

**ZA-Archiv Nummer 2815**

## **Elections in Croatia 1992**

ZA-No.: 2815

Faculty of Political Science  
Zagreb, Croatia

SURVEY

ELECTIONS 1992

1. Election district

2. Type of Local Community

1. Rural
2. Suburban
3. Urban

3. Gender

1. Female
2. Male

4. Nationality

1. Croat
2. Serb
3. Muslim
4. Montenegro
5. Slovenian
6. Macedonian
7. Albanian
8. Italian
9. Hungary
10. Yugoslav
11. Other

5. Age

1. 18-28 years
2. 29-39
3. 40-50
4. 51-61
5. 62 and more

6. Place of residence

1. Permanent place
2. Refugee
3. Temporary residence

7. Were you born in Croatia

1. Born in Croatia
2. Came in 1945-1960
3. Came in 1961-1976
4. Came in 1977-1992

8. Do you have a citizenship document (domovnica)

1. Yes
2. No

9. Occupation

1. Worker
2. Peasant
3. Craftsman (private)
4. Administration
5. Professional (occupation with university degree)
6. Military or police
7. Housewife
8. In school (student)
9. Retired
10. Unemployed

10. Do you belong to some religious confession?

1. Yes, Roman-catholic
2. Yes, Orthodox
3. Yes, Muslim
4. Yes, other
5. No, neither

11. How would you define your relation toward religion?

1. Convinced believer, I go to church and accept all the may religion teaches
2. I am believer, but rarely go to church and do not accept all that my religion teaches
3. When I think about this I am not sure do I believe or not
4. I am not religious but I have nothing against other who are
5. I am not religious and I am enemy of religion

12. Are you member of the political party?

1. Not a member
2. Hrvatska demokratska stranke
3. Hrvatska demokratska zajednica
4. Hrvatska kr{~ansko demokratska stranka
5. Hrvatsko socijalno liberalni savez
6. Hrvatska selja~ka stranka
7. Hrvatska stranka prava
8. Socijaldemokratska partija Hrvatske - SDP
9. Socijaldemokratska stranka Hrvatske
10. Socijalisti~ka stranka Hrvatske
11. One of the regional parties
12. Other party:

13. This year elections will take place under the new election law. In what degree do you understand the fundamentals of candidate selection and voting in the new elections?

1. I understand everything
2. I understand major characteristics
3. I understand nothing

In what way do you personally receive information about elections and political parties?

14. Daily press, weekly, journals                      yes no
15. Television and radio.                                yes no
16. On the meetings of political organizations and parties    yes no
17. By party press and newsletters                    yes no
18. By special election publications and information    yes no
19. Conversation with friends, relatives co-workers    yes no
20. I did not try to be informed because I am not interested in elections

21. By your experience and knowledge of environment in which you live and work, evaluate how are people interested in the elections.

1. Very much interested
2. Average interest
3. The are not interested
4. Don't know

22. How would you evaluate your personal interest in the election?

1. I am very much interested
2. Average interest
3. I am not interested

23. What do you think, will the elections be honest and fair?

1. They will be fair
2. Mostly fair
3. Not fair
4. Don't know, not sure

24. Election will be on the August 2, have you decided for which presidential candidate you will vote?

1. I have decided for whom I will vote and will try to convince others to vote the same way
2. I have decided for whom I will vote and will not try to convince others to vote like me
3. I have decided to vote but I am still not sure for which presidential candidate, I will decide in the last minute
4. I will vote on the elections because it is citizens duty but it is the same to me for which party
5. I have not yet decided to vote or not to vote
6. I will not vote

25. Have you decided for which party you will vote?

1. I have decided for which party I will vote and will try to convince others to vote for the same way
2. I have decided for which party I will vote and will not try to convince others to vote like me
3. I have decided to vote but I am still not sure for which party, I will decide in the last minute
4. I will vote on the elections because it is citizens duty but it is the same to me for which party
5. I have not yet decided to vote or not to vote
6. I will not vote

26. People have different interest for politics and also for the elections. If you have decide NOT to vote on the elections, could you tell us what is the mayor reason for this?

1. I will vote
2. Politics and elections do not interest me
3. I am not informed enough about party programs to choose rationally
4. I will not vote because I think that this can not change my situation
5. None of the parties expresses my political opinion and my interests
6. I will not vote to protest, election are not democratic enough and should be boycotted
7. I will not vote to protest, this is not time for elections
8. I will not vote because I am not in the list of voters

27. How important it is for you who will be new president of Croatia?

1. It is very much important for me who will win
2. It is important
3. It is not specially important
4. It is not important at all

28. How important it is for you which party will win in the next elections?

1. It is very much important for me who will win
2. It is important
3. It is not specially important
4. It is not important at all

29. If you have decided to vote please answer frankly for which presidential candidate you will vote?

1. Dra`en Budi{a
2. Prof.dr. Ivan Cesar
3. Dr Savka Dap~evi}-Ku~ar
4. Silvije Degen
5. Dobroslav Paraga
6. Dr. Franjo Tu|man
7. Dr. Marko Veselica
8. Dr. Antun Vuji}

30. For which party will you vote on the "state list"?

1. Dalmatinska akcija, Istarski demokratski sabor, Riječki demokratski savez
2. Hrvatska demokratska stranka - HDS
3. Hrvatska demokratska zajednica - HDZ
4. Hrvatska kršćansko-demokratska stranka - HKDS
5. Hrvatska narodna stranka - HNS
6. Hrvatska republikanska stranka - HRS
7. Hrvatska seljačka stranka - HSS
8. Hrvatsko socijalno liberalna stranka - HSLS
9. Hrvatska stranka naravnog zakona
10. Hrvatska stranka prava - HSP
11. Hrvatski državotvorni pokret - HDP
12. Kršćanska narodna stranka - KNS
12. Socijaldemokratska partija Hrvatske - SDP - SDPH
14. Socijaldemokratskoj stranci Hrvatske - SDH
15. Socijalističkoj stranci Hrvatske - SSH
16. Socijalno-demokratskoj uniji Hrvatske - SDU
17. Srpska narodna stranka - SNS

31. For candidate of which party will you vote in your electoral district?

1. Hrvatska demokratska stranka - HDS
2. Hrvatska demokratska zajednica - HDZ
3. Hrvatska kršćansko-demokratska stranka - HKDS
4. Hrvatska narodna stranka - HNS
5. Hrvatska seljačka stranka - HSS
6. Hrvatsko socijalno liberalna stranka - HSLS
7. Hrvatska stranka prava - HSP
8. Socijaldemokratska partija Hrvatske - SDP - SDPH
9. Socijaldemokratskoj stranci Hrvatske - SDH
10. Socijalističkoj stranci Hrvatske - SSH
11. Regional party
12. Other party
13. Independent candidate



32. There are different reasons for the election decision. What is the fundamental, most important, reason for choosing this party. Two responses.

1. I have decide for this party because I agree with the PROGRAM for the economic, social, national and political problems which we are facing
2. I have decided for this party because I trust their LEADERS and people in the leadership
3. I have decide for this party because it tries to solve CONCRETE LIVING AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS with which are daily faced (inflation, health, energy, pollution)
4. I have decided because I know and support the person which is candidate and I will support him/her
5. I have not yet decided for whom I will vote
6. I will not vote

After the elections maybe no party will have the majority. Which political parties could get in to the coalition with the party that you will vote for?

33. Hrvatska demokratska stranka - yes no
34. Hrvatska demokratska zajednica - yes no
35. Hrvatska kr{ansko-demokratska stranka - yes no
36. Hrvatska narodna stranka - yes no
37. Hrvatska selja~ka stranka - yes no
38. Hrvatsko socijalno liberalna stranka - yes no
39. Hrvatska stranka prava - yes no
40. Socijaldemokratska partija Hrvatske - yes no
41. Socijaldemokratskoj stranci Hrvatske - yes no
42. Socjalisti~koj stranci Hrvatske - yes no
43. Regional party - yes no

44. What is more important for you in this elections:

1. Show the support for the party or candidate of you choice even if it gets majority of votes or not
2. To prevent the election of party or candidate that you think unacceptable

45. Society in it's development faces different problems which are sometimes represented in not equal situation of different social groups. Where do you think exists the biggest inequality? Two answers.

1. Between different sexes
2. Between old and young
3. Between urban and rural
4. Among different nations and minorities
5. Between manual and intellectual occupations
6. Between administration and production
7. Among members of political parties
8. Between employed and unemployed
9. Between believers and atheist

46. Please choose from this list those two social values that you think most important for the party program of your party. (Two answers)

1. Work
2. Equality
3. Security
4. Freedom
5. Solidarity
6. Morality
7. Private property
8. Justice

	not	very little	very much	don't know
47. Language	1	2	3	4
48. Religion	1	2	3	4
49. Customs and tradition	1	2	3	4
50. History	1	2	3	4
51. Culture	1	2	3	4
52. Economic interests	1	2	3	4
53. Political interests	1	2	3	4

54. When we talk about politics we usually use term like left and right. Circle the number on the scale which represents your political attitude.

Left Right  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

55. Please circle three most important problem in Croatian politics.

1. Securing individual freedoms
2. Development of private entrepreneurship
3. Social justice and security
4. Reducing unemployment
5. Spiritual reform
6. Integration of Croatia into the European community
7. Building stronger defense
8. Demilitarization
9. Protection for the environment
10. Harmonic life between Croats and minorities in Croatia
11. Preserving the national unity
12. Encouraging population growth
13. Development of regional specifics
15. Stable prices

Here is the list of statements about democracy and government. Do you agree with them or not?

56. Everybody has the right to have his opinion, even if majority thing differently from him. Yes no
57. Every citizen has right to express his opinion in the street, if needed. Yes no
58. Citizen have not right on strike and demonstrations if this violates public order. Yes no
59. In every society there is a conflict that has to be resolved by force. Yes no
60. Conflicts between different interest groups in our society are against general interest of the state. Yes no
61. Task of the opposition is not to criticize government but to support it's work. Yes no
62. Real democracy must have opposition. Yes no
63. Every political party must have chance to come to power. Yes no
64. Interest of the whole nation must be above all individual interest. Yes no
65. Croatian constitution has some weakness but compared with others it is still the best. Yes no
66. In his work until now parliament has completely controlled the work of the government. Yes no
67. President of the Republic has completely control the work of the government. Yes no
68. President of the Republic, parliament and government shared equally the power in Croatia. Yes no

69. There are different opinions about the arrangement between state center and regions in Croatia. What is your opinion about this?

1. Croatia has to be unitary state with the strong center that will take care of the whole country, regions should not have any independent authority.
2. In Croatia we have to secure the dominant power of the central state over region but some limited authority should be given to regions
3. Croatia should be arranged as decentralized state in which regions will have large authority, and center only basic functions important for the state as whole
4. Croatia should be the federation of regions with independent politics, and center should only represent the state in international relations

70. How should the position of Serbian minority in Croatia be arranged after the war and territorial integrity of the country?

1. By political agreement all the Serbs should be moved to Serbia so that Croatia will be nationally homogenous state
2. No national rights should be given to Serbs, because the basic human rights that they have as Croatian citizens are enough
3. Serbs should have right on cultural autonomy but not territorial and political autonomy
4. Serbs should have cultural autonomy and in the region in which they have majority they should have rights on territorial and political autonomy with their local government and independent political institutions
5. Serbs communes should separate from Croatia

71. How should the relations between Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia look in the future?

1. As two separate countries, they should have good economic and political cooperation
2. They should join in the confederation
3. As historical Croatian territory Bosnia and Herzegovina should be the part of Croatia

72. What are the priorities of Croatia in economic and political cooperation with other states?

1. Croatia do not need the cooperation with other states, and should turn toward itself.
2. Croatia should cooperate primarily with states of former Yugoslavia
3. Croatia should cooperate with mid-European states like Slovenia, Hungary, Austria, Czech and Slovak.
4. Croatia should cooperate with the countries of European Union and tend to be a member of the Union

73. What should be the role of the state in the economy?

1. State should not interfere in the economy and leave everything to the market
2. Economy should be left to the market and state should only correct economic problems and social risks.
3. State should regulate economy and companies because of the social and national interests

74. Do you think that political parties in opposition are necessary for the functioning of democracy in Croatia?

1. Parties are not necessary because they are dangerous for the national unity, only political leaders are needed that will mobilize people
2. Parties can stay but they are less important than political leaders
3. Parties are very important for democracy because without the political competition and strong parties there is no democracy

75. What should be the influence of the state on mass media and television?

1. State should not intervene in the media and they should be left to the regulation of the market and courts
2. State should have limited influence on media and give only basic orientation
3. State should have strong influence on media and control their personnel and policy

76. Should in the process of privatization of economy same shares be given free to workers so that they can participate in ownership?

1. Yes
2. No

77. Do you think that free workers unions should participate in the creation of Croatian economic policy?

1. Yes, without this there is no true democracy and modern market economy
2. No, economic policy should be only in the hands of state

78. What is your opinion on right of women to have abortion?

1. Women should have right to decide about abortion and this should be protected by law
2. Abortion should be banned by law except in medical emergency
3. Abortion should not be allowed under any circumstances

79. What is your opinion about the relation between the state and church in Croatia?

1. Croatia should be clear catholic state with other denominations allowed
2. Croatia should be clear secular state and all denominations equal

80. There is public debate about the need of renewal of traditional moral values that have been oppressed. What is your opinion?

1. Croatian state should support renewal of traditional moral values
2. Croatian should not interfere in the moral values because they are individual problem of each person
3. Don't know

On the scale of 1 to 5 (1=unsatisfactory, 5=very satisfactory) evaluate the following state subjects of Croatia in the 1st mandate:

81. President Republike Franjo Tuđman	1	2	3	4	5
82. Parliament, Sabor	1	2	3	4	5
83. Government of Josip Manolić	1	2	3	4	5
84. Government of Franje Gregurić	1	2	3	4	5

85. Which of two basic types of political system is better for Croatia:

1. Presidential system
2. Parliamentary system
3. Don't know

86. In your opinion could the war have been avoided with different politics of Croatian leaders?

1. War could have been avoided
2. War could not have been avoided
3. Don't know

87. In the reconstruction and development of Croatia after the war we should think of:

1. Only on economic interests of fast growth
2. We have to think about the protection of environment which limits economic growths

88. Do you think that reconstruction and development will need high use of energy?

1. Yes
2. No

89. How can we assure more use of energy?

1. Saving and efficiency
2. Using sun, wind and waters
3. using nuclear power plants

90. In the question 89 what was your main reason?

1. Objective circumstances
2. economic efficiency
3. Security

Please answer frankly if you agree or not with following statements:

91. We always need to look for something new, new values, new challenges

1. Yes
2. Partly
3. No

92. We have to follow tradition and old values of each nation

1. Yes
2. Partly
3. No

93. On the end of the 20th century closing in own nation makes no sense

1. Yes
2. Partly
3. No

94. Catholic values, authority in family, school, state is the condition for social progress

- 1. Yes
- 2. Partly
- 3. No

95. It is best that members of one nation leave alone in their state

- 1. Yes
- 2. Partly
- 3. No

96. Only independent, critical relation and science are basis for social progress

- 1. Yes
- 2. Partly
- 3. No

97. We need have stronger participation of church in the functioning of the state

- 1. Yes
- 2. Partly
- 3. No

98. No principle, no value, can be more important than the value of individual freedom

- 1. Yes
- 2. Partly
- 3. No

99. In is justifiable to limit individual freedom when the interests of state and nation are in question

- 1. Yes
- 2. Partly
- 3. No



100. Church has to be strictly separated from the state

1. Yes
2. Partly
3. No

Members of different nations often come to close contacts. Which type of social contacts would you accept with members of this nations:

	Serbs	Muslims	Albanians
101. To live in my state	yes no	yes no	yes no
102. To be my neighbors	yes no	yes no	yes no
103. To work together	yes no	yes no	yes no
104. To be my friend	yes no	yes no	yes no
105. to be my relative	yes no	yes no	yes no

Please evaluate how are you satisfied with:

	very good	average	not good
106. With you life in general	1	2	3
107. With you house, apartment	1	2	3
108. With financial situation	1	2	3
109. With your social position	1	2	3

110. Did you read or heard about public opinion polls about how the voters will vote?

1. Yes
2. No

111. Will this results influence your voting?

1. Yes
2. No

112. For which party did you vote in last elections?

1. I did not vote
2. Autonomni demokratski savez Hrvatske
3. Hrvatska demokratska zajednica
4. Hrvatska selja~ka stranka
5. Istarski demokratski sabor
6. Jugoslavenska samostalna demokratska stranka
7. Koalicija narodnog sporazuma (Hrvatska kr{~ansko demokratska stranke, Socijaldemokratska stranka Hrvatske, Hrvatska demokratska stranka, Hrvatski socijalno liberalni savez)
8. Savez komunista Hrvatske-Stranka demokratskih promjena
9. Savez zelenih Hrvatske (Zeelna akcija Zagreb, Zeelna akcija Split, other parties of environmental orientation)
10. Socijalisti~ki savez - Savez socijalista
11. Srpska demokratska stranka
12. For the independent candidate
13. Other party:

113. Have you been a member of Savez komunista Hrvatske

1. No, never
2. I was but for the short period
3. I was member for longer period