



NATIONAL
DEMOCRATIC
INSTITUTE
FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Serbia Issues Poll

Prepared By
Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates Inc.
October 24, 1999

Methodology

- **A total of 840 interviews were conducted with a representative sample during the last week in September 1999.**
- **Interviews were conducted in-person throughout Serbia, except Kosovo.**

Methodology

- **97 percent of the interviews were conducted among registered voters. 3 percent were conducted among unregistered voters who said they were absolutely certain or very likely to vote in the next elections.**
- **Margin of error is +/- 3.38 and is greater for sub-groups**

Concerning the Numbers

- **The data which follows is a snapshot of Serbian opinion at the time the survey was conducted. It is important to note that events are moving quickly in Serbia and opinions are changing with them.**

Major Findings

- **Serbian voters are extremely angry with Milosevic. They blame him for the country's failing economy, and believe that removing him from office is the best way to improve the situation. Two-thirds want him to resign before the end of his term.**

- ***Milosevic is doing poorly by almost all measures.***

AMONG ALL RESPONDENTS

- **Favorability**

- Favorable 26%
- Unfavorable 70%

- **Job performance**

- Approve 23%
- Disapprove 72%

- **Stay in office or resign today**

- Stay in office 23%
- Resign 67%

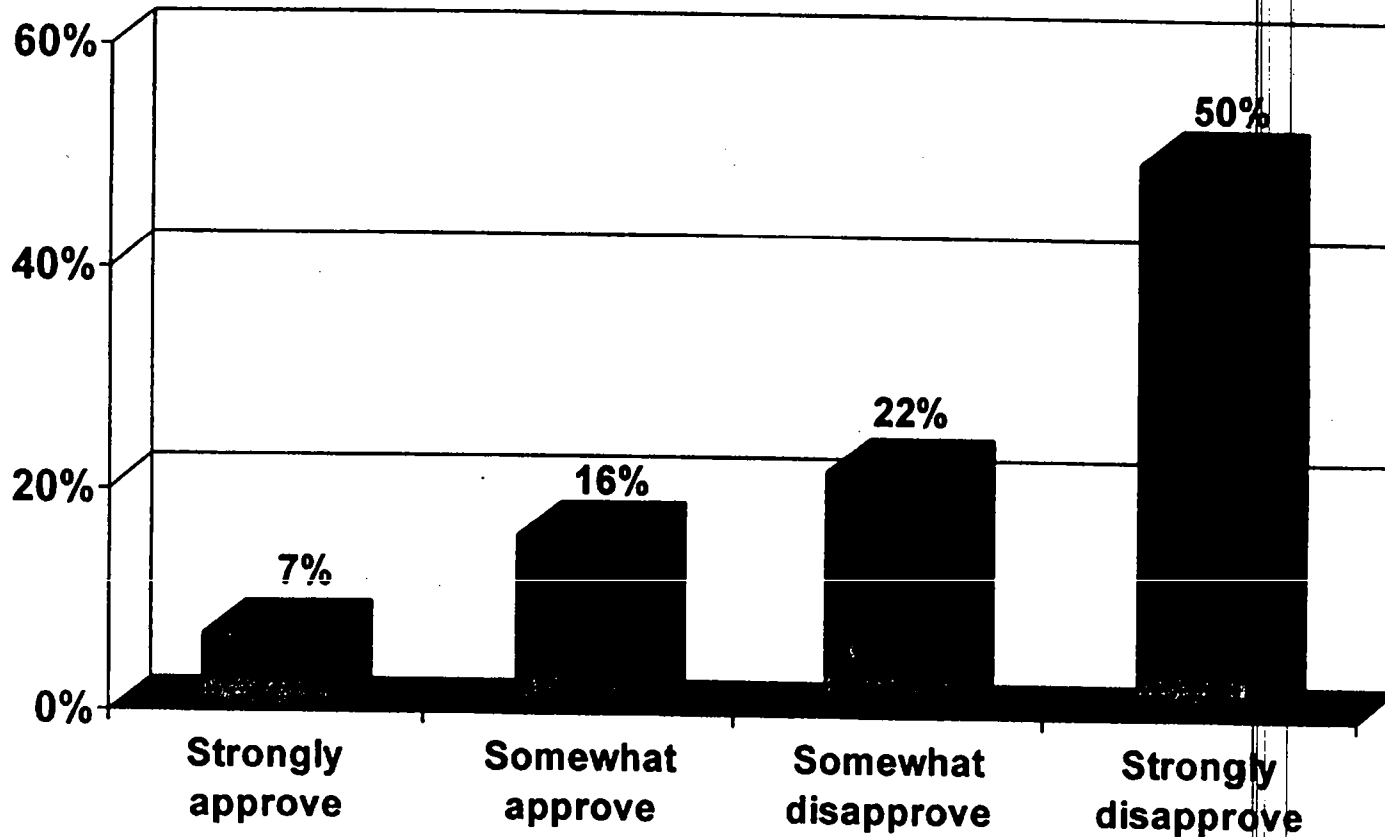
- **Poverty, social problems, unemployment and the economy top the list of most important problems in Serbia -- along with the Milosevic regime.**

***In your opinion, what is the most important problem facing Serbia?
OPEN-ENDED WITH PRECODES
AMONG ALL RESPONDENTS***

Poverty/social problems	26
Economy deterioration /sanctions	17
Milosevic regime	14
Unemployment	9
Bad government	5
Kosovo and Metphia/loss	5
Crime/smuggling	4
Opposition conflicts	3
Rebuilding after NATO bombing	3
Moral and spiritual crisis	2
Danger of new war	2
Underdevelopment	2
Other	1
Don't know	3

- **Nearly three-quarters of all respondents disapprove of Milosevic's performance.**

In general, do you strongly approve of the job Slobodan Milosevic has done, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove, or strongly disapprove?
AMONG ALL RESPONDENTS



- **Respondents overwhelmingly blame the regime and Milosevic for the country's failing economy.**

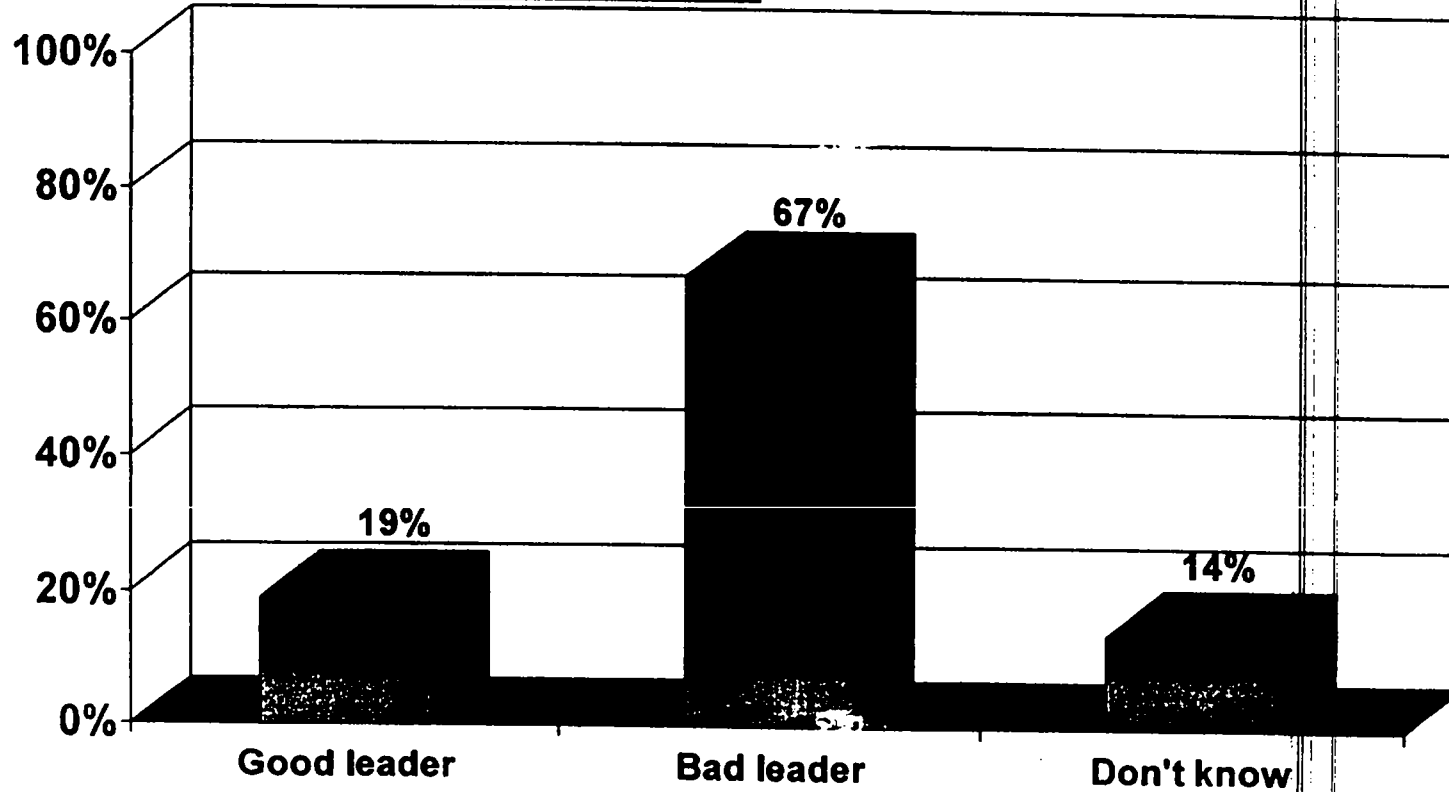
**Who do you blame for Serbia's poor economic condition?
AMONG ALL RESPONDENTS -- OPEN END**

Government, regime, Milosevic	64
Politics of US, Bill Clinton, Western countries, international organizations	6
Incompetence of the leading people	5
Sanctions by international community	3
NATO bombing	2
Crime, corruption, smuggling	2
Political conflicts in the country	2
Exhaustion of the country because of war, refugees	1
Unfair privatization abuse for personal wealth accumulation by people in power	1
Other	2
Don't know	11

• Two-thirds of respondents say Milosevic has been a bad leader because he provoked four wars, reduced living standards and made Serbia a pariah country.

Some people say Slobodan Milosevic has been a good leader because he has been a brave defender of the nation who stood up to our enemies for what we believe in. Other people say he has been a bad leader for Serbia because he has provoked four wars in a row, reduced our standard of living and made us outcasts in the eyes of the world. Which is closer to your view?

AMONG ALL RESPONDENTS

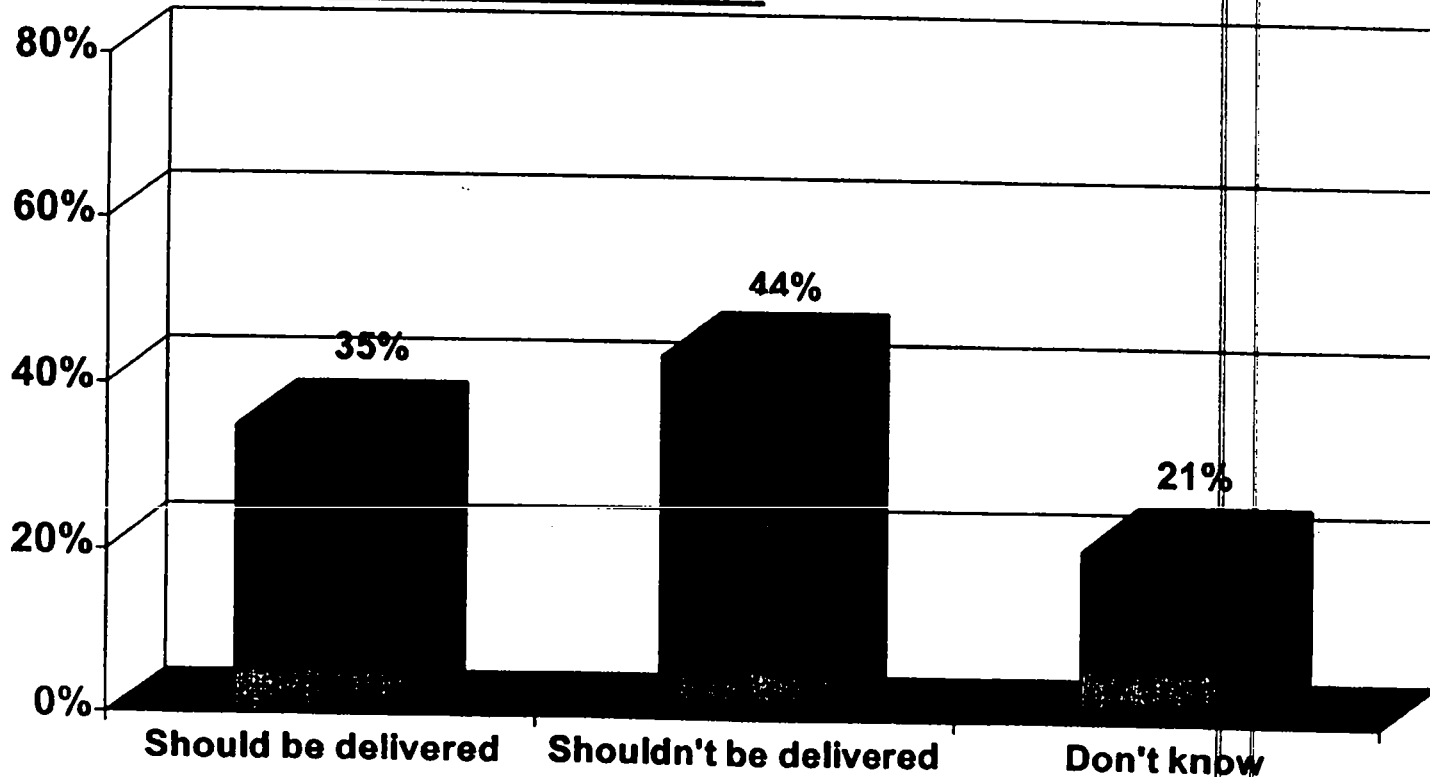


•Milosevic is only favorable among supporters of his own party. Undecided voters are 55 percent unfavorable. Even SRP supporters are mostly unfavorable to him.

Milosevic's favorability is low at 26 -- but it is higher than the favorability of the SPS, suggesting that voters prefer the man to the party.

- ***It suggests the depth of his unpopularity that more than one-third of voters actually approve of delivering Milosevic to the Hague.***

The war crimes tribunal at the Hague demands Slobodan Milosevic be delivered to the tribunal. Some people believe Milosevic should be delivered, others think he shouldn't. Which is closer to your view?
AMONG ALL RESPONDENTS



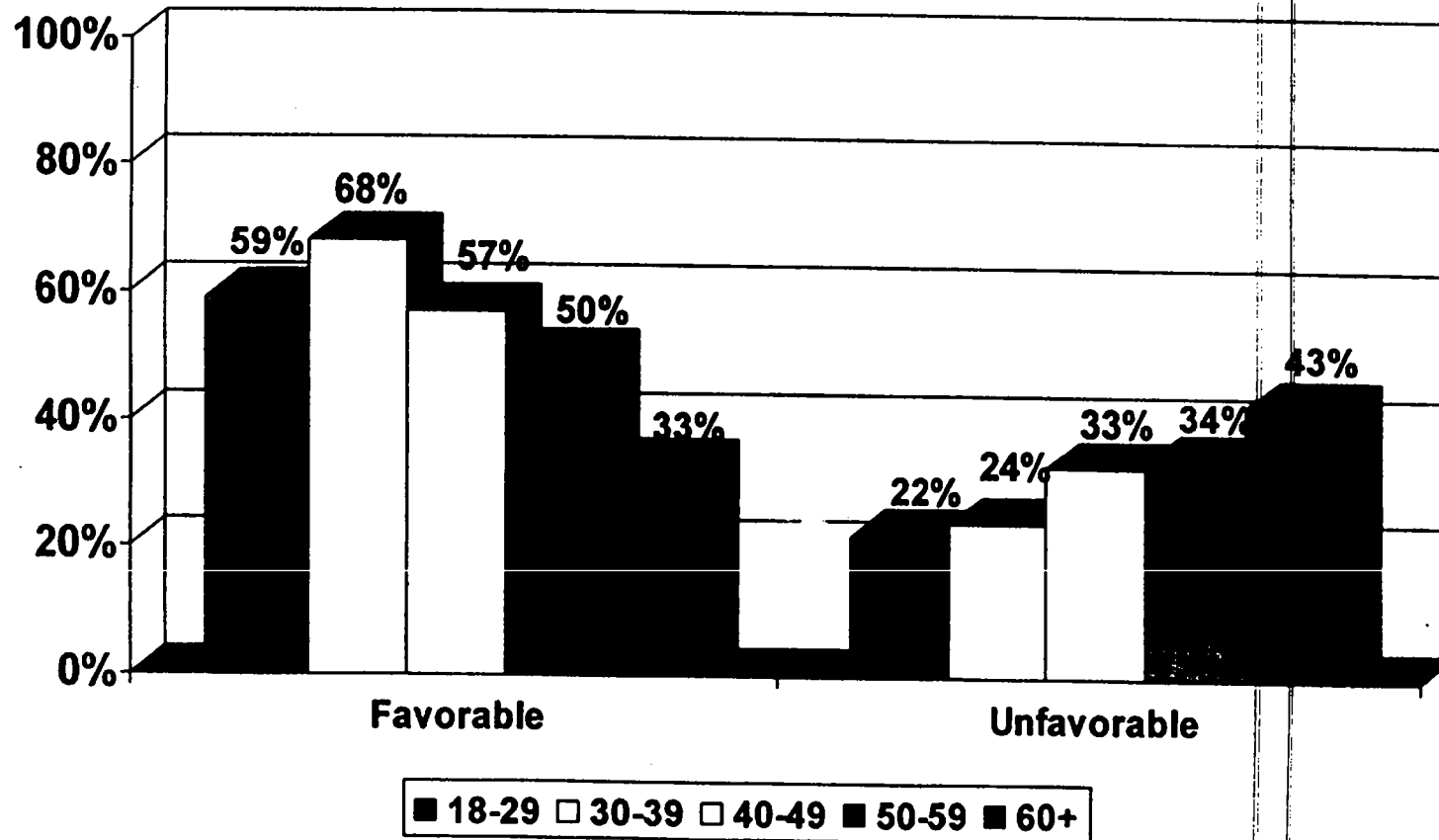
- **The Alliance for Change is strong. It has high name recognition and higher favorability ratings than the other major parties. It's favorability rating among undecided voters, however, is only 26.**

Favorability
AMONG ALL RESPONDENTS

Political Party/Coalition	Favorable	Unfavorable
Alliance for Change	53	31
DP	36	54
SPO	31	62
SPS	25	71
SRP	24	71

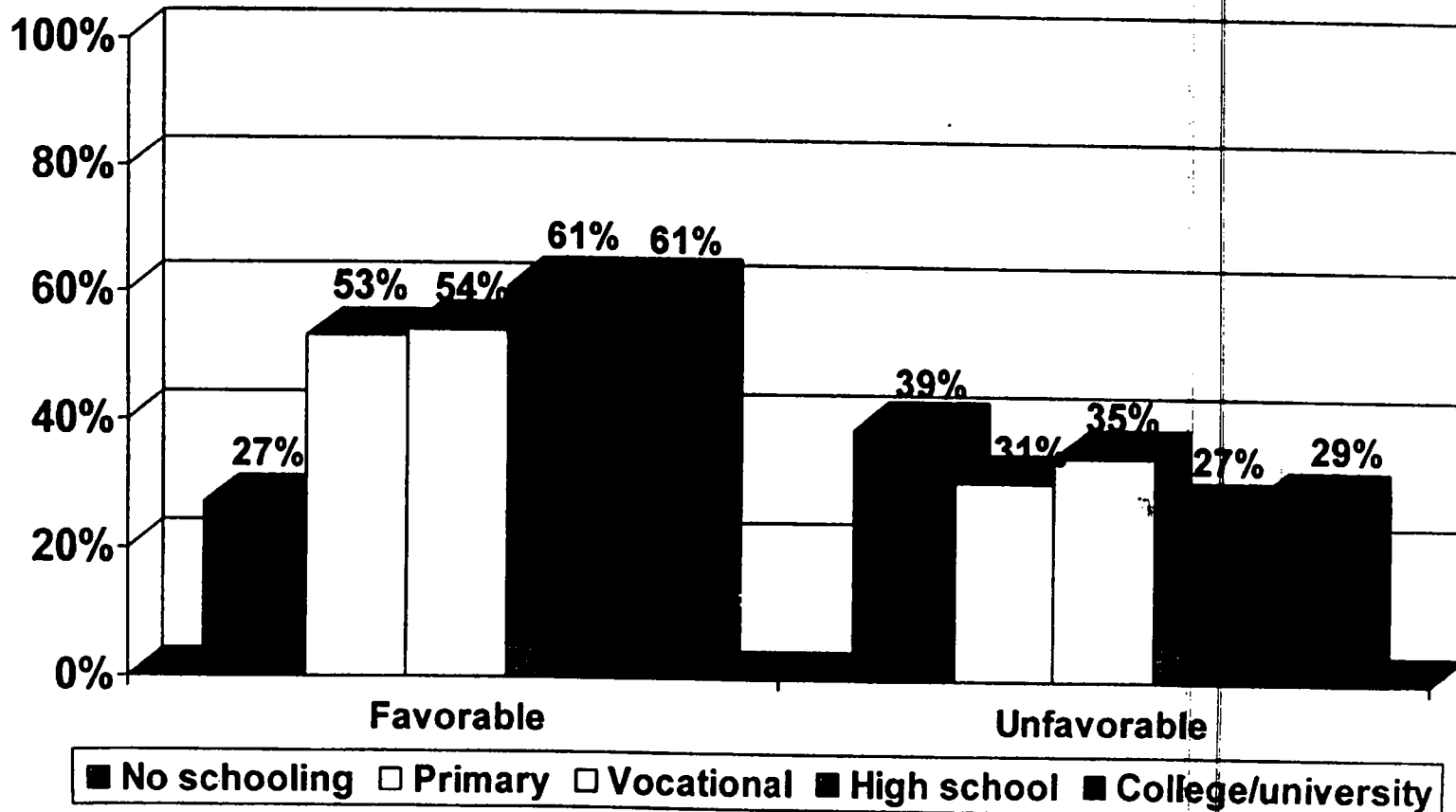
- ***The Alliance -- like the opposition in general -- is strongest among younger people.***

***Favorability of Alliance For Change
BY AGE***



- **The Alliance For Change is strongest among more educated people.**

Favorability of Alliance For Change
BY LEVELS OF EDUCATION



- ***In an open-ended question, the Alliance for Change beats all other parties, including each of its constituent parties.***

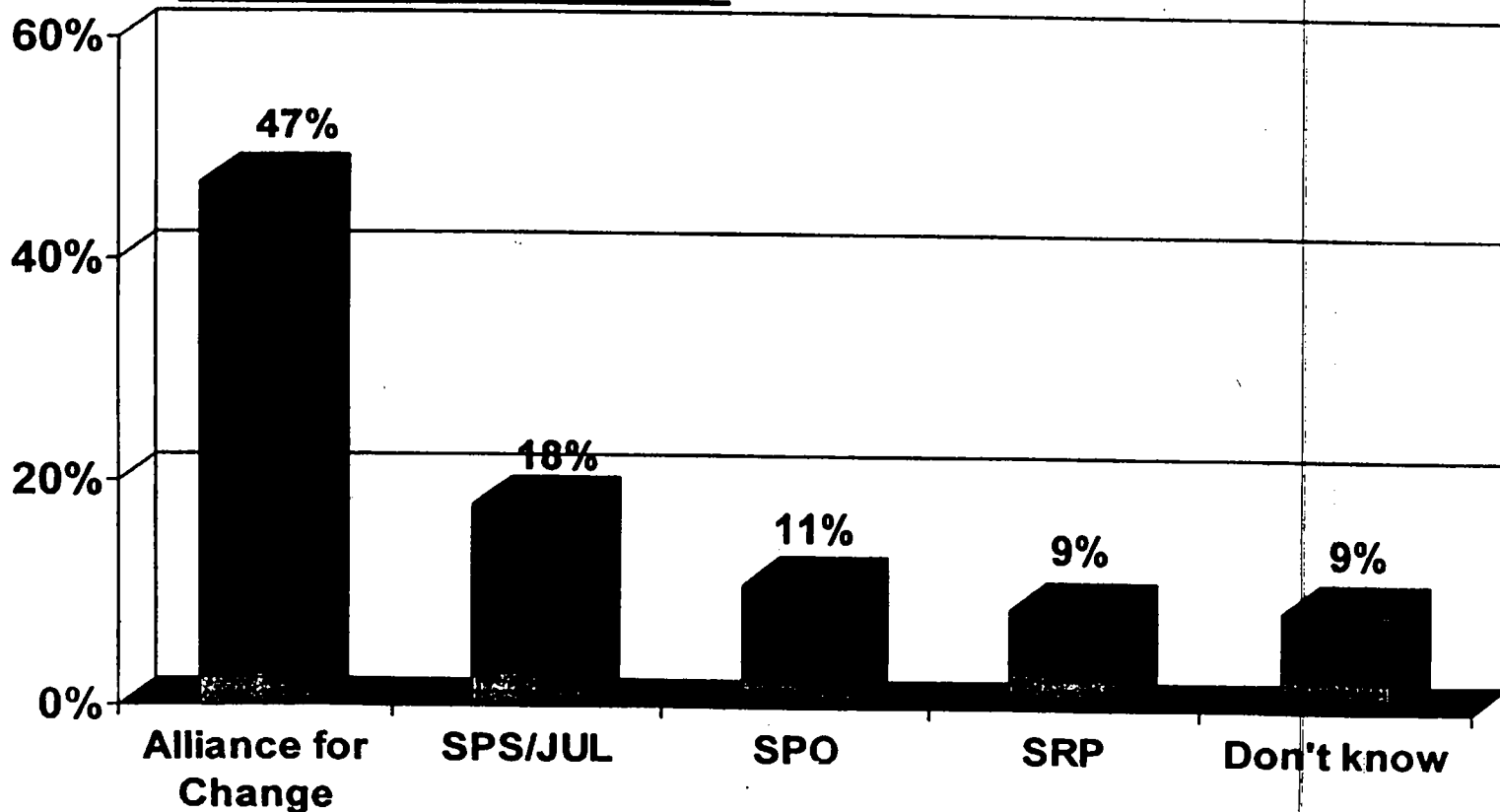
***If the elections were held tomorrow, for which party or coalition would you vote?
AMONG ALL RESPONDENTS -- OPEN END***

Political Party/Coalition		
Alliance for Change	30	
Socialist Party of Serbia	15	
Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO)	9	
Serbian Radical Party	7	
Democratic Party	4	
Democratic Party of Serbia	4	
Yugoslav National Left	2	
Socialdemocracy	1	
Democratic Alternative	1	
CiviAlliance of Serbia	1	
Other party/coalition	1	
Will vote, undecided regarding party/coalition	13	
Undecided regarding voting	2	
Wouldn't vote	2	
Don't know	5	

- ***In a forced choice ballot test, the Alliance beats the other major parties.***

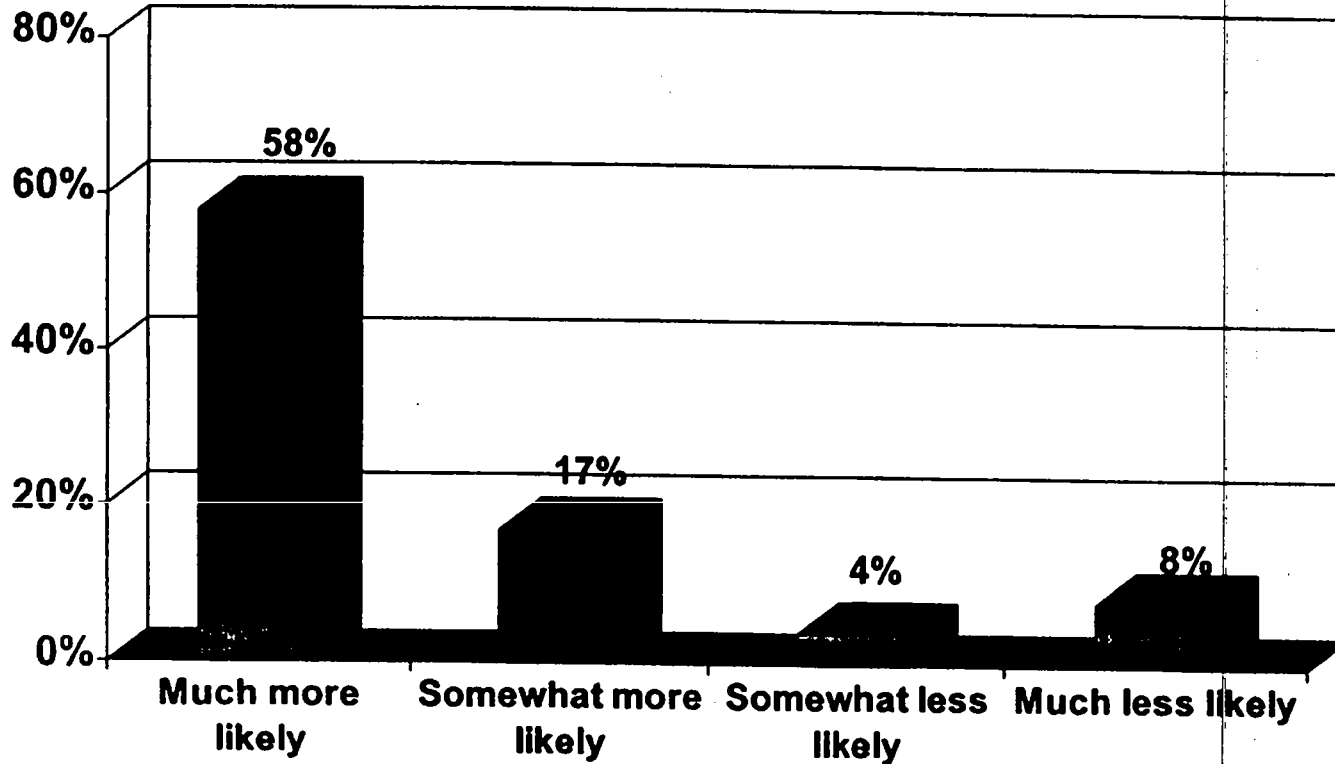
If an election was held today between an SPS/JUL coalition, the Alliance for Change, and the Serbian Renewal Movement and the Serbian Radical Party, for whom would you vote?

AMONG ALL RESPONDENTS



- ***Voters say that if they had a real belief that Milosevic and the SPS could be defeated, they would be more likely to vote.***

If you thought there was a good chance that the SPS and Slobodan Milosevic could be beaten, would that make you much more likely to vote, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely or much less likely?
AMONG ALL RESPONDENTS



Priorities

- **The top priorities for voters are economic renewal, re-integration into Europe, boosting democracy and human rights, fighting crime and corruption and stopping the emigration of young people.**

• The potency of the “national question” is way down. It has dropped to the bottom of voters’ priority list, while the economy, crime, democracy and reintegrating into Europe are at the top.

***How important is this priority for the next leader of Serbia and Yugoslavia to have?
 % saying “important and “very” important (4+5)
 AMONG ALL RESPONDENTS***

Priorities	
Boosting the economy and improving the standard of living for the people of Serbia	99
Fighting crime and corruption	97
Bringing democracy and human rights to Serbia	89
Reintegrating Serbia into Europe and the world	88
Ending the emigration of our young people out of the country	86
Restoring Serbian pride	72
Regaining Serbian control over Kosovo	69

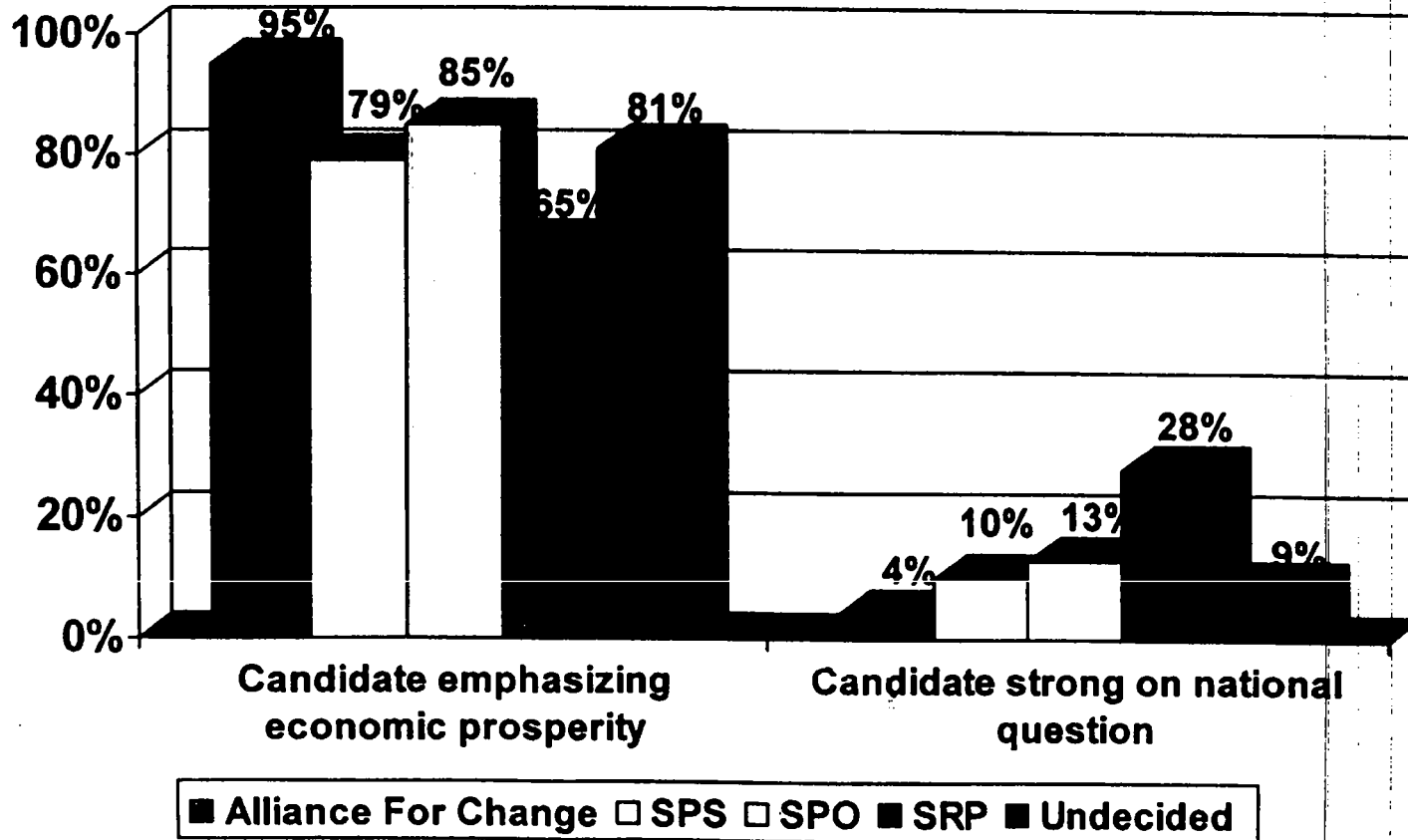
- **While the economy and crime are issues that resonate with all voters, only SPS and SPO are moved by the Kosovo issue or the “Serbian Pride” issue.**

**How important is this priority for the next leader of Serbia and Yugoslavia to have?
% saying “important” and “very” important (4+5)
AMONG SPS AND SPO SUPPORTERS**

Priorities	SPS	SPO
Restoring Serbian pride	87	92
Regaining Serbian control over Kosovo	92	92

- **Voters from all parties -- including SPS and SRP -- prefer a candidate emphasizing economic prosperity over a candidate emphasizing the national question.**

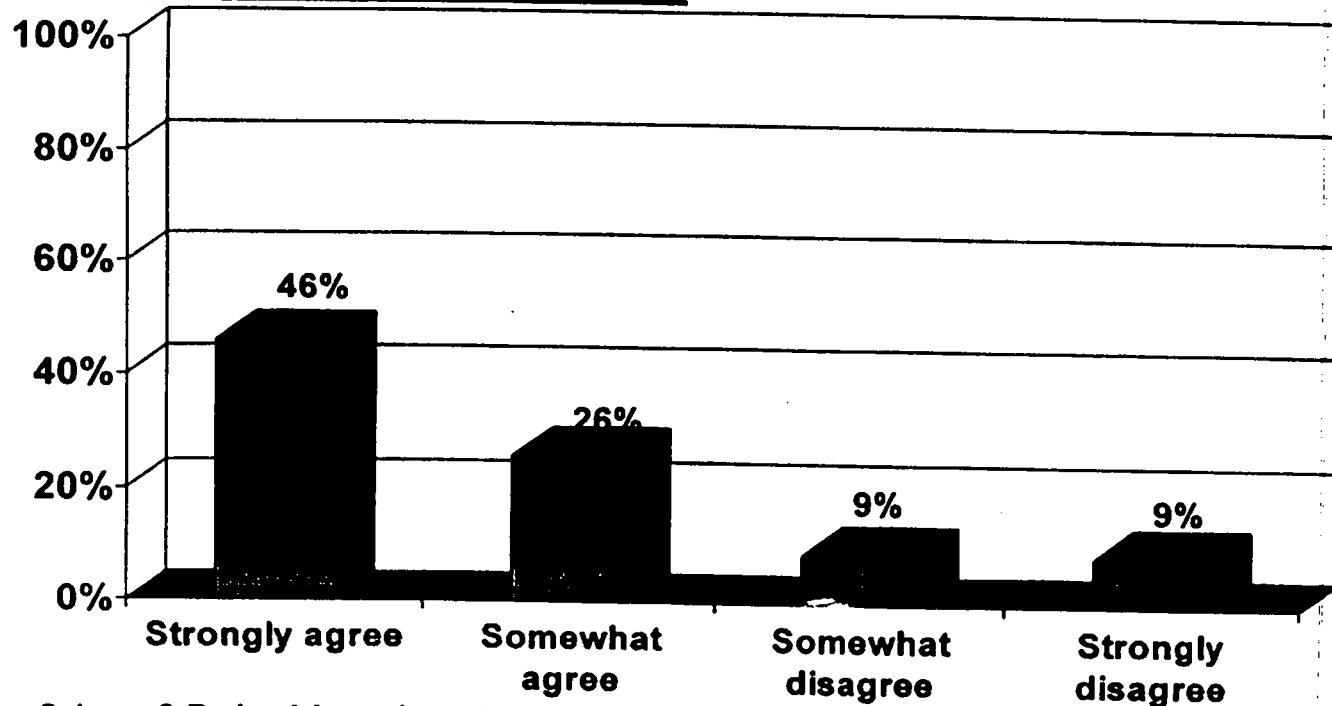
**Who would you be more likely to vote for, a candidate emphasizing economic prosperity or a candidate who is strong on the Serbian national question?
AMONG DIFFERENT GROUPS OF VOTERS**



• Nearly three-quarters of respondents agree that the cost of war has been too high and that there must have been a better way to defend Serbian interests.

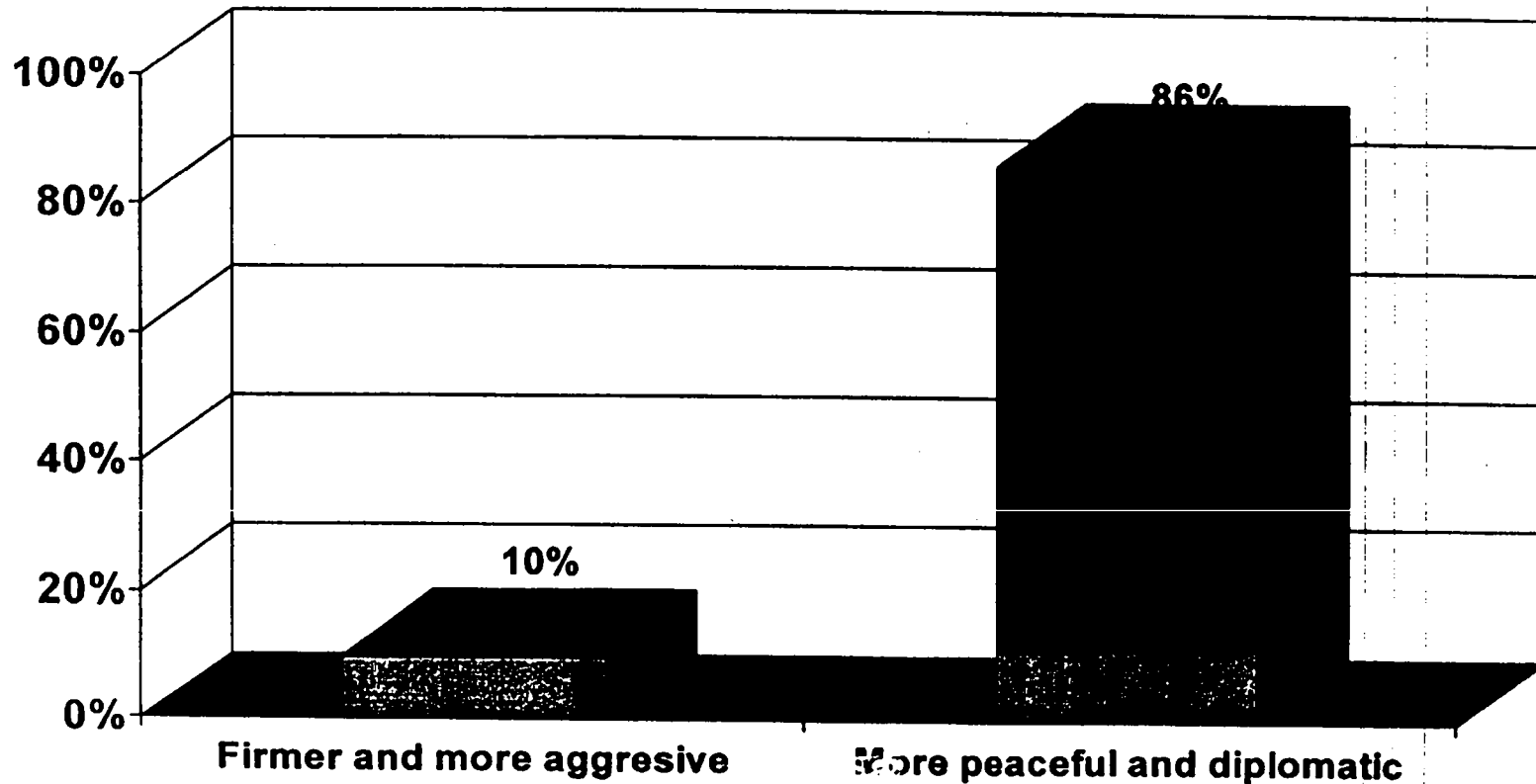
Some people say they used to believe that in order to protect Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Kosovo and Metohia, the Milosevic government's policies were appropriate, but that the cost has been so high in terms of war, the destruction of the Serbian economy and Serbia's isolation that they now believe these policies were misguided or ineffective. There must have been a better way to defend Serbian interests. Do you agree or disagree?

AMONG ALL RESPONDENTS



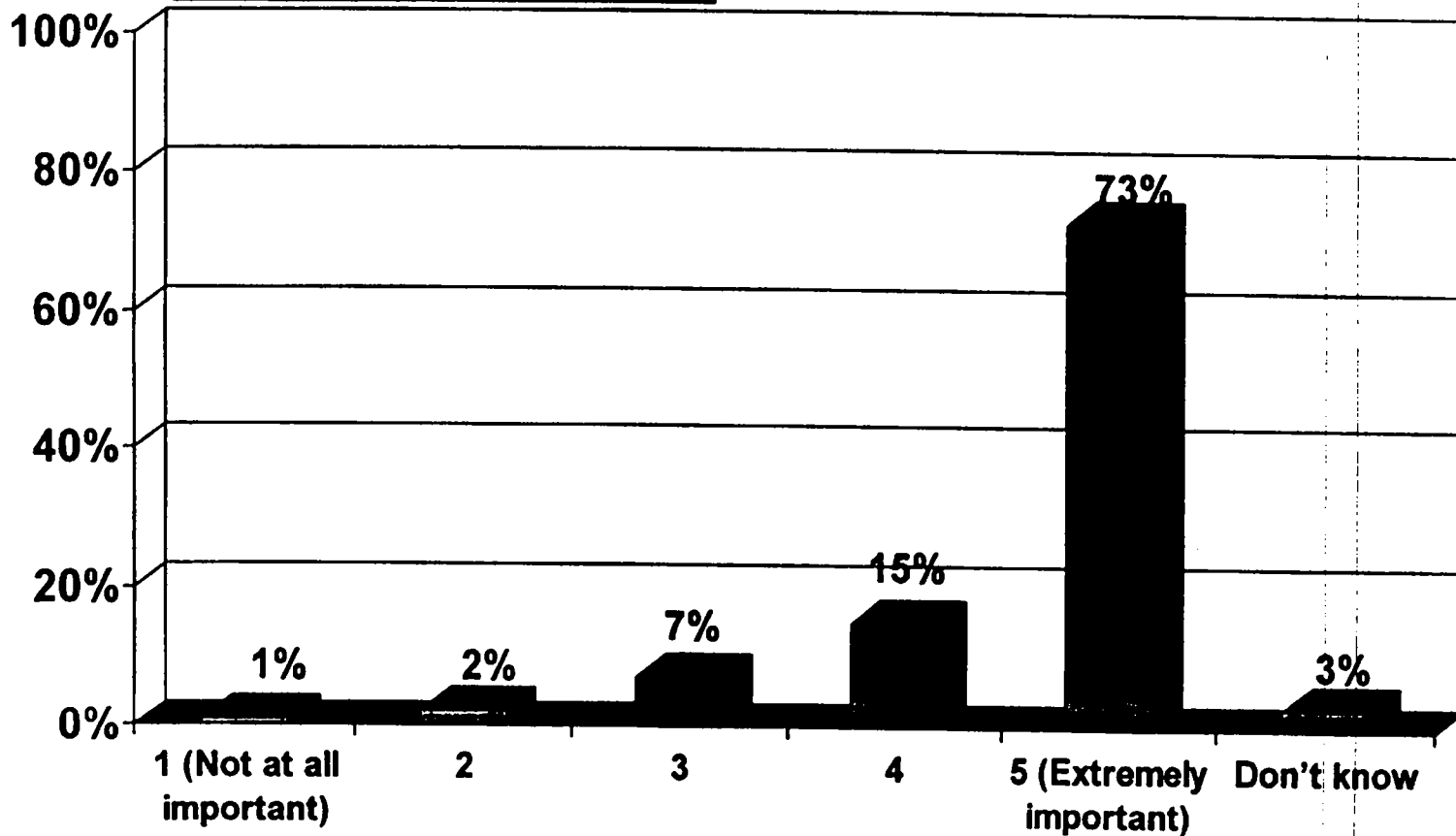
- ***Of those who agreed in the previous question, 85 percent say government policies should have been more peaceful and diplomatic.***

***Do you believe the government's policies should have been firmer and more aggressive or more peaceful and diplomatic?
Among those who agreed in previous question***



- **Three-quarters of voters believe it is crucial that Serbia be reintegrated into Europe and the world.**

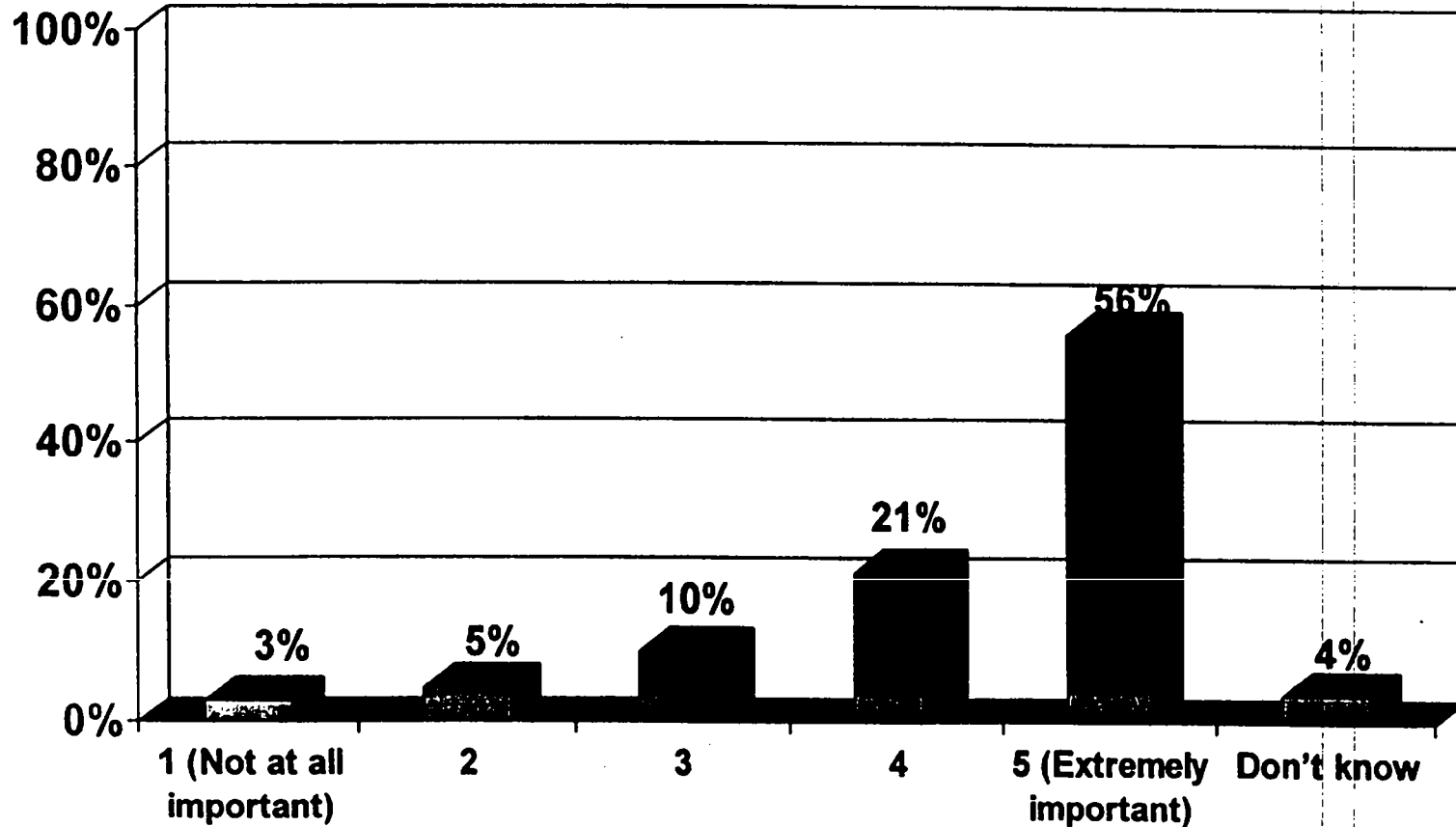
Reintegrating Serbia into Europe and the world. How important is this priority for the next leader of Serbia and Yugoslavia to have?
AMONG ALL RESPONDENTS



- **More than half of SPS voters believe it is extremely important that Serbia be reintegrated into Europe and the world.**

Reintegrating Serbia into Europe and the world. How important is this priority for the next leader of Serbia and Yugoslavia to have?

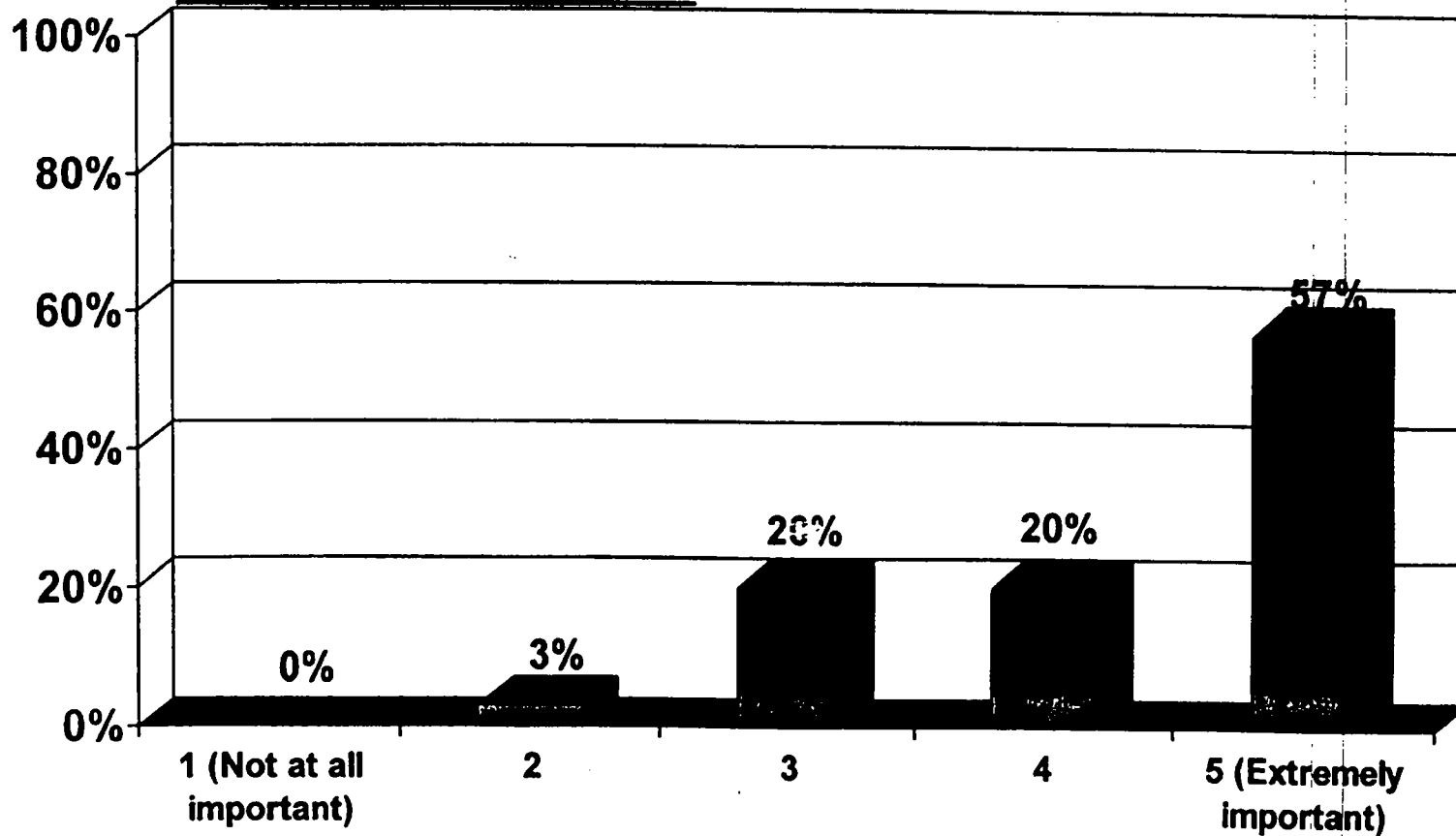
AMONG SPS SUPPORTERS



- **More than half of Serbian Radical Party voters believe it is extremely important that Serbia be reintegrated into Europe and the world.**

Reintegrating Serbia into Europe and the world. How important is this priority for the next leader of Serbia and Yugoslavia to have?

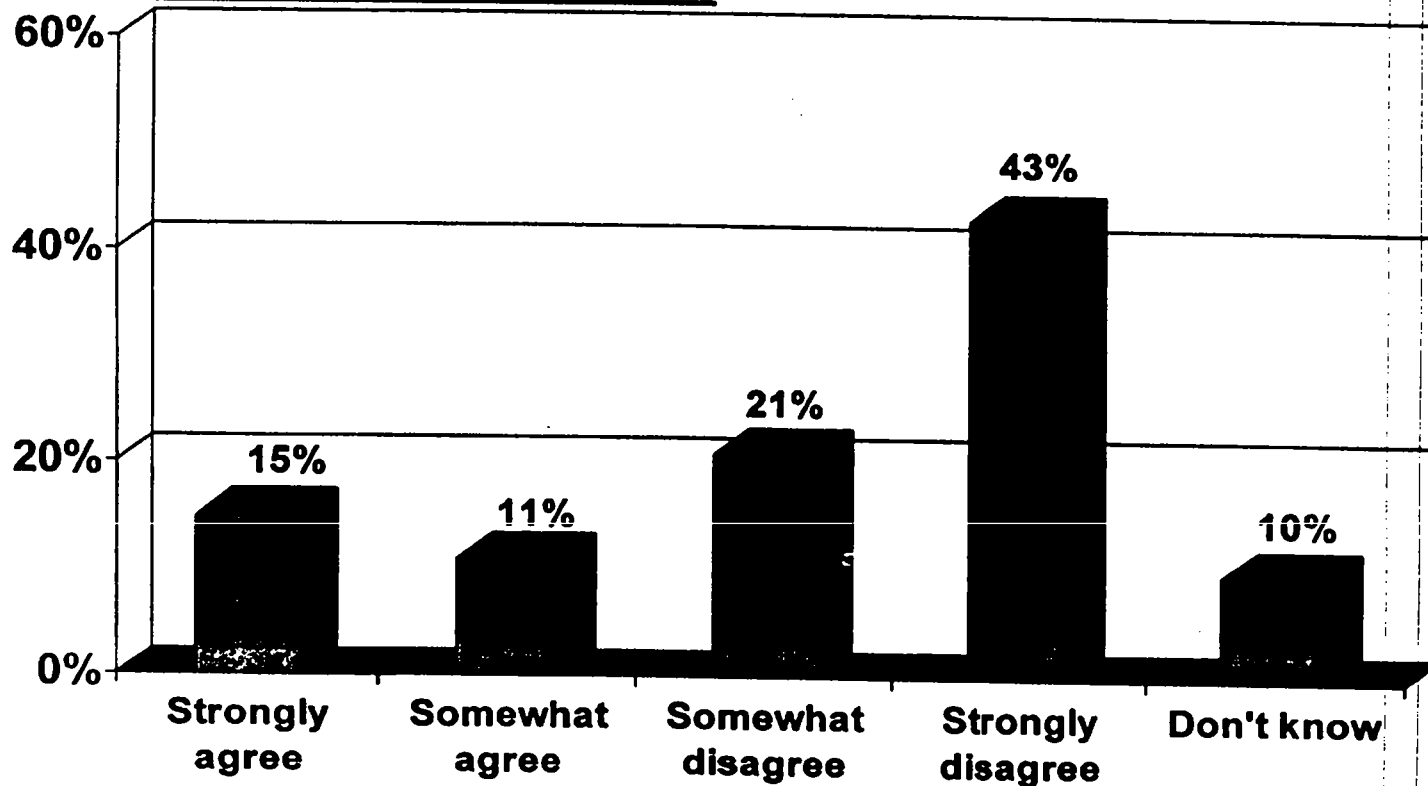
AMONG SRP SUPPORTERS



- ***Voters do not believe opposition leaders are traitors to the country.***

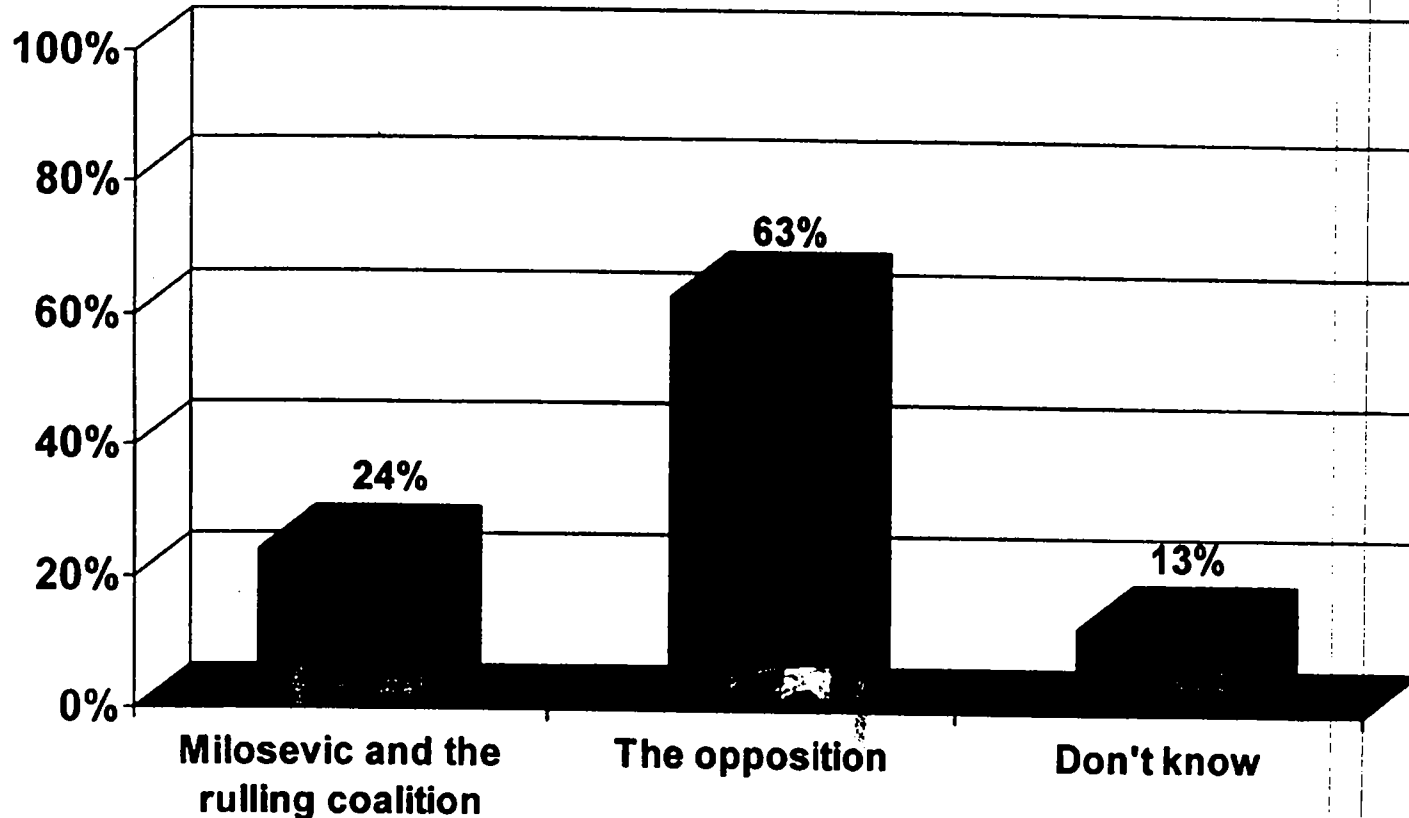
They are traitors to the country because they work closely with the Western countries which have opposed us and bombed us. Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with this statement about Serbia's opposition leaders?

AMONG ALL RESPONDENTS



- ***A substantial majority of voters say they are closer to the opposition than they are to Milosevic.***

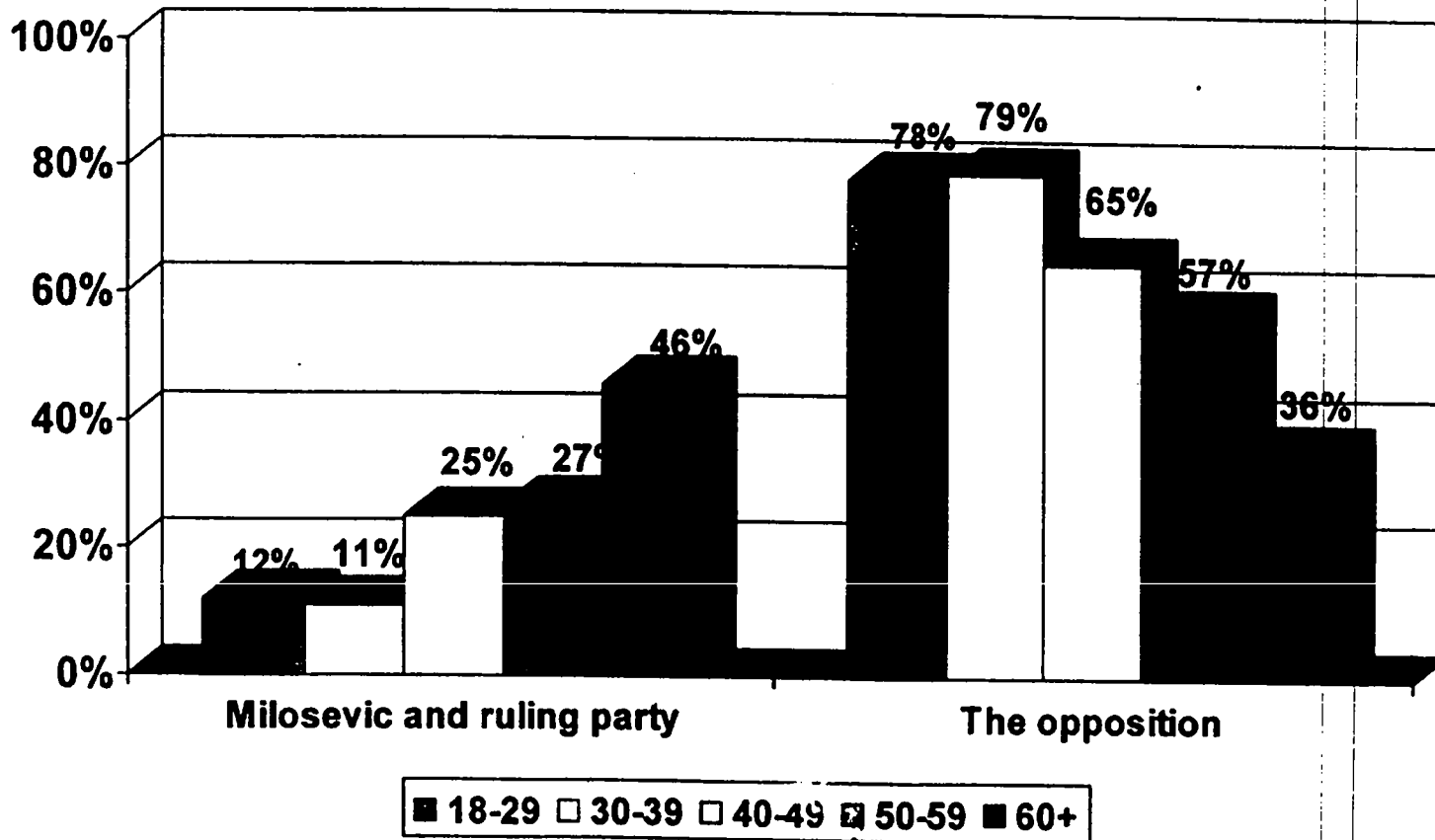
Would you describe yourself as being closer to Milosevic and the ruling coalition or to the opposition?
AMONG ALL RESPONDENTS



- **People who identify themselves as closer to the opposition are younger.**

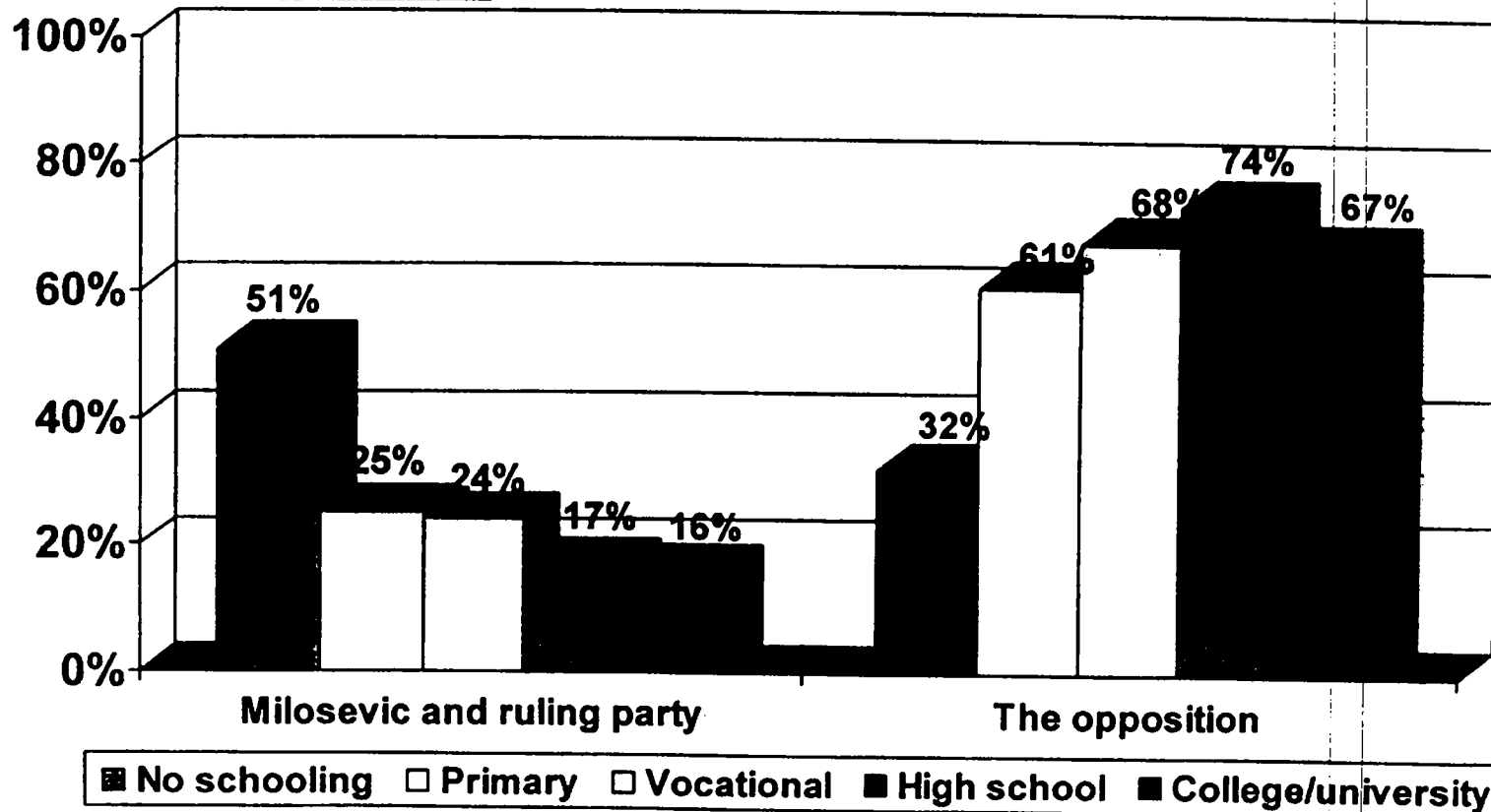
Would you describe yourself as being closer to Milosevic and the ruling coalition or to the opposition?

BY AGE



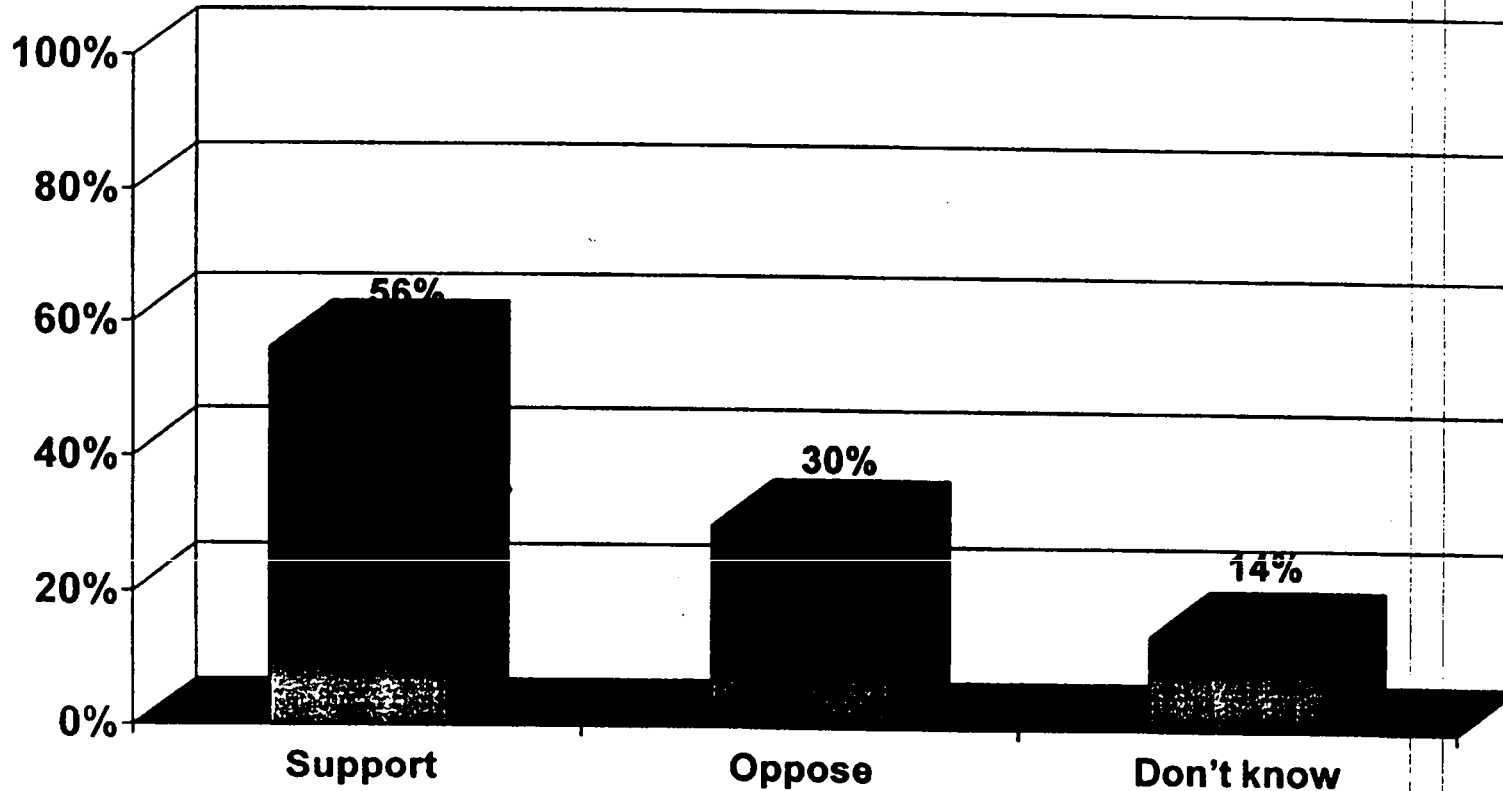
- **More educated people are more likely to identify with the opposition.**

**Would you describe yourself as being closer to Milosevic and the ruling coalition or to the opposition?
BY EDUCATION**



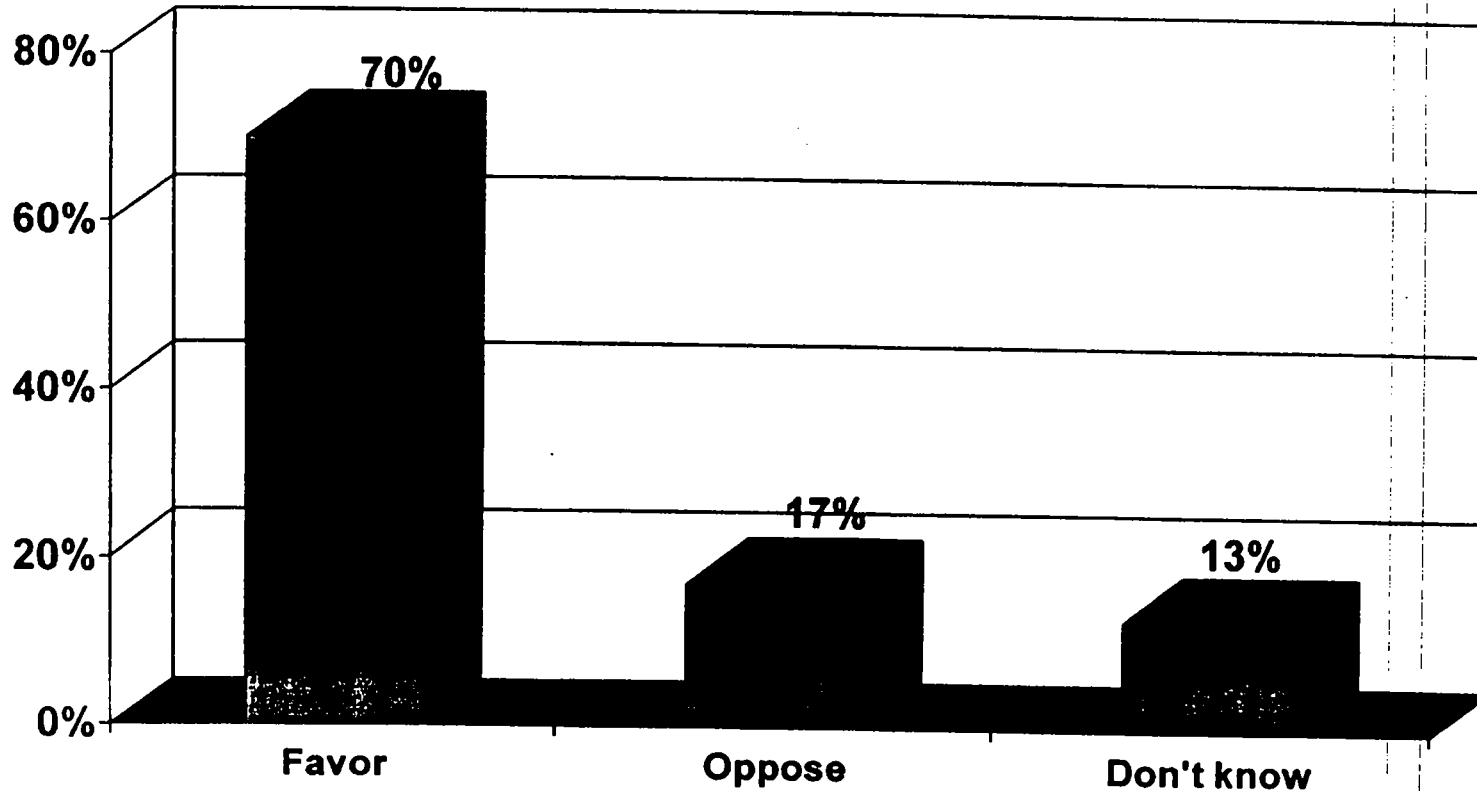
- ***Voters say they support the protest rallies, but support is only lukewarm.***

***Do you support or oppose the recent protest rallies against the government?
AMONG ALL RESPONDENTS***



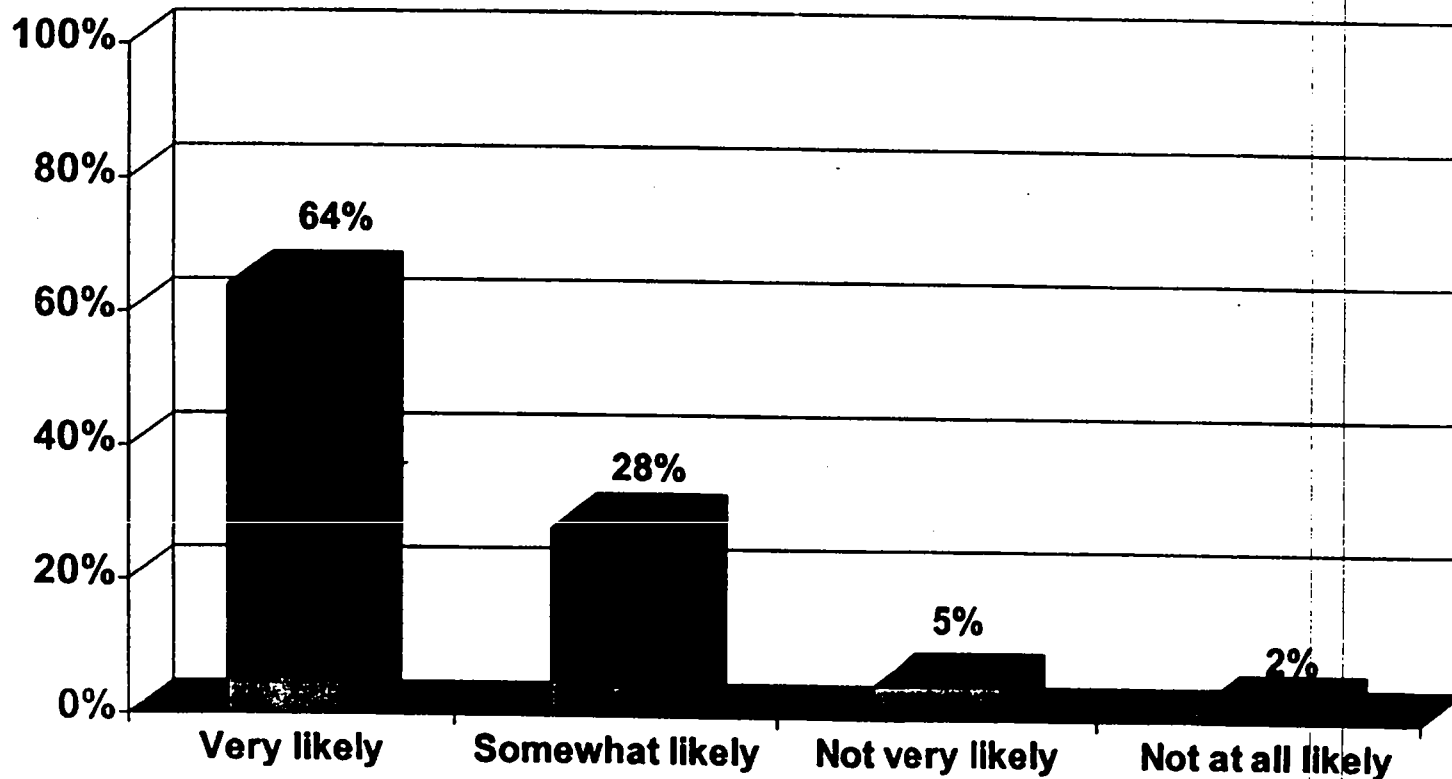
- **Seven out of ten respondents favor early elections.**

Next national elections aren't scheduled until 2000. Would you favor or oppose early elections before the end of this year at the federal, republic and local level?
AMONG ALL RESPONDENTS



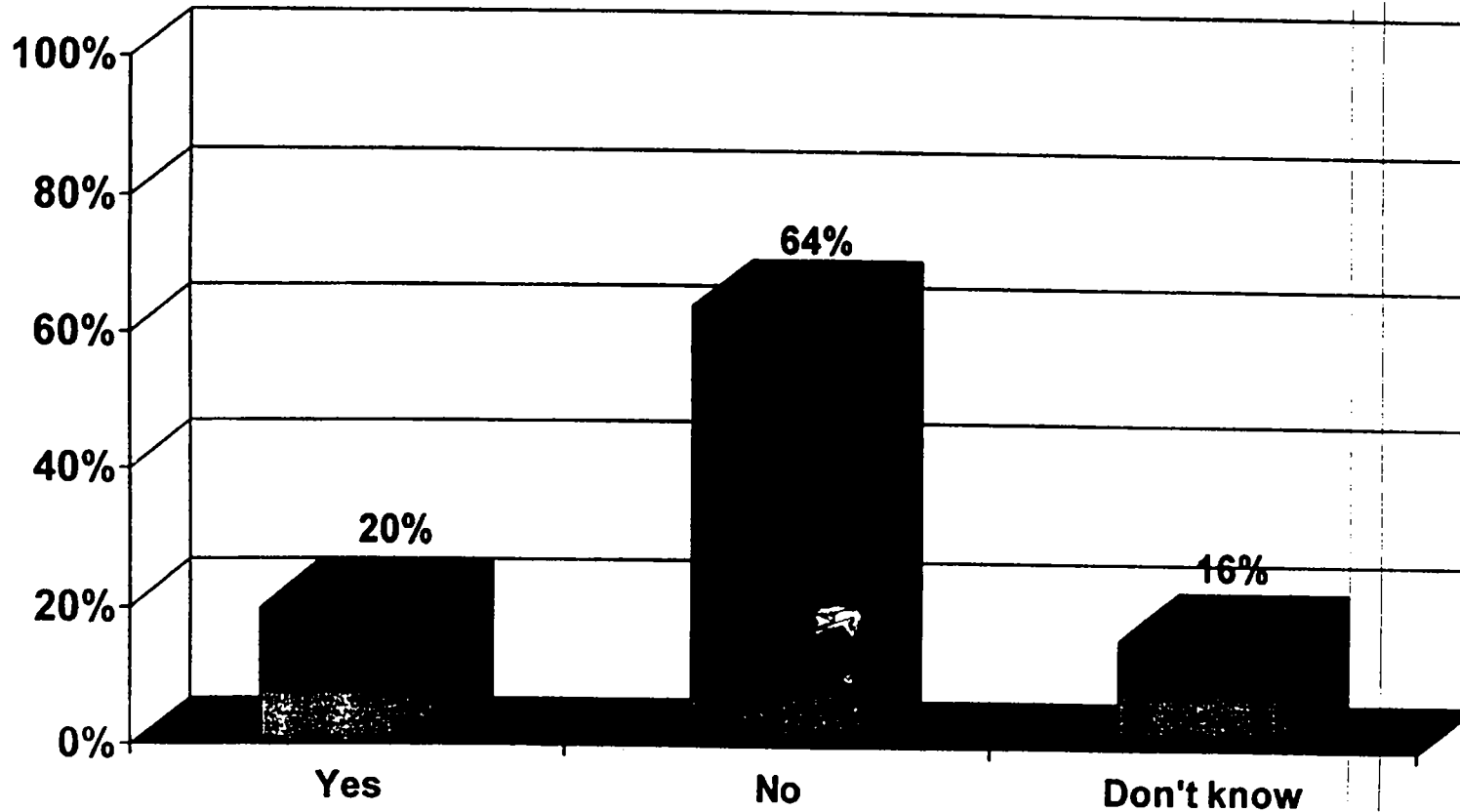
- ***The vast majority of voters intend to take part in the next round of elections.***

How likely is it that you will vote in the next round of national elections -- very likely, somewhat likely, not very likely or not at all likely?
AMONG ALL RESPONDENTS

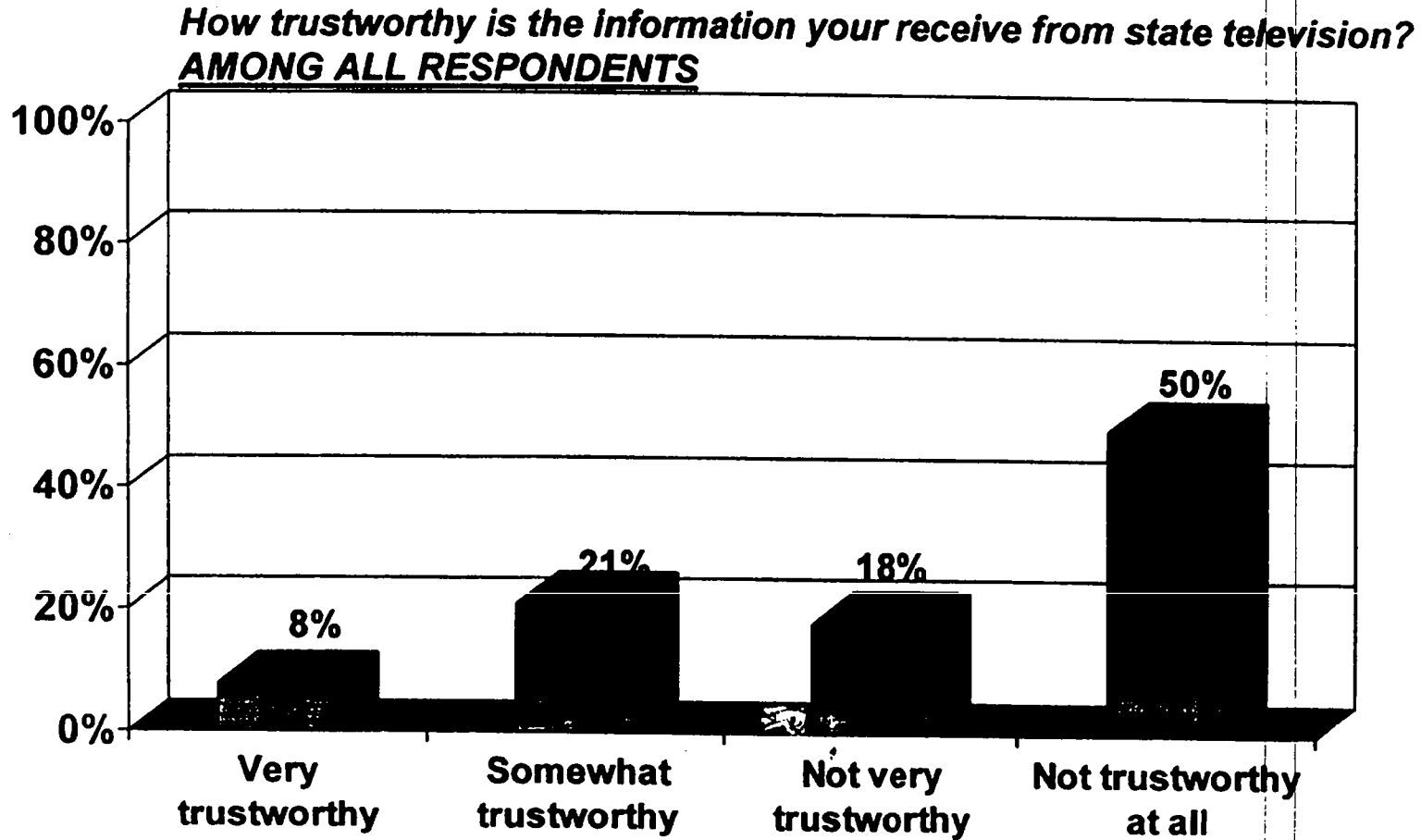


• Voters do not believe Serbia is a democracy. Except for SPS voters, 72 percent of whom say yes.

Do you believe Serbia today is a Democracy?
AMONG ALL RESPONDENTS

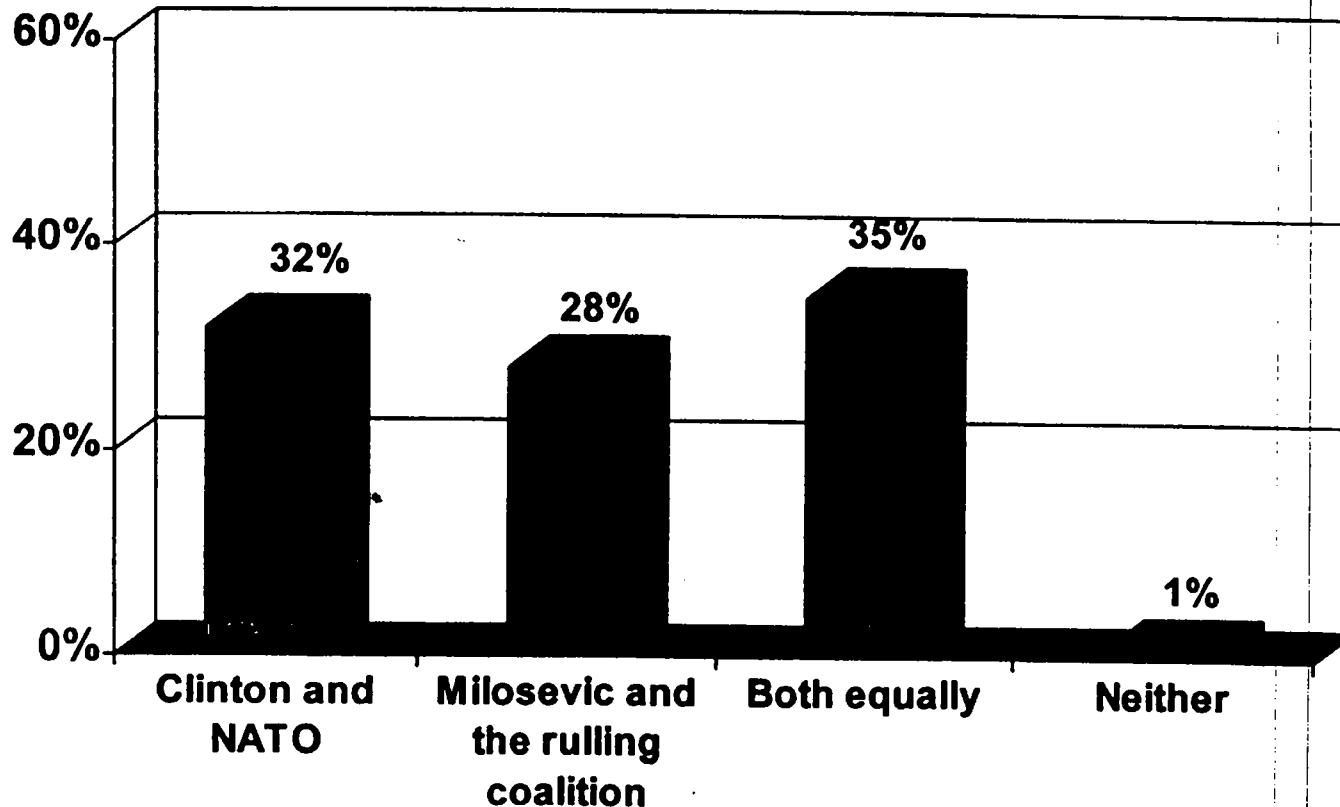


- ***Two-thirds of voters do not believe state television is trustworthy.***



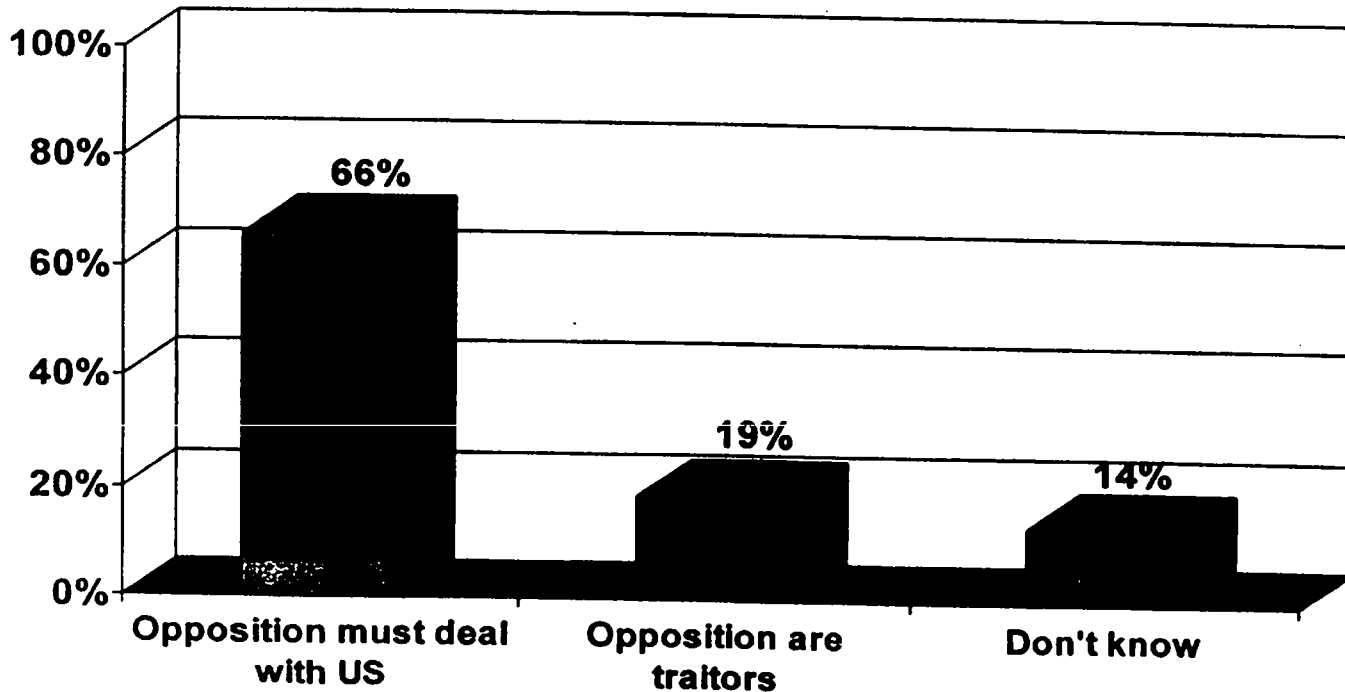
- ***Voters are divided whether to blame Clinton and NATO or Milosevic and the ruling coalition for the conflict with NATO.***

Who do you hold most responsible for Serbia's recent conflict with NATO -- Bill Clinton and NATO or Slobodan Milosevic and the ruling coalition?
AMONG ALL RESPONDENTS



- **Two-thirds of voters say that opposition leaders must deal with the West, and reject the notion that they are traitors for doing so.**

**Some people believe the opposition must deal with the U.S. , Europe and the West in order to open borders and help lift the economic sanctions and reintegrate Serbia into the world. Others believe that the opposition leaders who are talking to representatives of Europe, the U.S.and the West are traitors because the western countries bombed us and are our enemies. Which is closer to your view?
AMONG ALL RESPONDENTS**

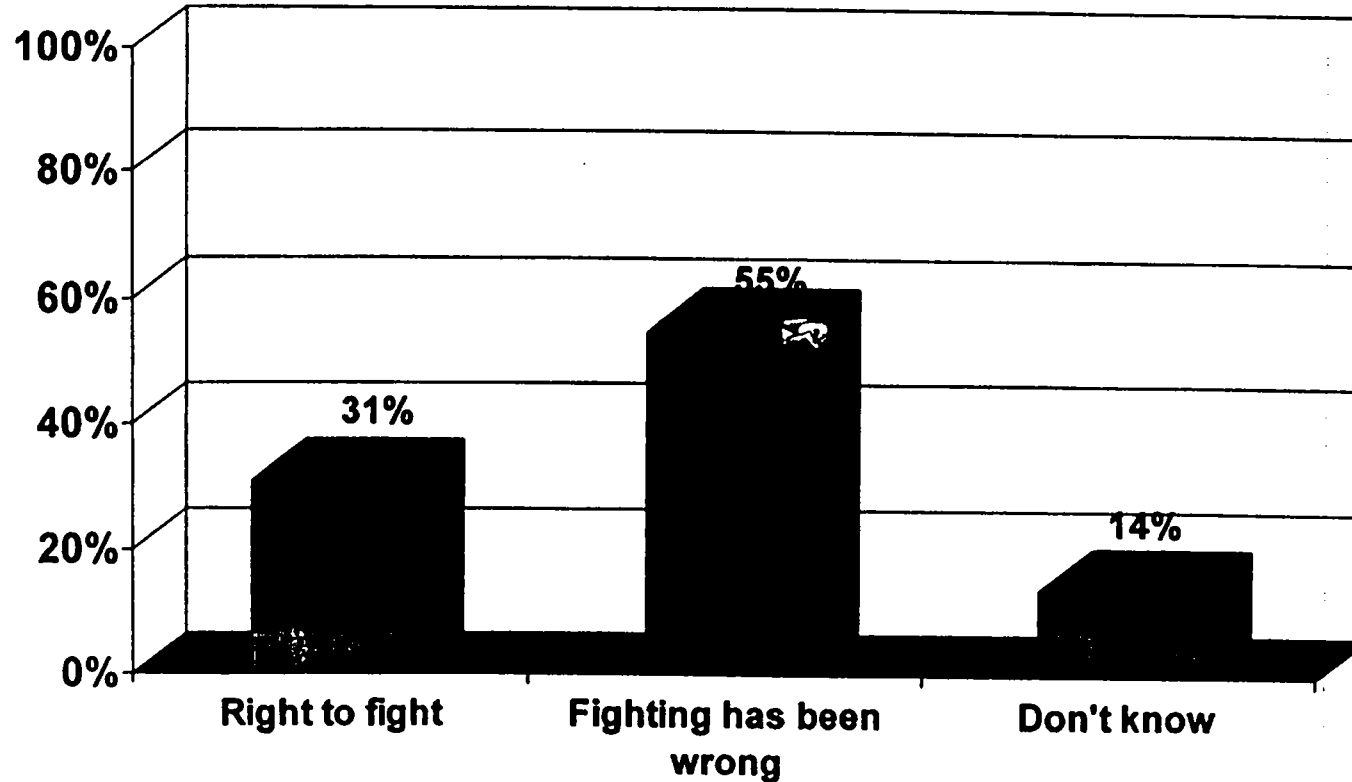


• ***Slightly more than half say that all the fighting has been wrong because it has weakened and impoverished the country.***

Some people believe it has been right to fight on behalf of Serbian land and territory in recent years. Others believe that all this fighting has been wrong because it has weakened our country and made us poor.

Which is closer to your view?

AMONG ALL RESPONDENTS



Favorability

- **With regard to opposition leaders, Dragoslav Avramovic had a favorable rating of 74 and an unfavorable rating of 19.**
- **By contrast, Slobodan Milosevic's favorable rating was 26 and his unfavorable rating was 70.**