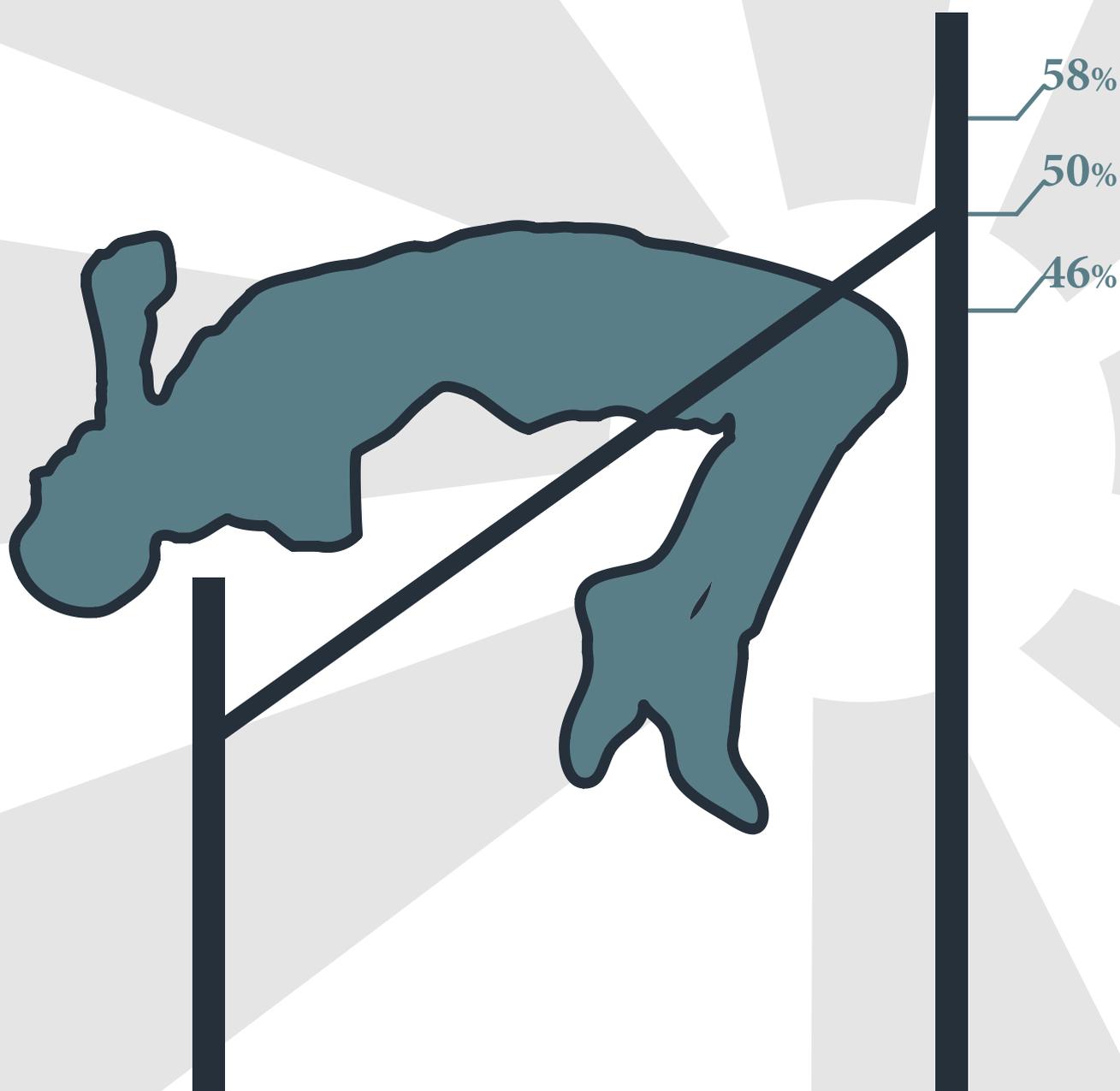




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2018



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REFERENDUM 2018
Public opinion poll in Macedonia
Second survey, conducted in the period 07-25.08.2018

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

| | |
|------------|---|
| VMRO-DPMNE | VMRO – Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity |
| EC / EU | European Commission / European Union |
| SSO | State Statistical Office |
| DUI | Democratic Union for Integration |
| IDCSC | Institute for Democracy Societas Civilis |
| MCIC | Macedonian Center for International Cooperation |
| UN | United Nations |
| NATO | North Atlantic Treaty Organization |
| USA | United States of America |
| SDSM | Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia |
| | |
| N/A | No answer |
| D/K | Do not know |
| PP | percentage points |

FOREWORD

MCIC and IDSCS continuously support the right to self-identification of the Republic of Macedonia.

In 2004, together with other organizations, MCIC organized and participated in the campaign "Say Macedonia" (Do not you FYROM me). In 2008 with a joint statement "Both Macedonia and NATO", MCIC, together with several organizations, reiterated that the name was the right to self-identification.

IDSCS has been a pioneer in civil society public opinion research on relevant socio-political topics, and has one of the most extensive databases of public opinion from the country's recent history.

After NATO refused to offer invitation for membership in 2008 and after the stall in the EU integration process in 2009, the name dispute became the main obstacle for Macedonia's Euro-Atlantic integration.

In 2010, MCIC conducted the first ever public opinion poll on Macedonia's name dispute. In 2011 and 2013, motivated by the stalled Euro-Atlantic integrations of Macedonia and the need for fact-based policies, MCIC and IDSCS conducted series of new research on Macedonia's name dispute, where the last one was completed in April 2018.

Having in mind the signed Agreement (final treaty) with Greece in June earlier this year, as well as the referendum expected this fall, MCIC decided to conduct another public opinion poll on the agreement itself and the forthcoming referendum. This poll (outreach) that is part of the Telma Television's "Top theme on your side" project is the second one in relation to the referendum, and it was conducted in cooperation between Telma TV, MCIC and the Institute for Democracy Societas Civilis Skopje (IDSCS) from August 7 to 25, 2018. The poll findings are presented in this report, and the data from the first referendum poll (telephone), conducted in July, 2018, have been used for comparison.

The research should contribute for a wider and better informed public debate on the name dispute and the Agreement with Greece, involving all relevant stakeholders.

Aleksandar Krzalovski,
the first executive director of the MCIC

Marko Troshanovski,
president of IDSCS

1. INTRODUCTION

This report “Referendum 2018 - second survey” presents and analyzes the attitudes of Macedonia’s public regarding the forthcoming referendum on the reached Agreement with Greece on the name dispute collected via public polls conducted by the M-Prospect agency on behalf of Telma TV, MCIC and IDSCS from August 7 to 25, 2018.

The report is made up of an introduction, including methodology, findings regarding the outcome of the referendum, followed by the attitudes of how the respondents will vote (for / against), as well as the reasons that citizens cite regarding their choice, a chapter with views on (not) supporting specific issues related to the referendum, and concludes with conclusions.

1.1. Methodology and approach

The survey was conducted by the agency M-prospect Skopje, on a multilayer stratified sample of 1,000 respondents older than 18, nationally represented by gender, age, ethnicity, region and place of residence. The survey was conducted in Macedonian and in Albanian. All results are balanced (weighted) according to official demographic statistics of the State Statistical Office, including the Population Assessment of 2017. All results are subject to a statistical error of 3.1% with an acceptable level of confidence of 95%.

1.2. Processing and presenting the results

The collected data is processed with frequency and proportion of responses. The results are shown in graphs at the level of the entire sample, except for questions which aren't directed at all participants in the survey and this is emphasized in the relevant sections of the report. Except for charts, part of the data is also shown in tables.

In order to maintain representativeness in relation to ethnicity, the usual weighting (balancing) in relation to the results of the last parliamentary elections (December 2016) has not been made.

In the report, an insignificant minority is used for responses of less than 10% of the sample, a small minority for 11% to 30%, a minority for 30% to 50%, a majority for 51% to 70% and a large majority by more than 70%.

The report does not comment on socio-demographic analysis for the smaller ethnic communities and political parties with fewer supporters due to their low participation in the national sample.

In the tables and charts, the ethnicity of the respondents is indicated with the terms ethnic Macedonians, ethnic Albanians, etc. The names of political parties are marked by citizens' supporters (non-members or voters) of the respective political party.

The processing also takes into account the results of "I do not know" and "no answer". However, these results are not shown in the charts and tables, which means that the sum of all answers is not 100%. This is done for the purpose of simplifying the results.

1.3. Limitations of the research

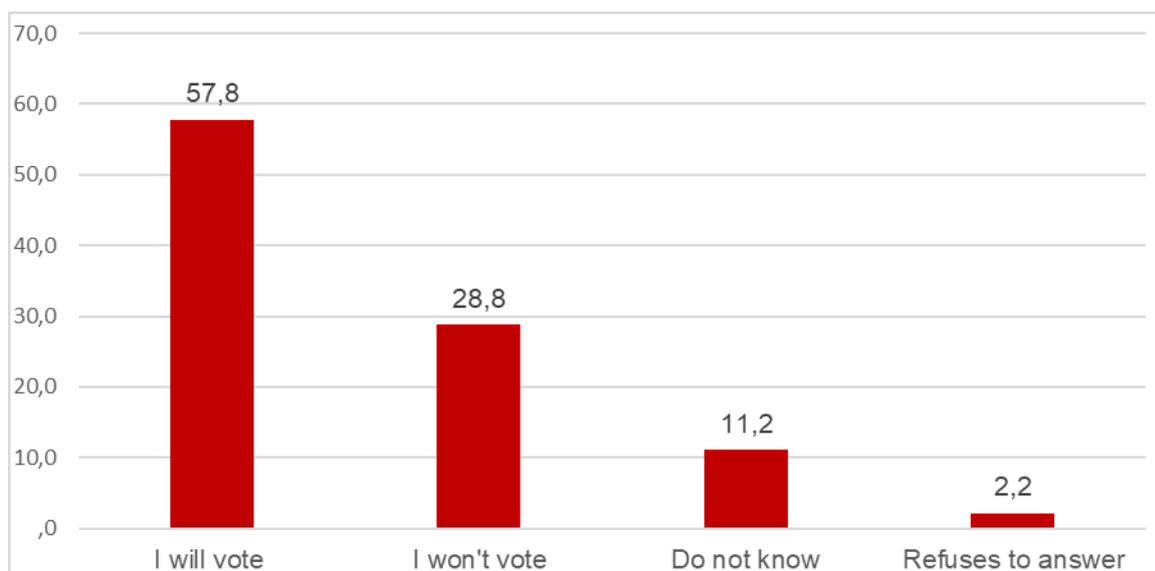
The sample for the survey is standard, but it is based on data from the 2002 census, which may be outdated and do not fully reflect the real situation in the field, although they have been modified according to the periodical assessment of the SSO from 2017.

Additionally, the survey is conducted only on the territory of the Republic of Macedonia and does not include citizens who have the right to vote, but live or have stayed abroad for the duration of the survey.

2. OPINIONS FOR GOING OUT TO REFERENDUM

In this survey, conducted in August 2018, the first questions were concerned with the assessment of the possible turnout in the referendum. This is also due to the intensified campaign "Boycott", which in the absence of a decision of the main opposition party VMRO-DPMNE and an active campaign "Against", is currently the main alternative to the ruling coalition who has already launched the campaign "Pro" the referendum question.

Chart 1 – In the upcoming referendum on the Agreement with Greece regarding the name issue:



As shown in Chart 1, on the first question of the survey, will the citizens go to the polls on September 30, the majority of respondents (57.8%) answered positively. Almost a third (28.8%) say they will not go out, while 11.2% still haven't decided about it or (2.2%) did not answer the question.

In terms of the first survey, a possible voter turnout dropped from 66.6% to 57.8% or a decrease of 8.8 percentage points (pp)), and on the other hand there is an increase in the number of respondents who are already determined not to go to the polls on September 30 (from 19.8% to 28.8% or a difference of exactly 9 pp). Given that the number of undecided persons and those who did not answer the question is slightly different from the first survey (0.4 pp), the change in the determination is almost entirely from those who previously stated that they will vote, and are now saying that they will not vote.

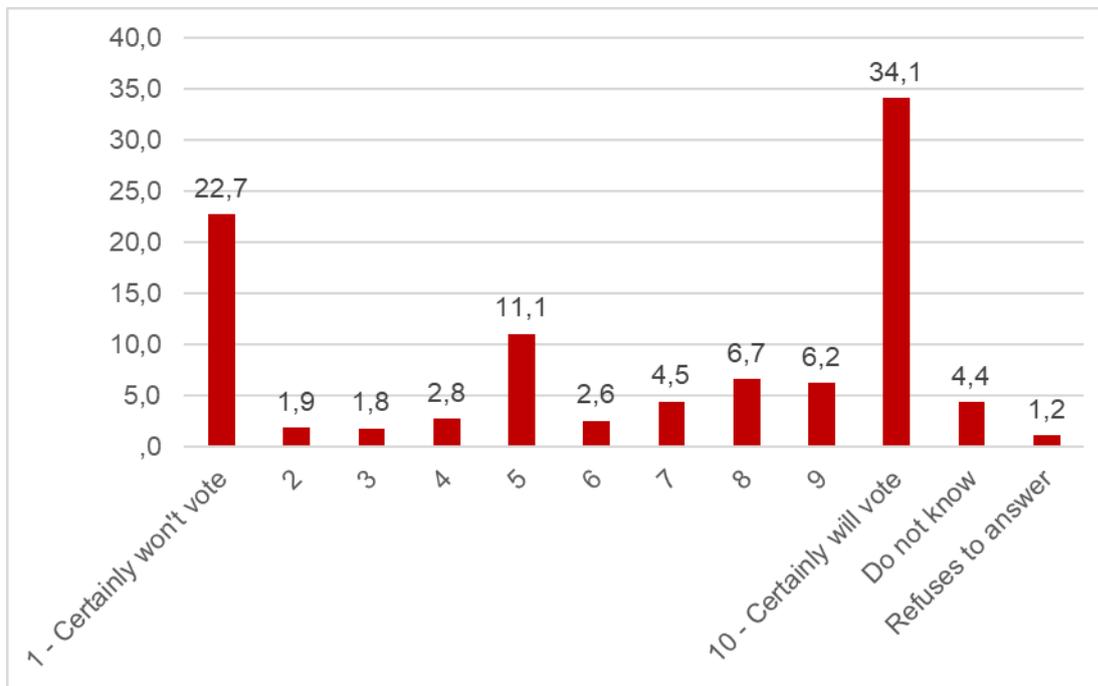
Table 1 – In the upcoming referendum on the Agreement with Greece regarding the name issue: (results according to ethnicity and political party affiliation)

| Opinion (%) | Et. Mac. | Et. Alb. | VMRO-DPMNE | SDSM | DUI | Total |
|---------------------------------|----------|----------|------------|-------|-------|--------------|
| I will vote | 52,4 | 70,6 | 29,8 | 93,8 | 78,3 | 57,8 |
| I won't vote | 33,5 | 19,1 | 57,7 | 3,8 | 14,4 | 28,8 |
| Do not know / refuses to answer | 14,1 | 10,3 | 12,5 | 2,5 | 7,3 | 13,4 |
| Total | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 |

The majority of ethnic Macedonians (52.4%) and the overwhelming majority of ethnic Albanians (70.6%) are determined to go to the polls, and according to the expectations in large majority, they are supporters of SDSM and DUI. In VMRO-DPMNE's supporters, for the majority (57.7%) the opinion is not to go out to the referendum (29.8% would still come out).

Considering the significance of the turnout, ie achieving the census (50% + 1 of the total number of voters, or about 907,000 voters) for the success of the referendum, an attempt was made to assess the actual turnout with an additional question.

Chart 2 – How likely is it that you will vote on the upcoming referendum on a scale of 1 to 10? (where 1 is highly unlikely, and 10 is highly likely)



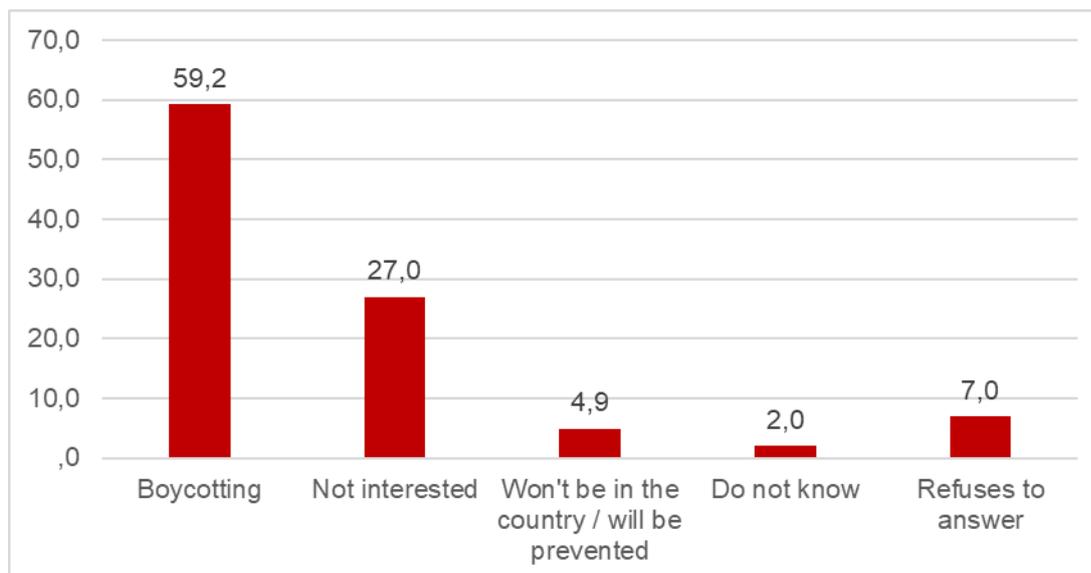
Usually for this type of response options, there is a concentration on the ends (in this case, grades 1 and 10). The highest is the certainty for a certain likelihood (34.1%) and somewhat less certain is the ultimate determination not to go out, which is present in 22.7% of the respondents.

From the experiences of previous polls, a turnout can really be considered as a sum of the three last answers (10, 9 and 8), or up to 47%.

This finding is further confirmed by a projection of the responses that indicate that the respondent will go out to a referendum and by the previous voting in the 2016 parliamentary elections. The cross determinations between the referendum vote and the previous vote were projected on the actual votes received in 2016. Thus, for example, the votes for SDSM in 2016 are divided accordingly by the crossing of those who will come out and will declare for, against or are still undecided, as opposed to those who will not go out or are reluctant to come out at all. For all parties and for those undecided in 2016 such projections and derivatives were calculated. In the end, the sum of votes for the party going out to vote is 46.4%. This projection should be viewed in an error interval of $\pm 3,1\%$.

Investigating the reasons for not reaching those respondents who chose that answer (28.8%, or 288 of the respondents) was also of interest in this part of the survey.

Chart 3 – If you do not go out to the referendum, it is because: (percentage of those who declare that they will not go out, or 28.8% of the total sample)



The dominant reason for not going out to vote, which indicated by 59.2% of those who stated that they will not go out to vote, or 17.1% of the total number of respondents, is a boycott of the referendum. Some of these respondents (27% or 7.8% of the total sample) stated that the referendum does not interested them and about 5% (1.4% of the total number of respondents) that they will be prevented from voting (including due to absence from the state). The remaining 9% (2.6% in total) do not know or have not cited the reason for their decision not to go to the referendum.

Table 2 - If you do not go to the referendum, it's because: (a visualization according to ethnicity and party affiliation; a percentage of those who say they will not come out)

| Opinion (%) | Et. Mac. | Et. Alb. | VMRO-DPMNE | SDSM | DUI | Total |
|--|----------|----------|------------|-------|-------|--------------|
| Boycotting | 71,0 | 8,5 | 81,7 | 55,6 | 9,2 | 59,2 |
| Not interested | 16,9 | 72,0 | 9,8 | 21,8 | 72,9 | 27,0 |
| I will not be in the country / I will be prevented to vote | 3,2 | 13,0 | 2,2 | 11,3 | 8,6 | 4,9 |
| Do not know | 1,2 | 4,2 | 0,7 | 0 | 9,4 | 2,8 |
| Refuses to answer | 7,7 | 2,2 | 5,5 | 11,3 | 0 | 7,0 |
| Total | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 |

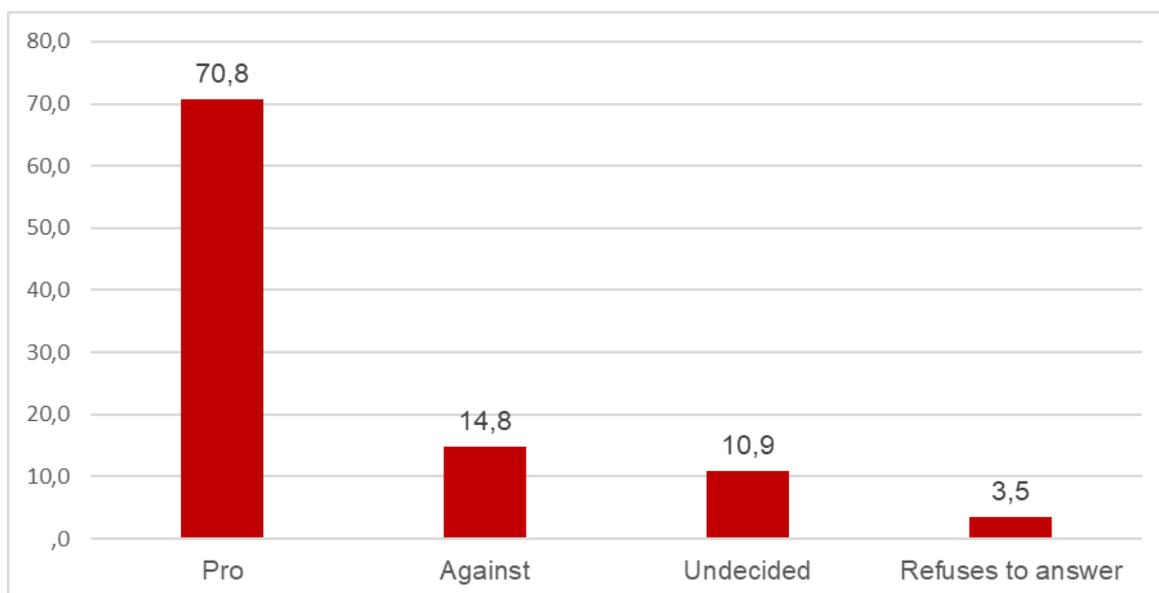
It is expected that the boycott is mainly in the "camp" of ethnic Macedonians (71% of them who on the first question have stated that they will not go to the polls, ie 15.7% of the total number of respondents) and among the supporters of VMRO-DPMNE (81.7% of them, or 10.6% of the total sample), but it is noteworthy that among the supporters of SDSM, this is a majority position of those who stated that they will not go to the referendum (55.6% of them, but we should bear in mind that only 3.8% of SDSM supporters stated that they will not get out, ie it is only 5 of all 1.000 respondents. It is interesting that there are (albeit few) ethnic Albanians, including DUI supporters who would boycott the referendum.

3. OPINIONS FOR VOTING ON THE REFERENDUM

Of course, the most important question in this survey was the very referendum question and the answer of the citizens surveyed regarding this question.

Before presenting the results of this question and analyzing them, it should be emphasized that this question is set ONLY to those surveyed who answered the first question (for turnout), that they WILL GO OUT and vote in the referendum on September 30. These are 57.8% of the total number of respondents, or 578 of the 1,000 people surveyed.

Chart 4 – If you go out and vote for the referendum question "Are you for EU and NATO membership by accepting the Agreement between the Republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Greece", your answer will be: (percentage of those who say they will vote)



So, when the already determined voters are asked the question of how they are going to vote in the referendum, then the support for the "Pro" option is overwhelming (70.8% of those who go to the polls, ie 40.9% of all respondents). The camp "Against" would have about 15% of those who will go to the polls (ie only 8.6% of the total number of respondents), and a similar number of about 15% are those who, despite having stated that will vote in the referendum, they have not yet decided (or refused to say) how they will answer (for or against).

Compared with the first survey (July 2018), despite indicating that there are still two differences in the way the survey is conducted (in the first survey the first question is about the vote itself - for or against, followed by whether the respondents will go out and vote and secondly - that then all respondents were asked for a position (for or against), and now only those who stated that they would go to the referendum), two important things can be noted:

- the support for the "Pro" option is stable and almost unchanged (41.5% in the first survey, and 40.9% in this survey);
- there is a significant reduction in the option "Against" (from 35% in the first survey, to about 15% in this survey).

From this it can be concluded that in the best case, the referendum would have about 750,000 votes "pro", but if this is corrected in the same way as for the turnout, then we get just over 615,000 votes "pro".

Table 3 - If you go to the referendum question "Are you for EU and NATO membership by accepting the Agreement between the Republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Greece", your answer will be: (a visualization according to ethnicity and political party affiliation; a percentage of those who declared that they would go out to vote)

| Opinion (%) | Et. Mac. | Et. Alb. | VMRO-DPMNE | SDSM | DUI | Total |
|-------------------|----------|----------|------------|-------|-------|--------------|
| Pro | 61,7 | 88,8 | 9,0 | 92,1 | 89,8 | 70,8 |
| Against | 21,8 | 3,0 | 81,7 | 1,3 | 1,8 | 14,8 |
| Undecided | 11,6 | 7,5 | 4,8 | 5,3 | 6,7 | 10,9 |
| Refuses to answer | 5,0 | 0,6 | 4,5 | 1,2 | 1,8 | 3,5 |
| Total | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 |

In the table above, the distribution of the answers to the referendum question on an ethnic basis and according to the sympathies of the largest parties is given.

Of the respondents who said that they will vote, the majority support the "Pro" option, both for the ethnic Macedonians (61.7%) and for the ethnic Albanians (88.8%), and logically - it is the dominant option in the supporters of SDSM (92.1%) and DUI (89.8%). In the VMRO-DPMNE's sympathizers, the option "Against" is dominant (81.7% of the supporters of this party who said that they would go to the polls, which is about 1 in every 3 supporters).

In the further course of the survey, the question about the reasons for each of the paragraphs was asked (for, against, as well as for the undecidedness), and it is important to emphasize that ONLY those persons who have chosen one of these three options on the main survey were asked (409 for, 86 against and 63 undecided), and even then some of them chose not to answer these additional questions, and given the small number of answers - no special assessments and analyses were made on the basis of ethnicity and party affiliation.

3.1. REASONS "PRO" SUPPORTING THE REFERENDUM

As the main reason for supporting the referendum, ie voting "pro" on September 30, respondents who have so determined (409 of them, ie 40.9% of the total sample) stated that the agreement will help the country entry into the EU and NATO (62.3% of them, or 25.5% of all respondents). An additional 26.7% of them (ie 10.9% of the entire population) believe that the agreement is a good solution to the longstanding dispute. For some, the reasons are that we have no choice, that is, by voting "pro" we will have one problem less. The breakdown for ethnic and party affiliation is given below.

Table 4 - What is the reason you would vote PRO on the referendum? (breakdown according to ethnicity and party affiliation; one answer)

| Opinion (%) | Et. Mac. | Et. Alb. | VMRO-DPMNE | SDSM | DUI | Total |
|---|----------|----------|------------|-------|-------|--------------|
| The deal is a good solution to the longstanding dispute | 38,8 | 11,9 | 33,9 | 39,0 | 12,9 | 26,7 |
| The agreement will help us to join the EU and NATO | 51,1 | 76,6 | 50,0 | 52,4 | 83,7 | 62,3 |
| I'll vote to have one problem less | 3,6 | 5,2 | 0 | 3,9 | 3,4 | 4,1 |
| We have no other choice | 5,4 | 3,7 | 16,1 | 4,1 | 0 | 5,2 |
| Other | 1,0 | 2,6 | 0 | 0,6 | 0 | 1,7 |
| Total | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 |

3.2. OPINIONS "AGAINST" THE REFERENDUM

The respondents who decided to go to the polls, and to vote "against", a total of 8.6% of all respondents, as the most common reasons for their opinion, stated that the agreement changed the identity of the Macedonians and that it has damaged state interests.

In addition to these, the respondents, in a small number, listed other reasons, such as that there should not be a referendum at all, that they do not want the Republic of Macedonia to become a member of the EU and / or NATO, or that their conscience doesn't allow them to vote "pro".

As noted above, the small number of respondents who answered this question does not allow for a sustained further analysis of additional parameters, such as ethnicity or political party affiliation.

3.3. OPINIONS OF THE UNDECIDED

A small group of respondents who have chosen to vote in the referendum have still not decided how to vote (for or against). These are 6.3% of the total number of respondents.

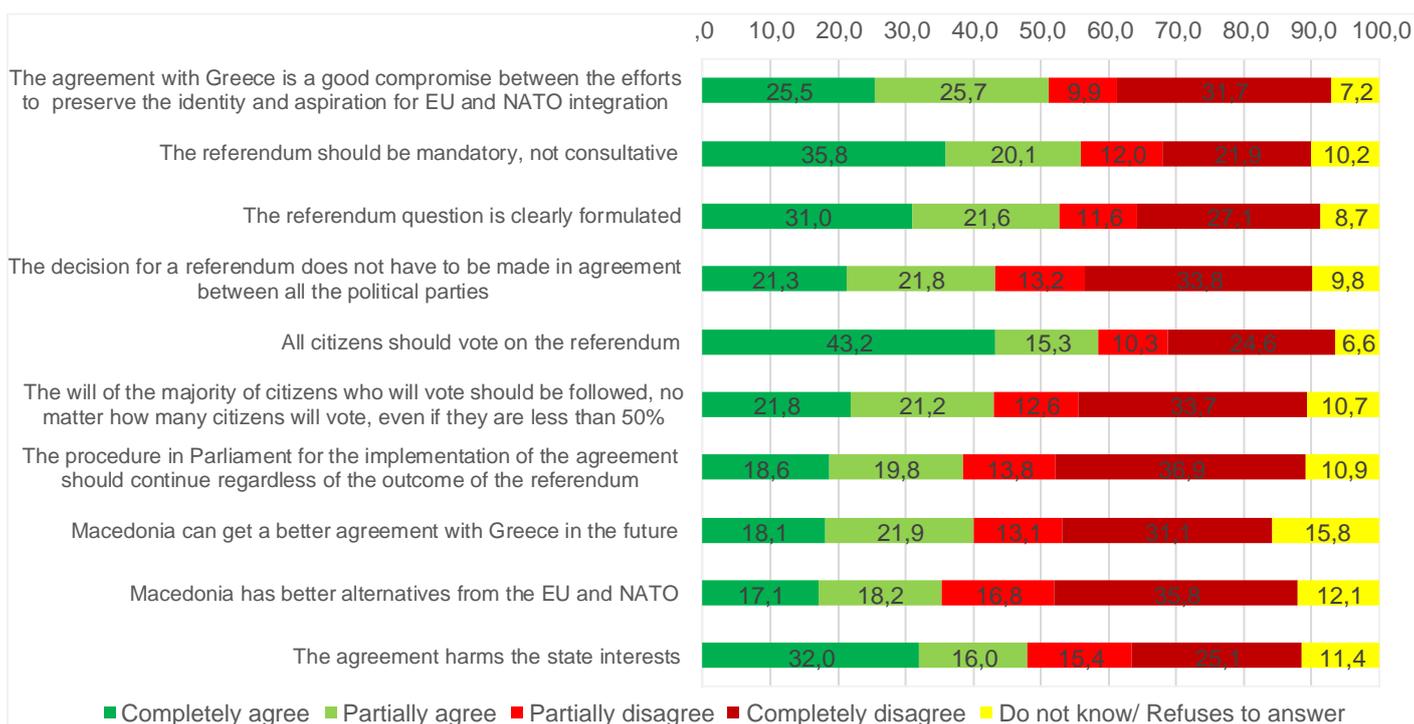
As the most important reasons (for their undecidedness) they have stated that the agreement does not give enough guarantees for entering the EU and NATO or that they do not have enough information to decide.

Accordingly, most of them expect more information about the agreement itself and the benefits from it, but some also require stronger guarantees for joining the EU and NATO, in order to decide on how to vote.

4. AGREEANCE WITH QUESTIONS CONNECTED TO THE REFERENDUM

In the last part of the survey, the respondents (all) were asked about the level of agreement (fully or in part) with certain issues related to the referendum.

Chart 5 – Degree of agreeance with key issues related to the referendum:



The table above shows the polarization of citizens in almost all issues related to the referendum.

A more distinguished difference (over 20 percentage points) can be noted in two questions, in which the respondents consider that:

- all citizens **should go out** to the referendum (58.5% agree, and 34.9% disagree with this statement, ie the difference is 23,6 pp);
- the referendum **should be mandatory**, not consultative (55.9% agree, and 33.9% do not, ie, there is a difference of 22 points).

There is also majority support, but with minor differences, for the following opinions:

- Macedonia **has** no better alternatives than EU and NATO (52.6% agree, and 35.3% disagree);
- The decision for a referendum **had to be** made in agreeance with all the political parties (57.6% as opposed to 43.1%);
- the referendum question is **clearly formulated** (52.6% as opposed to 38.7%);
- the Agreement with Greece is a **good compromise** between the tendencies to preserve the identity and the strife for EU and NATO integration (51.2% as opposed to 41.6%).

On the other hand, there is a majority in the **disagreeance** with the statement that "the procedure in Parliament for the implementation of the agreement should continue no matter the outcome of the referendum ", with 50.7% that **do not** agree and 38.4% that agree.

As the most controversial (the smallest difference between those who agree and those who disagree, with differences of less than 10 percentage points and without 50% support for one or the opposite opinion), the remaining three questions are:

- the agreement is **harmful** to state interests (48% agree, as opposed to 40,5% that disagree);
- Macedonia **cannot** get a better agreement with Greece in the future (44.2% as opposed to 40%);
- the will of the majority of the citizens who will vote, should be taken into consideration, regardless of the number of citizens that are going to vote, even if they are less than 50% (here the majority - 46.3% disagree with the statement, while 43.0% agree).

In short, it can be summarized that citizens expect the majority of voters to go to the referendum and to vote, and then to respect the will of the majority who had voted (for or against), but that if the census is not reached - the procedure should stop there, that is, it should not proceed with the constitutional changes in Parliament.

CONCLUSIONS

Uncertain census on the referendum

The poll results outweigh the assessment of turnout (in this case, 57.8%), because the electoral list is significantly wider than the population on which the survey is based. It is realistic to expect that the corrected turnout projection of 46% ranges between 43% and 49%, taking into account the margins of a statistical error of $\pm 3,1\%$. Hence, turnout approaches the required census, but it is uncertain whether it will be reached, given the active campaign calling for a boycott.

The stable support for the "pro" option in the referendum of around 41%

According to the survey, the "Pro" camp is bigger than those who oppose and those who will not actively vote or boycott. However, those who boycott are joined by the politically indifferent citizens and by those who will be prevented from voting in the referendum for other reasons.

Transfer of those who were "against" in the "boycott" camp

Compared to the previous survey (July 2018), the most significant change is in the "camp" of citizens who do not support the referendum (that is, the Agreement with Greece), with the increase of those who have now decided on the boycott of the referendum, at the expense of people who previously said they would still vote and would vote "against".

Polarization of almost all questions related to the referendum

The citizens were asked about ten positions related to the referendum and there was relatively high polarization among them. On all matters, consent (full or partial) or incompatibility is greater than 35% and less than 60%.

For most (7 out of 10), however, there is a majority (although) little support, but 4 of them are on behalf of the "camp" for support of the referendum (including the procedure under which it was announced and is being conducted), while 3 are not.

The opinions are mostly divided in terms of whether a better agreement can be reached with Greece in the future, as well as whether to continue the procedure in Parliament if the referendum census is not reached.

In short, it can be summarized that citizens expect the majority of voters to go to the referendum and to vote, and then to respect the will of the majority who had voted (for or against), but that if the census is not reached - the procedure should stop there, that is, it should not proceed with the constitutional changes in Parliament.

APPENDIX 1. SURVEY

Q 1. In the upcoming referendum on the Agreement with Greece regarding the name issue:

- I will vote on the referendum
- I will not vote on the referendum

Q 2. How likely is it that you will vote on the following referendum on a scale of 1 to 10?
(where 1 means the least likely, and 10 means the most likely)

Q 3. If 1 = I will vote: to the referendum question „Are you for EU and NATO membership by accepting the Agreement between the Republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Greece?" your answer will be:

- Pro
- Against
- Undecided

Q 4. If 1 = I will not vote - it is because:

- I'm not interested
- Boycotting
- I will not be in the country / I will be prevented to vote
- Do not know
- Refuses to answer

Q 5. If 3 = Against; or if 4 = Boycott - What is the reason you are against / boycott?

UP TO THREE ANSWERS

- The Agreement causes damage to state interests
- Referendum should not be held at all
- The identity of the Macedonians is changing
- There are no guarantees that we will join the EU and NATO
- I do not want to join the EU and NATO
- My conscience won't allow me
- Other _____
- Do not know
- Refuses to answer

Q 5.1. Which of these reasons is the most important one for you?

- The Agreement causes damage to state interests
- Referendum should not be held at all
- The identity of the Macedonians is changing
- There are no guarantees that we will join the EU and NATO
- I do not want to join the EU and NATO
- My conscience won't allow me
- Other _____
- Do not know
- Refuses to answer

Q 6. If 3 = Undecided - What is the reason you are still undecided?

UP TO THREE ANSWERS

- I have no opinion on the matter
- I don't have enough information to decide
- There are no guarantees that we will join the EU and NATO
- My vote makes no difference

- I don't believe in politics/state/institutions
- Other _____
- Do not know

Q 6.1. Which of these reasons is the most important one for you?

- I have no opinion on the matter
- I don't have enough information to decide
- There are no guarantees that we will join the EU and NATO
- My vote makes no difference
- I don't believe in politics/state/institutions
- Other _____
- Do not know

Q 7. If 6 = Insufficient information - What would help you to decide?

ONE ANSWER

- Explanation of the Agreement
- An explanation of what we receive from the Agreement
- Explanation on the benefits and shortcomings of EU and NATO membership
- Guarantees for joining EU and NATO
- Do not know
- Refuses to answer

Q 8. If 3 = For - What's the reason you are voting FOR the referendum

ONE ANSWER

- I believe that the Agreement is a good solution to the longstanding dispute
- The agreement will help us to join the EU or NATO
- I'll vote to have one problem less
- We have no other choice
- Other
- Do not know

Q 9. To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

(I totally agree, I partially agree, I partially disagree, I completely disagree)

- "The Agreement with Greece is a good compromise between the tendencies to preserve the identity and the aspiration for EU and NATO integration"
- "The referendum should be mandatory, not consultative"
- "The referendum issue is clearly formulated"
- "The decision for a referendum does not have to be made in agreement between all the political parties "
- "All citizens should vote on the referendum"
- "The will of the majority of citizens who will vote should be followed, no matter how many citizens will vote, even if they are less than 50%"
- "The procedure in Parliament for the implementation of the agreement should continue regardless of the outcome of the referendum"
- "Macedonia can get a better agreement with Greece in the future"
- "Macedonia has better alternatives from the EU and the NATO"
- "The agreement harms the state interests"

APPENDIX 2. STRUCTURE OF THE SAMPLE - POPULATION

The sample for the field survey included 1,000 respondents. The population pattern of the sample was a population older than 18 years, and the criteria for representativeness were: gender, age, ethnicity, region and place of residence.

| Gender | % |
|-----------------|------|
| Male | 49,7 |
| Female | 50,3 |
| Age | % |
| From 18 to 29 | 21,1 |
| From 30 to 39 | 19,5 |
| From 40 to 49 | 17,8 |
| From 50 to 64 | 24,6 |
| Over 65 | 17,1 |
| Ethnicity | % |
| Macedonian | 66,3 |
| Albanian | 24,2 |
| Turkish | 1,7 |
| Roma | 2,0 |
| Serbian | 2,3 |
| Wallach | 0,9 |
| Bosniak | 1,7 |
| Other | 0,9 |
| Education | % |
| Primary or less | 4,2 |
| High school | 63,3 |
| High education | 32,4 |
| Residence | % |
| Urban | 61,3 |
| Rural | 38,7 |

| Work status | % |
|-----------------------------------|------|
| Employee in a public institution | 18,6 |
| Employee in a private institution | 22,1 |
| Unemployed | 18,0 |
| Self-employed | 7,8 |
| Student | 9,8 |
| Retired person | 20,0 |
| Other | 3,1 |
| Refuses to answer | 0,7 |
| Region | % |
| Skopje | 32,0 |
| Southeast | 8,0 |
| East | 10,1 |
| Northeast | 7,9 |
| Vardar | 7,1 |
| Southwest | 9,9 |
| Polog | 12,8 |
| Pelagonija | 12,1 |
| Party sympathy | % |
| VMRO-DPMNE | 22,6 |
| SDSM | 24,1 |
| DUI | 7,6 |
| Alliance for the Albanians | 3,0 |
| BECA | 3,2 |
| Other | 5,7 |
| I will not vote | 11,4 |
| I do not know / no answer | 22,3 |

PROFILE OF THE PUBLISHERS

Telma Television is a national television, founded in 1996, and it broadcasts national program since 1998 and is one of the leaders in the information, debate and film programs. „Top theme on your side“, within which this research was conducted, is a debate magazine produced by Telma Television, supported by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

The Macedonian Center for International Cooperation (MCIC) has been an important actor of the civil society in Macedonia and the region in the past 25 years, based on values and interests as well as its advocacy and impact on society. The vision of MCIC is peace, harmony and prosperity of the people in Macedonia, the Balkans and globally. MCIC defines its mission as leading changes with new and alternative solutions to society's problems.

MCIC is active in the sectors of: civil society development, good governance (anticorruption), social inclusion (employment, education, dialogue and cultural diversity). Since 1993, MCIC has implemented more than 65 programs with over 1,600 projects with a total budget of over 60 million euros.

The Institute for Democracy Societas Civilis (IDSCS) is a civil organisation founded in 1999 by a group of intellectuals gathered around the idea of democracy, solidarity and civil society. The long-term goals of the Institute involve working on a balanced socio-economic development, active citizen engagement and participative political culture, as well as embodiment of liberal values in Macedonian society. IDSCS bases its work primarily on sociometric research and project activities. We believe that human capital is the main precondition for a positive societal change, thus we work devotedly on projects aimed at improving capacities, by transfer of knowledge and skills.

NOTE ON THE AUTHORS

Aleksandar Krzalovski is active in the civic sector since the time of his studies (1990), he has been employed at MCIC since December 1995, and is the first executive director of the organization since 2011. He is the author of several researches and publications, and he has accomplished several evaluation missions for programs and other organizations in Macedonia and abroad.

Misha Popovikj is a senior researcher at the Institute for Democracy Societas Civilis Skopje, where he has been working since 2005. As head of the Research Center, he participates and coordinates numerous research projects from socio-political topics.

CONTINUE READING

Referendum 2018 - public opinion in Macedonia, August 2018

<https://www.mcms.mk/images/docs/2018/referendum-2018-stavovi-na-javnosta-vo-makedonija.pdf>

The name dispute, April 2018

<http://www.mcms.org.mk/images/docs/2018/sporot-za-imeto-2018.pdf>

[Infographic](#); Public opinion and name dispute, IDSCS in May 2018

Related publications

<http://www.mcms.mk/images/docs/2011/sporot-za-imeto-makedonija-2011.pdf>

<http://www.mcms.mk/mk/vesti-i-javnost/vesti/1002-stavovi-na-graganite-za-resenie-na-bilateralniot-spor-na-makedonija-so-grcija.html>

List of all MCIC publications

<http://www.mcms.mk/mk/za-nasata-rabota/istrazuvana-i-publikacii/lista-na-istrazuvana-i-publikacii.html>

List of IDSCS publications

http://idscs.org.mk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=205&Itemid=93&lang=mk

Guidance on how to reference

Krzalovski, A., Popovikj M. (2018) **Referendum 2018 second survey**, Skopje, Telma TV, MCIC, IDSCS

<https://mcms.mk/mk/za-nasata-rabota/istrazuvana-i-publikacii/istrazuvana/2048-referendum-2018-stavovi-na-javnosta-vo-makedonija-vtora-anketa.html>