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Election Study Serbia November 1999
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 to solve problems more successfully and enables citizens to get to know the public opinion in particular regions and social groups. You were chosen to be a part of the citizens’ sample, representing the population of Serbia. You were drawn by lot, but it is important for us that you personally answer the questions I’ll ask. The participation in this survey is voluntary and anonymous. We expect you to answer the questions freely and truthfully and thus contribute to the success of this survey. Thank you for your co-operation.

8. Sex: 1. Male 2. Female

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

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

10. What is the highest level of education you have attained?
    1. No school or incomplete primary 4. High school
    2. Primary school (8 grades) 5. Junior college
    3. Vocational training school 6. University or academy

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

13. What is your ethnic background/nationality?
    1. Serb 5. Yugoslav
    2. Montenegrin 6. Hungarian
    3. Muslim 7. Slovak
    4. Croat 8. Roma
           9. Other nationality: _______________

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

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

16. How much is the average monthly income of your household, including the salaries, pensions, maternity and child allowances, honorary and other jobs, income gained from agriculture etc.? _______________ dinars 9. Does not know


18. Did you vote in the elections for Serbian Parliament in 1997? Which party or a coalition did you vote for?
    1. SPS-YUL 2. SRP 3. SRM 4. Other party or coalition
    5. Boycott 6. Did not vote 7. No right to vote 9. Does not know, does not remember

19-20. If the new elections for Serbian Parliament were held tomorrow, would you vote? Which party or a coalition would you vote for? _____________________________
In your opinion, what is the most important problem Serbia is facing today? And what is the next most important problem Serbia is facing today?


25-26. When you think about the situation in Serbia in the next year, what worries you the most?
______________________________________________________________________________________________ 99. Does not know

27-28. In your opinion, what is the most important thing that can be done in order to improve the situation in Serbia?
______________________________________________________________________________________________ 99. Does not know

29. What is the likelihood of you voting in the next republic elections - very likely, possible, not very likely or not at all likely?

30. If you think that there would be a great chance for SPS and Slobodan Milosevic to lose these elections, what would be the likelihood of you voting - much more likely, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely or much less likely?

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party/Coalition</th>
<th>Unfamiliar</th>
<th>Very favourable</th>
<th>Somewhat favourable</th>
<th>Somewhat unfavourable</th>
<th>Very unfavourable</th>
<th>Does not know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Socialist Party of Serbia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbian Renewal Movement</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbian Radical Party</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alliance of Democratic Parties</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alliance for Change</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

(Show Card PARTIES*)

37-38. If the elections were held tomorrow, which party or a coalition would you vote? ______________
17. Other party - coalition (Which): ____________________________ 18. Undecided regarding voting

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

40. Let us assume that the elections were held today, and that the coalition SPS-YUL and the Alliance for Change participated. Who would you vote for? 1. SPS-YUL 2. Alliance for Change 3. Would not vote 9. Does not know

41. Let us now assume that the elections were held today, and that the coalition SPS-YUL, Serbian Radical Party and the Serbian Renewal Movement participated. Who would you vote for?
If the elections were held today, would you definitely vote for, probably vote for, not sure you would vote for or against, probably vote against or definitely vote against…?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>42. Alliance for Change</th>
<th>Definitely vote for</th>
<th>Probably vote for</th>
<th>Not sure whether for or against</th>
<th>Probably vote against</th>
<th>Definitely vote against</th>
<th>Does not know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 43. SPS                | 1                  | 2                 | 3                              | 4                     | 5                      | 9             |

| 44. SRP                | 1                  | 2                 | 3                              | 4                     | 5                      | 9             |

| 45. SRM                | 1                  | 2                 | 3                              | 4                     | 5                      | 9             |

Now I shall ask you some questions about President Slobodan Milosevic.

46. On the whole, what do you think about the achievements of Milosevic’s policy? Do you strongly approve, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove or strongly disapprove these achievements?

47. Would you say that you personally are closer to Milosevic and the ruling coalition or to the opposition?

48-49. Out of all public persons, who would, in your opinion, be the best leader for Serbia?

50. The next regular republic elections should be held as early as 2001. Are you pro or against holding the early elections?
   1. Pro  2. Against  9. Does not know

51. If the authorities suggested that early elections should be held on the local level, but not on the republic or federal, would you strongly support this suggestion, somewhat support it, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose it?

52. Some people believe that it would be good to hold early local elections, even without national and federal elections, because it would be a good opportunity for the citizens to show what they think about the authorities and to influence the development of situation in the country. Others consider that holding local elections without national and federal elections would be bad, because the citizens would not have the right opportunity to show their attitude about the important questions our country is facing. Which opinion is closer to yours?
   1. It would be good to hold local elections even without national and federal elections
   2. Holding local elections without national or federal elections would be bad
   3. Holding local elections without national or federal elections would be bad
   9. Does not know

53. Some people believe that authorities’ agreement to hold local, but not the national and federal elections, would represent the attempt to deny the opportunity for people to vote for real changes. Do you strongly agree with this opinion, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with it?

54. If the authorities suggested that early elections should be held on the local level, but not on the national and federal level, do you think that the opposition should participate or boycott?

55. If early elections were held only on the local level, but not on the national and federal, would you participate in them or not?

56. In your opinion, how important is it that international observers attend the next local, federal or national elections? Is it very important, somewhat important, not very important or not important at all?

57. In your opinion, is it important and how much that the opposition influences the decision about the way in which the elections should be organized? Is it very important, somewhat important, not very important or not important at all?
58. How would you rate the government’s performance in fighting corruption? Would you say that it is excellent, good, only fair or poor?

59. How would you rate the government’s performance in improving economy, decreasing unemployment and improving standard of living? Would you say that it is excellent, good, only fair or poor?

60. How would you rate the government’s performance in rebuilding the country after NATO bombing? Would you say that it is excellent, good, only fair or poor?

61. In your opinion, who is more likely to succeed in rebuilding the country – S. Milosevic and the ruling coalition or the Alliance for Change if it were in power?
   1. Milosevic and ruling coalition  2. The Alliance for Change  9. Does not know

62. Slobodan Milosevic and the ruling coalition say that they will rebuild the country. Milosevic has recently attended the opening of the Oil Refinery, several bridges and other infrastructure objects. How much confidence do you have in his ability to rebuild the country - great confidence, some confidence, not much confidence or no confidence at all?

63. Some people say that Milosevic and the ruling coalition could rebuild the country more successfully than the Alliance for Change because they are experienced in running the country, since they are in power for such a long time. Others say that the Alliance for Change would be more successful in it because it could procure help from the West more easily. Which opinion is closer to yours?

64. The West has promised that it will aid the reconstruction of bridges and otherdamaged objects after free and fair elections had been held. Do you strongly believe in that, somewhat believe, somewhat disbelieve or strongly disbelieve in that?

65. Keeping Montenegro in Yugoslavia
   9. Does not know

66. Development of economy and improvement of standard of living
   9. Does not know

67. Reconstruction of country after the bombing
   9. Does not know

68. Fighting corruption
   9. Does not know

69. New democracy, Democratic Centre and Democratic Alternative have recently united and formed a new coalition DAN. Does the fact that they are united influence your support to coalition DAN to be much more likely, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely or much less likely.

70. Two parties – Socialdemocracy and Democratic Alternative – have recently left the Alliance for Change. Does this affect your voting for Alliance for Change to be much less likely, somewhat less likely or it has no effect?
   1. Much less likely  2. Somewhat less likely  3. Has no effect  9. Does not know

71. This card contains all members of the Alliance for Change. Would you prefer to vote for one of these parties individually or for the Alliance for Change as a coalition?
   1. Vote for one of the parties individually  2. Vote for the Alliance for Change overall as a coalition  9. Does not know

72. Do you think that Alliance for Change should or should not aspire towards including some more parties into the coalition for elections?
73. If Alliance for Change participated in the elections in coalition with the Serbian Renewal Movement, would this affect your voting for this new coalition to be much more likely, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely or much less likely?

74. If Alliance for Change participated in the elections in coalition with the Alliance of Democratic Parties, would this affect your voting for this new coalition to be much more likely, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely or much less likely?

75. If Alliance for Change participated in the elections in coalition with the new coalition DAN, would this affect your voting for this new coalition to be much more likely, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely or much less likely?

76. If Alliance for Change participated in the elections in coalition with the Serbian Renewal Movement, new coalition DAN and Alliance of Democratic Parties, would this affect your voting for this new coalition to be much more likely, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely or much less likely?

77. Ruling coalition endorses the idea that local elections should be held according to the majority system, by which the party that gets the most votes gets complete power on the local level. Some people suggest that Alliance for Change and the Serbian Renewal Movement make an agreement by which the SRM would not oppose to AFC in those places where AFC has more chances to win, i.e. that the AFC would not oppose to SRM in those places where SRM has more chances to win. Do you strongly favour this proposal, somewhat favour it somewhat oppose or strongly oppose it?

78. Some people think that antigovernment rallies of the Alliance for Change should continue because they are an important way of expressing the opposition to government. Others say that there is no point in continuing the protests. Which opinion is closer to yours?
   1. Anti-government rallies should continue   2. There is no point continuing the rallies   9. Does not know

79. Some people think that Alliance for Change is a successful unified opposition group which has finally succeeded in unifying the opposition and starting the joint fight against government. Others think that it is as shaky as coalition “Zajedno” was and that it will fall apart as the latter fell apart in 1997. Which of these two opinions is closer to yours?
   1. Alliance for Change is a successful unified opposition group   2. Alliance for Change is a shaky coalition and it will fall apart   9. Does not know

80. Some people believe that Vuk Draskovic sold himself when he entered the Federal Government and showed that he is not a true opposition leader. Do you strongly agree with this opinion, you somewhat agree with it, you somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with it?

81. Some people believe that opposition must cooperate with the USA, Europe and the West, in order to open the borders and help lifting sanctions and reintegrating Serbia into the world. Others believe that the opposition leaders who talk to the representatives of Europe, the USA and the West are traitors because Western countries bombarded us and they are our enemies. Which opinion is closer to yours?
   1. Opposition must cooperate with the USA, Europe and the West   2. Opposition leaders who talk to the representatives of Europe, the USA and the West are traitors   9. Does not know

82. The USA and other Western countries claim that they would not give any help to Yugoslavia for reconstruction until free and fair elections had been held in Serbia. American officials claim that they want to help the formation of better and democratic Serbia. S. Milosevic and the ruling coalition claim that the USA denies the help because America is against Serbia and wants to subdue all countries to its own will. Which opinion is closer to yours?
1. USA wants to build a better Serbia
2. USA is against Serbia
9. Does not know

83. The USA supports the European policy to provide aid to the cities where opposition rules, but they still refuse to help the areas where ruling coalition is in power. Do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose this policy?
1. Strongly support
2. Somewhat support
3. Somewhat oppose
4. Strongly oppose
9. Does not know

(If 3 or 4 to Q 83)

84. Would you prefer that the USA gave aid to all cities in Serbia, regardless of who is in control, or not have the USA give aid to Serbia at all?
1. Rather see the U.S. give aid regardless of who is in control
2. Rather not have the U.S. give aid to Serbia at all
9. Does not know

85. In your estimate, was the decision of S. Milosevic and the ruling coalition to go to war in order to keep Kosovo and Metohija inside Serbia was right or wrong?
1. Right
2. Wrong
9. Does not know

86. Do you support or oppose the idea that the Yugoslav Army should be sent to Kosovo now in order to protect the Serbian and other non-Albanian residents there?
1. Support
2. Oppose
9. Does not know

87. Some people say that they had earlier believed that the policy pursued by Milosevic’s Government in order to protect the Serbs in ex-Yugoslavia was appropriate, but that, its social and economic price was too high to pay that they now believe that that policy was wrong and unsuccessful. Do you strongly agree with this claim, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with it?
1. Strongly agree
2. Somewhat agree
3. Somewhat disagree
4. Strongly disagree
9. Does not know

88. Who do you find responsible for economic sanctions against Serbia – Slobodan Milosevic and the ruling coalition or the USA and the NATO?
1. Milosevic and the ruling coalition
2. The USA and NATO
3. Both equally
4. Neither
9. Does not know

89-90. Out of all information sources about political and other events in the country and the world, which do you personally trust most? Please choose one source – single TV or radio station, newspaper, person or some other source.

___________________________________________________
01. Not interested in politics 02. None 99. Does not know

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION.
Question 37-38.

01. Alliance for Change
02. Yugoslav United Left
03. Serbian Radical Party
04. Serbian Renewal Movement
05. Socialist Party of Serbia
       06. Socialdemocracy
07. Civil Alliance of Serbia
08. Democratic Alternative
       09. Democratic Party
10. Democratic Party of Serbia
       11. New Democracy
12. Alliance of Democratic Parties
       13. Coalition Vojvodina
14. The Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians
13. Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians
       14. Party of Democratic Action
Question 65-68.

1. Alliance for Change
2. Socialist Party of Serbia
3. Serbian Renewal Movement
4. Serbian Radical Party
Question 71.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Card MEMBERS OF ALLIANCE FOR CHANGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Democratic Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Civil Alliance of Serbia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Demochristian party of Serbia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. New Serbia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Conservative Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. National Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Old Radical Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Yugoslav Democratic Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Serbian National Renewal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Progressive Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Congregational National Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. My Vojvodina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Democratic Movement for Pancevo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Alliance of Citizens of Subotica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Serbian Royalist Block</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Liberal Democratic Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>18. Democratic Alliance of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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