

**ZA-Archiv Nummer 4277**

**Yugoslav Public Opinion in Serbia 1998**

Survey MJJM-133/1998.

Institute of Social Sciences  
Center of Political Studies  
and Public Opinion Research  
Narodnog Fronta 45, Belgrade  
Telephones: (011) 643395, 642683, 646351  
Fax (011) 643395, 646351

Questionnaire No: \_\_\_\_\_  
Point: \_\_\_\_\_  
Settlement type: 1. City 2. Other  
Place: \_\_\_\_\_  
Date: \_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of interviewer:  
\_\_\_\_\_

**YUGOSLAV PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY 1998/2**

The Center for Political Studies and Public Opinion Research of the Institute of Social Sciences, University of Belgrade, is conducting a public opinion poll. The first part of the questionnaire is devoted to the media, while in the second we examine opinions and attitudes of citizens about some important problems our society is facing. You were chosen to be a part of the citizens' sample, representing the population of Yugoslavia. You were drawn by lot, but it is important for us that you personally answer the questions I'll ask. The participation in this survey is voluntary and anonymous. We expect you to answer the questions freely and truthfully and thus contribute to the success of this survey. Thank you for your cooperation.

9. Sex: 1. Male 2. Female

Before we start the conversation, please tell me some of your personal data that we need for statistical processing.

10. How old are you? \_\_\_\_\_

11. What is the highest level of education you have attained?

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. No school or incomplete primary school | 5. Junior College, University, Academy specialization, M.A., Ph.D. degree |
| 2. Primary school (8 grades)              |   |
| 3. Vocational training school             |   |
| 4. High school                            |   |

12-13. What is your occupation?

- |  |                            |
|--|----------------------------|
| 01. Farmer or housewife in a farmer's family → Q16       | 06. Pupil or student → Q15 |
| 02. Unskilled or half-skilled worker                     | 07. Housewife → Q15        |
| 03. Skilled or highly-skilled worker                     | 08. Private business owner |
| 04. Clerk or a technician with high school               | 09. Retired → Q15          |
| 05. Clerk or an expert with college or university degree | 10. Other occupation       |
|  | 11. Unemployed → Q15       |

14. Where do you work? Is the enterprise, company, facility where you work...

- |                         |                        |  |
|-------------------------|------------------------|--|
| 1. Public (state-owned) | 2. Private-owned → Q16 | 3. Mixed capital                       |
| 4. Freelance            | 5. Other               | 0. QNA (01, 06, 07, 09, 11. to Q12-13) |

15. Would you like to start some private business?

1. Yes 2. Maybe, depends on the conditions 3. No 4. Indecisive 5. QNA (2. to Q14)

16. Have you thought about leaving Yugoslavia and going abroad for a longer time?

1. Yes, all the time 2. Yes, sometimes 3. No

17. Has any close member of your family gone abroad to live and work since 1990?

1. Yes 2. No

18. What are the sources of your household income?

1. Regular employment 2. Pension 3. Agriculture  
4. Part-time and irregular jobs, selling goods, private services  
5. Renting land to be cultivated, lease, letting out apartment, space  
6. Other  
7. Does not want to answer

19. Which of the following answers best describes the financial situation of your family?

1. We do not have enough money, very often not even for food  
2. We can afford to buy food, but we can hardly buy clothes

3. We can afford food and clothes, we can even save up some money, but not for bigger purchases such as TV or fridge
4. We have money for bigger purchases as well, such as TV or fridge
5. We can buy anything we want
6. Does not want to answer

**20. What is your ethnic background/nationality?**

- |                |                                      |
|----------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Serb        | 5. Yugoslav                          |
| 2. Montenegrin | 6. Albanian                          |
| 3. Muslim      | 7. Hungarian                         |
| 4. Croat       | 8. Other nationality (Record): _____ |

**21. Would you call yourself a religious person?**

- |                             |                            |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. I am religious           | 3. I am not religious      |
| 2. I don't know, yes and no | 4. Against religion at all |

Now I would like to ask you a few questions about items that you might have in your household. Do you have in working order...

	22. Radio set	23. Television	24. Video recorder	25. Telephone	26. Computer	27. Automobile
Yes	1	1	1	1	1	1
No	2	2	2	2	2	2

(If 1. to 23) **28. Do you receive television programs through an individual antenna, or through a cable service, or on your own personal satellite dish, or is your television connected to a satellite dish that serves several households?**

- |                          |                          |                   |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Individual TV antenna | 2. Cable service         | 5. DK             |
| 3. Own satellite dish    | 4. Shared satellite dish | 0. QNA (2. to 23) |

**29. Do you have access to electronic mail (e-mail) on your computer either at your home or at your office?**

- |        |       |
|--------|-------|
| 1. Yes | 2. No |
|--------|-------|

Now I will ask you some questions about the media. Let us concentrate on the time period of the past month.

Please, tell me all radio stations that you have listened to during this period. How often? Please, start with the station which is most important to you personally.

	6 or 7 times a week	3 or 5 times a week	1 or 2 times a week	Less frequently	Hasn't listened during past month
30-31. _____	1	2	3	4	5
32-33. _____	1	2	3	4	5
34-35. _____	1	2	3	4	5
36-37. _____	1	2	3	4	5
38-39. _____	1	2	3	4	5
40-41. _____	1	2	3	4	5
42-43. _____	1	2	3	4	5
44-45. _____	1	2	3	4	5
46-47. _____	1	2	3	4	5
48-49. _____	1	2	3	4	5

**At what time do you usually listen to the radio?**

- |                    |                    |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| 50. From 5 to 8h   | 54. From 19 to 22h |
| 51. From 8 to 12h  | 55. From 22 to 1h  |
| 52. From 12 to 15h | 56. From 1 to 5h   |
| 53. From 15 to 19h | 00. QNA            |

(Show Card RADIO PROGRAMS) **57-63. What sort of listed radio shows do you usually listen to?**

7. Other (Record): \_\_\_\_\_  
0. QNA

**64. If you had to stick to only one of these kinds of programs, which one would you choose?**

- \_\_\_\_\_ 7. Other (what) \_\_\_\_\_ 8. Indecisive 0. QNA

Please tell me, which TV stations and programs did you watch during the previous month? How often?

Please begin with the station that is most important for you.

	6 or 7 times a week	3 or 5 times a week	1 or 2 times a week	Less frequently	Hasn't watched during past month
65-66. _____	1	2	3	4	5
67-68. _____	1	2	3	4	5
69-70. _____	1	2	3	4	5
71-72. _____	1	2	3	4	5
73-74. _____	1	2	3	4	5
75-76. _____	1	2	3	4	5
77-78. _____	1	2	3	4	5
79-80. _____	1	2	3	4	5
81-82. _____	1	2	3	4	5
83-84. _____	1	2	3	4	5

At what time do you usually watch TV program?

- |                    |                    |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| 85. From 5 to 8h   | 89. From 19 to 22h |
| 86. From 8 to 12h  | 90. From 22 to 1h  |
| 87. From 12 to 15h | 91. From 1 to 5h   |
| 88. From 15 to 19h | 00. QNA            |

92-98. Which of the following kinds of TV programs do you usually watch? (Show Card TV PROGRAMS)

\_\_\_\_\_ 7. Other (what) \_\_\_\_\_ 0. QNA

99. If you had to stick to only one of these kinds of programs, which one would you choose?

\_\_\_\_\_ 7. Other (what) \_\_\_\_\_ 8. Indecisive 0. QNA

Please tell me which daily newspapers did you read during the previous month? How often? Please begin with the newspaper that is most important for you.

	6 or 7 times a week	3 or 5 times a week	1 or 2 times a week	Less frequently	Hasn't read during past month
100-101. _____	1	2	3	4	5
102-103. _____	1	2	3	4	5
104-105. _____	1	2	3	4	5
106-107. _____	1	2	3	4	5
108-109. _____	1	2	3	4	5

110-116. Which of the following texts do you usually read in the daily newspapers? (Show the Card NEWSPAPER CONTENTS)

\_\_\_\_\_ 7. Other (what) \_\_\_\_\_ 0. QNA

117. If you had to stick to only one of these kinds of texts, which one would you choose? \_\_\_\_\_

7. Other (what) \_\_\_\_\_ 8. Indecisive 0. QNA

Do you read weekly and periodical magazines? Which ones?

118-123. Regularly: \_\_\_\_\_ 01. No

124-129. Occasionally: \_\_\_\_\_ 01. No

130-136. What kind of texts do you usually read in weekly newspapers and periodicals? (Show the Card NEWSPAPER CONTENTS)

\_\_\_\_\_ 7. Other (what) \_\_\_\_\_ 0. QNA

137. If you had to stick to only one of these kinds of texts, which one would you choose? (Show the Card NEWSPAPER CONTENTS)

\_\_\_\_\_ 7. Other (what) \_\_\_\_\_ 8. Indecisive 0. QNA

138. Out of the following sources of information about the political events in our country and abroad, which

**one do you use the most?**

1. Daily press
2. Weekly (periodical. press
3. Radio
4. TV
5. Discussions with friends, colleagues, family
6. Other (what. \_\_\_\_\_)
7. Indecisive
8. Not interested in politics

**139-140. Which TV station do you use most for political information?**

- \_\_\_\_\_ 00. Does not watch TV, not interested in politics  
01. Not informed by TV

**141-142. And which TV station do you consider most trustworthy?**

- \_\_\_\_\_ 01. None 00. QNA (00. or 01. to 139-140)

**143-144. Which radio station do you use most for political information?**

- \_\_\_\_\_ 00. Does not listen to the radio, not interested in politics  
01. Not informed by the radio

**145-146. And which radio station do you consider most trustworthy?**

- \_\_\_\_\_ 01. None 00. QNA (00. or 01. to 143-144)

**147-148. Which newspaper or magazine do you use on most for political information?**

- \_\_\_\_\_ 00. Does not read newspapers, not interested in politics  
01. Not informed by press

**149-150. And which newspaper or magazine do you consider most trustworthy?**

- \_\_\_\_\_ 01. None 00. QNA (00. or 01. to 147-148)

**151-152. When you consider all information sources about domestic and international developments, which one do you personally trust the most? Please single out only one source - one particular newspaper, one radio station, a TV program, friends, or some other source.**

— \_\_\_\_\_ 01. None\_\_\_\_\_

Now I would like to read you some things people say about radio, television and the press. For each statement I read, please tell me whether you agree or disagree with it.

	Agree	Disagree	DK
<b>153. Published materials (books, newspapers, magazines, etc.) should never be banned for political reasons</b>	1	2	3
<b>154. Radio, television and the press should have more consideration for people who don't want to hear so much bad news</b>	1	2	3
<b>155. Censorship of media is necessary to uphold moral standards</b>	1	2	3
<b>156. The government should control the activities of all radio and TV stations and press</b>	1	2	3
<b>157. State media will always be more objective than private media</b>	1	2	3
<b>158. Media should advocate the opinions of majority</b>	1	2	3
<b>159. Party media should not be trusted</b>	1	2	3
<b>160. Journalists can be bribed easily</b>	1	2	3
<b>161. One should trust the rumours more than the media</b>	1	2	3
<b>162. One should trust national media more than local media</b>	1	2	3

**163. What do you think about the fact that domestic local radio and TV stations endorse in their programs political attitudes opposite to the attitudes of the state-owned media? Which of the following opinions is closest to yours?**

1. It is an indicator of growing democratization of domestic media
2. It is a reaction to biased state media
3. It is a result of commercialization of media and a misuse of media freedom
4. It is a result of parties' control over local media

5. Other (What): \_\_\_\_\_  
6. DK

**164. How do you feel about the growing availability of rebroadcasted foreign radio and TV shows on domestic media? What of the following is the nearest to your opinion?**

1. It is an indicator of growing democratization of domestic media
2. It is a reaction to biased state media
3. It is a compensation for a lack of stringers, correspondents and other qualified professionals within domestic media
4. It is a result of commercialization of media and a misuse of media freedom
5. It is a result of foreign countries' and international organizations' attempts to affect domestic people's political opinions
6. Other (Record): \_\_\_\_\_
7. DK

**165. Some people think that domestic media that get aid from abroad cannot be an objective source of political information, while some people think they can. What do you think about these alternatives?**

1. Cannot be an objective source
2. Can be an objective source
3. Other (Record): \_\_\_\_\_
4. DK

**166. Some people think that domestic media owned and controlled by state or local authorities cannot be an objective source of political information, while some people think they can. What do you think?**

1. Cannot be an objective source
2. Can be an objective source
3. Other (Record): \_\_\_\_\_
4. DK

**167. Can you think of a couple of domestic written and electronic media which enjoy foreign aid?**

1. No
2. Yes (Record): \_\_\_\_\_

**168. Can you think of a couple of domestic written and electronic media which enjoy state aid or aid from local authorities?**

1. No
2. Yes (Record): \_\_\_\_\_

**169. Some people think that state owned and controlled media - such as RTV Serbia and RTV Montenegro, and local media financially supplied by local governments should advocate the opinions of the ruling parties, some people think that all political parties should get equal access and treatment in those media. What do you think about those alternatives?**

1. They should advocate opinions of the ruling parties
2. All parties should get an equal access and treatment
3. Other (Record): \_\_\_\_\_
4. Indecisive

***Now we shall proceed to the part of conversation dedicated to social and political topics.***

**170. Are you interested in politics and how much? Would you call yourself...**

- |                        |                          |       |
|------------------------|--------------------------|-------|
| 1. Very interested     | 3. Not very interested   |       |
| 2. Somewhat interested | 4. Not at all interested | 5. DK |

**171. When you get together with your friends, would you say you discuss political matters frequently, or occasionally or never?**

- |               |                 |          |       |
|---------------|-----------------|----------|-------|
| 1. Frequently | 2. Occasionally | 3. Never | 4. DK |
|---------------|-----------------|----------|-------|

**172-175. When you have to form an attitude (make up your mind) on new and conflicting political problems and events, or you have to make a decision regarding your political behavior (such as voting), which of the following do you find most useful? And which is the next?**

01. Not interested in politics, does not consider political problems and events

02. Comparisons of different sources of information, personal experience
03. Opinions of the majority of people
04. Discussion with friends, colleagues, members of family
05. Discussion with person(s) you consider as competent and knowledgeable for politics
06. Attitudes of parties and party leaders on a topic
07. Individual media (Record): \_\_\_\_\_
08. Other (Record): \_\_\_\_\_
09. Indecisive

**176. When - If - you decide to vote for a particular party, what of the following is most important from your point of view?**

1. Trust in the leader of the party
2. Trust in the members of the party and its local activists
3. Trust in party program and goals
4. Trust in celebrities who vote for this party
5. My decision is based on the discussion with the friends and colleagues
6. My decision is based on the discussion with the members of my family
7. Other (Record): \_\_\_\_\_
8. Does not know
9. Does not vote

**177. What is the prevalent opinion when you think about the following twelve months – hope, worry, uncertainty or fear?**

1. Hope
2. Worry
3. Uncertainty
4. Fear
5. DK

**In general, do you feel things in Yugoslavia, Serbia and Montenegro are going in the right or in the wrong direction?**

	Right direction	Wrong direction	DK
<b>178. Yugoslavia</b>	1	2	3
<b>179. Serbia</b>	1	2	3
<b>180. Montenegro</b>	1	2	3

**181. What is your opinion on FR Yugoslavia as a federation of Serbia and Montenegro? Which one of the following statements is closest to your opinion?**

1. FR Yugoslavia is the best solution both for Serbia and for Montenegro
2. It would be better both for Serbia and Montenegro to be independent states
3. It would be better for Serbia to be an independent state
4. It would be better for Montenegro to be an independent state
5. DK

**182. There are different opinions on possible solutions for the province of Kosovo and Metohija. Please, single out one among the following which, in your opinion, is the best.**

1. Province should be abolished
2. The Province should remain in the present position
3. The Province should be given the status it had according to 1974 Constitution
4. The Province should be a republic within FR Yugoslavia
5. The Province should be given the special status under the auspices of international community
6. The Province should be divided between Yugoslavia and Albania
7. The Province should become an independent state
8. Other (Record): \_\_\_\_\_
9. Cannot choose, does not know

**183. Do you believe that the problem of Kosovo and Metohija will be solved in the foreseeable future and without further escalation of armed conflicts?**

1. Yes
2. No
3. DK

**184. What from the following would be most helpful for the urgent solution of the Kosovo and Metohija problem without further escalation of violence?**

1. Resolute government action in order to eliminate terrorism
2. Prevention of terrorist arrivals and weapons sending from Albania
3. International community's pressure on the representatives of Albanian parties in Kosovo and Metohija to condemn terrorism and negotiate without any conditions

4. International community's pressure on the Serbian side to minimize the police actions and negotiate without any conditions
5. International community's pressure on both sides
6. Imposing international protectorate status on Kosovo and Metohija
7. NATO pact intervention
8. Other (Record): \_\_\_\_\_
9. DK

**185. I suppose you know that civilians as well are the victims of conflicts between the police and the so called Kosovo Liberation Army and that people look at it differently. Which of the following opinions is closest to yours?**

1. The civilians who suffer are collaborators of the KLA and their suffering is inevitable
2. Kosovo Liberation Army abuses civilians as the shield and it is the only responsible party for civilian casualties
3. It is unfortunate, but civilian victims are inevitable in conflicts of this kind
4. The police should avoid conflicts if there is a possibility for civilian victims
5. The police should stop all armed actions in Kosovo and Metohija
6. Other (Record): \_\_\_\_\_
7. DK

**186. If some of your close relatives or friends should fight so that Kosovo and Metohija remain a part of Yugoslavia, what would your reaction be – would you be against it or would you think of it as a patriotic duty?**

1. I would oppose it
2. I would understand it as a patriotic duty
3. Indecisive

**187. Bearing in mind the present situation in Kosovo and Metohija, do you think that larger involvement of international community is ...**

- 1) Necessary
- 2) Unnecessary
- 3) Indecisive

**Now we shall ask you the questions about the people belonging to the nationalities who live on the territory of present and former Yugoslavia. Please tell us whether your opinion about them is very favourable, mostly favourable, mostly unfavourable or very unfavourable.**

	Very favourable	Mostly favourable	Mostly unfavourable	Very unfavourable	No specific opinion
<b>188. Serbs</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>189. Montenegrins</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>190. Muslims</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>191. Croats</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>192. Macedonians</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>193. Slovenians</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>194. Albanians</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>195. Hungarians</b>	1	2	3	4	5

**196. Which one of the following belongings do you find the most important for you as a person, for your feeling of who you are, for your identity?**

1. Belonging to a place or region where I live
2. Belonging to Vojvodina
3. Belonging to Serbia
4. Belonging to Montenegro
5. Belonging to Yugoslavia
6. Belonging to Europe
7. DK

**197. And which one of the following do you find the most important?**

1. Belonging to a generation
2. Belonging to an occupational group
3. National belonging
4. Religious belonging
5. Political (party) belonging

6. DK

**198-199. If the elections for the Federal Assembly were held tomorrow, which party or coalition would you vote for?**

\_\_\_\_\_ 01. Would not vote 02. Indecisive

**200-201. Is there another party you might vote for? / Is there after all some party you might vote for?**

\_\_\_\_\_ 01. No 02. Indecisive

Would you say you are satisfied or dissatisfied with the election of...

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Indecisive
<b>202. Slobodan Milosevic for the President of Yugoslavia</b>	1	2	3
<b>202. Milan Milutinovic for the President of Serbia</b>	1	2	3
<b>204. Milo Djukanovic for the President of Montenegro</b>	1	2	3
<b>205. Momir Bulatovic for the Prime Minister of FRY</b>	1	2	3
<b>206. Results of May elections in Montenegro</b>	1	2	3

**207. Keeping in mind long-lasting crises in our country, poverty, unemployment, delays in payment of salaries, pensions etc., do you expect large social revolts in our country? If you do, when can those revolts take place?**

1. Very soon
2. In six months
3. In a year
4. Later
5. Other (Record): \_\_\_\_\_
6. Does not expect large social revolts
7. DK

**208. Which of the following, in your opinion, would contribute most to the positive political changes in Serbia?**

1. Mass protests and demonstrations of citizens
2. Compromise and cooperation of the ruling coalition and opposition parties
3. Overthrowing the regime – electing opposition parties to rule
4. Pressure of international community
5. Other (what) \_\_\_\_\_
6. Positive changes are happening
7. Does not know

Now I shall read some statements. For each statement I read, please tell me whether you agree or disagree with it.

	Agree	Disagree	DK
<b>209. Yugoslavia should rely more to Western countries</b>	1	2	3
<b>210. U.S.A. has too much influence on things in our country</b>	1	2	3
<b>211. Serbia is for Serbs only</b>	1	2	3
<b>212. Montenegro is for Montenegrins only</b>	1	2	3
<b>213. Proportion of a private property in our economy must be increased</b>	1	2	3
<b>214. The time has come for the national reconciliation between "partisans" and "chetniks", "communists" and "democrats", etc.</b>	1	2	3
<b>215. Privatization of state ownership in our country is carried out in a right way</b>	1	2	3
<b>216. The old foreign currency savings will be returned soon</b>	1	2	3
<b>217. Our police solves the crime problem in Yugoslavia satisfactorily</b>	1	2	3
<b>218. Yugoslavia should join European Union</b>	1	2	3
<b>219. Yugoslavia should join NATO</b>	1	2	3
<b>220. New University Law is good</b>	1	2	3

**221. What do you think about the selling of big public firms owned by state - such as the telecommunication system of Serbia, oil industry, electricity etc. to the foreigners? Please single out one from the following answers.**

1. It is the only way for us to survive the "outer wall" of sanctions
2. It is the only way to get the capital for the rise of our economy
3. It will reduce the independence of our country
4. It is a means of the ruling regime to remain in power

5. It is a means of our politicians to make a personal fortune  
 6. Other (Record): \_\_\_\_\_  
 7. DK

Now I shall ask you some questions about the certain institutions in our country. Please tell me, for each of the institutions that you have an opinion of, whether you have complete trust in it, medium, a little or none.

	Complete trust	Medium trust	A little trust	No trust at all	Cannot estimate
<b>222. Federal Assembly</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>223. Federal Government</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>224. Serbian Parliament</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>225. Montenegrin Parliament</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>226. Serbian Government</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>227. Montenegrin Government</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>228. Army</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>229. Police</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>230. Judicial system</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>231. Church</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>232. State media</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>233. Private media</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>234. Trade unions</b>	1	2	3	4	5

**235-236. Which of all these institutions do you personally trust the most?**

01. None 02. Indecisive

**We are also interested in your opinions on our politicians.**

**237-238. Who of our politicians do you personally trust the most?** \_\_\_\_\_ 01. None 02. Indecisive

**239-240. Who is the next one?** \_\_\_\_\_ 01. None 02. QNA (01 or 02 to Q 237-238)

**241. How would you estimate current relations between political leaderships of Serbia and Montenegro?**

1. Relations are so bad that even the survival of Yugoslavia is under question
2. Relations are bad but the survival of the federation is not endangered
3. Current relations are good
4. DK

(If 1. or 2. to Q. 241) **242. Who, in your opinion, is the most responsible for bad relations?**

9. DK

**243. Who of foreign politicians do you personally appreciate the most?**

1. None 10. Indecisive

**244-245. In your opinion, which foreign country is our best friend?**

01. None 02. Indecisive

**246. Do you think that Bosnia and Herzegovina will survive as the an united state composed of the Muslim-Croat Federation and the Serbian Republic, or do you think that sooner or later it will fall apart?**

1. It will survive as the united state
2. It will fall apart
3. Other (Record): \_\_\_\_\_
4. DK

**247. Do you know the conditions that international community imposes upon Yugoslavia in order to lift the sanctions, i.e. for its return to the United Nations, OSCE and obtaining foreign loans?**

1. Does not know

**248. International community requires from Yugoslavia to deliver to the Hague Tribunal its citizens accused**

**for war crimes during the war in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. In your opinion, what from the following would be most suitable to do?**

1. To fulfill all requirements posed by the international community
2. Yugoslav authorities should make their own investigation and deliver to the Hague only those persons proved to have done war crimes
3. Yugoslav judicial system should prosecute war criminals
4. To reject all requirements posed by the international community
5. Other (Record): \_\_\_\_\_
6. DK

Now I am going to read you some statements that can be heard about the opposition and the authorities in Serbia. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of them.

	Agree	Disagree	DK
<b>249. The opposition showed that it was not any better than the present authorities</b>	1	2	3
<b>250. This regime will never give up the power peacefully</b>	1	2	3
<b>251. The opposition leaders are prone to any kind of agreement with the ruling coalition in order to come to power</b>	1	2	3
<b>252. This regime is the most responsible for all bad developments in our country</b>	1	2	3
<b>253. The opposition is not mature enough to govern the country</b>	1	2	3
<b>254. Uniting of the opposition is the only way for the democratization of Serbia</b>	1	2	3
<b>255. People leading the opposition in Serbia should be replaced by new leaders</b>	1	2	3
<b>256. Cooperation between the opposition and the government is a necessary condition for democratic changes in Serbia</b>	1	2	3
<b>257. If opposition rose to power, there would be chaos and civil war</b>	1	2	3

**258. Which of the following, in your opinion, is lacking most in the relations between the confronted political forces in our country?** 1. Tolerance 2. Consistency 3. Responsibility 4. Wisdom  
5. Other (Record): \_\_\_\_\_ 6. DK

**259-260.** In your opinion, who would be the best leader of the united opposition in Serbia?  
\_\_\_\_\_ 01. There is no such person 02. Does not know

**261. What do you think about the cooperation of SPS, YUL and SRP in Serbian Parliament and Serbian Government?**

1. Their cooperation is in complete interest of Serbia and Yugoslavia
2. Different parties should cooperate with regard to the matters about which they have the same or similar viewpoints
3. That is the alliance which SPS and YUL use in order to remain in power, and SRP to rise into power
4. This alliance shows that these parties are ready to depart from their programs in order to remain in power or rise into power
5. That is an unnatural alliance and will soon fall apart
6. Other (what) \_\_\_\_\_
7. Does not know

**262. In your opinion, would establishment of the coalition of the Serbian democratic opposition parties (SRM, DP, DPS and similar) and Montenegrin ruling parties (DPS, NS, SDP) in the next federal elections contribute to positive changes in Yugoslavia?**

1. Yes                      2. No                      3. DK

**263. Which of the following would you single out as the main result of mass protests in large Serbian towns in winter 1996/1997?**

1. Development of citizens' consciousness and democracy
2. Weakening the regime and SPS
3. Inability of opposition to use the support of citizens for changes
4. Citizens' disappointment in opposition
5. Other (what) \_\_\_\_\_
6. Does not know

**264-267. If local elections were held tomorrow, which party or a coalition would you vote for?**  
\_\_\_\_\_ 01. Would not vote 02. Indecisive

**268. How would you estimate the political future of our country in one year's time? Which of the following is**

**the closest to your opinion?**

1. Social and political situation will be exacerbated and non-democratic activities will happen
2. There will be no significant changes, citizens will be more deprived, and the authorities and the opposition will continue to fight
3. The authorities will make minor concessions and compromises with opposition
4. Economy will start to flourish and the political conflicts will be resolved in a democratic way
5. Other (what)
6. Does not know

**269-270. in your opinion, what is the most important problem our country is facing today?**

\_\_\_\_\_ 01. Does not know

**271-272. And what is the second most important one?**

\_\_\_\_\_ 01. Does not know 00. QNA (01 to Q 269-270)

**(Q273-281: Respondents from Serbia only)**

**In your opinion, which one from the parties below is the most competent to solve the following problems in our society?**

	SPS	YUL	SRS	SRM	DP	DPS	Other	DK
<b>273. Economic development</b>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<b>274. Development of democracy</b>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<b>275. Maintenance of Yugoslavia and good relations with Montenegro</b>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<b>276. Fighting crime and corruption</b>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<b>277. Status of Kosovo and Metohija</b>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<b>278. Reintegration into Europe and the world, obtaining foreign loans</b>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<b>279. Media objectivity</b>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

**280. Could you single just one party that you believe is the most competent to solve all or majority of important problems in our society?**

1. SPS 2. YUL 3. SRP 4. SRM 5. DP 6. DPS 7. Other (Record): \_\_\_\_\_ 8. DK

**281. When we speak of oppositional political parties and other organizations, for which of the following do you think it could be the engine that would start the development of democracy in Serbia?**

1. SRM 2. DP 3. DPS 4. SRP 5. Coalition of opposition parties 6. Syndicates 7. Students' organizations  
8. Other (Record): \_\_\_\_\_ 9. DK 0. QNA

**(Q282-289: Respondents from Montenegro only)**

**In your opinion, which one from the parties below is the most competent to solve the following problems in our society?**

	DPS	SPP	LA	PP	SNP	SDP	Other	DK
<b>282. Economic development</b>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<b>283. Development of democracy</b>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<b>284. Maintenance of Yugoslavia and good relations with Serbia</b>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<b>285. Fighting crime and corruption</b>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<b>286. Protection of interests of Montenegro</b>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<b>287. Reintegration into Europe and the world, obtaining foreign loans</b>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<b>288. Media objectivity</b>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

**289. Could you single just one party that you believe is the most competent to solve all or majority of important problems in our society?**

1. DPS 2. SPP 3. LA 4. PP 5. SNP 6. SDP 7. Other (Record): \_\_\_\_\_ 8. DK

**Thank you very much for your cooperation**

MJJM-133/1998.

**(Question 57-63. and question 64)**

**CARD "RADIO PROGRAMS"**

1. News about political events, economy, discussions, commentaries, analyses from these areas
2. Educational programs, science, travel reports, history
3. Art (classical music, literature, drama, information dealing with these areas)
4. Entertaining programs (folk, pop and rock music, call in shows, prize contests, humour, celebrities, information dealing with these topics)
5. Service information (programs for target groups, hobbyists, practical advice and announcements, advertisements, weather forecasts etc.)
6. Sports (live coverage, interviews, sport information)
7. Other (what)

**(Question 92-98. and question 99)**

**CARD "TV PROGRAMS"**

1. News about political events, economy, discussions, commentaries, analyses from these areas
2. Educational programs, science, travel reports, history
3. Art (classical music, literature, drama, information dealing with these areas)
4. Entertaining programs (folk, pop and rock music, call in shows, prize contests, humour, celebrities, information dealing with these topics)
5. Service information (programs for target groups, hobbyists, practical advice and announcements, advertisements, weather forecasts etc.)
6. Sports (live coverage, interviews, sport information)
7. Other (what)

**(Question 110-116, Question 117, Question 130-136, Question 137)****CARD "NEWSPAPER CONTENTS"**

1. News about political events, economy, discussions, commentaries, analyses from these areas
2. Educational columns, science, travel reports, history
3. Art (classical music, literature, drama, information dealing with these areas)
4. Entertaining columns (folk, pop and rock music, call in shows, prize contests, humour, celebrities, information dealing with these topics)
5. Service information (columns for target groups, hobbyists, practical advice and announcements, advertisements, weather forecasts etc.)
6. Sports (reports, interviews, sport information)
7. Other (what)