



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

# **Serbia Tracking Poll**

## **Fourth Wave**

**Prepared By**  
**Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates Inc.**  
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# Methodology

- **A total of 3,824 interviews were conducted in Serbia.**
  - 1104 interviews were conducted between August 18-21
  - 680 interviews were conducted between August 25-27.
  - 680 interviews were conducted between September 1-4
  - 1,360 interviews were conducted between September 15-17
- **The tracking polls from the last two waves were weighted and combined. The margin of error is +/-2.17 percent and greater for subgroups.**

# Methodology

- In addition, we have done two waves of polling in Montenegro.
  - 600 interviews were conducted between August 25-27
  - 600 interviews were conducted between September 15-17.
- The margin of error is +/-4.0 percent and greater for subgroups.

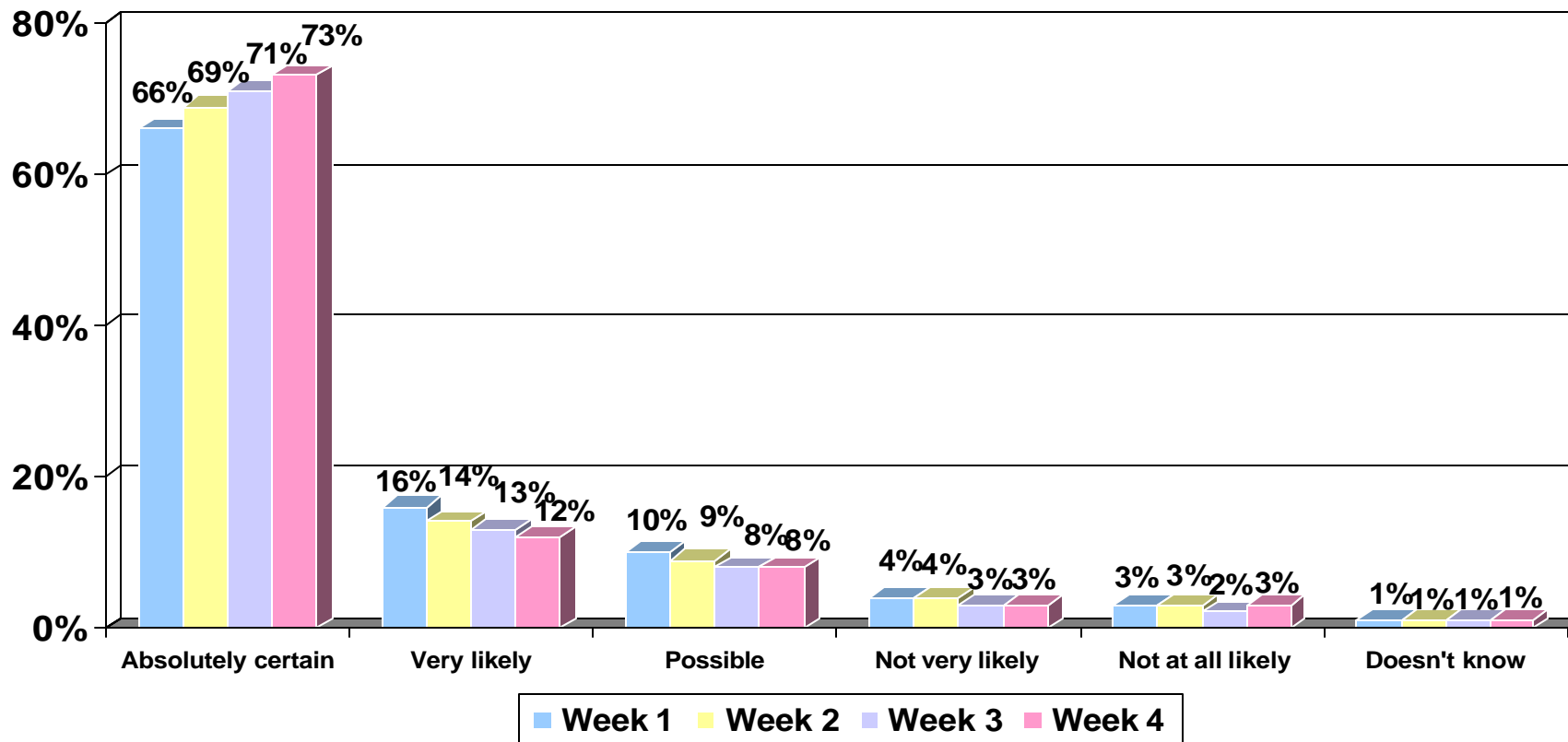
# Glossary

- **SPS**            **Socialist Party of Serbia**
- **DOS**            **Democratic Opposition of Serbia**
- **SPO**            **Serbian Renewal Movement**
- **SRS**            **Serbian Radical Party**
- **JUL**            **Yugoslav National Left**
- **DS**             **Democratic Party**
- **DSS**            **Democratic Party of Serbia**

- **As the election nears, voters in Serbia are increasingly likely to vote. 85% say they are absolutely certain or very likely to vote.**

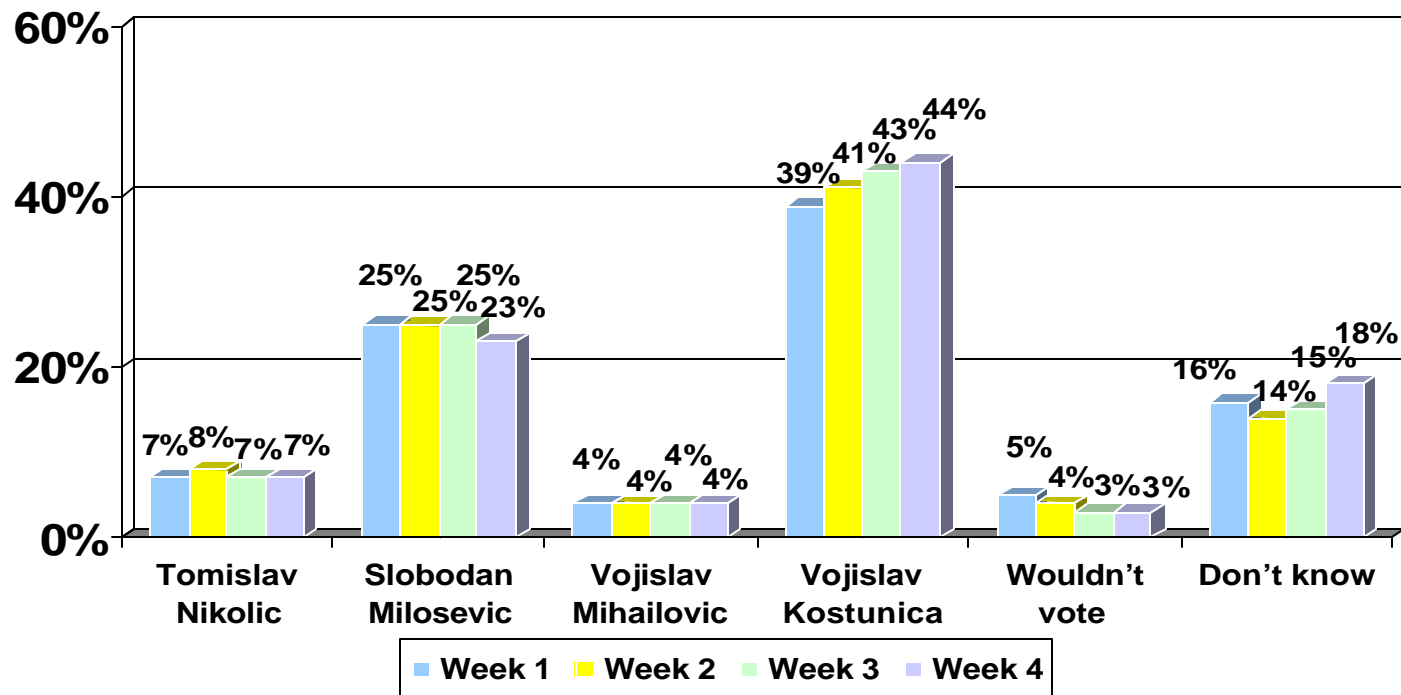
***How likely is it that you will vote in the next round of elections - is it absolutely certain, very likely, possible, not very likely or not at all likely?***

**All voters**



- In a four-way race among voters in Serbia, Kostunica is ahead of Milosevic by 21 points, up from 14 points in our first poll and 20 in our third wave.

*The election for President of Yugoslavia is scheduled for September 24. If that election were held today, for whom would you vote? Would you vote for...*  
All voters in Serbia



- *Kostunica's favorable rating is up, while Milosevic's has remained at about the same level.*

*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?*  
All voters

	Week 1			Week 2			Week 3			Week 4		
	Fav.	Unfv.	Unfm.	Fav.	Unfv.	Unfm.	Fav.	Unfv.	Unfm.	Fav	Unfav.	Unfm.
Vojislav Kostunica	56	28	3	56	28	3	56	27	2	59	25	2
Slobodan Milosevic	35	57	0	34	59	0	32	61	0	31	61	0
Tomislav Nikolic	24	54	7	24	54	7	23	54	7	21	56	6
Vojislav Mihailovic	20	39	20	20	39	18	18	40	16	19	42	13
Milo Djukanovic	30	53	2	30	52	2	28	50	1	27	50	1

- ***Holding steady from the previous poll, 72 percent of voters say Milosevic has had his chance and it is time to elect someone new.***

## **Statements**

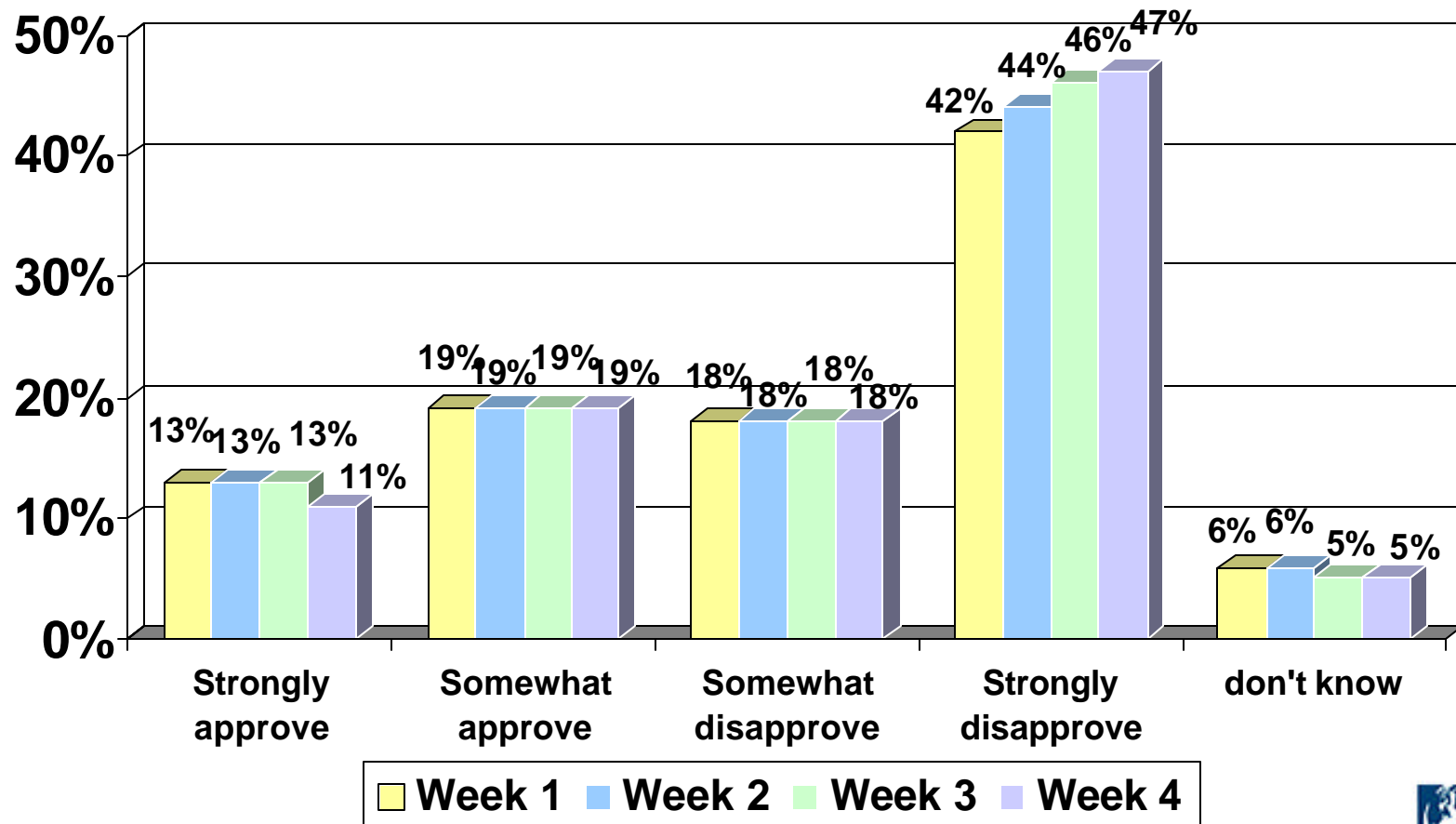
***Now I'm going to read you some statements. After I read each one, please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree. % saying "strongly + somewhat agree" and "strongly +somewhat disagree"***

	Week 1		Week 2		Week 3		Week 4	
	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
Slobodan Milosevic has been president for many years, but now his time has passed and it is time for someone new.	69	24	70	24	72	23	72	23
The Democratic Opposition of Serbia is the best hope to produce change	51	37	51	34	53	33	54	32
Voters must stay united behind Vojislav Kostunica - because this is the only way to defeat S. Milosevic	55	25	57	25	57	25	56	25



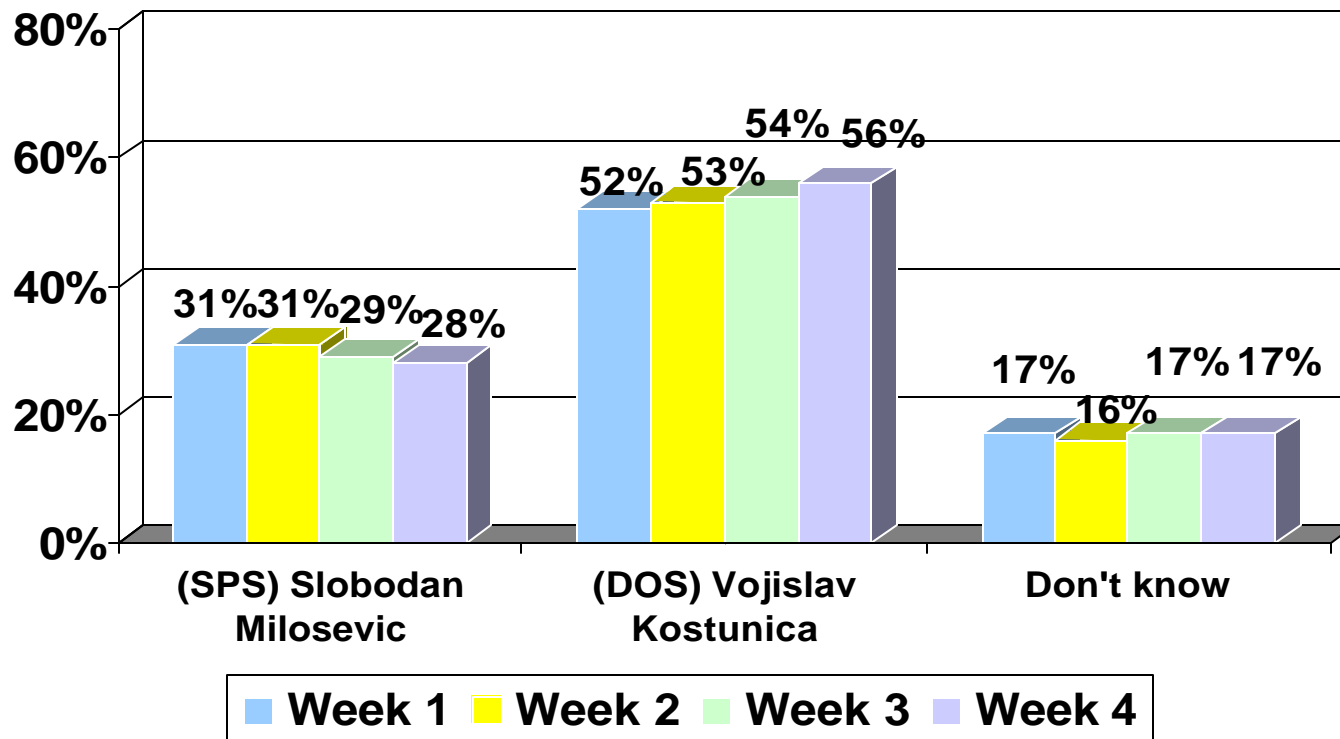
- **Milosevic's job performance rating continues to decline, with 65 percent saying they disapprove of the job he's done -- up from 60.**

***In general, do you strongly approve of the job of Slobodan Milosevic has done, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove, or strongly disapprove? All voters***



- In a two way race, Kostunica is ahead of Milosevic 56-28, up from 54-29 in our previous poll and 52-31 in our first poll.

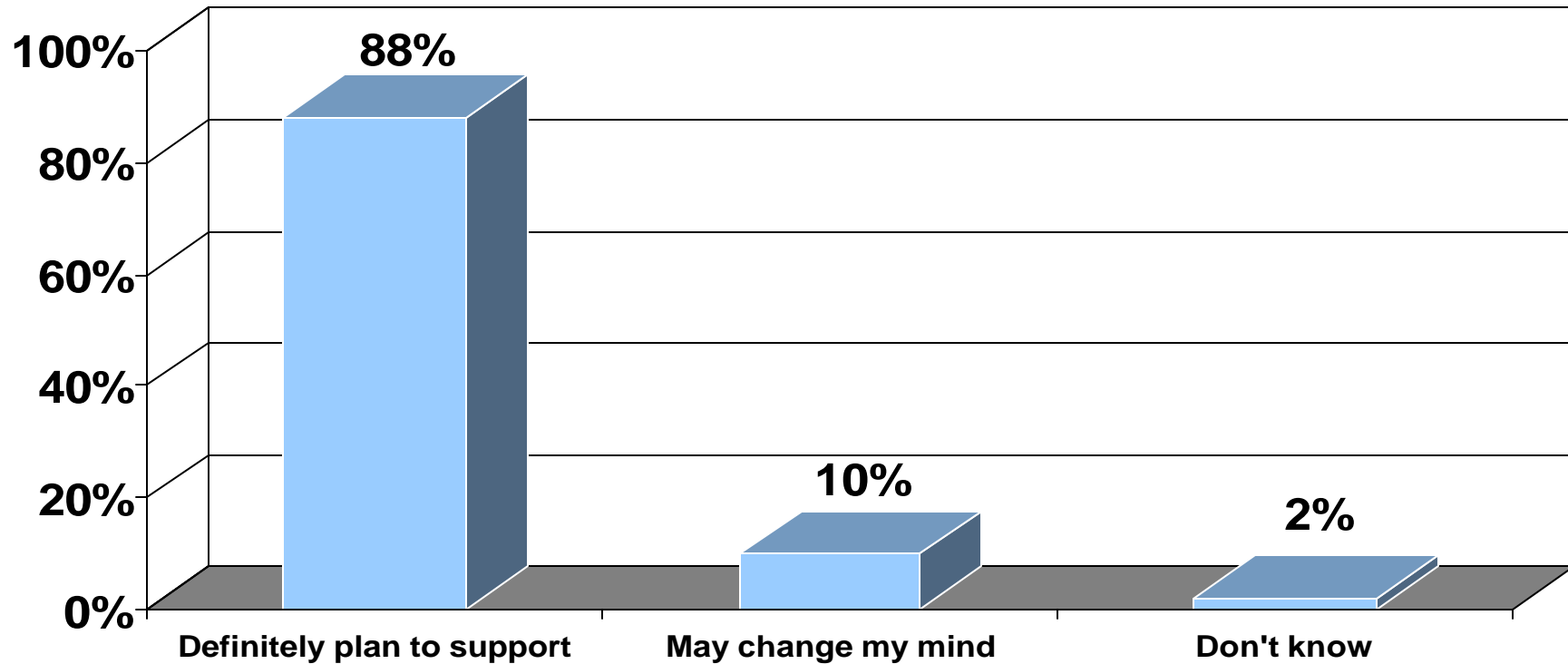
*The election for President of Yugoslavia is scheduled for September 24. If that election were held today, for whom would you vote? Would you vote for...*  
All voters in Serbia



- **In looking at what might happen in a two-way run-off between Kostunica and Milosevic in Serbia, we found that**
  - **74 percent of Mihailovic voters say they would vote for Kostunica in a two way race -- that's down from 81 percent in the previous wave.**
  - **46 percent of those voting for Nikolic say they would vote for Milosevic in a two-way race -- down from 53 percent.**
  - **24 percent of those voting for Nikolic would back Kostunica in a two-way race -- up from 19 percent.**
- **Thus, SPO voters are growing less likely to support Kostunica in a second round, while more SRS voters are likely to support Kostunica.**

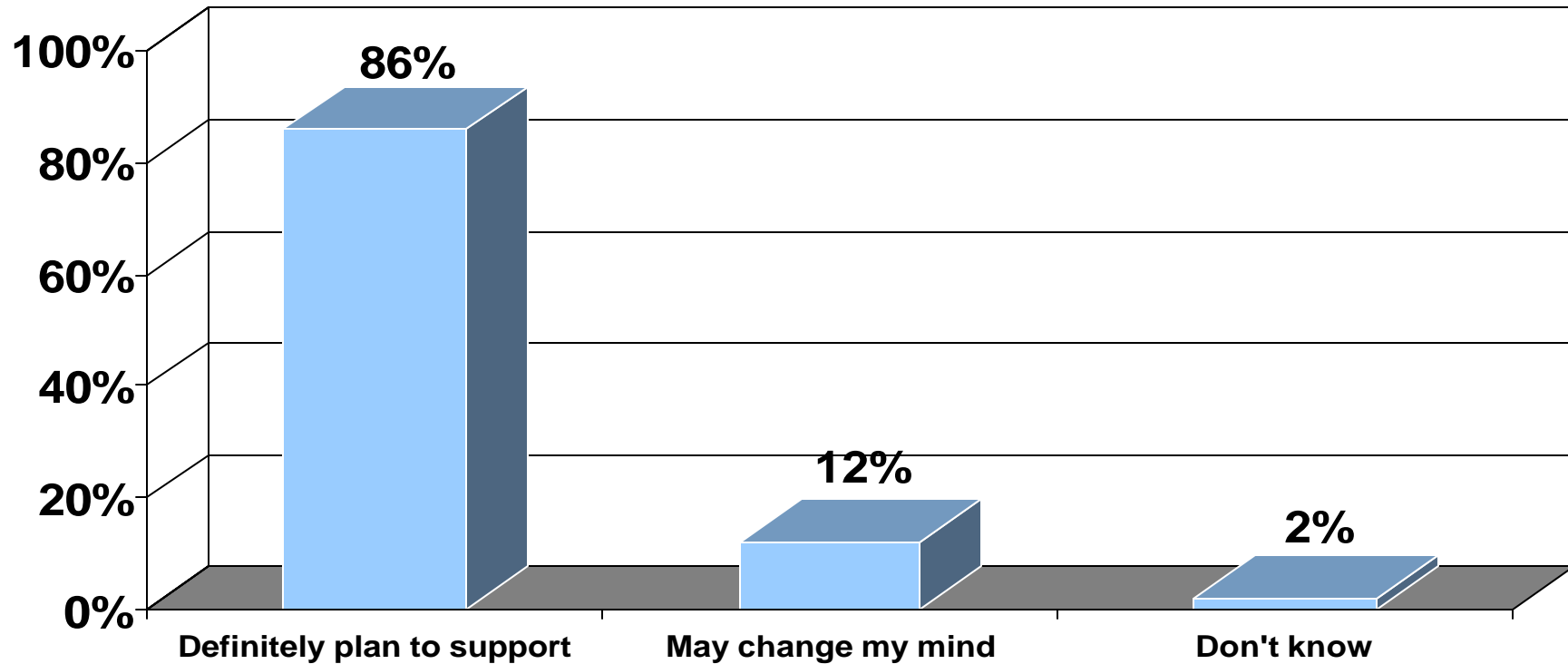
- ***Among those who are likely to vote for Kostunica, 88 percent say they are sure they will vote for him.***

***Do you definitely plan to support that candidate or is it possible you may change your mind?  
Among Kostunica supporters***



- **86 percent of Milosevic supporters say they are sure to support him.**

***Do you definitely plan to support that candidate or is it possible you may change your mind?  
Among Milosevic supporters***



- **Among voters in Serbia, Kostunica continues to rise in every attribute category we tested. He is now ahead of Milosevic even in the category of “will rebuild Serbia.” Milosevic is only ahead of Kostunica in the categories of “will provide strong leadership” and “has the experience to do the job.”**

## ***Leader Attributes***

***Does this apply more to Slobodan Milosevic, Vojislav Kostunica, Vojislav Mihailovic or Tomislav Nikolic?***

	<b>Tomislav Nikolic</b>	<b>Slobodan Milosevic</b>	<b>Vojislav Mihailovic</b>	<b>Vojislav Kostunica</b>
<b>Will stand up for Serbia's national interests</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>Effective -- gets things done</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>34</b>
<b>Has the experience to do the job</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>Will boost the economy and raise the standard of living</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>43</b>
<b>Will reintegrate Serbia and Yugoslavia into Europe</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>47</b>
<b>Will provide strong leadership</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>Will end crime and corruption</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>Will rebuild the country</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>32</b>

- ***In the parliamentary horserace, the Democratic Opposition of Serbia's lead over the SPS/JUL coalition has increased from 16 to 20 points.***

***If elections for federal parliament were held tomorrow, for which party or coalition would you vote?***

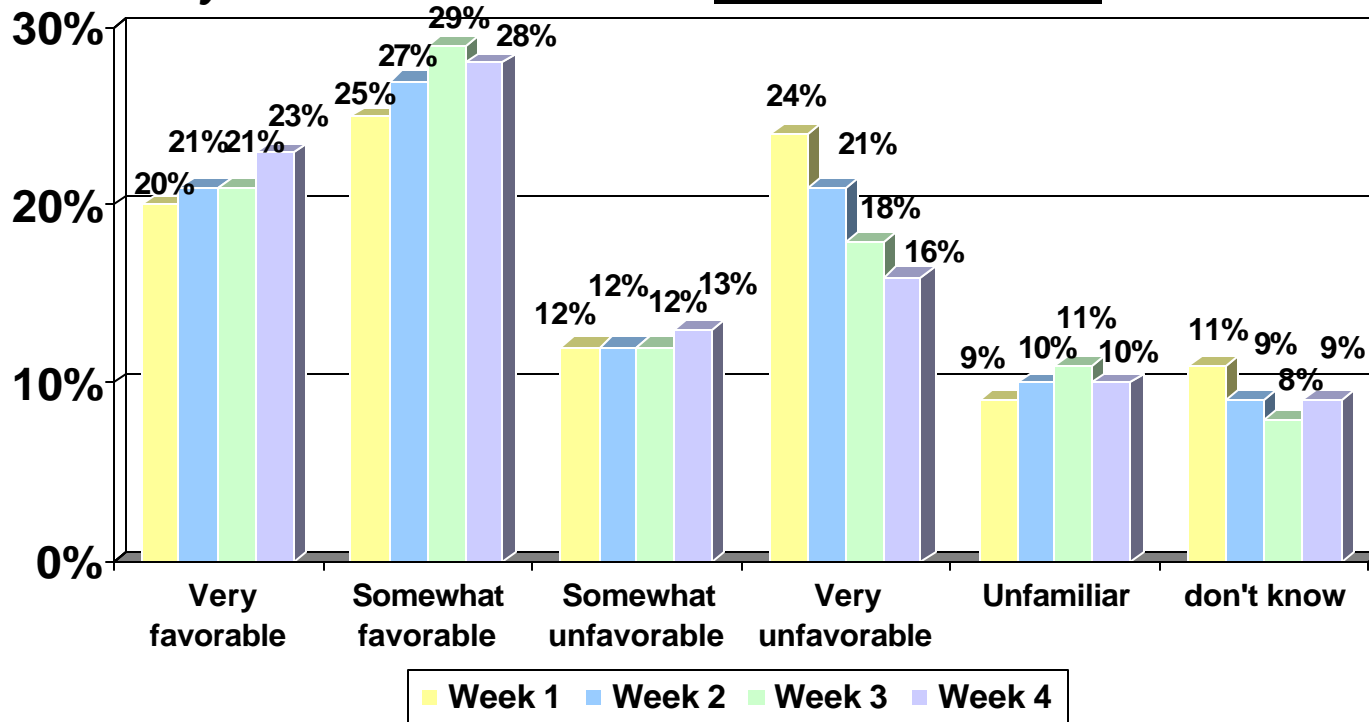
**All voters**

	<b>Week 1</b>	<b>Week 2</b>	<b>Week 3</b>	<b>Week 4</b>
<b>Democratic Opposition of Serbia</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>42</b>
<b>SPS/JUL coalition</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>Serbian Radical Party (SRS)</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO)</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Other – SPECIFY</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>Wouldn't vote</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Undecided/don't know</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>17</b>



- With only a week to go before the election, Vojislav Kostunica and the Democratic Opposition of Serbia are continuing to increase their favorability -- and their margin of victory among voters in Serbia.

*Are you familiar with the Democratic Opposition of Serbia?  
Are you very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable toward it? All voters in Serbia*



- **Comparing party choice in the parliamentary race to candidate choice in the presidential race, we found :**
  - 93 percent of DOS supporters will vote for Kostunica
  - 91 percent of SPS/JUL supporters will vote for Milosevic
  - 74 percent of SRS voters will back Nikolic
- **But SPO voters are less supportive of their own candidate and are crossing over to Kostunica.**
  - Only 71 percent of SPO voters will back Mihailovic, while 24 percent say they'll support Kostunica.

- ***Poverty and the Milosevic regime continue to top the list of voters' concerns.***

***In your opinion, what is the most important problem facing Serbia today?  
Week 1 vs. Week 2 vs. Week 3 vs. Week 4 voters***

<b>Biggest problem</b>	<b>Week 1</b>	<b>Week 2</b>	<b>Week 3</b>	<b>Week 4</b>
<b>Poverty, social problems</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>29</b>
<b>Regime of Milosevic</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>Economic sanctions, international isolation</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>Unemployment, forced vacations</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>Crime and corruption, violence, insecurity</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>Economic deterioration, crisis</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>5</b>

## Montenegro

- **Montenegro respondents are extremely negative towards Milosevic -- more negative than voters in Serbia.**
  - 65 percent say Milosevic has had his chance and it is time for someone new
  - 66 percent disapprove of Milosevic's job performance
  - 65 percent are unfavorable to Milosevic

## Montenegro

- **Nevertheless, a very substantial portion of the population will not vote.**
  - **Only 32 percent of Montenegro voters say they are absolutely certain or very likely to vote, compared to 85 percent in Serbia.**
  - **57 percent of Montenegro respondents say they are not very likely to vote or not at all likely to vote, compared to 6 percent in Serbia.**

## Montenegro

- In the parliamentary elections, Serbian voters choose

– SPS/JUL	22
– DOS	42
– SRS	8
– SPO	3
– Other	5
– Wouldn't vote/DK	20

With Montenegro factored in, the numbers change only slightly, to:

– SPS/JUL	21
– DOS	39
– SRS	7
– SPO	4
– Other	6
– Wouldn't vote/DK	23