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**Post-Election Study - Presidential Elections Serbia
2000**

Survey JMS-155/0011

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

PUBLIC OPINION OF SERBIA 2000/18

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 level of your education?

1. Incomplete primary school
2. Primary school (eight grades)
3. Three years of Secondary school (craft
4. Secondary school (four years)
5. College education
6. University / academy degree

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. Albanian |
| 4. Croat | 8. Roma |
| | 9. Other nationality (Record): _____ |

14. How many members are there in your household, including yourself? _____

15. What was the total income of your household last month, including salaries, pensions, motherhood and child allowances, income out of agriculture and similar?

_____ dinars 9. Does not know

Now we would like to proceed with the conversation itself.

16. Did you vote in the federal election held on 24th September?

1. Yes 2. No 3. Does not want to answer

(If 1 to Q16) **17. What presidential candidate did you vote for?**

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. For SRP candidate Tomislav Nikolic | 5. For the Affirmative Party candidate M. Vidojkovic |
| 2. For SPS-UYL candidate Slobodan Milosevic | 6. Does not know, does not want to answer |
| 3. For SRM candidate Vojislav Mihajlovic | 0. QNA |
| 4. For DOS candidate Vojislav Kostunica | |

(If 1 to Q16) **18. Which party or a coalition did you vote for?**

1. For DOS 2. For SPS-UYL 3. For SRP 4. For SRM 5. Other party

6. Does not know, does not want to answer

0. QNA

19. In your opinion, are things in Serbia getting better or worse since Vojislav Kostunica became the president of the FRY?

1. Better

2. Worse

3. Does not know

Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with...

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	DK
20. Standard of living in your household	1	2	3
21. Future prospects for you personally or your family	1	2	3
22. Political situation in Serbia	1	2	3
23. Economic situation in Serbia	1	2	3
24. International relations	1	2	3
25. International position of Yugoslavia	1	2	3
26. Amount and rate of arrival of international help	1	2	3

27. How would you estimate the present financial state of your household?

1. Very bad

2. Mostly bad

3. Neither bad nor good

4. Mostly good

5. Very good

6. Indecisive, cannot estimate

28. In your estimate, what would be the financial state of your household in a year's time?

1. Much better

2. Somewhat better

3. The same as now

4. Somewhat worse

5. Much worse

6. Does not know

I would like you to tell me, for each of the institutions I am going to read to you, whether you trust it completely, trust it mostly, mostly don't trust it or do not trust it at all.

	Trusts it completely	Trusts it mostly	Mostly do not trust it	Does not trust it at all	Indecisive
29. FRY President	1	2	3	4	5
30. The Federal Assembly	1	2	3	4	5
31. The Federal Government	1	2	3	4	5
32. Serbian President	1	2	3	4	5
33. Temporary Serbian Government	1	2	3	4	5
34. Yugoslav Army	1	2	3	4	5
35. Police	1	2	3	4	5
36. Judicial system	1	2	3	4	5
37. Serbian Orthodox Church	1	2	3	4	5
38. G17 plus	1	2	3	4	5
39. The Resistance	1	2	3	4	5
40. Media	1	2	3	4	5
41. Syndicates	1	2	3	4	5
42. Non-governmental organizations	1	2	3	4	5
43. UN	1	2	3	4	5
44. OSCE	1	2	3	4	5
45. The European Union	1	2	3	4	5
46. NATO	1	2	3	4	5

And now, please tell me whether your opinion of these politicians is very positive, mostly positive, mostly negative or very negative?

	Very positive	Mostly positive	Mostly negative	Very negative	Indecisive
47. Vojislav Kostunica	1	2	3	4	5
48. Slobodan Milošević	1	2	3	4	5
49. Mirjana Markovic	1	2	3	4	5
50. Milan Milutinovic	1	2	3	4	5

51. Vuk Draskovic	1	2	3	4	5
52. Zoran Djindjic	1	2	3	4	5
53. Vojislav Seselj	1	2	3	4	5
54. Vuk Obradovic	1	2	3	4	5
55. Nebojša Covic	1	2	3	4	5
56. Vladan Batic	1	2	3	4	5
57. Dragoljub Micunovic	1	2	3	4	5
58. Goran Svilanovic	1	2	3	4	5
59. Milan St. Protic	1	2	3	4	5
60. Dušan Mihailovic	1	2	3	4	5
61. Velimir - Velja Ilic	1	2	3	4	5
62. Zoran Zivkovic	1	2	3	4	5
63. Momcilo Perisic	1	2	3	4	5
64. Mladian Dinkic	1	2	3	4	5
65. Miroljub Labus	1	2	3	4	5
66. Zarko Korac	1	2	3	4	5
67. Milomir Minic	1	2	3	4	5
68. Nenad Canak	1	2	3	4	5
69. Dragan Veselinov	1	2	3	4	5
70. Jozef Kasa	1	2	3	4	5
71. Rasim Ljajic	1	2	3	4	5
72. Vesna Pesic	1	2	3	4	5
73. Neboisa Pavkovic	1	2	3	4	5
74. Mile Isakov	1	2	3	4	5
75. Momcilo Trajkovic	1	2	3	4	5
76. Zoran Lilic	1	2	3	4	5
77. Milorad Vucelic	1	2	3	4	5
78. Borivoje Borovic	1	2	3	4	5
79. Milo Diukanovic	1	2	3	4	5
80. Momir Bulatovic	1	2	3	4	5
81. Zoran Zizic	1	2	3	4	5
82. Predrag Bulatovic	1	2	3	4	5

83-84. Which politician do you personally trust most?

01. No one 02. Indecisive

85. What do you regard as the greatest achievement of the DOS after the elections in September?

9. Does not know

86. And what was your greatest disappointment in the DOS? 9. Does not know

87. What do you regard as the greatest achievement of Vojislav Kostunica as the President of the FRY?

9. Does not know

88. And what is your greatest disappointment in Vojislav Kostunica?

9. Does not know

89. Serbian citizens complain about the increase of prices, electricity reductions and shortage of basic goods after the elections. In your opinion, who is more to blame about these problems-the new or the old regime in Serbia?

1. The new regime 2. The old regime 3. Both 4. Does not know

90. In your opinion, should the new government be given a certain amount of time to solve the accumulated problems or it has already shown its incompetence?

1. The new government needs time 2. It has already shown its incompetence 3. Does not know

91. Do you expect mass protests, strikes and demonstrations in the following year?

1. Yes 2. No 3. Cannot estimate

Now we would like to proceed with some questions about foreign policy.

According to your opinion, should Yugoslavia aspire towards being admitted to

...	Yes	No	DK
92. The European Union	1	2	3
93. The Partnership for Peace	1	2	3

94. NATO

1

2

3

95. Is it better to rely on the EU or the USA as far as the cooperation with West is concerned?

1. On the EU 2. On the USA

3. We should not rely on West at all

4. Does not know

How do you estimate the initiative of the Yugoslav Government to reestablish the diplomatic relations with ...

	Favourably	Not favourably	DK
96. The USA	1	2	3
97. Great Britain	1	2	3
98. France	1	2	3
99. Germany	1	2	3

100. In your opinion, what was the primary aim of the international aid so far?

1. To help Yugoslav citizens bear difficulties and shortages in an easier way 2. To strengthen the new government 3. To realize the interests and goals of the countries providing help 4. Does not know

101. The international community demands from the FRY to extradite to the Hague Tribunal its citizens charged with the crimes in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo and Metohija. In your opinion, what would be the best thing to do out of the following?

1. To meet the demands of the international community
2. After the investigation conducted in Serbia, we should extradite only those for whom we have the proof of being war criminals
3. Yugoslav judicial system should try war criminals
4. Those people are patriots and should not be tried at all
5. Something else: _____
6. Does not know

Now we shall proceed with part of the conversation about the relations between Serbia and Montenegro and Kosovo and Metohija.

102. In your opinion, how should Serbia and Montenegro arrange their mutual relations?

1. Present constitutional solution is good and should not be changed
2. The Federation should be rearranged so that both republics become completely equal
3. The alliance of independent states (confederation) should be formed
4. Serbia and Montenegro should be completely autonomous and independent
5. Other: _____

6. DK

103. Do you think that there should be the referendum in Serbia regarding the organization of relations between Serbia and Montenegro?

1. Yes

2. No

3. Does not know

104. If this referendum about the rearrangement of mutual relations between Serbia and Montenegro were held tomorrow, would you vote? What would you vote for?

1. For joint state 2. For two independent states

3. Indecisive

105. If Serbia and Montenegro stayed in the federation, would you rather call it Yugoslavia or Serbia and Montenegro?

1. Yugoslavia

2. Serbia and Montenegro

3. Other: _____

4. Indecisive

106. In your opinion, what is the best permanent solution for Kosovo and Metohija?

1. Formation of the autonomous state, independent or merged with Albania
2. Republic within Yugoslavia
3. Division into Serbian and Albanian part
4. High degree of autonomy within Serbia
5. Return, even by using force, to the status before the war
6. Other: _____

7. Does not know

107. Do you think that the coming into power of the DOS would contribute to the more favourable solution of the status of Kosovo as far as Serbia is concerned?

1. Yes, completely

2. Only partially

3. It would not contribute at all

4. Does not know

108. Which kind of help, in your estimate, is most necessary to the Serbs and other endangered non-Albanian communities in Kosovo and Metohija?

1. Military aid

2. Humanitarian aid

3. Diplomatic aid

4. Moral support

5. The greatest help would be if Belgrade stopped holding out false hopes to them

6. Other: _____ 7. Does not know

Now we would like to ask you some questions about political parties and coalitions and elections.

I will read you the names of certain parties and coalitions. Would you please tell me, for each of them, whether you have heard of it, and if you have heard, whether you are leaning towards it very much, mostly, mostly not leaning towards it or not leaning towards it at all.

	Has not heard	Leaning towards it very much	Leaning towards it mostly	Mostly not leaning towards it	Not leaning towards it at all	DK
109. Democratic Opposition of Serbia (DOS)	1	2	3	4	5	6
110. Socialist Party of Serbia	1	2	3	4	5	6
111. Democratic Party (DP)	1	2	3	4	5	6
112. Democratic Party of Serbia (DPS)	1	2	3	4	5	6
113. Demochristian Party of Serbia (DCPS)	1	2	3	4	5	6
114. Citizen's Alliance of Serbia (CAS)	1	2	3	4	5	6
115. Socialdemocracy (SD)	1	2	3	4	5	6
116. Democratic Alternative (DA)	1	2	3	4	5	6
117. New Democracy (ND)	1	2	3	4	5	6
118. The Alliance for Democratic Serbia (AFDS)	1	2	3	4	5	6
119. Democratic Centre (DC)	1	2	3	4	5	6
120. Socialdemocratic Union (SDU)	1	2	3	4	5	6
121. New Serbia (NS)	1	2	3	4	5	6
122. The United Yugoslav Left (UYL)	1	2	3	4	5	6
123. Serbian Radical Party (SRP)	1	2	3	4	5	6
124. Serbian Renewal Movement (SRM)	1	2	3	4	5	6

125. Are you going to vote in the republic elections on 23rd December? Which party or a coalition are you going to vote for?

Voting for: _____

01. Not going to vote 02. Indecisive whether to vote

03. Voting, but indecisive for whom

(If going to vote for a particular party or a coalition) **126. Are you sure you are going to vote for that party or a coalition, or is it possible you are going to change your mind?**

1. Sure 2. Possible to change his mind 3. Does not know 0. QNA

127. Some people think that the DOS was successful because it had gathered all of those who confronted Milosevic. Now when the old regime is ousted, they think that the DOS will fall apart. Do you agree with these opinions or not?

1. Agrees

2. Disagrees

3. Does not know

128. In your opinion, what is the best option of the following?

1. DOS should participate in the elections as a unique coalition

2. Smaller coalitions should be formed out of the DOS members

3. The DOS parties should take part in the elections independently

4. Does not know

129. Is it realistic to expect the DOS to divide into two political groups – one led by the DPS and the other led by the DP?

1. Yes 2. No 3. Cannot estimate

(Show Card PARTIES AND COALITIONS) **130. In case that the DOS splits into these two political groups, which party or a coalition would you vote for in the upcoming elections?**

Voting for: _____

1. Would not vote 2. Indecisive whether to vote

3. Voting, indecisive for whom

(Show Card PARTIES) **131-132. If the eighteen parties which make up the DOS decided to take part in the upcoming elections independently, which party would you vote for in that case?**

Voting for: _____

1. Would not vote 2. Indecisive whether to vote

3. Voting, indecisive for whom

133. After the defeat of Slobodan Milosevic in the presidential election, many members and voters abandoned the SPS. Do you think that, notwithstanding this, the SPS can regain the support it used to have among the voters or Serbia?

1. It can regain the support 2. It cannot regain the support 3. Does not know

134. Do you think it is justified to proclaim the early elections for President of Serbia?

1. Yes 2. No 3. Does not know

135-136. Which politician would you most like to see as the future Serbian President, assuming that Vojislav Kostunica remained the President of Yugoslavia? _____

01. Does not know

137. If the DOS won the republican elections on 23rd December, would you be pro or against Zoran Djindjic as the Prime Minister of the new Serbian Government? 1. Pro 2. Against 3. Does not know

138. In your opinion, is Mladjan Dinkic the right person for the position of the Governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia? 1. Yes 2. No 3. Does not know

139. Do you think that there is a serious conflict between Vojislav Kostunica and Zoran Djindjic which can significantly reduce the number of votes for the DOS in the upcoming elections? 1. Yes 2. No

3. Does not know

140. In the case of open conflict between Vojislav Kostunica and Zoran Djindjic, to which one of them would you personally give your support? 1. V. Kostunica 2. Z. Djindjic 3. None 4. Does not know

I shall read a few statements to you now. Would you please tell me, for each of them, whether you agree with it or not.

	Agree s	Disagree es	DK
141. Temporary management is an attempt of the DOS to take over the rule over factories illegally	1	2	3
142. Electricity reductions and latest rise in prices are an attempt of the old regime to provoke dissatisfaction	1	2	3
143. Difficulties in establishing the new regime show the level of DOS's incompetence	1	2	3
144. Negotiations of the DOS with the SPS and SNP of Montenegro are necessary in order to provide a peaceful shift of power on all levels and prevent the robbery of state capital	1	2	3
145. The state will not have the means to protect the most endangered ones in market-economy which makes social differences deeper	1	2	3
146. Rising of the DOS to power in Serbia would contribute to the improvement of the position of national minorities	1	2	3
147. The changes after 5th October made people feel safer and liberated	1	2	3

In the end, just a few more questions about media.

148-149. Taking into account all sources of information about the political events in the world and our country, which of these do you personally trust most? Would you please state just one source – one newspaper or one radio or TV station, person, organization, etc.

01. Does not inform about politics 02. Does not trust any source 03. Does not know

150. Many people were very dissatisfied with the manner in which the state-owned media presented the opposition before the September elections. Now there are those who think that the state-owned media are biased toward the new regime, and present SPS, SRP and UYL in a non-objective manner. Which of the following opinions is closest to your own?

1. State-owned media are more objective now than before the elections
2. Nothing important has changed, state-owned media still support the government

3. State-owned media are less objective now than before the elections

4. Other: _____

5. Does not know

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION

Card PARTIES

- 04.** Serbian Radical Party (SRP) – Vojislav Seselj
- 05.** Serbian Renewal Movement (SRM) – Vuk Draskovic
- 06.** Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) – Slobodan Milosevic
- 07.** Democratic Party (DP) – Zoran Djindjic
- 08.** Democratic Party of Serbia (DPS) – Vojislav Kostunica
- 09.** Citizen's Alliance of Serbia (CAS)- Goran Svilanovic
- 10.** Demochristian Party of Serbia (DCPS) – Vladan Batic
- 11.** Socialdemocracy (SD) – Vuk Obradovic
- 12.** New Serbia – Velimir Ilic and Milan St. Protic
- 13.** Democratic Alternative (DA) – Nebojsa Covic
- 14.** Democratic Centre (DC)-Dragoljub Micunovic
- 15.** New Democracy (ND) – Dusan Mihajlovic
- 16.** Socialdemocratic Union (SDU) – Zarko Korac
- 17.** Movement for Democratic Serbia (MDS) – Momcilo Perisic
- 18.** Reformational Democratic Party of Vojvodina (RDPV) – Mile Isakov
- 19.** League of Socialdemocrats of Vojvodina (LSDV) – Nenad Canak
- 20.** Coalition "Sumadija" – Branislav Kovacevic
- 21.** Coalition "Vojvodina" – Dragan Veselinov
- 22.** Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians (AVH) – Jozef Kasa
- 23.** Party of Democratic Action (PDA) – Sulejman Ugljanin
- 24.** Coalition "Sandzak" – Rasim Ljajic
- 25.** Serbian Socialdemocratic Party (SSDP) – Zoran Lilic
- 26.** Democratic Socialist Party of Serbia (DSPS) – Milorad Vucelic
- 27.** National Party "Justice" (NPJ) – Borivoje Borovic
- 28.** Other parties

Question 130

Card PARTIES AND COLAITIONS

4. Serbian Radical Party (SRP) – Vojislav Seselj

5. Serbian Renewal Movement (SRM) – Vuk Draskovic

6. Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) – Slobodan Milosevic

7. Democratic Party (DP) – Zoran Djindjic and its coalition parties

8. Democratic Party of Serbia (DPS) – Vojislav Kostunica and its coalition parties

9. Other parties

