## Western Balkans Regional Poll

February 2, 2020 - March 6, 2020

## Detailed Methodology

- The survey was conducted on behalf of the International Republican Institute's Center for Insights in Survey Research by Ipsos Bosnia and Herzegovina.
- Data was collected through in-home, in-person interviews using the CAPI (computer-assisted personal interviewing) method in each of the sampled countries. In each country, the margin of error is calculated at the 95 percent confidence level for the midrange for the full sample size.

| Country | Fieldwork Dates | Sample Size | Margin of Error | Response Rate |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Bosnia and Herzegovina | Feb. 7 - Feb. 29, 2020 | $\mathrm{n}=1,486$ | $\pm 2.5$ | 66\% |
| Kosovo | Feb. 11 - Mar. 4, 2020 | $\mathrm{n}=1,517$ | $\pm 2.5$ | 85\% |
| North Macedonia | Feb. 15 - Mar. 4, 2020 | $\mathrm{n}=1,472$ | $\pm 2.6$ | 70\% |
| Montenegro | Feb. 2 - Feb. 28, 2020 | $\mathrm{n}=966$ | $\pm 3.2$ | 66\% |
| Serbia | Feb. 10 - Mar. 6, 2020 | $\mathrm{n}=1,481$ | $\pm 2.5$ | 50\% |

- Nationally representative samples for each state are based on a multistage stratification proportionate to population sample distribution.
- Stage 1: PPS stratification across regions.
- Stage 2: PPS stratification across urban and rural areas (defined by settlement).
- Stage 3: Random selection of sampling points.
- Households were selected using a random route technique with a right-hand rule.
- Respondents were selected randomly using the Kish grid method.
- Interviews were conducted in Albanian, Bosnian, Macedonian, Montenegrin and Serbian.
- The data was weighted to the latest official census statistics for age, gender, educational attainment, urbanicity and region in each country.
- Charts and graphs may not add up to exactly 100 percent due to rounding.
- Cited bases are weighted.
- The poll was funded by the National Endowment for Democracy.


# Countries Polled 

Bosnia and Herzegovina<br>Kosovo<br>North Macedonia

Montenegro

Serbia

## General Issues

## In general, would you say that our country is heading in the right direction or in the wrong direction?

\author{

- In the right direction <br> ■ In the wrong direction <br> - Don't know/Refused
}



## Do you think that today's generation of young people has a good future in our country or not?

■ Good future


33\%

17\%


58\%

81\%


## What is the most important problem facing our country today? (Top five responses; spontaneous responses)





# What is the most important problem facing our country today? Bosnia and Herzegovina 



## What is the most important problem facing our country today? Kosovo


*Responses receiving less than 1 percent are collapsed into Other.

# What is the most important problem facing our country today? North Macedonia 



## What is the most important problem facing our country today? Montenegro

(Spontaneous response)

*Responses receiving less than 1 percent are collapsed into Other.

# What is the most important problem facing our country today? 



## What specific issue should be the top priority for the government

 to address?Bosnia and Herzegovina
(Spontaneous response)


## What specific issue should be the top priority for the government

 to address?Kosovo
(Spontaneous response)


## What specific issue should be the top priority for the government to address? <br> North Macedonia <br> (Spontaneous response)



## What specific issue should be the top priority for the government

 to address?Montenegro
(Spontaneous response)


## What specific issue should be the top priority for the government to address? <br> Serbia <br> (Spontaneous response)



How would you describe the current economic situation of your household?

\author{

- Very good <br> - Somewhat good <br> ■ Somewhat bad <br> ■ Very bad <br> - Don't know/Refused
}


When was life better for you, today or before the breakup of Yugoslavia?
$■$ Today ■ Before breakup ■ Don't know/Refused


How important or unimportant is it that all members of our country's adult population, including women, young adults, minorities, and people with disabilities, are included in political decision-making?
$■$ Very important $■$ Somewhat important $■$ Somewhat unimportant $■$ Very unimportant $\square$ Don't know/Refused


## Which of the following statements best matches your own opinion of the role that religion should play in government and law-making?

■ Religious texts should form the foundations of all policy and law-making

- The principles of religious teaching should be one consideration but not the only
$\square$ Religious views should not provide a source of justification for a policy or law
■ Religion should be completely absent from government decision-making
■ Don't know/Refused



## Would you say that our country's politics are moving toward more consensus or more polarization?

$■$ More consensus ■ More polarization ■Don't know/Refused



## Is polarization of our country's politics a positive or negative development?

(Among those who said the country's politics are moving toward polarization)
$\square$ Positive $\quad$ Negative $\quad$ Don't know/Refused


## Do people in our country feel free to openly express their opinions or are they afraid?

$\square$ Very free

- Somewhat free
$■$ Somewhat afraid
■ Very afraid
■ Don't know/Refused



## Are the media in our country free to independently cover any issue or not?

■ Very free

- Somewhat free

■ Somewhat not free
$\square$ Very not free

- Don't know/Refused



## Democracy and Human Rights

A PROJECT FROM THE INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE

## How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the way democracy is developing in our country?

$\square$ Very satisfied $\quad$ Somewhat satisfied $\quad$ Somewhat dissatisfied $\quad$ Very dissatisfied $\square$ Don't know/Refused




How would you the describe the current status of each of the following items in our country?

Bosnia and Herzegovina
$\square$ Very good $\square$ Somewhat good $\square$ Somewhat bad $\square$ Very bad $\square$ Don't know/Refused


How would you the describe the current status of each of the following items in our country?

Kosovo
$\square$ Very good $\square$ Somewhat good $\square$ Somewhat bad $■$ Very bad $\square$ Don't know/Refused


How would you the describe the current status of each of the following items in our country?

North Macedonia
$\square$ Very good $■$ Somewhat good $\square$ Somewhat bad $\square$ Very bad $\square$ Don't know/Refused


How would you the describe the current status of each of the following items in our country?

Montenegro
$\square$ Very good $■$ Somewhat good $\square$ Somewhat bad $■$ Very bad ■Don't know/Refused


How would you the describe the current status of each of the following items in our country?

Serbia
$\square$ Very good $\square$ Somewhat good $\square$ Somewhat bad $■$ Very bad $\square$ Don't know/Refused


## How likely or unlikely are ordinary people able to influence decisions made in our country?

- Very likely
- Somewhat likely

■ Somewhat unlikely
■ Very unlikely

- Don't know/Refused



## Do you believe that democracy is the best possible form of government for our country or not?

- Yes, it is the best possible form of government for our country.
$\square$ No, there are other forms of government that could be equally good for our country.
$■$ No, there are other forms of government that are better than democracy.
- Don't know/Refused

| $54 \%$ | $20 \%$ |
| :--- | :--- |

$\square$
$61 \%$


| 0\% | 10\% | 20\% | 30\% | 40\% | 50\% | 60\% | 70\% | 80\% | 90\% | 100\% |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |

## Thinking about our country's current political system, do you believe it is a:

$\square$ Full democracy $\square$ Nearly full democracy $\square$ Flawed democracy $\square$ Not a democracy at all $\square$ Don't know/Refused


## Which one of these statements is closest to your opinion?

■ In a democracy, citizens should have more rights than responsibilities before the state.
■ In a democracy, there should be a balance between rights and responsibilities of the citizens before the state.
$■$ In a democracy, citizens should have more responsibilities than rights before the state.

- Don't know/Refused

| $14 \%$ | $68 \%$ | $12 \%$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |




## Trust in Politicians and Institutions

A PROJECT FROM THE INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE

## Which politician or public person do you trust the most? (Top five responses; spontaneous responses)



## To what extent do you trust or distrust each of the following institutions?

## Bosnia and Herzegovina

$■$ Trust a great deal $\square$ Somewhat trust $\square$ Somewhat distrust $\square$ Distrust a great deal $\square$ Don't know/Refused


## To what extent do you trust or distrust each of the following institutions? <br> Kosovo

$■$ Trust a great deal $\square$ Somewhat trust $\square$ Somewhat distrust $\square$ Distrust a great deal $\square$ Don't know/Refused


## To what extent do you trust or distrust each of the following institutions? <br> North Macedonia

$■$ Trust a great deal $\square$ Somewhat trust $\square$ Somewhat distrust $\square$ Distrust a great deal $\square$ Don't know/Refused


## To what extent do you trust or distrust each of the following institutions? <br> Montenegro

$■$ Trust a great deal $\square$ Somewhat trust $\square$ Somewhat distrust $\square$ Distrust a great deal $\square$ Don't know/Refused


## To what extent do you trust or distrust each of the following institutions? <br> Serbia

$■$ Trust a great deal $\square$ Somewhat trust $\square$ Somewhat distrust $\square$ Distrust a great deal $\square$ Don't know/Refused


## Corruption

A PROJECT FROM THE INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE

# To what extent, if any, has corruption had a negative impact on you? 

■ It has had a lot of negative impact It has had some negative impact

- It has had little negative impact

■ Other

- It has not had any negative impact

■ Don't know/Refused


# In the past 12 months, how often, if at all, have you had to do a favor, give a gift or pay a bribe? 

$\square$ Daily $\square$ Weekly $■$ Monthly $■$ Less frequently Not at all $\square$ Other $\square$ Don't know/Refused



65\%


66\%


69\%
10\%


## Foreign Influence

## Which country is the biggest foreign donor to our country? (Spontaneous response)





## Please tell me your opinion of each of the following countries Bosnia and Herzegovina

$\square$ Highly favorable $\quad$ Somewhat favorable $\square$ Somewhat unfavorable $\quad$ Highly Unfavorable $\square$ Don't know/Refused


## Please tell me your opinion of each of the following countries Kosovo

$■$ Highly favorable $■$ Somewhat favorable $■$ Somewhat unfavorable $\quad$ Highly unfavorable $\square$ Don't know/Refused


## Please tell me your opinion of each of the following countries <br> North Macedonia

$\square$ Highly favorable $\square$ Somewhat favorable $\square$ Somewhat unfavorable $\quad$ Highly unfavorable $\square$ Don't know/Refused


## Please tell me your opinion of each of the following countries Montenegro

$■$ Highly favorable $\square$ Somewhat favorable $\square$ Somewhat unfavorable $\quad$ Highly unfavorable $\square$ Don't know/Refused


## Please tell me your opinion of each of the following countries Serbia

$■$ Highly favorable $\square$ Somewhat favorable $\square$ Somewhat unfavorable $\quad$ Highly unfavorable $\square$ Don't know/Refused


## Which of these countries do you consider to be the most important economic partner or partners for our country? <br> Bosnia and Herzegovina

- Most important

■ Not among most important

- Don't know/Refused



## Which of these countries do you consider to be the most important economic partner or partners for our country? Kosovo

- Most important

China
$■$ Not among most important

- Don't know/Refused


94\%
$4 \% 2 \%$

14\%

6\%

## Which of these countries do you consider to be the most important economic partner or partners for our country? North Macedonia

- Most important

■ Not among most important

- Don't know/Refused



## Which of these countries do you consider to be the most important economic partner or partners for our country? <br> Montenegro

- Most important

China
China


■ Not among most important

■ Don't know/Refused

14\%

United States


Russia


15\%
Germany


## Which of these countries do you consider to be the most important economic partner or partners for our country? Serbia

- Most important

China
United States


- Don't know/Refused
- Not among most important



## Which of these countries do you consider to be the most important political partner or partners for our country? Bosnia and Herzegovina

- Most important
- Not among most important
- Don't know/Refused



## Which of these countries do you consider to be the most important political partner or partners for our country? Kosovo

- Most important

■ Not among most important
■ Don't know/Refused


United States


## Which of these countries do you consider to be the most important political partner or partners for our country? <br> North Macedonia

- Most important

■ Not among most important
■ Don't know/Refused


## Which of these countries do you consider to be the most important political partner or partners for our country? Montenegro

- Most important

■ Not among most important


## Which of these countries do you consider to be the most important political partner or partners for our country? Serbia

- Most important

China

■ Not among most important

- Don't know/Refused


10\%

United States



## Which of these countries do you consider to be the most important political threat or threats for our country? Bosnia and Herzegovina

- Most important

■ Not among most important
■ Don't know/Refused


## Which of these countries do you consider to be the most important political threat or threats for our country? Kosovo

- Most important

China

■ Not among most important

- Don't know/Refused



## Which of these countries do you consider to be the most important political threat or threats for our country? North Macedonia

- Most important
$■$ Not among most important
■ Don't know/Refused



## Which of these countries do you consider to be the most important political threat or threats for our country? Montenegro

- Most important
$\square$

■ Not among most important

- Don't know/Refused

21\%

United States


## Which of these countries do you consider to be the most important political threat or threats for our country? Serbia

- Most important

China
United States
$\square$

- Don't know/Refused
$■$ Not among most important

77\%
17\%



## What should our country's foreign policy course be?

■ Only pro- European Union and the West

- Pro-Western but keep up relations with Russia

■ West and Russia equally
$■$ Pro-Russian but keep up relations with the European Union and the West
■ Only pro-Russian
■ Don't know/Refused



|  |  | 43\% |  |  | 12\% |  |  | 11\% | 5\% |  | 11\% |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 0\% | 10\% | 20\% | 30\% | 40\% | 50\% | 60\% | 70\% | 80\% |  | 90\% |  | 100\% |

Are you aware of any major Russian investments in our country?

■Yes ■ No ■ Don't know/Refused


## Which of the following statements best describes Russia's motivations to invest in our country?

- Russian investment is primarily about economics, delivering benefits to both sides
$■$ Russian investment gives some economic benefits to our country, but it always carries certain political expectations and conditions
$\square$ Russian investment is primarily about influence and control of our country
■ Don't know/Refused



Are you aware of any major Chinese investments in our country?

■Yes ■ No ■ Don't know/Refused


## Which of the following statements best describes China's motivations to invest in our country?

$■$ Chinese investment is primarily about economics, delivering benefits to both sides
$■$ Chinese investment gives some economic benefits to our country, but it always carries certain political expectations and conditions $■$ Chinese investment is primarily about influence and control of our country

- Don't know/Refused




## NATO Integration

## In your opinion, our country's future is best served by having what kind of relationship with NATO?

- Full membership
- More communication but no cooperation
- Don't know/Refused
- Closer cooperation but not membership

■ No relationship at all


## Asked in Montenegro Only

Has NATO membership been positive or negative for our country? Montenegro


## How do you view the role of NATO in the world?

$\square$ Mostly positive $\square$ Somewhat positive $\square$ Somewhat negative $\quad$ Mostly negative $\square$ Don't know/Refused


## EU Integration

## If a referendum were held today on our country joining the European Union, how would you vote?

$\square$ Would vote to join the EU $\quad$ Would vote against joining the EU $\square$ Would not vote $\quad$ Don't know/Refused


## Media Preferences

## How interested or uninterested are you in political news and information?

$\square$ Very interested $\square$ Somewhat interested $\square$ Somewhat uninterested $\square$ Very uninterested $\square$ Don't know/Refused


## Which media platform do you use most frequently to gain political news and information?



Which specific media outlets, such as a specific TV channel, radio station, newspaper, website etc., do you consider most trustworthy for political information? (Top 10 responses) Bosnia and Herzegovina


Which specific media outlets, such as a specific TV channel, radio station, newspaper, website etc., do you consider most trustworthy for political information? (Top 10 responses) Kosovo


Which specific media outlets, such as a specific TV channel, radio station, newspaper, website etc., do you consider most trustworthy for political information? (Top 10 responses) North Macedonia


Which specific media outlets, such as a specific TV channel, radio station, newspaper, website etc., do you consider most trustworthy for political information? (Top 10 responses) Montenegro


Which specific media outlets, such a specific TV channel, radio station, newspaper, website etc. do you consider most trustworthy for political information? (Top 10 responses) Serbia


## How often, if ever, do you use the internet or social media?

$■$ Daily or almost daily $\square$ Several times a week $■$ Weekly $\square$ Monthly $\quad$ Less often $\square$ Never $\square$ Don't know/Refused



How frequently do you encounter information in the media, including social media, that you believe is misleading or false?

$■$ Daily or almost daily $\square$ Several times a week $■$ Weekly $\square$ Monthly $\square$ Less often $\square$ Never $\square$ Don't know/Refused



## To what extent is misleading or false information in the media problematic for our country?

$■$ Very problematic $■$ Somewhat problematic $■$ Somewhat unproblematic $■$ Very unproblematic $■$ Don't know/Refused


## Security Issues

## Which statement about refugees and migrants is closest to your opinion?

$\square$ Our country has a responsibility to help those in need by taking in refugees and migrants, regardless of the costs in financial, social, and security realms.
■ Our country has a responsibility to help those in need by taking in refugees and migrants, but only after certain steps have been taken to ensure that they will not place excessive financial, social, or security burden on our country.
$■$ Our country does not have a responsibility to help those in need by taking in refugees and migrants.

- Don't know/Refused



## To what extent is violent extremism a problem in our country?

$\square$ Big problem $\quad$ Somewhat if a problem $\quad$ Small problem $\quad$ Not a problem at all $\square$ Don't know/Refused



How would you evaluate the security situation in the country?

■ Satisfactory ■Unsatisfactory ■ Don't know/Refused



## In your opinion, what kind of extremism is more present in our country?

$\square$ Religious $\quad$ Ethno-nationalist $\quad$ Neither Don't know/Refused



# To what extent do you support or oppose legal consequences, including prison terms, for citizens returning from participating in foreign conflicts? 

$■$ Strongly support $\square$ Somewhat support $\square$ Somewhat oppose $\square$ Strongly oppose $\square$ Don't know/Refused



Do you believe that our country's citizens who are returning from fighting in foreign conflicts represent a security threat?


## Would you support or oppose returnees from foreign conflicts reintegrating into society?

$\square$ Support $\square$ Oppose $\quad$ Don't know/Refused


## Demographics

## Demographics - Serbia



## Demographics - Serbia



## Demographics - Serbia


*Employment Sector is among those who are employed full-time or employed part-time ( $\mathrm{n}=568$ ).
**Economic Situation is based on the question "Please tell us which answer best describes your current economic situation."

- Barely Subsistence = "I have trouble feeding myself and my family and buying even the most essential things for survival."
- Subsistence $=$ "I have enough means for survival, but I do not have enough money for extra things."
- Adequate = "I am able to afford a few new extra things."
- More than Adequate = "I am able to afford most things I want."


## Demographics - Serbia



## Demographics - Montenegro



## Demographics - Montenegro



## Demographics - Montenegro


*Employment Sector is among those who are employed full-time or employed part-time ( $\mathrm{n}=376$ ).
**Economic Situation is based on the question "Please tell us which answer best describes your current economic situation."

- Barely Subsistence = "I have trouble feeding myself and my family and buying even the most essential things for survival."
- Subsistence $=$ "I have enough means for survival, but I do not have enough money for extra things."
- Adequate = "I am able to afford a few new extra things."
- More than Adequate = "I am able to afford most things I want."


## Demographics - Montenegro



## Demographics - North Macedonia



## Demographics - North Macedonia



## Demographics - North Macedonia


*Employment Sector is among those who are employed full-time or employed part-time ( $\mathrm{n}=566$ ).
**Economic Situation is based on the question "Please tell us which answer best describes your current economic situation."

- Barely Subsistence = "I have trouble feeding myself and my family and buying even the most essential things for survival."
- Subsistence $=$ "I have enough means for survival, but I do not have enough money for extra things."
- Adequate = "I am able to afford a few new extra things."
- More than Adequate = "I am able to afford most things I want."


## Demographics - North Macedonia



## Demographics - Kosovo




## Demographics - Kosovo


*Employment Sector is among those who are employed full-time or employed part-time ( $\mathrm{n}=459$ ).
**Economic Situation is based on the question "Please tell us which answer best describes your current economic situation."

- Barely Subsistence = "I have trouble feeding myself and my family and buying even the most essential things for survival."
- Subsistence $=$ "I have enough means for survival, but I do not have enough money for extra things."
- Adequate = "I am able to afford a few new extra things."
- More than Adequate = "I am able to afford most things I want."


## Demographics - Kosovo



## Demographics - Bosnia and Herzegovina



## Demographics - Bosnia and Herzegovina



## Demographics - Bosnia and Herzegovina


*Employment Sector is among those who are employed full-time or employed part-time ( $\mathrm{n}=515$ ).
**Economic Situation is based on the question "Please tell us which answer best describes your current economic situation."

- Barely Subsistence = "I have trouble feeding myself and my family and buying even the most essential things for survival."
- Subsistence $=$ "I have enough means for survival, but I do not have enough money for extra things."
- Adequate = "I am able to afford a few new extra things."
- More than Adequate = "I am able to afford most things I want."


## Demographics - Bosnia and Herzegovina



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