Public Opinion about Legitimacy of the political System in Serbia 1997
It is important for science to know what people think about important social issues. In order to find this out, it is the best to ask people themselves about their opinions. This is why we are making this survey, using a random sample of 1,500 citizens who represent the population of Serbia. You personally happen to be a part of our sample. We are asking you to take part in this survey by answering the following questions freely and honestly. The participation in the survey is voluntary and your answers are anonymous.

8. Gender (filled up by the interviewer): 1. Male 2. Female

9-10. How old are you? ________________

11. What is your marital status?

12. What is the level of your education?
   1. No school or incomplete primary  2. Complete primary school (8 grades)  3. Three years of secondary school (craft)  4. Gymnasium  5. Some other secondary school (four years)  6. College education or university/academy degree

13. What is your occupation?

14. What is your current employment?

15. What is the level of your father’s education?

16. What is your nationality? ________________

17. In which of the following classes (or strata) would you place yourself and your family?
   1) Higher (upper) class  2) Middle class, but closer to the upper class  3) Middle class, but closer to the lower class  4) Working class  5) Does not know

18. How often do you go to church/ mosque?
   1) Every week  2) Once a month  3) Several times a year  4) Seldom  5) Never

19. Are you proud of being a citizen of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia? If you are, how
much?
1) Not proud at all  2) A little bit proud  3) Considerably proud  4) Very proud  5) Does not know

20. On the whole, are you satisfied with your life?
1) Very dissatisfied  2) Dissatisfied  3) Satisfied  4) Very satisfied  5) Does not know

21. In your opinion, what is the prevalent mood in people you associate with?
1) Worry, fear  5. Readiness to action to overcome the difficulties
2) Indifference, passivity
3) Anger, fury  7. Other (what):_____________________________
4) Despair, helplessness

22. In general, are the things in our country going in the right or wrong direction?
1) In right direction  2) In wrong direction  3) Does not know, does not think about it

23. In what degree did the changes in the period after 1989 meet your expectations?
1) You are disappointed  2) You expected that 3) No specific opinion

24. In your opinion, what will the future of our society be like?
1) Much better than the present – you expect a lot from the future
2) Somewhat better than the present – you do not expect much from the present
3) The same as the present – you do not expect anything from future, neither better nor worse
4) Somewhat worse than the present – you do not expect anything good from the future
5) Much worse than the present – you expect only the worse from future
6) Does not know, does not think about that

25. What do you think of the change of the current situation in the society? What do you support?
1) The rapid and thorough changes, by force if necessary
2) The gradual improvement of the society via reforms
3) The resolute defense of the current situation from all those who would like changes
4) Does not know, did not think about it

26. What do you think about the Yugoslav political system?
1) It functions well
2) It has a lot of flaws, but it still functions
3) It is getting worse and pretty soon it will not function at all
4) Does not know, cannot estimate

27. Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the development of democracy in Yugoslavia?
1) Very dissatisfied  2) Dissatisfied  3) Satisfied  4) Very satisfied  5) Does not think about that

28. Would the situation in Yugoslavia change to the better if the ruling party and the people leading the country changed or the political system should be changed as well?
1) The ruling party and the people leading the country should be changed
2) The political system should be changed
3) Both should be changed
4) Does not know, does not think about that

We would like you to rate on the scale from 1 (one being the worst) to 10 (ten being the best) the following:

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>29-30. Standard of living of your family in the period of socialism</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>31-32. Standard of living of your family today</td>
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<tr>
<td>33-34. Standard of living of your family in five years’ time</td>
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<td>35-36. Economy in the period of socialism</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>37-38. Economy today</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>39-40. Economy in five years’ time</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>41-42 Political system in the period of socialism</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>43-44. Political system today</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Our current system is not the only one this country had ever had. Some people say that it would be better if our country were ruled in different manner. What do you think?

54. It would be best if all power were given to a strong leader who can make decisions quickly  
1) Totally agrees  2) Agrees  3) Indecisive  4) Does not agree  5) Totally disagree

55. Our country should be ruled by the Army  
1) Totally agrees  2) Agrees  3) Indecisive  4) Does not agree  5) Totally disagree

56. The most important decisions should be made by experts, not by the Government and the Parliament  
1) Totally agrees  2) Agrees  3) Indecisive  4) Does not agree  5) Totally disagree

57. Let us assume that the referendum were called where the citizens could decide whether our country should remain a republic or become a monarchy. How would you vote in that referendum?  
1) For republic  2) For monarchy  3) Would not vote  4) Indecisive

58. What is your memory about the period of Tito’s reign?  
1) It was good  2) It was partially good, and partially bad  3) It was bad  4) Does not think about it

59. In your opinion, what is the probability that in the next few years the Parliament will be abolished and the one-party system returned to?  
1) It is highly probable  2) Maybe  3) It is unlikely  4) It is completely impossible  5) Does not know

60. If something like that happened anyway, would you approve it or not?  
1) Approves  2) Not approves  3) Does not know, did not think about it

61. Do you think that the President of the Republic of Serbia has too much or too little power?  
1) He has too much power  2) Neither too much nor too little  3) He has too little power  4) Does not know

62. Who is Serbian Government really responsible to for their work?  
1) The Parliament  2) A few of the highest officials of the Serbian Socialist Party (SPS)  3) Slobodan Milosevic  4) The citizens of Serbia  5) Not responsible to anyone  6) Does not know
I would like you to tell me, for each of the following institutions and services, whether you trust it completely, trust it mostly, mostly don’t trust it or do not trust it at all.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Completely</th>
<th>Mostly</th>
<th>Indecisive</th>
<th>Mostly don’t</th>
<th>Not at all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>63. FEDERAL PARLIAMENT</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>64. FEDERAL GOVERNMENT</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>65. PRESIDENT OF FR YUGOSLAVIA</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>66. POLITICAL PARTIES</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>67. REPUBLIC GOVERNMENT</td>
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<tr>
<td>68. REPUBLIC PARLIAMENT</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>69. PRESIDENT OF SERBIA</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>70. JUDICIAL SYSTEM</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>71. ARMY</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>72. POLICE</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>73. EDUCATION</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>74. CHURCH</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>75. HEALTH CARE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>76. SOCIAL POLICY</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>77. STATE MEDIA</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>78. PRIVATE MEDIA</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>79. OLD TRADE UNIONS</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>80. NEW TRADE UNIONS</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>81. PRIVATE ENTERPRISES</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>82. SERBIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND ARTS</td>
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<td>2</td>
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83. Many people feel insecure for a number of reasons in these tumultuous times. What is the thing that makes you feel most restless? (Only one answer)
1. Constant threats to peace in Serbia and the FRY
2. Job insecurity
3. Insufficient and irregular income, i.e. salary
4. Increasingly more difficult maintenance of normal relations among the family members
5. Increasingly more rare contacts with friends and seclusion of people
6. Rising rate of crime and violence
7. Political crisis and impossibility of reaching an agreement between parties
8. Does not know
9. Does not feel threatened

84. What is better…
1) That there is not a great difference in amount between the salaries OR
2) That people be paid as much as they have earned, notwithstanding the differences
3) Cannot choose

85. What is better…
1) That every individual be responsible for his employment and salary OR
2) That the state takes over the responsibility for economic existence of every individual
3) Cannot choose

86. What is better…
1) That we all have lower salaries so there is no eviction of workers OR
2) That we have good salaries even if that means that some of us lose their job
3) Cannot choose

87. What is better…
1) A secure job, regardless of the salary OR
2) A job where you can earn a lot of money, regardless of the fact that it is insecure
3) Cannot choose
88. What is better...
1) That the citizens pay for medications and medical services OR
2) That the state covers the expenses of medications and medical services
3) Cannot choose

89. In your opinion, what is the next year going to be like for Serbian citizens?
1) Much better than these last couple of years
2) Slightly better
3) The same as these last couple of years
4) Slightly worse than these last couple of years
5) Much worse than these last couple of years
6) Cannot estimate

90. In your opinion, what is your life going to be like in near future?
1) Much better than now – you expect a lot from the future
2) Only slightly better than now – you do not expect much from the future
3) The same as it is now – you do not expect anything from the future, neither better nor worse
4) Slightly worse than it is now - you do not expect anything good from the future
5) Much worse than it is now – you expect all the worse from the future
6) Does not know, does not think about those things

ARE YOU A MEMBER OR A SUPPORTER OF ANY POLITICAL PARTY?
91. A member of: _______________________________ 1. Politically undecided
92. A supporter of: _______________________________ 1. Politically undecided

93. Have you been a member or a supporter of some political party in some previous period?
- He/she was a member or a supporter of (list all parties, including the Communist Alliance of Yugoslavia)

1. No, I have been a supporter of this party ever since its foundation
2. No, undecided regarding parties in the previous period as well

How close or far are these parties to you?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Very far</th>
<th>Far</th>
<th>Neither close nor far</th>
<th>Close</th>
<th>Very close</th>
<th>DK</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Civic Alliance of Serbia (V. Pesic)</td>
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<td>Democratic Party (Z. Djindjic)</td>
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<td>Democratic Party of Serbia (V. Kostunica)</td>
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<td>YUL (M. Markovic)</td>
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<td>New Democracy (D. Mihajlovic)</td>
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<td>Socialist Party of Serbia (S. Milosevic)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Serbian Radical Party (V. Seselj)</td>
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<td>Serbian Renewal Movement (V. Draskovic)</td>
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<td>Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians</td>
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<td>Coalition “Together”</td>
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<tr>
<td>Coalition SPS-YUL-ND</td>
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<tr>
<td>Coalition “Vojvodina”</td>
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106-107. Do all members of your family vote for the same party as you do?
01. All family members vote the same way
They vote for various parties. Indicate which party they vote for:

108. In November last year, in local, province and federal election, some people voted for the same party, others voted for different parties and candidates. What is your opinion about that?
1) People should always vote for the same party and its candidates
2) There is nothing wrong in the fact that people vote for one party on one election level, and for the other on the other election level
3) Does not know, indecisive
109. Did you vote in the election for the Federal Parliament held in November? Which party or a coalition did you vote for? 
_______________________________ 1) Did not vote
2) Does not remember, does not want to answer

110. Did you vote in the election for the Municipal Parliament held in November? Which party or a coalition did you vote for? 
_______________________________ 1) Did not vote
2) Does not remember, does not want to answer

111. Are you going to take part in the upcoming elections for Republican Parliament?
1) Going to take part  2) Not going to take part  3) Does not know, indecisive, does not want to answer

112. If you take part in the elections, which party will you vote for?
________________________ 1) Not going to take part 2) Does not know, indecisive, does not want to answer

113. When do you usually make decision which party you are going to vote for in the election?
1) You always know for whom you are going to vote, for your party
2) You decide as soon as you see who the contestants are and what the conditions are like, at the beginning of campaign
3) When you familiarize yourself with the electoral offers, mostly during the campaign
4) You decide who to vote for at the Election Day itself
5) It depends, sometimes at the beginning of the election campaign, sometimes before the vote itself
6) Does not participate in the election

114. In your opinion, during the election, is it better that the voters are offered only a list of candidates or only the list of parties or both?
1) List of parties is enough  2) List of candidates is enough  3) Both are necessary
4) Does not know, cannot decide

When you vote in the election, when you decide who to vote, how important for you personally are the following things?

115. Party leader
5. Does not know

116. Your membership or support for some party
5. Does not know

117. Party program
5. Does not know

118. Activities of the party (discussions of MP's in the Parliament, legal initiatives, rallies, demonstrations...)
5. Does not know

119. The things you heard about the party and its leader immediately before the elections
5. Does not know

120. Are you ready to listen to and accept the critical opinions regarding your party (the party you vote for/you support)?
1) You are always ready for dialogue, because there are clever and benevolent
2) Sometimes, when they have something wise to say
3) There is no reason for criticizing your party, it is the best
4) Not a supporter of any party
5) Does not know, does not think about that

121. What is your assessment regarding the reign of opposition in the places where it won in the previous elections? Would you say that the reign of opposition is in comparison with the SPS …
1) Better  2) The same  3) Worse  4) Indecisive  5) Does not know

122. How important is it to you personally who wins the next election?
1) Very important  2) Pretty important  3) Not very important  4) Not important at all  5) Does not know

123. Which of our politicians do you trust most?
- _________________  1) None  2) Cannot estimate

124. Different people have different opinions about the authorities. What do you think about them?
1) The authorities should be respected no matter what it is like, because the order is better than the chaos
2) The authorities should be respected only if it does things for the benefit of its people
3) All the authorities do things only for its own interest and do not deserve any respect on the part of the citizens
4) All kinds of authorities should be respected as long as you benefit form it
5) Does not know

There are a number of claims before you. Please answer to what degree you agree or disagree with each of them.

125. Political parties bring discord among people

126. People can participate in politics only due to the political parties

127. There are no differences among the existing political parties

128. Parties serve only the interests of their leaders

129. One should vote for the best candidates regardless of the party they belong to

130. Socialism in our country was a good idea, but badly put in practice

131. Participation of the employees in management would lead to putting in harder efforts on their part

132. There would be more damage than benefits if everyone were allowed to take part in managing the company

133. Workers on this level of development are not capable of running a company

134. If the employees participated in managing the company, they would be loyal and attached to the company.

135. Democracy is dangerous because it can lead to disorder and disorganization

136. It is normal that the majority cancels some of the minority rights

137. Democracy will never take root here

138. It is vital that every nationality be open towards world and the influence of other cultures

139. Ethnically mixed marriages are condemned to failure in advance

140. Different nationalities can live together in harmony in one country

141. One should vote only for their own ethnical parties

142. One should always be careful and restrained towards other nationalities, even when they are our friends

143. There are ongoing discussions in our country about the way companies should be managed. Which one of the following four claims is the closest to your opinion?
1) Companies should be managed by their owners and they should choose the director
2) The owners and their employees should choose the director together
3) The state should be the owner and it should choose the director
4) The employees should own the company solely and they should choose the director
5) Does not know, did not think about it

Do you agree or disagree with the following claims?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Claim</th>
<th>Agrees</th>
<th>Disagrees</th>
<th>DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>144</td>
<td>Everyone has the right to profess its own opinion, regardless of the fact that the minority thinks different</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145</td>
<td>Every citizen has the right to express his opinion in the street</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146</td>
<td>Citizens do not have the right to strike and demonstrate if they jeopardize public peace and order</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>147</td>
<td>In every society there are conflicts which have to be dealt wit by force</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>148</td>
<td>Conflicts of various social groups can harm the society as well</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>149</td>
<td>Opposition should not criticize the Government, but support its work instead</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>No real democracy can be imagined without opposition</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>151</td>
<td>Every political party should have the chance to rise in power</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>152</td>
<td>The interests of the whole nation should be put before the interests of individuals</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153</td>
<td>Our Constitution has flaws, but in comparison to others is still the best</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>154</td>
<td>The Parliament has managed to control the work of the Government up to now</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155</td>
<td>President of the Republic had a complete control over the Government</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156</td>
<td>President of the Republic, the Parliament and the Government had divided the power equally and justly</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

People understand democracy in various ways. We would like you to tell us whether the following things how much do they relate to your understanding of democracy – very much, to a degree, a little or not at all.
157. How much is democracy related to political freedom, such as freedom of speech and freedom of association?
1) Not at all   2) A little   3) To a degree   4) Very much   5) Does not know

158. How much is democracy related to greater amount of social equality?
1) Not at all   2) A little   3) To a degree   4) Very much   5) Does not know

159. How much is democracy related to making many political and administrative decisions on local and regional level?
1) Not at all   2) A little   3) To a degree   4) Very much   5) Does not know

160. How much is democracy related to the reduction of corruption and bribery?
1) Not at all   2) A little   3) To a degree   4) Very much   5) Does not know

161. How much is democracy related to the freedom in the area of sex and moral?
1) Not at all   2) A little   3) To a degree   4) Very much   5) Does not know

162. How much is democracy related to the equality before the law?
1) Not at all   2) A little   3) To a degree   4) Very much   5) Does not know

163. How much is democracy related to the Government’s control of banks and large private-owned companies?
1) Not at all   2) A little   3) To a degree   4) Very much   5) Does not know

164. How much is democracy related to the equal rights for women?
1) Not at all   2) A little   3) To a degree   4) Very much   5) Does not know

165. How much is democracy related to bigger employment and the reduction of unemployment?
1) Not at all   2) A little   3) To a degree   4) Very much   5) Does not know

166. How much is democracy related to the improvement of economic conditions?
1) Not at all   2) A little   3) To a degree   4) Very much   5) Does not know

167. How much is democracy related to the multi-party system?
1) Not at all   2) A little   3) To a degree   4) Very much   5) Does not know

168. How much is democracy related to the citizen’s right to take part in politics?
1) Not at all   2) A little   3) To a degree   4) Very much   5) Does not know

169. Which of the following places is most important for you? (only one answer)
1. A place or city where I live
2. Region where I live
3. Republic (present Yugoslavia)
4. Country
5. Balkans
6. Europe
7. Feels like the citizen of the world
8. Other (Record): _________________
9. DK

170. What do you think about the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as the federation of Serbia and Montenegro? Which of the following opinions is the closest to yours?
1) Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is the best solution both for Serbia and Montenegro
2) It is best both for Serbia and Montenegro to be independent
3) Does not know, did not think about

171. In your opinion, what is the solution for Kosovo and Metohija? (Only one answer)
1) Formation of independent state (autonomous or attached to Albania)
2) Division into the Serbian and Albanian part (and then they can do whatever they want)
3) Confederal status within Yugoslavia
4) Status of the province which was acknowledged in the Constitution of 1974
5) Current status of the province
6) Abolish every kind of autonomy
7) Does not know, did not think about it
172. In your opinion, is it possible to reach an agreement with Kosovo Albanians?
1) Yes  2) No  3) Does not know

173. How should the status of the Hungarians in Vojvodina be regulated?
1) Remain the same
2) Solution should be sought within the status of Vojvodina as it was in the Constitution of 1974
3) Solution should be sought within the pure confederal status of Vojvodina
4) Create the autonomous territory constituted out of municipalities where the Hungarians are in the majority
5) Does not know, did not think about it

174-175. In your opinion, what is the biggest problem our country is facing today? (Only one answer) __________

176. People have a different attitude towards socialism and the political system we currently live in. What do you think about that? What was good in the system before 1990? What was bad when compared to today? Do you regret something that is no longer so? What is good in the new system? Please answer as elaborately as you can.

_____________________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________________
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Thank you for your cooperation!