

Comparative Study of Electoral Systems Module 3: Macro Report

June 05, 2006

Country: Croatia
Date of Election: November 25, 2007

Prepared by: Nenad Zakošek, Goran Čular
Date of Preparation: July 23, 2008

NOTES TO COLLABORATORS:

- The information provided in this report contributes to an important part of the CSES project. The information may be filled out by yourself, or by an expert or experts of your choice. Your efforts in providing these data are greatly appreciated! Any supplementary documents that you can provide (e.g., electoral legislation, party manifestos, electoral commission reports, media reports) are also appreciated, and may be made available on the CSES website.
- Answers should be as of the date of the election being studied.
- Where brackets [] appear, collaborators should answer by placing an “X” within the appropriate bracket or brackets. For example: [X]
- If more space is needed to answer any question, please lengthen the document as necessary.

Data Pertinent to the Election at which the Module was Administered

1a. Type of Election

- Parliamentary/Legislative
- Parliamentary/Legislative and Presidential
- Presidential
- Other; please specify: _____

1b. If the type of election in Question 1a included Parliamentary/Legislative, was the election for the Upper House, Lower House, or both?

- Upper House
- Lower House (the Croatian parliament is unicameral)
- Both
- Other; please specify: _____

2a. What was the party of the president *prior* to the most recent election?

none

2b. What was the party of the Prime Minister *prior* to the most recent election?

Hrvatska demokratska zajednica (HDZ) (Croatian Democratic Union)

2c. Report the number of cabinet ministers of each party or parties in cabinet, *prior* to the most recent election. (If one party holds all cabinet posts, simply write "all".) Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have Cabinet voting rights.

<u>Name of Political Party</u>	<u>Number of Cabinet Ministers</u>
Hrvatska demokratska zajednica (HDZ)	all

2d. What was the size of the cabinet *prior* to the election (total number of cabinet ministers detailed in 2c)? Please include only full ministers and the prime minister in the count. Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have Cabinet voting rights.

15

3a. What was the party of the president *after* the most recent election?

none

3b. What was the party of the Prime Minister *after* the most recent election?

Hrvatska demokratska zajednica (HDZ)

3c. Report the number of cabinet ministers of each party or parties in cabinet, *after* the most recent election. (If one party holds all cabinet posts, simply write "all"). Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have Cabinet voting rights.

<u>Name of Political Party</u>	<u>Number of Cabinet Ministers</u>
Hrvatska demokratska zajednica (HDZ)	14
Hrvatska seljačka stranka (HSS) (Croatian Peasant Party)	2
Hrvatska socijalno liberalna stranka (HSL) (Croatian Social Liberal Party)	1
Samostalna demokratska srpska stranka (SDSS) (Independent Democratic Serbian Party)	1

3d. What was the size of the cabinet *after* the election (total number of cabinet ministers detailed in 3c)? Please include only full ministers and the prime minister in the count. Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have Cabinet voting rights.

18

4a. How many political parties received votes in the election? In this answer, we want political parties, not merely alliances or coalitions of political parties. Please include all parties that received votes, but do not include independents. Where coalitions are present, please count all member parties separately – for instance, a coalition of three parties would count as three parties in your answer, not as one party.

56

4b. Please provide a source of data and link to a website with official, detailed election results (votes and seats) for all parties participating in the election. If the data is not available electronically, please provide the information in paper format if possible.

<http://www.izbori.hr>

4c. Please list all parties who received at least 1% of the vote nationally, and the applicable electoral results for each, in the following table. Please indicate the source (even if the same as in Question 4b), and add additional rows to the table as necessary. Please provide party names both in English and in the original language, if applicable.

Source: <http://www.izbori.hr>

Party Name	Number of Votes*	% of Vote	Number of Seats**	% of Seats
Hrvatska demokratska zajednica (HDZ) Croatian Democratic Union	834203	34,91	66	43,14
Socijaldemokratska partija Hrvatske (SDP) Social Democratic Party of Croatia	776656	32,50	56	36,60
Hrvatska narodna stranka – liberalni demokrati (HNS) Croatian People’s Party – Liberal Democrats	168439	7,05	7	4,58
Hrvatska seljačka stranka (HSS) Croatian Peasant Party	161813	6,77	6	3,92
Hrvatska socijalno liberalna stranka (HSLs) Croatian Social Liberal Party	list of HSS and HSLs)		2	1,31
Hrvatska stranka umirovljenika (HSU) Croatian Party of Pensioners	101091	4,23	1	0,65
Hrvatska stranka prava (HSP) Croatian Party of Rights	83006	3,47	1	0,65
Hrvatski demokratski savez Slavonije i Baranje (HDSSB) Croatian Democratic Alliance od Slavonia and Baranja	44552	1,86	3	1,96
Istarski demokratski sabor (IDS-DDI) Istrian Democratic Assembly	38267	1,60	3	1,96

Total	2208027	92,40	145	94,78
--------------	---------	-------	-----	-------

* Note: The number of votes for each party refers to the 10 electoral districts in Croatia. Not included are votes cast in the special 11th electoral districts for the Croatian citizens living abroad and the special 12th electoral district for national minority voters (see explanation in question ?? referring to the electoral system).

** Note: The number of seats earned by the parties refers to the total number of seats earned in all 12 electoral districts. The table doesn't show the seats earned by national minority representatives (8 seats), since they did not receive more than 1% of the vote nationally. The percentage of seats earned by the parties shown in the table refers to the total number of seats in the Croatian parliament (153).

4d. What was the voter turnout in the election?

63,41 %

(This number refers to the voters in the 10 general electoral districts in Croatia. The turnout in the special 11th electoral districts for the Croatian citizens living abroad was 22,32% and in the special 12th electoral district for national minority voters it was 18,03 %. The turnout for the total electorate, in Croatia and abroad, was 57,17%)

4e. Please provide the following six statistics for the country at the time of the election studied, so that we may calculate voter turnout in various ways. Some definitions, where provided, are based on those developed by International IDEA.

- Total Population: 4.440.000 (est. by mid 2006)*

* Based on estimates of the State statistical office at <http://www.dzs.hr>.

Definition: The total population includes all inhabitants, of all ages, both citizens and non-citizens (including illegal aliens).

- Total Number of Voting Age Citizens: 3.579.000 (est. by mid 2006)*

* Note: The number of registered voters in Croatia is 4.073.630, which is 494.630 more than the estimated number of voting age population who live in Croatia. The difference may be caused by two factors: voters living temporarily abroad, but registered as voters in Croatia (and not in the 11th district for diaspora voters) and inaccuracy of voters registers. Additional 404.950 voters are registered as diaspora voters, who live permanently abroad and have no residence in Croatia.

Definition: This number is meant to approximate the eligible voting population.

- Total Vote: 2.425.269

Definition: The total number of votes cast in the relevant election. Total vote includes valid and invalid votes, as well as blank votes in cases where these are separated from invalid votes.

- Total Number of Invalid and Blank Votes: 35.878

- Voting Age Population: : 3.579.000

Definition: Includes all persons above the legal voting age.

▪ Number of Registered Voters:

3.824.731 10 districts

4.073.630 including national minority voters

404.950 voters permanently living abroad, do not have a residence in Croatia

4.478.580 total number of registered voters

Definition: The figure represents the number of names on the voters' register at the time that the registration process closes, as reported by the electoral management body.

5. Ideological family of political parties. For this question, please use the same parties that were used in the CSES Module 3 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I).

Party Name	Ideological Family
A. Hrvatski demokratski savez Slavonije i Baranje (HDSSB)	Regional Party
B. Hrvatska demokratska zajednica (HDZ)	Christian Democratic, Nationalist and Conservative Party
C. Hrvatska narodna stranka (HNS)	Liberal Party
D. Hrvatska socijalno liberalna stranka (HSLs)	Liberal Party
E. Hrvatska stranka prava (HSP)	Nationalist (Right Wing) Party
F. Hrvatska seljačka stranka (HSS)	Agrarian Party
G. Istarski demokratski sabor (IDS)	Regional Party
H. Socijaldemokratska partija Hrvatske (SDP)	Social Democratic Party
I. Samostalna demokratska srpska stranka (SDSS)	Ethnic Party (Serb minority)

Ideological Party Families: (These are suggestions only. If a party does not fit well into this classification scheme, please provide an alternative and some explanation.)

(A) Ecology Parties

(B) Communist Parties

(C) Socialist Parties

(D) Social Democratic Parties

(E) Conservative Parties

(F) Left Liberal Parties

(G) Liberal Parties

(H) Right Liberal Parties

(I) Christian Democratic Parties

(J) National Parties

(K) Independents

(L) Agrarian Parties

(M) Ethnic Parties

(N) Regional Parties

(O) Other Parties

6a. Ideological Positions of Parties:

Please indicate party positions on a left-right dimension (in the expert judgment of the CSES Collaborator). Please use the same parties that were used in the CSES Module 3 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I).

Party Name	Left										Right	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
A. HDSSB									X			
B. HDZ								X				
C. HNS					X							
D. HSLS						X						
E. HSP									X			
F. HSS							X					
G. IDS					X							
H. SDP				X								
I. SDSS					X							

7. In your view, what are the five most salient factors that affected the outcome of the election (e.g. major scandals; economic events; the presence of an independent actor; specific issues)? Rank them according to their salience (1 = most salient).

1. Ideological and party loyalty of the voters of the two major parties, HDZ and SDP
2. New party leader of the SDP, who mobilized additional volatile voters
3. Favourable economic trends supporting the ruling HDZ
4. Open support for the HDZ by the Catholic Church
5. Several contested issues: voting rights for the Croatian citizens living abroad questioned by the SDP, threat by the SDP to introduce tax on profits from stock market shares

8. Party Leaders and Presidential Candidates:

In the table below, report the leader(s) of each party. Please use the same parties that were used in the CSES Module 3 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I). If candidates were endorsed by more than one party, please indicate this.

Party Name	Name of Party Leader	Name of Presidential Candidate, if appropriate
A. Hrvatski demokratski savez Slavonije i Baranje (HDSSB)	Branimir Glavaš	
B. Hrvatska demokratska zajednica (HDZ)	Ivo Sanader	
C. Hrvatska narodna stranka (HNS)	Vesna Pusić	
D. Hrvatska socijalno liberalna stranka (HSLŠ)	Đurđa Adlešić	
E. Hrvatska stranka prava (HSP)	Ante Đapić	
F. Hrvatska seljačka stranka (HSS)	Josip Friščić	
G. Istarski demokratski sabor (IDS)	Ivan Jakovčić	
H. Socijaldemokratska Partija Hrvatske (SDP)	Zoran Milanović	
I. Samostalna demokratska srpska stranka (SDSS)	Milorad Pupovac	

9a. Fairness of the Election

How impartial was the body that administered the election law?

- Very impartial
- Mostly impartial
- Not very impartial
- Not impartial at all

9b. Was there a formal complaint against the national level results?

- Yes
- No

9c. Were there irregularities reported by international election observers?

- Yes
- No
- No international election observers

9d. On what date was the election originally scheduled to be held?

November 25, 2007

9e. On what date was the election actually held? If different from 1d, please explain why.

November 25, 2007

10a. Election Violence

To what extent was there violence and voter or candidate intimidation during the election campaign and the election day?

- No violence at all
- Sporadic violence on the part of the government
- Sporadic violence on the part of opposition groups
- Sporadic violence on all sides
- Significant violence on the part of the government
- Significant violence on the part of opposition groups
- Significant violence of all sides

10b. If there was violence, was it geographically concentrated or national? --

- Geographically concentrated
- National

10c. Post-Election (and election-related) Violence

To what extent was there violence following the election?

- No violence at all
- Sporadic violence on the part of the government
- Sporadic violence on the part of opposition groups
- Sporadic violence on all sides
- Significant violence on the part of the government
- Significant violence on the part of opposition groups
- Significant violence of all sides

10d. Post-Election (and election-related) Protest

To what extent was there protest following the election?

- No protest at all
- Sporadic protest
- Significant protest

Questions about the Possibilities of Electoral Alliance

Definitions: A joint list refers to one on which candidates of different parties run together. Apparentement refers to a legal agreement between two or more lists to pool their votes for the purposes of an initial seat allocation, with seats initially allocated to the alliance then reallocated to the lists in the alliance.

11. Joint Lists/Candidates

There are multiple types of electoral alliances/coalitions, but we are explicitly interested in those involving joint lists or candidates - i.e. those where parties compete as a unit during the election.

Is this type of electoral coalition legally allowable?

- Yes
 No

Is this type of electoral coalition used in practice, even if not legally allowable?

- Yes
 No

If “Yes” was answered to either of the above questions, then please complete the following table for the election at which the Module was administered. Please mention only alliances that received at least 1% of the vote nationally. Add additional lines to the table as necessary.

Alliance Name	Participating Parties (please indicate dominant members with an “*”)
Alliance 1: HSS-HSLS	Hrvatska seljačka stranka (HSS)* Hrvatska socijalno liberalna stranka (HSLs)* - in 4 electoral districts also including the following regional parties: Zagorska stranka (ZS) (Party of Zagorje) Zagorska demokratska stranka (ZDS) (Democratic Party of Zagorje) Primorsko-goranski savez (PGS) (Primorje Gorski kotar Alliance)
Alliance 2:	
Alliance 3:	
Alliance 4:	
Alliance 5:	

12. If joint lists are possible, are they subject to different regulations than single-party lists? For example, higher thresholds, different numbers of candidates that may appear on the list, etc. (please mark all applicable responses)

- Yes, joint party lists must satisfy higher thresholds
- Yes, joint party lists may present different numbers of candidates
- Yes, joint party lists are subject to other regulations that are different from the regulations governing independent parties; please specify: _____
- No, joint parties are governed by the same rules as the other parties
- Not applicable; no joint party lists are allowed

13a. Is there apparentement or linking of lists?

- Yes
- No

13b. If apparentement is possible, what lists can participate in such agreements: not possible

- lists of the same party in the same constituency
- lists of the same party from different constituencies
- lists of different parties in the same constituency

14a. Can candidates run with the endorsement of more than one party?*

- Yes
- No

* Not applicable to the Croatian ballot: the ballot paper shows the names and acronyms of parties which compete for votes in an electoral district, but no candidate names. In addition, there is the name of a “bearer of the list”, i.e. a person (usually the president of the respective party) who symbolizes the party list but who is not necessarily candidate in the electoral district. Joint party lists are possible and they also have only one “bearer of the list”.

14b. If candidates can run with the endorsement of more than one party, is this reflected on the ballot?*

- No
- No party endorsements are indicated on the ballot paper
- Yes, candidate's name appears once, together with the names of all supporting parties
- Yes, candidate's name appears as many times as there are different parties endorsing him/her, each time with the name of the endorsing party
- Yes, other; please explain: _____

* Not applicable, see the note under 14.a.

Data on Electoral Institutions

If possible, please supplement this section with copies of the electoral law, voters' handbooks, electoral commission reports, and/or any other relevant materials.

Questions 15a through 21d must be repeated for each electoral tier (segment) of each directly elected house of the legislature.

Electoral Tier (Segment) and House

15a. In your answers for questions 15a through 21d, which electoral tier (segment) is being referred to? (Note: Countries with only one tier may skip this question.)

There is only one electoral segment/ tier

15b. In your answers for questions 15a through 21d, which house is being referred to (lower or upper)? (Note: Countries with only one tier may skip this question.)

The Croatian parliament is unicameral.

Questions about Voting

16a. How many votes do voters cast or can cast? In systems where voters rank order the candidates, if there are 10 candidates (for example), the response to this question should be 10.

Voters cast one vote.*

*Note: Serbian minority voters can cast up to three votes for individual candidates (no cumulation allowed).

16b. Do they vote for candidates (not party lists) or party lists? (Note: Collaborators may select multiple answers, if appropriate.)

(Definition: Party bloc voting is used in multi-member districts where voters cast a single party-centered vote for their party of choice; the party with the most votes wins all of the district seats.)

Candidates

Party Lists*

Party Bloc Voting

Other; please explain: _____

*Note: in the 12th electoral district for national minorities voters vote for individual candidates.

16c. How many rounds of voting are there?

One

16d. If there are lists, are they closed, open, flexible, or is there party bloc voting?

Closed (order of candidates elected is determined by the party and voters are unable to express preference for a particular candidate)

Open (voters can indicate their preferred party and their favored candidate within that party)

Flexible (voters can allocate votes to candidates either within a single party list or across different party lists as they see fit)

17. Are the votes transferable?

(Definition: In systems with preferential voting, a voter can express a list of preferences. E.g., votes can be cast by putting a '1' in the column next to the voter's preferred candidate, a '2' beside their second favorite candidate and so on. Votes are counted according to the first preferences and any candidates who have achieved the predetermined quota are elected. To decide which of the remaining candidates are elected the votes are *transferred* from candidates who have more than the necessary number to achieve the quota and from the candidate with the least number of votes. An example of this is the election in Ireland in 2002.)

- Yes
 No

18. If more than one vote can be cast, can they be cumulated?

(Definition: Cumulative voting refers to systems in which voters are allowed to cast more than one vote for a single candidate.)

- Yes
 No

19. Is voting compulsory?

(Definition: Voting is compulsory if the law states that all those who have the right to vote are obliged to exercise that right.)

- Yes; Strictly Enforced Sanctions
 Yes; Weakly Enforced Sanctions
 Yes; Without Sanction for Violation
 No

20. Please list and describe any other features of voting that should be noted.

The two distinctive features of the Croatian electoral law concern voting in special electoral districts: 11th district for the so-called diaspora voters (Croatian citizens who are not resident in Croatia) and 12th district for representatives of national minorities:

- In the 11th district there were 404 950 registered voters (2007) who permanently live outside Croatia. Voters cast votes for party lists registered in this electoral district. There is a specific rule for determining the number of seats allocated in this electoral district: the number of valid votes is divided by the average number of necessary to win a seat in the electoral districts 1-10.
- In the 12th district voters who are registered as members of national minorities can cast votes for individual candidates. For this purpose there are separate sub-districts for respective national minorities or groups of minorities. The Serbian minority elects three representatives and voters can cast up to three votes for individual candidates. One representative is elected by members of the following national minorities who cast one vote for the individual candidates: Italian – Hungarian – Czech and Slovak – Austrian, Bulgarian, German, Polish, Roma, Romanian, Ruthenian, Russian, Turkish, Ukrainian, Valachian and Jewish – Albanian, Bosniak, Montenegrin, Macedonian and Slovenian. Voters registered as members of national minorities can forgo their right to vote in the 12th electoral district and register to vote in the respective general electoral district with other Croatian citizens.

Questions about Converting Votes into Seats

21a. Are there legally mandated thresholds that a party must exceed before it is eligible to receive seats?

- Yes
 No

21b. If YES in Question 21a, what is the threshold?
5% in the electoral district

21c. If YES in Question 21a, what is the unit for the threshold mentioned in Question 21b?
 Percent of total votes
 Percent of valid votes
 Percent of the total electorate
 Other; please explain: 5% of valid votes in the respective electoral district

21d. If YES in Question 21a, please specify to what House/ Electoral Tier (Segment) the threshold(s) apply.
The threshold applies to the multimember electoral districts for the unicameral parliament.

Please repeat questions 15a through 21d for each electoral tier (segment) of each directly elected house of the legislature. Countries with only one tier should proceed to Question 22.

References

22. Please provide an official source for district-level election results. English language sources are especially helpful. Include website links or contact information if applicable.

The official website of the State Electoral Commission (in Croatian)

<http://www.izbori.hr>

23. Please list any resources that were consulted in the preparation of this report, or that the CSES community may find especially helpful in understanding the political system described. Include website links if applicable.