

**Results of public opinion research**

**Serbian Citizens' Awareness of Wars in '90s, War Crimes  
and War Crimes Trials**

*Public Opinion Research among Serbian Citizens  
conducted for Serbian Daily Newspaper "Danas"  
(publisher: Dan Graf)*

Realization of the research:

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## **1. Basic data on realization of research**

The research was carried out by the research team of the Demostat Research and Media Center, during 2017. The research report was completed on September 1, 2017. The research team leader and author of the research report is Srecko Mihailovic, sociologist. The fieldwork was conducted by the Demostat RMC pollsters.

The research was conducted through face-to-face interviews. An interview lasted for 35 minutes on average. The questionnaire presented 69 questions - 26 open-ended and 43 closed-ended questions.

In the realization of the research, we used a so-called simple random sample of 1200 respondents. In the first stage of selection, from the list of polling stations we randomly selected 80 of the polling stations. In the second stage, we randomly selected streets in which the survey would be conducted, including the starting point and the “step” in choosing of the home/household in which the respondent would be “questionned”. In the third stage, a respondent was selected in a given household according to the “first birthday date” procedure.

The field part of the research was conducted in the second half of July 2017 (which was not a convenient time, because of the holidays). The sample was realized 100%.

The realized sample is representative at the level of Serbia, but not at the level of the region. For a confidence level of 90%, the margin of error is 3.4 percentage points; for a confidence level of 95%, the margin of error is 4.0 percentage points; for a confidence level of 99%, the margin of error is 5.3 percentage points. In practice, 95% confidence estimation ( $\alpha = 0.05$ ) is most often used.

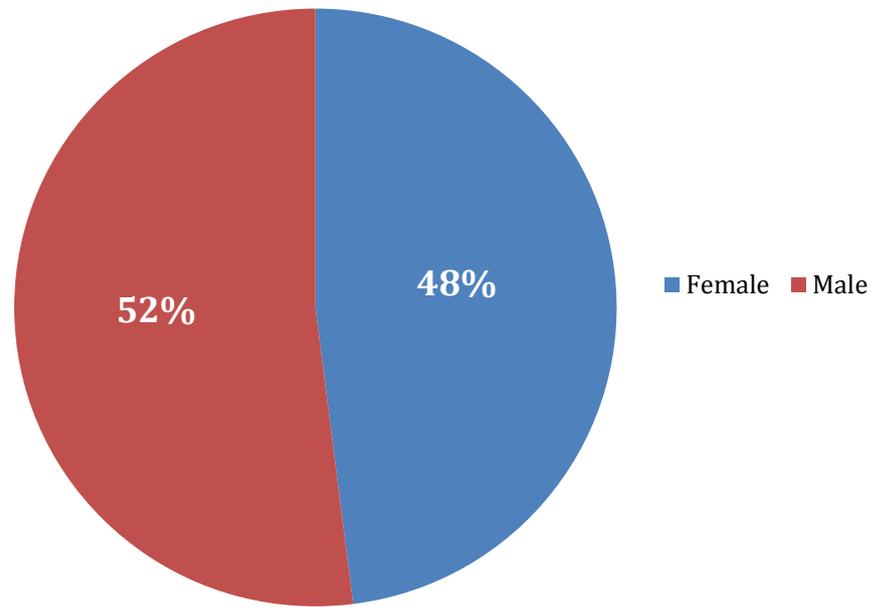
## **2. Basic data on sample**

1202 questionnaires were submitted for the final statistical analysis. In the realization of the questionnaire, an overestimation of respondents with higher and high education occurred, while respondents with the elementary schooling were underestimated. These and other minor disproportions in basic statistical indicators have been corrected by a standard repondering procedure.

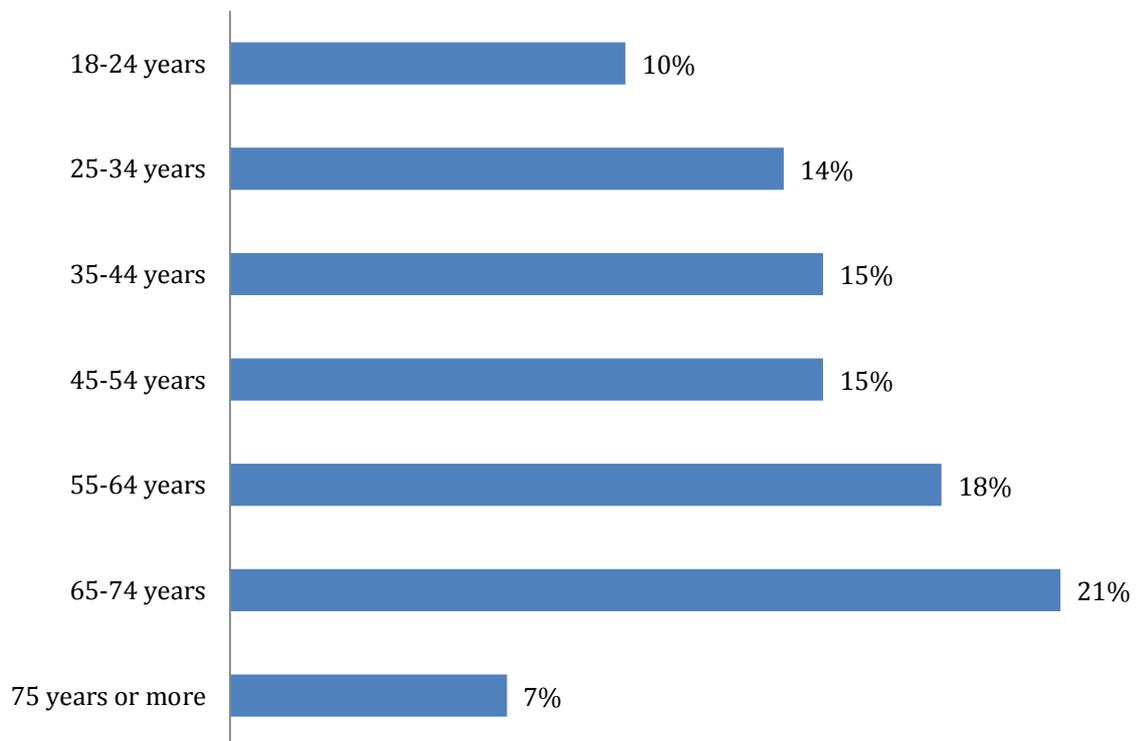
### **Structure of respondents by gender**

48% females  
52% males

### 65. Sample Structure by Gender



### 66. Sample Structure by Age

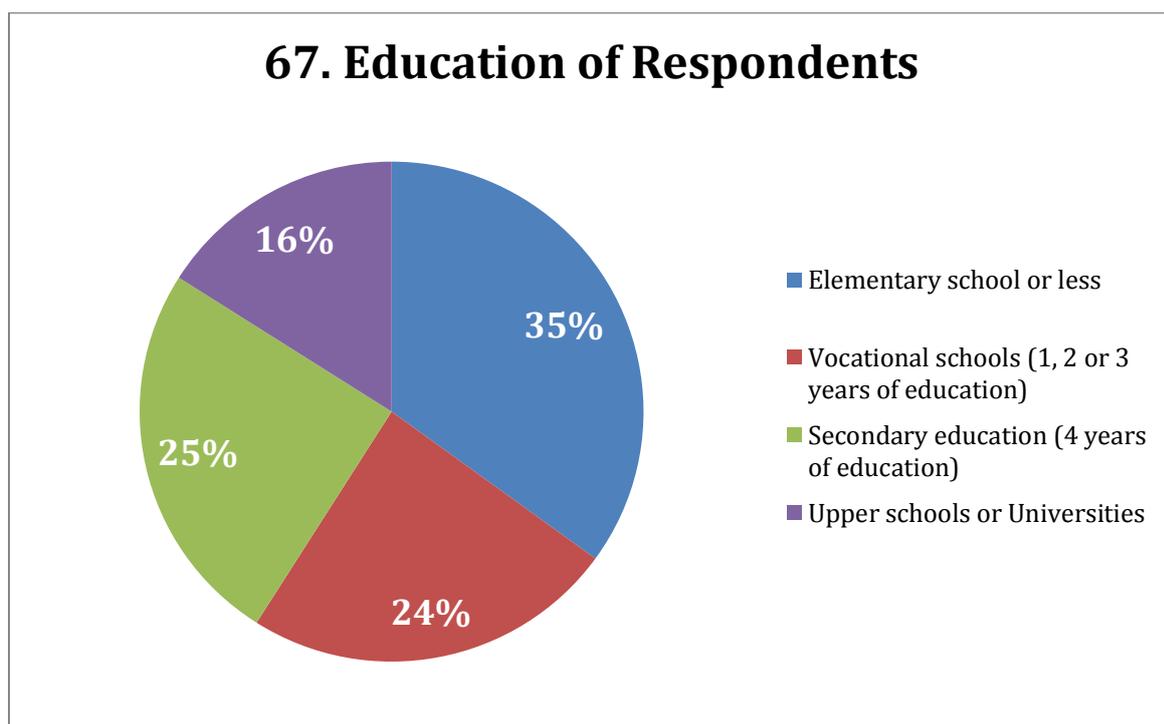


### Structure of respondents by age

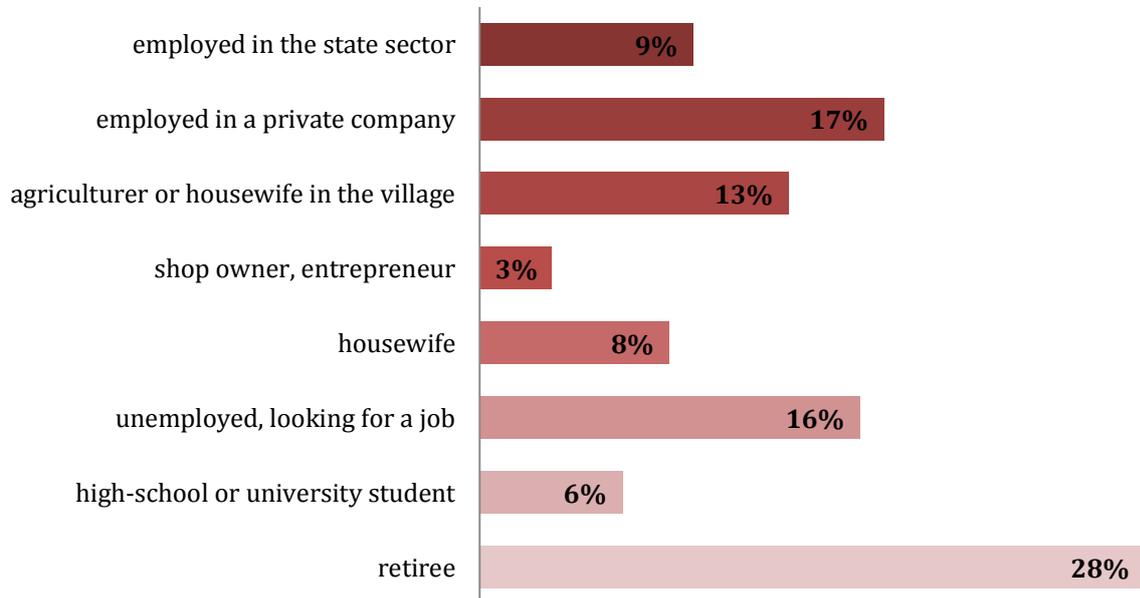
10%	18-24 years
14%	25-34 years
15%	35-44 years
15%	45-54 years
18%	55-64 years
21%	65-74 years
7%	75 years and older

### Education of respondents

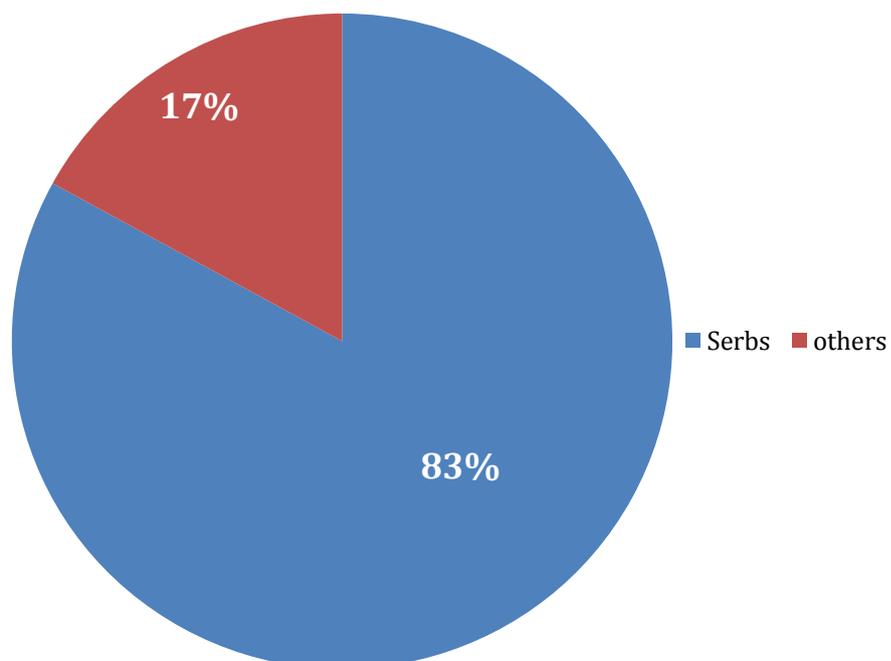
35%	Elementary school or less
24%	Vocational schools (1, 2 or 3 years of education)
25%	Secondary education (4 years of education)
16%	Upper schools or Universities



## 68. Working-financial status of respondents



## 69. Nationality of respondents



### Working-financial status of respondents

9%	employed in the state sector
17%	employed in a private company
13%	agricultururer or housewife in the village
3%	shop owner, entrepreneur
8%	housewife
16%	unemployed, looking for a job
6%	high-school or university student
28%	retiree

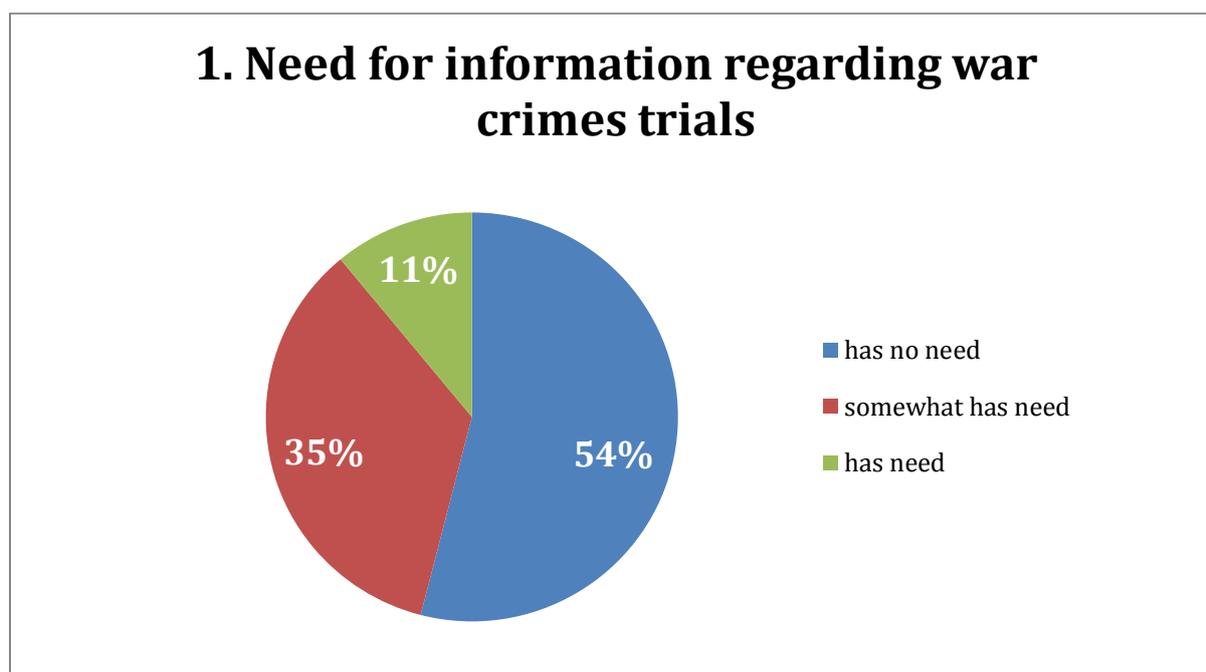
### Nationality of respondents

83%	Serbs
17%	others

## 3. Need for information regarding war crimes trials

The research presents a devastating triad of findings regarding the awareness of Serbian citizens on war crimes trials, and the need for information: the majority of respondents said that there is no need for information about war crimes trials; the majority of respondents assessed their level of awareness regarding war crimes trials as poor; the majority of respondents estimated that citizens are poorly informed regarding war crimes trials.

### Self-assessment regarding need for information



Most respondents claimed they had no need for information on war crimes trials: 54% of respondents declared that, while 35% declared that they “somewhat” had that need. Only every ninth respondent stated that there was a need for information regarding trials (11%).

Three fifths of respondents (59%) estimated their awareness on war crimes trials as being poor.<sup>1</sup> 29% of the respondents were moderately informed, and 12% of respondents well-informed.

Assessing the need for information and evaluation of the awareness itself are in high correlation, which is logical (the contingency coefficient -  $C_c$  - is 0.48). Citizens who need information are often more informed than those who do not have the need for information. Out of the total number of those who said they did not have that need, 79% estimated their awareness to be poor, and out of those who did have the need for information, 22% claimed to be poorly informed. The arithmetic average of the level of awareness (in grades 1 to 5) for those without need for information was 1.68; for those who “somewhat” had a need of information - 2.64; and for those who needed information - 3.08.

The need for information on war crimes trials was in high or moderate correlation with all awareness indexes we have created as synthetic indicators of awareness by areas of concern. The greatest correlation was with the War Crimes and War Crimes Trials Awareness Index ( $C_c = 0.48$ ), while the arithmetical average of the War Crimes and War Crimes Trials with those who said they needed information from 1 (non-informed) to 5 (very well informed) was 3.29; and for those who said they did not need information, the average was 1.77. Other correlations were of medium intensity: with the Awareness Index of Trials in Serbia ( $C_c = 0.36$ ) and with the Serbian Casualties during the 1990s Awareness Index ( $C_c = 0.33$ ).

The connection of the existing need for information with socio-demographic variables was of low intensity (approximately 0.20), but statistically significant. The need for information was more often emphasized by men than by women (15% vs. 8%), and by the older respondents rather than the younger (22% vs. 7%); retirees and employees in the state sector emphasized that need more often, while housewives, high-school students and university students less often.

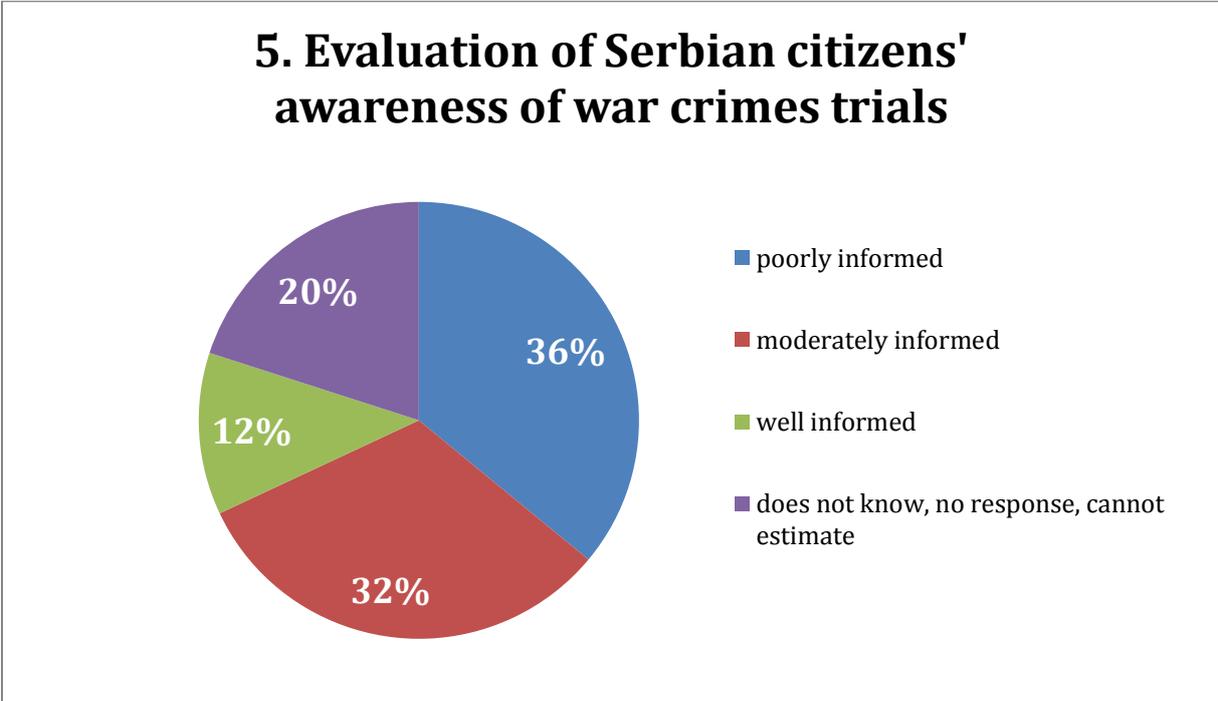
Men more often claimed to be well informed about war crimes trials than women (16% vs. 7%), or men rarely claimed to be uninformed (29 vs. 45%). When it came to the age of respondents ( $C_c = 0.31$ ), three age groups were distinguished by self-evaluation of awareness: the least informed were those who were 34 years old or under (uninformed 50%-60% and informed 4%-10%), followed by the oldest, ie those who were 65 or older (uninformed approximately 40%, and informed approximately 10%-20%). The best informed were middle-aged respondents, 35-65 years old (uninformed approximately 27%, and informed approximately 15%). When it came to the working-financial status of respondents, the owners of businesses and small enterprises (about 23%), employees in the state sector and retirees (around 16%) were well-informed, while high-school and university students (4%), housewives (5%) and unemployed persons (8%) were rarely well-informed.

The comparison of self-evaluated awareness and answers to questions in which a “cross-check” of awareness was required, showed a fair sense of reality of the respondents

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<sup>1</sup> Here included were the 8% of those who did not answer the question or said they could not estimate their level of awareness.

when self-evaluated. The correlation between self-evaluation of awareness and the four Awareness Indexes ranged between 0.34 and 0.44. The most distinctive correlation was between the self-evaluation and the War Crimes and War Crimes Trials Awareness Index (0.44). For example, a group of respondents who were at the lowest level at the War Crimes and War Crimes Trials Awareness Index in 79 percent of cases evaluated their awareness as poor, and in 18 percent as moderate, whilst only 3% said they were well-informed.



**Evaluation of citizens' awareness in general**

Interestingly, there were very similar distributions of self-evaluated awareness and estimates of citizens' awareness in general; the average self-evaluated level of awareness, in grades 1 to 5, was 2.29, and the average rating of citizens' awareness, 2.55. It means that our respondents had quite similarly evaluated their own awareness and public awareness (this statement is particularly true if we join those with no answer and those who did not know how to answer these questions to the respondents who gave both themselves and the citizens a low grade on awareness).

Table 1. **Self-evaluation of awareness and estimates of citizens' awareness in general** (in %)

	Self-evaluation of the respondents' awareness	Estimates of citizens' awareness
Poorly Informed	59	56
Moderately Informed	29	32
Well Informed	12	12
TOTAL	100	100

The coefficient of contingency between self-evaluation of the awareness and estimates of citizens' awareness in general was very high - 0.64. Self-evaluation and estimates of others' awareness was in three-quarters of cases the same, and more or less different in one quarter of cases. In both assessments, awareness was estimated as poor by 45% of respondents, as moderate by 16%, and as good by 14% of respondents, while, as we have said above, estimates differed with 25% of respondents.

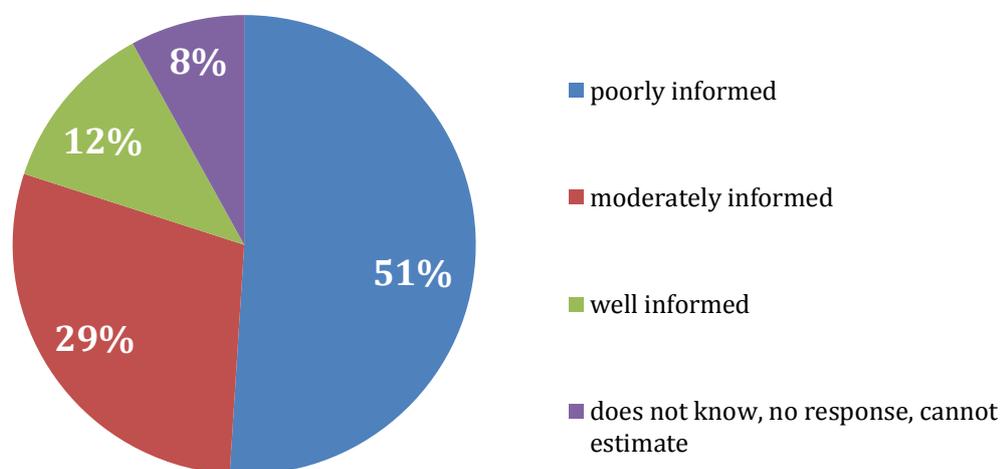
### **Opinions on media**

Of the total number of citizens who reported on the media through which they are most frequently informed about the wars of the 1990s and war crimes trials, 72% of them stated it was television, 14% newspapers, 13% internet and 1% the radio.

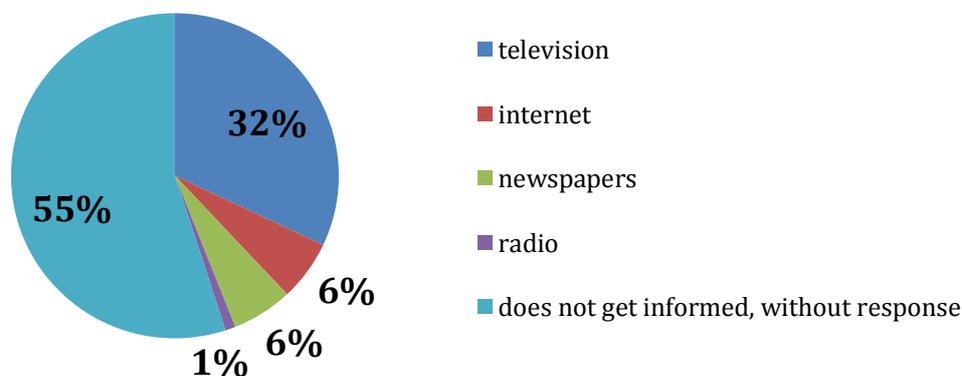
There were no significant differences in the use of media between women and men. The correlation with the age of respondents was expected. The youngest respondents were the only age group that used the internet (51%) more than television (41%), whilst those older than 65 years, much more than the others, used television (about 80%), with the internet at a minimum (up to 4%). When it came to school education, the separation line was 11 years of schooling. On the one hand were those who had 11 years or less of education, who in approximately 82% of cases used TV, with 12% using newspapers, and 5% of cases the internet. Those who had 12 years or more of education in approximately 60% of cases used TV, 22% the internet, and about 18% of cases newspapers.

No significant differences were observed between the media used and the index of awareness; probably everyone uses the medium in which they can confirm their already established beliefs.

## 6. Self-evaluation of awareness of war crimes trials



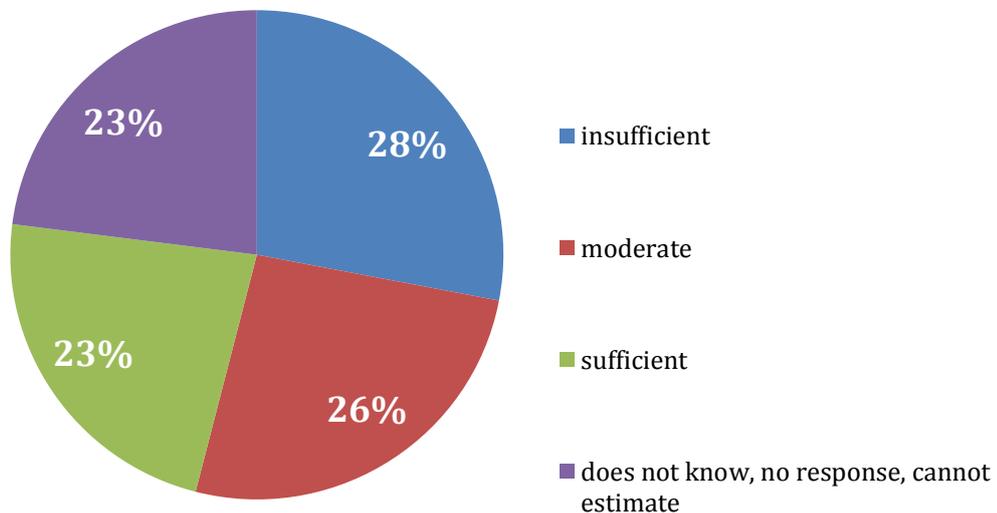
## 2. Media through which the citizens are most frequently informed



### How much do media inform citizens of War Crimes Trials in Serbia

How much information on war crimes trials is provided to Serbian citizens? Our respondents had divided opinions on the matter. A considerable number of respondents said the information is insufficient (28%), slightly less that the information is only moderate (26%), while 23% said that the information is sufficient (also, another 23% of respondents either did not answer the question, or said they did not know how they would reach an estimate).

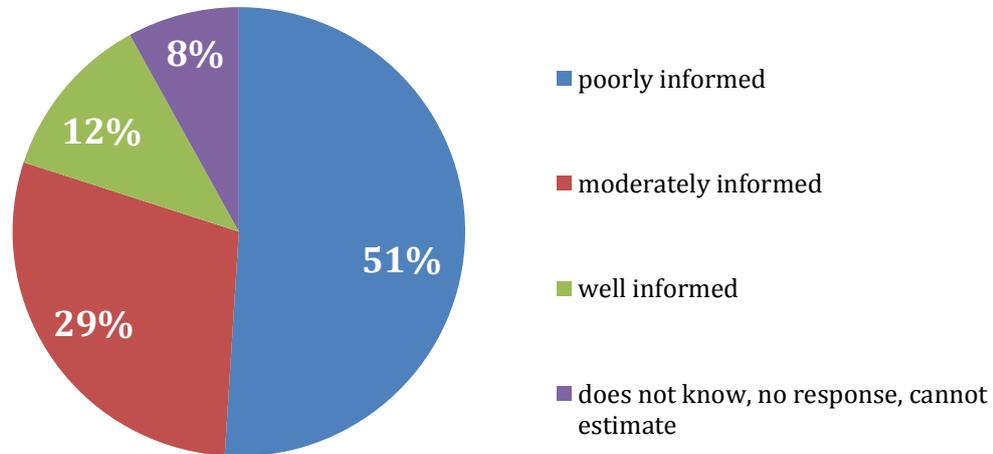
#### 4. Evaluation of the scope of information on war crimes trials in Serbia



Three-fifths of the respondents (59%), who had a need to be informed about war crimes trials, found, considerably more than others, the scope of information insufficient, while among those who did not have the need to be informed, only 18% were of the same opinion. The correlation between the need for information and assessment of the information scope was 0.43. Correlations with other socio-demographic characteristics were considerably weaker and ranged between 0.20 and 0.26. Still, certain regularities were perceived. For example, the number of “non-response items” averaged at 24%, but at levels significantly higher in the following categories of respondents: high-school and university students - 42%, the youngest respondents (18-24 years) - 44%, housewives - 34%, and respondents with eight or less years of schooling - 30%.

There was a relatively high correlation between the assessment of the scope of information on war crimes trials in Serbia and the War Crimes and War Crimes Trials Awareness Index - 0.39. Informed respondents to a greater extent pointed out the insufficiency of the information provided by the media. Notably, 42% of the respondents who were very well informed pointed out the lack of information whilst, on the other hand, only 19% of respondents who were very poorly informed pointed to the inadequacy of media activity in providing information regarding war crimes trials in Serbia. At the same time, it should be mentioned that as many as 44% of respondents who were very poorly informed gave “non-responses” to the question of how much information is provided by the media.

## 6. Self-evaluation of awareness of war crimes trials

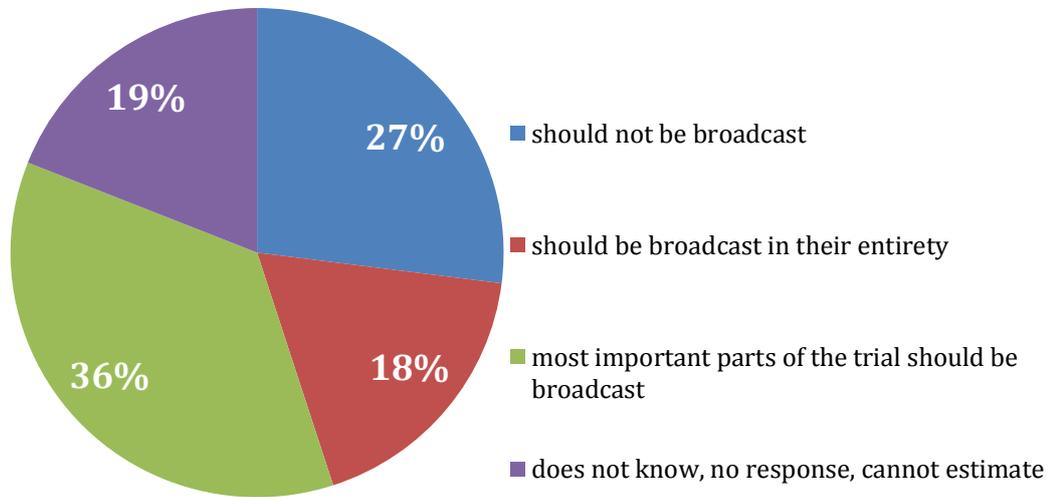


There was a relatively moderate correlation between the assessment of the information scope on war crimes trials in Serbia and the War Crimes and War Crimes Trials Awareness Index ( $Cc = 0.32$ ). Those informed pointed to the insufficient work of the media in informing the public (50%, compared to the average of 28%), and gave almost no “non-responses” to the question of how much information the media provided. On the other hand, the least informed less often pointed to the inadequacy of information provided by the media (28%) and most often gave non-response values (23%) to the question regarding the work of media on informing. Similar (small) regularities also occur when it comes to a correlation between the information scope of war crimes trials in Serbia and the Serbian Casualties during the 1990s Awareness Index. ( $Cc = 0.28$ ).

### **Attitudes towards War Crimes Trials on Radio Television of Serbia - RTS**

More than half of the respondents (54%) believe that the RTS must broadcast the war crimes trials, a quarter think that it should not (27%), and a fifth (19%) do not know or provide other non-response items. In fact, the largest number of respondents believe that the RTS should show the most important parts of the trials (36%), and when adding the 18% who are those who think that the RTS should broadcast trials in full, we come to the above-mentioned majority. With a certain degree of generalization, we might conclude that 54% of respondents believe that the RTS should broadcast trials, and 46% think it should not.

### 3. Attitudes towards War Crimes Trials on Radio Television of Serbia (RTS)



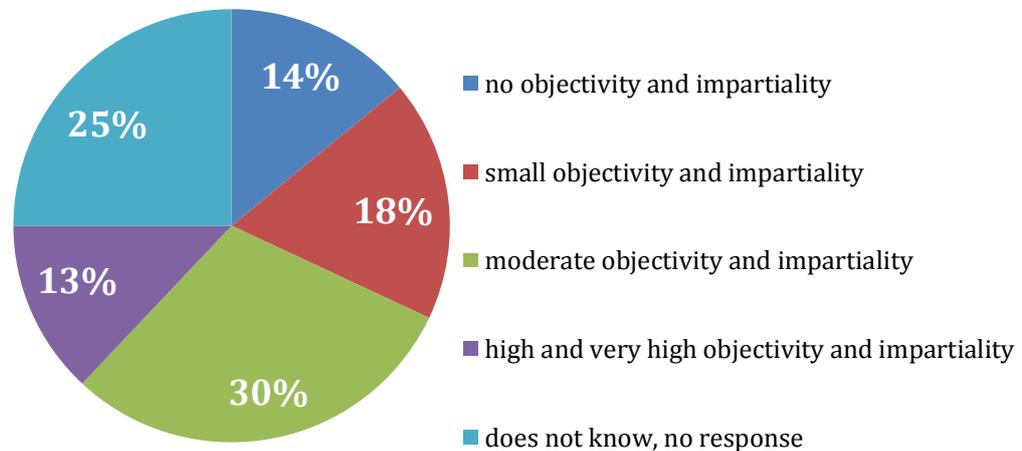
The attitude towards broadcasting war crimes trials at the RTS is not significantly correlated with the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents. Perhaps it should be mentioned here that the youngest are more likely to think that the trials should not be broadcast (28%) and the oldest that trials should be broadcast on TV (65%). Also, more often than by others, the broadcasting of trials is supported by state sector employees (66%) and retirees (62%), but less often than by others by high-school and university students (31%).

There is a moderate intensity of the correlation between the Awareness on Wars Index and the attitude towards the broadcasting of war crimes trials at the RTS ( $C_c = 0.31$ ). With the decline in the awareness indexes, the support for broadcast war crimes trials also decreases. Of the total number of the best informed, 82% support the broadcasting of trials or parts of the trials, whilst support goes in the opposite direction among the worst informed - 36%. The same goes for the Awareness on War Crimes Trials in Serbia Index ( $C_c = 0.23$ ), where with the decline of awareness, the support for the broadcasting of trials decreases: 85 - 72 - 56 - 47%. We have the same trend in regard to the Serbian Casualties during the 1990s Awareness Index. ( $C_c = 0.24$ ): 69 - 56 - 42%.

#### **Estimation of objectivity and impartiality of media reporting on war crimes**

One third of the respondents (32%) state that there is no objectivity or impartiality in the media, or that these parameters are small; 30% say that objectivity/impartiality is only moderate, while only 13% say that objectivity/impartiality is very high; non-response items are characteristic of exactly one quarter of the respondents. On average, reporting in the scope of grades 1 to 5 is estimated at 2.60.

## 10. Estimation of objectivity and impartiality of the media reporting on war crimes



Estimation of objectivity and impartiality of the media reporting on war crimes is not significantly related to the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents. The correlation of the assessment of objectivity and impartiality of the media is in high correlation with the War and War Crimes Trials Awareness Index (0.38) and in a moderate intensity correlation with the War Crimes Trials Awareness Index in Serbia (0.29) and the Serbian Casualties during the 1990s Awareness Index (0.28). As a rule, non-awareness is matched with non-response items to the question regarding objectivity, and the awareness with the average grade of partiality and objectivity.

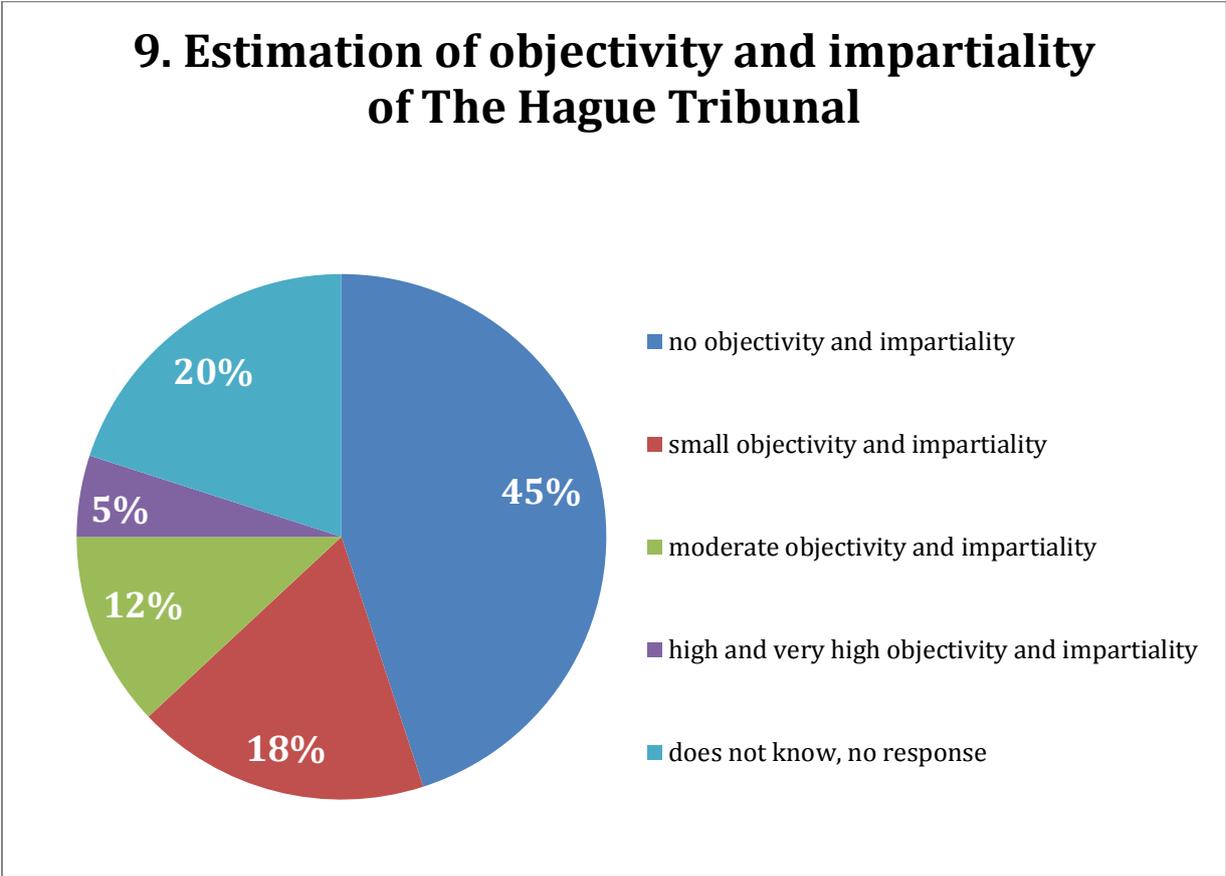
### 4. The Hague Tribunal

The citizens of Serbia have a predominantly negative attitude towards the Hague Tribunal, which is reflected in their claims regarding the Tribunal's partiality and favouritism. And they have many doubts about the work of the Tribunal, including the attitude that the Tribunal has contributed little to the recognition of the facts regarding the wars in the former SFRY in the 1990s.

#### **Estimation of objectivity and impartiality of The Hague Tribunal**

The work of the Tribunal was evaluated by every four out of five respondents. Regarding the total number of respondents who have assessed the work of the Tribunal, 56% claim that the Tribunal is non-objective and biased, 22% that it is partially objective, 16% medium-objective, and 6% fairly or highly objective. However, in the further analysis of the data, we will also include the overall sample - that is, those who did not give an assessment of the work of the Tribunal (the answers "I do not know", or no answer). Thus, the total distribution of responses is as follows: 45% claim that the Tribunal is non-objective and biased, 18% that it

is partially objective, 12% medium-objective and 5% fairly or highly objective, while 20% do not know or did not give an answer to this question. The average rating of the Tribunal, from 1 to 5, is 1.72, meaning that the Tribunal's work is estimated to be poor on average.



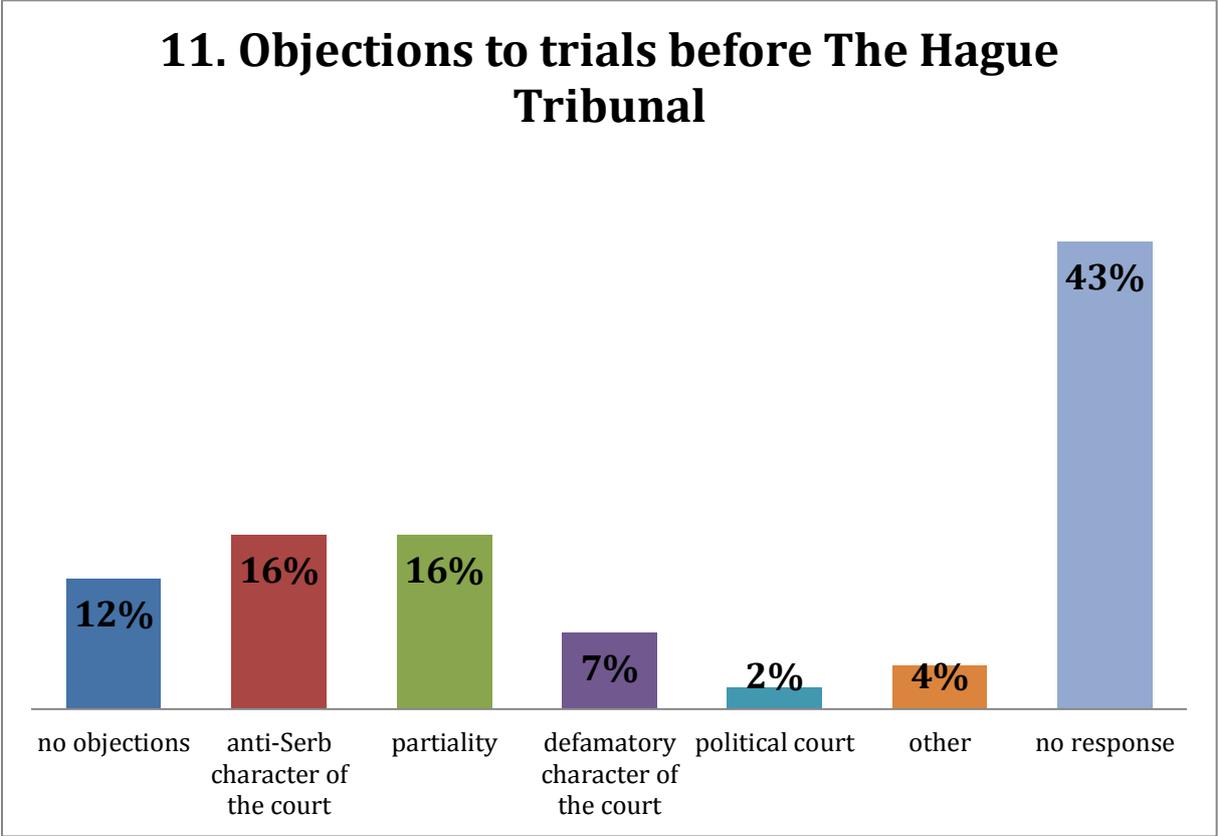
The estimation of the objectivity and impartiality of the Hague Tribunal is not significantly correlated with the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents. However, there is a slightly higher number of non-response items in the case of younger respondents (40%), women (28%), and respondents with primary school and lower education (27%).

The Wars and War Crimes Trials Awareness Index and the assessment of the objectivity and impartiality of the Hague Tribunal are in an almost high correlation ( $Cc = 0.37$ ), expressed through a pairing on the one hand of a medium, fair and high level of awareness, and on the other, an assessment of no or poor objectivity and impartiality. In 76% of cases, the better informed claim that the Tribunal is non-objective, and those who are less informed or non-informed, claim this in 54% of cases. The non-informed and less informed often give non-responses (31%), as compared to those who are informed (5%). The correlation of the Objectivity of the Tribunal with the remaining three indexes is the same - 0.27, and the same goes for the regularities as in the previous case, except that they are less pronounced.

**Objections to trials before The Hague Tribunal**

An almost equal number of respondents cite some objection to trials before the Hague Tribunal (45%) and do not answer the question regarding those objections (43%), and only 12% declare they have no objections. Compared to the total number of respondents, 16% point to the anti-Serb character of the court, the same percentage assert the non-objectivity of the court, 9% give answers according to which the court is defamatory and emphasize its political character, and 4% of respondents give “other” answers.

Generally, it can be argued that respondents who did not make any objections (either they did not know how to answer this question, or simply did not answer) have no objections (except perhaps some general feeling of “something is not right”). If we take this assumption



to be probable, then we could say that 45% of the respondents have an objection to the work of the ICTY, and 55% of the respondents have no objections. It is logical that those who evaluate the work of the Tribunal as objective and impartial still have some objections regarding its work - and that constitutes every third respondent among those who evaluate the Tribunal's judgment as objective and impartial.

However, it is not logical that those arguing that the work of the Tribunal is neither objective nor impartial do not mention any objection or criticism (which is why we are inclined to classify “non-response items” as coming from among those who have no objections to the work of the Tribunal). However, there is a basis as regards respondents who offer “non-responses” on both questions asking about an assessment of the ICTY and objections to its

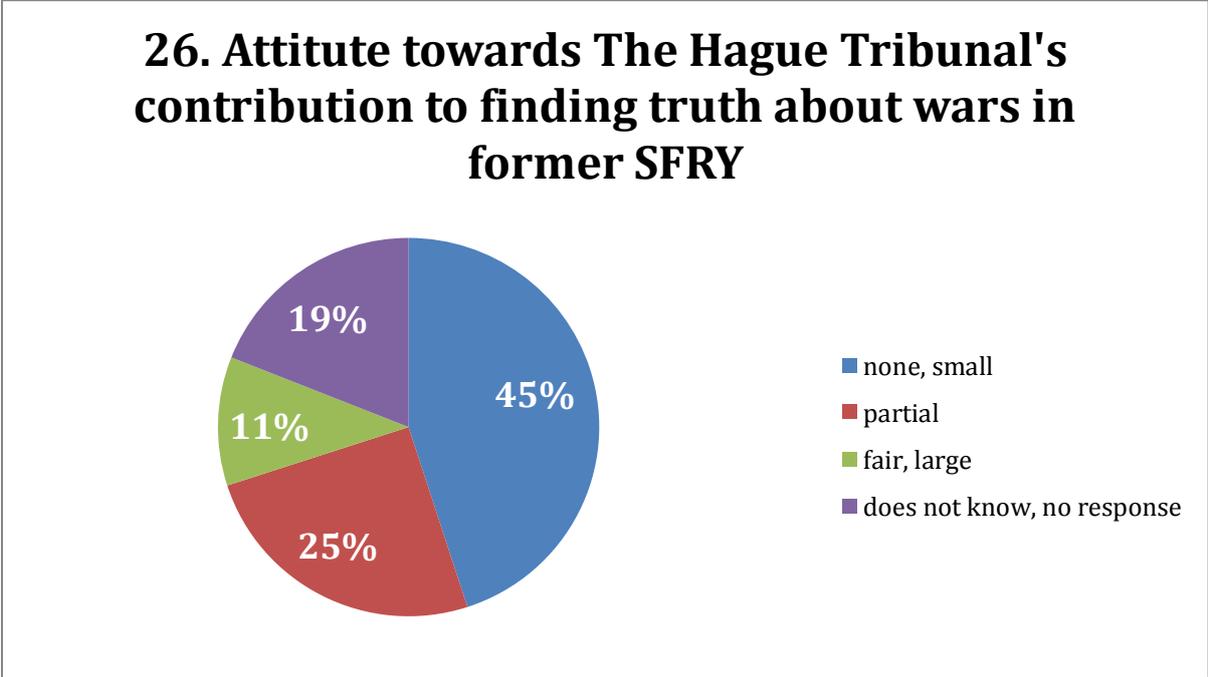
work, for accepting it as *non-response*. In that case, we would have the following distribution of answers to the question regarding objections: **45% of the respondents have objections regarding the work of the Tribunal, 39% of the respondents do not have any objections to the work of the Tribunal, and 16% of the respondents have no answer to this question.** There is a fairly high correlation between assessment of the work of the Tribunal and stating or not stating objections regarding the work of the Tribunal ( $Cc = 0.49$ ).

The correlation between stating or not stating the objections to the work of the Tribunal and the socio-demographic characteristics of respondents ranges between 0.21 and 0.29. Objections to the work of the Tribunal are more frequent within the following categories: respondents with high or higher education (57% state objections), respondents aged 45 to 65 (53-54%), and retirees (52%). On the other hand, objections are rarest among the youngest respondents (26%), housewives (28%), highschool and university students (33%), and women (34%).

Indexes of awareness are in fairly high correlation with the (non)existence of the objections to the work of the Tribunal: the War and War Crimes Trials Awareness Index ( $Cc = 0.47$ ), the Awareness on War Crimes Trials in Serbia Index ( $Cc = 0.41$ ), and the Serbian Casualties during the 1990s Awareness Index ( $Cc = 0.37$ ).

The number of objections decreases with the decline of the awareness indexes. Here is what it looks like in the case of the strongest correlation (0.47): 87 – 76 – 67 – 40 – 16%; and here is what it looks like in the case of the weakest correlation (0.32): 83 – 66 – 51 – 35%.

**Tribunal's contribution to finding truth about wars in former SFRY**

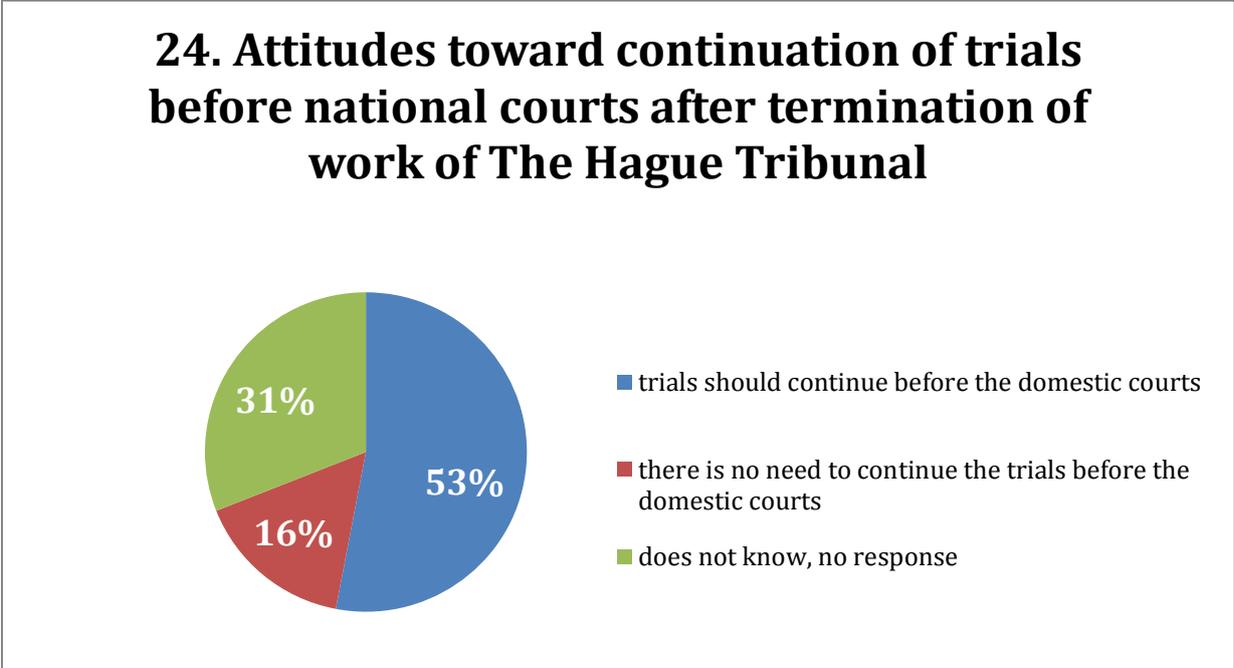


About 45% of the respondents assert a lack of or only a small contribution to the truth from the ICTY regarding the wars in the former SFRY, approximately 25% of respondents affirm a partial contribution, and about 11% state a fair or large contribution, while 19% do not answer this question. Responses to this question were not significantly associated with socio-demographic characteristics.

The estimation of the Tribunal's contribution to finding the truth about the wars in the former SFRY is in significant correlation with the War and War Crimes Trials Awareness Index - 0.40. The percentage of respondents who state that there is no contribution or that it is small is in the opposite proportion to war and war crimes trials awareness - while the awareness index increases the percentage of emphasis on the Tribunal's contribution to the truth about the events and wars decreases. There is a similar trend, but with a lower intensity, in the case of the Awareness on War Crimes Trials in Serbia Index (Cc = 0.32).

**Attitudes toward continuation of trials before national courts after termination of work of The Hague Tribunal**

A moderate majority of respondents - 53% - believe that the trials should continue before the domestic courts; 16% of respondents believe that there is no need to continue the trials before the domestic courts; whilst 31% of respondents did not answer this question.



Responses to the question of the need to continue the trials before the domestic courts after the Tribunal completes its work are not significantly related to the sociodemographic characteristics of the respondents.

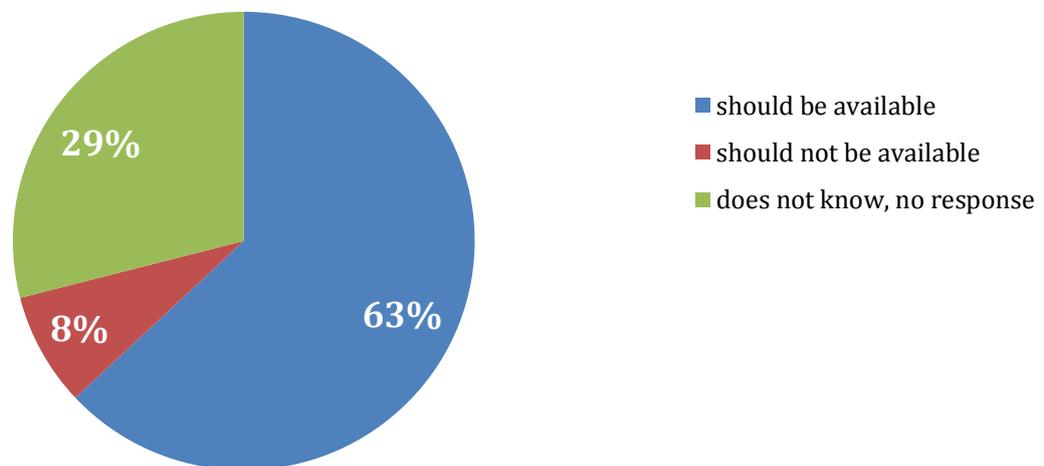
The awareness indexes, as in previous cases, are linked to the attitude toward continuing the trials after the ICTY ends its work. With the decrease of awareness, the percentage of respondents who consider it necessary to continue the trials also decreases. Here is how, with the example of the decrease of the War Crimes and War Crimes Trials Awareness Index, the number of those declaring in favour of the continuation of the trials decreases: 84 – 72 – 64 – 49%. The contingency coefficient is the highest in the case of the War Crimes and War Crimes Trials Awareness Index - 0.32; next comes the Awareness on War Crimes Trials in Serbia Index - 0.30; and last is the Serbian Casualties Awareness Index - 0.23.

## **Attitude towards availability of The Hague Tribunal archives to public in Serbia**

Almost two thirds of respondents (63%) believe that the archives at The Hague should be available to the citizens of Serbia, 8% think that the archives should not be available, whilst 29% did not answer this question.

Of the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents as regards the answers to the question about the archives in The Hague, there is a low correlation regarding education (0.23) and working-financial status (0.20). As the level of education becomes higher, there is a growing percentage who declares in favour of the availability of the archives (54-57-69-82%); and in terms of status, the highest percentage is to be found with employees in state companies (78%) and employees in private companies (72%), followed by housewives (50%), agriculturiers (52%) and students (54%).

### **25. Attitude towards availability of The Hague Tribunal archives to public in Serbia**



The correlation between the response to this question and the War and War Crimes Awareness Index is 0.32, and with the War Crimes Trials in Serbia Awareness Index, 0.24. In all the cases with the decrease in awareness, the number of respondents who think that the ICTY archives should be available to the citizens of Serbia also decreases. Here is how it looks for the example of the highest correlation: 86-81-76-65-42%.

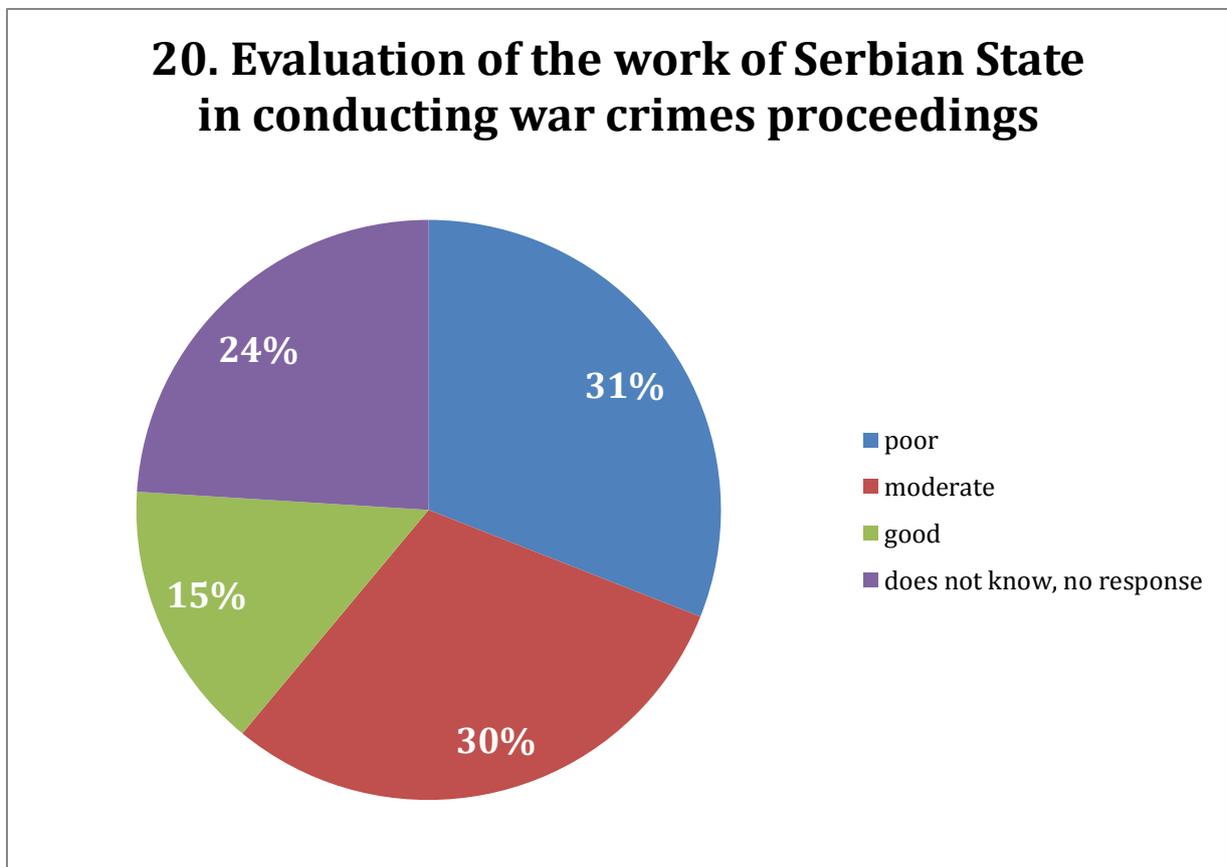
## 5. Rating work of Serbian State

According to the findings in our research, the citizens of Serbia are critical in their attitudes towards the work of the Serbian State in conducting war crimes proceedings, but also regarding the objectivity and impartiality of the War Crimes Prosecutor and the Judges of the War Crimes Chamber. But despite that, people who claim that a fair trial for Ramush Haradinaj is possible in Serbia are two and a half times more numerous than those who think that a fair trial is not possible.

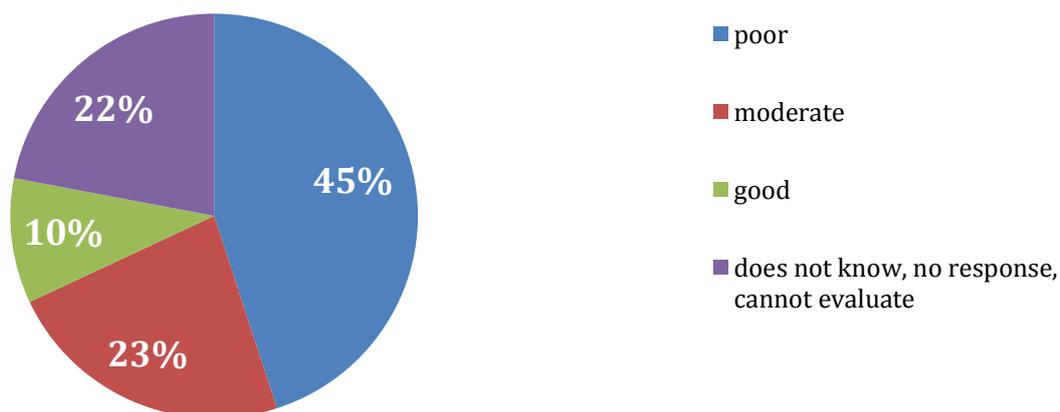
### Work of Serbian State in conducting war crimes proceedings and resolving issue of missing persons

Almost one third of respondents (31%) evaluate the work of the state of Serbia in conducting war crimes proceedings as poor, 30% as moderate, and 15% as good, whilst 24% have no answer to this question. The average rating, with the scores 1 to 5, is 2.69, which means that the average is closer to the number three than the number two.

Even worse is the evaluation of the work of the Serbian State in resolving the fate of missing persons: 45% of respondents believe this work is poorly conducted, 23% offer a moderate estimate, 10% consider it good, while 22% have no answer to this question. The average score is poor - 2.32.



## 21. Evaluation of the work of Serbian State in resolving the fate of missing persons

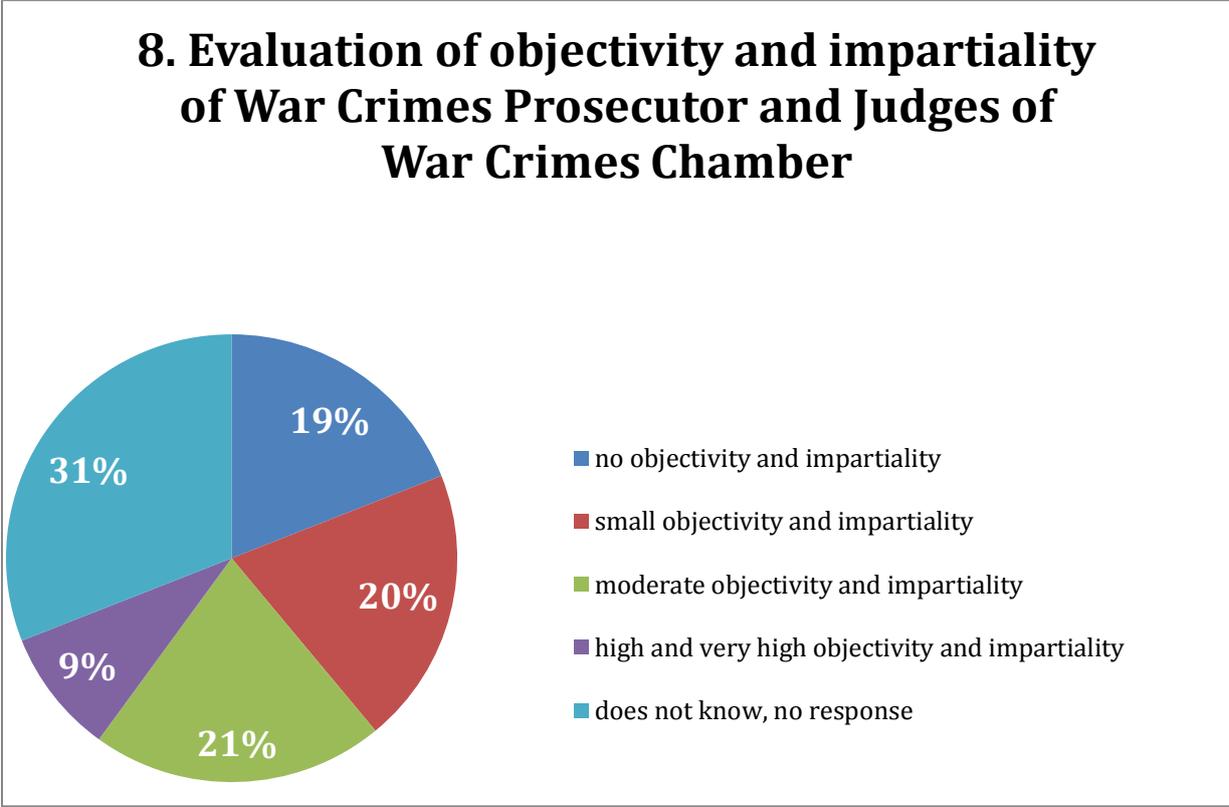


For both questions, the correlation with socio-demographic characteristics is either low, or links cannot be found. In the case of the correlation with the awareness indexes, coefficients are of a low intensity, but in the case of the War and War Crimes Trials Awareness Index, rather high: 0.37 respectively 0.35. The decline in the awareness indexes is followed by a rise in the “poor” ratings for the work of the Serbian State, as well as for the conduct of war crimes proceedings and the detection of the fate of missing persons.

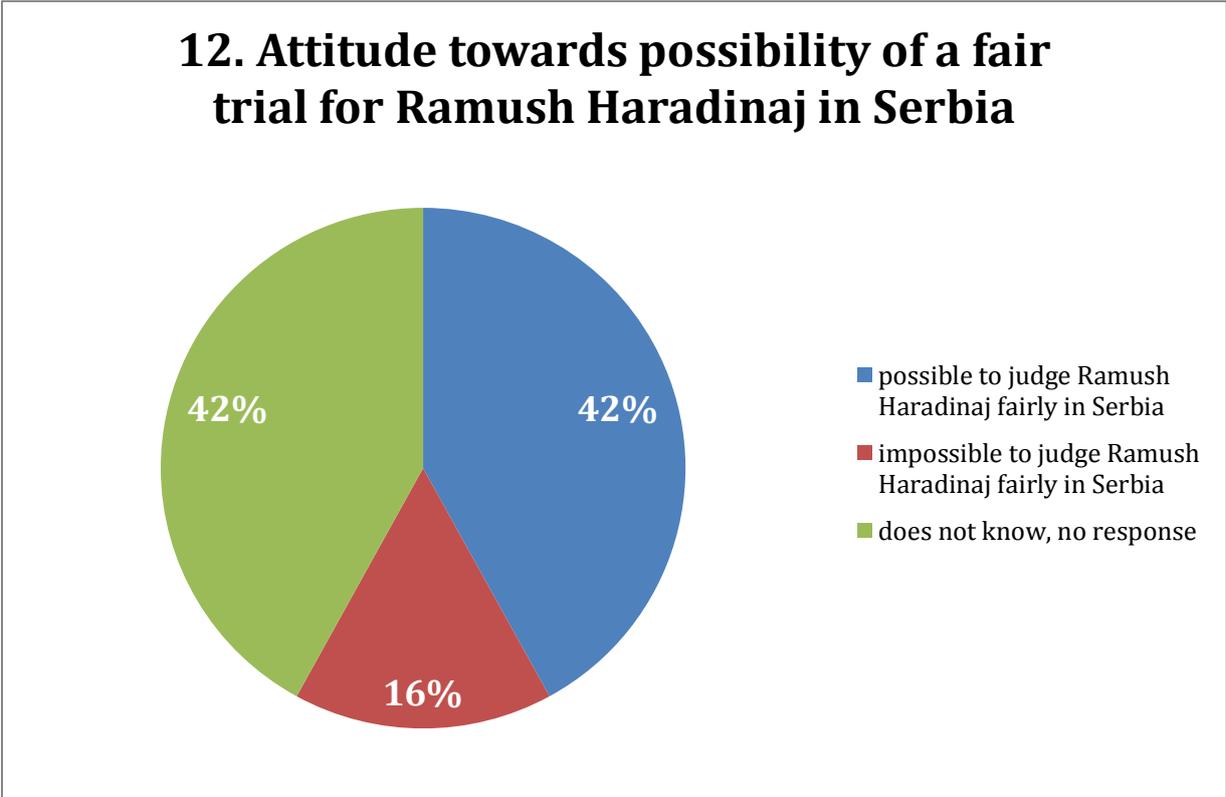
### **Objectivity and impartiality of War Crimes Prosecutor and Judges of War Crimes Chamber**

One fifth of respondents believe in each of the following: there is no objectivity and impartiality, objectivity and impartiality are low, and objectivity and impartiality are medium. Every eleventh respondent thinks that objectivity and impartiality are considerable and high, while almost a third of respondents did not answer this question. The average rating, with the scores 1 to 5, is 2.09 – which is to say, an almost clear number two. The correlation with socio-demographic characteristics is on the edge of statistical significance. The regularity with which higher awareness gives a more favourable assessment of the performance of the War Crimes Prosecutor and the judges of the War Crimes Chamber is corroborated by the correlation of the awareness indexes and the assessment of the performance of the prosecutor

and the judges: with the War and War Crimes Trials Awareness Index – 0.38; followed by the Awareness on War Crimes Trials in Serbia Index - 0.32; and then the Serbian Casualties Awareness Index - 0.30.



**Can Serbia judge Ramush Haradinaj fairly?**



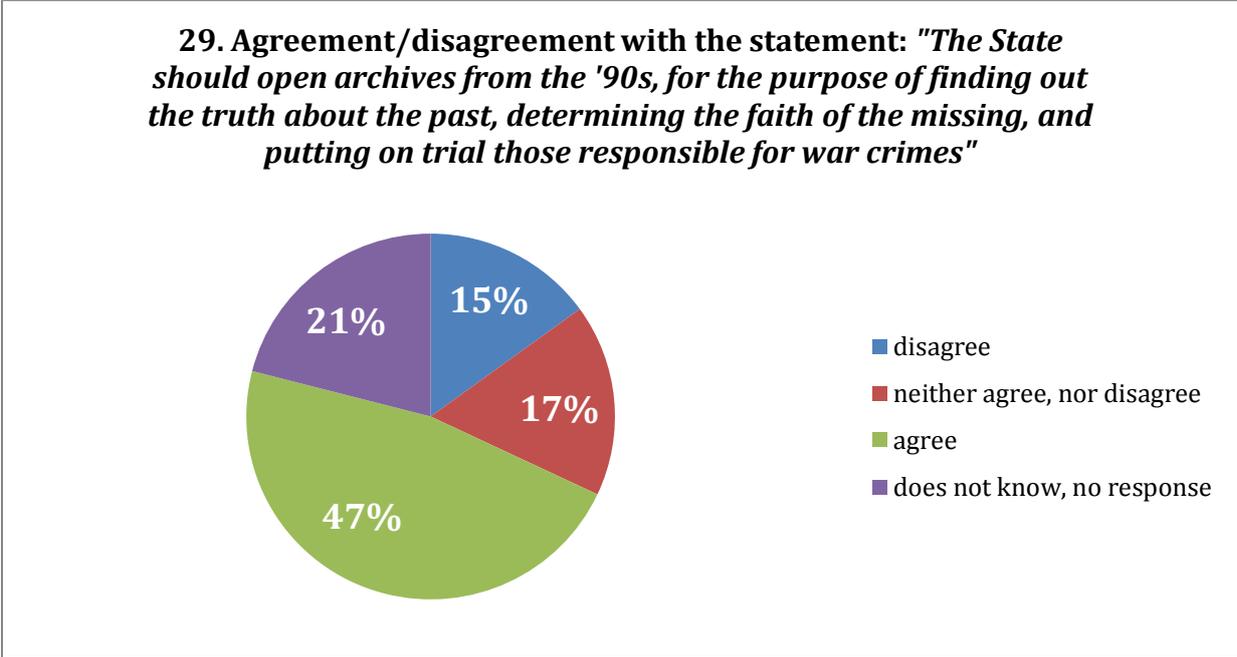
A certain disbelief, as well as a distrust of the war crimes trials in Serbia is in collision with the opinion regarding the possibility of a fair trial for Ramush Haradinaj. Namely, 42% of the respondents claim that it is possible to judge Haradinaj fairly in Serbia, while at the same time, of all those who claim that a fair trial is possible, 22% say that there is no objectivity in the work of the Prosecutor and Judges of the War Crimes Chamber, while another 19% state that objectivity and impartiality are low! People who claim that a fair trial for Ramush Haradinaj is not possible in Serbia are two and a half times less numerous (16%), than those who think that a fair trial is possible. One must add here that 42% of respondents did not answer the question, or said they did not know.

There is no significant correlation with the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents. Those who are better informed more often claim that a fair trial for Ramush Haradinaj is possible in Serbia and those who are less informed think the opposite. This claim is documented by the correlation coefficients of the War and War Crimes Trials Awareness Index - 0.41, followed by the War Crimes Trials in Serbia Awareness Index - 0.32; whilst the Serbian Casualties Awareness Index is at 0.26.

**Opening of Serbian archives from 1990s**

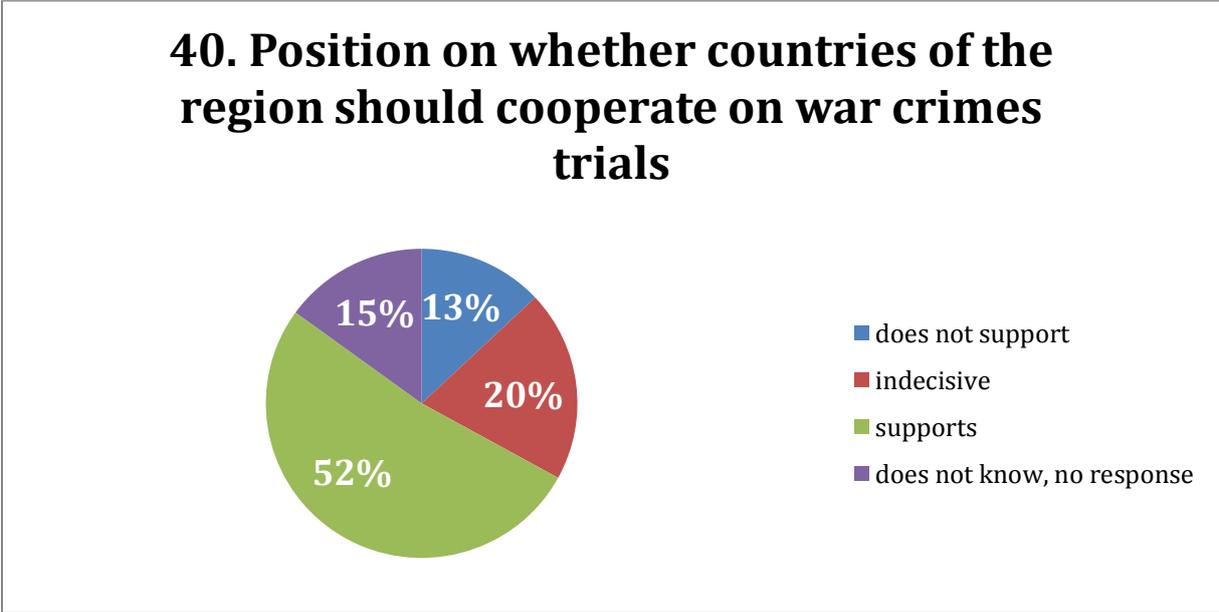
Most respondents - almost half of them (47%) - agree with the idea of opening the archives, 15% disagree, and 17% neither agree nor disagree; whilst 21% did not answer this question or said they did not know. There is no significant correlation with socio-demographic

characteristics, while the link with the awareness indexes is usual as to direction, and of somewhat less intensity and range: between 0.24 and 0.33.



**Should countries of region cooperate on war crimes trials?**

Slightly more than the majority of respondents (52%) believe that the states in the region should cooperate on war crimes trials, while 13% of respondents are against it, 20% are undecided and 15% did not give an answer to this question. There is no significant correlation with socio-demographic characteristics, while the link with the awareness indexes is usual in its direction, and of somewhat less intensity and range - between 0.26 and 0.35.

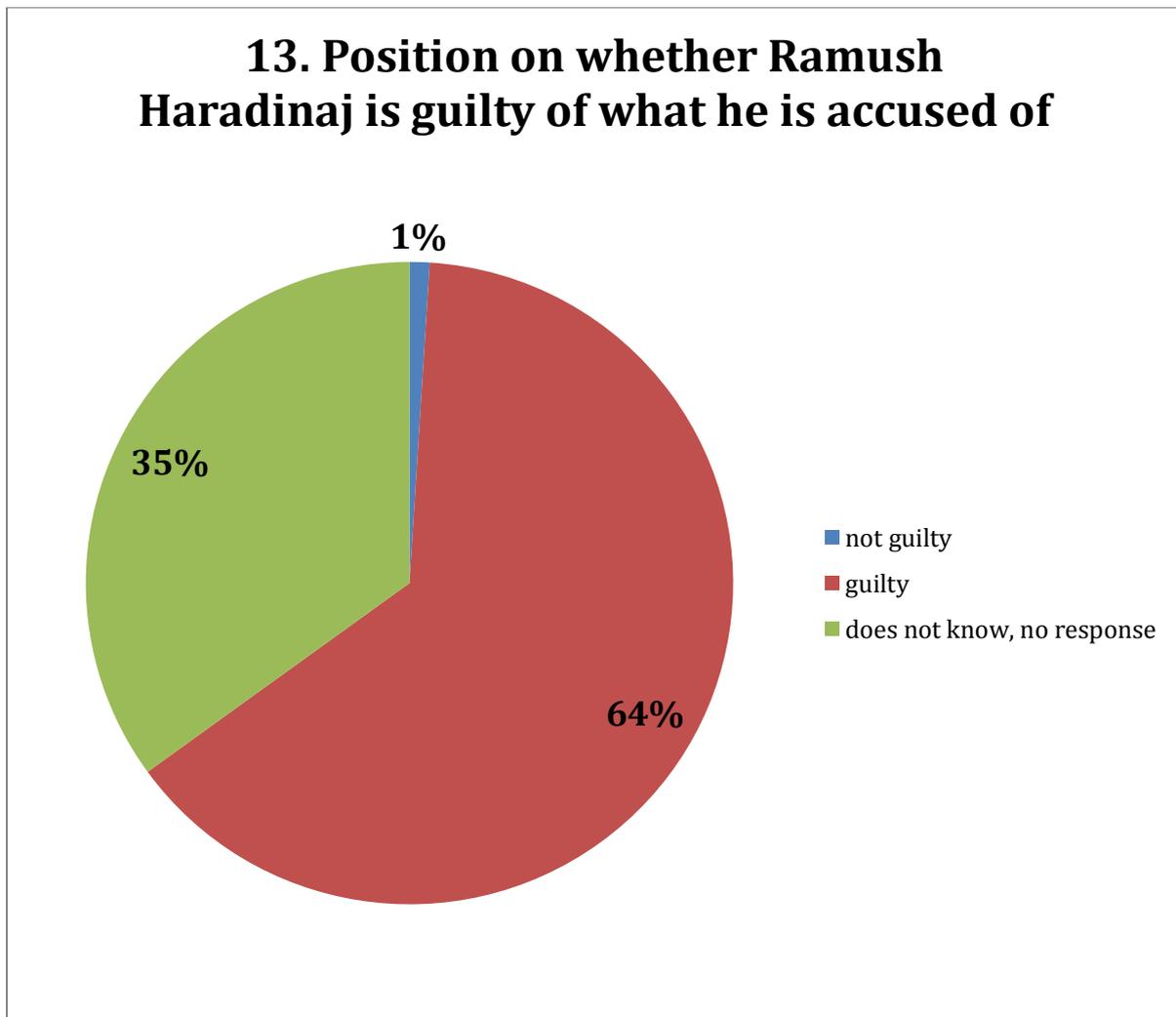


## 6. Attitude toward guilt of individuals and nations; perpetrators and victims

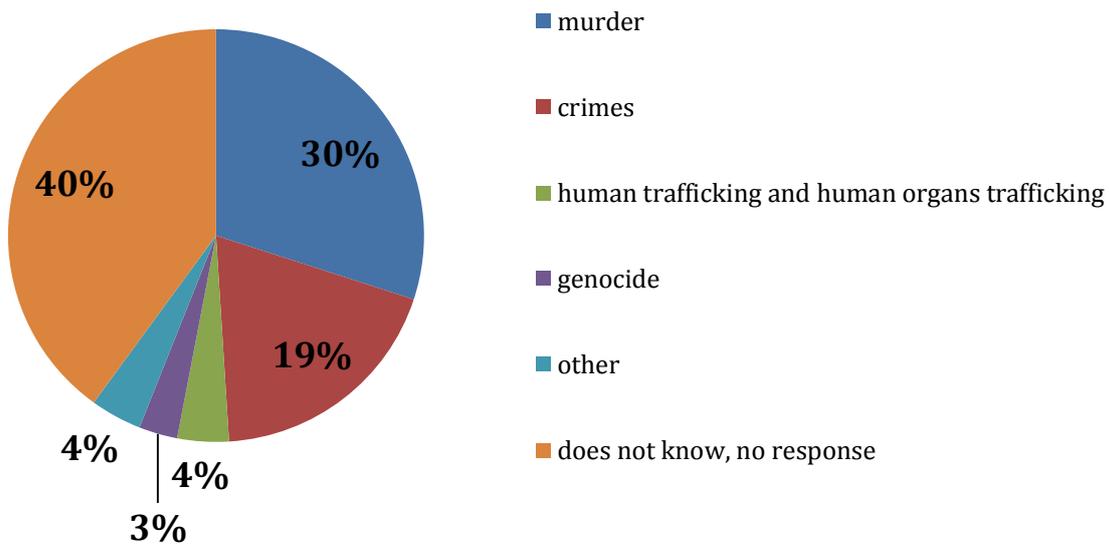
These few questions about the guilt for and victims of the wars and crimes of the 1990s in the former Yugoslavia provide key findings on the *state of public awareness* of the citizens of Serbia. One can really wonder if and to what extent pre-war *public opinion* has changed. Are inter-ethnic hatred, nationalistic prejudices and stereotypes in general less widespread today? How many people in the successor countries of the former Yugoslavia still think that someone is automatically guilty simply for being Croat, Albanian, Muslim or Serb?

### Majority of public opinion: Ramush Haradinaj is guilty of what he is accused of

Ramush Haradinaj is guilty of what he is accused of, in the opinion of almost two thirds (64%) of these members of the public. Only one in a hundred respondents believes that Haradinaj is not guilty. One third of respondents (35%) did not give an answer regarding his guilt (does not know/no answer).



## 14. Awareness of what Ramush Haradinaj is charged for



Correlations with the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents are either low or do not exist to any significant extent, as in the case of education. Viewed by gender ( $C_c = 0.23$ ), Haradinaj's guilt is more likely to be pointed to by men (75%) than by women (52%); on the other hand, the number of non-responses among women is almost twice as high (47%) as for men (25%). Viewed by age ( $C_c = 0.25$ ), the differences in the perception of the guilt of Ramush Haradinaj appear between those who are between 18 and 35 years old on the one hand, and older than 35 on the other. Those who are younger point to his guilt more rarely (44%), but present a higher number of non-responses (55%); while those who are older point to his guilt (70%) more often, and have fewer non-response items (30%). When it comes to status ( $C_c = 0.26$ ), Haradinaj's guilt is more often referred to by retirees (72%) and employees in the state sector (71%); non-responses are most common among high-school and university students (64%), as well as with housewives (54%). When it comes to ethnicity ( $C_c = 0.23$ ), 68% of Serbs say that Haradinaj is guilty, while 32% do not know how to answer this question; no respondent of Serbian ethnicity says that Haradinaj is not guilty. The majority of respondents who belong to other ethnicities (52%) do not know how to answer this question or leave it unanswered, while 44% say that Haradinaj is guilty and 4% not guilty.

Three fifths of the respondents give answers regarding what Ramush Haradinaj is charged for, whilst two fifths say they do not know or do not give answer to this question. Out of the total number of respondents, 30% say that Haradinaj is charged with murder, 19% for

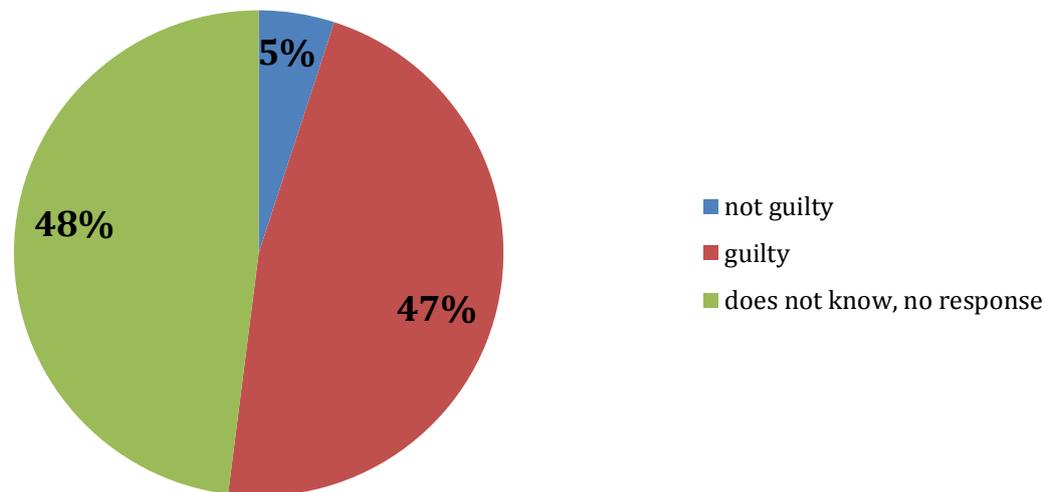
crimes, 5% for human trafficking and human organs trafficking, and 3% for genocide; whilst “other reasons” are indicated by 3% of respondents.

The highest number of non-responses is among respondents aged between 18 and 25 (66%) and respondents between 25 and 35 years (50%), as well as among housewives (62%), and high-school / university students (61%).

The correlation between Ramush Haradinaj’s guilt and the awareness indexes is generally high. Thus, in the case of the War and War Crimes Awareness Index, the correlation is at 0.47. As a rule, those who are better informed are more likely to point to the guilt of Ramush Haradinaj and more often state the crimes that Haradinaj is accused of.

**Opinions on guilt of Naser Orić “for what he is accused of”**

**15. Opinions on guilt of Naser Orić for what he is accused of**

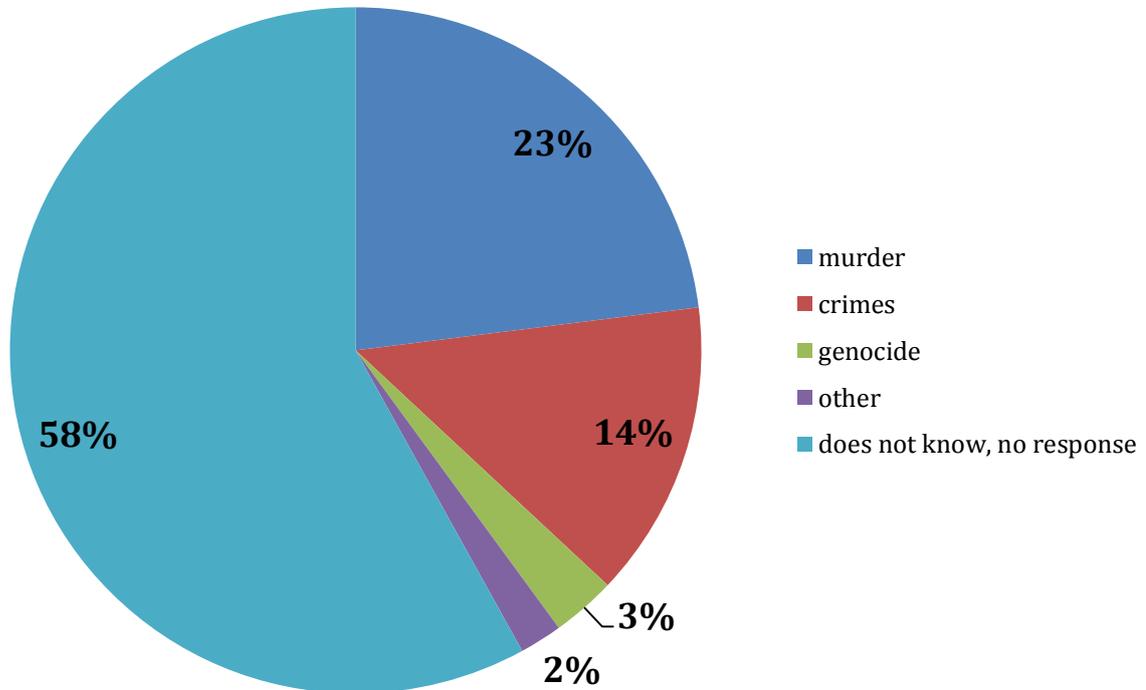


Almost half of the respondents (47%) believe that Naser Orić is guilty of what he is accused of. Only 5% of the respondents reject the notion of Naser Orić’s guilt. 48% of respondents do not know what Naser Orić is accused of. On the question of what Orić is accused of, 58% of respondents did not know what to answer, while 42% gave some reason. Out of the total number of respondents, 23% stated murder, 14% crimes, and 3% genocide; whilst 2% gave other reasons.

Men speak about Naser Orić’s guilt more often than others - 57%, and respondents between 35 and 55 years of age - 56%, and public sector employees - 58%. The number of non-response items is most often with high-school and university students - 73%, the youngest respondents - 69%, and women - 57%.

As for the previous question, the correlation between Orić’s guilt and the awareness indexes is generally high. Thus, in the case of the War and War Crimes Awareness Index, the correlation is at 0.51. The same rule can be applied here: the better informed are more likely to point to the guilt of Naser Orić, and more often state the crimes that Orić is accused of.

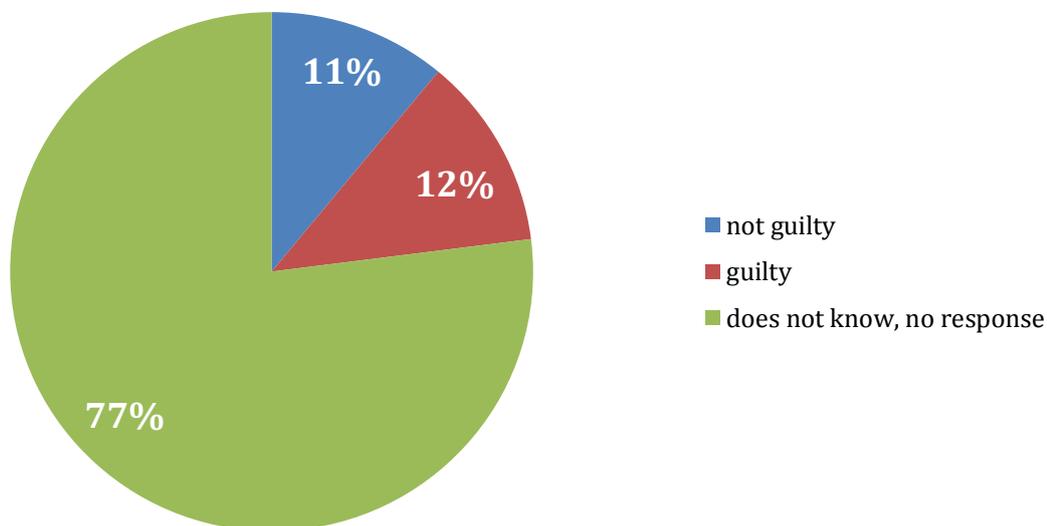
## 16. Awareness of what Naser Orić is charged for



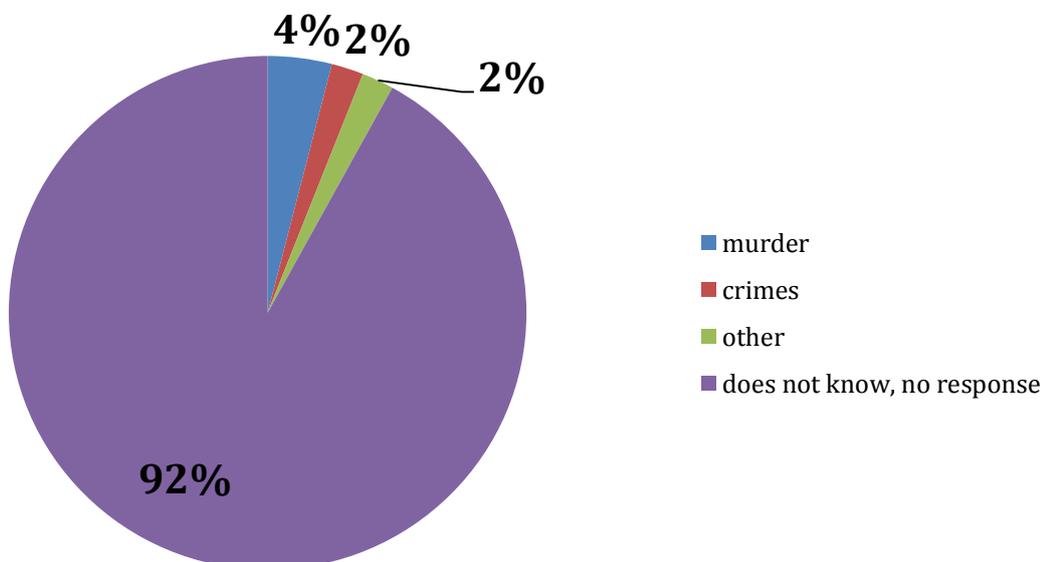
### Opinion on guilt of Krešimir Horvat “for what he is accused of”

In agreement with the client, we presented the respondents with one question in which we asked for their opinion on the guilt of a fictional figure whose name and surname refer to the Croatian ethnicity - Krešimir Horvat. Our intention was to determine to what extent prejudices and stereotypes regarding the guilt of Croats for wars and crimes during the 1990s affected the answers of the respondents. As in the case of Haradinaj and Orić, the question was suggestively formulated on purpose: we asked, “*Do you think that /.../ is guilty of what he is accused of?*” and not, for example: “*Is /.../ guilty or not of what he is accused of?*”

### 17. Opinions on guilt of Krešimir Horvat for what he is accused of



### 18. Awareness of what Krešimir Horvat is charged for



More than three quarters of the respondents (77%) did not answer this question, so we can say that they did not “fall” for our provocation. 12% said that the (imaginary) Krešimir Horvat was guilty of what he was accused of – so we could say that these respondents have

prejudices and stereotypes regarding Croats and that, with their answer to this question, they had “tried and found guilty” Croats in general, and not “Krešimir Horvat”; 11% of respondents answered “not guilty” - but we cannot say for sure whether they are “infected” with national prejudices or not, because we do not know if such a “judgement” was based on the fact that they do not know anything about any “Krešimir Horvat” so they think that he is not guilty, or that they think that he is not guilty because they have accepted him because he is a Croat. To these answers should be added the answers to the question, “Do you know what Kreshimir Horvat is accused of?” 92% of respondents did not answer this additional question, while 8% gave some reason (5% for murders, 2% for crimes, and 2% stated other reasons). For these 8% of respondents who have stated false allegations regarding a fictitious figure, we can say with great certainty that they entertain ethnic prejudices and stereotypes.

It is a significant finding that we did not find statistically significant links between the answers to these questions and socio-demographic characteristics, which means that ethnic prejudices are probably not significantly related to the sex of the respondents, or the age, education, or social status, but are relatively evenly distributed.

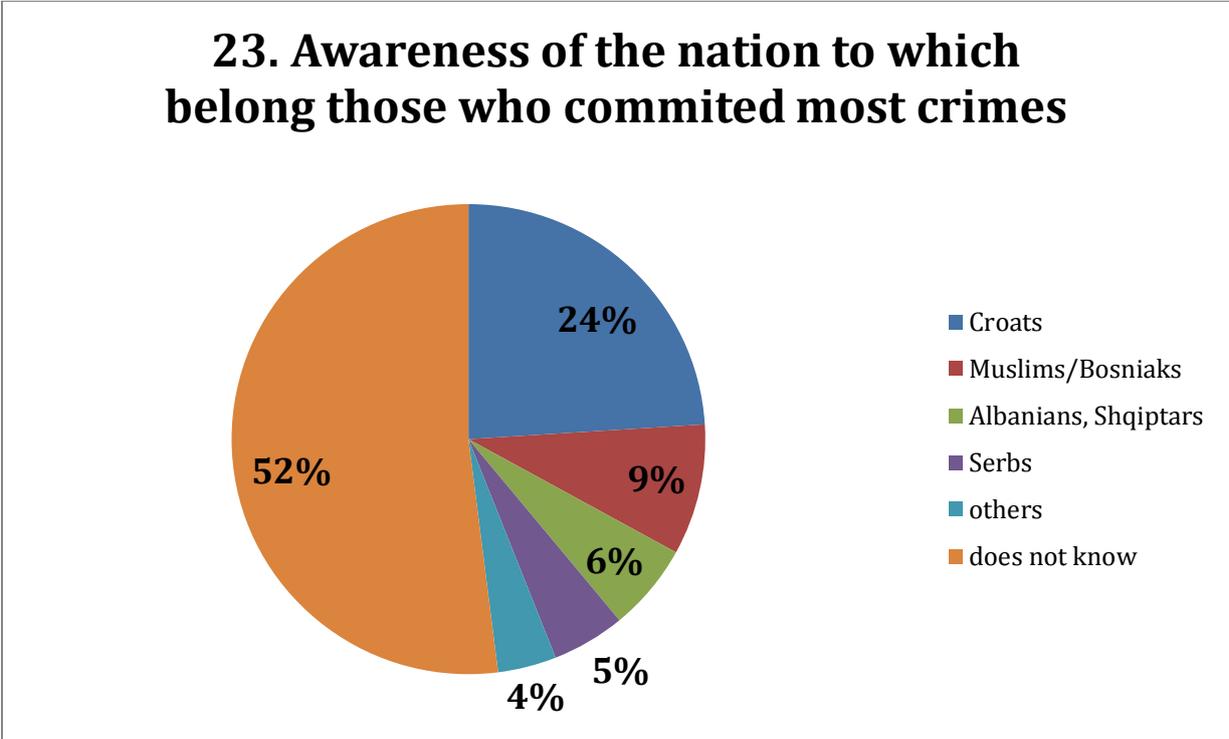
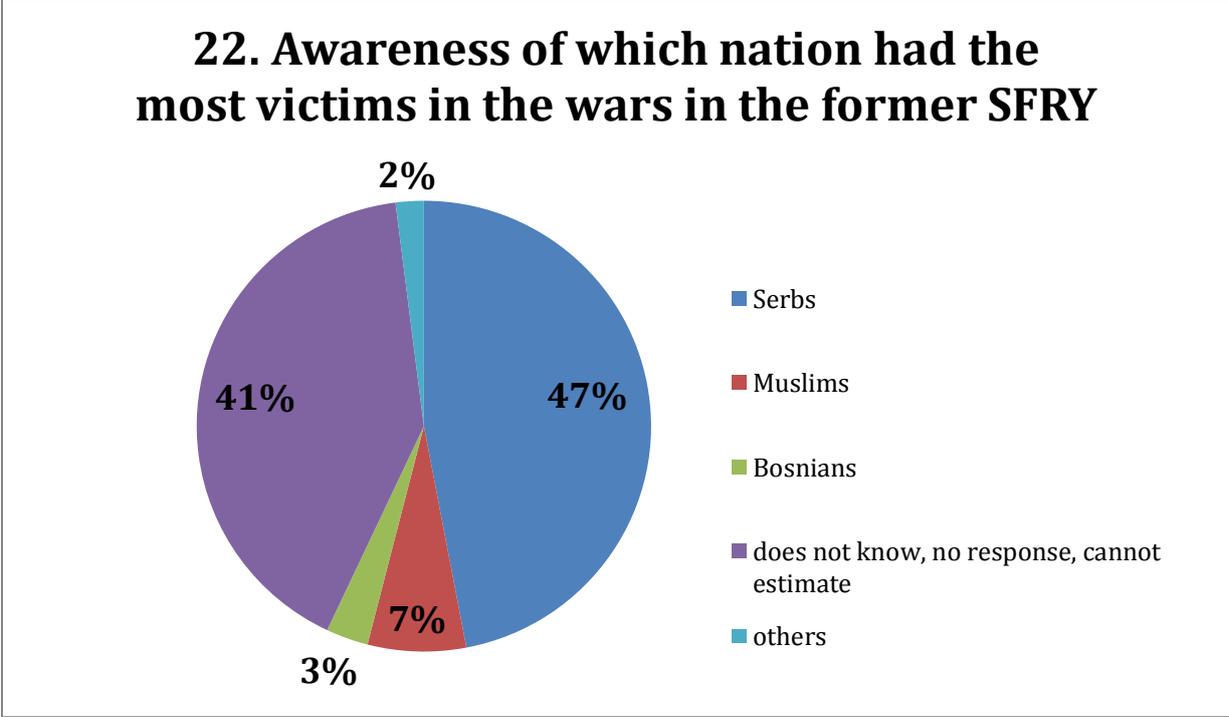
Statistically significant links of medium intensity were found in the case of general awareness about wars and war crimes trials ( $C_c = 0.33$ ), and somewhat less with the War Crimes Trials in Serbia Awareness Index ( $C_c = 0.28$ ). Linking direction: as the awareness increases, the number of respondents who think that Krešimir Horvat is guilty also increases (the percentage of those who think that Krešimir Horvat is guilty increases with the increase in awareness as follows: 3-8-17-24-37%). This means that awareness is not value-neutral, but in the motivation for awareness lies, among other factors, the fact that a number of people have prejudices towards others (in this case towards Croats), and their awareness serves as a confirmation of prejudices!

### **Perpetrators and victims: Which nations belong to those who committed the most crimes, and which nations had the greatest number of victims?**

A quarter of respondents (24%) think that Croats committed the most crimes, and almost half of the respondents (47%) think that the Serbs had the highest number of victims in the wars in the former Yugoslavia. After the Croats, in the opinion of our respondents, the nations which committed the most crimes were Muslims/Bosniaks with 9%, Albanians/Shqiptars with 6%, Serbs with 5%, while other peoples account for 4%. Half of the respondents did not give an answer to this question (52%). Among the nations with the highest number of victims after the Serbs come the Muslims/Bosnians with 10% (other nations are mentioned by 2% of respondents), whilst two-fifths (41%) did not answer this question. We should also mention here the answers to the question of whether the respondents know about a detention camp in Serbia during the wars in the 1990s: 94% of the respondents either said they did not know or did not answer the question, whilst 2% stated Sremska Mitrovica and 4% other places.

The relatively high correlation of the indexes with answers to these two questions is mainly due to differences in the number of non-response items, where the number of non-response items increases with the decrease in the awareness indexes.

Overall, the answers to these two questions indicate the presence of a *biased memory* of the 1990s in a number of respondents: Serbs see themselves as victims and others as criminals. However, although it is difficult to state the figures in this regard, it is clear that this observation applies to less than half of the respondents. Another question concerns the reasons and factors for forming such memories and not to a negligible extent.

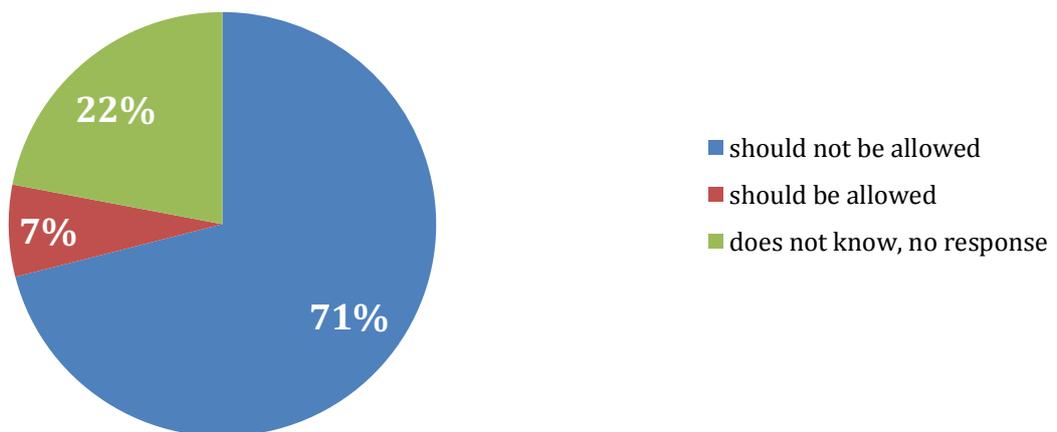


## 7. Political rehabilitation of convicted and suspected war criminals

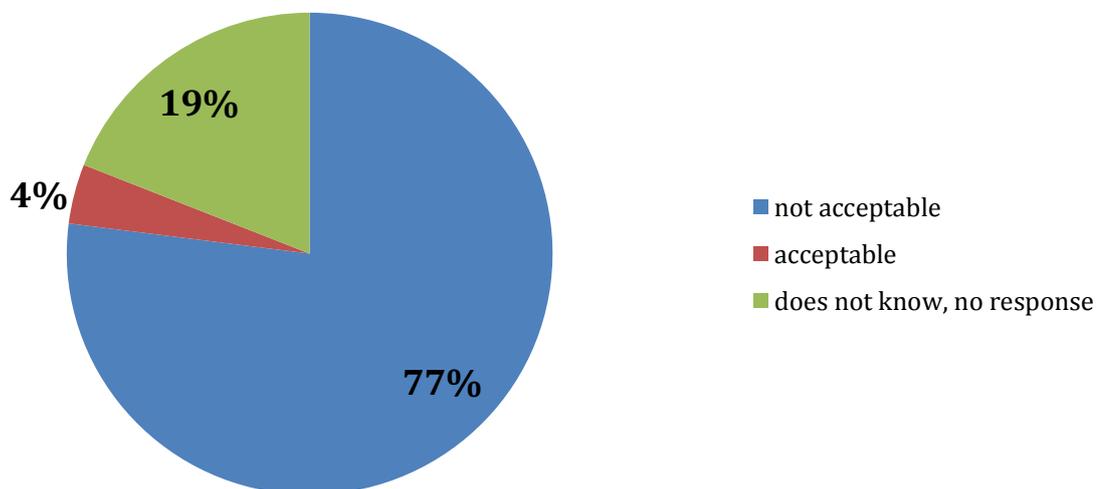
The vast majority of respondents are opposed to the political rehabilitation of suspects, indictees and legally convicted war criminals, whether they are performing state functions, or actively participating in political life. The percentage of respondents who do not accept this type of rehabilitation ranges from 71% to 79%. On the other hand, we find that for 4% to 7% of respondents this kind of rehabilitation is acceptable. The percentage of non-responses ranges from 17 to 22.

Significant statistical links between the answers to these questions and socio-demographic characteristics, as well as with the awareness indexes, were not identified.

### 48. Attitude towards performance of state functions by those suspected of war crimes



#### 49. Opinion on whether active participation in political life of those convicted for war crimes is acceptable



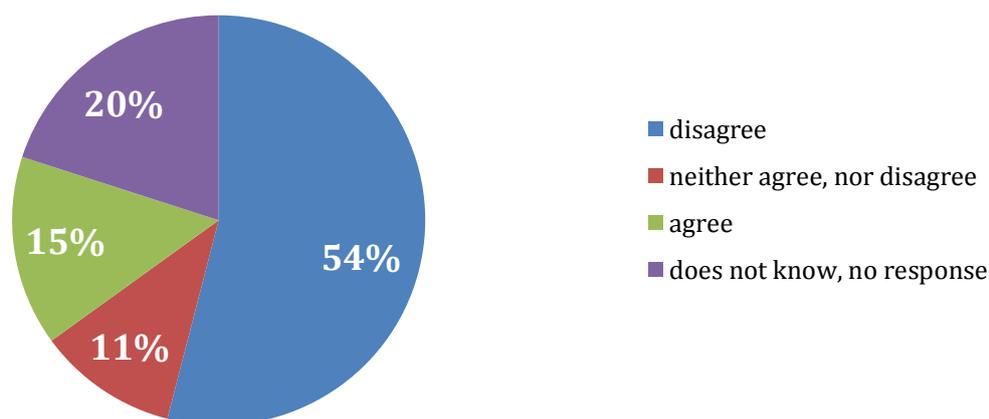
### 8. Remembrance and oblivion

#### Compensation

Slightly over a majority of respondents (54%) disagree with the view that Serbia is obliged to pay compensation to the civilian population for suffering caused during the armed conflicts, while 15% agree, and 11% are neutral. 20% do not know how to answer this question.

Of the correlations that are significant and interpretable, the correlation with the Ethnic Distance Index (0.20 - low, but significant) should be noted - with the decrease in distance, the percentage of respondents increases who think that Serbia should compensate for the damage done by the army and police towards the civilian population during the armed conflicts.

**27. Agreement/disagreement with the statement: "Serbia is obligated to pay compensation for the damage caused by members of the army and police to the civilian population during armed conflicts"**



**Memorials**

We asked the respondents to state their opinions regarding three hypothetical memorials: a monument to Serbian victims from the wars of the 1990s, a monument to civilian victims killed by the Serbian army and the police, and a monument to Albanian victims at the mass grave in Batajnica. We found different levels of acceptance or rejection by our respondents.

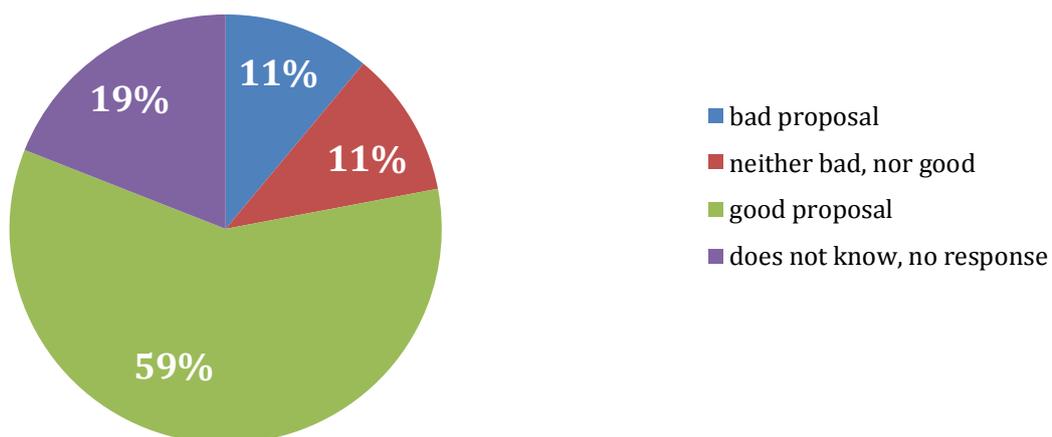
A hypothetical proposal that the state of Serbia should erect a monument to Serbian victims of the wars in the 1990s is considered good by three-fifths of the respondents (59%), whilst for every ninth respondent this is a bad proposal; also for another ninth it is neither a bad nor a good proposal. One fifth did not answer the question.

With the hypothetical view that Serbia should erect a monument to civilian victims who were killed by the Serbian army and the police, half of the respondents (49%) disagree, 18% agree, while 13% are undecided. 20% did not answer the question.

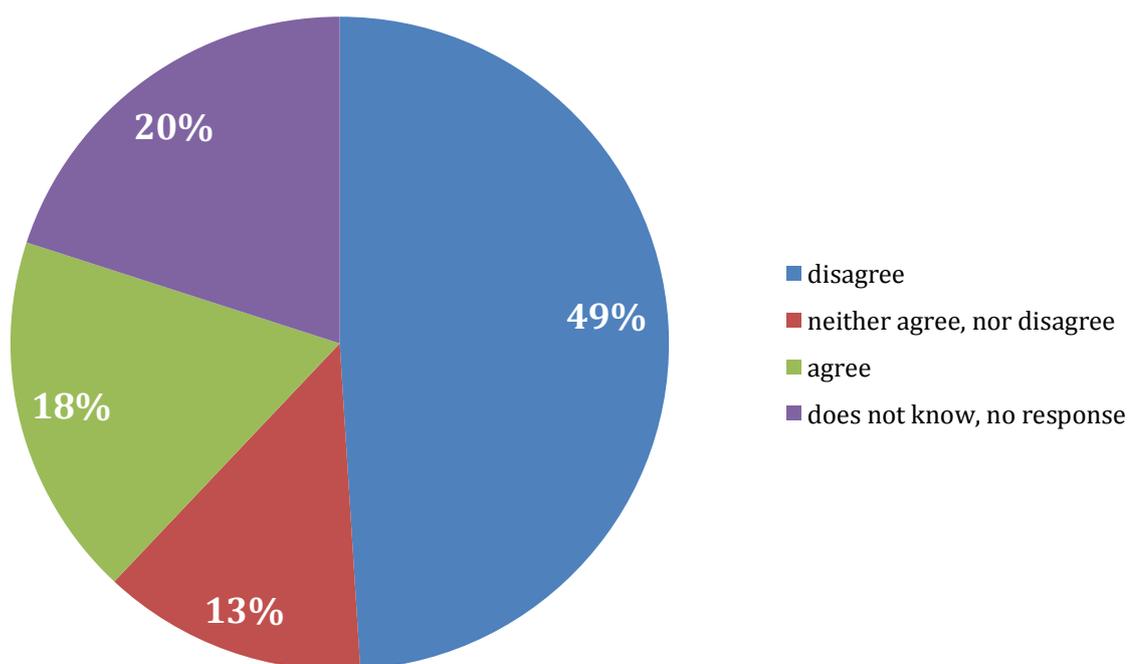
The link between awareness and the idea of erecting monuments to civilian victims killed by the Serbian army and police range between 0.21 and 0.29. The strongest is the correlation with the Wars and War Crimes Trials Awareness Index (0.29) - with a decrease of awareness, disagreement with the idea of erecting the monument also decreases, but that does not mean proportionately increasing support. In the case of the Ethnic Distance Index (0.25), with decreasing distance, support for the construction of the above-mentioned monument shows a slight increase.

In the case of the Serbian Casualties during the 1990s Awareness Index ( $C_c = 0.21$ ), with the decline of awareness, the volume of support for the construction of the monument grows.

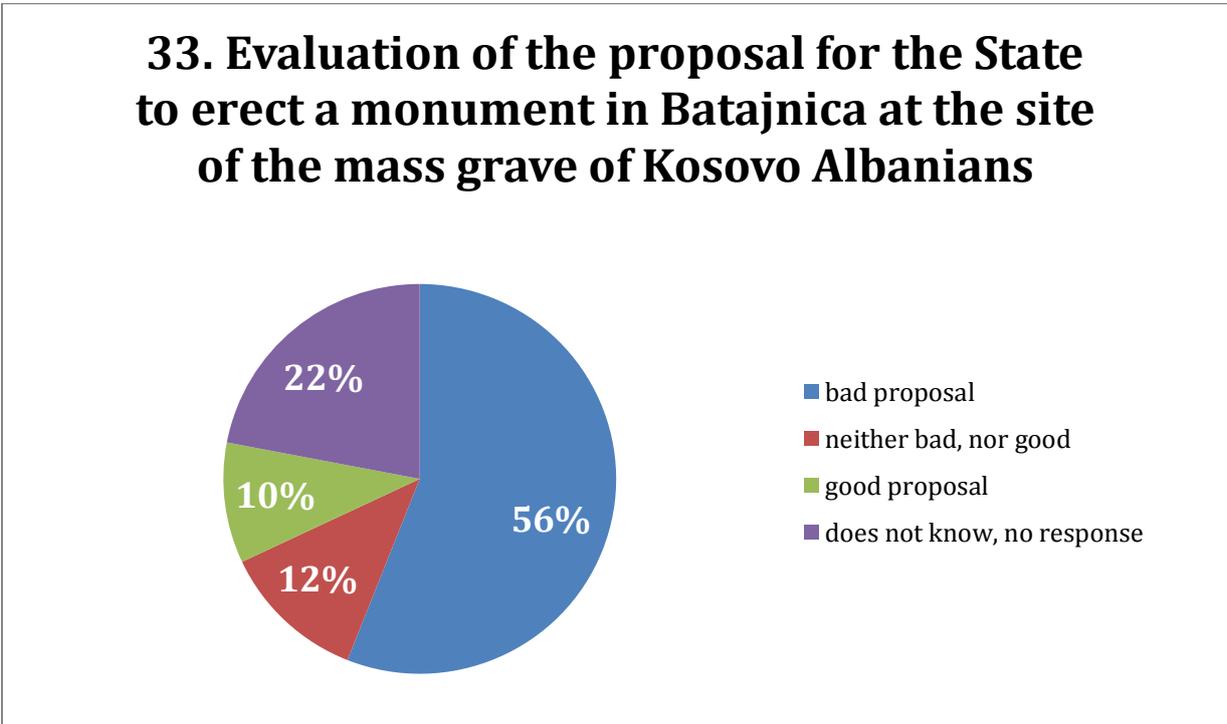
### 33. Evaluation of the proposal for the State to erect a monument to Serbian victims from the wars of the '90s



### 28. Agreement/disagreement with the statement: "Serbia should erect a monument to civilian victims killed by Serbian army and police"



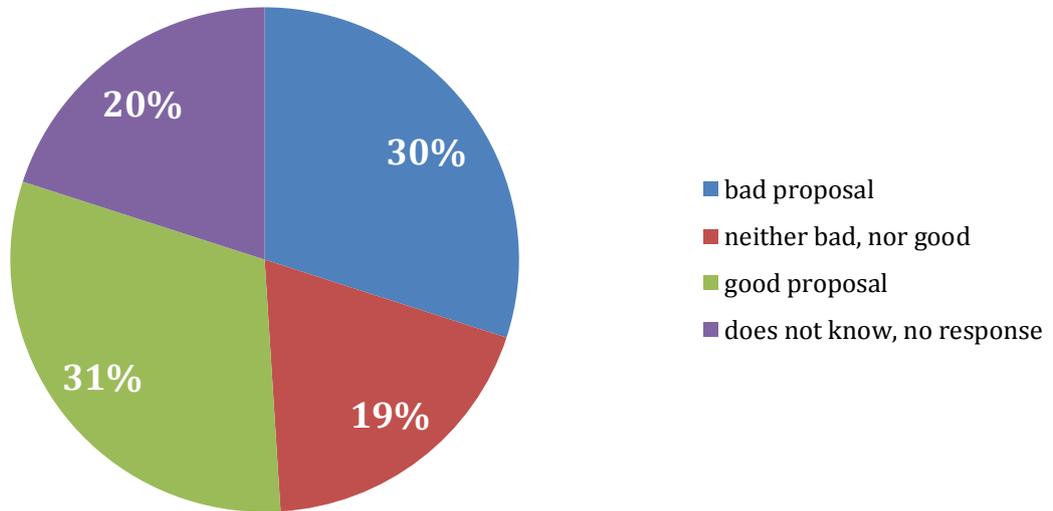
56% of respondents disagree with the hypothetical suggestion that the Serbian State erect a monument in Batajnica at the site of the mass grave of Kosovo Albanians, while only 10% of respondents support this proposal, and 12% are neutral. 22% did not answer the question. Of the links between answers to these questions and the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents, only one should be mentioned, although the coefficient of contingency is low (0.18) - the erection of a monument at the site of the mass grave of Kosovo Albanians in Batajnica is supported by 8% of Serbs and over twice as many members of other nationalities (18%). The correlation of the answer to this question with the Wars and War Crimes Trials Index is 0.28, and is manifested through one less regularity - that with the decrease in awareness, support for the construction of the monument also decreases, and the number of non-response items increases.



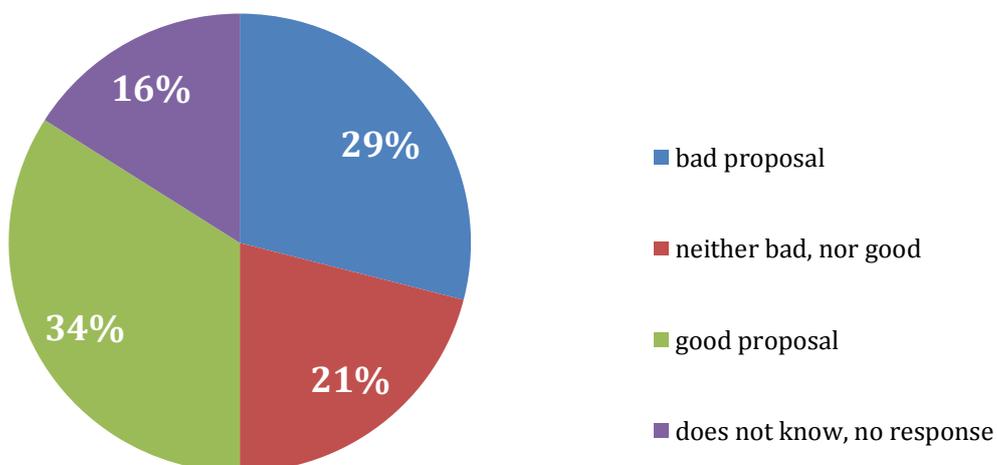
**Attitudes towards inclusion of topic of wars of 1990s in school programmes**

The number of non-responses by the youngest respondents (18-24 years of age) to the numerous questions in this questionnaire makes the answers to the question of including the topic of the wars of the '90s very actual, with reference to the civic education in schools, as well as to including lessons regarding the wars of the '90s (based on court-established facts) in history textbooks.

### 30. Evaluation of the proposal to include the topic of wars of 1990s in civic education programme



### 31. Evaluation of the proposal to include in history textbooks lessons on events from the '90s, based on judicially established facts



When asked about the innovations in the teaching of civic education with the introduction of topics regarding the wars of the '90s, the opinions that support and the opinions that oppose this idea are equal: 31% support the idea, 30% oppose, 19% are undecided, and 20% have no answer.

Somewhat better accepted is the idea of introducing a lesson about the wars of the '90s into the history textbooks: 34% of respondents say it is a good proposition, 29% consider it bad, and 21% of respondents are neutral (16% did not answer the question).

The correlation between the answers to these two questions is as high as 0.81. In responding to both questions, 34% of respondents accepted the introduction of the topic of wars in the 1990s and crimes committed, while 0% reject this idea; 13% of respondents were neutral, 14% did not answer either question, and contradictory answers were found in 7% of respondents' answers.

## **9. Respondents' awareness of war and war crimes during 1990s**

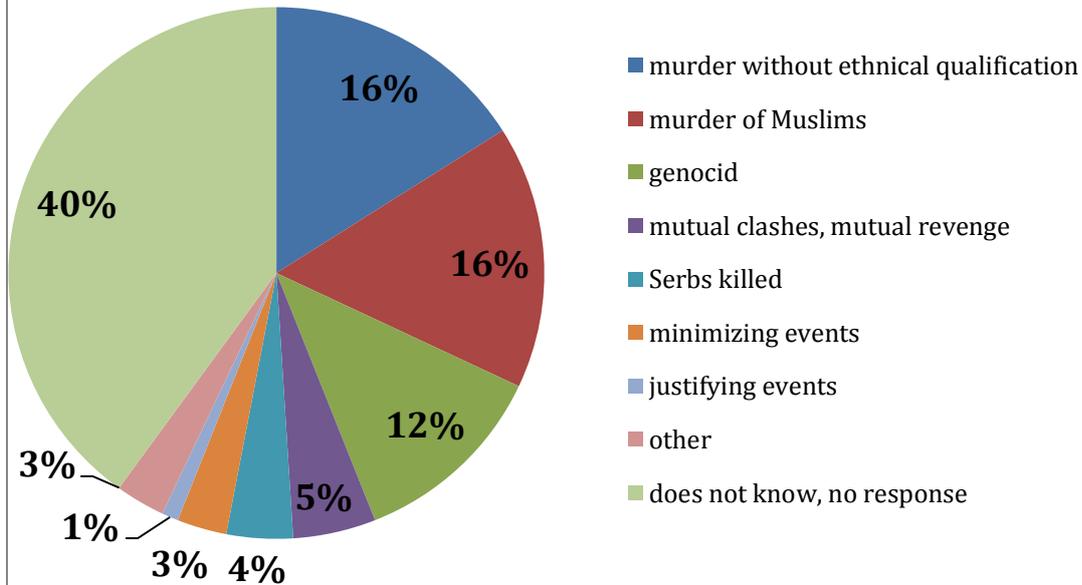
The respondents' awareness regarding the wars, crimes committed and trials for those crimes was in the focus of research conducted on a sample that enables an expansion of the findings on the overall population of Serbian citizens.

Respondents' awareness was observed and measured on three levels:

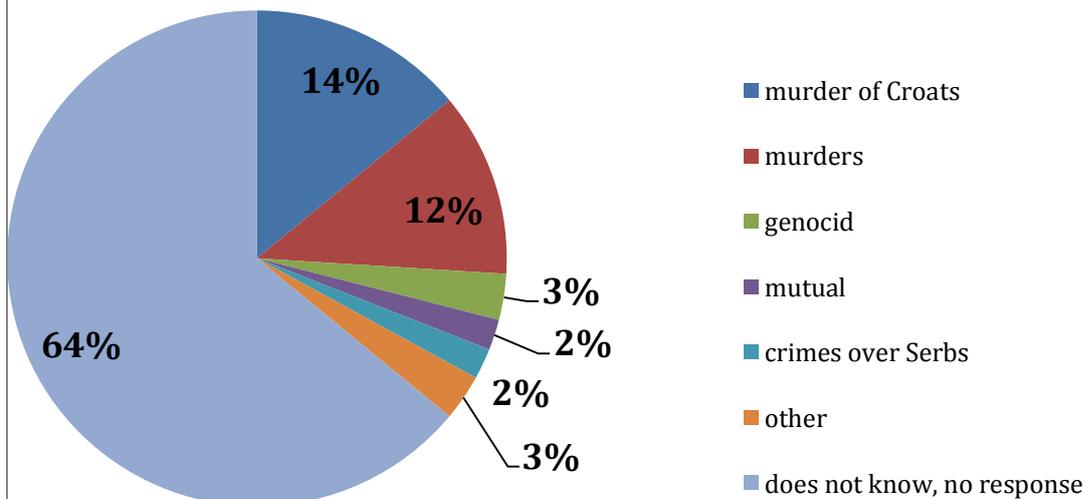
- awareness regarding the wars in the '90s, war crimes and trials of war crimes indictees;
- war crimes trials in Serbia; and
- Serbian casualties during the 1990s.

General Awareness Index

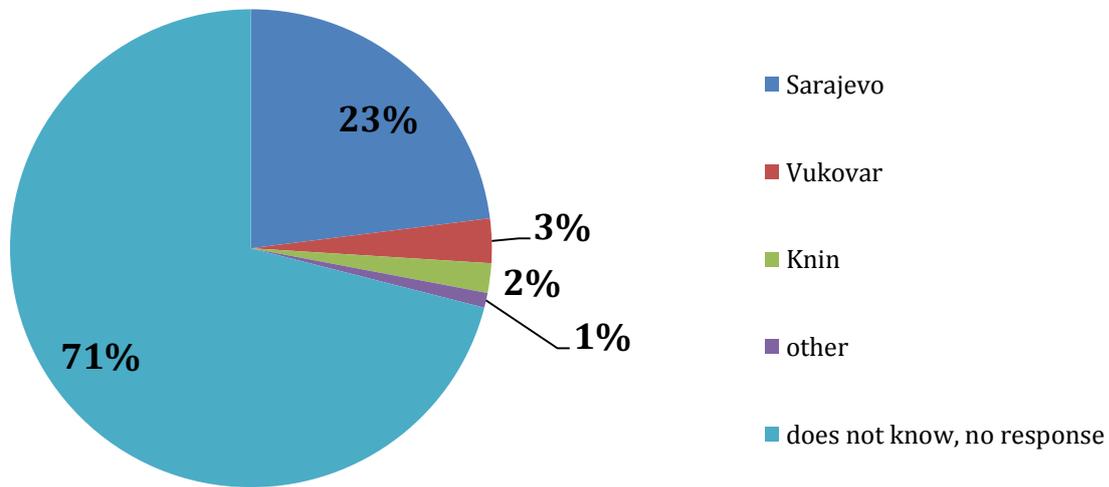
### 41. Awareness of what happened in Srebrenica in July 1995



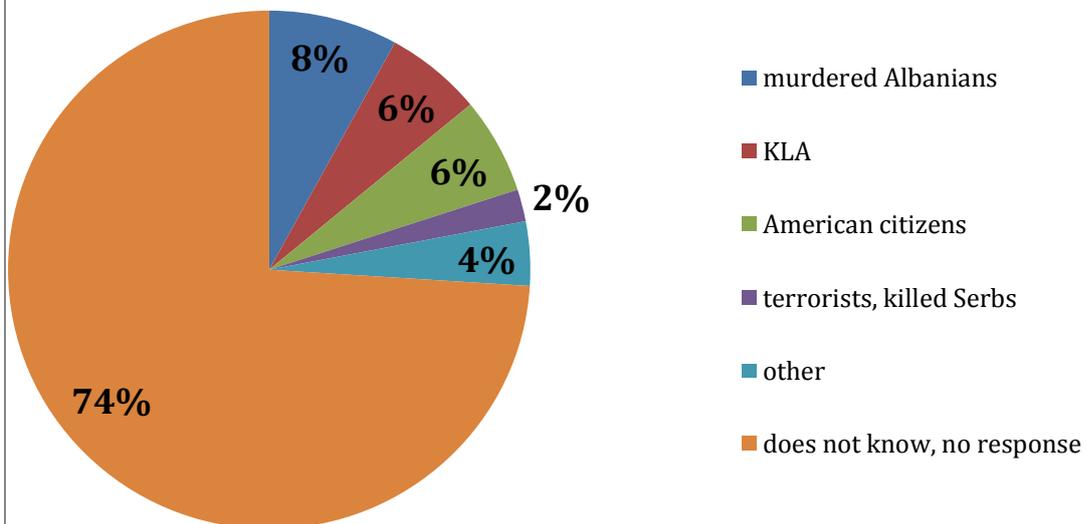
### 41. Awareness of what happened at the Ovčara farm near Vukovar in 1995



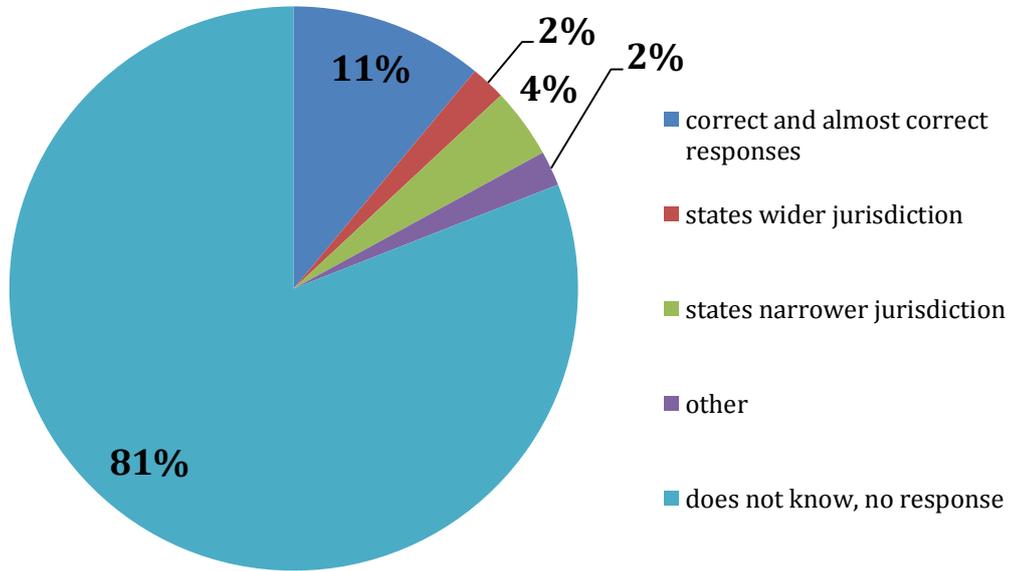
### 42. Awareness of a city that was under siege for four years during the wars in the '90s



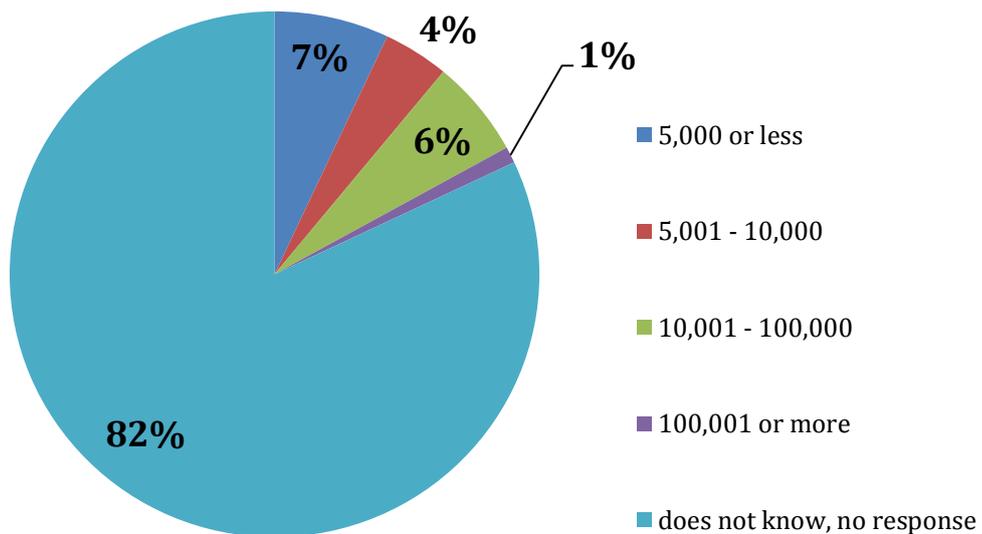
### 43. Awareness of the Bytyqi brothers case



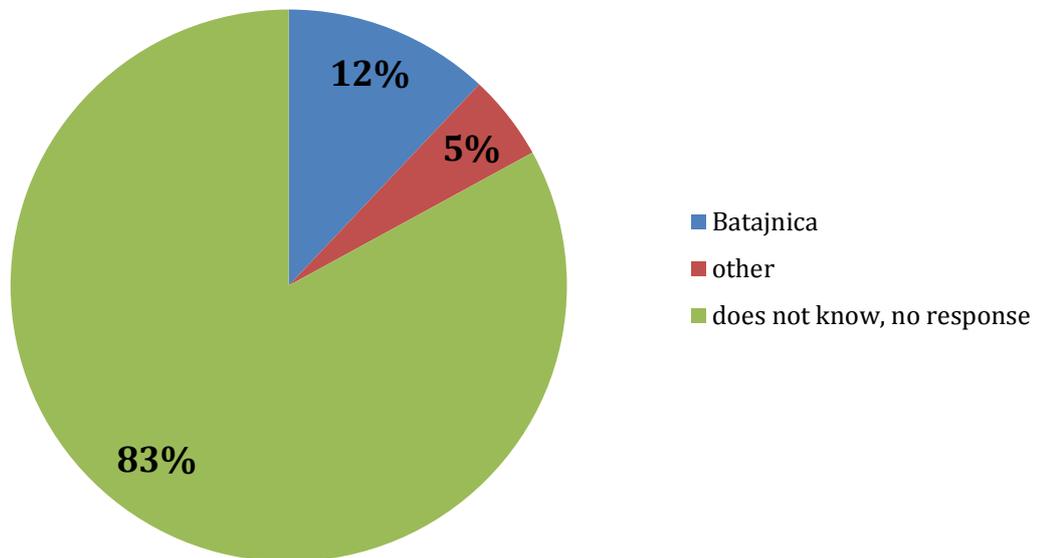
### 38. Awareness of the Special Court for Kosovo



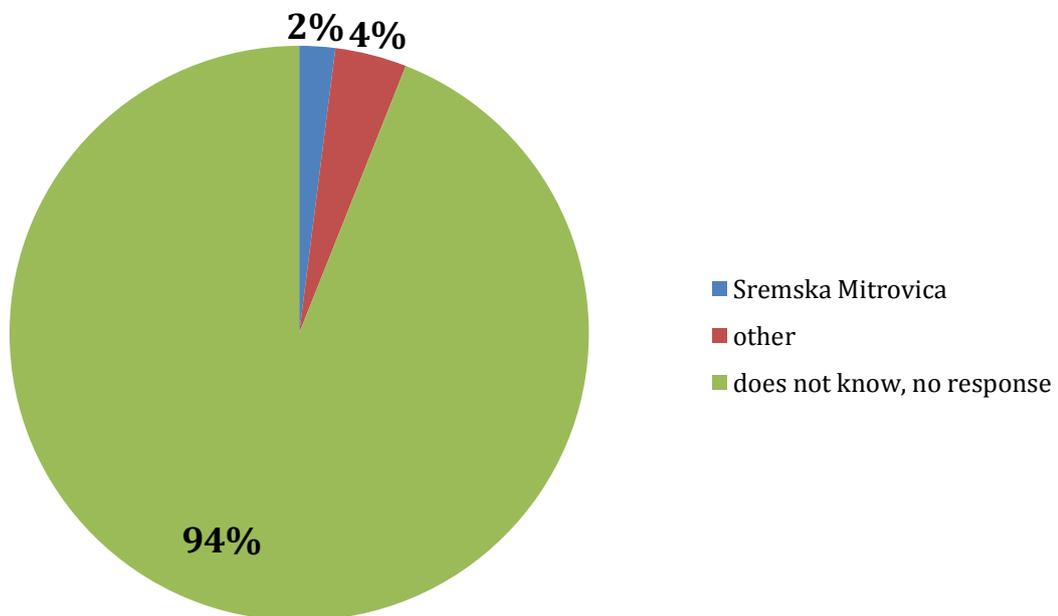
### 35. Estimate on the number of people considered missing, in relation to the wars of the '90s



### 36. Awareness of sites of mass graves discovered in Serbia



### 44. Awareness of any prison camps located in Serbia during the wars of the '90s



As a central measurement of awareness we formed, on the basis of 10 indicators, an index of the wars of the 1990s, crimes and trials of war crimes indictees, which we call “General Awareness Index”.

**Awareness regarding the Wars of the '90s, War Crimes and Trials of War Crimes  
Indictees Index indicators - General Awareness Index (in %)**

<i>Questions - Indicators</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
Do you know what happened in Srebrenica in July 1995?	60	40
Do you know what Ramush Haradinaj is accused of?	60	40
Do you know what Naser Orić is accused of?	42	58
Do you know what happened at the Ovčara farm near Vukovar in 1991?	36	64
Did you hear of a city that was under siege for four years in the wars of the 1990s?	29	71
Did you hear about the Bytyqi brothers?	26	74
Do you know what the Special Court for Kosovo is?	19	81
Do you know the number of people who are considered missing, in connection with the wars of the '90s?	18	82
Do you know the sites of mass graves discovered in Serbia?	17	83
Do you know about a detention camp that was located in the territory of Serbia during the wars of the '90's?	6	94

For indicators of the awareness index, in this and also in some other indexes, only the existence of a formal response was taken into account, but not its veracity. The respondent's answer could have been correct or incorrect or partly correct; we did not screen it, nor were we able to check the accuracy, but we only dealt with the existence or absence of a response (whether correct or incorrect). **Investigating the difference between remembrance/recollection, the dominant political interpretation (historical and current) of events, general public perception and the truth, would require much more complicated procedures than this insight into the self-assessing awareness of citizens.**

**The percentages of non-response items at 10 indicators of the General Awareness Index**

<i>Number of non-responses</i>	<i>Percentage of respondents with non-responses</i>
Answers to all questions	1.1
1 non-response	2.3
2 non-responses	4.2
3 non-responses	5.5
4 non-responses	7.4
5 non-responses	8.5
6 non-responses	10.8
7 non-responses	12.5
8 non-responses	13.3
9 non-responses	13.8
non-responses to all questions	20.6
TOTAL	100.0

Our research findings show a catastrophic (self-assessed) lack of awareness. For all ten questions we took as indicators of (non)awareness, **only one in every hundred respondents had a response to all ten questions. On the other hand, as many as every fourth**

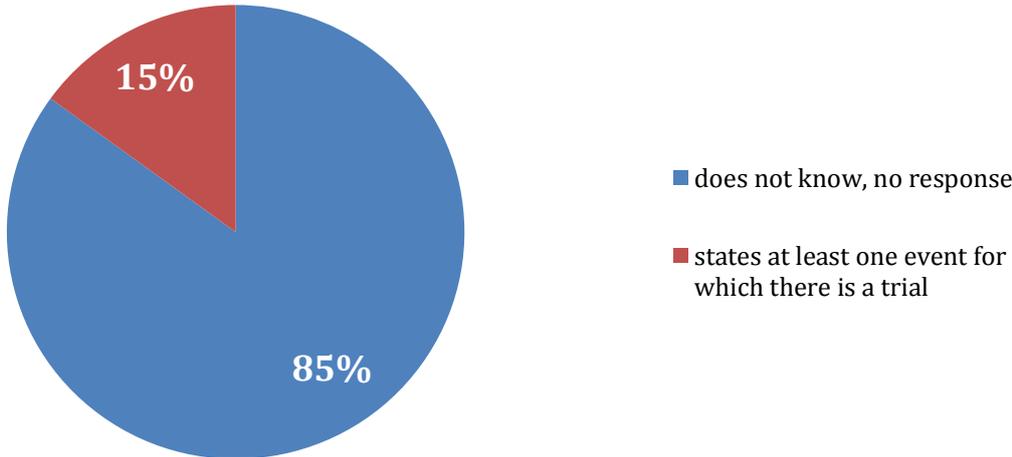
**respondent did not have a single answer to any of the 10 questions asked.** As much as 71 in every 100 respondents did not know how to answer more than half of the questions (i.e. there were 6-10 non-responses, that is to say, as many respondents not answering six, seven, eight, nine, or ten out of ten questions).

### **General Awareness Index**

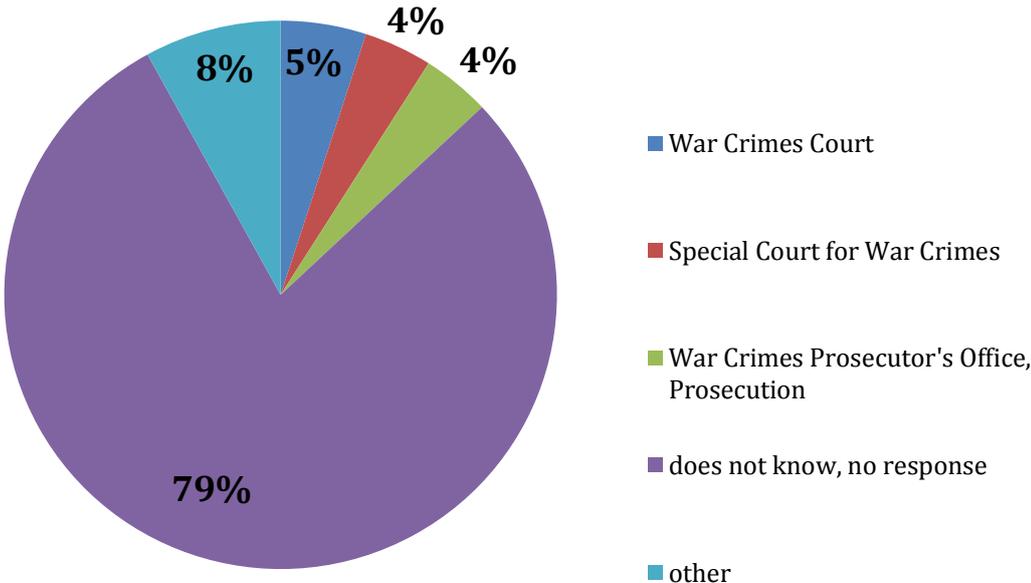
<i>Broader Classification</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Narrower classification</i>	<i>%</i>
1. fully informed	8	1. informed	21
2. generally informed	13		
2. partially informed	19	2. partially informed	19
4. generally uninformed	26	3. uninformed	60
5. fully uninformed	34		
TOTAL	100	TOTAL	100

At the level of general awareness, we can see that one-fifth of the respondents are informed, that a second fifth is partially informed, and that three fifths are uninformed. **The average General Awareness Index is only 2.33** (the range of the index ranges from 1 for complete ignorance, up to 5 for full awareness); which means, in effect, that our respondents are less informed on average, and that it is very likely that **Serbian citizens have been/were poorly informed about the wars in the 1990s, and about the war crimes and trials of war crimes indictees.**

**7. Awareness of at least one event for which there is or was a trial before domestic courts**



**34. Awareness of the existence of any domestic judiciary body for war crimes trials**



For information regarding awareness about war crimes trials in Serbia, we had answers to three questions that were not saturated with values and attitudes, but were somehow “clear”, and from which we could see whether the respondents have or do not have “any” answer to the question asked (regardless of the content of the answer).

**Indicators of Awareness concerning War Crimes Trials in Serbia Index (in %)**

<i>Questions - Indicators</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
Can you state at least one event which is being tried or was tried before a domestic court?	15	85
Can you state any local judicial authorities responsible for war crimes trials?	21	79
Do you know which war crimes cases should have priority in domestic trials in Serbia?	25	75

**The percentage of non-responses to three indicators of Awareness concerning War Crimes Trials in Serbia Index**

<i>Number of non-responses</i>	<i>Percentage of respondents with non-responses</i>
Answers to all three questions	5.6
1 non-response	10.5
2 non-responses	23.0
3 non-responses	60.9

In the case of non(awareness) about war crimes trials (domestic trials in Serbia), we have also encountered incredibly high ignorance. The greatest number of answers was given to the question, “Do you know which war crimes cases should have priority in domestic trials in Serbia?” - 25%.

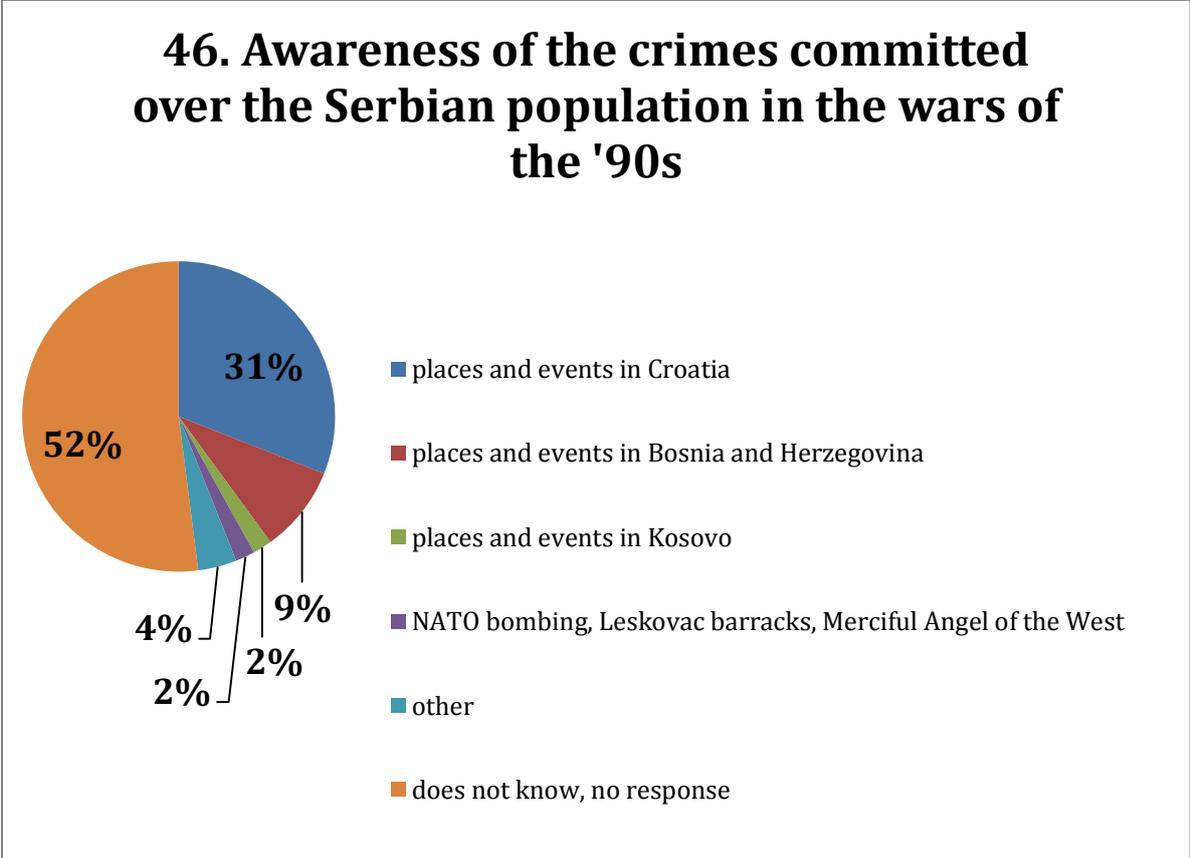
**Awareness on War Crimes Trials in Serbia Index**

<i>Broader Classification</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Narrower classification</i>	<i>%</i>
1. fully informed	6	1. informed	16
2. generally informed	10		
2. partially informed	23	2. partially informed	23
4. uninformed	61	3. uninformed	61
TOTAL	100		100

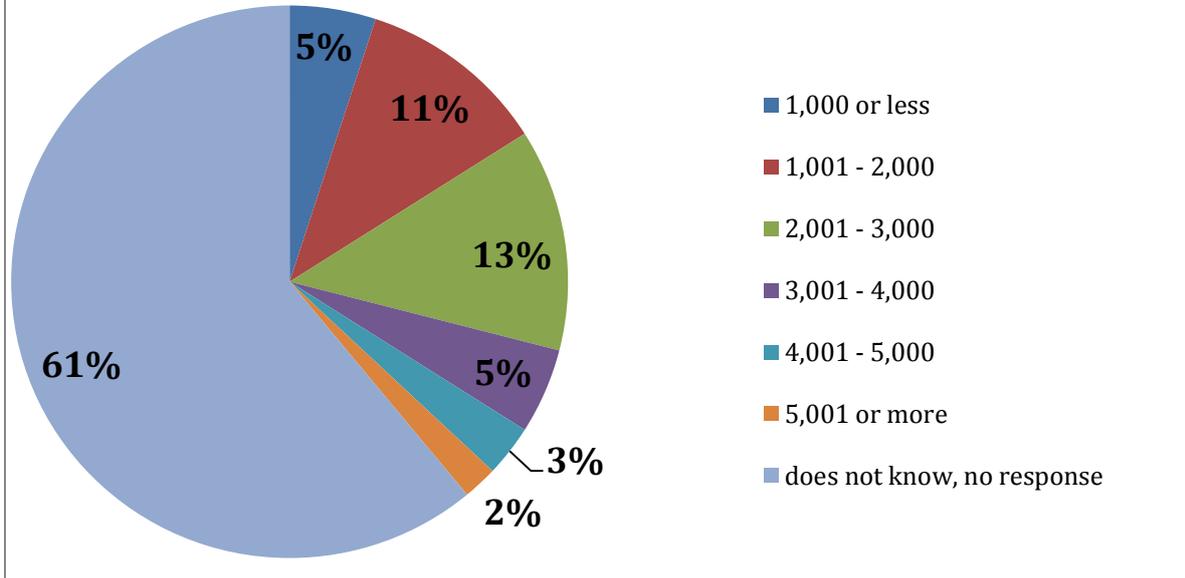
In sum, three-fifths of respondents are uninformed about war crimes trials in Serbia, almost a quarter are partially informed, and only 16% are informed. The number of uninformed compared to the number of informed respondents is almost four times higher.

**Serbian Casualties Awareness Index**

Two questions in the questionnaire related to the Serbian Casualties during the 1990s. Although this is a very modest number of indicators, we created an index that was supposed to “reconcile” certain differences in the number of non-responses to these two questions.



### 37. Estimate of the number of people killed in the NATO bombing



#### Serbian Casualties Awareness Index Indicators (in %)

<i>Questions - Indicators</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
Do you know how many people were killed in the NATO bombing?	39	61
Do you know of a crime committed against the Serb population in the wars of the 1990s?	48	52

#### Percentage of non-responses to the two indicators regarding Serbian Casualties Awareness Index

<i>Number of non-responses</i>	<i>Percentage of respondents with non-responses</i>
Responses to both questions	26
1 non-response	34
2 non-responses	40

#### Serbian Casualties Awareness Index

<i>Serbian Casualties Awareness Index</i>	<i>%</i>
1. informed	26
2. partially informed	34
3. uninformed	40
TOTAL	100

A quarter of respondents were informed of the Serbian casualties during 1990s, a third was partially informed, and partially not, while two-fifths were uninformed.

### Summary view of the awareness indexes

We focused on the empty information indexes by value and position, which is in line with the initial aims of this research and in accordance with the requirements and capabilities of the researchers. However, it should be said immediately that this “value-empty” awareness is not without any value valency, unless we consider that information as such is not a citizen's value, regardless of content. But if awareness is firmly defined by some (mysteriously established) “truth”, then the information we have dealt with here has no point. However, we have counted as “informed” just as much those who claimed that the Serbs had suffered the most during the wars in the nineties, as those who saw the Albanians or some other nations as the greatest victims. The content of awareness is substantially coloured by ideological and political beliefs and attitudes. It is meaningless to deny awareness just because, from our point of view, the content of the awareness is the result of a lie (“post-truth”) or manipulation, misconception, or prejudice.

#### Structure of the Awareness by Indexes (in %)

<i>Indexes</i>	<i>Informed</i>	<i>Partially informed</i>	<i>Uninformed</i>	<i>Total</i>
General Awareness Index	21	19	60	100
Awareness on War Crimes Trials in Serbia Index	16	23	61	100
Serbian Casualties Awareness Index	26	34	40	100

Of the four constructed indexes of awareness, three indexes have a fairly similar structure: three fifths of the respondents are uninformed, approximately one fifth is partially informed, and one fifth is (more or less) fully informed. When comparing these three indexes, the exception is, to a certain degree, the Serbian Casualties Awareness Index. This refers to the two questions: “Do you know of a crime committed against the Serb population in the wars of the 1990s?” and “Do you know how many people were killed in the NATO bombing?” which we took as indicators. Although it seemed that the number of non-responses to these questions would be much smaller than in the other cases (as Serbs should have most answered the questions regarding Serbian victims), there are not many more informed respondents here than with the other awareness indexes. The number of uninformed is smaller by only one fifth, which is mostly “collocated” into the category of “partially informed”, or, to a lesser extent, to the category of those “fully informed”.

### Contingency coefficients between the four indexes

	<i>General Awareness Index</i>	<i>Awareness concerning War Trials in Serbia Index</i>	<i>Serbian Casualties Awareness Index</i>
General Awareness Index	xxx	<b>0.57</b>	<b>0.55</b>
Awareness concerning War Crimes Trials in Serbia Index	<b>0.57</b>	xxx	<b>0.46</b>
Serbian Casualties Awareness Index	<b>0.55</b>	<b>0.46</b>	xxx

The correlation of the General Awareness Index (ie. awareness about the wars of the 1990s, war crimes and war crimes trials) with the other three awareness indexes (see the previous table) is very high - the coefficient of contingency with the Awareness on War Crimes Trials in Serbia Index is 0.57; and with the Serbian Casualties during the 1990s Awareness Index 0.55.

### Awareness Index and socio-demographic characteristics of respondents (contingency coefficients)

	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Education</i>	<i>Employment Status</i>	<i>Ethnicity</i>
General Awareness Index	<b>0.26</b>	<b>0.26</b>	<b>0.25</b>	<b>0.26</b>	<b>0.25*</b>
War Crimes Trials in Serbia Awareness Index	0.15	0.16	<b>0.20</b>	0.17	0.17
Serbian Casualties Awareness Index	0.16	0.18	0.18	0.16	0.16

\*The contingency coefficient in the case of the ethnicity of respondents is artificial due to the small number of respondents of other ethnicities - Hungarians 3.7%, Muslims/Bosniaks 1.5%, Croats 1.4%, and others 6.3%, and 3.9% of those who did not want to declare - in total, 83% of Serbs and 17% of other nations expressed their opinion in the questionnaire. When the contingency coefficient is calculated with the dual category (Serbs and others), then a coefficient is obtained which is in no case statistically relevant.

The General Awareness Index is the only index of awareness that is in correlation with socio-demographic characteristics, although it is quite low - 0.25 or 0.26. For example, women are two times less informed (13%) than men (27%); among women, 70% are uninformed and 51% among men.

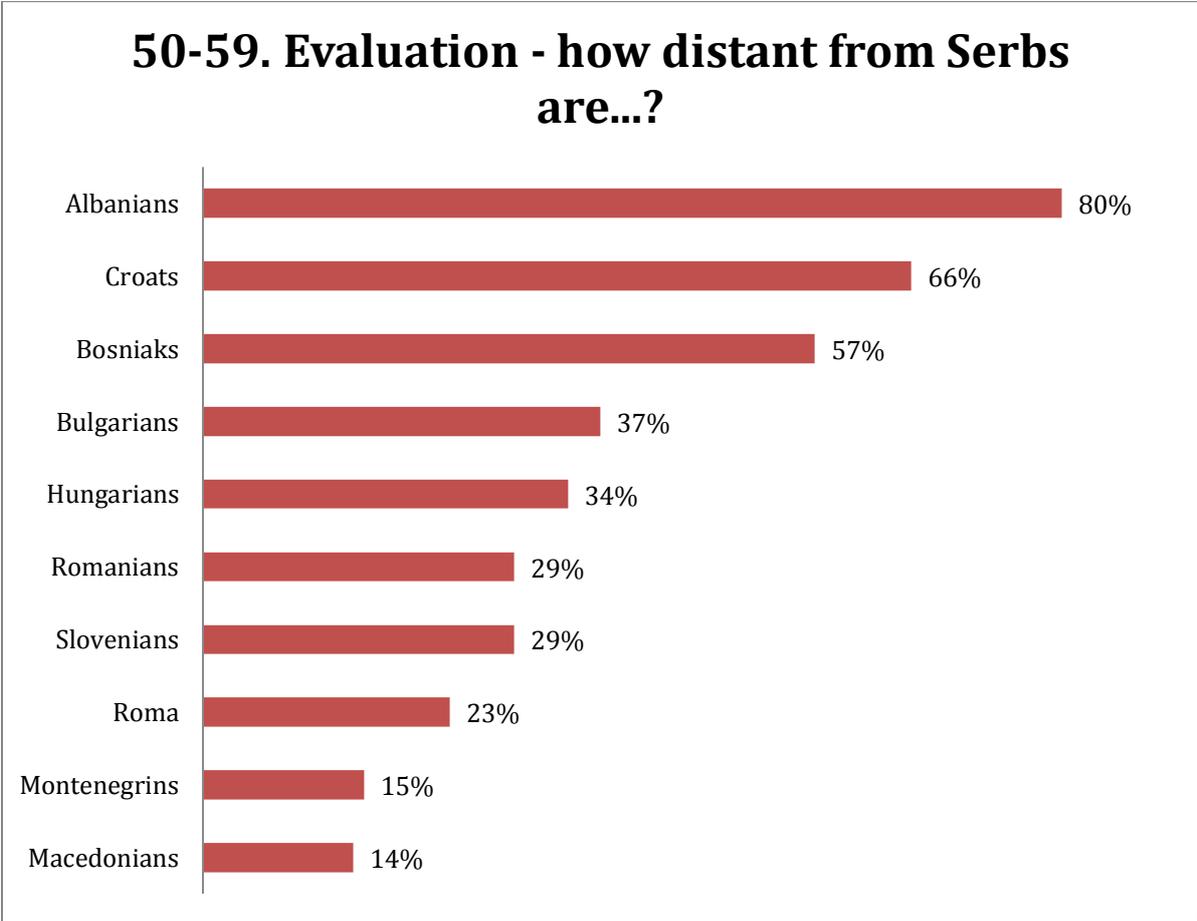
When it comes to the age of the respondents, the youngest respondents are especially poorly informed (informed - 6%, partially informed - 10% and uninformed - 84%). Then, with age,

awareness gradually increases, and is the highest among respondents between 45 and 55 years of age: 28% are informed, 25% are partially informed, and 47% are uninformed; after 55 years of age, the awareness begins to decrease again.

As the level of education becomes higher, so also do the respondents have greater general awareness of the wars and war crimes trials: 15-19-20-35%. Unawareness, on the other hand, decreases: 69-63-57-41%. When it comes to employment status, there is a somewhat higher index of general awareness among employees in the state sector (2.71), employees in the private sector (2.52) and retirees (2.47), whilst the lowest index of general awareness is characteristic of agriculturers (2.26), the unemployed (2.15) and housewives (1.85).

**10. Ethnic distance of Serbs towards some other nations**

Including questions of ethnic distance is based on the assumption that a part of the explanation of the perception of war events, war crimes and war crimes trials can be found precisely in the existence of ethnic distance. In testing the distance, we felt that it was not correct for the researcher to ask the respondents to evaluate their own personal distance to other ethnicities, so we asked respondents to assess the distance of Serbs towards other ethnicities, expecting a high degree of projection of their own attitude in the assessment of the distance of Serbs.



**Ethnic Distance of Serbs towards some other nations\* (in %)**

<i>Ethnicities</i>	<i>Close</i>	<i>Neither close nor distant</i>	<i>Distant</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>AA**</i>
Macedonians	51	35	14	100	3.50
Montenegrins	47	38	15	100	3.45
Roma	35	42	23	100	3.13
Romanians	30	41	29	100	3.13
Hungarians	23	43	34	100	2.80
Slovenians	21	50	29	100	2.73
Bulgarians	13	50	37	100	2.65
Croats	11	23	66	100	2.06
Bosniaks	8	35	57	100	2.24
Albanians	2	18	80	100	1.59
<b>AVERAGE</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>2.73</b>

\* The question was: "How close or distant are Serbs to the following nations?" Respondents could give the following answers: "very distant", "distant", "neither close nor distant", "close", or "very close"; or not answer the question or say "I do not know".

\*\* AA is short for arithmetic average.

The majority of the respondents record distance toward Albanians (80%), Croats (66%) and Bosniaks (57%). Approximately half of the respondents affirm Serbian closeness to Macedonians (51%) and Montenegrins (47%).

The arithmetic average of the ethnic distance of Serbian citizens towards other nations, and according to the estimation of our respondents, is 2.73, which is otherwise the average distance toward Slovenians. Below that average are Bulgarians, Croats, Bosniaks and Albanians, and above the average are Hungarians, Romanians, Roma, Montenegrins and Macedonians.

Taken in the qualitative assessment, only the distance towards Macedonians can be seen as one between closeness and neutral relations (3.50), being a bit closer to the relationship of closeness. Next to this result come the Montenegrins, but they are still nearer to a neutral relationship. Overall, the respondents estimated that Albanians, Bosniaks and Croats are distant, and that everyone else is midway between close and distant - apart, as we said, from the Macedonians, who are assessed to be close.

Linking the Ethnic Distance Index to the awareness indexes has shown that there is no significant correlation, and that our starting assumption is not correct. We have found a relatively low correlation between the Ethnic Distance Index and those estimation questions which reveal respondents' attitudes towards given phenomena. Such were the questions, for example, in which respondents were asked to assess which nations had the most victims in the wars in the former SFRY, and which nations produced persons who committed the most crimes.

Certainly, the Distance Index of Serbs towards the 10 other nations, since it is also based on the relationship with nations towards which the Serbs feel distance, but also on the relationship towards the peoples in which they express their closeness, neutralized the trends of influence when finally assessing the response. That this statement is true (at least partially),

shows the link between the two above-mentioned attitudes with the highest ethnic distances, ie. the distances towards Albanians, Croats and Bosniaks.

These relationships give correlations of moderate intensity. Thus, for example, the correlation between the distance toward the Bosniaks and the identification of the nations with the highest number of victims is 0.34, and in the case of the nations belonging to those who committed the most crimes - 0.27. When it comes to the distance towards Croats, the correlation between the identification of the nations with the highest number of victims is 0.38, and in the case of the nations belonging to those who committed the most crimes, 0.33.

The following are the regularities: respondents who have a greater distance toward Croats and Bosniaks more often present the Serbs as victims and rarely as the nation producing those who committed the most crimes (that nation is more often said to be that of the Croats, Bosniaks or Albanians).

Generally speaking, there is enough evidence to provide a basis for our hypothesis of the relationship between ethnocentrism and nationalism with an interpretation of the wars on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, and the war crimes and war crimes trials. However, on the other hand, it is necessary to reject the likelihood of any significant impact of ethnocentrism on the awareness itself, as awareness on the above-mentioned phenomena (and in the term awareness, we do not mean attitude).