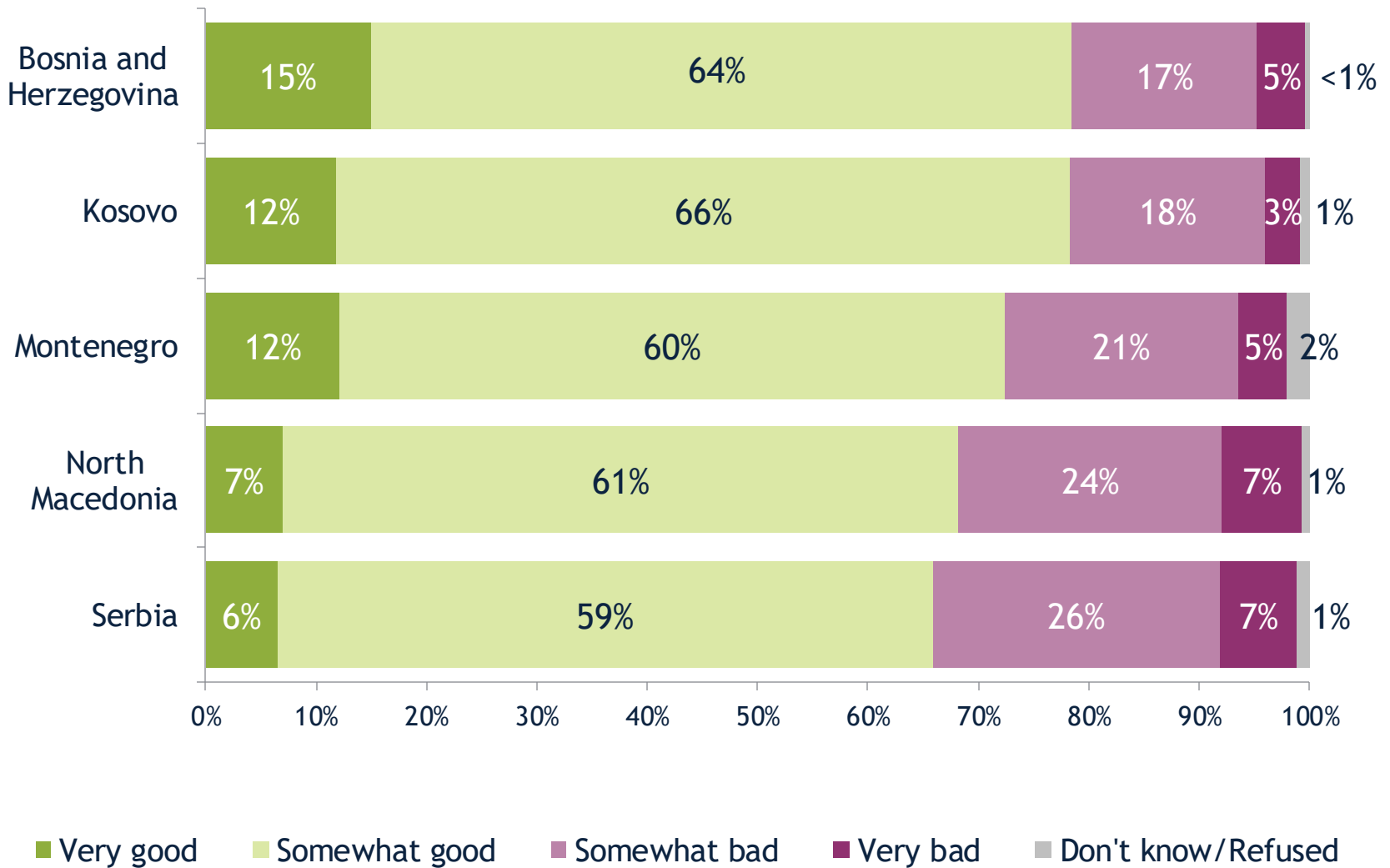
\*Responses receiving <1% are collapsed into *Other*.

## In the long term, which of the following issues do you fear could threaten our way of life and children's future?



- Open conflict or war
- Collapse of banks, financial system, and general economic collapse
- Bankruptcy and disappearance of health and social security systems
- Terrorism, extremism, and political violence
- Loss of culture, values, and the way of life we grew up with
- Migration and demographic change
- Other
- Don't know/Refused

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



# Change

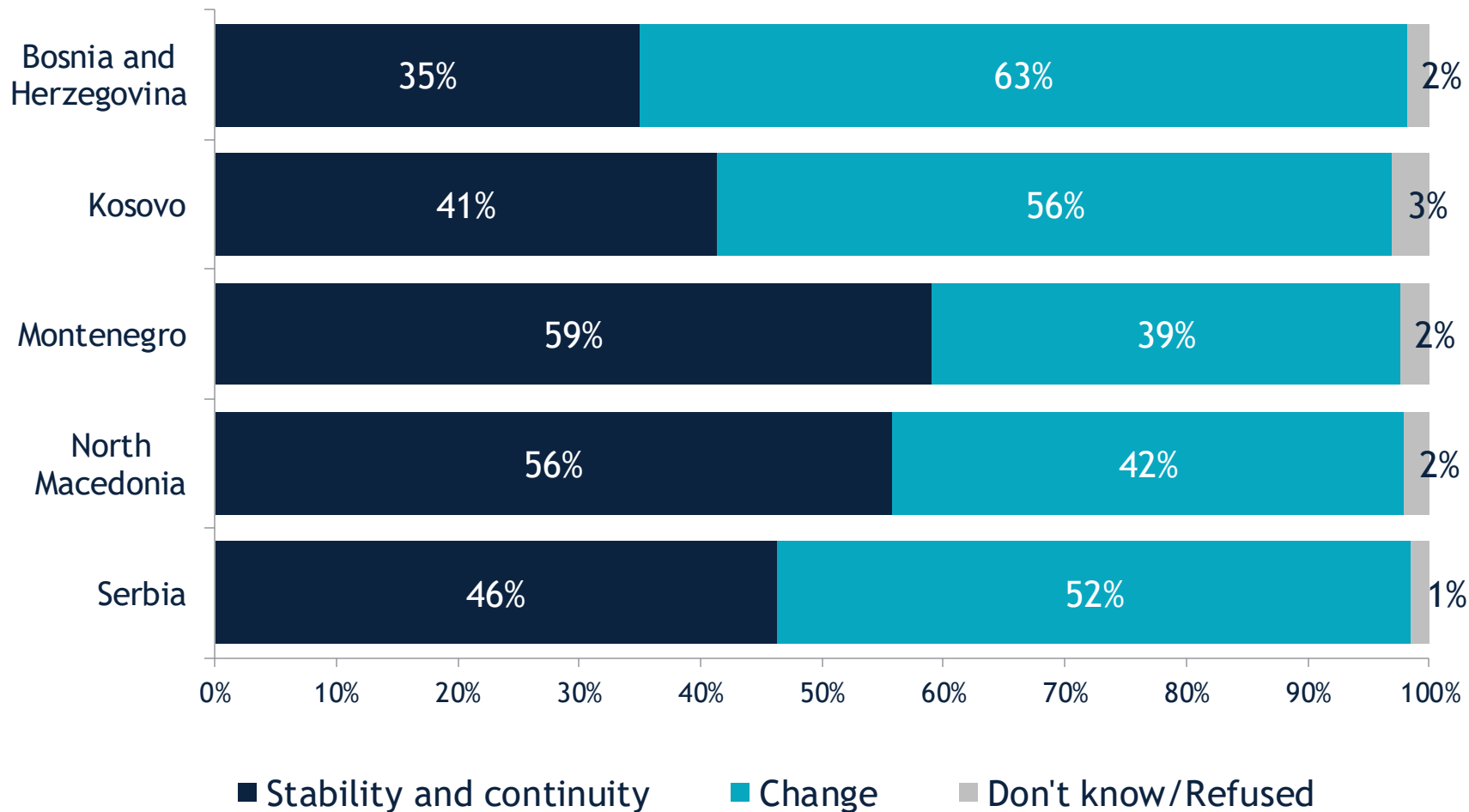


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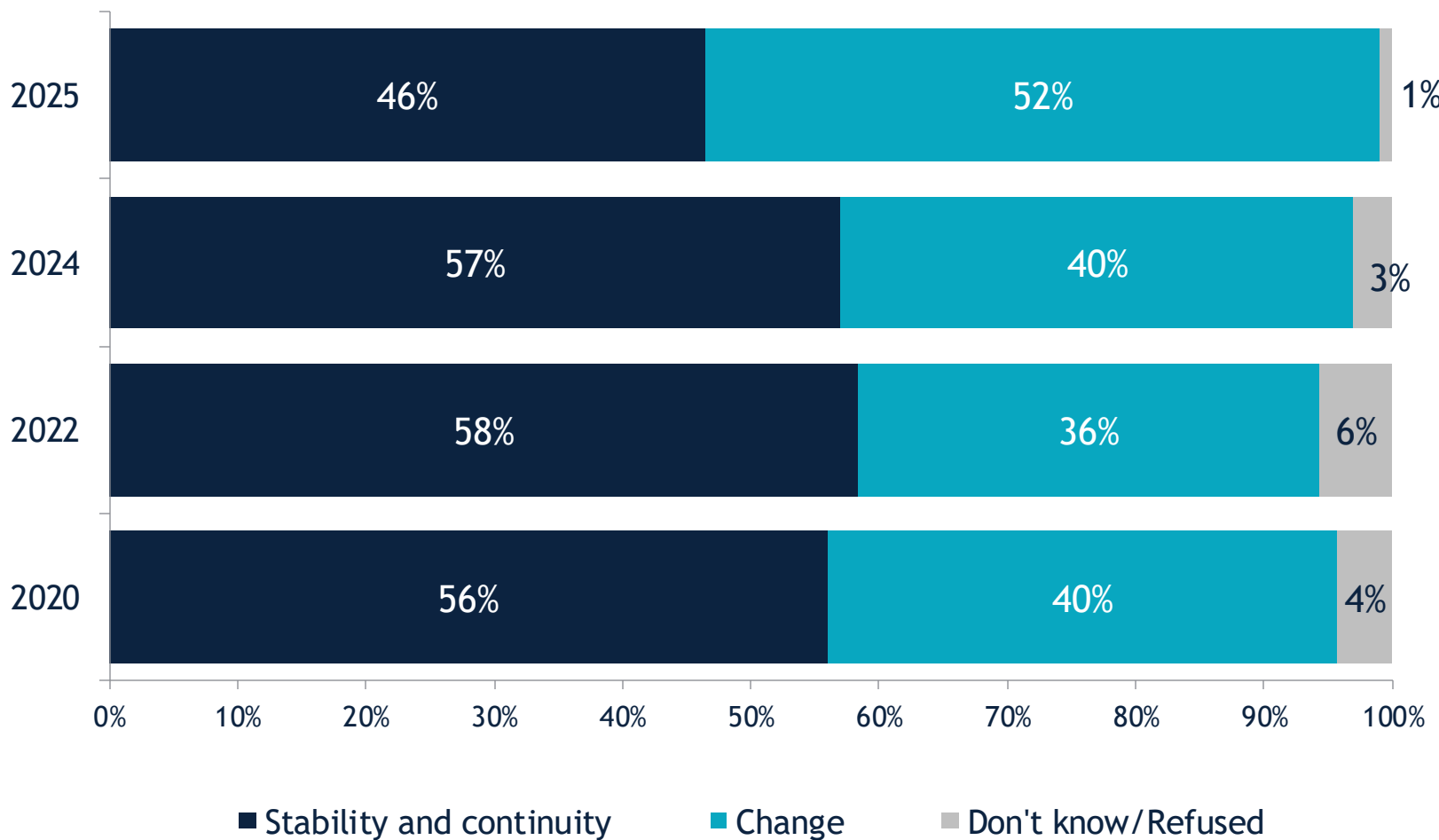
"Riot police in action in a city" by Joyce FILE#: 757982561 on  
AdobeStock.com



# What does our country need the most at this time?



# What does our country need the most at this time?

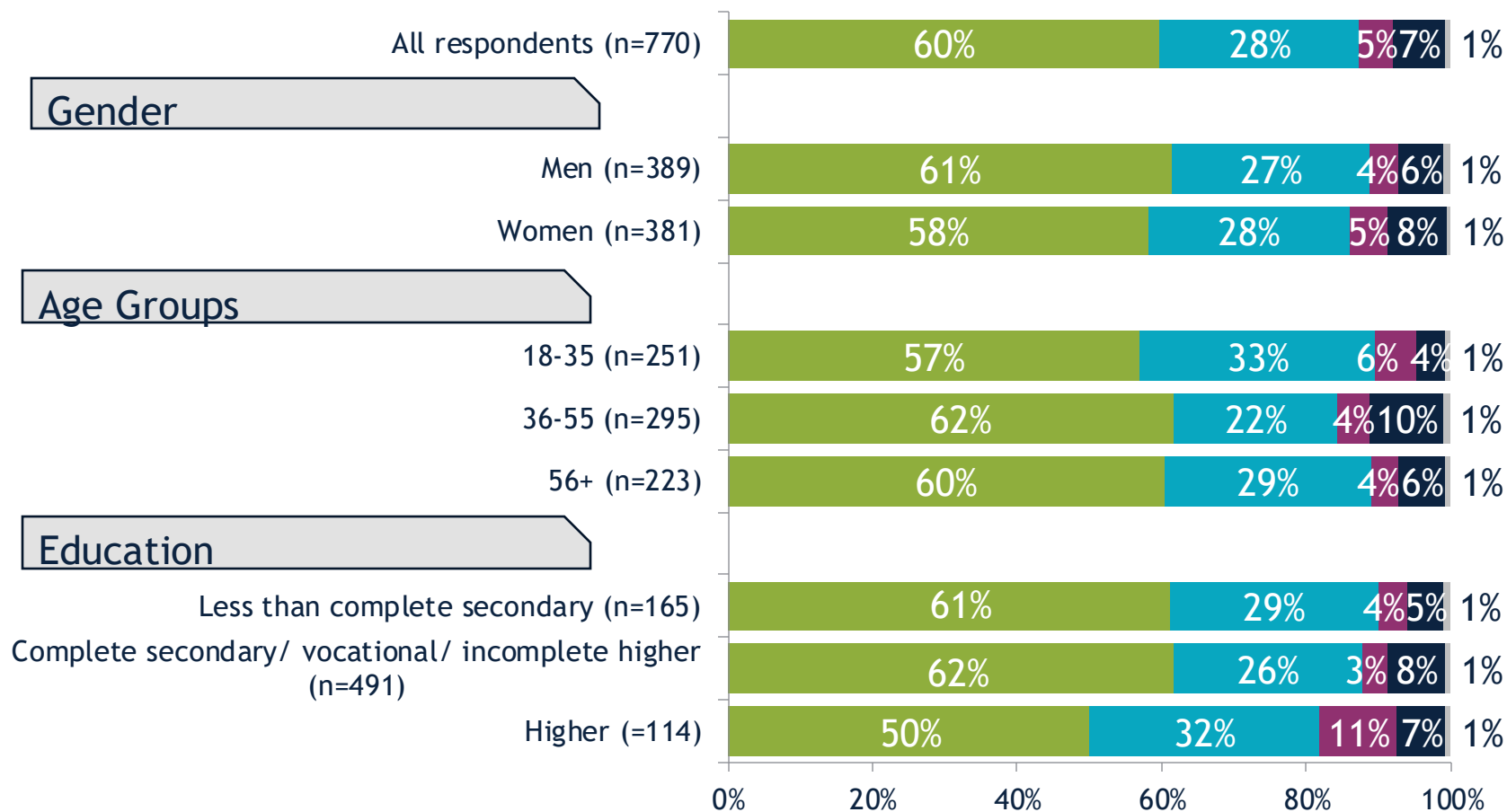






# Which one of the following types of change is most needed in Bosnia and Herzegovina now?

(Among Bosnians who believe BiH **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

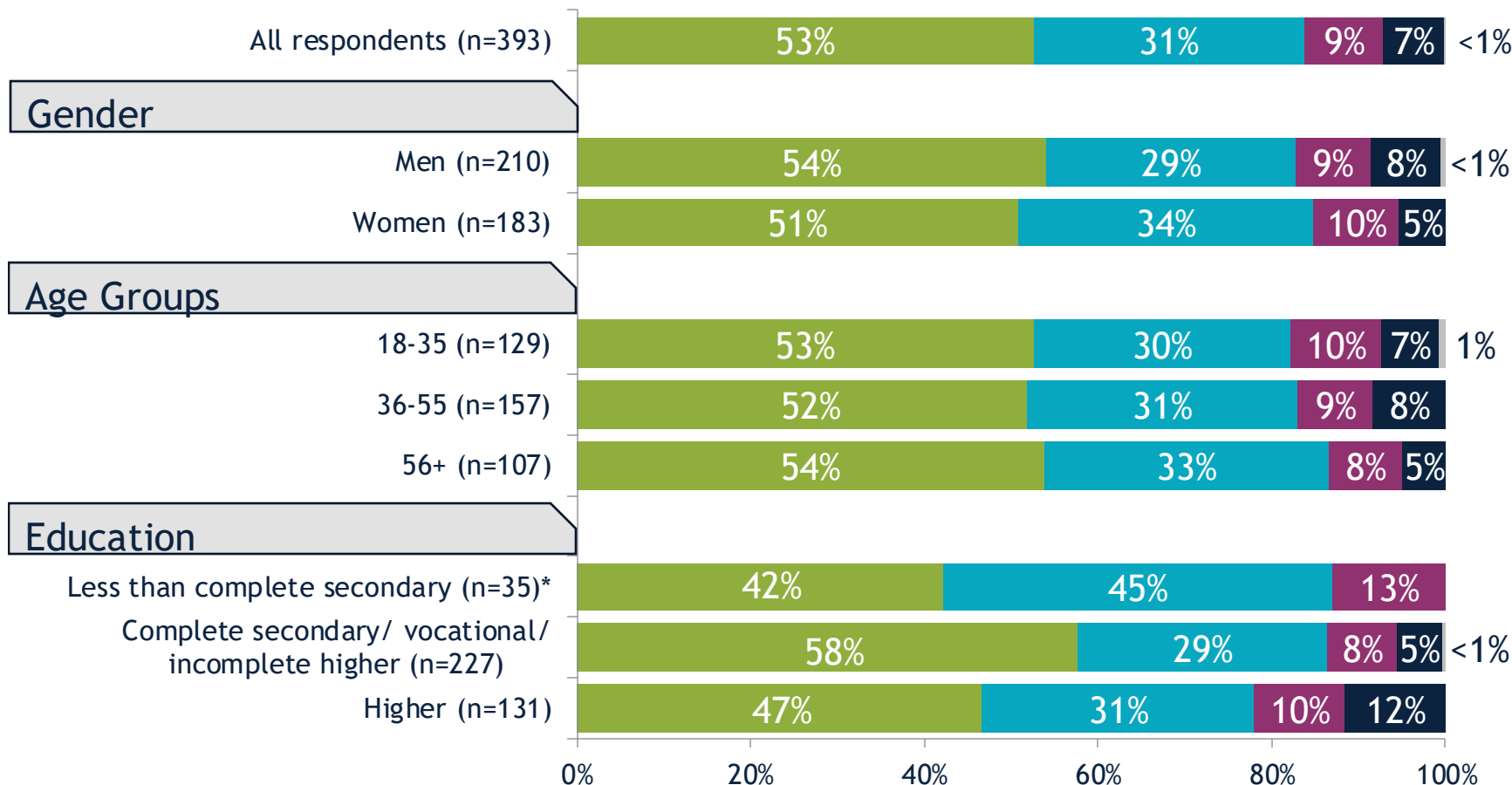
■ Change of administrative standards, including professional managers in institutions and a reduction in corruption

■ Don't know/Refused



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

(Among Montenegrins who believe Montenegro **needs a change**)



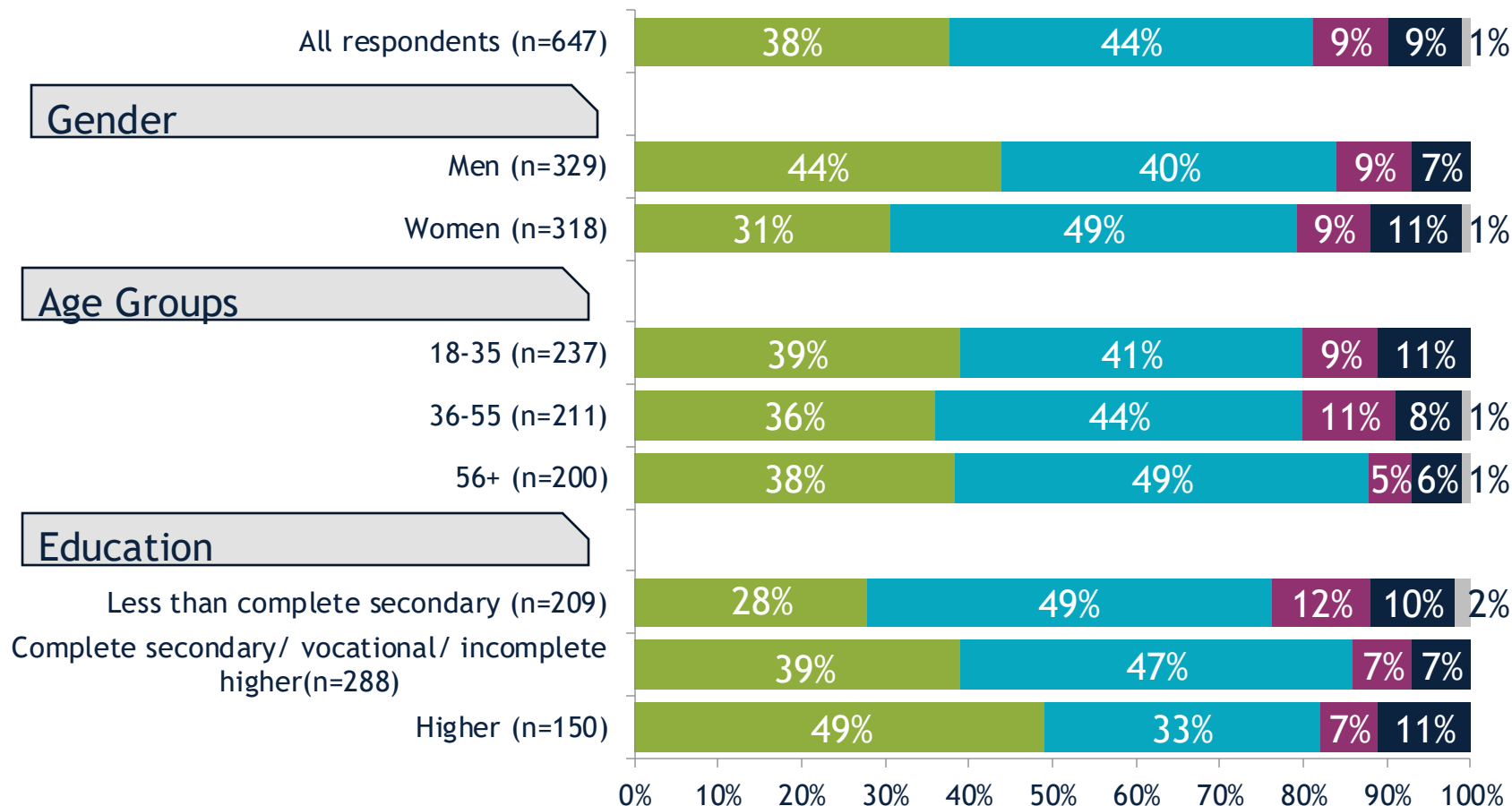
- Change of top political leaders and ruling parties
- Change of the economic situation and improvement of social justice
- Change of cultural standards and practices, including media and education standards and a reduction in violence
- Change of administrative standards, including professional managers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

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



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

(Among those in Kosovo who believe Kosovo **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

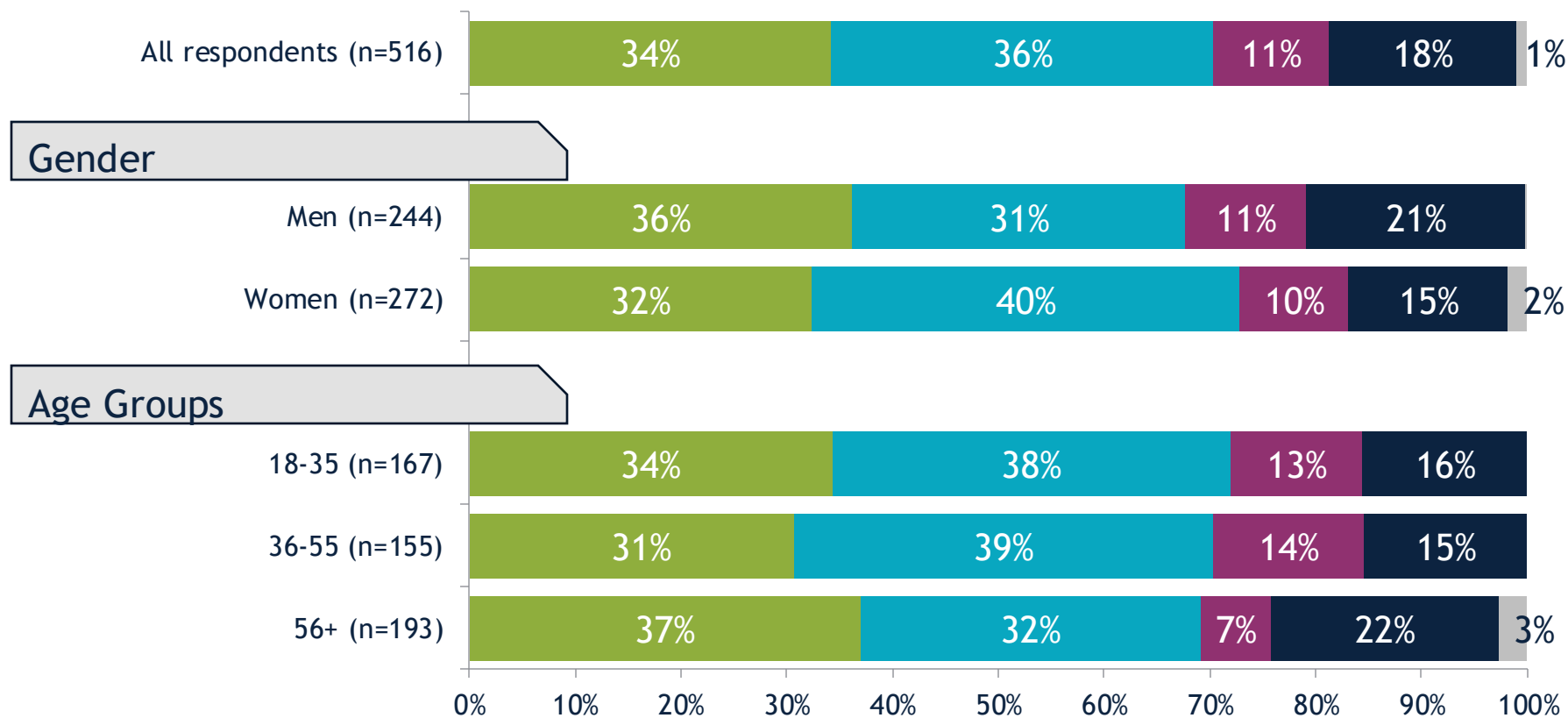
■ Change of administrative standards, including professional managers in institutions and a reduction in corruption

■ Don't know/Refused



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

(Among those in North Macedonia who believe North Macedonia **needs a change**)

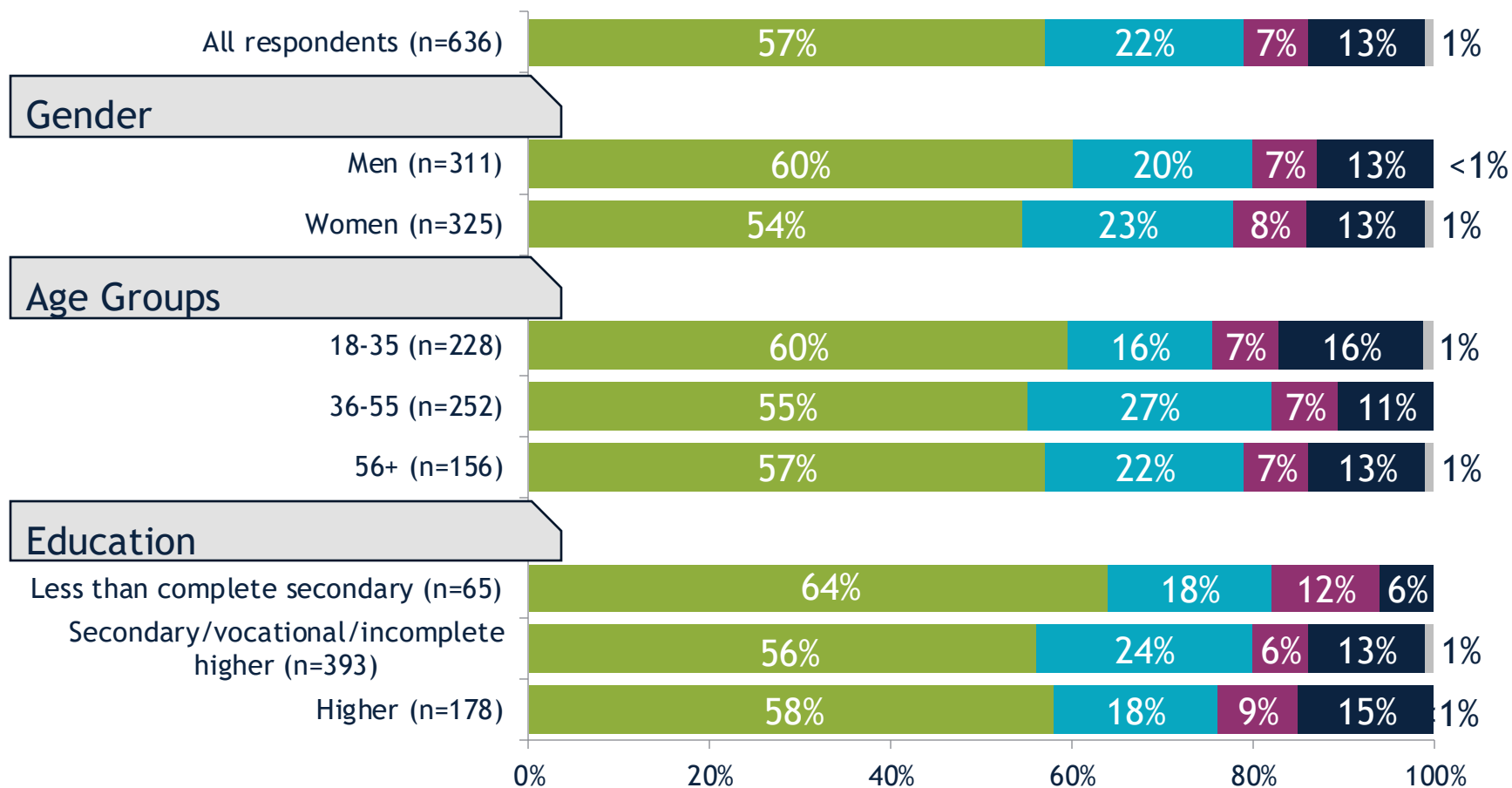


- Change of top political leaders and ruling parties
- Change of the economic situation and improvement of social justice
- Change of cultural standards and practices, including media and education standards and a reduction in violence
- Change of administrative standards, including professional managers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



# 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

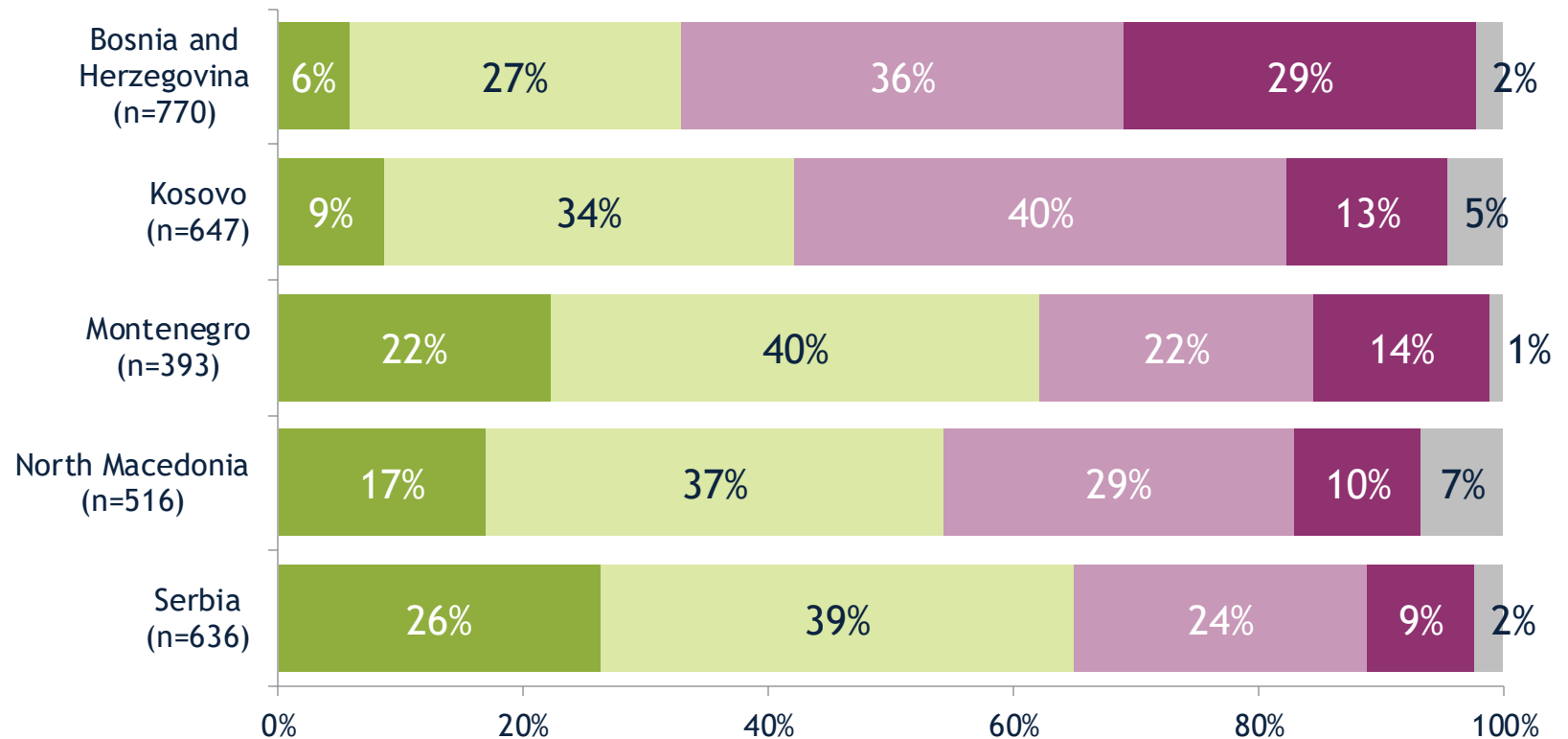
■ Change of cultural standards and practices, including media and education standards and a reduction in violence

■ Change of administrative standards, including professional managers in institutions and a reduction in corruption

■ Don't know/Refused

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

(Among those in each country who believe their country **needs a change**)

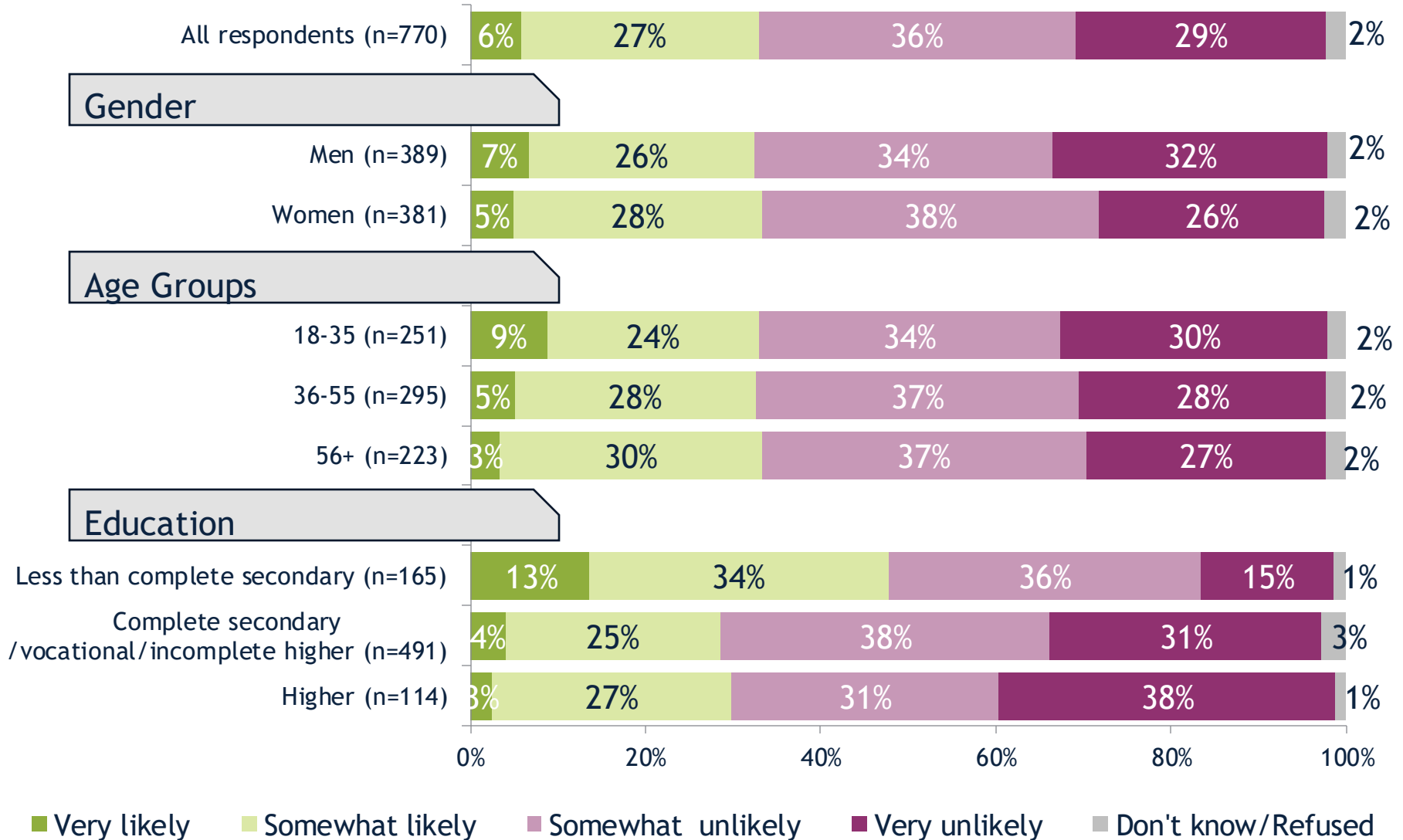


■ Very likely ■ Somewhat likely ■ Somewhat unlikely ■ Very unlikely ■ Don't know/Refused



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

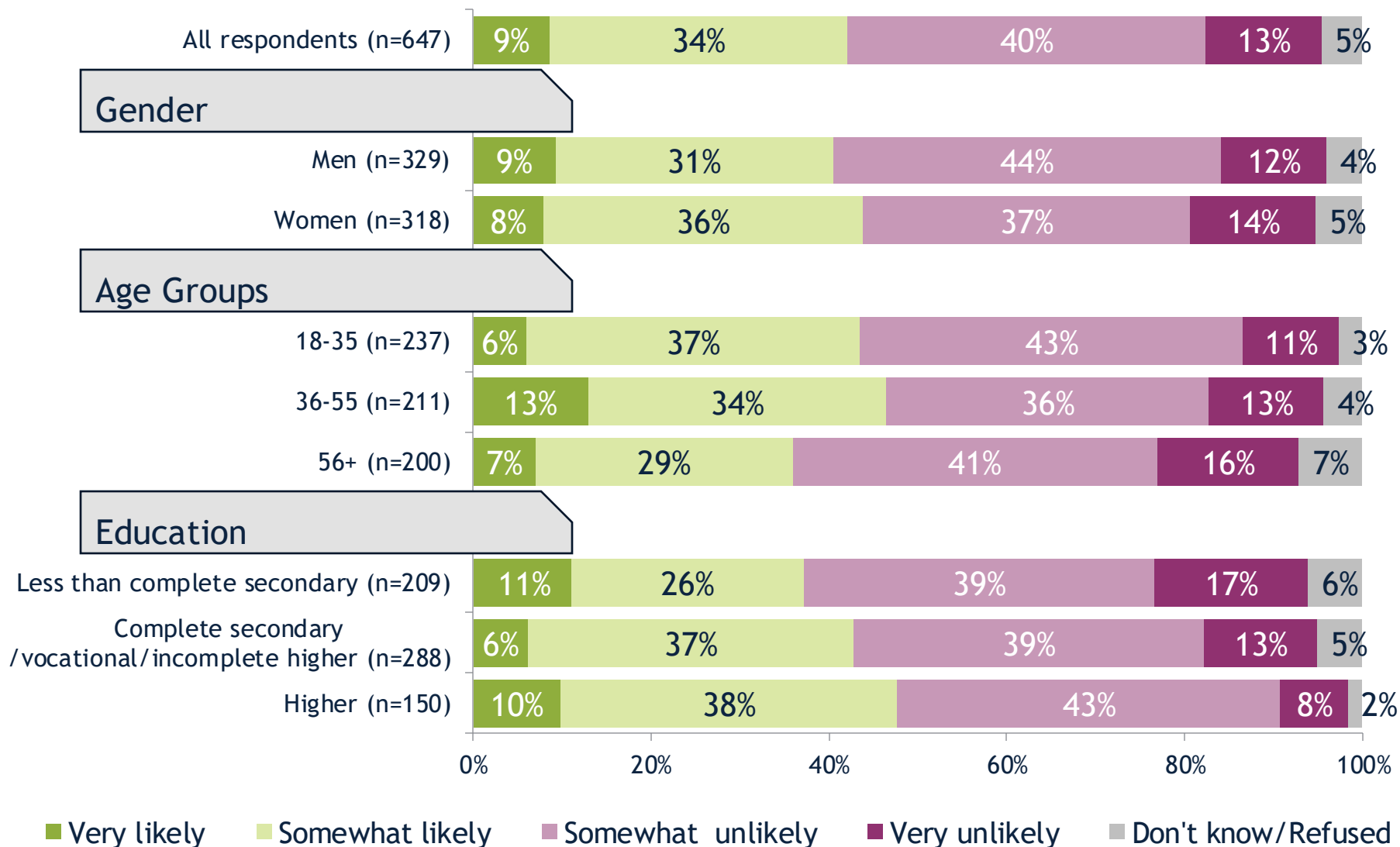
(Among Bosnians who believe BiH **needs a change**)



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



(Among Kosovars who believe Kosovo **needs a change**)

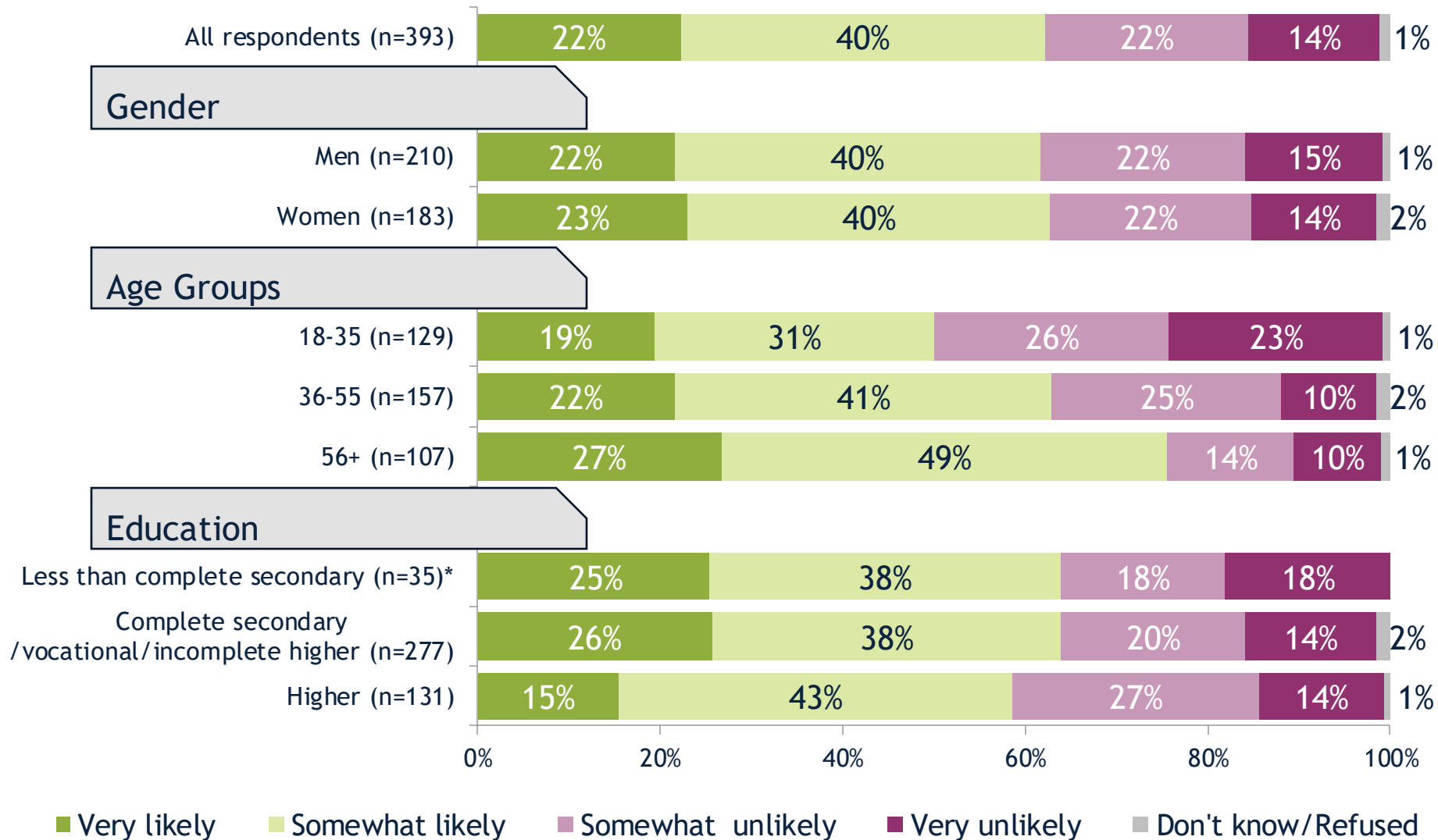






# How likely do you think it is that such change can come to Montenegro in the near future?

(Among Montenegrins who believe Montenegro **needs a change**)



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



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

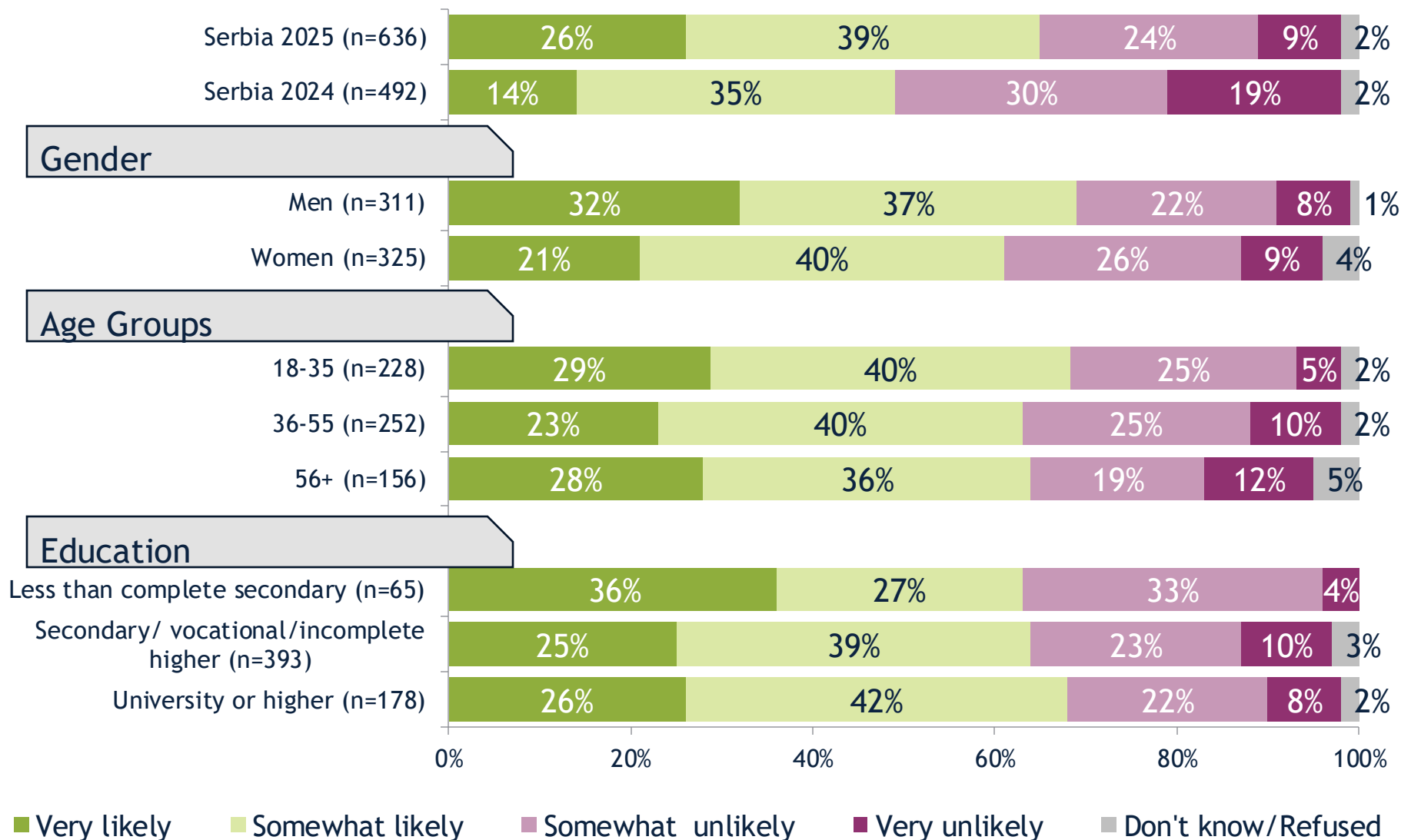
(Among those in North Macedonia who believe North Macedonia **needs a change**)



# 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**)



# Politicians

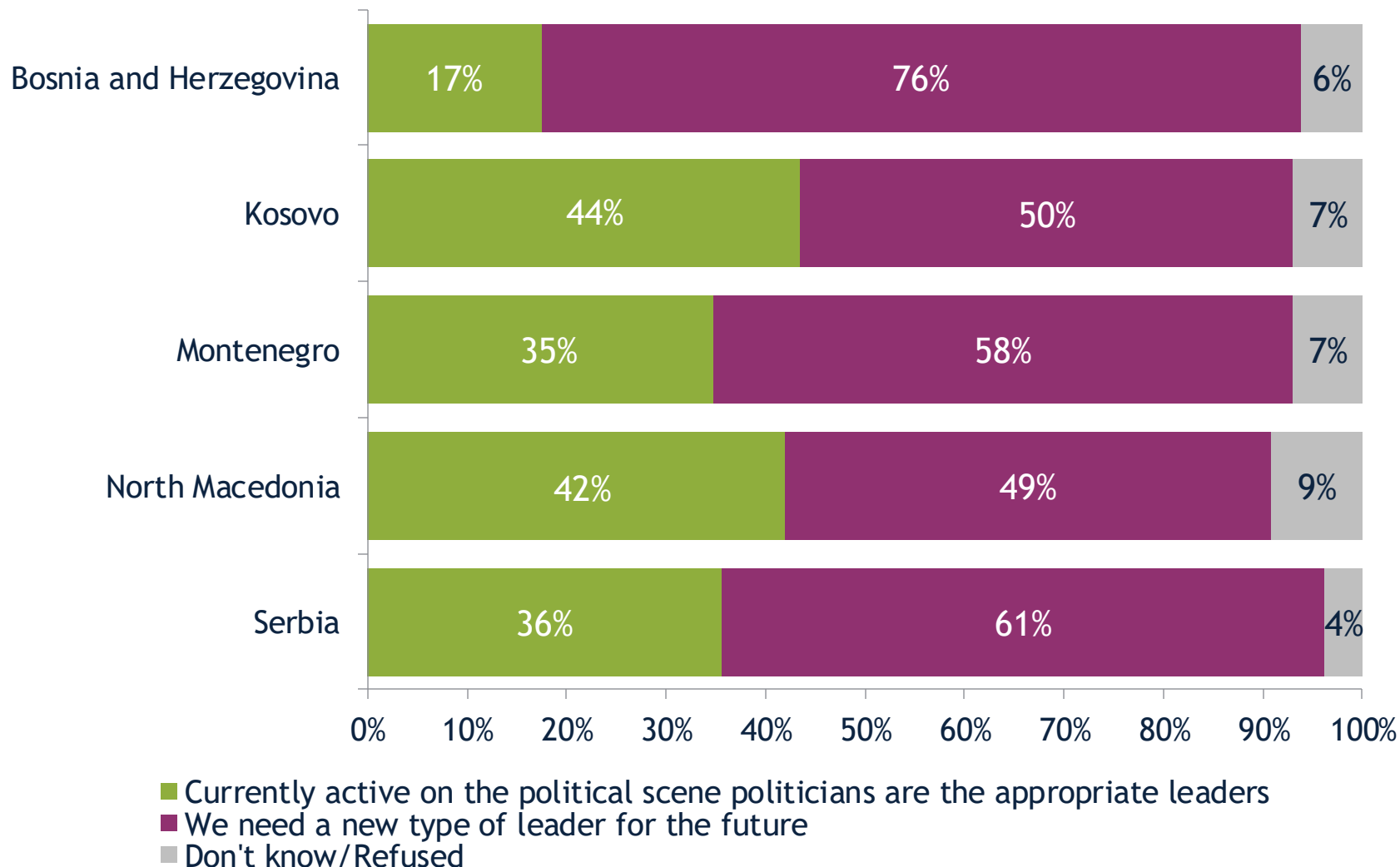


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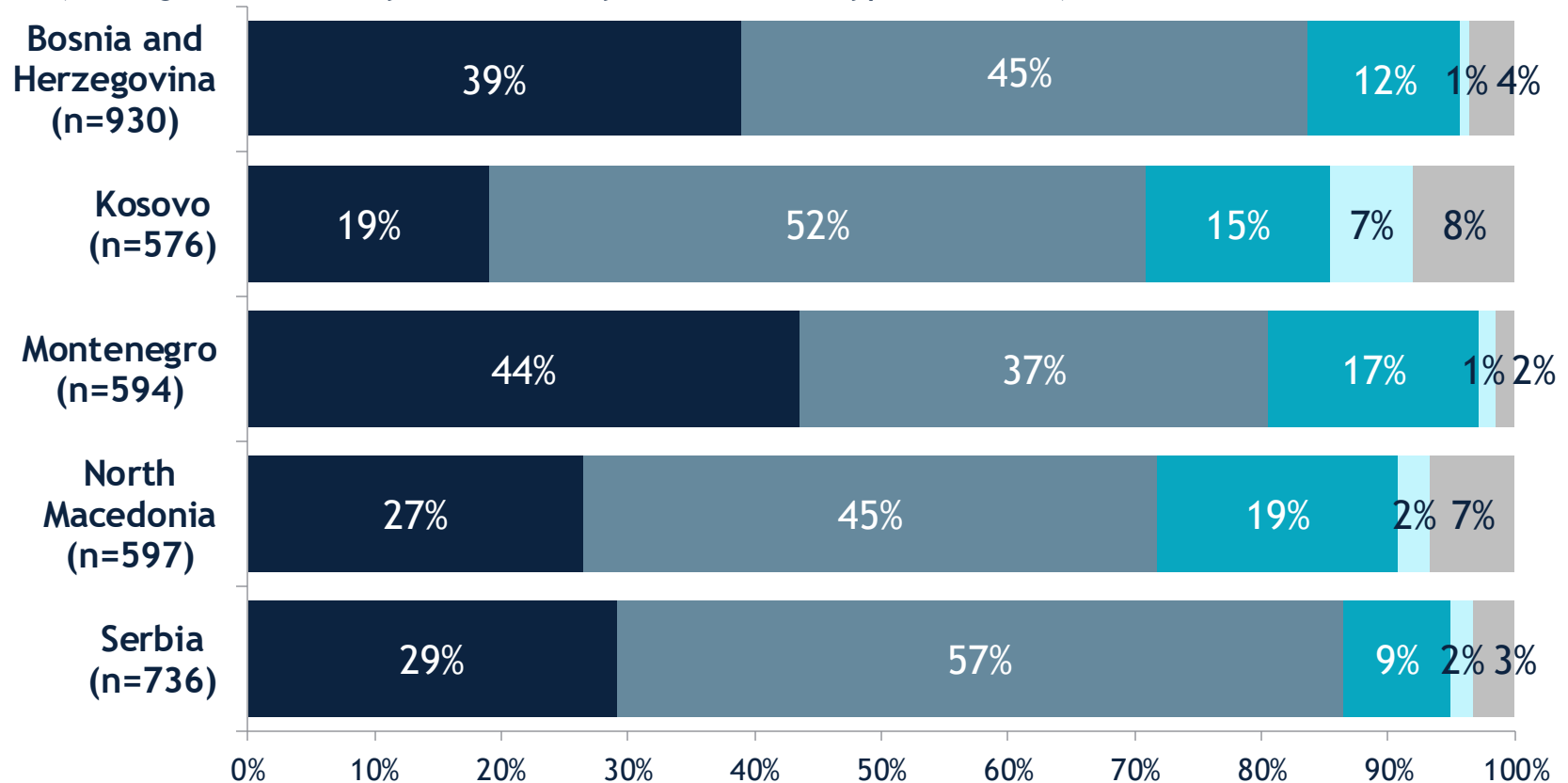
"United Nations General Assembly Hall in the UN Headquarters, New York, NY" by Basit D Soufi on commons.Wikimedia.org is licensed by CC 3.0 Unported.

Do you think that politicians currently active on the political scene are the appropriate leaders of our country, or do we need a new type of leader for the future?



## What kind of people do we need to lead our country in the future?

(Among those who say their country needs a new type of leader)



- Business people, and those who have achieved significant things outside of politics
- Experts who are non-political
- Civic activists
- Other
- Don't know/Refused

# Corruption

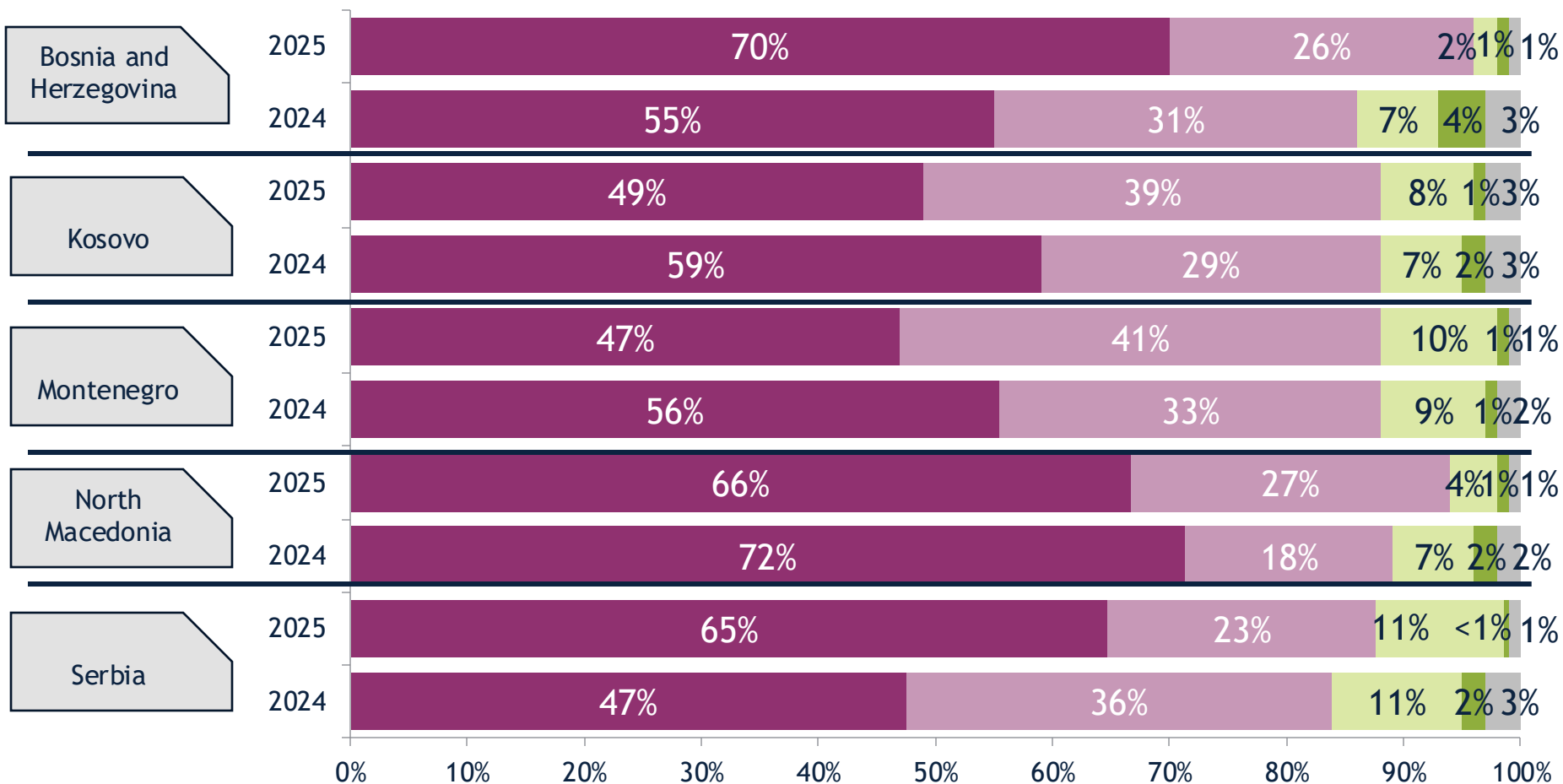


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"Hand deliver the bribe money to others in cheating businessmen corruption on damage to exploit." by wirat, File #255310038 licensed on AdobeStock.com



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



■ Very serious ■ Somewhat serious ■ Somewhat not serious ■ Not at all serious ■ Don't know/Refused

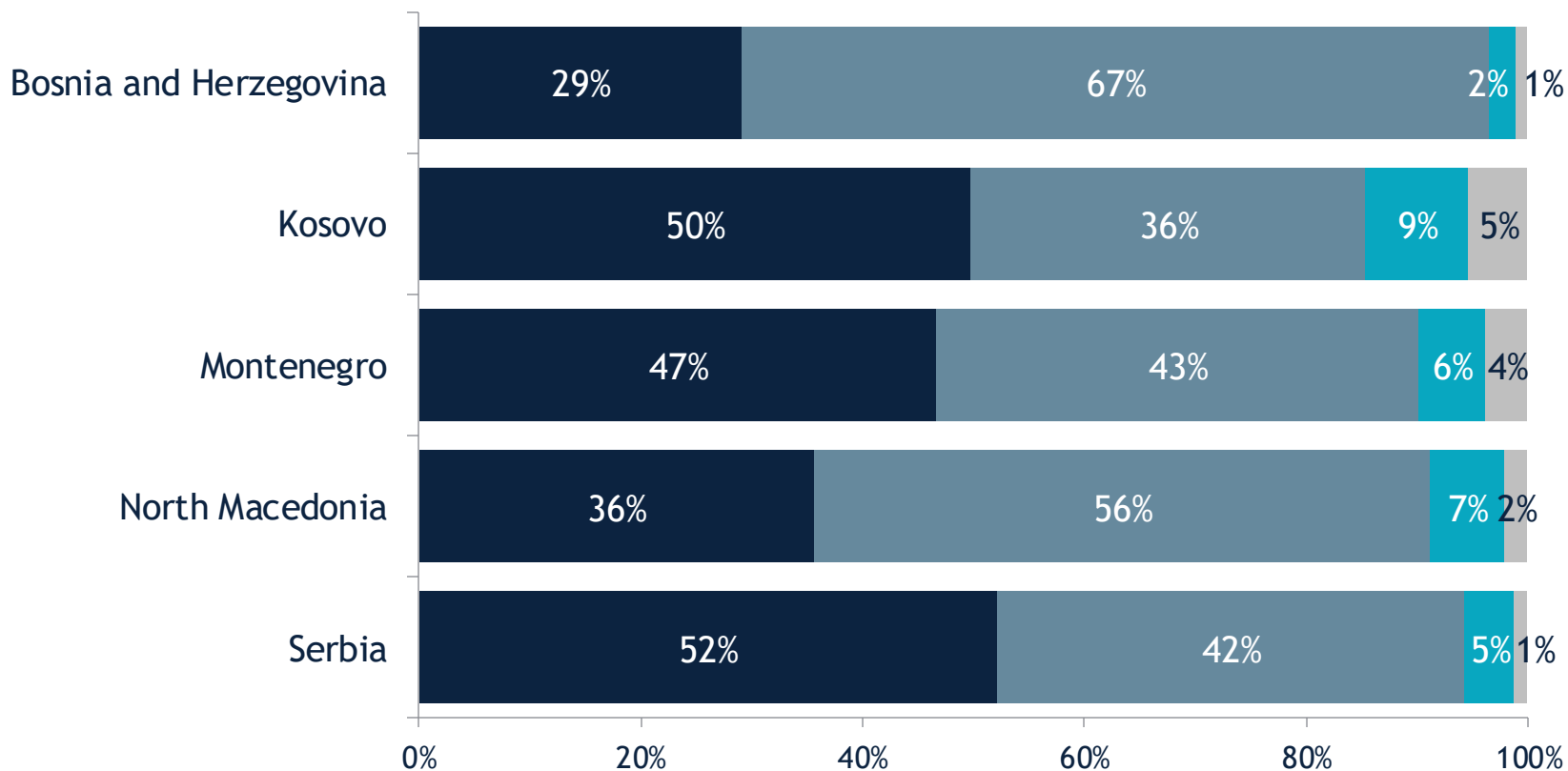


## In your experience, what type of corruption is most common in our country?

Types of Corruption	BiH*	Kosovo	Montenegro	North Macedonia	Serbia
Stealing or deliberately mismanaging funds	19%	23%	16%	25%	17%
Soliciting bribes or gifts	20%	23%	18%	18%	18%
Acting in self-interest instead of interest of citizens	25%	19%	21%	22%	23%
Extortion	2%	7%	4%	4%	2%
Failure to investigate or prosecute wrongdoing	13%	13%	15%	12%	16%
Making decisions based on connections as opposed to merit	17%	11%	24%	15%	18%
All types of corruption are common in our country	2%	--	<1%	2%	3%
None of these exist in our country	<1%	1%	<1%	--	1%
Other	1%	1%	--	--	--
Don't know/Refused	1%	2%	2%	1%	2%



## Which statement is closest to your opinion?



- Corruption can be reduced in our country
- Corruption is so prevalent and common that it likely cannot be reduced in our country
- Corruption exists in our country only to a limited extent, if at all, and does not require significant reduction efforts
- Don't know/Refused

# National Issues

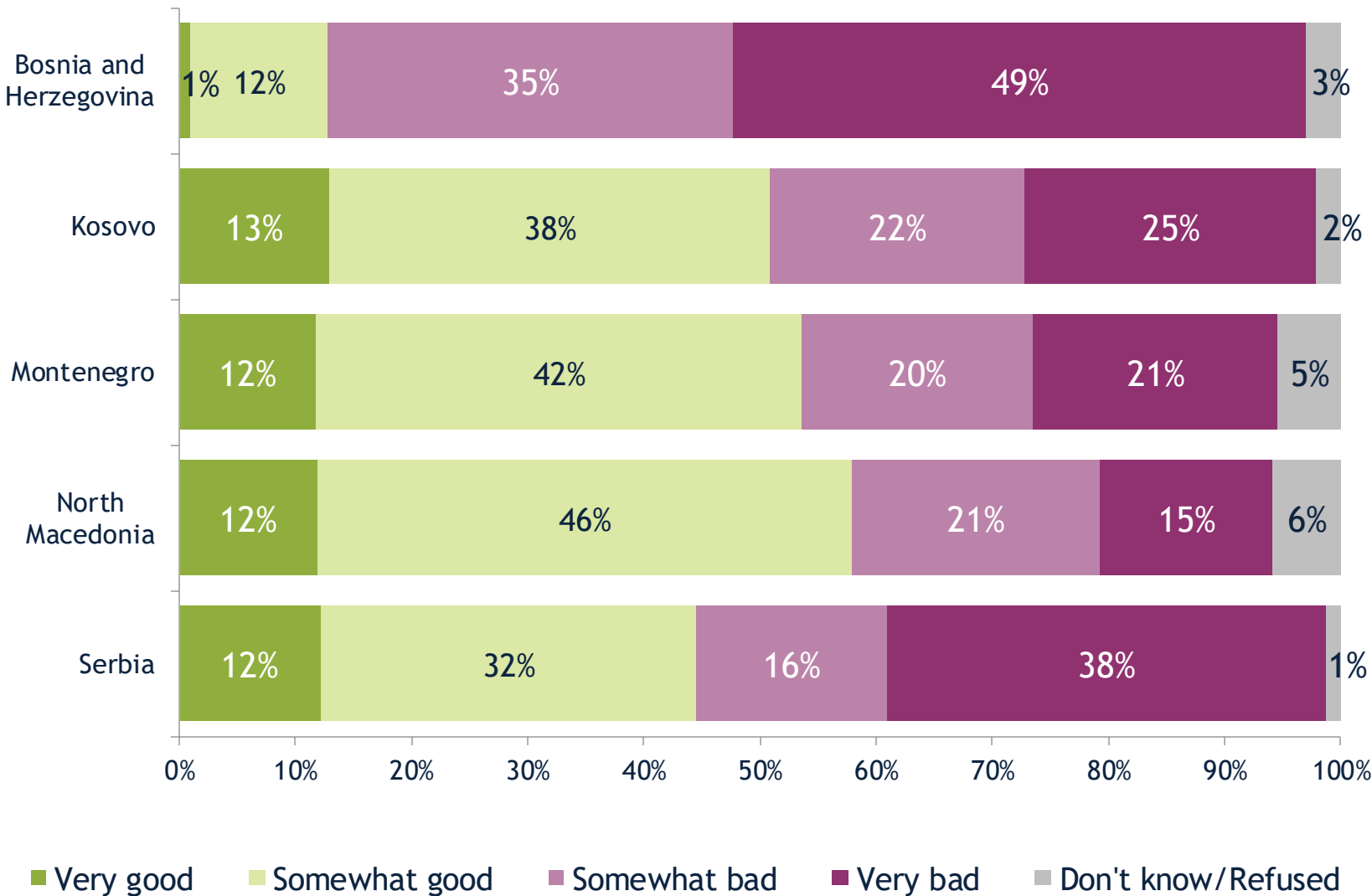


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"brown and black jigsaw puzzle" by rivage on Unsplash.com



# How would you rate the performance of the government of our country\*?

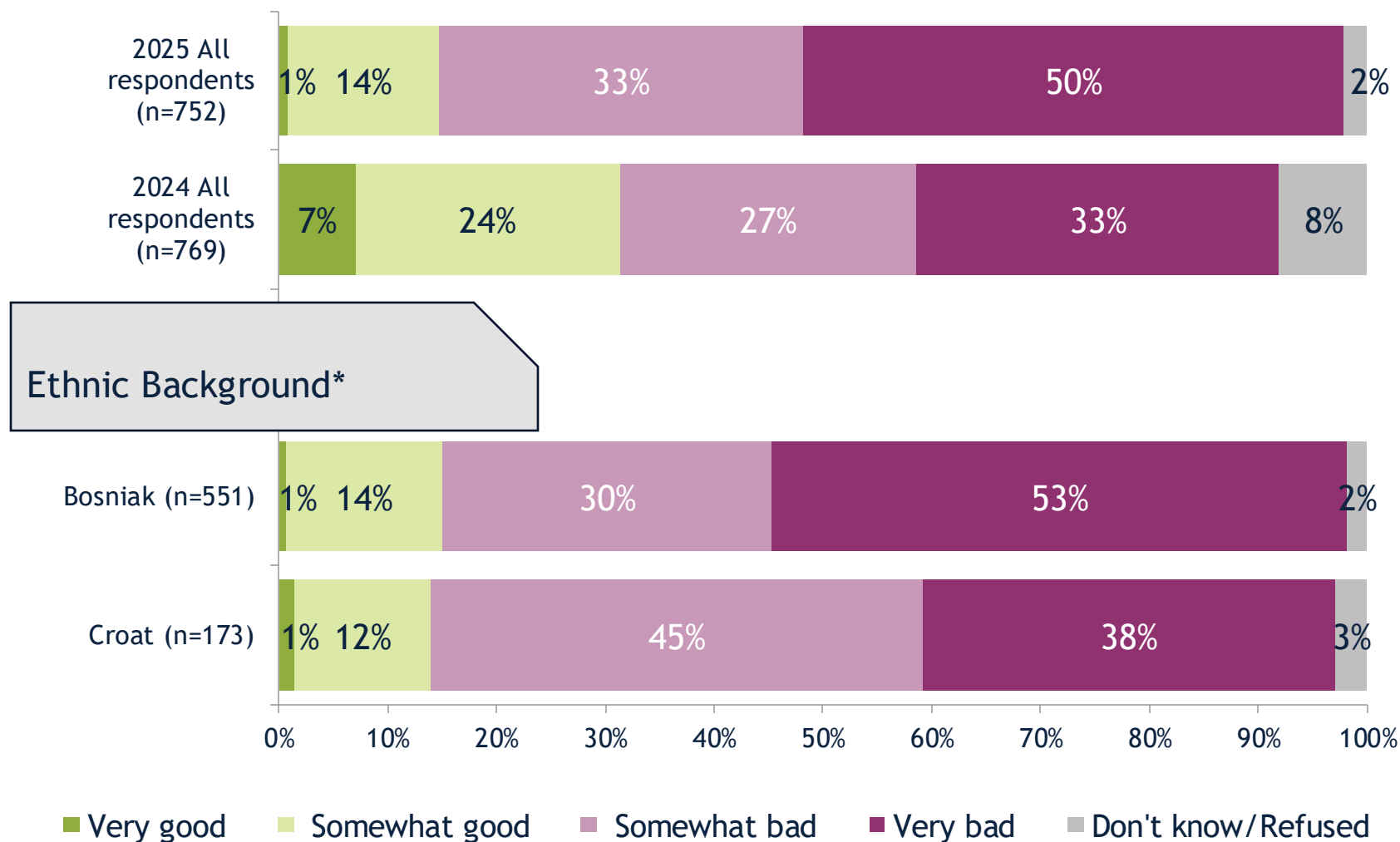


\* In BiH; "...of the Council of Ministers"

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



(Among those in the Federation of BiH only)

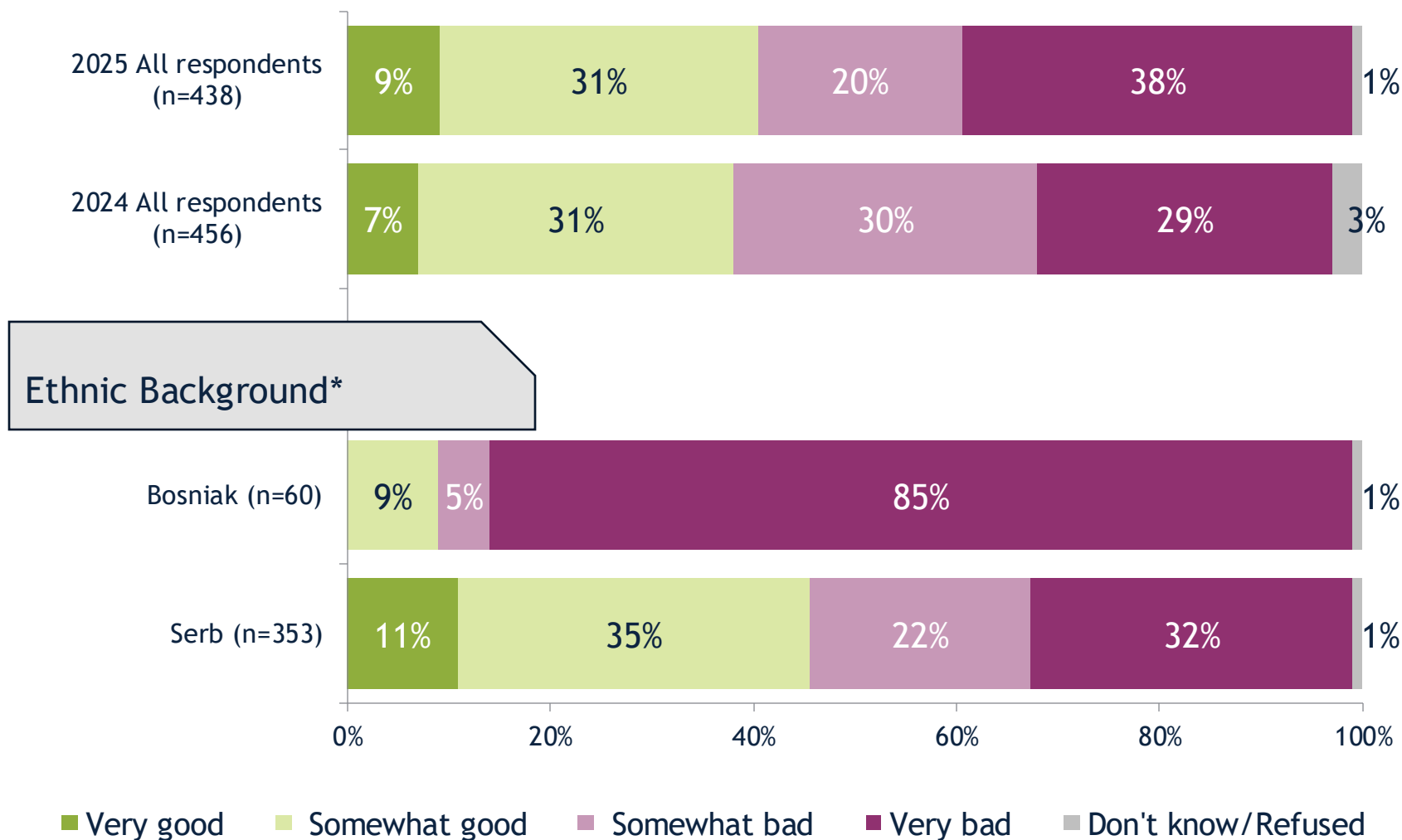


\*Disaggregates for Serb ethnic group are not displayed due to small sample size.

# How would you rate the performance of the Republika Srpska government?

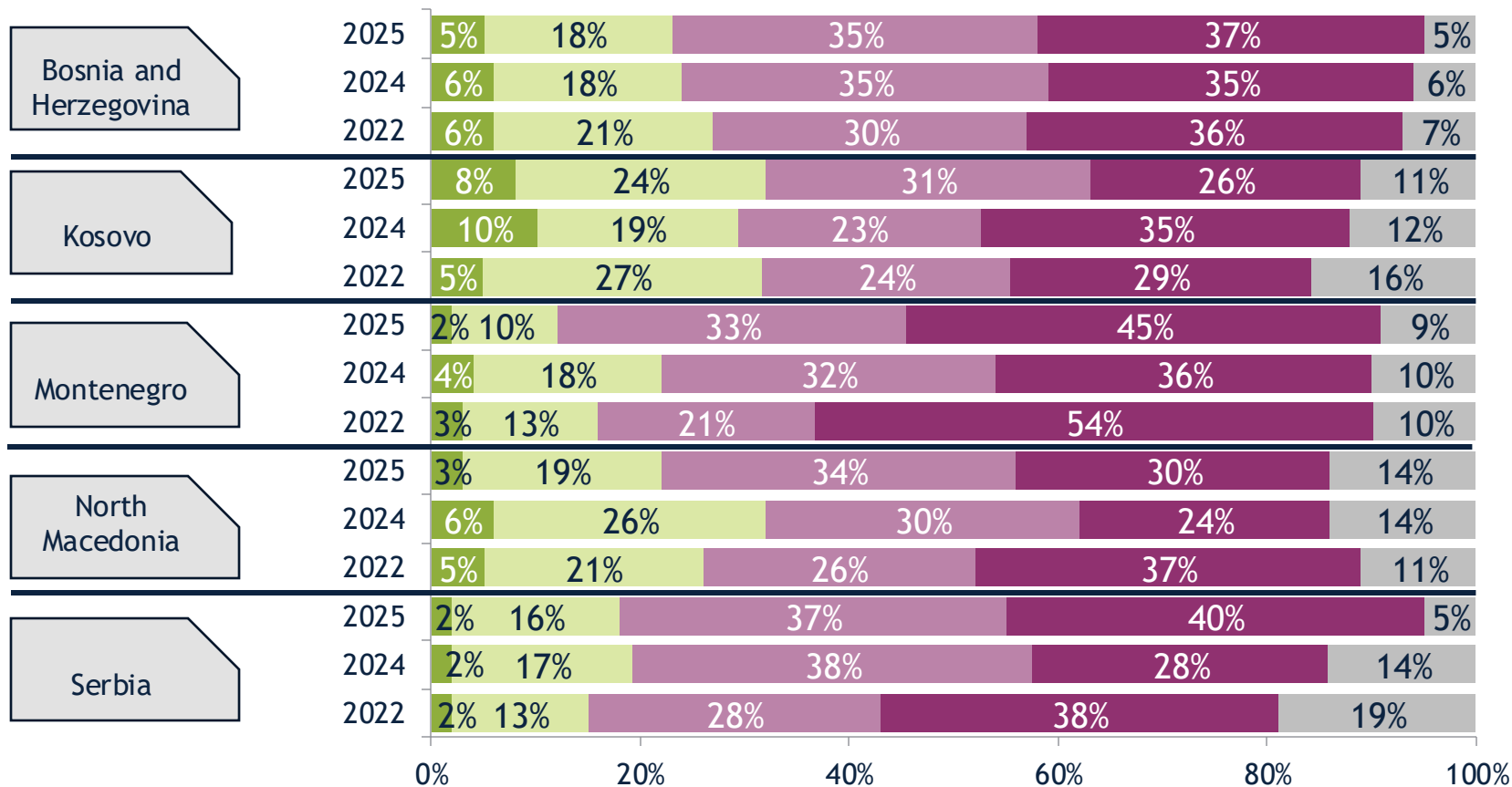


(Among those in Republika Srpska)



\*Disaggregates for Croat ethnic group are not displayed due to small sample size.

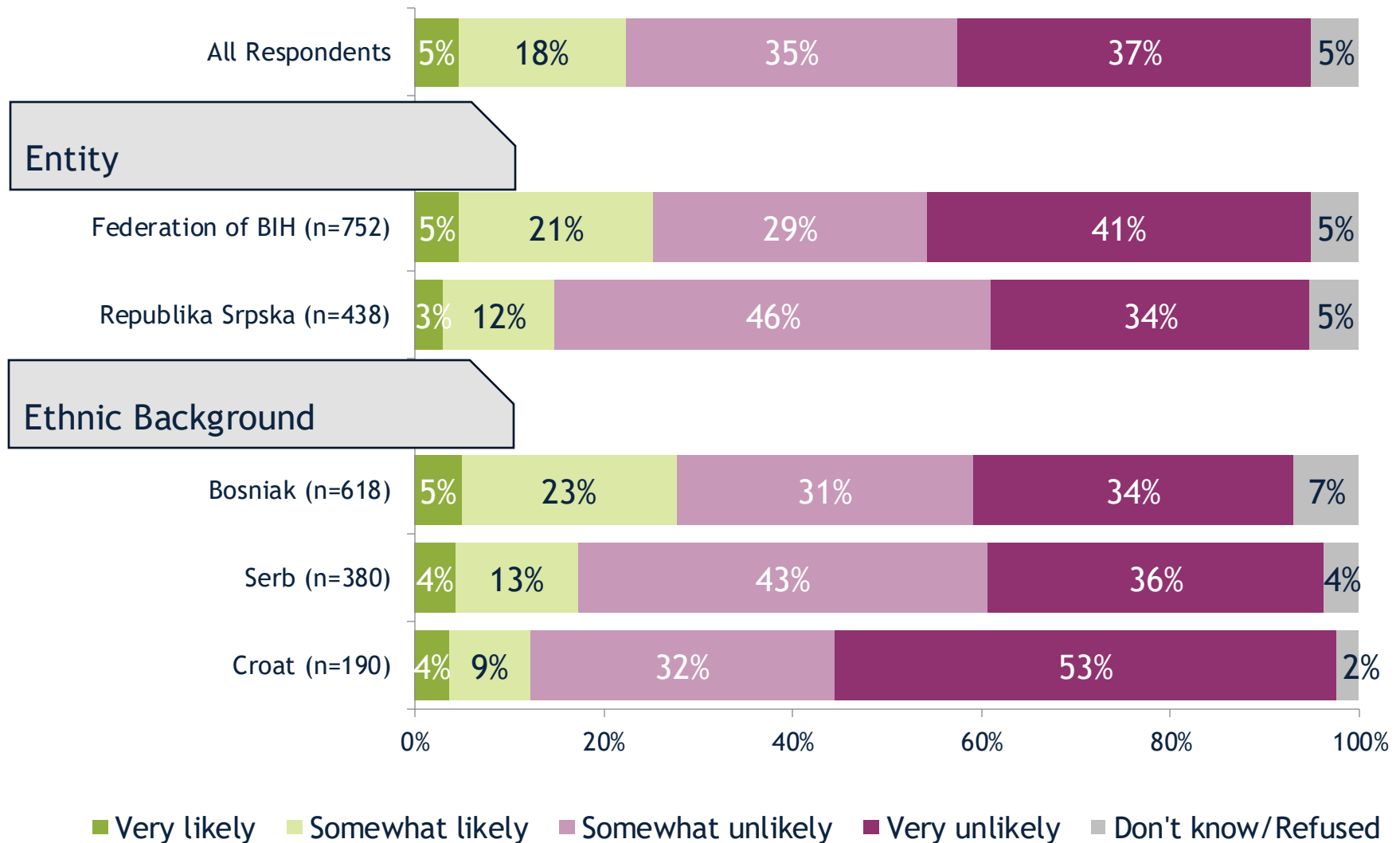
# What is the likelihood of an armed conflict in our country, either from an internal or external source, in the near future?



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



## What is the likelihood of an armed conflict in our 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?

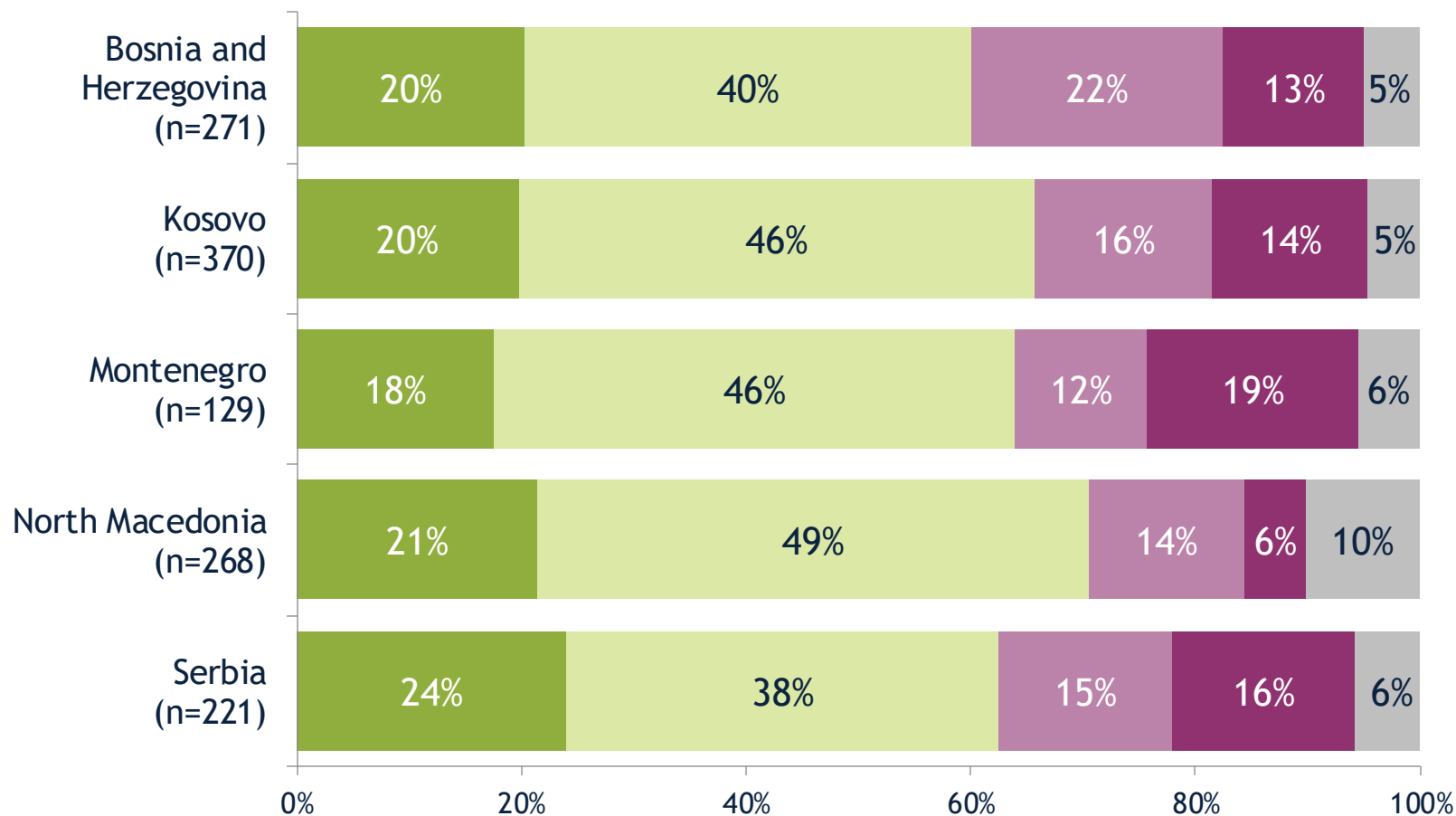
(Among those who believe that an armed conflict is likely, spontaneous response, multiple responses accepted, top response per country highlighted)

Reason for Armed Conflict	BiH* (n=271)	Kosovo (n=370)	Montenegro (n=129)	North Macedonia (n=268)	Serbia (n=221)
Other ethnic groups are causing tensions and provoking	39%	37%	20%	34%	12%
Neighboring countries are destabilizing our country	32%	46%	23%	28%	18%
A spillover effect from the Russian aggression in Ukraine	8%	28%	31%	15%	9%
It is in the interest of political leaders	24%	26%	26%	33%	29%
Unresolved territorial disputes	17%	27%	10%	16%	23%
Because of general political and economic instability	43%	29%	17%	37%	46%
NATO aggression	4%	1%	2%	1%	5%
Other	--	--	--	--	1%
Don't know/Refused	1%	3%	--	4%	1%

\*Bosnia and Herzegovina

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

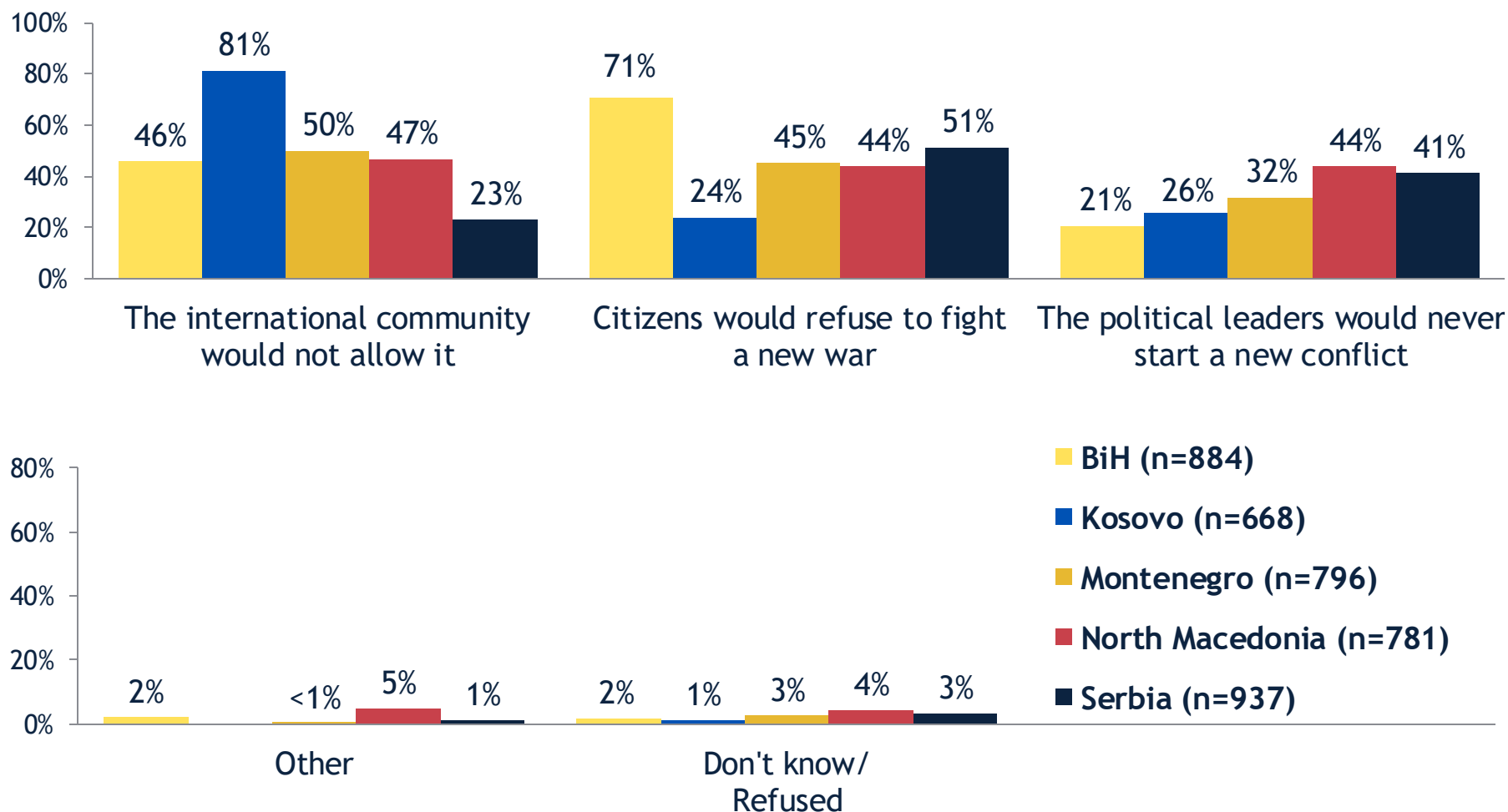
(Among those who think armed conflict is likely)



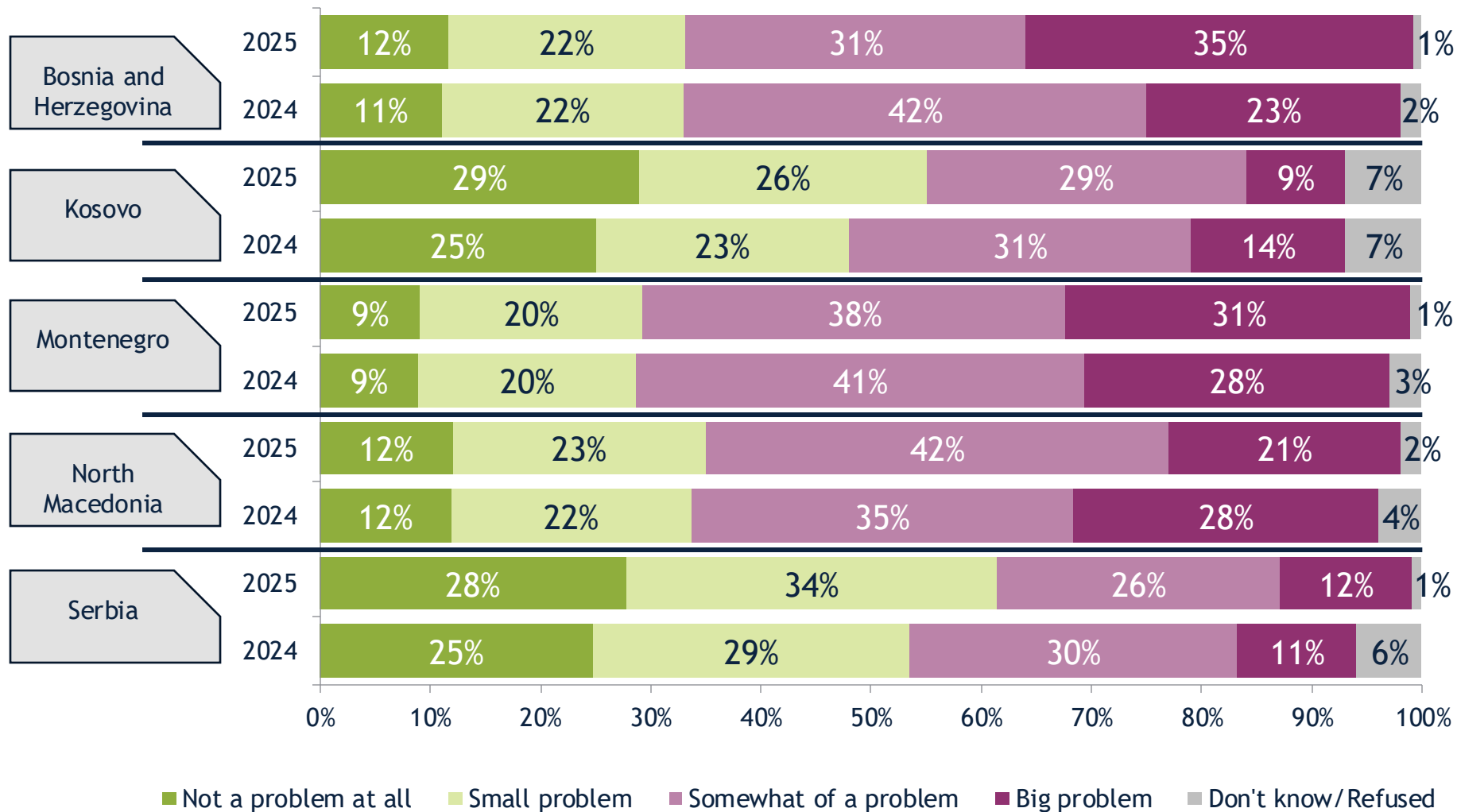
■ Very likely ■ Somewhat likely ■ Somewhat unlikely ■ Very unlikely ■ Don't know/Refused

## 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)

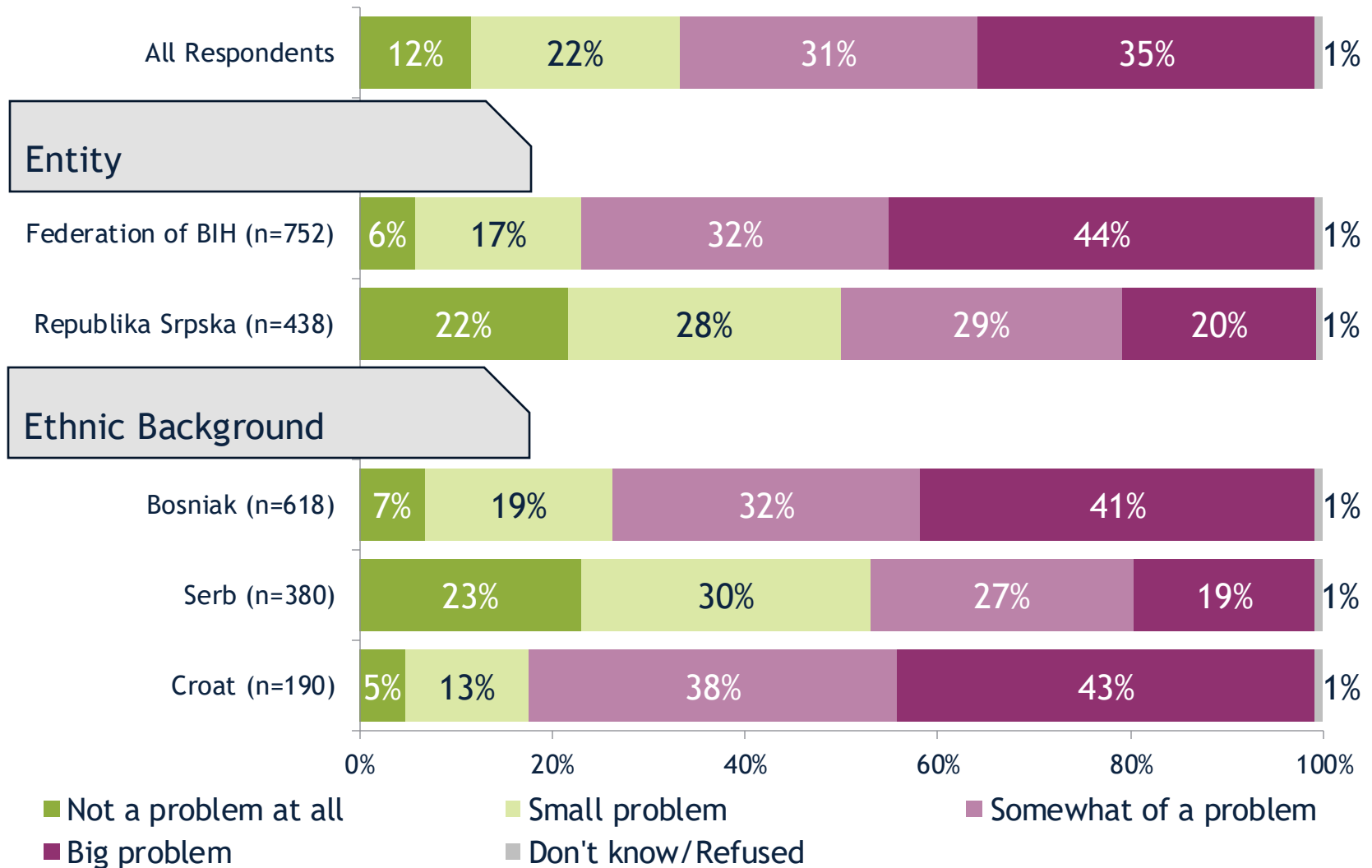


# To what extent is nationalism a problem in our country?

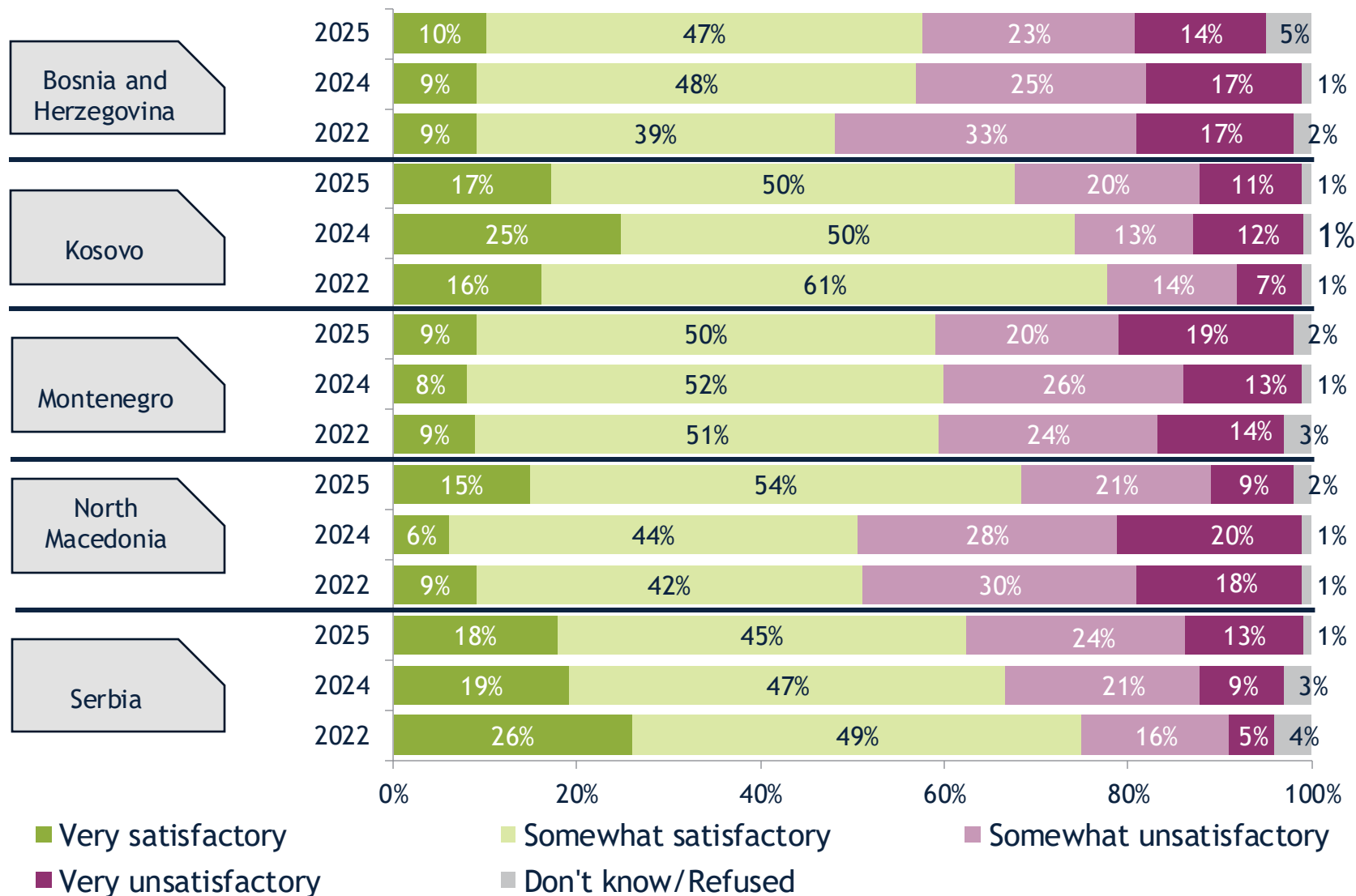




## To what extent is nationalism a problem in our country?



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



## What is it that most makes you unsatisfied in the security situation?

(Among those who rate the security situation as unsatisfactory, spontaneous response, top 10 overall responses displayed)

Reason for being unsatisfied...	BiH* (n=455)	Kosovo (n=366)	Montenegro (n=394)	North Macedonia (n=361)	Serbia (n=440)
Crime/violence/insecurity on the streets	16%	34%	37%	17%	19%
Inadequate work of the police, judiciary and security services	12%	2%	24%	11%	13%
Lots of security issues/general insecurity	8%	13%	11%	9%	10%
Political insecurity/political pressures	16%	2%	4%	3%	8%
Internal conflicts, divisions within the country	8%	9%	1%	4%	6%
Rule of law/respect for the law	4%	1%	3%	7%	9%
External conflicts/war	9%	7%	1%	2%	5%
Corruption	4%	2%	2%	4%	8%
Economic instability	2%	--	--	11%	--
Blockades, protests	--	1%	<1%	--	9%

\*Bosnia and Herzegovina

ALL COUNTRIES

# Foreign Relations and Foreign Influence



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

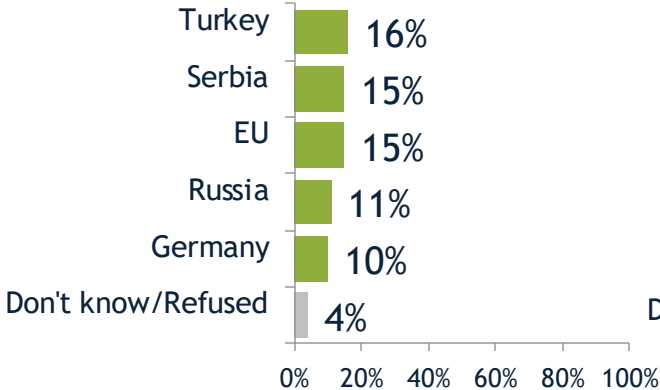




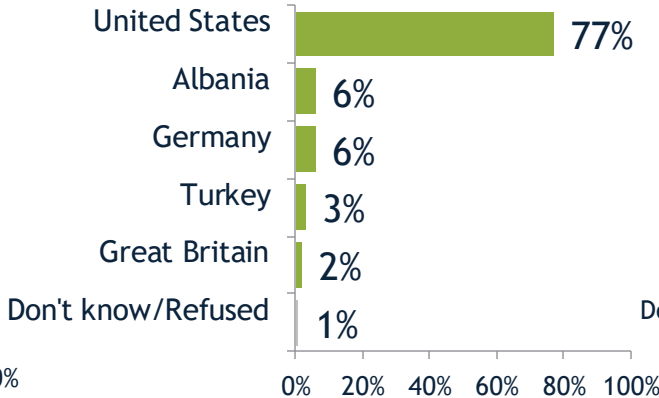
# Which country do you consider to be the **most important ally** for our country?

(Spontaneous response, top 5 responses and Don't know/Refused displayed)

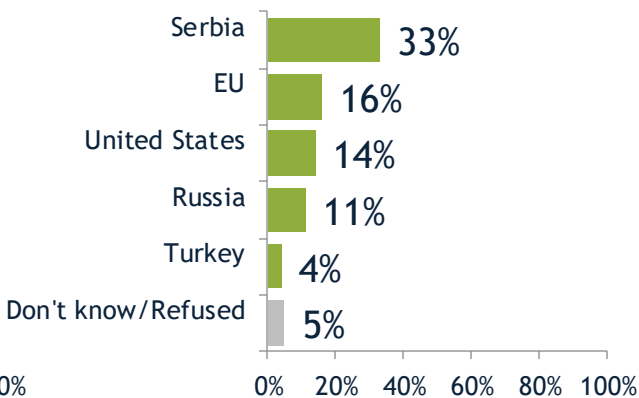
Bosnia and Herzegovina



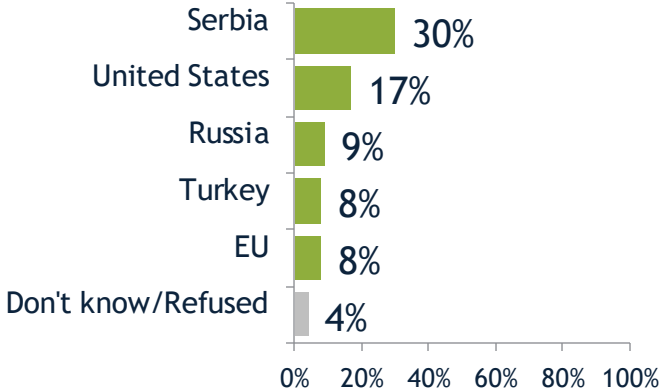
Kosovo



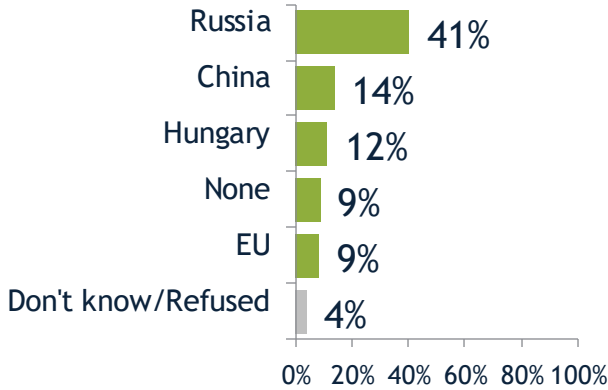
Montenegro



North Macedonia



Serbia





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

(Spontaneous response; top 10 responses plus *None* and *Don't know/Refused* displayed)

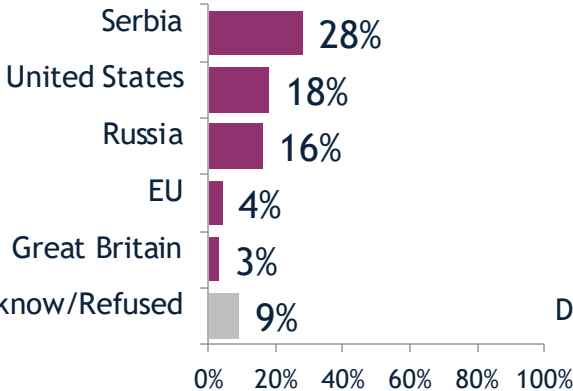
Most Important Ally	All Respondents	Entity		Ethnic Background		
		Federation BiH (n=752)	Republika Srpska (n=438)	Bosniak (n=618)	Serb (=380)	Croat (n=190)
Turkey	16%	25%	3%	31%	<1%	3%
Serbia	15%	1%	38%	1%	46%	2%
EU	15%	14%	14%	17%	7%	19%
Russia	11%	1%	27%	1%	32%	--
Germany	10%	16%	2%	17%	1%	8%
Croatia	10%	14%	2%	2%	1%	52%
United States	4%	5%	1%	6%	<1%	6%
China	3%	<1%	7%	<1%	7%	1%
Austria	2%	2%	<1%	3%	<1%	--
Great Britain	1%	1%	<1%	1%	--	1%
None	7%	10%	2%	10%	3%	5%
Don't know/Refused	4%	6%	1%	7%	1%	3%



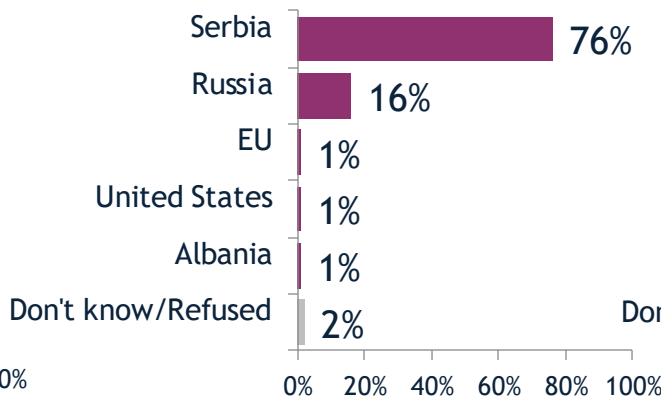
# Which country do you consider to be the **most important threat** for our country?

(Spontaneous response, top 5 responses and Don't know Refused displayed)

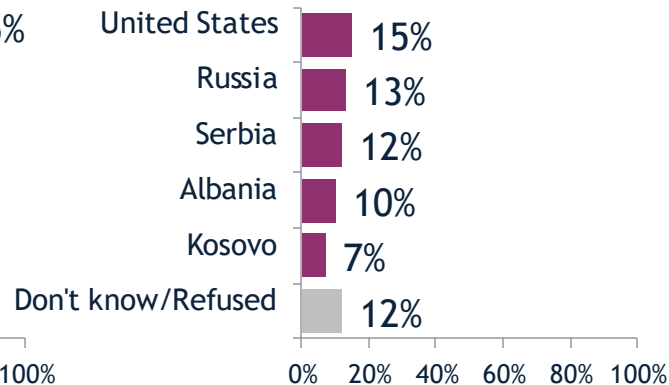
Bosnia and Herzegovina



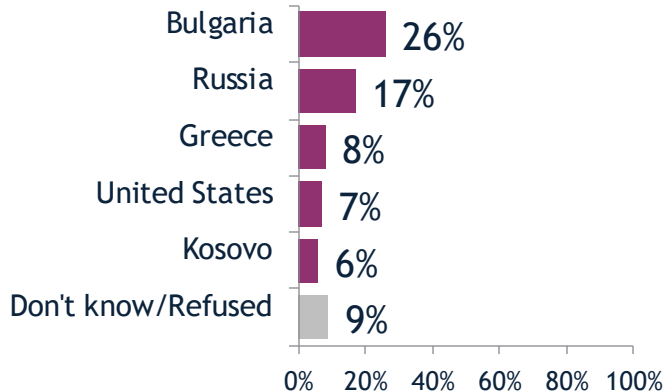
Kosovo



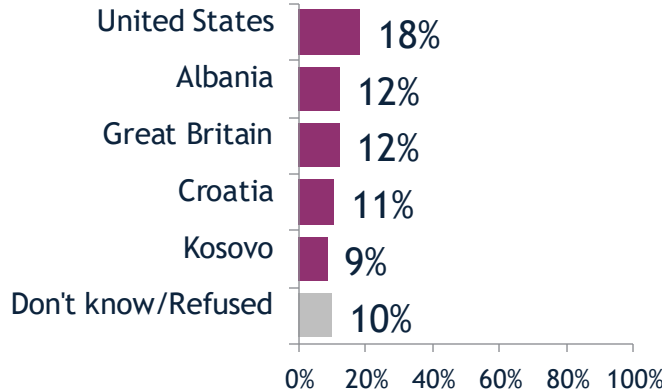
Montenegro



North Macedonia



Serbia





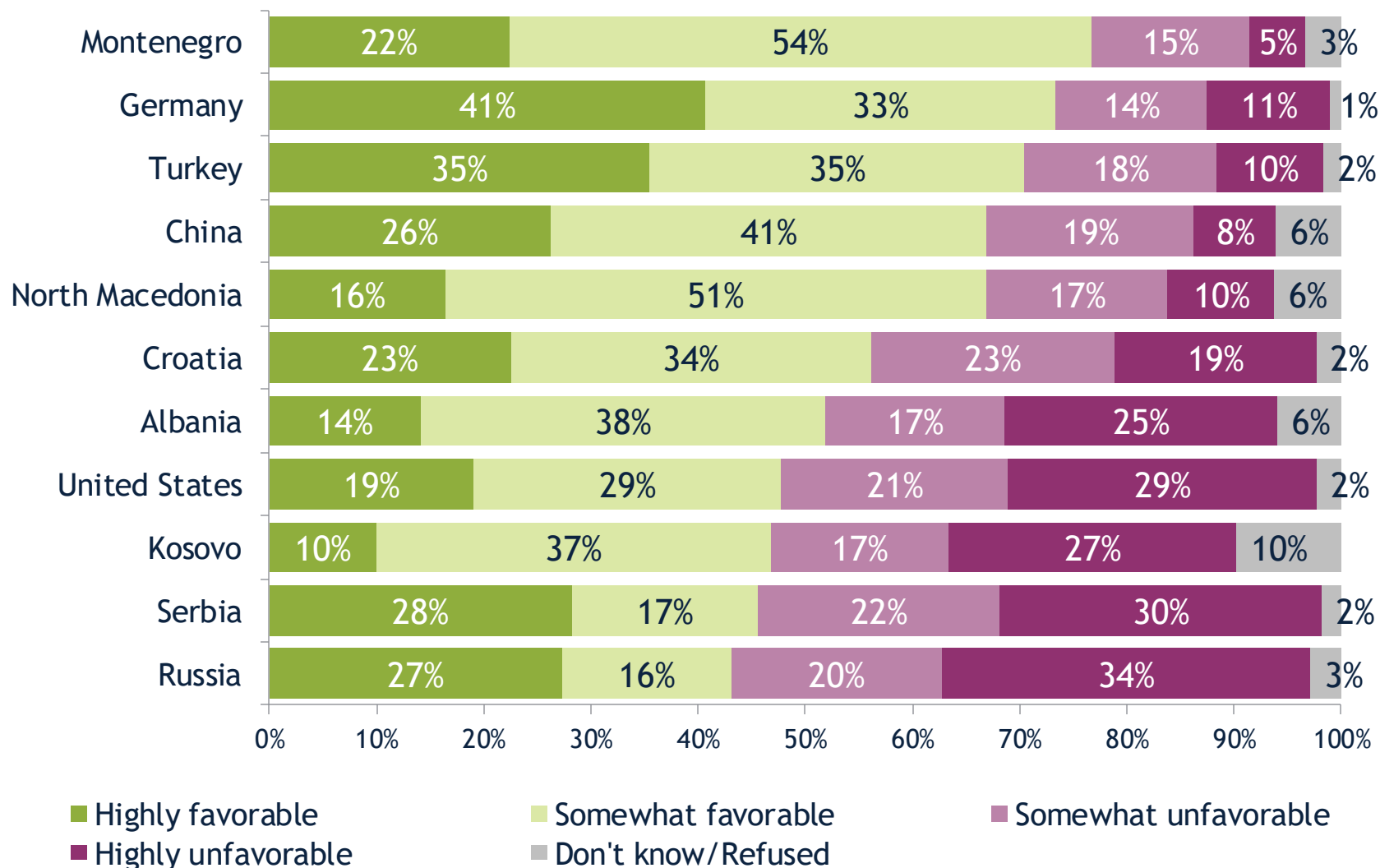
## Which country do you consider to be the **most important threat** for our country?

(Spontaneous response; top 10 responses plus *None* and *Don't know/Refused* displayed)

Most Important Threat	All Respondents	Entity		Ethnic Background		
		Federation BiH (n=752)	Republika Srpska (n=438)	Bosniak (n=618)	Serb (=380)	Croat (n=190)
Serbia	28%	42%	5%	42%	<1%	40%
United States	18%	6%	39%	9%	42%	1%
Russia	16%	23%	5%	23%	1%	28%
EU	4%	1%	8%	1%	9%	2%
Great Britain	3%	<1%	8%	--	9%	<1%
Germany	3%	1%	7%	1%	8%	1%
Croatia	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	--
Albania	2%	--	4%	--	6%	--
Hungary	1%	1%	--	1%	--	1%
France	1%	--	2%	<1%	2%	--
None	10%	10%	11%	9%	12%	10%
Don't know/Refused	9%	11%	5%	9%	4%	15%



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



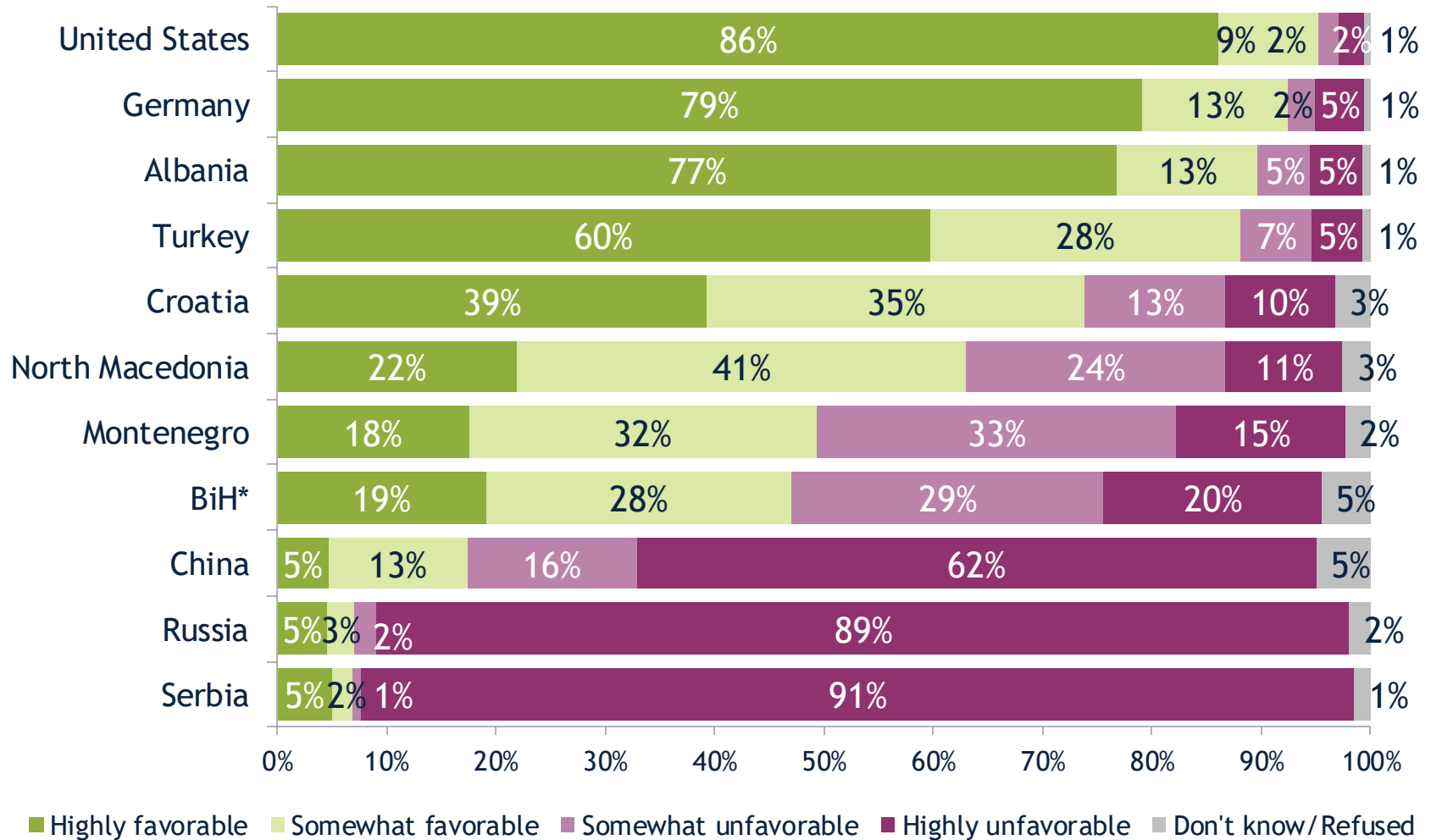


Please tell me your opinion of each of the following countries.

Favorable Opinion (Highly or Somewhat favorable)	All Respondents	Entity		Ethnic Background		
		Federation BiH (n=752)	Republika Srpska (n=438)	Bosniak (n=618)	Serb (=380)	Croat (n=190)
Montenegro	77%	79%	75%	77%	75%	81%
Germany	73%	88%	50%	90%	40%	89%
Turkey	70%	85%	48%	91%	40%	67%
China	67%	59%	82%	53%	87%	74%
North Macedonia	67%	68%	67%	69%	65%	64%
Croatia	56%	66%	41%	59%	34%	89%
Albania	52%	73%	17%	73%	6%	72%
United States	48%	64%	21%	58%	15%	83%
Kosovo	47%	68%	13%	67%	8%	60%
Serbia	46%	21%	87%	22%	98%	17%
Russia	43%	20%	82%	20%	93%	14%



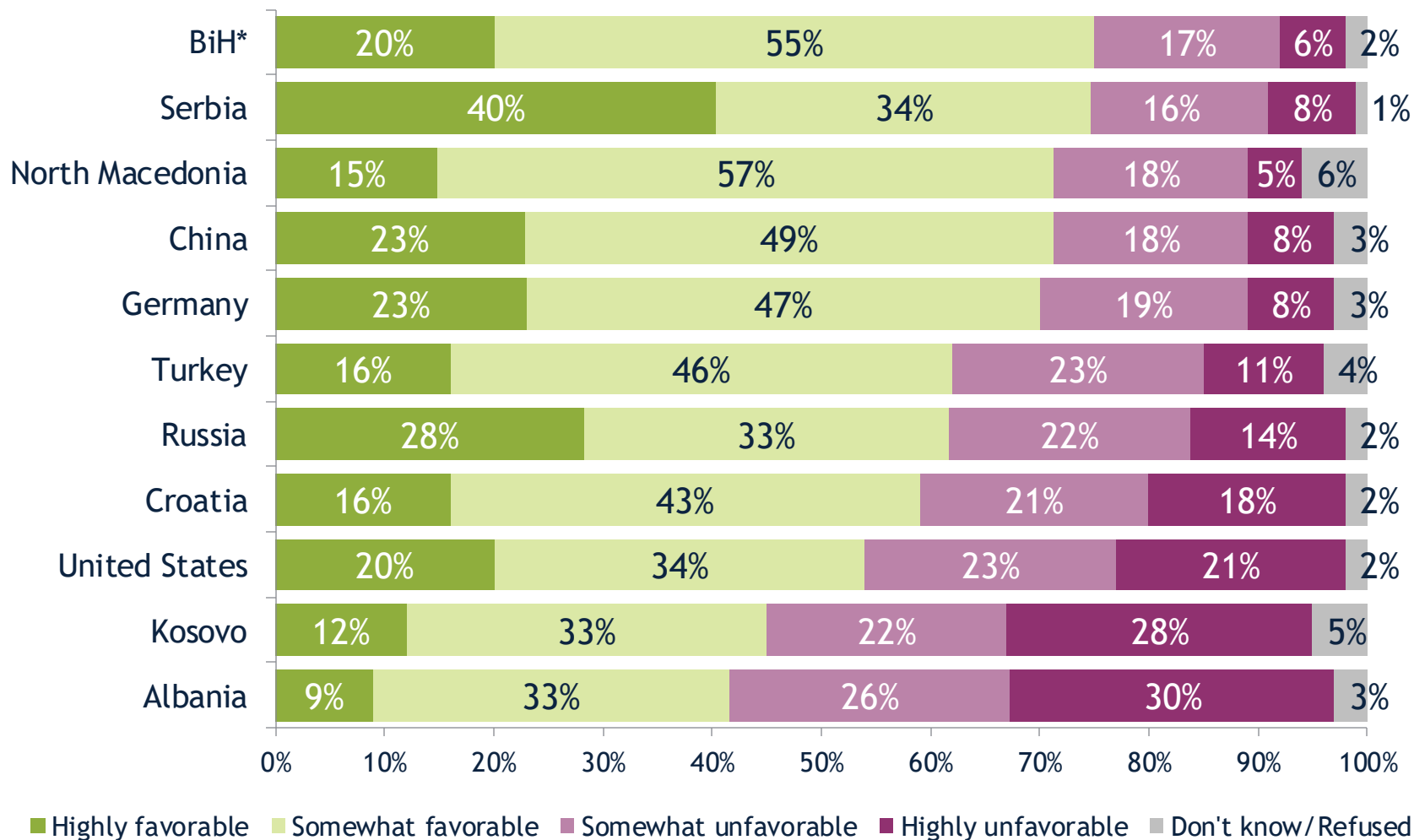
Please tell me your opinion of each of the following countries.



\*Bosnia and Herzegovina



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

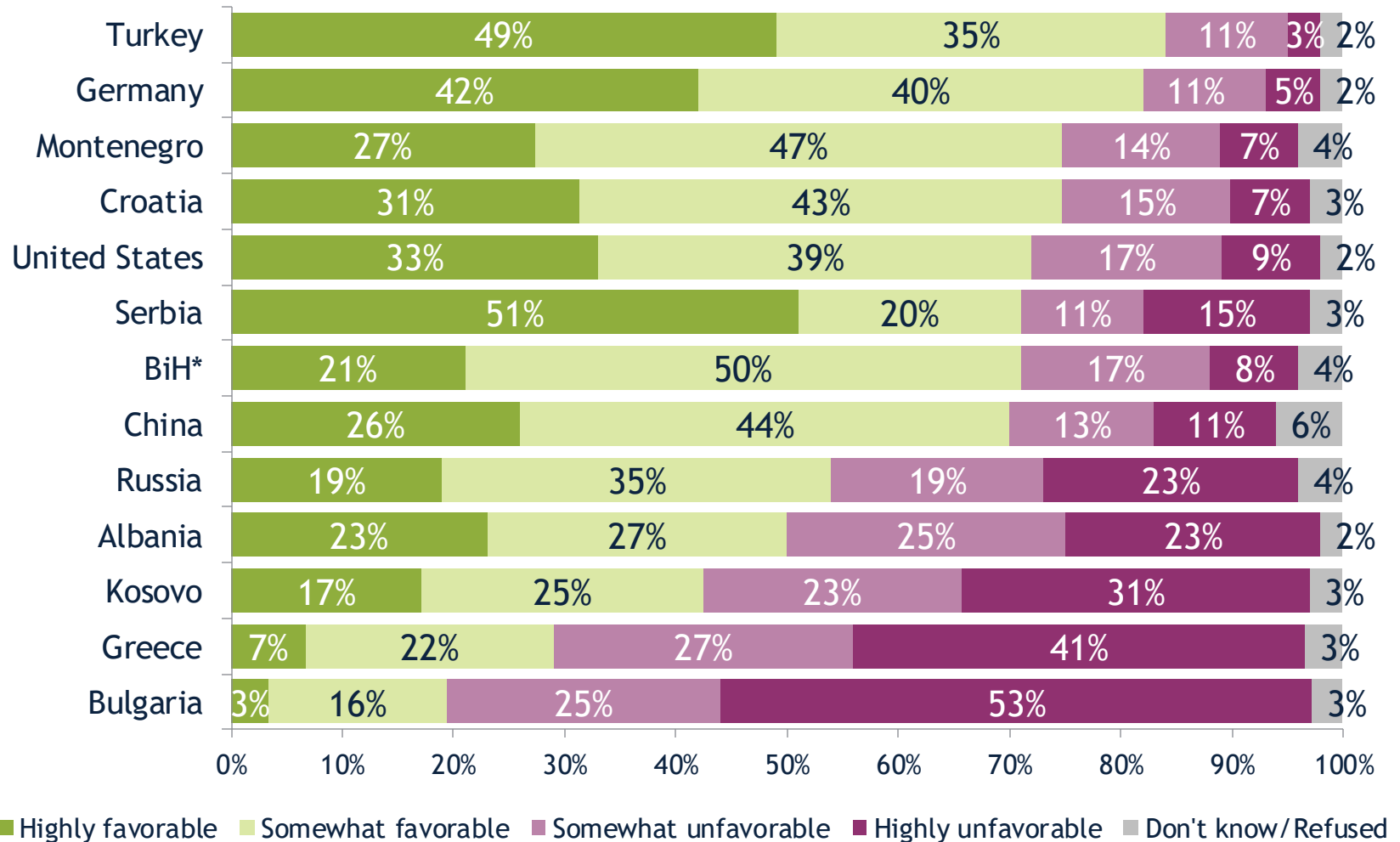


\*Bosnia and Herzegovina





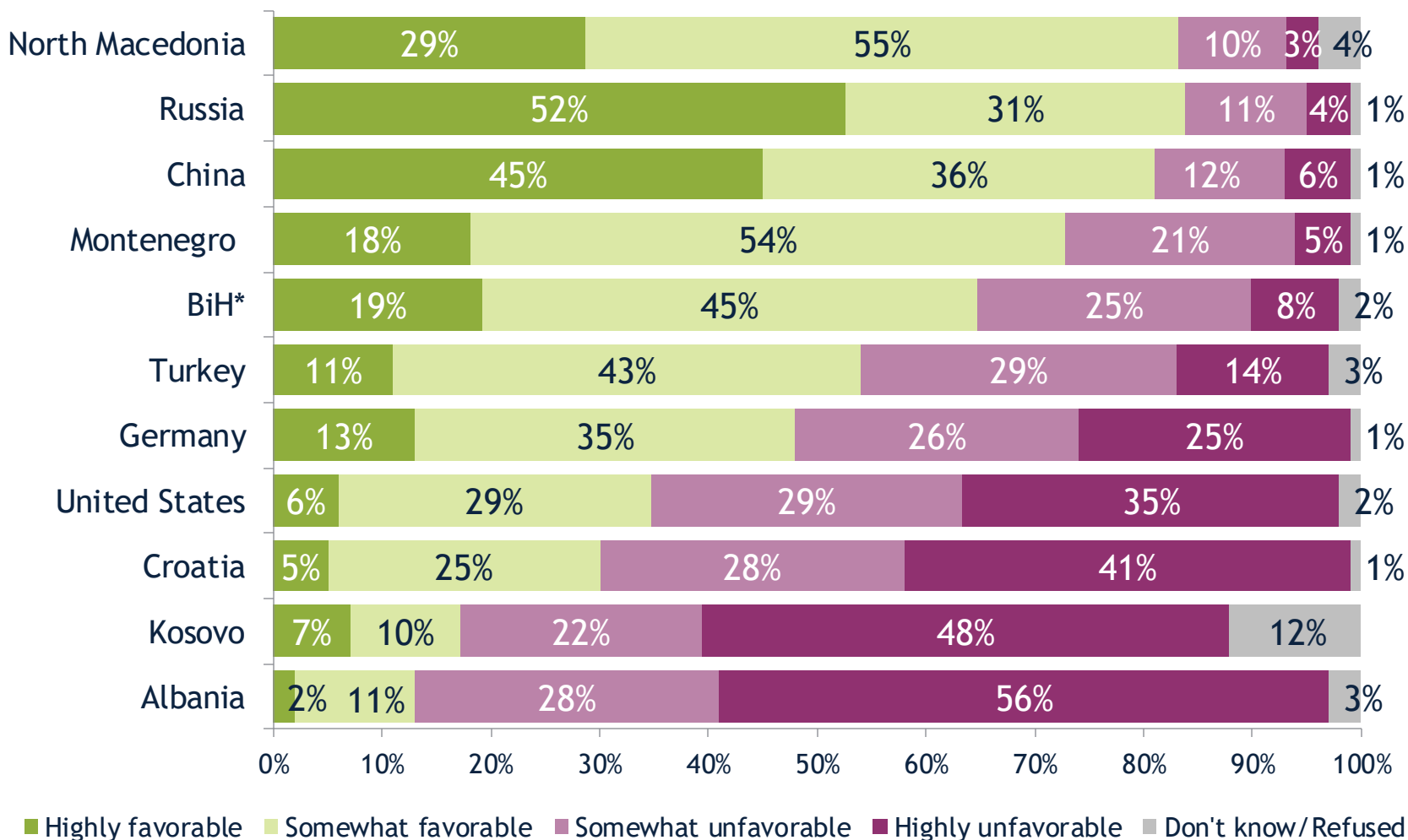
Please tell me your opinion of each of the following countries.



\*Bosnia and Herzegovina



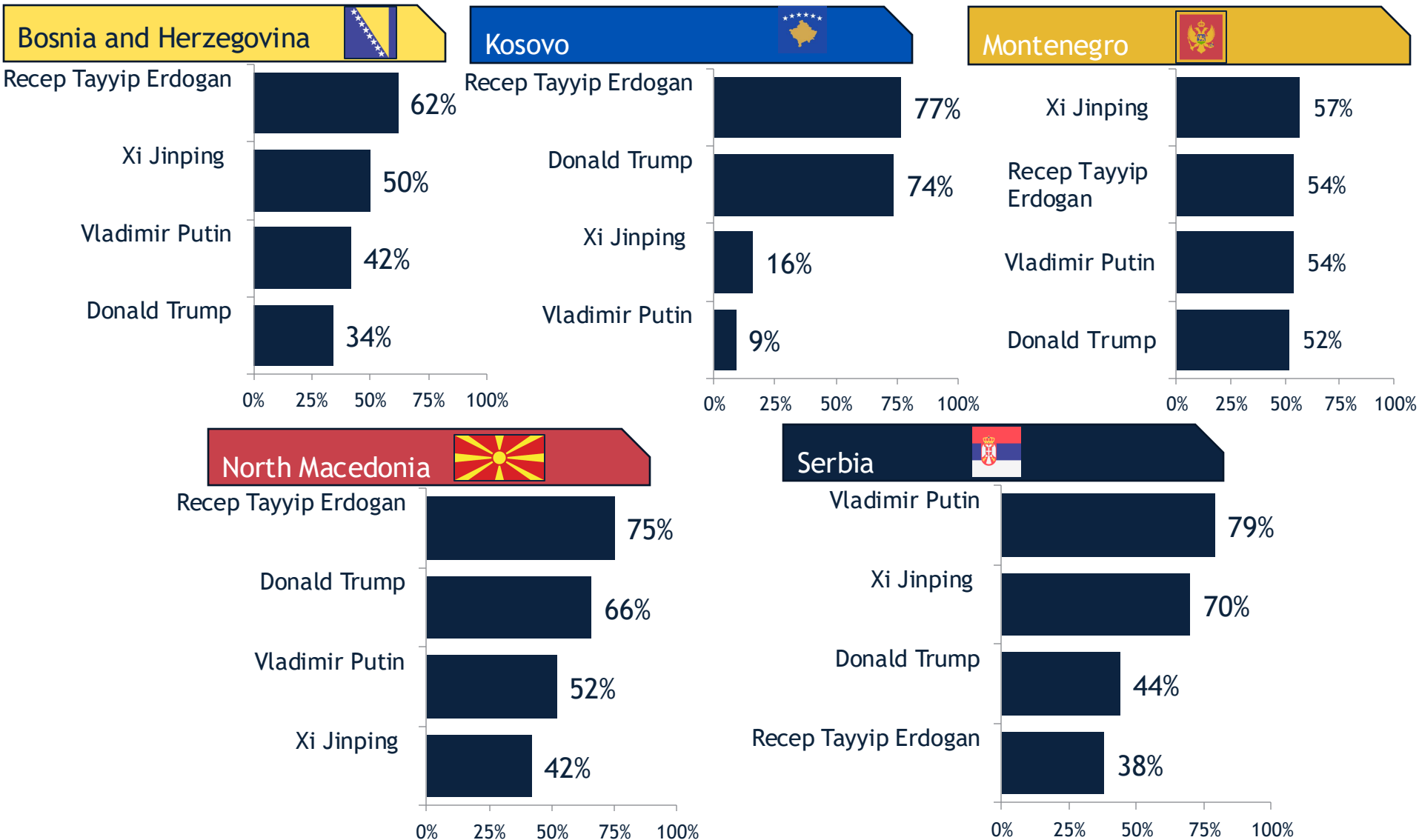
Please tell me your opinion of each of the following countries.



\*Bosnia and Herzegovina

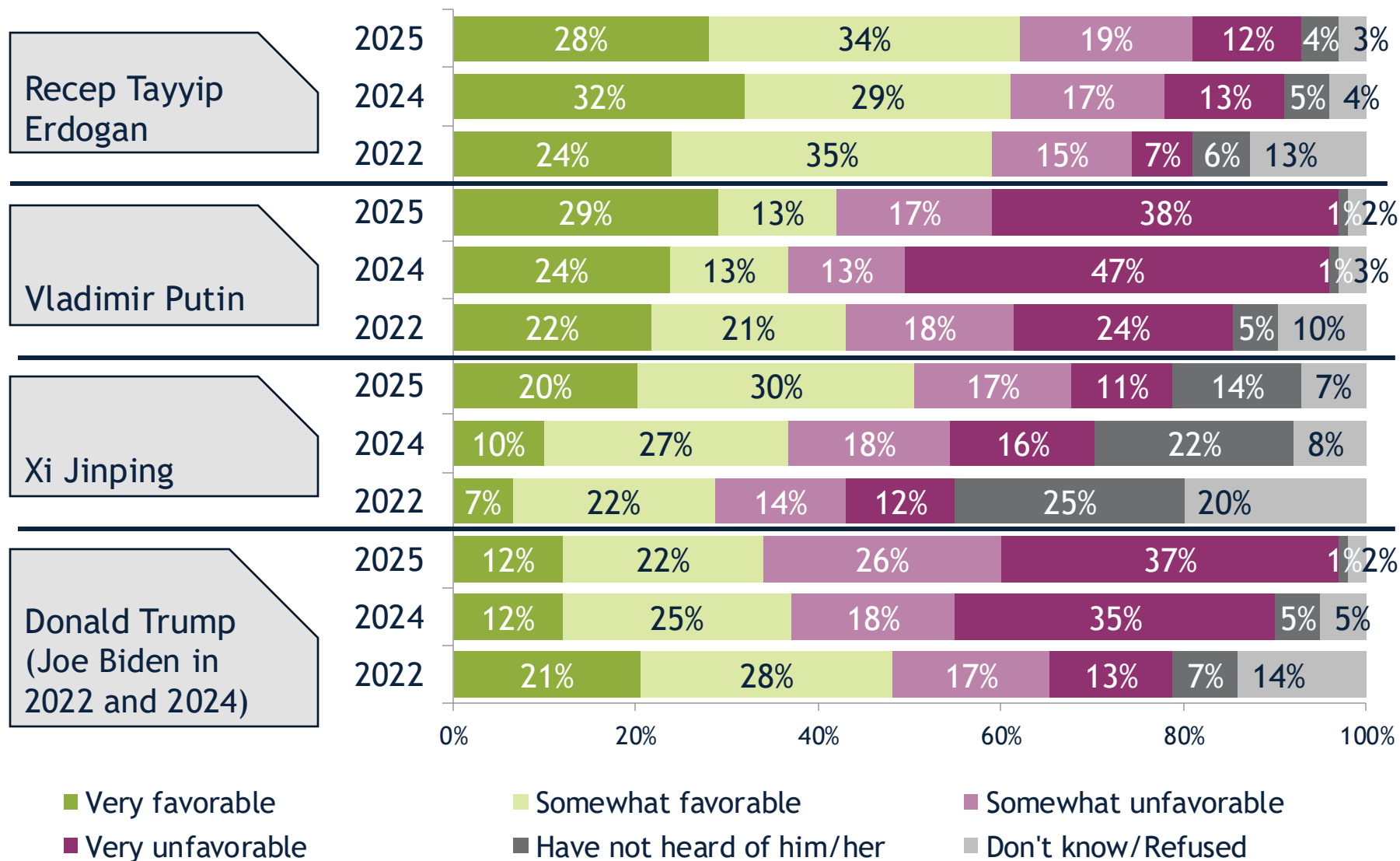
# Do you have a very unfavorable, somewhat unfavorable, somewhat favorable or very favorable opinion of the following world and regional leaders?

(Combined highly and somewhat favorable responses displayed)



ALL COUNTRIES

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

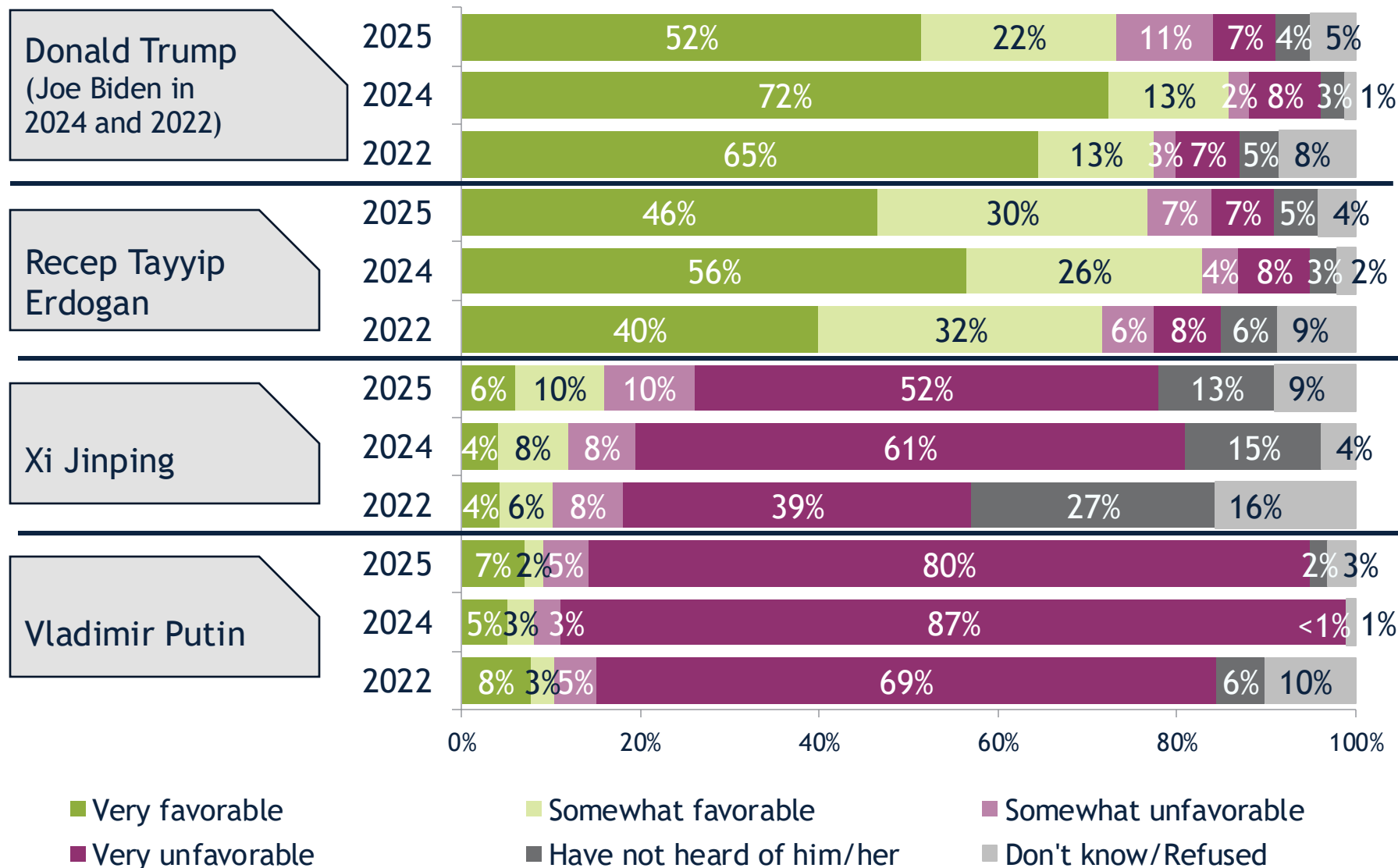


Do you have a very unfavorable, somewhat unfavorable, somewhat favorable or very favorable opinion of the following world and regional leaders?

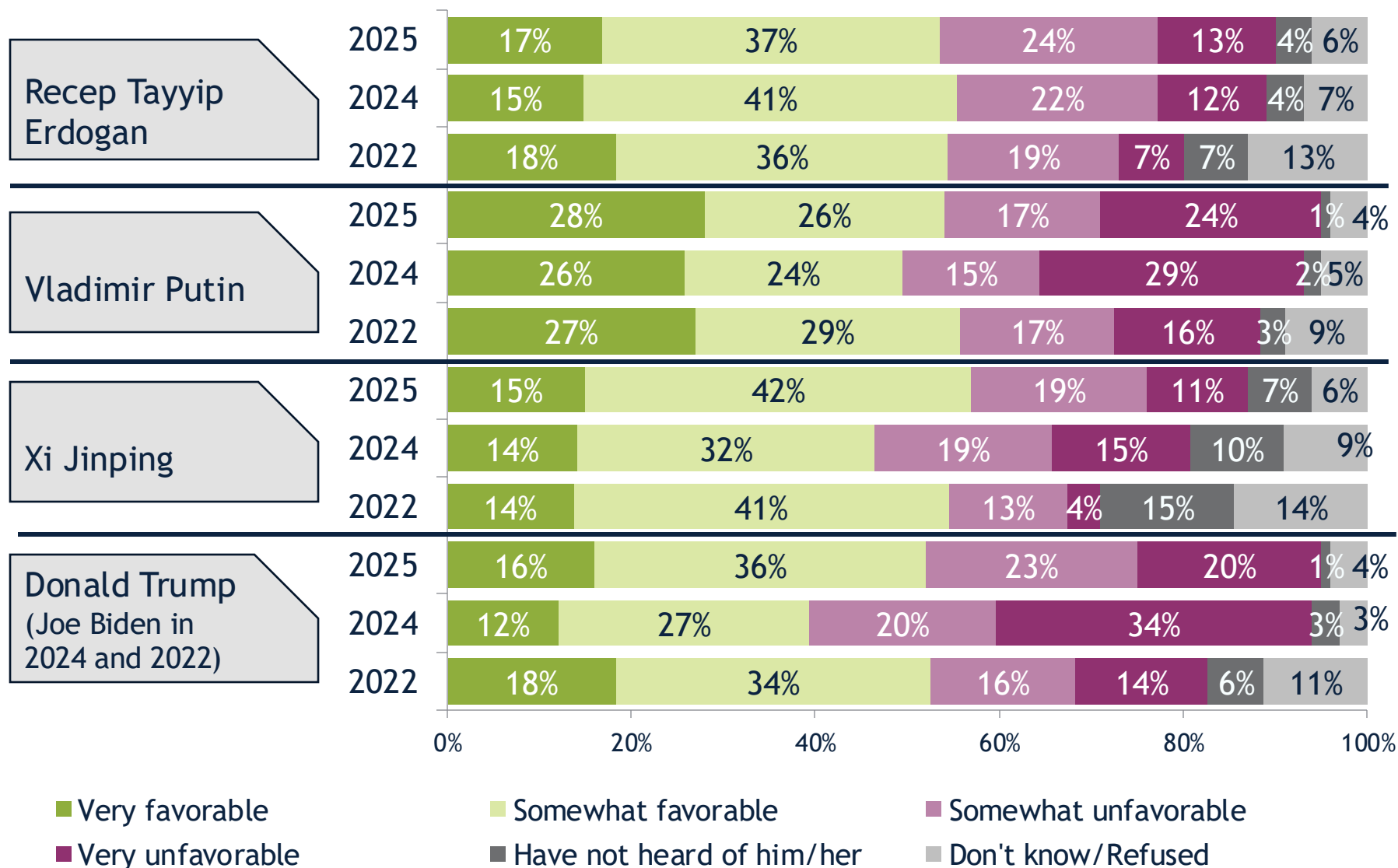


Favorable Opinion (Very or Somewhat favorable)	All Respondents	Entity		Ethnic Background		
		Federation BiH (n=752)	Republika Srpska (n=438)	Bosniak (n=618)	Serb (=380)	Croat (n=190)
Recep Tayyip Erdogan	62%	74%	43%	82%	34%	52%
Xi Jinping	50%	38%	71%	36%	74%	50%
Vladimir Putin	42%	20%	79%	20%	90%	16%
Donald Trump	34%	35%	31%	28%	32%	59%

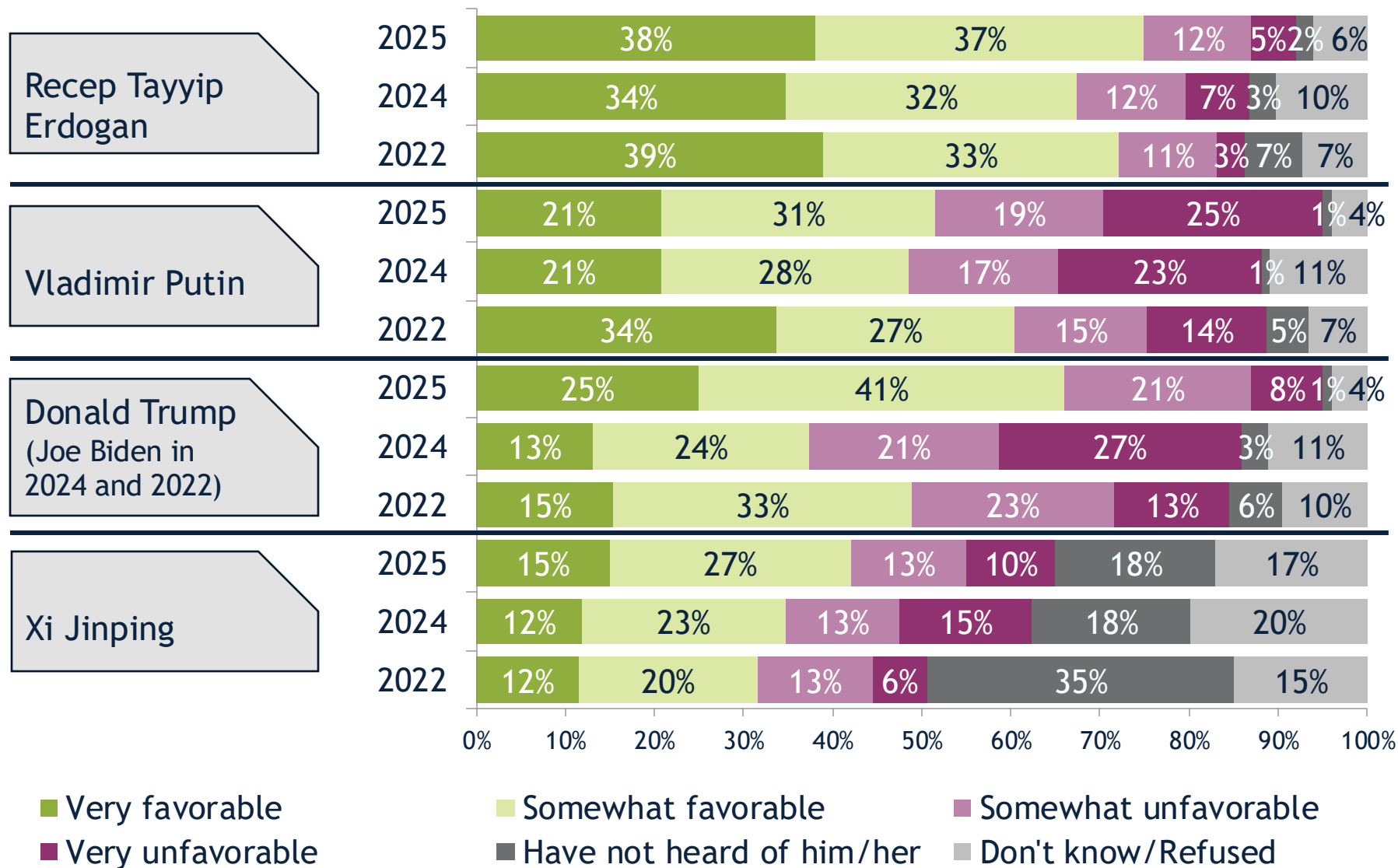
# Do you have a very unfavorable, somewhat unfavorable, somewhat favorable or very favorable opinion of the following world and regional leaders?



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

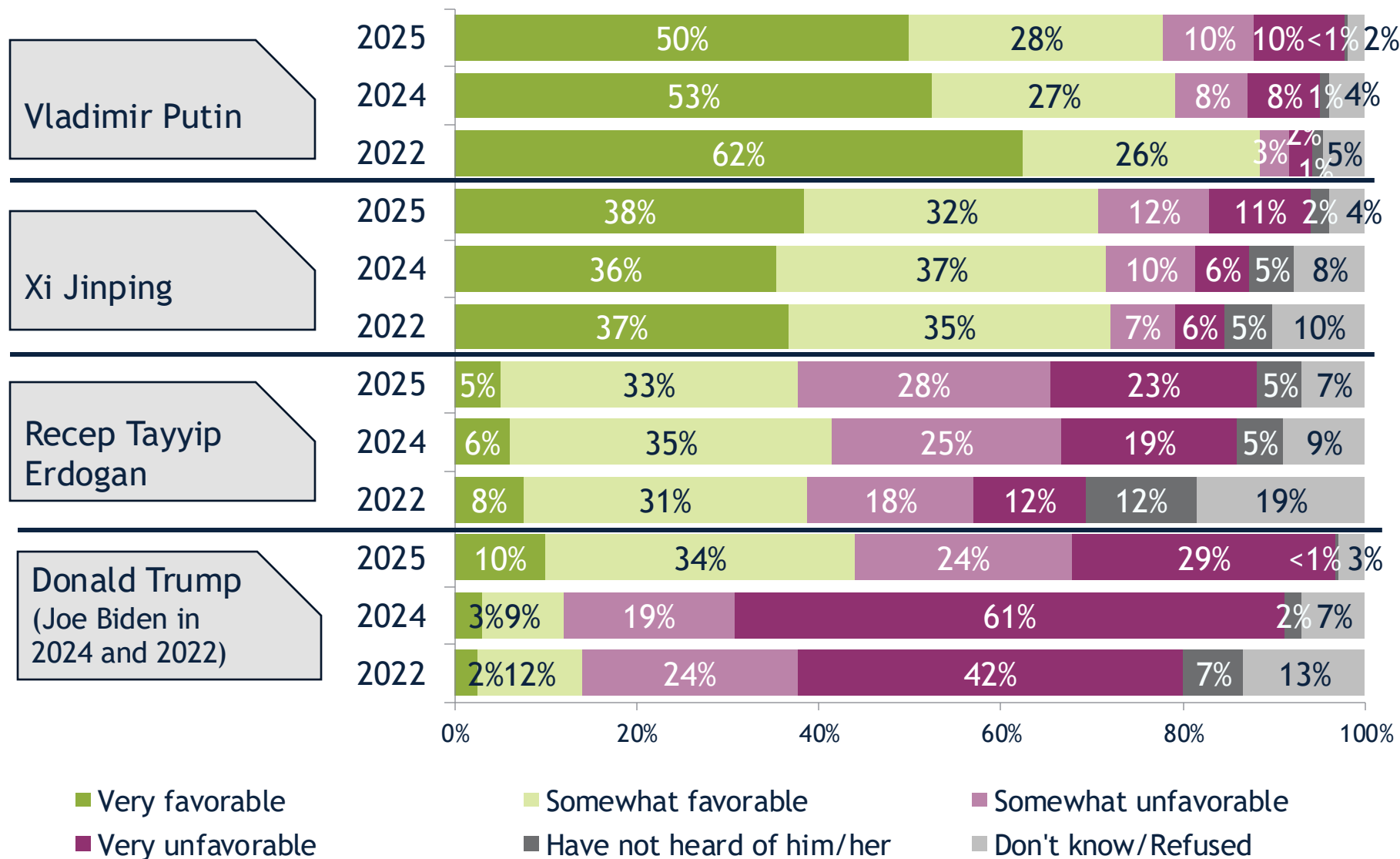


Do you have a very unfavorable, somewhat unfavorable, somewhat favorable or very favorable opinion of the following world and regional leaders?

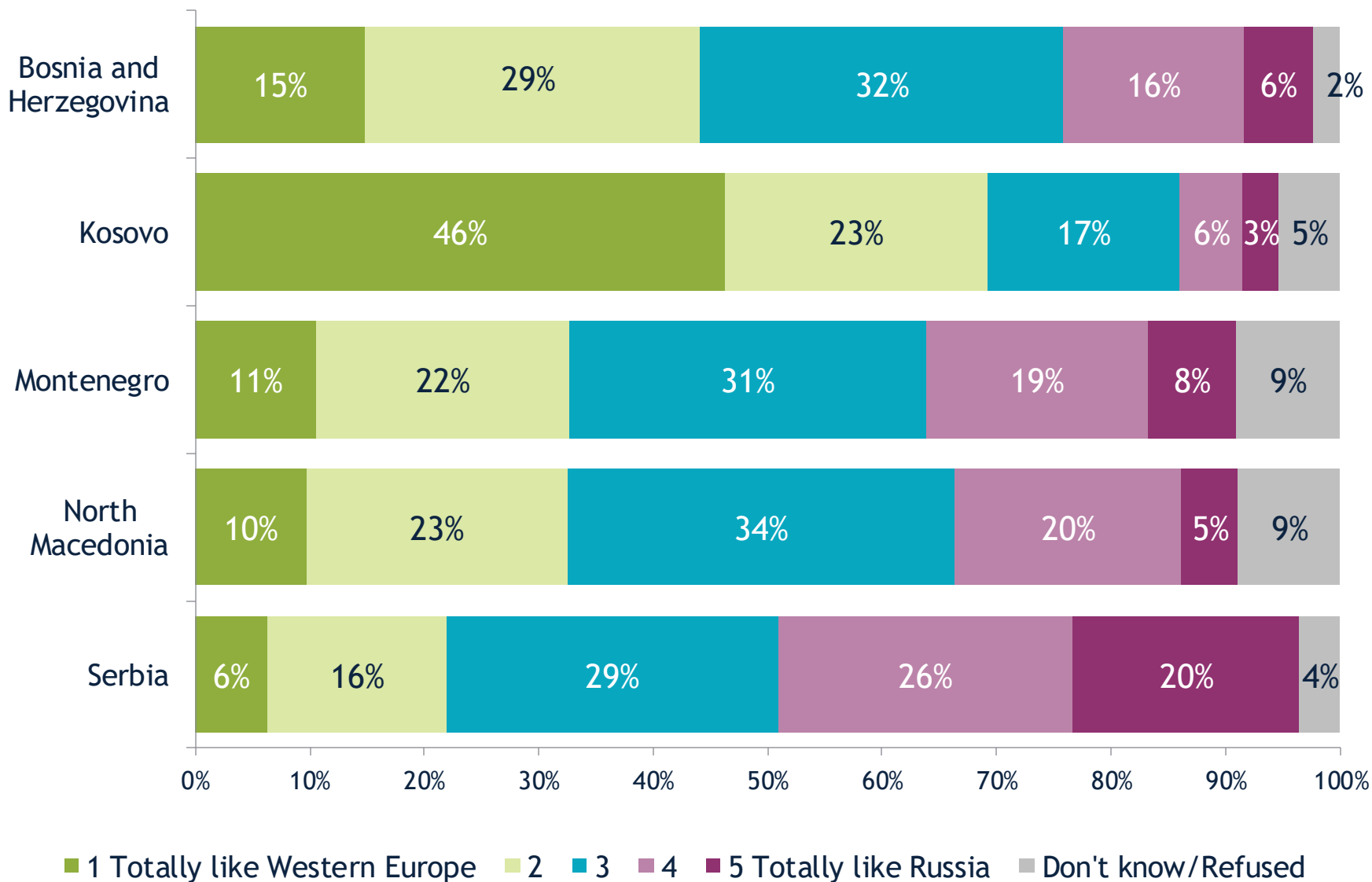




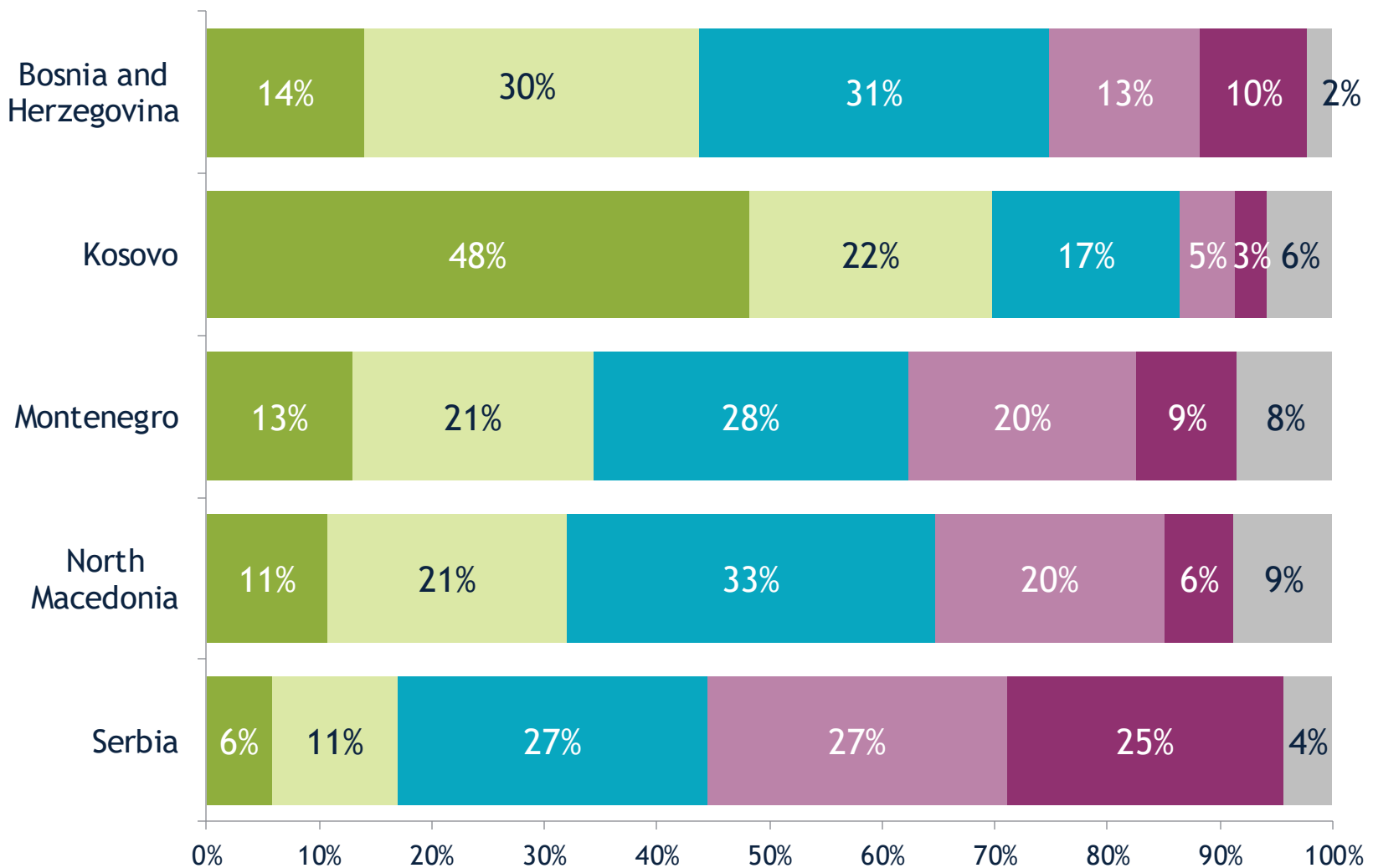
Do you have a very unfavorable, somewhat unfavorable, somewhat favorable or very favorable opinion of the following world and regional leaders?



On a scale from 1 to 5, does [country] have more in common with Western Europe, or with Russia, in the following areas. 1 would mean [country] is totally like Western Europe, while 5 would mean totally like Russia? **Culture and intellectual life**

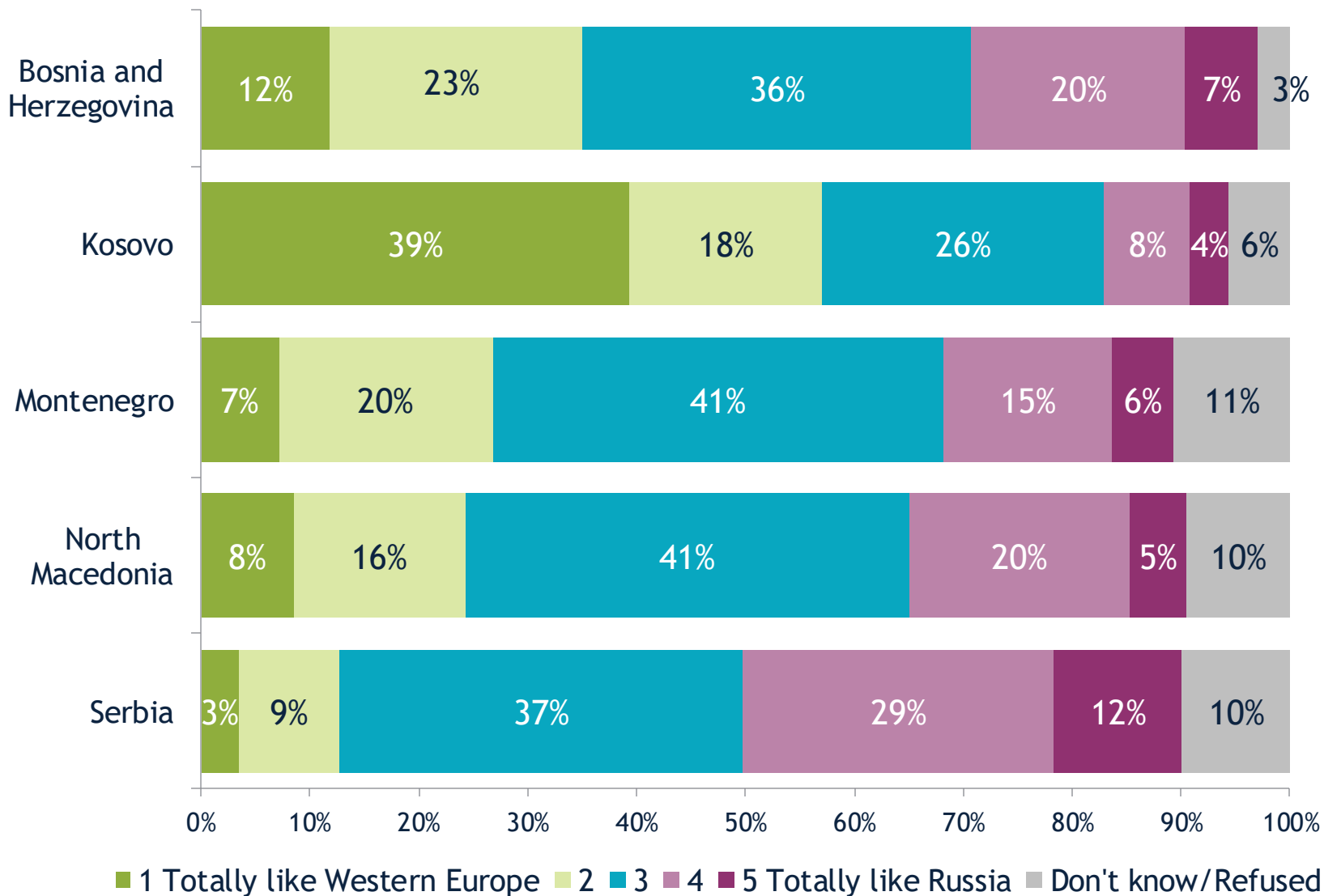


On a scale from 1 to 5, does [country] have more in common with Western Europe, or with Russia, in the following areas. 1 would mean [country] is totally like Western Europe, while 5 would mean totally like Russia? **Morality and values**

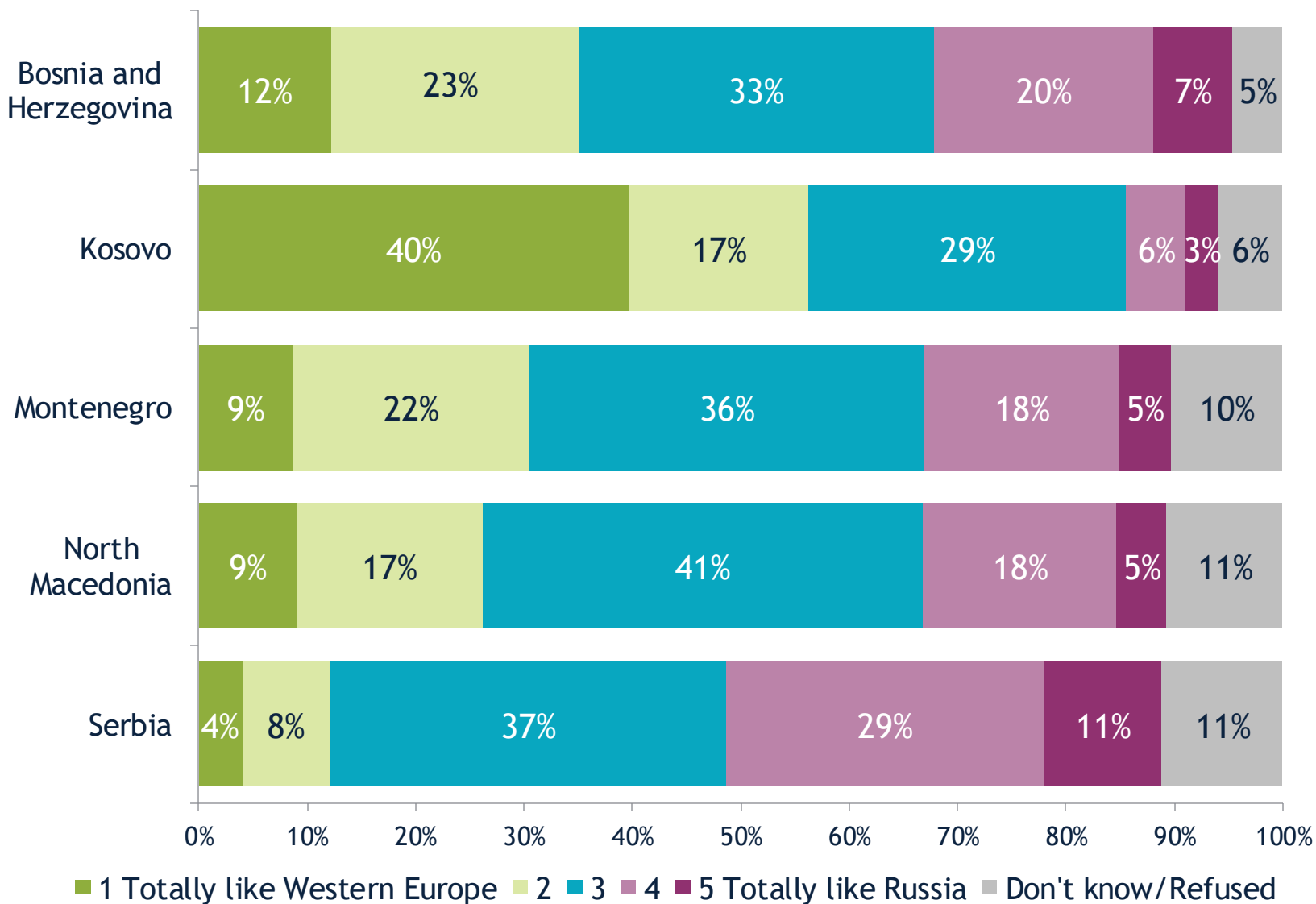


1 Totally like Western Europe 2 3 4 5 Totally like Russia Don't know/Refused

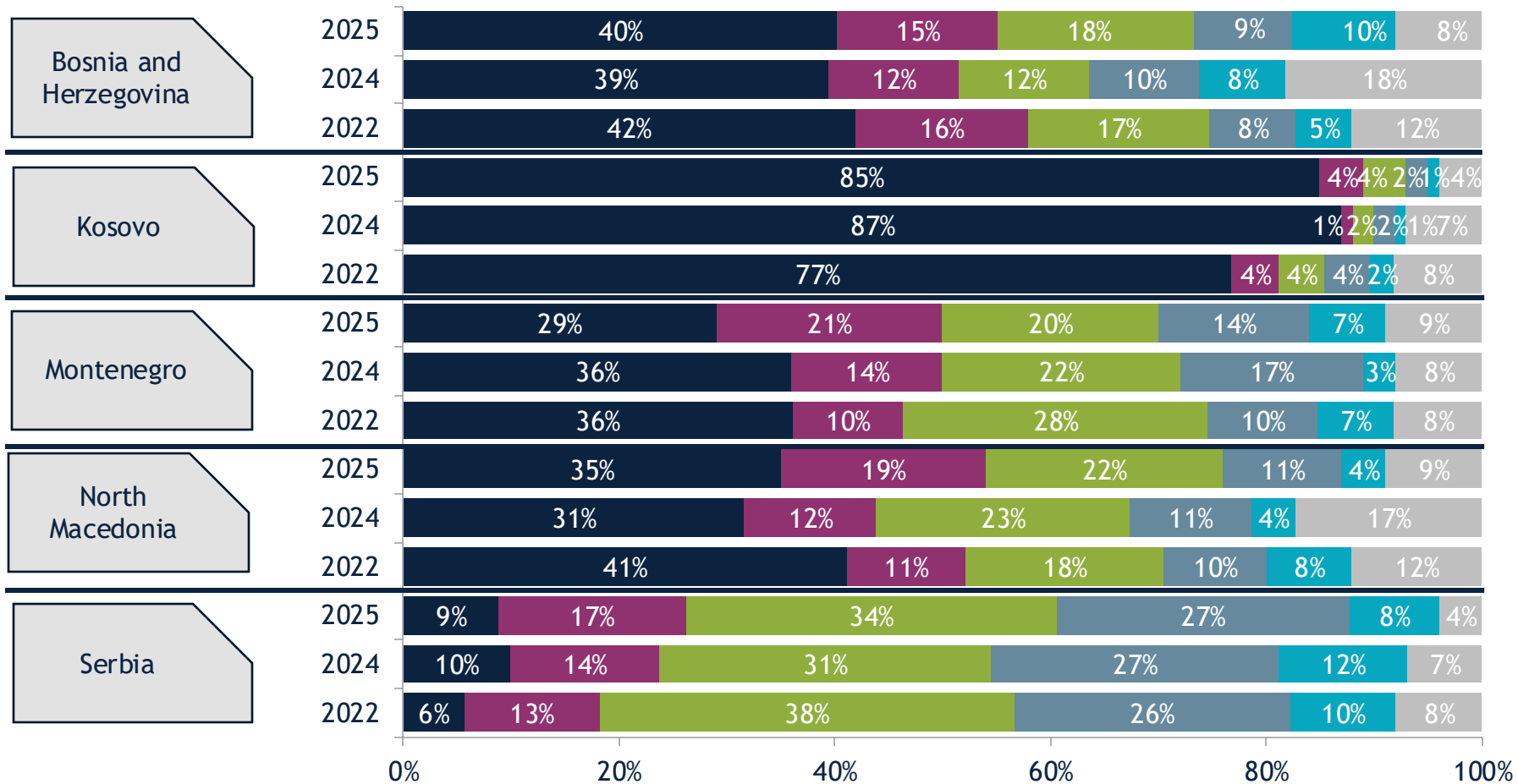
On a scale from 1 to 5, does [country] have more in common with Western Europe, or with Russia, in the following areas. 1 would mean [country] is totally like Western Europe, while 5 would mean totally like Russia? **Employment and standard of living**



On a scale from 1 to 5, does [country] have more in common with Western Europe, or with Russia, in the following areas. 1 would mean [country] is totally like Western Europe, while 5 would mean totally like Russia? **Healthcare, pensions, and other social benefits**



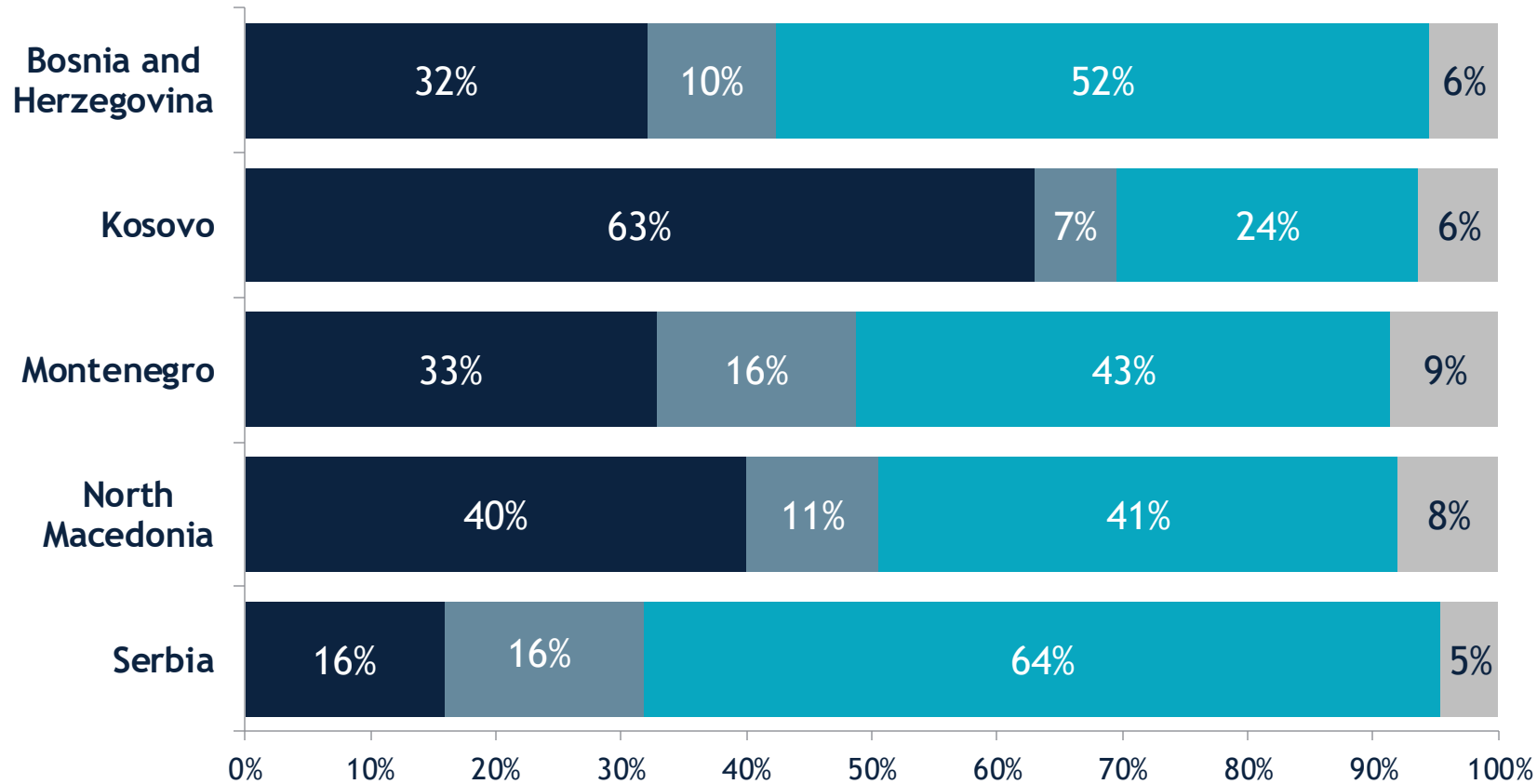
## What should our country's foreign policy course be?



- 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



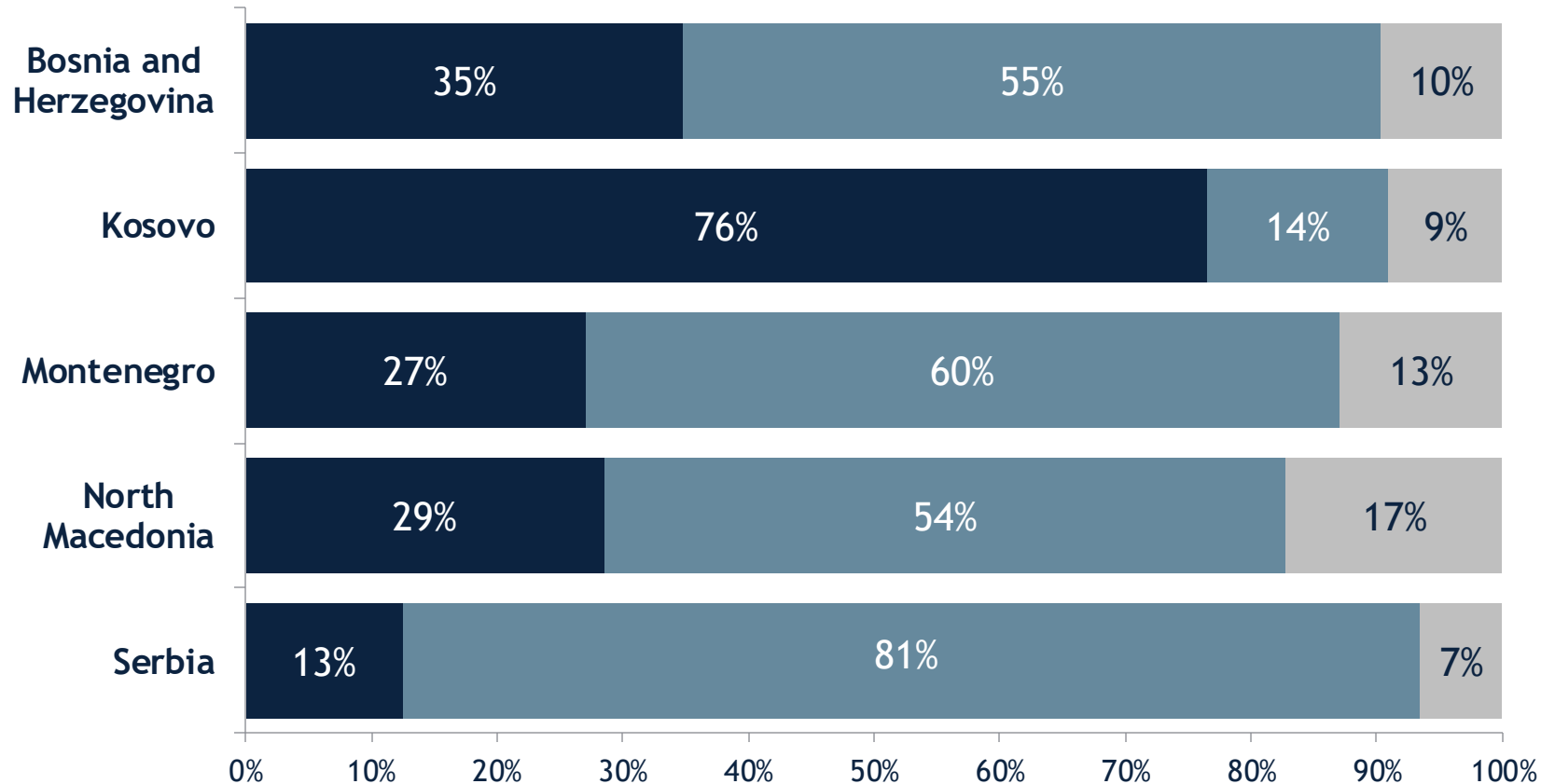
# Which of the following statements is closest to your opinion?



- Our country belongs in the West
- Our country belongs in the East
- Our country doesn't belong in either the West or the East
- Don't know/Refused



# Which of the following statements is closest to your opinion?

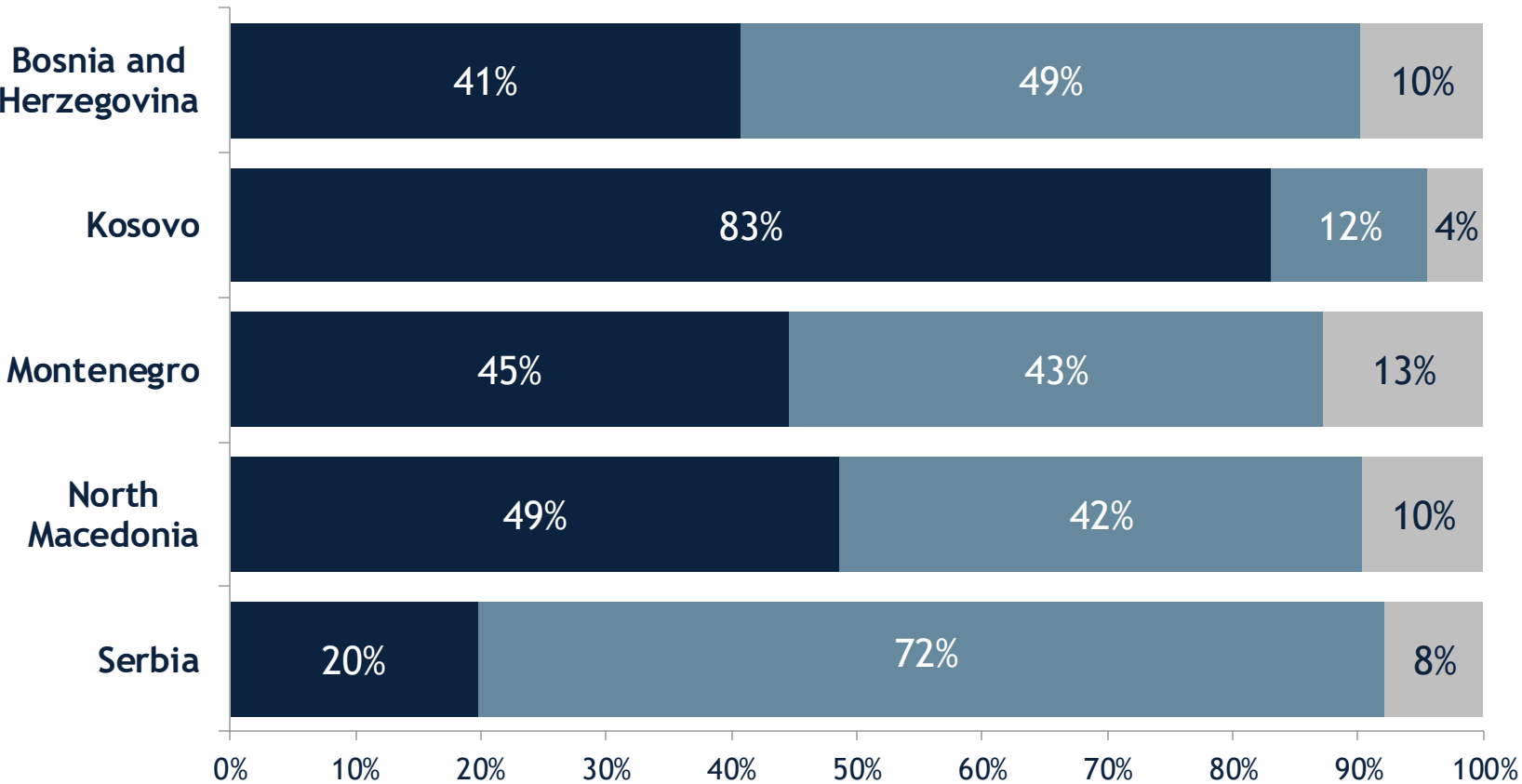


- Russia is a continuous, external threat to Europe, and must be countered by a strong security alliance
- Russia should be considered a partner in European security, and brought into European security structures. Keeping Russia out makes us less secure.
- Don't know/Refused





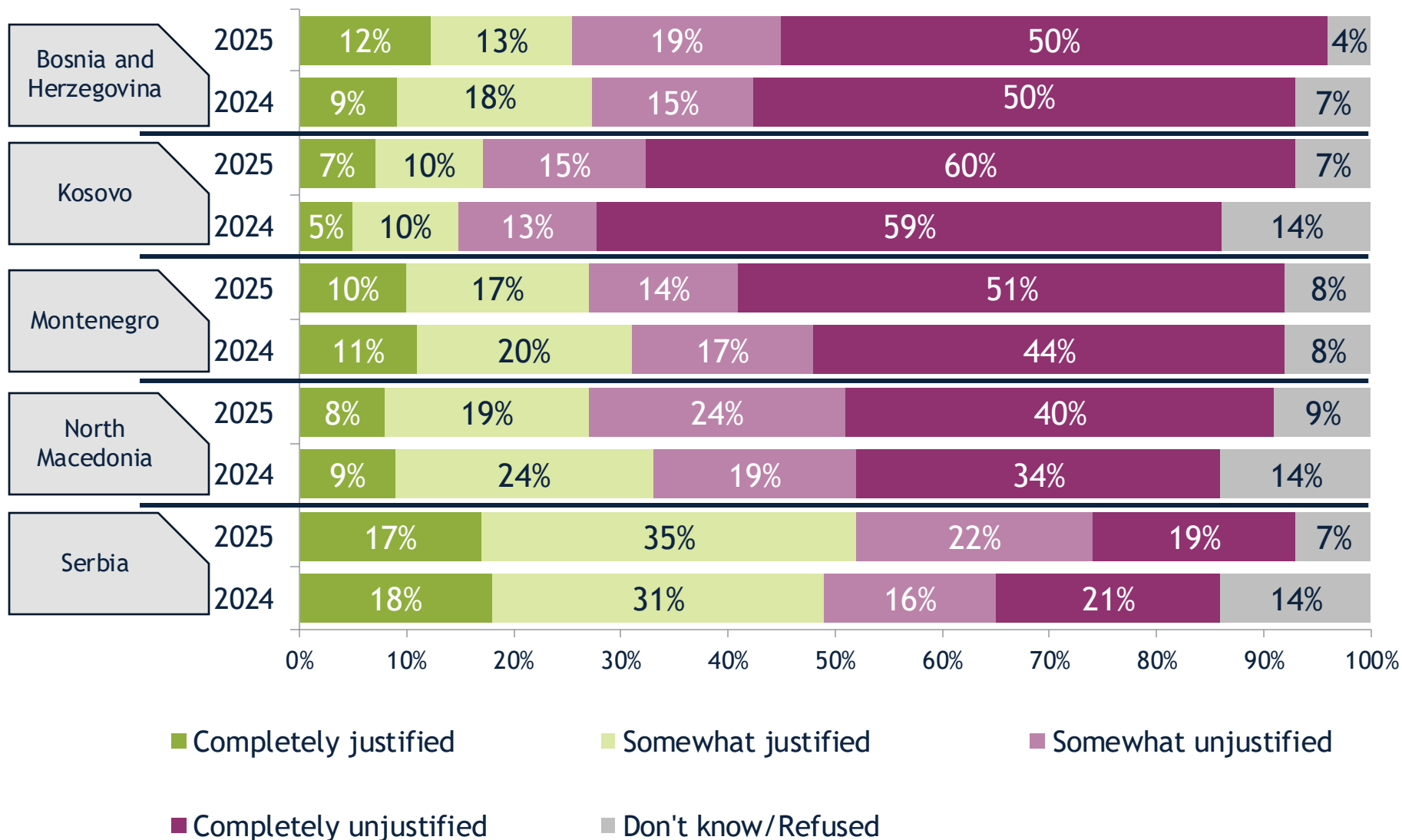
# Which of the following statements is closest to your opinion?



- The United States is a natural partner for European security, and its presence in NATO contributes to the peace of Europe
- The United States should not play a role in European security, and in fact its presence in Europe increases tensions and insecurity
- Don't know/Refused

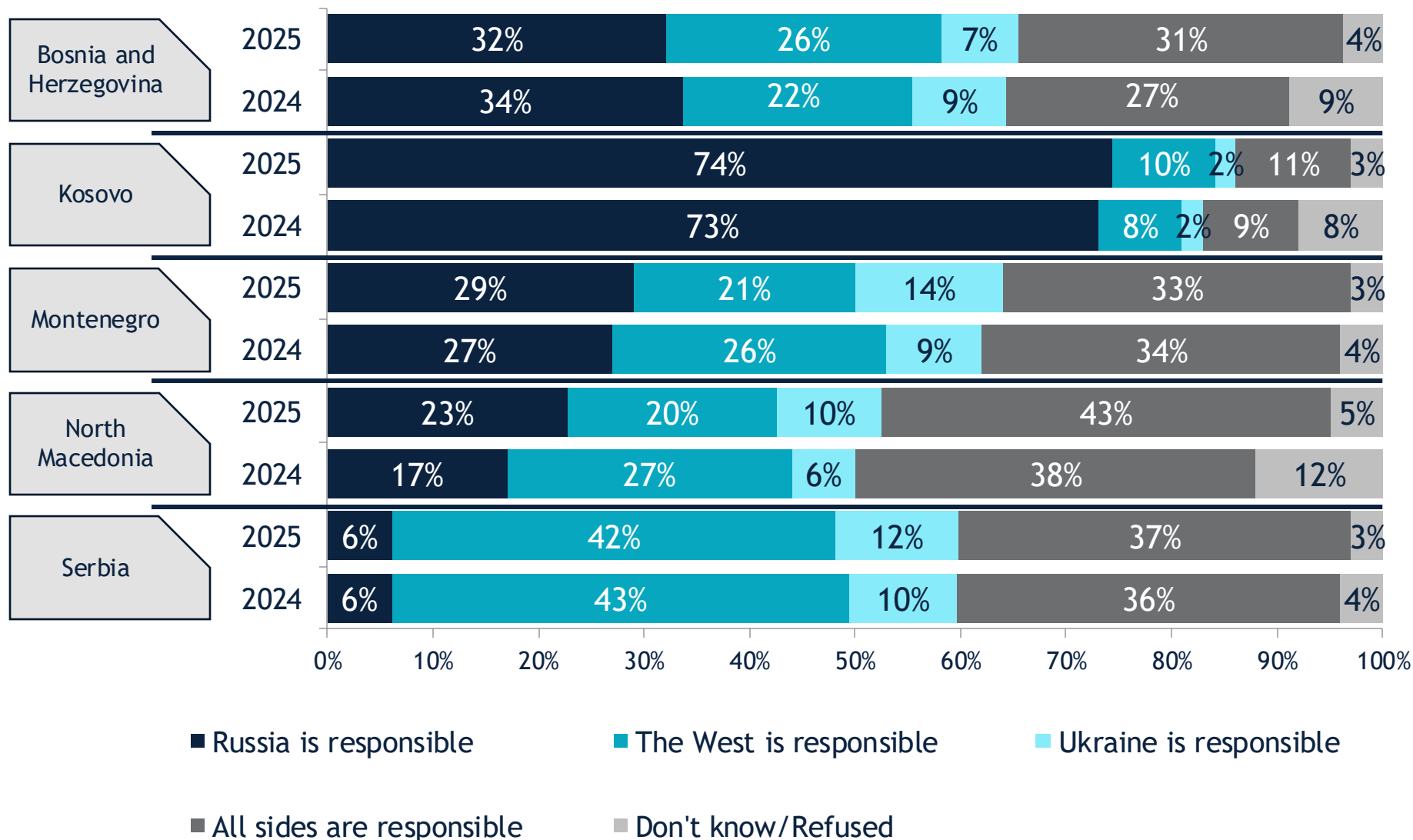


## To what extent do you think Russia's armed actions in Ukraine are justified or unjustified?



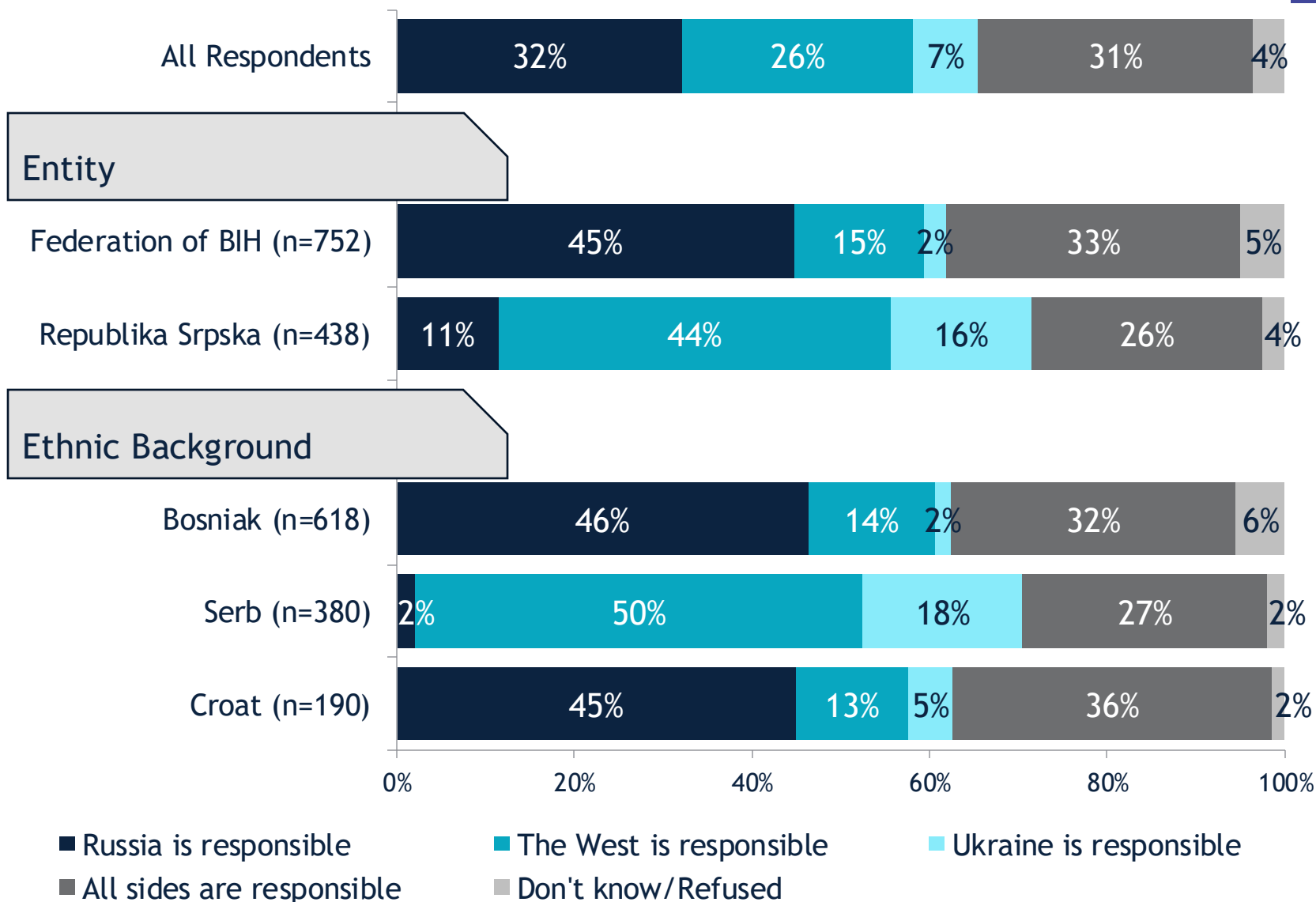


## Who is most responsible for the military conflict between Russia and Ukraine?



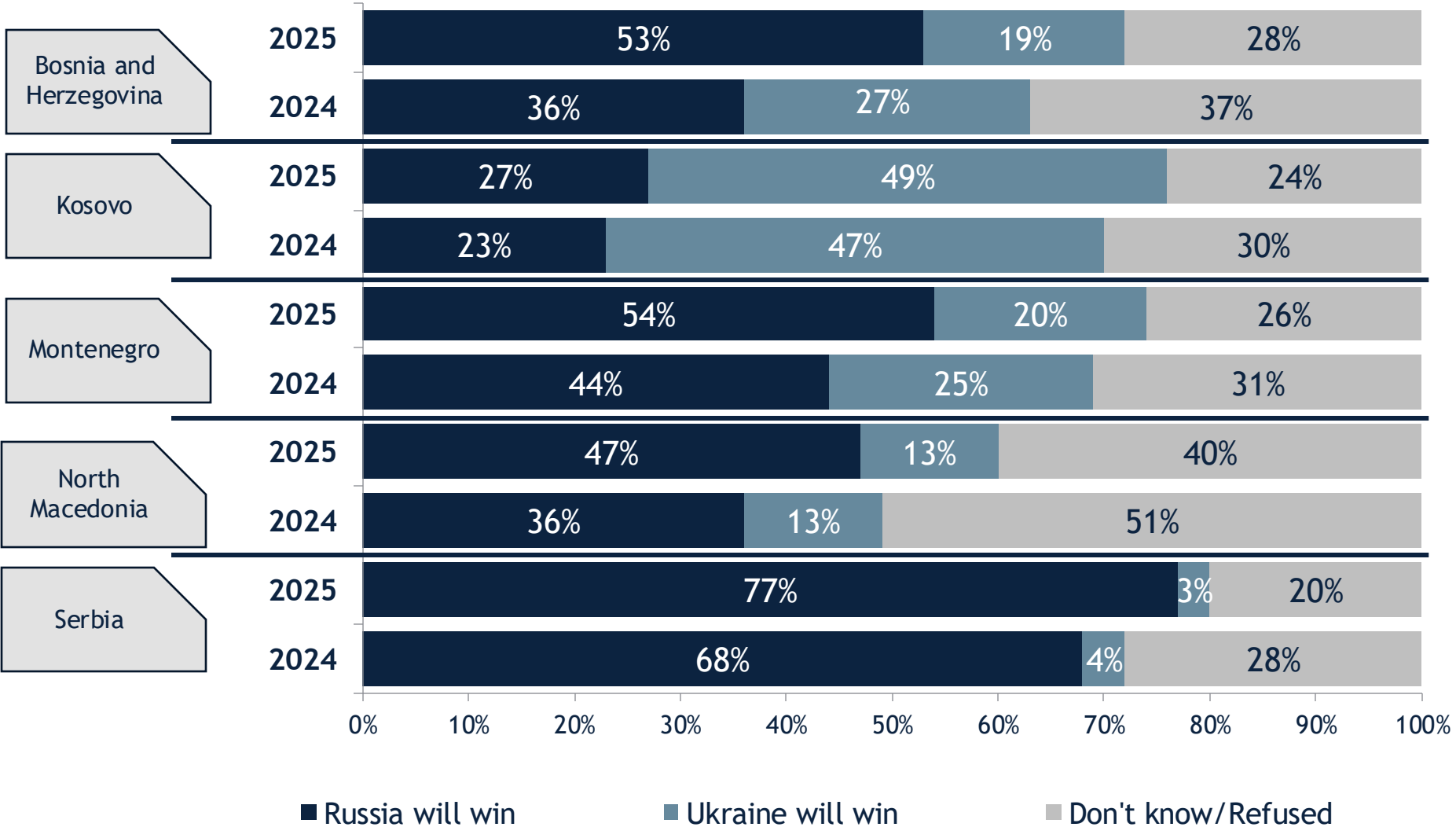


## Who is most responsible for the military conflict between Russia and Ukraine?





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



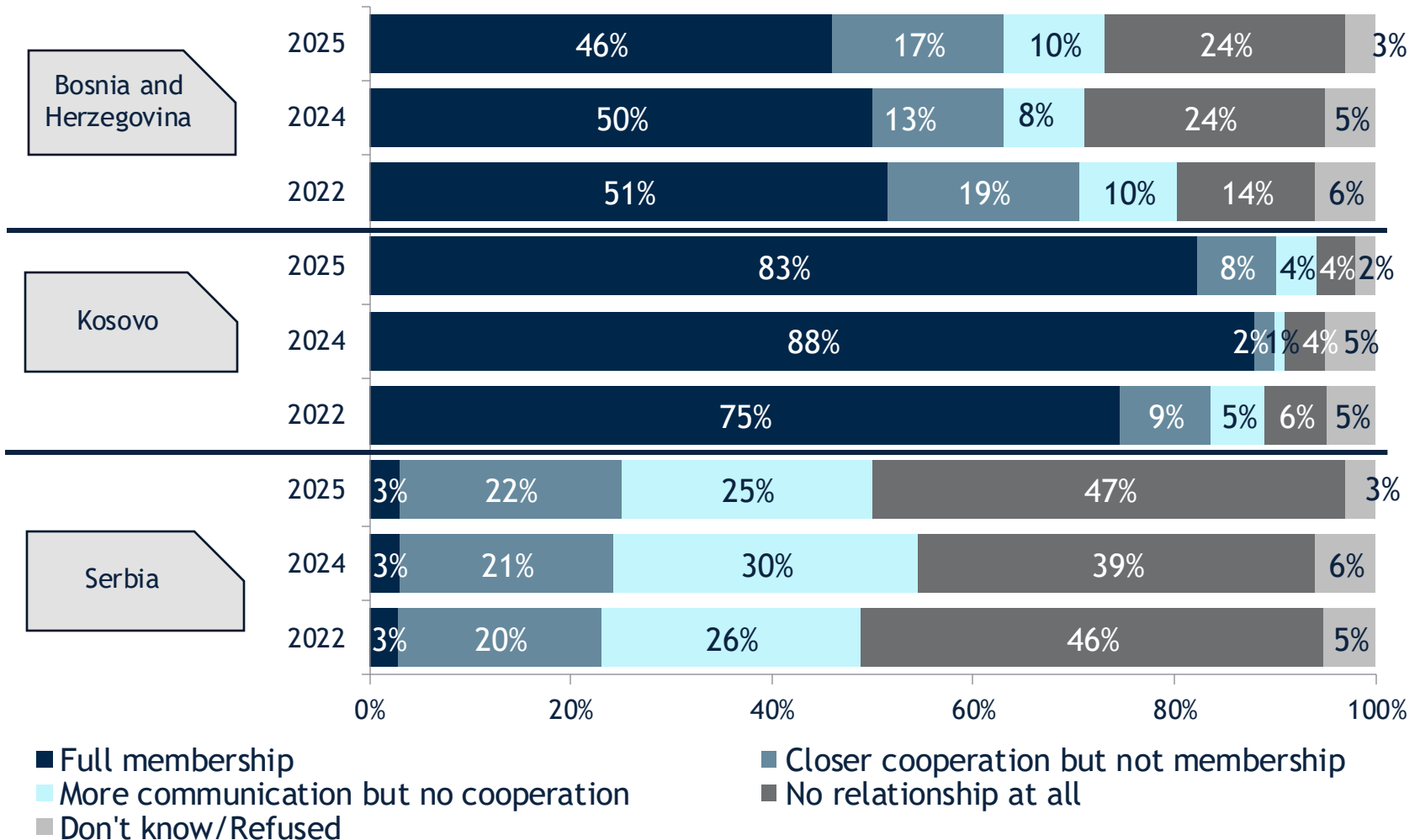
# NATO Integration



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"NATO flags waving on the wind in Gdynia, Poland" by  
Oleksandr.info FILE#: 579147702 on Adobestock.com

# 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.



# Which statement is closest to your opinion about NATO membership?

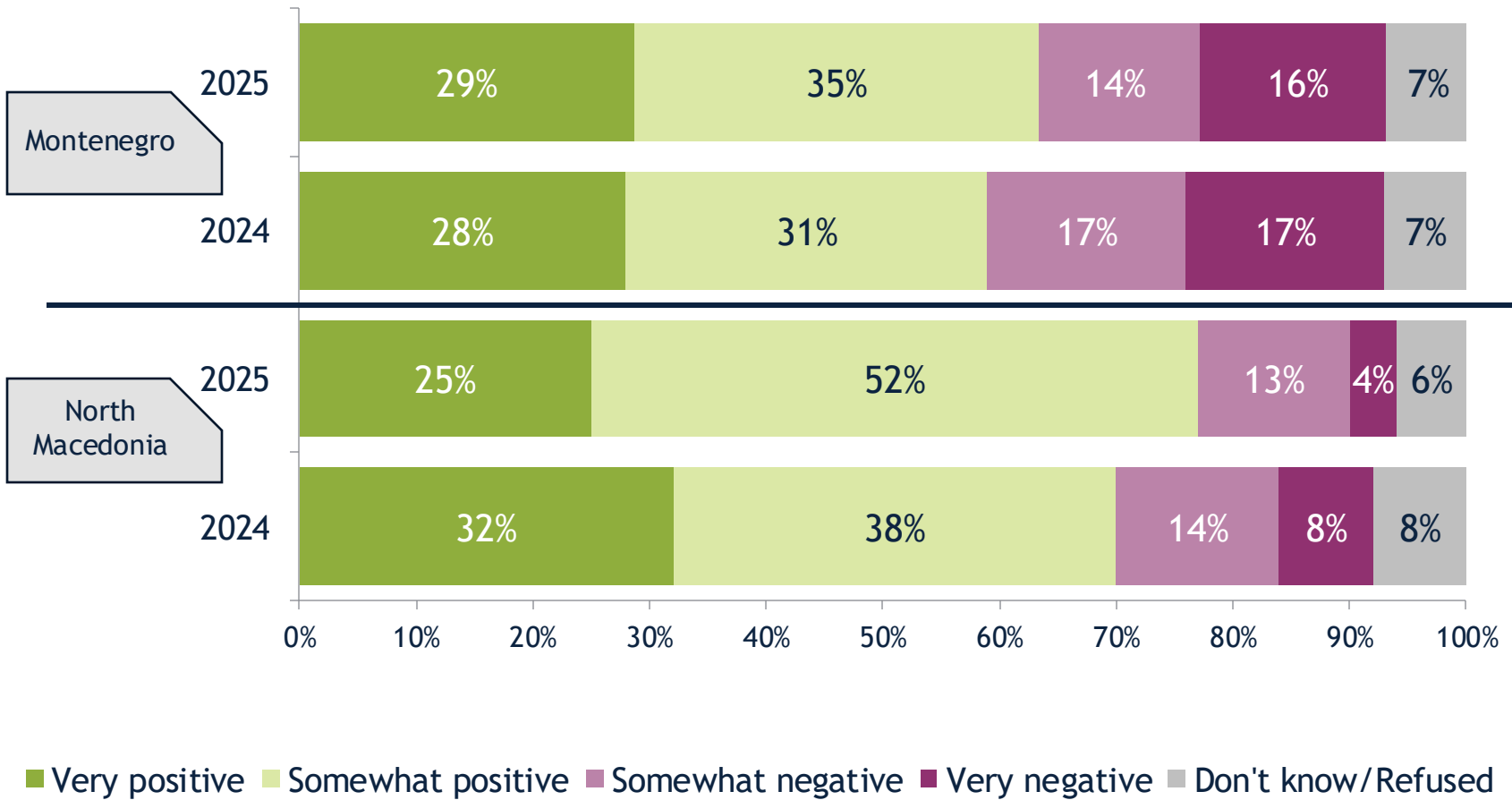


- NATO membership is bringing real and substantial benefits to my country
- NATO membership is bringing a few benefits to my country, but the benefits aren't very significant or noticeable
- I do not expect any benefits to my country from NATO membership
- Don't know/Refused





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



# EU Integration

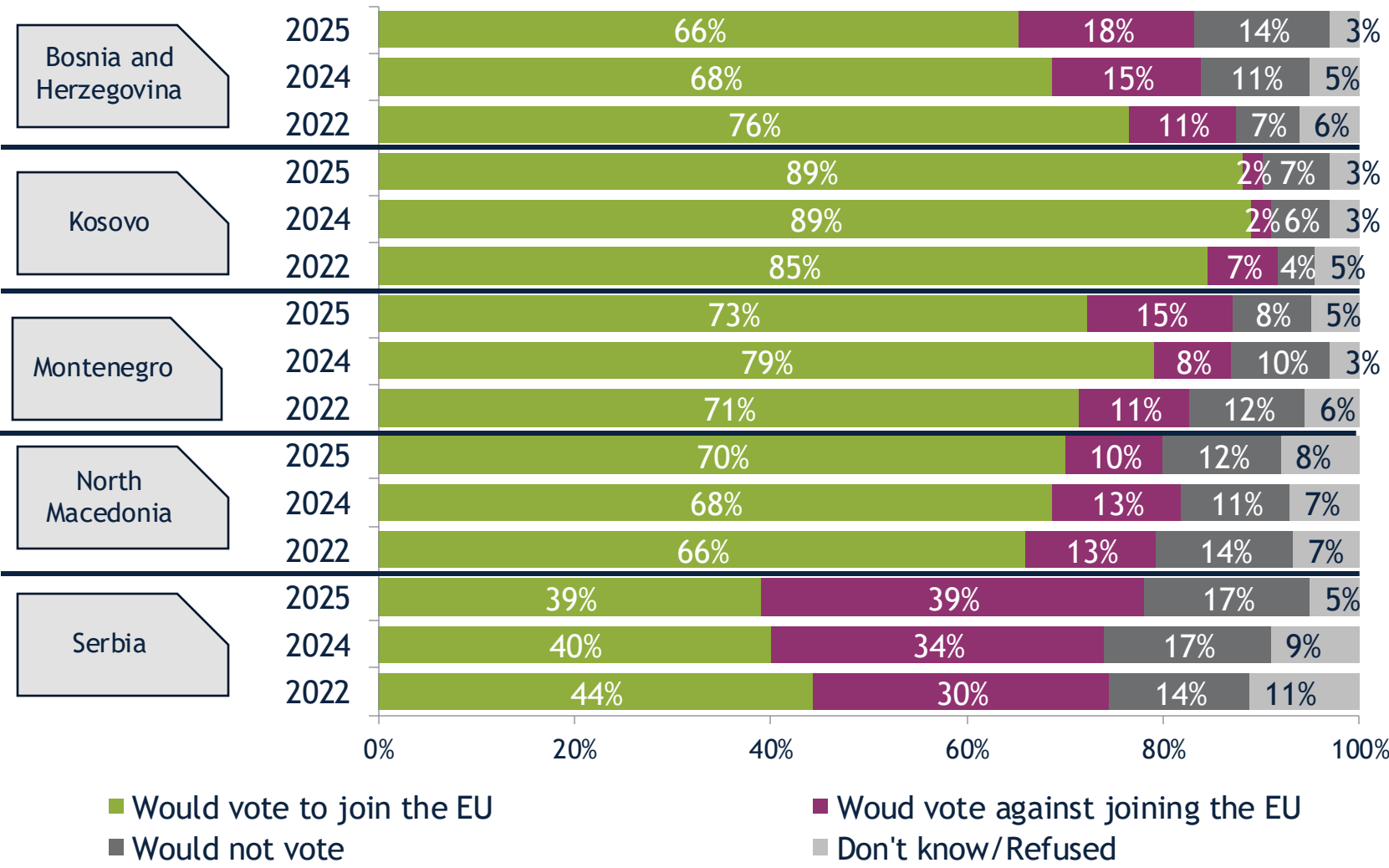


A PROJECT OF THE INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE

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



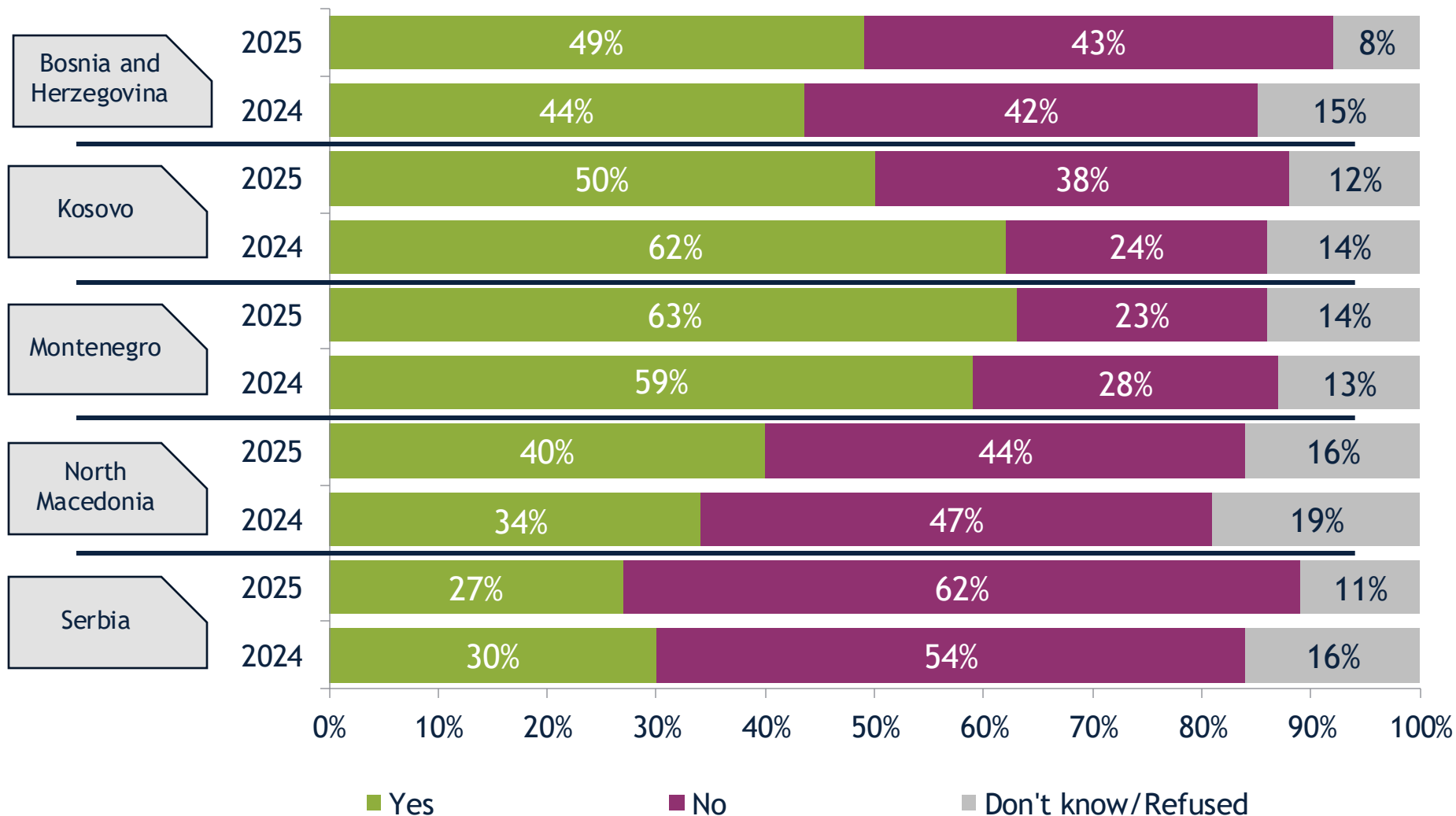
# If a referendum were held today on our country joining the European Union, how would you vote?



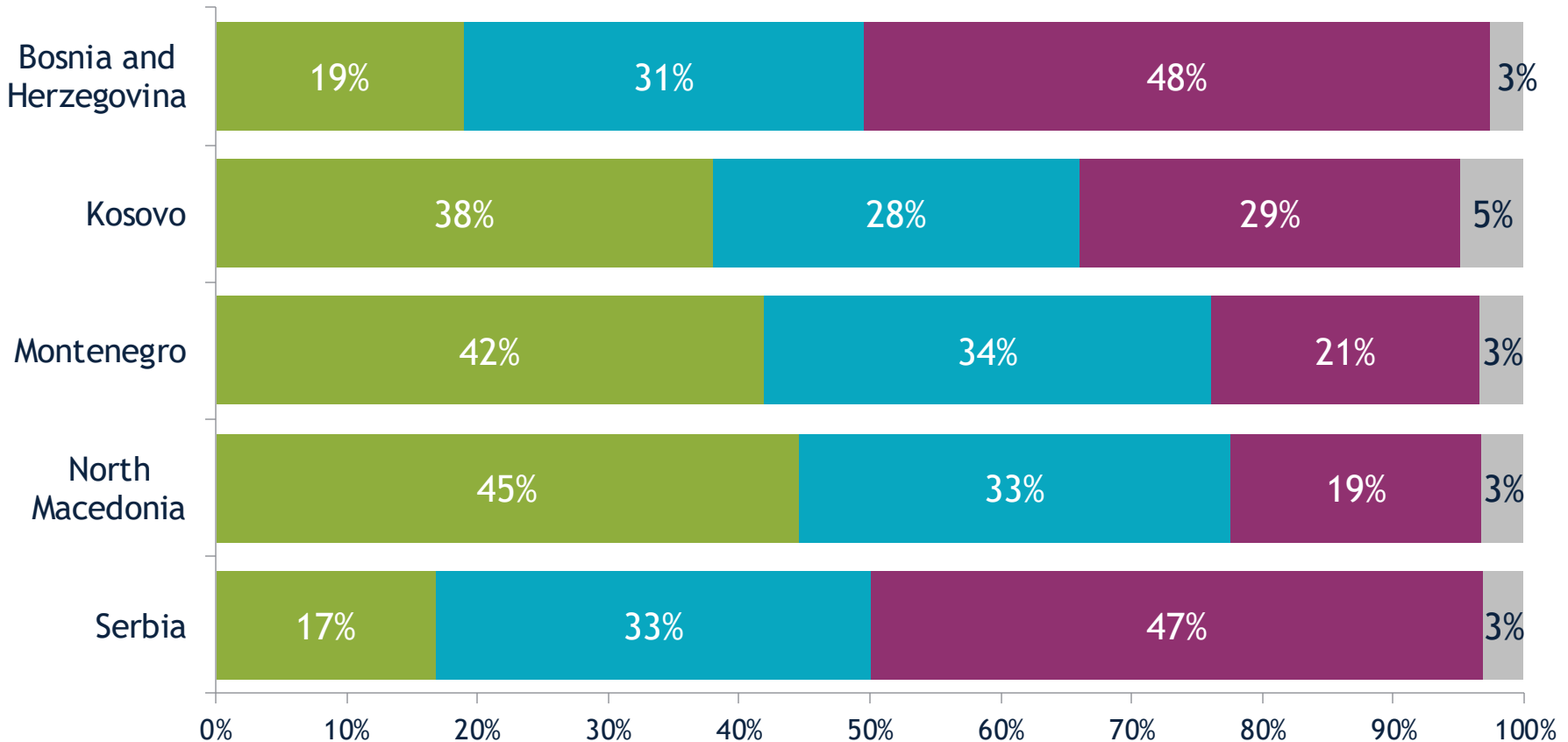
The fieldwork period for the 2022 surveys concluded just prior to the full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine.



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



## Which statement is closest to your opinion about European Union membership?



- EU membership will bring real and substantial benefits to my life and that of my family
- EU membership will bring a few benefits to my life and my family's life, but the benefits aren't very significant or noticeable
- I do not expect any benefits from EU membership
- Don't know/Refused

# Foreign Investment



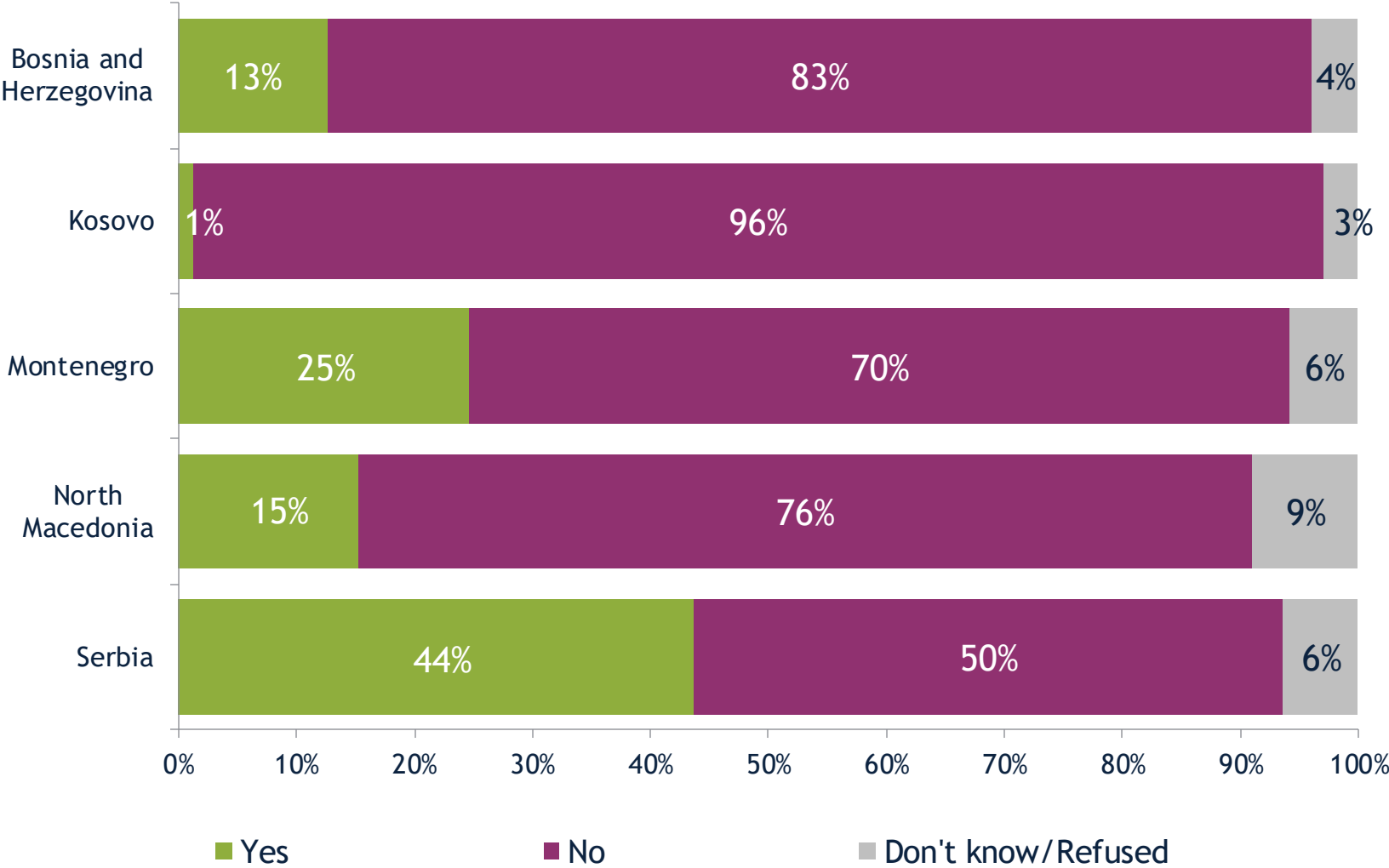
A PROJECT OF THE INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE



"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 Lemonsoop14. FILE#: 607306523 on AdobeStock.com

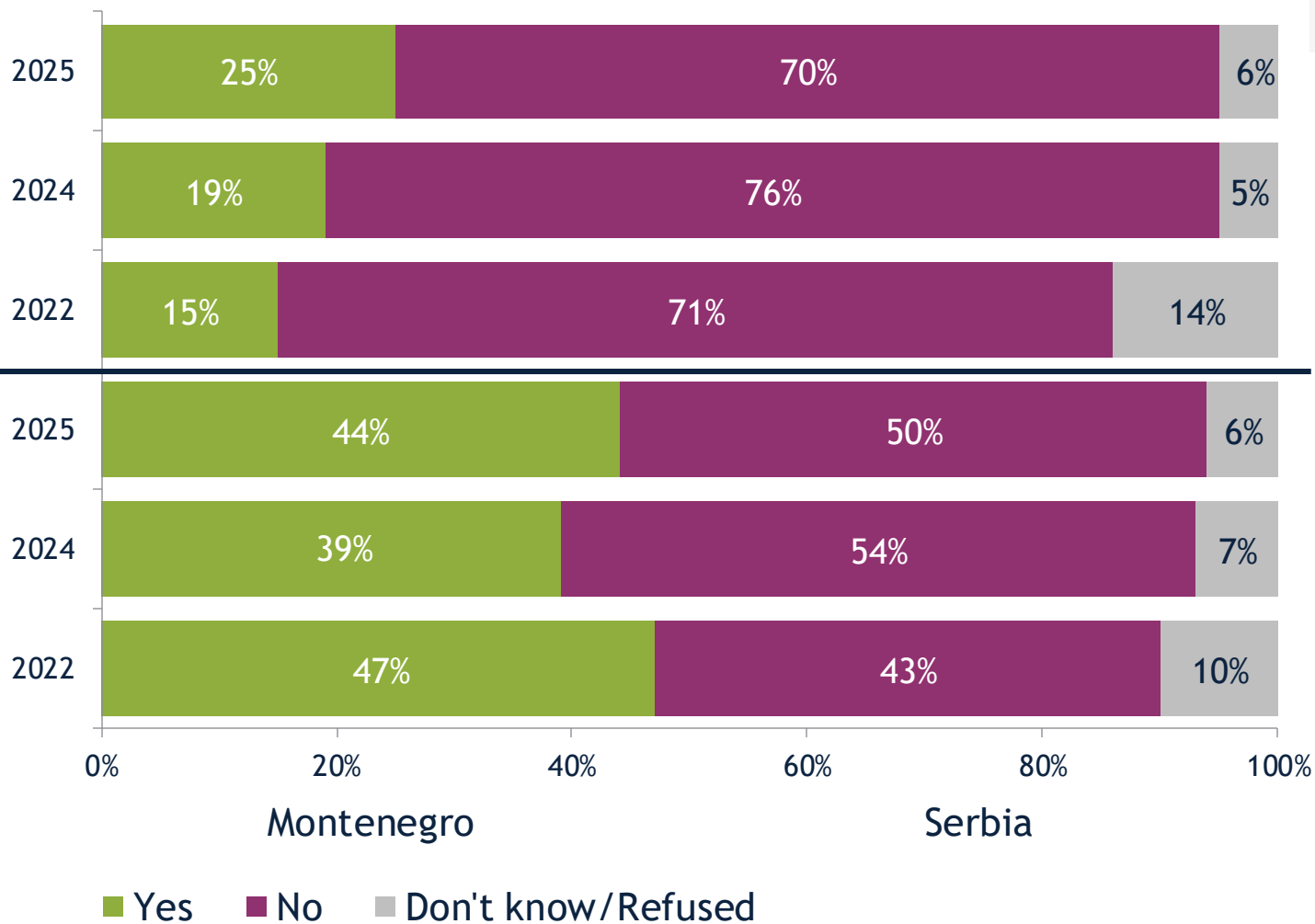


# Are you aware of any major Russian investments in our country?





## 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, top 5 displayed)

Major Russian investment	Bosnia and Herzegovina (n=154)
Bosanski Brod refinery/ investments in the oil industry	36%
Gas pipeline construction	16%
Gazprom	9%
Economy / Production	6%
Banking sector	5%

Major Russian investment	North Macedonia (n=186)
Lukoil	60%
Economy/Production	11%
Petrohemija	4%
Tourism (Hotels, resorts, investments)	4%
Gas pipeline construction	4%

Major Russian investment	Montenegro (n=252)
Tourism (Hotels, resorts, investments on the coast)	40%
Buying real estate	26%
Nobelwood Beluga	13%
Economy/Production	7%
KAP*	3%

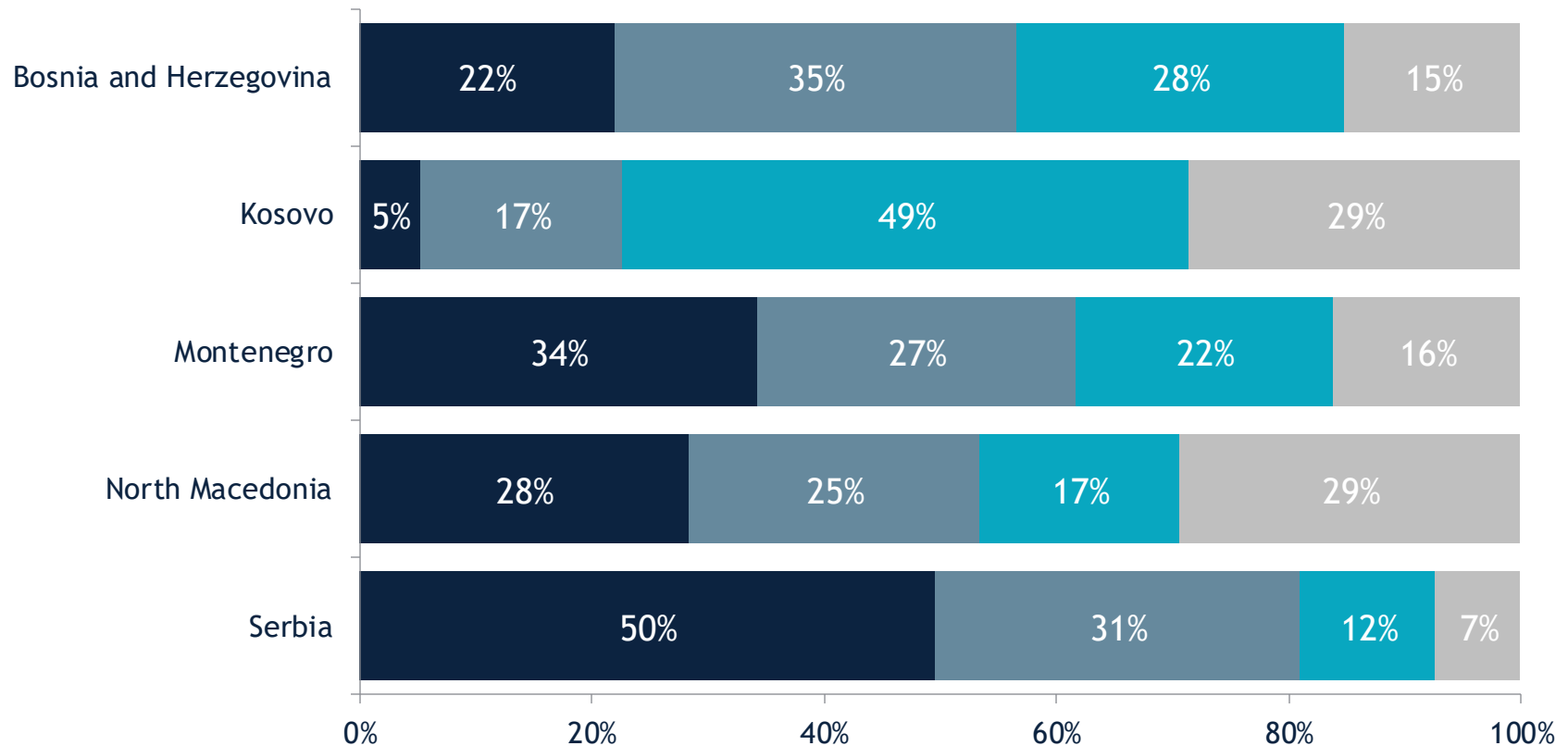
Major Russian investment	Serbia (n=531)
NIS**	45%
Gazprom	22%
Gas pipeline construction	19%
Railway	4%
Weapons/military industry	3%

Kosovo not displayed due to very small sample (n=14) of those who are aware of a major Russian investment.

\*KAP=Podgorica aluminum plant

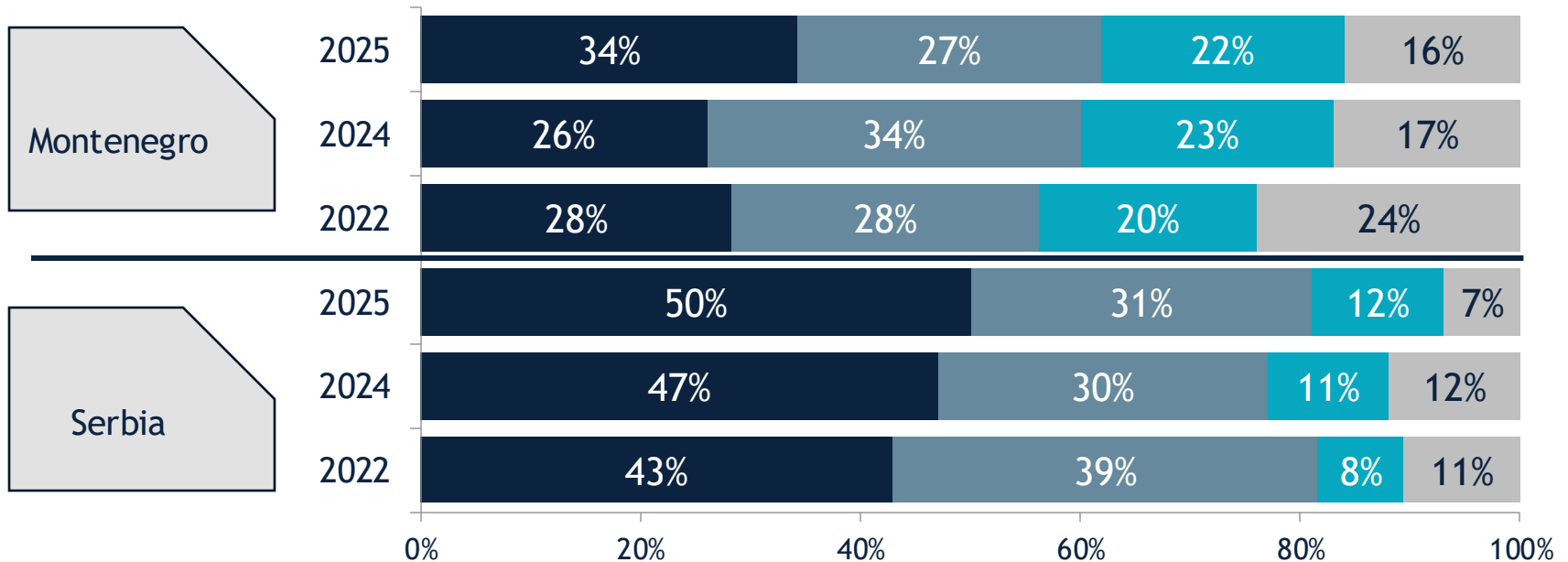
\*\*Nafna Industrija Srbija, state oil company

## 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

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

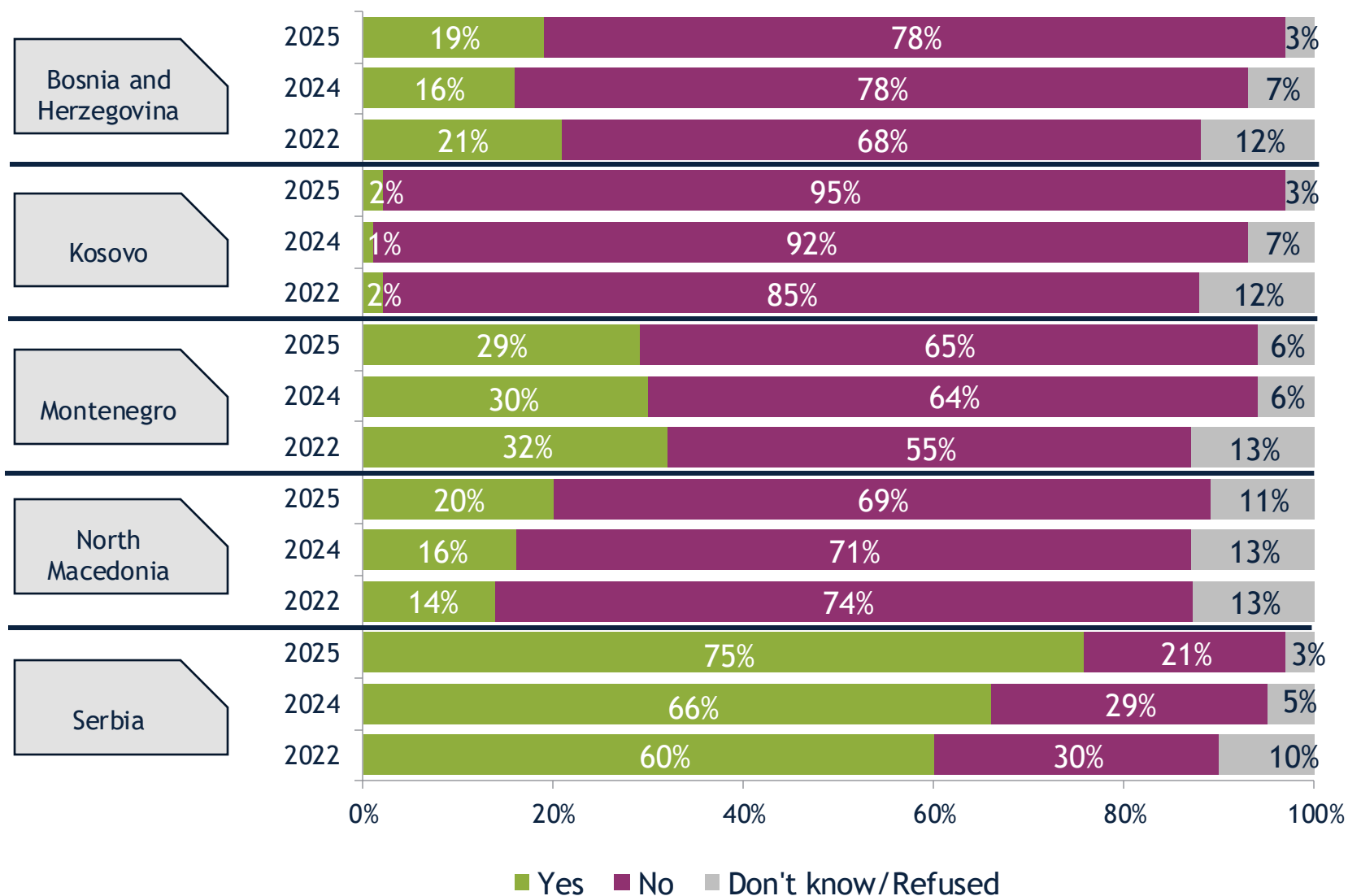


- Russian investment is primarily about economics, delivering benefits to both sides
- Russian investment gives some economic benefits to our country, but it always carries certain political expectations and conditions
- Russian investment is primarily about influence and control of our country
- Don't 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 mentions shown, among those who said they are aware of major Chinese investments, top 5 displayed)

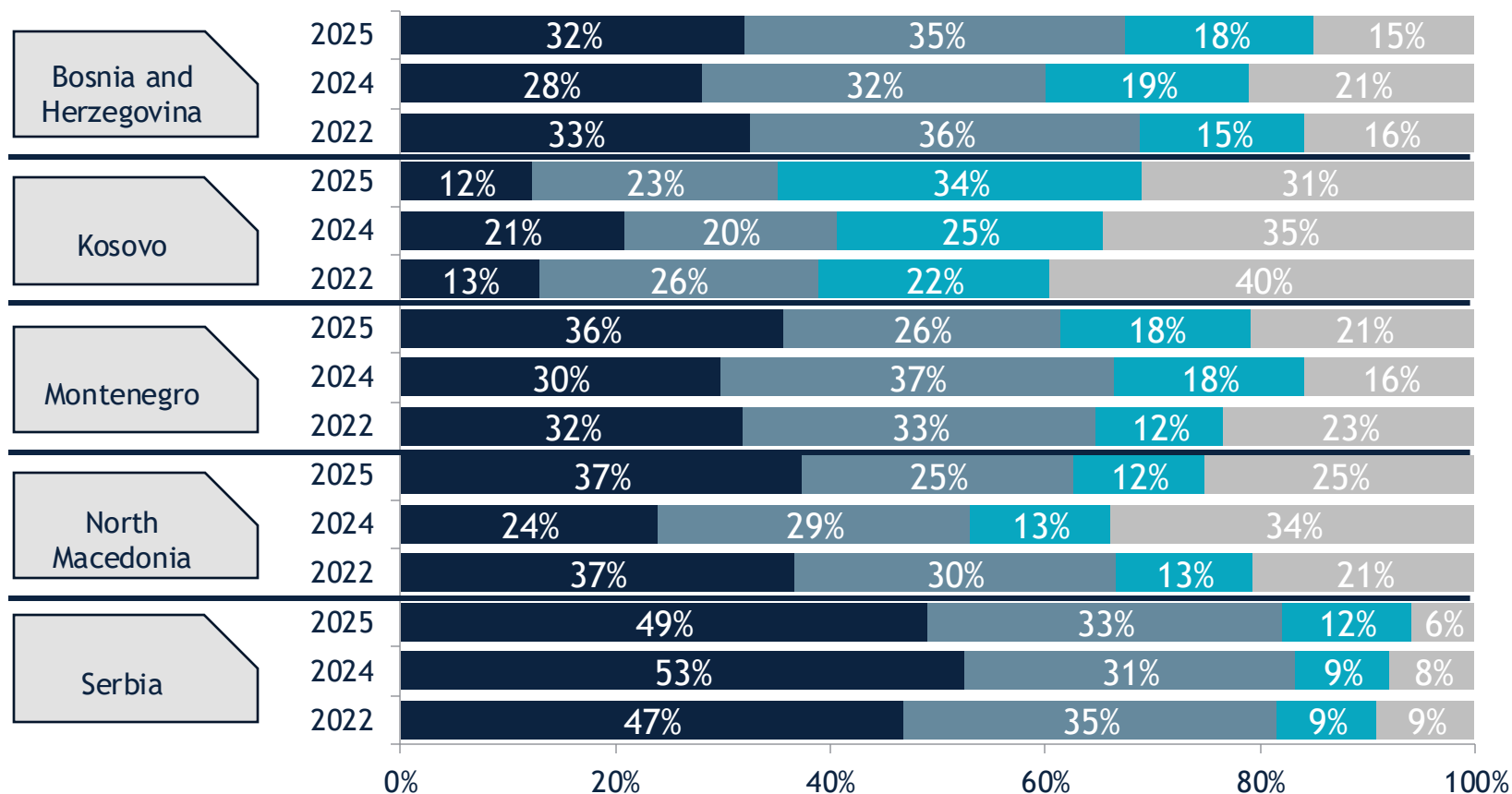
Major Chinese investment	Bosnia and Herzegovina (n=232)
Investments in infrastructure (roads, bridges)	54%
Investments in the energy sector	13%
Tuzla Thermal Power Plant (block 7)	7%
Mining/construction	7%
Investing in health and education	6%

Major Chinese investment	North Macedonia (n=246)
Investments in infrastructure (roads, bridges)	49%
Industry (factories open)	11%
Economy/Banking/Trade	7%
Skopje-Ohrid Highway	7%
Investing in health and education	6%

Major Chinese investment	Montenegro (n=291)
Bar Boljari Highway	78%
Investments in infrastructure (roads, bridges)	9%
Investments in the energy sector unspecified	3%
Economy/Banking / Trade	1%
Investing in health and education	1%

Major Chinese investment	Serbia (n=918)
Investments in infrastructure (roads, bridges)	35%
RTB Bor	30%
Smederevo Ironworks	28%
Lingong Tire Factory	12%
Industry (factories open)	8%

## 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

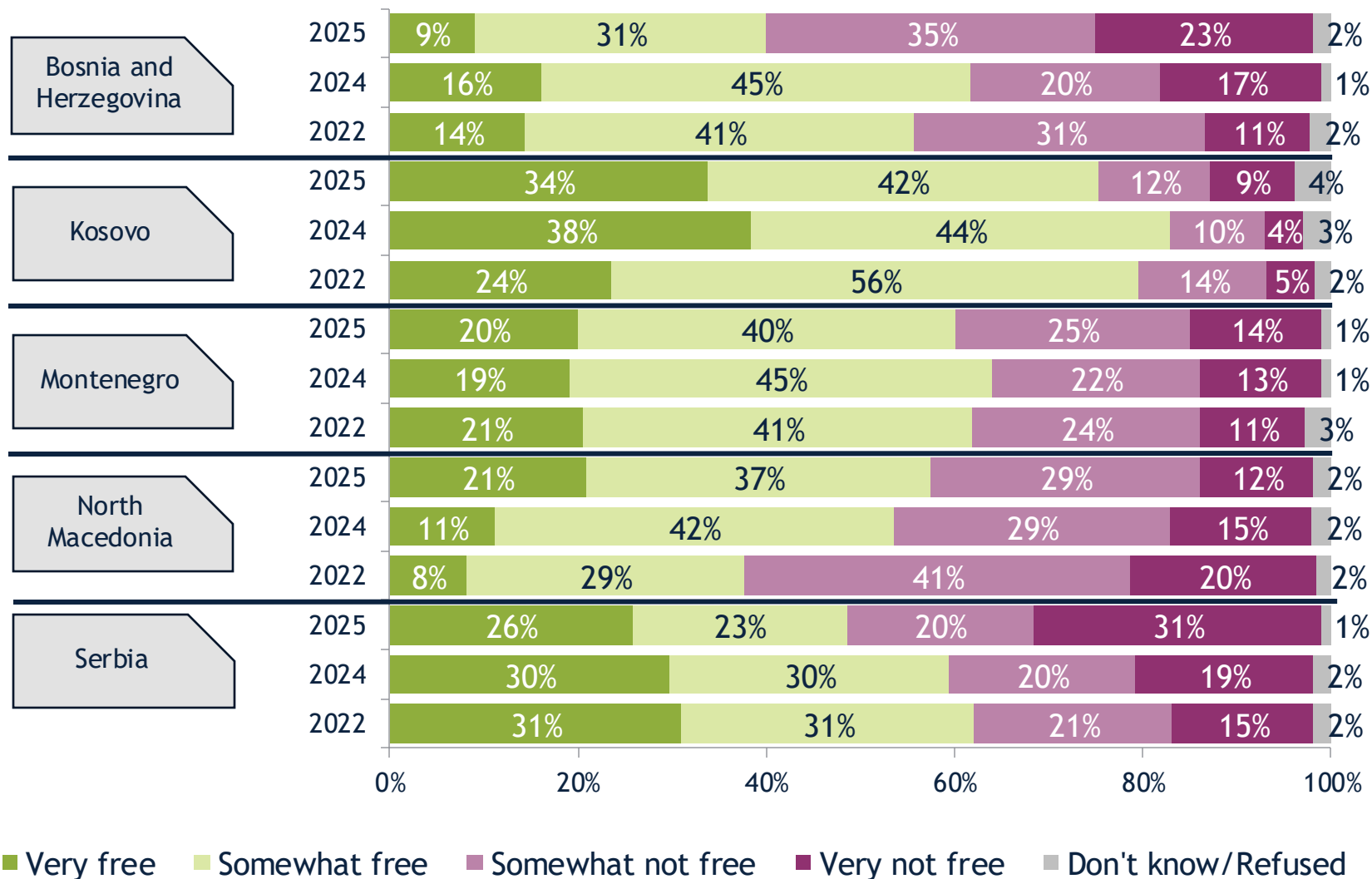
# Media Preferences



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"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?





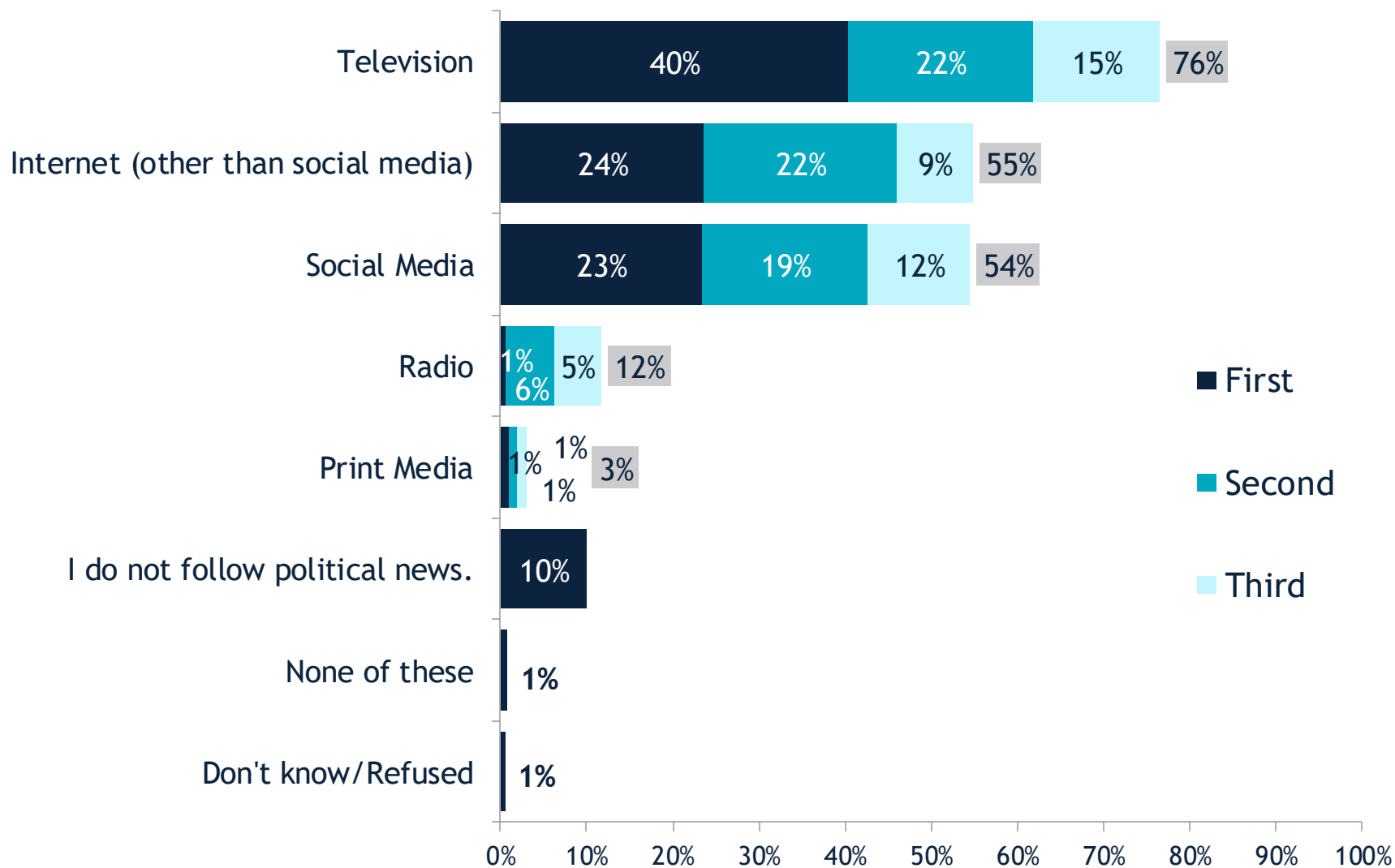
## Which media platform do you use most frequently for political news and information?

(Multiple responses allowed, first mention displayed)

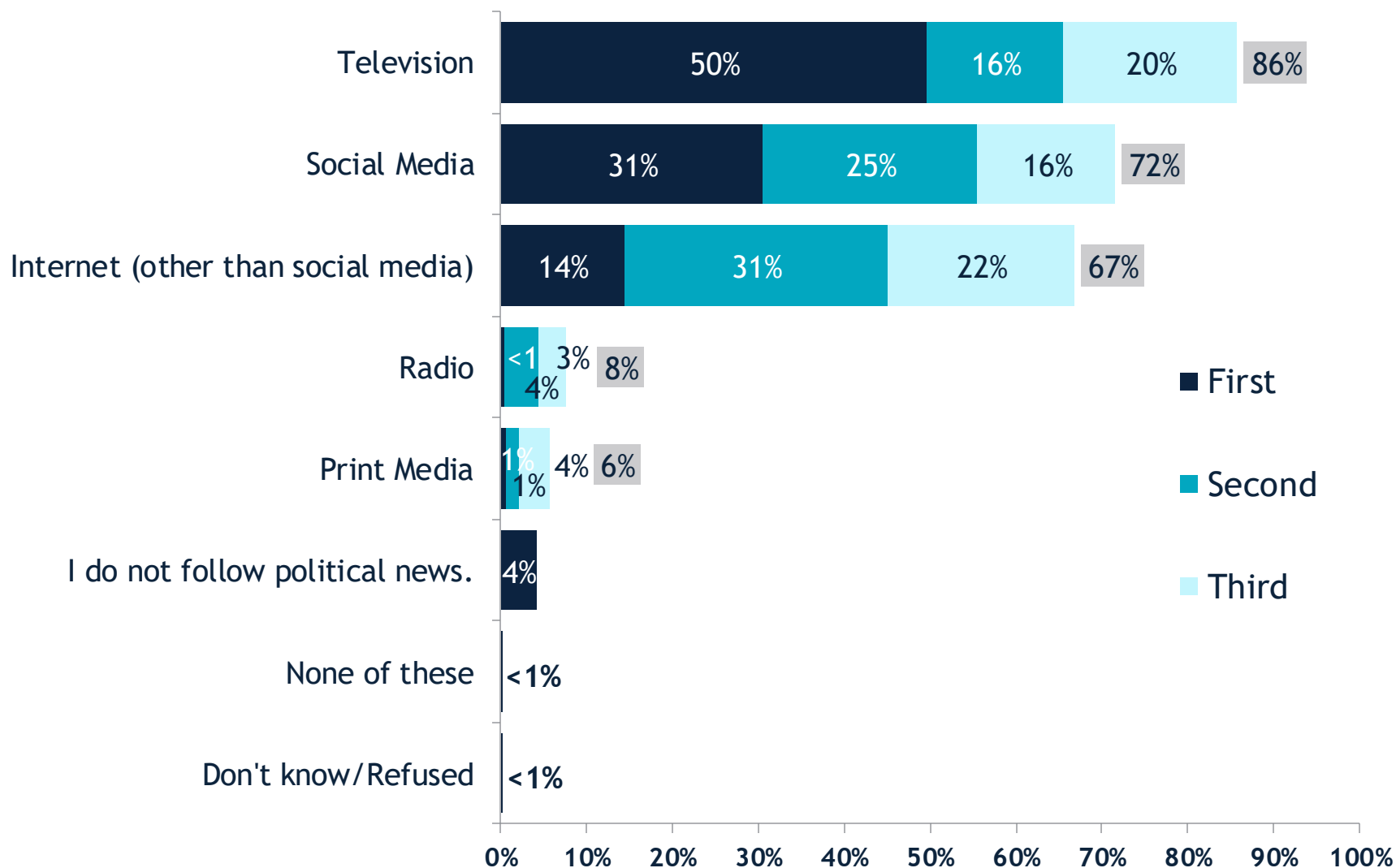
Most used media platform	BiH*	Kosovo	Montenegro	North Macedonia	Serbia
Television	40%	50%	36%	51%	47%
Social media	23%	31%	25%	24%	16%
Internet (other than social media)	24%	14%	31%	15%	27%
Print media	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%
Radio	1%	<1%	2%	1%	2%
I do not follow political news	10%	4%	4%	6%	6%
None of these	1%	<1%	<1%	1%	2%
Don't know/Refused	1%	<1%	--	<1%	1%

\*Bosnia and Herzegovina

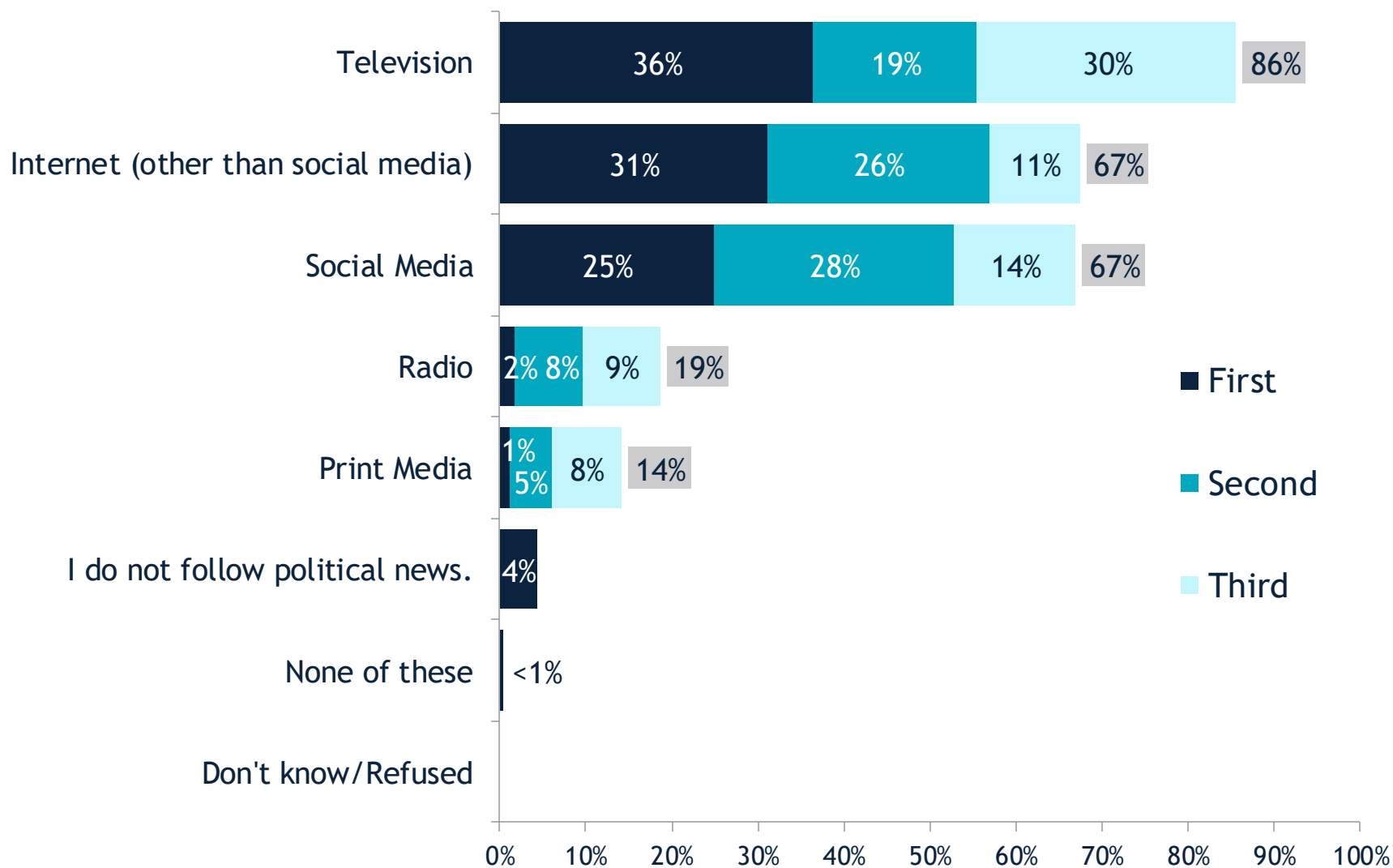
Which media platform do you use most frequently for political news and information? And what is your second most frequently used media platform? And what is your third most frequently used media platform?



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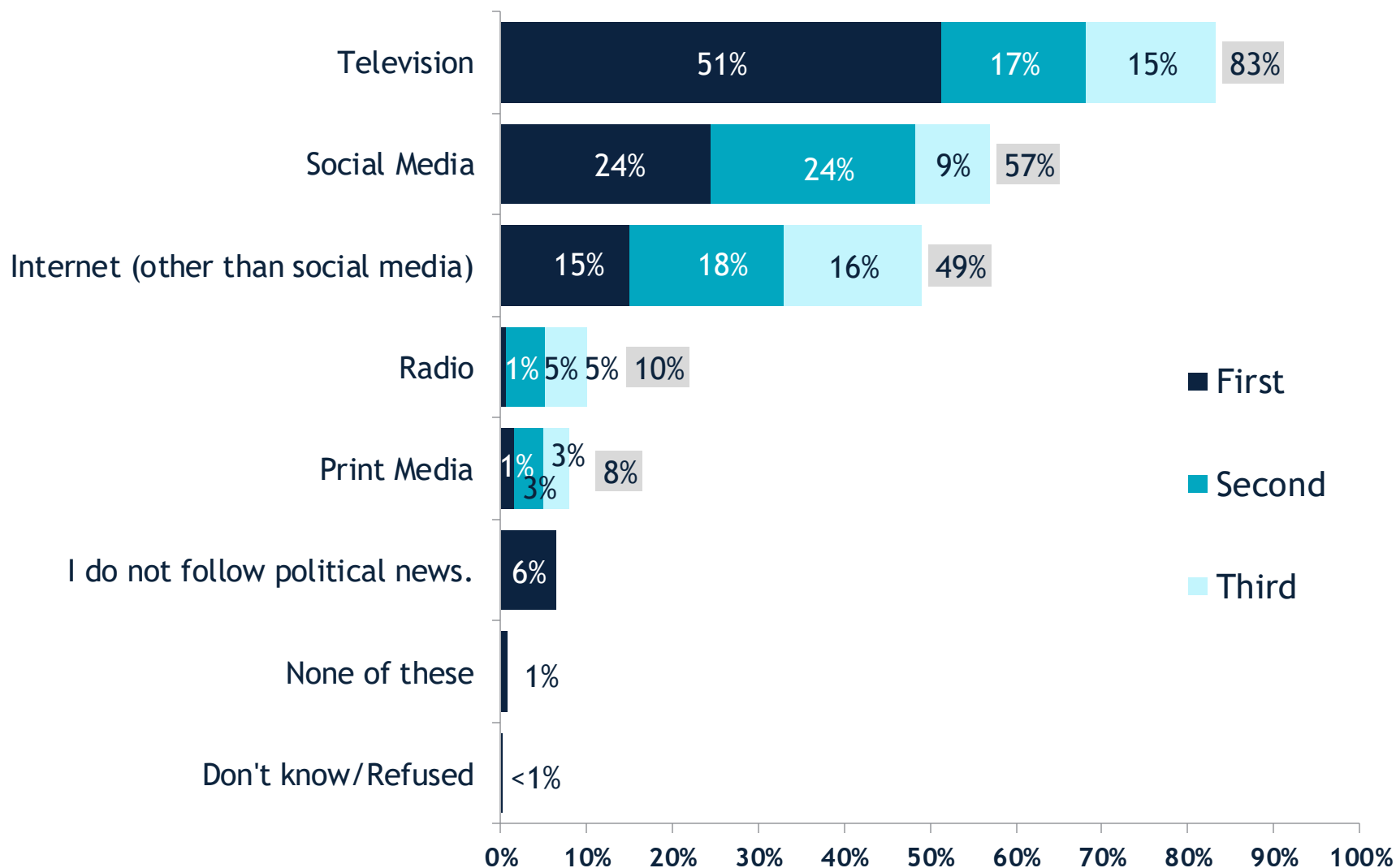


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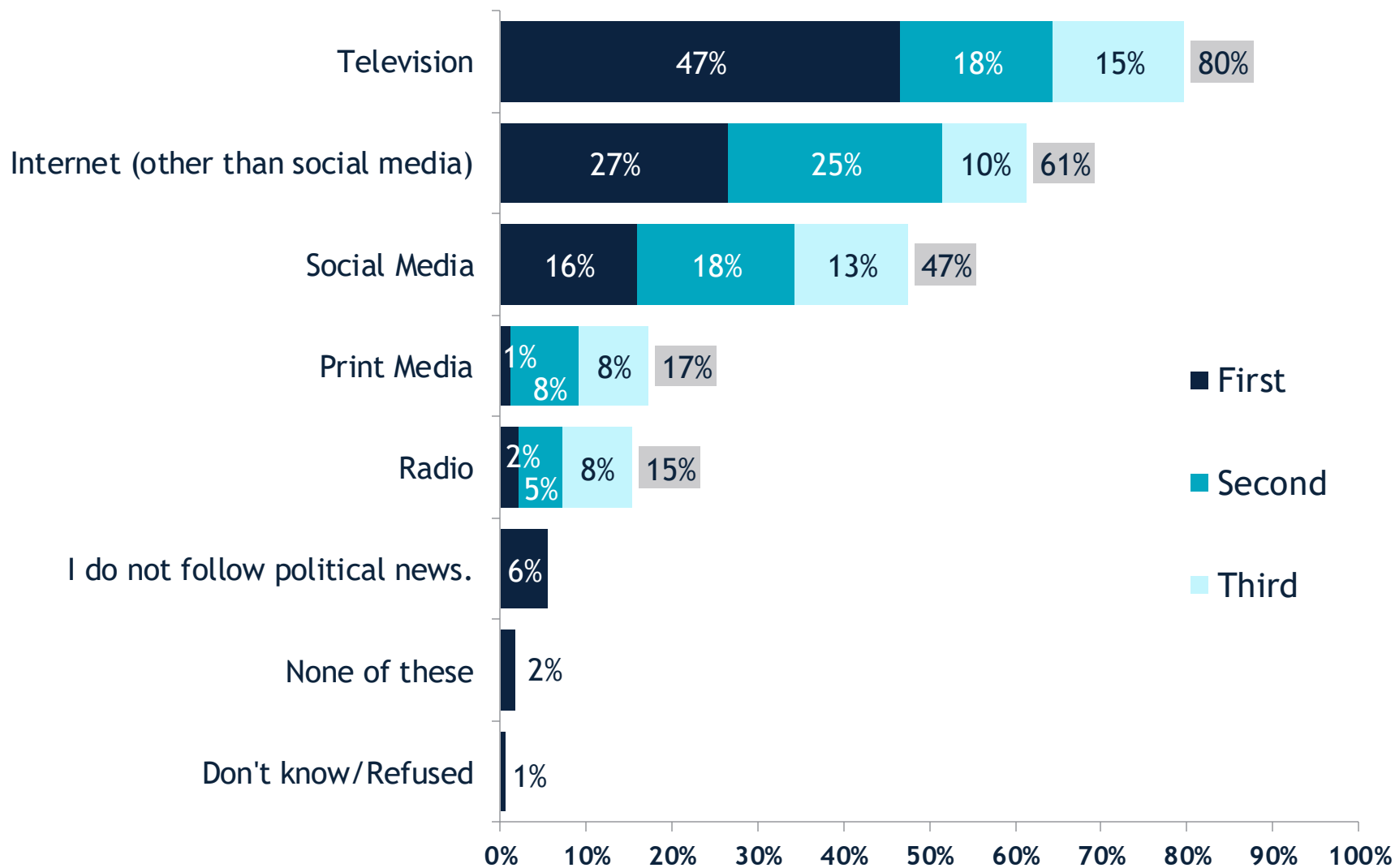




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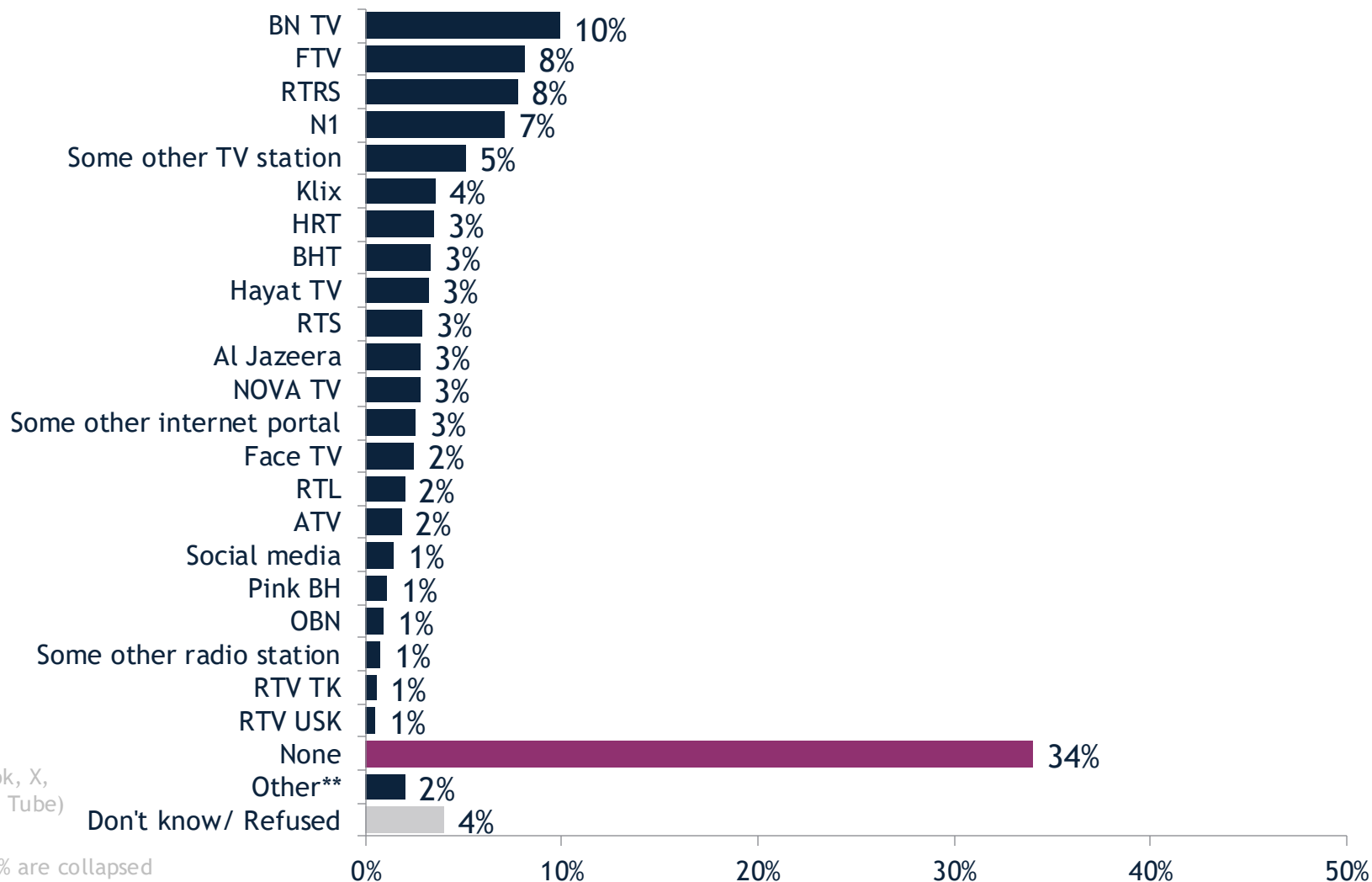
	Television	Internet (Other than social media)	Social media	Radio	Print media	I do not follow political news
Bosnia and Herzegovina 	2025: 40% 2024: 48% 2022: 52%	2025: 24% 2024: 19% 2022: 22%	2025: 23% 2024: 22% 2022: 18%	2025: 1% 2024: 1% 2022: 2%	2025: 1% 2024: 1% 2022: 2%	2025: 10% 2024: 8% 2022: --%
Kosovo 	2025: 50% 2024: 51% 2022: 55%	2025: 14% 2024: 17% 2022: 18%	2025: 31% 2024: 26% 2022: 21%	2025: <1% 2024: <1% 2022: 2%	2025: 1% 2024: <1% 2022: 3%	2025: 4% 2024: 6% 2022: --%
Montenegro 	2025: 36% 2024: 42% 2022: 51%	2025: 31% 2024: 32% 2022: 28%	2025: 25% 2024: 19% 2022: 15%	2025: 2% 2024: 1% 2022: 1%	2025: 1% 2024: 1% 2022: 1%	2025: 4% 2024: 4% 2022: --%
North Macedonia 	2025: 51% 2024: 52% 2022: 55%	2025: 15% 2024: 15% 2022: 21%	2025: 24% 2024: 20% 2022: 19%	2025: 1% 2024: 1% 2022: 2%	2025: 1% 2024: 2% 2022: 1%	2025: 6% 2024: 6% 2022: --%
Serbia 	2025: 47% 2024: 57% 2022: 57%	2025: 27% 2024: 21% 2022: 25%	2025: 16% 2024: 10% 2022: 11%	2025: 2% 2024: 1% 2022: 1%	2025: 1% 2024: 2% 2022: 2%	2025: 6% 2024: 6% 2022: --%

ALL COUNTRIES



# Which specific media outlets, such as a specific TV channel, radio station, newspaper, website etc. do you consider most trustworthy for political information?

(Spontaneous response, multiple responses accepted)



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

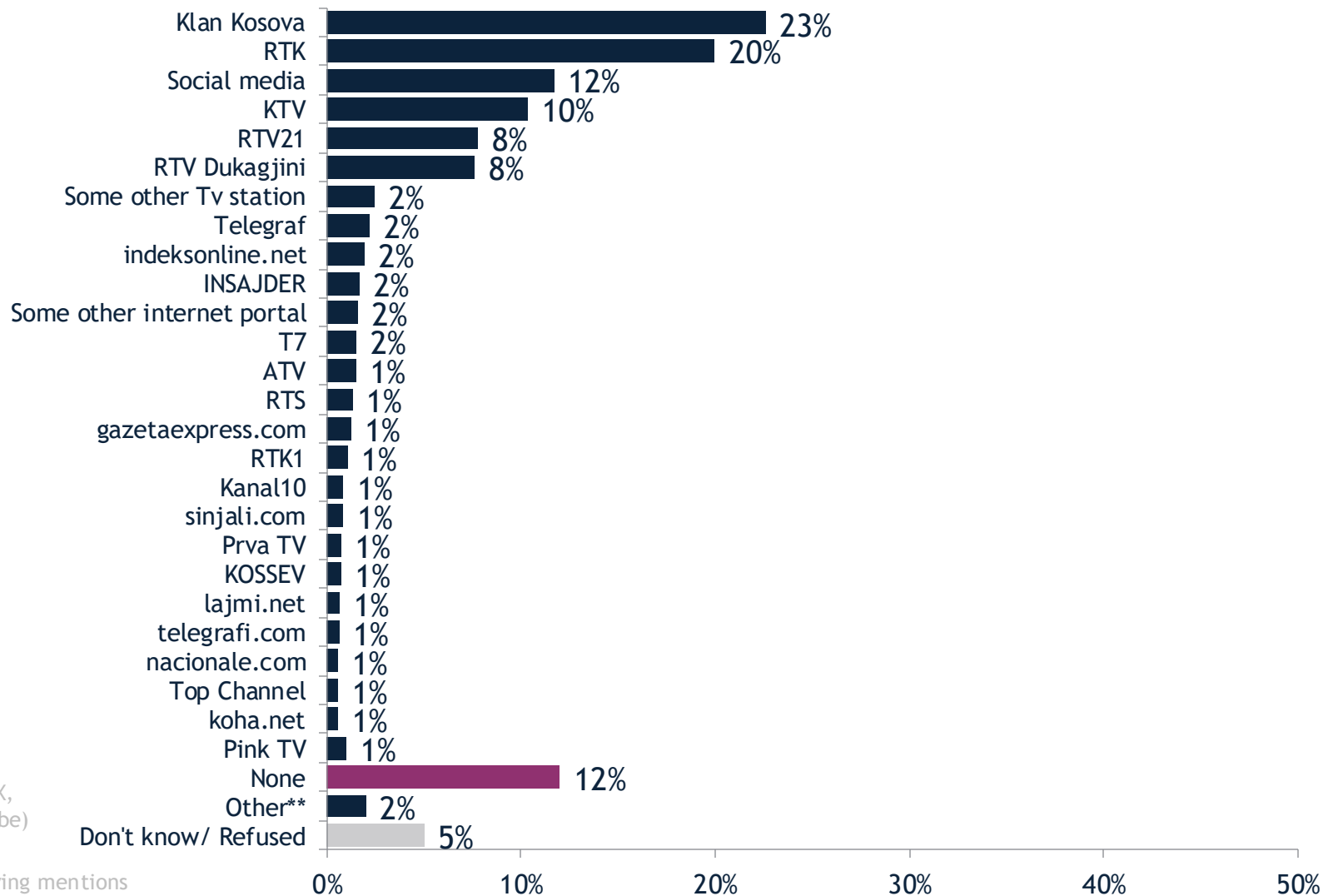
\*\*Responses <1% are collapsed into other.



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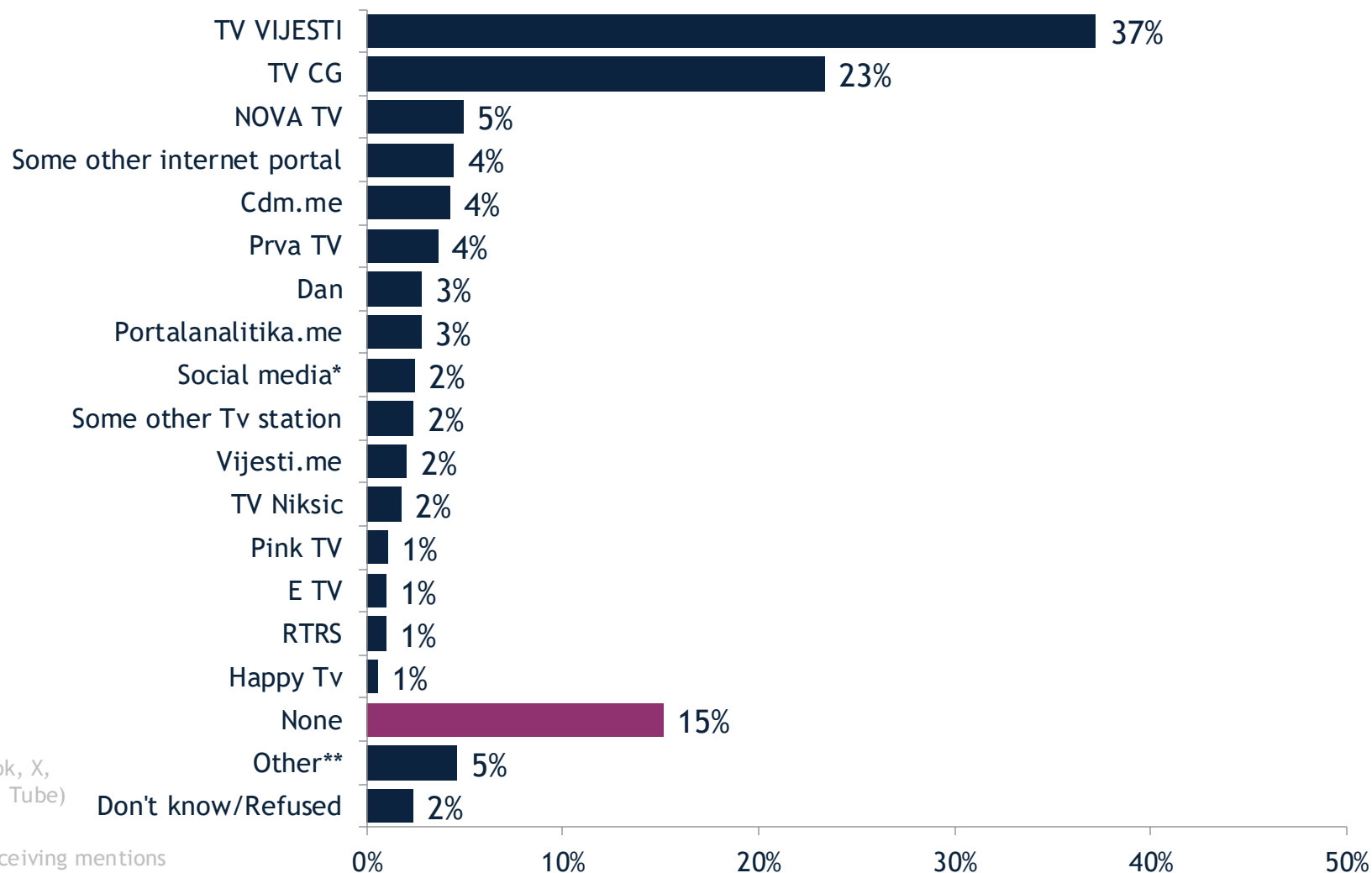
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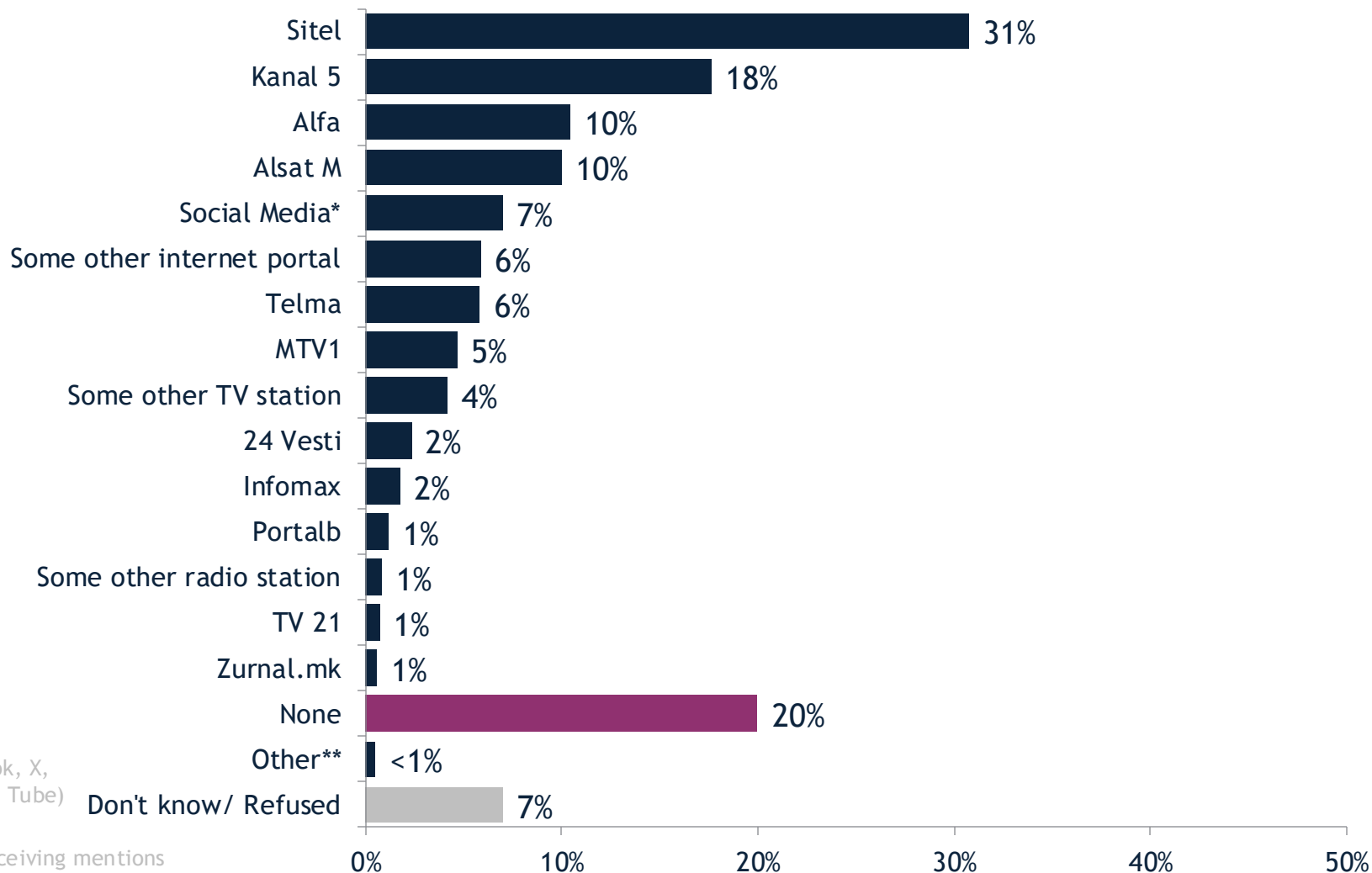
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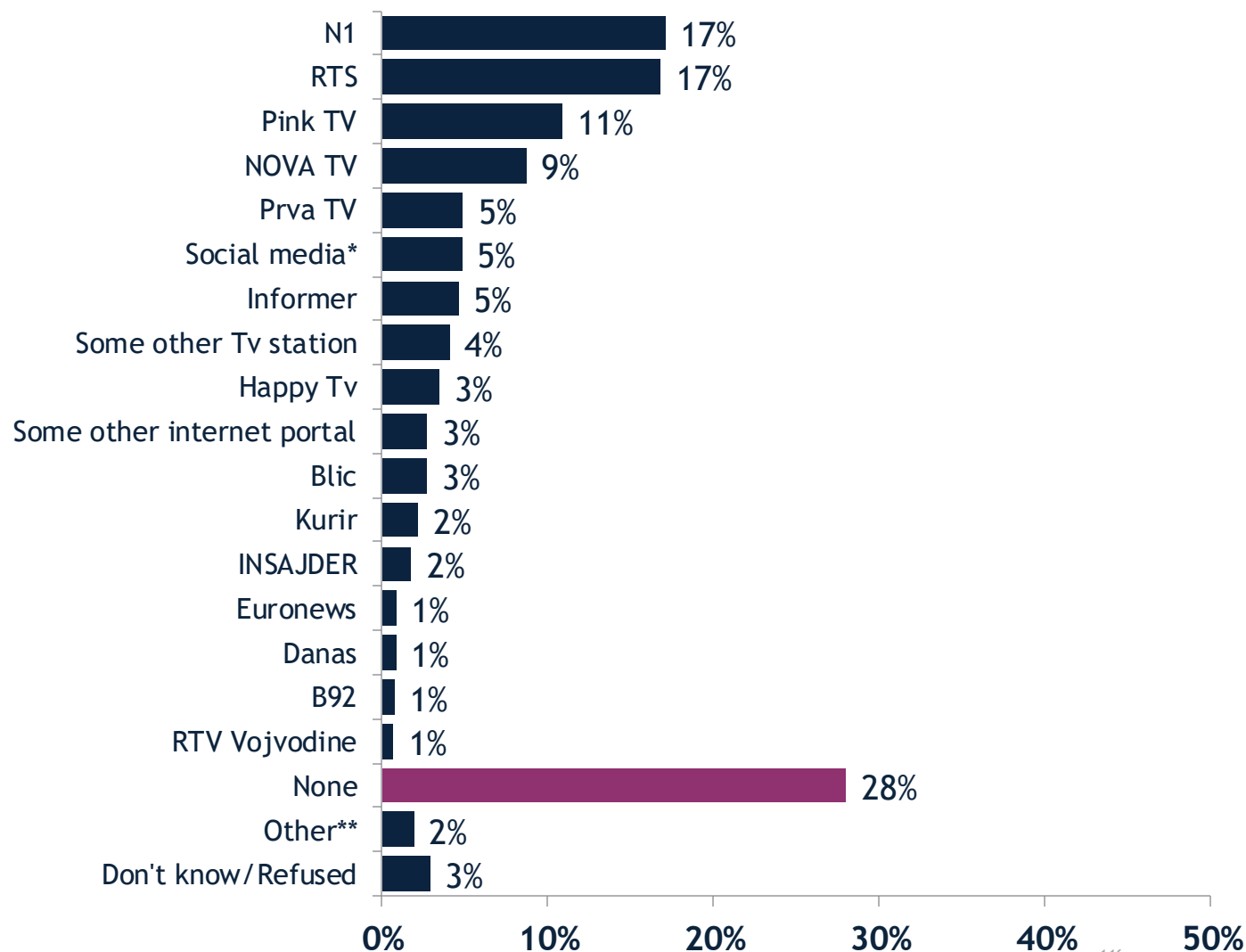
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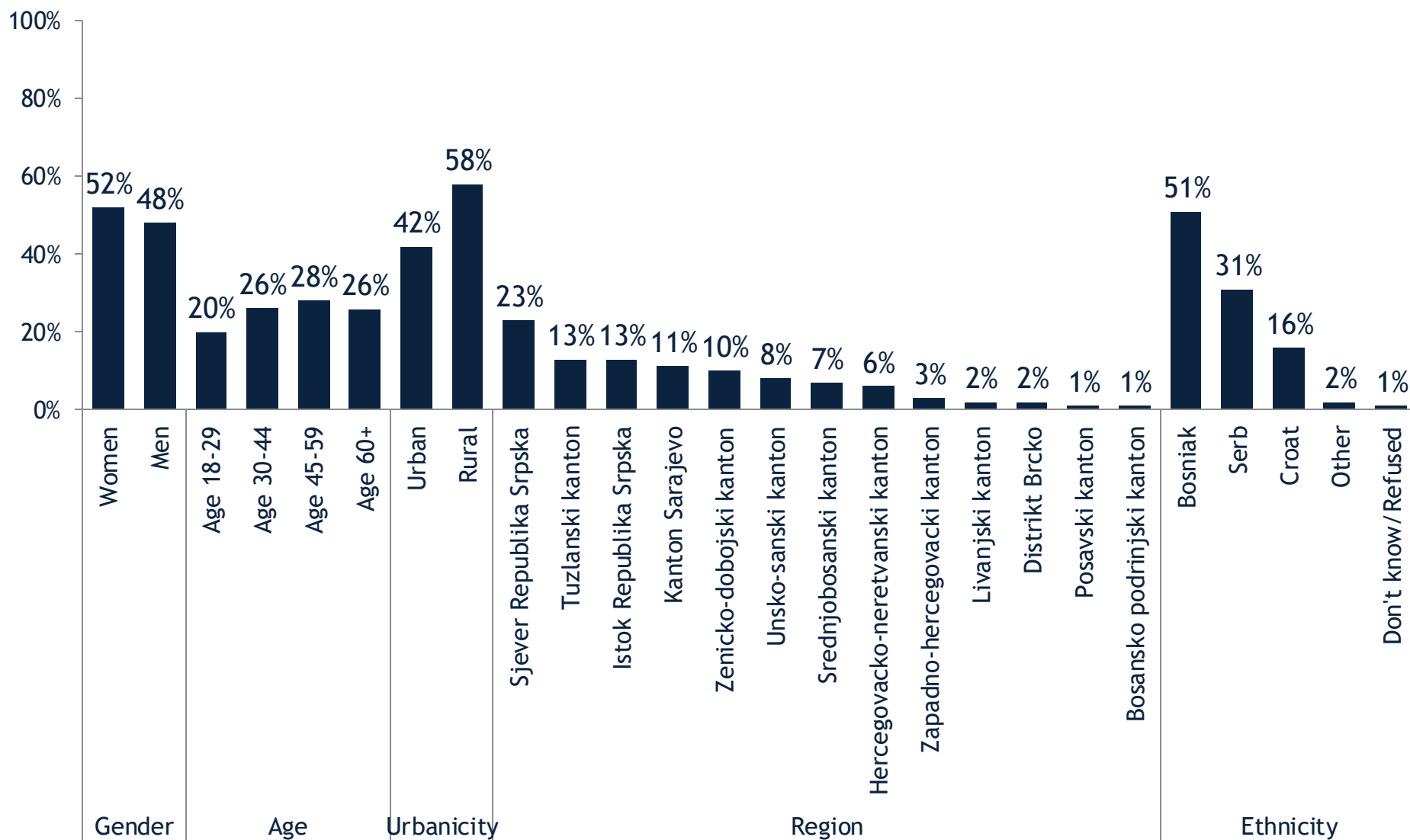
# Demographics



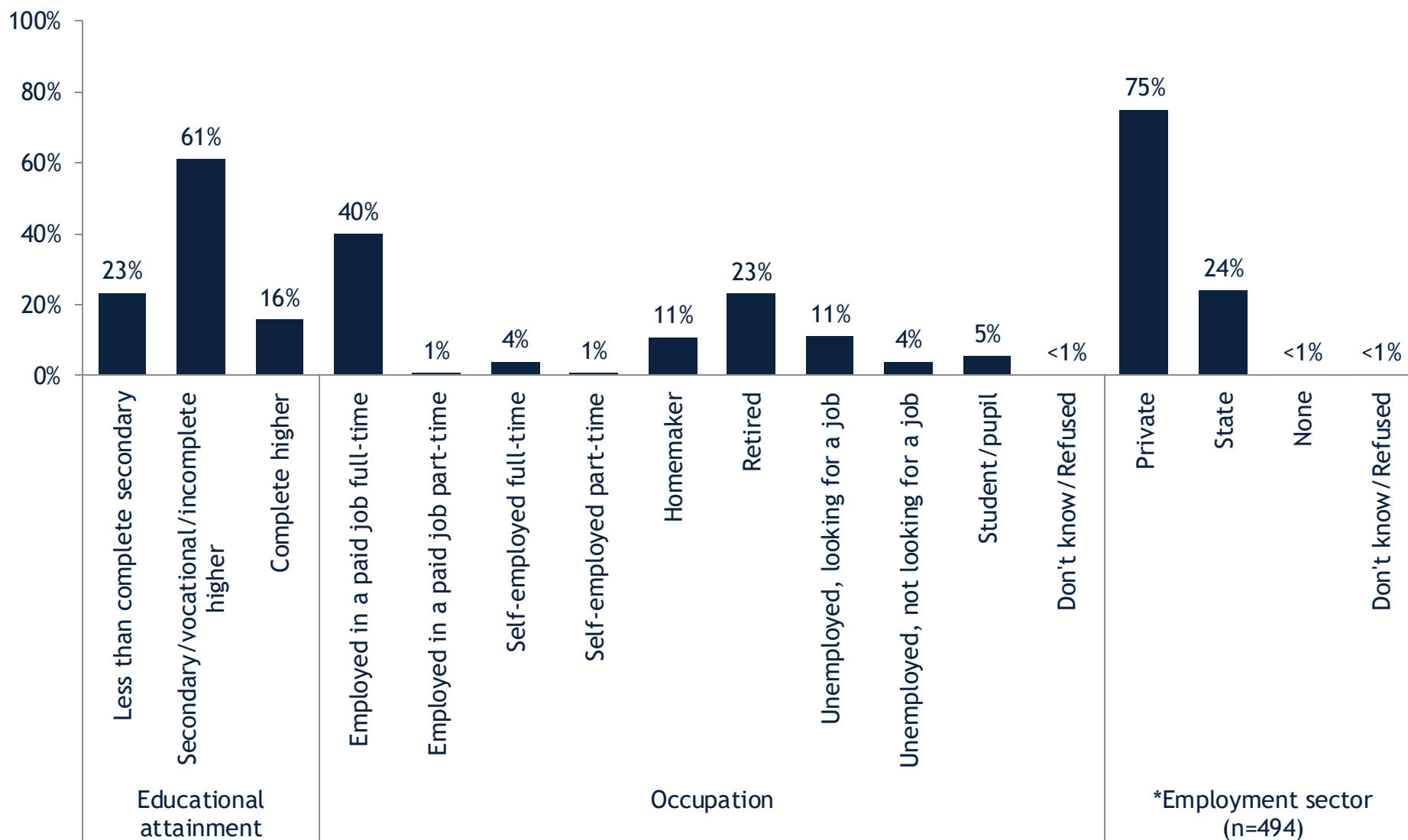
A PROJECT OF THE INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE

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

## Demographics - Bosnia and Herzegovina

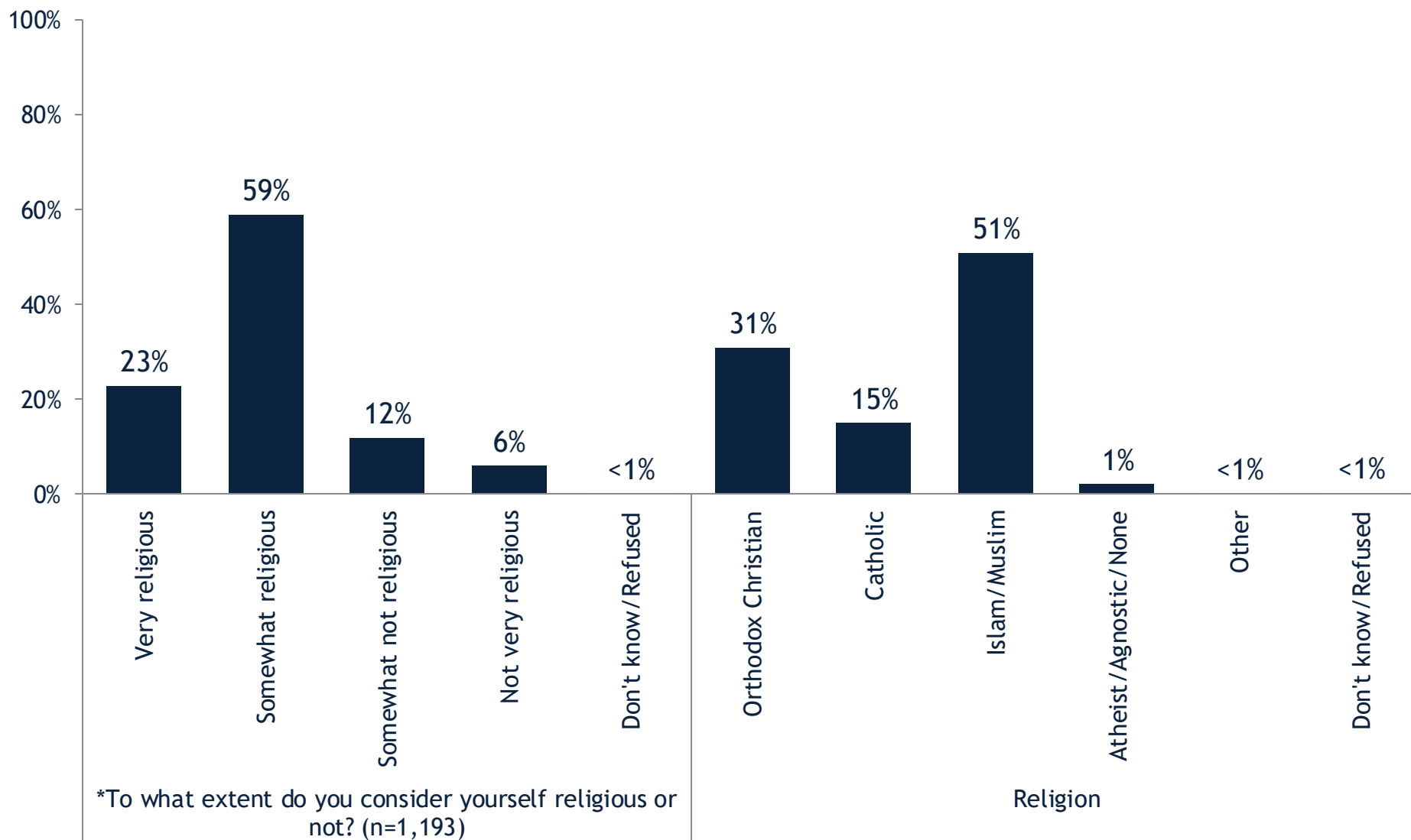


## Demographics - Bosnia and Herzegovina



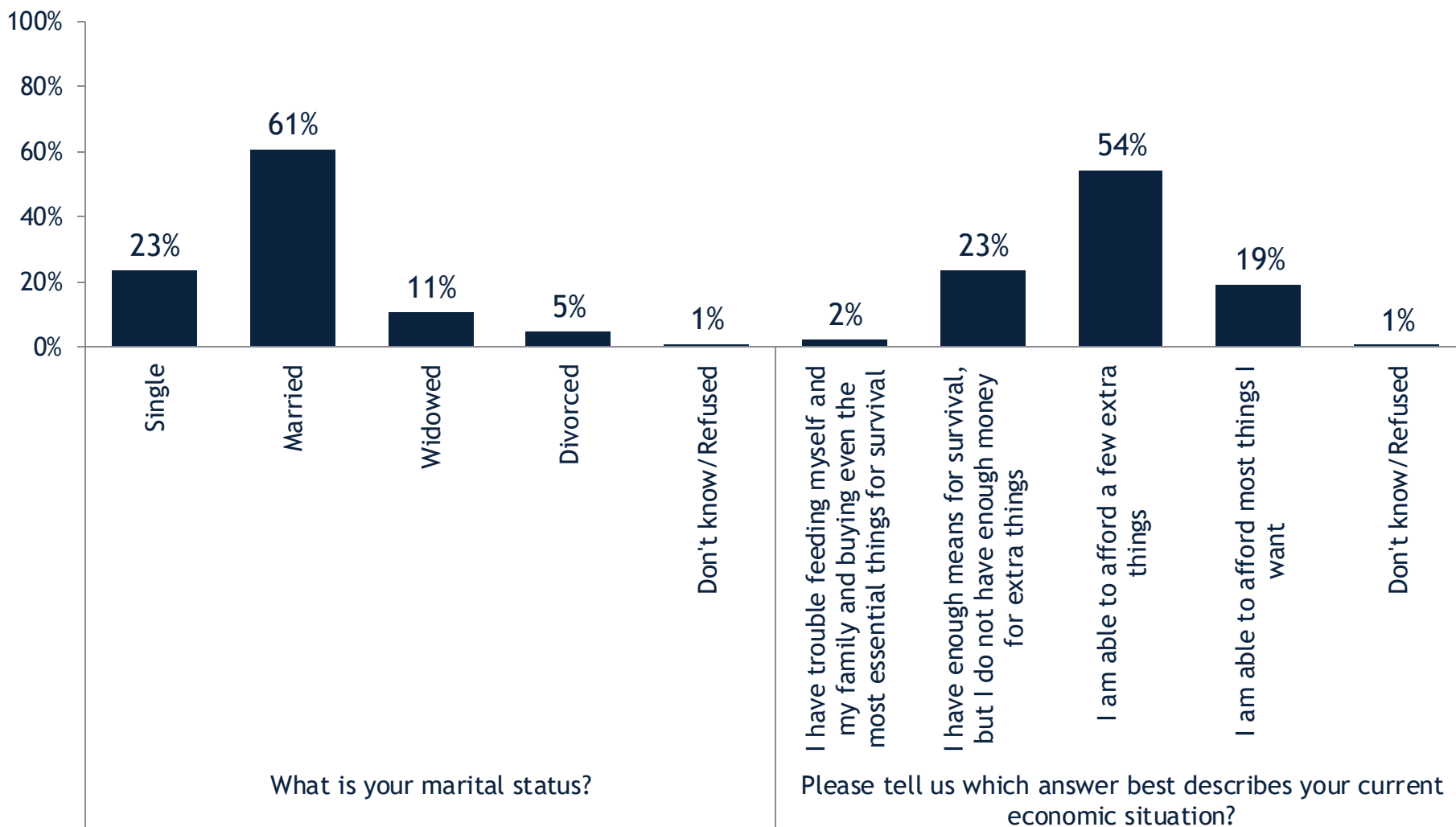
\*Among those who are employed.

## Demographics - Bosnia and Herzegovina

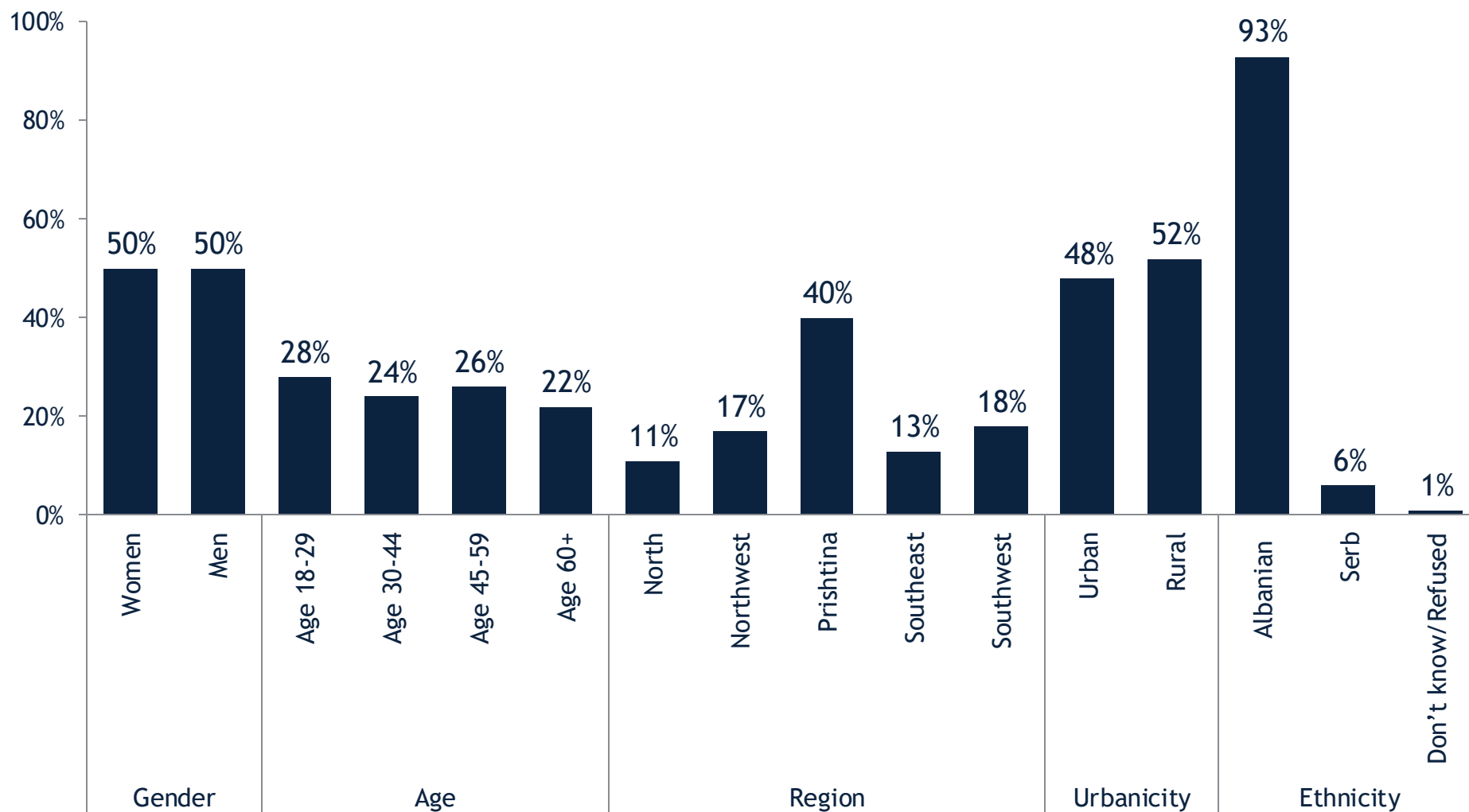


\*Among those who declared belonging to a religion.

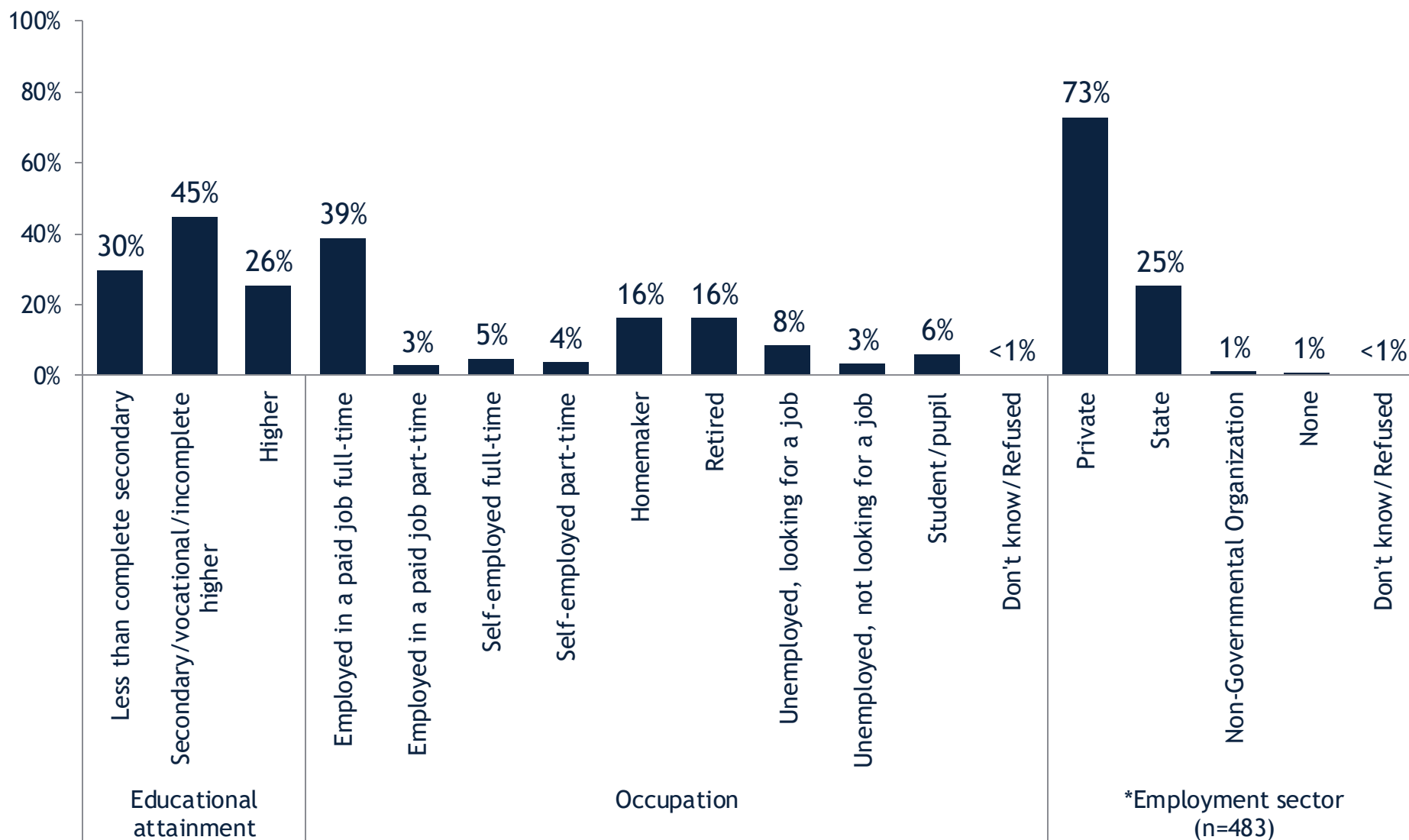




## Demographics - Kosovo



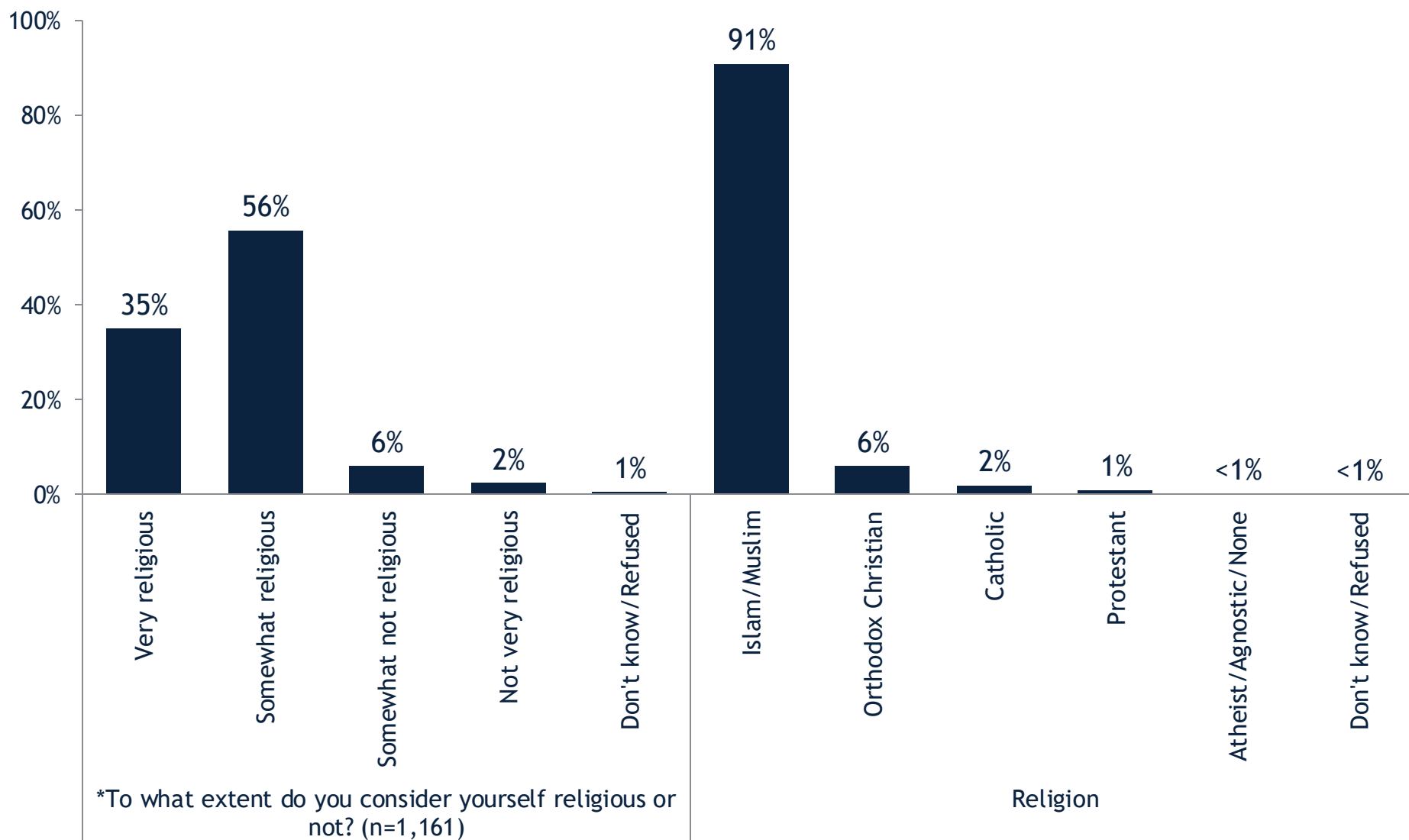
## Demographics - Kosovo



\*Among those who are employed.

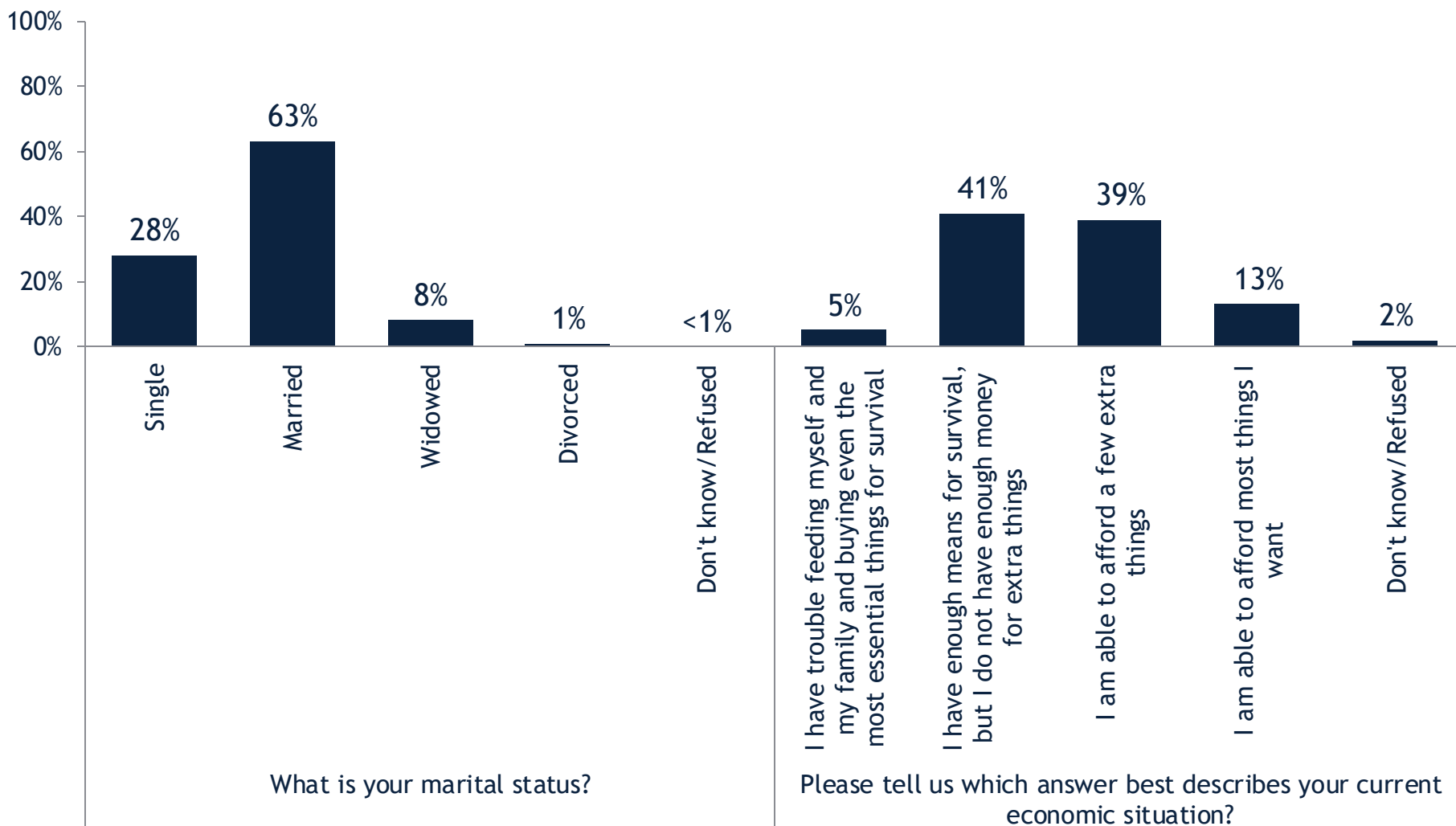
\*Employment sector  
(n=483)

## Demographics - Kosovo

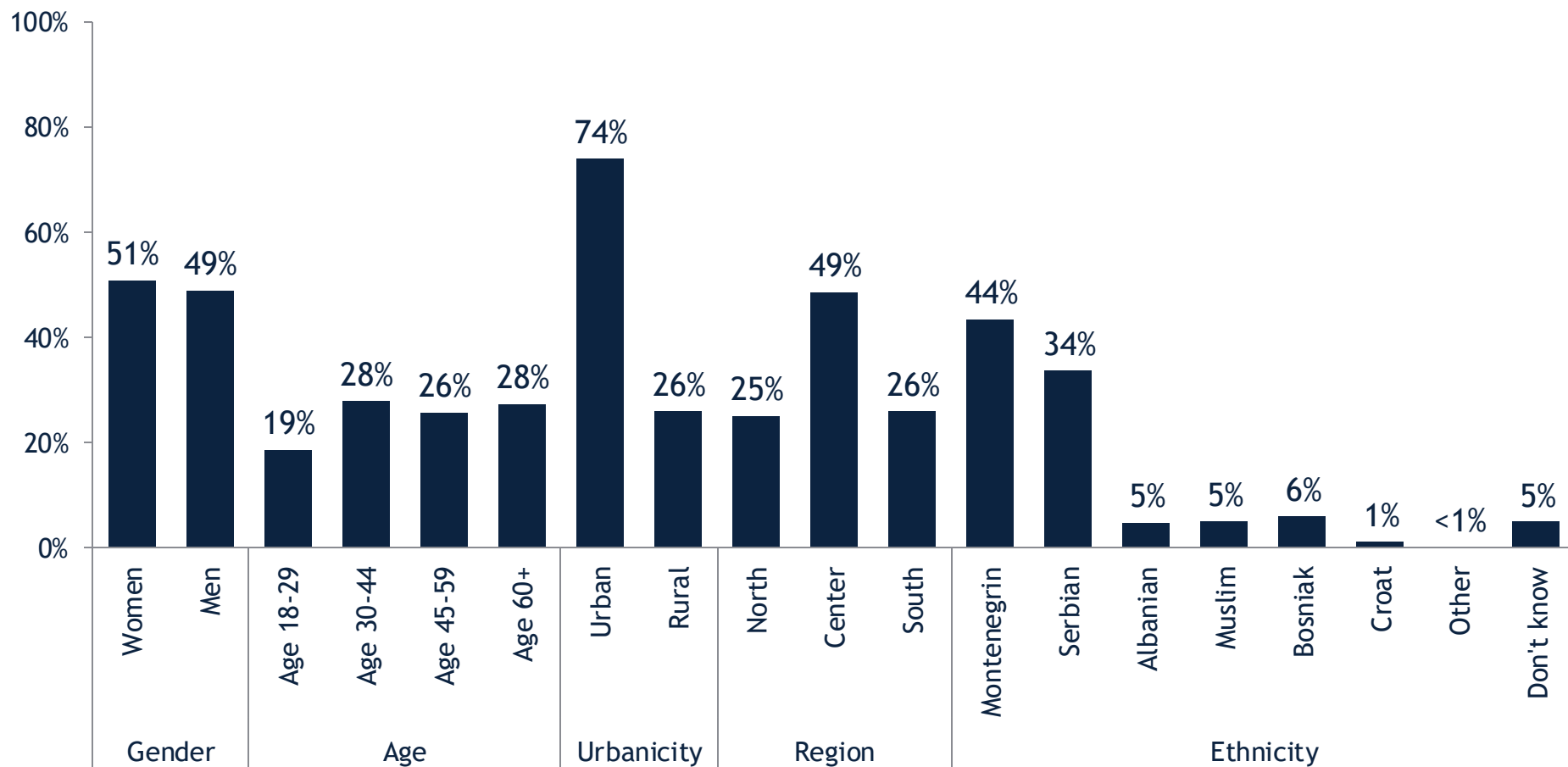


\*Among those who declared belonging to a religion.

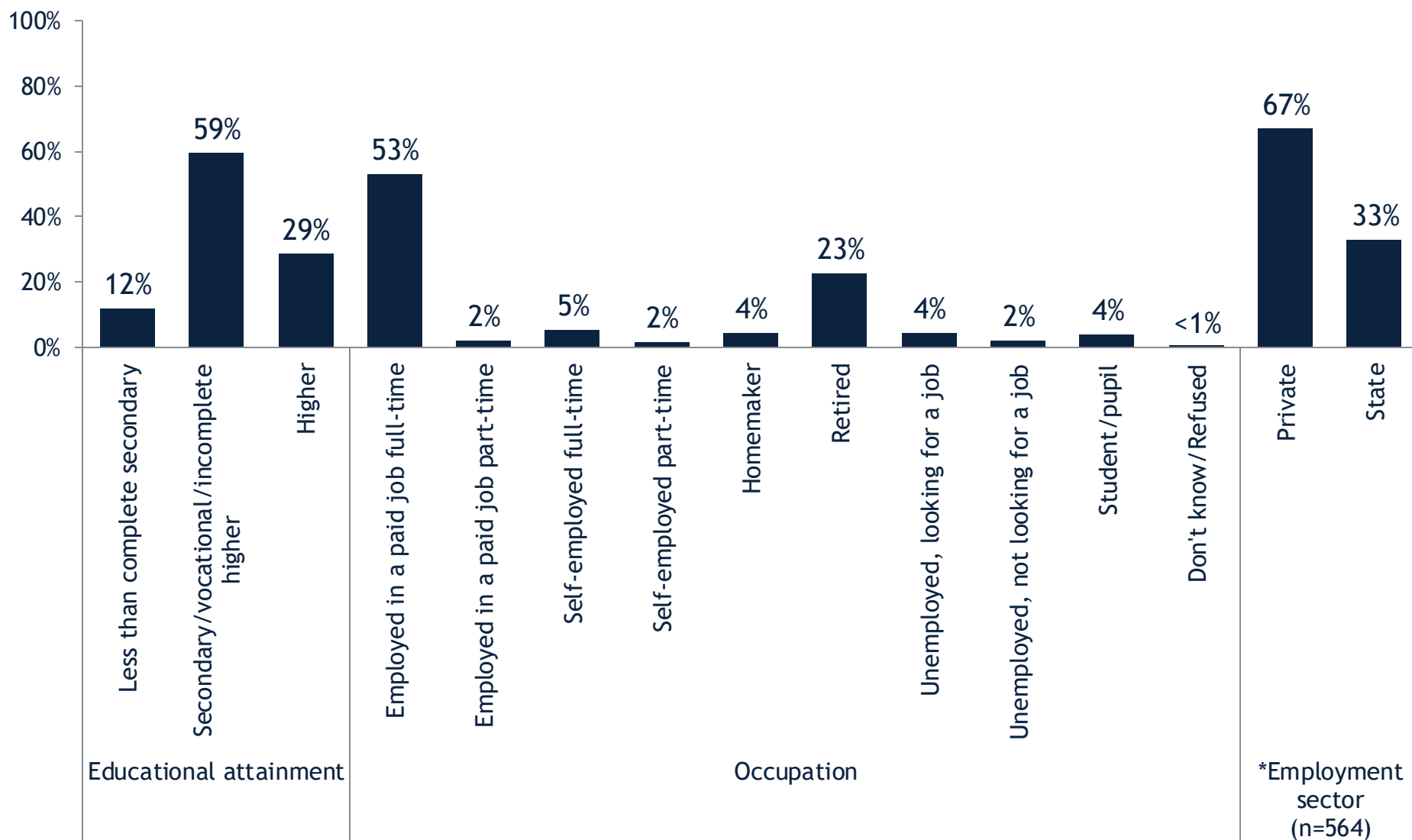
## Demographics - Kosovo



## Demographics - Montenegro

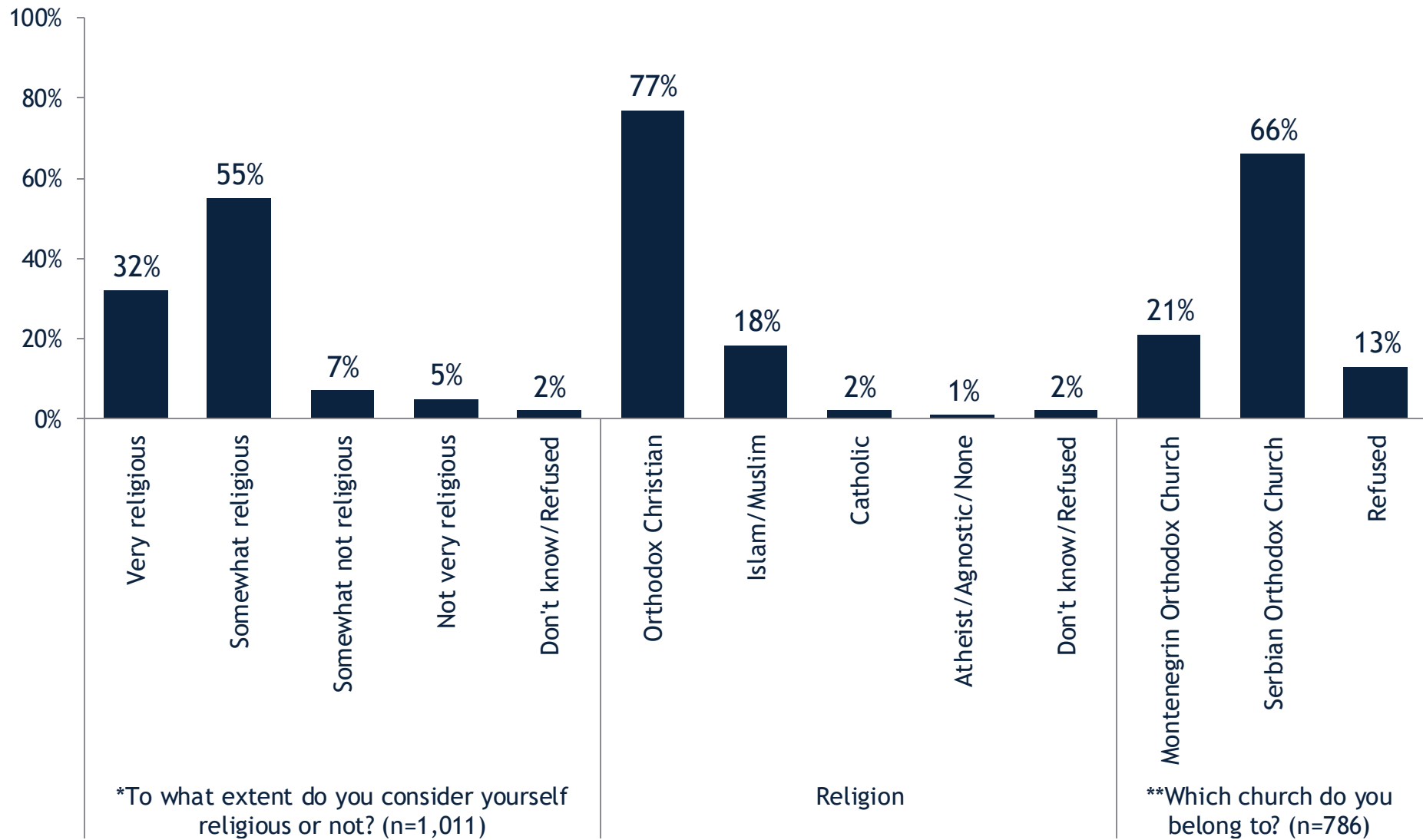


## Demographics - Montenegro



\*Among those who are employed.

## Demographics - Montenegro

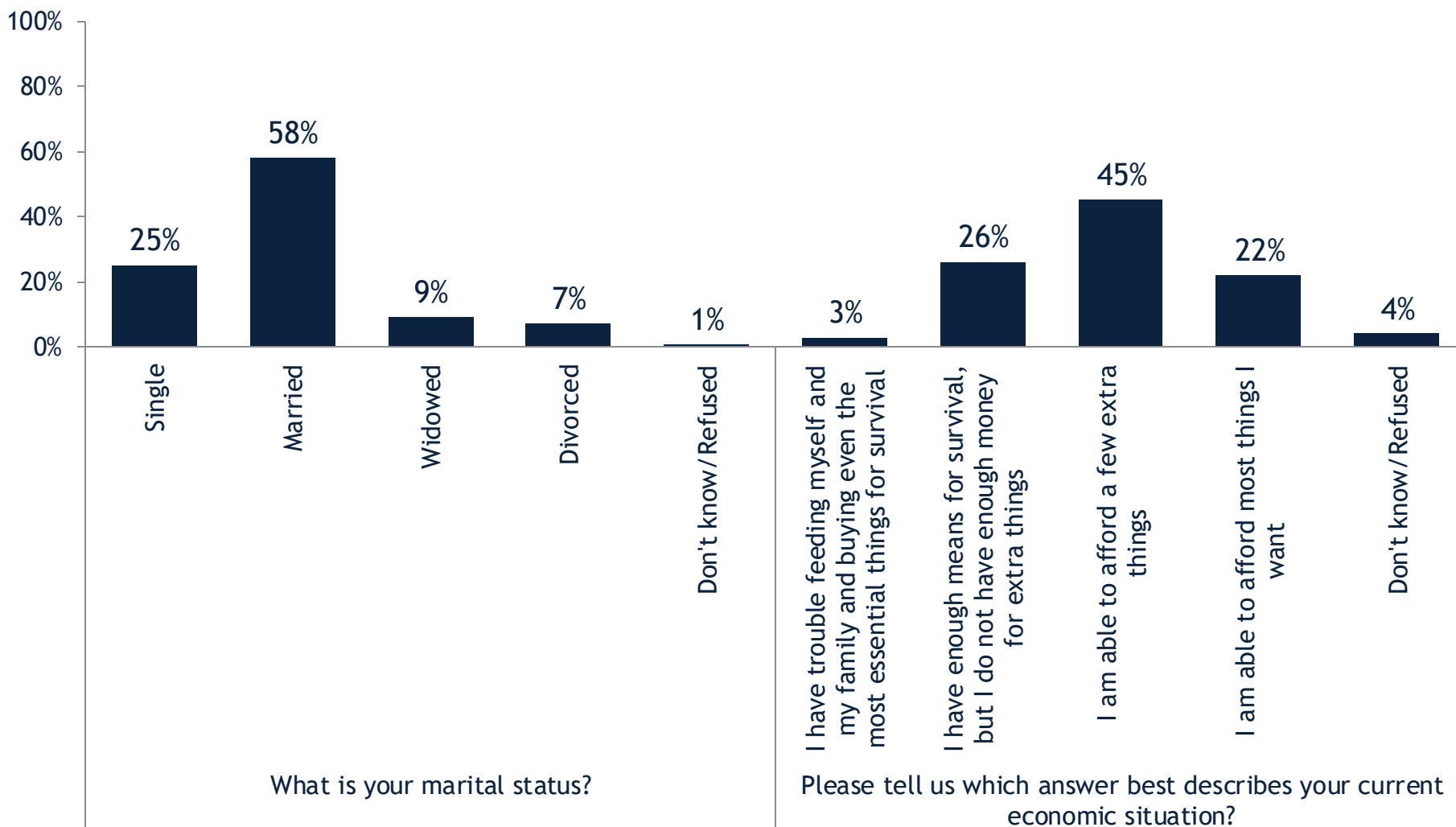


\*Among those who declared belonging to a religion.

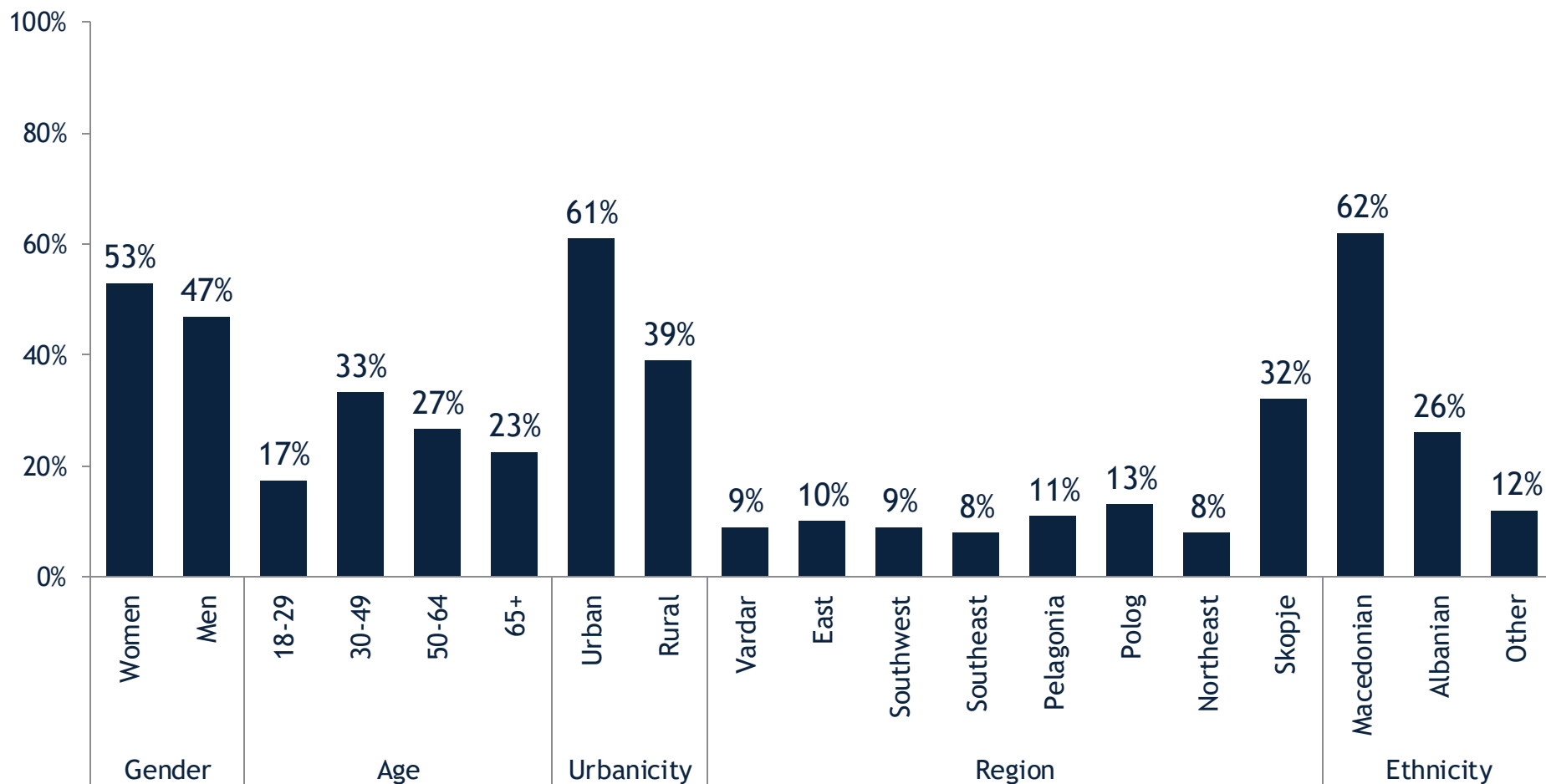
\*\*Among those who are Orthodox Christians.



## Demographics - Montenegro

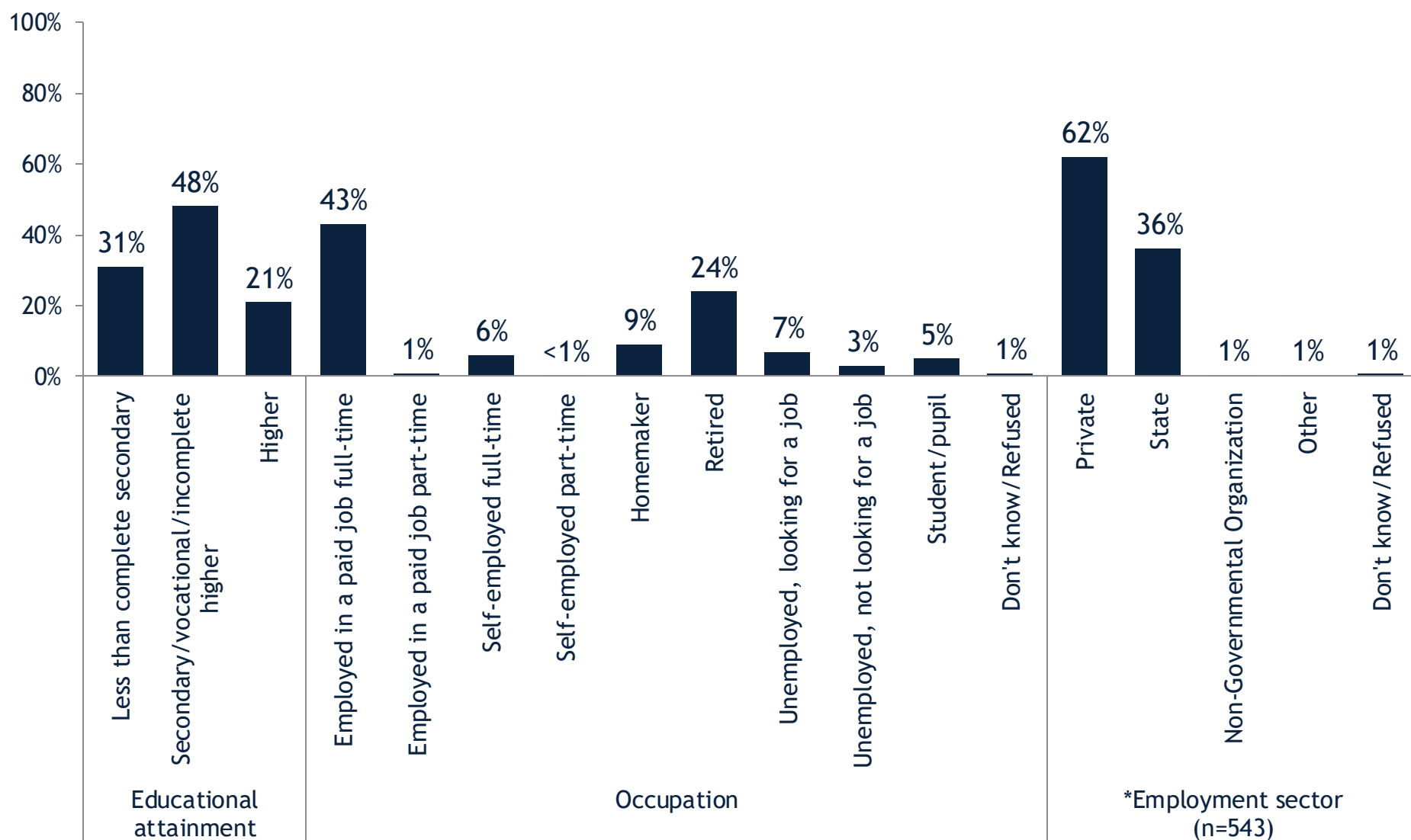


## Demographics - North Macedonia





## Demographics - North Macedonia

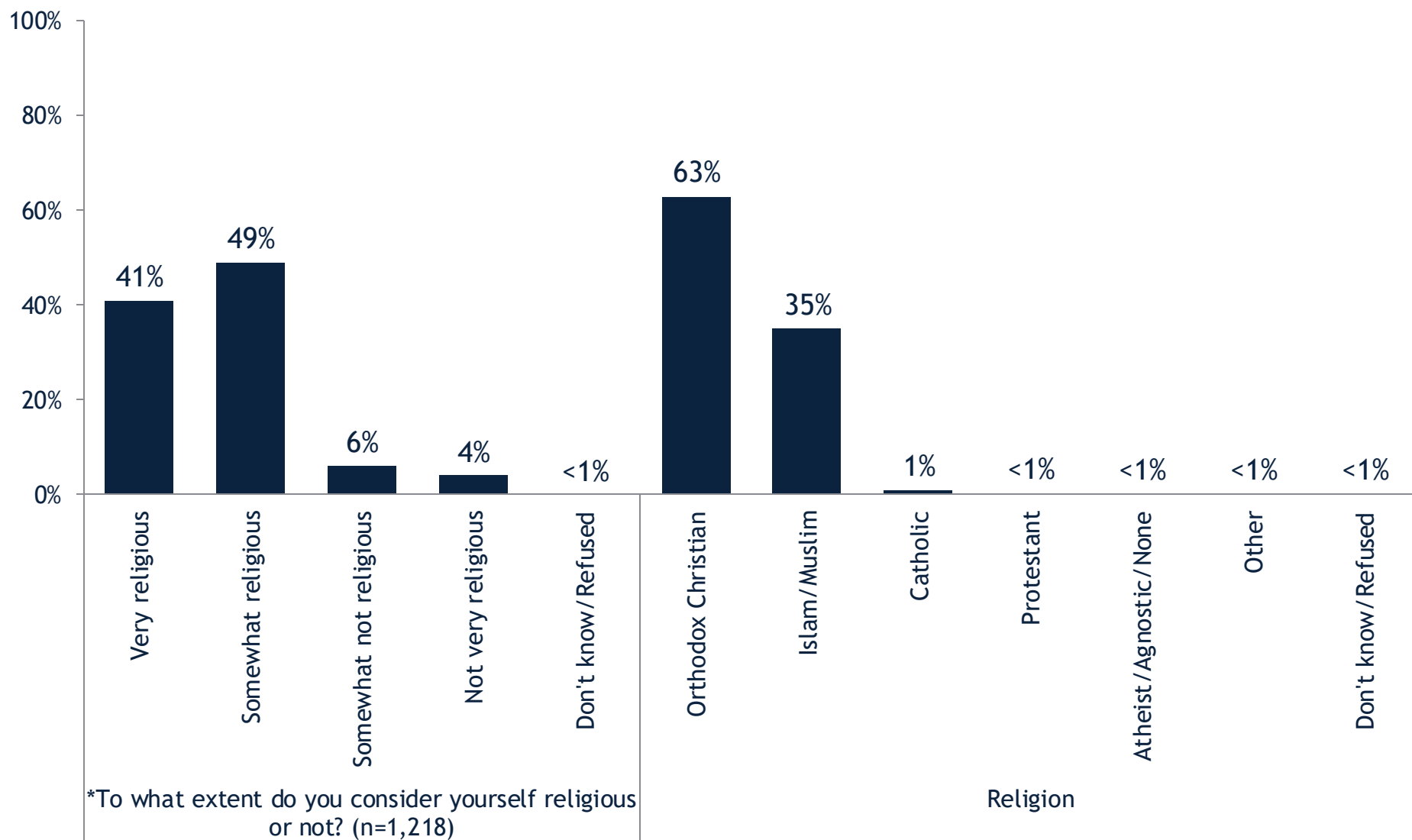


\*Among those who are employed.

\*Employment sector  
(n=543)

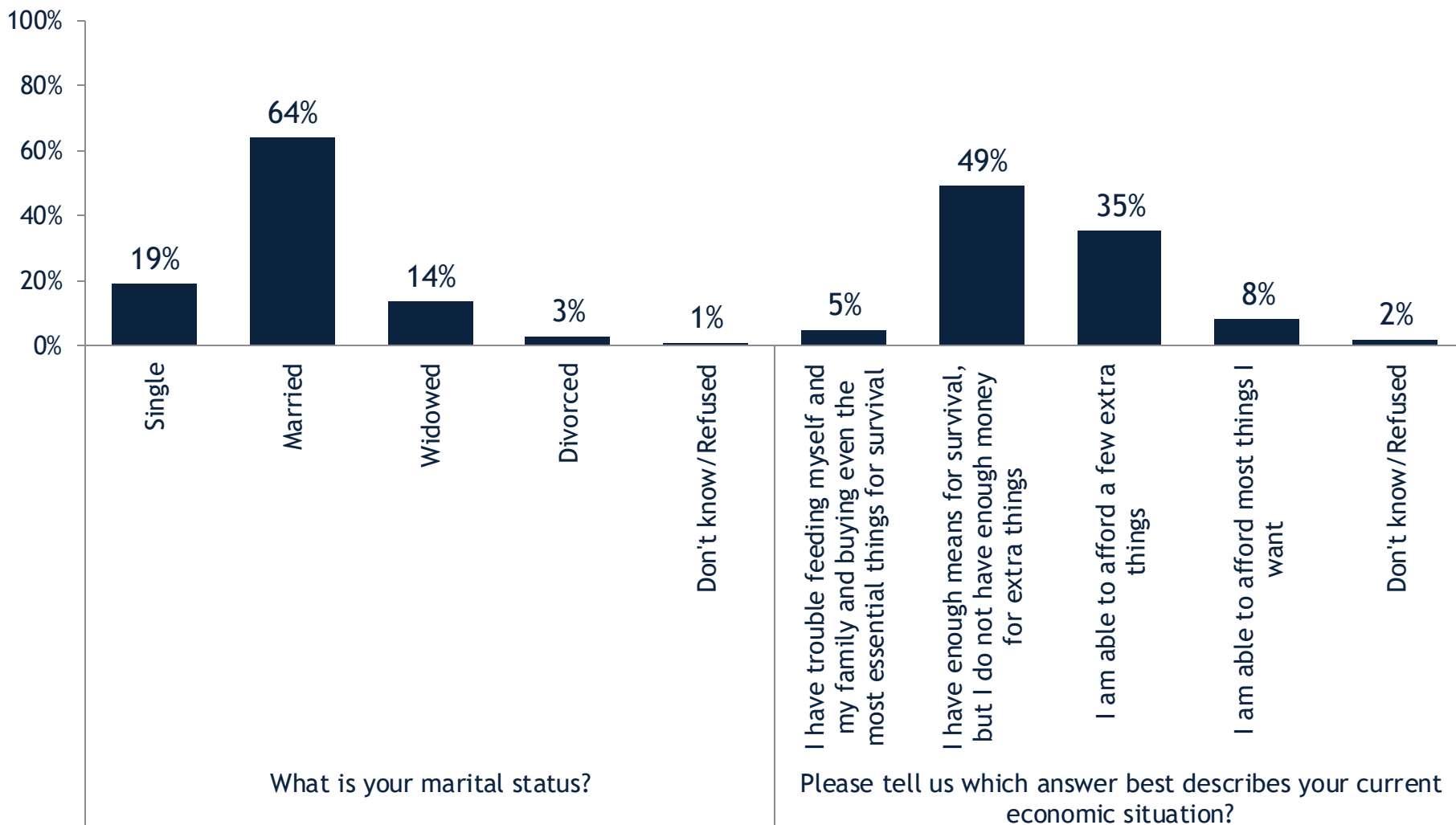


## Demographics - North Macedonia

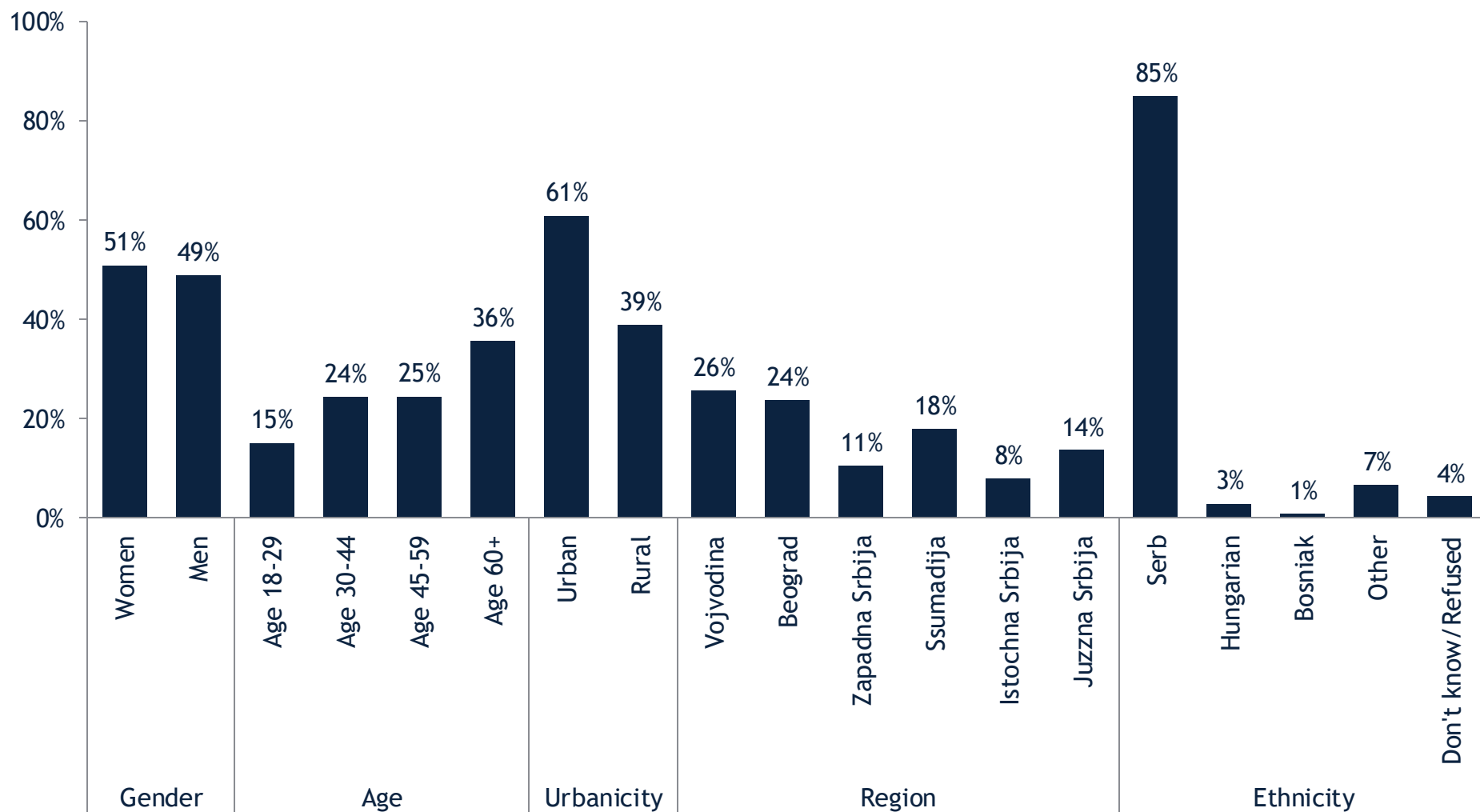


\*Among those who declared belonging to a religion.

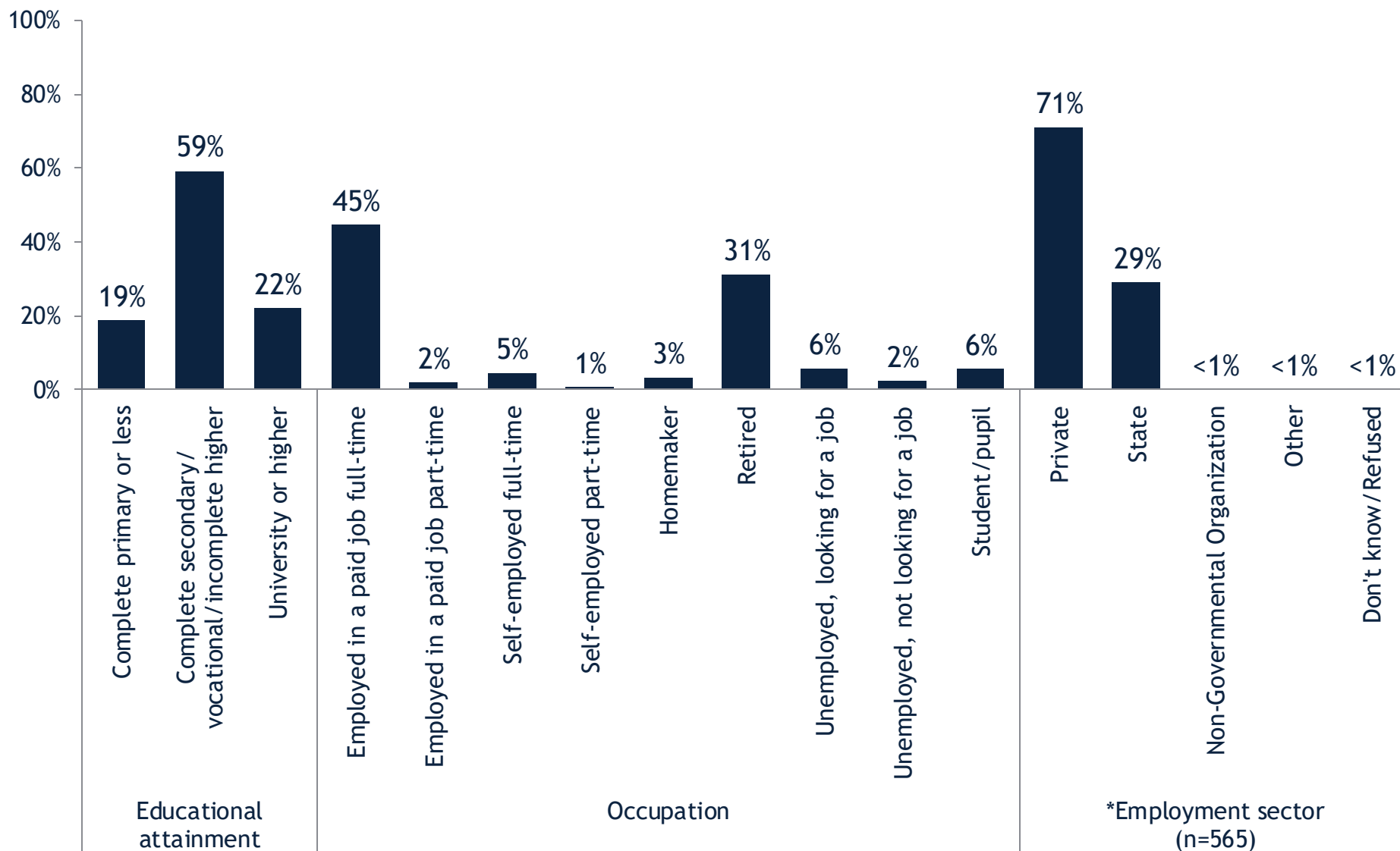
## Demographics - North Macedonia



## Demographics - Serbia

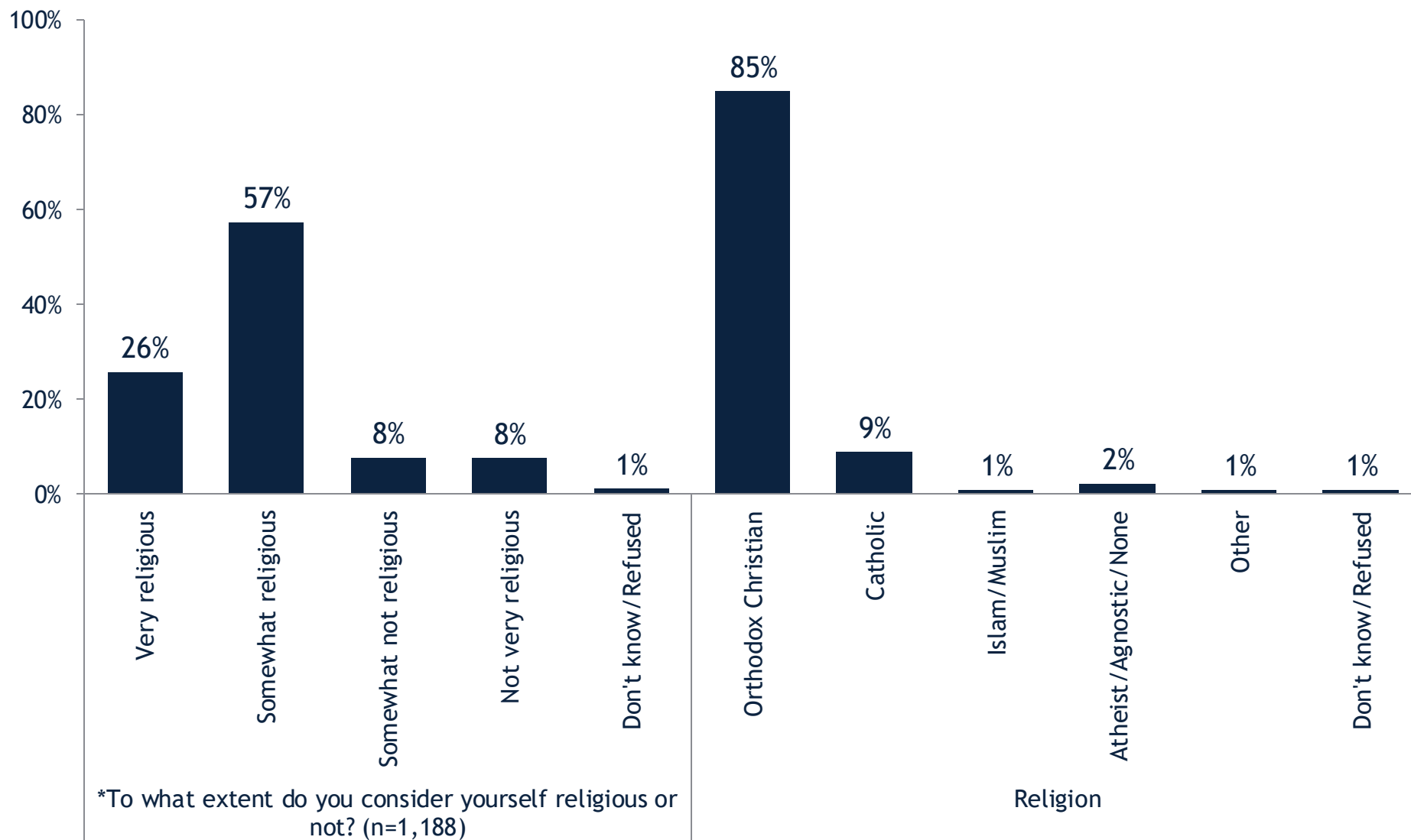


## Demographics - Serbia



\*Among those who are employed.

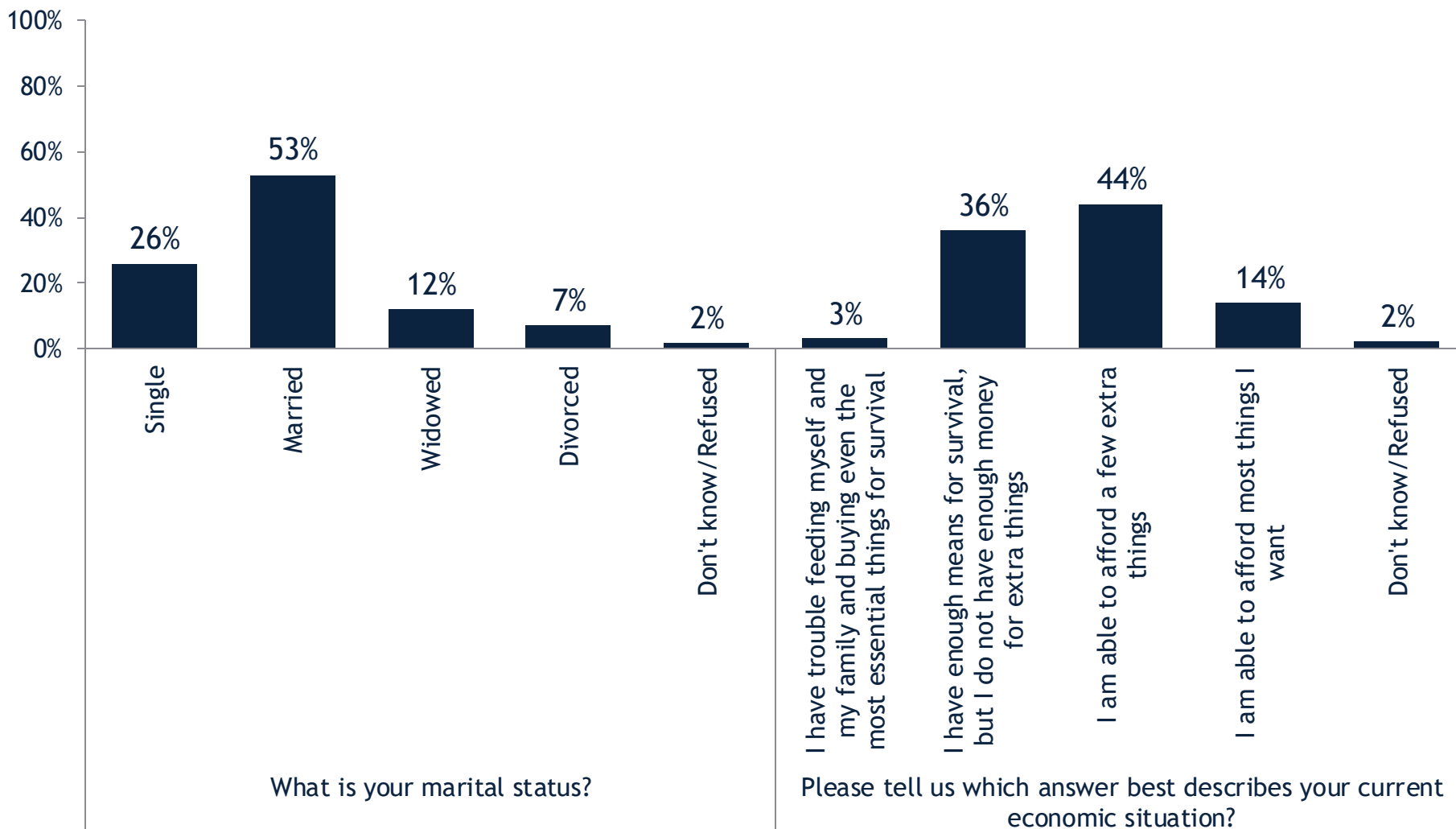
## Demographics - Serbia



\*Among those who declared belonging to a religion.



## Demographics - Serbia



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