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**Pre-Election Study - Presidential Elections Serbia
May 2000**

Survey JMS-139/0005

Institute of Social Sciences
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Questionnaire No:
Point:
Settlement type: 1. City
2. Other
Signature of the interviewer:

PUBLIC OPINION OF SERBIA 2000/3

The Centre for Political Studies and Public Opinion Research of the Institute of Social Sciences is conducting a public opinion poll. We examine the opinions of citizens about political and economic problems and issues, in particular about elections. The identification of public attitudes helps the problems to be solved more successfully and enables the citizens to get to know the public opinion in particular regions and social groups. You were chosen to be a part of the citizens' sample, representing the population of Serbia. 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 co-operation.

8. Sex: 1. Male 2. Female

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

9. How old are you? 1. 18-29 2. 30-39 3. 40-49 4. 50-59 5. 60 and over

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

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. No school or incomplete primary | 4. High school |
| 2. Primary school (8 grades) | 5. Junior college |
| 3. Vocational training school | 6. University or academy |

11-12. What is your occupation?

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

13. What is your ethnic background/nationality?

- | | |
|----------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Serb | 5. Yugoslav |
| 2. Montenegrin | 6. Hungarian |
| 3. Muslim | 7. Slovak |
| 4. Croat | 8. Roma |
| | 9. Other nationality (Record): _____ |

14. Do you have children of school age? 1. Yes 2. No

15. How many members does your household have, including you? _____ members

16. How much was the average income of your household last month, including the salaries, pensions, maternity and child allowances, honorary and other jobs, income gained from agriculture etc.?

_____ dinars 9. Does not know

17. Are you registered into the voters' list?

1. Yes 2. No 9. Does not know

18. Did you vote in the presidential elections in 1997? Which party or a coalition did you vote for?

- _____ 1. Did not vote 2. No right to vote 9. Does not know, does not remember

19-20. If the new elections for Serbian Parliament were held tomorrow, would you vote? Which party or a coalition would you vote for? _____

01. Would not vote 02. Undecided regarding voting 03. Would vote, undecided regarding party
99. Does not know

In your opinion, what is the most important problem Serbia is facing today? And what is the next most important problem Serbia is facing today?

21-22. First problem: _____ 99. Does not know

23-24. Second problem: _____ 99. Does not know

25-26. When you think about the situation in Serbia in the next year, what worries you the most?

99. Does not know

27-28. In your opinion, what is the most important thing that can be done in order to improve the situation in Serbia?

99. Does not know

29. What is the likelihood of you voting in the next republic elections – absolutely certain, pretty certain, probable, not very likely or not at all likely?

1. Absolutely certain 2. Pretty certain 3. Probable 4. Not very likely 5. Not at all likely 9. Does not know

Now I shall read to you the names of some political parties and coalitions. Please tell me for each of them whether you have heard of it, and if you have, whether your opinion of it is very favourable, somewhat favourable, somewhat unfavourable or very unfavourable.

	Unfamiliar	Very favourable	Somewhat favourable	Somewhat unfavourable	Very unfavourable	Does not know
31. Socialist Party of Serbia	1	2	3	4	5	9
32. Serbian Renewal Movement	1	2	3	4	5	9
33. Serbian Radical Party	1	2	3	4	5	9
34. Alliance of Democratic Parties	1	2	3	4	5	9
35. Alliance for Change	1	2	3	4	5	9
36. Coalition DAN	1	2	3	4	5	9

37-38. Which public figure, in your opinion, would be the best leader for Serbia?

99. Does not know

39. Is the name of Slobodan Milosevic familiar to you? Do you have very favourable, somewhat favourable, somewhat unfavourable or very unfavourable opinion about him?

1. Unfamiliar 2. Very favourable 3. Somewhat favourable 4. Somewhat unfavourable 5. Very unfavourable
9. Does not know

40. On the whole, what do you think about the achievements of Milosevic's policy? Do you strongly support them, mostly support, mostly oppose or strongly oppose them?

1. Strongly supports 2. Mostly supports 3. Mostly opposes 4. Strongly opposes 5. Does not know

Do you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree or completely disagree with the following claims about Slobodan Milosevic?

	Completely agrees	Mostly agrees	Mostly disagrees	Completely disagrees	Does not know
41. Milosevic is not perfect, but he is better than opposition leaders	1	2	3	4	9
42. Milosevic is a loser	1	2	3	4	9
43. Milosevic had had his chance, now it is time for somebody new	1	2	3	4	9
44. In this moment, Milosevic is the best leader for Serbia	1	2	3	4	9

Now i shall ask you some questions about the republic elections.

(Show Card "PARTIES")

46-47. If the elections were held tomorrow, which party or a coalition would you vote? _____

17. Other party - coalition (Which): _____ 18. Undecided regarding voting

19. Will vote, undecided regarding the party – coalition 20. Will not vote 99. Does not know

48. Let us assume that the elections were held today, and that the coalition SPS-YUL, Alliance for Change, Serbian Renewal Movement and Serbian Radical Party participated. Who would you vote for?

1. SPS-YUL 2. Alliance for Change 3. SRM 4. SRP 5. Would not vote 9. Does not know

49. Let us assume that the elections were held today, and that the coalition SPS-YUL and the Alliance for Change participated. Who would you vote for? 1. SPS-YUL 2. Alliance for Change 3. Would not vote

9. Does not know

If the elections were held today, would you definitely vote for, probably vote for, not sure you would vote for or against, probably vote against or definitely vote against...?

	Definitely vote for	Probably vote for	Not sure whether for or against	Probably vote against	Definitely vote against	Does not know
50. Alliance for Change	1	2	3	4	5	9
51. SPS	1	2	3	4	5	9
52. SRP	1	2	3	4	5	9
53. SRM	1	2	3	4	5	9

Now I shall read to you some of the goals that can be set before the future leader of Serbia and Yugoslavia. Please tell me, for each of them, how important it is for you on the scale from 1 to 5, where 1 means that it is not important at all, and 5 very important.

	Not important at all	Slightly important	Neither important or unimportant	Mostly important	Very important	DK
54. Boosting of economy and improvement of standard of living of people in Serbia	1	2	3	4	5	9
55. Reintegration of Serbia into Europe and world	1	2	3	4	5	9
56. Montenegro remaining in FRY	1	2	3	4	5	9
57. Protecting Serbs in Kosovo and Metohija	1	2	3	4	5	9
58. Lifting economic sanctions	1	2	3	4	5	9
59. Rebuilding Serbia after the bombing	1	2	3	4	5	9
60. Fighting corruption	1	2	3	4	5	9
61. Fighting crime	1	2	3	4	5	9
62. Ending emigration of the young from Serbia into foreign countries	1	2	3	4	5	9

Now I shall read you some of the goals that can be set before political parties in Serbia. Please tell me which one of the following parties, in your estimate, would be the most successful in fulfilling each of these goals.

(Show Card PARTIES FOR GOALS)

63. Boosting of economy and improvement of standard of living of people in Serbia _____ 9. DK
64. Montenegro remaining in FRY _____ 9. DK
65. Protecting Serbs in Kosovo and Metohija _____ 9. DK
66. Reintegration of Serbia into Europe and world _____ 9. DK
67. Lifting economic sanctions _____ 9. DK
68. Rebuilding Serbia after the bombing _____ 9. DK
69. Fighting corruption _____ 9. DK
70. Fighting crime _____ 9. DK
71. Ending emigration of the young from Serbia into foreign countries _____ 9. DK
72. Which of the following problems is the most important to be solved for you personally – unemployment, small salaries or inflation?

1. Unemployment 2. Small salaries 3. Inflation 9. Does not know

73. What is the thing you like best about the opposition in Serbia? _____ 9. Does not know

74. What is the thing you like least about the opposition in Serbia? _____ 9. Does not know

75. Which of the following claims reflects best your attitude towards the Alliance for Change?

1. I support the Alliance for Change and I will vote for it
2. I am not completely convinced that I should support the Alliance for Change, but I will definitely think about that
3. I am not that against the Alliance for Change, but I will not vote for it
4. I do not support the Alliance for Change and I will not vote for it

76. Would you rather vote only for Alliance for Change or for the coalition of Alliance for Change and SRM?

1. For AFC
2. For coalition AFC-SRM
3. Other
4. Would not vote
9. Does not know

77. And who would you rather vote for – for the Alliance for Change or the coalition of united opposition composed of Alliance for Change, Serbian Renewal Movement, and other oppositional parties and organizations?

1. For AFC
2. For united opposition
3. Other
4. Would not vote
9. Does not know

78. Some people think that we need united opposition - composed of Alliance for Change, Serbian Renewal Movement, and other oppositional parties and organizations – that can stand up to Milosevic's regime, uniting the force of many with the aim of change. Do you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree or completely disagree with this?

1. Completely agrees
2. Mostly agrees
3. Mostly disagrees
4. Completely disagrees
9. Does not know

79. Would you rather vote only for SRM or for a coalition of SRM and AFC?

1. For SRM
2. For coalition SRM-AFC
3. Other
4. Would not vote
9. Does not know

Now I shall read to you several claims about the opposition leaders in Serbia. Please tell me, for each of them, whether you strongly agree with it, you somewhat agree with it, you somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with it.

	Strongly agrees	Somewhat agrees	Somewhat disagrees	Strongly disagrees	Does not know
80. Opposition leaders spend so much time fighting among themselves that they do not manage to achieve the results they could achieve otherwise	1	2	3	4	9
81. After years of mutual fights, opposition leaders finally unite to stand up to Milosevic's regime	1	2	3	4	9
82. They are the traitors of this country	1	2	3	4	9
83. They are the losers who missed their chance	1	2	3	4	9

84. Some people think that Alliance for Change is a successful unified opposition group-coalition which has finally succeeded in unifying the opposition and starting the joint fight against government. Others think that it is as shaky as coalition "Zajedno" was and that it will fall apart as the latter fell apart in 1997. Which of these two opinions is closer to yours?

1. Alliance for Change is a successful unified opposition group
2. Alliance for Change is a shaky coalition and it will fall apart
9. Does not know

85. There were at least 100,000 people in the opposition rally in Belgrade on April 14th. Some people say that this rally was a crucial point for opposition and that it has finally united. Others think that it was an exception and that the opposition will not stay united. Which of these two opinions is closer to yours?

1. Belgrade rally was a crucial point for opposition
2. It was an exception; the opposition will not stay united
9. Does not know

86. If opposition organized protest rallies in the future, how likely is it that you would take part in them – very likely, likely, unlikely or very unlikely?

1. Very likely
2. Likely
3. Unlikely
4. Very unlikely
9. Does not know

87. Out of the following ways in which opposition parties approach the voters, which one is the best, in your opinion?

1. Organizing public protests and rallies
2. Organizing meetings in public communities
3. Home visits and conversation with you and your family
4. TV commercials
5. Other
6. Not interested in opposition parties
9. Does not know

88. Some people believe that Alliance for Change, if it rose into power, would avenge on some public officials. Do you completely believe this, mostly believe, mostly don't believe or do not believe it at all?

1. Completely believes 2. Mostly believes 3. Mostly doesn't believe 4. Does not believe at all 9. Does not know

89. Some people think that it is a bad thing that AFC does not have a strong leader who could lead it, organize and represent it. Others think that it is a good thing because that demonstrates that it is a true coalition of parties that work together, and not only an instrument for satisfying the vanity of an individual. Which of these two opinions is closer to yours?

1. It is bad that AFC does not have one strong leader 2. It is good that AFC does not have one strong leader
9. Does not know

90. Did you vote in the elections for Serbian Parliament in 1997? Which party or a coalition did you vote for?

- | | | | |
|------------|-----------------|---------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. SPS-YUL | 2. SRP | 3. SRM | 4. Other party or coalition |
| 5. Boycott | 6. Did not vote | 7. No right to vote | 9. Does not know, does not remember |

(Show the Card "THE BEST LEADER")

91-92. Out of the following persons, who would you choose first to run the country?

_____ 15. Other (who) _____ 16. None 99. Does not know

(Show Card "CLAIMS IN FAVOUR OF THE ALLIANCE FOR CHANGE") **Here is the list of some claims that can be heard in favour of the Alliance for Change. Please tell me, for each of them, whether it makes your support of the Alliance for Change much more likely, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely or much less likely.**

93. Serbia should once again be a proud country where people can live with dignity. It assumes the country where people have enough to eat, the country where people can find jobs, where prices are stable and economy strong enough that young people can create their future here. Alliance for Change can help create such a country.

1. Much more likely 2. Somewhat more likely 3. Somewhat less likely 4. Much less likely 9. Does not know

94. Owing to good relations with the West, Alliance for Change could provide international support and money for rebuilding the country. Alliance will be able to provide lifting of international economic sanctions and to procure international financial aid for opening new hobs, economic development and salary raises.

1. Much more likely 2. Somewhat more likely 3. Somewhat less likely 4. Much less likely 9. Does not know

95. Alliance for Change is a united and strong organization, capable for joint fight for the future of Serbia. It includes 40 parties and organizations starting from the left to the right centre. They are trustworthy, capable of running the country and organized around several simple democratic ideas and goals. After many years, opposition is finally united and by acting together, they can help the recovery of our country.

1. Much more likely 2. Somewhat more likely 3. Somewhat less likely 4. Much less likely 9. Does not know

96. Alliance for Change will make Serbia secure, healthy and stable again, so our children will grow with us and stay here instead of going away. Only by building a stable country can we keep young people here with us.

1. Much more likely 2. Somewhat more likely 3. Somewhat less likely 4. Much less likely 9. Does not know

97. With Dragoslav Avramovic, one of the leaders of the AFC, dinar will become a strong and stable currency once again and the prices will stabilize. Once again we will be able to plan our own income and expenses, economy will be reformed and modernized, and banks will become the place where we save money without the fear that we will be robbed.

1. Much more likely 2. Somewhat more likely 3. Somewhat less likely 4. Much less likely 9. Does not know

98. Alliance for Change will fight corruption on all levels – preventing political influence upon courts and demanding honest and responsible actions from all state authorities. There will be no special privileges for some people or groups anymore.

1. Much more likely 2. Somewhat more likely 3. Somewhat less likely 4. Much less likely 9. Does not know

99. Alliance for Change is the strongest political organization in the country – the only one capable of defeating the regime of SPS and Milosevic and bring about the changes that are vital.

1. Much more likely 2. Somewhat more likely 3. Somewhat less likely 4. Much less likely 9. Does not know

100. Serbia needs to find the way to get back to Europe. We were isolated from the main courses of social, social and economic progress so long that in this moment it is most important for us to find the way for building stable relations with our neighbours, Europe and the world. Alliance for Change can provide the experts who can make us part of the world again.

1. Much more likely 2. Somewhat more likely 3. Somewhat less likely 4. Much less likely 9. Does not know

101. Let us assume that the elections were held today, and that the coalition SPS-YUL, Alliance for Change, Serbian Renewal Movement and Serbian Radical Party participated. Who would you vote for?

1. SPS-YUL 2. Alliance for Change 3. SRM 4. SRP 5. Would not vote 9. Does not know

(Show Card "CLAIMS AGAINST THE ALLIANCE FOR CHANGE") **Here is the list of some claims that can be heard against the Alliance for Change. Please tell me, for each of them, whether it makes your opposition to the Alliance for Change much more likely, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely or much less likely.**

102. Alliance for change is just a group of spent politicians who had their chance and did not use it. Why would we trust them?

1. Much more likely 2. Somewhat more likely 3. Somewhat less likely 4. Much less likely 9. Does not know

103. The problem with the opposition is that people who lead it are too focused upon themselves and their own ambitions to be capable of being a good challenge to Milosevic, and they surely would never be capable to rule efficiently. Take a look at Djindjic and Draskovic – they will never be on good terms and that is the reason why they cannot defeat Milosevic.

1. Much more likely 2. Somewhat more likely 3. Somewhat less likely 4. Much less likely 9. Does not know

104. The problem with the Alliance for Change is that its leaders do not have any experience in ruling the country. In this key moment of our history it would be too dangerous to leave the country to people who had not previously proven themselves.

1. Much more likely 2. Somewhat more likely 3. Somewhat less likely 4. Much less likely 9. Does not know

105. Let us assume that the elections were held today, and that the coalition SPS-YUL, Alliance for Change, Serbian Renewal Movement and Serbian Radical Party participated. Who would you vote for?

1. SPS-YUL 2. AFC 3. SRM 4. SRP 5. Would not vote 9. Does not know

(Show Card "CLAIMS AGAINST SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC") **Here is the list of some claims that can be heard against Slobodan Milosevic. Please tell me, for each of them, whether it makes your opposing to Milosevic much more likely, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely or much less likely.**

106. As the result of Milosevic's policy, one third of Yugoslavs is unemployed, the salaries and pensions have decreased by 40 percent this year and millions of Serbs are poor and hungry. Domestic economy is devastated, and many young people leave the country because they are unable to make ends meet.

1. Much more likely 2. Somewhat more likely 3. Somewhat less likely 4. Much less likely 9. Does not know

107. Under Milosevic, Serbia has become detested in the world. Economic sanctions are killing us, and the relations with Western Europe are at the lowest level. Many countries consider Milosevic a war criminal who should be tried in The Hague. What we need is to reintegrate into world, and the only way to do that is without Milosevic.

1. Much more likely 2. Somewhat more likely 3. Somewhat less likely 4. Much less likely 9. Does not know

108. Milosevic has always put his political interests above the interests of the people. He placed his friends in the Government and provided special privileges for them, while the rest of the country is suffering. Over and over again he gambled with our future for the sake of his own benefit in politics, and we are the losers.

1. Much more likely 2. Somewhat more likely 3. Somewhat less likely 4. Much less likely 9. Does not know

109. Ever since 1990 up to now many educated young people have left the country because of Milosevic's policy.

We cannot afford that. Fighting should end now and these young people should return so that they can help the recovery of the country for the next generation. That would be the Serbia we could be proud of.

1. Much more likely 2. Somewhat more likely 3. Somewhat less likely 4. Much less likely 9. Does not know

110. With Milosevic, Serbia is a loser. During the ten years he had lost all wars, and in the end Kosovo as well. Hasn't he done enough damage? Isn't it time for change?

1. Much more likely 2. Somewhat more likely 3. Somewhat less likely 4. Much less likely 9. Does not know

111. Let us assume that the elections were held today, and that the coalition SPS-YUL, Alliance for Change, Serbian Renewal Movement and Serbian Radical Party participated. Who would you vote for?

1. SPS-YUL 2. AFC 3. SRM 4. SRP 5. Would not vote 9. Does not know

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION!

Question 46-47.

Card PARTIES

01. Alliance for Change
02. Yugoslav United Left
03. Serbian Radical Party
04. Serbian Renewal Movement
05. Socialist Party of Serbia
06. Socialdemocracy
07. Civic Alliance of Serbia
08. Democratic Alternative
09. Democratic Party
10. Democratic Party of Serbia
11. New Democracy
12. Alliance of Democratic Parties
13. Coalition Vojvodina
14. Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians
15. Democratic Association of Vojvodina Hungarians
16. Party of Democratic Action

Question 63-71.

Card PARTIES FOR GOALS

1. Alliance for Change
2. Socialist Party of Serbia
3. Serbian Renewal Movement
4. Serbian Radical Party

Question 91-92.

Card THE BEST LEADER

01. Slobodan Milosevic
02. Milo Djukanovic
03. Vojislav Seselj
04. Vuk Draskovic
05. Zoran Djindjic
06. Milan Panic
07. Momcilo Perisic
08. Dragoslav Avramovic
09. Vuk Obradovic
10. Zarko Korac
11. Jozef Kasa
12. Vojislav Kostunica
13. Goran Svilanovic
14. Nebojsa Covic
15. Other

Card CLAIMS IN FAVOUR OF THE ALLIANCE FOR CHANGE

93. Serbia should once again be a proud country where people can live with dignity. It assumes the country where people have enough to eat, the country where people can find jobs, where prices are stable and economy strong enough that young people can create their future here. Alliance for Change can help create such a country.

94. Owing to good relations with the West, Alliance for Change could provide international support and money for rebuilding the country. Alliance will be able to provide lifting of international economic sanctions and to procure international financial aid for opening new hobs, economic development and salary raises.

95. Alliance for Change is a united and strong organization, capable for joint fight for the future of Serbia. It includes 40 parties and organizations starting from the left to the right centre. They are trustworthy, capable of running the country and organized around several simple democratic ideas and goals. After many years, opposition is finally united and by acting together, they can help the recovery of our country.

96. Alliance for Change will make Serbia secure, healthy and stable again, so our children will grow with us and stay here instead of going away. Only by building a stable country can we keep young people here with us.

97. With Dragoslav Avramovic, one of the leaders of the AFC, dinar will become a strong and stable currency once again and the prices will stabilize. Once again we will be able to plan our own income and expenses, economy will be reformed and modernized, and banks will become the place where we save money without the fear that we will be robbed.

98. Alliance for Change will fight corruption on all levels – preventing political influence upon courts and demanding honest and responsible actions from all state authorities. There will be no special privileges for some people or groups anymore.

99. Alliance for Change is the strongest political organization in the country – the only one capable of defeating the regime of SPS and Milosevic and bring about the changes that are vital.

100. Serbia needs to find the way to get back to Europe. We were isolated from the main courses of social, social and economic progress so long that in this moment it is most important for us to find the way for building stable relations with our neighbours, Europe and the world. Alliance for Change can provide the experts who can make us part of the world again.

Questions 102-104.

Card CLAIMS AGAINST THE ALLIANCE FOR CHANGE

102. Alliance for change is just a group of spent politicians who had their chance and did not use it. Why would we trust them?

103. The problem with the opposition is that people who lead it are too focused upon themselves and their own ambitions to be capable of being a good challenge to Milosevic, and they surely would never be capable to rule efficiently. Take a look at Djindjic and Draskovic – they will never be on good terms and that is the reason why they cannot defeat Milosevic.

104. The problem with the Alliance for Change is that its leaders do not have any experience in ruling the country. In this key moment of our history it would be too dangerous to leave the country to people who had not previously proven themselves.

Card CLAIMS AGAINST SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC

106. As the result of Milosevic's policy, one third of Yugoslavs is unemployed, the salaries and pensions have decreased by 40 percent this year and millions of Serbs are poor and hungry. Domestic economy is devastated, and many young people leave the country because they are unable to make ends meet.

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108. Milosevic has always put his political interests above the interests of the people. He placed his friends in the Government and provided special privileges for them, while the rest of the country is suffering. Over and over again he gambled with our future for the sake of his own benefit in politics, and we are the losers.

109. Ever since 1990 up to now many educated young people have left the country because of Milosevic's policy. We cannot afford that. Fighting should end now and these young people should return so that they can help the recovery of the country for the next generation. That would be the Serbia we could be proud of.

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