

UNIVERSITY OF ZAGREB

FACULTY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

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*Q U E S T I O N A I R*

**T H E 1995 E L E C T I O N S**

The new elections will be held in a couple of days. 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.

**T H A N K Y O U !**

**1. ELECTORATE:**

**IN WHAT WAY DO YOU RECEIVE INFORMATION ON THE ELECTIONS AND THE POLITICAL PARTIES?**

2.	from the daily or weekly press or magazines	YES	NO
3.	through television or radio	YES	NO
4.	at the political party meetings	YES	NO
5.	through political party newsletters	YES	NO
6.	at party conventions during the election campaign	YES	NO
7.	while talking to friends, family and colleges	YES	NO
8.	I'm not informed because I'm not interested in the elections	YES	NO

9. HOW WOULD YOU ESTIMATE THE LEVEL OF INTEREST, THAT PEOPLE HAVE, IN THE ELECTIONS?

1. they are very interested
2. they are mildly interested
3. they are indifferent, not interested in the elections
4. I don't know

10. HOW WOULD YOU ESTIMATE YOUR OWN 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

11. 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

12. WOULD YOU AGREE THAT CROATIAN CITIZENS LIVING ABROAD HAVE THE RIGHT TO VOTE FOR THE PARLIAMENT?

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

13. ARE YOU A MEMBER OF A POLITICAL PARTY?

1. no, I'm not a member	<i>proceed to question No. 14</i>
2. Yes, I'm a member _____	<i>(fill in the name of the party!) proceed to question No. 16</i>

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

1. Yes                                      2. No

15. WHICH PARTY WOULD YOU SAY IS THE CLOSEST TO YOU (regardless of which party or coalition you will be voting for on the upcoming elections)?

\_\_\_\_\_ *(fill in the name of the party!)*

16. THE ELECTIONS WILL BE HELD ON THE 29<sup>TH</sup> OF THIS MONTH. WILL YOU BE VOTING?

1. yes, I will be voting on the elections	<i>proceed to question No.. 18.</i>
2. no, I will not be voting on the elections	<i>proceed to question No.. 17.</i>
3. I don't know yet	<i>proceed to question No.. 18</i>

**17. IF YOU DECIDE TO WITHHOLD FROM PARTICIPATING IN THE ELECTIONS. WHAT IS THE REASON BEHIND YUUR DECISION? (*two answers*)**

1. my vote carries no importance and can not effect the election results
2. my party does not stand a chance of winning, or even entering the Parliament
3. I'm fed up with politics, unsatisfied with the conduct of the politicians and the performance of the political institutions
4. Other (I will be absent, traveling...)
- 5.

***proceed to question No.23***

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

1. for the Social Democratic Action of Croatia (ASH)
2. for the Homeland Party (DGS)
3. for the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ)
4. for the Croatian Conservative Party (HKS)
5. for the Croatian Christian Democratic Party (HKDS)
6. for the Croatian Independent Democrats (HND)
7. for the coalition of the Croatian Peasant Party (HSS), the Istrian Democratic Parliament (IDS), the Croatian People's Party (HNS), the Croatian Christian Democratic Union (HKDU) and the Croatian Party of Slavonia and Baranja (SBHS)
8. for the Croatian Social Liberal Party (HSLs)
9. for the Croatian Party of Natural Law (HSNZ)
10. for the Croatian Party of Rights (HSP)
11. for the Croatian Party of Rights 1861 (HSP - 1861)
12. for the Independent Party of Rights (NSP)
13. for the Social Democratic Party of Croatia (SDP)
14. for the Social Democratic Union of Croatia (SDU)
15. I haven't decide yet who I will be voting for

**19. WHY DID YOU DECIDE TO VOTE FOR THAT SPECIFIC PARTY?**

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 decide yet who I will be voting for

**20. IN THESE ELECTIONS EVERY CONSTITUENT WILL HAVE TWO VOTES: ONE FOR THE PARTY LIST AND THE OTHER FOR THE CANDIDATE OF A CERTAIN POLITICAL PARTY IN THE CONSTITUENCY: YOU ARE GOING TO:**

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. give one vote for a party list, and the other for the candidate of a different party | <b><i>proceed to question No.. 21</i></b> |
| 2. give both votes for the party list as well as the candidate of that party            | <b><i>proceed to question No.22</i></b>   |
| 3. I don't know   |   |

**21. I WILL GIVE MY VOTES TO TWO DIFFERENT POLITICAL PARTIES BECAUSE:**

1. I equally support and like both political parties
2. I want to prevent the overwhelming majority of one party and support the opposition
3. I do not like my party's candidate in this constituency
4. my party's candidate stands no chance of winning in the constituency, therefore I will vote for a candidate that has a bigger chance

**22. IN THESE ELECTIONS IS IT MORE IMPORTANT TO YOU TO:**

1. show support for a specific party or candidate regardless of whether they win the majority of votes
2. to prevent, with your vote, the election of a party or a candidate that you feel is unacceptable

IT IS POSSIBLE THAT AFTER THE ELECTIONS NONE OF THE PARTIES WILL HAVE ABSOLUTE MAJORITY OF THE SEATS IN THE PARLIAMENT AND THEREFORE WILL BE UNABLE TO FORM THE GOVERNMENT. WOULD YOU SUPPORT THE COALITION OF YOUR PARTY WITH:

23.	the Social Democratic Action of Croatia (ASH)	YES	NO
24.	the Dalmatian Action (DA)	YES	NO
25.	the Croatian Independent Democrats (HND)	YES	NO
26.	the Croatian Peasant Party (HSS)	YES	NO
27.	the Croatian Party of Rights (HSP)	YES	NO
28.	the Croatian Social Liberal Party (HSLs)	YES	NO
29.	the Croatian People's Party (HNS)	YES	NO
30.	the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ)	YES	NO
31.	the Istrian Democratic Parliament (IDS)	YES	NO
32.	the Social Democratic Party of Croatia (SDP)	YES	NO
33.	with a Serbian party that enters the parliament	YES	NO

**34. PLEASE CHOOSE, FROM THE LIST BELOW, TWO SOCIAL VALUES THAT YOU CONSIDER DECISIVE FOR THE PROGRAMME 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

**35. PLEASE CHOOSE TWO OF THE MOST IMPORTANT ISSUES OF 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. manufacturing food

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
36.	language	1	2	3	4
37.	religion (faith)	1	2	3	4
38.	habits and customs (tradition)	1	2	3	4
39.	history	1	2	3	4
40.	culture	1	2	3	4

41. 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

WOULD YOU AGREE WITH THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS ON DEMOCRACY AND POWER?

42. Everybody has a right to promote his/her own opinion. Although the majority might have a difference of the opinion. .
- YES                      NO
43. In the case of necessity, every citizen has the right to express his beliefs on the streets.
- YES                      NO
44. The citizens do not have the right to strike or demonstrate if they are thus jeopardizing public order.
- YES                      NO
45. There are conflicts, in every society, that need to be resolved by force.
- YES                      NO
46. The conflicts of different interest groups in our society are harmful for the overall interest of the state.
- YES                      NO
47. The opposition's task is not to criticize the government but rather, to support its work.

- |  |     |    |
|--|-----|----|
|  | YES | NO |
|--|-----|----|
48. True democracy can not be imagined without strong opposition.
- |  |     |    |
|--|-----|----|
|  | YES | NO |
|--|-----|----|
49. Every political party must have a chance to come to power.
- |  |     |    |
|--|-----|----|
|  | YES | NO |
|--|-----|----|
50. The interest of the people as a whole must be above all other particular interests.
- |  |     |    |
|--|-----|----|
|  | YES | NO |
|--|-----|----|
51. Our Croatian Constitution does have some weaknesses but comparatively it is still the best one.
- |  |     |    |
|--|-----|----|
|  | YES | NO |
|--|-----|----|
52. In its work so far the Parliament fully controlled the Government's actions.
- |  |     |    |
|--|-----|----|
|  | YES | NO |
|--|-----|----|
53. The President of the Republic fully controlled the actions of the Government
- |  |     |    |
|--|-----|----|
|  | YES | NO |
|--|-----|----|
54. The President of the Republic, The Parliament, and the Government are equal and they distribute power justly.
- |  |     |    |
|--|-----|----|
|  | YES | NO |
|--|-----|----|
55. THE GENERAL PUBLIC HAS VARIOUS OPINIONS CONSIDERING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ZAGREB AND THE REGIONS. WHAT ARE YOUR OPINIONS?
1. Too much power and resources are concentrated in Zagreb leaving the regions neglected.
  2. The power and the resources are well balanced between Zagreb and the regions
  3. Zagreb doesn't have enough influence on the regions, and they posses too much power and resources.
56. 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
57. SHOULD IT BE MADE POSSIBLE FOR THE SERBS, THAT LEFT CROATIA AFTER THE MILIATRY AND POLICE ACTIONS IN MAY AND AUGUST, TO COME BACK?
1. Everybody who so wishes should have a possibility to come back
  2. Only a small part of the Serb population should have the possibility to come back
  3. Nobody should have the possibility to come back
58. WHAT STATUS SHOULD THE SERBS THAT ARE LIVING INC ROATIA ENJOY?
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 (use of Cyrillic script, and their own cultural

- institutions) in all of Croatia
4. In addition to the cultural autonomy rights, the rights to territorial and political autonomy in the areas where Serbs are the majority, should be granted
- 59. DO YOU THINK THAT BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA WILL SURVIVE AS AN INTEGRAL STATE?**
1. Yes
  2. No
  3. I can't make that estimate
- 60. IN YOUR OPINION, IF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA REMAINS AN INTEGRAL STATE HOW SHOULD CROATIA REGULATE ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA?**
1. Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, as two independent states, should establish neighborly relations and cooperation
  2. Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina should form a confederation
  3. Croatia should incorporate Bosnia and Herzegovina
- 61. WITH WHICH STATES SHOULD CROATIA ESTABLISH ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL COOPERATION?**
1. Croatia shouldn't cooperate with anybody it should turn to itself.
  2. Croatia should primarily cooperate with the ex-Yugoslav republics
  3. Croatia should primarily cooperate with central European states such as Austria and Hungary
  4. Croatia should primarily cooperate with European union and aspire to become a full member
- 62. IN YOUR OPINION, HOW IS THE MEDIA IN CROATIA INFLUENCED BY THE STATE?**
1. The influence of the state is too extensive
  2. The influence of the state is as it should be
  3. The state doesn't have enough influence on the media
- 63. IN YOUR OPINION SHOULD THE SPECIAL STATUS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN CROATIA BE ACKNOWLEDGED?**
1. Yes, the Catholic Church should have a special status
  2. No, the Catholic Church should have the same status as any other religious community
- 64. IN YOUR OPINION, HOW SHOULD THE STATE-CHURCH RELATIONS BE ARRANGED IN CROATIA?**
1. The church should be able to have a significant influence on the state politics whenever it wishes to do so.
  2. The church should not have an influence on state politics, the church and the state should be completely separated.
- 65. 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 is unacceptable, and it should be allowed under any circumstances
- 66. YOU ARE PROBABLY FAMILIAR WITH THE FACT THAT AFTER THE OCCUPIED AREAS WERE LIBERATED THE CROATIAN GOVERNMENT EMBARKED ON THE PROCESS OF THEIR REBUILDING. ARE YOU WILLING TO CONTRIBUTE TO THAT PROCESS?**

1.	yes	<i>proceed to question No. 67</i>
2.	no	<i>proceed to question No 72</i>
3.	I don't know	<i>proceed to question No. 67</i>

IN WHAT WAY WOULD YOU BE WILLING TO CONTRIBUTE? CIRCLE THE ANSWER FOR EVERY POSSIBILITY OFFERED:

		Yes	no	I don't know
67.	by additional contributions	1	2	3
68.	I would go there to work	1	2	3
69.	I would move there with my family	1	2	3
70.	I would agree to pay higher taxes	1	2	3
71.	other_____			<i>(fill in what that would be!)</i>

**72.** 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

**73.** DO YOU FEEL THAT THE REBUILDING AND DEVELOPMENT WILL REQUIRE A SIGNIFICANT INCREASE IN THE ENERGY CONSUMPTION?

1. yes
2. no

**74.** IN YOUR OPINION, HOW SHOULD THE ENRGY, 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

**75.** WHAT WERE YOU GUIDED BY IN ANSWERING THE PREVIOUS QUESTION?

1. Economic efficiency
2. Environmental protection
3. Safety

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

1. I'm satisfied
2. I'm partially satisfied
3. I'm not satisfied at all
4. I don't know

**77.** 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

**78.** IN YOUR OPINION TO WHAT EXTENT ARE PARTIES NEEDED FOR THE FUNCTIONING OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM IN CROATIA (grade on the scale from 1 to 5)

1	2	3	4	5
Parties Are necessary				Parties are not necessary

**79.** WE OFTEN HEAR DIFFERENT OPINIONS ON THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE PARTIES IN CROATIA CARE ABOUT WHAT PEOPLE WANT. GRADE ON THE SCALE FROM 1 TO 5 HOW MUCH, IN YOUR OPINION DO PARTIES CARE ABOUT WHAT PEOPLE WANT

1	2	3	4	5
Parties care about what people want				Parties do not care about what people want

PLEASE ESTIMATE, ON THE SCALE FROM 1 TO 5 (1 being completely unsuccessful and 5 being very successful) THE FUNCTIONING OF THE FOLLOWING STATE INSTITUTIONS OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA IN THE PAST MANDATE  
:

<b>80.</b>	The President of the Republic Franjo Tuđman	1	2	3	4	5
<b>81.</b>	The Parliament of the Republic of Croatia	1	2	3	4	5
<b>82.</b>	The Government of the Republic of Croatia	1	2	3	4	5

WE WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU TO SINCERLY RESPOND WHETHER YOU AGREE WITH THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS:

**83.** We should always be searching for something new, new values, new challenges

Yes	TO SOME EXTENT	NO
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**84.** We should go back to tradition and original values of our people

Yes	TO SOME EXTENT	NO
-----	----------------	----

**85.** At the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century any kind of confining oneself to one's own nation is senseless.

Yes	TO SOME EXTENT	NO
-----	----------------	----

86. Christian values, respect for the authority of the family, school, state are all conditions of social progress.

YES TO SOME EXTENT NO

87. It is best if members of a certain national live alone in their own state.

YES TO SOME EXTENT NO

88. Science and critical attitude towards everything are the sole foundation of social progress.

YES TO SOME EXTENT NO

89. We should aspire to maximize the participation and respect of the church in the functioning of the state.

YES TO SOME EXTENT NO

90. No principle and no value can be greater and more significant than that of the individual's liberty.

YES TO SOME EXTENT NO

91. It is justified to limit individual rights when the national and the state is at stake.

YES TO SOME EXTENT NO

92. The church should strictly be separated from the state

YES TO SOME EXTENT NO

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	
93.	Living in my state	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO
94.	Being my neighbours	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO
95.	Working with me	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO
96.	Being friends	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO
97.	Being relations	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO

98. WHICH PARTY LIST DID YOU VOTE FOR IN THE PREVIOUS ELECTIONS FOR THE  
PARLIAMENT (1992.)?

- I voted for \_\_\_\_\_ *(fill in the name of the party!)*
- I didn't vote on the previous elections
- I don't remember

PLEASE EVALUATE YOUR SATISFACTION WITH:

		Very satisfied	relatively satisfied	unsatisfied
99.	Your life in general	1	2	3
100.	Housing	1	2	3

<b>101.</b>	Financial situation	1	2	3
<b>102.</b>	Your social accomplishments	1	2	3

**103. TYPE OF SETTLEMENT:**

1. Village
2. Suburbs
3. Town
4. City

**104. SEX:**

1. Female
2. Male

**105. YEAR OF BIRTH?**\_\_\_\_\_.

**106. PLACE OF BIRTH**\_\_\_\_\_.

**107. PLACE OF RESIDANCE:**

1. permanent residence
2. refugee
3. temporary residence

**108. TO THE CURRENT PLACE OF RESIDENCE YOU ARRIVED FROM**\_\_\_\_\_.

**109. WHO IS THE OWNER OF THE HOUSE OR FLAT THAT YOU ARE LIVING IN?**

1. I own my own house
2. I own my own flat
3. My parents
4. The state
5. The landlord

**110. DO YOU HAVE CHILDREN?**

1. Yes
2. No

**111. YOUR OCCUPATION:**

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

**112. WHAT IS THE MAIN SOURCE OF YOUR INCOME? (*Give just one answer!*)**

1. salary – full time employment
2. agricultural land (farmland, vineyard...)
3. tourism
4. fishing
5. privately owned firm
6. social welfare
7. pension
8. outside assistance , for example from children.
10. temporary work or "unregistered" employment
11. scholarship
12. dependant (housewife, student)

**113. WHAT IS YOUR EMPLOYMENT STATUS?**

1. full time employment
2. temporary employment
3. seasonal employment
4. working on and off
5. I work my own land (I pay social security and retirement fond)
6. I'm "on hold"
7. I'm registered as unemployed
8. I'm unemployed but not registered
9. Dependant (housewife, student)
10. Pensioner

**114. WHAT IS YOUR LEVEL OF EDUCATION?**

1. I didn't go to school
2. elementary school (grade)  
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
3. High school (grade)  
1 2 3 4 5 *(circle the number of grades you completed!)*
4. college  
1 2 3
5. university  
1 2 3 4 5
6. master or doctoral level

**115. NACIONALITY:**

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

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

1. Yes, catholic

2. Yes, protestant
3. Yes, Islam
4. Yes, other
5. No, none

**117.** 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

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