

**National Democratic Institute for International Affairs
Bosnia and Hercegovina**



**A Survey of Voter Attitudes in B&H
Summary Report**

February 28, 2002

INTRODUCTION

The following is a presentation and analysis of key findings from the first phase of NDI's October 5, 2002 election research program.

This research program is the property of the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs and was supported financially by USAID. Its primary purpose is to assist NDI's political party program partners develop the skills and experience necessary to effectively compete in elections and to enhance their ability to represent the interests of the people of Bosnia and Hercegovina.

In addition to this baseline survey, the program is planned to include a second major survey, scheduled for June 2002 and a series of tracking polls leading up to the October 5th vote.

Between February 12 and February 17, 3,700 Bosnia and Hercegovina citizens participated in face-to-face interviews designed to measure their attitudes in relationship to the upcoming October 5th general elections. The 3,700 interviews include 200 interviews in each of the 12 Federation of B&H and 6 Republika Srpska electoral districts and 100 in the Brcko district. It is important to note that out-of-country voters were not included in the survey.

The margin of error on a sample of 3,700 is plus or minus 2 to 3 percent. On a sample of 1,200 it is plus or minus 4 to 5 percent and on a 200-person sample, the margin of error is plus or minus 8 to 10 percent.

The research project is designed to be a political party development tool and not as a means of predicting the outcome of any of the October 5th elections being contested.

PARTICIPATION

90% of the survey respondents said they intended to vote in the coming election. 86% said they were already registered. Of the 10% not intending to vote the most common reasons given were disillusionment with BiH's political parties and with the lack of change in the country since 1996.

40% of people not currently registered said they do not intend to register, citing a lack of interest in politics and the lack of a Party or individual that they feel represents them. Young people were the least likely to be registered, with only 73% of 18 to 30 year olds registered to vote.

VOTE INTENTION

On October 5, 2002, citizens of Bosnia and Hercegovina will vote in a number of elections, the B&H Presidency, B&H Parliament, Republika Srpska President and Vice-president, Republika Srpska National Assembly, Federation of B&H Parliament and 10 Cantonal Assemblies.

The major ethnic groups of B&H differ in their view of the importance of each of these elections. Among Bosniaks the B&H Presidency and B&H State Parliament are seen as the most important elections, while among Bosnian-Serbs it is overwhelmingly the RSNA and the RS President and Vice-president. For Bosnian-Croats the B&H Presidency and the Federation of B&H Parliament are the most important elections.

When asked to select, from a list of four options, "what is most important to you in considering which party or politician you might vote for", 63% of respondents said they were looking for a Party or Politician that was able to improve the quality of life for them and their family. This was consistent across all demographics.

There was not a consensus among the country's three major ethnic groups on what was next most important. 31% of Bosniaks said it was important that the Party or politician protect and strengthen B&H as a State, 19% of Bosnian-Serbs wanted politicians and Parties that would strengthen and protect the Entity they lived in, and 24% of Bosnian-Croats felt the protection and promotion of their national interests was most important.

Most Parties' support is relatively consistent in each of the elections. There are no major demographic differences among party supporters, with the exception of ethnicity. The SDP is the only party with measurable support among all three of B&H's major ethnic groups. There are few substantive differences among women, between the various age groups, rural and urban voters. Where there are differences they are greatest based on education and income.

There are a few parties where support is slightly more concentrated in particular demographic groups. SDP voters are more likely to live in cities and to be higher educated. The Party is doing better with male voters than with females. SDA supporters are more likely to live in rural areas and to have a lower level of education. SDS voters are more likely to be older, have lower incomes and a lower level of education. The HDZ draws a significant amount of its support from higher income voters.

For each of the elections being held on October 5, survey respondents were asked, "If the election were held tomorrow, which party would you vote for?"

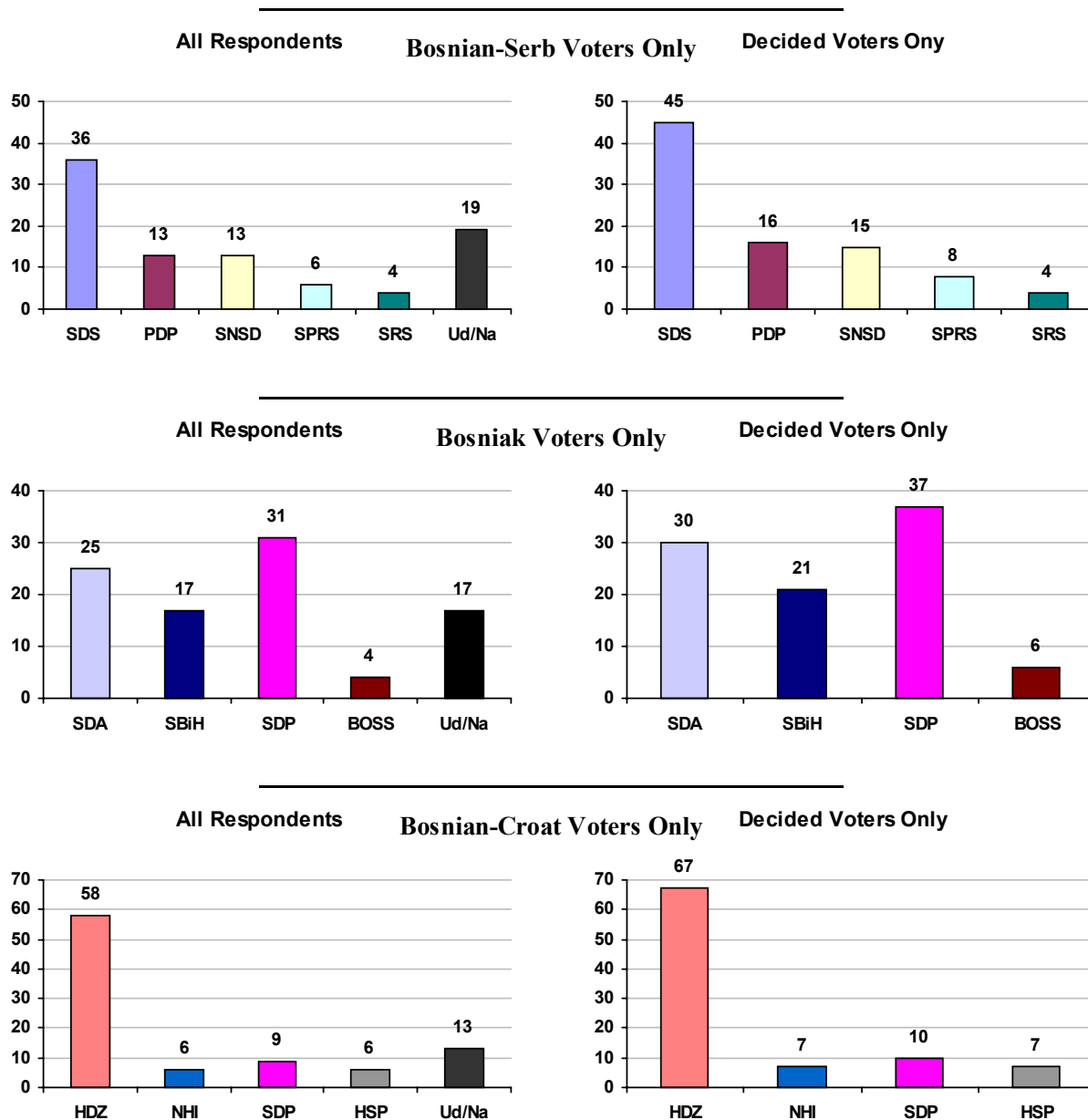
The results of vote intention questions are presented in two ways, all respondents and decided voters only. The "all respondents response" includes undecided voters and respondents that refused to answer. This response measures the true level of party support among all people surveyed. However, because a Party's level of support on Election Day is a percentage of only the people that voted it is not an accurate reflection of potential election results.

The "decided voters only response" shows a party's support as a percentage of decided voters only and is a more accurate reflection of the support the party may expect on Election Day. In presenting the results of decided voters only, respondents who said they were undecided, would not vote or did not know are distributed among the parties in proportion to their levels of support among all respondents.

Presidency of B&H

Respondents were asked specifically if they were looking for a member of the Presidency that would act as a representative of all citizens or one that would act as a representative of the people that voted for him/her and work to protect the interests of that group. Overall 60% of respondents wanted members of the Presidency that worked to represent the interests of all citizens. However Bosniaks were the only group where a majority held this view, 84%. Only 34% of Bosnian-Serbs and 50% of Bosnian-Croats preferred a member of the Presidency that represented all citizens.

Because candidates for the three-member B&H presidency have yet to declare, respondents were asked, “for which Party’s candidate they would vote?”. The results are presented by ethnic group.



B&H House of Representatives

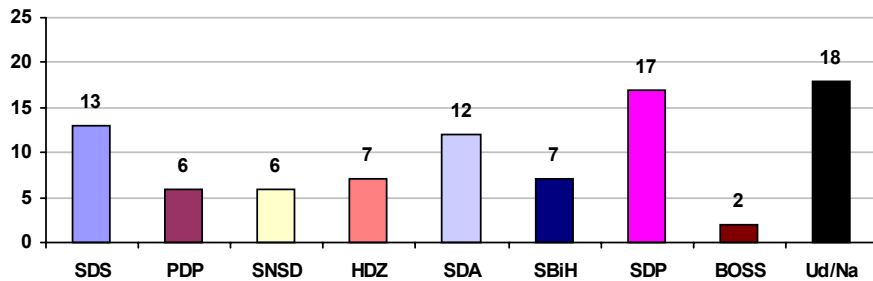
While most Parties' support for the B&H State Parliament elections crosses all demographic lines, the exception is ethnicity. Voters continue to gravitate to Parties they identify with ethnically. The SDP is the only Party with some support in all three ethnic groups, although among Serbs it remains just below 3%.

Among Bosnian-Croats the HDZ has 60% of decided voters, followed by the SDP with 15%, NHI with 8% and HSP 7%. No other party has 3% or more support among decided Croat voters.

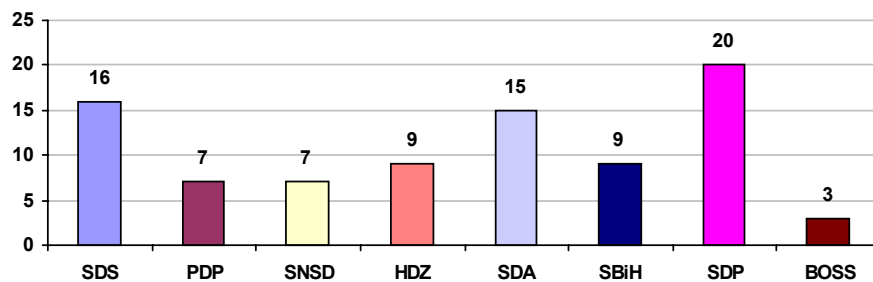
Among Bosnian-Serbs the SDS has 43% of decided voters, followed by the PDP and SNSD, both with 18% and SPRS with 7%. The SRS, 4%, is the only other party with more than 3% of the vote.

The SDP has 36% of decided voters among Bosniaks. SDA is next with 31%, followed by SBiH 19% and BOSS with 6%. No other Party has 3% or more support among decided voters.

All Respondents



Decided Voters Only



B&H Parliament By Electoral District

The following charts indicate vote intention in each of the 8 B&H Electoral Districts. Brcko is not included because the sample size was too small for any statistical validity. The sample size per electoral district is approximately 400. The margin of error on a sample that size is plus or minus 7%. Parties with less than 3% support are not included in the charts.

All Respondents								
	B&H 1	B&H 2	B&H 3	B&H 4	B&H 5	RS 1	RS 2	RS 3
SBiH	11	3	21	15	8			
SDA	22	8	19	28	18			
SDP	20	15	34	26	34		3	
BOSS			4	4	8			
SDS						20	31	53
SRS							5	
PDP						12	14	15
SNSD						22	10	7
SPRS						5	7	6
NHI				3				
HDZ	14	51		7	4			
DNZ	5	3						
HSP	4	4						
Ud/Na	17	12	10	12	22	30	24	11

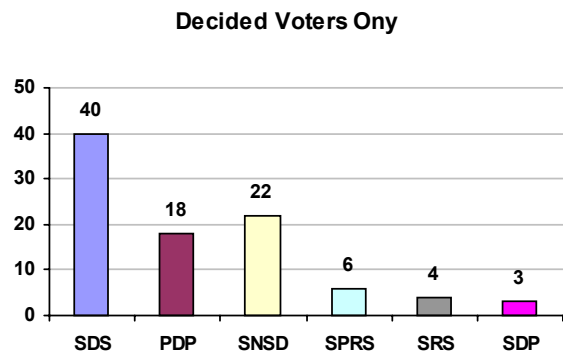
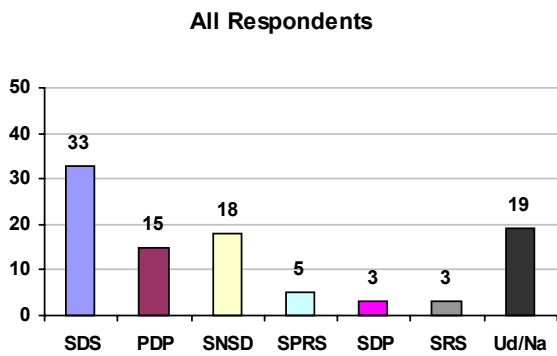
UD/Na: Includes undecided, don't know and no answer

Decided Voters Only								
	B&H 1	B&H 2	B&H 3	B&H 4	B&H 5	RS 1	RS 2	RS 3
SBiH	13	3	24	17	10			
SDA	26	9	21	32	23			
SDP	24	17	38	30	44	3	4	
BOSS			5	4	11			
BPS			3					
SDS						28	41	60
SRS							7	
PDP						18	19	16
SNSD						32	13	8
SPRS						7	9	6
NHI				3				
HDZ	17	59		7	5			
NHI				3				
DNZ	6							
HSP	5	5						
NS		3						

President And Vice-President Republika Srpska

Respondents were asked to choose from a list what they felt was most important in electing the President and Vice-President of the Republika Srpska. A President that would work to improve the economy was the first or second choice of 59% of voters. A President that would work to protect the rights of the Republika Srpska, as they now exist, was next with 34% of respondents selecting it first or second. Strengthening relations with Yugoslavia was the first choice of 5% of respondents and the second choice of 20%.

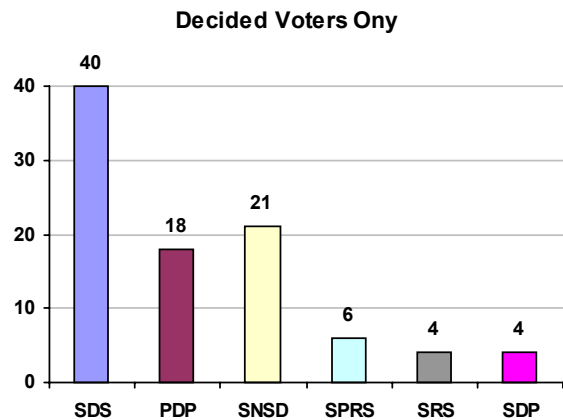
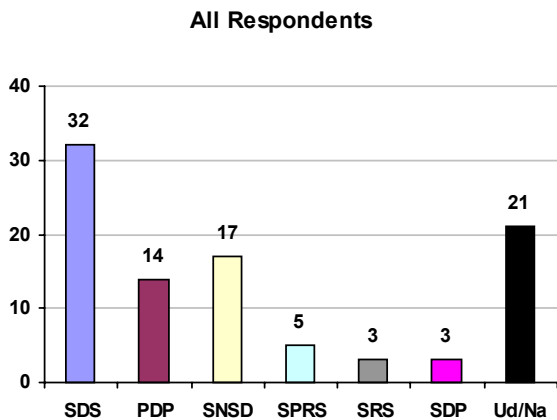
Because candidates have not yet declared for the Presidential and Vice-presidential elections, respondents were asked to select which Party's candidates they would support.



Republika Srpska National Assembly

The SDP is the only Party other than those traditionally viewed as Serb with support over 3%. It is important to note that out-of-country voters were not included in the survey and Federation residents intending to vote in the RS were under-sampled.

Parties with less than 3% are not included in the following graphs.



**Republika Srpska National Assembly
By Electoral District**

The following charts indicate vote intention in each of the 6 RS Electoral Districts. The sample size per electoral district is approximately 200. The margin of error on a sample that size is plus or minus 10%. Parties with less than 3% support are not included in the charts.

All Respondents
Numbers indicate %

	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6
SDP			5	4		
SNS	3					
SRS			3	10	3	3
SDS	24	21	33	25	53	52
PDP	9	21	18	12	13	16
SNSD	30	24	12	9	10	7
SPRS	3	5	6	4	5	6
Pension.			3			
Ud/Na	26	23	21	30	10	14

All Respondents
Numbers indicate %

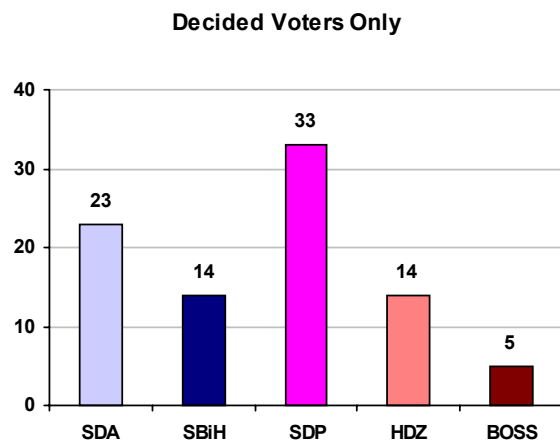
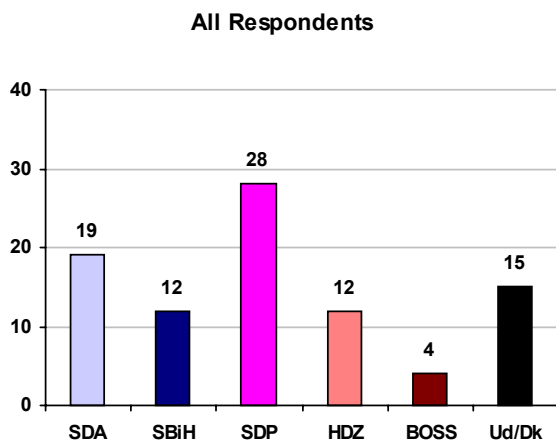
	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6
SDP		3	6	6		
SNS	4					
SRS			4	14	4	4
SDS	32	27	41	35	59	60
PDP	12	27	22	17	15	19
SNSD	40	31	15	13	11	8
SPRS	4	6	8	6	6	7
Pension.			3			

UD/Na: Includes undecided, don't know, no ans.

Federation of B&H House of Representatives

Similar to the B&H State Parliament elections, voters for the Federation Parliament continue to identify with Parties on the basis of ethnicity. The SDP is the exception, with the support of 14% of decided Croat voters. The SDP is the second choice of Bosnian-Croats behind the HDZ with 61% of decided Croat voters.

Only Parties with more than 3% of decided voters are included in the following graphs.



Cantonal Assemblies

The following charts indicate vote intention in each of the 10 Cantons. The sample size per Canton varies, in some cases the margin of error is greater than 10%. Parties with less than 3% support are not included in the charts.

All Respondents

Numbers indicate %

Canton	Una-Sana	Posavina	Tuzla	Zenica - Doboj	Gorazde	Central Bosnia	Herceg. Neretva	Western Herceg.	Sarajevo	Herceg. Bosnia
SBiH	11	3	8	15		18	5		25	4
SDA	26	4	18	31	18	22	10		15	
SDP	30	19	37	29	43	25	19		32	3
DNZ	5									
BOSS			10			4			5	
BPS									3	
NHI		18				5				8
HDZ		28		5		9		79		53
NS								6		
HSS										5
DSP F BiH				3	12					
HSP							4	7		16
Ud/Na	24	24	22	10	21	10	15	3	12	5

Ud/Na: Includes undecided, don't know, and no answer.

Decided Voters Only

Numbers indicate %

Canton	Una-Sana	Posavina	Tuzla	Zenica - Doboj	Gorazde	Central Bosnia	Herceg. Neretva	Western Herceg.	Sarajevo	Herceg. Bosnia
SBiH	15	4	11	17		20	6		29	4
SDA	34	5	23	34	23	25	11		17	
SDP	39	24	47	33	54	28	22		37	4
DNZ	7									
BOSS			13			5			6	
BPS										
NHI		24				5				8
HDZ		36		5		10	46	81		56
NS								6		
HSS										6
DSP F BiH				3	15					
HSP							4	8		17

**Entity Parliament/Assembly Results
November 2000 vs February 2002**

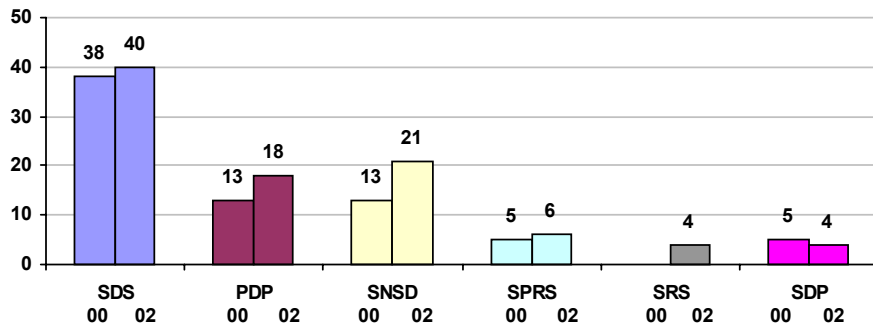
Of the six Parties with more than 3% support in the RSNA elections, five have increased their level of support since the November 2000 elections. This includes the SRS that did not run in 2000. The SDP is the only party with less support, 1%, than in 2000.

One explanation for the percentage increase in support for the SDS, SNSD and PDP is that the 2000 election results include out-of-country and all non-resident voters. When these voters are added the percentage of support for parties like the SDS, SNSD and PDP will be lower. Past experience has seen a 3 to 4 percent difference between polls that do not include out-of-country voters and actual election results.

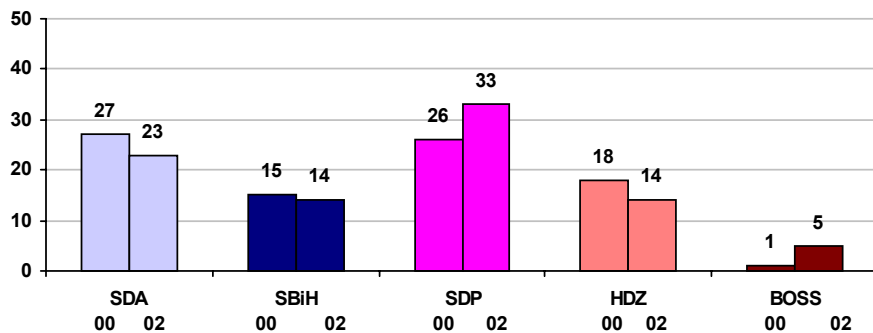
The SNSD with an 8% increase in support and the PDP with a 5% increase appear to be drawing new supporters from smaller parties.

In the Federation Parliament race it also appears that smaller Parties are losing supporters to the larger Parties, the exception is BOSS, which has grown from 1% to 5% since November 2000.

RSNA Decided Voters Only



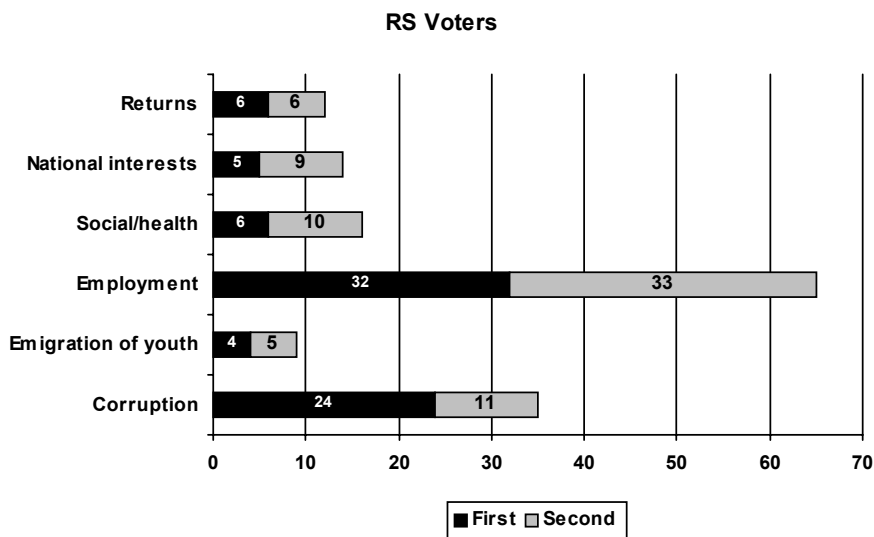
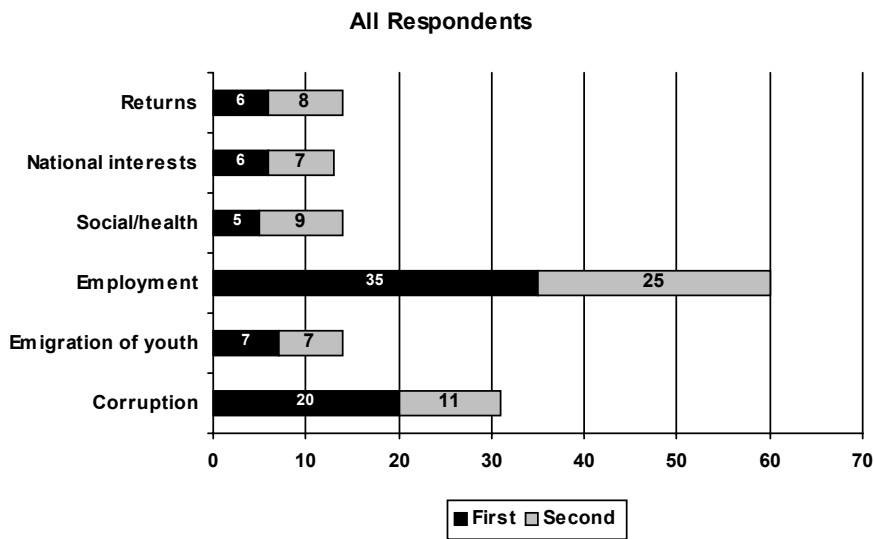
Federation Parliament Decided Voters Only



ISSUES

Respondents were asked to identify the two issues they felt were most important to themselves and their families and the two issues they felt were most important in deciding how they would vote.

Most Important Issues In Deciding How to Vote

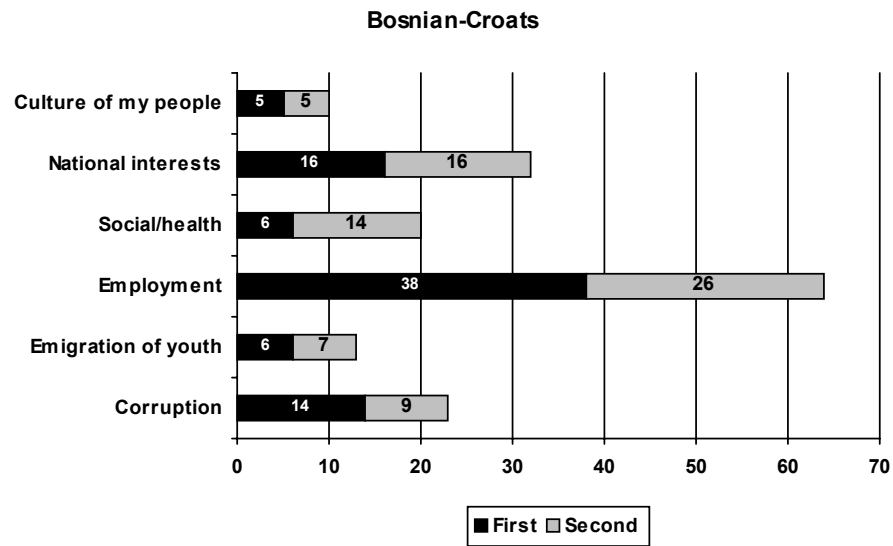
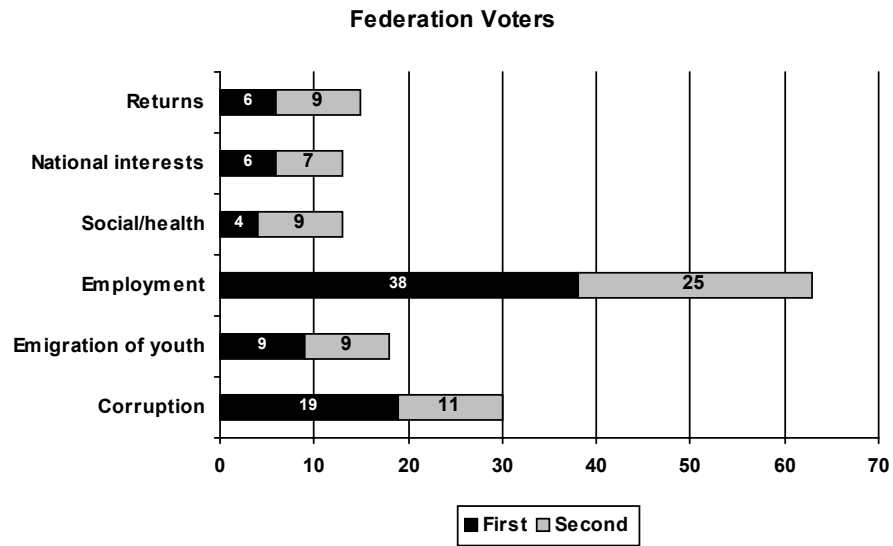


There was virtually no difference between the responses to each question. The issues identified as most important to respondents and their families were the same issues they said were most important in deciding how they would vote.

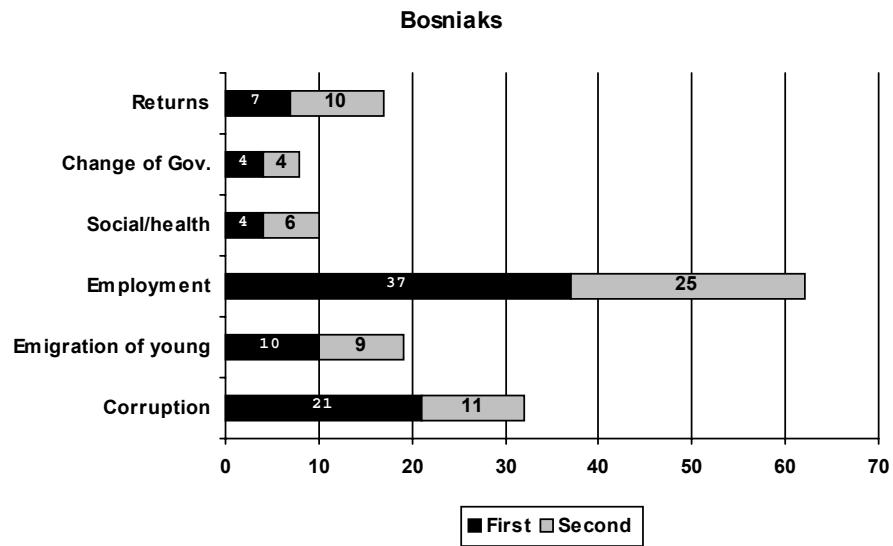
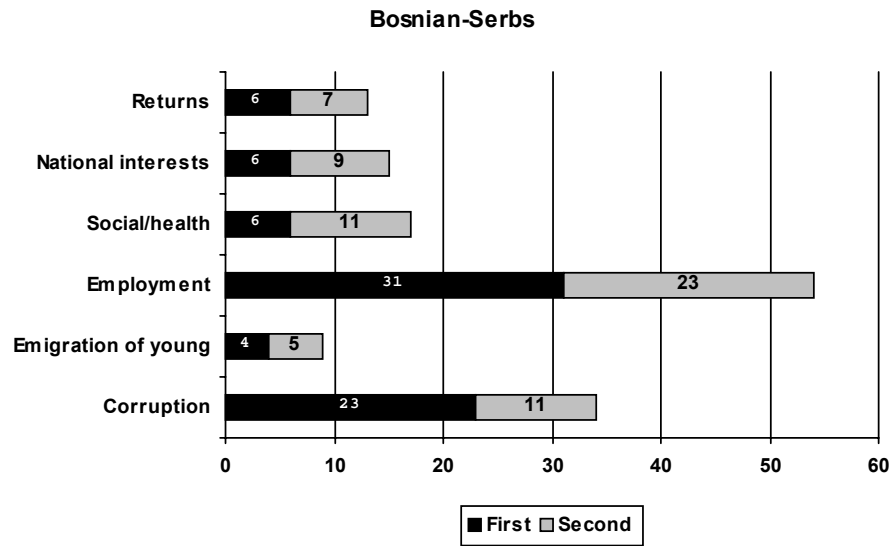
As the graphs illustrate, the issues are relatively consistent for Federation voters and RS voters and among B&H's three major ethnic groups. Employment remains the number one issue. 60% of respondents identified employment as either their first or second most important issue. Corruption was second among all respondents at 31%. No other issue was identified by more than 15% of all respondents.

The issue of "protecting my national interests" was the first or second choice of 13% of respondents. This varied significantly between the country's three major ethnic groups. 5% of Bosniaks, 15% of Serbs and 32% of Croats said it was either their first or second most important issue in determining how they would vote.

Most Important Issues In Deciding How to Vote



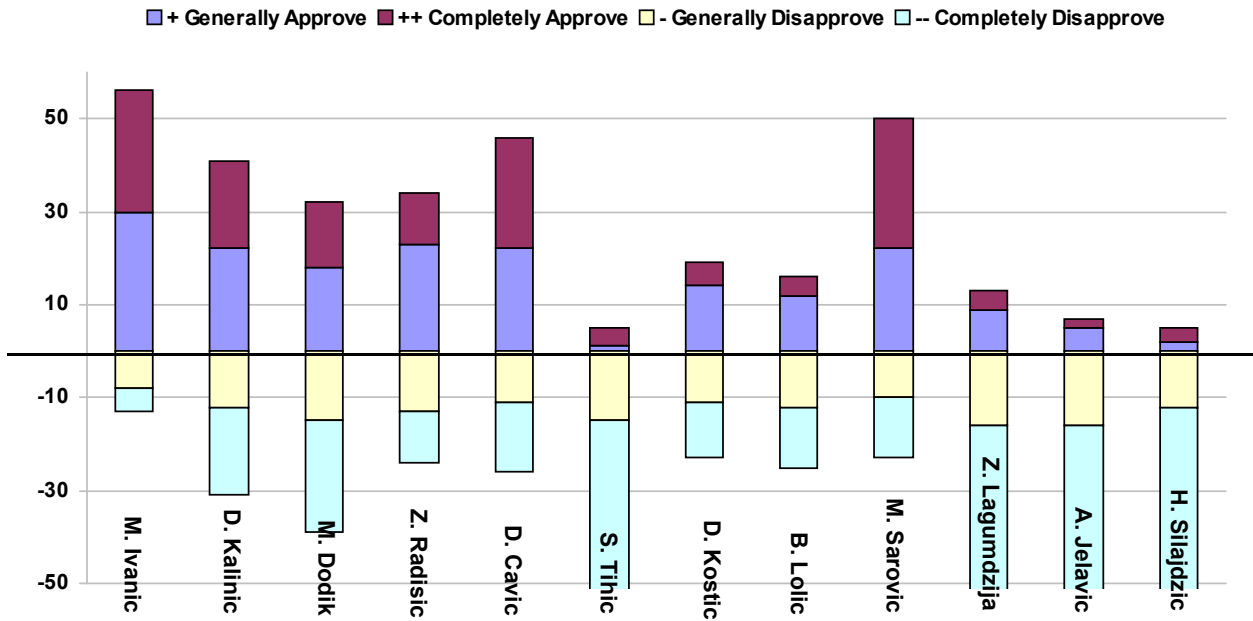
Most Important Issues In Deciding How to Vote



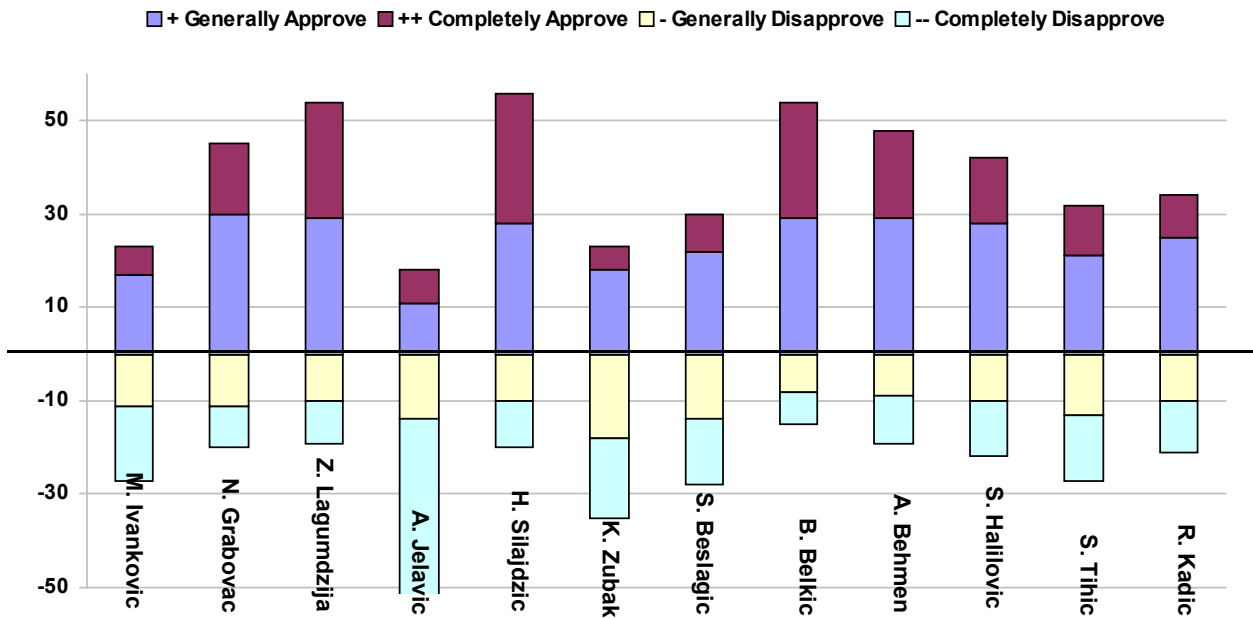
VIEWS OF POLITICAL LEADERS

Respondents were asked, "To what degree do you approve or disapprove of the performance of the following political figures?"

All RS Voters



All Federation Voters



GOVERNMENTS AND PARLIAMENTARIANS

Performance of the Alliance For Change

Respondents in the Federation were asked a series of questions related to the performance of the Alliance for Change in both the Federation and B&H Governments. They were first asked to what degree they approve or disapprove of the Alliance's work to date in a number of areas. The Alliance received good ratings on international activities but fared less well on domestic issues. Payment of pensions and fighting corruption received the highest approval among domestic issues.

Respondents were then asked what they felt were the most significant achievements and failures of the Alliance. Again the Alliance fared well on the international scene with membership in the Council of Europe seen as either their first or second most significant achievement by 34% of respondents. The most significant failure was employment or the creation of jobs. 43% of respondents identified this as either the first or second most significant failure of the Alliance.

Respondents in the Republika Srpska were asked to rate the performance of the B&H Government in the same areas referred to in the previous chart. Again it was international issues receiving the best marks, although approval ratings overall were substantially lower in the RS. On domestic issues 12% of RS respondents identified returns as the issue on which the B&H Government performance was best, the highest ranking domestic issue.

Approval of Alliance For Change Performance on Key Issues (FBiH voters)

	Appr.
Membership of Council of Europe	67%
Bringing BiH closer to Europe	65%
Co-operation with International Community	65%
Pensions	48%
Battle against corruption	47%
Customs and border services	45%
Return of refugee	45%
Permanent Election law	42%
Budget and collection of taxes	42%
Relations between constitutive peoples	40%
Work of government institutions	37%
Future military structure	36%
Demobilised soldiers	35%
Privatization	34%
Relations between RS and FBiH	34%
Social Protection	32%
Employment/Job creation	32%
Living Standards	29%

RS Government Performance

RS Government Performance

RS respondents were asked to rate the performance of the Government of the Republika Srpska on 13 issues. Cooperation with International Community was the only issue where more than half the respondents approved of the Government's performance. The lowest approval rating was on the Government's handling of the Ferhadija Mosque, 14%.

RS voters identified the Government's cooperation with the International Community as its most significant success, 26% of respondents identifying it either first or second. Other issues identified by more than 20% of respondents were the budget and tax collection, and protection of Entity rights.

Respondents see the Government's greatest failures as economic, employment 36%, pensions 28% and economic development 25%.

Parliamentarians

Once they are elected, Members of Parliament appear to have little contact with citizens of B&H. Only 50% of respondents knew the name of a Parliamentary or Assembly member elected to represent their constituency. 76% of respondents have never been contacted by their Member of Parliament and 75% did not know how to contact the Assembly or Parliamentary member elected to represent them.

Approval of RS Government Performance on Key Issues

Issue	Appr.
Improved relations with International Community.	54%
Fight against corruption	49%
Budget and tax measures	39%
Economic development	36%
Pensions	25%
Tax reform	32%
Refugee issues	37%
Privatization	25%
Protection of Entity rights	47%
Adoption of law on cooperation with the Hague	22%
Government handling of Ferhadija Mosque	14%
Job Creation	33%
Health Care	34%

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

Bosnia & Hercegovina's admission to the Council of Europe is seen as very or somewhat important by 75% of respondents. Bosniak's appear to be the most impressed, with 90% saying it was important and Serbs the least impressed with only 58% saying it was an important achievement.

When asked what benefits would occur as a result of B&H joining the Council of Europe, the largest number of respondents pointed to short and long term economic development.

In general, the attitude toward the International Community in B&H is mixed. When asked to evaluate the role of the International Community in B&H today, the largest number of respondents, 40%, said it was either very positive or generally positive. 35% said neither positive nor negative and 24% said it was negative.

The IC is least popular among Serbs, where only 23% said the International Community played a positive role in B&H today.