MONTENEGRO PUBLIC OPINION 1996

The Center for Political Studies and Public Opinion Research of the Institute of Social Sciences is conducting a public opinion poll. We examine opinions and attitudes of citizens about important political, economic, and other problems. Exact establishing of public attitudes enables these problems to be solved more successfully. You were drawn by lot to be a part of the citizens’ sample representing the population of Montenegro, but it is important for us that you personally answer the questions I’ll ask. The participation in this survey is voluntary and anonymous. I expect you to answer the questions freely and truthfully and thus contribute to the success of the survey.

Thank you for your cooperation.

9-10. Place and day: .................................. Signature of the interviewer: ................................

11. Population in the respondent’s place of residence:
1. Up to 999   2. 1000-4999   3. 5000-19999   4. 20000-99999   5. City of Podgorica

12. Sex: 1. Male     2. Female

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

13-15. How old are you? ...................

16. What is the highest level of education you have attained?
1. No school or incomplete primary
2. Completed primary (8 grades)
3. Completed vocational training school
4. Completed high school
5. Completed junior college
6. Completed university of academy
7. Specialization, M.A. or Ph.D. degree

17-18. What is your occupation?
01. Farmer or housewife in a farmer’s household
02. Unskilled or half-skilled worker
03. Skilled or highly-skilled worker
04. Clerk or a technician with a high school degree
05. Clerk or an expert with a college or a university degree
06. Private entrepreneur
07. Police or army employee
08. Housewife
09. Retired
10. Pupil or student
11. Other occupation
12. Unemployed

19. What is (was) your father’s occupation?
1. Farmer
2. Unskilled or half-skilled worker
3. Skilled or highly-skilled worker
4. Clerk or a technician with a high school degree
5. Clerk or an expert with a college or a university degree
6. Private entrepreneur
7. Foremen
8. Political official or business executive
9. Other (Record): ........................................

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Montenegrin</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serb</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yugoslav</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Croat</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bosnian</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Albanian</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other nationality</td>
<td>(Record): 8 (.....)</td>
<td>8 (.....)</td>
<td>8 (.....)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

24. Is anyone from your immediate family (children, brothers, sisters) married to a person of nationality other than your own?
1. Yes 2. No 0. QNA (No children, brothers, sisters)

25. Would you say for yourself that you are a religious person?
1. I am religious
2. I don't know, yes and no
3. I am not religious
4. I am against religion at all

(Ask all respondents)
26. Do you feel affiliated to any religion?
1. Orthodox 4. Other (Record): ...................................
2. Catholic 5. No
3. Islam

(Ask all respondents)
27. Do you go to church - mosque? How often?
1. More than once a week
2. Once a week
3. Once a month
4. Several time a year
5. Once a year or less
6. Never

28. Where would you place yourself - among members of...
1. Working class
2. Middle class
3. Upper class
4. Undecided

Now I would like to start our talk.

29. Do you happen to know who is the chancellor of Germany?
........................................
2. DK

30. And the prime minister of Great Britain (England)?
........................................
2. DK
Let's continue with two questions about the peace process in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

31. Do you support or oppose the Peace Agreement signed in Dayton?
1. Strongly support
2. Somewhat support
3. Somewhat oppose
4. Strongly oppose
5. Undecided

32. How much confidence do you have that the Dayton Peace Agreement will contribute to the lasting peace...
1. Very much
2. Somewhat
3. Not very much
4. None at all
5. Can't say

People associate democracy with different meanings, some of which are listed on this card. For each of them, please tell me whether you consider it essential, important but not essential, not very important or not important at all for a society to be called a democratic one. (Show card)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Essential</th>
<th>Important but not essential</th>
<th>Not very important</th>
<th>Not important at all</th>
<th>Can't decide</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>33. Participation of at least  two strong political parties in the elections (1)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Government that guarantees its citizens economic equality (2)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. Judiciary system that treats everyone equally (3)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. Freedom to criticize the government (4)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. Government that ensures basic economic needs for all citizens (5)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. Economic prosperity in the country (6)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39. Which of these characteristics in your opinion is the most important for a democratic society? Record the number of the statement 33-38: ............ (One answer only)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. In your opinion, what is more important for government to do ...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. To ensure opportunities for people to prosper relying on themselves
2. To ensure the satisfaction of peoples' basic needs
3. Undecided

41. Generally speaking, would you say that most of the people can be trusted, or that there is never too much precaution in dealing with people?
1. Most of the people can be trusted
2. There is never too much precaution
3. Can't decide
Now I would like to read you some statements describing in what ways people may think about some issues. For each of them, please tell me whether you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat or disagree strongly.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Agree strongly</th>
<th>Agree somewhat</th>
<th>Disagree somewhat</th>
<th>Disagree strongly</th>
<th>DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>42. Our schools should give children religious education as well</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. We should be thankful to our leaders for telling us exactly what to do and how to do it</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. My people are not perfect, but our cultural traditions are better than those of others</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45. In order for people to work together, there must be a strict hierarchy</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46. Altogether, the breakup of former Yugoslavia was a bad thing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47. Generally speaking, ethnically mixed marriages are not a good thing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

49. Both freedom and equality are important. But if you were to choose one or the other, which of the following two statements would be closer to your opinion?
1. Personal freedom is more important because everyone can live freely and develop without hindrance
2. Equality is more important because nobody lives in poverty and differences between classes are not great
3. Undecided

Now I will ask you a few questions about economic issues.

50. If you were to choose between a life with few economic worries and a life in which you could freely and openly express your opinions, which would you choose?
1. Life with few economic worries
2. Life with freedom of expression
3. Undecided

51. How would you evaluate the economic situation in Montenegro? Would you say it is...
1. Very good
2. Fairly good
3. Fairly bad
4. Very bad
5. Can't say

52. Do you expect that in the course of the next 12 months the economic situation in Montenegro will be...
1. Much better
2. Somewhat better
3. The same
4. Somewhat worse
5. Much worse
6. Can't say
53. As the UN sanctions have been suspended, how soon do you expect the improvement in the economic situation in the country?
1. In a few months
2. In a year
3. Later
4. Can't decide

54. Could you please compare the economic situations in Montenegro and Serbia. Would you say that the economic situation in Montenegro is...
1. Much better
2. Somewhat better
3. The same
4. Somewhat worse
5. Much worse
6. Can't say

55. How would you describe the present financial situation of your household? Would you say it is...
1. Very good
2. Fairly good
3. Fairly bad
4. Very bad
5. Can't decide

56. Do you expect that during the next 12 months the financial situation of your household will...
1. Improve a great deal
2. Improve somewhat
3. Remain the same
4. Worsen somewhat
5. Worsen a great deal
6. Can't say

57. Do you expect that in five years’ time the financial situation of your household will...
1. Improve a great deal
2. Improve somewhat
3. Remain the same
4. Worsen somewhat
5. Worsen a great deal
6. Can't say

58. As the UN sanctions have been suspended, how soon do you expect the improvement in the financial situation of your household?
1. In a few months
2. In a year
3. Later
4. Can't say

59. Do you plan to start your own business in the next few years? How much is this likely to happen?
1. Very likely
2. Somewhat likely
3. Somewhat unlikely
4. Very unlikely
5. DK

60. Do you personally think that a market economy - the economy almost completely free from state control - is good or bad for Montenegro?
1. Good (----->61)
2. Bad (----->62)
3. Can't decide (----->63)

(If 1. to 60)
61. How convinced are you that a market economy is good for us - strongly or mildly?
1. Strongly
2. Mildly
3. Undecided
0. QNA (2. or 3. to 60)

(If 2. to 60)
62. How convinced are you that a market economy is bad for us - strongly or mildly?
1. Strongly
2. Mildly
3. Undecided
0. QNA (1. or 3. to 60)

63. How will a market economy influence the economic situation in Montenegro? Would you say that the economic situation will...
1. Improve a great deal
2. Improve somewhat
3. Worsen somewhat
4. Worsen a great deal
5. Nothing of these
6. Can't decide

64. How will a market economy in Montenegro influence the financial situation of your household? Would you say that this situation will...
1. Improve a great deal
2. Improve somewhat
3. Worsen somewhat
4. Worsen a great deal
5. Nothing of these
6. Can't decide

65. Some people think that the majority of business companies should be privately owned, and other think that only some business companies should be private, while the government should control most of businesses in our country. Which one of these two opinions is closer to your own?
1. Majority of business companies in private ownership
2. Majority of business companies under state control
3. Undecided

66. There are different opinions about foreign investments. Some people think that foreign investments are necessary and will positively influence the development of our economy. Some others think that foreign investments are dangerous because they allow foreigners too much control over our own affairs. Which one of these views is closer to yours?
1. Foreign investments are necessary
2. Foreign investments are dangerous
3. Undecided

67. Could you please compare the economic position of people of your own nationality with the economic position of most people of other nationalities living in Montenegro. Would you say that over the last few years the economic position of your nationality was...
1. Much better
2. Somewhat better
3. The same
4. Somewhat worse
5. Much worse
6. Can't say

68. Now I would like to ask you to compare the economic position of people of your own nationality with the economic position of most people of other nationalities living in present Yugoslavia. Would you say that over the last few years the economic position of your nationality was...
1. Much better
2. Somewhat better
3. The same
4. Somewhat worse
5. Much worse
6. Can't say

69. How would you characterize our today economy - as predominantly a market economy, a state-controlled economy or something in between? Where would you place it on this scale? (Show card)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Market economy</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>State-controlled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

70. Are you worried by the possibility of someone in your family losing a job in the next year? Would you say that because of this you are...
1. Very worried
2. Somewhat worried
3. Not very worried
4. Not worried at all
5. Can't decide

71. In regard to unemployment, do you consider that the government should be primarily responsible for ensuring jobs to people, or is it primarily the responsibility of the unemployed to find jobs for themselves?
1. Government
2. Unemployed
3. Undecided

72. Which of the following two statements do you personally agree with more?
1. To a good society private ownership is as important as freedom
2. Private ownership often brings people more harm than good
3. Undecided

73. And which of these two?
1. The profits (gain, earnings) in business companies should be strictly limited by law
2. There should not exist any limits on profits (gain, earnings) in business companies
3. Undecided

74. And what about the following two?
1. Competition, whether in school, work or business is often harmful
2. Competition, whether in school, work or business leads to better achievements and a strive for excellence
3. Undecided

Now we shall turn to another group of questions.

75. People have different ideas about democracy. What in your opinion is more important for a democracy...
1. Economic equality
2. Political freedoms (like freedom of speech)
3. Undecided

76. Taking your nationality aside, would you say that people of other nationalities in Montenegro number...
1. Too many
2. A lot, but not too many
3. Not too many
4. Undecided

77. Some politicians in Montenegro want to establish an independent (separate) Montenegro state. What is your opinion about this idea?
1. I support it strongly
2. I support it somewhat
3. I oppose it somewhat
4. I oppose it strongly
Now I'm going to ask you about some institutions and organizations in our country and abroad. For each of them you have a definite opinion on, please tell me whether you have much, some, little or no confidence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Much</th>
<th>Some</th>
<th>Little</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Federal Parliament</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federal Government</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Montenegro Parliament</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Montenegro Government</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbian Parliament</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbian Government</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Party of Socialists</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People's Party of MN</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal Alliance of MN</td>
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<tr>
<td>Serbian Radical Party for MN</td>
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<tr>
<td>Socialdemocratic Party of Reformists</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Domestic Judiciary</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>Yugoslav Army</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yugoslav Police</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Serbian Orthodox Church</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montenegro Orthodox Church</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orthodox Church</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Islam Religious Community</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Catholic Church</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Independent media</td>
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<td>NATO</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European Union</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Now I'm going to read you another list of statements describing in what ways people may think about some issues. For each of them, please tell me whether you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat or disagree strongly.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Agree strongly</th>
<th>Agree somewhat</th>
<th>Disagree somewhat</th>
<th>Disagree strongly</th>
<th>DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>If I were wrongly accused for a crime, I am sure that the judiciary would prove my innocence</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life in Montenegro would be better if all refugees were gone back to their homes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The United States has too much influence on our country's affairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Today's youth does not have enough respect for their parents</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If people plan to live in Montenegro, they must accept the Montenegrin customs and way of life</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious values should play a greater role in our country</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In its relations with Montenegro, Serbia is too much dominant</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims in Bosnia and Her-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
za-no.: 2912

Zezegovina are ready to do anything to establish there an Islam state 1 2 3 4 5

108. Would you say for yourself that you are very proud, somewhat proud, not very proud or not proud at all to be a resident and a citizen of Montenegro?
1. Very proud
2. Somewhat proud
3. Not very proud
4. Not at all proud
5. Undecided

109. Some people think that it is the individuals primarily who should take care about themselves, while others hold that the state should take more responsibility to ensure that people are provided for, while there are opinions somewhere in between. Where would you place your opinion on this scale? (Show card).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Individuals should take care about themselves</th>
<th>State should take care of individuals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

110. Do people of nationalities other than your own live in your neighborhood? How many of them are there?
1. Many
2. A few
3. None

111. Some people think that it would be better for Montenegro if it was composed of a single nationality group, others think that different nationalities can live together in harmony. Which of these views is closer to your own?
1. Single nationality group is better
2. Different nationalities can live in harmony
3. Undecided

112. Would you say that people of your nationality over the last few years have influenced the life and politics in Montenegro...
1. More than people of other nationalities
2. The same as people of other nationalities
3. Less than people of other nationalities
4. Can't say

113. Would you say that people of your nationality over the last few years have influenced the life and politics in present Yugoslavia...
1. More than people of other nationalities
2. The same as people of other nationalities
3. Less than people of other nationalities
4. Can't say

114. In your opinion, are the refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina willing to return to their homes now when the peace agreement has been reached? How much is this likely to happen?
1. Very likely
2. Somewhat likely
3. Somewhat unlikely
4. Very unlikely
5. Can't say

Now I will ask you about your opinion on people of some nationalities living in Montenegro. For each nationality, please tell me whether your opinion of it is very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable. The question concerns only people living in Montenegro.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Very favorable</th>
<th>Somewhat favorable</th>
<th>Somewhat unfavorable</th>
<th>Very unfavorable</th>
<th>DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>115. Montenegrins</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116. Serbs</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117. Muslims</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118. Albanians</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
119. Refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina? 1 2 3 4 5

120. In your opinion, are Montenegrins and Serbs members of different, only somewhat similar, or close nations, or members of one and the same nation?
1. Different
2. Somewhat similar
3. Close
4. One and the same
5. Can't say

121. Some people think that citizens' participation in political life is very important for democratic solutions of political problems, while others think that it is the best to leave politics to elected representatives. Which one of these two views is closer to your own?
1. Citizen's participation
2. Elected representatives
3. Can't decide

Now I'm going to ask you a few questions about some countries. For each of them, please tell me whether your opinion is very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Very favorable</th>
<th>Somewhat favorable</th>
<th>Somewhat unfavorable</th>
<th>Very unfavorable</th>
<th>DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bosnia and Herzegovina</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croatia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macedonia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovenia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Now I will ask you the same question concerning the parts of present Yugoslavia. For each of them, please tell me whether your opinion is very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Very favorable</th>
<th>Somewhat favorable</th>
<th>Somewhat unfavorable</th>
<th>Very unfavorable</th>
<th>DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Montenegro</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbia as a whole</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central (Proper) Serbia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vojvodina</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kosovo and Metohia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Now I would like to read you another list of statements describing opinions of some people. For each of them, please tell me whether you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat or disagree strongly.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Agree strongly</th>
<th>Agree somewhat</th>
<th>Disagree somewhat</th>
<th>Disagree strongly</th>
<th>DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>There are parts of neighboring countries that in fact belong to us</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When it is difficult to find a job, men should have more right to employment than women</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A multi-party system is better than a one-party system</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montenegro is for the Montenegrins only</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If people like me get together with their neighbors, this can help to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
solve the problems in the country 1 2 3 4 5
140. Future will be much better for us than the past 1 2 3 4 5

Now I'm going to ask you about some domestic and foreign politicians. For each of them you have a definite opinion on, please tell me whether it is very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very favorable</th>
<th>Somewhat favorable</th>
<th>Somewhat unfavorable</th>
<th>Very unfavorable</th>
<th>DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

141. Zoran Lilic 1 2 3 4 5
142. Radoje Kontic 1 2 3 4 5
143. Momir Bulatovic 1 2 3 4 5
144. Milo Djukanovic 1 2 3 4 5
145. Svetozar Marovic 1 2 3 4 5
146. Novak Kilibarda 1 2 3 4 5
147. Slavko Perovic 1 2 3 4 5
148. Srdjan Damjanovic 1 2 3 4 5
149. Slobodan Milošević 1 2 3 4 5
150. Vojislav Seselj 1 2 3 4 5
151. Mira Markovic 1 2 3 4 5
152. Franjo Tudjman 1 2 3 4 5
153. Alija Izetbegovic 1 2 3 4 5
155. Radovan Karadzic 1 2 3 4 5
155. Ratko Mladic 1 2 3 4 5
156. Boris Yeltsin 1 2 3 4 5
157. Bill Clinton 1 2 3 4 5

158. There are different opinions concerning the position of Montenegro in the future. Please tell me which of the following you consider the best for our future. Should Montenegro....
1. Remain part of Yugoslavia in the present position
2. Remain part of Yugoslavia but insist on more equal position with Serbia
3. Become an independent state
4. Other (Record): ..............................................................................................................
5. Undecided

Which one of the following belongings do you find the most important for you as a person, for your feeling of who you are, for your identity? And which is the next most important?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Belonging to a place or region where I live</th>
<th>159. I choice</th>
<th>160. II choice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.所属 to a place or region where I live</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Belonging to an occupational group</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. National belonging</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Religious belonging</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Belonging to Montenegro</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Belonging to Yugoslavia</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Undecided</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Now let's turn to another group of questions.

161. Do you support or oppose the politics of Momir Bulatovic?
1. I support
2. I oppose
3. Undecided

162. If new elections for the Parliament of Montenegro would be held tomorrow, which party would you vote for?
................................................................................. 1. Would not vote 2. Undecided

163. Is there any political party you would never vote for?
................................................................................. 1. None 2. Undecided
Now I would like to read you another list of statements describing how people may think about some issues. For each of them, please tell me whether you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat or disagree strongly.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Agree strongly</th>
<th>Agree somewhat</th>
<th>Disagree somewhat</th>
<th>Disagree strongly</th>
<th>DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>164. People in neighboring countries think that parts of Montenegro in fact belong to them</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>165. Every nation should have its own state</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166. People can feel completely safe only if they are the majority nationality in their country</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167. Serbia expects to be given in to its demands in things regarding Montenegro and Serbia relations</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168. Today's youth can expect much from the future</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>169. Montenegro should remain part of Yugoslavia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

170. Do you support or oppose the politics of Slobodan Milosevic?
1. I support (----> 172)
2. I oppose (----> 171)
3. Undecided (---->172)

(If 2. to 170)
171. Is it and how much likely that you could take part in a demonstration against the politics of Slobodan Milosevic?
1. Very likely
2. Somewhat likely
3. Somewhat unlikely
4. I would not take part
5. Undecided
0. QNA (1. or 3. to 170)

172. There are ideas that Sandzak should get some form of autonomy. Do you personally support or oppose this idea?
1. I support (---->173-175)
2. I oppose (---->176-178)
3. Undecided (---->179)

(If 1. to 172)
Would you be ready to do something to support the realization of this idea? Would you for example...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>QNA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>173. Sign a petition</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>174. Participate in a rally</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>175. Participate in a demonstration</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(If 2. to 172)
Would you be ready to do something to oppose the realization of this idea? Would you for example...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>QNA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>176. Sign a petition</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>177. Participate in a rally</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>178. Participate in a demonstration</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Now I'm going to ask you a few questions about media.

179. Please single out only one from the following media sources that you rely on most for information about important events and problems in our country.
1. Daily press
2. Weekly (periodical) press
3. Radio
4. Television
5. Talks with friends and family members
6. Other (Record): ...........................................

180. Which TV station do you rely on most for information?
................................. 1. Does not watch TV, not informed by TV

181. And which TV station do you consider most trustworthy?
................................. 0. QNA (1. to 180)
......................... 1. None

182-183. Which radio station do you rely on most for information?
................................. 1. Does not listen to the radio, not informed by the radio

184-185. And which radio station do you consider most trustworthy?
................................. 00. QNA (01. to 182-183)
......................... 01. None

(Only for radio listeners)
At what time do you listen to the radio most often? Please single out only one time period from this card. And now I would like to ask you to choose another time period when you listen to the radio most often. (Show card)

186. First choice 187. Second choice
From 6 to 9h 1 1
From 9 to 12h 2 2
From 12 to 15h 3 3
From 15 to 18h 4 4
From 18 to 21h 5 5
From 21 to 24h 6 6
Other period 7 7
QNA (Does not listen to the radio) 0 0

188. Which newspaper do you rely on most for information?
................................. 1. Does not read newspapers, not informed by newspapers

189. And which newspaper do you consider most trustworthy?
................................. 0. QNA (01. to 185-186)
......................... 01. None

190-191. When you consider all information sources about domestic and international developments, which one do you personally trust the most? Please single out only one source - one particular newspaper, one radio station, a TV program or some other source.
............................................................................................

As you probably know it is possible to listen to radio stations from abroad. Please tell me whether in the past three months you have listened to the program of the following stations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QNA (Does not listen to the radio)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(If 1. to 192-195)

In average, how often have you listened to...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>6-7 days a week</th>
<th>3-5 days a week</th>
<th>1-2 days a week</th>
<th>Less often</th>
<th>QNA (Does not listen to radio)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>196. BBC</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>197. Radio Free Europe</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>198. Voice of America</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>199. Voice of America for Europe</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Only for listeners of Voice of America)

200. I suppose you know that it is possible to listen to Voice of America both directly from the USA and as well on some of our local radio stations. Over the last three months have you listened to VOA directly, on some of our local stations or both?
1. Directly
2. On a local station
3. Both
4. Does not know
0. QNA (Does not listen to Voice of America, does not listen to the radio)

(For listeners of Voice of America)

I also suppose you know that VOA is broadcast on short wave (SW), medium wave (AM) and ultra short wave (FM, UKW). On what waveband do you listen to the VOA or maybe you are not sure about it?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>201. Short (SW)</th>
<th>202. Medium (AM)</th>
<th>203. Ultrashort (FM, UKW)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QNA ((Does not listen to VOA does not listen to the radio)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION