

**ZA-Archiv Nummer 2910**

## **Yugoslav Public Opinion 1995**

**ZA-No.: 2910**

**Survey JJM-128/1995**

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Questionnaire No: \_\_\_\_\_  
Point \_\_\_\_\_  
Settlement type: \_\_\_\_\_  
Region: \_\_\_\_\_  
Election unit: \_\_\_\_\_  
Area: \_\_\_\_\_  
Republic /Province \_\_\_\_\_

## **Yugoslav Public Opinion 1995**

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 other we examine opinions and attitudes of citizens about most important problems our society is facing. The aim of the poll is to establish the determination of the public in regard to political and economic issues, troubles, crisis, sanctions, political parties, government, etc. Exact establishing of public attitudes enables problems in our country to be solved more successfully and helps citizens to be informed about the determination of the public in various 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 cooperation.

**14-15. Place and day** \_\_\_\_\_ **Signature of the interviewer:** \_\_\_\_\_

**16. Sex:** 1. Male 2. Female

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

**17-19. How old are you?** \_\_\_\_\_

**20-21. How many years of formal schooling (education) have you completed?** \_\_\_\_\_

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

- |                                    |  |
|------------------------------------|--|
| 1. No school or incomplete primary | 5. Jounior College                       |
| 2. Primary school (8 grades)       | 6. University or Academy                 |
| 3. Vocational training school      | 7. Specialization, M.A. or Ph. D. degree |
| 4. High school                     |  |

**23-24. What is your occupation?**

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

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

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

**26. Would you say for yourself that you are 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 |

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**27. Which language do you speak most at home? (If more than one): Which language is used most?**

- |              |                                   |
|--------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Serbian   | 4. Croatian                       |
| 2. Albanian  | 5. Other language (record): _____ |
| 3. Hungarian |                                   |

**28-29. Do you understand any other languages? Which one ? (Two responses accepted)**

- |              |                   |
|--------------|-------------------|
| 1. Serbian   | 6. English        |
| 2. Albanian  | 7. French         |
| 3. Hungarian | 8. Russian        |
| 4. Croatian  | 9. Other language |
| 5. German    | (Record): _____   |
|              | 0. No             |

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 ...

	<b>30. Radio set</b>	<b>31. TV</b>	<b>32. Video recorder</b>	<b>33. Telephone</b>	<b>34. Computer</b>	<b>35. Car</b>
Yes	1	1	1	1	1	1
No	2	2	2	2	2	2

(If Yes to 35) **36. Does your automobile have a working radio?**

- |        |                   |
|--------|-------------------|
| 1. Yes | 0. QNA (No to 35) |
| 2. No  |                   |

(If Yes to 30) What sort of radio do you have? Do any of your sets that are in working order have...

	Yes	No	DK	QNA
<b>37. Medium waves / AM</b>	1	2	3	0
<b>38. Long waves</b>	1	2	3	0
<b>39. Short waves</b>	1	2	3	0
<b>40. UKW / FM</b>	1	2	3	0

(If Yes to 40): Which UKW (FM) does your radio have?

	Yes	No	DK	QNA
<b>41. Eastern UKW / FM (66-72 MHz)</b>	1	2	3	0
<b>42. Western UKW / FM (87-108 MHz)</b>	1	2	3	0

(If Yes to 31) **43. Does your household have a connection to a cable television system or to a satellite dish, or do you have your own satellite dish?**

- |        |        |
|--------|--------|
| 1. Yes | 3. DK  |
| 2. No  | 0. QNA |

**44. 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. Please tell me how often in the past 3 months, on average, you have...

	6 or 7 times a week	3 - 5 times a week	1 - 2 times a week	Less often but at least once in the past 3 months	Has not used in past 3 months	DK
45. Read newspaper	1	2	3	4	5	6
46. Watched programs of TV Serbia (TV Beograd, Novi Sad, Pristina) and TV Montenegro	1	2	3	4	5	6
47. Watched programs of other TV centers (NTV Studio B, TV Politika, BK, Palma, local TV centers)	1	2	3	4	5	6
48. Watched the international services of any Western TV stations (e.g. Sky, CNN, BBC World Service, MTV, NBC Superchannel, RAI)	1	2	3	4	5	6
49. Listened to programs of Radio Belgrade, Novi Sad, Pristina, Podgorica	1	2	3	4	5	6
50. Listened to Radio B-92	1	2	3	4	5	6
51. Listened to Radio Bum 93	1	2	3	4	5	6
52. Listened to Radio Studio B	1	2	3	4	5	6
53. Listened to Radio Antena M	1	2	3	4	5	6
54. Listened to programs of other local Yugoslav radio stations	1	2	3	4	5	6
55. Listened to Western radio broadcasts	1	2	3	4	5	6
56. Listened to Eastern radio broadcasts (Moscow, Bucharest, Budapest, Sofia, Tirana etc.)	1	2	3	4	5	6

Do you and to what degree do you trust the domestic media?

-	Completely trust	Trust somewhat	Distrust somewhat	Completely distrust	DK	Does not use
57. Domestic radio	1	2	3	4	5	6
58. Domestic press	1	2	3	4	5	6
59. Domestic television	1	2	3	4	5	6

**60-61. When you consider all sources of information about domestic and international developments, which one do you personally trust the most? Please, single out one information source - one particular newspaper, radio station or TV station or some other source.**

Now I will ask you about the names of some radio stations. Please tell me if you recognize their names; it doesn't matter if you have ever listened to these stations. Do you recognize ...

	Recognize	Do not recognize	DK
62. Voice of America	1	2	3
63. Radio Free Europe	1	2	3
64. BBC	1	2	3
65. Radio Bucharest	1	2	3
66. Radio Budapest	1	2	3

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<b>67. Deutsche Welle</b>	1	2	3
<b>68. Radio France Internationale</b>	1	2	3
<b>69. Radio Bulgaria</b>	1	2	3
<b>70. Voice of Russia</b>	1	2	3
<b>71. RAI (Italy)</b>	1	2	3
<b>72. Radio Tirana (Albania)</b>	1	2	3

**73. Do you listen to the radio?**

1. Yes                                      2. No (Skip to question 275)

Next, I would like to ask you some questions about specific stations. (Ask questions for each station, working across the entire page, before going on to the next station. If respondent has never listened to a station (A), do not ask further questions but go on to the next station. If respondent has not listened to a station in the past 12 months (B), do not ask further questions about it, but go on to the next station. If respondent has not listened to a station in the past 3 months (C), do not ask further questions about it, but go on to the next station. Questions D and E ask only for 106-111, 112-117, 118-123, 124-129, 130-135.

Now let's talk about radio. Please read through the times of day listed on this card. At which times do you usually listen to the radio? Please give me all answers that apply. (Show card „Time periods“). Probe: Any others?

(Circle all times respondent mentions. If respondent says „Radio is on all day“, ask „Between what hours is the radio on?“ and circle all codes between those times. If respondent cannot say between what times the radio is on, circle 3 (DK).

<b>74.</b> 0400-0500	1	<b>80.</b> 1000-1100	1	<b>86.</b> 1600-1700	1	<b>92.</b> 2200-2300	1
<b>75.</b> 0500-0600	1	<b>81.</b> 1100-1200	1	<b>87.</b> 1700-1800	1	<b>93.</b> 2300-2400	1
<b>76.</b> 0600-0700	1	<b>82.</b> 1200-1300	1	<b>88.</b> 1800-1900	1	<b>94.</b> 2400-0100	1
<b>77.</b> 0700-0800	1	<b>83.</b> 1300-1400	1	<b>89.</b> 1900-2000	1	<b>95.</b> 0100-0200	1
<b>78.</b> 0800-0900	1	<b>84.</b> 1400-1500	1	<b>90.</b> 2000-2100	1	<b>96.</b> 0200-0300	1
<b>79.</b> 0900-1000	1	<b>85.</b> 1500-1600	1	<b>91.</b> 2100-2200	1	<b>97.</b> 0300-0400	1

2. Does not listen in that period

3. DK

0 Does not listen

	A. Have you ever listened to -----?	B. Have you listened to ----- in the past 12 months?	C. Have you listened to ----- in the past 3 months?	D. How often have you listened to ----- in the past 3 months? (Show list D)					E. When did you first hear a broadcast from ----- during the past 12 months or earlier?			F. Which two types of programming are most important to you in the broadcasts of -----? Show Card F. Mark two responses.							
				6-7 times a week	3-5 times a week	1-2 times a week	Less often	DK	During the last 12 months	Earlier	DK	News about evens in country	Analysis of evens in country	Interna- tional news	Analysis of inter- national events	Programs about life in broad- caster's country	Music	Non political programs	DK
98-101. RAI (Italy)	1. Yes 2. No (102)	Yes No (102)	Yes No (102)	1	2	3	4	5											
102-105. Radio Budapest (Hungary)	1. Yes 2. No (106)	Yes No (106)	Yes No (106)	1	2	3	4	5											
106-111. Radio Free Europe in Serbian	1. Yes 2. No (112)	1. Yes 2. No (112)	1. Yes 2. No (112)	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
112-117. Radio Free Europe in some other lan- guage: -----	1. Yes 2. No (118)	1. Yes 2. No (118)	1. Yes 2. No (118)	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
118-123. Voice of America in Serbian	1. Yes 2. No (124)	1. Yes 2. No (124)	1. Yes 2. No (124)	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
124-129. BBC in Serbian	1. Yes 2. No (130)	1. Yes 2. No (130)	1. Yes 2. No (130)	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
130-135. Radio France Internationale in Serbian	1. Yes 2. No (136)	1. Yes 2. No (136)	1. Yes 2. No (136)	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
136-141. Radio France Inter- nationale in some other language: -----	1. Yes 2. No (142)	1. Yes 2. No (142)	1. Yes 2. No (142)	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
142-147. Deutsche Welle in Serbian	1. Yes 2. No (148)	1. Yes 2. No (148)	1. Yes 2. No (148)	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
148-151. Radio Bulgaria	1. Yes 2. No (152)	1. Yes 2. No (152)	1. Yes 2. No (152)	1	2	3	4	5											
152-155. Radio Russia	1. Yes 2. No (156)	1. Yes 2. No (156)	1. Yes 2. No (156)	1	2	3	4	5											
156-159. Radio Bucharest (Romania)	1. Yes 2. No (160)	1. Yes 2. No (160)	1. Yes 2. No (160)	1	2	3	4	5											
160-163. Voice of America for Europe	1. Yes 2. No (164)	1. Yes 2. No (164)	1. Yes 2. No (164)	1	2	3	4	5											
164-167. Radio Tirana (Albania)	1. Yes 2. No	1. Yes 2. No	1. Yes 2. No	1	2	3	4	5											

(Has respondent listened to radio Free Europe in his language in the last 3 months? Check answers to 106-111 C, 112-117 C. If Yes, go to question 168-194. If No, go to question 195)

When you listen to Radio Free Europe, at what times of day do you usually listen? Please look at this card and tell me all the times at which you listen. (Show Card „Time periods“). Probe: Any others?

168. 0400-0500	1	174. 1000-1100	1	180. 1600-1700	1	186. 2200-2300	1
169. 0500-0600	1	175. 1100-1200	1	181. 1700-1800	1	187. 2300-2400	1
170. 0600-0700	1	176. 1200-1300	1	182. 1800-1900	1	188. 2400-0100	1
171. 0700-0800	1	177. 1300-1400	1	183. 1900-2000	1	189. 0100-0200	1
172. 0800-0900	1	178. 1400-1500	1	184. 2000-2100	1	190. 0200-0300	1
173. 0900-1000	1	179. 1500-1600	1	185. 2100-2200	1	191. 0300-0400	1

2. Does not listen in that period

3. DK

0. QNA

**192. When you have listened to Radio Free Europe, have you mainly...**

1. Listened to its direct short wave broadcasts from the West
2. Listened to its broadcasts as part of those of another local, domestic station
3. Listened to both kinds of broadcasts about equally
4. DK

(If 2 or 3 to 192) **193. On what domestic radio station do you listen to Radio Free Europe?**

\_\_\_\_\_

9. DK

0. QNA

**194. . What waveband do you use most often to listen to Radio Free Europe?**

(Show the Card „Waveband“. One response only)

1. Short waves - SW
2. Medium waves - AM
3. Ultra short waves - FM
4. DK

(Has respondent listened to Voice of America in his language in the last 3 months? Check answers to 118-123 C. If Yes, go to question 195-221. If No, go to question 222)

When you listen to Voice of America, at what times of day do you usually listen? Please look at this card and tell me all the times at which you listen. (Show Card „Time periods“). Probe: Any others?

195. 0400-0500	1	201. 1000-1100	1	207. 1600-1700	1	213. 2200-2300	1
196. 0500-0600	1	202. 1100-1200	1	208. 1700-1800	1	214. 2300-2400	1
197. 0600-0700	1	203. 1200-1300	1	209. 1800-1900	1	215. 2400-0100	1
198. 0700-0800	1	204. 1300-1400	1	210. 1900-2000	1	216. 0100-0200	1
199. 0800-0900	1	205. 1400-1500	1	211. 2000-2100	1	217. 0200-0300	1
200. 0900-1000	1	206. 1500-1600	1	212. 2100-2200	1	218. 0300-0400	1

2. Does not listen in that period

3. DK

0. QNA

**219. When you have listened to Voice of America, have you mainly...**

1. Listened to its direct short wave broadcasts from the West
2. Listened to its broadcasts as part of those of another local, domestic station
3. Listened to both kinds of broadcasts about equally
4. DK

(If 2 or 3 to 219) **220. On what domestic radio station do you listen to Voice of America?**

\_\_\_\_\_

9. DK

0. QNA

**221. What waveband do you use most often to listen to Voice of America?**

(Show the Card „Waveband“. One response only)

1. Short waves - SW
2. Medium waves - AM
3. Ultra short waves - FM
4. DK

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(Has respondent listened to BBC in his language in the last 3 months? Check answers to 124-129 C. If Yes, go to question 222-248. If No, go to question 249)

When you listen to BBC, at what times of day do you usually listen? Please look at this card and tell me all the times at which you listen. (Show Card „Time periods“). Probe: Any others?

222. 0400-0500	1	228. 1000-1100	1	234. 1600-1700	1	240. 2200-2300	1
223. 0500-0600	1	229. 1100-1200	1	235. 1700-1800	1	241. 2300-2400	1
224. 0600-0700	1	230. 1200-1300	1	236. 1800-1900	1	242. 2400-0100	1
225. 0700-0800	1	231. 1300-1400	1	237. 1900-2000	1	243. 0100-0200	1
226. 0800-0900	1	232. 1400-1500	1	238. 2000-2100	1	244. 0200-0300	1
227. 0900-1000	1	233. 1500-1600	1	239. 2100-2200	1	245. 0300-0400	1

2. Does not listen in that period

3. DK

0. QNA

**246. When you have listened to BBC, have you mainly...**

1. Listened to its direct short wave broadcasts from the West
2. Listened to its broadcasts as part of those of another local, domestic station
3. Listened to both kinds of broadcasts about equally
4. DK

(If 2 or 3 to 246) **247. On what domestic radio station do you listen to BBC?**

\_\_\_\_\_

9. DK

0. QNA

**248. What waveband do you use most often to listen to BBC?**

(Show the Card „Waveband“. One response only)

1. Short waves - SW
2. Medium waves - AM
3. Ultra short waves - FM
4. DK

Next, please indicate how much you are interested in the following topics

	Very interested	Somewhat interested	Not interested	QNA
249. Political developments in your local city or region	1	2	3	0
250. Political developments in Yugoslavia	1	2	3	0
251. Political developments in neighboring countries	1	2	3	0
252. International political developments	1	2	3	0
253. Development of a democratic society	1	2	3	0
254. Economic developments in Yugoslavia	1	2	3	0
255. Basics of running a business/practical financial Information	1	2	3	0
256. Functioning of a market economy	1	2	3	0
257. Ethnic minorities in Yugoslavia	1	2	3	0
258. Yugoslavs living in other countries	1	2	3	0
259. Press reviews	1	2	3	0
260. International press reviews	1	2	3	0
261. Science and technology	1	2	3	0
262. Environment/Ecology	1	2	3	0
263. Health and medicine	1	2	3	0
264. Family/youth	1	2	3	0
265. Women's issues	1	2	3	0
266. Farming/agriculture	1	2	3	0
267. Humor/political satire	1	2	3	0
268. Books and writers	1	2	3	0
269. Film	1	2	3	0
270. Theater	1	2	3	0
271. History	1	2	3	0
272. Law and legal issues	1	2	3	0
273. Human rights	1	2	3	0
274. Religion/morality	1	2	3	0



<b>Next questions ask all the respondents.</b>
--

Now we shall talk about political topics.

**275. Generally speaking, about how interested would you say you are in politics? Are you:**

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

**276. How important is it to you to stay informed about political issues? Would you say it is:**

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

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

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

**278. In general, do you feel things in Yugoslavia are going in the right or in the wrong direction?**

- |                    |                       |
|--------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Right direction | 3. Not going anywhere |
| 2. Wrong direction | 4. DK                 |

**279. How do you view the next 12 months to come - with hope, worry, uncertainty or fear?**

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

Now I will ask you about some institutions in our country. For each institution you have a definite opinion on, please tell me whether you have much, some, little or no confidence.

	Much	Some	Little	No	DK
<b>280. Federal Parliament</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>281. Federal Government</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>282. Republic Parliament</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>283. Republic Government</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>284. Army</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>285. Police</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>286. Judiciary</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>287. State media</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>288. Private/independent media</b>	1	2	3	4	5

We are interested as well in your opinions on our politicians. If you have a definite opinion, please tell me for each of the following whether it is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable.

	Very favorable	Mostly favorable	Mostly unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK
<b>289. Zoran Lilic</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>290. Radoje Kontic</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>291. Slobodan Milosevic</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>292. Mirko Marjanovic</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>293. Momir Bulatovic</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>294. Milo Djukanovic</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>295. Vuk Draskovic</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>296. Zoran Djindjic</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>297. Vojislav Seselj</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>298. Vojislav Kostunica</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>299. Dusan Mihajlovic</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>300. Vesna Pesic</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>301. Mira Markovic</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>302. Novak Kilibarda</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>303. Slavko Perovic</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>304. Radovan Karadzic</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>305. Ratko Mladic</b>	1	2	3	4	5

**306-307. Who of our politicians do you personally trust the most?**

01. None

02. DK

We are interested in your opinions on some countries. If you have a definite opinion, please tell me for each I read out whether it is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable or very unfavorable.

	Very favorable	Mostly favorable	Mostly unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK
308. Albania	1	2	3	4	5
309. Bulgaria	1	2	3	4	5
310. France	1	2	3	4	5
311. Greece	1	2	3	4	5
312. Croatia	1	2	3	4	5
313. Hungary	1	2	3	4	5
314. Macedonia	1	2	3	4	5
315. Germany	1	2	3	4	5
316. Romania	1	2	3	4	5
317. Russia	1	2	3	4	5
318. USA	1	2	3	4	5
319. Slovenia	1	2	3	4	5
320. Great Britain	1	2	3	4	5

**321. Comparing Yugoslavia with other countries, would you say it is...**

- |  |                                    |
|--|------------------------------------|
| 1. The best country in the world                 | 4. Worse than many other countries |
| 2. Better than many other countries              | 5. The worst country in the world  |
| 3. Neither better nor worse than other countries | 6. DK                              |

Now I will ask you about different members of nations who live on the territory of present and former Yugoslavia. Please tell me whether your opinion on each of them is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable or very unfavorable

	Very favorable	Mostly favorable	Mostly unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK
322. Serbs	1	2	3	4	5
323. Montenegrins	1	2	3	4	5
324. Muslims	1	2	3	4	5
325. Croats	1	2	3	4	5
326. Macedonians	1	2	3	4	5
327. Slovenes	1	2	3	4	5
328. Albanians	1	2	3	4	5
329. Hungarians	1	2	3	4	5

**330. How satisfied are you with the economic situation in Yugoslavia these days? Are you...**

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

**331. Compared with this time last year, would you say that your personal economic situation is...**

- |                    |                   |
|--------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Much better     | 4. Somewhat worse |
| 2. Somewhat better | 5. Much worse     |
| 3. The same        | 6. DK             |

**332. How satisfied are you with your own standard of living?**

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

**333. In the course of the next 12 months, what do you think will happen to your standard of living? Will it ...**

- |                          |                        |
|--------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Improve a great deal  | 4. Worsen somewhat     |
| 2. Improve somewhat      | 5. Worsen a great deal |
| 3. Remain about the same | 6. DK                  |

**334. Which of the following best reflects your attitude toward the pace of the economic changes taking place in our country?**

- |                |   |
|----------------|---|
| 1. Too fast    | 4. There haven't been any changes (Do not read) |
| 2. Too slow    | 5. DK   |
| 3. Right speed |   |

**335. There is a lot of discussion today about privatization of large and middle-size companies. Do you support or oppose this privatization?**

- |              |       |
|--------------|-------|
| 1. I support | 3. DK |
| 2. I oppose  |       |

(If Yes to 335) **336. In what way, in your opinion, should the privatization be carried out?**

1. Selling of shares on the market to those who offer the most
2. Distribution of shares to all adult citizens
3. Selling of shares to present and former workers at discount prices
4. Combination of various forms of privatization
5. Other (Record): \_\_\_\_\_
6. DK
0. QNA

**337. Which of the following do you favor for our country?**

- |   |                    |
|---|--------------------|
| 1. Market economy                                   | 3. Planned economy |
| 2. Mixed economy (with market and planned elements) | 4. DK              |

**338. How do you evaluate results of the Economic Program of Dragoslav Avramovic? Has it been so far:**

- |                          |                 |
|--------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Completely successful | 3. Unsuccessful |
| 2. Mostly successful     | 4. DK           |

**339. What do you expect from the second part of the Economic Program of Dragoslav Avramovic?**

- |                         |            |
|-------------------------|------------|
| 1. Complete realization | 3. Failure |
| 2. Partial realization  | 4. DK      |

Now I will ask you few questions concerning Bosnia&Herzegovina.

**340. Does, in your opinion, the latest peace plan offer a satisfying solution for Serbs in Bosnia & Herzegovina?**

- |        |       |       |
|--------|-------|-------|
| 1. Yes | 2. No | 3. DK |
|--------|-------|-------|

**341. In comparison with the situation from a year ago, do you personally believe that now we are closer to or further from peace on these territories, particularly in Bosnia & Herzegovina?**

- |  |                          |
|--|--------------------------|
| 1. We are closer to peace than ever before | 4. Other (Record): _____ |
| 2. The situation is similar                | 5. DK                    |
| 3. We are closer to war than before        |                          |

**342. What do you personally expect from a three-side negotiations between Milosevic, Tudjman and Izetbegovic in the USA?**

- |  |                          |
|--|--------------------------|
| 1. A decisive contribution to peace    | 4. Other (Record): _____ |
| 2. Just one of the steps towards peace | 5. DK                    |
| 3. Nothing, nothing significant        |                          |

**343. Who, in your opinion, is the most responsible for everything that Serbs from Republic of Serbian Krajina and from Republic of Srpska had suffered and still suffer? (One response only)**

- |   |                                     |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1. International community (UN)                                       | 6. Leaderships of RSK and RS        |
| 2. Western countries and organizations (EU, NATO, USA, Germany, etc.) | 7. Slobodan Milosevic               |
| 3. Russian government   | 8. Serbs from RSK and RS themselves |
|   | 9. Other (Record): _____            |
| 4. Tudjman and Izetbegovic  | 0. DK                               |
| 5. Croats and Muslims in general                                      |                                     |

**344. What from the following, in your opinion, is the main reason for the loss of Serbian territories in Western Slavonia,**

**Republic of Serbian Krajina and North-West Bosnia and the exodus of the Serbian population?**

1. Military defeat which is to blame on military leaderships from Knin and Pale
2. NATO air strikes on Serbian targets in Bosnia and the open siding of the USA with Croats and Muslims
3. Missing support of Russia to Serbs in Bosnia and Croatia
4. Agreement between Milosevic and Tudjman
5. Pressure from Western powers on Slobodan Milosevic that territories be divided in accordance to the plan of the Contact Group
6. Wrong politics of Karadzic and Pale leadership
7. FRY blockade over Drina border and its passivity towards Serbs in Bosnia and Croatia
8. Other (Record): \_\_\_\_\_
9. DK

**345. What, in your opinion, would be the best for Yugoslavia to do for the refugees?**

1. To accept them as its own citizens and to take care of them
2. To accept and take care of only those who lost their homes, close relatives and property
3. To ensure their return through negotiations with Croats and Muslims, in cooperation with international community
4. Other: \_\_\_\_\_
5. DK

I am interested in some other your opinions concerning the situation in our country.

**346. When, in your opinion, the UN sanctions imposed on Yugoslavia will be lifted completely?**

1. Not in the visible future
2. After 2000. year
3. Between 1997 and 2000
4. During 1996
5. By the end of 1995
6. DK

**347. In your opinion, could a civil war break out in Yugoslavia because of internal conflicts? How probable is this possibility ?**

1. Highly probable
2. Somewhat probable
3. Not very probable
4. Not at all probable
5. DK

**348. 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

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

1. Provinces 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 divided between Yugoslavia and Albania
6. The Province should become an independent state
7. Other (Record): \_\_\_\_\_
8. DK

**350. Can you imagine some form of common life and cooperation between Yugoslavia and Croatia, Slovenia, a Muslim-Croat part of Bosnia & Herzegovina after everything that happened from 1991 up to present?**

1. None
2. The trade only
3. Trade and economic cooperation
4. Customs union
5. Some form of political connection - stronger than customs union ( weak confederation and similar)
6. Under the auspices of EU
7. I believe that we shall again live in a common state
8. Other (Record): \_\_\_\_\_
9. DK

**351. When, if ever, do you think Yugoslavia should become a member of the European Union? Should it become a member....**

- |                      |                                      |
|----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Very soon         | 5. Never                             |
| 2. In 5 year's time  | 6. Never heard of the European Union |
| 3. In 10 year's time | 7. DK                                |
| 4. Later             |                                      |

**352. When, if ever, do you think Yugoslavia should become a member of NATO? Should it become a member...**

- |                      |                        |
|----------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Very soon         | 5. Never               |
| 2. In 5 year's time  | 6. Never heard of NATO |
| 3. In 10 year's time | 7. DK                  |
| 4. Later             |                        |

**353. Have you voted at the previous election for the Republic Parliament? Which party have you voted for?**

\_\_\_\_\_ 1. Has not voted 2. DK

**354. If the elections for the Republic Parliament would be held tomorrow, which party would you vote for?**

\_\_\_\_\_ 1. Will not vote 2. DK

**355. Is there (still) (another) party you feel close to, that you might vote for? Which one?**

\_\_\_\_\_ 1. No

**356. For many people it is difficult to decide what party to vote for. If you personally have some doubts and do not feel always**

**sure about the possible party choice, can you tell me what of the following is the main reason of your uncertainty:**

1. I am not informed enough about the parties
2. There are too many parties, it is difficult to chose
3. None of the parties suits me completely
4. I am disappointed in all parties
5. All the parties are the same, there is no difference among them
6. The parties are inconsistent, they change their orientations all the time
7. I usually do not vote, so it is not important to make up my mind
8. I make up my mind in the last moment - I am such a person
9. I already know what party I'll vote for

**357. In your opinion, did the ruling party (Socialist Party - Democratic Party of Socialists) fulfill the promises they gave**

**during the former election? To what extent ?**

- |                 |               |
|-----------------|---------------|
| 1. A great deal | 3. Not at all |
| 2. Somewhat     | 4. DK         |

Our country is facing a lot of troubles and problems. Can you single out two problems which in your opinion are most important?

**358. I rank :** \_\_\_\_\_ 1. DK

**359. II rank:** \_\_\_\_\_ 2. DK

**360. There are different opinions about socialism. Which one of these is closest to yours?**

1. Our country would have been better off in every aspect if communists had never been in power
2. Socialism had some good aspects but they were exhausted
3. Socialism has future
4. DK

**361. If you were in a position to choose between a safe job providing an elementary level of existence and a job related to risk but also with chances for better earnings and success, what would you choose?**

- |  |       |
|--|-------|
| 1. Safe job  | 3. DK |
| 2. Job which might bring better earnings but connected to risk |       |

(Ask only respondent from Serbia)

Whose interests, in your opinion, do the following parties represent? (Two responses for each party accepted)

	362-363. SPS	364-365. SRP	366-367. SRM	368-369. DS	370-371. DPS
Peasants	1	1	1	1	1
Workers	2	2	2	2	2
Intelligence	3	3	3	3	3
Entrepreneurs	4	4	4	4	4
Pupils and students	5	5	5	5	5
Pensioners	6	6	6	6	6
All citizens	7	7	7	7	7
None, only party leaders	8	8	8	8	8
DK	9	9	9	9	9
QNA	0	0	0	0	0

**372. Do you personally support or oppose the politics of Slobodan Milosevic?**

1. I support                      3. DK  
2. I oppose

Now I will read out some of commitments which might be important for an individual. Please, try to evaluate how much is each of them important to you personally .

	Very important	Mostly important	Neither/nor (un)important	Mostly unimportant	Completely unimportant	QNA
<b>373. Belonging to a place and region where I live</b>	1	2	3	4	5	
<b>374. Belonging to the Province</b>	1	2	3	4	5	0
<b>375. Belonging to the Republic</b>	1	2	3	4	5	
<b>376. Belonging to present Yugoslavia</b>	1	2	3	4	5	
<b>377. Belonging to Europe</b>	1	2	3	4	5	

I am now going to read out some statements. Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each statement:

	Agree strongly	Agree some what	Disagree some what	Disagree strongly	DK
<b>378. Foreign influences are a threat to our culture.</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>379. Foreign conspiracies are responsible for most of our country's problems.</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>380. There should be more American investment in our country.</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>381. Jews have too much influence in our society.</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>382. Foreign investments in Yugoslavia are a threat to our country</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>383. A United States military presence in Europe is necessary for the security of Yugoslavia .</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>384. Individuals, rather than the state, should bear the primary responsibility for their own well-being.</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>385. It should be forbidden to proclaim political views that could harm the state.</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>386. The United States has too much influence over our country's affairs</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>387. The territorial integrity of Yugoslavia must be maintained at all costs.</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>388. On the whole, the breakup of the USSR was a good thing for Yugoslavia.</b>	1	2	3	4	5

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

	Agree strongly 1	Agree some what 2	Disagree some what 3	Disagree strongly 4	DK 5
<b>389. Published materials(books, newspapers, magazines, etc.) should never be banned for political reasons</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>390. 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	4	5
<b>391. Censorship of films and magazines is necessary to uphold moral standards</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>392. The government should control the activities of all radio, television and press</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>393 Private/independent media will always be more objective than state media</b>	1	2	3	4	5

Thank you very much for your patience and cooperation

**COMPLETED BY THE INTERVIEWER**

Please, complete this section as soon as possible after living the respondent's home.

**394. In what language was the interview conducted?**

1. Serbian
2. Albanian
3. Hungarian
4. Croatian
5. Other (Record): \_\_\_\_\_

**395-396. Overall, how did the respondent behave during the interview? (Two responses accepted)**

1. Interested
2. Indifferent
3. Distracted
4. Became tired
5. Other (Record): \_\_\_\_\_

**397. Please note any questions that caused particular difficulties for the respondent:**

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