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REFERENDUM 2018

- Public opinion poll in Macedonia -

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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
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

FOREWORD

The Macedonian Center for International Cooperation (MCIC) is a civil society organization focused on democratic development of Macedonia, as well as the European policies and integrations.

MCIC has continuously supported the right for self-identification of the Republic of Macedonia.

In 2004, together with other organizations has organized and participated in the campaign “Say Macedonia” (Don’t you FYROM me). In 2008 in a joint statement “Both Macedonia and NATO”, MCIC together with few other organizations stated its opinion that the name is a right to self-identification.

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. The poll findings are presented in this report.

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

For MCIC

Aleksandar Kržalovski, First Executive Director

1. INTRODUCTION

This report "Referendum 2018" presents and analyzes the attitudes of Macedonia's public regarding the forthcoming referendum on the reached agreement with Greece on the name dispute. The attitudes were measured by asking people to respond to several questions in a survey conducted by M-prospect on behalf of MCIC in July 2018.

The report starts with an introduction, including survey methodology, findings on familiarity with the agreement, attitudes towards some of the key provisions as well as the referendum itself, ending with conclusions.

1.1. Methodology and Approach

MCIC has contracted M-Prospect, to conduct the survey. Data were collected by computer-assisted telephone interview (CATI) in the period from July 24 to August 1, 2018. The survey was conducted on a multilayer stratified sample of 1,026 respondents over 18 years of age, represented by sex, age, ethnicity and place of residence. The sample was designed according to the periodical assessment of the State Statistical Office from 2017. A random selection of respondents was used, with random number dialing and using the "next birthday" method. All results were subject to a statistical error of 3.1% with an acceptable level of confidence at 95%.

1.2. Data Processing and Reporting

The collected data is processed with frequency and proportion of responses. The results are shown in graphs on the entire sample. Some of the data is also shown in tables with numbers.

In order to maintain the representation in relation to ethnicity, the usual weighting (equalization) 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 from 11% to 30%, a minority from 30% to 50%, a majority from 51% to 70% and a large majority by more than 70%.

The report did 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 graphs, the terms ethnic Macedonians, ethnic Albanians, etc. indicated the ethnicity of the respondents. The names of the political parties indicated citizens that support the respective political party (not their members or voters).

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

1.3. Limitations of the Research

The survey sample is standard, but is based on data from the 2002 census, which may have been outdated and do not fully reflect the real situation on the ground, although they have been modified according to the periodic 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. And because of that, the presence of other ethnic communities outside the Macedonian one in the sample is lower than the numbers of 2002 census. This can also result in partially undervalued (smaller) values for those ethnic communities.

Finally, in the last two days of the survey, the referendum question was already known, which may have influenced some of the answers to that particular and other related questions.

2. FAMILIARITY WITH AGREEMENT

To the first question, how familiar they were with the agreement on resolving the name dispute reached with the Republic of Greece, large majority of citizens (84.2%) said they were familiar.

Graph 1 – Are you familiar with the agreement on resolving the name dispute reached between the Republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Greece?

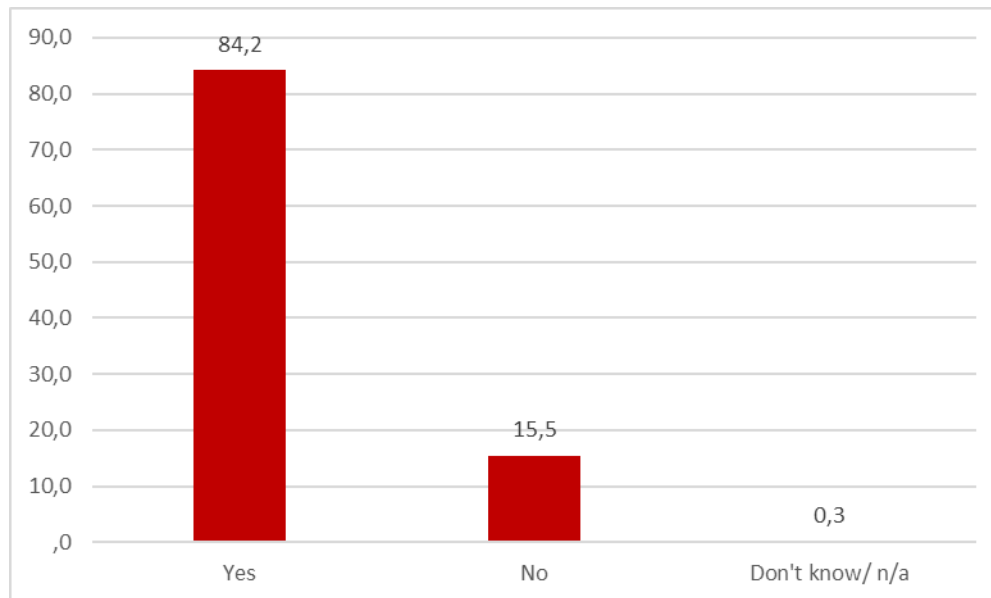


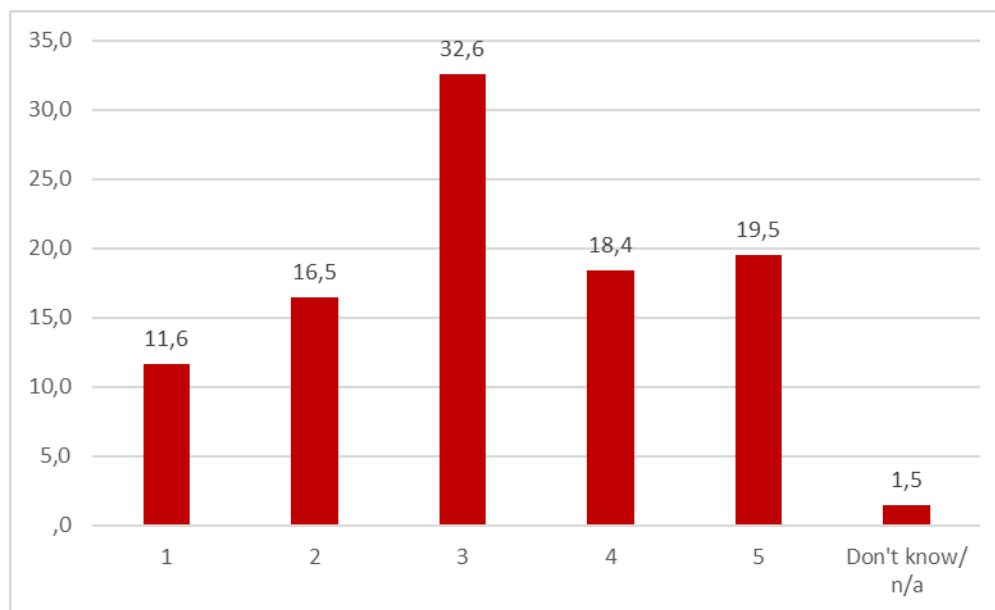
Table 1 – Are you familiar with the agreement on resolving the name dispute reached between the Republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Greece? (according to ethnicity and affiliation to political party)

Attitude (%)	Ethnic Mac	Ethnic Alb	VMRO-DPMNE	SDSM	DUI	Total
Yes	82,7	89,8	83,8	90,0	88,9	84,2
No	17,2	9,3	15,8	10,0	7,9	15,5
Refuses to answer	0,1	0,9	0,4	0,0	3,2	0,3
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Regarding the ethnicity and political party affiliation, it is interesting that ethnic Macedonians affiliated with VMRO-DPMNE are less familiar with the agreement.

However, although over 84% of respondents said they were familiar with the Agreement, the extent of familiarity with its provisions varies from somewhat less than 20% of those who are fully familiar to 28% of those who are partially or not familiar at all with the Agreement. The following graph shows this.

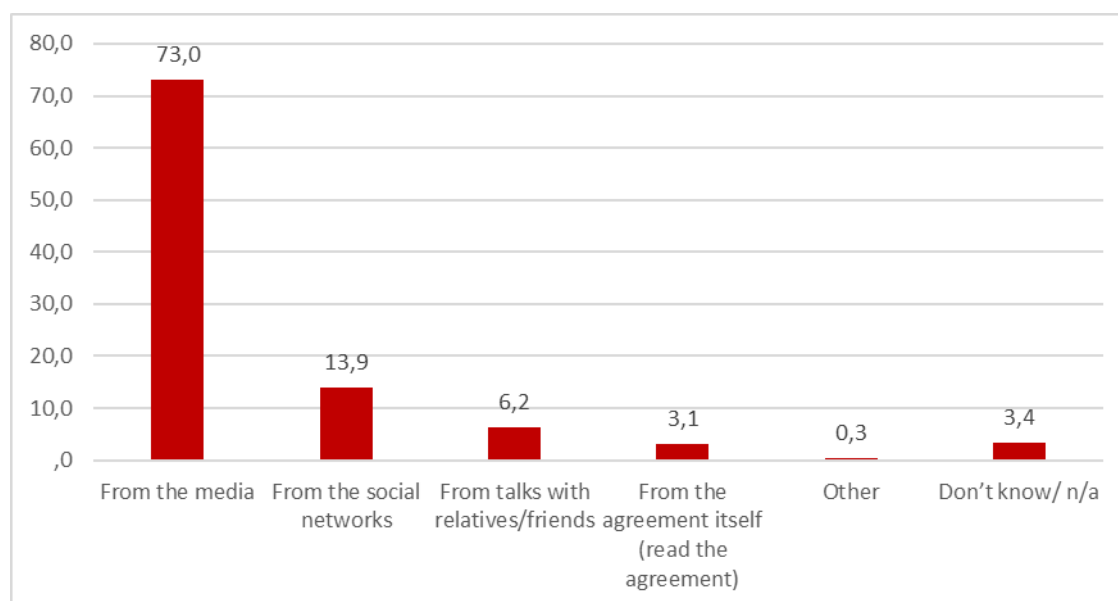
Graph 2 – On a scale from 1 to 5, how would you rate your familiarity with the Agreement on resolving the name dispute between the Republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Greece?



So although at first glance (from the answers to the first question) it seemed that there was high familiarity with the Agreement, this question showed that this was not enough and there was open space for providing further information and explanation to the citizens and giving more details on the agreement's provisions.

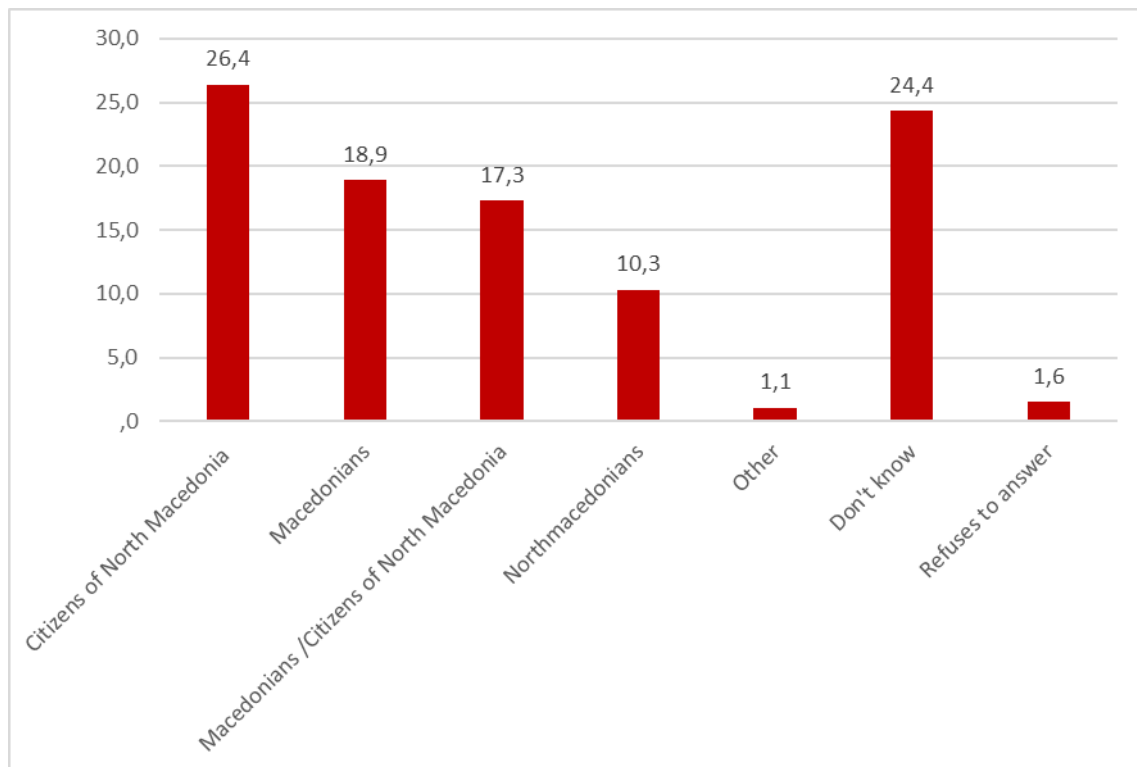
Additionally, to the next question - where they received the necessary information about the Agreement – for large majority (73%) the media were main source of information, followed by social networks (14%), and friends (6%). This indicated mainly “second-hand” information, i.e. information obtained from indirect sources, which may be (or probably) already contain additional data and/or opinions on certain provisions of the agreement or the agreement as a whole.

Graph 3 – Where did you get the necessary information about the Agreement?



It is worth noting that only 3% of the respondents have read the agreement itself – i.e. only 32 out of 1,000 respondents actually read the Agreement with Greece.

Graph 4 - Based on what you know about this agreement, how is the nationality of the citizens of Macedonia defined?



In order to check the familiarity with the Agreement, a control question was asked requiring from the citizens to precisely state what did the Agreement stipulate regarding the nationality, by choosing one of several offered alternatives.

The graph above showed the answers to this control question about the definition of nationality in the Agreement, indicating that only 17.3% of the respondents have stated the correct answer: Macedonians/ citizens of North Macedonia.

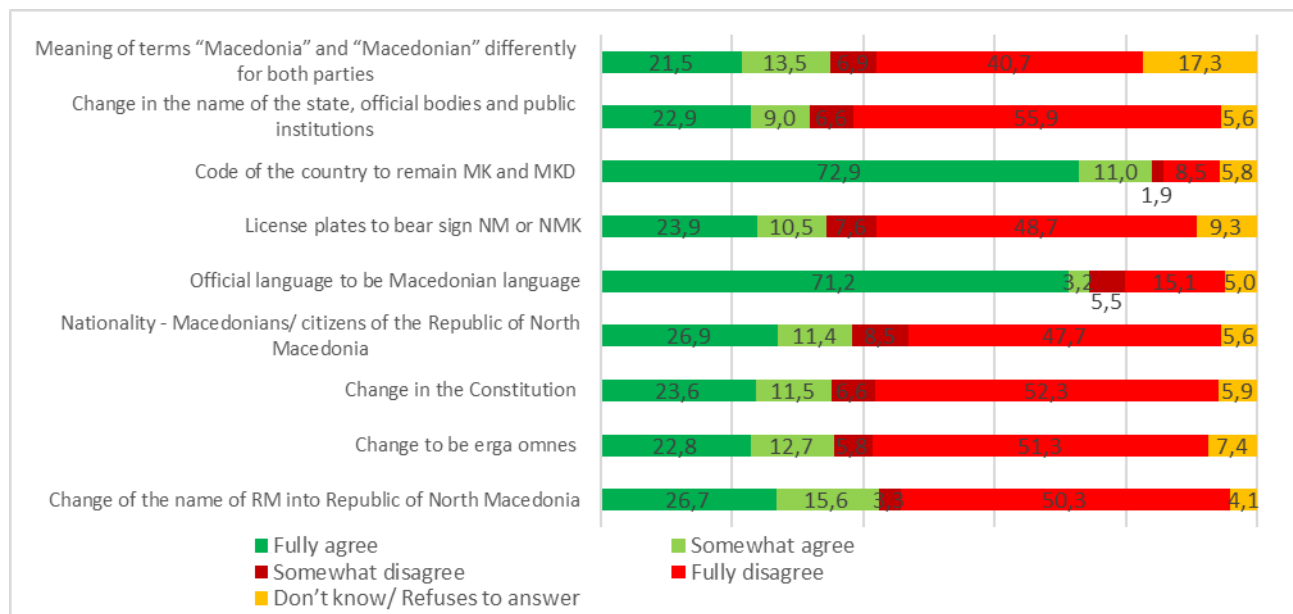
Table 2 – Based on what you know about this agreement, how is the nationality of the citizens of Macedonia defined? (according to ethnicity and affiliation to political party)

%	Ethnic Mac	Ethnic Alb	VMRO-DPMNE	SDSM	DUI	Total
Northmacedonians	10,5	8,4	14,2	8,4	12,7	10,3
Macedonians	22,4	6,7	24,3	21,8	6,3	18,9
Macedonians /Citizens of North Macedonia	18,9	12,9	15,4	30,1	12,7	17,3
Citizens of North Macedonia	23,3	36,0	24,7	26,4	42,9	26,4
Other....	1,4	0,0	1,2	0,0	0,0	1,1
Don't know	22,1	33,3	18,6	13,4	23,8	24,4
Refuses to answer	1,3	2,7	1,6	0,0	1,6	1,6
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

3. COMPLIANCE WITH KEY PROVISIONS OF THE AGREEMENT

Most of the respondents do not agree (fully or partially) with some of the key provisions of the Agreement. The graph below shows the collective results on the individual questions for each of these key provisions.

Graph 5 – Level of compliance with key provisions of the Agreement:



Total of 53.6% of the respondents were against the change of the name into Republic of North Macedonia (cumulative percentage for the "fully disagree" and "somewhat disagree" options), compared with 42.3% of respondents agreeing with the change of the name (also cumulative sum of the two other options).

The percentages were similar for the nationality - where 56.2% of the respondents disagreed, while 38.3% agreed - and for several other provisions, such as: understanding/interpretation of the use of term "Macedonia" and "Macedonian"; change of names of state/public bodies and institutions in accordance with the change of the name; or the change of code on license plates.

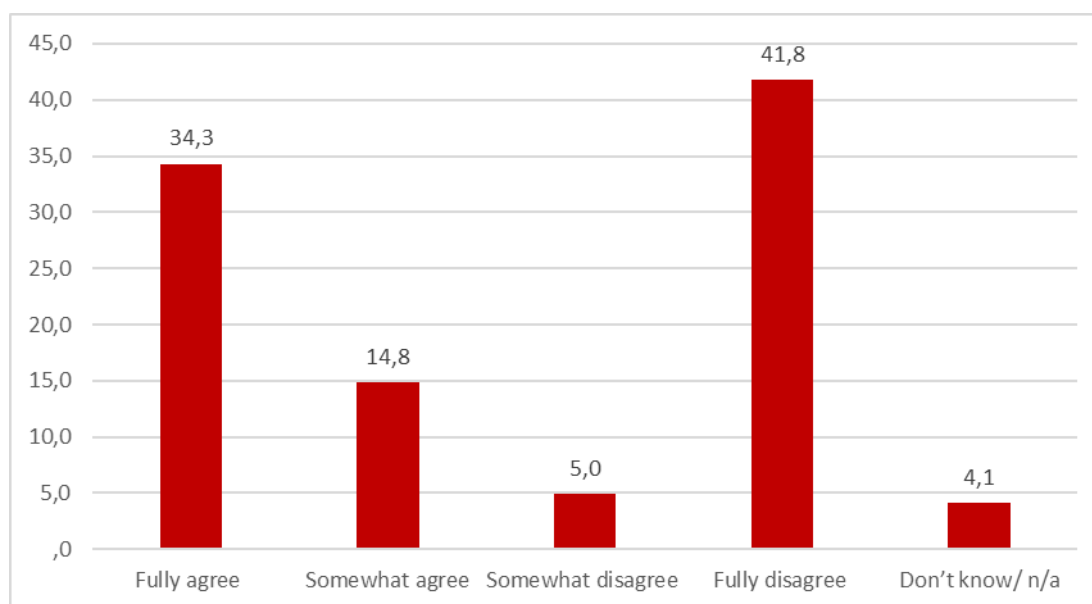
The highest is the disagreement regarding the scope of use (*erga omnes*) with 57.1% (compared with 35.5% that agreed) and change of Constitution (58.9% versus 35.1% that supported it).

On the other hand, large majority (74.2%) supported the decision on the Macedonian language (compared with 20.6% that opposed) as well as keeping the country codes MK and MKD (83.9%).

These results indicated major dissatisfaction with individual key provisions of the Agreement (seven out of nine which were surveyed). This may be or probably was due to the relative secrecy of the negotiations and low or lack of circulation of information in the public that these issues were also subject to negotiations. This is also indicated by the fact that out of seven provisions for which there was major disagreement, the disagreement was lowest for the change of the name (because this was the most exposed issue in the negotiations), although it would be expected the disagreement to be highest for this particular issue.

However, the disagreement ranges between 50% and 60% indicating that by providing further information and explanation of these provision, majority of citizens would likely agree/support some or all of these provisions. This could come true having in mind the first part of this report indicating that respondents also included persons that were partially or not familiar at all with the agreement.

Graph 6 – To what extent do you agree with the Agreement as a whole for resolving the name dispute between the Republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Greece?



Despite the high dissatisfaction with individual key provisions (seven compared with two that enjoy majority support), when citizens were asked whether they agreed with the Agreement as a whole, the total support/ agreement is higher amounting to 49.1% cumulative agreement (fully agreed 34.3% and partially agreed 14.8%), while the disagreement amounted to 46.8% of respondents.

On the other hand, it should be taken into account that the most prominent attitude (41.8%) is “Fully disagree”, indicating stronger opposition to the Agreement thus leaving narrow space for “convincing” these citizens to accept the referendum.

Table 3 - To what extent do you agree with the Agreement as a whole for resolving the name dispute between the Republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Greece? (according to ethnicity and affiliation to political party)

Attitude (%)	Ethnic Mac	Ethnic Alb	VMRO-DPMNE	SDSM	DUI	Total
Fully agree	24,4	64,0	6,9	64,4	73,0	34,3
Somewhat agree	11,9	24,9	9,3	17,6	15,9	14,8
Somewhat disagree	5,8	1,8	4,0	2,5	1,6	5,0
Fully disagree	54,7	2,2	78,5	15,1	0,0	41,8
Don't know/ refuses to answer	3,3	7,1	1,2	0,4	9,5	4,1
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

The “resistance” i.e. disagreement with the Agreement is to a larger extent (majority) present among the ethnic Macedonians (54.7% fully disagree) and as expected these are mainly supporters of VMRO-DPMNE (78.5%, but also 15.1% supporters of SDSM fully disagree with the Agreement as a whole).

4. ATTITUDES ABOUT REFERENDUM

In line with the expectations, large majority 73% of the respondents believed that there should be a referendum about the Agreement with Greece. As a reminder and clarification, the survey began and most of its part was implemented before the Parliament decided that there would be a referendum.

Graph 7 – In your opinion, is it necessary for the citizens to go out on a referendum and vote whether they accept this agreement?

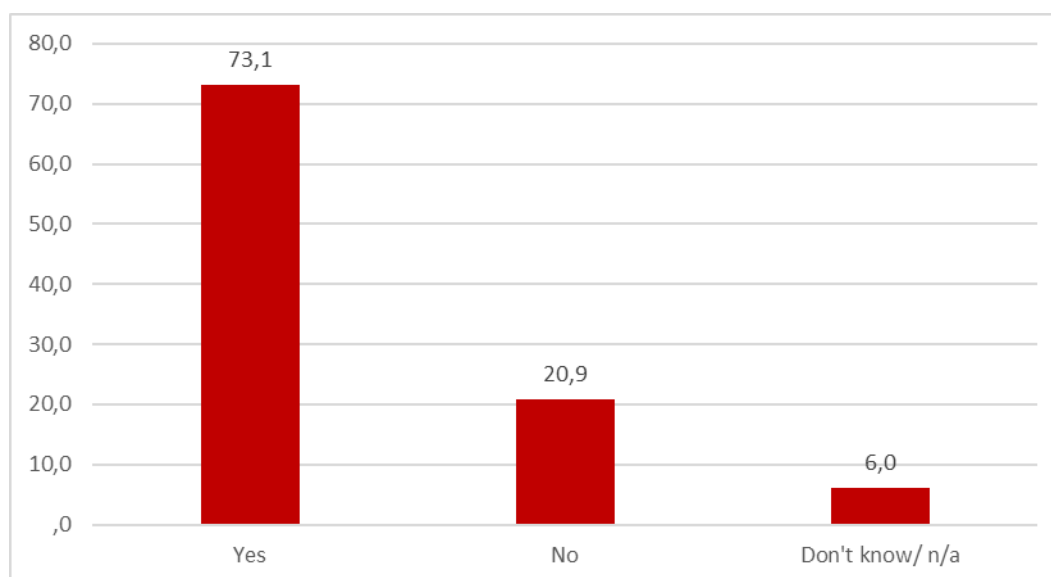
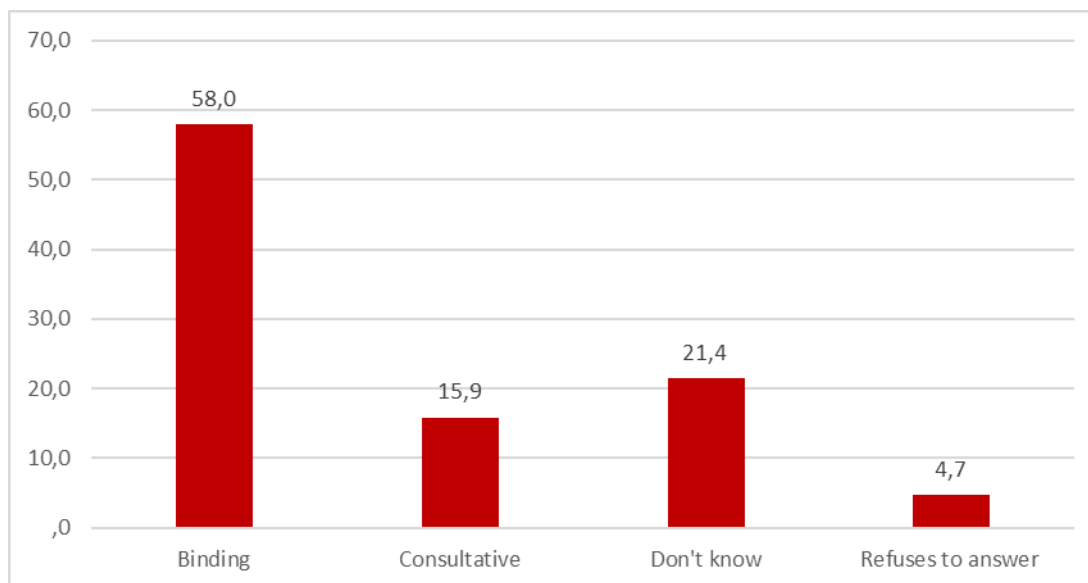


Table 4 - In your opinion, is it necessary for the citizens to go out on a referendum and vote whether they accept this agreement? (according to ethnicity and affiliation to political party)

Attitude (%)	Ethnic Mac	Ethnic Alb	VMRO-DPMNE	SDSM	DUI	Total
Yes	67,8	89,8	61,9	86,6	90,5	73,1
No	26,1	3,6	33,2	10,9	1,6	20,9
Don't know/ refuses to answer	6,2	6,7	4,9	2,5	7,9	6,0
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Total of 67,8% of ethnic Macedonian believed that it was necessary for citizens to vote on a referendum, while this percentage was higher among ethnic Albanians (89,8%). Total of 90,5% supporters of DUI believed that citizens should be given opportunity to be asked at a referendum whether they accepted this agreement.

Majority of respondents (58%) believed that the referendum should have a binding character, in spite of what the Parliament decided to be just of consultative nature.

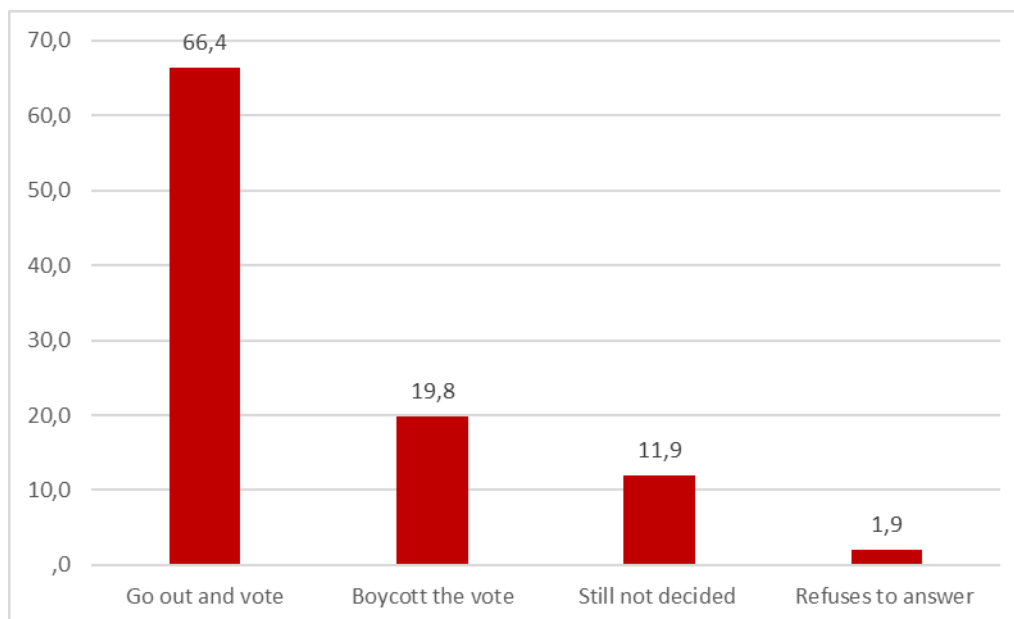
Graph 8 – According to you, what should be the character of this referendum?**Table 5 - According to you, what should be the character of this referendum?** (according to ethnicity and affiliation to political party)

Attitude (%)	Ethnic Mac	Ethnic Alb	VMRO-DPMNE	SDSM	DUI	Total
Binding – Parliament must act in accordance with the vote of the referendum	54,7	67,1	56,7	64,0	65,1	58,0
Consultative – Parliament does not have to act in accordance with the vote of the referendum	18,0	9,8	17,4	18,4	9,5	15,9
Don't know	21,9	20,9	20,2	16,7	25,4	21,4
Refuses to answer	5,5	2,2	5,7	0,8	0,0	4,7
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Total of 67.1% of ethnic Albanians said this referendum should have binding character in contrast to 54.7% of Macedonians.

Majority of respondents (66.4%) said they would go out and vote at the referendum, while 19.8% have already decided to join the initiatives for boycotting the referendum, and 11.9% have not decided yet.

Graph 9 - If there is a referendum for the reached agreement between the Republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Greece, will you:



However, this should not be seen as an indication of the likely or realistic response rate of citizens on the day of the vote, because usually in the surveys citizens show increased willingness to vote compared to what happens in reality.

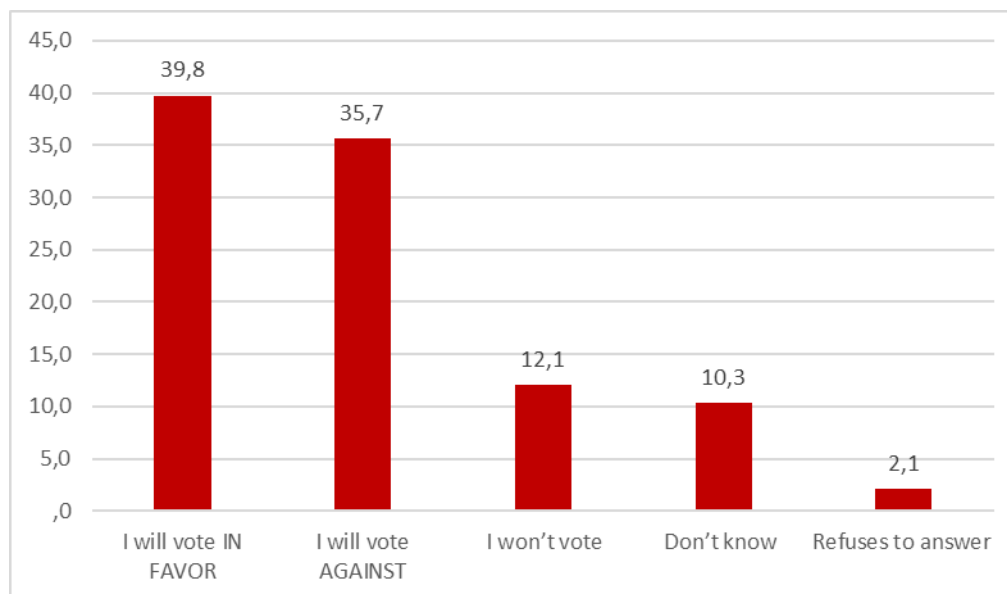
Table 6 – If there is a referendum for the reached agreement between the Republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Greece, will you (according to ethnicity and affiliation to political party)

Attitude (%)	Ethnic Mac	Ethnic Alb	VMRO-DPMNE	SDSM	DUI	Total
Go out and vote	60,3	87,1	47,8	89,5	88,9	66,4
Boycott the vote	24,6	2,7	38,9	3,3	0,0	19,8
Still not decided	13,5	6,7	13,4	6,3	6,3	11,9
Refuses to answer	1,6	3,6	0,0	0,8	4,8	1,9
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

It is obvious that among the ethnic Macedonians, there is a relatively large group (around 25% i.e. every fourth respondent) that would boycott the referendum, i.e. would refrain from voting.

Having in mind that this survey started before the Parliament decided and defined the referendum question, two possible referendum questions were assumed – one that would include the wording “EU and NATO membership” and one without this wording. The results about the two options are presented below, starting with the one that does not contain EU and NATO.

Graph 10 - How would you vote on a referendum if the questions is: “Do you accept the Agreement between the Republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Greece“?



When EU and NATO are not included in the formulation of the question, total of 39.8% of respondents said they would vote in favor of the agreement between Republic of Macedonia and Republic of Greece, while 35.7% of them will vote against.

Table 7 – How would you vote on a referendum if the questions is: “Do you accept the Agreement between the Republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Greece“? (according to ethnicity and affiliation to political party)

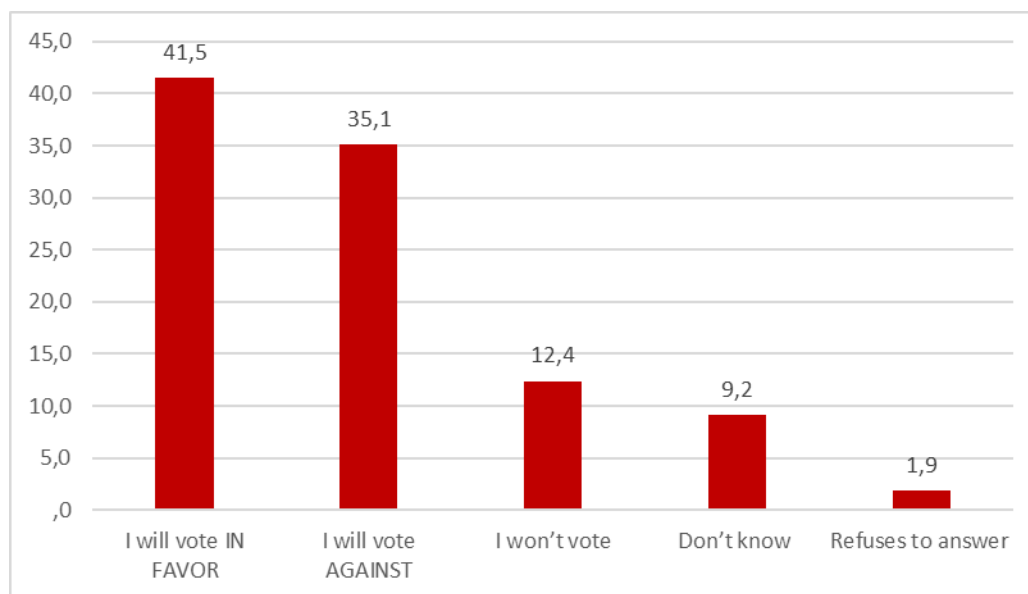
Attitude (%)	Ethnic Mac	Ethnic Alb	VMRO-DPMNE	SDSM	DUI	Total
I will vote IN FAVOR	25,4	86,2	6,1	73,6	88,9	39,8
I will vote AGAINST	45,9	2,7	68,0	13,4	0,0	35,7
Don't know	10,7	8,4	5,7	6,3	11,1	10,3
Refuses to answer	2,1	1,8	0,4	2,1	0,0	2,1
Won't vote	15,9	0,9	19,8	4,6	0,0	12,1
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Larger percentage of respondents belonging to the Albanian ethnic community (86.2%) would vote in favor of the Agreement between the Republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Greece, while larger percentage of respondents belonging to the Macedonian ethnic community would vote against this agreement.

The second referendum question (including the EU and NATO wording) which says: “Are you in favor of EU and NATO membership, by accepting the Agreement between the Republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Greece?”, is basically the same as the current referendum question (defined by the Parliament on July 30, 2018) which says: “Are you for membership in the European Union and NATO by accepting the agreement between Macedonia and Greece?”.

To this referendum question, 41.5% would vote in favor, while 35.1% would vote against. The difference is 6.4 percentage points.

Graph 11 - How would you vote on a referendum if the questions is: “Are you in favor of EU and NATO membership, by accepting the Agreement between the Republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Greece“?



Contrary to the survey conducted in April, there is no significant difference now as to whether EU and NATO are mentioned in the question or not (in the latter case 39.8% are in favor, while 35.7% are against, which means there is a difference of 4.1 percentage points i.e. only 2.3 percentage points compared with EU/NATO option).

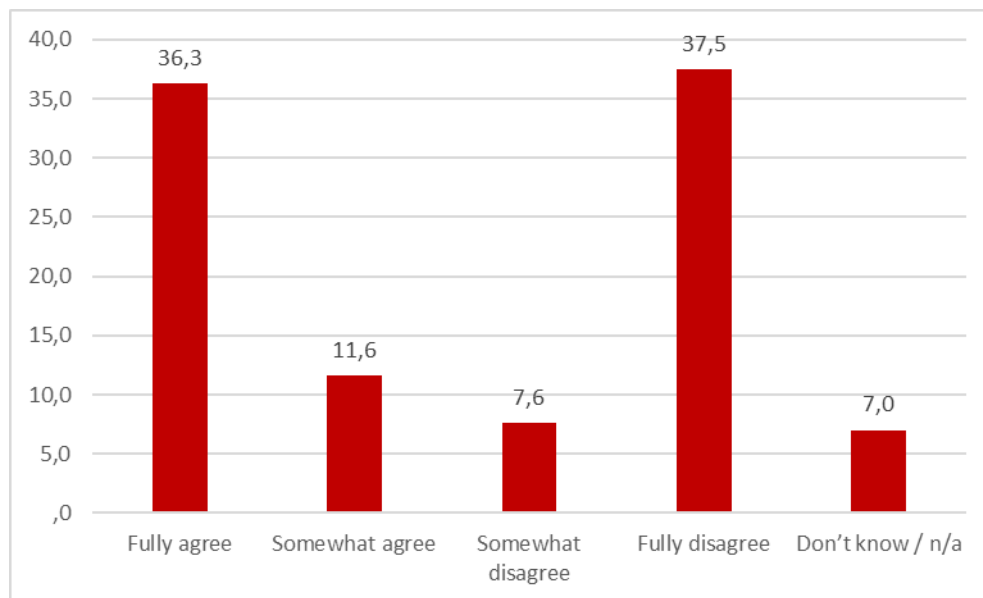
Table 8 - How would you vote on a referendum if the questions is: “Are you in favor of EU and NATO membership, by accepting the Agreement between the Republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Greece“? (according to ethnicity and affiliation to political party)

Attitude (%)	Ethnic Mac	Ethnic Alb	VMRO-DPMNE	SDSM	DUI	Total
I will vote IN FAVOR	27,4	88,0	4,9	74,5	90,5	41,5
I will vote AGAINST	45,2	2,2	68,0	14,6	0,0	35,1
Don't know	9,6	6,7	6,1	5,9	9,5	9,2
Won't vote	16,1	1,3	20,6	3,3	0,0	12,4
Refuses to answer	1,7	1,8	0,4	1,7	0,0	1,9
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

However, fewer ethnic Macedonians would vote “in favor” (27.4%) than “against” (45.2%). Among the ethnic Albanians the support “in favor” is convincing (88% versus only 2.2% that were “against”). Most young people would vote “in favor” (49.2%), and the support decreases with the age (34.9%). Similar tendency is observed in relation to education - with much higher support “in favor” among those with higher education. Regarding party affiliation, as expected majority of the supporters of the two largest parties are in line with the party's position (75% of those of SDSM are “in favor” and 68% of VMRO-DPMNE supporters are “against”). However, there is a larger variation among SDSM supporters (14.6% will vote “against”, while 20.6% of VMRO-DPMNE’s supporters will not go to the polls).

The next question was used to check whether the assumed referendum question was clear and understandable having in mind the frequent comments in the public that there are three questions in one, i.e. it refers both to EU and NATO membership, but also to acceptance of the Agreement.

Graph 12 - Prime Minister Zaev proposed a formulation of the referendum question that says: “Are you in favor of Macedonia’s membership in EU and NATO, by accepting the Agreement between the Republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Greece”? To what extent do you agree that this question is clear and understandable?



For most of the respondents, the referendum question was clear and understandable, although the percentage of those that do not agree that the referendum question should include EU and NATO wording is closely similar.

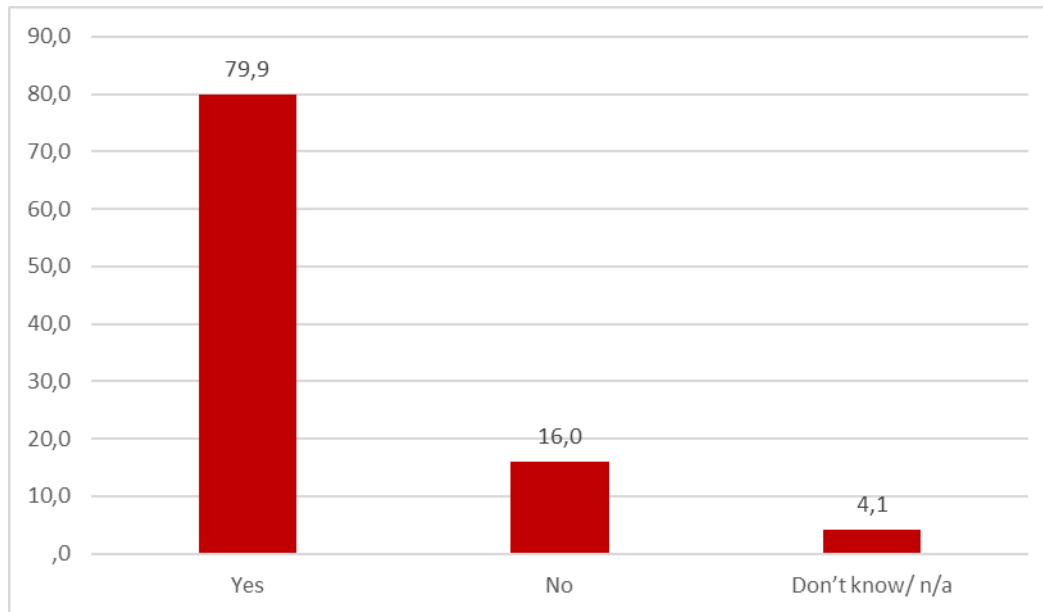
Table 9 - Prime Minister Zaev proposed a formulation of the referendum question that says: “Are you in favor of Macedonia’s membership in EU and NATO, by accepting the Agreement between the Republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Greece”? To what extent do you agree that this question is clear and understandable? (according to ethnicity and affiliation to political party)

Attitude (%)	Ethnic Mac	Ethnic Alb	VMRO-DPMNE	SDSM	DUI	Total
Fully agree	23,9	76,9	6,9	63,6	85,7	36,3
Somewhat agree	11,5	11,6	6,9	16,7	6,3	11,6
Somewhat disagree	9,4	0,9	7,7	7,1	0,0	7,6
Fully disagree	48,4	2,2	72,9	10,5	0,0	37,5
Don't know/ refuses to answer	6,8	8,4	5,7	2,1	7,9	7,0
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

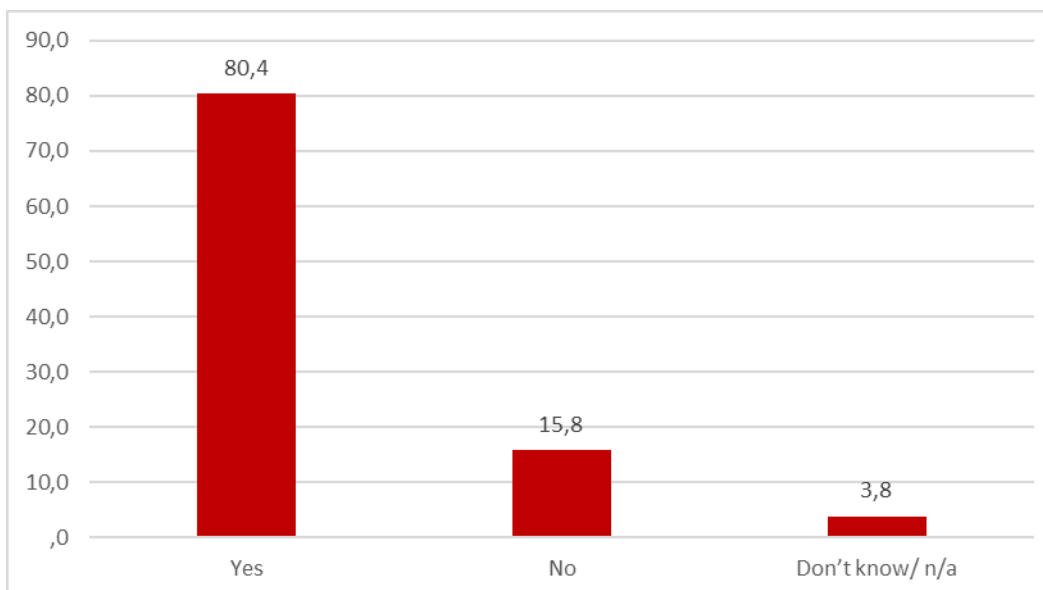
As in the previous questions, the allocation of percentage according to ethnicity and party affiliation is similar.

At the end, the last two questions served to check the support for EU and NATO membership, regardless of the outcome of the referendum.

Graph 13 - Regardless of the agreement with Greece and regardless the outcome of the referendum, do you personally want/ support Macedonia's membership into NATO?



Graph 14 - Regardless of the agreement with Greece and regardless the outcome of the referendum, do you personally want/ support Macedonia's membership into EU?



Regardless of the referendum's outcome, there is unequivocal support for membership of the Republic of Macedonia in NATO (79.9%) and EU (80.4%).

Table 11 - Regardless of the agreement with Greece and regardless the outcome of the referendum, do you personally want/ support Macedonia's membership into EU? (according to ethnicity and affiliation to political party)

Attitude (%)	Ethnic Mac	Ethnic Alb	VMRO-DPMNE	SDSM	DUI	Total
Yes	76,4	93,3	67,6	93,3	95,2	80,4
No	20,1	1,8	29,1	5,4	0,0	15,8
Don't know/ refuses to answer	3,5	4,9	3,2	1,3	4,8	3,8
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Also, the support of the two largest ethnic communities is overwhelming (over 75%). Although around 29% among VMRO-DPMNE supporters opposed EU integration of Macedonia, it is evident that their support for EU membership is undeniable, i.e. two-thirds (67.6%).

In that sense, there are no doubts that the citizens of the Republic of Macedonia continue to give tremendous support to the EU and NATO membership, but that support is not mirrored in the support of the agreement with Greece, as it is much smaller.

CONCLUSIONS

Low familiarity with the agreement with Greece.

Although 84% of respondents declared that they were familiar with the Agreement, the level of familiarity with its provisions varies from just under 20% of those that consider to be fully familiar, up to 28% which are only partially or not at all familiar with the Agreement.

To the question of where they were informed about the agreement, the big majority (73%) said the media, then social networks (14%), while 6% pointed out their friends as source of information. It is noteworthy that only 3% stated that they got acquainted with the agreement itself - that is, only 32 of the respondents read the Agreement with Greece.

To the control question – asking the respondents to point out how the nationality is defined in the agreement, only 17% cited the correct answer.

Minority support for most of the key provisions of the Treaty, majority only for language and country codes.

Most respondents disagreed (partially or completely) with several of the key provisions of the Agreement. Against the change of the name in the Republic of North Macedonia are 53.6% (opposite to 42.3% who agree with the change). It is similar to the definition of nationality where 56.2% disagree, and 38.3% agree. The biggest disagreement is with the scope of use (*erga omnes*) with 57.1% (compared to 35.5% who agree) and the change of the Constitution (58.9% versus 35.1%).

On the other hand, the overwhelming majority (74.2%) support the solution for the Macedonian language (opposite to 20.6%), as well as keeping MK and MKD country codes (83.9%).

However, despite the greater dissatisfaction with the individual key provisions (seven vs. two which have majority support), to the question of compliance with the agreement as a whole, 49.1% said they agreed: (34.3%) fully agreed while (14.8%) partially agreed. Disagreement was expressed by 46.8% of the respondents.

Majority support for the referendum question.

As expected, large majority of 73% of the respondents believed that there should be a referendum about the Agreement with Greece. Majority of respondents (58%) expected the referendum to have a binding character, and not to be of consultative nature (16%).

To the assumed referendum question, which overlaps with the actual question, 41.5% of the respondents would vote in favor, while 35.1% would vote against, i.e. the difference is 6.4 percentage points.

Fewer ethnic Macedonians would vote "in favor" (27.4%) than "against" (45.2%). Among the ethnic Albanians the support "in favor" is convincing (88% versus only 2.2% that were "against"). Most young people would vote "in favor" (49.2%), and the support decreases with the age (34.9%). Similar tendency is observed in relation to education - with much higher support "in favor" among those with higher education. Regarding party affiliation, as expected majority of the supporters of the two largest parties are in line with the party's position (75% of those of SDSM are "in favor" and 68% of VMRO-DPMNE's supporters are "against"). However, there is larger variation among SDSM supporters (14.6% will vote "against", versus only 4.7% of VMRO-DPMNE supporters that will vote "in favor".) Additionally, 20.6% of VMRO-DPMNE's supporters will not go to the polls.

Contrary to the survey conducted in April, there is no significant difference now as to whether EU and NATO are mentioned in the question or not (in the latter case 39.8% are in favor, while 35.7%

are against, which means there is a difference of 4.1 percentage points i.e. only 2.3 percentage points compared with EU/NATO option).

For most of the respondents, the referendum question was clear and understandable (47.9% versus 45.1% who consider it not clear enough).

Majority of respondents (66.4%) said they would go out and vote at the referendum, while 19.8% have already decided to join the initiatives for boycotting the referendum, and 11.9% have not decided yet.

Regardless of the referendum's outcome, there is unequivocal support for membership of the Republic of Macedonia in EU (80.4%) and NATO (79.9%).

ANNEX 1. QUESTIONNAIRE

Q1. Are you familiar with the agreement on resolving the name dispute reached between the Republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Greece?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Refuses to answer

Q2. On a scale from 1 to 5, how would you rate your familiarity with the Agreement on resolving the name dispute between the Republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Greece? (where 1 stands for not familiar at all, while 5 stands fully familiar).

Q3. Where did you get the necessary information about the Agreement?

1. From talks with relatives/ friends
2. From the media
3. From the social networks
4. From the agreement itself (read the agreement)
5. Other (unreadable)
6. Don't know/ Refuses to answer (unreadable)

Q4. Based on what you know about this agreement, how is the nationality of the citizens of Macedonia defined?

1. Northmacedonians
2. Macedonians
3. Macedonians /Citizens of North Macedonia
4. Citizens of North Macedonia
5. Other (unreadable)
6. Don't know (unreadable)
7. Refuses to answer (unreadable)

To what extent do you agree with the following statements (Q5 – Q14):

1. Fully agree
2. Somewhat agree
3. Somewhat disagree
4. Fully disagree
5. Don't know/ Refuses to answer (unreadable)

Q5. The provision in the Agreement that stipulates change of the name of the Republic of Macedonia into Republic of North Macedonia, abbreviated North Macedonia?

Q6. The provision in the Agreement that stipulates this change to be *erga omnes* (name that will be used in all situations, towards all, including internal use)?

Q7. The provision in the Agreement that stipulates change in the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia?

Q8. The provision in the Agreement that stipulates the nationality of the citizens to be Macedonians/ citizens of the Republic of North Macedonia?

Q9. The provision in the Agreement that stipulates the official language to be Macedonian language?

Q10. The provision in the Agreement that stipulates the sign on the license plates to be NM or NMK?

Q11. The provision in the Agreement that stipulates for all other purposes the code of the country to remain MK and MKD as officially defined by the International Standardization Organization (ISO)?

Q12. The provision in the Agreement that stipulates change in the name of the state, official bodies and public institutions in accordance with the new name?

Q13. The provision in the Agreement that defines the meaning of terms “Macedonia” and “Macedonian” differently for both parties – for the Republic of Greece the meaning covers the antique Hellenic civilization and history, while for the Republic of Macedonia the meaning covers the Slavic origin of the people?

Q14. To what extent do you agree with the Agreement as a whole for resolving the name dispute between the Republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Greece?

Q15. In your opinion, is it necessary for the citizens to go out on a referendum and vote whether they accept this agreement?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know/ Refuses to answer (unreadable)

Q16. According to you, what should be the character of this referendum?

1. Binding – Parliament must act in accordance with the vote of the referendum
2. Consultative – Parliament does not have to act in accordance with the vote of the referendum
3. Don't know (unreadable)
4. Refuses to answer (unreadable)

Q17. If there is a referendum for the reached agreement between the Republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Greece, will you:

1. Go out and vote
2. Boycott the vote
3. Still not decided (unreadable)
4. Refuses to answer (unreadable)

Q18. How would you vote on a referendum if the questions is: “Do you accept the Agreement between the Republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Greece “?

1. I will vote IN FAVOR
2. I will vote AGAINST
3. Don't know (unreadable)
4. Refuses to answer (unreadable)

Q19. How would you vote on a referendum if the questions is: “Are you in favor of EU and NATO membership, by accepting the Agreement between the Republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Greece“?

1. I will vote IN FAVOR
2. I will vote AGAINST
3. Don't know (unreadable)
4. Refuses to answer (unreadable)

Q20. Prime Minister Zaev proposed a formulation of the referendum question that says: “Are you in favor of Macedonia’s membership in EU and NATO, by accepting the Agreement between the Republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Greece“?

To what extent do you agree that this question is clear and understandable?

1. Fully agree
2. Somewhat agree
3. Somewhat disagree
4. Fully disagree
5. Don’t know / Refuses to answer (unreadable)

Q21. Regardless of the agreement with Greece and regardless the outcome of the referendum, do you personally want/ support Macedonia’s membership into NATO?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don’t know/ Refuses to answer

Q22. Regardless of the agreement with Greece and regardless the outcome of the referendum, do you personally want/ support Macedonia’s membership into EU?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don’t know/ Refuses to answer

ANNEX 2. STRUCTURE OF THE SAMPLE

The sample in the field survey consisted of 1,018 respondents. The population frame of the sample was defined as residents older than 18 years of age, while the representation criteria included: gender, age, ethnical belonging, place of residence and region.

Gender	%
Male	50,4
Female	49,6
Age	%
From 18 to 29 yrs.	19,2
From 30 to 39 yrs.	18,5
From 40 to 49 yrs.	20,7
From 50 to 64 yrs.	22,9
Over 65 yrs.	18,7
Ethnical belonging	%
Macedonian	74,4
Albanian	21,9
Turkish	0,8
Roma	1
Serbian	0,4
Vlach	0,4
Boshniak	0,5
Other	0,6
Education	%
Primary or less	13,2
Secondary	59,1
Post-secondary/ High	27,6
Place of residence	%
Urban	61,6
Rural	38,4

Employment status	%
Employed in public institution	14,5
Employed in private institution	38,6
Unemployed	17
Self-employed	2,8
Student/ pupil	9,4
Retired	19,2
Other	8
Refused to answer	0,3
Region	%
Skopje	29,3
Southeastern	8,8
Eastern	8,9
Northeastern	7,8
Vardar	6,8
Southwestern	10,6
Polog	16,9
Pelagonija	10,9
Political party affiliation	%
VMRO-DPMNE	24,0
SDSM	24,4
DUI	6,9
Alliance of Albanians	2,7
BESA	1,7
Others	2,5
Undecided/ will not vote	37,8

PROFILE OF THE PUBLISHER

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 societal 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.

A NOTE ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Aleksandar Kržalovski was born in 1969 in Skopje. He graduated at the Electro-Technical Faculty, Department of Computer Science, Information and Automation. During his studies, he took active part in three student civic organizations. He was employed in MCIC in 1995, as part of the Civil Society Program. Since 1999 he has managed the MCIC's office in Kosovo, while in 2001 he also became responsible for the programs on multicultural dialogue and cooperation as well as the regional (Balkan) programs. He became member of the MCIC Board of Directors in 2009 and since 2011 he is the first executive director of the organization. He has authored several research papers and publications and participated in the evaluation of several programs and other organizations in Macedonia and abroad.

FURTHER READING

Name Dispute, April 2018

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

Other 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 MCIC's publications

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

Guidance on how to reference

Kržalovski, A. (2018) **Referendum 2018**, Skopje, MCIC.

<http://mcms.mk/en/our-work/research-and-publications/2042-referendum-2018-stavovi-na-javnosta-vo-makedonija.html>