



Electoral Legacies of War:  
Political Competition in  
Postwar Southeast Europe

2020 ELWar Croatian and  
Serbian Election Survey  
Codebook



**Contents**

- Introduction .....3
- Experiments embedded in the survey ..... 6
  - Election experiment ..... 6
- General variables .....7
- Sociodemographic variables ..... 8
- Political preferences.....10
  - Electoral integrity (election experiment, pre-election wave).....10
  - Economic dimension ..... 11
  - Nationalism.....12
  - News consumption ..... 13
  - Party choice in the last election.....15
  - Current party preference.....16
  - Election predictions Croatia ..... 17
  - Election predictions Serbia.....20
- The Corona Crisis ..... 24
  - Effect of the Corona crisis on future outlook ..... 24
  - Official response to the Corona crisis ..... 24
- Post-electoral survey ..... 28
  - Electoral integrity (election experiment, post-electoral wave)..... 29

# Introduction

Version 1.0.0

The dataset *ELWar 2020 Croatian and Serbian Election Survey* contains the data from the 2020 ELWar public opinion survey conducted in two Southeast European countries: Croatia and Serbia. This survey captures the party preferences of respondents in the 2020 elections, as well as their experiences during the first year of the COVID-19 pandemic. The survey is part of the project "Electoral Legacies of War: Political Competition in Postwar Southeast Europe" (ELWar), supported by an ERC Starting Grant No. 714589, and hosted by the University of Luxembourg. The survey was primarily designed as being a two-wave survey. The data collection of the first wave took place between 9 June and 17 July 2020. The data of the second wave was collected between 22 June and 17 July 2020.

Data collection of the survey was performed by Oraclum Intelligence Systems Ltd. The survey was hosted on a server in Germany (Hetzner server), and the questionnaire itself was hosted on Oraclum's internal app (<https://survey.oraclum.co.uk/>). While the sample is aimed to represent the populations of the two countries, the sampling frame consisted of adults in Croatia and Serbia with a Facebook account. According to the figures on <https://www.internetworldstats.com>, roughly 50% of the populations in these countries had such an account at the time of data collection. Facebook users were selected and recruited using Facebook's random algorithm – they logged into the online survey app via their Facebook account to verify a unique ID. Potential participants were first divided into different predefined population weights (based on age, gender, education, and location), drawn from the official national statistics for each country (described in detail below). Each user was selected at random in order to fill in the prespecified quota. For these quota, we identified 294 strata in Croatia and 400 in Serbia. There was a continuous evaluation of key performance indicators (KPIs) to monitor the representativeness of each group, with regards to gender, age, location, and education.

In addition to the population weights, users were screened before being invited using three main screening techniques. First, based on the location of the user, i.e. the location of their IP, which enabled only people living in the country of interest to enter the survey in their language. Second, the Facebook log-in ensured that the same person does not fill out the survey more than once. Third, the survey app had an internal screening method that eliminated potential fake profiles or bots (e.g. by checking the name, number of friends, and other publicly available data on the user, but also the timing of solving the survey). The survey questions were translated into the two major languages spoken in the two countries: Croatian and Serbian. No pretest of the survey questionnaire was conducted.

Prior to participation in the survey, potential respondents were informed on what the purpose of the questionnaire was and how the data would be used. They had to read and agree to it prior to entering the survey platform. No paradata about the survey data collection process was gathered. Respondents were offered compensation through a prize-based competition. Survey participants had to predict what the opinion of other participants would be on a series of questions at the end of each section, and the top three most accurate predictors in each country would get a monetary reward. This ensured a low dropout rate from the Facebook users that were attracted to the survey. Invitees who had started the survey but had not finished were sent two reminders. There was a fixed order in which respondents were required to answer the survey questions, corresponding to their order in the sample questionnaire. All questions on a page had to be answered before a respondent could proceed. The median completion time of the survey was 10 minutes.

The dataset contains the responses of 5,337 individuals. In total, 4,297 people who were invited to the survey participated, yet the responses of 1,040 participants were deemed invalid. To detect such responses, two sets of checks were performed. The first consisted of a number of logical tests revealing whether a respondent had given answers deemed impossible. These were 1) claiming to be older than 100, 2) claiming to have obtained a college degree before the age of 20, 3) claiming to have obtained a PhD before the age of 26, and 4) claiming to have voted in the last election while being too young to be eligible to vote at the time, according to the respondent's stated year of birth. The second check consisted of tests for speeding. In total, there were 18 time checks, which indicated how fast respondents had answered all the questions on a page. Per time check, respondents were given a 'speeding ticket' when they belonged to the top 5 percent of the fastest respondents. Respondents who accumulated more than 5 speeding tickets were excluded from the sample.

To reduce the difference between the composition of the samples and the populations of the various countries, survey weights were calculated. These weights were created using iterative proportional fitting, better known as raking. Two survey weight variables are included in the dataset. The first uses two sets of variables for which the population distribution was known. The first set consists of gender and level of education, and the second of gender and age category. The resulting survey weights, named `single_cntry_weight` in the dataset, should be used for single-country analyses. The second survey weight variable, named `pooled_sample_weight` in the dataset, adjusts the single-country weights for the differences in population sizes between the two countries. These weights should be used for pooled country analyses. The information on the population distributions was obtained from the Croatian Bureau of Statistics, and the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia.

In papers or publications utilizing this dataset, we ask users to refer to the dataset as the 2020 ELWar Croatian and Serbian Election Survey and cite documentation as follow:

Lesschaeve, Christophe, Josip Glaurdić, and Michal Mochtak (2022): 2020 ELWar Croatian and Serbian Election Survey. Data File Version 1.0.0. GESIS, Cologne. <https://doi.org/10.7802/2399>. This survey was supported by an ERC Starting Grant No. 714589 for the project "Electoral Legacies of War: Political Competition in Postwar Southeast Europe" (ELWar)"

## **Experiments embedded in the survey**

### **Election experiment**

This is a quasi-experiment with a within-subjects design. Respondents who participated in the survey before the respective elections in the two countries were invited to participate in a second wave. In each survey wave, respondents were asked on the Likert scale to which extent they agreed with nine statements on electoral integrity (q2\_03\_1 to q2\_03\_9, and q5\_04\_1 to q5\_04\_9). The goal of the experiment is to investigate whether the outcome of the parliamentary elections – which took place between the two waves – and respondents' satisfaction with this result (measured in q5\_03) affected their perceptions of how honest the elections were.

## General variables

**user\_id** = Unique identifier for each respondent.

**submitted\_at** = Completion date of the first wave.

**pes\_submitted\_at** = Completion date of the second wave.

**country** = Country of the respondent.

HR = Croatia

RS = Serbia

**single\_cntry\_weight** = Survey weight designed for single-country analyses.

**pooled\_sample\_weight** = Survey weight designed for pooled country analyses.

## Sociodemographic variables

**q1\_01** = respondent's gender

1 = Male

2 = Female

**q1\_02** = respondent's year of birth

**q1\_03** = respondent's highest level of education

1 = None

2 = Completed elementary school

3 = Vocational school degree

4 = Secondary school degree, 4 years

(this includes both academic university preparatory education and the advanced technical schools which also allowed entrance to either universities or higher educational schools)

5 = Third level school – 2 years after secondary

6 = University education

7 = Doctoral degree

**q1\_04** = respondent's household income. These categories correspond to the incomes deciles as provided by governmental statistical agencies.

	HR	RS
1 =	Less than 2000 Kuna	Less than 20,000 Dinar
2 =	Between 2000 and 3200 Kuna	Between 20,000 and 30,000 Dinar
3 =	Between 3200 and 4400 Kuna	Between 30,000 and 40,000 Dinar
4 =	Between 4400 and 5600 Kuna	Between 40,000 and 50,000 Dinar
5 =	Between 5600 and 6800 Kuna	Between 50,000 and 60,000 Dinar
6 =	Between 6800 and 8000 Kuna	Between 60,000 and 70,000 Dinar
7 =	Between 8000 and 9200 Kuna	Between 70,000 and 80,000 Dinar
8 =	Between 9200 and 10,400 Kuna	Between 80,000 and 90,000 Dinar
9 =	Between 10,400 and 11,600 Kuna	Between 90,000 and 100,000 Dinar
10 =	More than 11,600 Kuna	More than 100,000 Dinar

**q1\_05** = respondent's employment situation

1 = Full time employed

2 = Part-time employed

3 = Unemployed

4 = Retired, pensioner

5 = Stay-at-home spouse

6 = Pupil, student

7 = Sick, disabled

8 = Self-employed

**q1\_06** = Indicates whether the respondent is an ethnic minority

0 = No



1 = Yes

**timer\_1** = Time (seconds) needed to answer q1\_01-q1\_07

## Political preferences

**q2\_01** = Left-right self-placement

0 = Left

5 = Center

10 = Right

**q2\_02** = Interest in politics

0 = Not interested at all

10 = Very interested

**timer\_2** = Time (seconds) needed to answer q2\_01-q2\_02

## Electoral integrity (election experiment, pre-election wave)

**q2\_03\_1** = Votes are counted fairly.

1 = Completely disagree

2 = Disagree

3 = Neither agree nor disagree

4 = Agree

5 = Completely agree

**q2\_03\_2** = Opposition candidates are prevented from running.

1 = Completely disagree

2 = Disagree

3 = Neither agree nor disagree

4 = Agree

5 = Completely agree

**q2\_03\_3** = TV news favors the governing party.

1 = Completely disagree

2 = Disagree

3 = Neither agree nor disagree

4 = Agree

5 = Completely agree

**q2\_03\_4** = Voters are bribed.

1 = Completely disagree

2 = Disagree

3 = Neither agree nor disagree

4 = Agree

5 = Completely agree

**q2\_03\_5** = Journalists provide fair coverage of election.

1 = Completely disagree

2 = Disagree

3 = Neither agree nor disagree

4 = Agree  
5 = Completely agree

**q2\_03\_6** = Election officials are fair.

1 = Completely disagree  
2 = Disagree  
3 = Neither agree nor disagree  
4 = Agree  
5 = Completely agree

**q2\_03\_7** = Rich people buy elections.

1 = Completely disagree  
2 = Disagree  
3 = Neither agree nor disagree  
4 = Agree  
5 = Completely agree

**q2\_03\_8** = Voters are threatened with violence.

1 = Completely disagree  
2 = Disagree  
3 = Neither agree nor disagree  
4 = Agree  
5 = Completely agree

**q2\_03\_9** = Voters are offered a genuine choice in the election.

1 = Completely disagree  
2 = Disagree  
3 = Neither agree nor disagree  
4 = Agree  
5 = Completely agree

**timer\_3** = Time (seconds) needed to answer q2\_03\_1-q2\_03\_9

### **Economic dimension**

**q2\_04\_1** = Important sectors of the economy should be nationalized.

1 = Completely disagree  
2 = Disagree  
3 = Neither agree nor disagree  
4 = Agree  
5 = Completely agree

**q2\_04\_2** = The government should reduce the differences in income.

1 = Completely disagree  
2 = Disagree  
3 = Neither agree nor disagree  
4 = Agree

5 = Completely agree

**q2\_04\_3** = The government should guarantee everyone a minimum standard of living.

1 = Completely disagree

2 = Disagree

3 = Neither agree nor disagree

4 = Agree

5 = Completely agree

**q2\_04\_4** = People should receive unemployment benefits until they find a new job.

1 = Completely disagree

2 = Disagree

3 = Neither agree nor disagree

4 = Agree

5 = Completely agree

**q2\_04\_5** = Public services would work better if they were privatized.

1 = Completely disagree

2 = Disagree

3 = Neither agree nor disagree

4 = Agree

5 = Completely agree

## **Nationalism**

**q2\_05\_1** = Men can feel completely safe only when the majority belong to his nation(ality).

1 = Completely disagree

2 = Disagree

3 = Neither agree nor disagree

4 = Agree

5 = Completely agree

**q2\_05\_2** = Among nations, it is possible to create cooperation, but not full trust.

1 = Completely disagree

2 = Disagree

3 = Neither agree nor disagree

4 = Agree

5 = Completely agree

**q2\_05\_3** = I would rather be a citizen of this country than of any other country in the world.

1 = Completely disagree

2 = Disagree

3 = Neither agree nor disagree

4 = Agree

5 = Completely agree

**q2\_05\_4** = It is important that my country performs better than other countries.

- 1 = Completely disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Neither agree nor disagree
- 4 = Agree
- 5 = Completely agree

**q2\_05\_5** = It is best that villages, towns, and cities should be composed of only one nationality.

- 1 = Completely disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Neither agree nor disagree
- 4 = Agree
- 5 = Completely agree

**timer\_4** = Time (seconds) needed to answer q2\_04\_1-q2\_05\_5

### News consumption

**q2\_06\_1** = Information source: Newspapers

- 1 = Never
- 2 = Rarely, that is less than once a week
- 3 = Sometimes, that is one or two days per week
- 4 = Often, that is three or four days per week
- 5 = Almost every day of the week, that is five days per week or more

**q2\_06\_2** = Information source: Television news

- 1 = Never
- 2 = Rarely, that is less than once a week
- 3 = Sometimes, that is one or two days per week
- 4 = Often, that is three or four days per week
- 5 = Almost every day of the week, that is five days per week or more

**q2\_06\_3** = Information source: Information websites

- 1 = Never
- 2 = Rarely, that is less than once a week
- 3 = Sometimes, that is one or two days per week
- 4 = Often, that is three or four days per week
- 5 = Almost every day of the week, that is five days per week or more

**q2\_06\_4** = Information source: The radio

- 1 = Never
- 2 = Rarely, that is less than once a week
- 3 = Sometimes, that is one or two days per week
- 4 = Often, that is three or four days per week
- 5 = Almost every day of the week, that is five days per week or more

**q2\_06\_5** = Information source: Social media

- 1 = Never
- 2 = Rarely, that is less than once a week
- 3 = Sometimes, that is one or two days per week
- 4 = Often, that is three or four days per week
- 5 = Almost every day of the week, that is five days per week or more

**timer\_5** = Time (seconds) needed to answer q2\_06\_1-q2\_06\_5

**q2\_07** = Is your country culturally part of east or west?

- 0 = East
- 10 = West

**q2\_08** = Is your country politically part of east or west?

- 0 = East
- 10 = West

**q2\_09\_1** = Should your governments' foreign policy align with EU?

- 0 = It should not align at all
- 10 = It should align completely

**q2\_09\_2** = Should your governments' foreign policy align with USA?

- 0 = It should not align at all
- 10 = It should align completely

**q2\_09\_3** = Should your governments' foreign policy align with Russia?

- 0 = It should not align at all
- 10 = It should align completely

**q2\_09\_4** = Should your governments' foreign policy align with China?

- 0 = It should not align at all
- 10 = It should align completely

**q2\_10\_1** = How big is the influence of the EU in your country?

- 0 = No influence at all
- 10 = Great influence

**q2\_10\_2** = How big is the influence of the USA in your country?

- 0 = No influence at all
- 10 = Great influence

**q2\_10\_3** = How big is the influence of Russia in your country?

- 0 = No influence at all
- 10 = Great influence

**q2\_10\_4** = How big is the influence of China in your country?

- 0 = No influence at all

10 = Great influence

**q2\_11\_1** = Do you see the influence of the EU in your country as positive or negative?

0 = Negative

10 = Positive

**q2\_11\_2** = Do you see the influence of the USA in your country as positive or negative?

0 = Negative

10 = Positive

**q2\_11\_3** = Do you see the influence of Russia in your country as positive or negative?

0 = Negative

10 = Positive

**q2\_11\_4** = Do you see the influence of China in your country as positive or negative?

0 = Negative

10 = Positive

**timer\_6** = Time (seconds) needed to answer q2\_09\_1-q2\_11\_4

### **Party choice in the last election**

**q3\_01** = In parliamentary elections, which electoral district do you vote in?

1 = 1

2 = 2

3 = 3

4 = 4

5 = 5

6 = 6

7 = 7

8 = 8

9 = 9

10 = 10

11 = List for diaspora

12 = List for minorities

**q3\_02** = Party choice HR 2016

1 = HDZ Coalition (HDZ, HSLs, HDS, Hrast)

2 = People's Coalition (SDP, HNS, HSU, HSS)

3 = Bridge of Independent Lists

4 = The Only Option Coalition (Živi zid, UF, PH, AM, AD)

5 = For Prime Minister Coalition (BM 365, Reformisti, Novi val, HSS HR, BUZ)

6 = Even Stronger Istria Coalition (IDS, PGS, RI)

7 = Turn Croatia Around Coalition (Pametno, Za Grad)

8 = HDSSB Coalition (HDSSB, HKS)

95 = Other

96 = I cast a blank vote

97 = I didn't vote

98 = I don't want to answer

**q3\_03** = Party choice RS 2016

1 = SNS

2 = SPS-JS-ZS

3 = SRS

4 = DJB

5 = DS

6 = Dveri-DSS

7 = SDS-LDP-LSV

8 = VMSZ-VMDP

95 = Other

96 = I cast a blank vote

97 = I didn't vote

98 = I don't want to answer

### Current party preference

**q3\_04** = Current party preference HR

1 = HDZ

2 = Restart Coalition (SDP, HSS, HSU, GLAS, SNAGA)

3 = Homeland Movement of Miroslav Škoro

4 = Most

5 = Koalicija Možemo! (Zagreb je naš, Nova ljevica, OraH)

6 = Pametno/Fokus

7 = Stranka Ivana Pernara

8 = Stranka s imenom i prezimenom

9 = Živi zid/Promijenimo Hrvatsku

10 = HNS

11 = HSLŠ

12 = BM365

13 = HDSSB

14 = IDS

15 = SDSS

95 = Other

96 = I will cast a blank vote

97 = I will not vote

98 = I don't want to answer

**q3\_05** = Current party preference RS

1 = Aleksandar Vučić – za našu decu

2 = Socijalistička partija Srbije – Jedinствена Srbija

3 = Srpska radikalna stranka

4 = Savez vojvođanskih Mađara

5 = Srpski patriotski savez



6 = Pokret obnove Kraljevine Srbije  
7 = Ujedinjena demokratska Srbija  
8 = Metla 2020  
95 = Other  
96 = I will cast a blank vote  
97 = I will not vote  
98 = I don't want to answer

**timer\_7** = Time (seconds) needed to answer q3\_01-q3\_05a

### **Election predictions Croatia**

**q3\_o6\_1** = Predicted seats for HDZ

0 = 0

14 = 14

**q3\_o6\_2** = Predicted seats for Restart Coalition

0 = 0

14 = 14

**q3\_o6\_3** = Predicted seats for Homeland Movement of Miroslav Škoro

0 = 0

14 = 14

**q3\_o6\_4** = Predicted seats for Most

0 = 0

14 = 14

**q3\_o6\_5** = Predicted seats for Koalicija Možemo!

0 = 0

14 = 14

**q3\_o6\_6** = Predicted seats for Pametno/Fokus

0 = 0

14 = 14

**q3\_o6\_7** = Predicted seats for Stranka Ivana Pernara

0 = 0

14 = 14

**q3\_o6\_8** = Predicted seats for Stranka s imenom i prezimenom

0 = 0

14 = 14

**q3\_o6\_9** = Predicted seats for Živi zid/Promijenimo Hrvatsku

0 = 0

14 = 14

**q3\_o6\_10** = Predicted seats for HNS

0 = 0

14 = 14

**q3\_o6\_11** = Predicted seats for HSLS

0 = 0

14 = 14

**q3\_o6\_12** = Predicted seats for other parties

0 = 0

14 = 14

**q3\_o7\_o1** = Predicted votes other resp. for HDZ

0 = 0%

100 = 100%

**q3\_o7\_o2** = Predicted votes other resp. for Restart Coalition

0 = 0%

100 = 100%

**q3\_o7\_o3** = Predicted votes other resp. for Homeland Movement of Miroslav Škoro

0 = 0%

100 = 100%

**q3\_o7\_o4** = Predicted votes other resp. for Most

0 = 0%

100 = 100%

**q3\_o7\_o5** = Predicted votes other resp. for Koalicija Možemo!

0 = 0%

100 = 100%

**q3\_o7\_o6** = Predicted votes other resp. for Pametno/Fokus

0 = 0%

100 = 100%

**q3\_o7\_o7** = Predicted votes other resp. for Stranka Ivana Pernara

0 = 0%

100 = 100%

**q3\_o7\_o8** = Predicted votes other resp. for Stranka s imenom i prezimenom

0 = 0%

100 = 100%

**q3\_07\_09** = Predicted votes other resp. for Živi zid/Promijenimo Hrvatsku

0 = 0%

100 = 100%

**q3\_07\_10** = Predicted votes other resp. for HNS

0 = 0%

100 = 100%

**q3\_07\_11** = Predicted votes other resp. for HSLS

0 = 0%

100 = 100%

**q3\_07\_12** = Predicted votes other resp. for other parties

0 = 0%

100 = 100%

**q3\_08\_1** = Votes of 10 best friends for HDZ

0 = 0

10 = 10

**q3\_08\_2** = Votes of 10 best friends for Restart Coalition

0 = 0

10 = 10

**q3\_08\_3** = Votes of 10 best friends for Homeland Movement of Miroslav Škoro

0 = 0

10 = 10

**q3\_08\_4** = Votes of 10 best friends for Most

0 = 0

10 = 10

**q3\_08\_5** = Votes of 10 best friends for Koalicija Možemo!

0 = 0

10 = 10

**q3\_08\_6** = Votes of 10 best friends for Pametno/Fokus

0 = 0

10 = 10

**q3\_08\_7** = Votes of 10 best friends for Stranka Ivana Pernara

0 = 0

10 = 10

**q3\_o8\_8** = Votes of 10 best friends for Stranka s imenom i prezimenom

0 = 0

10 = 10

**q3\_o8\_9** = Votes of 10 best friends for Živi zid/Promijenimo Hrvatsku

0 = 0

10 = 10

**q3\_o8\_10** = Votes of 10 best friends for HNS

0 = 0

10 = 10

**q3\_o8\_11** = Votes of 10 best friends for HSLS

0 = 0

10 = 10

**q3\_o8\_12** = Votes of 10 best friends for other parties

0 = 0

10 = 10

**q3\_o8\_13** = Votes of 10 best friends for don't know

0 = 0

10 = 10

**q3\_o9** = First-round vote presidential election HR 2019

1 = Nedjeljko Babić (HSSČKŠ)

2 = Anto Đapić (Desno)

3 = Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović (HDZ)

4 = Dario Juričan (Nezavisni kandidat)

5 = Mislav Kolakušić (Nezavisni kandidat)

6 = Dejan Kovač (HSLS)

7 = Zoran Milanović (SDP)

8 = Dalija Orešković (Nezavisni kandidat)

9 = Katarina Peović (RF)

10 = Ivan Pernar (SIP)

11 = Miroslav Škoro (Nezavisni kandidat)

96 = I cast a blank vote

97 = I didn't vote

98 = I don't want to answer

## **Election predictions Serbia**

**q3\_10\_1** = Predicted total votes for Aleksandar Vučić – za našu decu

0 = 0%

100 = 100%

**q3\_10\_2** = Predicted total votes for Socijalistička partija Srbije –  
Jedinstvena Srbija

0 = 0%

100 = 100%

**q3\_10\_3** = Predicted total votes for Srpska radikalna stranka

0 = 0%

100 = 100%

**q3\_10\_4** = Predicted total votes for Savez vojvođanskih Mađara

0 = 0%

100 = 100%

**q3\_10\_5** = Predicted total votes for Srpski patriotski savez

0 = 0%

100 = 100%

**q3\_10\_6** = Predicted total votes for Pokret obnove Kraljevine Srbije

0 = 0%

100 = 100%

**q3\_10\_7** = Predicted total votes for Ujedinjena demokratska Srbija

0 = 0%

100 = 100%

**q3\_10\_8** = Predicted total votes for Metla 2020

0 = 0%

100 = 100%

**q3\_10\_9** = Predicted total votes for other parties

0 = 0%

100 = 100%

**q3\_11\_1** = Predicted votes other resp. for Aleksandar Vučić – za našu  
decu

0 = 0%

100 = 100%

**q3\_11\_2** = Predicted votes other resp. for Socijalistička partija Srbije –  
Jedinstvena Srbija

0 = 0%

100 = 100%

**q3\_11\_3** = Predicted votes other resp. for Srpska radikalna stranka

0 = 0%  
100 = 100%

**q3\_11\_4** = Predicted votes other resp. for Savez vojvođanskih Mađara  
0 = 0%  
100 = 100%

**q3\_11\_5** = Predicted votes other resp. for Srpski patriotski savez  
0 = 0%  
100 = 100%

**q3\_11\_6** = Predicted votes other resp. for Pokret obnove Kraljevine  
Srbije  
0 = 0%  
100 = 100%

**q3\_11\_7** = Predicted votes other resp. for Ujedinjena demokratska  
Srbija  
0 = 0%  
100 = 100%

**q3\_11\_8** = Predicted votes other resp. for Metla 2020  
0 = 0%  
100 = 100%

**q3\_11\_9** = Predicted votes other resp. for other parties  
0 = 0%  
100 = 100%

**timer\_8** = Time (seconds) needed to answer q3\_06\_1-q3\_11\_9

**q3\_12\_1** = Votes of 10 best friends for Aleksandar Vučić – za našu decu  
0 = 0  
10 = 10

**q3\_12\_2** = Votes of 10 best friends for Socijalistička partija Srbije –  
Jedinstvena Srbija  
0 = 0  
10 = 10

**q3\_12\_3** = Votes of 10 best friends for Srpska radikalna stranka  
0 = 0  
10 = 10

**q3\_12\_4** = Votes of 10 best friends for Savez vojvođanskih Mađara  
0 = 0

10 = 10

**q3\_12\_5** = Votes of 10 best friends for Srpski patriotski savez

0 = 0

10 = 10

**q3\_12\_6** = Votes of 10 best friends for Pokret obnove Kraljevine Srbije

0 = 0

10 = 10

**q3\_12\_7** = Votes of 10 best friends for Ujedinjena demokratska Srbija

0 = 0

10 = 10

**q3\_12\_8** = Votes of 10 best friends for Metla 2020

0 = 0

10 = 10

**q3\_12\_9** = Votes of 10 best friends for other parties

0 = 0

10 = 10

**q3\_12\_10** = Votes of 10 best friends for don't know

0 = 0

10 = 10

**timer\_9** = Time (seconds) needed to answer q3\_12\_1-q3\_12\_10

## The Corona Crisis

**q4\_01** = How closely does the respondent follow the Corona crisis  
0 = I do not follow the Corona crisis at all  
10 = I follow the Corona crisis very closely

### Effect of the Corona crisis on future outlook

**q4\_02\_1** = You have been officially diagnosed with the Corona virus  
0 = No  
1 = Yes

**q4\_02\_2** = Someone of your close family or friends has been diagnosed with the Corona virus  
0 = No  
1 = Yes

**q4\_02\_3** = Your own and/or your family's mental health has declined as result of the Corona crisis  
0 = No  
1 = Yes

**q4\_02\_4** = Your economic situation has gotten worse due to the Corona Crisis  
0 = No  
1 = Yes

**q4\_03** = Are you still working despite the isolation?  
1 = Yes, working as usual  
2 = Yes, but working from home  
3 = No, but I still have not lost my job  
4 = No, already lost my job  
5 = No, I wasn't working before the crisis

**timer\_10** = Time (seconds) needed to answer q4\_01-q4\_03

### Official response to the Corona crisis

**q4\_04\_1** = Corona crisis response: Your local government.  
0 = They are doing a very poor job of handling the crisis  
10 = They are doing a very good job of handling the crisis  
11 = Don't know/Cannot judge

**q4\_04\_2** = Corona crisis response: The national government.  
0 = They are doing a very poor job of handling the crisis  
10 = They are doing a very good job of handling the crisis  
11 = Don't know/Cannot judge



**q4\_04\_3** = Corona crisis response: The EU.

0 = They are doing a very poor job of handling the crisis

10 = They are doing a very good job of handling the crisis

11 = Don't know/Cannot judge

**q4\_04\_4** = Corona crisis response: The World Health Organization (WHO).

0 = They are doing a very poor job of handling the crisis

10 = They are doing a very good job of handling the crisis

11 = Don't know/Cannot judge

**q4\_04\_5** = Corona crisis response: The US.

0 = They are doing a very poor job of handling the crisis

10 = They are doing a very good job of handling the crisis

11 = Don't know/Cannot judge

**q4\_04\_6** = Corona crisis response: China.

0 = They are doing a very poor job of handling the crisis

10 = They are doing a very good job of handling the crisis

11 = Don't know/Cannot judge

**q4\_04\_7** = Corona crisis response: Russia.

0 = They are doing a very poor job of handling the crisis

10 = They are doing a very good job of handling the crisis

11 = Don't know/Cannot judge

**q4\_05** = Who is most responsible for the Covid-19 outbreak in your country?

1 = China

2 = Your national government

3 = The World Health Organization (WHO)

4 = People in your country who are not following government measures such as social distancing

5 = Globalization

6 = Neighboring countries

7 = The EU

8 = Other

**timer\_11** = Time (seconds) needed to answer q4\_04\_1-q4\_05a

**q4\_06** = Who is the most negatively affected by the current situation?

1 = Local businesses

2 = Elderly

3 = Sick people

4 = The unemployed

5 = The poor

6 = Medical staff

7 = Other

**q4\_07\_1** = How much have the EU helped your country during the Covid-19 pandemic?

0 = No help at all

10 = Great help

**q4\_07\_2** = How much have the USA helped your country during the Covid-19 pandemic?

0 = No help at all

10 = Great help

**q4\_07\_3** = How much has Russia helped your country during the Covid-19 pandemic?

0 = No help at all

10 = Great help

**q4\_07\_4** = How much has China helped your country during the Covid-19 pandemic?

0 = No help at all

10 = Great help

**timer\_12** = Time (seconds) needed to answer q4\_06-q4\_07\_4

**q4\_08\_1** = Goal of Coronavirus is to place microchips through vaccines

1 = Completely disagree

2 = Disagree

3 = Neither agree nor disagree

4 = Agree

5 = Completely agree

**q4\_08\_2** = Lockdowns of countries and economies were a failure

1 = Completely disagree

2 = Disagree

3 = Neither agree nor disagree

4 = Agree

5 = Completely agree

**q4\_08\_3** = Economic recovery will last longer than 2 years

1 = Completely disagree

2 = Disagree

3 = Neither agree nor disagree

4 = Agree

5 = Completely agree

**q4\_08\_4** = There will be a second wave of the virus in the fall

1 = Completely disagree

2 = Disagree

3 = Neither agree nor disagree

4 = Agree

5 = Completely agree

**q4\_08\_5** = I will get vaccinated against the virus

- 1 = Completely disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Neither agree nor disagree
- 4 = Agree
- 5 = Completely agree

**q4\_o8\_6** = Due to coronavirus, I will change my behavior

- 1 = Completely disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Neither agree nor disagree
- 4 = Agree
- 5 = Completely agree

**timer\_13** = Time (seconds) needed to answer q4\_o8\_1-q4\_o8\_6

## Post-electoral survey

**q5\_01** = Pes: Party choice HR

1 = HDZ

2 = Restart Coalition (SDP, HSS, HSU, GLAS, SNAGA)

3 = Homeland Movement of Miroslav Škoro

4 = Most

5 = Koalicija Možemo! (Zagreb je naš, Nova ljevica, OraH)

6 = Pametno/Fokus

7 = Stranka Ivana Pernara

8 = Stranka s imenom i prezimenom

9 = Živi zid/Promijenimo Hrvatsku

10 = HNS

11 = HSLŠ

12 = BM365

13 = HDSSB

14 = IDS

15 = SDSS

95 = Other

96 = I cast a blank vote

97 = I did not vote

98 = I don't want to answer

**q5\_02** = Pes: Party choice RS

1 = Aleksandar Vučić – za našu decu

2 = Socijalistička partija Srbije – Jedinствена Srbija

3 = Srpska radikalna stranka

4 = Savez vojvođanskih Mađara

5 = Srpski patriotski savez

6 = Pokret obnove Kraljevine Srbije

7 = Ujedinjena demokratska Srbija

8 = Metla 2020

95 = Other

96 = I cast a blank vote

97 = I did not vote

98 = I don't want to answer

**q5\_03** = Satisfaction with election result

0 = Not happy at all

5 = Neither happy nor unhappy

10 = Very happy

**timer\_14** = Time (seconds) needed to answer q5\_01-q5\_03

## Electoral integrity (election experiment, post-electoral wave)

**q5\_04\_1** = Votes are counted fairly.

1 = Completely disagree

2 = Disagree

3 = Neither agree nor disagree

4 = Agree

5 = Completely agree

**q5\_04\_2** = Opposition candidates are prevented from running.

1 = Completely disagree

2 = Disagree

3 = Neither agree nor disagree

4 = Agree

5 = Completely agree

**q5\_04\_3** = TV news favors the governing party.

1 = Completely disagree

2 = Disagree

3 = Neither agree nor disagree

4 = Agree

5 = Completely agree

**q5\_04\_4** = Voters are bribed.

1 = Completely disagree

2 = Disagree

3 = Neither agree nor disagree

4 = Agree

5 = Completely agree

**q5\_04\_5** = Journalists provide fair coverage of election.

1 = Completely disagree

2 = Disagree

3 = Neither agree nor disagree

4 = Agree

5 = Completely agree

**q5\_04\_6** = Election officials are fair.

1 = Completely disagree

2 = Disagree

3 = Neither agree nor disagree

4 = Agree

5 = Completely agree

**q5\_04\_7** = Rich people buy elections.

1 = Completely disagree

2 = Disagree

3 = Neither agree nor disagree  
4 = Agree  
5 = Completely agree

**q5\_04\_8** = Voters are threatened with violence.

1 = Completely disagree  
2 = Disagree  
3 = Neither agree nor disagree  
4 = Agree  
5 = Completely agree

**q5\_04\_9** = Voters are offered a genuine choice in the election.

1 = Completely disagree  
2 = Disagree  
3 = Neither agree nor disagree  
4 = Agree  
5 = Completely agree

**timer\_14** = Time (seconds) needed to answer q5\_04\_1-q5\_04\_9