

# Expert Survey on Ethnonationalism in Party Competition – Macedonia

## Welcome

Thank you very much for taking the time to participate in our Expert Survey on Ethnonationalism in Party Competition. Your readiness to share your expertise with us is of crucial importance to our project.

Yours sincerely,



Edina Szöcsik and Christina Zuber

## Instructions

We are interested in the position of political parties in **Macedonia** on several issues related to the ethnonationalist dimension of party competition. We would like you to share your knowledge with us on the positions of these parties relative to that of their competitors.

Please note that this is a **cross-national survey** that covers several European democracies.

You will be asked to answer **25 questions**. Please base your answers on the stance of the party leadership (party president and executive committee) in **2011**. Please indicate the position you have chosen for each party by writing an “**x**” into the adequate table cell. **Please choose only one position for each party**. Boxes shaded in **grey** are meant for additions and open answers.

Many of the parties we are interested in are small players. It can therefore be difficult to determine exactly what they are offering to the voter. In case you are unsure about a party's position on a certain issue, please do not hesitate to tick the box: “**no answer (n/a)**” that will always be provided. In case you know that the party simply has no position on a topic we ask about, please tick the box: “**no position**”.

Finally, at the end of the survey we provide space for any additional comment you might have.

## Confidentiality

We will of course treat your answers confidentially. In our final dataset, it will not be possible to link individual answers to an expert's name. We will publish a list of all experts consulted in a separate file to document our data collection. This file will only contain your name and institutional affiliation.

## How to Return the Survey

You can return the survey in the following ways:

1. You can save the survey on your computer and e-mail it back to us as an attachment
2. You can print the survey out and send it by fax (+49 221 470 74 47, +41 44 632 12 89)

In case you have any further questions, please do not hesitate to contact us at any time:

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# Expert Survey on Ethnonationalism in Party Competition – Macedonia

## Party Names

Abbreviation	Full Name	English Translation
VMRO-DPMNE	Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization – Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity	Vnatrešna makedonska revolucionerna organizacija – Demokratska partija za makedonsko nacionalno edinstvo
SDSM	Social Democratic Union of Macedonia	Socijaldemokratski sojuz na Makedonija
DUI	Democratic Union for Integration	Demokratska unija za integracija
DPA	Democratic Party of Albanians	Demokratska unija na albancite
NDP	National Democratic Revival	Nacionalna demokratska prerodba
DPT	Demokratska Partija na Turcite	Democratic Party of Turks
DPSM	Demokratska Partija na Srbite vo Makedonija	Democratic Party of Serbs in Macedonia

We use this list of parties in all questions.

Please note that you can always **add** parties at the end of this list if you think that we have missed parties that are:

- a) important for party competition on ethno-national issue dimensions in Macedonia; or
- b) important in representing the interests of minorities in Macedonia.

Please note that for theoretical reasons we did deliberately not include the parties of the different Roma groups.

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## General Position on Ethnonationalism

1. In multinational states, parties may have different positions on the status of ethno-national groups and the nature of the state. At one end of the spectrum (0), majority nationalists seek hegemony within the current state they define as their nation-state. At the other end of the spectrum (10), minority nationalists seek to become the hegemonic majority in a new nation-state. Moderate parties of the middle ground (5) seek a common state, in which no single ethno-national group dominates over another.

	0: Majority Nationalism	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Minority Nationalism	No position	n/a
VMRO-DPMNE													
SDSM													
DUI													
DPA													
NDP													
DPT													
DPSM													

2. Where would you locate yourself on this scale?

0: Majority Nationalism	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Minority Nationalism	No position	n/a

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3. How important are ethno-national issues for each party?

	0: Not important at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Extremely important	n/a
VMRO-DPMNE												
SDSM												
DUI												
DPA												
NDP												
DPT												
DPSM												

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## Cultural Autonomy for National Minorities

4. In multinational states, parties may have different positions on cultural autonomy for national minorities, defined as the right to establish institutions of self-government in the fields of education and culture. At one end of the spectrum (0), parties are *strongly against* granting cultural autonomy to national minorities. At the other end of the spectrum (10), parties are *strongly in favor* of granting cultural autonomy to national minorities.

	0: Strongly against cultural autonomy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Strongly in favor of cultural autonomy	No position	n/a
VMRO-DPMNE													
SDSM													
DUI													
DPA													
NDP													
DPT													
DPSM													

5. Where would you locate yourself on this scale?

0: Strongly against cultural autonomy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Strongly in favor of cultural autonomy	No position	n/a

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6. How important is the issue of cultural autonomy for each party?

	0: Not important at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Extremely important	n/a
VMRO-DPMNE												
SDSM												
DUI												
DPA												
NDP												
DPT												
DPSM												

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## Education in and of the Minority Languages

7. In multinational states, parties may have different positions regarding education in and of the languages of national minorities. At one end of the spectrum (0), parties do not want the state to provide any education in and of the minority languages at all. At the other end of the spectrum (10), parties want the state to provide education in the minority languages up to the tertiary level.

	0: No education	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Up to the tertiary level	No position	n/a
VMRO-DPMNE													
SDSM													
DUI													
DPA													
NDP													
DPT													
DPSM													

8. How important is the issue of education in and of the minority languages for each party?

	0: Not important at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Extremely important	n/a
VMRO-DPMNE												
SDSM												
DUI												
DPA												
NDP												
DPT												
DPSM												

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## Use of the Minority Languages

9. In multinational states, parties may have different positions regarding the use of the languages of national minorities. At one end of the spectrum (0), parties oppose the use of minority languages in public life. At the other end of the spectrum (10), parties favor the introduction of minority languages as official state languages.

	0: No public use	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Official state languages	No position	n/a
VMRO-DPMNE													
SDSM													
DUI													
DPA													
NDP													
DPT													
DPSM													

10. How important is the issue of use of the minority languages for each party?

	0: Not important at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Extremely important	n/a
VMRO-DPMNE												
SDSM												
DUI												
DPA												
NDP												
DPT												
DPSM												

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## Territorial Autonomy for National Minorities

11. In multinational states, parties may have different positions on territorial autonomy for national minorities, defined as the right to establish their own institutions of regional self-government within their traditional homeland territories. At one end of the spectrum (0), parties are *strongly against* granting national minorities territorial autonomy. At the other end of the spectrum (10), parties are *strongly in favor* of granting national minorities territorial autonomy.

	0: Strongly against territorial autonomy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Strongly in favor of territorial autonomy	No position	n/a
VMRO-DPMNE													
SDSM													
DUI													
DPA													
NDP													
DPT													
DPSM													

12. Where would you locate yourself on this scale?

0: Strongly against territorial autonomy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Strongly in favor of territorial autonomy	No position	n/a

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13. How important is the issue of territorial autonomy for each party?

	0: Not important at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Extremely important	n/a
VMRO-DPMNE												
SDSM												
DUI												
DPA												
NDP												
DPT												
DPSM												

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## Territorial Models

14. In multinational states, parties may have different positions on which territorial model best suits a multinational society.

Please indicate whether any of the parties explicitly support any of the following territorial models (A-G), or use the free space provided under “any other model” if a party explicitly supports any other territorial model not included in the list.

- A) **Unitary state**
- B) **Decentralization**
- C) **Decentralization on ethnic basis**
- D) **Symmetrical federalism**, where all regions have equal rights
- E) **Asymmetrical federalism**, where a national minority region has more rights than other regions
- F) **Independence** for a national minority region
- G) **Annexation** of the national minority region by another state.

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	Any other model:	No position	n/a
VMRO-DPMNE										
SDSM										
DUI										
DPA										
NDP										
DPT										
DPSM										

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## Peace Agreement

15. Does the party oppose or support the Ohrid framework agreement?

	Strong opposition	Moderate opposition	Neutral	Moderate support	Strong support	No position	n/a
VMRO-DPMNE							
SDSM							
DUI							
DPA							
NDP							
DPT							
DPSM							

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## Economic Issues

16. Parties can be classified in terms of their stance on economic issues. Parties at one end of the spectrum, want government to play an active role in the economy. Parties at the other end of the spectrum, emphasize a reduced economic role for government: privatization, lower taxes, less regulation, less government spending, and a leaner welfare state.<sup>1</sup>

	0: State inter- ventionism	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Free market/ Lean state	No position	n/a
VMRO-DPMNE													
SDSM													
DUI													
DPA													
NDP													
DPT													
DPSM													

17. Where would you locate yourself on this scale?

	0: State inter- ventionism	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Free market/ Lean state	No position	n/a

<sup>1</sup> This question is based on question 11 from the 2006 Chapel Hill Expert Survey (Liesbet Hooghe, Ryan Bakker, Anna Brigeovich, Catherine de Vries, Erica Edwards, Gary Marks, Jan Rovny, Marco Steenbergen (2010), "Reliability and Validity of Measuring Party Positions: The Chapel Hill Expert Surveys of 2002 and 2006", European Journal of Political Research, (4): 684-703.). The questionnaire was downloaded from [http://www.unc.edu/~hooghe/data\\_pp.php](http://www.unc.edu/~hooghe/data_pp.php).

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18. How important are economic issues for each party?

	0: Not important at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Extremely important	n/a
VMRO-DPMNE												
SDSM												
DUI												
DPA												
NDP												
DPT												
DPSM												

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## Democratic Freedoms and Rights

19. Parties can be classified in terms of their views on democratic freedoms and rights. “Libertarian” or “postmaterialist” parties favor expanded personal freedoms, for example, access to abortion, active euthanasia, same-sex marriage, or greater democratic participation. “Traditional” or “authoritarian” parties often reject these ideas; they value order, tradition, and stability, and believe that the government should be a firm moral authority on social and cultural issues.<sup>2</sup>

	0: Libertarian/ Post- materialist	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Traditional/ Authoritarian	No position	n/a
VMRO-DPMNE													
SDSM													
DUI													
DPA													
NDP													
DPT													
DPSM													

20. Where would you locate yourself on this scale?

0: Libertarian/ Post- materialist	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Traditional/ Authoritarian	No position	n/a

<sup>2</sup> This question is based on question 12 from the 2006 Chapel Hill Expert Survey (Liesbet Hooghe, Ryan Bakker, Anna Brigeivich, Catherine de Vries, Erica Edwards, Gary Marks, Jan Rovny, Marco Steenbergen (2010), "Reliability and Validity of Measuring Party Positions: The Chapel Hill Expert Surveys of 2002 and 2006", European Journal of Political Research, (4): 684-703.). The questionnaire was downloaded from [http://www.unc.edu/~hooghe/data\\_pp.php](http://www.unc.edu/~hooghe/data_pp.php).

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21. How important are expanded personal freedoms, (respectively order, tradition and stability) for each party?

	0: Not important at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Extremely important	n/a
VMRO-DPMNE												
SDSM												
DUI												
DPA												
NDP												
DPT												
DPSM												

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## Representation of Ethno-national Groups and Regions

22. Does the party seek to represent a particular ethno-national group/groups or a particular region/regions?

	Yes, the following one or more ethno-national group(s):	Yes, the following one or more region(s):	No, it does not seek to represent any ethno-national group or region in particular	n/a
VMRO-DPMNE				
SDSM				
DUI				
DPA				
NDP				
DPT				
DPSM				

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## Minority Inclusion into the Parties

23. Please indicate to what extent the parties include individuals who identify themselves with a national minority group among their candidates for elections (hereafter: minority candidates):

**No inclusion:** The party fields no minority candidates.

**Some minority candidates:** Up to half of the candidates are minority candidates.

**Mostly minority candidates:** More than half of the candidates are minority candidates.

**Only minority candidates:** All candidates fielded by the party identify with a national minority group.

If the parties include to some extent minority candidates, please specify to what minority groups these candidates belong.

	No inclusion	Some minority candidates	Mostly minority candidates	Only minority candidates	The minority candidates belong to the following minority groups:	n/a
VMRO-DPMNE						
SDSM						
DUI						
DPA						
NDP						
DPT						
DPSM						

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## Origins of the Party

24. Please indicate whether you think that the leadership and candidates of these parties include commanders of military/guerrilla organizations that were involved in the Kurdish Conflict:

**No:** The leadership and the main candidates for elections do not include any former commanders.

**Yes:** Some former commanders can be found within the party leadership and are the main candidates for elections.

	No	Yes	n/a
VMRO-DPMNE			
SDSM			
DUI			
DPA			
NDP			
DPT			
DPSM			

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## Illegal Action

25. Please indicate whether any of the parties currently use illegal means to achieve their goals:

**No illegal action:** the party's actions are in line with the legal rules of the state.

**Non-violent illegal action:** some of the party's actions breach the legal rules of the state, but they are not connected to violence, for example the party sets-up and maintains parallel institutions that are not-recognized by official state authorities, or organizes an unofficial referendum on independence of a minority region.

**Violent illegal action:** some of the party's actions breach the legal rules of the state and are connected to violence, for example the party supports para-military organizations that fight for the interests of an ethno-national group with the use of force.

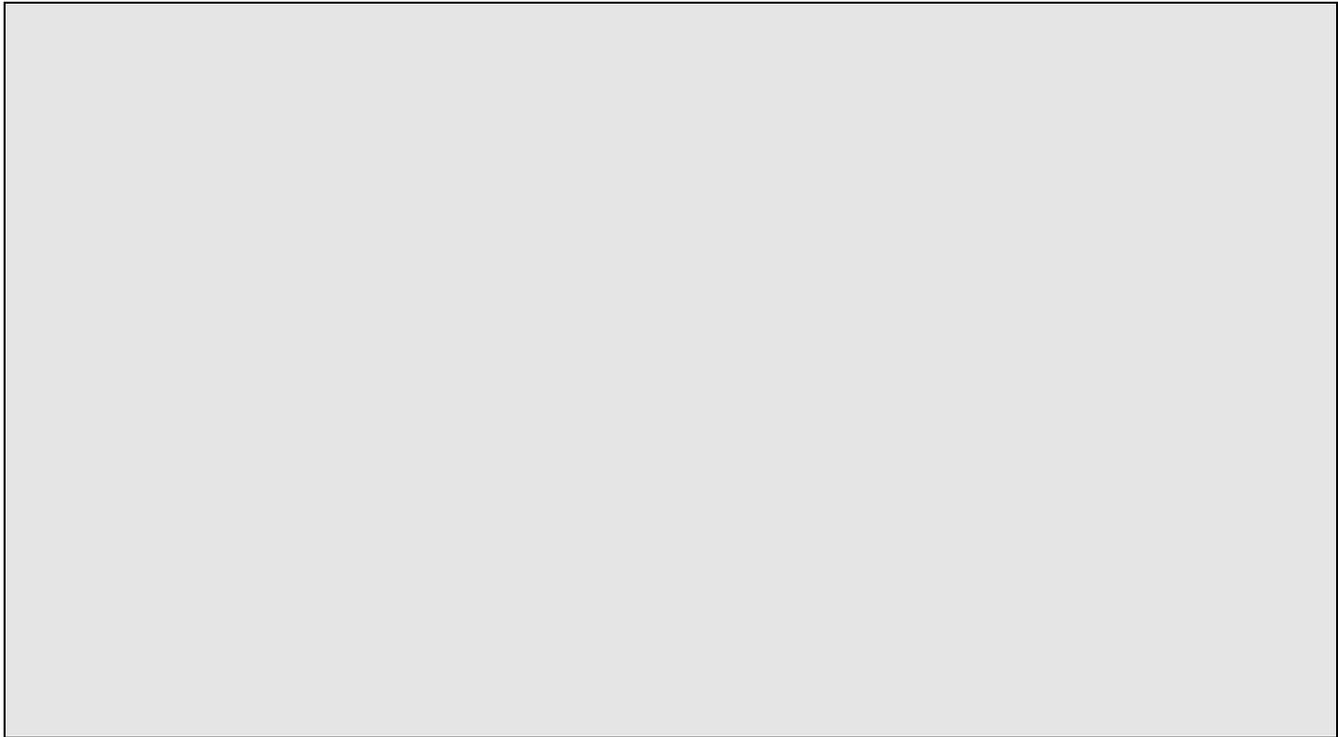
**Non-violent *and* violent illegal action:** the party combines non-violent illegal action and violent illegal action.

	No illegal action	Non-violent illegal action	Violent illegal action	Non-violent <i>and</i> violent illegal action	n/a
VMRO-DPMNE					
SDSM					
DUI					
DPA					
NDP					
DPT					
DPSM					

# Expert Survey on Ethnonationalism in Party Competition – Macedonia

## Final Remarks

Do you have any comments on our survey?



This is the end of the survey.

Please save the document now onto your computer.

**Thank you very much for your participation!**