

*QUESTIONNAIRE*

**THE 2000 ELECTIONS**

The elections for the House of Representatives of the Croatian Parliament will be held soon. We believe that you have already started to think about it. In this survey we are interested in your attitudes on the upcoming elections. We would like to ask you to answer all the questions sincerely. Please answer the questions by circling one of the answers provided, except when the possibility to choose more than one answer is specified.

The questionnaire is anonymous and if you have any questions at all please feel free to refer them to the interviewer.

THANK YOU!

1. ELECTORATE: \_\_\_\_\_

2. HOW DO YOU RECEIVE INFORMATION CONCERNING THE ELECTIONS AND THE POLITICAL PARTIES:

a) from the daily or weekly press or magazines	YES	NO
b) through television or radio	YES	NO
c) at the political party meetings	YES	NO
d) through political party newsletters	YES	NO
e) at party conventions during the election campaign	YES	NO
f) while talking to friends	YES	NO
g) while talking to family	YES	NO
h) while talking to neighbours	YES	NO
i) while talking to colleagues at work	YES	NO

3. HOW WOULD YOU ESTIMATE YOUR LEVEL OF INTEREST IN THE ELECTIONS?

1. I'm very interested
2. I'm mildly interested
3. I'm indifferent, the elections hold no interest for me

4. WILL THE ELECTIONS BE FAIR?

1. they will be completely fair
2. they will mostly be fair
3. they will not be fair
4. I don't know, I'm not sure

5. WOULD YOU AGREE THAT THE CROATIAN CITIZENS LIVING OUTSIDE CROATIA HAVE THE RIGHT TO VOTE FOR THE PARLIAMENT?

1. yes
2. no
3. i don't know

6. ARE YOU A MEMBER OF A POLITICAL PARTY?

1. yes, I'm a member \_\_\_\_\_ *(specify the name of the party)*
2. no, I'm not a member

7. ARE YOU, AT THE MOMENT, PARTICIPATING IN THE ACTIVITIES OF AN ORGANISATION AND IF YES, HOW ACTIVE ARE YOU?

	I'm not a member	I'm a member just "on paper"	I'm active occasionally	I'm very active
a) activities related to the church and the religious community (not including religious ceremonies)	1	2	3	4
b) union activities	1	2	3	4
c) activities in a professional, cultural or humanitarian organisation	1	2	3	4
d) activities of some other organisation	1	2	3	4

8. IN GENERAL, WOULD YOU CONSIDER YOURSELF CLOSE TO A PARTY IN CROATIA?

1. Yes, to the \_\_\_\_\_ (*specify the name of the party!*)
2. no

9. SO FAR, HAVE YOU ALWAYS BEEN VOTING FOR THE SAME PARTY?

1. always
2. mostly
3. no
4. I participated in the elections only once
5. so far, I haven't participated in the elections

10. WHAT DO YOU DO IF YOU ARE NOT SATISFIED WITH THE PARTY THAT YOU USUALLY VOTE FOR?

1. I vote for another party
2. I do not participate in the elections
3. I vote in a way that my ballot is invalid

11. THESE ARE SOME OF THE REASONS THAT PERHAPS MADE YOU THINK THAT YOU SHOULD OR SHOULDN'T TAKE PART IN THESE ELECTIONS? PLEASE SPECIFY TO WHAT EXTENT DO YOU AGREE WITH EACH OF THE STATEMENTS?

	I don't agree at all	I generally don't agree	I generally agree	I agree completely
a) I think these elections are very important for the future of the country.	1	2	3	4
b) I expect that these elections will replace the current party in power (HDZ) with a different party.	1	2	3	4
c) The election campaign is very intense and motivates participation in the elections.	1	2	3	4
d) I'm taking part because I've been persuaded by my family, friends or work colleagues.	1	2	3	4
e) I'm taking part because I've been persuaded by my party	1	2	3	4
f) I'm voting only because it is my civic duty to do so.	1	2	3	4

g) If the party i am voting for wins it could prove to be personally beneficial for me.	1	2	3	4
h) There are too many elections in Croatia.	1	2	3	4
i) All the parties are the same and they don't care about ordinary people.	1	2	3	4
j) Politicians do whatever they want and I can't change that.	1	2	3	4
k) My vote doesn't count, I can't change anything by participating in the elections	1	2	3	4
l) I don't want the communists to gain power again.	1	2	3	4

**12. IS YOUR ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE FOLLOWING POLITICAL PARTIES:**

	very negative	mostly negative	neither negative nor positive	mostly positive	very positive
a) Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ)	1	2	3	4	5
b) Croatian People's Party (HNS)	1	2	3	4	5
c) Croatian Peasant Party (HSS)	1	2	3	4	5
d) Croatian Social Liberal Party (HSLs)	1	2	3	4	5
e) Croatian Party of Rights (HSP)	1	2	3	4	5
f) Istrian Democratic Parliament (IDS)	1	2	3	4	5
g) Liberal party (LS)	1	2	3	4	5
h) Social Democratic Party of Croatia (SDP)	1	2	3	4	5

**13. WILL YOU BE VOTING IN THIS ELECTION?**

1. yes
2. no
3. I don't know

**14. IF YOU DECIDE TO WITHHOLD FROM PARTICIPATING IN THE ELECTIONS. WHAT IS THE REASON BEHIND YOUR DECISION?**

1. I will be voting in the elections
2. my vote carries no importance and can not affect the election results
3. my party does not stand a chance of entering the Parliament
4. I'm fed up with politics, unsatisfied with the conduct of the politicians and the performance of the political institutions
5. there is no party that matches my political conviction
6. Other (I will be absent, travelling...)

**15. IF YOU ARE GOING TO BE VOTING, WHICH PARTY (COALITION) WILL YOU VOTE FOR?**

1. for the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ)
2. for the coalition of the Croatian Christian Democratic Union and the Croatian Party of Rights (HKDU, HSP)
3. for the coalition of the Croatian People's Party, Croatian Peasant Party, Istrian Democratic Parliament and the Liberal Party (HNS, HSS, IDS, LS)
4. for the coalition of the Croatian Social Liberal Party i Social Democratic Party of Croatia (HSLs, SDP)
5. for some other party or coalition \_\_\_\_\_ **(specify which one!)**
6. I haven't decided yet who I will be voting for
7. I don't know yet if I will be participating in the election
8. I will not be participating in the elections

**16. WHY DID YOU DECIDE TO VOTE FOR THAT PARTY OR COALITION?**

1. because of its party program
2. because of its leadership and the president
3. because of the candidate that the party put forward in the elections
4. because of the solutions of specific living and social problems that the party is offering
5. I haven't decided yet who I will be voting for
6. i don't know yet if i will be participating in the elections
7. i will not be taking part in the elections

**17. WHAT IS MORE IMPORTANT TO YOU IN THESE ELECTIONS?**

1. that your party wins
2. that some other party loses

**18. IF THE PARTIES WERE ENTERING THE ELECTIONS INDEPENDENTLY, WHICH PARTY WOULD YOU VOTE FOR THAN?**

1. Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ)
2. Croatian Christian Democratic Union (HKDU)
3. Croatian People's Party (HNS)
4. Croatian Peasant Party (HSS)
5. Croatian Social Liberal Party (HSLs)
6. Croatian Party of Rights (HSP)
7. Istrian Democratic Parliament (IDS)
8. Liberal Party (LS)
9. Social Democratic Party of Croatia (SDP)
10. Some other party \_\_\_\_\_ **(specify which one!)**
11. I don't know
12. I wouldn't participate in the elections

**19. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT AFTER THE ELECTIONS NONE OF THE PARTIES WILL HAVE ABSOLUTE MAJORITY OF THE SETAS IN THE PARLIAMENT AND THEREFORE WILL BE UNABLE TO FORM THE GOVERNMENT. WOULD YOU SUPPORT A GOVERNMENT THAT THE FOLLOWING PARTIES WOULD FORM:**

a) HDZ, HSP and HKDU	YES	NO
b) HDZ, HSLs and SDP	YES	NO
c) HDZ and HSS	YES	NO
d) HDZ and HSLs	YES	NO
e) HDZ and SDP	YES	NO
f) HSLs, HSS and SDP	YES	NO
g) HNS, HSLs, HSS, IDS, LS and SDP	YES	NO
i) I would support some other combination _____ <b>(specify which one!)</b>		

20. PLEASE CHOSE, FROM THE LIST BELOW, **TWO** SOCIAL VALUES THAT YOU CONSIDER DECISIVE FOR THE PROGRAMM OF THE POLITICAL PARTY YOU SUPPORT (*two answers!*):

1. honest work
2. equality
3. security
4. liberty
5. solidarity
6. morality
7. private property
8. justice

21. PLEASE CHOOSE **THREE** OF THE MOST IMPORTANT ISSUES IN CROATIAN POLITICS (*three answers!*):

1. ensuring individual rights and liberties
2. developing private entrepreneurship
3. social justice and security for all
4. reducing unemployment
5. spiritual revival
6. Croatian integration in the European Union
7. strengthening the power of military defense and ensuring order in the state
8. protection of the environment
9. harmonious coexistence of Croats and minority communities in Croatia
10. encouraging population growth
11. developing regional particularities
12. improving the position of women
13. fighting economic crime

22. IN YOUR OPINION, WHICH POLITICAL PARTY OR COALITION IS COMPETENT ENOUGH TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEMS YOU JUST STATED?

1. \_\_\_\_\_ (**specify the name of the party or coalition**)
2. it's hard to estimate
3. none

23. INDEPENDENTLY OF THE ACTUAL POLITICAL PARTIES IN CROATIA, THERE ARE A NUMBER OF POLITICAL PHILOSOPHIES. SEVERAL OF THEM ARE STATED BELOW PLEASE CHOSE **THE** ONE THAT MATCHES YOUR CONVICTIONS THE MOST (**only one answer**):

1. Christian democracy
2. communism
3. conservatism
4. liberalism
5. nationalism
6. social democracy

**24. PLEASE INDICATE TO WHAT EXTENT DO YOU AGREE WITH EACH OF THE STATEMENTS BELOW.**

	I don't agree at all	Generally I don't agree	Generally I agree	I completely agree	I don't agree at all
The catholic church is a moral authority whose opinions should be binding for all citizens.	1	2	3	4	5
There is no social progress without the respect for the authority of family, school and state.	1	2	3	4	5
The conflicts of different interest groups in our society are harmful for the overall interest of the state	1	2	3	4	5
We should go back to tradition and original values of our people	1	2	3	4	5
It would be better for Croatia if all the citizens would follow Christian moral values.	1	2	3	4	5
It is best if members of a certain nation live in their own state, alone.	1	2	3	4	5
Women, belong at home, where they should take care of the household and raise children	1	2	3	4	5

**25. PLEASE SPECIFY TO WHAT EXTENT DO THE FOLLOWING CONCEPTS CREATE A CONNECTION BETWEEN YOU AND YOUR PEOPLE?**

	No connection	Weak connection	Strong connection	I don't know
a) language	1	2	3	4
b) religion (faith)	1	2	3	4
c) customs and habits (tradition)	1	2	3	4
d) history	1	2	3	4
e) culture	1	2	3	4

26. USUALLY WHEN TALKING ABOUT POLITICS WE TEND TO USE EXPRESSIONS "LEFT" AND "RIGHT". CIRCLE THE NUMBER ON THE SCALE THAT REFLECTS YOUR POLITICAL VIEW.

Left Right

1    2    3    4    5    6    7    8    9    10

27. IN YOUR OPINION HOW SHOULD THE RELATIONS BETWEEN ZAGREB AND THE REGIONS IN CROATIA BE ARRANGED?

1. Croatia should have a strong state centre, and the regions should strictly follow its politics
2. The balance between the state centre, which should decide on the main political issues and the regions which should have some autonomous powers should be established.
3. Croatia should be a federation of the regions

28. WHAT STATUS SHOULD THE SERBS, LIVING IN CROATIA TODAY, HAVE?

1. An agreement should be reached on all Serbs going back to Serbia
2. Basic human and political rights which they enjoy as Croatian citizens, should be guaranteed to Serbs, but no special national rights should be granted
3. The right to cultural autonomy should be granted to Serbs (the use of Cyrillic script, and their own cultural institutions) in all of Croatia
4. In addition to the cultural autonomy rights, rights to territorial and political autonomy in the areas where Serbs are the majority, should be granted

29. PLEASE INDICATE TO WHAT EXTENT YOU DO OR DON'T AGREE WITH THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS.

	I don't agree at all	Generally I don't agree	Generally I agree	I completely agree	I don't agree at all
Every society should aspire to reduce, as much as possible, the material differences between people.	1	2	3	4	5
It is justified for the state to use the budget to improve the financial conditions of businesses in trouble if that means saving a large number of workers.	1	2	3	4	5

The less state regulation the healthier the economy.	1	2	3	4	5
The participation of the workers in the decision-making process of businesses contributes to better productivity.	1	2	3	4	5
The state should ensure social security for each individual, no matter what his age or capabilities are.	1	2	3	4	5
The entrepreneurs are the main actors of every economy; If they are doing well, everybody is doing well.	1	2	3	4	5
The countries which allow for a significant amount of foreign capital to enter their market will sooner or later find themselves in trouble.	1	2	3	4	5
It is good that most of the economy is private hands; the state shouldn't be the owner of businesses.	1	2	3	4	5

**30. FOR CROATIA, IS IT MORE IMPORTANT TO PRESERVE FULL SOVEREIGNTY OR IS IT MORE IMPORTANT TO CREATE TIES WITH EUROPEAN UNION, WHICH WOULD INDICATE A CERTAIN LIMITATIONS ON STATE INDEPENDANCE?**

1. it is more important to preserve full sovereignty
2. it is more important to create ties with the European union, even withstanding certain limitations to state independence.
3. I don't know

**31. HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT WOMEN'S RIGHT TO ABORTION?**

1. Women should have the right to freely decide on abortion and that should be ensured by law
2. Abortion should be forbidden, and allowed only in medically justified cases
3. Abortion in unacceptable, and it shouldn't be allowed under any circumstances

**32. IN THE REBUILDING AND DEVELOPMENT OF POST WAR CROATIA WE SHOULD BE GUIDED BY:**

1. Exclusively the interest of economic growth, as fast as possible
2. Respect for the protection of the environment which limits the economic growth

**33. IN YOUR OPINION, HOW SHOULD THE ENERGY, NEEDED FOR THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF CROATIA, BE ENSURED?**

1. By saving energy and efficiency
2. Primarily by using the energy of the sun, the wind and the water
3. By building nuclear power plants
4. By building coal and mazout plants

**34. IN GENERAL, TO WHAT EXTENT ARE YOU SATISFIED WITH DEMOCRACY IN CROATIA?**

1. very satisfied
2. mostly satisfied
3. neither satisfied nor unsatisfied
4. mostly unsatisfied
5. very unsatisfied

**35. SOMETIMES IT IS CHALLENGING FOR A DEMOCRACY TO FUNCTION. SOME THINK THAT WE NEED STRONG LEADERS THAT WILL TAKE CARE OF THINGS; OTHERS FEEL THAT DEMOCRACY IS THE BEST SOLUTION EVEN WHEN THINGS ARE NOT FUNCTIONING WELL. WHAT IS YOUR OPINION?**

1. Strong leaders are needed
2. Democracy is always the best solution
3. I don't know, I'm not sure

**36. PLEASE INDICATE TO WHAT EXTENT YOU DO OR DON'T AGREE WITH THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS..**

	I don't agree at all	Generally I don't agree	Generally I agree	I completely agree	I don't agree at all
The opposition's task is not to criticise the government but rather, to support its work.	1	2	3	4	5
The media shouldn't publish information that harms the reputation of the state in the world.	1	2	3	4	5

There is no principle and no value that can be more important than an individual's freedom.	1	2	3	4	5
The citizens do not have the right to strike or demonstrate if they are thus jeopardising public order.	1	2	3	4	5
There are conflicts, in every society, that need to be resolved by force.	1	2	3	4	5
It is justified to limit human rights when the interests of the state and the nation are at stake.	1	2	3	4	5

**37. IF A PERSON WANTS TO SOLVE A PROBLEM, WHO DO THEY CONTACT FIRST?**

1. local government in the city or municipality
2. local party office
3. elected local representative
4. Somebody they know, a friend or relatives...
5. they contact the media – newspapers, radio
6. a nongovernmental organisation responsible for that problem
7. Somebody else \_\_\_\_\_ **(specify who!)**

**38. DO YOU THINK THAT PEOPLE FEEL THAT THEY CAN CHANGE THINGS BY PARTICIPATING IN THE PUBLIC AFFAIRS?**

1. people think that they can't change things
2. people think that they can change relatively little
3. people think they can change a lot
4. people think they can change everything

**39. WHAT DO YOU THINK IS THE BEST WAY FOR A PERSON TO PARTICIPATE IN THE POLITICAL LIFE?**

1. as members of a party
2. through nongovernmental organisations
3. individually and personally
4. it is enough to take part in the elections
5. it's best not to get involved in politics
6. Something else \_\_\_\_\_ **(specify what!)**

- 40. PLEASE GRADE, ON THE SCALE FROM 1 TO 5, THE LEVEL OF THE TRUST YOU HAVE IN EACH OF THE FOLLOWING POLITICAL AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS (the higher the numbers the higher the level of trust)**

	Low level of trust			High level of trust	
a) President of the Republic	1	2	3	4	5
b) Parliament	1	2	3	4	5
c) Government	1	2	3	4	5
d) military	1	2	3	4	5
e) policy	1	2	3	4	5
f) judiciary	1	2	3	4	5
g) political parties	1	2	3	4	5
h) unions	1	2	3	4	5
i) media	1	2	3	4	5
j) church	1	2	3	4	5
k) non governmental organisations	1	2	3	4	5

- 41. MEMBERS OF VARIOUS ETHNICITIES OFTEN HAVE CLOSE MUTUAL RELATIONSHIPS. WHAT KIND OF MUTUAL RELATIONSHIPS WOULD YOU ACCEPT WITH THE MEMBERS OF THE FOLLOWING GROUPS**

		Serbs		Muslims- Bosniacs		Albanians	
a)	Living in my state	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO
b)	Being relations	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO

- 42. ECONOMICALLY SPEAKING, DO YOU AND YOUR FAMILY LIVE BETTER NOW OR FOUR YEARS AGO?**

1. much better today
2. a little bit better today
3. mostly the same
4. a little bit worse today
5. much more worse today

43. IF YOU WERE COMPERING THE MATERIAL AND SOCIAL POSITION OF YOUR FAMILY WITH THE POSITION OF THE MAJORITY OF OTHER FAMILIES IN CROATIA, WHAT WOULD YOU SAY?

1. my family is living way above the average
2. my family is living a little bit above the average
3. my family is living more or less as other average families
4. my family is living a little bit below the average
5. my family is living well below the average

44. ECONOMICALLY AND SOCIALLY SPEAKING, IS YOUR FAMILY IN A BETTER OR WORSE POSITION COMPARED TO BEFORE 1990?

1. our position now is much better
2. our position now is a little bit better
3. more or less the same
4. our position now is a little bit worse
5. our position now is much worse

45. A LOT OF PEOPLE FEEL THAT CROATIA IS AT THE MOMENT FACING SERIOUS ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS. IN YOUR OPINION WHAT INFLUENCED SUCH A STATE? **CIRCLE TWO RESPONSES**

1. war and its consequences
2. unions' and workers' demands which are too big
3. bad politics of the government and the parties in power
4. crime and the immoral conduct of the new entrepreneurs
5. the situation inherited from the socialist era
6. the way that the West is treating Croatia

46. HERE IS THE LAST SET OF STATEMENTS. PLEASE INDICATE TO WHAT EXTENT YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH EACH ONE OF THEM:

	I don't agree at all	Generally I don't agree	Generally I agree	I completely agree	I don't agree at all
The opinion of the majority is always the best.	1	2	3	4	5
What this country needs more than laws and political programs is a couple of brave and firm individuals in which people can trust.	1	2	3	4	5

It is not good to voice your own opinion because you never know what might happen to you.	1	2	3	4	5
We shouldn't ever go against the authorities or the "Gods".	1	2	3	4	5
What young people need the most is discipline, decisiveness and the will to work and fight for their homeland.	1	2	3	4	5

**47. WHICH PARTY LIST DID YOU VOTE FOR IN THE 1995 ELECTIONS FOR THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES?**

1. I voted for \_\_\_\_\_ **(specify the name of the party or coalition)**
2. I didn't participate in the elections
3. I don't remember

**48. PLEASE EVALUATE YOUR SATISFACTION WITH:**

	Very satisfied	Relatively satisfied	unsatisfied
a) your life in general	1	2	3
b) housing	1	2	3
c) financial situation	1	2	3
d) your social accomplishments	1	2	3

**49. TYPE OF SETTLEMENT:**

1. Village
2. Small town (less than 20 000)
3. Large town (less than 100 000)
4. City (over 100 000)

**50. SEX:**

1. Female
2. Male

51. YOU EMPLOYMENT STATUS:

1. Workmen
2. Farmer, fisherman
3. Craftsman, entrepreneur
4. Official
5. Expert
6. Professional employee in the Croatian army or the Ministry of Interior
7. Housewife
8. Student
9. Pensioner

52. YEAR OF BIRTH? \_\_\_\_\_.

53. HOW MANY MEMBERS ARE THERE IN YOUR HOUSEHOLD?  
\_\_\_\_\_ (specify the number of members).

54. HOW MANY CHILDREN DO YOU HAVE? \_\_\_\_\_  
(specify the number of children)

55. WHAT IS YOUR LEVEL OF EDUCATION?

1. I didn't go to school
2. I didn't finish elementary school
3. Elementary school, trade
4. College
5. University
6. Master or doctoral level

56. PLEASE EVALUATE THE TOTAL MONTHLY INCOME OF ALL THE MEMBERS OF YOUR HOUSEHOLD. (INCLUDING THE MONTHLY INSTALMENTS IN CASE YOU TOOK OUT A LOAN.)

Approximately \_\_\_\_\_ KN per month.

57. DID YOU BUY A STATE OWNED FLAT?

1. I paid off all of it
2. I became an owner but I haven't paid it off in full yet
3. I applied to buy one, but I haven't been given the contract yet
4. I had a chance to buy one, but I couldn't realise it because of lack of resources
5. I didn't have the opportunity to buy a state owned flat

**58. DO YOU OWN SHARES IN ONE OR SEVERAL PRIVATISED BUSINESS?**

1. I own shares that I received free of charge due to a program of coupon privatisation
2. I own shares that I bought on a discount
3. I own shares that I bought without discount
4. I do not own any shares

**59. NATIONALITY:**

1. Croatian
2. Serbian
3. Muslim - Bosniac
4. Italian
5. Hungarian
6. Czech
7. Slovak
8. Albanian
9. Other

**60. DO YOU BELONG TO A RELIGION?**

1. Yes, Catholic
2. Yes, Protestant
3. Yes, Islam
4. Yes, other
5. No, none

**61. HOW WOULD YOU DEFINE YOUR ATTITUDE TOWARDS RELIGION?**

1. I'm a firm believer; I go to church and accept everything that my religion teaches
2. I'm a believer, but I rarely go to church and I don't accept everything that my religion teaches.
3. When I think about it I am not sure whether I believe or not
4. I'm not religious but I don't have anything against other people believing
5. I'm not religious and I'm against religion

**62. HOW WOULD YOU EVALUATE YOUR FAMILY'S OVERALL POSITION DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR?**

1. it was a part of the antifascist, partisan movement
2. it was active in the Ustaša's military forces of the Independent State of Croatia
3. it was part of the home guard forces of the Independent State of Croatia
4. it was involved in several military and political movements
5. it kept out of the parties in conflict
6. I don't know

THANK YOU!