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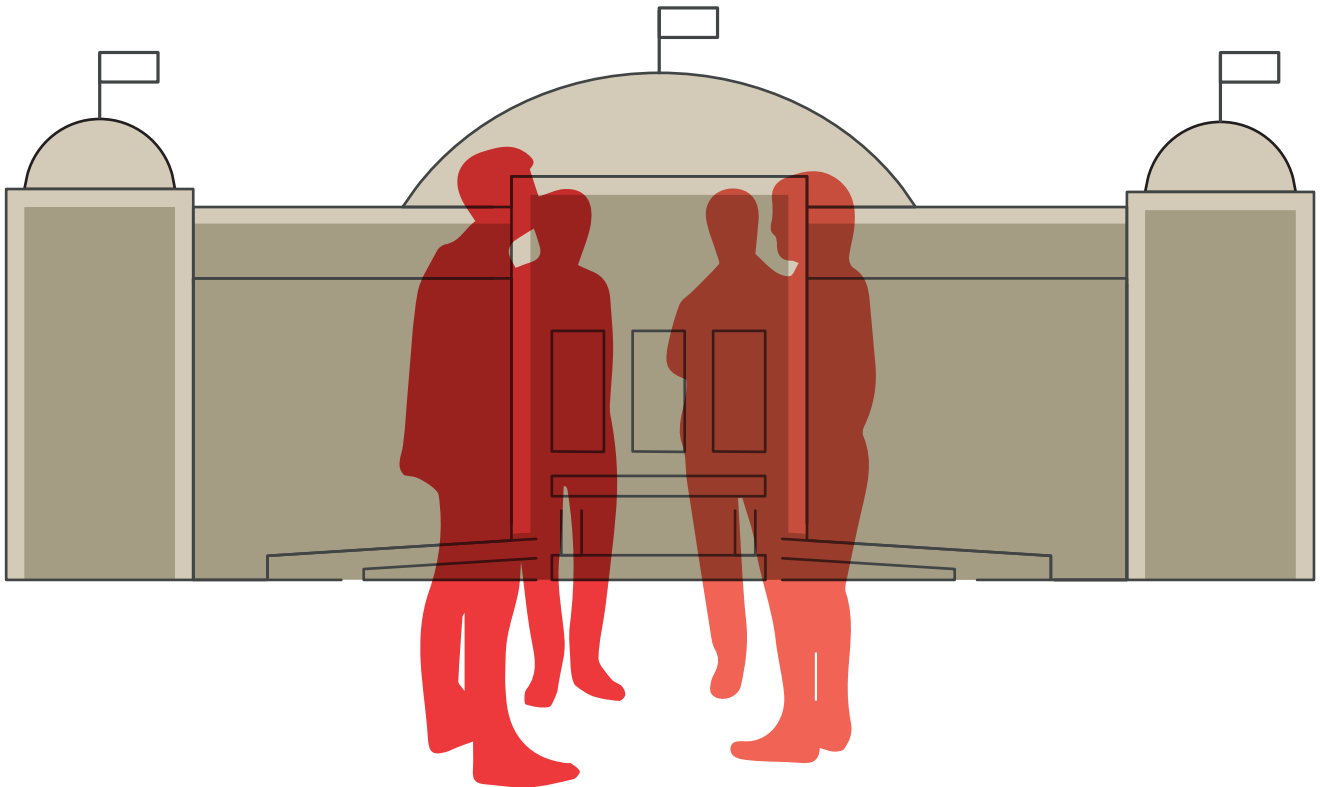
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Analysis of public opinion No. 11/24

PARLIAMENT WATCH: CITIZEN PERCEPTIONS OF THE WORK OF THE ASSEMBLY OF THE REPUBLIC OF NORTH MACEDONIA (2024)

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IMPLEMENTED BY:



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I. METHODOLOGY

Between March 26 and April 12, 2024, the Institute for Democracy "Societas Civilis" - Skopje, within the framework of the Parliamentary Support Program (PPP), **conducted a field survey in order to better analyze the public perception of the work of the Assembly, the quality of life and the trust in the institutions of North Macedonia.** The field survey was conducted using a sample of 1,000 respondents over the age of 18 throughout the territory of the country, through the face-to-face method. The questionnaire that was used for the survey contains 51 questions (Annex I), subject to statistical error is $\pm 3\%$.

II. POLITICAL CONTEXT

In line with the Constitution, the Assembly of the Republic of North Macedonia has legislative power and comprises 120 MPs in this term. MPs are elected by means of proportional electoral lists for a four-year term. In line with the informal custom, in October 2019, Zoran Zaev, the prime minister of the then-government led by the Social Democrats (SDSM), announced a leadership meeting at which he proposed early parliamentary elections¹, the fifth in a row in the country. The elections came about as a result of the fact that the country was unable to open the negotiations with the European Union (EU) because of the French veto and the broken trust in the SDSM-led government, whose platform was mainly based on the country's uninterrupted path towards the EU. In February 2020, the President of the Assembly, Talat Xhaferi, in line with his constitutional and legal powers, announced the elections² for April 12³. Despite the plans for the parliamentary elections to be held in April, due to the deteriorating situation with the Covid 19 pandemic, they were postponed and were finally held on July 15, 2020.

1 "Zaev: We're headed for snap early elections", Deutsche Welle, 19 October 2019. Accessed at: <<https://p.dw.com/p/3RYux>> (last visited: 10 March 2020)

2 Decision on announcing early elections for deputies in the Assembly of the Republic of North Macedonia. The decision was taken from the website of the State Election Commission (SEC). Accessed at: <https://www.sec.mk/parlamentarni-izbori-2020/?thumbnail_id=6946> (last visit: March 9, 2020)

3 Pankovski, M. and others (2020). Handbook for parliamentary elections in the Republic of North Macedonia 2020: Second updated edition. Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Institute for Democracy "Societas Civilis" - Skopje

At these elections, SDSM and the Mozheme coalition won 46 seats, VMRO-DPMNE and the Obnova za Makedonija coalition won 44 seats, while the Demokratska unija za integracija (Democratic Union for Integration - DUI) won 15 seats. The Alijansa za Albancite coalition and Alternativa won 12 seats, Levica won 2 seats, while the Democratic Party of the Albanians won 1 seat. A government coalition was established between SDSM and the Mozheme coalition, DUI and DPA, after several weeks of negotiations between the political parties. With this coalition, the Government secured a majority in the Assembly with 62 MPs, while the opposition was joined by VMRO-DPMNE and the Obnova za Makedonija coalition, the Alijansa za Albancite coalition, Alternativa and Levica.

The majority in the Assembly will be changed in November 2021, after the local elections. After Zoran Zaev announced his resignation from the position of the leader of SDSM and Prime Minister, Dvizenje Besa (Besa Movement) joined the opposition in an attempt to achieve a no-confidence vote for the SDSM-led government. The no-confidence vote initiative failed due to the change of heart of one of the MPs from Dvizenje Besa. After the negotiations that lasted for weeks, SDSM managed to form a coalition with the opposition Alternativa, and thus as of December 2021, the Assembly started with its regular work with a new majority formed by SDSM and the coalition of DUI, DPA and Alternativa, with a total of 64 MPs. On December 29, 2021, President Pendarovski gave Dimitar Kovacevski, who was elected President of the ruling SDSM after Zaev's resignation, the mandate to establish a new government. On January 16, 2022, with 62 votes 'for' and 46 'against' and with no abstentions, the Assembly voted the new Government, and Dimitar Kovacevski was elected as its new president.⁴

During February and March 2023, the Assembly discussed the election of new ministers and deputy ministers, that is a reconstruction of the Government. This reconstruction came about after Alijansa za Albancite (Alliance for Albanians) entered the ruling majority which caused their partner, the party Alternativa (Alternative), to move to the opposition.⁵ The 104th Assembly session was held in 12 sessions, where the dismissal of ministers and deputy ministers was discussed, along with the appointment of new ones. Some of the ministries were assumed by the new governmental partner, Alijansa za Albancite..

The second half of 2023 began with a focus on amending the Constitution of the country in order to add parts of nations, with intensified opposition demands for early parliamentary elections and with another government reconstruction. The Constitutional amendments, more specifically the inclusion of the Bulgarian people, were a condition for continuation of negotiations with the European Union for EU membership. This discussion in the Assembly contributed to an even greater deepening of the division in the Assembly - on the one hand, the ruling coalition and the MPs from the Albanian opposition bloc

4 Zeqirovich, E. (2022) Dimitar Kovachevski took over the post of prime minister from Zoran Zaev. Accessed from: <<https://www.aa.com.tr/mk/politics/dimitar-kovachevsky-ja-prezede-premierska-funcia-od-zoran-zaev/2475876>>

5 Ognen Cancarević (2023) The Assembly voted for the new ministers in the Government Accessed by: <<https://mk.voanews.com/a/6981395.html>>

who supported the constitutional amendments, against the rest of the opposition parties. The session for Constitutional amendments, held on August 18, 2023, was interrupted by the President of the Assembly before the vote, and its continuation did not happen in this parliamentary term.

In July 2023, the parliamentary majority was officially reduced by an additional two MPs, when the MPs who were members of the so-called «Fire Group» faction left the ranks of the DUI and announced that they would act as independent MPs in the Assembly. In August 2023, this faction grew into a new political party - the Democratic Movement. With this change, the majority in the Assembly now has 67 deputies of the government coalition between SDSM, DUI, DPA and Alliance of Albanians. In November 2023, the parliamentary opposition had a new parliamentary group consisting of six Albanian opposition MPs from the Democratic Movement, Besa and Alternativa, i.e. the new coalition «European Alliance for Change». With this change, the parliamentary opposition, as of the end of 2023 consisted of the coalition led by VMRO DPMNE with 44 parliamentary seats, the European Alliance for Change coalition with six mandates, the Levica with two mandates and the Democratic Union with one parliamentary seat.

During this period, the demand of VMRO-DPMNE for dissolution of the Assembly and early parliamentary elections in the fall of 2023 intensified, in contrast to the Government, which insisted in its rhetoric on regular parliamentary elections in the spring of 2024. At the invitation of the President of the Assembly, a leadership meeting was organized on December 4, 2023, at which decision was made that the parliamentary elections would be held on May 8, 2024, together with the second round of voting for the President of the State. The first round of voting for the President of the State was scheduled for April 24, 2024.

At the beginning of 2024, preparations began for the upcoming double elections, with a focus on the establishment of the technical (transitional), so-called Przhino government. For the 2016 elections, the model of the Przhino government was introduced, according to which the largest opposition party, 100 days before the elections, receives positions in the executive power, including two ministerial positions and three additional deputy ministers in key departments. Despite the insistence of VRMO- DPMNE for intervention in the Law on Government and the Electoral Code and for removal of the provision that provides for the establishment of a technical government, the technical government was nevertheless voted on January 28, 2024, with Talat Xhaferi from the ranks of DUI, as technical Prime Minister.

Meanwhile, the political stage was stirred up by intra-party elections and nominations for presidential candidates and by inter-party negotiations on possible pre-election coalitions. In that process, the party leadership of the Alliance for Albanians became alienated, where one part joined the opposition coalition "European Alliance for Change", while another part was holding the attitude for independent participation in the elections. The election campaign for the first cycle of presidential elections lasted between April 4th and 22nd, while the actual elections were held on April 24, 2024. The political campaign for the parliamentary elections lasted between April 18th and May 6th, 2024, while the parliamentary elections and the second round of presidential elections will be held on May 8, 2024

One of the main criticisms from the European Union for this mandate of the Assembly is the adoption of a large number of laws using a fast-track procedure and EU-flagging them⁶. The adoption of laws using fast-track procedure creates legal uncertainty, reckless laws and dysfunctional and expensive processes that they try to regulate, while the citizens remain uninformed about the consequences of certain laws, which are not profoundly considered in the Assembly. The use of the European flag in order to circumvent the legislative process and the parliamentary debate was considered unwarranted by the Delegation of the European Union in North Macedonia.⁷

Generally speaking, the effectiveness of this parliamentary composition has been greatly reduced, both because of the conditions it is operating in due to the Covid-19 pandemic, the active blockades by MPs from different political parties, the use of filibustering methods, as well as due to the political instability about the EU-integration process and the fragile parliamentary majority.

6 European Commission: Report on North Macedonia for 2022 <https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/north-macedonia-report-2022_en>

7 A1on (2023) EC Delegation: European flag labeling of laws should be limited and used only when justified
Accessed by: <<https://a1on.mk/macedonia/delegacija-na-ek-oznachuvanje-na-zakoni-so-evropsko-zname-da-se-ogranichi-i-da-se-upotrebuva-samo-koga-e-opravdano/>>

III. SUMMARY

The research conducted in 2024 shows that the citizen perception of the work of the Assembly is, generally, in line with the opinion expressed in the last three years, with slight improvements in several areas. On the scale from 1 - worst, to 5 - best, in 2024 the citizens evaluated the work of the Assembly with an average score of 2.3, which is an almost insignificant increase of 0.1 point compared to the score given by the citizens in 2023, which was 2.2.

■ **HOW WELL ARE THE CITIZENS INFORMED ABOUT THE WORK OF THE ASSEMBLY**

As most typical characteristic of the work of the Assembly in 2023, the citizens singled out the work of the Inquiry Committee on the scandal in PHI University Clinic for Radiotherapy and Oncology, the adoption of the Budget for 2024 as well as the changes and amendments of the Law on Games of Chance. However, the majority of citizens also stated that they were not satisfied with the way the Assembly performed its functions in the mentioned cases. Television remains the most popular channel among citizens for obtaining information about the work of the Assembly, while the Assembly TV Channel and the website remain little used as official tools for being informed about the Assembly.

■ **ASSEMBLY CONTROL AND OVERSIGHT OVER THE EXECUTIVE POWER**

The perception of the majority of citizens is that the Assembly does not fully exercise its constitutional authority to control the Government, that is, a quarter (23%) of the respondents believe that the Government has full control over the Assembly. When talking about the MP questions as one of the tools for exercising oversight over the executive power, citizens are divided as to whether they are used appropriately or to criticize or advertise. Most of the citizens (91%) do not remember which other oversight tool the Assembly used in the last year. The citizens who still remembered of a particular case, most often mention the work of the Inquiry Committee on the events that happened at oncology.

■ FUNCTIONS OF THE ASSEMBLY

Most of the citizens have a perception that the MPs have a certain influence on the quality of laws. The adoption of laws with high quality, the oversight over the spending of the budget and the care for the implementation of the laws and policies are all pointed out as the most important functions of the Assembly by the majority of the citizens. However, the implementation of these functions by the Assembly has been assessed as unsatisfactory by the majority of citizens.

■ THE PUBLIC IN THE WORK OF THE ASSEMBLY

In terms of openness of the Assembly to the public, the majority of the respondents believe that the Assembly is fully or partially closed to the public. The majority of the citizens also believe that the MPs from their constituencies are not available for meetings with the citizens, that they do not sufficiently inform the citizens about their work, and they are not even informed about the local MP offices. Citizens remark that the MPs do not pay sufficient attention to the issues faced by the municipalities and the local communities. Most of the citizens stated that they have not been informed about the ways in which they can participate in the work of the Assembly, which has resulted in the fact that only a handful of respondents have attempted to participate in the work of the Assembly.

■ WHO ARE REPRESENTED IN THE ASSEMBLY BY THE MPs?

Respondents are relatively divided in terms of their impression about the degree to which the MPs represent the interests of citizens in the Assembly. On the other hand, most of them believe that the MPs always represent their personal interests, the interests of the political parties as well as the interests of the business sector. The respondents also believe that, in terms of marginalized groups, those that are best represented in the Assembly are social assistance beneficiaries, the LGBTI+ community and the Roma.

■ THE DEBATE IN THE ASSEMBLY

The perception of the majority of citizens is that neither the MPs from the government nor the MPs from the opposition do not take into account the arguments of their colleagues from the opposite camp. More than half of the respondents also believe that there is a desire for a compromise among the political parties in the interest of the citizens, but that such a compromise is rarely reached. In addition, more than two-thirds (69%) of the surveyed citizens have the impression that MPs often or always use language in which they belittle and degrade their political opponents based on their political, ethnic, religious and gender affiliation.

■ REFORMS

For half of the respondents the introduction of open lists, whereby in the parliamentary elections you would vote for a person, instead of a party list, would contribute to a more quality composition of the Assembly. Furthermore, half of the respondents also believe that it is important to establish multi-party groups in the Assembly in which MPs from different parties will unite around the same issues that are of particular interest to the citizens. Two priority topics for which such multi-party groups should be established in the Assembly that were indicated by the citizens are the youth and the issue of unemployed.

■ POLITICAL CONTEXT AND TRUST IN THE INSTITUTIONS

The number of citizens who believe that life in the country is moving in the wrong direction dominates over those who believe the opposite. On a scale from 1 - the lowest, to 10 - the highest, the citizens with the highest trust score rated the religious communities with an average score of 5.7 and the military with an average score of 5.4. The Public Prosecutor's Office was scored 3.3 and the Judiciary with 3, which is the lowest average score among the institutions. The institutions holding legislative, executive and judicial power in the country were rated with average scores below 4: the President of the State - 3.8, the Assembly - 3.7 and the Government - 3.5. The citizens who rated their trust in the Assembly as 4 or lower say that «MPs do not work in the interest of the citizens, i.e. the state», «they do not work conscientiously and professionally» and «they adopt bad laws and laws that serve their personal interest». These citizens believe that it is, first of all, necessary for «the MPs to work in the interest of the citizens» and on the increase of the MP's integrity, i.e. for the MPs to be honest, responsible and professional.

IV.

HOW WELL ARE CITIZENS INFORMED ABOUT THE WORK OF THE ASSEMBLY



IV. HOW WELL ARE CITIZENS INFORMED ABOUT THE WORK OF THE ASSEMBLY

When asked what they would single out as the most peculiar characteristic of the work of the MPs in 2023, the citizens singled out the Inquiry Committee on the scandal in the PHI University Clinic for Radiotherapy and Oncology (36%); the adoption of the draft organic Budget for 2024 (25%) as well as the Draft Law on Changes and Amendments to the Law on Games of Chance (19%). The respondents also remember, to a large extent, the Report of the European Commission on North Macedonia (17%), the Proposal for election of Government members (15%) and the changes to the Law on Labor Relations (14%, Chart 1).

MOST OF THE CITIZENS WILL REMEMBER THE WORK OF THE ASSEMBLY IN 2023 BY THE INQUIRY COMMITTEE REGARDING THE SCANDAL AT PHI UNIVERSITY RADIOTHERAPY CLINIC AND ONCOLOGY.

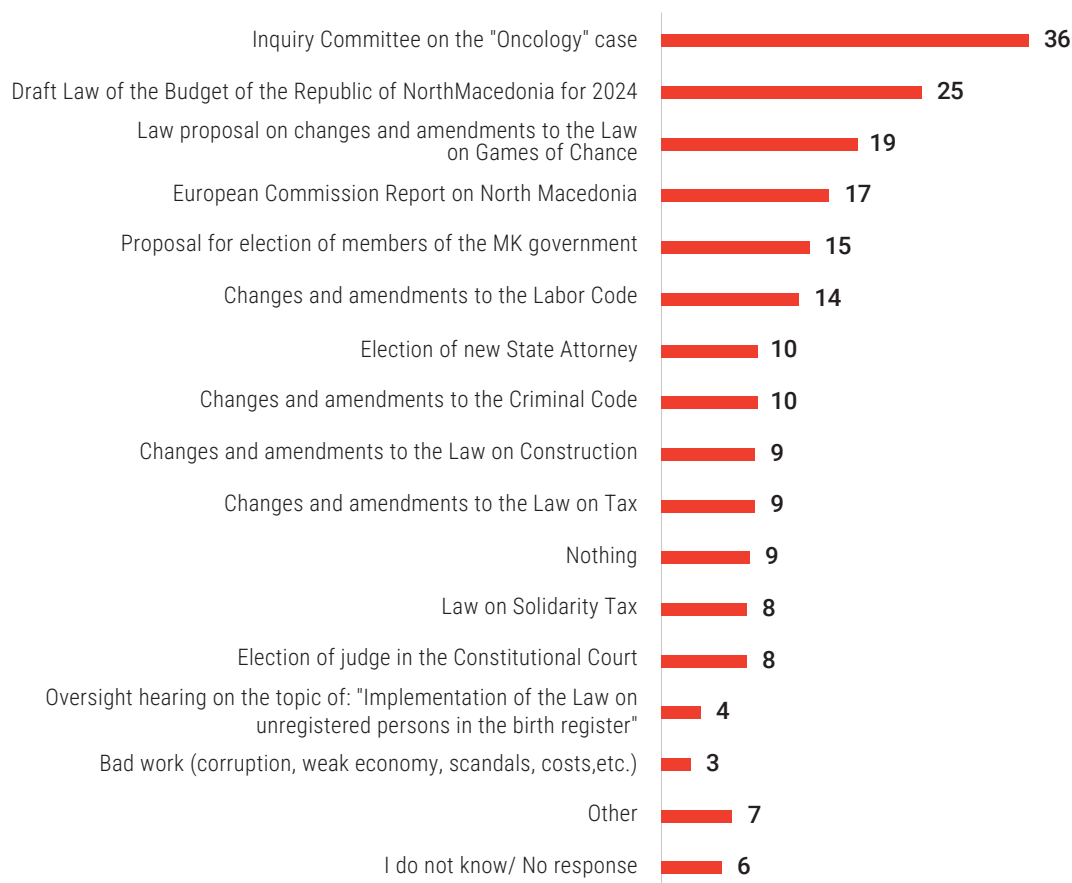


Chart 1. What will you remember the year of 2023 in the Assembly by? (%)

The citizens who gave a specific answer were additionally asked about their perception of how satisfied they were with the manner in which the Assembly fulfilled its function in that specific case. If we consider the cases that were mentioned by more than 10% of the citizens, it can be noted that negative assessment prevails everywhere, that is, that the citizens are not satisfied with how the Assembly fulfilled its functions in these cases. In that regard, the respondents are the least satisfied with how the Assembly fulfilled its function in relation to the work of the Inquiry Committee on the developments at oncology, where a high 40% said that they were not satisfied at all, while 23% said that they were somewhat dissatisfied. Sixteen percent of the respondents who mentioned this Inquiry Commission are completely satisfied or to a certain extent satisfied with the work on this case (Chart 1.1).

THE CITIZENS ARE GENERALLY NOT SATISFIED WITH HOW THE ASSEMBLY FULFILLED ITS FUNCTION IN THE SPECIFIC CASES THAT CITIZENS REMEMBER.

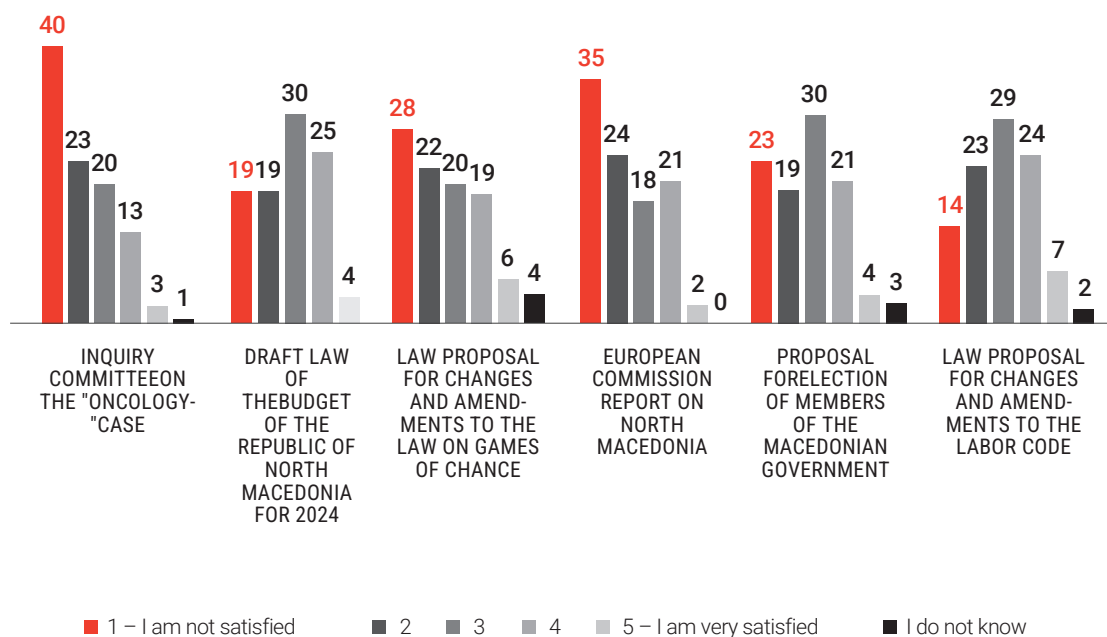


Chart 1.1 (Citizens who responded with a specific case to the previous question). On a scale from 1 – I am not satisfied at all to 5 – I am very satisfied, how satisfied are you with the manner in which the Assembly fulfilled its function in this particular case (%)

The respondents were also asked about their general level of satisfaction with the work of the Assembly in the last year. On a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 means that they are not satisfied at all, while 5 means that they are very satisfied, the satisfaction with the work of the Assembly for the last year 2024 was evaluated by the citizens with an average score of 2.3. Compared to last year, when the satisfaction with the work of the Assembly for 2023 was rated 2.1, this means a slight improvement in this perception among citizens (Chart 2). However, the majority of the respondents (34%) evaluated the satisfaction with the work of the Assembly with a score of 1, while a quarter of them (23%) responded with a score of 2. Only 15% of the respondents said that they were satisfied - 4 (12%) or very satisfied - 5 (3%) with the work of the Assembly for 2023 (Chart 2.1).

COMPARED TO THE LAST YEAR OF THERE IS SLIGHT IMPROVEMENT OF THIS PERCEPTION AMONG THE CITIZENS

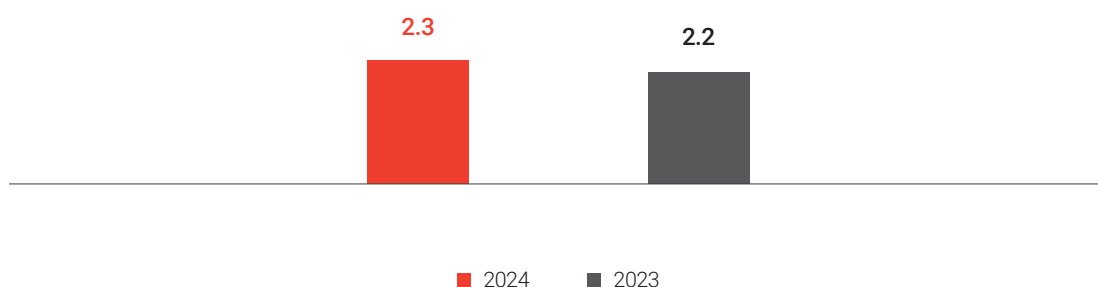
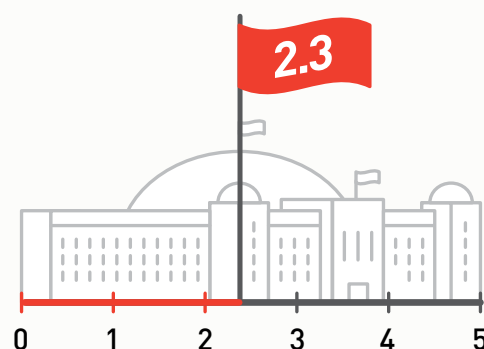


Chart 2. Average rating of citizen satisfaction with the work of the Assembly, on a scale of 1 meaning you are not satisfied at all, and 5 means you are very satisfied

ON A SCALE OF 1- I AM NOT SATISFIED AT ALL, TO 5 - VERY SATISFIED, THE SATISFACTION WITH THE WORK OF THE ASSEMBLY FOR THE LAST YEAR 2024 WAS EVALUATED BY THE CITIZENS WITH AN AVERAGE SCORE OF 2.3.



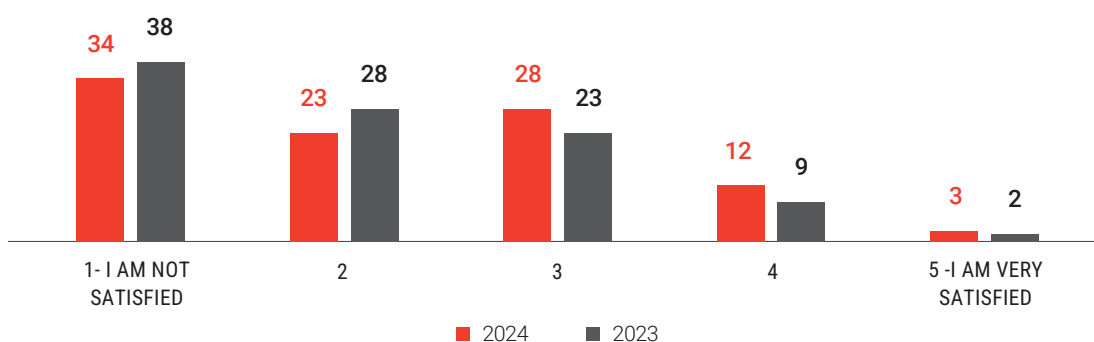


Chart 2.1 On a scale from 1 to 5 (where 1 means you are not satisfied at all, and 5 means you are very satisfied), how satisfied are you with the work of the Assembly in the last year? (%)

Almost one-third of the citizens is obtaining information about the work of the Assembly via the programs broadcasted by the private television stations (31%), while the second most frequently used source of information are Internet news portals (18%) and other Internet channels, such as the social media (17%). Only 6% of those surveyed answered that they obtain information from the public broadcasting service Macedonian Radio Television and 4% from the Parliamentary TV channel. The official website of the Assembly is used by only 2% of the citizens (Chart 3).

ALMOST ONE-THIRD OF THE CITIZENS IS OBTAINING INFORMATION ABOUT THE WORK OF THE ASSEMBLY VIA THE PROGRAMS BROADCASTED BY THE PRIVATE TELEVISION STATIONS (31%) WHILE THE SECOND MOST FREQUENTLY USED SOURCE OF INFORMATION ARE INTERNET NEWS PORTALS (18%) AND OTHER INTERNET CHANNELS, SUCH AS THE SOCIAL MEDIA (17%).

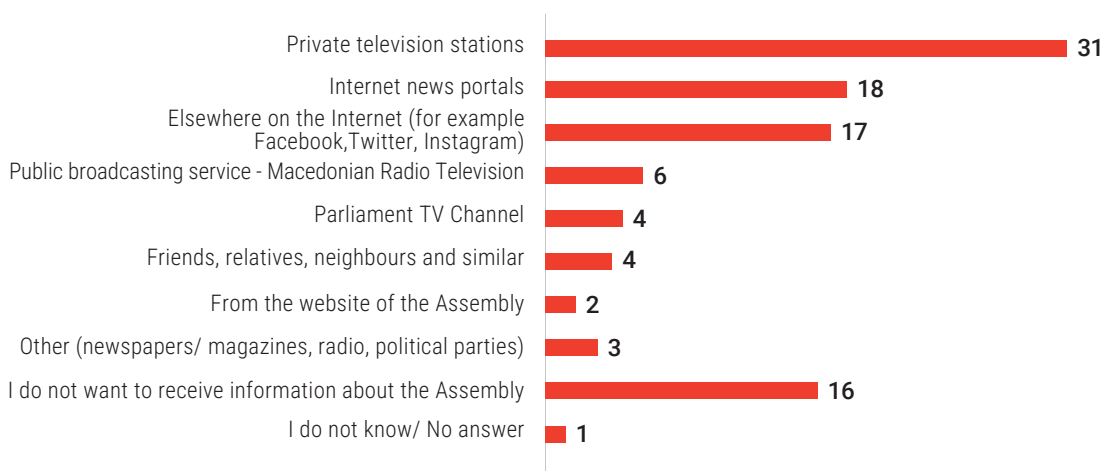


Chart 3. If you want to get informed about the work of the Assembly, what source of information you use the most? (%)

If we analyze in terms of the age of the respondents, television is the main source of information about the Assembly among the older respondents, while the respondents under the age of fifty mostly use Internet portals for news or social media. The official sources for information about the Assembly, the Parliamentary TV channel and the website of the Assembly, remain underutilized by the citizens. Thus, the Parliamentary TV channel is the most popular among the oldest group of citizens (65+ years), of which 8% said that they use it as their main source of information. The website of the Assembly, on the other hand, remains marginally used by all age groups (Chart 3.1).

TELEVISION IS THE MAIN SOURCE OF INFORMATION ABOUT THE ASSEMBLY AMONG THE OLDER RESPONDENTS, WHILE THE RESPONDENTS UNDER THE AGE OF FIFTY MOSTLY USE INTERNET PORTALS FOR NEWS OR SOCIAL MEDIA

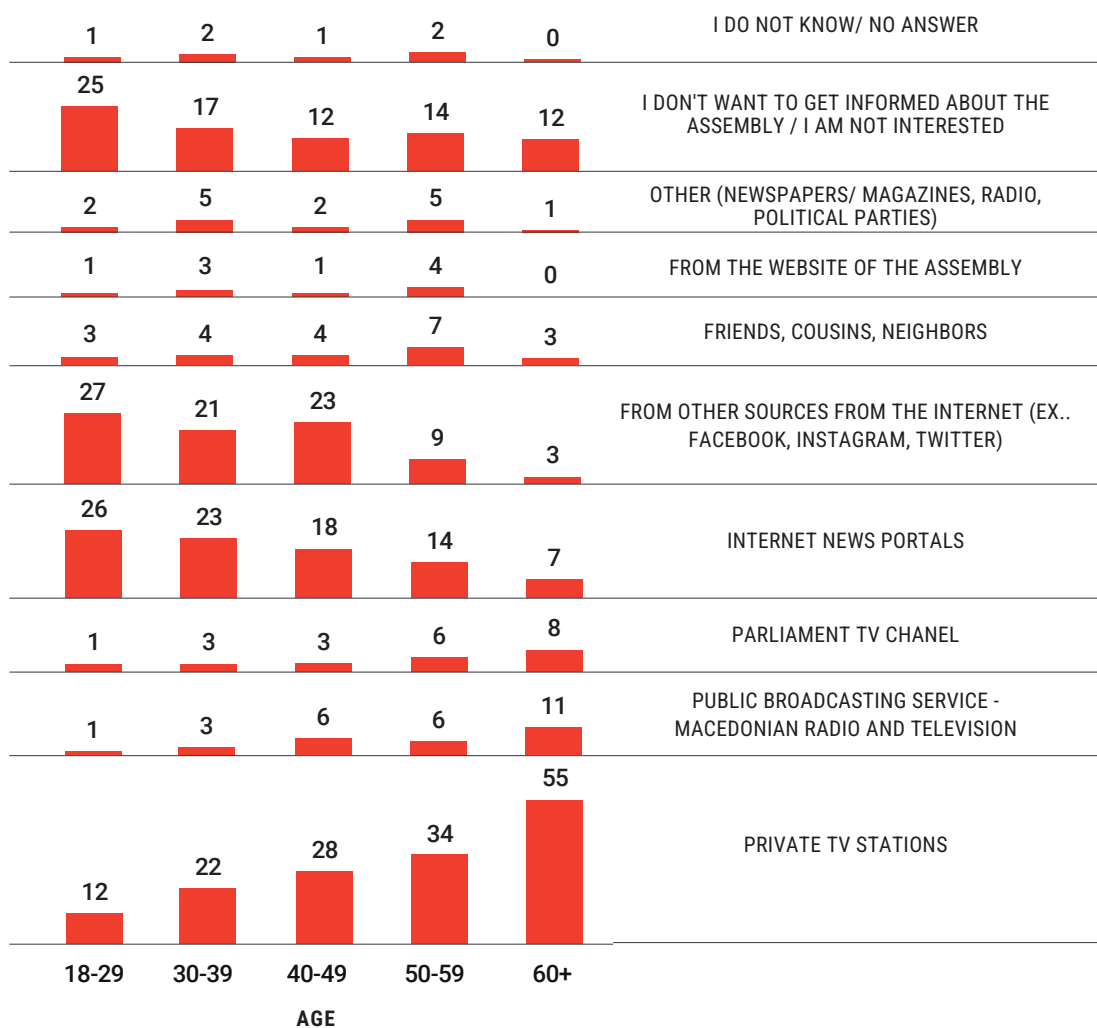


Chart 3.1 Sources of information about the work of the Assembly by age groups (%)

Since January 2024, the Parliamentary TV channel broadcasts that features rich content of new programs and shows that are produced in the Parliamentary TV studio. We asked the citizens if they are familiar with the new program, content and shows broadcasted on the Parliamentary TV channel, in addition to the broadcasts of the Assembly sessions. Over two-thirds of the citizens (68%) stated that they are not familiar at all with the new contents of the Parliamentary TV channel. About a quarter of the citizens (26%) are partially aware, while only 1% of respondents are fully aware (Chart 4).



Chart 4. Are you familiar with the new program, content and shows that is broadcasted on the Parliamentary TV channel since January 2024, in addition to the broadcast of parliamentary sessions? (%)

Citizens who stated that they were fully or somewhat familiar with the new program of the Parliamentary TV channel, were additionally asked how satisfied they were with the content offered. A high 78% answered that they were somewhat satisfied and 6% that they were very satisfied. Sixteen percent of the citizens were dissatisfied with the content (Chart 5). Among the citizens who are somewhat familiar with the new contents of the Parliamentary TV channel, the most popular are parliamentary news (43%) and interviews (30%, Chart 6). If we analyze the viewership of the program according to age categories, it can be noted that parliamentary news is the most popular program among older categories of citizens (54% among 60+ years; 46% among 50-59 years; 43% among 40-49 years), while the interviews are mostly watched by citizens under 40 years old (52% among 18-29 years; 44% among 30-39 years; Chart 6).



Chart 5. Citizens who are not fully or partially familiar with the new content broadcasted on the Parliamentary TV channel were asked the following question: Are you satisfied with the content offered by the Parliamentary TV channel? (%)

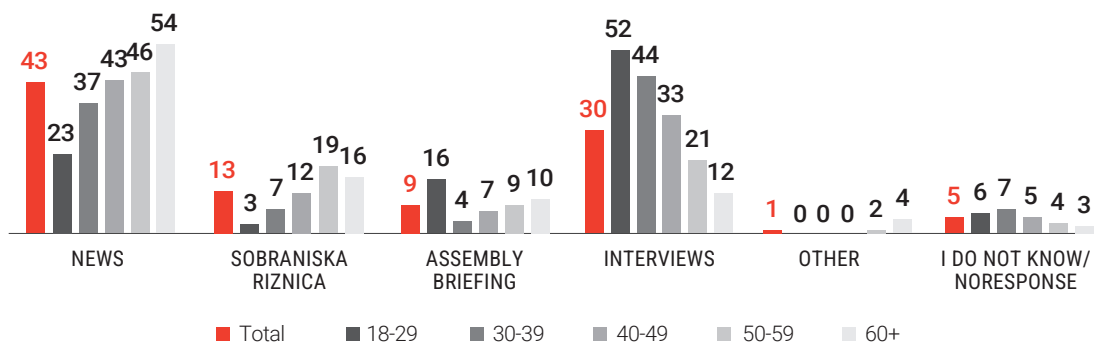


Chart 6. Citizens who are not fully or partially familiar with the new content broadcasted on the Parliamentary TV channel were asked the following question: Which of the new content aired on the Parliamentary channel do you follow most often? (%)

We asked the citizens which programs and shows they would like to watch on the Parliamentary TV channel. Almost a third of them (31%) indicated that they want expert interpretations of adopted laws and legal amendments, while 27% are interested in educational content related to the legislative process and the work of the Assembly. About a quarter of the citizens would like to follow the activities of the parliamentary groups (25%), political debates on topics related to the Assembly work (24%) as well as visits to Assembly committees (23%). Twenty one percent of the citizens would like the Parliamentary TV channel to promote the opportunities available to them to participate in the work of the Assembly as well as production of contact shows, 19% diplomatic activities and events of the MPs and 14% news with a focus on the work of the Assembly (Chart 7).

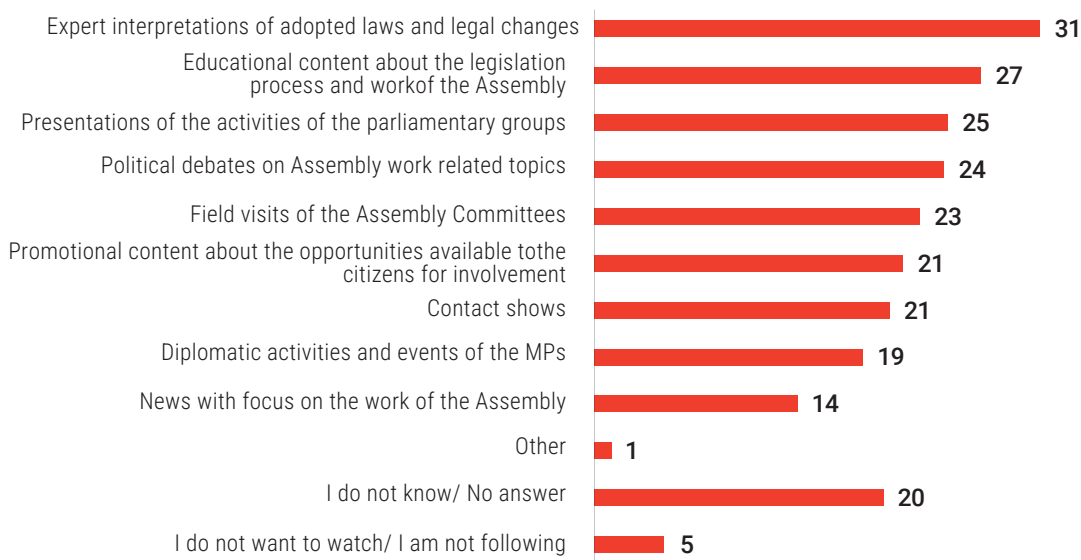


Chart 7. What content would you like to watch on the Parliamentary channel? (%)

The analysis also points out the three most popular programs and shows that citizens would like to watch on the Parliamentary TV channel, according to their age group. Expert interpretations of adopted laws and legal amendments is the most popular content that all age groups would like to watch on the Parliamentary TV channel. The youngest group of respondents (18-29 years old) are additionally interested in educational content from the legislative process as well as promotion of opportunities for involvement in the work of the Assembly. Respondents from the 30-39 and 40-49 age groups also expressed interest in educational content, but would also like to see shows that present the activities of the parliamentary groups. The activities of parliamentary groups, as well as field visits to Assembly committees, in addition to expert interpretations of adopted laws and legal amendments, are of greatest interest to respondents aged 50 to 59. Citizens over the age of 60 would like to watch political debates from the work of the Assembly and also to take part in contact TV programs (Chart 7.1).

MOST FREQUENT ANSWER BY THE CITIZENS OF WHAT THEY WOULD LIKE TO SEE ON THE PARLIAMENTARY TV CHANNEL ARE EXPERT INTERPRETATIONS OF ADOPTED LAWS AND LEGAL CHANGES, AND EDUCATIONAL CONTENTS RELATED TO THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS AND WORK OF THE ASSEMBLY

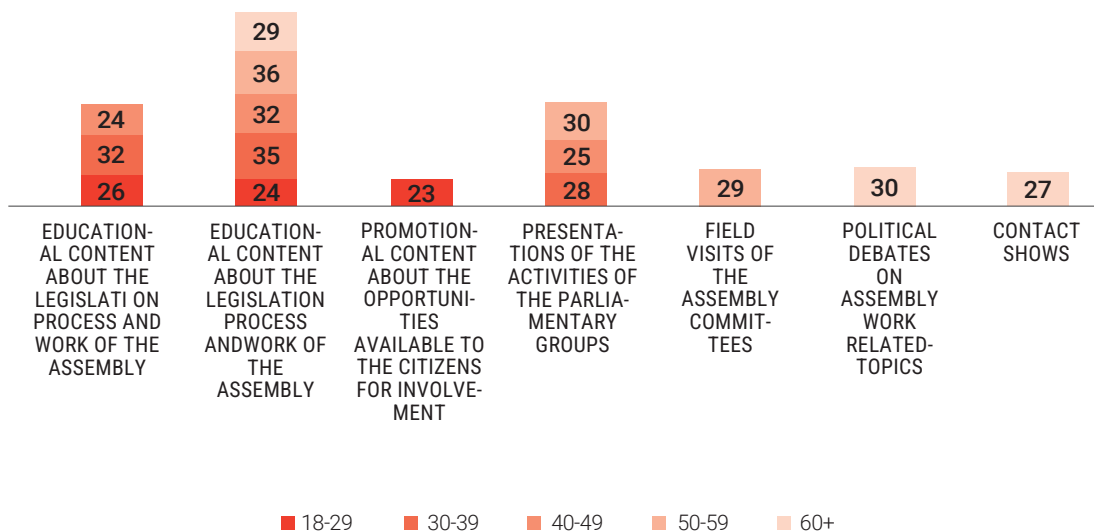


Chart 7.1 What content would you like to watch on the Parliamentary channel: Three most popular types of content by age group? (%)

Only 10% of the respondents stated that they had ever used the official website of the Assembly for obtaining information (Chart 8). From all the citizens who used the website, 79% said they were somewhat satisfied with its usefulness and functionality, while 12% were very satisfied. Only 8% of the respondents who used the website of the Assembly said that they are not satisfied with the experience they had (Chart 9).

ONLY 10% OF THE RESPONDENTS STATED THAT THEY HAD EVER USED THE OFFICIAL WEBSITE OF THE ASSEMBLY FOR OBTAINING INFORMATION



Chart 8. Have you ever used the official website of the Assembly to obtain information? (%)

THE MAJORITY OF CITIZENS WHO USED THE WEBSITE ARE SOMEWHAT SATISFIED WITH ITS USEFULNESS AND FUNCTIONALITY

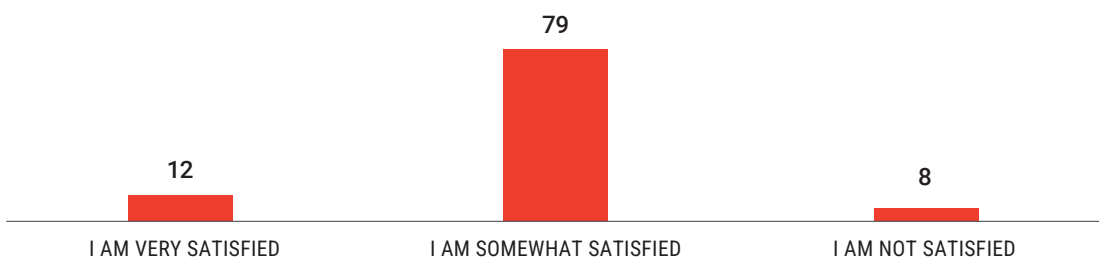


Chart 9. If you have ever used the official website of the Assembly, how satisfied are you with its usefulness and functionality? (%)

In terms of what kind of content citizens follow or would follow on the website of the Assembly, 21% of them indicated the public debates and 20% the speeches of the MPs. Eighteen percent indicated that they would like to have the possibility of direct communication with the MPs, while 17% would like to ask questions to the MPs. Sixteen percent of the respondents would like to follow, on the website, the manner in which the MPs voted on certain points. Fifteen percent of the respondents would like to receive more information about the activities of the MPs, and 14% are interested in educational content from the work of the Assembly. Thirteen percent of the citizens would like the recordings of the committee hearings to be available on the website, while 11% of the respondents would like the website to offer the possibility to follow the path of a law in all the readings of the legislative process, live broadcast from the parliamentary sessions as well as information about the work of the institution (Chart 10).

IN TERMS OF WHAT KIND OF CONTENT THE CITIZENS FOLLOW OR WOULD LIKE TO SEE ON THE WEBSITE OF THE ASSEMBLY, THEY MOST OFTEN MENTION PUBLIC HEARINGS, MP SPEECHES AND THE POSSIBILITY OF COMMUNICATION AND ASKING QUESTIONS TO MPS

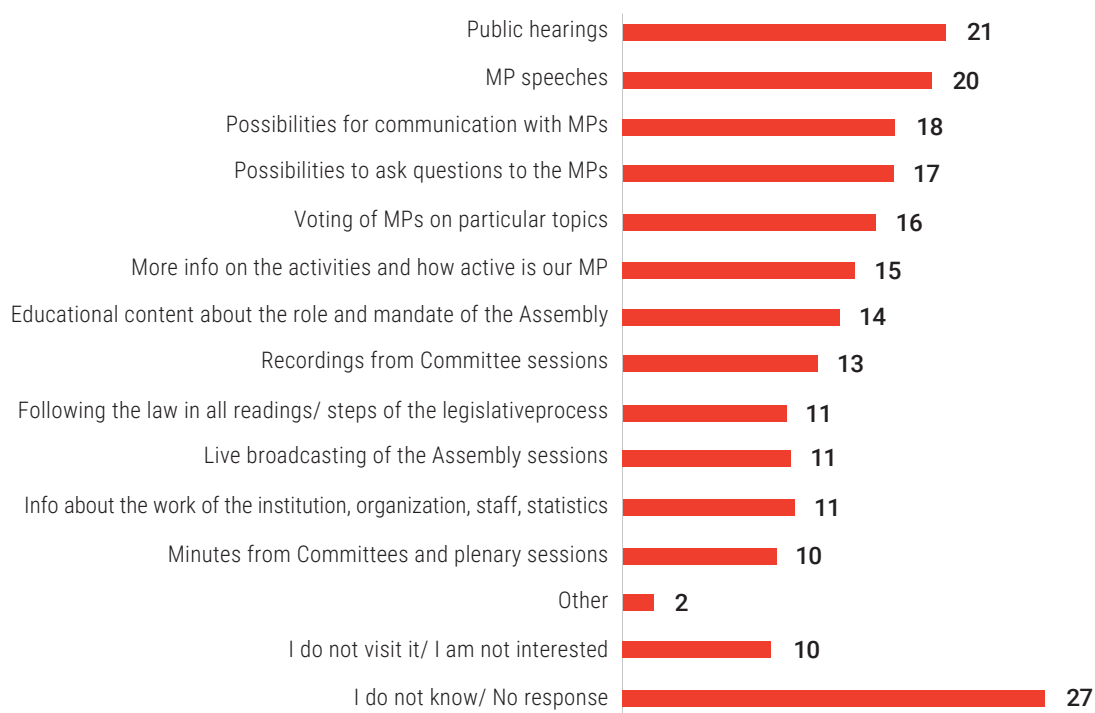


Chart 10. For what content do you most often visit or would visit the website of the Assembly? (%)



**ASSEMBLY CONTROL AND
OVERSIGHT OVER THE
EXECUTIVE POWER**



V. ASSEMBLY CONTROL AND OVERSIGHT OVER THE EXECUTIVE POWER

The perception of citizens is that the executive government has greater control over the Assembly than the control the Assembly exercises over the Government, in line with its constitutional authority. Respondents grade the degree of control which, in their view, the Assembly has over the Government, that is the Government over the Assembly. On a scale from 1, which means that the Government has full control over the Assembly to 7, which means that the Assembly has full control over the Government, 23% of the respondents in 2024 stated that the Government has full control over the Assembly, while the percentage of citizens who think that the Assembly has full control over the Government is only 4%. However, there was an improvement – a decrease by 4 percentage points in the responses who said that the Government has full control compared to last year. Furthermore, 30% of the citizens stated that the Government controls the Assembly, but they still believe that this control is not comprehensive, that is, the Assembly has a certain degree of independence. On the other hand, 12% of the citizens believe that the Assembly controls the Government, but that this control is not comprehensive, that is, the Government has a certain degree of independence (Chart 11).

THE MAJORITY OF CITIZENS BELIEVE THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS GREATER CONTROL OVER THE ASSEMBLY THAN THE CONTROL THE ASSEMBLY EXERCISES OVER THE GOVERNMENT

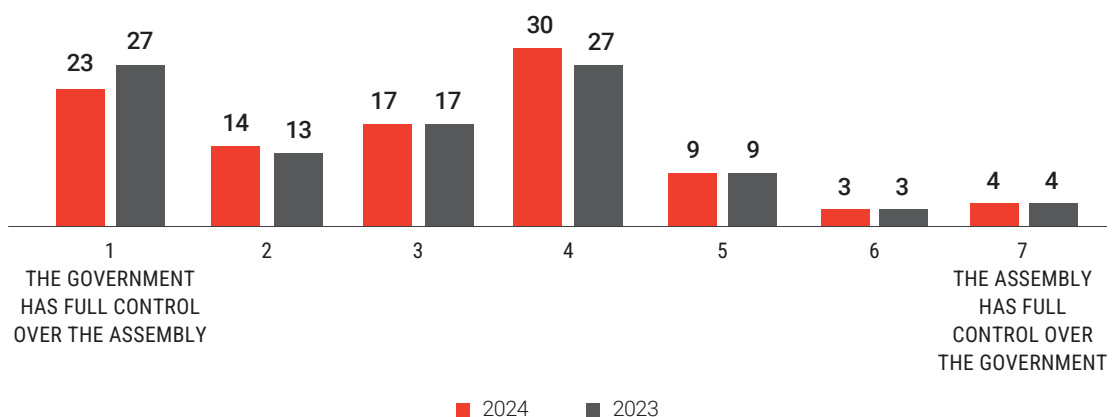


Chart 11. To what extent does the Assembly have control over the Government, that is the Government over the Assembly? (%)

In terms of MP questions, which are one of the Assembly's instruments of control over the work of the Ministries and of the executive power in general, 4% of the citizens stated that they often follow them, while 40% said that they do so rarely. However, more than half (56%) stated that they never follow sessions dedicated to MP questions (Chart 12).

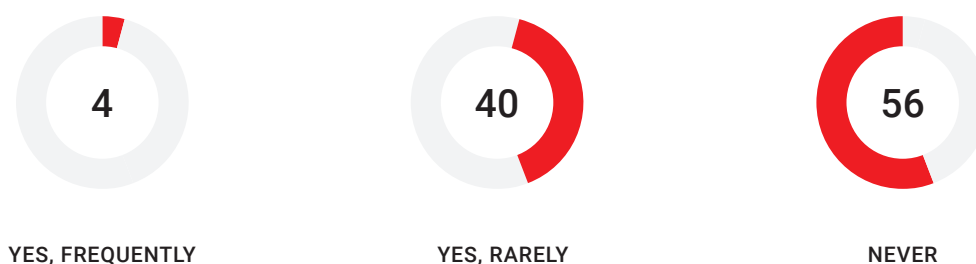


Chart 12. Do you follow the MP question sessions in the Assembly? (%)

Citizens who often or sometimes follow parliamentary question sessions were additionally asked about their perception of how this tool for exercising oversight over the executive power works. Two-thirds of them partially or completely agree that MP questions are used to «criticize the Government» (64%) or to «advertise the Government» (62%). A high percentage of the respondents also believe that the MP questions inform citizens about the work of the government and other institutions (61%), that they enable oversight over the work of the ministers (60%) and that the MP questions have an impact on ensuring accountability of the institutions (58% , Chart 13).

THE MAJORITY OF CITIZENS WHO FOLLOW THE SESSIONS OFTEN OR SOMETIMES THINK THAT THE MP QUESTIONS ARE USED TO "CRITICIZE THE GOVERNMENT" OR TO "ADVERTISE THE GOVERNMENT"

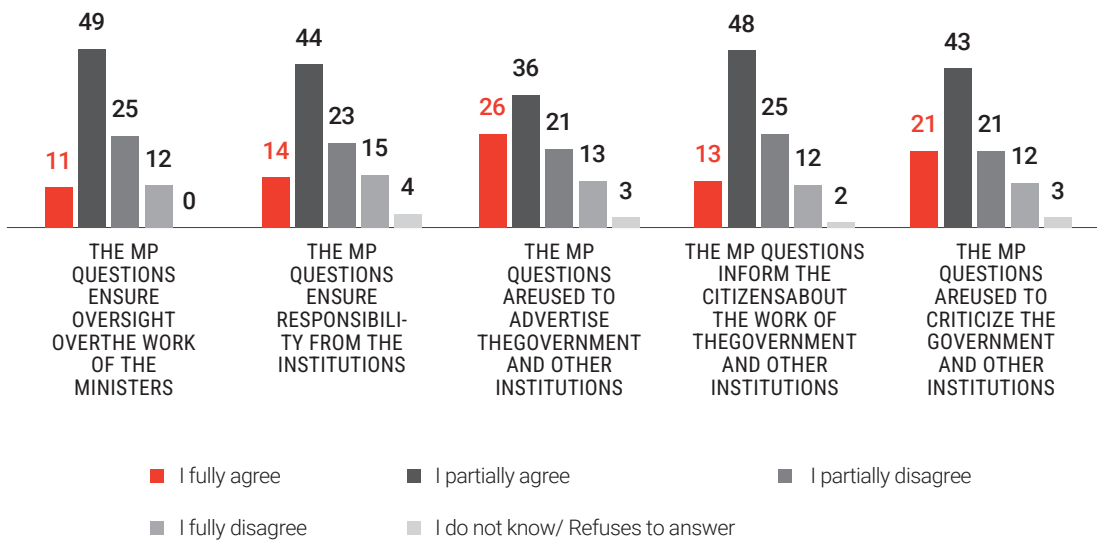


Chart 13. (For citizens who answered that they often or rarely follow the MP questions) To what extent do you agree with each of the statements related to MP questions, as a tool for oversight over the executive power. (%)

Taking into account the other mechanisms of the Assembly for exercising oversight over the executive power, the respondents were also asked if they remember any other oversight that the Assembly undertook in the last year to control the Government and the institutions, such as oversight hearings, inquiry committees, interpellation, adoption of the budget and others. Most of the citizens (91%) answered negatively, while only 92 citizens, which is 9% of the total number of respondents, said that they remember other oversight measures taken by the Assembly (Chart 14).



Chart 14. Apart from MP questions, do you remember any other oversight that the Assembly implemented last year to control the Government and the institutions. (%)

The citizens who said they recall of some other oversight measure that Assembly has implemented over the executive branch were asked to indicate all such cases they remembered, with the option of listing more than one. Thus, the Inquiry Committee on the events at oncology (Inquiry Committee on the scandal at the PHI University Clinic for Radiotherapy and Oncology) was mentioned 58 times by the citizens, the various cases of interpellation of the government and political leaders were mentioned 23 times, while the adoption of the Budget is mentioned only 5 times (Chart 15).

THE MOST OFTEN MENTIONED CASE OF SURVEILLANCE OF THE ASSEMBLY IS THE WORK OF THE INQUIRY COMMISSION ON THE SCANDAL IN THE UNIVERSITY CLINIC OF RADIOTHERAPY AND ONCOLOGY. HOWEVER, THE CITIZENS THINK THAT THE ASSEMBLY ONLY PARTIALLY OR IT DID NOT FULFILL ITS AUTHORITY AT ALL IN REGARDS TO THIS CASE

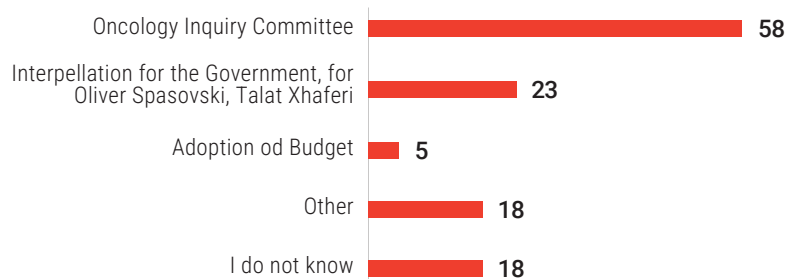


Chart 15. (Citizens who remember other oversight that the Assembly implemented over the executive power) Which other cases do you remember? (Absolute number of cases mentioned by respondents). (%)

The citizens who mentioned a specific case of oversight also gave their assessment regarding how much the Assembly fulfilled its oversight role in terms of control in the case. Hence, the citizens are not sure of the success of the Inquiry Commission regarding the oncology case, where in almost half of the responses (26 out of 58), the citizens believe that the function is fulfilled only to a certain extent, and equal number

of citizens (26 out of a total of 58) consider that it is not fulfilled. Only in 6 out of 58 mentions, the citizens consider that the oversight role in the case of the oncology Inquiry Commission is completely fulfilled. Regarding the cases of interpellation against the executive power and holders of political positions, the majority of citizens (14 out of 23) consider that the Assembly did not fulfill its oversight role, while in 5 (out of 23) cases they consider that the oversight was only partially fulfilled and in 4 (out of 23 cases) that it was completely fulfilled. The five respondents who referred to the adoption of the state Budget consider that the Assembly fulfilled its role to a certain extent, of which 4 consider that the function was only partially fulfilled, and one of them considers that the function was completely fulfilled (Chart 16).

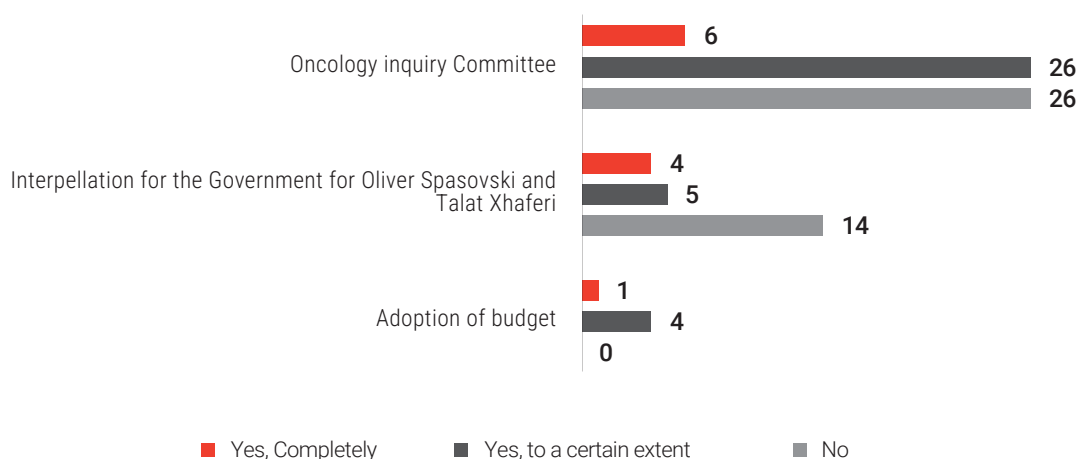


Chart 16. (Citizens who mentioned a specific case of oversight that the Assembly implemented over the executive power) Do you think that the Assembly fulfilled its oversight role in controlling the Government and the institutions in the particular case. (%)

VI.

FUNCTIONS OF THE ASSEMBLY



VI. FUNCTIONS OF THE ASSEMBLY

More than half (57%) of citizens believe that MPs moderately or strongly influence the quality of the laws. On the other hand, the percentage of respondents who believe that MPs have a moderate or no influence on the quality of the laws is 38%. This perception of the citizens, in terms of how much the MPs have contributed to the adaptation and amendment of the proposed legal solutions submitted by the Government, remains at a relatively constant level compared to last year (2023, Graph 17).

MORE THAN HALF (57%) OF CITIZENS BELIEVE THAT MPS MODERATELY OR STRONGLY INFLUENCE THE QUALITY OF THE LAWS

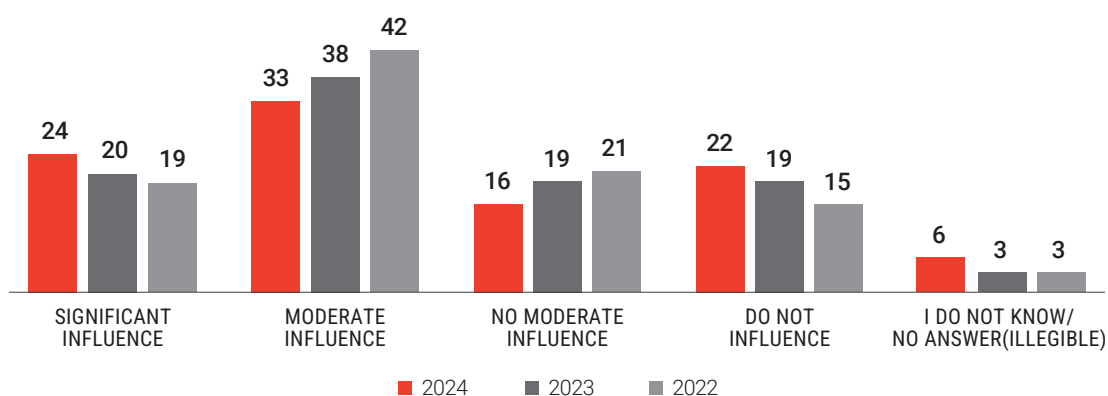


Chart 17. To what extent do the MPs influence the quality of the laws in our country? (%)

On a scale from 1 to 10 (where 1 means not important at all, and 10 means very important), respondents rated the importance of individual functions of the Assembly according to their perception. The respondents were also asked, on a scale of 1 to 10, to determine the extent to which they believe that the MPs fulfill those functions. Hence, the function of enacting high-quality laws that are in the interest of the citizens and that fit their needs was evaluated as the most important function of the Assembly, with an average score of 8.8. However, although the respondents believe that this is the most important function of the Assembly, the MPs, according to them, did not perform this function at the most satisfactory level, so the respondents evaluated the fulfillment of this function with an average score of 4.5.

There are three functions that follow at the second place with an average score of 8.7: oversight of how the state Budget is spent; to take care how the laws and policies are implemented; and exercising control over the

Government and ministries. Despite the high average score about the importance of these competences of the Assembly, their fulfillment by the MPs was evaluated with an average score of 4.4, for all three functions.

The citizens put the function of organizing public debates with experts and with civil society associations on trending issues in the third place, with an average score of 8.5, while the function of making it possible for the public to participate in the preparation of laws and policies was rated with a score of 8.4. The perception of the citizens in this case is that, again, the MPs still do not completely fulfill these functions, evaluating the performance of organizing public debates with experts and civil society organizations with an average score of 4.4, while the enabling of public participation in the preparation of laws and policies was evaluated with 4.2.

Citizens rated the adoption of as many laws and legal amendments as the least important function of the Assembly with an average score of 7.9. The respondents believe that, although in their opinion it is the least important function compared to the other listed functions of the Assembly, the MPs were performing the most this particular function - which is assessed with 5.1, i.e. the highest average score in relation to the extent to which the Assembly fulfills the basic functions (Chart 18).

THE MOST IMPORTANT FUNCTION OF THE ASSEMBLY, ACCORDING TO THE CITIZENS, IS ADOPTION OF HIGH-QUALITY LAWS, IN THE INTEREST OF THE CITIZENS AND ACCORDING TO THEIR NEEDS, AND THE CITIZENS THINK THAT THIS PARTICULAR FUNCTION WAS NOT PERFORMED AT A SATISFACTORY LEVEL

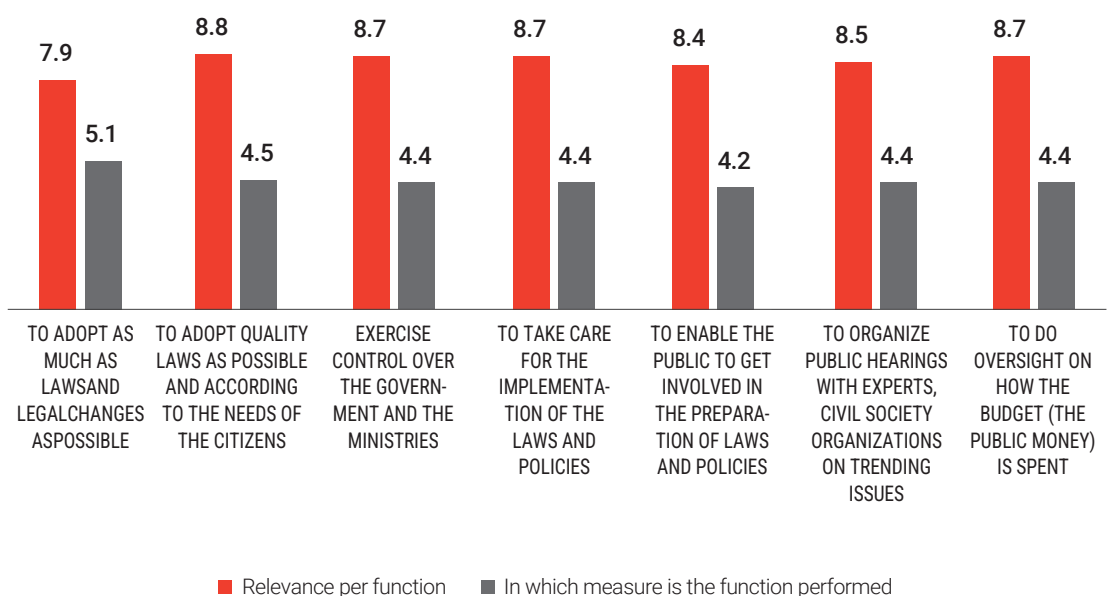


Chart 18. An average score on a scale from 1 to 10 in regards to the importance of the functions of the Assembly and the extent to which they are fulfilled by the MPs

VII.

THE PUBLIC IN THE WORK OF THE ASSEMBLY



VII. THE PUBLIC IN THE WORK OF THE ASSEMBLY

Regarding the openness of the Assembly to the public, more than half of the respondents (56%) believe that the Assembly is completely or partially closed to the public. On the other hand, one third of respondents (32%) believe that the Assembly is fully or partially open to public participation, which compared to 2023 when 26% of citizens shared the same opinion, an improvement can be noted about the perception of the openness of the Assembly (Chart 19).

MORE THAN HALF OF THE RESPONDENTS (56%) BELIEVE THAT THE PARLIAMENT IS COMPLETELY OR PARTIALLY CLOSED TO PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN ITS WORK.

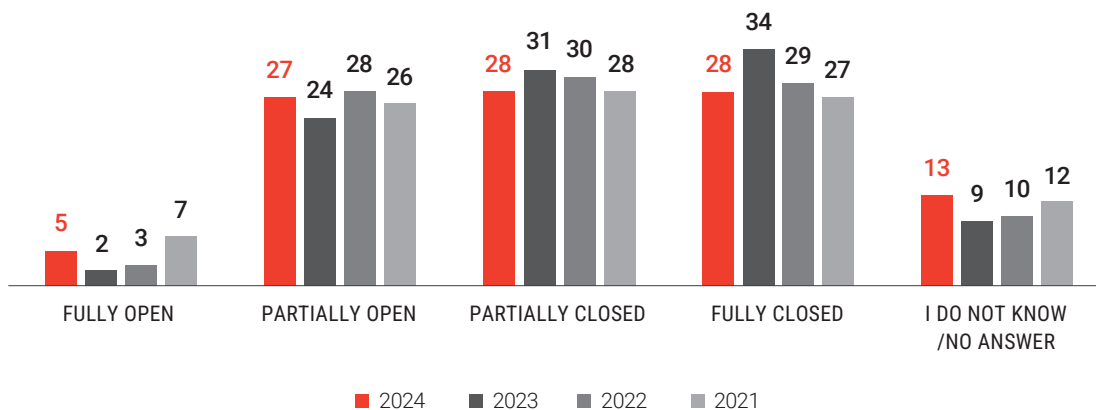


Chart 19. To what extent do you believe that the Assembly is open to public participation in its work? (%)

The names of the MPs elected from their constituency/municipality/region were read to the respondents and these names were unknown to more than half of the citizens (66%). When asked if they know who are the elected representatives from their constituency/region/municipality in the Assembly, only a third of those

who were surveyed (34%) answered positively. Compared to the last year, when 52% of the respondents answered that they know the MPs from their constituency, in 2024 this number saw a significant decline of 14 percentage points (Chart 20).

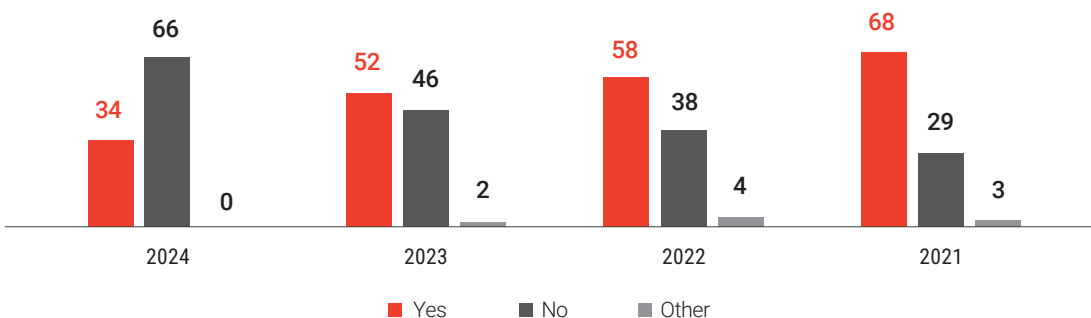


Chart 20. Do you know who is the MP from your constituency? (%)

A high 88% of the citizens have never contacted an MP about a specific issue. On the other hand, 12% of the respondents contacted an MP, of which 7% are satisfied with the answer or the action taken by that MP, while 5% are not satisfied. In terms of ethnic affiliation, it can be noted that the ethnic Albanians contacted the MPs more often and are slightly more satisfied with the answers compared to ethnic Macedonians and the respondents from other ethnic communities (Chart 21).

A HIGH 88% OF THE CITIZENS HAVE NEVER CONTACTED AN MP ABOUT A SPECIFIC ISSUE



Chart 21. Have you ever contacted an MP from your constituency/municipality regarding a specific issue (face-to-face, via e-mail, social media, etc.)? (%)

In terms of the manner in which the MP was contacted, the most common practice is face-to-face meeting, which was chosen by 62% of the respondents, while the second two most commonly used ways are by phone (18%) and via the social media (14%, Chart 22).

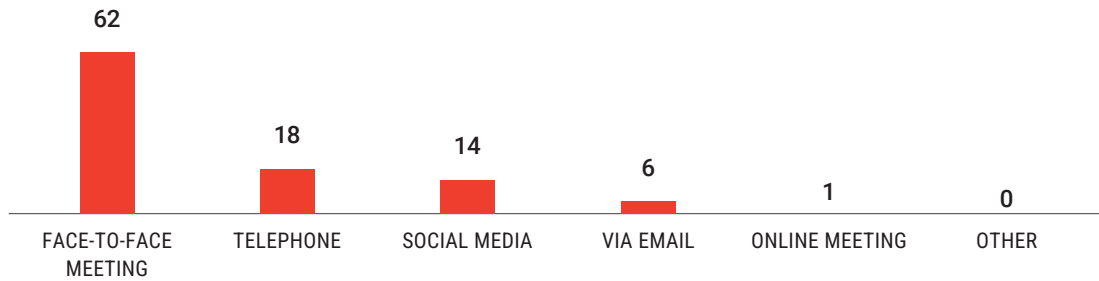


Chart 22. How did you contact the MP? (%)

More than a third of respondents believe that the MPs from their constituencies are not available for meetings (37%), which is a significant decline of 16 percentage points compared to 2023 (53%). However, the percentage of respondents who consider that the MPs are available for meetings (22%) remains at the relatively same level compared to 2023 (20%). Almost half (41%) of respondents are not informed about the availability of their representatives, which is a significant increase compared to 2023 (27%) (Chart 23).

MORE THAN A THIRD OF RESPONDENTS BELIEVE THAT MPS FROM THEIR CONSTITUENCIES ARE NOT AVAILABLE FOR MEETINGS (37%), WHICH IS A SIGNIFICANT DECLINE OF 16 PERCENTAGE POINTS COMPARED TO 2023 (53%)

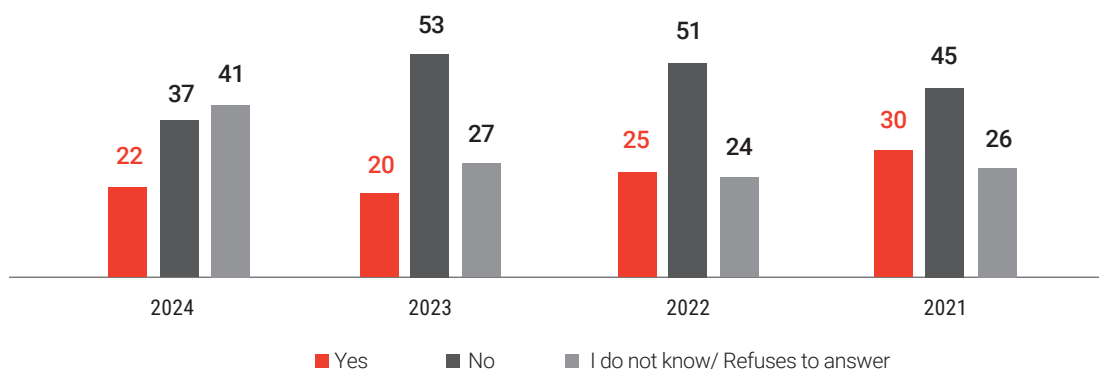


Chart 23. The MP from your region (municipality, constituency) is available to meet citizens? (%)

Only 23% of the respondents stated that they are familiar with the MP offices in their region/municipality, while only 3% stated that they have visited them. On the other hand, over two-thirds of the citizens (70%) are not familiar with the MP offices (Chart 24).

THE MAJORITY OF RESPONDENTS (70%) ARE NOT FAMILIAR WITH THE MP OFFICES IN THEIR MUNICIPALITY AND REGION.

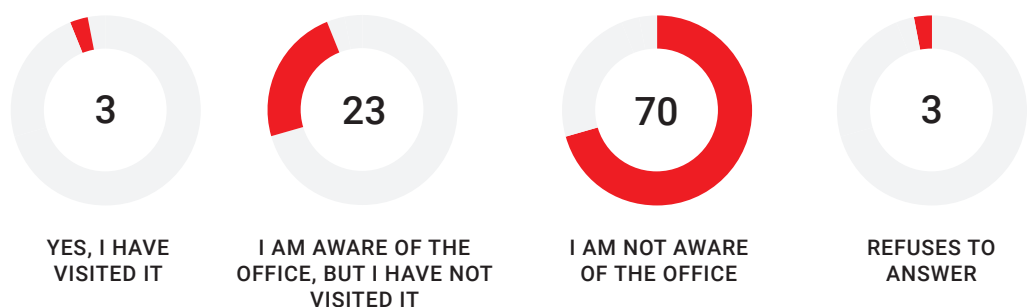


Chart 24. Are you aware of the MP offices in your region/municipality and have you visited the MP offices until now? (%)

Almost half of the respondents who stated in the previous question that they had visited the MP office, answered that they visited it to launch a particular civic initiative (47%), while 44% visited it to ask an MP question. The difference in the answers given by men and women is noticeable, that is, the majority of the respondents (64%) visited the office to ask an MP question, while the objective of the majority of the men (61%) was to initiate a civic initiative. (Chart 25). In addition, the majority of the respondents said that they were very satisfied or partially satisfied with the response during the visit, while only 1% answered that they were not satisfied (Chart 26).

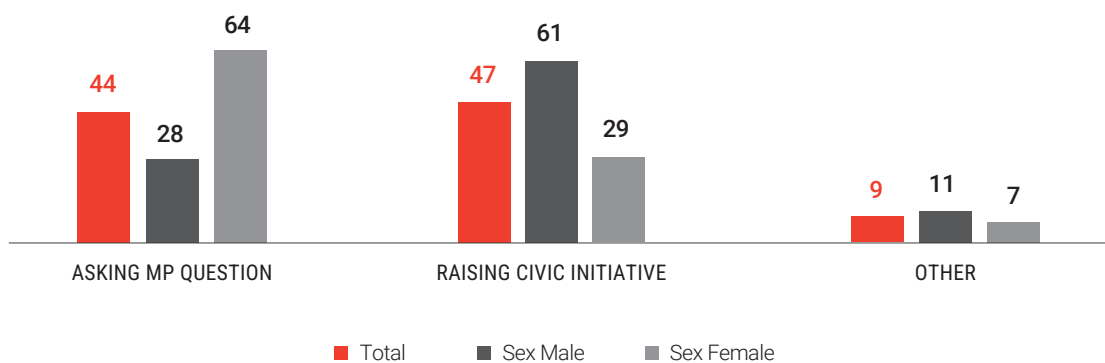


Chart 25. (Of the citizens who said that they had visited the local office for contact of the MPs with the citizens) What was the purpose of your visit? (%)

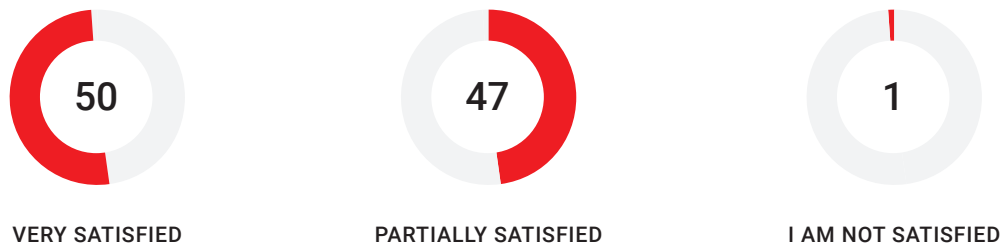


Chart 26. (Of the citizens who stated that they have visited the MPs local office for contact with citizens) How satisfied are you with the response you received from your visit? (%)

When asked how they think the MPs should inform citizens about their work, over two-thirds of the respondents (66%) believe that it should be through meetings with the citizens in public locations, while almost half (47%) believe that they should be informed through public appearances. Forty three percent of the citizens indicated the media outlets as optimal channel for reporting, followed by 36% of the citizens who prefer meetings in the local MP offices and 37% who indicated the social media (Chart 27).

DESPITE THE DIGITAL AGE IN WHICH WE LIVE, THE MOST FREQUENTLY CHOSEN WAYS TO INFORM CITIZENS ABOUT THE WORK ARE MEETINGS IN PUBLIC LOCATIONS (66%) AND PUBLIC APPEARANCES (47%).

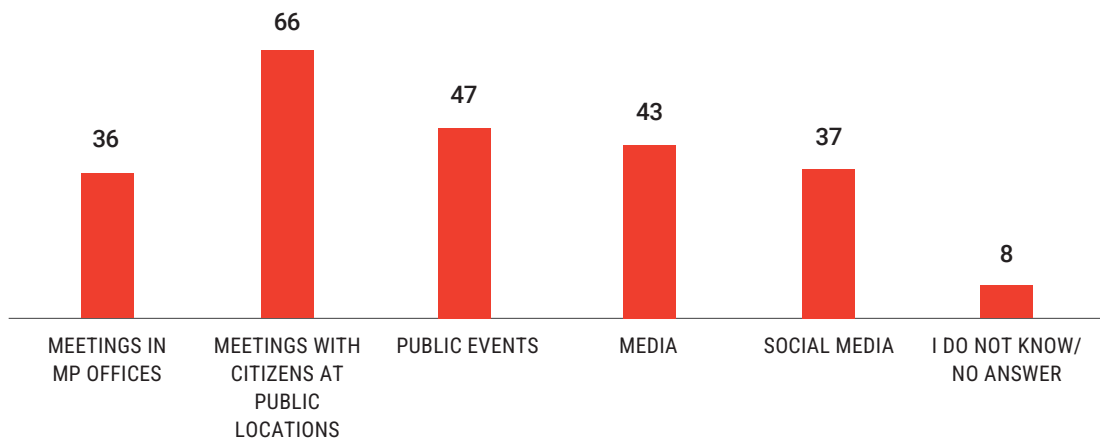


Chart 27. In what way, in your view, should your MPs inform citizens about their work? (%)

Starting from 2022, the Assembly introduced another way to contact and involve the citizens through the Parliamentary Caravan activity, where the regional/local MPs together with some of the parliamentary service, organize an event in a particular city which can be attended by any citizen along with the opportunity to meet the MPs. The citizens were asked if they were familiar with this activity or if they had taken part in it. The majority of respondents (73%) answered that they are not familiar with the Parliamentary Caravan as a new method of contacting and involving citizens in the work of the Assembly and the MPs. On the other hand, 28% of the respondents are familiar with this initiative, 9% of which took part in it (Chart 28).

MORE THAN TWO-THIRDS OF THE RESPONDENTS (73%) ARE NOT FAMILIAR WITH THE PARLIAMENTARY CARAVAN AS A NEW METHOD OF INVOLVING CITIZENS IN THE WORK OF THE ASSEMBLY

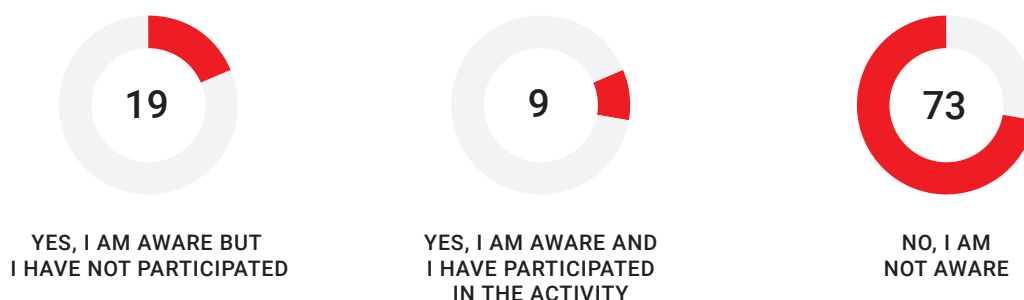


Chart 28. Are you familiar with the Parliamentary Caravan activity, as a way to contact and involve citizens in the work of the Assembly? (%)

The general perception of the citizens is that the MPs do not sufficiently address the issues of the municipalities and the local communities. About half of the respondents (45%) answered that there was never a case in which an MP from their region launched an initiative in the Assembly about a local problem, while only 17% of the respondents stated that their MP did launch such initiative. The percentage of respondents who believe that the MPs were not addressing local issues in 2024 has decreased by 10 percentage points compared to 2023 - 55% (Chart 23). This improvement is not reflected in the percentage of respondents who answered affirmatively, but in the number of respondents who do not have information on whether such initiative was raised or not, which has increased by 11 percent compared to last year (28%, Chart 29).

ABOUT HALF OF THE RESPONDENTS (45%) ANSWERED THAT THERE WAS NEVER A CASE IN WHICH AN MP FROM THEIR REGION LAUNCHED AN INITIATIVE IN THE ASSEMBLY ABOUT A LOCAL PROBLEM, WHILE LAST YEAR THE NEGATIVE RESPONSE WAS 55%

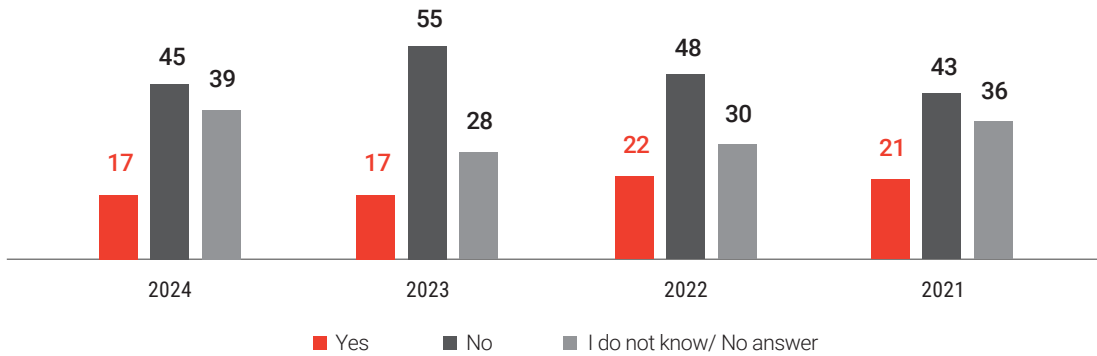


Chart 29. Has the MP from your region taken an initiative in the Assembly for an issue faced by your municipality? (%)

The citizens were also asked whether there was a case in which any MP launched an initiative that was in their personal interest. There is mainly negative response to this question, that is, 60% of the respondents said there was no such case. The percentage of people who answered affirmatively is 14% (Chart 30).

MORE THAN HALF OF THE RESPONDENTS (60%) HAVE NO KNOWLEDGE OF AN INITIATIVE INITIATED BY AN MP IN THE ASSEMBLY OR IN PUBLIC APPEARANCES ON AN ISSUE OF THEIR INTEREST

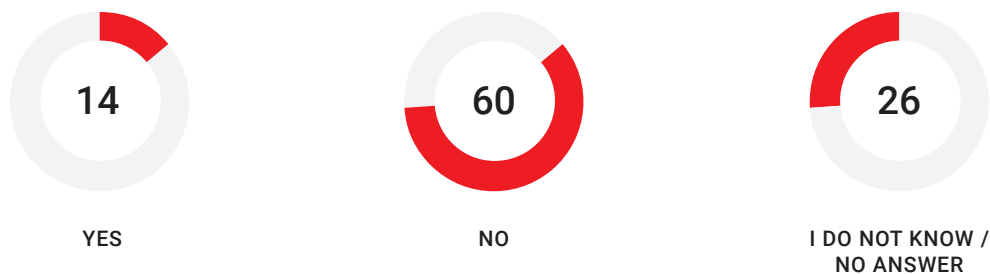


Chart 30. Was there ever a case in which an MP raised an initiative in the Assembly on an issue of your interest or represented an issue of your interest in his public appearances? (%)

Over two-thirds of the citizens stated that they are not interested in the work of the Assembly (67%), and the percentage of citizens who do not want to get involved in its activities is even higher (89%). Being informed about the work of the Assembly is a more passive and attainable goal compared to being involved in its work, which to some extent explains the discrepancy in the percentages that pertain to both issues (Chart 31).

OVER TWO-THIRDS OF THE CITIZENS STATED THAT THEY ARE NOT INTERESTED IN THE WORK OF THE ASSEMBLY (67%), AND THE PERCENTAGE OF CITIZENS WHO DO NOT WANT TO GET INVOLVED IN ITS ACTIVITIES IS EVEN HIGHER (89%).

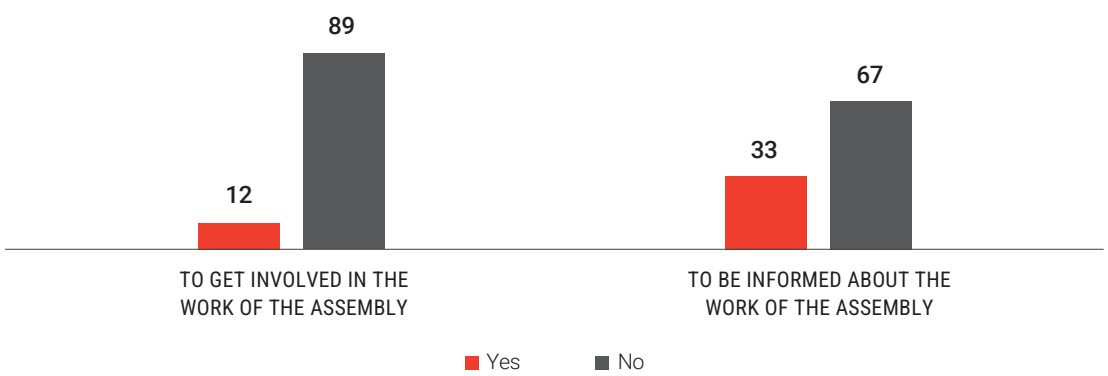


Chart 31. Are you interested in being informed and getting involved in the work of the Assembly? (%)

The respondents were read several mechanisms on how they can participate in the work of the Assembly. From the options offered, the largest percentage of the respondents (22%) did have information that they can request a meeting with an MP or ask a question to the MPs. However, a larger number of the respondents (61%) said they were not aware of any of the mechanisms that were read to them and are available for participation in the work of the Assembly (Chart 32).

THE MAJORITY OF RESPONDENTS (61%) ARE NOT FAMILIAR WITH THE WAYS THEY CAN GET INVOLVED IN THE WORK OF THE ASSEMBLY.

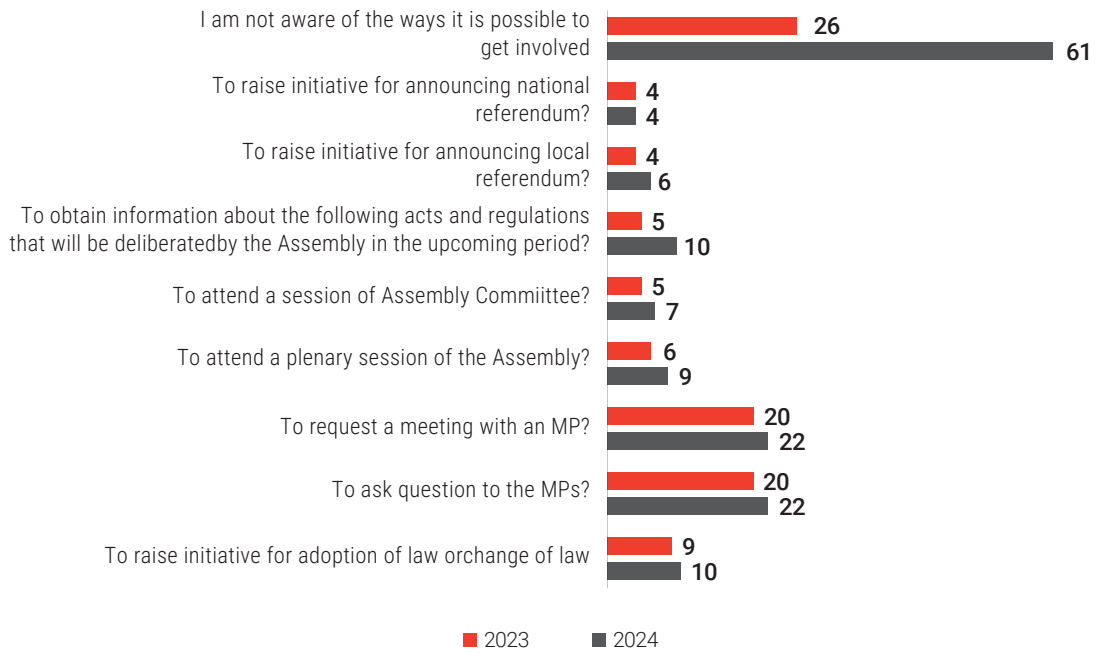


Chart 32. In what way do you think you can participate in the work of the Assembly? (%)

VIII.

**WHO DO THE MPs IN THE
ASSEMBLY REPRESENT?**



VIII. WHO ARE REPRESENTED IN THE ASSEMBLY BY THE MPs?

A high 77% of the surveyed citizens believe that the MPs in the Assembly always represent their personal interests, while 69% indicated the interest of the inner circle of the party leadership. More than half (53%) of the respondents chose the business community as the most represented by the MPs, while the interests of all citizens was the answer given by only 8% of the respondents (Chart 33).

A HIGH 77% OF THE CITIZENS THINK THAT THE MPs ALWAYS REPRESENT THEIR PERSONAL INTERESTS IN THE ASSEMBLY, 69% INDICATED THE INTEREST OF THE INNER CIRCLE OF THE PARTY MANAGEMENT, WHILE HALF (53%) OF THE RESPONDENTS INDICATED THE INTERESTS OF THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY.

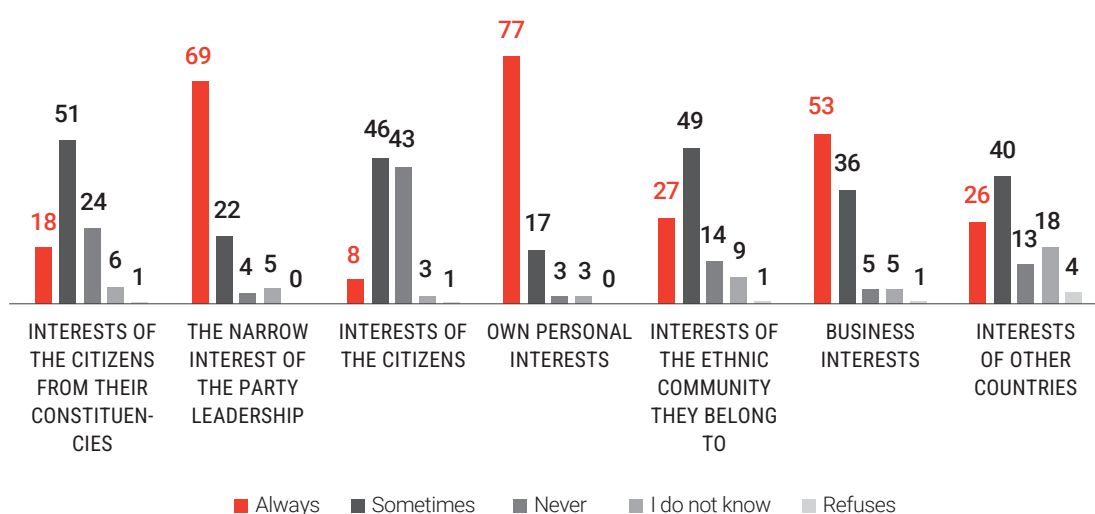


Chart 33. How frequently do you think the MPs represent the following interests? (%)

The respondents were asked which marginalized groups, according to them, are best represented in the Assembly. In that regard, the highest percentage of the citizens indicated the social assistance beneficiaries (18%), followed by the LGBT+ community (16%), the Roma (14%), the elderly (10%) and single parents. Less than 10% of the citizens refer to MPs, young people (6%), residents of rural areas (4%) and women (4%). However, having no standpoint is something that, again, prevails as an answer, that is, 27% did not answer or said that they did not know (Chart 34).

CITIZENS INDICATED THE SOCIAL ASSISTANCE BENEFICIARIES (18%), THE LGBT+ COMMUNITY (16%), THE ROMA (14%), THE ELDERLY (10%) AND SINGLE PARENTS (10%) AS THE MOST REPRESENTED MARGINALIZED GROUPS IN THE ASSEMBLY.

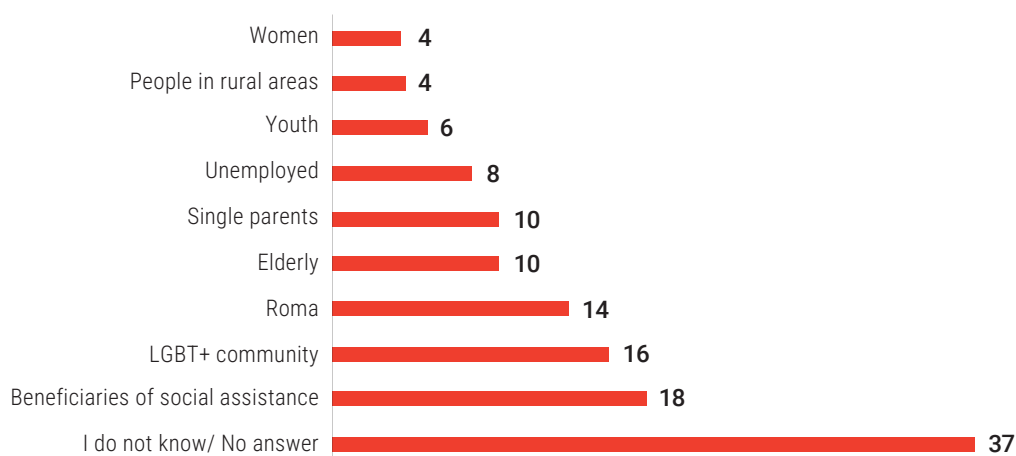


Chart 34. Which of the following groups of citizens do you think the Assembly represents best? (%)

Almost two-thirds of the citizens (62%) believe that the MPs represent the needs of the business community in the country with a purpose of improving the business climate, but that they do so rarely. Only 14% believe that the MPs often represent the needs of the business community, while a quarter of the respondents (25%) said that this is never the case (Chart 35).



Chart 35. Do you think that the Assembly represents the needs of the business community, with a purpose of improving the business climate in the country? (%)

IX.

**THE DEBATE IN THE
ASSEMBLY**



IX. THE DEBATE IN THE ASSEMBLY

The perception of more than two thirds of the surveyed citizens (65%) is that, during the debates in the Assembly, the ruling majority is almost not taking into account the arguments of the opposition when making decisions. Eighteen percent of the respondents said that majority mainly takes the arguments into account, while 7% answered that in the government fully takes into account the arguments of the opposition during the discussions, which is an improvement of 6% from last year. This perception of the citizens is slightly improved compared to previous years (Chart 36).

MORE THAN TWO THIRDS OF THE CITIZENS THINK THAT BOTH DEPUTIES FROM THE RULING MAJORITY AND THE OPPOSITION DO NOT TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE ARGUMENTS OF HIS COLLEAGUES FROM THE OPPOSITE POLITICAL CAMP WHEN MAKING DECISIONS.

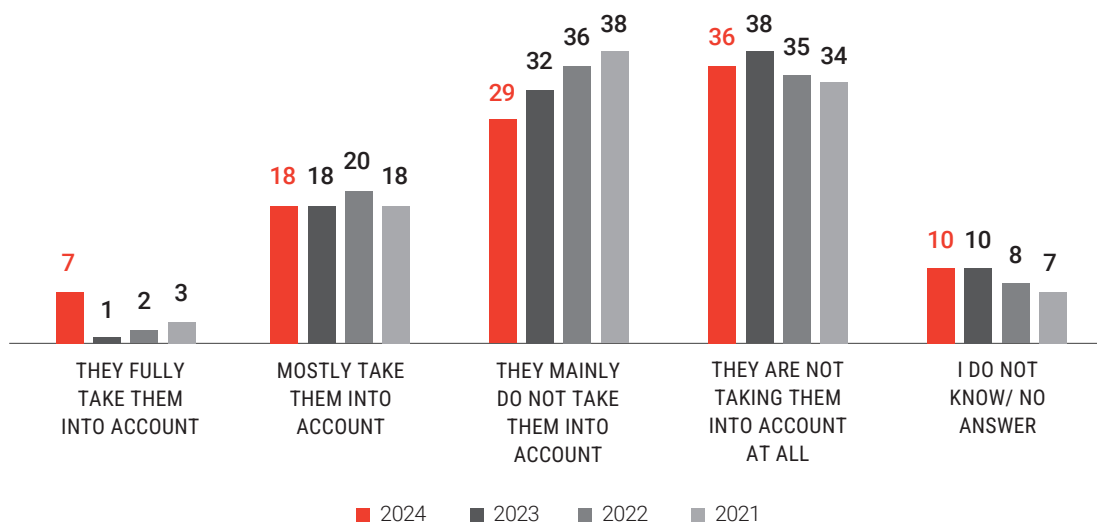


Chart 36. The MPs from the ruling majority consider the arguments of the opposition MPs when making decisions in the Assembly (%)

Similar is the perception of how much the opposition takes into account the arguments of the MPs from the ruling majority. About 64% consider that they are generally taken into account or not at all, while a quarter of the respondents are more optimistic and consider that the arguments are addressed and taken into account (Chart 37).

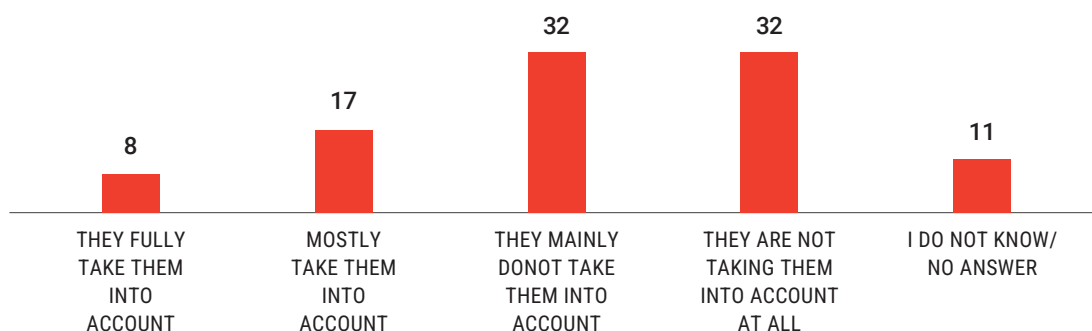


Chart 37. The MPs from the opposition take into account the arguments of the MPs from the majority when making decisions in the Assembly? (%)

The majority of citizens (56%) believe that there is a desire among the political parties for a compromise in the interest of the citizens, but this rarely happens. Only 5% of the respondents said that the parties often come to such a compromise, while 38% said that this is never the case. In terms of ethnic background, there is greatest pessimism among the ethnic Macedonians, where almost half of them (43%) answered that the parties never listen to compromise, while the greatest optimism is present among ethnic Albanians, of whom 27% share the same opinion (Chart 38).

THE MAJORITY OF CITIZENS (56%) BELIEVE THAT THERE IS A DESIRE AMONG THE POLITICAL PARTIES FOR A COMPROMISE IN THE INTEREST OF THE CITIZENS, BUT THIS RARELY HAPPENS.

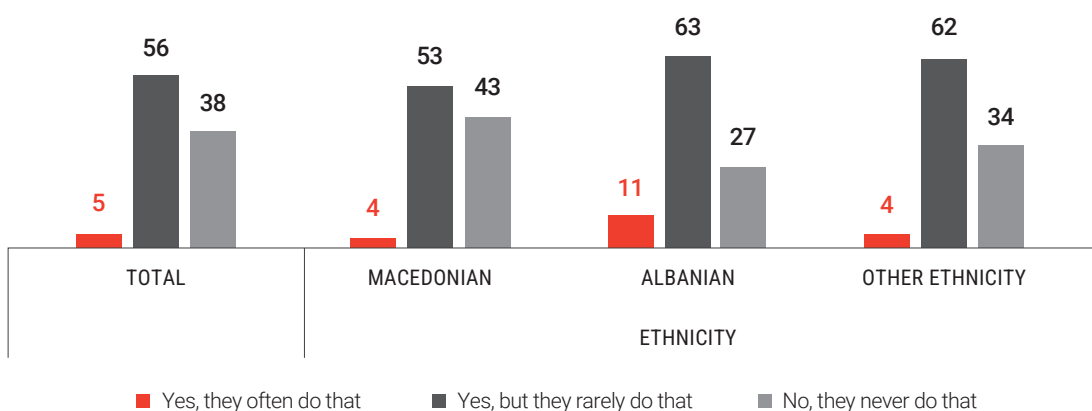


Chart 38. Do you think that the parties are willing to compromise with each other, all in order to find a common solution that is in the public interest, that is, in the interest of the citizens? (%)

More than two thirds (69%) of citizens that were surveyed have an impression that the MPs at their sessions frequently or always use demeaning and degrading language with their political opponents on the basis of their political, ethnic, religious or gender affiliation. Out of the total number of respondents, 51% believe that the MPs do that frequently, while for 18% of the citizens, the MPs always use demeaning and degrading language against their 'opponents'. A total of 22% of the citizens that were surveyed say that the MPs usually or never use such language.

The perception of the citizens on this issue has slightly improved compared to 2023. Although over the years the general perception is that the MPs use demeaning and degrading language in the Assembly, this perception of the citizens fluctuates depending on the atmosphere in the Assembly (Chart 39).

MORE THAN TWO THIRDS (69%) OF CITIZENS THAT WERE SURVEYED HAVE AN IMPRESSION THAT THE MPS AT THEIR SESSIONS FREQUENTLY OR ALWAYS USE DEMEANING AND DEGRADING LANGUAGE WITH THEIR POLITICAL OPPONENTS ON THE BASIS OF THEIR POLITICAL, ETHNIC, RELIGIOUS OR GENDER AFFILIATION.

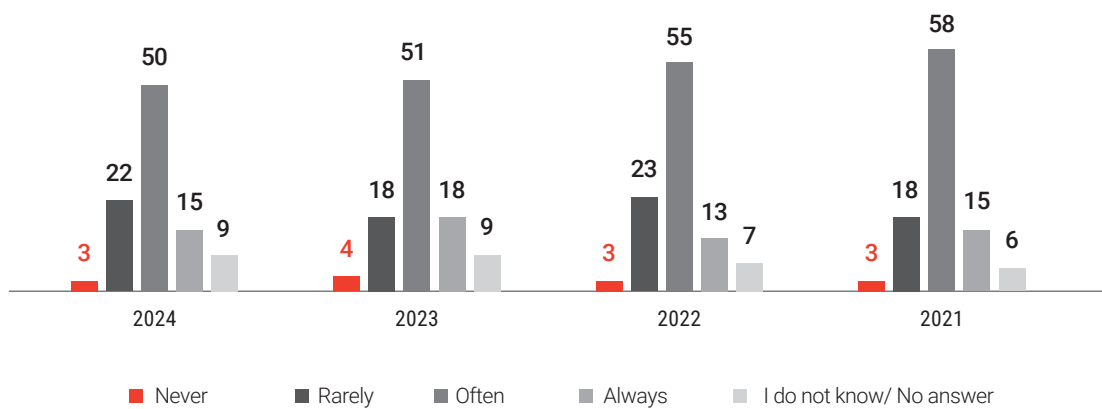


Chart 39. In your opinion, how often do the MPs use hate speech or discriminatory speech? (%)



REFORMS



X. REFORMS

Half (50%) of the respondents think that the introduction of open lists, that makes it possible to vote for a person in the parliamentary elections, instead of a party list, would contribute to a higher quality in the composition of the Assembly. Nineteen percent of the respondents fully agree with this statement while 31% agree partially. However, the support for this position has decreased compared to 2023, when 20% of the citizens fully agreed, while 36% partially agreed. A total of 25% of the citizens think that the introduction of open lists will not have an impact on the quality of the composition of the Assembly. Fourteen percent of them partially disagree, while 11% do not agree at all (Chart 40).

HALF (50%) OF THE RESPONDENTS THINK THAT THE INTRODUCTION OF OPEN LISTS, THAT MAKES IT POSSIBLE TO VOTE FOR A PERSON IN THE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS, INSTEAD OF A PARTY LIST, WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO A HIGHER QUALITY IN THE COMPOSITION OF THE ASSEMBLY.

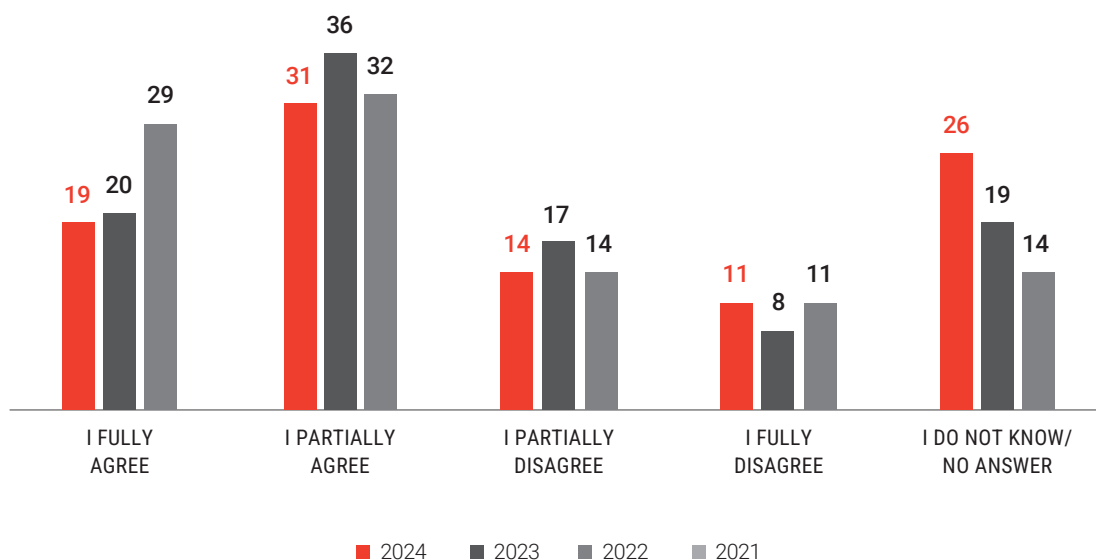


Chart 40. The introduction of open lists, which would enable them to vote a person, instead of a party list, would contribute to a higher quality MP composition at the Assembly (%)

Half of the respondents (51%) consider it important to establish multi-party groups in the Assembly in which MPs from different parties will unite around the same issues. On the other hand, 27% of the respondents do not agree with that. Taking into account the results from this question in 2023, it is noted that the perception of the citizens remains relatively unchanged (Chart 41).

HALF OF THE RESPONDENTS (51%) CONSIDER IT IMPORTANT TO ESTABLISH MULTI-PARTY GROUPS IN THE ASSEMBLY IN WHICH MPS FROM DIFFERENT PARTIES WILL UNITE AROUND THE SAME ISSUES.

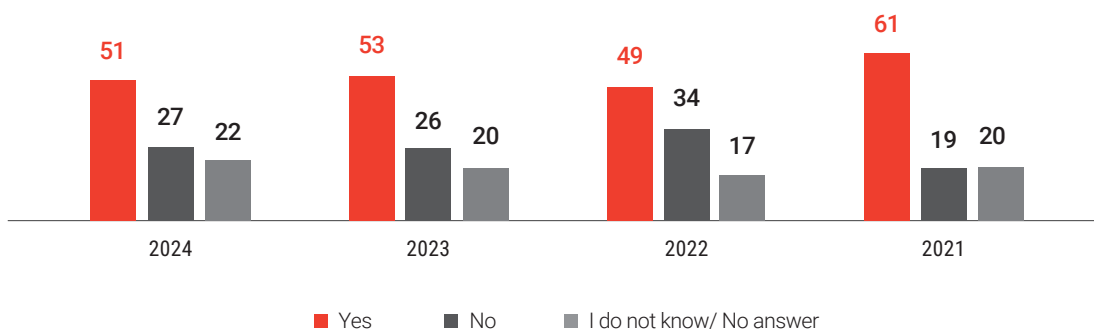


Chart 41. Do you believe that it is important that multi-party groups are established at the Assembly (for example, the Female MP Club) at which the MPs from different parties would unite on the same issues? (%)

The citizens who said that it is important to establish multi-party groups in the Assembly were additionally asked about which issues it is important to establish such groups. In that regard, 63% of the respondents believe that such groups should be established on issues related to young people, while 52% believe that these should be established on issues that concern the unemployed people. The issues of single parents are indicated by 49% of the respondents, while 44% believe that such groups should be established for the needs of the people living rural areas. The lowest on the list in terms of percentages (slightly less than one third of the respondents) are women (30%), 20% Roma and only 2% LGBTI+ community (Chart 42).

THE BIGGEST PART OF THEM MOST FREQUENTLY INDICATE QUESTIONS RELATED WITH THE YOUTH, UNEMPLOYED PEOPLE, PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES AND SINGLE PARENTS AS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT ISSUES FOR ESTABLISHING MULTI-PARTY GROUPS.

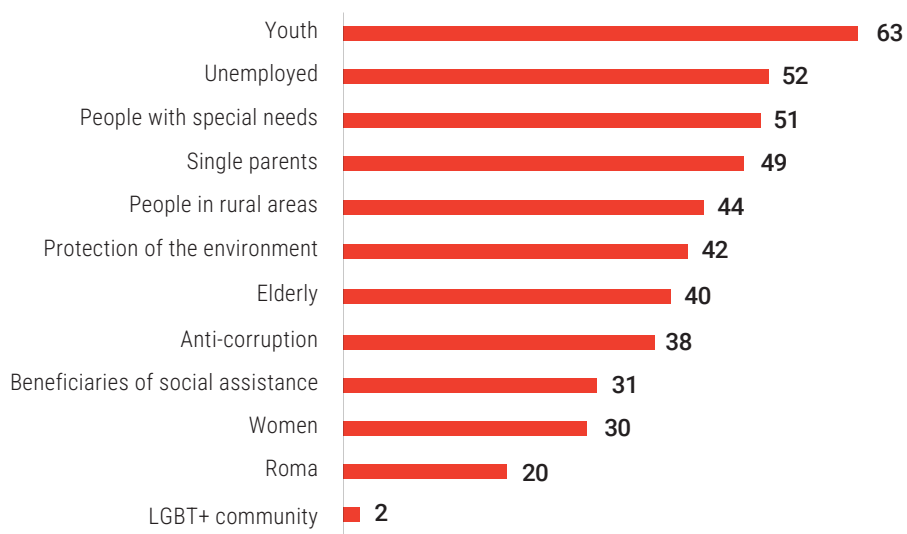


Chart 42. For which issues do you think it is important to establish such groups? (%)

XI.

AVERAGE SCORE ABOUT THE WORK OF THE ASSEMBLY



XI. AVERAGE SCORE ABOUT THE WORK OF THE ASSEMBLY

On a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 is the worst and 5 the best, the respondents evaluated the work of the Assembly with an average score of 2.3. Compared to 2023, the work of the Assembly was evaluated with an average score of 2.2, where an insignificant increase of 0.1 points can be noted. The assessment of the work of the Assembly has fluctuated over the years, with a note that in 2017 the work of the Assembly had the highest average score (3.4) in the last 15 years (Chart 43).

THE AVERAGE GRADE FOR THE WORK OF THE ASSEMBLY IS 2.3

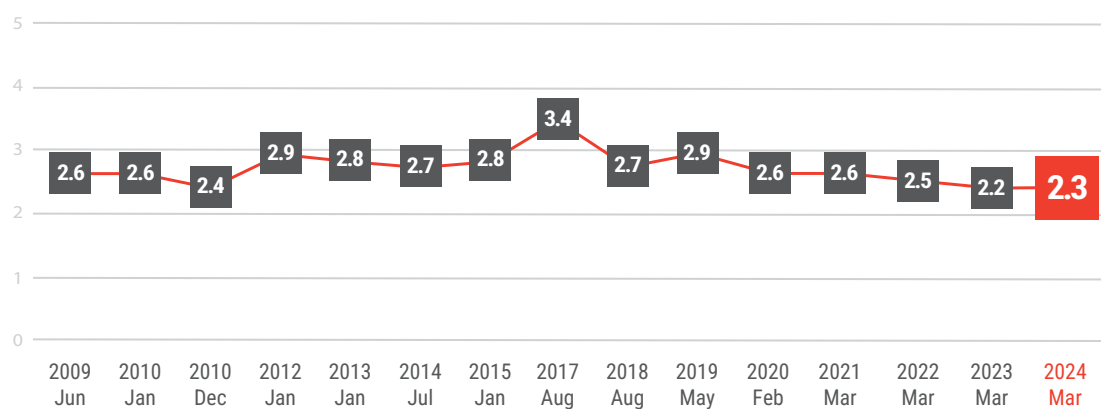


Chart 43. The average score for the work of the Assembly (on a scale of 1 - the lowest to 5 - the highest)

If we consider the individual evaluations of the work of the Assembly in terms of percentages, more than half of the respondents evaluated the work of the last parliamentary composition as weak (57%). Almost a third of the respondents (28%) evaluated the work with a score of 3, while 15% were satisfied with the last parliamentary composition and answered with a score of 4 or 5. In terms of ethnicity, ethnic Albanians are again more optimistic compared to ethnic Macedonians and members of other ethnic communities, where only 13% of the ethnic Albanians gave the lowest score 1 (weakest), compared to 38% of the ethnic Macedonians and 25% of the members of other ethnic communities (Chart 44).

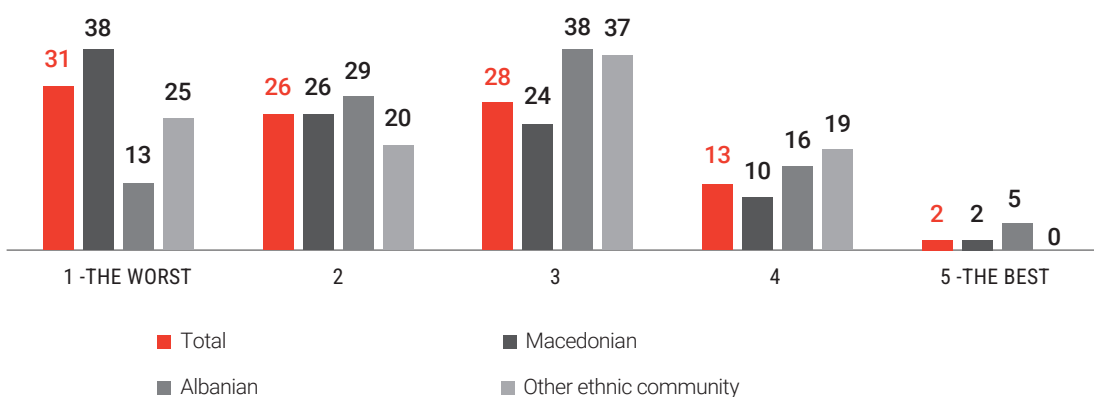


Chart 44. Evaluate the work of the last composition of the Assembly on a scale from 1 to 5 (where 1 is the weakest and 5 is the best)

XII.

POLITICAL CONTEXT AND TRUST IN THE INSTITUTIONS



XII. POLITICAL CONTEXT AND TRUST IN THE INSTITUTIONS

The respondents were asked in which direction they think the life in North Macedonia is moving. More than two-thirds believe that life in the country is moving in the wrong direction (67%), while only less than a quarter of the respondents (18%) believe that life is moving in the right direction. Compared to 2023 and 2022, this perception of the citizens shows a negative trend, where the number of the respondents who believe that the country is moving in the right direction in 2024 is lower by 6 percentage points compared to 2023 (24%), 10 percentage points compared to 2022 (28%), and even 19 percentage points compared to 2021 (37%, Chart 45).

MORE THAN TWO-THIRDS OF THE CITIZENS BELIEVE THAT LIFE IN THE COUNTRY IS MOVING IN THE WRONG DIRECTION (67%), WHILE ONLY LESS THAN A QUARTER (18%) BELIEVE THAT LIFE IS MOVING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION.

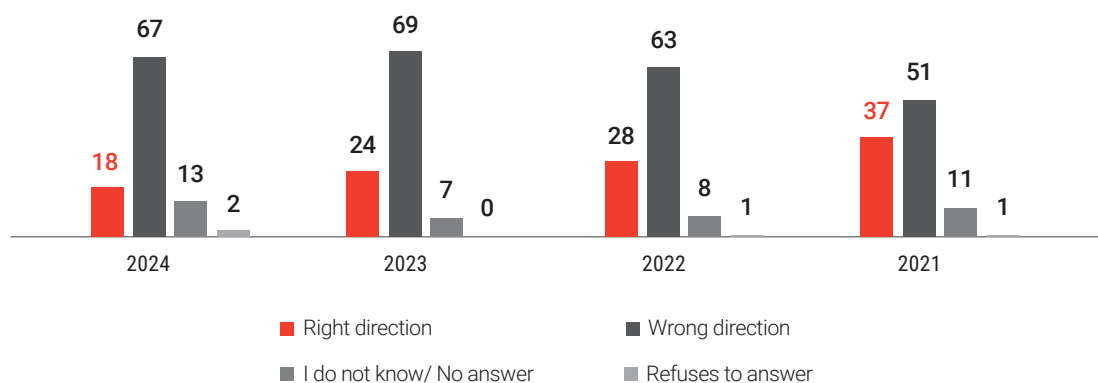


Chart 45. Do you believe that, generally speaking, life in North Macedonia is moving in: (%)

Religious communities and the military are rated as institutions in which citizens have the highest trust. On a scale from 1 - the lowest, to 10 - the highest, the trust that citizens have in religious communities is rated with an average score of 5.7, while the trust in the military is rated with an average score of 5.4. In third place, but still with a significantly lower average trust score of 4.8, citizens place the police, followed by trust in the media, 4.7. The citizens evaluate the trust in local authorities, health institutions and the non-governmental sector with an average score of 4.4, followed by the trust in public administration with an average score of 4.3.

The institutions holding the legislative, executive and judicial power in the country are evaluated with average scores below 4. Thus, the trust expressed by the respondents for the President of the state has an average score of 3.8, while the trust in the Assembly has an average score of 3.7. This is followed by the trust in political parties, which is rated with an average score of 3.6, while the trust in the Government is scored with 3.5. The Public Prosecutor's Office is scored with 3.3 and the judiciary with the score of 3, which means they have the lowest average score among the institutions.

If these average scores are compared with the results of the previous year (2023), one can observe a general improvement in the trust expressed by the citizens in relation to all institutions. The most evident increase in the trust was observed with regards to the healthcare institutions – if compared to 2023 when they were assessed with an average score of 3.6, the score they received in 2024 is higher by 0.8 points. A significant increase in the average trust score of 0.7 points is also observed in the media outlets (2023, 4; 2024, 4.7), and 0.6 points in the religious communities (2023, 5.1; 2024, 5.7) and the political parties (2023, 3; 2024, 3.6, Chart 46).

THE TRUST IN ALL OF THE INSTITUTIONS HAS INCREASED IN 2024 COMPARED TO 2023.

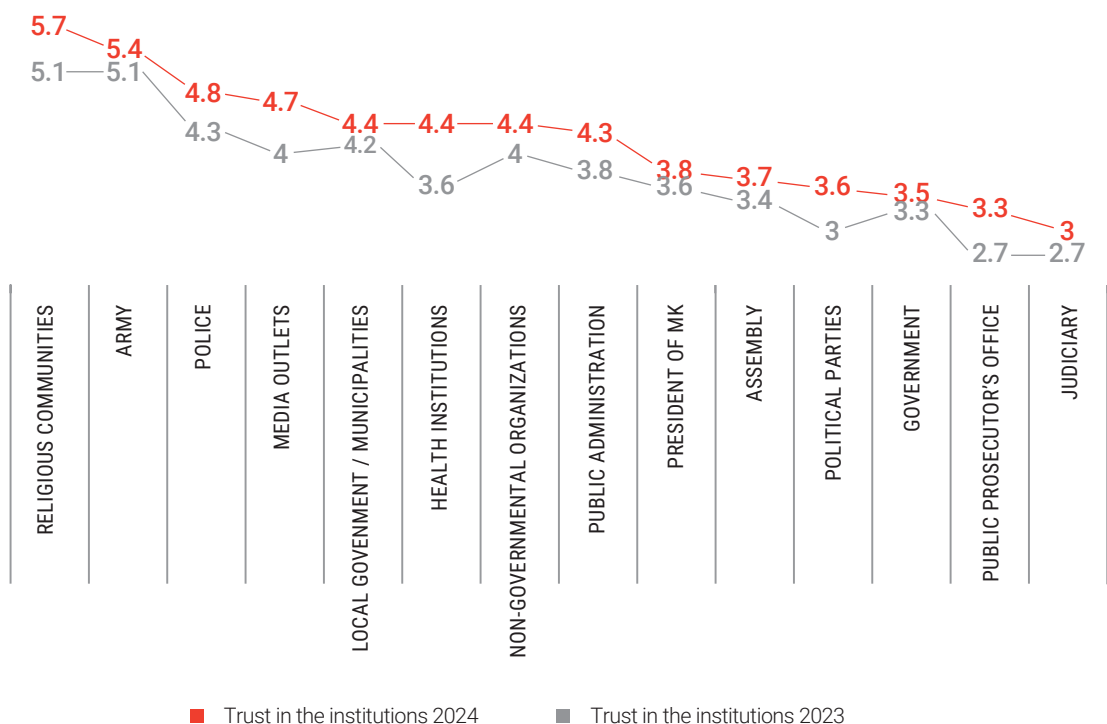


Chart 46. On a scale from 1 – the lowest to 10 – the highest, rate your trust in the following institutions (%)

The citizens who rated their trust in the Assembly with an average score of 4 or lower (on a scale from 1 – the lowest to 10 – the highest) were asked about the main reasons why they have this relatively low level of trust in the Assembly. The most frequent response here is that "the MPs do not work in the interest of the citizens or the country" (28%), followed by "they do not work conscientiously and professionally" (20%), "they adopt bad laws and laws that favor their personal interest" (18%) and also the issue of corruption (17%, Chart 47).

THE MOST OFTEN MENTIONED POTENTIAL REASONS FOR LACK OF CONFIDENCE IN THE ASSEMBLY ARE THAT "MPS DO NOT WORK IN THE INTEREST OF THE CITIZENS", "THEY DO NOT WORK CONSCIENTIOUSLY AND PROFESSIONALLY", "THEY ADOPT BAD LAWS AND LAWS FOR THEIR PERSONAL INTEREST".

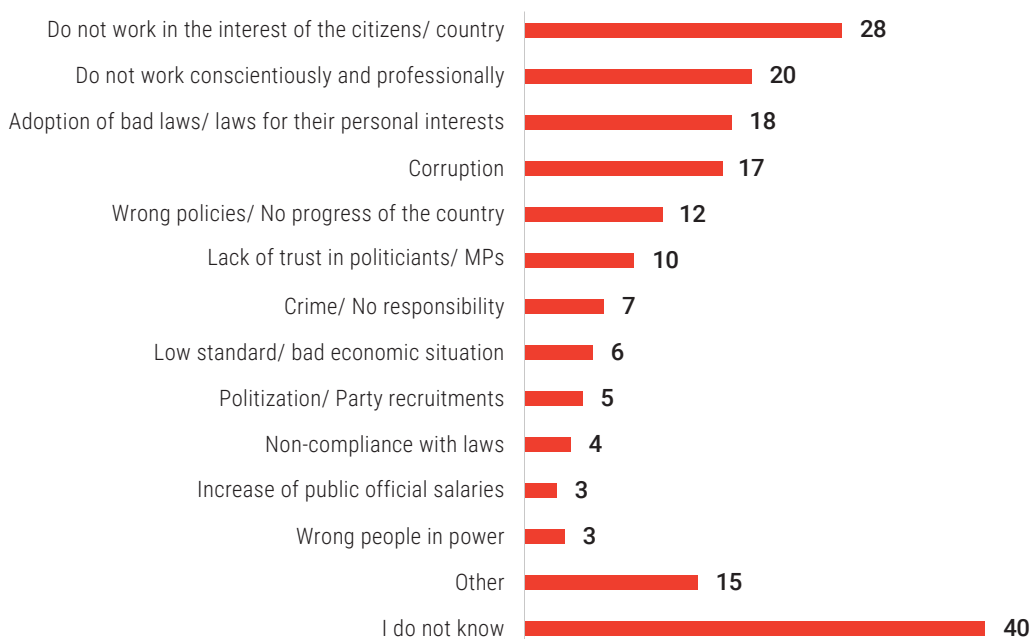


Chart 47. (Citizens who rated their trust in the Assembly with a score of 4 or lower, on a scale from 1 – the lowest to 10 – the highest) In your opinion, what are the main reasons why you have lower confidence in the work of the Assembly? (%)

The same citizens, that is, those who assessed their trust in the Assembly with an average score of 4 or lower, were also asked what the MPs should improve in their work, in order to increase the trust in the Assembly. The most frequent response here is the need for «the MPs to work in the interest of the citizens» (37%), followed by the need to increase the integrity of the MPs, meaning that the MPs should be honest, responsible and professional (19%). The third most frequent answer of the citizen is the necessity to «comply with the laws and their enforcement» (11%) as well as «improvement of the living standard in the country» (11%).

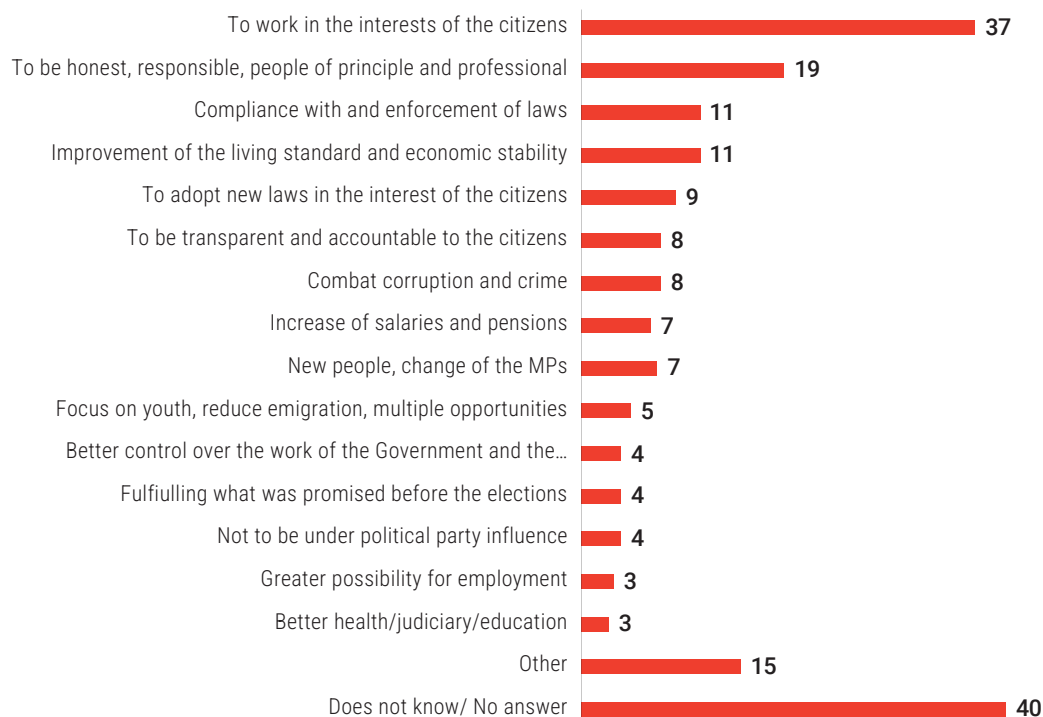


Chart 48. (Citizens who rated their trust in the Assembly with a score of 4 or lower, on a scale from 1 – the lowest to 10 – the highest) What should the MPs improve in their work so you can increase your confidence in the Assembly? (%)

On the other hand, the citizens who evaluated their trust in the Assembly with an average score of 5 or higher (on a scale from 1 – the lowest to 10 – the highest) were additionally asked what they based their relatively higher trust in this institution on. Thus, 22% of these respondents answered that the "MPs carry out their work responsibly", 15% said that "laws or decisions important for the country are in the Assembly", while 14% stated that "the MPs should advocate more for the benefit of the country".

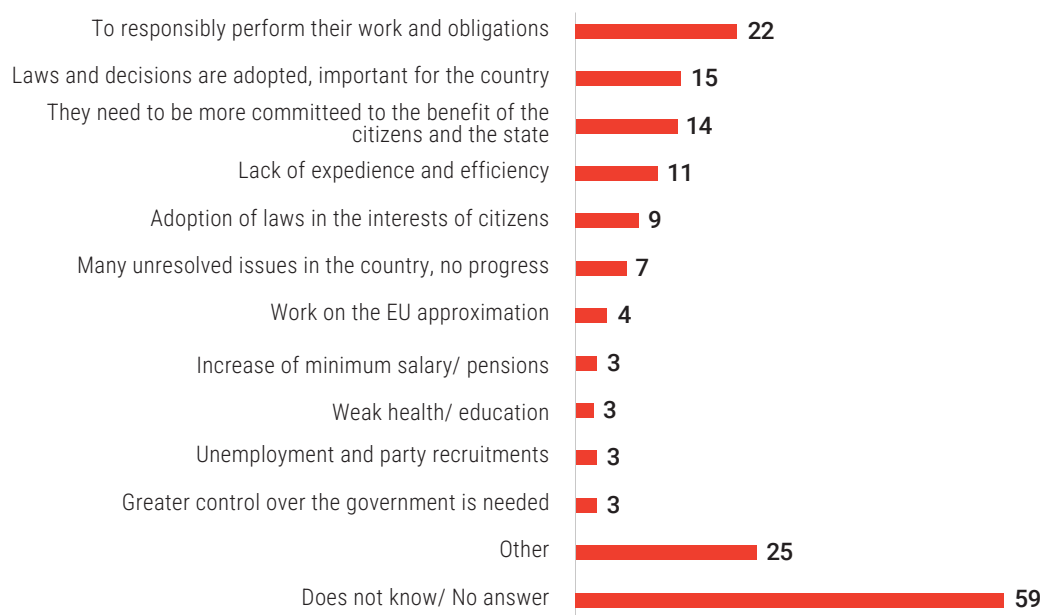


Chart 49. (Citizens who rated trust in the Assembly with a score of 5 or higher, on a scale from 1 – the lowest to 10 – the highest) In your opinion, what are the main reasons why you have this level of trust in work in the Assembly? (%)

These citizens were also asked what should the Assembly and the MPs improve in their work so that the trust in this institution is increased. A quarter of the citizens (24%) said that it is necessary "to work responsibly, promptly and efficiently" as well as "to work for the good of the people". The third most common answer (13%) is that it is necessary that "the MPs adopt better laws for the benefit of the citizens".

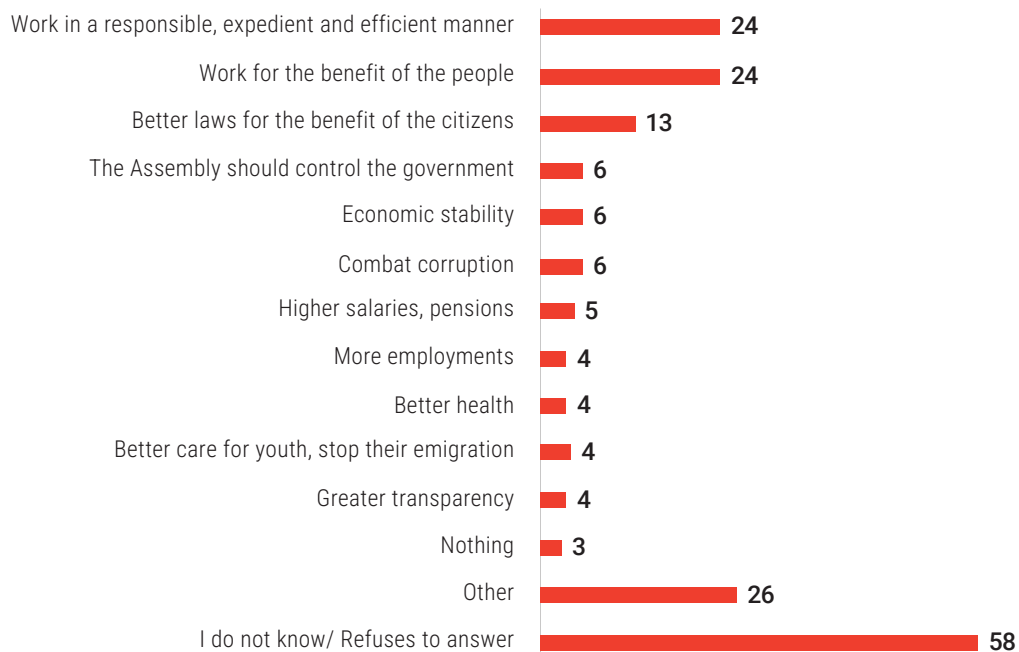


Chart 50. (Citizens who rated their trust in the Assembly with a score of 5 or higher, on a scale from 1 – the lowest to 10 – the highest) What should the MPs improve in their work, so you can have an increased trust in the Assembly? (%)

XIII. DEMOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF SURVEY RESPONDENTS

Sex	Male	50%
	Female	50%
Age	18-29	20%
	30-39	19%
	40-49	22%
	50-64	16%
	65+	22%
Ethnicity	Macedonian	69%
	Albanian	26%
	Other	5%
Economic status	Formally employed full-time in the state sector	20%
	Formally employed in the state sector part-time	0%
	Formally employed full-time in the private sector	27%
	Formally employed in the private sector with less than 30 hours	1%
	Self-employed (works in their own company or store)	4%
	Informal employment which is paid regularly	2%
	Informal employment which is paid sporadically	3%
	Student	8%
	Retired person	17%
	A person with disability who is not able to engage in employment	0%
	Not employed and has not sought employment in the last 30 days	7%
	Not employed and is actively monitoring the job advertisements and is looking for a job	8%
Does not want to answer	2%	

Residence (region)	Vardar region	8%
	Eastern region	9%
	Southwest region	10%
	Southeast region	8%
	Pelagonija region	12%
	Polog region	14%
	Northeast region	8%
	Skopje region	30%
Residence	Urban	56%
	Rural	44%

XIV. CHARTS

- Chart 1. What will you remember the year of 2023 in the Assembly by?
- Chart 1.1 (Citizens who responded with a specific case to the previous question). On a scale from 1 – I am not satisfied at all to 5 – I am very satisfied, how satisfied are you with the manner in which the Assembly fulfilled its function in this particular case.
- Chart 2. Average rating of citizen satisfaction with the work of the Assembly, on a scale of 1 meaning you are not satisfied at all, and 5 means you are very satisfied.
- Chart 2.1 On a scale from 1 to 5 (where 1 means you are not satisfied at all, and 5 means you are very satisfied), how satisfied are you with the work of the Assembly in the last year?
- Chart 3. If you want to get informed about the work of the Assembly, what source of information you use the most?
- Chart 3.1. Sources of information about the work of the Assembly by age groups
- Chart 4. Are you familiar with the new program, content and shows that is broadcasted on the Parliamentary TV channel since January 2024, in addition to the broadcast of parliamentary sessions?
- Chart 5. Citizens who are not fully or partially familiar with the new content broadcasted on the Parliamentary TV channel were asked the following question: Are you satisfied with the content offered by the Parliamentary TV channel?
- Chart 6. Citizens who are not fully or partially familiar with the new content broadcasted on the Parliamentary TV channel were asked the following question: Which of the new content aired on the Parliamentary channel do you follow most often?
- Chart 7. What content would you like to watch on the Parliamentary channel?
- Chart 7.1 What content would you like to watch on the Parliamentary channel: Three most popular types of content by age group?
- Chart 8. Have you ever used the official website of the Assembly to obtain information?
- Chart 9: If you have ever used the official website of the Assembly, how satisfied are you with its usefulness and functionality?
- Chart 10. For what content do you most often visit or would visit the website of the Assembly?
- Chart 11. To what extent does the Assembly have control over the Government, that is the Government over the Assembly?
- Chart 12. Do you follow the MP question sessions in the Assembly?
- Chart 13. (For citizens who answered that they often or rarely follow the MP questions) To what extent do you agree with each of the statements related to MP questions, as a tool for oversight over the executive power?
- Chart 14. Apart from MP questions, do you remember any other oversight that the Assembly implemented last year to control the Government and the institutions?

-
- Chart 15. (Citizens who remember other oversight that the Assembly implemented over the executive power) Which other cases do you remember? (Absolute number of cases mentioned by respondents)?
- Chart 16. (Citizens who mentioned a specific case of oversight that the Assembly implemented over the executive power) Do you think that the Assembly fulfilled its oversight role in controlling the Government and the institutions in the particular case.
- Chart 17. To what extent do the MPs influence the quality of the laws in our country? (%)
- Chart 18. An average score on a scale from 1 to 10 in regards to the importance of the functions of the Assembly and the extent to which they are fulfilled by the MPs?
- Chart 19. To what extent do you believe that the Assembly is open to public participation in its work? (%)
- Chart 20. Do you know who is the MP from your constituency?
- Chart 21. Have you ever contacted an MP from your constituency/municipality regarding a specific issue (face-to-face, via e-mail, social media, etc.)
- Chart 22. How did you contact the MP?
- Chart 23. The MP from your region (municipality, constituency) is available to meet citizens?
- Chart 24. Are you aware of the MP offices in your region/municipality and have you visited the MP offices until now?
- Chart 25. (Of the citizens who said that they had visited the local office for contact of the MPs with the citizens) What was the purpose of your visit?
- Chart 26. (Of the citizens who stated that they have visited the MPs local office for contact with citizens) How satisfied are you with the response you received from your visit?
- Chart 27. In what way, in your view, should your MPs inform citizens about their work?
- Chart 28. Are you familiar with the Parliamentary Caravan activity, as a way to contact and involve citizens in the work of the Assembly?
- Chart 29. Has the MP from your region taken an initiative in the Assembly for an issue faced by your municipality?
- Chart 30. Was there ever a case in which an MP raised an initiative in the Assembly on an issue of your interest or represented an issue of your interest in his public appearances?
- Chart 31. Are you interested in being informed and getting involved in the work of the Assembly?
- Chart 32. In what way do you think you can participate in the work of the Assembly?
- Chart 33. How frequently do you think the MPs represent the following interests?
- Chart 34. Which of the following groups of citizens do you think the Assembly represents best?
- Chart 35. Do you think that the Assembly represents the needs of the business community, with a purpose of improving the business climate in the country?
- Chart 36. The MPs from the ruling majority consider the arguments of the opposition MPs when making decisions in the Assembly
- Chart 37. The MPs from the opposition take into account the arguments of the MPs from the majority when making decisions in the Assembly.

- Chart 38. Do you think that the parties are willing to compromise with each other, all in order to find a common solution that is in the public interest, that is, in the interest of the citizens?
- Chart 39. In your opinion, how often do the MPs use hate speech or discriminatory speech?
- Chart 40. The introduction of open lists, which would enable them to vote a person, instead of a party list, would contribute to a higher quality MP composition at the Assembly (%)
- Chart 41. Do you believe that it is important that multi-party groups are established at the Assembly (for example, the Female MP Club) at which the MPs from different parties would unite on the same issues?
- Chart 42. For which issues do you think it is important to establish such groups?
- Chart 43. The average score for the work of the Assembly (on a scale of 1 - the lowest to 5 - the highest)
- Chart 44. Evaluate the work of the last composition of the Assembly on a scale from 1 to 5 (where 1 is the weakest and 5 is the best)
- Chart 45. Do you believe that, generally speaking, life in North Macedonia is moving in:
- Chart 46. On a scale from 1 – the lowest to 10 – the highest, rate your trust in the following institutions.
- Chart 47. (Citizens who rated their trust in the Assembly with a score of 4 or lower, on a scale from 1 – the lowest to 10 – the highest) In your opinion, what are the main reasons why you have lower confidence in the work of the Assembly?
- Chart 48. (Citizens who rated their trust in the Assembly with a score of 4 or lower, on a scale from 1 – the lowest to 10 – the highest) What should the MPs improve in their work so you can increase your confidence in the Assembly?
- Chart 49. (Citizens who rated trust in the Assembly with a score of 5 or higher, on a scale from 1 – the lowest to 10 – the highest) In your opinion, what are the main reasons why you have this level of trust in work in the Assembly?
- Chart 50. (Citizens who rated their trust in the Assembly with a score of 5 or higher, on a scale from 1 – the lowest to 10 – the highest) What should the MPs improve in their work, so you can have an increased trust in the Assembly?
- Table 1. Demographic distribution of the respondents

ABOUT THE PROJECT

The Swiss Parliament Support Programme (PSP) supports the efforts of the Assembly of the Republic of North Macedonia for achieving independence by building a consensus, structural reforms and building the capacities in its legislative and supervisory roles, as well as in its institutional transparency and accountability efforts.

The program is giving support to the strategic planning of the Assembly; for reforms in human resource management; for an improved assessment of the regulatory impact and the procurement processes; for the efforts for greater openness and open data and for greater civic engagement in the policymaking processes. In addition, it also offers support by measuring public opinion and by monitoring the reform efforts, which includes this public opinion survey.

The Parliament Support Programme is supported by the Swiss Government and is being implemented by the National Democratic Institute (NDI), the Institute for Democracy Societas Civilis - Skopje (IDSCS) and the Center for Change Management (CUP).

INFORMATION ON THE INSTITUTE FOR DEMOCRACY

The Institute for Democracy is a think-tank that carries out research of the development of good governance, rule of law and the European integration of North Macedonia. The IDSCS mission is to assist civic involvement in the decision-making process and to reinforce the participative political culture. By reinforcing freethinking values, IDSCS contributes towards the coexistence of differences.

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Email: contact@idscs.org.mk

XV. ANNEX 1 - QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE SURVEY ON THE WORK OF THE ASSEMBLY

1.Trust in the institutions - On a scale of 1 - 10, describe your trust in the following institutions:

	1-the least amount of trust					10-the largest amount of trust					I don't know	Refuses
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		
The Assembly of the Republic of North Macedonia	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99
The Government of the Republic of North Macedonia	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99
The judiciary	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99
The president of the Republic of North Macedonia	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99
The local government/ municipality	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99
Public Administration	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99
The State Commission for Preventing Corruption	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99
The State Audit Office	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99
The Public Prosecutor's Office	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99
The health institutions	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99
The media	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99
The political parties	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99
The non- governmental organizations	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99
The religious communities	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99
The army	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99
The police	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99

2. (if the respondent on the previous question answer is 4 or lower for the trust in the Assembly) According to you, what are the main issues due to which you have lower trust in the work of the Assembly? (spontaneous reply)

First mention:

Second mention:

3. (if the respondent on the previous question answer is 4 or lower for the trust in the Assembly) What should the MPs improve in their work in order to raise your trust in the Assembly? (spontaneous reply)

First mention:

Second mention:

4. (if the respondent on the previous question answer is 5 or higher for the trust in the Assembly) According to you, what are the main issues due to which you have the Indicated trust in the work of the Assembly? (spontaneous reply)

First mention:

Second mention:

5. (if the respondent on the previous question answer is 5 or higher for the trust in the Assembly) What should the MPs improve in their work in order to raise your trust in the Assembly? (spontaneous reply)

First mention:

Second mention:

6. On a scale from 1 – the lowest to 5 – the highest, how do you rate the work of:

- The State Commission for Preventing Corruption (scale from 1 to 5)

- The State Audit Office (scale from 1 to 5)

7. **What will you remember for 2023 in relation to the Assembly? (suggestions are not read to respondents)**

Current topics discussed in the Assembly	Mentioned
1. Proposal for the Budget of the Republic of North Macedonia for 2024	
2. Proposal for the election of members of the Government of the Republic of North Macedonia	
3. Proposal for a law to amend the Law on Labor Relations	
4. Proposal for a law to amend the Law on Construction Draft law on the solidarity tax	
5. Proposal for a law for the solidarity tax	
6. Proposal for a law to amend the Law on profit tax	
7. Proposal for a law to amend the Law on games of chance and entertainment games	
8. Proposal for a law to amend the Criminal Law	
9. Progress report of the European Commission for the Republic of North Macedonia	
10. Election of a new State Prosecutor	
11. Election of a Constitutional Judge	
12. Inquiry commission for the "Oncology" case	
13. Oversight discussion on the topic: "The application of the legal provisions of the Law on unregistered persons in the birth register"	
14. Adoption of the new Rules of Procedure of the Assembly	
15. Other	

8. **(For each of the above mentioned topics the pollster asks individually) On a scale from 1 – very poorly to 5 – very satisfactory, how did that Assembly dealt with it: _____**

9. **How satisfied are you with the work of the Assembly in the past (January - December 2023) on a scale of 1 to 5 (where 1 is the lowest, while 5 is the highest score)**

10. If you would like to get informed about the work of the Assembly, what source of information do you use the most?	1. Private TV stations
	2. Public service provider Macedonian radio-television
	3. The TV-channel of the Assembly
	4. Internet news portals
	5. Newspaper or magazine
	6. Radio
	7. Elsewhere on the internet (e.g. Facebook,
	8. Friends, relatives, neighbors etc.
	9. From the Assembly website
	10. Straight from political parties
	11. Something else
12. I do not want to receive information about the Assembly/I am not interested (skip the next one)	
98. I do not know/no answer (illegible)	

11. Are you familiar with the new program, content and shows that were broadcast on the Assembly channel from January 2024, in addition to the broadcast of sessions?	1. I am fully familiar
	2. I am partially familiar
	3. I am not familiar at all
	98. I don't know/no answer (illegible)

12. (If answered "I am fully aware" or "I am partially aware" yes to the previous 12th question) Are you satisfied with the content that the Assembly TV channel is offering)

- a) Very satisfied
- b) Somewhat satisfied
- c) Not satisfied

13. (If answered "I am fully aware" or "I am partially aware" yes to the previous 12th question) Which of the new contents of the Assembly channel do you follow most often? (open-ended question, answers are not read)	1. News
	2. Sobraniska riznica
	3. Zakonodaven brifing
	4. Interviews
	5. Other
	98. I don't know/no answer (Unreadable)

14. What content would you like to see on the Assembly channel?	1. Educational content for the legislative process and the work of the Assembly
	2. Promotional content for the opportunities available to citizens for the involvement in the work of the Assembly and meetings with MPs
	3. Political debates on topics related to the work of the Assembly
	4. Expert interpretation of laws and amendments that have been adopted
	5. Field visits of parliamentary committees
	6. Presentation of the activities of the MP groups
	7. Diplomatic activities and events of MPs
	8. Other (the respondent has an opportunity to give another proposal)
	9. News with a focus on the work of the Assembly
	10. Talk shows
98. I do not know/no answer (illegible)	

15. Have you ever used the Assembly website for obtaining information?

- a) Yes
- b) NO

16. (if the respondent answered yes on the previous question) How would you rate the usability and functionality of the Parliament's official website?

- a) Very satisfying
- b) Somewhat satisfying
- c) Not satisfying

17. For what content do you most often visit (or would you visit) the website of the Parliament?	1. MP speeches
	2. Recordings of committees
	3. Public debates
	4. Opportunities for getting in touch with the MPs
	5. An opportunity to ask the MPs questions
	6. Educational content for the role and competences of the Assembly
	7. MP votes on certain points
	8. Proceedings from committees and plenary sessions
	9. Monitoring the law in all the readings/steps of the legislative process
	10. Further information on the activities and the extent to which your MP is active
	11. Live streaming of assembly sessions
	12. Data on the work of the institution, organization, employees, statistics, research etc.
	13. Other (the respondent has an opportunity to give another proposal)
98. I do not know/no answer (illegible)	

18. How satisfied are you with the work of the Assembly in the past period (January - December 2023) on a scale from 1 to 5 (where 1 is the lowest and 5 is the highest mark)

19. Do you follow the MPs questions sessions in the Assmebly?

- a) Yes, often
- b) Yes, rarely
- c) Never

20. (if the respondent answered “yes often” or “yes rarely” on the previous question) I will read a few statements related to the MP questions as a tool for supervising the executive government. Please let me know to what extent you agree with each of the statements?

	I fully agree	I partially agree	I partially disagree	I completely disagree	I don't know	Refuses
1. The MP questions enable supervision of the work of the ministers	1	2	3	4	98	99
2. The MP questions influence the provision of responsibility of the institutions	1	2	3	4	98	99
3. The MP questions are used for advertising the government and the other institutions	1	2	3	4	98	99
4. The MP questions are used to inform citizens for the work of the government and the other institutions	1	2	3	4	98	99
5. The MP questions are used for criticizing the government and the other institutions	1	2	3	4	98	99

21. Apart the MPs questions, can you recall of any oversight case (Oversight hearing, inquiry committee, interpellation) that this parliamentary composition has undertaken? (the respondent can name few)

- a) Yes (to point out which)
- b) No

22. (if the respondent has named a specific case, the pollster asks for each case individually) Do you believe that the Assembly fulfilled its oversight role in the case of _____?

- a) Yes, fully
- b) Yes, to some extent
- c) No

23. To what extent do the MPs influence the quality of the laws in our country?	1. They have a large influence
	2. They have moderate influence
	3. They have relatively little influence
	4. They have no influence at all
	98. I do not know/no answer (illegible)

24. I will read a few functions of the Assembly. On a scale of 1 to 10 (where 1 means not important at all, and 10 means very important), please tell me how important you find the function I read to you

	1-not important at all										10-very important										I don't know	Refuses
1. To adopt as many laws and amendments	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99
2. To adopt the best laws possible in the interest of and in line with the needs of citizens	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99
3. To control the Government and the ministries	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99
4. To care for the way the laws and policies are being implemented	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99
5. To enable the public to participate in the preparation of the laws and policies	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99
6. To organize debates with experts and civic organizations on current issues	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99
7. To supervise the way the Budget (the public money) is being spent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99

25. I will read a few functions of the Assembly. On a scale of 1 to 10 (where 1 means does not fulfill at all, and 10 means it completely fulfills), please tell me to what extent do you believe that the Assembly fulfills the following functions

	1-Does not fulfill them at all										10-It fulfills them completely										I don't know	Refuses
1. To adopt as many laws and amendments	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99
2. To adopt the best laws possible in the interest of and in line with the needs of citizens	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99
3. To control the Government and the ministries	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99
4. To care for the way the laws and policies are being implemented	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99
5. To enable the public to participate in the preparation of the laws and policies	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99
6. To organize debates with experts and civic organizations on current issues	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99
7. To supervise the way the Budget (the public money) is being spent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99

26. To what extent do you believe that the assembly is open to public participation in its work? (by 'open' we mean that citizens can get information at any time for the work of the Assembly and there are ways to participate in its work)	1. Fully open
	2. Partially open
	3. Partially closed
	4. Completely closed
	98. I do not know/no answer (illegible)

27. Has it ever happened that a MP initiated an initiative in the Parliament on an issue of your interest or represented an issue of your interest in his public appearances?	1. Yes
	2. No
	98. I don't know/no answer

28. Do you know the name of the MP in your constituency?	1. Yes (if the person has given a correct answer and has recognized at least one MP)
	2. No
	9. Other (I know that there is no MP from my municipality)

29. Have you ever contacted your local MP on a certain issue (on line, mail, social media, in person)

- a) Yes, and I am satisfied with the response/the action the MP took after the meeting
- b) Yes, but I am not satisfied with the response/the action the MP took after the meeting
- c) No, I have not contacted an MPs

30. (If the respondent answered under A) or B) to the previous question, that is, that he contacted a member of parliament) How did you contact the MP?

- a) Live meeting
- b) Via e-mail
- c) Through social media
- d) Over the phone
- g) Through an online meeting
- e) Other

31. Have you visited the parliamentary offices in your region/municipality?	1. Yes, I have visited the office
	2. I am familiar with the office, but I have not visited it
	3. I am not familiar with the office
	98. Refuse to answer

32. (if the respondent answered that they have visited the office) what was the purpose of your visit:

- a) Asking a parliamentary question
- b) Initiating a civil initiative
- c) Other (To be specified)

33. (if the respondent answered that they have visited the offices) How satisfied are you with the answer that you received back?

- a) Very satisfied
- b) Partially satisfied
- c) Not satisfied

34. Do you believe that the MP from your region (municipality, constituency) is available to meet citizens?	1. Yes
	2. No
	98. I do not know/no answer (illegible)

35. In what way, in your view, should your MPs inform citizens about what they do?	1. Meetings in MP offices
	2. Meetings with citizens at public locations
	3. Public addresses
	4. The media
	5. Social networks
	98. I do not know / no reply

36. Has an MP from your region taken an initiative in the Assembly for an issue faced by your municipality, community etc.?

- a) Yes
- b) No
- c) I do not know/no answer (illegible)

37. Starting from 2022, the Assembly has introduced an alternative way to interact with the citizens at the local level through the so called Parliamentary caravan, where the regional/local MPs together with part of the Assembly staff organize a meeting in the center of a certain city where the citizens can come and communicate with the MPs. Are you familiar with this activity?

- a) Yes, I am familiar but I have not participated
- b) Yes I am familiar and I have participated in the activity
- c) No, I am not familiar

38. How frequently do the MPs represent the following interests

	Always	Sometimes	Never	I don't know	Refuses
1. Citizens' interests	1	2	3	98	99
2. Their own, personal interests	1	2	3	98	99
3. The interests of citizens from their constituencies	1	2	3	98	99
4. The narrow interest of the party leadership	1	2	3	98	99
5. The interests of the ethnic community they belong to	1	2	3	98	99
6. Business interests	1	2	3	98	99
7. Interests of other countries	1	2	3	98	99

39. In what way do you think you can participate in the work of the Assembly:
1. To launch an initiative for adopting a law or amendments to a law?
2. To ask the MPs a question?
3. To ask for a meeting with an MP?
4. To attend a plenary session of the Assembly?
5. To attend a committee session?
6. To receive information about the future legal regulations and acts that the Assembly will discuss in the near future?
7. To launch an initiative for announcing a local referendum?
8. To launch an initiative for announcing a national referendum?
9. I do not know the ways to participate

40. Are you interested in:

- a) Getting involved in the work of the Assembly (Yes/No)
- b) To be informed about the work of the Assembly (Yes/No)

41. (On a scale from 1 – they do not take them into account at all, to 5 – they take them into account completely) Do you think that:

- a) MPs from the ruling majority take into account the arguments of MPs from the opposition when making decisions in the Parliament
- b) MPs from the opposition take into account the arguments of MPs from the ruling majority when making decisions in the Parliament

42. In your opinion, how often do MPs use hate speech or discriminatory speech in their presentations	1. Never
	2. Rarely
	3. Frequently
	4. Always
	98. I do not know/no answer (illegible)

43. Do you think that the parties are willing to compromise with each other, all in order to find a common solution that is in the public interest, that is, in the interest of the citizens?:

- a) Yes, they often do
- b) Yes, but they rarely do
- c) No, they never do

44. Do you believe that the introduction of open lists (a change in the electoral model) of the parliamentary elections may contribute to an improvement of the quality of the composition of the Assembly?	1. I fully agree
	2. I partially agree
	3. I partially disagree
	4. I completely disagree
	98. I do not know/no answer (illegible)

45. Do you think that the Assembly represents the needs of the business community, in order to improve the business climate in the country?:

- a) Yes, often does
- b) Yes, but rarely
- c) No, never does

46. Out of the following citizen groups, whose interests do you believe are best represented by the Assembly: (2 answers are selected)	1. Persons with disabilities
	2. The LGBT community
	3. Roma
	4. Single parents
	5. Women
	6. The elderly
	7. Unemployed
	8. Social assistance beneficiaries
	9. Young people
	10. Citizens from rural areas
98. I do not know/no answer (illegible)	

47. Do you believe that it is important that there are more thematic party groups established in the Assembly (such as the Female MP Club, the Inter-party group for supporting the rights of the Roma, their inclusion and integration etc.) in which MPs from different parties will unite on similar issues?	1. Yes
	2. No (skip question 47)
	98. I do not know/no answer (illegible)

48. If yes, which issues in your view warrant the establishment of such groups?	1. Persons with disabilities
	2. The LGBT community
	3. Roma
	4. Single parents
	5. Women
	6. The elderly
	7. Unemployed
	8. Social assistance beneficiaries
	9. Young people
	10. Environmental protection
	11. Citizens from rural areas
	12. Anti-corruption
	13. Other

49. For some countries it is said that the Government exercises control over the Assembly, while for others it is said that the Assembly exercises control over the Government. To what extent do you agree with the following statement about our country?

A	B	C	D	E	F	G
The Government has full control over the Assembly						The Assembly has full control over the Government

50. Assess the work of the most recent composition of the parliament on a scale of 1 to 5 (whereby 1 is the lowest, and 5 is the highest score)

1-lowest		5-highest		
1	2	3	4	5

51. Do you believe that, generally speaking, life in North Macedonia is moving in:

- a. The right direction
- b. The wrong direction
- 98. I do not know/no answer (illegible)
- 99. Refuses to reply (illegible)

