

### **Election scanner**

#### Local Elections North Macedonia 2025

Weekly Report 15.09.2025-14.10.2025

# **Weekly Highlights**

# Election visibility and engagement dynamics

Between 15 September and 14 October 2025, over 11,250 media articles and nearly 1160 social posts focused on local elections, sustaining strong visibility. Engagement peaked around 11 October, coinciding with the anti-fascist commemoration, Kumanovo/Lipkovo shooting, and the Financial Police arrest case. These events drove some of the largest interaction surges, proving that domestic, event-driven news continues to shape online discourse far more than international topics.

#### **VMRO-DPMNE** maintains narrative dominance

The VMRO-DPMNE campaign led the field across all metrics — more than 270,000 interactions from nearly 5,000 articles and posts. Its narrative was rooted in local issues, education, and kindergartens, signaling an effective, family-centered communication strategy. SDSM followed with ~181,000 interactions, focusing on cost-of-living and education, while DUI and AKI mixed service delivery with Ohrid Agreement and identity-based messaging. Levica, though smaller in footprint, achieved the highest engagement efficiency (~66 interactions per item) through sharp, populist narratives on environment and urban issues.

#### Mayoral campaigns show message-market contrast

Among mayoral contenders, Orce Gjorgjievski emerged as the most impactful figure with 303,000+ engagements across only 1,895 articles, outperforming higher-volume campaigns like Izet Mexhiti (5,630 articles; 183,000 engagements). Bilal Kasami's "free public transport" and Goran Gerasimovski's focus on kindergartens proved strong single-issue anchors. This confirms that message clarity, not volume, drives digital success.

#### Platform performance exposes strategic imbalance

Politicians invested most heavily in YouTube, which produced poor returns (~20 engagements/post), while TikTok dominated with an average of ~534 engagements per post — nearly 25 times higher ROI. Facebook remained central for narrative amplification, while Instagram and LinkedIn played niche roles. Campaigns that failed to optimize for short-form video underutilized their engagement potential.

#### Shifting issue agenda between media and public

Traditional media prioritized EU integration and education, while online audiences reacted more to healthcare, environment, and everyday service delivery. This gap between elite framing and citizen concerns underscores a strategic opportunity for campaigns to connect local issues to national or European narratives.

### Hate speech remains measurable but contained

Online toxicity follows two models:

High-visibility contenders show high-volume, low-intensity toxicity—Gjorgjievski ~4% (≈600 hate comments on >12k total), Kasami ~4% (≈380), Osmani ~5%, Mexhiti ~6%, Dimitrievski ~9%—while mid-tier profiles exhibit lower-volume, higher-intensity patterns (Jakimovski ~6% with ≈5.6k comments).

Most large discussion threads are contentious but not dominated by hate.

## Media landscape shaped by digital-native outlets

Infomax leads Facebook engagement (~304,000 interactions) with algorithmic precision and emotionally charged framing, followed by 24 Инфо (99k), 4News (92k), Kanal 5 (91k), and Kurir (73k). This confirms that digital-native, ideologically aligned media outperform legacy outlets in shaping public sentiment and agenda-setting online.

## Non-political attention wildcards affect reach

Non-political outlets such as Goal (sports) drew ~20,800 engagements, occasionally diverting audience attention from political coverage — a reminder that entertainment and sports cycles can dilute campaign visibility during key periods.



### Local elections in the focus

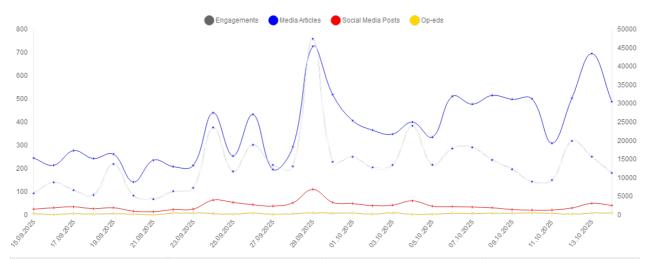
An examination of the media landscape over the full 30-day period reveals that public attention is not a constant but flows in distinct, event-driven cycles. The rhythm of engagement is dictated by high-salience domestic events that can either amplify or temporarily overshadow the core election narrative. The data shows several peaks and troughs in audience interaction, which are not random fluctuations but direct responses to the national news cycle.

The most significant engagement surge during the monitoring period occurred around 11 October, directly corresponding to the national commemoration of the anti-fascist uprising. This event alone generated 3,486 engagements across 172 articles, demonstrating the powerful resonance of narratives tied to national identity and history. Other notable peaks in public attention can be attributed to major public safety and political accountability stories. The shooting incident in Kumanovo/Lipkovo captured significant public interest, driving 2,585 engagements, while a high-profile arrest case involving the Financial Police generated a comparable surge of 2,963 engagements. These instances confirm that the election campaign does not operate in a vacuum; it is highly susceptible to the broader news environment, and campaign messages must compete for attention with compelling non-electoral events. Strategic campaign planning must account for this reality, preparing to either leverage these moments or navigate the temporary loss of the media spotlight.

Furthermore, a macro-level analysis of content platforms reveals a fundamental distinction between the roles of traditional media and social media. While newsrooms are the primary engine of *information dissemination*, social media platforms are the principal arena for *public deliberation and reaction*. Over the 30-day period, digital media outlets produced a massive volume of 11,250 articles, which collectively generated 205,606 public engagements. In stark contrast, a mere 1,160 social media posts generated a slightly higher total of 208,072 engagements.

This disparity in efficiency is profound. A simple calculation based on these totals shows that the average media article generates approximately 18 engagements, whereas the average social media post generates nearly 180 engagements—a tenfold increase in impact. This confirms that while news outlets set the broad agenda, it is on platforms like Facebook and TikTok where public opinion is actively shaped, debated, and solidified. For political campaigns, this means that a strategy focused solely on securing positive press coverage is incomplete. The true measure of a message's success is its ability to not only be reported by the media but to be actively discussed and shared within the social media ecosystem.

### Media and Social Media Coverage: Visibility and Engagement Trends



	Media Articles	Social Media Posts	Columns
Posts/Articles	11,250	1,160	169
Engagements	205,623	208,090	8,211
Engagement per Post	956	663	205
Number of Profiles/Articles	215	314	40



# **Key Articles on Election Discourse**

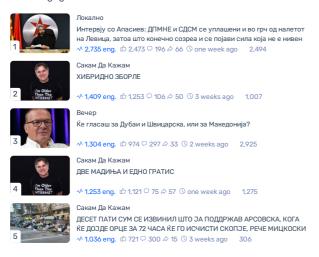
Moving beyond the quantitative analysis of media volume, a qualitative examination of the most successful content reveals the specific narrative strategies that are achieving the greatest public resonance. The data shows a clear strategic advantage for political actors who employ proactive framing, setting the terms of the debate around core themes of accountability, change, and anti-corruption. Reactive or defensive messaging, even when it generates high levels of engagement, inherently cedes narrative control to the opposition.

This dynamic is perfectly encapsulated by the month's most-engaged articles on Facebook. The top-performing political piece was published by Infomax, titled "Мицкоски: Од првиот до последниот секој што се огрешил ќе одговара" ("Mickoski: From the first to the last, everyone who has done wrong will be held accountable"). This statement is a powerful, forward-looking, and offensive maneuver that frames the VMRO-DPMNE leader as an agent of justice and change. It generated 843 interactions, dominated by reactions, signaling broad audience approval. In stark contrast, one of the other most-engaged political articles was a rebuttal from 24 Инфо titled "Заев: Лагите на Мицкоски за наводни куфери со пари..." ("Zaev: Mickoski's lies about alleged suitcases of money..."). While this piece also drove significant engagement (836 interactions), its framing is entirely reactive. It forces the SDSM leader to engage on territory defined by his opponent. This pattern—one side setting the agenda with proactive claims, the other forced to issue denials and counteraccusations—is a clear indicator of which campaign currently holds the narrative initiative.

This narrative battle is being fought most effectively by a small cluster of digital-native media outlets that possess a strong ideological alignment. These outlets demonstrate a vastly superior ability to generate Facebook engagement compared to high-volume legacy media corporations. The data from the month's most engaging Facebook outlets is unequivocal on this point. Infomax, a digital-native outlet, stands as the clear leader, generating 23,500 engagements from only 131 posts. This translates to an exceptional efficiency rate of approximately 179 engagements per post. In comparison, Kurir, a legacy media outlet with a large footprint, required more than double the output (269 posts) to generate just over half the engagement (12,232), resulting in a far lower efficiency of around 45 engagements per post.

This is not simply a quantitative difference; it reflects a fundamental qualitative distinction in content strategy. Digital-native partisan outlets have mastered the art of creating content specifically engineered for the Facebook algorithm and its user base. Their approach is characterized by emotionally charged headlines, the establishment of clear heroes and villains, and the articulation of a strong, unambiguous point of view that actively encourages sharing, commenting, and tribal affiliation. Legacy media, often bound by traditional journalistic norms of neutrality, produce content that is less optimized for this highly polarized and algorithmically-driven environment. Consequently, these digital-native players wield an outsized influence in shaping public discourse, acting as powerful amplifiers for the political narratives they support.

### Most Engaged Articles



### Most Engaging Media Outlets on Facebook





# **Top Political Parties by Media Presence**

A comparative analysis of the main political parties reveals distinct communication strategies and thematic priorities, each reflecting a unique calculation about their target electorate and path to victory. While VMRO-DPMNE leads in raw metrics of visibility and engagement, a deeper look at the data shows a more nuanced landscape of strategic positioning among all major players. <sup>1</sup>

VMRO-DPMNE's dominance is built on both scale and a focused message. The party generated 270,412 interactions from a combined 4,973 articles and social posts. Its thematic focus clusters around the core pillars of "Local issues" (1,668 mentions), "Education" (1,067), and "Schools" (1,175). However, a key differentiator in their messaging is a specific and consistent emphasis on "Kindergartens". This is a highly strategic choice, designed to resonate deeply with young families by framing the party's platform around tangible, community-level investments in early childhood development. It is a message of practical support that cuts through abstract political rhetoric.

SDSM, the second most visible party with 180,763 interactions, competes on the same core battleground of local services and education. However, it attempts to broaden the debate by consistently injecting the theme of "Standard of living" (793 mentions) into the discourse. This represents a strategic effort to link the local elections to the national government's economic performance, turning municipal contests into a referendum on broader financial well-being.

DUI and AKI coaliton, employ a dual-track strategy. They engage on the universal themes of local issues and service delivery while simultaneously mobilizing their core constituencies around identity politics. Both parties place a significant emphasis on the "Ohrid Agreement" (427 mentions for DUI, 180 for AKI) and themes of "Nationalism". This approach aims to consolidate their base by reinforcing their role as guarantors of the rights and status of the Albanian community, a tactic that remains highly effective within that demographic.

Perhaps the most interesting case is that of Levica, which demonstrates a highly effective "insurgent efficiency" model. Despite having the smallest media footprint among the top five parties (only 617 total items), it achieves the highest rate of engagement efficiency, generating approximately 66 interactions per item. This is significantly higher than larger, more established parties like SDSM (~46 interactions/item) and DUI (~31 interactions/item). Levica achieves this by carving out a distinct ideological niche. Its agenda uniquely combines "Local issues" with themes like "Environment," "Public transport," and "Constitutional amendments". This platform appeals to a specific, and highly motivated, coalition of urban, environmentally conscious, and governance-focused voters. Their success indicates a digitally-savvy supporter base that is exceptionally effective at amplifying the party's sharp, targeted, and often populist messaging, providing a clear playbook for smaller political entities seeking to challenge the established order.

Top 5 Parties





# **Election Spotlight: Most Visible Mayoral Candidates**

A granular analysis of the leading mayoral candidates reveals that success in the digital arena is not merely a function of media visibility but of message resonance and strategic focus. The data clearly demonstrates a "visibility-to-engagement conversion" gap, where candidates with the highest volume of media mentions do not always command the highest levels of public interaction. The ability to translate media coverage into genuine audience engagement is the true hallmark of an effective campaign.

This gap is starkly illustrated by comparing the performance of two prominent candidates. Izet Mexhiti, enjoys the highest media visibility, featuring in an extensive 5,630 articles. This widespread coverage, however, translated into 183,067 engagements. In contrast, Orce Gjorgjievski, appeared in far fewer articles (1,895) but generated a significantly higher level of public engagement, totaling 303,172 interactions. Gjorgjievski's success stems from a tightly focused message with a superior message-market fit and using social media to multiple the message. His narrative is anchored in the highly salient and tangible issues of "Public Transport" (380 mentions), "Local issues" (316), and "Education" (290), allowing each media mention to catalyze a greater public response.

Bilal Kasami, for instance, has successfully tied his campaign narrative to the specific and highly resonant promise of "free public transport". This single, easily understood policy hook has become a consistent and effective tool for generating attention. Similarly, Goran Gerasimovski has distinguished his campaign by "owning" the issue of early childhood education, with his communications heavily featuring the topic of "Kindergartens" (205 mentions). These specific, tangible promises are far more memorable and shareable than generic pledges of "improvement," allowing these candidates to build a distinct brand and mobilize voters around a clear, actionable vision. The data shows that volume of coverage is a secondary factor to the clarity and relevance of the core message.

### Mayoral candidates





# Political Presence vs. Public Response: Platform Trend

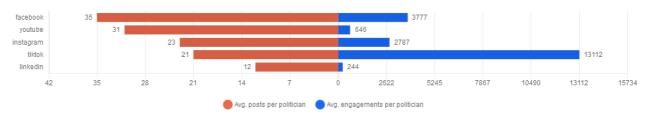
An in-depth analysis of how political actors are utilizing different social media platforms reveals critical insights into digital campaign strategy, including a significant misallocation of resources toward low-impact channels. The data strongly suggests that politicians are investing the most content creation effort into the platform that delivers the lowest return on investment: YouTube.

According to the platform performance data, YouTube accounts for the highest average number of posts per politician, at approximately 36 posts over the reporting period. Despite this high level of activity, it delivers one of the weakest payoffs, generating an average of only 20 engagements per post. This indicates a fundamental disconnect between campaign effort and audience behavior. Long-form video is a high-effort, high-cost format that appears to be largely ineffective for mass political messaging in the current digital landscape. The low engagement figures suggest that audiences are not receptive to this type of content, and the resources dedicated to producing it could be far more effectively deployed elsewhere.

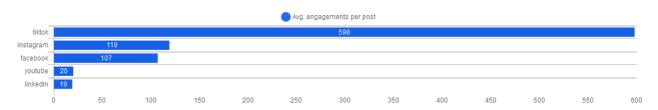
In stark contrast, TikTok has emerged as the undisputed engine of engagement and efficiency. While politicians post there far less frequently (an average of 21 posts per politician), the platform delivers by far the most attention, averaging 598 engagements per post. This demonstrates that short-form, vertical video is the most potent format for mobilizing audiences and achieving viral reach. The return on investment on TikTok is exponentially higher than on any other platform, making it an essential, not optional, component of a modern digital campaign.

The data does not suggest a single "best" platform, but rather points toward the need for a sophisticated, multi-platform content funnel strategy where each channel plays a distinct and synergistic role.

### Politicians on social media



#### Politicians on social media





# **Topic Spotlight: What Mayoral Candidates Stand For**

A synthesis of the thematic data from across the media landscape reveals the central issues defining the 2025 local elections. It also uncovers a significant disconnect between the topics prioritized by traditional media outlets and those that generate the most organic conversation among the public on social media. This gap between the elite agenda and public priorities presents both a challenge and a strategic opportunity for political campaigns.

The data from media monitoring shows that "EU integration" is one of the top five most frequently discussed topics in news articles. This reflects its enduring importance to the political establishment, international partners, and newsroom editorial boards. However, when analyzing the topics driving the most engagement on social media, "EU integration" is conspicuously absent from the top five. In its place, themes such as "Medicine and Surgery" and "Environment" rise to prominence. This divergence is critical. It suggests that while the media may frame the political debate through a geopolitical and institutional lens, the public's organic conversation is more grounded in immediate, personal welfare concerns: the quality of their healthcare, the safety of their environment, and the state of their local infrastructure. Campaigns that can successfully bridge this gap—for instance, by framing investments in local hospitals or pollution control as essential steps toward meeting European standards—are more likely to craft messages that resonate on both levels.

Within the broader political discourse, the theme of "accountability" is frequently invoked by candidates. However, a closer examination of the language used reveals that this conversation is overwhelmingly framed around administrative efficiency rather than genuine institutional transparency. The dominant narrative focuses on promises of digitalization, e-services, and "one-stop-shop" portals for citizens. Candidates like Orce Gjorgjievski invest heavily in the narrative of "responsibility to citizens," but this is primarily expressed through the lens of service delivery.

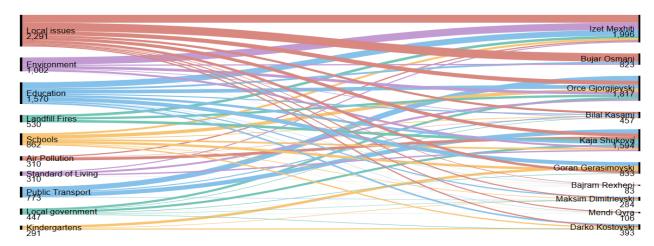
Under the digital transformation topic, mayoral candidates are referenced primarily in relation to the introduction and management of eservices, portals, online payments, and systems integration. Candidates appear alongside plans, timelines, and procurement steps, as well as follow-up scrutiny of delivery, security and privacy safeguards, and performance indicators. Labudovic appears in passages assessing service outcomes and whether announced efficiencies translate into measurable improvements for users. The overall treatment focuses on administrative responsibility, stated objectives, and documented progress rather than campaign positioning.

Within the financing topic, candidates are discussed as actors responsible for structuring budgets, negotiating donor or bank arrangements, and sequencing projects for funding. Gjorgjievski, Gocevski, and Jordanov are cited in connection with eligibility criteria, co-financing terms, and oversight of documentation. Coverage examines whether financing decisions are supported by feasibility materials, repayment considerations, and implementation capacity, and whether distribution appears even across communities. The emphasis is on procedures, disclosures, and the linkage between announced funds and verifiable project milestones.

In transparency and accountability coverage, the narrative centers on disclosure practices, access to information, and responses to audits and investigations. Candidates are mentioned in relation to asset and interest declarations, procurement file publication, and the timeliness and completeness of released records. The framing evaluates whether contract packets and amendments are made public by default and whether corrective steps follow audit recommendations. Names recur as documents are requested or released, with attention to consistency between stated commitments and the available evidence.

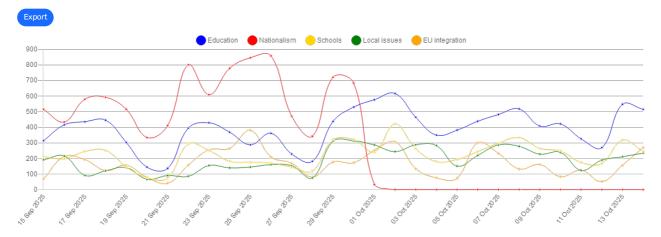
There is far less emphasis on the more robust mechanics of fiscal transparency, such as commitments to publish line-item budgets, open public procurement contracts to real-time scrutiny, or make council voting records easily accessible. While some candidates use strong anti-corruption language, these statements are rarely backed by proposals for concrete instruments like mandatory asset disclosures for all municipal officials or strengthened internal audit functions. This creates the impression that "transparency" is being used as a popular but ultimately shallow buzzword. This presents a clear strategic opportunity for a candidate or party to differentiate themselves decisively by moving beyond the rhetoric of e-government and offering specific, verifiable, and technologically-enabled commitments to radical open government. Such a platform could build significant trust with an electorate that is cynical about political promises.

### Candidates mentioned in Topics





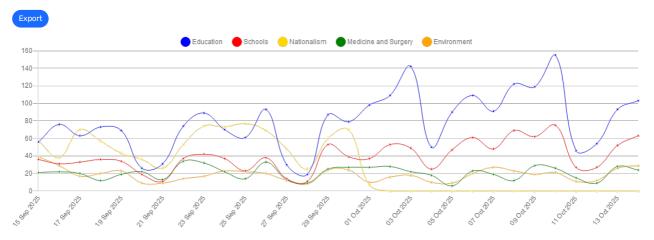
## Key topics discussed in media



## **General Statistics**

	Education	Nationalism	Schools	Local issues	EU integration
Articles:	11,708	9,514	6,750	5,697	5,076
Engagements:	221,981	177,584	136,351	91,311	82,414
Engagement per Article:	18.96	18.67	20.20	16.03	16.24
Number of Outlets:	258	231	194	197	190

# Key topics discussed on social media



### **General Statistics**

	Education	Schools	Nationalism	Medicine and Surgery	Environment
Articles:	2,377	1,189	883	624	561
Engagements:	304,597	192,019	141,608	79,913	62,401
Engagement per Article:	128	161	160	128	111
Number of Outlets:	698	440	374	208	268



# Mayoral Candidates Under Fire: Hate Speech and Public Backlash

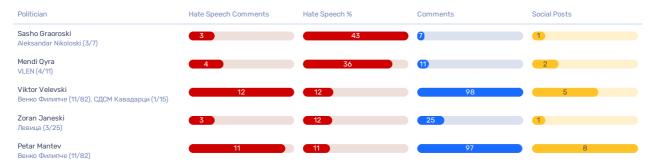
The prevalence of hate speech and toxic discourse in the online political arena presents a complex challenge that requires a nuanced understanding of risk. The data from this monitoring period reveals that online toxicity manifests in two distinct models: a "high-volume, low-intensity" pattern affecting major candidates, and a "low-volume, high-intensity" pattern concentrated around smaller, more ideologically niche campaigns.

For high-visibility contenders, the primary challenge is one of scale. Figures like Orce Gjorgjievski and Bilall Kasami command large audiences and therefore attract a high absolute number of hateful comments (e.g., -600 for Gjorgjievski; -380 for Kasami). Yet the proportional rate of toxicity remains comparatively contained—-5% of total comments for both. Bujar Osmani (≈6%) is in the same band, and Izet Mexhiti shows a slightly higher but still contained level at -7%. This indicates that while their conversations are contentious and draw abusive actors, the vast majority of discourse remains non-abusive. The risk for these candidates is broad reputational damage driven by the sheer volume of negativity that accompanies high engagement (e.g., >12k total comments for Gjorgjievski).

A different—and potentially more pernicious—form of toxicity appears in mid-tier campaigns. Here the risk is intensity. Stevčo Jakimovski records ~6% hate share with far fewer posts than his peers but still sizable comment volumes (≈5.6k), while Izet Mexhiti (again) sits at ~7% with moderate overall engagement. These profiles suggest tighter, more polarized communities in which abusive norms may be more readily reinforced. Although the absolute number of hateful comments is lower than among the top-tier figures, the higher intensity signals echo-chamber dynamics and a greater risk of radicalizing a smaller, highly engaged base.

It is also crucial to interpret hate-speech data with statistical caution, particularly for small samples. Some lower-profile figures display seemingly extreme hate ratios that are not statistically reliable. For example, Sasho Graoroski shows ~43% hate speech, but this is derived from only 7 total comments (just 3 classified as abusive). Similarly, Mendi Qyra registers ~36% on 11 comments. With denominators this small, a single aggressive user can dramatically skew the rate. Analytical focus and moderation resources should therefore prioritize candidates and communities with substantial interaction volumes, where patterns are stable enough to guide meaningful intervention.

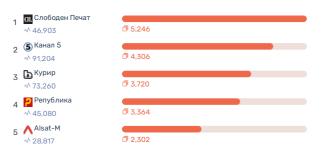
Top 5 Mayoral Candidates



# **Beyond Elections: Media Dynamics in North Macedonia**

The analysis of the most engaging media outlets on Facebook reveals the presence of a non-political "attention wildcard." While the top of the list is dominated by political news outlets like Infomax and 24 Инфо, the sports-focused outlet Γοπ (Goal) also ranks among the top five, having generated approximately 20,800 engagements. The presence of a sports outlet in this elite tier is a crucial reminder that a significant portion of public attention is dedicated to non-political interests. Major sporting events, particularly those involving national teams, can act as powerful "attention sinks," temporarily drawing focus, energy, and conversation away from the political sphere.





# Most Engaging Media Outlets on Facebook





Top 5 Events



Керцог: Трамп заслужува Нобелова награда за мир 54% reach № 1,999 engagements 🦪 227 articles 🕓 7 days ago



ФОН ДЕР ЛАЈЕН: Ќе отвориме фабрики за вештачка интелигенција во Западен Балкан, ќе почнеме со една во Македонија и во Србија 



Во престерелка пред Општина Куманово ранет носителот на листа на ДУИ во Липково: Пукале две лица од автомобил во движење 55% reach № 2,585 engagements 🦪 193 articles 🕓 one week ago



По Велика Британија и Канада, Австралија и Португалија официјално ја признаа палестинската држава



84 години од Народното востание - 11 Октомври: Денот кога официјално започна македонската борба против фашизмот

The story that generated the single largest audience response was the 11 October commemoration of the anti-fascist uprising, a purely domestic event rooted in national identity and history, which drove 3,486 engagements. Public safety and political accountability issues also proved highly resonant, with the Kumanovo/Lipkovo shooting (2,585 engagements) and the Financial Police arrest case (2,963 engagements) capturing significant public attention. In stark contrast, two heavily published international stories related to former U.S. President Donald Trump dramatically underperformed. A story about Trump being deserving of a Nobel Peace Prize ran in 227 articles but garnered only 1,999 engagements, an efficiency of less than 9 engagements per article. Another story about Turkish President Erdoğan thanking Trump had wide media reach but produced a mere 329 engagements across 150 articles, an efficiency of just 2 engagements per article.

# Methodology

This report is produced using Pikasa Analytics, a highly localized and real-time media intelligence platform developed by Pikasa, a North Macedonia-based company. The reporting period will be from September-Novemebr 2025. Leveraging a network of over 2,500 media outlets across 30+ countries, Pikasa integrates real-time data streams from digital news sources and all major social media platforms to provide actionable, data-driven insights.

The findings presented here are based on daily monitoring and analysis of over 6.000 news articles from more than 250 media outlets, along with content from thousands of Facebook, Instagram, TikTok, and YouTube channels. The platform combines advanced machinelearning algorithms, automated content analysis, and custom dashboards, supported by Pikasa's team of experienced research analysts. Pikasa's methodology focuses on understanding six key dimensions of the digital information space: Audience (where media consumption is concentrated), Voices (who is speaking and which voices dominate), Topics (what narratives are emerging), Influencers (who drives engagement and why), Content (what type resonates most), and Platforms (where the conversations happen). All data is securely stored, encrypted, and segregated in compliance with GDPR standards.

This hybrid approach—merging Al-powered analytics with expert validation—ensures a nuanced and accurate reflection of Macedonia's evolving media and social media ecosystem in the lead-up to the 2025 elections.