



MARKET, MEDIA AND PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH

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**South-Eastern Europe (SEE) and the Stability Pact:
New Means for Regional Analysis
CROATIA**

FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEWS

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INTRODUCTION

A research project for South Eastern Europe is organised by International IDEA (Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance) in co-operation with local research institutes. In Croatia, Puls d.o.o. was responsible for the research part. The main aim of this research was to define principal issues and problems in the country which would then be used for the quantitative research, that is, for developing a questionnaire inquiry to be implemented in all Southeast European countries. The goal of the qualitative research is to monitor the public agenda in the Balkan area.

Participants

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CONTEXT

This research was done exactly one year after the change of power in Croatia (January 2000), when the coalition of six parties took over the power, over HDZ, which was in power for ten years (1990-2000). Local authorities, however, remained the same. Local elections are expected in May, this year.

Further more, the situation in Zagreb is very much different from the situation elsewhere in Croatia, especially in war affected areas. In those areas even some basic sources are still a problem, such as water, electricity, transport, and most of all housing and the issue of property. During the war these areas were destroyed and many people fled away. At this time, although some came back, not much has changed.

The results presented here should be viewed in that context.

METHODOLOGY

PROCEDURE

Four focus groups with the so called ordinary citizens (N=34) were conducted in Zagreb during February 2001. Participants for focus groups were selected by different socio-demographic criteria which are shown below.

The table below lists the attendants' demographics:

Sex:	
Male	18
Female	16
Age:	
22-35	17
35-55	17
Education:	
Primary education	10
Secondary education	16
High education	8
Ethnicity:	
Croat	26
Serb	8

The table below presents the criteria considered in recruiting participants for the 4 groups.

	No. subjects	Group composition
Group 1	8	Secondary education age 35 - 55 Croatian nationality M&F Employed Middle personal income (3.000 – 5.000 kn) Urban
Group 2	8	High education Croatian nationality age 22 - 35 M&F Employed Higher personal income (6.000+ kn) Urban
Group 3	8	Secondary or university education Age 22 - 55 Serbian nationality M&F Middle household income (3.000 – 6.000 kn)
Group 4	10	Minimum primary education Croatian nationality age 22 - 55 M&F Rural environment

All the participants had to be the voters in the last elections (either parliamentary or presidential elections), to ensure their interest in political and economic situation in the country. All focus groups were conducted in accordance with ESOMAR standards.

For reasons of easier understanding of the research results and the data interpretation, the methodology of the research shall be shortly explained.

FOCUS GROUPS

Focus groups method is a qualitative research method that includes discussions about proposed issue. The basic purpose of this method is to launch a deep discussion, which serves as basis for studying certain respondents' attitudes or evaluation of certain problem or issue. Focus groups enable political analysts, advisers, scientists and others a better understanding and insight into the way an individual or a group of people thinks. This method can therefore be useful when preparing a quantitative research. Through a deeper discussion on certain issues, the real problems can be understood and defined more easily, which helps to create a quantitative questionnaire.

In other words, while classical method of interviewing a great number of respondents prospers from answers to question about what people think about certain issue, or from a favourable choice of answers, in case of focus groups - additionally to that basic information - we are trying to discover why is it that people have positive or negative attitude on certain issue. In such a way, this method enable an insight into motivation factors and background of certain attitudes, that is to say (indirectly) into messages and activities that enable control of a positive attitude of public opinion or adjustment of own activities to the needs found by certain segments and groups of population as the most important. The results of this kind of research can therefore be very useful even when interpreting the quantitative results.

However, it has to be emphasised that in the qualitative research all quantities, either numbers or percentages, have to be taken with reserve, as they cannot be generalised to the whole population.

MAIN FINDINGS

Prior to disclosing some general conclusions, it has to be indicated that answers received from participants were rather diverse on most topics. This diversity is spread out through the report, while more general tendencies, given here, should be taken less firmly.

- Most frequently mentioned problems by ordinary Croatian people were unemployment, corruption and functioning of the state of law.
- There was hardly a consensus about the pace of solving problems in Croatia. However, as the basic starting point for the solution of the situation in Croatia, most people see dealing with legal problems (functioning of the state of law and the rule of law, bribery and corruption) and restructuring the state administration which is seen as huge and ineffective.
- Dealing with economic development, unemployment and salary issues, and joining the EU, people seem to be aware that it requires more time, but their patience gets rather limited, as they mentioned.
- As main causes of the problems, ordinary people find the historical heritage, including bad privatisation done in Croatia and lagged technology. They also mention lack of investments and legal security, but also a lack of capable and competent managers.
- When asked about whom they consider to be responsible to solve those problems, ordinary people thought it was first of all the Government. Subsequent responsible body was the Parliament, while some of respondents also pointed out the whole nation ("everyone in Croatia should be prepared and willing to act").
- In general, ordinary citizens usually mention more concrete problems, such as: bad situation in agriculture, bad transport infrastructure, bribe and corruption especially in national administration. Ordinary citizens more often mention the problems of unemployment and the question of state of law. They find issues related to the image of Croatia and its international relations much less important, than does the elite.
- It is obvious and understandable that ordinary citizens view the problems primarily through their own subjective prism, and not from the distance, because they are directly affected by those problems.
- The Hague Tribunal, NATO and UN are seen as the most influential international institutions in Croatia. Opinions of ordinary citizens toward those international institutions could be characterised as cautious but inclining to positive.
- Biggest satisfaction with the authorities ordinary citizens express for the Government, Prime minister and the President, while the least for political parties. The majority of participants, however, still don't think they live in democracy.
- When the elements of the civic society are in question, there is a rather negative attitude toward the media, as being influenced by politics. NGOs are viewed in the

positive context mostly, while for professional associations opinions are more diverse. Religious institutions are criticised a lot for interfering with state affairs and politics.

- Other countries in the Region are not seen very negatively, but mostly as being rather poor.

A possible explanation for diversity of answers would be that, after the changes in Croatia (January 2000), people in power are more oriented to their more specific duties, especially those related to legal co-ordination with the European Union, rather than creating a more general overview and speaking in public, which would ensure more congruent opinions.

MOST IMPORTANT ISSUES IN CROATIA

PROBLEMS	f (FG) No of groups	EXPLAINED SOLUTION
SOCIO-ECONOMIC ISSUES		
• unemployment	4	Production should be instigated by attracting foreign capital. And before all, to create long-term strategy of development.
• Education system is not suitable to economic demands	2	
• low salaries	1	
LEGAL ISSUES AND STATE ADMINISTRATION		
• functioning of state of law and rule of law	3	Solve the problem of crime
• Bribery, corruption, crime and nepotism in state administration and society	3	criteria of success must be work, knowledge and expertise, not connections, bribes, etc.
• Effective state administration and judiciary, need to decrease state apparatus / the state is extremely expensive	2	Restructuring of state administration aimed at minimising and rationalising
• Reform of local administration, decentralisation	2	increase local authority
• Breach of minority rights	1	It will be solved once the state of law starts functioning
ECONOMIC ISSUES		
• attracting foreign investors	2	
• Illiquidity	2	
• Initiating production	2	
• Inadequate approach to development of agriculture and bad situation in agriculture	2	
• lagged technology	1	
• Privatisation and its revision	1	
• tax system and macroeconomic conditions must be stable	1	
• Lack of transportation infrastructure	1	
IMAGE OF CROATIA & INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS		
• Joining the EU	1	We need to accept their rules and way of living
CIVIL SOCIETY		
• Building civil society, lack of civil consciousness	1	
• Interference of politics at all levels of society	1	
• Politicians deal only with ways to stay in power, and not with solving economic problems	1	

Responsibility for solving problems: majority thinks that the Government and some ministries are the most responsible for solving problems, a few respondents thought that citizens should take over the responsibility for solving problems, two thought the Parliament was responsible, and one respondent each pointed out the media and ruling coalition.

SPECIFIC ECONOMIC ISSUES

Positive trends	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>It must be better, taxes will decrease, prices of basic living products will decrease because we entered the WTO</i>• <i>Information and telecom technology will develop</i>• <i>Agriculture and tourism will progress</i>• <i>Entrepreneurship will develop, unemployment could be decreased</i>
Negative trends	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Abuse of workers will continue</i>• <i>Industry will stagnate because of lagged technology</i>• <i>If we continue this way it will be worse</i>• <i>If we do not decrease costs of military, police, administration, do not take care in judiciary and decrease taxes "everything will go to hell".</i>• <i>There will be further differentiation between social groups, which will be good for some, but bad for many</i>
No significant changes	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Negative trends will stop but living standard will not significantly improve and employment will not increase.</i>• <i>We would be better off if the oil price on world market would not be rising</i>

Obstacles to solution of economic problems:

- *Badly organised, huge administration*
- *Bad legislature, constantly changed laws - legal insecurity*
- *Confrontations in ruling coalition, former government is causing confrontations for which the Government and the Parliament are dealing with unimportant things*
- *High taxes, high price of work, banks do not make investments in economy*

Factors that might speed up solution of economic problems

- *Clearing up the current situation, all social groups should equally take over the weight and responsibility for solving problems*
- *Diminishing administration and more transparency*
- *Development strategy*
- *Agriculture subventions*
- *Foreign investments*

Almost all respondents think of market economy as of something positive. They define market economy as a law of free supply and demand that is valid for all equally, all have the same conditions and success depends on capabilities. State must diminish its role, not interfere with

economy except in terms of regulations and stabilisation during recession. Rule of law should be established and legal protection guaranteed.

Respondents pointed out that the problem of Croatian economy is its big dependence on politics. Only one respondent thought that our market would not develop even in 10 years, that big chains destroy small ones, and we buy foreign products because of our products being expensive.

ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE REGION

Ordinary citizens are rather open for economic cooperation with the countries in the South-Eastern Europe, ex-Yugoslavia at most, but few participants also object to those economic relations, believing in Croatian competency in the Western markets.

ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN CROATIAN ECONOMY

Here are some of the typical answers of ordinary citizens, which reflect their view of the role of international institutions in Croatian economy. Some of the institutions most oftenly mentioned are World Bank, WTO, IMF and EU.

- | | |
|----------------|---|
| Positive trend | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>They care about us, their actions are positive.</i>• <i>We must learn from them how to work, how to do management</i>• <i>Their actions depend on whether Croatian politics is concordant with their principles (this was said in positive context, as respondent thought it was for our benefit).</i> |
| Negative trend | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>We joined the WTO but there is no effect</i>• <i>They are doing us a two-edged favour: they will destroy our production with low prices</i> |
| Neutral | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>They should offer programs and projects and bring in capital.</i>• <i>We must follow world trends but also respect our national pride. We are entitled to independently decide about our economy.</i>• <i>It is our fault if international community is using us, because we set the conditions for, for example, functioning of foreign banks here.</i>• <i>We cannot expect them to solve our problems, government must do that. If we cannot help ourselves, nobody can help us.</i> |

POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

ORDINARY CITIZENS ON THE ISSUE OF DEMOCRACY

Ordinary citizens were asked about democracy in general. To the question if they live in democracy the following result came out:

YES	9
NO	20

Why do you think that you live in democracy:

- *Because there is freedom of speech, of thought. right for liberal entrepreneurship, right for political party associations*
- *We have a multi-party system*
- *It is better than before*

Why do you think that you do not live in democracy:

- *There is no freedom of speech because you cannot publicly express your opinion without consequences, threats or sacking*
- *Majority is not ready to accept the minority, minority rights are breached*
- *Democracy is not about all doing what they want, but it embraces certain rules*
- *Democratic institutions are still not set up*
- *There are no basic social rights (for salary, work)*
- *Ordinary man cannot fulfil his rights*
- *There are monopolies*

To the question if democratic system is good, one of the most direct answers was

- *It is the least bad, there is no ideal system*

Democratic system is good because

- *People have the right to express their opinion and have religious freedom*
- *Procedure is clear and each citizen knows to whom and when to address*
- *There is autonomy of individuals, freedom to decide alone on his/her own life*
- *An individual is safe and protected when democratic system functions, police and judiciary protect him*

HOW ORDINARY CITIZENS ESTIMATE THEIR ROLE IN DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES

Ordinary citizens mostly gave the following answers when asked to estimate the importance of their own role in decision-making processes in the country:

- *They participate in elections*
- *They are deprived, they do not influence political decisions*
- *They influence through public opinion, through the media*
- *NGOs influence political decisions*

- *Citizens have possibility to participate in decision-making but do not do it. Citizens must understand that they should influence politics and participate in political decisions and that they are entitled to it, because only then they would really influence the politics: 3*
- *Citizens could influence politics when politicians would «come down to people»*

Trust in local & national authorities and perceived greatest influence

Ordinary citizens show inclination towards individualised merits, and hence trust mostly the Prime minister and the President. (Table 1) It could be earmarked here that none of the ordinary people placed the least trust in the Prime Minister, which indicates a generally huge confidence in his actions.

The least trust is placed with political parties. Subsequently, ordinary people rather vaguely trust the administration, both on local and national levels.

These results are mostly congruent with the results of the general satisfaction with actions and functioning of particular authorities. (Table 2)

Table 1. Whom do you trust most and whom least in the country?

	most	least
Mayor	3	1
Local administration	4	8
President	7	4
Prime minister	6	
Government	2	3
Parliament	3	
Political parties		8
State administration	1	3
International community	1	2

Tables 2. How do you evaluate functioning and activities of the following institutions, on the scale 1-10?

	N	Mean
President	34	5.62
Prime minister	25	5.52
Mayor	34	5.44
Government	33	5.36
Parliament	32	4.94
International community	32	3.88
Local administration	32	3.59
State administration	33	2.97
Political parties	34	2.76

Table 3. Usual comments on individual subjects of government:

	ORDINARY CITIZENS
Government and the Prime Minister	<p>They do a lot and results are hinted although they are not sensational right now; during the mandate of the new Government there was no affair and there is no arrogance and primitivism which we saw in the previous Government.</p> <p>There are too many parties in the Government, which hinders possible agreement. It had most responsibility, but they did nothing.</p>
President	<p>He sticks to election promises, he is open to public, does not work secretly «behind the back»</p> <p>Dandy, joke-maker</p>
Parliament	<p>They are not doing the job for which they are being paid a lot. They waste time in confrontations among parties</p>
State administration	<p>It is huge, their salaries are too big, they are arrogant in their demands for higher salaries while others do not have even for bread</p>
Local administration	<p>They should reflex our cherish and transfer them to state administration, but they only «guard their chairs»</p>

CIVIL SOCIETY

MEDIA

Negative judgement on the media is overwhelming. Most distribution in answers is about the private media, ranging from statements that they are trustworthy to answers that they are bombastic and sensationalistic. State media are being mostly negatively evaluated, as they are *'influenced by politics, cannot be impartial because of being financed by the state'*.

Respondents think that foreign media view situation from wider perspective, but, they are impartial only while their home countries are not involved in events here.

Radio stations are positively evaluated, especially the Radio 101.

Press is negatively evaluated, respondents think there is no independent newspaper that could be trusted.

When asked about the criteria of trustworthy sources of information, the participants expressed the following opinions:

- *Information from several sources*
- *Presentation of the news: the way in which a reporter poses questions, style of reporting, what the media emphasise and what they neglect*
- *The truth comes out and then we compare it to what media write or broadcast*
- *Being acquaintance with reporter*
- *Knowing whether it is about reporters who were «HDZ's spokespeople»*

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS

In general, participants support the basic idea of NGOs, seeing them as organisations that:

- Take part in building the civil society
- Offer alternative development concepts
- Indicate specific problems and help resolve them
- Make it possible for citizens to realise their interests

When asked about NGOs in Croatia, participants mostly express positive attitudes. This might also be the case as they are the ones to get involved and be protected by NGOs.

- *They fight for human rights, pinpoint problems, have a positive influence although not too big, represent a balance between parties, they are a consciousness and control of political system, they indicate anomalies in state institutions.*
- *Insufficiently present in public, receiving insufficient attention*
- *There are different organisations. Government should give them more space and push them to really do for what they are registered.*
- *The question is who finances them and if they are connected with any interest.*
- *They have a positive role but no possibility to act, because they depend on foreign donors who often donate NGOs that are not the best ones.*

PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

When asked about professional associations, participants usually think of trade unions. Their opinions are divided: one part finds the work of trade unions catastrophic, while others think that there are trade unions that work well and fight for workers' rights. Positively viewed is the work of Chamber of Lawyers, and negatively of the Judges' Association.

Negative attitude is prevailing on their current activities:

- *Many of them are actually political and bureaucratic organisations (for example: defenders' associations)*
- *Overwhelming is the influence of clan interests and family ties*
- *They have huge influence on the Government*
- *They should give more expert opinions on social problems that have to do with them and teach the members about their rights*
- *They don't protect rights of their members*
- *You hear about them only in connection with affaires*
- *We, as whole society, still learn about democracy, so that the current situation in non-professional associations is actually good in comparison with the society.*

RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

As for religious institutions, participants actually thought of Catholic Church, which has a major role in Croatia, and they tended to evaluate it rather negatively. The main reason for this can easily be seen from the following statements:

- *The Church must not interfere with state affairs, with politics, even with private life of people. They should devote themselves to their believers, to teaching them about the basis of theological knowledge and faith, and also about justice, fairness, equality of people and act on human consciousness. The Church must not spread national and religious hatred and intolerance.*
- *They must help threatened citizens, morally and materially, and react against injustices in the society*
- *They can be cultural and charitable institutions*
- *They have a role in raising the young people.*

Participants thought that the Catholic Church and other religious institutions should have following role:

- *Religious institutions have too much freedom and that catholic church is too much present in public life*
- *It is frequently hypocritical because it talks about problems, and does nothing to solve them*
- *It must not happen that children are discriminated because of not being of catholic religion*

Evaluation of political literacy of citizens and politicians

Respondents evaluate political literacy as being medium to bad. A few respondents think that there are only 20% politically literate citizens in Croatia.

- *People do not understand how far their rights reach, because they did not have them before, and now they do not know that they are entitled to them*
- *Citizens are too much influenced by the media, whose political literacy is on a very low level*
- *It is hard to be politically literate when our politicians cheated on us so many times.*

PUBLIC SERVICES

It can be observed there two rather distinct groups form when public services are being evaluated. The first group would consist of basic public services such as water, heating, city transportation and electricity, which were evaluated rather well. Other group would contain all other public services, and the greatest problem among them seems to be the system of social care and especially the pension fund.

Tables 4. How would you rate the following public services on the scale 1-10?

	N	Mean
Heating	32	5.69
Water	34	5.50
City transport	33	5.03
Electricity	34	4.71
Education system	34	4.44
Health system	34	4.03
Army	34	3.68
Transport infrastructure	18	3.33
Police	26	3.12
Social care	32	3.03
Pension fund	15	1.93

PRIVATISATION OF PUBLIC SERVICES

Most participants are rather suspicious of privatisation of public services. Although many of them actually agreed with it, they had some objections: so the criteria of privatisation should be transparent, there should be a public tender, any kind of monopoly should be prevented and the law adjusted. It could be also noted that many participants supported partial privatisation, where the military, police, and water would be completely excluded.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN CROATIA

The Hague Tribunal, NATO are seen as the most influential international institutions in Croatia, and UN *'to a bit lesser extent'*. Opinions of ordinary citizens toward those international institutions could be characterised as cautious but inclining to positive, which can be seen from the following general opinion:

- *Croatia must be a part of globalisation process if we want to enter international associations and it is natural that they set the rules of the game. International institutions have clearly set standards on human rights, health, education etc. They are giving us directives in order to improve what we are doing worst. Our problem is that we brought ourselves into such a situation where their influence is huge.*
- *They influence both politics and economy*

EU

Positive attitude toward EU is prevailing.

- *The EU can give us directives about how to do something*
- *They can set conditions for the EU membership*
- *It can influence us by pressure, that is to say friendly suggestions (some respondents use the word pressure, some suggestions, but both in positive context) to instigate creation of mechanisms that would help solving problems*
- *The EU's influence is useful and it is aimed at improvement of our legal system*

The positive attitude is somewhat undermined by more sceptic opinions, expressed by minorities, such as:

- *It is sad that by a trend of associations the states lose a part of their sovereignty*
- *It is not about suggestions but about dictate enforced to us by the EU*

NATO

Attitudes toward the NATO are very diverse, but more negative attitudes prevail.

Negative trend

- *It is a military association, and we are not in direct military danger*
- *Region does not need a big policeman*
- *They are trying to find a reason for staying in the region so they constantly come up with something*
- *They need us as a base toward the East*
- *No military institution could help*
- *They will pollute our environment*

Positive trend

- *NATO can give us military aid when we need it*
- *It can help us in a way of diminishing military and weapons and have a better organised military*

Most frequently mentioned conditions to enter NATO were:

- *Part of Croatian territory for military bases that will be used for dangerous weapons that are expensive to destroy so they will sell it to us*
- *Professional military in concordance with the NATO standards, more spending for military because of purchase of modern weapons*

What will Croatia gain by joining the NATO:

- *They will pollute our environment (overwhelming attitude)*
- *Money from international community investments*
- *The only good thing is when 2000 marines disembark and spend \$2 mil. in two days*
- *Joining the NATO is a generally global trend and it is crazy to stay outside. That is our only way, which has its price, but it will make some order in the military*

UN

A rather negative attitude prevails on the UN, because it did not seem to be very effective in Croatia, and it is viewed as representing the interests of 'the big'.

STABILITY PACT

Ordinary people are mostly not well informed about the Stability pact. Regarding the fact that respondents connect the Stability pact with the NATO, the USA and Partnership for Peace, the negative attitude is overwhelming. In principle, however, the participants believe that international aid programs could help countries in the region *'by correct directing and strict control of the invested money'*.

Key of regional security

As the key of regional security, ordinary citizens mentioned many different answers. Here are, firstly, some of the most frequent ones:

- *Processing war criminals, bringing Milosevic to the Hague*
- *A few generations without war, wish for eternal peace, change of mentality*
- *Economic development in whole region*
- *Setting up democratic principles and processes*
- *Mutual economic relations*
- *Acceptance and respect of rules valid for all (respecting sovereignty, minority rights etc.)*

And here are the others:

- *Finishing process of return and renewal*
- *Peace in Serbia*
- *Integration of all countries in the EU*
- *Joining the NATO*
- *Strong and well equipped army*
- *Second strong military-political block other than the NATO*
- *Emancipation of women*
- *There will never be peace and security in the region*

INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS AND FEELINGS

Participants were asked to express their feelings toward different countries in the Region using just a word or short sentence that comes first to mind when particular country is mentioned. The answers were, as in most previous questions, very diverse. It is interesting to note that associations - especially negative - were given mostly from an impartial perspective. The associations lay the ground for conclusion that the attitude toward ex-Yugoslav countries is clearer than for other countries in the Region, especially Romania and Bulgaria, but also Macedonia. This might be the consequence of rather weak information on those countries in Croatian media.

One of the most frequent associations on most of the countries in the Region, both among ordinary people and the elite, is 'the potential market', which allow for a rather pragmatic view of Croatia, but also its wish for progress and development.

ATTRIBUTES ASSOCIATED TO THE PERCEPTION OF BALKAN COUNTRIES

	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4
Slovenia	- Tourism/the Alps/skiing - Europe/the West	- Tourism - Europe	- Good economy/wise
Bosnia and Herzegovina	- Chaos/Anarchy - Primitivism - Multiethnic country	- Separateness - Multiethnic country - Joke of a country	- Primitivism - Separateness - Chaos
Serbia	- Poverty - Chaos - Primitivism - Café bar/live music - Infatuated by myths	- Chaos - Democratic changes - Isolation	- War/terror - Primitivism - Uncooperativeness -
Kosovo	- Chaos - Poverty/hunger - Overpopulated	- Low education - Poverty - War/terror - Albania	- Primitivism - Poverty/hunger - Unsafety - Unresolved situation
Vojvodina	- Agriculture/fertile land - Flatland - Potential	- Food - Multiethnic communities - Wheat/Đorđe Balašević	- Agriculture/fertile land - Flatland - Nice people
Montenegro	- Sea - Separation from Serbia - Undeveloped economy - Has the potential - Lazy people	- Summer tourism - Black market - Independent state	- Sea
Macedonia	- Agriculture - Beautiful land/lakes - No vision - Lazy people - Problems with the neighbours/unstable/indecisive	- Conflict between two ethnic communities - Poverty - Vegetables	- Don't know/neutrality - Fertile land - Beautiful land - Market - Songs

	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4
Romania	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Underdeveloped/poverty - Ceausescu/dictator - Refugees 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Oil - Poverty - Dictator 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ceausescu - Potential market - Child trade - Don't know
Bulgaria	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Criminal - Cheap and of low quality - St. Sophia church 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Cheap and of low quality - Poverty - Flowers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Don't know - Tulips - Market - CD black market
Albania	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No perspective - Retarded/most underdeveloped - Uneducated - Poverty 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Black market - Retarded 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Poverty - Europe's black hole
Greece	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - History/Architecture/Culture - Tourism - Dirty - Olympic games 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tourism - Olympic games - Culture/history 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tourism - History

ATTITUDES TOWARD ETHNIC MINORITIES IN CROATIA

	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4
SERBS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - after all they have done to Croats, the relations will not normalise for a long time, except for economy - very unsettled relations because we look back at history too much distinguished tension because of percentage of Serbs and consequences of war, relations could be much better because it is about a similar people - bad relations because the Serbs think they have too little rights - a catastrophically bad relation on verge of conflict - I'm afraid that they will become privileged people in Croatia 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - very bad relations, almost racist - Chetniks - obscurely defined relations because not all people are the same - relations are now much better, it should be worked upon refugees' return - discriminatory relations because majority group wishes to neglect them and cut them down to as few members as possible 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - in course of reconciliation - tense relations - bad relations but there are some changes - young generations will in time normalise relations - co-operation
MOSLEMS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - faith is preventing a kind of convergence - they mutually do not love each other very much, but there are no especially distinguished conflicts - the relations have become somewhat more tense after the war - bad relations and ghetto ghettoization - mean and unclear, they shouldn't be trusted and given any religious rights 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - racist relations - Mujahedins - Croatia has done a lot for that minority - very bad relations - they are not included in the system as a national minority, majority wants to neglect them - different civilisations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - good relations/ fair - intolerance - relations are bearable to certain limit - the most unrecognised minority and mostly to blame is the previous government - they are not favoured among Croats - relations should be improved
ITALIANS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - they fight for their rights and they want a state within state - good relations because of their political and cultural exposure - not especially exposed; don't know - they have more rights than Croatian minority in Italy - neutral relations - they do not hide their wish to gain territory and they need to be dealt with 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - neutral relations / medium - normal/good relations - satisfying relations - tourists – friends - they should be satisfied - they have their own minority rights 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - normal/good relations - the most organised relations - don't know - envy

	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4
ROMA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "lower" group - politics toward them should be more selective, because they are a very threatened population - they have too little rights / they are underestimated - better relations than in other parts of Europe - they have some rights, but they don't deserve them at all 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - very bad relations/ problematic relations - "Tzigani" - pejorative attitude - they need to help themselves, then also the state will react - victims of the worst racism because of low educational and cultural levels - despise of majority group / degraded by all criteria 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - very bad relations/ problematic relations - relations are of different character depending on what kind of Roma it is - bad relations because of the way they live - degraded by all criteria - Roma do not interest Croats - neutral/ don't know/ no opinion - we avoid them if possible
HUNGARIANS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Little rights - Good relations/ correct / normal - Not especially exposed / neutral - no special relations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - medium / relations without specialities - Good relations/ correct / normal / satisfied - the best relations of all groups - Less worthy, but they owe their economic success to foreign capital 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Good relations/ correct / normal - Don't know - Good relations, but of restraint - friendly relations
JEWS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Too much tension because of consequences of the 2nd world war - they have too many rights / they wish for more rights - Correct relations / progress / good relations - Neutral relations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - medium / normal relations - no difference is made and they are infiltrated into majority - good relations/ satisfied - bad relations - anti-Semitism is suppressed to make place for phobia against others - There are too few of them and they are no threat for majority group, that is why relations are okay 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - good relations/ okay relations / nobody is asking questions in that sense - Rising ustashe movement caused them greatest injustice, but they know how to fight for their status - Relations are good, but far worse than what they should be - Government is discussing about how they are rich tradesmen we do not need

H O P E S

GENERAL	ECONOMY	SOCIAL ISSUES	INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND JOINING EUROPE	STATE OF LAW	GOVERNMENT	CARE FOR YOUNG PEOPLE
That we shall always live in peace	To renew economy, agriculture and tourism	Higher rate of employment	We in Europe	That we will become law-obeying and democratic state	Political will for reforms on all levels	Better future for young people
For better future/better life	Economic boom	Good pension reform	Joining Europe	Well functioning courts and other state institutions	that the political top will more concretely start solving problems (return of refugees, punishing war criminals)	That we will one day be out of crisis so that young people could have better perspective and life
that there will be some serious planning and execution of what is planned	Development of tourism	All are working, life is blossoming	Connections with neighbours	Preventing further stealing and thieves		Young people – new unburdened generations
Choice of possibilities	Foreign investments	More jobs	Improvement of international relations	Strengthening the state of law	that politics toward small people will change	
Growing richness and love among all people	Natural resources	Higher standard and revival of middle class, which disappeared in our state, and there is no survival without it	Joining European integrations			better economic situation and as many employed young people as possible
To preserve beauty of nature and environment	Better loan conditions	Better life for citizens and better social politic				
	Lower prices, lower taxes					

FEARS

GENERAL	ECONOMY	SOCIAL ISSUES	INTERNAL POLITICS	FEAR FROM ENDANGERING BASIC PRINCIPLES OF THE STATE	FOREIGN POLITICS	NATURAL CATASTROPHES AND ECOLOGICAL ISSUES	WORLD'S INFLUENCE	PROBLEMS OF YOUNG PEOPLE
Breakdown of the system	Economic failure	Unsatisfactory solving of social problems	Lack of political will to continue and to even more strongly reforming the society	Losing independence	Lack of co-operation with neighbouring states	Earthquakes	Insufficient foreign investments	Future of children - school, job
Current situation lasting too long	Economic breakdown	Slow employment	Dissension in attitudes between the Government and the Parliament	Nationalism	That we would not enter the EU	Climatic changes	From international community really pushing us into political and economic associations of the miserable East	Drugs - a pandemic
Lower standard	Devaluation of Kuna (local currency)	Higher employment	Fast dissolution of the Six (government coalition)	From renewed deterioration of relations between Croats and Serbs, between Croatian state and the rest of the world	Bad politics toward the world	Pollution (ecological problem)		
I'm afraid that Croats are not capable of having their own state of good quality	Higher taxes		Fear from politicians - from their taking the country into a worse crisis		Our government being incapable of resisting to international community			
Slow execution of pre-election promises	Rising poverty							
From renewed war and hatred in people								