



**NATIONAL**  
**DEMOCRATIC**  
**INSTITUTE**  
FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

# **SERBIA**

## **Post-election Poll**

Prepared By  
**Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates Inc.**  
**October 6, 2000**

# Methodology

- **A total of 1,780 interviews were conducted in Serbia and Montenegro between September 30 and October 2.**
  - **1,120 interviews were conducted in Serbia**
  - **660 interviews were conducted in Montenegro**

# Methodology

- The margin of error for Serbia is +/- 2.93 percent and greater for subgroups.
- The margin of error for Montenegro is +/-3.81 percent and greater for subgroups



# **Executive Summary**

# Executive Summary

- The mood in Serbia has shifted dramatically in the aftermath of the September 24th election.
- Since his election, Vojislav Kostunica's favorability rating has shot up 14 points.
- Slobodan Milosevic, whose favorability was relatively steady in the weeks before the election, dropped by 8 points in a week.

	Tracking				Post-election
	<i>Week 1</i>	<i>Week 2</i>	<i>Week 3</i>	<i>Week 4</i>	
<b>Vojislav Kostunica</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>73</b>
<b>Slobodan Milosevic</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>23</b>

# Executive Summary

- **The current mood is one of hope and optimism. After a year and a half of complaining that opposition leaders were not unified and spent too much time fighting among themselves, people now agree that the opposition came together in the election for the good of the country.**
  - **71 percent believe the Serbian opposition has finally come together for the good of the country**

# Executive Summary

- The driving issue in the election was the economy.

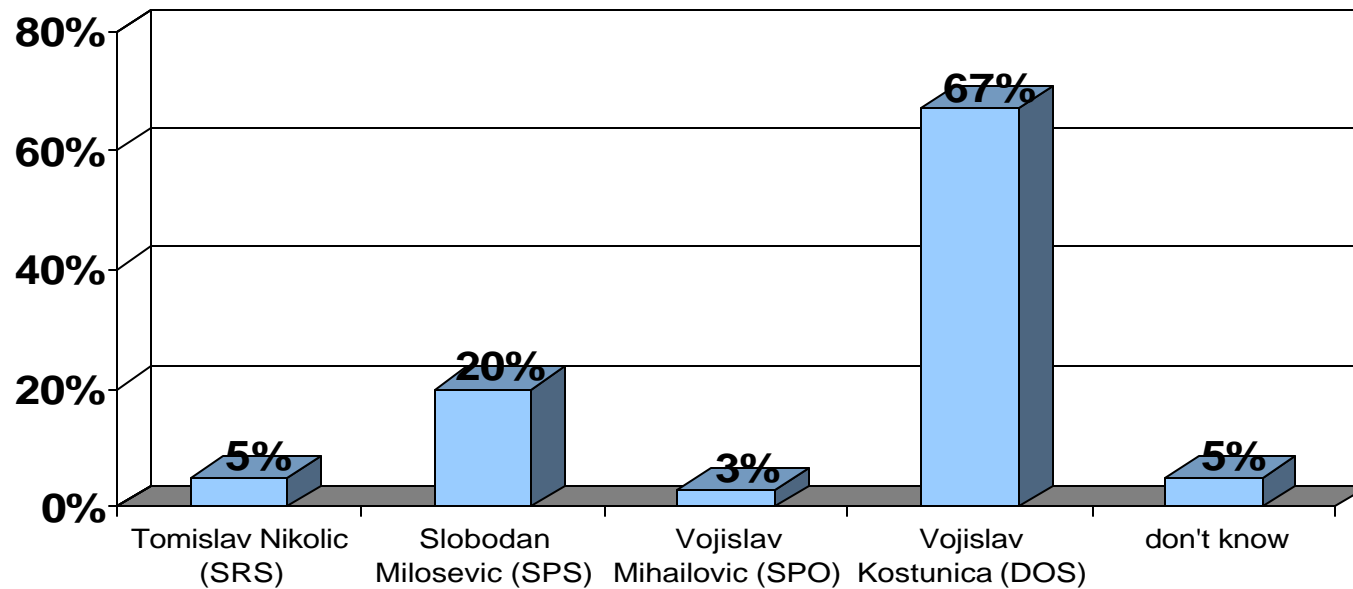
*What was the most important issue that determined your vote for this candidate?  
Among Serbia respondents*

<b>Economic crisis, poverty</b>	<b>41</b>
<b>International isolation, sanctions</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>Time for change</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>Crime, corruption</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>Success in defending independence and in rebuilding the country</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>Best program (unspecified)</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Underdevelopment of democracy</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Other</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Don't know</b>	<b>5</b>

# Executive Summary

- Asked who they voted for in the elections, 67 percent said that they voted for Kostunica.

*In the presidential race, for whom did you vote?  
Among Serbians who voted*





# Executive Summary

- **That number may be slightly exaggerated in the exuberance of the post-election period. Some respondents may be saying they voted for the winner -- more because they wish they did than because they actually did. Nor does the number reflect the pro-Milosevic votes that came from Kosovo and Montenegro.**
- **Nevertheless, these numbers suggest that the 51 percent victory reported by the opposition was, if anything, low.**

- ***Kostunica won a greater share of votes among urban voters, females, young people and wealthier people.***

***(IF YES) In the presidential race, for whom did you vote?  
Among Serbia respondents***

All	67-20
Urban	69-20
Other	65-20
Male	65-20
Female	69-20
18-29 yrs	83-7
30-39 yrs	75-10
40-49 yrs	70-18
50-59 yrs	61-25
60+	50-37
<300 dinars	62-23
301-900 dinars	64-22
901-1500 dinars	66-21
1501-2100 dinars	72-17
2100 + dinars	81-12

# Executive Summary

- Those who voted for Kostunica say they chose him for his honesty and because they believe there is a need for change.

*What was the primary reason that you voted for this candidate?  
(Open ended) Among Kostunica supporters in Serbia*

Honest, consistent	31
Need for change	31
Represents people, unifier	16
Good, better, best, trusted, popular	10
Firmness, unyielding, courage, patriotism	2
Competent, experienced, proved ability	3
International reputation	3
Other	3
Don't know	2

# Executive Summary

- Milosevic supporters backed him because of his firmness, courage and patriotism.

*What was the primary reason that you voted for this candidate?  
(Open ended) Among Milosevic supporters in Serbia*

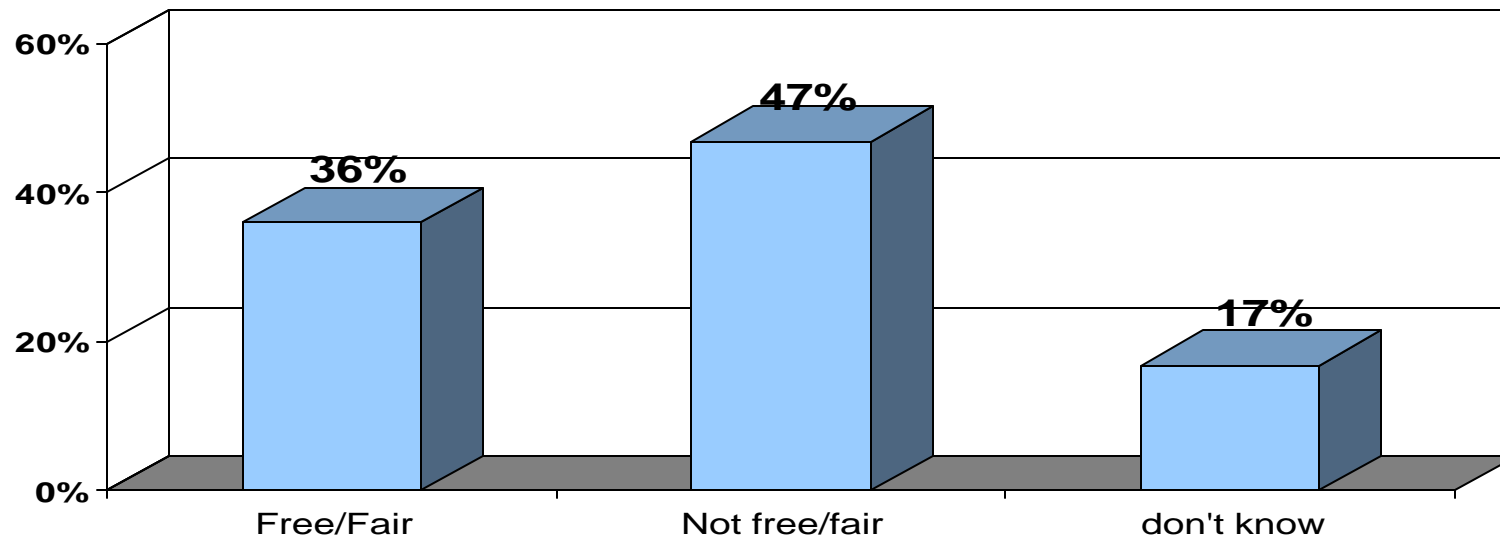
Firmness, unyielding, courage, patriotism	33
Good, better, best, trusted, popular	17
Represents people, unifier	16
Honest, consistent	10
Competent, experienced, proved ability	9
Need for change	2
International reputation	2
Other	5
Don't know	5

# Executive Summary

- 47 percent of respondents believe the election was not free and fair.

*Some people think that the elections were conducted in a free and fair way the election results can be trusted. Some others believe that the elections were not held in a free and fair way and that the government sought to fraudulently influence the results. Which opinion is closer to yours?*

Among Serbia respondents



# Executive Summary

- **More than two-thirds of respondents believe that Kostunica won the election in the first round.**
  - 68 percent say they believe Kostunica won in the first round
  - Only 19 percent believe none of the candidates won a majority.

# Executive Summary

- Asked about their priorities for the future if Kostunica comes to power, respondents called for economic renewal and recovery as well as for lifting of the sanctions and being reintegrated into the world.

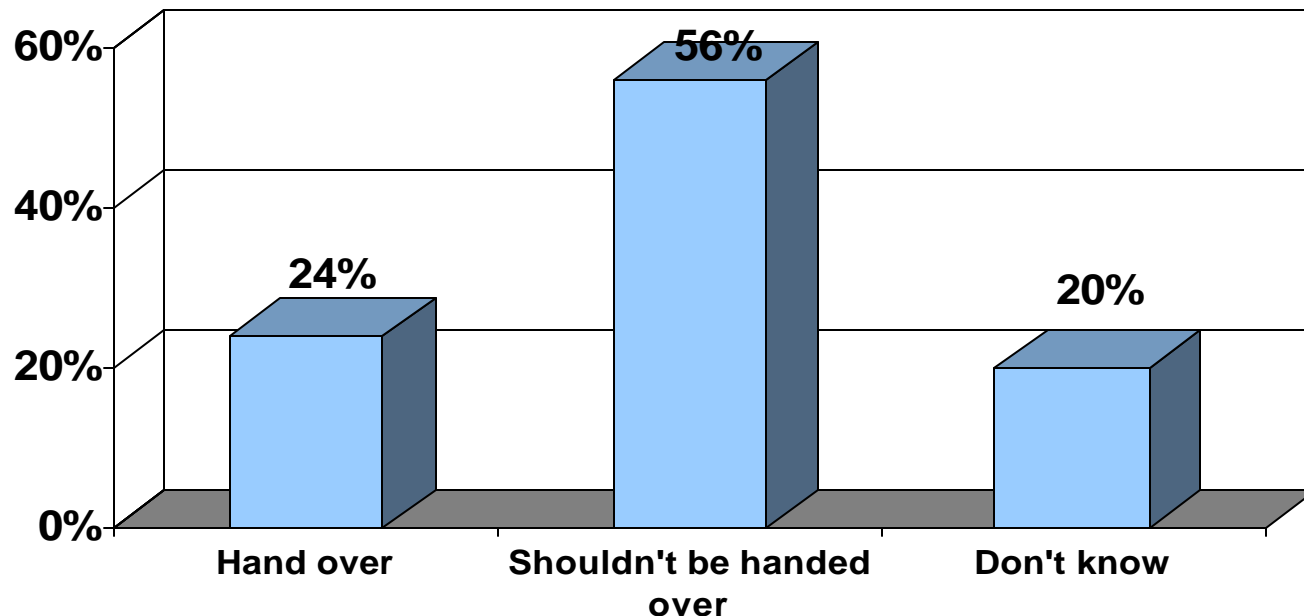
*If Vojislav Kostunica comes to power, what should be his first priority?  
Among Serbia respondents*

Economic renewal, recovery, living standard increase	22
Lifting sanctions, foreign assistance, reintegration into international institutions	21
Reforms of the political system, democratization, new elections	17
Elimination of crime and corruption	8
Changes, reforms, development	7
Settling relations with Montenegro	3
Kosovo and Metohia	2
Other	2
Don't know	18

# Executive Summary

- Most respondents do not believe Milosevic should be handed over to the Hague War Crimes Tribunal.

*The War Crimes Tribunal at the Hague has indicted Slobodan Milosevic and requests that he be handed over. Some people believe Milosevic should be handed over, others think he shouldn't. Which is closer to your view? Among Serbia respondents*





# Executive Summary

- **Of those who voted for Milosevic, 97 percent do not want him turned over to the Hague and 1 percent do want him turned over.**
- **Of those who voted for Kostunica, 42 percent do not want Milosevic turned over and 35 percent do.**

# Executive Summary

## Montenegro

- **Slobodan Milosevic is extremely unpopular in Montenegro.**
  - His favorable/unfavorable rating is 28/68.
  - Vojislav Kostunica's rating is 47/36.

# Executive Summary

## Montenegro

- Nevertheless, that dissatisfaction was not reflected in the election results because of the success of the election boycott which was backed by Montenegro's leaders.
- Of our respondents, 66 percent said they boycotted the elections completely.

# Executive Summary

## Montenegro

- **As a result, the vote went overwhelmingly for Milosevic.**
- **The most important issues for respondents in Montenegro were “defending our independence” and “rebuilding the country.”**
- **Asked what should be Kostunica’s top priority if he comes to power, 31 percent said “settling relations with Montenegro.” The second most important priority was “lifting international sanctions.”**

# Executive Summary

## Montenegro

- **Montenegro respondents do not want Milosevic delivered to the Hague, by a margin of 45-30.**



# Major Findings

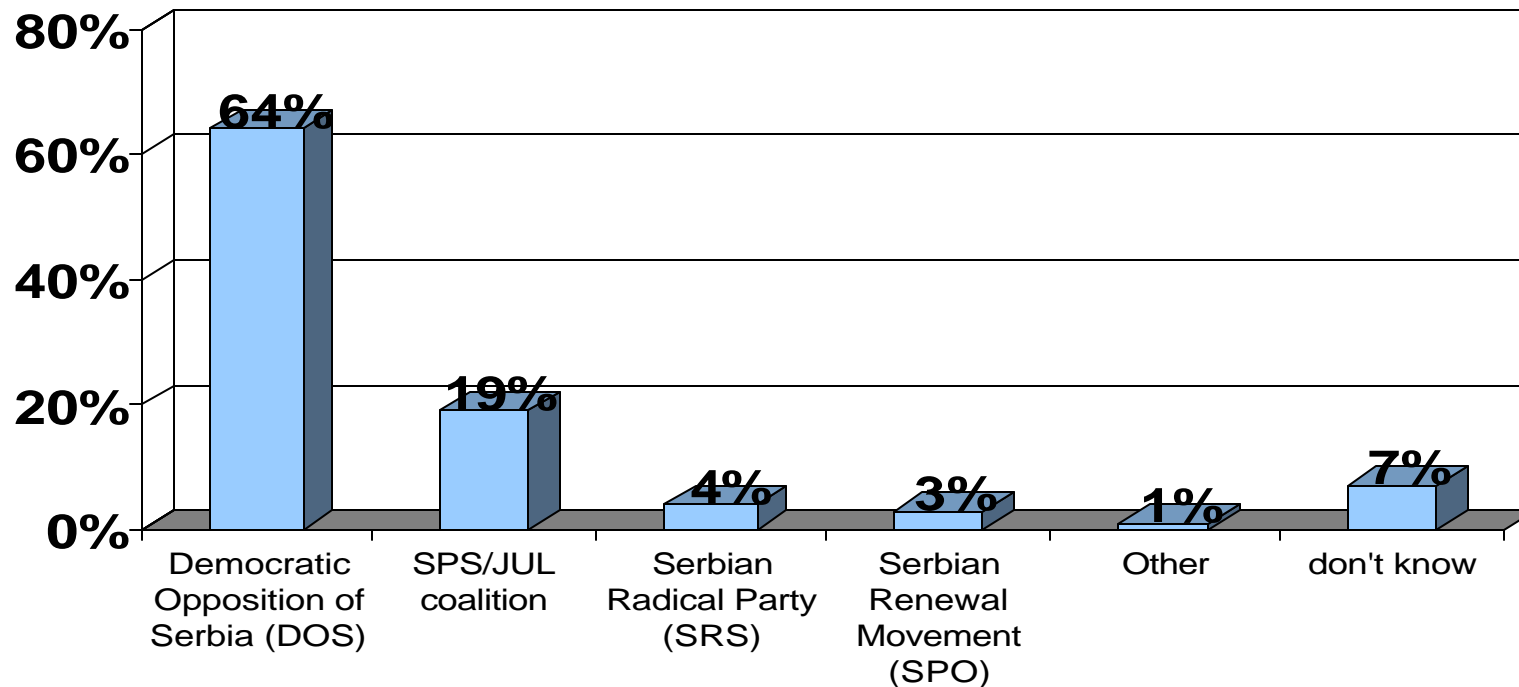
- ***Kostunica's favorability jumped 14 points since our last poll. Milosevic's favorability dropped by 8 points.***

***Are you familiar with him? (IF YES:) In general, do you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable view of him?  
Among Serbia respondents***

	Tracking				Post-election
	Week 1	Week 2	Week 3	Week 4	
<b>Vojislav Kostunica</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>73</b>
<b>Slobodan Milosevic</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>23</b>

- **64 percent of respondents supported the opposition coalition. Only 19 percent supported the ruling coalition.**

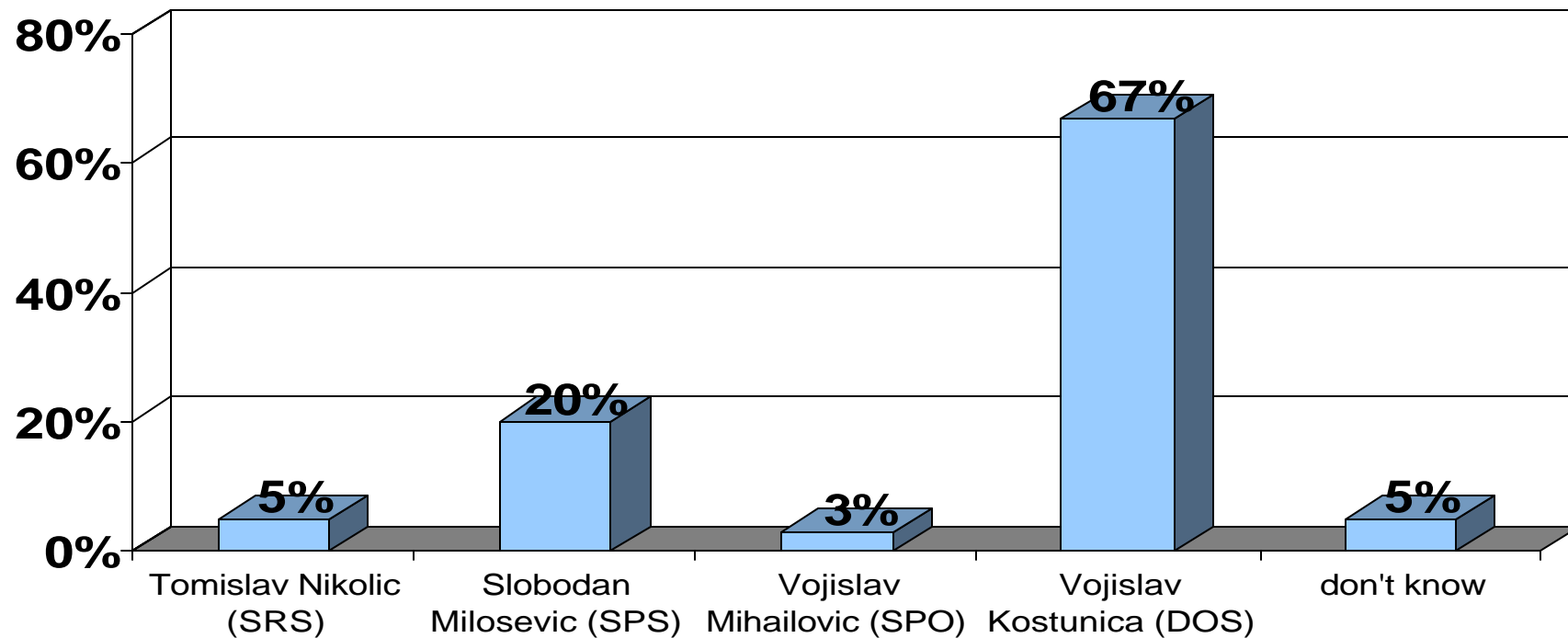
***In the race for the federal parliament, for which party or coalition did you vote?  
Among Serbian respondents who voted***





- **67 percent of respondents say they supported Kostunica. 20 percent say they voted for Milosevic.**

***In the presidential race, for whom did you vote?  
Among Serbian respondents who voted***



- ***Kostunica won a greater share of votes among urban voters, females, young people and wealthier people.***

***(IF YES) In the presidential race, for whom did you vote?  
Among Serbia respondents***

All	67-20
Urban	69-20
Other	65-20
Male	65-20
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18-29 yrs	83-7
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<300 dinars	62-23
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901-1500 dinars	66-21
1501-2100 dinars	72-17
2100 + dinars	81-12

- ***Kostunica supporters chose him for his honesty and because they believe there is a need for change.***

***What was the primary reason that you voted for this candidate?  
(Open ended) Among Kostunica supporters in Serbia***

<b>Honest, consistent</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>Need for change</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>Represents people, unifier</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>Good, better, best, trusted, popular</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>Firmness, unyielding, courage, patriotism</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Competent, experienced, proved ability</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>International reputation</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Other</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Don't know</b>	<b>2</b>

- ***Milosevic supporters voted for him because of his firmness, courage and patriotism.***

***What was the primary reason that you voted for this candidate?  
(OPEN ENDED) Among Milosevic supporters in Serbia***

<b>Firmness, unyielding, courage, patriotism</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>Good, better, best, trusted, popular</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>Represents people, unifier</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>Honest, consistent</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>Competent, experienced, proved ability</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>Need for change</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>International reputation</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Other</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>Don't know</b>	<b>5</b>

- ***Economic issues overwhelmingly influenced voters' choice of candidate.***

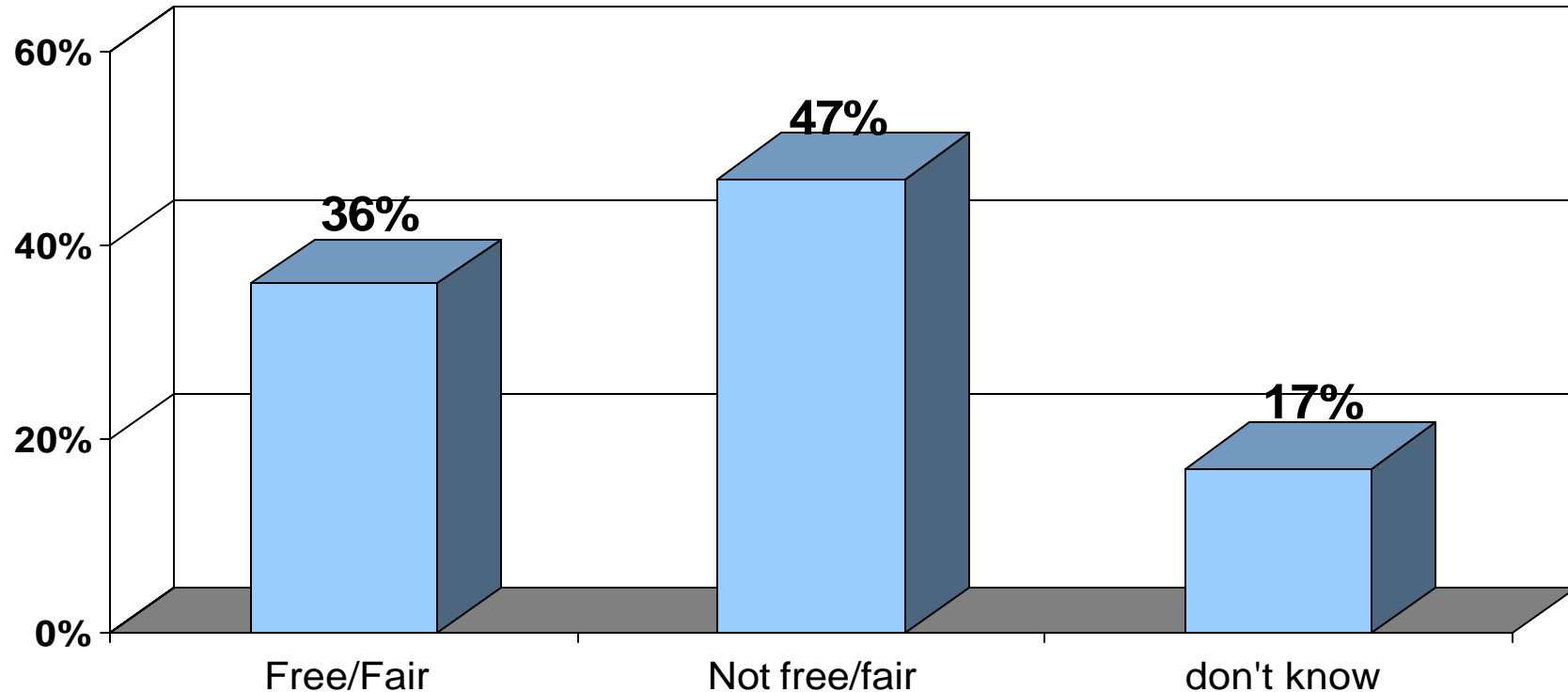
***What was the most important issue that determined your vote for this candidate? (OPEN ENDED)***

***Among Serbia respondents***

<b>Economic crisis, poverty</b>	<b>41</b>
<b>International isolation, sanctions</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>Time for change</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>Crime, corruption</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>Success in defending independence and in rebuilding the country</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>Best program (unspecified)</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Underdevelopment of democracy</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Other</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Don't know</b>	<b>5</b>

- **47 percent of respondents thought the elections were not free and fair.**

***Some people think that the elections were conducted in a free and fair way the election results can be trusted. Some others believe that the elections were not held in a free and fair way and that the government sought to fraudulently influence the results. Which opinion is closer to yours?  
Among Serbia respondents***



- ***Re-integration into the international world is as important a priority as revitalizing the economy.***

***If Vojislav Kostunica comes to power, what should be his first priority?  
Among Serbia respondents***

Economic renewal, recovery, living standard increase	22
Lifting sanctions, foreign assistance, reintegration into international institutions	21
Reforms of the political system, democratization, new elections	17
Elimination of crime and corruption	8
Changes, reforms, development	7
Settling relations with Montenegro	3
Kosovo and Metohia	2
Other	2
Don't know	18

- ***Economic revitalization and re-integration are respondents' second highest priorities as well.***

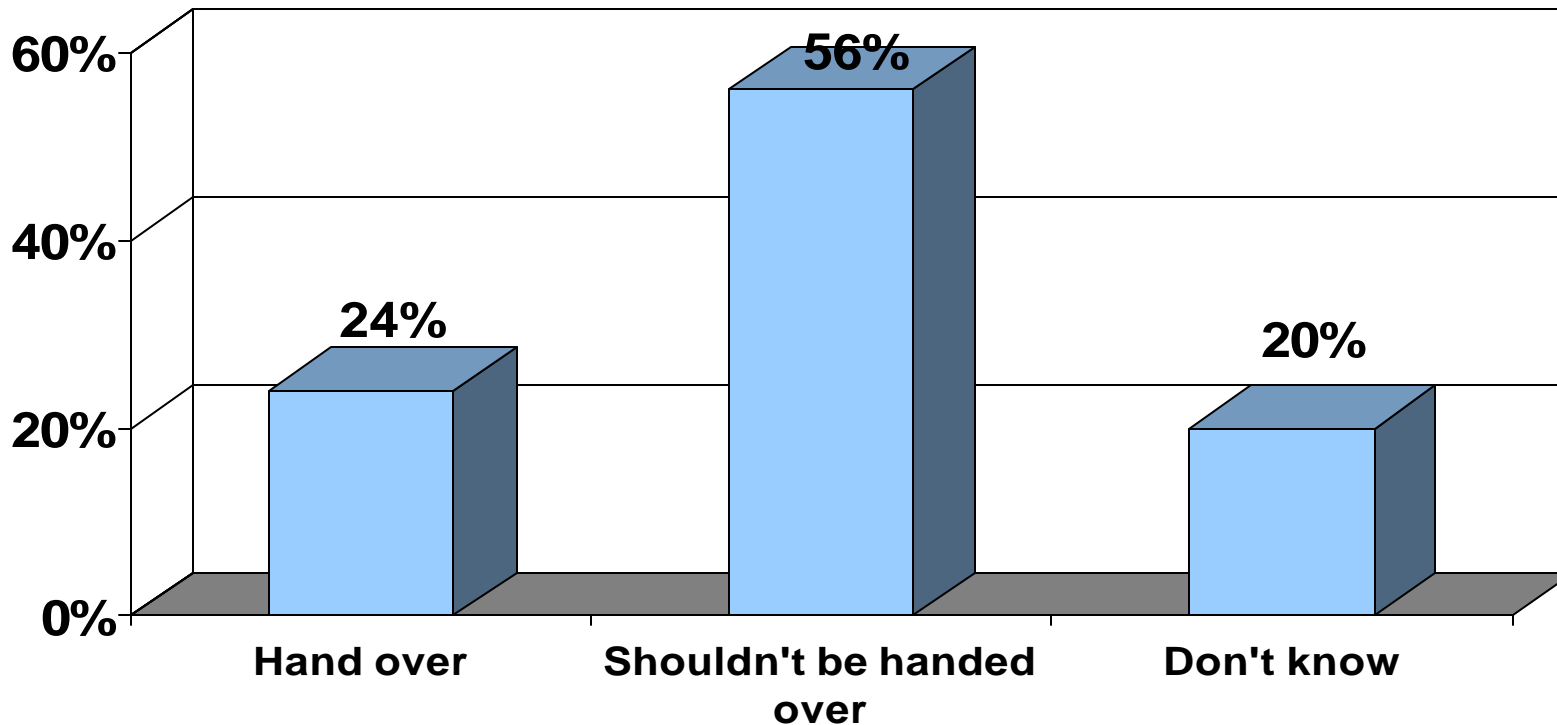
***If Vojislav Kostunica comes to power, what should be his second priority?  
Among Serbia respondents***

Economic renewal, recovery, living standard increase	21
Lifting of sanctions, foreign assistance, reintegration into international organizations	19
Reforms of the political system, democratization, new elections	9
Changes, reforms, development	8
Elimination of crime and corruption	6
Settling relations with Montenegro	3
Kosovo and Metohia	3
Other	5
Don't know	27



- ***A substantial majority of respondents do not believe Milosevic should be handed over to the Hague War Crimes Tribunal.***

***The War Crimes Tribunal at the Hague has indicted Slobodan Milosevic and requests that he be handed over. Some people believe Milosevic should be handed over, others think he shouldn't. Which is closer to your view? Among Serbia respondents***





**Montenegro**

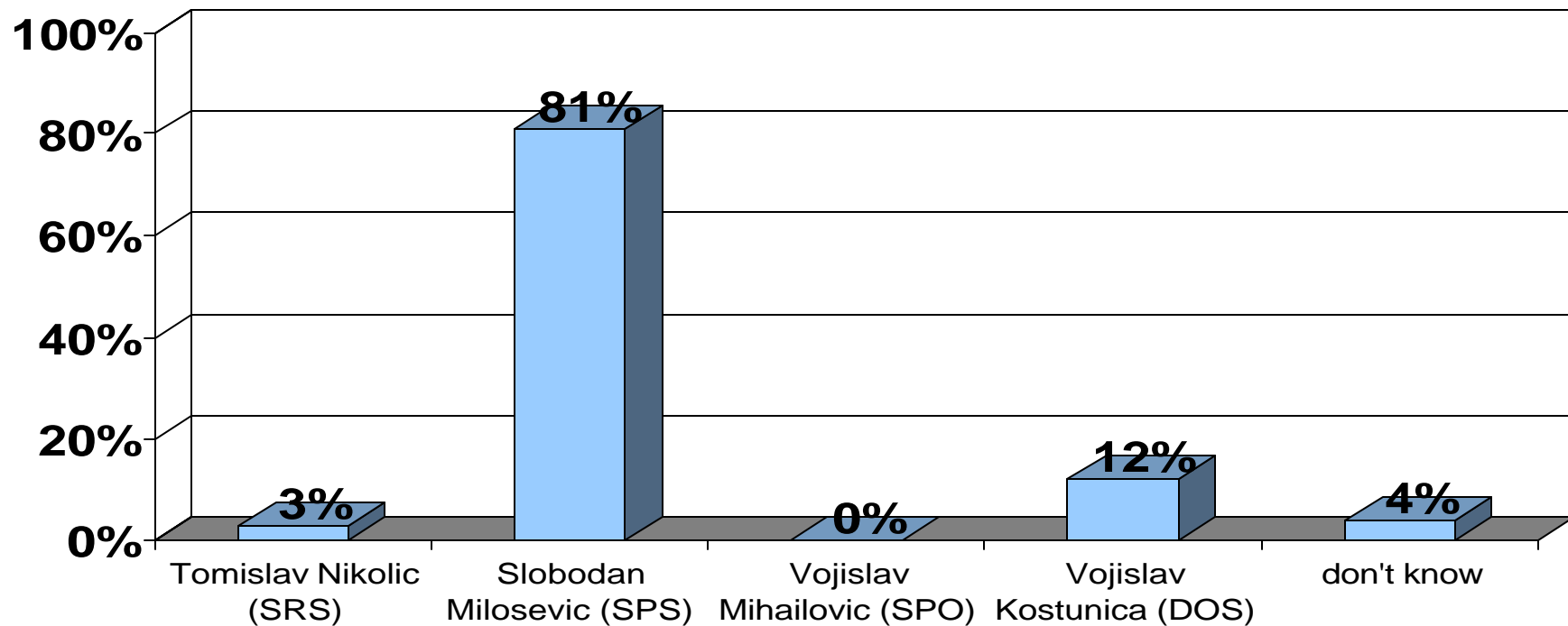
- ***Kostunica's favorable/unfavorable rating is 47/36. Milosevic's rating is 28/68.***

***Are you familiar with him? (IF YES:) In general, do you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable view of him?  
Among Montenegro respondents***

	<b>Favorability</b>
<b>Vojislav Kostunica</b>	<b>47</b>
<b>Slobodan Milosevic</b>	<b>28</b>

- **Among Montenegro voters, 81 percent supported Milosevic, while only 12 percent voted for Kostunica.**

***(IF YES) In the presidential race, for whom did you vote?  
Among Montenegro respondents who voted***



- ***In Montenegro, Kostunica supporters chose him because of the need for change.***

***What was the primary reason that you voted for this candidate?  
(Open ended) Among Kostunica supporters in Montenegro***

<b>Need for change</b>	<b>67</b>
<b>Good, better, best, trusted, popular</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>Represents people, unifier</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>Firmness, unyielding, courage, patriotism</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>Honest, consistent</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Competent, experienced, proved ability</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>International reputation</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Other</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>Don't know</b>	<b>5</b>

- ***Milosevic supporters in Montenegro supported him because of his firmness, courage and patriotism.***

***What was the primary reason that you voted for this candidate?  
(Open ended) Among Milosevic supporters***

<b>Firmness, unyielding, courage, patriotism</b>	<b>62</b>
<b>Good, better, best, trusted, popular</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>Represents people, unifier</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>Honest, consistent</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Need for change</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Competent, experienced, proved ability</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>International reputation</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Other</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>Don't know</b>	<b>3</b>

- ***Success in defending independence and rebuilding the country is the issue that most influenced voters' choice of candidate.***

***What was the most important issue that determined your vote for this candidate?***

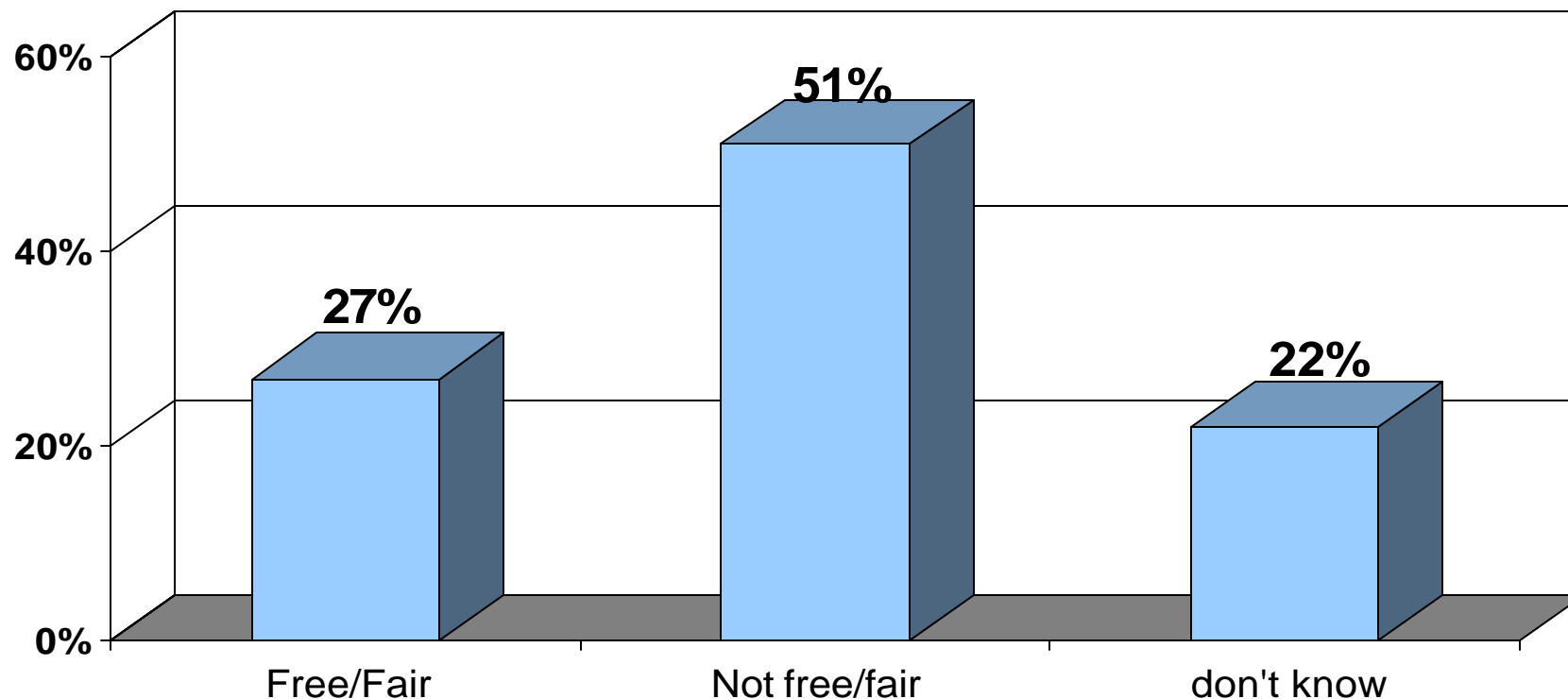
**Among Montenegro respondents**

<b>Success in defending independence and in rebuilding the country</b>	<b>38</b>
<b>Crime, corruption</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>Time for change</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>International isolation, sanctions</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>Economic crisis, poverty</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Best program (unspecified)</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Underdevelopment of democracy</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Other</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>Don't know</b>	<b>14</b>

- ***Slightly more than half of respondents thought the elections were not free and fair.***

***Some people think that the elections were conducted in a free and fair way the election results can be trusted. Some others believe that the elections were not held in a free and fair way and that the government sought to fraudulently influence the results. Which opinion is closer to yours?***

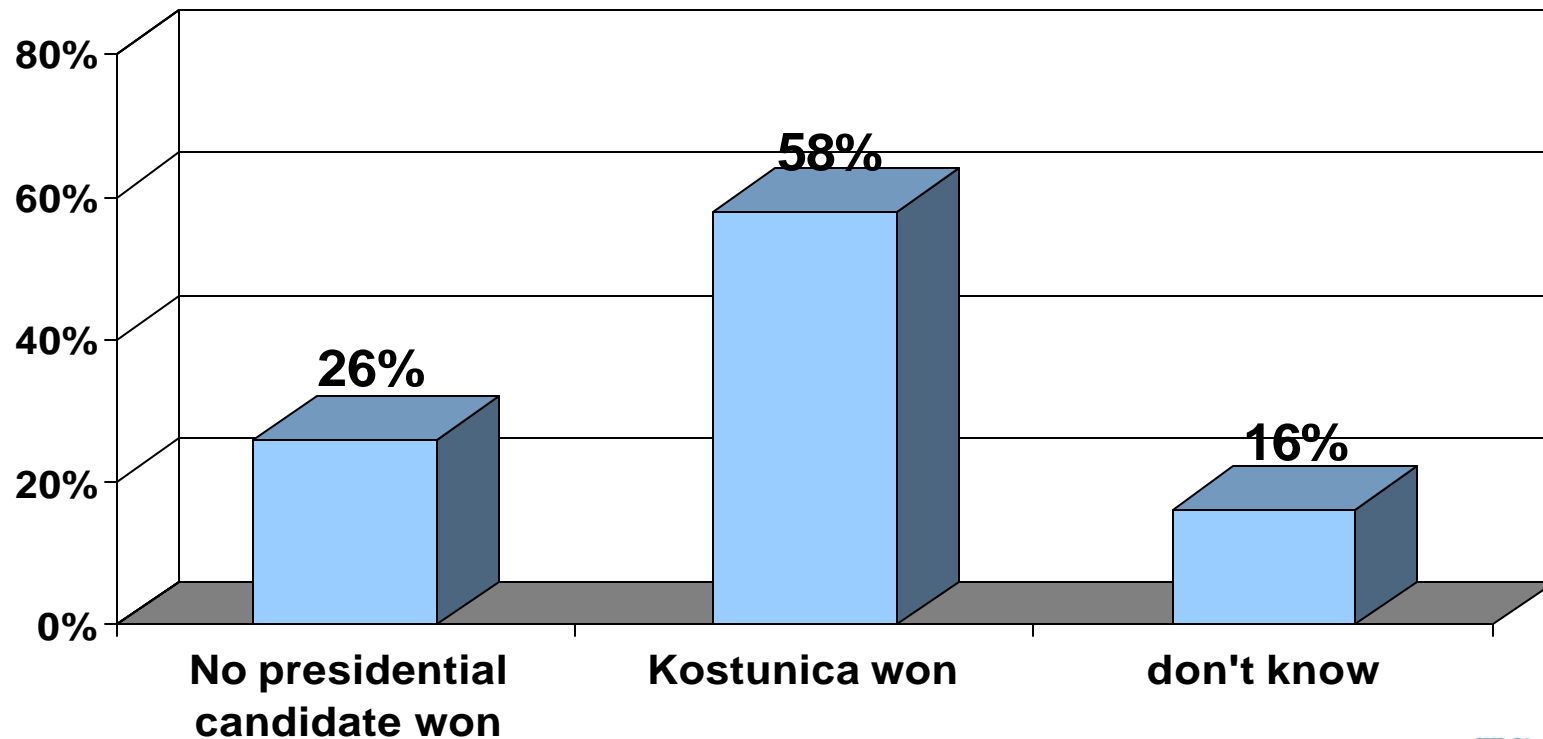
**Among Montenegro respondents**





- **58 percent believe that Kostunica won in the first round.**

***The Federal Election Committee claims that no presidential candidate won the first round and called for a second round of presidential elections. Some people believe that Vojislav Kostunica won in the first round. What is your opinion?  
Among Montenegro respondents***



- **36 percent of Montenegro respondents don't know what the opposition should do if Milosevic tries to stay in power, but one-fourth think they should organize rallies and a campaign of civil disobedience.**

***If Slobodan Milosevic is found to have lost the election but he tries to stay in power, what should the Democratic Opposition of Serbia do? (Open ended) All respondents***

Rallies, protests, demonstrations, civil disobedience	25
General strike, blocking the country	10
Legal means, peaceful way, without use of force	9
Riot, violence	7
Assistance by international community - mediation, pressure	8
Negotiations, compromise	1
Nothing	3
Other	2
Don't know	36

- ***Respondents think settling relations with Montenegro should be Kostunica's top priority should he come to power.***

***If Vojislav Kostunica comes to power, what should be his first priority?  
Among Montenegro respondents***

<b>Settling relations with Montenegro</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>Reforms of the political system, democratization, new elections</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>Lifting sanctions, foreign assistance, reintegration into international orgs.</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>Economic renewal, recovery, living standard increase</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>Changes, reforms, development</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Elimination of crime and corruption</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Kosovo and Metohia</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Other</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Don't know</b>	<b>27</b>

- **Montenegro respondents think lifting sanctions should be Kostunica's second highest priority.**

***If Vojislav Kostunica comes to power, what should be his second priority?  
Among Montenegro respondents***

Lifting sanctions, foreign assistance, reintegration into international orgs.	12
Reforms of the political system, democratization, new elections	10
Settling relations with Montenegro	10
Economic renewal, recovery, living standard increase	9
Changes, reforms, development	5
Elimination of crime and corruption	2
Kosovo and Metohia	2
Other	5
Don't know	44

- **45 percent of Montenegro respondents do not believe Milosevic should be handed over to the Hague War Crimes Tribunal.**

***The War Crimes Tribunal at the Hague has indicted Slobodan Milosevic and requests that he be handed over. Some people believe Milosevic should be handed over, others think he shouldn't. Which is closer to your view? Among Montenegro respondents***

