Elections in Croatia 1990
ZA-No.: 2814

Faculty of Political Science
Zagreb, Croatia
April 1990.

SURVEY
ELECTIONS 1990
1. Community (local government)
   1. Zagreb
   2. Split
   3. Osijek
   4. Pula
   5. Koprivnica
   6. Zabok
   7. Vrbovsko
   8. Omiš
   9. Gospić
   10. Vrginmost
   11. Knin
   12. Zupanja

2. Type of Local Community
   1. Rural
   2. Suburban
   3. Urban

3. Gender
   1. Female
   2. Male

4. Age
   1. 18-27 years
   2. 28-40
   3. 41-50
   4. 51-60
   5. 61 and more

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

7. Education
1. Till 8 grades of elementary school
2. Vocation school, industrial school
3. High school
4. Three year college
5. University

8. Do you belong to some religious confession?
1. Yes, Roman-catholic
2. Yes, Orthodox
3. Yes, Muslim
4. Yes, other
5. No, neither

9. Are you member of the political party?
1. Not a member
2. Autonomni demokratski savez Hrvatske
3. Hrvatska demokratska stranke
4. Hrvatska demokratska zajednica
5. Hrvatska kršćansko demokratska stranka
6. Hrvatsko socijalno liberalni savez
7. Hrvatska seljačka stranka
8. Istarski demokratski sabor
9. Jugoslavenska samostalna demokratska stranka
10. Savez komunista Hrvatske-Stranka demokratskih promjena
11. Savez zeljenih Hrvatske (Zelena akcija Zagreb, Zelena akcija Split, other parties of environmental orientation)
12. Socijalistički savez - Savez socijalista
13. Socijaldemokratska stranka Hrvatske
14. Srpska demokratska stranka
15. Other party:
11. Have you been earlier member of the League of Communists?

1. I am a member
2. I was not a member
3. I was a member, but not now

12. This year elections will take place under the new election law and are significantly different from old delegate system. In what degree are you personally familiar with the fundamentals of candidate selection and voting in the new elections?

1. I understand all details
2. I understand major characteristics
3. Many things I do not understand
4. I understand nothing

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

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

20. 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

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

1. I am very much interested
2. Average interest
3. I am not interested
22. What do you think, will the elections be honest and fair or not?

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

23. Election will be on April 22, have you personally 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 party
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

24. 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

25. How do you personally evaluate the significance of the coming elections?

1. I think this are the most important elections after the war
2. I think they are very important but not historic
3. I think this are elections as all others before
4. I think this is formality
5. I can not evaluate
26. How important it is for you personally which party (or coalition) 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

27. In the elections people will vote for the candidates of different political parties and some independent candidates. It will be vote for representatives in local communes and for the parliament of S. R. of Croatia.

If you have decided to vote please answer frankly for which party you will vote in the next elections for local assembly?

1. I will not vote
2. Autonomni demokratski savez Hrvatske
3. Hrvatska demokratska zajednica
4. Hrvatska seljačka stranka
5. Istarski demokratski sabor
6. Jugoslavenska samostalna demokratska stranka
7. Koalicija narodnog sporazuma (Hrvatska kršćansko demokratska stranke, Socijaldemokratska stranka Hrvatske, Hrvatska demokratska stranka, Hrvatski socijalno liberalni savez)
8. Savez komunista Hrvatske-Stranka demokratskih promjena
9. Savez zelenih Hrvatske (Zelelna akcija Zagreb, Zelelna akcija Split, other parties of environmental orientation)
10. Socijalistički savez - Savez socijalista
11. Srpska demokratska stranka
12. For the independent candidate
13. Other party:
28. If you have decided to vote please answer frankly for which party you will vote in the next elections for the parliament of SR Croatia?

1. I will not vote
2. Autonomni demokratski savez Hrvatske
3. Hrvatska demokratska zajednica
4. Hrvatska seljačka stranka
5. Istarski demokratski sabor
6. Jugoslovenska samostalna demokratska stranka
7. Koalicija narodnog sporazuma (Hrvatska kršćansko demokratska stranka, Socijaldemokratska stranka Hrvatske, Hrvatska demokratska stranka, Hrvatski socijalno liberalni savez)
8. Savez komunista Hrvatske-Stranka demokratskih promjena
9. Savez zelenih Hrvatske (Zelena akcija Zagreb, Zelena akcija Split, other parties of environmental orientation)
10. Socijalistički savez - Savez socijalista
11. Srpska demokratska stranka
12. For the independent candidate
13. Other party: 

29. There are different reasons for the election decision. What is the fundamental, most important, reason for choosing this party or candidate. 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 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

30. If you have decided not to vote for Savez komunista can you tell us what is the main reason?

1. I will vote for the SK
2. I will note vote in the elections
3. Because I think Savez komunista is responsible for bringing the country in the crisis and other parties should have a chance to replace him
4. Because of to little changes in the SK of Croatia which do not guarantee the new politics in the future
5. Because I do not except changes in the SK of Croatia since the last party congress
6. Because SK does not represent strong enough the interests of my nation
7. Because other parties will better and fuller represent my interests and political attitudes

31. If you have decided to vote for Savez komunista in the next elections what is the main reason?
1. I will not vote for SK
2. I will note vote in the elections
3. As a member of SK I will vote for my party
4. I think that Savez komunista with it's reform and new program is the best choice
5. I am afraid that the victory of other political parties could bring the insecurity and uncertainty, and SK we know better
6. I will vote for SK because there is still no political party that is closer to my political attitudes and interests

32. Savez komunista claims that it wants to change as the political party and radically change the old Bolshevik and dogmatic form. Do you think SK thinks seriously?
1. yes, SK thinks seriously
2. SK does not think seriously
3. don't know

33. What do you think which party will get the most of the votes in Croatia?
1. I don't know, it is difficult to say
2. I don't know, I did not think about it
3. Autonomni demokratski savez Hrvatske
4. Hrvatska demokratska zajednica
5. Hrvatska seljačka stranka
6. Istarski demokratski sabor
7. Jugoslovenska samostalna demokratska stranka
8. Koalicija narodnog sporazuma (Hrvatska kršćansko demokratska stranka, Socijaldemokratska stranka Hrvatske, Hrvatska demokratska stranka, Hrvatski socijalno liberalni savez)
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11. Socijalistički savez - Savez socijalista
12. Srpska demokratska stranka
13. Other party:
34. In this election political parties will make political coalitions. Which political parties, by your opinion, could get in to the coalition with the party that you will vote for?

1. I will not vote
2. I think that my party should not make coalition with other parties
3. I don't know
4. With Autonomni demokratski savez Hrvatske yes no
5. With Hrvatska demokratska zajednica yes no
6. With Hrvatska seljačka stranka yes no
7. With Istarski demokratski sabor yes no
8. With Jugoslovenska samostalna demokratska stranka yes no
9. With Koalicija narodnog sporazuma (Hrvatska krčansko demokratska stranke, Socijaldemokratska stranka Hrvatske, Hrvatska demokratska stranka, Hrvatski socijalno liberalni savez) yes no
10. With Savez komunističar Hrvatske-Stranka demokratskih promjena yes no
11. With Savez zelenih Hrvatske (Zelena akcija Zagreb, Zelena akcija Split, other parties of environmental orientation) yes no
12. With Socijalistički savez - Savez socijalista yes no
13. With Srpska demokratska stranka yes no
14. With some other party:

35. 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

36. About the problems in the country parties have different opinions and propose different solutions. Please circle three problems for which, in your opinion, party of your choice gives the best solutions. (Three answers)

1. I don't know the opinions of the party
2. Solving the situation on Kosovo
3. Solution for the problems among nations
4. Solution for economic situation
5. Solution for the position of Croatia in Yugoslavia
6. Solution for cooperation with Europe
7. Solutions for social security and social problems
8. Solution for the environment protection
9. Solution for science, culture and education
37. Society in its development faces different problems which are sometimes represented in not equal situation of different social groups. Where do you think exists the biggest inequality?

1. Between different sexes
2. Between old and young
3. Between urban and rural
4. Among different nations
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

38. The following are some existing inequalities in the society. Which of them could you party of choice solve?

1. Between different sexes
2. Between old and young
3. Between urban and rural
4. Among different nations
5. Between manual and intellectual occupations
6. Between administration and production
7. Among members of different political orientations
8. Between employed and unemployed
9. Between believers and atheist
10. Between handicapped people (invalids etc) and other people

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

1. Individualism
2. Collectivism
3. Croatian independence
4. Yugoslav community
5. European orientation
6. National autonomy of minorities in the Republic
7. Socialism
8. Capitalism
40. 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

Here is the list of statements about different problems. Please circle the level of your agreement or disagreement with the each statement.

41. Obedience and honoring the authority are the most important values children should learn.

1. I fully agree
2. I mostly agree
3. I predominantly agree
4. I do not agree at all

42. What is needed for youth is strong discipline, hard determination and will to fight for the family and homeland.

1. I fully agree
2. I mostly agree
3. I predominantly agree
4. I do not agree at all

43. Today, when so many different kinds of people are around us and mix, people have to pay special attention and take care not to get some disease.

1. I fully agree
2. I mostly agree
3. I predominantly agree
4. I do not agree at all
44. What is needed for this country are not laws and political programs but few brave, determined and loyal leaders in which nation can have trust.

1. I fully agree
2. I mostly agree
3. I predominantly agree
4. I do not agree at all

45. There is nothing worse than criminals and they should be severely punished.

1. I fully agree
2. I mostly agree
3. I predominantly agree
4. I do not agree at all

46. Homosexuals are not better than criminals and should be severely punished.

1. I fully agree
2. I mostly agree
3. I predominantly agree
4. I do not agree at all

47. Nobody learned something really important except through suffering.

1. I fully agree
2. I mostly agree
3. I predominantly agree
4. I do not agree at all

48. There are individuals and even groups of people that do not deserve to live.

1. I fully agree
2. I mostly agree
3. I predominantly agree
4. I do not agree at all
Please answer in what degree and which of this things connect you to your nation?

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<td>49. Language</td>
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<td>50. Religion</td>
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<td>51. Customs and tradition</td>
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<td>52. History</td>
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<td>54. Economic interests</td>
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<td>55. Political interests</td>
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56. 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
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Right

57. Here is the list of some values for which some political parties stand. Circle those three which are close to you. (Three answers).

1. Individual freedom
2. Private initiative
3. Social justice
4. Social security
5. Social equality
6. Yugoslav community
7. Croatian independence
8. National equality
9. National interest
10. Peace and security
11. European orientation
12. Protection of nature
13. Solidarity
58. With the constitutional amendments and with the new laws in Croatia old delegate system has been abolished and the new multi party system of representation has been introduced. What is you opinion about this changes?

1. I fully support this changes to the multi party system and it has been time for this
2. I support multi party system, but I think that parties should not be allowed to work, specially not anti socialist and anti Yugoslav
3. I personally support multi party system but I think that our society is still not ready for this
4. Multi party system is completely wrong and contrary to the orientation of our society

59. There are different opinions how to restructure Yugoslav federation and position of the republics. What is you opinion about this?

1. I think that federation is wrong and that Yugoslavia should be unitary state without republics
2. Yugoslavia should be federal system with stronger function of federal agencies and weaker role of republics
3. Present situation is good and there is not need to change
4. Yugoslavia should be arranged as confederation of independent state republics, that would cooperate on common interests
5. Croatia should be separate and become independent state, without regard what will be with other republics

60. There are different opinions about the position of Serbian and Croatian nation in Croatia. How do you personally evaluate present position of Croats and Serbs in Croatia?

1. Serbs and Croats are equal in their national rights
2. Serbs are privileged, and basic national rights are denied to Croats
3. Croats are privileged, and basic national rights are denied to Serbs
4. Basic national rights are equally denied to Serbs and Croats

61. Changes in the political system and introduction of multi party system rise the question of the relation of Yugoslav people's army toward political organization of it's members. What is your opinion about this?

1. In JNA there should be only Savez komunista
2. In JNA all parties should be allowed
3. JNA should be nonpolitical army, close down organizations of Savez komunista and ban political organization of their members

62. Do you think that for the our defense it would be wrong if people from Croatia should serve army in Croatia?
63. Yugoslav economic reform puts in the question institutions of worker's self management. What should be the future of this institutions?

1. Institution of self management should be preserved
2. Only the worker's council should be preserved and made clear difference with authority of the management
3. Institutions of self management should be abolished and management should decide, there should be worker's participation about the conditions of the work
4. Institutions of self management should be abolished and management should decide independently, conditions and wages should be agreed between management and unions

64. There is a lot of discussion about small business, private companies etc. Do you think that private companies should be limited?

1. They should not be limited
2. Number of employees should be limited
3. Types of activities should be limited
4. Profit should be limited

Please evaluate how are you satisfied with:

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<th></th>
<th>very good</th>
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<tr>
<td>65. with you life in general</td>
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<td>66. with you house, apartment</td>
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<td>67. with financial situation</td>
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<td>68. with your social position</td>
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69. What do you think when will the present social and economic crisis in Yugoslavia be resolved?

1. in year or two
2. before 1995.
3. by the end of the century 2000.
4. crisis will go on after 2000
5. don't know
6. I think there is no crisis

70. Do you think that attribute socialist should be omitted from the definition of SR Croatia and SFR Yugoslavia?

1. Yes
2. No

71. Do you think that red star should stay in the state flag of Croatia and Yugoslavia?

1. Yes, it should stay
2. It should not stay

72. What is your opinion about the right of women to have abortion?

1. This is the right of the women and should be protected by the law
2. Abortion should be banned by the law and allowed only when necessary because of the medical reasons
3. Don't know