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Election Study Serbia 2001

Survey JMS-167/0107

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

PUBLIC OPINION OF SERBIA 2001/8

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. Gender: 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. What is your ethnic background/nationality?

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

12-13. Are you employed currently and what is your occupation?

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| 01. Farmer or housewife in a farmer's household | 06. Pupil, student |
| 02. Unskilled or half-skilled worker | 07. Housewife |
| 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 |

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

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

_____ dinars 1. Has no income 9. Does not know

16. Would you describe yourself as a religious person?

1. Religious 2. Both yes and no, does not know 3. Not religious 4. Against religion

Now we would like to proceed with the conversation itself.

17. Which one of the following belongings is the most important for you, for your feeling of who you are, for your identity?

1. The belongings to the place or the region where you live 3. To Serbia 5. To Europe
2. To Vojvodina or some region in Serbia 4. To Yugoslavia 6. Does not know

18. And which of the following you consider as the most important?

1. To generation 3. To nation 5. To party
2. To profession 4. To religion 6. Does not know

In your opinion, have Yugoslavia, Serbia and Montenegro been led in right or wrong direction?

	Right direction	Wrong direction	Does not know
19. Yugoslavia	1	2	3
20. Serbia	1	2	3
21. Montenegro	1	2	3

22. Do you think that people live better, the same or worse than in S. Milosevic's time?

1. Better 2. The same 3. Worse 4. Cannot estimate

On the whole, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with...	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Does not know, indecisive
23. International position of our country	1	2	3
24. Your personal standard of living	1	2	3
25. Republic authorities	1	2	3
26. Scope and fastness of the coming of international aid	1	2	3
27. Political situation in Serbia	1	2	3
28. Behavior and honesty of citizens	1	2	3
29. Future of yourself and of your children	1	2	3
30. Inter-ethnic relations in Serbia	1	2	3
31. Citizens' rights and liberties	1	2	3
32. Economic situation in Serbia	1	2	3
33. Development of democracy in Serbia	1	2	3
34. Objectivity of media	1	2	3
35. Changes in our society after the shift of regime	1	2	3
36. Measures that federal and republic organs take in Southern Serbia	1	2	3
37. Solving of the problem of Kosovo and Metohija	1	2	3
38. Relations between Serbia and Montenegro	1	2	3
39. The fight of our State against crime and corruption	1	2	3
40. The fight of our State against inflation	1	2	3

41. Are you interested in politics? On the whole, would you say that you are...

1. Very interested in politics 3. Mostly disinterested
2. Mostly interested 4. Completely disinterested

42. How do you estimate your acquaintance with politics? Would you say that you are...

1. Well informed 2. Commonly informed 3. A little informed 4. Not in the least informed

43-44. Out of all the sources of information you use in order to get informed about political events in our country and the world, which one you personally trust most? Please tell us of only one source – one daily or periodical paper, one radio or television station, one person, group, organization or some other source.

01. Doesn't get informed about politics 02. None 03. Does not know

45. When it comes to political believes, parties and people are often lined up to the left, to the center, or to the right. Where would you line up yourself?

1. To the left 2. Somewhere between the left and the center 3. To the center
4. Somewhere between the center and the right 5. To the right 6. Does not know

46. Are you personally inclined towards seeing the President of Republic as the head of Serbia, or the king, or you do not mind?

1. President of Republic 2. King 3. All the same 4. Does not know

I shall read to you several statements. For each one of them tell me, please, whether you agree or disagree with it. Yes No DK

47. Serbia is for Serbs only	1	2	3
48. Unification of all Serbs from the territories of former Yugoslavia will be realized sooner or later.	1	2	3
49. Kosovo and Metohija are lost for Serbia	1	2	3
50. Introducing the religious instruction into schools will contribute to the spiritual renaissance of our nation	1	2	3
51. New, young persons are needed to be leaders of political parties	1	2	3

52. It is not possible to preserve the joint state of Serbia and Montenegro	1	2	3
53. It is better to be poor than to be well-off thanks to foreign aid and meddling	1	2	3
54. Obedience and respect of authority are the most important features a child is supposed to learn	1	2	3
55. After each change things become worse than they used to be	1	2	3
56. One should be cautious and reserved toward other nations all the time, even when they are our friends	1	2	3
57. Whether we admit it or not, the sense of life is to acquire a material wealth.	1	2	3
58. There is no economic progress without strong central power	1	2	3
59. The first and the most important task of a good citizen is to be a patriot	1	2	3
60. In principle, new ideas are better than the old ones	1	2	3
61. A part of DOS chairmanship is taking over the power in Serbia and the control over all important functions	1	2	3
62. Democratic opposition of Serbia should make maximal concessions to SNP in order to preserve Yugoslavia	1	2	3

We would like to know your opinion about some institutions. 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 doesn't trust it	No trust at all	DK, indecisive
63. President of FRY	1	2	3	4	5
64. Federal Parliament	1	2	3	4	5
65. Federal Government	1	2	3	4	5
66. President of Serbia	1	2	3	4	5
67. Parliament of Serbia	1	2	3	4	5
68. Serbian Government	1	2	3	4	5
69. Democratic Opposition of Serbia(DOS)	1	2	3	4	5
70. Democratic Party of Serbia (DPS)	1	2	3	4	5
71. Democratic Party (DP)	1	2	3	4	5
72. Civic Alliance of Serbia (CAS)	1	2	3	4	5
73. New Serbia (NS)	1	2	3	4	5
74. Movement for Democratic Serbia (MDS)	1	2	3	4	5
75. League of Social-democrats of Vojvodina (LSDV)	1	2	3	4	5
76. Association of Vojvodina Hungarians (AVH)	1	2	3	4	5
77. Socialistic Party of Serbia (SPS)	1	2	3	4	5
78. Serbian Radical Party (SRP)	1	2	3	4	5
79. Party of Serbian Unity (PSU)	1	2	3	4	5
80. Serbian Renewal Movement (SRM)	1	2	3	4	5
81. Army of Yugoslavia	1	2	3	4	5
82. Police	1	2	3	4	5
83. Judicial system	1	2	3	4	5
84. Education system	1	2	3	4	5
85. Health system	1	2	3	4	5
86. Social services	1	2	3	4	5
87. Media	1	2	3	4	5
88. State-owned enterprises	1	2	3	4	5
89. Private enterprises	1	2	3	4	5
90. Trade-unions	1	2	3	4	5
91. Chambers of commerce	1	2	3	4	5
92. Domestic banks	1	2	3	4	5
93. Foreign banks	1	2	3	4	5

94. Non-governmental organizations	1	2	3	4	5
95. Serbian Orthodox church	1	2	3	4	5
96. Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts	1	2	3	4	5
97. OSCE	1	2	3	4	5
98. European Union	1	2	3	4	5
99. United Nations	1	2	3	4	5
100. NATO	1	2	3	4	5
101. Partnership for Peace	1	2	3	4	5
102. The Hague Tribunal	1	2	3	4	5

103-104. Which of these institutions do you trust most? _____ 01. None 02. Does not know

105-106. And which do you trust least? _____ 01. Does not know

107. People have different attitudes toward authorities. Which one of the following statements corresponds mostly to your own opinion?

1. Authorities should be respected no matter what they are like, because order is better than chaos
2. Authorities should be respected only when they act in the interest of people, otherwise they should be changed, even by force
3. All authorities act in their own interest only, and therefore do not deserve any respect
4. Authorities should be respected only insofar as one has personal benefit from them
5. Does not know

(Show Card OBJECTIONS TO NEW GOVERNMENT)

108-109. What do you object mostly to the new authorities in Serbia? (Only one answer) _____

09. Other: _____ 10. Does not know

Do you personally approve or disapprove of...

	Approves	Disapproves	Indecisive
110. Sale of the best companies to the foreigners at the real prices	1	2	3
111. Change of the tax system	1	2	3
112. Opening up of our market to foreign goods (lowering the custom duties)	1	2	3
113. Announced general privatization in Serbia in the next 3-4 years	1	2	3
114. Closing down of unprofitable companies at a cost of dismissal of workers	1	2	3
115. Giving concessions to foreigners (for mines, highways etc)	1	2	3
116. Hiring foreign managers and advisers in domestic economy	1	2	3
117. Protection of domestic agriculture by subventions from the state budget	1	2	3

What do you think about the possible outbreak of protests, conflicts, demonstrations, strikes, etc. in Serbia in the next six months? Would you say it is certain, probable, slightly probable or improbable, due to...

	Certain	Probable	Slightly probable	Improbable	DK
118. Political reasons	1	2	3	4	5
119. Economic reasons	1	2	3	4	5

I shall read to you the names of some politicians now. Please, tell me for each one of them whether you have heard of him, and if you have, what is your opinion about him: very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable or very unfavorable.

	Unfamiliar	Very favorable	Mostly favorable	Mostly unfavorable	Very unfavorable	Does not know
120. Vojislav Kostunica	1	2	3	4	5	6
121. Zoran Djindjic	1	2	3	4	5	6
122. Goran Svilanovic	1	2	3	4	5	6
123. Nebojsa Covic	1	2	3	4	5	6
124. Miroljub Labus	1	2	3	4	5	6
125. Dragoljub Micunovic	1	2	3	4	5	6
126. Dragan Marsicanin	1	2	3	4	5	6
127. Vladan Batic	1	2	3	4	5	6
128. Dusan Mihailovic	1	2	3	4	5	6
129. Zarko Korac	1	2	3	4	5	6

130. Momcilo Perisic	1	2	3	4	5	6
131. Zoran Šami	1	2	3	4	5	6
132. Zoran Zivkovic	1	2	3	4	5	6
133. Ceda Jovanovic	1	2	3	4	5	6
134. Aleksandar Pravdic	1	2	3	4	5	6
135. Bozidar Djelic	1	2	3	4	5	6
136. Obren Joksimovic	1	2	3	4	5	6
137. Aleksandar Vlahovic	1	2	3	4	5	6
138. Velimir - Velja Ilic	1	2	3	4	5	6
139. Vuk Obradovic	1	2	3	4	5	6
140. Aleksandar Popovic	1	2	3	4	5	6
141. Mladjan Dinkic	1	2	3	4	5	6
142. Slobodan Milosevic	1	2	3	4	5	6
143. Vojislav Šeselj	1	2	3	4	5	6
144. Borislav Pelevic	1	2	3	4	5	6
145. Ivica Dacic	1	2	3	4	5	6
146. Branislav Ivkovic	1	2	3	4	5	6
147. Slobodan Vuksanovic	1	2	3	4	5	6
148. Milo Djukanovic	1	2	3	4	5	6
149. Predrag Bulatovic	1	2	3	4	5	6
150. Dragan Šoc	1	2	3	4	5	6
151. Nebojša Pavkovic	1	2	3	4	5	6
152. Patriarch Pavle	1	2	3	4	5	6
153. Crown-prince Aleksandar	1	2	3	4	5	6

154-155. Which politician do you personally trust most?

_____ 01. None → Q 158 02. Does not know → Q 158

156-157. And after him, who is the next politician you trust most?

_____ 01. None 02. Does not know 00. QNA

Now I shall ask you some questions about political parties in Serbia and their leaders.

I am going to read to you the names of some political parties, and you try to line them up to the left, somewhere between the left and the center, to the center, somewhere between the center and the right, or to the right.

	Left	Between left and centre	Centre	Between right and centre	Right	Does not know
158. Democratic Party of Serbia (DPS)	1	2	3	4	5	6
159. Democratic Party (DP)	1	2	3	4	5	6
160. Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS)	1	2	3	4	5	6
161. Serbian Radical Party (SRP)	1	2	3	4	5	6
162. Party of Serbian Unity (PSU)	1	2	3	4	5	6
163. Serbian Renewal Movement (SRM)	1	2	3	4	5	6
164. Civic Alliance of Serbia (CAS)	1	2	3	4	5	6
165. Nova Serbia (NS)	1	2	3	4	5	6
166. Movement for Democratic Serbia (MDS)	1	2	3	4	5	6
167. League of Social-democrats of Vojvodina (LSDV)	1	2	3	4	5	6

(Show Card PARTY CHARACTERISTICS) People attribute different characteristics to political parties. Please tell me, which of the characteristics that I'm going to read you would attribute to which one of these political parties? (You can mark only one party for each characteristic)

	DOS	DPS	DP	SPS	SRP	PSU	SRM	Other	Does not know
168. Ability to run the state	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
169. Firm support of followers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

170. Good party leaders	1	2 ⁶	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
171. Patriotism	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
172. Reputation of the party and its leaders in the world	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
173. Readiness for mutual agreement with others	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
174. Consistency	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
175. Honesty and respect of laws	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
176. Closeness to people	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
177. The wealth of the party and its leader	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
178. Efficient organization	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
179. Resoluteness in carrying out the policy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
180. Independence in conducting the policy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

(Show Card PARTIES' ABILITY TO SOLVE PROBLEMS) In your opinion, which political party would be the best one for solving the following problems in our society? (Only one party for each problem)

	DOS	DPS	DP	SPS	SRP	PSU	SRM	Other	Does not know
181. Providing foreign loans	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
182. Return of Kosovo and Metohija to Serbia and FRY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
183. Economic reforms and economic development	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
184. Improvement of citizens' standard of living	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
185. Preservation of the community of Serbia and Montenegro	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
186. Securing of the regular payment of salaries and pensions	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
187. Solving the unemployment problem	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
188. Development of democracy and respect of civil rights and liberties	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
189. Fight against crime and corruption	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
190. Normalization of the relations with former Yugoslav republics and protection of Serbs living in them	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

(Show Card CHARACTERISTICS 1)

191-192. In your opinion, which one of the following characteristics is the most important for a successful political leader in Serbia and Yugoslavia today? _____ 14. Does not know

(Show Card CHARACTERISTICS 2) Now I shall read to you names of some politicians. For each one of them tell me, please, which two of these characteristics could be attributed to him. (Record the number of the characteristic from the Card)

	I characteristic	II characteristic	Does not know
193-194. Vojislav Kostunica			27
195-196. Zoran Djindjic			27
197-198. Nebojsa Covic			27
199-200. Velimir - Velja Ilic			27
201-202. Vojislav Seselj			27
203-204. Borislav Pelevic			27
205-206. Ivica Dacic			27

Now we shall proceed with questions regarding elections.

207. Did you vote at the federal presidential elections held on September 24th? For which presidential candidate did you vote? 1. Did not vote 2. Does not know, does not want to answer 3. For S. Milosevic 4. For V. Kostunica

5. For T. Nikolic 6. For V. Mihailovic 7. For M. Vidojkovic 8. Did not have the right to vote

208. Did you vote in the elections for the Serbian parliament in December 2000? For which political party or coalition did you vote then?

1. Did not vote 2. Does not know, does not want to answer 3. SPS-YUL 4. SRP 5. SRM
6. PSU 7. DOS 8. Other party (which): _____ 9. Did not have the right to vote

Taking into account the development of political situation and latest events in Yugoslavia, are you for or against scheduling of the new parliamentary elections?

	For	Against	Does not know
209. Federal elections	1	2	3
210. Republic elections	1	2	3

211. If the elections for Serbian parliament were held tomorrow, would you vote? How probable is it that you would vote?

1. Definitely voting 2. Very probable 3. Possible 4. Not likely 5. Definitely not going to vote 6. Does not know

212. If the elections were held tomorrow, and Democratic Opposition of Serbia participated in them with a united list, for which political party or coalition would you vote?

1. Would not vote 2. Indecisive whether to vote or not 3. Indecisive for which party to vote 4. For DOS 5. For SPS
6. For SRP 7. For PSU 8. For SRM 9. Other party (which): _____

(If a party/coalition is stated, 4 -9 to 212) **213. Would you definitely vote for this political party/coalition, or it is possible that you change your mind?**

1. Definitely 2. Possible to change his mind 3. DK 0. QNA

(If 2 and 3 to P 212) **214- 215. Between which two parties/ coalitions can't you decide?**

01. DOS - SPS 02. DOS - SRP 03. DOS - PSU 04. DOS - SRM 05. DOS - Other
06. SPS - SRP 07. SPS - PSU 08. SPS - SRM 09. SPS - Other 10. SRP - PSU
11. SRP - SRM 12. SRP - Other 13. PSU - SRM 14. PSU - Other 15. SPO - Other
16. Does not know 00. QNA

216. Some people think that Democratic Opposition of Serbia should remain a united coalition. Others think that it is time for this coalition to break apart and that each party acts independently and participates in the elections separately. Which of these opinions is closer to your own?

1. DOS should remain united 2. It is time for DOS to break apart 3. Does not know

(Show Card PARTIES) **217-218. Let us suppose that the elections for the Serbian Parliament were held tomorrow, and that 18 political parties that make up Democratic Opposition of Serbia decided to participate in the elections separately, so that you have the following choice. Would you vote? For which party would you vote?**

- Voting for _____ 01. Would not vote
02. Indecisive whether to vote 03. Indecisive who to vote for 25. Other party

(If party is stated 04 - 25 in 217-218) **219-220. Is there any other party for which you might vote?**

- There is (which): _____ 01. There is none 02. Does not know 00. QNA

(If 01, 02 and 03 to 217-218) **221-222. Is there still some party for which you might vote?**

- There is (which): _____ 01. There is none 02. Does not know 00. QNA

223-224. Let us suppose now that Democratic Party of Serbia leaves the coalition Democratic Opposition of Serbia and participates in the elections independently. Would you vote in that case? For which political party or coalition would you vote?

01. Would not vote 02. Indecisive whether to vote or not 03. Indecisive for which party to vote
04. DOS 05. DPS 06. SPS 07. SRP 08. PSU 09. SRM
10. Other party (which): _____

225-226. If three groups were created from Democratic opposition of Serbia – one around Democratic Party of Serbia, the second around Democratic Party and the third one formed by Vojvodina parties (League of Social-democrats of Vojvodina, Reformist Democratic Party of Vojvodina, Association of Vojvodina Hungarians), would you vote in these elections? For which party or group would you vote?

01. Would not vote 02. Indecisive whether to vote or not 03. Indecisive for which party to vote
04. For group around DPS 05. For group around DP 06. For group of Vojvodina parties
07. For SPS 08. For SRP 09. For PSU 10. For SRM 11. For other party (which): _____

227-228. If DPS participates in the elections in coalition with New Serbia, against all other member parties of Democratic Opposition of Serbia, would you vote in these elections? For which party or group would you vote?

01. Would not vote 02. Indecisive whether to vote or not 03. Indecisive for which party to vote
04. For DPS - NS 05. For the remainder of DOS 06. For SPS
07. For SRP 08. For PSU 09. For SRM

10. For other party (which): _____

229-230. If Democratic Party of Serbia participates in the elections in coalition with Movement for Democratic Serbia, against all other member parties of Democratic Opposition of Serbia, would you vote in these elections?

For which party or group would you vote?

01. Would not vote 02. Indecisive whether to vote or not 03. Indecisive for which party to vote
 04. For DPS – MDS 05. For the remainder of DOS 06. For SPS
 07. For SRP 08. For PSU 09. For SRM
 10. For other party (which): _____

231-232. Let us assume now that Democratic Party of Serbia participated in the elections in coalition with New Serbia and Movement for Democratic Serbia, against all other member parties of Democratic Opposition of Serbia, would you vote in these elections? For which party or group would you vote?

01. Would not vote 02. Indecisive whether to vote or not 03. Indecisive for which party to vote
 04. For DPS – NS - MDS 05. For the remainder of DOS 06. For SPS
 07. For SRP 08. For PSU 09. For SRM
 10. For other party (which): _____

233-234. The elections for the president of Serbia should be held this year. Whom would you like to see on this place, except V. Kostunica, who is the president of FRY? _____ 01. Does not know

There are different opinions about whether V. Kostunica should run for the president of Serbia, and under what conditions. I shall read to you some of them, and you will tell me whether you agree or disagree with each one of them.

	Agrees	Disagrees	Does not know
235. V. Kostunica should run for the president of Serbia only if Yugoslavia fell apart before that	1	2	3
236. V. Kostunica should run for the president of Serbia in any case, because this function is more important than the function of the President of Yugoslavia	1	2	3
237. If Yugoslavia falls apart, V. Kostunica should not run for the president of Serbia because he hadn't achieved his main political goal – to preserve Yugoslavia	1	2	3
238. V. Kostunica should not run for the president of Serbia because there are better candidates for this function	1	2	3

Let us suppose that the following candidates took part in the elections for the president of Serbia. Would you vote? For which candidate would you vote?

239. 1. Z. Djindjic 2. V. Ilic 3. V. Draskovic 4. B. Pelevic 5.V. Seselj 6. I. Dacic 7. Would not vote
 8. Does not know
240. 1. N. Covic 2. V. Ilic 3. V. Draskovic 4. B. Pelevic 5.V. Seselj 6. I. Dacic 7. Would not vote
 8. Does not know
241. 1. M. Labus 2. V. Ilic 3. V. Draskovic 4. B. Pelevic 5.V. Seselj 6. I. Dacic 7. Would not vote
 8. Does not know
242. 1. V. Kostunica 2. V. Draskovic 3. B. Pelevic 4.V. Seselj 5. I. Dacic 6. Would not vote
 7. Does not know

243. If only two candidates participated in presidential elections - Z. Djindjic and V. Kostunica, would you vote? For which candidate would you vote? 1. For Z. Djindjic 2. For V. Kostunica 3. Would not vote
 4. Does not know

(Show Card WAYS OF INFORMING) **244. Political parties use different ways to notify the voters of their programs and to win them over to vote for them. Which one of the following ways suits you personally?**

_____ 8. Other (what): _____ 9. Does not know, not interested in politics

Now we would like to proceed with the questions about Kosovo and Metohija, Vojvodina, relations between Serbia and Montenegro, international relations.

245. International community prepares elections in Kosovo and Metohija in the fall. In your opinion, should Serbs participate in these elections or not? 1. They should 2. They should not 3. Does not know, indecisive

246. In your opinion, which one of the following options is the best solution for Kosovo and Metohija?

1. Creation of an independent state, autonomous or joined to Albania
 2. Republic within Yugoslavia 5. Return to the pre-war status, even by force
 3. Division into the Serbian part and Albanian part 6. Something else: _____

4. High level of autonomy within Serbia

7. Does not know

247. In your opinion, which one of the following options is the best status for Vojvodina? Would you say that...

1. Autonomy should be abolished 2. Present autonomy is sufficient 3. Autonomy should be broadened
4. Vojvodina should have the status of republic 5. Something else: _____ 6. Does not know

248. What do you think about the future relations of Montenegro and Serbia? Would you say that....

1. Joint state is the best solution for Serbia and Montenegro
2. It is better for both Serbia and Montenegro to be independent states
3. It is better for Serbia to be an independent state
4. It is better for Montenegro to be an independent state
5. Indecisive

249. In your opinion, should citizens of Serbia declare themselves at the referendum about the future relations of Serbia and Montenegro, or they shouldn't do so? 1. Yes 2. No 3. Does not know

250. If at the referendum about relations of Serbia and Montenegro decision were made that they would be one joint state, or two autonomous and independent states, would you vote? For which of these two options would you vote?

1. For Federation – one single state of Montenegro and Serbia 3. Would not vote
2. For two independent, autonomous and internationally recognized states 4. Indecisive, does not know

251. In your opinion, who should negotiate about the future relations of Serbia and Montenegro?

1. Government of Serbia, Government of Montenegro and federal organs
2. Government of Serbia and Government of Montenegro
3. DOS and Democratic Party of Socialists
4. DOS and Socialist National Party 5. Other(who): _____ 6. Does not know

252. You probably know that Donors' Conference took place recently and financial aid to Yugoslavia was agreed upon. In your judgement, can the results of Donors' conference be seen as...

1. Successful for our country 2. Partly successful 3. Unsuccessful 4. Does not know

253. At the Donors' conference Yugoslavia has got greater financial aid than expected. To whom would you personally attribute the greatest merit for this success?

1. To V. Kostunica 2. To Z. Djindjic 3. To M. Labus 4. To G. Svilanovic 5. To all 6. To others (who) _____
7. Does not know

254. Do you expect that international financial aid will be wholly used for the revival of economy and raising the citizens' standard of living or its greatest part will be grabbed by those close to authorities?

1. Will be used for the revival of economy and raising the standard
2. The great part of it will be grabbed by those close to authorities 3. Does not know

255. There are different opinions about the delivery of Slobodan Milosevic to The Hague Tribunal. What do you think?

1. In spite of all, delivery of Slobodan Milosevic is good for our country
2. Delivery was not done properly, but it was inevitable sooner or later
3. Delivery should have been delayed till the passing of necessary regulations
4. S. Milosevic should not have been delivered to The Hague Tribunal at all 5. Does not know

Do you believe that Yugoslavia should strive to be admitted into the following organizations, or not?

	Should strive	Should not strive	Does not know
256. European Union	1	2	3
257. NATO	1	2	3
258. Partnership for peace	1	2	3

259. Several mass graves were found very recently, supposedly with bodies of murdered people from Kosovo and Metohija in them. Do you believe that these were the victims of war crimes that the regime of Slobodan Milosevic had tried to hide?

1. Believes 2. Does not believe 3. Does not know

260. After V. Kostunica had won the elections for the President of Yugoslavia, his party and he himself became very popular. Do you think that Democratic Party of Serbia should get more state functions and have bigger influence on the politics carried out by Democratic Opposition of Serbia or not?

1. Yes 2. No 3. Does not know

261. The public talks about the conflict between V. Kostunica and Z. Djindjic. What do you think about it?

1. V. Kostunica and Z. Djindjic should do their best to overcome their conflicts in the interests of Serbia
2. It is time for V. Kostunica and Z. Djindjic to split
3. There is no serious conflict between V. Kostunica and Z. Djindjic

4. Does not know

262. In your opinion, which of the following three problems should be solved first?

- 1. State problem (relationship with Montenegro, Kosovo, the frontiers of Serbia...)
- 2. Economic development and citizens' standard
- 3. Development of democracy
- 4. Other (what): _____

5. Does not know

263. What do you think, what is more important – the rights of people as members of nations, or the rights of people as citizens, or you think that both are equally important?

- 1. Rights of people as members of nations
- 2. Rights of people as citizens
- 3. Equally important
- 4. Does not know

(Show card DPS) **264-265. When Democratic party of Serbia (DPS) is mentioned, which of the following options comes first to your mind?**

14. None of these

15. Does not know

266. In the end, tell me if you know the first and the last name of a DPS official or activist in the place you live in?

First and last name:

	Right	Wrong	Does not know
_____	1	2	3
_____	1	2	3
_____	1	2	3

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION!

Card WAYS OF INFORMING

1. Party activists and candidates pay home visits
2. Meetings with party activists and candidates in residents' organizations or some other places
3. Written materials, party newspapers and bulletins sent to home addresses by mail
4. Regular informing via TV, press and radio
5. Special shows on TV and radio in which parties present their programs and goals
6. TV duels of parties and candidates, confrontations, round tables etc.
7. Large promotional rallies in which party leaders speak

Card OBJECTIONS TO NEW GOVERNMENT

01. They promised one thing, and do something quite different

02. Disunity of the leaders

03. Inefficient work

04. They do not care for the difficult situation of citizens

05. Poor management of personnel policy

06. Fight for leading positions

07. They do the same things as former authorities

08. Yielding to international community

Card PARTY CHARACTERISTICS

Ability to run the state	DOS
Firm support of followers	DPS
Good party leaders	DP
Patriotism	SPS
Reputation of the party and its leaders in the world	SRP
Readiness for mutual agreement with others	PSU
Consistency	SRM
Honesty and respect of laws	Other party
Closeness to people	
The wealth of the party and its leader	
Efficient organization	
Resoluteness in carrying out the policy	
Independence in conducting the policy	

Card PARTIES' ABILITY TO SOLVE PROBLEMS

Providing foreign loans	DOS
Return of Kosovo and Metohija to Serbia and FRY	DSS
Economic reforms and economic development	DP
Improvement of citizens' standard of living	SPS
Preservation of the community of Serbia and Montenegro	SRP
Securing of the regular payment of salaries and pensions	PSU
Solving the unemployment problem	SRM
Development of democracy and respect of civil rights and liberties	Other party
Fight against crime and corruption	
Normalization of the relations with former Yugoslav republics	

Card CHARACTERISTICS 1

01. Competent

02. Honest

03. Consistent

04. Tolerant

05. Democrat

06. Good orator

07. Handsome, good-looking

08. Understanding

09. Patriot

10. Has a good reputation in world

11. Promising

12. Assertive

13. Optimist

Card CHARACTERISTICS 2

01. Capable	02. Incapable
03. Honest	04. Dishonest
05. Consistent	06. Inconsistent
07. Tolerant	08. Intolerant
09. Democrat	10. Autocrat
11. Good orator	12. Bad orator
13. Handsome, good-looking	14. Repulsive
15. Understands people	16. Callous
17. Patriot	18. Traitor
19. Has reputation in world	20. No reputation in the world
21. Promising	22. Non-promising
23. Assertive	24. Mild
25. Optimist	26. Pessimist

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. Party of Serbian Unity (PSU) – B. Pelevic
08. Democratic Party (DP) – Zoran Djindjic
09. Democratic Party of Serbia (DPS) – Vojislav Kostunica
10. Civic Alliance of Serbia (CAS) – Goran Svilanovic
11. Demochristian Party of Serbia (DCPS) – Vladan Batic
12. Social-democracy (SD) – V. Obradovic
13. New Serbia – Velimir Ilic
14. Democratic Alternative (DA) – Nebojsa Covic
15. Democratic Center (DC) – Dragoljub Micunovic
16. New Democracy (ND) – Dusan Mihajlovic
17. Social-democratic Union (SDU) – Zarko Korac
18. Movement for Democratic Serbia (MDS) – Momcilo Perisic
19. Reformist Democratic Party of Vojvodina (RDPV) – Mile Isakov
20. League of Social-democrats of Vojvodina (LSDV) – Nenad Canak
21. Coalition "Sumadija" - Branislav Kovacevic
22. Coalition "Vojvodina" – Dragan Veselinov
23. Association of Vojvodina Hungarians (AVH) – Jozef Kasa
24. Party of Democratic Action (PDA) – Sulejman Ugljanin

Questions 264-265

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Card DPS**01. Patriotism****02. Tradition****03. Orthodox faith****04. Monarchy****05. The rule of law****06. Anti-communism****07. Being democratic****08. Economic development****09. Emphasis upon Serbian nationality****10. The preservation of the state****11. Openness to the world****12. Honesty****13. Dignity of Serbia**