Pre-Election Study - Presidential Elections Serbia
February 2000
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 cooperation.

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. What is (was) your occupation?
    1. Farmer or housewife in a farmer's household 6. Housewife in a non-farmer's household
    2. Unskilled or half-skilled worker 7. Pupil, student
    3. Skilled or highly-skilled worker 8. Private entrepreneur-owner
    4. Clerk or a technician with high school 9. Other
    5. Clerk or an expert with college or university degree

12. What is your employment status?
    1. Retired 2. Unemployed 3. Employed in the public sector
    4. Employed in a private company 5. Other 0. QNA (1, 6, 7 or 8 to Q.11)

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 (Record): ______________________

14. Would you say for yourself that you are a religious person?
    1. Religious 2. Doesn't know, yes and no 3. Not religious 4. Against religion

Now we can start the interview.

15. Which one of the following belongings do you consider most important for you personally, for your feeling of who you are, for your identity?
    1. Belonging to a place or region where I live 4. Belonging to Yugoslavia
    2. Belonging to Vojvodina or some region in Serbia 5. Belonging to Europe
    3. Belonging to Serbia 6. DK
16. And which one of the following belongings do you consider most important?
1. Belonging to a generation  4. Religious belonging
2. Belonging to an occupational group  5. Political (party) belonging
3. National belonging  6. DK

Generally speaking, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with ...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Satisfied</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>Dissatisfied</th>
<th>QNA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17. International position of Serbia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Yours personal standard of living</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>19. Republic government</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>20. City government</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>21. Municipal government</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Political situation in Serbia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Behaviour and honesty of fellow-citizens</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>24. Future prospects for you and your children</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>25. Ethnic relations in Serbia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>26. Civil rights and liberties</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>27. Economic situation in Serbia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>28. Development of democracy in Serbia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>29. Media objectivity</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>30. Policy of S. Milosevic</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

31. Are you interested in politics? Generally speaking, would you say that you are ...
1. Very interested  3. Not very interested
2. Somewhat interested  4. Not at all interested

32. How informed are you about politics? Would you say that you are...

33. Did you vote in the 1997 elections for the Parliament of Serbia? Which party or coalition did you vote for?
1. Did not vote  2. Does not remember, does not want to answer
3. SPS-YUL-ND  4. SRP  5. SRM  6. SD  7. Other: ________________

34. Many people do not participate in the elections. In your opinion, what is the main reason for this?
1. People are not interested in politics and are not well informed about parties
2. The elections are mostly unfair, the winner is known in advance
3. No party fits them completely
4. People are disappointed in all parties as they only fight for power
5. All parties promise all the best, thus it is not important which one will win the elections
6. There is no use of voting, common people can not influence politics
7. Other: __________________________
8. DK

Now I'm going to read you some statements. For each of them please tell me whether you agree or disagree with it.

35. Serbia is for Serbs only
1  2  3
<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>36. Privatisation of state ownership is carried out in a right way</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>37. The police successfully protects security of citizens</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>38. The opposition is not mature enough to govern Serbia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>39. Union of the opposition is the only way for democratisation of Serbia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>40. Opposition victory in elections would bring chaos and civil war</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>41. The new world order is a propaganda fabrication</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>42. The Serbs really are a unique nation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>43. Greater Serbia will be achieved sooner or later</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>44. Kosovo and Metohija are lost for Serbia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>45. Participation of the radicals in the government of national unity has saved Serbia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>46. Economic deprivation is inevitable for the sake of achieving higher goals</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>47. New, young people are needed to lead political parties</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>48. The government is immersed in corruption</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>49. Our bad fate is to be blamed on the international community primarily</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50. It is better to be poor and independent than to live well with foreign assistance and interference</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>51. There is no state terror in Serbia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52. Unsolved murders in Serbia often have a political background</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>53. Obedience and respect for authorities are the most important things a child should learn</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>54. A person should strive to differ from others as little as possible</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>55. After every change the things usually turn worse than they used to be</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>56. Income should not be limited in any way</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57. One should always be careful and restraint in regard to other nations even when they are our friends</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58. Whether we admit it or not, the real sense of life is to acquire material wealth</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>59. There is no economic progress without a strong central government</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>60. The first and most important task of a good citizens is to be a patriot</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>61. As a rule, new ideas are better than the old ones</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>62. The use of force for achieving political goals is sometimes justified</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>63. A change in government in Serbia would contribute to a more positive solution of the Kosovo and Metohija status in regard to Serbia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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In general, do you feel things in Yugoslavia, Serbia and Montenegro are going in the right or in the wrong direction?

<p>| | | | |</p>
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<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>64. Yugoslavia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65. Serbia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66. Montenegro</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
People participate in the political life in different ways. Please tell me for each of the following ways of political engagement if you have ever participated in it or could participate.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Has participated</th>
<th>Could participate</th>
<th>Would not participate</th>
<th>DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>67. Signing petitions</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68. Addressing parliament members, media and government institutions</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>69. Attending party meetings and debates</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>70. Persuading others to accept some political opinion</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71. Attending rallies and demonstrations</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72. Participation in strikes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73. Donating money for party activities</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74. Voluntary engagement in organising party activities</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

75. In your opinion, what turns people away from engaging more in politics and thus contributing to faster changes in the society?

1. Citizens do not trust party leaders
2. Citizens do not believe that changes to the better are possible
3. Political engagement brings great risks to common people
4. Citizens' engagement has no importance as everything will be in the way politicians agree among themselves
5. Citizens are too busy struggling for a bare survival
6. Other: ____________________________________
7. DK

I am interested in your opinion about some domestic institutions and organisations. Please tell me how much confidence you have in the following institutions and organisations - do you have a great deal, a fair amount, not very much or no confidence in ...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A great deal</th>
<th>A fair amount</th>
<th>Not very much</th>
<th>No confidence</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>76. President of the FRY</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77. Federal Parliament</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78. Federal Government</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79. President of Serbia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80. Parliament of Serbia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81. Government of Serbia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82. Ruling parties</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83. Opposition parties</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84. Yugoslav army</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85. Police</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86. Judiciary</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87. Education</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88. Health service</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
89. Social services
90. State media
91. Private media
92. Public companies
93. Private companies
94. “Old” trade unions
95. “New” trade unions
96. Non governmental organisations
97. Serbian Orthodox Church
98. Serbian Academy of Science and Arts

99-100. Which one of these institutions do you personally trust the most?

01. None     2. DK

(76... 98. From the table above)

101-102. And which one do you personally trust the least?

01. DK

(76... 98. From the table above)

103-104. If elections for the Republic Parliament were to be held tomorrow, would you vote? Which party of coalition would you vote for?

01. Would not vote
02. Undecided about voting
03. Would vote, undecided about party/coalition
04. SPS
05. YUL
06. Coalition SPS-YUL
07. SRP
08. Coalition SPS-YUL-SRP
09. SRM
10. DPS
11. Alliance for Change
12. DP
13. Other members of the Alliance for Change
14. Socialdemocracy
15. Alliance of Democratic Parties
16. DAN (New Democracy, Democratic Centre, Democratic Alternative), two parties as a minimum
17. Coalition Vojvodina
18. Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians
19. Party of Democratic Action
20. Other party-coalition
21. Any democratic party-coalition
22. Coalition of all – as many as possible – democratic parties

105-106. Is there any other party/coalition – Is there yet any party/coalition - that you might vote for?

01. There is not
02. Undecided
04. SPS
05. YUL
06. Coalition SPS-YUL
07. SRP
08. Coalition SPS-YUL-SRP
09. SRM
10. DPS
11. Alliance for Change
12. DP
13. Other members of the Alliance for Change
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18. Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians
19. Party of Democratic Action
20. Other party-coalition
21. Any democratic party-coalition
22. Coalition of all – as many as possible – democratic parties

107-108. Is there any party/coalition that you would never vote for?
01. There is not
02. Undecided
04. SPS
05. YUL
06. Coalition SPS-YUL
07. SRP
08. Coalition SPS-YUL-SRP
09. SRM
10. DPS
11. Alliance for Change
12. DP
13. Other members of the Alliance for Change
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18. Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians
19. Party of Democratic Action
20. Other party-coalition
21. Any democratic party-coalition
22. Coalition of all – as many as possible – democratic parties

109. How important is it for you who will win the next republic elections?
1. Very important
2. Somewhat important
3. Not very important
4. Not at all important
5. DK

110. In your opinion, what from the following would contribute the most to positive political changes in Serbia?
1. Mass protest rallies, demonstrations
2. General civil disobedience
3. Agreement and co-operation between the government and the opposition
4. Change of government, taking over the rule by the opposition after elections
5. Pressure by the international community
6. Other: ________________________
7. Positive changes are already on the way
8. DK

111. The international community requires from Yugoslavia to deliver to the Hague Tribunal its citizens accused of war crimes in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and crimes against humanity in Kosovo and Metohija. In your opinion, what from the following would be best to do?
1. To fulfil all requirements of the international community
2. After domestic investigation to deliver to the Hague only those persons proved as war criminals
3. The Yugoslav judiciary should prosecute war criminals on its own
4. These people are patriots and should not be prosecuted at all
5. Other (Record): ____________________________
6. DK

112. In your opinion, what are the government results in the reconstruction of the country after the NATO bombing?

I am interested in your opinion about the following parties and coalitions. First tell me for each of them if you have heard of it. Then, regardless of your vote in the previous elections, please tell me if you could ever vote for it.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party/Coalition</th>
<th>Has not heard</th>
<th>Certainly yes</th>
<th>Probably yes</th>
<th>Probably no</th>
<th>Certainly no</th>
<th>DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>113. Socialist Party of Serbia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114. Yugoslav Left</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115. Coalition SPS-YUL</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116. Serbian Radical Party</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>117. Coalition SPS-YUL-SRP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>118. Serbian Renewal Movement</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>119. Coalition Alliance for Change</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>120. Democratic Party</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>121. Civic Alliance of Serbia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>122. Demochristian Party of Serbia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>123. New Serbia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>124. Democratic Party of Serbia</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>125. New Democracy</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>126. Coalition DAN</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>127. Democratic Alternative</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>128. Socialdemocracy</td>
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<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129. Coalition Alliance of Democratic Parties</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130. Movement for Democratic Serbia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131. Coalition Vojvodina</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

People hold different opinions of coalitions (alliances) of political parties. Which of the following statements do you agree with and disagree with?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>132. Coalitions make it easier for voters to decide who to vote for</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133. Coalitions are useful only if made by parties with similar goals</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134. Coalitions are needed, but party leaders are not ready for co-operation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

135. As you know, the ruling coalition in Serbia is made by the SPS, YUL and SRP. In your opinion, who benefits the most from this coalition?
   1. SPS  2. YUL  3. SRP  4. All equally  5. DK
136. Do you think that the SPS would enjoy a larger support by citizens if it were not in the coalition with the YUL?  
1. Yes  2. No  3. DK

137. Would the SPS have a larger support by citizens if it were not in a coalition with the SRP?  
1. Yes  2. No  3. DK

138. In your opinion, has the SRP lost a part of its supporters because of being in the coalition with the SPS and YUL?  
1. Yes  2. No  3. DK

139. Political parties use different ways to inform the voters about their programs and to win their vote in elections. Which of the following ways do you find most convenient for you personally?  
1. Home canvassing by party activists and talks with them  
2. Meetings with party activists and candidates in municipalities and other places  
3. Written materials, party papers and bulletins mailed at a home address  
4. Regular information by television, radio and the press  
5. Special promotion programs on TV and radio in which parties present their programs and goals  
6. Television duels between parties and candidates, debates, round table discussions etc.  
7. Large promotion rallies accompanied by party leaders' speeches  
8. Other: ________________________________  
9. DK, not interested in politics

140. When do you usually make up your mind about taking part in the elections and about who to vote for?  
1. In every moment I know who I'll vote for  
2. When I see who runs in the elections, at the beginning of the campaign  
3. When I am informed who offers what, mostly during the campaign  
4. On the eve of the election day  
5. It depends, sometimes at the beginning of the campaign, sometimes just before the election day  
6. I never vote  
7. Other: ________________________________  
8. DK, does not want to answer

141. Is it possible that you will change your mind about participating in the elections or about who to vote for before actual elections or you are sure of your decision?  

(Show Card "PARTY CHARACTERISTICS") People attribute different characteristic to particular parties and coalitions. Please tell me which party would you attribute each of the following characteristic (Only one party for each characteristic)

142-143. Capacity to govern the country  

144-145. Strong support by supporters  

146-147. Good party leaders  

148-149. Patriotism  

150-151. Reputation of the party and its leaders abroad  

152-153. Readiness for achieving agreement with others  

154-155. Consistency  

156-157. Honesty and respect of law  

158-159. Being close to the people
160-161. Rich party and rich leaders
01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10
162-163. Efficient organisation
01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10
164-165. Independence in running its policies
01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10

In your opinion, which party or a coalition could best solve the following problems in our society? (Only one party for each problem)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SPS</th>
<th>YUL</th>
<th>SRP</th>
<th>SRM</th>
<th>AFC</th>
<th>DP</th>
<th>DPS</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>ADP</th>
<th>DK</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>04</td>
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<td>06</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

166-167. Reconstruction of the country after NATO bombing
168-169. Lifting of the sanctions and getting foreign loans
170-171. Preservation of Kosovo and Metohija within Serbia and FRY
172-173. Economic reforms and economic development
174-175. Improvement of the living standard
176-177. Return of old hard currency savings
178-179. Providing regular payment of pensions
180-181. Unemployment
182-183. Development of democracy and respect of civil rights and liberties
184-185. Settling relations with Montenegro
186-187. Fight against crime and corruption
188-189. Normalisation of relations with former Yugoslav republics and protection of Serbs in them

190. People have different relations to the government. Please tell me which of the following statements is closest to your own opinion.
1. Government should be respected regardless of what it is like, since order is better than chaos
2. Government should be respected as long as it works in the interest of the people; if it does not, it should be replaced, even by force
3. Every government works in its own interest and does not deserve any respect from citizens
4. One should respect any government as long as one benefits from it
5. DK

Now I am going to read you a list of names of some political and public persons. For each person please tell me whether you have heard of him/her and whether your opinion of him/her is very favourable, somewhat favourable, somewhat unfavourable or unfavourable.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Has not heard</th>
<th>Very favourable</th>
<th>Somewhat favourable</th>
<th>Has no definite opinion</th>
<th>Somewhat unfavourable</th>
<th>Very unfavourable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>191. Slododan Milosevic</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>192. Milan Milutinovic</td>
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<tr>
<td>193. Mirko Marjanovic</td>
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<tr>
<td>194. Milutin Mrkonjic</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Name</td>
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<tr>
<td>195</td>
<td>Mirjana-Mira Markovic</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>196</td>
<td>Milovan Bojic</td>
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<td>197</td>
<td>Vojislav Seselj</td>
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<td>Tomislav Nikolic</td>
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<td>Vuk Draskovic</td>
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<td>Vojislav Mihailovic</td>
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<td>Dragoslav Avramovic</td>
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<td>202</td>
<td>Zoran Djindjic</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>203</td>
<td>Slododan Vuksanovic</td>
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<td>Vojislav Kostunica</td>
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<td>Goran Svilanovic</td>
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<td>206</td>
<td>Vladan Batic</td>
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<td>207</td>
<td>Velimir-Velja Ilic</td>
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<td>208</td>
<td>Milan St. Protic</td>
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<td>Dragoljub Micunovic</td>
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<td>210</td>
<td>Vuk Obradovic</td>
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<tr>
<td>211</td>
<td>Nebojsa Covic</td>
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<td>212</td>
<td>Momcilo Perisic</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>213</td>
<td>Nenad Canak</td>
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<tr>
<td>214</td>
<td>Dragan Veselinov</td>
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<td>Milan Panic</td>
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<td>Zoran Zivkovic</td>
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<td>217</td>
<td>Vesna Pescic</td>
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<td>218</td>
<td>Milo Djukanovic</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Momir Bulatovic</td>
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<td>220</td>
<td>Dragoljub Ojdanic</td>
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<tr>
<td>221</td>
<td>Nebojsa Pavkovic</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>222</td>
<td>Patriarch Pavle</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>223</td>
<td>Crown-prince Alexander</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**224-225. Who of domestic politicians or public figures do you personally trust the most?**

- 01. None
- 02. DK
- 03. S. Milosevic
- 04. M. Milutinovic
- 05. M. Marjanovic
- 06. M. Mrkonjic
- 07. M. Markovic
08. V. Seselj
09. V. Draskovic
10. D. Avramovic
11. Z. Djindjic
12. V. Kostunica
13. G. Svilanovic
14. V. Obradovic
15. Patriarch Pavle
17. M. Djukanovic
18. Other

226-227. And who of domestic politicians or public figures do you trust the least?
01. None
02. DK
03. S. Milosevic
04. M. Milutinovic
05. M. Marjanovic
06. M. Mrkonjic
07. M. Markovic
08. V. Seselj
09. V. Draskovic
10. D. Avramovic
11. Z. Djindjic
12. V. Kostunica
13. G. Svilanovic
14. V. Obradovic
15. Patriarch Pavle
17. M. Djukanovic
18. Other

228. Is there in your place of living, in your city or municipality, a local political or public figure that you completely trust? (Record name, surname, party belonging, function performing, as appropriate)
1. No
2. DK
3. _____________________________________________

229-230. When you consider all information sources that you rely on for news about political events in the country and the world, which one do you personally trust the most? Please single out one particular source - a newspaper, a radio or TV station, an individual, group, organisation, or some other source.
01. Not informed about politics
02. None
03. DK
04. TV Belgrade, TV Serbia
05. TV Novi Sad
06. TV Studio B
07. BK TV
08. TV Politika
09. TV Pencevo
10. Local TV stations I group (NTV Negotin, TV Cacak, TV5, City TV Nis, TV Bajina Basta, BB kanal 4, TV Kragujevac, TV Kraljevo, TV Kursumlija, TV Trsenik, TV Pirot, TV Plus, TV Lav, Glas Obiliceva, Soko TV, TV Montenegro)
11. Local TV II group (TV Krajina, TV kanal 9, TV Vranje, TV Studio M, TV Leskovac, TV Alt, TV Krusevac, TV Duga, SAT TV, TV BAP, TV Spektar, TV Zajecar, TV Bor, Borska TV, TV Vlasotince, TV Oko sokolovo, STV)
12. Other domestic TV stations
13. TV of neighbour countries
14. Foreign TV stations
15. Radio Belgrade
16. Radio Novi Sad
17. Radio Studio B
18. Radio B2 92
19. Local radio stations
20. Radio stations of neighbour countries
21. Foreign radio broadcasts for Yugoslavia
22. Foreign radio stations
23. Politika
24. Ekspress
25. Vecernje novosti
26. Blic
27. Danas
28. Glas javnosti
29. Other domestic daily newspapers
30. NIN
31. Vreme
32. Other domestic magazines
33. Foreign press
34. Personal contacts (family, friends, colleagues)
35. Party sources – papers, bulletins, publications, meetings, press-releases
36. Other sources

231. Do you think that you personally dispose with a sufficient number of different information sources from which you can be well informed about political events in the country and the world?
1. Yes   2. No   3. DK

232. Do you think that citizens of Serbia dispose with a sufficient number of different information sources from which they can be well informed about political events in the country and the world?
1. Yes   2. No  3. DK

233. As you probably know, according to the current Law on Information in Serbia, a media outlet can be punished by a high fee even if it only reports someone's statement or a press release which is non convenient for some person, institution or organisation. Do you consider this legal stipulation a good or a bad one?
1. Good     2. Bad     3. DK

Now I’ll ask you a few questions concerning elections.

234. As you probably know, some opposition parties have made a coalition "Alliance for Change". Do you know which parties make the coalition “Alliance for Change”?
1. DP      2. CAS    3. DCPS      4. New Serbia
5. Other parties: ____________________________         6. Does not know of any

235. Can you tell me the name of any leader of the coalition “Alliance for Change”? Any other one?
7. Other leaders: ___________________________         8. Does not know of any

236. In the second half of the last year, for several months the AFC was running protest rallies in Serbia. Do you consider this political action as successful or unsuccessful?

237. How would you estimate the prospects of the "Alliance for Change"? Would you say that ..
1. "Alliance for Change" is the same as the former coalition "Together" and it is only the question of time when it will fall apart
2. "Alliance for Change" is a coalition which, if in power, would be capable to lead the country out of the crisis
3. DK

238. In January, 17 most important opposition parties reached an agreement on a joint action against the ruling coalition Serbia. Do you think that this will help the opposition to win the power in the next elections in Serbia or not?
1. It will help if all the parties would respect the agreement
2. The agreement is not sufficient, the opposition parties should form one or two collations at maximum
3. United or disunited, the opposition has no chance to win the power as it has no support by the majority of voters
4. DK

239. These days, there is a lot of debate about early elections at all levels. In your opinion, should early elections be held at all levels – local, republic and federal?

The opposition parties in Serbia require from the government to meet some conditions so that the election would be free and fair and that they would participate in them. Could the elections in Serbia be free and fair if…

240. S. Milosevic remained in power and elections were organised by the ruling coalition
241. The opposition were deprived of the full control of the election process
242. The valid Law on Information were not suspended
243. The state media were not accessible to the opposition parties
244. The issue of financing political parties were not regulated
245. Foreign observers did not observe the regularity of the elections

246. In your opinion, should the opposition boycott the elections if the agreement between the government and the opposition on the election conditions were not reached?
1. Yes 2. No 3. DK

247. Do you think that citizens of Serbia living in other countries should be able to vote in the elections in Serbia or not?
1. Yes 2. No 3. DK

248. The ruling parties announce that local elections will be held in April this year. Do you think that the opposition should or should not take part in the local elections if federal and republic elections were not held at the same time?
1. Should 2. Should not 3. DK

249. If tomorrow you were to elect your representative in the city or municipality assembly, and the ballot listed candidates from the SPS-YUL coalition, from the SRP, from the SRM and from the AFC, which candidate would you vote for?
1. Would not vote 2. Undecided about voting 3. Would decide depending on who the candidates from particular parties/coalitions are 4. SPS-YUL coalition candidate 5. SRP candidate 6. SRM candidate 7. AFC candidate

250. Let’s assume that only two candidates were running in local elections – a candidate of the SPS-YUL-SRP coalition and a candidate of the united opposition. Who would you vote for then?
1. Would not vote 2. Undecided about voting 3. Would decide depending on who the candidates from particular parties/coalitions are 4. SPS-YUL-SRP coalition candidate 5. Opposition candidate
251. The elections for the Federal Parliament are due by the end of the year, but the Montenegro's leadership refuses to organise them until the status of the republic in the federal state is resolved. Do you think that federal elections should be held anyway or should not?

1. Should  
2. Should not  
3. DK

252. Some government officials in Serbia state that if Montenegro does not call federal elections it should be put into the state of emergency. Do you agree with this statement or not?

1. Yes  
2. No  
3. DK

253-254. If elections for the Federal Parliament were to be held tomorrow, would you vote? Which party of coalition would you vote for?

01. Would not vote  
02. Undecided about voting  
03. Would vote, undecided about party/coalition  
04. SPS  
05. YUL  
06. Coalition SPS-YUL  
07. SRP  
08. Coalition SPS-YUL-SRP  
09. SRM  
10. DPS  
11. Alliance for Change  
12. DP  
13. Other members of the Alliance for Change  
14. Socialdemocracy  
15. Alliance of Democratic Parties  
16. DAN (New Democracy, Democratic Centre, Democratic Alternative), two parties as a minimum  
17. Coalition Vojvodina  
18. Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians  
19. Party of Democratic Action  
20. Other party-coalition  
21. Any democratic party-coalition  
22. Coalition of all – as many as possible – democratic parties

254. In your opinion, which party or coalition will win most of the votes in the next republic elections?

1. SPS-YUL  
2. SRP  
3. SRM  
4. AFC  
5. Other: ______________________  
6. DK

255. If the ruling coalition lost the next republic elections, do you think that it would peacefully give the power over to the opposition or it would try to keep the power by inciting disorders, by introducing the state of emergency or by annulling the elections?

1. It would give over the power peacefully  
2. It would use all the means to remain in power  
3. DK

256. Should the opposition parties or should not co-operate with ethnic minority parties in order to achieve their aims?

1. Should co-operate  
2. Should not co-operate  
3. Other: ______________________  
4. DK

(Show Card "CHARACTERISTICS 1") 257-258. In your opinion, which one from the following characteristics is the most important one for a successful political leader in Serbia today?

1. Capable  
2. Honest  
3. Consistent  
4. Tolerant  
5. Democratic  
6. Good speaker  
7. Handsome, attractive
8. Understanding of people
9. Patriotic
10. Respected abroad
11. Prosperous (promising)
12. Strong, energetic
13. Optimistic
14. DK

(Show Card "CHARACTERISTIC 2") Now I am going to read you the names of some of our politicians. Please tell me for each of them which two of the following characteristics could be ascribed to them.

1. Capable   2. Incapable
3. Honest   4. Dishonest
5. Consistent   6. Inconsistent
7. Tolerant   8. Intolerant
9. Democratic   10. Autocratic
11. Good speaker   12. Bad speaker
15. Understanding of people   16. Careless, inconsiderate of people
17. Patriotic   18. Traitorous
19. Respected abroad   20. Disrespected abroad
21. Prosperous (promising)   22. Out of date
23. Strong, energetic   24. Soft, non-energetic
27. DK

I characteristic      II characteristic     DK

259-262. Slobodan Milosevic
263-266. Mirko Marjanovic
267-270. Mira Markovic
271-274. Vojislav Seselj
275-278. Vuk Draskovic
279-282. Dragoslav Avramovic
283-286. Zoran Djindjic
287-290. Vojislav Kostunica
291-294. Goran Svilanovic
295-298. Milan St. Protic
299-302. Vuk Obradovic

Now I would like to ask you a few questions concerning Kosovo and Metohija.

303. What from the following do you consider the best permanent solution for Kosovo and Metohija?
   1. Independent state, either single or joined to Albania
   2. Republic within Yugoslavia
   3. Partition to a Serbian and Albanian part
   4. High degree of autonomy within Serbia
   5. Restoration of the pre-war status, even by force
   6. Other: ____________________________
   7. DK

304. What should be done most urgently in order to protect Serbs, Montenegrins and other non-Albanian population in Kosovo and Metohija?
   1. Require a more resolute action by the UN Security Council
   2. Temporarily move them to more secure parts of Kosovo
   3. Temporarily move them inside Serbia
   4. Intervene by arms regardless of the attitude of the international community
   5. Other: ____________________________
Now I would like to hear your opinion about members of the following nations. Would you say that you have very favourable, somewhat favourable, somewhat unfavourable or very unfavourable opinion about...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nation</th>
<th>Very favourable</th>
<th>Somewhat favourable</th>
<th>Has no definite opinion</th>
<th>Somewhat unfavourable</th>
<th>Very unfavourable</th>
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<tr>
<td>305. Serbs</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>306. Montenegrins</td>
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<tr>
<td>307. Albanians</td>
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<td>308. Hungarians</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>309. Muslims</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>310. Croats</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>311. Macedonians</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>312. Slovenians</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>313. Roma</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>314. Romanians</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>315. Slovaks</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>316. Bulgarians</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>317. Greeks</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>318. Russians</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>319. Chinese</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>320. Indians</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>321. Americans</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>322. English</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>323. Germans</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>324. French</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>325. Italians</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

326. In your opinion, should or should not the ethnic minorities in Serbia be given more rights than they enjoy now?

1. Should 2. Should not 3. DK

327. Do you think that the future of Yugoslavia lies in the alliance with Russia and Belarus or it should strive for joining the European Union?

1. The Alliance with Russia and Belarus is a right thing
2. It should strive for joining the European Union
3. Any integration and looking for allies is welcome now
4. Other: _______________________________
5. DK
Would you say that you have confidence or have no confidence in the following international organisations?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Confidence</th>
<th>No confidence</th>
<th>DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>328. NATO</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>329. European Union</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>330. Organisation for security and co-operation in Europe (OSCE)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>331. Organisation of United Nations (UN)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

332. In your opinion, who has won the war – NATO or Yugoslavia?
1. Yugoslavia
2. NATO
3. No one
4. DK

333. In your opinion, was it or was not possible to avoid the bombing of Yugoslavia?
1. It was possible by a wiser foreign-affairs policy
2. It was not possible, as the West put unacceptable conditions
3. DK

334. Do you think that the economic recovery and the reconstruction of the country are possible by reliance on our own resources?
1. They are possible by reliance on our own resources
2. Foreign assistance is necessary
3. DK

335. Do you approve of opposition talks with the representatives of Western countries while we are still under sanctions?
1. Yes, because that is the way for sanctions to be lifted sooner
2. No, because they do not wish us well
3. DK

336. Some people think that Western countries want to help us and have nothing against the Serbian people but are against the regime and S. Milosevic, while some other think the opposite. What is your opinion?
1. Western countries want to help us and have nothing against the Serbian people
2. Western counties are against the Serbian people and do not want to help us
3. DK

(Show Card “GOOD INTENTIONS”) In your opinion, what could convince the citizens of Serbia of good intentions of Western countries? What from the following would they consider a proof of a good will of the West? What else?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Option</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Humanitarian assistance (fuel, medicine, etc)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Reconstruction of the bombed objects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Lifting of some sanctions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Lifting of all sanctions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Real reintegration of Kosovo and Metohija into Serbia and Yugoslavia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>No interference in the government-opposition relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Acceptance of the present government in Serbia as a partner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Other:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Nothing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>DK</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Show Card “MOST IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AIM”) In your opinion, what from the following should be the most important goal of the international policy of Serbia and Yugoslavia? And the next one?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Option</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Normalisation of relations with neighbour countries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Normalisation of relations with the most developed Western</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>countries, reintegration into the international</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>community, organisations, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. Strengthening the co-operation with friendly countries (Russia, China, Belarus, etc)
4. Protection of Serbs in neighbour countries
5. Regaining of the lost Serbian lands
6. Regaining of Kosovo and Metohija as a part of Serbia and Yugoslavia
7. Struggle against the NATO expansion to the East
8. DK

341-342. At the end, tell me what is in your opinion the most important problem facing Serbia today.

01. DK
02. Crime, robberies, murders
03. Corruption
04. Smuggling, grey economy, black market, reselling
05. Economy, deterioration and crisis, decrease in or stop of production
06. Unemployment, lay offs, forced vacations
07. Poverty, social problems, low and irregular salaries and pensions
08. Price increase, inflation, shortages
09. Health care, shortage of medicines, expensive medicines, lack of medical equipment
10. Economic sanctions, international isolation, ostracism
11. Economic reforms, modernisation, privatisation
12. Reconstruction after NATO bombing
13. Kosovo and Metohija, loss, danger of loss, situation in the province, suffering and non-protected non-Albanian population
14. Partiality of UN, UNMIK and KFRO in Kosovo and Metohija
15. Albanians and KLA in Kosovo and Metohija
16. Relations with Montenegro, crisis of the Yugoslav federation, secession of Montenegro
17. Undemocratic system, repression
18. Regime, S. Milosevic
19. Bad government
20. Elections (early, federal, republic and local at the same time)
21. Conflicts between government and opposition
22. Disunity of the opposition in its incapability
23. Opposition acting (demonstration, cooperation with the West, treason)
24. Discord among Serbs
25. Moral and spiritual crisis
26. Idleness
27. Danger of a new war
28. Other (Write down)

343-344. And what is the next most important one?

01. DK
02. Crime, robberies, murders
03. Corruption
04. Smuggling, grey economy, black market, reselling
05. Economy, deterioration and crisis, decrease in or stop of production
06. Unemployment, lay offs, forced vacations
07. Poverty, social problems, low and irregular salaries and pensions
08. Price increase, inflation, shortages
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27. Danger of a new war
28. Other (Write down)

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION