

Bosnia and Hercegovina

Polling Results on Voter Attitudes Regarding October 5, 2002 BiH Elections

Summary of Results

Polling from August 23 to September 3, 2002

INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

The following is a presentation and analysis of key findings from the latest in a series of tracking polls conducted by NDI in advance of the October 5, B&H elections. This tracking period marks the final phase of NDI's election research program.

The program began in February with a 3,700 person survey of voter attitudes, designed to assist political parties in B&H begin developing election strategies. In May, a second 3,700 person survey was conducted, providing parties with the opportunity to gain information that would help them refine and finalize their messages and strategies prior to the start of the campaign period. The primary purpose of this research is to assist NDI's political party program partners in developing the skills and experience necessary to effectively participate in elections, to enhance their ability to represent the interests of the people of Bosnia and Hercegovina, and to better understand the elections.

This final, or tracking phase, will monitor the effectiveness of the campaigns, programs and messages the parties will attempt to communicate to the people of B&H prior to October 5.

It is important to note that this research project is not designed to predict the outcome of the B&H elections, but rather to identify trends and to assist parties better understand the concerns of the electorate. It is difficult for any polling program to predict the precise outcome of any election. Due to the use of face-to-face interviews, data received is often several days or even weeks old and, at best, provides a picture of what was happening days or weeks before the data is published. Out-of-country voters are not included in the sample and displaced persons in B&H are significantly under represented. These are important factors to remember when interpreting the data and drawing conclusions.

Between August 23rd and September 3, 2,400 Bosnia and Hercegovina citizens were interviewed. The interviews were conducted throughout B&H and reflect a representative sample of the B&H population over the age of 18 on the basis of age, gender, rural vs urban and population density. The margin of error on a sample of 2,400 people is plus or minus 3%. Sub samples such as RS voters or Federation voters will have a margin of error of 4% to

5%. This research program is the property of the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs and is supported financially by USAID.

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-presidents, Republika Srpska National Assembly, Federation of B&H Parliament and 10 Cantonal Assemblies in the Federation.

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 voter intention questions are presented in two ways, all respondents and decided voters only. "All respondents" includes undecided voters and respondents who refused to answer. This response measures the true level of party support among all surveyed people. However, because a party's level of support on Election Day is a percentage of only the people who 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. For example if a party has 22% support among all respondents, then 22% of undecided voters are allocated to that party. A party with 9% support receives 9% of undecided voters. This may not be an accurate portrayal of vote intention among undecided voters but is currently the only statistical option available in allocating undecided voters.

A significant rural versus urban split is developing in party support.

More moderate parties' support tends to be more balanced between rural and urban Bosnia and Hercegovina with slightly more supporters living in larger centers. The more nationalist parties' support is increasingly concentrated in rural areas. 65% of SDA, 61% of SDS, 61% of SRS and 69% of HDZ voters live in rural areas.

For the most part there is little difference between men and women in terms of party support. The exception is the smaller parties, whose supporters are far more likely to be women.

Age also appears to be a minimal factor in determining how one will vote. Party support is mainly consistent among various age groups. For example 12% of all BiH citizens currently support the SDS. Among 18-35 year olds the party has 10% support, among 36-55 year olds 12% and among voters over 56, 15%. Similarly the SDP has 12% support across BiH, with 11% among younger voters, 14% in the 36 to 55 year age group and 12% among older voters.

The largest demographic factors in voting appear to be ethnicity and region. There are substantial differences in voting patterns throughout the country's various electoral districts. (See pages 7 and 8 of this report)

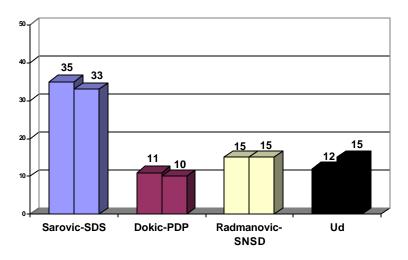
Presidency of Bosnia and Hercegovina

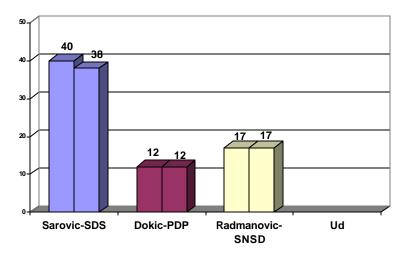
A three-member presidency will be elected based on the country's three constituent peoples. The candidate from each ethnic group receiving the largest number of votes will be elected to the presidency.

The races for each of the three seats on the B&H presidency appear to have narrowed slightly in the period ending September 3. It is important to note that all shifts in support were within the polls margin of error.

Bosnian-Serb Member of the BiH Presidency (Republika Srpska Respondents Only)

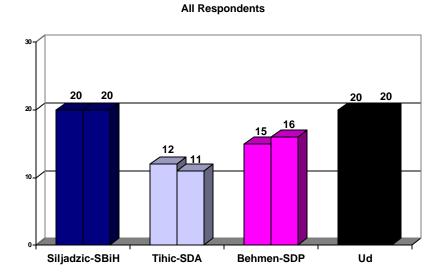
All Respondents

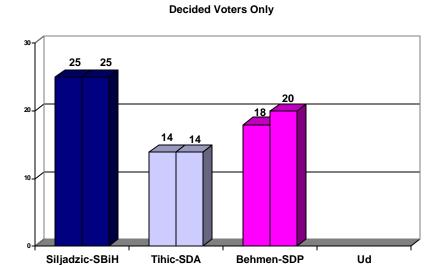




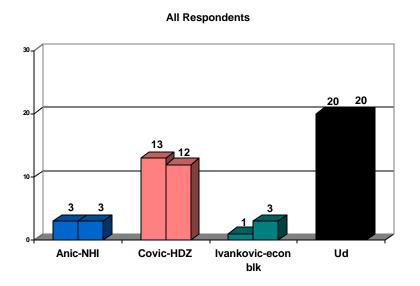
Left Bar August 28 - Right Bar September 3

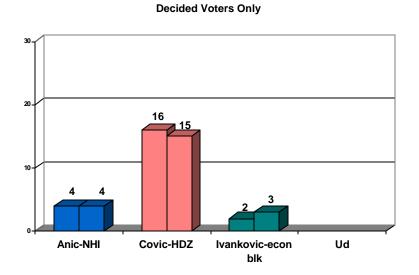
Bosniak Member of the BiH Presidency (Federation of B&H Respondents Only)





Bosnian-Croat Member of the BiH Presidency (Federation of B&H Respondents Only)





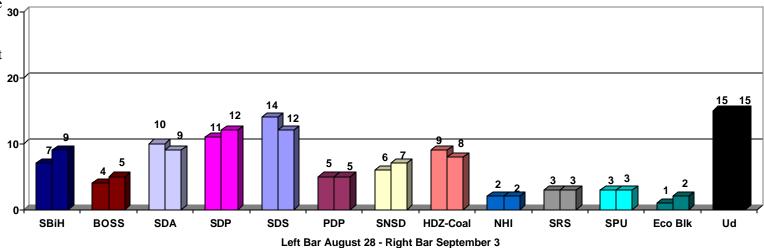
Left Bar August 28 - Right Bar September 3

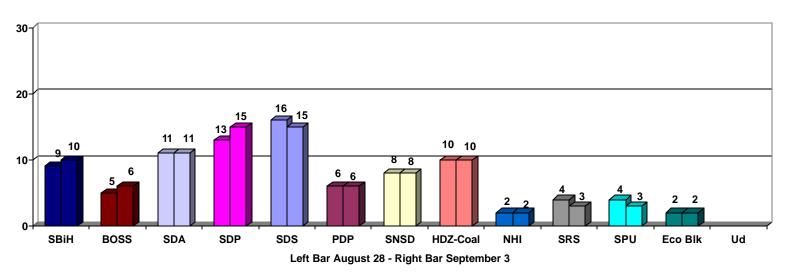
B&H House of Representatives

There was little change in support in the BiH Parliamentary elections. The SDP showed the greatest improvement increasing its support by 2% and is now tied with the SDS for most support.

All shifts were within the polls margin of error.

All Respondents





B&H House of Representatives By Electoral District

The following tables indicate vote intention in each of the 8 B&H Electoral Districts. The samples size for each district varies between 196 and 421. The margin of error will vary between 6% and 10% depending on the sample. Parties with less than 3% support are not included in the charts.

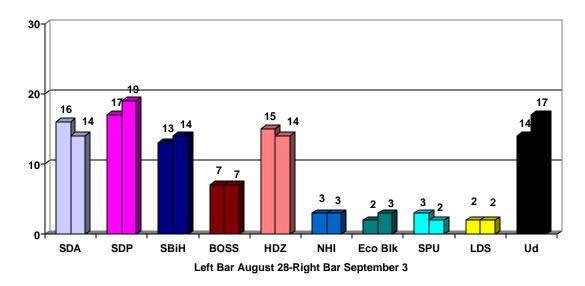
District and Sample Size	FB&H 1 210N		FB&H 2 196N		FB&H 3 259N		FB&H 4 421N		FB&H 5 321N		RS 1 420N		RS 2 269N		RS 3 261N	
	All Resp.	Decided	All Resp.	Decided	All Resp.	Decided	All Resp.	Decided								
SBiH	11	12	8	10	19	20	13	16	11	14	3	3				
SDA	14	16			18	20	14	17	18	25						
SDP	22	25	8	10	23	25	18	22	17	23	6	6	5	7		
BOSS	4	4			18	19	5	6	11	15						
SDS											28	30	23	31	43	51
SRS											4	4	9	12	8	9
PDP											9	10	11	15	17	20
SNSD											24	26	12	16	8	9
SPRS											4	4			4	5
DNS											3	3				
NHI							9	11								
HDZ Coal.	14	15	53	61			11	13	4	6						
DNZ																
SPU	5	6			3	4	3	3	4	5			3	4		
Econ. Blk.			8	10												
LDS	4	4														
GDS			3	4												
Ud	12		20		9		16		28		7		24		15	

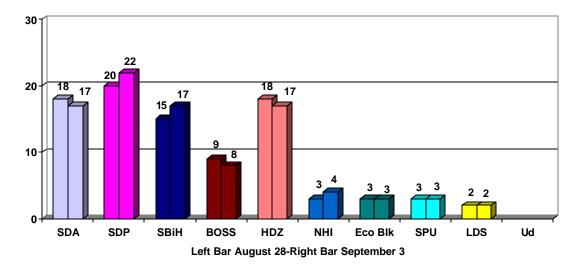
Federation B&H House of Representatives

The drop in support for both the HDZ and the SDA coupled with increases for the SDP, SBiH and NHI has resulted in a growing lead for moderate parties in the Federation Parliament.

Based on September 3 polling results, six moderate parties—all supporters of the current Alliance for Change (SDP, SBiH, NHI, Economic Block, SPU and LDS)—now have 51% of decided votes for the Federation Parliament. HDZ and SDA combine for 34%.

All Respondents



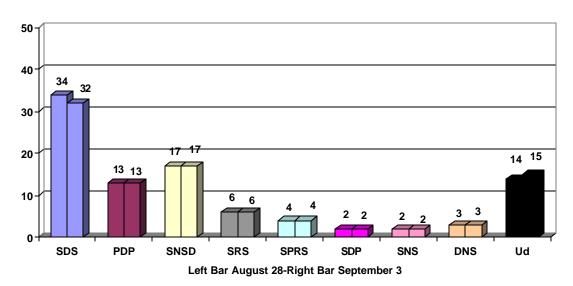


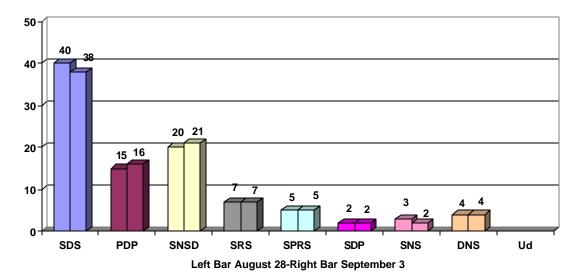
Republika Srpska National Assembly

The SDS has lost support for the period ending September 3, while both the SNSD and PDP have increased.

Similar to the Federation parliament, moderate parties are leading in the RSNA race. Six parties, SNSD, PDP, SPRS, SDP, SNS and DNS currently have 50% of the decided votes for the RSNA. SDS and the SRS have combined support of 45%.

All Respondents

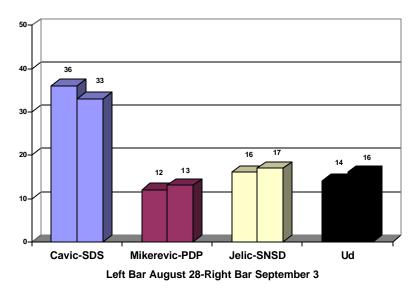


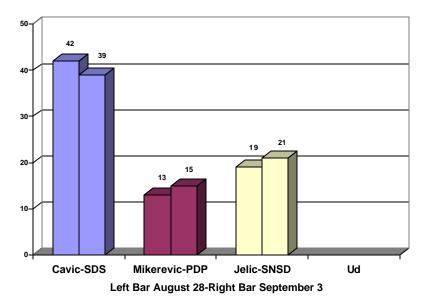


President Of The Republika Srpska

Support for SDS candidate for the president of the Republika Srpska Dragan Cavic appears to have softened during the period ending September 3. Cavic's support dropped by 3%. Both PDP candidate Dragan Mikerevic and SNSD candidate Milan Jelic increased their support, respectively. There was also a modest increase in the number of undecided voters.

All Respondents





ISSUES

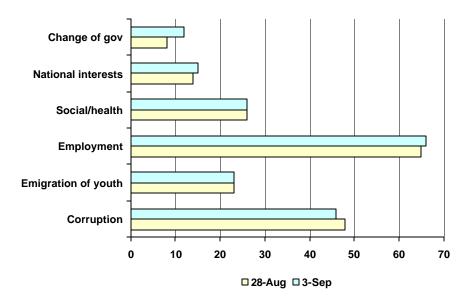
Respondents were asked what was the most important issue in deciding how to vote. The following seven issues have continually tracked as the most important issues since the spring of 2000.

- 1. Battle against corruption
- 2. Young people leaving B&H
- 3. Return and accommodation of displaced persons and refugees
- 4. Change of Government
- 5. Improvement of social and health protection
- 6. Employment and the creation of new workplaces
- 7. Protection of the national interests of my people

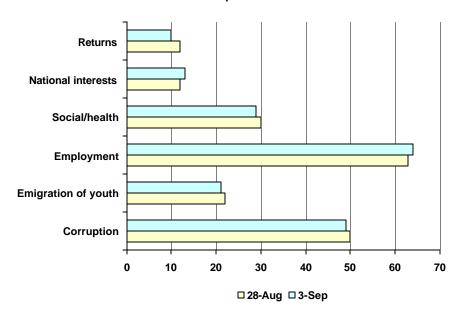
The graphs combine respondents first and second choices.

There was little change in the issues voters felt important. Employment and the economy remains the number one issue, increasing slightly in the period ending September 3. 66% of all respondents said employment was either their first or second most important issue.

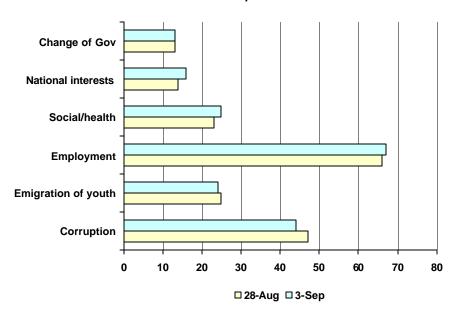
All Respondents



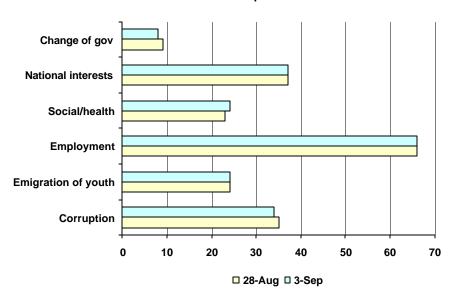
RS Respondents



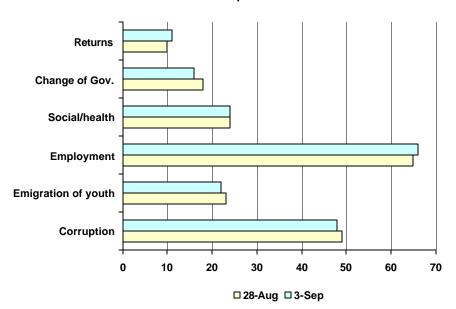
Federation Respondents



Bosnian-Croat Respondents



Bosniak Respondents



Bosnian-Serb Respondents

