

**UNIVERZA V LJUBLJANI  
FAKULTETA ZA DRUŽBENE VEDE**

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**Volilna kampanja na lokalni ravni v Sloveniji in ZDA:  
Primerjalna analiza**

**Election campaign at the local level in Slovenia and in the  
USA: Comparative analysis**

Magistrsko delo

**Ljubljana, 2014**

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*»Your time is limited, so don't waste it living someone else's life.  
Don't be trapped by dogma — which is living with the results of other people's thinking.  
Don't let the noise of others' opinions drown out your own inner voice.  
And most important, have the courage to follow your heart and intuition. They somehow  
already know what you truly want to become. Everything else is secondary«.*  
(Steve Jobs)

### **Author Note**

I would like to thank my mentors Professor *Bogomil Ferfila* and co-mentor Professor *Gary Aguiar*, for their advices, patience and effort put in helping me to successfully write my Master's Thesis. Professor Aguiar I really enjoyed our skype meetings.

Thank you to all *Municipal Councilors* and *County Commissioners* who took time and answered on my questions. Without your answers my Master's Thesis could not be finished.

I would like to thank my *parents* for their support, patience and encouragement throughout my study. You taught me to be independent, to walk my own path, write my own rules and be true to myself. I am grateful for everything you have given me and taught me. Thank you dad, for helping me contact and encourage municipal councilors in answering on my questions.

Thanks to all of my *friends* who listen when I am mad, lift me up when I am sad and laugh with me whenever possible. I am so happy to have each and every one of you as my friend.

And finally, I would like to thank my boyfriend, *Ambrož*, for sticking with me through all the good times and bad times I had during writing my Master's Thesis. I love you.

## **Election campaign at the local level in Slovenia and in the USA: Comparative analysis**

Elections are one of the most important expressions of people's sovereignty and essential condition for democratic formation of most important state bodies. They are also crucial for the realization of democratic local self-government. Local elections are one of the most important aspects of citizen participation in local government. They allow citizens to influence the composition of the local representative body and thus the impact on the decisions made by the body. Elections have become inseparable from election campaigns with which competing candidates present themselves and engaged their potential voters.

This Master's thesis analyzes the election campaigns of political parties and their candidates in local elections for municipal councils in Posavje and for County Board of Commissioners in South Dakota. In this Master's thesis the following criteria/elements, which are relevant and necessary for each campaign were analyzed. These criteria/elements are: financial resources, mechanisms/techniques used and personnel structure of campaign – volunteers or paid professionals. Based on comparative analysis there are differences as well as similarities in most criteria/elements of election campaigns in Posavje and in South Dakota.

**Key words:** Election campaign, local elections, political parties, Slovenia, USA

## **Volilna kampanje na lokalni ravni v Sloveniji in ZDA: Primerjalna analiza**

Volitve so eden najpomembnejših izrazov ljudske suverenosti in tako tudi osnovni pogoj za demokratično oblikovanje najpomembnejših državnih organov. So odločilnega pomena tudi za demokratično uresničevanje lokalne samouprave. Lokalne volitve so eden najpomembnejših vidikov sodelovanja občanov v lokalni samoupravi. Občanom omogočajo vpliv na sestavo lokalnega predstavniškega telesa in s tem tudi vpliv na odločitve, ki jih ta sprejema. Z volitvami so postale tesno povezane tudi volilne kampanje s katerimi se tekmujoči kandidati predstavijo in tudi soočijo svojim potencialnim volivcem.

Magistrska naloga analizira volilne kampanje političnih strank in njihovih kandidatov na lokalnih volitvah za občinske svete v Posavju in okrajne svete komisarjev v Južni Dakoti. Analizirani so bili naslednji kriteriji/elementi, ki so pomembni in potrebni za vsako volilno kampanjo. Ti so: finančna sredstva, uporabljeni mehanizmi/orodja in kadrovska struktura kampanje – prostovoljci ali plačani strokovnjaki. Na osnovi opravljene primerjalne analize so bile ugotovljene tako razlike kot tudi podobnosti v vseh kriterijih/elementih volilnih kampanj v Posavju in Južni Dakoti.

**Ključne besede:** Volilna kampanja, lokalne volitve, politične stranke, Slovenija, ZDA

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# 1 INTRODUCTION

In the modern conception of democracy, elections are one of the most important expressions of people's sovereignty and essential condition for democratic formation of the most important state bodies, especially the representative body and of course also bodies of local-self government (Grad 2004, 17). In such representative democracies elections become inseparable from election campaigns (Krašovec 2005). The emergence of election campaigns can also be seen as an important indicator of democratic development of election processes because in many ways it allows the competing political entities to present themselves and engaged their potential voters. From a political science perspective, an election campaign is a political activity associated with acquisition of election votes and thus the election processes and the elections (Kustec Lipicer 2007, 107). Under the Slovenian Elections and Referendum Campaign Act, the election campaign is defined as all political propaganda messages and other forms of political propaganda intended to influence the voter's decisions when voting on candidates for the National Assembly, the President of the Republic and members of municipal councils and mayors. The election campaign includes election propaganda in the mass media, placing of posters and election rallies (Zakon o volilni in referendumski kampanji 2007, Article 1). According to Grad (in Kustec Lipicer 2004, 126), a local government is, for its deepest essence, much closer to the people as a government organization. Issues of the local government are much closer to everyday life and to people much more understandable than the political decision-making on national issues. Local elections thus represent the most significant influence of residents of local community on the operation of local government and as such are an essential element of local democracy (Haček 1999, 218). As Kustec Lipicer said (2007, 111), local elections, from the systemic dimension, are certainly one of the most interesting types of elections, because on one hand this type of the electoral system in each of the constituencies can vary, and this is why these elections are even more interesting and complex at the same time. The study of campaigns for local elections compared to campaigns organized for the purpose of elections for representatives of government at the national level are markedly less extensive (Kustec Lipicer 2007, 110). And because of that, I decided that the basis of my Master's thesis will be election campaigns at the local level, where I will focus on the elections to the municipal council, which are in addition to mayor elections the most important at the Local level. I decided to do a



comparative analysis of election campaigns at the local level of two very different political systems, the Slovenian and the American.

## **2 METHODOLOGICAL PLAN**

### **2.1 PURPOSE AND GOAL OF MASTER'S THESIS**

The purpose of my Master's thesis is to examine and analyze the election campaigns of political parties and their candidates in local elections for the municipal councils in Posavje and for the County Board of Commissioners in South Dakota. The aim of the master's thesis was to determine differences and similarities between two completely different political systems through the analysis of their election campaigns. The differences and similarities were analyzed by comparing the following criteria/elements that are relevant and necessary for each campaign and these are: *financial resources, mechanisms/techniques used, and personnel structure of campaign – volunteers or paid professionals.*

### **2.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

***What are the differences between election campaigns in Posavje and in South Dakota?***

Because the Slovenian and the American political systems are very different, I presume that there are going to be differences in all elements in which an election campaign should have to be successful. I also presume that the American election campaign has more financial resources and therefore the possibility of using multiple tools and hired professionals than the Slovenian election campaign.

***Are there any similarities between the election campaigns in Posavje and in South Dakota?***

Although the Slovenian and American political systems are very different, I presume that there are also going to be some similarities in all elements which election campaign should have to be successful.

*To what extent are local elections in Posavje and in South Dakota centered on candidate and his characteristics and to what extent on the political party?*

As Grad (2003, 12) argued the importance and role of political parties in local elections is significantly lower than in national elections. In local elections, the personality of the candidate is at forefront (Grad 2003, 11). I presume that personality of the candidate will play the key role in both Posavje and in South Dakota.

### **2.3 RESEARCH METHODS AND TECHNIQUES**

In my Master's thesis, the following research methods and techniques were used:

*The descriptive method*, which includes an overview, analysis, an interpretation of primary sources (analysis of laws and other legal sources) and secondary sources (such as journals, magazines, articles, and publications), and it served me for writing theoretical positions.

*Analysis of relevant internet sources*, where I reviewed statistical data of the last local elections' results in six municipalities of Posavje in 2010 and in 11 counties of First District of South Dakota (hereinafter South Dakota) in 2012. For Posavje, data is available at the website of the National Electoral Commission and for South Dakota at the website of the South Dakota Secretary of State.

*Social science interviews* that I conducted with candidates from the political parties that have won in last local elections in Posavje in 2010 (are in municipal council). In South Dakota, these interviews with County Commissioners were done by a student of my mentor, prof. Aguiar. The Slovenian and American candidates were asked the same questions. With these interviews, I tried to find out what kind of campaigns they had (how much money they put in, if they had volunteers or paid professionals, which mechanisms/techniques they used, etc.). All interviews were done via email.

*The comparative analysis* was used where I did a comparison of election campaigns at the local level of two different political systems, Slovenian (Posavje) and American (South Dakota) in order to identify differences and similarities.

## 2.4 STRUCTURE OF THE MASTER'S THESIS

Master's thesis consists of five parts:

***Introduction***, in which master's thesis topic is presented;

***Methodology***, in which the purpose and goal of master's thesis is defined, and also the research questions and the research methods and the techniques are presented;

***Theoretical frameworks*** in which Slovenian and American local elections, political parties, and election campaign (plan, strategy, mechanism/techniques, organization, financial resources) are represented;

***Comparative analysis*** which was made on the basis of collected data. These data was collected through interviews with municipal councilors of six municipalities of Posavje and with county commissioners of 11 counties in South Dakota.

***Conclusion***, followed by used literature used and attachments.

## **3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS**

### **3.1 LOCAL ELECTIONS**

#### **3.1.1 The role and importance of local elections**

In modern conception of democracy, elections are one of the most important expressions of popular sovereignty and, therefore a necessary condition for democratic formation of the most important government bodies, in particular the representative body, as well as the bodies of local self-government (Grad 1998, 48; Grad 2004, 17).

Local elections aim to create local community bodies for which issues of local importance are important. Local elections in Slovenia include elections to municipal councils, elections of mayors, and elections to the councils of district, village and urban communities (Grad 1998, 51; Zakon o lokalnih volitvah, Article 1). In USA, there are also many other types of elections at the local level: elections for judges, prosecutors, school boards, etc. (Toplak 2000, 28).

Local elections are one of the most important aspects of citizen participation in local government and on the other hand, are part of the electoral system of a country. In terms of local democracy, local elections constitute indirect democracy that allows citizens to influence the composition of the local representative body, and thus the impact on the decisions made by the body. Elections thus give legitimacy to the implementation of the local authority by the representative body and therefore, have a crucial importance for the realization of democratic local self-government (Grad 2003, 7–8).

Local elections have a similar role and importance as elections at the national level. In both cases, it is a democratic way of decision-making about which person will represent the will of the people in a representative body or in the important decision-making bodies in local community. Local elections and elections on national level also have similar format. Both elections require the same organization, procedure and legal guarantees for the implementation of voting rights (Grad 1998, 51–52). For local elections, it also stands that there are those principles which have been established in modern democratic electoral

systems that must be taken into consideration. Those principles are universal and equal right to vote, direct right to vote, free right to vote, and secret voting (Grad 2004, 37).

## **3.2 LOCAL ELECTIONS IN SLOVENIA**

In Slovenia, local elections are regulated by the Law on Local Elections. It governs elections to municipal councils, elections of mayors and elections to the councils of district, village and urban communities (Article 1).

Fundamental decisions in the local community are generally adopted in the representative body, which is the central body of the local self-government and is usually elected directly by the residents of the local community (Volitve in volilni sistem).

Within the system of local elections, two completely different electoral systems are used, majority elections and proportional elections.

### **3.2.1 Elections to municipal council**

For the elections to the municipal council, it should be noted that these are elections for representative body that represents all residents of the municipality. Therefore, the basic principles of the general elections of the representative body that apply at the national level (universal and equal right to vote, direct right to vote, free right to vote, and secret voting) should also be applied at the local level, for elections to be democratic (Grad 1998, 147).

Elections to municipal council are conducted every four years, no earlier than two months and no later than the last Sunday or other non-working day before the expiry of four years from the previous election to the municipal council (Zakon o lokalnih volitvah, Article 24–25).

Municipal councilors thus have a 4-year term.

#### ***3.2.1.1 The right to vote***

The most important element of the electoral system is the right to vote. It is one of the fundamental political rights of the citizen and it is defined in Article 43 of the Constitution.

We distinguish between *active* (the right to vote in the representative bodies) and *passive* (the right to be elected as a member of these bodies) right to vote (Volilna pravica; Volitve in volilni sistem).

Universal suffrage is the right of every citizen to vote regardless of class, ethnic, racial, economic, or other affiliation (Volitve in volilni sistem).

As in the case of national elections also in local elections, all citizens who have reached 18 years of age in the polling day have the right to vote and be elected as members of municipal council. Citizens have the right to vote in the municipality in which they have permanent residence (Grad 1998, 149; Zakon o lokalnih volitvah, Article 5).

### ***3.2.1.2 Electoral system***

Electoral system is a set of electoral principles and means to achieve them, which are regulated by the law. In broader sense, electoral system includes regulations on the right to vote, organize elections, electoral process and technology, distribution of mandates, etc. In a narrower sense, electoral system includes only distributions of mandates (Grad 1998, 51–52). Electoral system at the local level can therefore be defined as the totality of all of those regulations, measures and methods that serve to enforce the right to vote in local elections (Grad 1998, 53).

If a municipal council has fewer than 12 members, the members of the municipal council are elected under the principle of majority. If a municipal council has 12 or more members, the members of the municipal council are elected under the principle of proportionality (Zakon o lokalnih volitvah, Article 9). Members of municipal council who are representatives of the Italian or Hungarian national communities or representatives of the Romani community are elected under the principle of majority (Zakon o lokalnih volitvah, Article 10).

The number of members of the municipal council is determined with regard to the number of residents in the municipality. Municipal council has therefore numbers of members as follows:

- 7 to 11 members in a municipality with up to 3,000 residents;
- 12 to 15 members in a municipality with up to 5,000 residents;
- 16 to 19 members in a municipality with up to 10,000 residents;

- 20 to 23 members in a municipality with up to 15,000 residents;
- 24 to 27 members in a municipality with up to 20,000 residents;
- 28 to 31 members in a municipality with up to 30,000 residents;
- 32 to 35 members in a municipality with over 30,000 residents;
- 36 to 40 members in a municipality with over 100,000 residents (Zakon o lokalnih volitvah, Article 116).

#### **a) Majority Election System**

For majority election system, it is typical that candidates are elected by majority votes. There are two fundamental forms of the majority system. Majority can be absolute or relative. In the majority system of absolute majority, a candidate who has received more than half of the votes from the voters is elected. In the majority system of relative majority (plurality), a candidate who has, among all candidates who run in the constituency, received more votes from voters than other candidates. Absolute majority can lead to repetition and the second round, while the main disadvantage of relative majority is that the elected candidate represents only a minority of the voting body (Grad 2004, 57).

Advantages of the majority election system are simplicity, transparency, comprehensibility and that generally allows voters to decide between candidates. Its primary disadvantage is that it does not show the ratio of political power in the country because it favors only the party that gets most votes (Grad 2004, 69–70).

In the majority election system, voting in elections is for individual candidates. Voters can vote for at most the same number of candidates as the number of members of the municipal council elected in the electoral unit. Candidates who receive the most votes are elected (Zakon o lokalnih volitvah, Article 11).

For majority elections of members of the municipal council, municipality is divided into electoral units. The only exceptions are in those municipalities where municipal council has no more than seven members. In these municipalities, members of municipal council are elected in municipality as a single electoral unit, which means that municipality is not divided into electoral units. This exception also applies to the elections of members of municipal councils representing the Italian and Hungarian national communities as well as Romani

community. They are elected in a municipality as a single electoral unit. In each electoral unit, one or more members of the municipal council can therefore be elected, but no more than three (Grad 1998, 154, 157).

Law on Local Elections (Article 12) also regulates that in case if an electoral unit elects one member of a municipal council and two candidates received an equal number of votes, the election then is decided by the drawing of lots. And in case, if an electoral unit elects more than one member of a municipal council, and if the last two candidates under consideration for election have received an equal number of votes, the election is then also decided by drawing lots.

### **b) Proportional Election System**

In proportional election system, allocated representative mandates must comply with the votes obtained in the elections. Mandates must be divided between the candidates or lists of candidates in such a way that are proportionate with the support that is given to them from voters in the election. Ways to achieve this proportionality vary considerably. They share use of a variety of more or less complex mathematical formulas. This is particularly true for the proportional system in where voting is on the candidate lists (Grad 2004, 60).

Proportional electoral system is used to elect members of municipal councils where there are 12 or more members (Zakon o lokalnih volitvah, Article 9).

As defined in the Law on Local Elections voting in proportional elections is for lists of candidates in electoral units. In case of voting on the lists of candidates, voters can only vote for one list of candidates, where they mark a candidate to whom they give preference in the election ahead of other candidates on the list. In this case, we are talking about preferential vote. Voters can give a preferential vote to only one candidate on the list (Grad 1998, 154; Zakon o lokalnih volitvah, Article 13).

In case if there is a vote on lists of candidates in a municipality as a single electoral unit, the mandates are awarded to the lists of candidates on the basis of the d'Hondt system. However, if members of municipal council are elected in several electoral units then mandates are divided to the lists of candidates at two levels: at the level of electoral unit and at the level of municipality. At the level of electoral unit, mandates to the lists of candidates are determined



by a simple (Hare) electoral quotient. Mandates, which are divided on the level of municipality, are divided according to the d'Hondt system (Grad 1998, 155; Zakon o lokalnih volitvah, Article 14-15).

### ***3.2.1.3 Electoral units (District, Ward)***

Electoral units are formed in such a way that approximately the same number of inhabitants elects each member of the municipal council. On one side, this has established the principle of equality of right to vote at the local level. On the other side, electoral units are as close as possible to the actual communities within the municipality, narrower parts of the municipality. If the territory of a municipality is divided into district, village, or urban communities, the electoral unit consists of one or more such communities or part of such a community. And if the territory of a municipality is not divided into district, village or urban communities, the electoral unit consists of the territory of one or more settlements or part of settlements (Grad 1998, 157; Zakon o lokalnih volitvah, Article 20).

In majority elections, members of the municipal council are elected in electoral unit. In each electoral unit, one or more members of the municipal council can be elected, but never more than three. This exception applies only in municipalities where municipal council has no more than seven members, because these municipalities cannot be divided into electoral units. The territory of a municipality is then considered as one electoral unit in which all members of the municipal council are elected. In municipality as a single electoral unit, representatives of the Italian and Hungarian national communities, and Romani community are also elected (Grad 1998, 157; Zakon o lokalnih volitvah, Article 22–23).

For proportional elections of the municipal council members in municipality, electoral units are formed. These units are formed in such a way that approximately the same number of inhabitants elects each member of the municipal council and in such a way that each electoral unit elects no fewer than five members of the municipal council (Zakon o lokalnih volitvah, Article 20, 22).

### ***3.2.1.4 Candidacy***

Law on Local Elections regulates the procedure of candidacy for majority system and proportional system.

In elections according to the principle of majority, candidates for members of the municipal council are selected by the political parties in the municipality and by voters in the electoral unit. Each political party in the municipality selects candidates for members of the municipal council in each electoral unit. They may select at most the same number of candidates as the number of members of the municipal council elected in the electoral unit. In the selection of candidates only members of the party who have the right to vote and permanent residence in the electoral unit can participate. Candidates are selected by secret ballot. In electoral unit voters can select candidates by signing or at assemblies of voters. Candidates for members of municipal councils in individual electoral units are selected with signatures of a group of at least 15 voters who have permanent residence in the electoral unit. However, each group of voters can only select at most the same number of candidates as the number of members of the municipal council to be elected in electoral unit. Members of the municipal council, representing Italian and Hungarian national communities and Romani community are selected otherwise. These candidates are selected only by voters who are members of these communities. Representatives of the Romani community can also be selected by the Society of Romani in the municipality. Candidates for the municipal council are also selected by a group of at least 15 voters (Zakon o lokalnih volitvah, Article 48–55).

In elections under the principle of proportionality for members of the municipal council list of candidates are selected. Lists of candidates are selected by political parties in the municipality and by voters in electoral units. Each list of candidates has at most the same number of candidates as the number of members of municipal council to be elected in the electoral unit. Each political party in municipality selects one list of candidates in each electoral unit. And voters select list of candidates only by signing. This signature is made by the group of at least 15 voters who have permanent residence in the electoral unit. Each group of voters can only select one list of candidates (Zakon o lokalnih volitvah, Article 65–68).

Important role in candidacy have, especially in the proportional electoral system, political parties. Parties are in fact those who have the right to put candidates for members of

representative bodies. They determine the list of candidates. However, the role of political parties in candidacy in local elections is not as big as is in national elections (Grad 1998, 57). As is in national elections, also in local elections the purpose of political parties is to gain as many seats in municipal council and through its members in as much as possible enforce their political views (Grad 1998, 59).

### ***3.2.1.5 Voting (at polling stations)***

Voting is an act whereby a voter declares their will. Therefore, it is a form of expression of the voter's will on which persons will be elected for members of the representative body. Voters may elect an individual person or all the candidates (list) of political party (Grad 1998, 92–93). This is done by submitting a voice in favor of the candidate or list of candidates for which they wish to be elected. Voting takes place at a particular time and specially designated areas. The municipal electoral commission informs voters about the polling date and the polling stations where they are inscribed in the electoral register (Zakon o lokalnih volitvah, Article 77).

In voting, the principle of the secret ballot and the principle of the personal vote have been enforced. This means that voters vote in person and that no one can vote through authorized person. Only in case when voter cannot vote itself because he has some physical defect or he is illiterate, someone else can help him vote (Grad 1998, 177).

Method of voting (as well as ballot papers) differs in majority elections and proportional elections.

Ballot paper for majority elections contain code of the municipality and code of the electoral unit, order and names and surnames of the candidates by list and voting instructions. Voters vote by circling the number in front of the name of the candidate on the ballot paper for which they are voting. They may vote for at most the same number of candidates as the number of members of the municipal council to be elected in the municipality or electoral unit (Zakon o lokalnih volitvah, Article 82).

Ballot paper for proportional elections is a paper where lists of candidates who are being voted contain code of the municipality and code of the electoral unit, serial number and name of the list of candidates in order from the list of lists of candidates, and also for each list space to write in a preferential vote for individual candidates on the list and voting instructions.

Voters vote by circling the serial number of the list of candidates for which they are voting. In case if they wish to give an individual candidate from the list a preferential vote, they can write in the space set aside for this purpose for the list the serial number of the candidate from the list which they are giving a preferential vote (Zakon o lokalnih volitvah, Article 83).

### ***3.2.1.6 Determination of election results***

With voting, the fundamental function of elections is made, as voters declare their will. However, their will has to be determined. It has to be determined how many votes the individual candidacy got and which candidates are elected for members of the municipal councils. After completion of voting, therefore, the process of determination of election results began. At this stage, it is necessary to determine the will of the voters regarding selection of candidates for members of the municipal councils. Therefore, seats in the municipal council are divided (Grad 1998, 181).

Determination of election results is very easy in the system of relative majority and absolute majority and much more complex is in the proportional system (Grad 1998, 181).

Determining the outcome of voting in elections of members of the municipal council is organizational and time divided into several phases. It takes place in two or three phases, depending on whether there are majority or proportional elections and whether municipality is divided into electoral units. The first stage in any case is determination of election results in every polling station and from here on there are different ways. In majority elections, there is only one more phase, which is done at the level of electoral unit or at the level of the whole municipality. In proportional elections, the second phase is determination of election results in electoral unit and third phase is determination of election results at the level of the whole municipality (Grad 1998, 181).

Results of voting at polling stations are determined by the municipal electoral commission, which has to review all submitted ballots, evaluate their validity, and determine in each of them the will of voters. Electoral committee determines final results of the elections by counting the number of votes given to individual candidate or number of votes given to each list of candidates. When the outcome of the voting at the polling station is known, then seats in the municipal council are divided. This is done by the electoral unit commission or municipality commission (Grad 1998, 182).

If the municipality is divided into electoral units, mandates has to already be shared in electoral unit and because of that electoral commission has to determine election results in the whole electoral unit. In the majority system, division of mandates in electoral unit is final and in proportional system, this is only the first phase of division of mandates followed by a final division of mandates at the level of municipality (Grad 1998, 182–183).

In determining the elections results of majority elections, the electoral commission determines how many votes individual candidates received and which candidates have been elected. In determining the results of proportional elections, where voting is on lists of candidates, the electoral-unit electoral commission or the municipal electoral commission determines the number of votes received by individual lists of candidates, how many mandates each list received and which candidates from individual lists have been elected (Zakon o lokalnih volitvah, Article 85–86). There is also counting of how many preference votes are given to individual candidates and whether it is enough of those votes for individual candidate to be elected. In case if there is no such candidate then candidates are elected according to the order of the list (Grad 1998, 183–184).

### **3.3 LOCAL ELECTIONS IN USA**

»The United States have one of the greatest complexity of local government laws in the world. While municipal systems among many states are similar in policy, method, and practice, there are numerous variations, exceptions, and differences in form and function« (Local US Governments).

Local governments are referred as “creatures of the state” because they are created by the state and may also be abolished or altered by the state (Christensen and Hogen-Esch 2006, 78). Local governments are not mentioned in the U.S. Constitution, their existence and functions were left to the states to figure out (Christensen and Hogen-Esch 2006, 87). Some local governments are created by direct state action, through a charter but most are created because state statutes authorize citizens in a particular geographic area who need or desire local services to form a local unit of government (Local US Governments). Counties and most school districts were created by a state law and others, like cities, exist because communities have successfully petitioned to be recognized and authorized by the state (Dresang and Gosling 2010, 112).

Elections are central to a representative democracy. Voters choose mayors and council members, county commissioners, county judges, sheriffs, tax assessors, and school board members. If local governments are to function effectively, elections must provide talented and capable leaders. However, elections are not just about outcomes, they are also about the process itself (Bowman and Kearney 2006, 75).

### 3.3.1 Types of Local Government

At least five types of local government operate in USA, with each state making its own choice as to which ones it will have, what they will do, and what they will be called. The division of responsibilities among these governments can be complex and varies greatly from state to state (Christensen and Hogen-Esch 2006, 78–79).

U.S. Census Bureau distinguishes between two categories of local government, General Purpose and Special Purpose. General Purpose Governments include Counties, Municipalities and Townships. Special Purpose Governments include Special Districts and School Districts (U.S. Census Bureau 2012).

**Table 3.1: Types of Local Governments**

<b>Type of government</b>	<b>Number in 2007</b>
County	3.033
Municipality	19.492
Townships and Towns	16.519
Special Districts	37.381
School Districts	13.051
<b>Total</b>	<b>89.476</b>

Source: U.S. Census Bureau (2012).

#### 3.3.1.1 Counties

Counties are created by states and have the broadest set of responsibilities. States use counties as the basic administrative units for welfare and environmental programs, courts and law enforcement, registering land, births and deaths, and for holding elections (Dresang and Gosling 2010, 110). They also provide agriculture advice, build and maintain roads, keep records on property transactions, administer voter registration, carry out tax assessment and

collection, and operate the state criminal justice system, with a sheriff, jail, and courts. Counties are the primary local government and are particularly important in rural and unincorporated areas (Christensen and Hogen-Esch 2006, 79).

Counties are the most flexible, locally responsive and creative governments in the US. They are the most diverse, varying impressively in size, population, geography, and governmental structure (History of County Government Part I.).

County governments are found throughout the nation, except for Connecticut, Rhode Island and the District of Columbia. In Louisiana, the county governments are designated as “parish” governments, and in Alaska “borough” governments (U.S. Census Bureau 2012).

### ***3.3.1.2 Municipalities***

The municipality, which includes towns, villages, and cities, are created in response to the needs and demands of people living together (Dresang and Gosling 2010, 111). It has been established to provide general local government for a specific population concentration in a defined area (U.S. Census Bureau 2012). Municipalities are the most ubiquitous and significant form of local government. They operate within counties and are created from county territory through incorporation. Municipalities take over responsibility for police, fire protection, land-use planning, and also handle streets, parks, libraries, sewers, garbage collection, and sometimes other services they choose to provide. Some large, older municipalities also manage state and federal welfare, public health and school programs (Christensen and Hogen-Esch 2006, 80).

### ***3.3.1.3 Towns and Townships***

Term town refers to a classification of a midsize city. In New England and in the Midwest, a town is a form of local government in which the community gathers in the town hall once a year and, as needed, to elect officers, pass ordinances, adopt budgets, and levy local taxes. Townships are geographic entities, not forms of government (Dresang and Gosling 2010, 111).

#### ***3.3.1.4 Special districts***

Special districts are the most numerous but least well known of all local governments. They usually provide only a single or “special” service (Christensen and Hogen-Esch 2006, 80–81). Special districts are created for specific functions in a specific geographic area (Dresang and Gosling 2010, 111) when citizens or governments want a particular job done, but do not want an existing agency either to take on new responsibilities or to provide service to an area outside the boundaries of a given municipality or county (Christensen and Hogen-Esch 2006, 81–82). They do not follow any single pattern of authority or structure. Depending on state statutes, some have elected district heads, and appointed officials run others, some may collect certain fees and taxes, and others may depend on allocations in a state or county budget for their revenues (Dresang and Gosling 2010, 112).

According to U.S. Census Bureau (2012), they provide specific services that are not being supplied by existing general-purpose governments. Most perform a single function and in some other cases, their enabling legislation allows them to provide several, which are usually related types of services. These services range from such basic social needs as hospitals and fire protection, to the less conspicuous tasks of mosquito abatement and upkeep of cemeteries.

Special districts have some advantages. They are a highly flexible way of dealing with regional issues, quicker and far less controversial to establish than multipurpose regional governments and they deal only with a commonly recognized and agreed-upon regional problem, with clearly defined responsibilities and strict fiscal limitations. Doing so, they do not threaten the existing cities and counties and employ only the minimum amount of power deemed necessary to address a specific problem (Christensen and Hogen-Esch 2006, 361).

#### ***3.3.1.5 School districts***

School districts are the largest single type of special district (Dresang and Gosling 2010, 111). The vast majority of school districts operate independently of city or county politics. Their autonomous status is derived from the theory that school governance could be insulated from politics, particularly political parties. Most school districts operate with substantial state oversight in areas such as curriculum, governance, and funding. They are governed by the state education code, often a highly detailed manual in which is determined what a school can and cannot do. A state board of education is often the chief policy-making body, and the state



department of education is in charge of policy implementation, which is under the direction of a state superintendent of public instruction (Christensen and Hogen-Esch 2006, 82–83).

### **3.3.2 County Government**

Counties are the largest jurisdiction within a state. There are two major types of counties: large urban and rural (Magleby et al. 2001, 148). Rural county government is the traditional administrative subdivision of state government, which is responsible for law enforcement, courts, roads, elections, and the recording of legal documents. Urban county governments perform all of the services of traditional rural counties together with many contemporary urban services such as mental health, public health maintenance and public hospitals, care of the aged, recreation, including parks, stadiums, and convention centers, fire protection, water, sewers. They are increasingly providing more facilities and service that benefit an entire region (Dye et al. 2012, 337).

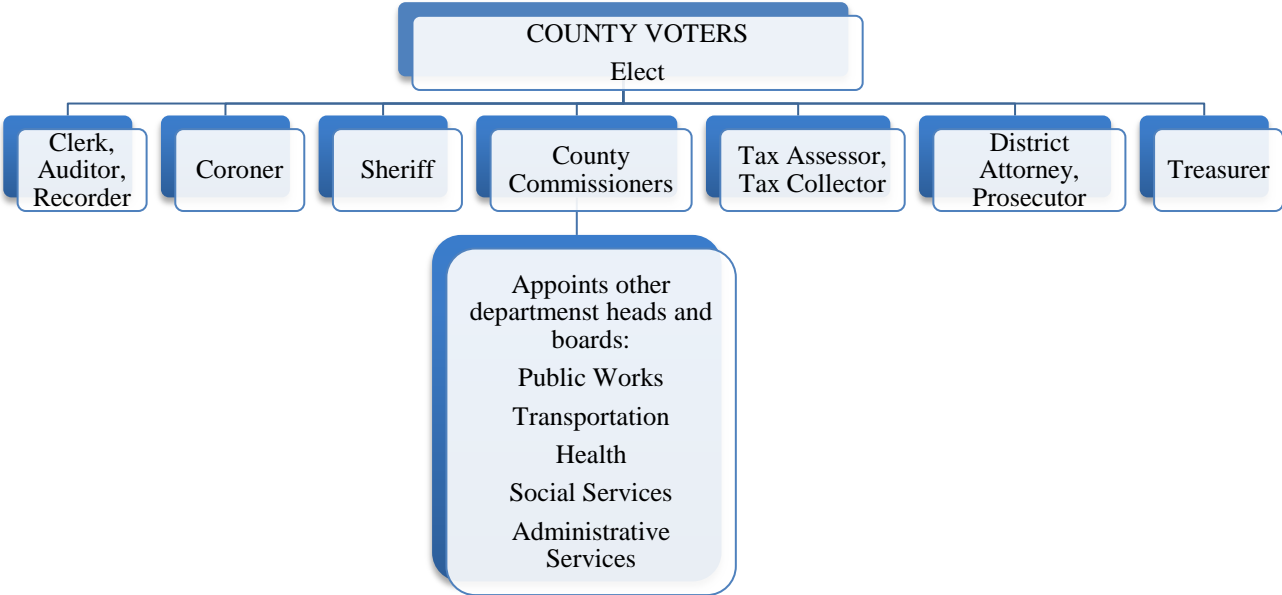
County government is based on an elected governing body, called a board of commissioners or supervisors that is the central policymaking apparatus in the county. It enacts county ordinances, approves the county budget, and appoints other officials (such as the directors of the county public works department and the county parks department). One of the board members is presiding officer. A typical county commission has three or five members and it meets in regular session twice a month. The board is not omnipotent because several others county officials are elected, thereby forming a plural executive structure. These officials include the sheriff, the county prosecutor (or district attorney), the county clerk (or clerk of the court), the county treasurer (or auditor), the county tax assessor, and the coroner. These officials can become powerful political figures in their own right through their control of bureaucratic units (Bowman and Kearney 2006, 248).

As already mentioned, in County Government the most common form and the central governing body is the commission, which concentrates legislative and executive functions into an elected board of commissioners. This elected body exercises legislative and executive powers (Magleby et al. 2001, 149; Smith et al. 2008, 371).

County boards are of two types: the larger boards and the smaller boards. The larger ones are usually composed of township supervisors or other township officials. And the smaller ones

are usually (but not always), elected in at-large elections. At-large elections make it difficult for minorities to be elected to office. Minorities usually win more seats in a district election than in an at-large system (Magleby et al. 2001, 149).

**Figure 3.1: Traditional County Commission Structure**



Source: Dye et. all (2012, 343); Bowman and Kearney (2006, 249).

County government has three basic forms: as already mentioned, *commission*, *council-executive*, and *commission-administrator*. These three forms are differentiated by the degree of separation between legislative and executive powers and who is responsible for the day-to-day administration of the executive side of government (Smith et. all 2008, 371).

*In the commission form, voters elect county commissioners who exercise legislative and executive powers and exercise considerable authority over day-to-day administration. In the council-executive form, voters elect commissioners who exercise legislative powers and independently elect a county executive who wields executive powers and serves as the chief administrator. In the commission-administrator form, voters elect commissioners who retain most legislative and executive powers (Smith et al. 2008, 373).*

There are two criticisms of this type of organization. It has no elected central executive official, like the mayor of a city or the governor of a state, county government is run by a board. In addition, it does not have a single professional administrator to manage county government the way a city manager does in a municipality. Elected officials are responsible for administering major county functions (Bowman and Kearney 2006, 248).

These criticisms have led to reforms of the structure of county government and two alternative county structures have emerged. In first, *county council-elected executive plan*, the voters elect an executive officer in addition to the governing board. The result is a clearer separation between legislative and executive powers, which means a two-branch system of government. The board still has the power to set policy, adopt the budget, and audit the financial performance of the county and the executive's role is to prepare the budget, administer county operations (implement the policies of the board), and appoint department heads. This arrangement is adopted by nearly 400 counties. In second alternative structure, the *council-administrator plan*, the county board hires a professional administrator to run the government. The advantage of this form is that it brings to the county a highly skilled manager with a professional commitment to efficient, effective government. This arrangement is adopted by approximately 1000 counties (Bowman and Kearney 2006, 248–249).

### **3.3.3 Elections in Counties**

#### **3.3.2.1 Voting**

Voting is one of the most important acts of political participation. As Verba, Kay Schlozman, and Henry Brady point out, »casting a ballot is, by far, the most common act of citizenship in any democracy and because election returns are decisive and determining who shall govern« (Saffell and Basehart 2009, 123).

The right to vote has anyone who is over eighteen years old and has resided in a community for a minimum time specified by law (thirty days is common) and who is not confined to prison or a mental institution. However, before citizens can vote they must register to vote. This involves filling out forms usually available at public places such as post offices and libraries or from the county registrar of voters (Christensen and Hogen-Esch 2006, 213–214).

Some citizens may use an absentee ballot or are voting early. In absentee voting, citizens who are going to be away from their designated voting place on Election Day obtain a ballot from the local election office in advance of the election, mark it, and return it by mail. Moreover, in early voting, citizens cast their votes in person in advance of Election Day at voting centers or a central election office (Saffell and Basehart 2009, 129).

### ***3.3.2.2 Candidates***

Candidates for office, for appearing on the ballot, must go through a process defined by law. This involves gathering a prescribed number of signatures of registered voters who live in the candidate's district or city and paying a small filing fee. Candidates are required to live in the district or city they hope to represent (Christensen and Hogen-Esch 2006, 221).

There are two forms of candidates: self-generated candidates and recruited candidates. Self-generated candidates are people who decide on their own that they should run, although sometimes they consult friends or political leaders. Those candidates are most common in homogeneous communities such as suburbs and in places with reformed political structures, weak parties, and weak interest groups. On the other hand, recruited candidates are most common in cities with stronger parties and interest groups, greater diversity, and unreformed electoral system, usually larger. Those candidates are put forward or encouraged to become candidates and campaign for by a party organization, interest group, or clique of community leaders (Christensen and Hogen-Esch 2006, 221).

### ***3.3.2.3 Administering Elections***

Election administrators of counties have a daunting task. They are responsible for registering voters all year long and for determining who is eligible to vote in a particular election, they also have to design the ballots for each election and make sure that all certified candidates are listed and all issues up for decision correctly worded. They must try to make the ballot as simple and as clear as possible. Currently there are no national standards for ballot forms. Election officials also have to provide for ballots in multiple languages (USA Elections in Brief 2007, 53–54).

#### ***3.3.2.4 Election/ Voting system***

In American elections, secret ballots are used. They are printed by the government and marked by the voter in secret. The format of the secret ballot varies from state to state (Hershey 2007, 196).

Because some voters are more likely to select the first name on a list of candidates than they are to select a name listed later, some states randomly assign the order in which candidate's names appear on the ballot. However, in other states, incumbents name or candidates of the majority party appear first (Hershey 2007, 196).

American voters are asked to elect large number of local officials - the long ballot. Among large number of candidates voters choose a candidate, push a button or pull a lever, and that candidate gets their vote (Hershey 2007, 197).

A peculiarity of the American voting system is primary elections, which are a nominating election in which the field of candidates that will run in the general elections are chosen (Types of elections, 1). Informally, party leaders and activists of the party organization play a large role in deciding which candidates will run for office under the party's label. Voters then decide who is going to be on a ballot for general elections. In a general election, voters can make the final choice between the two parties' nominees for each office (Hershey 2007, 157).

Primaries are divided into two types: closed and open. Voters who can participate in a closed primary for a particular are those who are registered in that party. An open primary, on the other hand, does not require party membership (Bowman and Kearney 2006, 76).

For local government (county offices), nonpartisan elections are common. Under this election system, all candidates for local offices compete in a first election and, if there is no majority winner, the top two vote-getters run in a second election (runoff) (Bowman and Kearney 2006, 80). Runoffs then culminate in the general elections through which winning candidates become officeholders. In races where more than two candidates compete, the leading vote getter may not receive a majority of the votes cast, but instead may receive a plurality (Bowman and Kearney 2006, 77).

With a plurality voting system (first-past-the-post or winner-takes-all), a candidate who receives the most votes wins the elections (Fesnic 2008).

### ***3.3.2.5 Counting the Votes***

Counting of votes takes place on election day after the polls are closed, so that no official information can be released about which candidate is ahead or behind (USA Elections in Brief 2007, 57).

As soon as the last voter has voted, sealed ballot boxes from each polling place is sent by the election judge to a central vote counting facility, usually a government office. In counties, these are county courthouses. To make sure the count is fair, at the central counting facility, certified observers from the political parties or candidates watch the actual vote counting (Longley 2014).

In America, *paper ballots*, *punch card ballots* and *computerized ballots* are in use. In areas where paper ballots are in use, election officials manually read each ballot and add up the number of votes in each race. To ensure accuracy, two or more election officials will read each ballot. In cases if it is unclear how the voter intended to vote, the election judge either decides how the voter intended to vote, or declares that the voter's vote for that race will not be counted. Where punch card ballots are in use, elected officials open each ballot box, manually count the number of ballots cast and run the ballots through a mechanical punch card reader. Software and the card reader then records the votes in each race and prints out totals. If the total number of ballot cards, which are read by the card reader, does not match the manual count, the election judge can order the ballots are recounted. With the newer, fully computerized voting systems, which include optical scan and direct recording electronic systems, the vote totals are transmitted automatically to the central counting facility. These devices may also record votes on removable media (hard disks or cassettes), which are then transported to the central counting facility for counting (Longley 2014).

### **3.4 POLITICAL PARTIES**

#### **3.4.1 Definitions of Political parties**

Political parties were first developed in Europe and North America in 19<sup>th</sup> century as formation of modern and modernizing political systems. In political science, there is no uniform definition of political party. Definitions of it are historically and culturally conditioned (Fink-Hafner 2001, 12).

Max Weber defined political parties as voluntary associations whose supreme goal is to control the resources of the state (power, jobs, money) through their leaders (Ehrke 2010, 2).

»A party is a group organized to nominate candidates, to try to win political power through elections and to promote ideas about public policies« (Hershey 2007, 6).

Political parties are organizations, which help the candidates to enter the representative bodies and in return for the success, candidates help this organization by expressing loyalty and act in accordance with the expectations of the political party (Haček 2004a, 64).

Panbianco (1988, 5) defined political party as »an organized group, an association, oriented toward political goals, which attempts by its actions to maintain the status quo or to change the existing social, economic and political conditions by means of influencing achievement or conquest of political power«.

Political party is an association of a individuals who have similar (ideological) position for ideas on where and how their society or country should evolve. They are connecting with the intention of achieving their views and ideas using the electoral process, which helps them win the legislative and executive branch of government (Ferfila 2008, 365).

In selecting the candidates and program policies, a political party has to gain a strong support of voters (Ferfila 2008, 372).

Each political party has in a particular political space its own ideas and approaches in regulating relations between state and society and its own role in the country (Ware 1996, 17).

The American parties tend to concentrate on election activities, whereas parties in Europe have been more committed to spreading ideologies and keeping their elected officials faithful to the party's program (Hershey 2007, 2).

### **3.4.2 Political parties in Slovenia**

Slovenia has a multi-party system. However, the Constitution does not define parties (Lukšič 2001, 38). Direct functioning of political parties in Slovenia is governed by the Law on Political Parties.

In Article 1 of Law on Political Parties, a political party (hereinafter: Party) is an association of citizens who pursue their political goals determined in the program of the Party by democratically shaping the political will of citizens and by proposing candidates at the elections for the National Assembly, for the presidents of the Republic, and for the local community bodies.

A Party is incorporated by no less than 200 adult citizens of the Republic of Slovenia who sign a statement on incorporating the Party (Zakon o političnih strankah, Article 4).

Every Party has its own statute, its own program, and also a body of representatives of all Party members and an executive body of the Party (Zakon o političnih strankah, Article 19, 20).

A Party acquires funds from: membership fees, contributions by private citizens or legal entities and natural persons, property income, gifts, bequests, budget, and income profit of a company, owned by the Party (Zakon o političnih strankah, Article 21).

#### ***3.4.2.1 Political parties at local level***

Political parties in the local elections, like in the parliamentary elections, aim to achieve the best possible election result through nominations of their candidates in election of the mayor, the representative body or bodies of local, rural and urban communities, and actively participate in the campaign (Haček 2004b, 27).



The main factors that affect the success of each political party in a unit of local self-government are certainly the degree of party organization in the local government unit, the degree of visibility of the party and the (in)effectiveness of the election campaign (Haček 1999, 221).

Political parties at the local level are no longer the only channel for expression and creation of political will, particularly because at the local level as the competition to parties are appearing different organizations and associations of citizens.

Therefore, at the local level the personality of the candidate is significantly more important than at the national level (Grad 2003, 11).

At local elections, much larger number of party independent candidates and candidates supported by various local associations appears than at national elections. Independent candidates are also usually quite successful in local elections (Grad 2003, 11).

The importance and role of political parties at local elections is significantly lower than in national elections. Additionally, the political parties at the local level are different in well-organized, influential environments, as well as candidates for local voters may be more or less known (Grad 2003, 12).

»A political party that is at the national level highly unsuccessful and unknown and may be at the national level not at all organized, may get in some local communities even an absolute majority of electoral votes or vice versa« (Haček 2007, 34).

**Table 3.2: Presentation of most commonly political parties represented at local level in Slovenia**

	Political Party							
	Slovenian Democratic Party	Slovenian People's Party	Social Democrats	Democratic Party of Slovenian Pensioners	Liberal Democracy of Slovenia	New Slovenia	Zares – Social Liberals	Slovenian National Party
<b>Founded</b>	11 January 1989	12 May 1988	29 May 1993	30 May 1991	12 March 1994	4 August 2000	6 October 2007	17 March 1991
<b>Description</b>	Conservative political party.	Rural-based conservative political party.	Centre-left political party.	Democratic retiree's party.	Centre-left liberal political party.	Christian People's political party.	Social liberal political party.	Extreme nationalist political party.
<b>Ideas</b>	Creating a new quality of life (more democracy, respect for human rights and mutual respect, economic efficiency, freedom and solidarity); A society of free and active individuals who accept and defend free market, while facilitates its social consequences; Governance for the common good.	Political action in favor of the Slovenian nation, society and the state; The development of democracy, rule of law and freedom based on Christian, cultural traditions and values; The development of the economy; Traditional values based on respect for the person, family, home, country, nature and work; Aligned regional development and preservation of natural and cultural heritage; Protection of the environment and rational management of natural resources; Social justice and equal opportunities for enforcement of interest for all citizens.	Respect for human life; A secure, peaceful, economically prosperous, fair and cohesive society; the welfare state; A society that lives in harmony with nature and environment; The rule of law; Equal opportunities for involvement in politics for both sexes; Regionalism and the development of local self-government; Integration and cooperation with political actors at home, in Europe and worldwide.	Respecting Constitution, values of the national liberation struggle and independence; Human dignity and the protection of his rights and freedoms; A sovereign, legal and social state; Social partnership and dialogue; Social and health security of citizens and pension and invalidity care; Protection of the environment; Development of cultural identity and pluralism of cultural expression; Public health and public education; Successful and polycentric-oriented economic development; The development and strengthening of local self-government in municipalities; Employees rights to participation, including the right to participate in profits; Economically successful and socially fair state and human relationships.	The rule of law; Ensuring human rights and freedoms and human dignity; Sovereignty of Slovenian country; Personal, ideological, spiritual and political tolerance; Market economy; Social state; Freedom of ownership and entrepreneurship; Protection of the environment in all areas of life, especially eco-oriented economy; Consolidation of ecological consciousness.	Peace and integrity of creation for future generations; Country based on individual freedom and the rule of law; A healthy and successful economy, arranged towns and countryside because this is a precondition for prosperity of the country and for the welfare of citizens.	Increasing the competitiveness of economy and promoting entrepreneurship; Encouraging creativity, knowledge and scientific and technological development; Responsive social politics and strengthening of social capital; Sustainable management of natural resources; Responsible public policy and management of the country.	A sovereign and independent Slovenia; Economically strong Slovenia; Qualitative and professional and free public education; Provision of employment; Providing social security for all Slovenian citizens; Providing adequate health care for all Slovenian citizens; Rational management of natural resources; Position of Slovenian farmer; Regulation of conditions of the judiciary; Ecological direction and control of the economy; Defense Policy; Liberal attitude towards family and religious belief; Culturally developed society; Preservation of the national heritage; Respect and proper evaluation of the national liberal struggle; Change of state symbols.
<b>Organization at the local level</b>	698 municipal councilors	415 municipal councilors	409 municipal councilors	282 municipal councilors	259 municipal councilors	197 municipal councilors	84 municipal councilors	42 municipal councilors

Source: Internet sites of Political parties; Kontelj (2010).

### **3.4.3 Political parties in USA**

The United States are one of the few democracies with a two-party system (Hershey 2007, 26). In two-party system, two major political parties dominate voting in nearly all elections at every level of government and as a result, all or nearly all elected officials are members of one of the two major parties. In this case, one of the two parties typically holds a majority in the legislature (majority party) while the other is the minority party (Two-party system).

In the United States there is political competition between the two major parties, Democratic and Republican. The reason for two-party system in America rather than a multiple-party system, as in many European democracies, is the result of a number of factors involving the election system, public law, and party behavior (Hetherington and Keefe 2007, 57).

The most important part of the American party is its electoral role. In comparison with European, American parties do not have an official membership. There are no membership fees and membership cards (Ferfila et. all 2003, 13).

Party as an organization is the establishment of a federal office, permanent employees, rules and budget (Ferfila et. all 2003, 13).

In recent decades, four characteristic of the American party life are shown: 1.) Partisan loyalty of citizens has reduced; 2.) Party organization has strengthened and become more efficient (this is particularly true for Republicans and a little less for Democrats); 3.) Profiles of both parties are clearer (conservatives are arranged around Republican and liberals around the Democratic Party); 4.) Both parties are financed more than ever (Republicans gather 4–5 times more money than Democrats) (Ferfila et. all 2003, 15).

Parties in America are not strongly pragmatic, and have usually lacked most of the ideological coherence typical of many European parties (Bowles 1998, 20). They are also quasi-public institutions and not private organizations as they are in most of Western Europe. They are subject to regulation in public law passed by State Legislatures (Bowles 1998, 19, 35).

**Table 3.3.: Democratic Party vs. Republican Party**

	<b>Democratic Party</b>	<b>Republican Party</b>
<b>Founded in</b>	1824	1854
<b>Philosophy</b>	Liberal	Conservative
<b>Core Beliefs</b>	It is responsibility of government to care for all individuals, even if it means giving up some individual rights and/or subordinating enterprise and initiative.	Each person is responsible for his or her own place in society. Government should enable each person the ability to secure the benefits of society for themselves, their families and for those who are unable to care for themselves.
<b>Economic ideas</b>	The economy is too complicated for individuals to navigate alone. Business decisions should be guided by government officials and in the best interest of labor unions.	Free enterprise has brought economic growth and innovations that have made this country great. Government should help stimulate a business environment where people are free to use their talents.
<b>Taxes and Government Spending</b>	Government knows what is best for individuals. Federal bureaucrats better understand the needs of a community than a locally elected council and the federal government should define the tax burden necessary to meet its obligations, because this is too complicated for individuals to understand.  Favor minimum wages and progressive taxation – higher tax rates for higher income brackets.	Cut government spending and eliminate government waste. Individuals should control both their own and their government’s pocketbook - people should authorize all tax increases.  Taxes should not be increased for anyone (including the wealthy) and that wages should be set by the free market.
<b>National Defense, Military ideas</b>	Scaling down military and decreased spending.  True security comes from negotiations with foreign nations, even if they harbor or have financial ties to terrorist groups.	Strong national defense and increased spending.  Defending the nation against its enemies must be fundamental commitment of the federal government and this requires the best-trained, best-equipped and most effective military in the world.
<b>Education</b>	Tests burden teachers and waste classroom instruction time. Children should be forced to stay in schools that fail to teach the basic skills. Literacy should be left for unions to define rather than local PTA’s or other parent groups.	All students, regardless of race or socio-economic background, should become proficient in both reading and math. Schools should be held accountable for student progress through testing, which can be used to identify individual children’s needs.
<b>Immigration</b>	A fundamental right for the US is to provide unconditional aid and comfort to the citizens of other nations. Open borders, unconditional amnesty and the laws of this nation are curtailed to provide non-emergency assistance and legal forms of identification to foreign nationals.	Immigrants have fled violence and oppression searching for peace and freedom. Immigration policies should be followed and borders should be secured because this is vital to ensuring the safety of US citizens.
<b>Gay marriage</b>	Support	Oppose
<b>Abortion</b>	Should not be made illegal.	Should not be legal.
<b>Death penalty</b>	Support for the death penalty is strong.	A large majority support the death penalty.
<b>Social and human ideas</b>	Based on community and social responsibility.	Based on individual rights and justice.

Source: Democrat vs. Republican; Differences between Republicans and Democrats.

American parties serve many functions:

- Serving as intermediaries between citizens and government;
- Nominating candidates for office;
- Contesting elections;
- Organizing government;
- Providing accountability;
- Managing conflict (Bibby and Schaffner 2008, 5–6).

The major American political parties have three interacting parts. These are:

- the party organization, which includes party leaders and the many activists who work for party causes and candidates;
- the party in government, composed of the men and women who run for public office on the party's label and who hold public office;
- the party in the electorate, or those citizens who express an attachment to the party (Hershey 2007, 7–8).

In American political order, parties do not have the field to themselves. They must compete for political influence with candidate organizations, campaign consultants, interest groups, and the mass media (Bibby and Schaffner 2008, 13).

#### ***3.4.3.1 Political parties at local level***

The main unit of local party organization in most states is the county because large numbers of important local officials are elected at the county level. Party organizations exist in almost all of the nation's counties. These are the parties "grassroots", where a lot of the activity of party volunteers takes place (Hershey 2007, 50).

In most areas, counties are divided into smaller units called precincts. Each precinct has a party leader who conducts the party's activities in that area. Party leader is chosen at local party meetings, primary elections or by higher party authorities. Party leader's most important jobs are registering new voters, going door-to-door to tell potential supporters about the party's candidates, and getting voters to the polls on Election Day (Hershey 2007, 50).

Most county parties are not bureaucratic or hierarchically run organizations. Leaders and workers are part-time volunteers; there is no permanent headquarters or paid staff. Their activity is not a year-round phenomenon, but rather cyclical and concentrated around campaign season (Bibby and Schaffner 2008, 118–119).

The major parties of United States are locally based and very pragmatic in their policy preferences. Their first priority is not the pursuit of a policy or program but winning office. The parties are idiosyncratic in their behavior and are focusing on local issues to gain offices. The use of the county as a unit for political parties may have saved counties in several states from being abolished (Bingham 1991, 38).

### **3.5 ELECTION CAMPAIGN**

#### **3.5.1 Definitions of election campaign**

The Campaign is a sequence of operations that should have a specific result. It covers the planning, strategy, competition, winners and losers (Ferfila 2002, 186).

Under the Slovenian Elections and Referendum Campaign Act, the election campaign is defined as all political propaganda messages and other forms of political propaganda intended to influence the voter's decisions when voting on candidates for the National Assembly, the President of the Republic and members of municipal councils and mayors. The election campaign includes election propaganda in the mass media, placing of posters, and election rallies (Zakon o volilni in referendumski kampanji 2007, Article 1).

From political science perspective, an election campaign is political activity associated with acquisition of election votes and thus the election processes and the elections (Kustec Lipicer 2007, 107).

### **3.5.2 Election Campaign Plan/ Strategy**

According to Grey (in Burton and Shea 2010, 25) a campaign plan is meant to “bring order out of that chaos we call the democratic process.”

»A campaign plan describes what is to be done, when it should be done, who should be doing it, and how the work will be completed« (Baudry and Scheaffer in Burton and Shea 2010, 25).

Campaign plan is a schedule of work that divides the tasks among all participants (Ferfila 2002, 191). It can also help maintain big-picture-perspective on routine electoral volatility (Burton and Shea 2010, 31).

Fundamental elements of the campaign plan are (Ferfila 2002, 190-191; Burton and Shea 2010, 27--8):

1. basic information (district and geography profile; candidate and opposition research);
2. characteristics of the audience (summaries of key campaign topics; plan and schedule of public opinion polls; the interest of voters);
3. strategy and tactics (campaign themes; entire time frame; schedule of paid media contacts with voters; media activities of the candidate or political party; activity of the candidate);
4. resources and staff (financial resources; plan and schedule for the collection of money; staff available; organizational requirements).

The most important element of electioneering is the campaign strategy. This is a framework for using the candidate, people, and money available to the best possible effect (Christensen and Hogen-Esch 2006, 226).

When designing a strategy, campaigners must consider a number of important variables: the nature of the district and its voters, the ballot format and voting system, the type of office being sought, the candidate’s skills and background and those of the opponent, the availability of money and other resources, the party organizations and other organized groups in the constituency. When campaign’s strengths and weaknesses are identified, they must choose how to spend their scarce time and money (Hershey 2007, 201).

### 3.5.3 Election Campaign Mechanisms/Techniques

Political parties have access to the electoral body in different ways and using different tools, which are adapted to the social context, characteristics of the target population and spirit of time, because the development of information and communication technologies opens many new channels between political parties and voters (Deželan, Krašovec and Kovačič 2010, 55).

Ware (in Kustec Lipicer 2007, 113) distinguishes between four key methods, which today political parties or candidates use in their election campaign. He explains the personal and impersonal contacts between candidates and voters, with four different possible types of contacts and mechanisms used: *intensive personal contacts* (pressure on friends and relatives), *non-intense personal contacts* (various candidates speeches, meetings/gatherings, door to door), *impersonal contacts reported through printed media* (brochures, flyers, posters), and *impersonal contacts via electronic media* (telephones, radio, television, internet). Political parties try to achieve strategic goals and thus maximize their success by using all these types of mechanisms.

Today, the largest share of campaign communication happens through the media. Only a minority of most voters directly interacts with candidates during a campaign, though new techniques and technologies increase the possibility for personalized contact (De Vreese 2010, 119).

In case of campaigns for local elections, various authors state that for its purposes direct campaign mechanism (direct contact between voters and candidates) are used (Kustec Lipicer 2007, 113).

Maarek (in Kustec Lipicer 2007, 113) highlights the importance of permanent and scheduled availability of candidates to office hours in their offices because this is what brings extremely high quality communication between politicians and voters.

As effective mechanisms of election campaigns, Whietely, Seyd and Billingham (in Kustec Lipicer 2007, 114) also described hanging election posters, gaining votes via phone and home visits, distribution of leaflets, organizing the election stands, and also search for financial support.



According to Dresang and Gosling (2010, 201) campaigning consists of the following activities: 1.) Having the candidate go door to door to meet voters personally and get their support; 2.) Speaking before small groups and major organizations to seek their support and perhaps formal endorsement; 3.) Establishing websites and blogs to post information about the candidate and his or her positions; 4.) Soliciting funds from supporters, including individuals and organizations, through mailings, phone calls, events, and the Internet; 5.) Getting media attention through press conferences, interviews, press releases, rallies and other media events, paid advertisements, and debates with other candidates; 6.) Securing grass-roots visibility through bumper stickers, pins, brochures, and yard signs; 7.) Mailing to specific groups, letters or brochures that address their particular concerns; 8.) Encouraging supporters to vote. This includes identifying potential supporters through surveys, helping them register to vote, reminding them to vote, and, in some cases, driving voters to and from the polls; 9.) Attacking the opponent and trying to generate a negative image of the opponent personally and politically.

Candidates who are behind in the polls often rely heavily on negative campaigning because it lowers the level of support of their opponent. This is not pointing out differences on issues, it is attacking, often with exaggerations, lies, or irrelevant statements, the personal traits and/or behavior of an individual (Dresang and Gosling 2010, 202, 204).

#### **3.5.4. Election campaign organization (volunteers and paid professionals)**

Candidates are not the only people involved in the campaign. One of the first things a candidate needs to do is to put together an organization (Christensen and Hogen-Esch 2006, 223).

The heart of the campaign are volunteers. Candidates draw on family, friends, individual supporters. Volunteers staff the headquarters, address mailings, canvas door to door, and staff phone banks. Some also spend their time recruiting other volunteers, working from the candidate's Christmas card list or membership rosters of churches, neighborhood groups, labor unions, or other sympathetic groups (Christensen and Hogen-Esch 2006, 223).

According to Fisher and others (2010, 8–9), political parties have always relied on party members to participate in campaigns. They provide a source of free, volunteer labour, which

engage in doorstep canvassing, delivering leaflets, taking numbers at polling stations, 'knocking-up' voters on polling day. Without party members, it is almost impossible to run a traditional campaign focused on identifying supporters and mobilizing them on polling day.

Key staff, such as the campaign manager who is essential, must also be selected. They must be planners and strategists, working intimately with the candidates (Christensen and Hogen-Esch 2006, 223).

The larger the campaign, the more staff is needed. Staff includes an office manager, volunteer coordinator, fundraiser, scheduler, media specialist, and sometimes a press person, although the manager usually has this function. Many of these jobs can be done by volunteers, but paid professionals are more and more common in local campaigns (Christensen and Hogen-Esch 2006, 223).

Fisher and Denver also argued that a campaign, which involved relatively few members, is likely to be less successful than the one that can call upon a large volunteer force (Fisher et. al 2010, 8–9).

As modern campaigns have become increasingly professionalized and cost-intensive, while the reservoirs of volunteers appear to have become depleted, the state in many democracies has intervened by providing direct financial support to parties and candidates (van Biezen 2010, 79). Precisely because of these changes very often present, election campaigns are referred as highly professional, which means that for designers and operators of election campaign are instead of employees and volunteers in political parties formed and hired special groups of experts for public relations and marketing (Krašovec 2005, 22–23).

With the professionalization of campaigns that work was taken by special professional agencies which do their job professionally and they are generally nonideological (Kustec Lipicer 2007, 113). Professionalization of campaigning can be found in the increase of campaign personnel, more sophisticated targeting of key voters, increased expenditure on publicity, and growing use of campaign techniques (de Vreese 2010, 121).

New technologies in election campaigns and hiring of special expertise for their design and implementation caused expansion in the use of financial resources (Katz in Krašovec 2005,

23). Therefore, professionals replaced volunteers. In the U.S., management of campaigns and the performance of various services related to election campaigns has become a real industry (Ferfila 2002, 187). Today (in the United States) this is no longer a hobby but a serious profession and political advisers are the ones that maintain close ties with candidate and create local election strategies from their offices (Ferfila 2002, 189).

Necessary players in any election campaign therefore are consultants for campaign, public opinion researches, television producers and directors, fundraisers, speech writers, and marketing staff (Sabato and Shea in Ferfila 2002, 189).

### **3.5.5 Financial resources of Election Campaign**

Money is the resource that dictates the size of electoral headquarters, election messages and voting technology (Ferfila 2002, 188).

The most common and also the most important methods of gaining financial resources are contributions of physical and legal persons, memberships and contributions from members and governmental subsidies (Krašovec 2000, 131–142; Krašovec 2005, 23).

Several authors believe that larger financial resources invested in the election campaign have a positive effect on the election results of political party or candidate. Financial resources are therefore an important factor for larger electoral success because more financial resources invested in election campaign increase the chance of presentation in public and recognition of political parties or candidate to voters (Krašovec 2005, 26–27).

Studies have shown that campaign costs have increased dramatically. Campaign costs have risen to such an extent that candidates with limited resources are seriously disadvantaged in the electoral process. Also enormous potential for corruption and abuse in the case of huge sums of money raised and spent for political purposes is showed (Hetherington and Keefe 2007, 114–118).

In USA, money that is donated directly to a federal candidate is called hard money and is regulated by the federal laws that limit the amount of money that a person can donate to a candidate. This is strictly monitored by the Federal Election Commission. On the other hand,

soft money is not limited by federal laws and allows donors to contribute much larger amounts of money to a candidate's party than to the candidate himself (What is Soft Money). The role of soft money was increased by McCain-Feingold (Bipartisan) Campaign Finance Reform Act (2002).

The Slovenian Elections and Referendum Campaign Act (2007, article 15) defines campaign expenses as the expenses required for carrying out the elections campaigns for an individual list of candidates or for an individual candidate. These expenses are: expenses of designing, printing, posting and removing of posters, expenses of designing and publishing of pre-elections campaign communications in public media, expenses of organization and conducting pre-elections meetings, expenses of designing, printing, reproduction and distribution of pre-elections documents, costs of opening, keeping and closing a special transaction account, other related expenses incurred exclusively by the elections campaign actions. The Slovenian Elections and Referendum Campaign Act (2007, Article 23) also says that the costs of the elections campaign for elections into the representative body of the local community shall not exceed 0.40 EUR per eligible voter in the local community.

Candidates in USA raise their campaign funds from five main sources: from individuals, political action committees (PACs), political parties (including the party in government), the candidates' own resources, and public (tax) funds (Hershey 2007, 225).

## **4 SLOVENIAN ELECTION SYSTEM VS. AMERICAN ELECTION SYSTEM**

### **4.1 AMERICAN COUNTY GOVERNMENT VS. SLOVENIAN MUNICIPALITY**

The form of local self-government differs between America and Slovenia. Slovenian municipalities are the sole local government. The authority and work assigned to US counties, cities, townships, and school boards are unified into a single government in Slovenia: the municipality. Slovenian municipal councils, which feature multiple parties and 7 to 45 members, based on population, possess an independent legislative function. US Counties, on the other hand, are a general-purpose government, but are not the only form of local government in the US. In addition, Cities and towns are general purpose governments. Many special-purpose districts, such as school district, have substantial authority over a single policy area, including some shared and overlapping powers (Aguiar 2012, 26–27).

Common to both county and municipal government is that both are creatures of the states and subject to the states control (Aguiar 2012, 27).

Table 4.1 below shows a comparison of form, duties and functions, legislation, bodies, and number of American county government and Slovenian municipality.

**Table 4.1: County Government vs. Municipality**

	<b>County Government</b>	<b>Municipality</b>
<b>Form</b>	County is the basic territorial division within a state and also the primary governing entity below the state government (Clark 2004, 25).	Municipality is the basic self-governing local communities which in accordance with the Constitution and laws, independently regulate and perform the matters, duties, and functions vested in it by law (Zakon o lokalni samoupravi, Article 1 and 2).
<b>Duties and functions</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• record keeping (births, deaths, land transfers, etc.);</li> <li>• administration of elections (including voter registration);</li> <li>• construction and maintenance of local and rural roads;</li> <li>• zoning;</li> <li>• building code enforcement;</li> <li>• law enforcement;</li> <li>• some also share responsibility with the state (providing social benefits for low-income residents; monitoring and enforcing environmental regulations and building codes, overseeing child welfare; performing judicial functions) (Clack 2004, 25).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• manage the assets of municipality;</li> <li>• provide the conditions for the economic development of the municipality and in accordance with the law carry out tasks in the areas of catering, tourism and agriculture;</li> <li>• plan spatial development, carry out tasks in the areas of encroachments in physical space and the construction of facilities in accordance with the law, and shall ensure the public service of the management of building land;</li> <li>• create the conditions for the construction of housing and provide for an increase in the rent/social welfare housing fund;</li> <li>• regulate, manage and provide for local public services within its jurisdiction;</li> <li>• promote the services of social welfare for pre-school institutions, for the basic welfare of children and the family, and for socially threatened, disabled and elderly people;</li> <li>• provide for protection of the air, soil and water sources, for protection against noise and for collection and disposal of waste, and perform other activities related to protection of the environment;</li> <li>• regulate and maintain water supply and power supply facilities;</li> <li>• create conditions for adult education, important for the development of the municipality and for the quality of life of its population;</li> <li>• promote activities related to upbringing and education, information and documentation, associations and other activities on its territory;</li> <li>• promote cultural/artistic creativity, ensure accessibility to cultural programmes, ensure library activity for general education purposes, and shall be responsible for preserving cultural heritage in its territory in accordance with the law;</li> <li>• promote the development of sports and recreation;</li> <li>• construct, maintain and regulate local public roads, public ways, recreational and other public areas; regulate traffic in the municipality and perform tasks of municipal public order;</li> <li>• exercise supervision of local events;</li> <li>• organise municipal services and local police, and ensure order in the municipality;</li> <li>• provide for fire safety and organise rescue services;</li> <li>• guarantee extrajudicial settlement of disputes;</li> <li>• organise the performance of funeral and burial services;</li> <li>• determine offences and fines for offences violating municipal regulations and inspect and supervise the implementation of municipal regulations and other acts, which it shall adopt to regulate matters falling under its jurisdiction, unless otherwise determined by law;</li> <li>• adopt the statute of the municipality and other general acts;</li> <li>• organise municipal administration;</li> <li>• regulate other local matters of public interest (Zakon o lokalni samoupravi, Article 21).</li> </ul>
<b>Number</b>	3.033	211
<b>Legislation</b>	Each state constitution provides for the establishment and functions of local governmental entities (Clack 2004, 25).	The Law on Local-Self Government; Law on the Financing of Municipalities.
<b>Bodies</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Board of Commissioners</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Municipal Council</li> <li>○ Mayor</li> <li>○ Supervisory Board</li> </ul>

## 4.2 VOTING SYSTEM AT LOCAL ELECTIONS

In USA, voting is a two-step process. Because there is no national list of eligible voters, citizens must first qualify by becoming registered. Citizens register to vote where they live (USA Elections in Brief 2007, 51). In Slovenia, on the other hand, a permanent Record of voting rights is used. When a Slovenian citizen reaches 18 years of age, he gains the right to vote and is automatically included in the Record of voting rights. Permanent Record of voting rights is kept in the Registry of permanent residents in the Administrative Unit and in the Central Population Register of the Republic of Slovenia. The Record of voting rights is used for every election and voting, which is drawn from the Electoral Rolls for all polling stations in the Country (Volilna pravica).

In Slovenia, the organization of local elections is set in the Law on Local Elections and applies for all municipalities of Slovenia, while every local government in America has varying degrees of independence in how they organize elections within their jurisdictions (USA Elections in Brief, 3).

In Slovenia, municipal councilors are elected under the principle of majority (majority elections) or under the principle of proportionality (proportional elections), depending on how many councilors are elected to the municipal council. If municipal council has less than 12 members than there are majority elections, if municipal council has 12 or more members than there are proportional elections (Zakon o lokalnih volitvah, Article 9). In Posavje in municipalities Krško, Brežice, Sevnica and Radeče, for the election of municipal councilors, they use proportional elections, while in municipalities Kostanjevica na Krki and Bistrica ob Sotli, they use majority elections.

In America, County Commissioners are elected under the principle of plurality, which means, that the candidate who receives a plurality of the vote or the greatest number of votes in the given voting district, wins the elections (USA Elections in Brief, 19).

In Slovenia, elections to the municipal council are every 4 years thus councilors have a 4-year term. In America, elections to the board of commissioners are in even-numbered years, many also hold elections in off-years or in odd-numbered years (US Elections in Brief, 7). These elections are not every four years like elections in Slovenia. Although elections to the board of commissioners are not every four years, each commissioner who is elected has a 4-

year term on a staggered basis, which means that all commissioners are not selected at the same time (from What is staggered term?) In America the whole board of commissioners is never elected at the same time. Unlike in Slovenia, where the whole Municipal Council, every four years, goes on elections.

Another peculiarity of the American voting system is primary elections. Candidates are not determined by the leadership of the political party, as is customary in Slovenia and most democracies, but they are chosen by the voters. In the U.S., therefore, primary elections are held in political parties, where more candidates can compete. Then in general elections voters decide between two candidates who are winners of the primary elections compete (Toplak 2000, 18).

#### **4.3 PARTY SYSTEM**

The American political system has always been a two-party system, only rarely has a third party appeared (Ferfila 2003, 15). In USA there is political competition between the two major parties, Democratic and Republican (Hetherington and Keefe 2007, 57). Today, Republican and Democratic parties dominate the American political process. This two major parties control the presidency, the Congress, the governorships, and the state legislatures (USA Elections in Brief 2007, 10–11). Thus, these two major parties organize and dominate the government at the national, state, and local levels (USA Elections in Brief, 18).

The Slovenian political system, on the other hand, has always been multi-party system. After the last parliamentary elections in 2011 in Slovenian Parliament (National Assembly) 7 political parties is represented.

In the tables in Appendix A and B, which show the results of the last local elections in Slovenia (tables 9.1, 9.2, 9.3, 9.4, 9.5 and 9.6) and in USA (table 9.7), we can see that for Slovenia, a multi-party system is typical. From 8 to 16 different political parties participate in elections in Slovenia and on the other hand we can see that for USA two-party system is typical, where only two political parties participate in elections; in some counties there were also independent candidates.



American Political parties compared to Slovenian Political parties do not have formal membership (no membership fees and membership cards). An American party as an organization is an institution with federal offices, permanent employees, rules and their own budget (Ferfila et. all 2003, 13). A Slovenian party compared to the American party does not have permanent employees. The Slovenian Party has its own Statute and Program and acquires funds from membership fees, contributions by private citizens or legal entities and natural persons, property income, gifts, bequests, the Government budget, and income profit of a company, owned by the Party (Zakon o političnih strankah).

Parties in USA are less ideologically cohesive and pragmatic than parties in Slovenia. American candidates who compete for offices therefore have opportunity to draw their own political program, which is independent of the party's ideology (Bowles 1998, 20; USA Elections in Brief, 18).

Common to both, Slovenian and American political parties at the local level, is that leaders and workers are mostly volunteers and they do not have permanent headquarters or paid staff. Their activities are usually concentrated around elections.

Political parties are an essential component of every democracy, Slovenian and American. A common feature for both Slovenian and American political parties is that »by competing in elections and mobilizing citizens behind particular visions of society as well as through their performance in the legislature, parties offer citizens meaningful choices in governance, avenues for political participation, and opportunities to shape their country's future« (Political parties).

## **5 SLOVENIAN ELECTION CAMPAIGN VS. AMERICAN ELECTION CAMPAIGN AT THE LOCAL ELECTIONS**

### **5.1 PRESENTATION OF POSAVJE AND SOUTH DAKOTA**

#### **5.1.1 Posavje**

Posavje lies in the southeastern part of Slovenia along the lower reaches of the river Sava and the border with Croatia. By surface, it is the second smallest region in Slovenia. It measures only 971.83 km<sup>2</sup> and covers 4.77% of Slovenia (O Posavju).

Characteristics of this second smallest region in Slovenia are very good traffic accessibility, fertile river valleys of Sava and Krka, the hilly areas of vineyards and the abundance of water (Merc 2013, 50).

According to the Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, in the Posavje development region, which includes the municipalities Krško, Brežice, Sevnica, Kostanjevica na Krki, Radeče in Bistrica ob Sotli a total of 76,086 inhabitants lived in the past year (O Posavju).

About a third of the Posavje population is urban, while the largest share of it form a rural population (O Posavju).

The main reason that rural areas in Posavje still occupy the largest share is favorable natural conditions for agriculture, which was once a major industry (O Posavju).

In Posavje, there is also the only military airport (Cerklje ob Krki) in Slovenia (O Posavju).

In addition to agriculture, Posavje has also developed a strong industry. The most important industrial city is Krško with paper, wood, construction, metalworking, electrical, textile, and food industry, followed by Sevnica with textile, metal construction, chemical, and wood industry, and in Brežice smaller plants of hardware-metal, furniture, and manufacturing industry developed. Energy presents great importance in Posavje. A Nuclear Power Plant with 727 MW power produces about a quarter of the demand for electricity in Slovenia. We also

note a Thermal Power Plant in Brestanica and Hidroelectric Power Plants on the lower river Sava (O Posavju).

In Posavje, tourism is also well developed, especially in Municipality Brežice, resort Terme Čatež represent very important activity (O Posavju).

**Table 5.1.: Posavje Municipalities**

Municipality	Area (km <sup>2</sup> )	Population	Number of Settlements/ Villages	Number of Local Communities	Number of members in Municipal Council
Krško	286,5	25885	157	16	30
Brežice	268	24473	109	20	30
Sevnica	272	17550	115	10	25
Kostanjevica na Krki	62,33	2450	28	/	10
Radeče	52	4471	23	4	16
Bistrica ob Sotli	31	1431	11	/	7

Source: Internet sites of each Municipality.

### 5.1.2 South Dakota

South Dakota is 16<sup>th</sup> in size among the 50 states. It joined the Union in 1889. South Dakota encompasses 77,123 square miles (About South Dakota: South Dakota Facts). According to the U.S. Census Bureau, approximately 844,877 people live in South Dakota.

The landscape of eastern South Dakota is dominated by sprawling prairies, fertile farmland and glacial lakes. In central South Dakota, prairies and ranchland are common. Mountains grace the western skyline, and in the southwest, striking Badlands formations rise abruptly from the surrounding prairie. Through the central and southeastern part of the state runs the Missouri River. The northeastern corner of South Dakota is covered by lakes, formed by retreating glaciers thousands of years ago (About South Dakota: South Dakota Facts).

South Dakota has a strong agriculture base. It is the largest industry in the state. The second largest industry in South Dakota is tourism (About South Dakota: South Dakota Facts).

The First District Association of Local Government (First District) is a voluntary association of local governments working cooperatively for the benefit of East Central South Dakota. It was established in 1971. Today the First District has 11 counties and 75 communities within the counties of Brookings, Clark, Codington, Deuel, Grant, Hamlin, Kingsbury, Lake, Miner, Moody, and Roberts. It is a public body but it has no legal authority to tax, issue bonds, or require local governments to comply with or implement policies. Each of the eleven counties voluntarily joins First District on an annual basis. It is governed by a board, known as the Governing Body, which discusses issues of regional concern and directs the activities of the District. It is comprised of designated, elected, and appointed members:

- one county commissioner from each respective county board;
- one elected municipal representative from each county;
- one at-large member from each county;
- chairman of the Santee Sioux Tribe;
- chairman of the Sisseton-Wahpeton Sioux Tribe (About First District).

**Table 5.2: Counties of First District of South Dakota**

<b>County</b>	<b>Area (km<sup>2</sup>)</b>	<b>Population</b>	<b>Number of Cities</b>	<b>Number of Townships</b>	<b>Number of County Commissioners</b>
Brookings	2051,8	32629	8	23	5
Clark	2480,2	3585	7	27	5
Codington	1783,2	27606	6	17	5
Deuel	1612,8	4380	7	16	5
Grant	1765	7259	8	17	5
Hamlin	1313,7	5918	6	13	5
Kingsbury	2155,5	5220	9	13	5
Lake	1458,9	11771	4	16	5
Miner	1477,1	2326	5	16	5
Moody	1345,2	6446	5	16	5
Roberts	2851,7	10303	10	30	5

Source: U.S. Census Bureau. State & County QuickFacts; Internet sites of each County; U.S. Census Bureau (2002, 50-51).

### 5.1.3 Comparison of Posavje and South Dakota

**Table 5.3: Comparison of Posavje and First District of South Dakota**

	<b>Posavje</b>	<b>First District of South Dakota</b>
<b>Area (km<sup>2</sup>)</b>	971,83	20295,1
<b>Population</b>	76260	117443
<b>Main industry</b>	agriculture, industry, energy, tourism	agriculture, tourism
<b>Divided into</b>	6 municipalities	11 counties
<b>Number of elected officials</b>	118	55

The Table 5.3 shows a comparison between Posavje and the First District of South Dakota. As is shown in the table, Posavje is 20 times smaller in size and has one-third fewer residents than First District of South Dakota.

According to the presentation (in the chapters 5.1.1 and 5.1.2), the largest share of both regions are rural areas. Moreover, because of those natural conditions, agriculture there plays a very important role. For Posavje, also industry and energy are very important. Tourism in South Dakota is the second largest industry.

Posavje is divided into 6 municipalities and First District of South Dakota into 11 counties.

It is interesting that although Posavje is 20 times smaller and has fewer residents, it has 118 elected officials (municipal councilors), while First District of South Dakota has only 55 elected officials (county commissioners). As already mentioned (in the chapter 4.1), the Slovenian municipalities are the sole local government. The authority and work assigned to US counties, cities, townships, and school boards are unified into a single government in Slovenia: the municipality. In addition, for this reason, a number of municipal councilors is higher than county commissioners because if we combine all elected officials from all types of local government (cities, townships, school districts) the number of elected officials in First District of South Dakota will be higher.

## **5.2 LOCAL ELECTION CAMPAIGNS IN POSAVJE AND IN SOUTH DAKOTA<sup>1</sup>**

As presented in the introduction, the purpose of my Master's thesis is to analyze the election campaigns of political parties and their candidates in local elections for municipal councils in Posavje and for Board of Commissioners in Counties of South Dakota and determine differences and similarities between election campaigns in Posavje and in South Dakota. The differences and similarities are going to be analyzed by comparing the following criteria/elements that are relevant and necessary for each campaign and these are financial resources, mechanisms/techniques used, and personnel structure of campaign (volunteers or paid professionals).

The questions in Appendix C were asked of both Municipal Councilors in Posavje and also County Commissioners in South Dakota. The questions were: What were their campaign goals? How was their campaign organized? How many people were involved in it? Did they have volunteers or paid professionals? What were their main campaign mechanisms? What kind of role in their campaign did their political party have? What was highlighted in their campaign (personal characteristics or their political party)? How well known were they before they had run for the office? Did they develop any campaign plan? Did they collect any sort of information about voters or opposing candidates? How much money did they put in their campaign?

In all six municipalities of Posavje, there is a total of 118 Municipal Councilors and in all 11 counties of South Dakota there is a total of 55 County Commissioners. We received answers from only 22 Municipal Councilors and also from only 22 County Commissioners. Four of 22 Municipal Councilors only answered that they did not have a campaign, so they did not answer our questions. Three of 22 County Commissioners ran unopposed and although they did not have candidates who ran against them, they still had a campaign. Thus, this analysis is made on the basis of the received responses of 22 Municipal Councilors and 22 County Commissioners.

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<sup>1</sup> South Dakota here means First District of South Dakota.

For easy reading in the following analysis, instead of Posavje Municipal Councilors, the term “Slovenian Councilors” is used and instead of South Dakota County Commissioners, the term “American Commissioners” is used.

### **CAMPAIGN GOALS (Question 1)**

The main campaign goal of the Slovenian Councilors as well as the American Commissioners was to gain as many votes from voters and to be elected and made it into office. A few respondents (1 Slovenian Councilor and 5 American Commissioners) pointed out that they wanted to replace the existing government because they were dissatisfied with their current decisions. One American Commissioner ran because his family is heavily involved in local politics and because most of his family members have been involved in this county’s government for many years, he wanted to maintain that legacy. And another one Commissioner »wanted to win office because he always has been fascinated with the process of local government«.

*The campaign goal to gain as many votes from voters and to be elected is similar to both, the Slovenian Councilors and the American Commissioners.*

### **CAMPAIGN THEMES/ISSUES; GROUPS OF PEOPLE (Question 1)**

The majority of respondents (14 Slovenian Councilors and 18 American Commissioners) in did not have any particular theme(s) or issue(s) they wanted to express in their campaigns. In addition, the majority of respondents (13 Slovenian Councilors and 11 American Commissioners) did not have any particular kind of people (groups) they want to reach. Those Slovenian Councilors (9) who reached out, emphasized people from their area, young people, retirees, employees, people who are socially disadvantaged, and people to whom injustice is happening and their voices are not heard. Eleven American Commissioners, in addition to people from their area and youth, also wanted to reach out to women, rural families (who might have an agricultural interest in the development), farmers, (who according to one Commissioner tend to be underrepresented), business owners and citizens who disliked their former commissioners and were unhappy with their decisions.

Themes, which were pointed out by the Slovenian Councilors, were everyday issues and problems in local community, economy in the region, to renovate the old town, better local representation and care for socially disadvantaged and support for all programs which will



enable quality of life for all generations. One Slovenian Councilor said »the most important themes were preparation of long-term strategic development plan of the Municipality, sustainable public finance policy, ambitious policy of planning of environment and space, economic vitality, promoting partnership on the area of social activities, more effective and more modern municipal administration«. Only 4 American Commissioners pointed out some themes in their campaigns. The first one »wanted to emphasize the importance of open government and participation by all those involved«. Two of them promoted the importance of education in the county »to expand the economic horizons of our county as well as continue upgrading the quality of our education system«. The fourth Commissioner's theme was "Dollars and Sense". "Dollars" mean fiscal responsibility and "sense" common sense governing.

*A majority of both, Slovenian Councilors and the American Commissioners, is that they did not have any particular theme(s) or issue(s) they wanted to express, and also did not have any particular kind of people (groups) that they wanted to reach out. Similar to both is that they wanted to reach out people from their area and young people. While for the American Commissioners the main focus were more powerful people, for the Slovenian Councilors the main focus was on the weaker members of society. Similar to those few Slovenian Councilors and American Commissioners, who expressed some themes, had highlighted issues that affect their local communities.*

## **CAMPAIGN ORGANIZATION: VOLUNTEERS OR PAID PROFESSIONALS** (Question 2)

All Slovenian Councilors had volunteers who helped them in their campaign. These volunteers were mostly their family, friends, and also active members of their Party. 8 Slovenian Councilors were campaigning themselves with no help from anybody. Seven Slovenian Councilors, from whom we received answers, were not actively involved in the campaign, therefore, they do not know how many people (and who) were involved in their campaign.

All, except one (21), American Commissioners had volunteers who helped them in their campaigns. These volunteers were also mostly their family, friends, and members of their Party. Only 2 American Commissioners paid people to help them in their campaign.

The main reason for both, the Slovenian Councilors and the American Commissioners, why they mostly have volunteers, was that their campaign was modest and not very large, so they did not hire professional staff but rather had volunteers who were cheaper. One Slovenian Councilor also pointed out that for local elections it is common to only have volunteers.

*Similar to both, the Slovenian Councilors and the American Commissioners are volunteers who helped them in their campaign. In addition, the reason why both used volunteers rather than paid professionals is similar.*

**CAMPAIGN MECHANISMS (Question 3)**

Table 5.4 and Table 5.5 shows mechanisms, which the Slovenian Councilors and the American Commissioners used in their campaigns.

**Table 5.4: Campaign mechanisms used – the Slovenian Councilors**

<b>Number</b>	<b>Campaign mechanisms</b>	<b>Number of the Councilors who used campaign mechanisms</b>
1.	Distributing brochures	11
2.	Distributing flyers	11
3.	Distributing posters	10
4.	Public speeches	6
5.	Public gatherings	5
6.	Contacting voters via email	4
7.	Contacting voters via phone	2
8.	Door-to-door	2
9.	Put up posters	1
10.	Radio ads	1
11.	Television ads	1
12.	Interviews on radio and television	1
13.	Text messages	1
14.	Social media – Facebook	1
15.	Informal gatherings with friends and acquaintances for a coffee, beer	1

16.	Presentation by the Party in the joint convention	1
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As the Table 5.4 shows, the most commonly used campaign mechanisms were brochures, flyers, and posters. Somewhere in the middle were public speeches, gatherings, and contacting voters via email. Campaign advertising was hardly used.

**Table 5.5: Campaign mechanisms used – the American Commissioners**

Number	Campaign mechanisms	Number of the Commissioners who used campaign mechanisms
1.	Door-to-door	14
2.	Placing/putting up signs	12
3.	Radio ads	9
4.	Distributing flyers	7
5.	Public interviews	5
6.	Public gatherings/meetings	5
7.	Contacting voters via phone	5
8.	Distributing posters	5
9.	Television ads	4
10.	Campaign ads	3
11.	Contacting voters via email	3
12.	Distributing brochures	2
13.	Peace in local paper	2
14.	Public speeches	1
15.	Newspaper ads	1

As the Table 5.5 shows, the most commonly used campaign mechanisms were going door-to-door and placing/putting up signs. Somewhere in the middle were radio ads, flyers, public interviews, public gatherings/meetings, contacting voters via phone, and posters. Public speeches and newspaper ads had hardly been used.

*Similar to both, the Slovenian Councilors and the American Commissioners, are many different mechanisms used in their campaigns while the differences between the Slovenian*

*Councilors and the American Commissioners were mechanisms itself which were used. For example, the Slovenian Councilors mostly used brochures, flyers and posters, while the American Commissioners mostly used door-to-door and signs. The American Commissioners had more personal contact with their potential voters than the Slovenian Councilors.*

#### **ROLE OF A POLITICAL PARTY IN CAMPAIGN (Question 4)**

Table 5.6 and table 5.7 shows help of a political party in campaigns of the Slovenian Councilors and the American Commissioners

**Table 5.6: Help of the political party in campaigns – the Slovenian Councilors**

<b>Number</b>	<b>Offered help</b>	<b>Number of the Slovenian Councilors who received the Party's help</b>
1.	Contribute funds (for advertising, flyers, posters)	10
2.	Running ads	9
3.	Distributing flyers	8
4.	No help	6
5.	Formal or informal advice	5
6.	Providing information/research on policy issues	4
7.	Providing strategic plan	3
8.	Conduct training/workshops	2
9.	Moral Support	1
10.	Presentation in the Party's flyer	1

As the Table 5.6 shows, the most common Party's help was: contribution of funds, running ads, flyers, and formal or informal advice. Somewhere in the middle were providing information/research on policy issues and providing a strategic plan. Conducting training/workshops or moral support was hardly offered. Six Councilors did not receive any help from the political party.

**Table 5.7: Help of the political party in campaigns – American Commissioners**

<b>Number</b>	<b>Offered help</b>	<b>Number of American Commissioners who received their Party's help</b>
1.	Information about elections, rules, procedure, how to get on the ballot, how to approach voters, etc.	8
2.	No help	7
3.	Formal or informal advice	5
4.	Providing strategic plan; strategic advice	5
5.	Providing information/research on policy issues	4
6.	Contribute funds	3
7.	Ran ads	3
8.	Contribute signs	1
9.	Distributing flyers	1
10.	Moral support	1
11.	Send emails to party members to notify the councilor's candidacy	1

As the Table 5.7 shows, the most commonly Party's help was: information about elections, rules, procedure, how to get on the ballot, how to approach voters, etc. Somewhere in the middle were formal or informal advice, providing strategic plan or advice, and providing information/research on policy issues. Contributing signs, distributing flyers and moral support were hardly offered. Seven Commissioners did not receive any help from their political party.

*Similar to both, the Slovenian Councilors and the American Commissioners, is that both received some form of help from political parties, but the Slovenian Councilors received more help from their political party than the American Commissioners. The difference between the Slovenian Councilors and the American Commissioners was also what kind of help the party had offered them. While the main role of the Slovenian political parties is*

*contributing funds (for advertising, flyers, posters) to Councilors, the main role of the American political parties is to help Commissioners with information about elections, rules, procedure, how to get on the ballot, how to approach voters, etc.*

#### **PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS vs. POLITICAL PARTY (Question 5)**

Personal characteristics were highlighted in campaigns of 10 Slovenian Councilors. Personal characteristics as well as their political party and its program were highlighted in campaigns of 4 Slovenian Councilors. Political party was highlighted in campaigns of 4 Slovenian Councilors. 9 Slovenian Councilors answered that personal characteristics play a more important role for voters. 7 answered that both, personal characteristics as well as their political party, play an important role for voters. 2 of them answered that their political party plays more important role for voters. Only 2 American Commissioners answered that at local elections their political party or a candidate's party affiliation plays more important role for voters. 20 of them answered that at local elections the candidate's personal characteristics play more important role for voters.

*Both Slovenian Councilors and American Commissioners think that personal characteristics play (or at least should play) a more important role for voters. A major difference is the role of political parties in both countries. Slovenian Councilors thought that political party and its program/ideology has a great importance. On the other hand American Commissioners thought that political party or the candidate's party affiliation plays more limited role in their campaign.*

#### **KNOWN BEFORE RUNNING FOR OFFICE (Question 6)**

All Slovenian Councilors were in their local communities relatively well known, some more and some less. Slovenian Councilors are well known among people in their area because of their:

- activity in different organizations (8),
- well-known family (6),
- subjected workplace (3),
- activity in the local community (3),
- activity in sports (2),

- activity in cultural field (2),
- activity in promotions, events (2),
- work in the past (1),
- activity in the parish (1),
- wine growing (1),
- completed education (1),
- running for office in previously elections (1).

On the other hand, 10 American Commissioners were not very well known in their communities. Four of them were new to the area and because of that relatively unknown. Three American Commissioners said that although they were unknown in their community, people knew their family members, parents. One Commissioner pointed out that people know his brother who has been a police officer and his sister, a long-time teacher. For one Commissioner, who was new to the area and because of that unknown, campaigning was »a way to get to know some of those around him«. Moreover, another one pointed out that because he was unknown to the people, he had to campaign hard. These unknown Commissioners got:

- involved in church (6),
- involved in local businesses (2),
- spend time at bowling league (1),
- speaking at the local school about what government is and why it is important (1),
- involved in local golf club (1).

Twelve American Commissioners were well known in their communities, 8 of them because they have lived there their whole life or for a long time. These American Commissioners are well known among people in their area because of their:

- activity in church (5),
- business (5),
- involvement in the school administration (3),
- activity in Chamber of Commerce (2),
- family's activity in the county government (1),
- involvement in many local and state-wide types of associations relating to education and industry (1),
- involvement in the affairs of the local agriculture organizations (1),
- activity in neighborhood organizations (1),
- part in the PTA (2),

- part in various sporting teams for children (1),
- organizing friendly poker games (1),
- involvement in sports when they were young (1),
- activity in school athletics (1),
- presidency of Industrial Development and Brookings Foundation (1),
- involvement in the Park Board (1),
- previous mandate as county commissioner (1).

*All Slovenian Councilors and only half of American Commissioners were well known in their area. The other half of the American Commissioners were not. The main difference between the Slovenian Councilors and the American Commissioners was also in activity of both in their area. While the Slovenian Councilors are more active in different organizations, the American Commissioners are more active in their church. In addition, unknown American Commissioners get involved in the church because, as they pointed out, most of them meet people there and also a lot of interaction with other citizens is done there. While most of the Slovenian Councilors people knew because of their well-known families, only one American Commissioner pointed out family's activity in the county government. Similar to both, the Slovenian Councilors and the American Commissioners, is their activity in sports and business they own or are on an subjected workplace, because of which they are known to people.*

#### **CAMPAIGN PLAN (Question 7)**

Eighteen Slovenian Councilors did not have any campaign plan and 4 of them had. Two of the Slovenian Councilors who did not have the campaign plan said that they had had the Party's program (these two Councilors probably mixed up the plan with the programme). Among Councilors who had the campaign plan only one had written the campaign plan of who does what, timelines, and financial aspect of it.

On the other hand, only 2 American Commissioners did not have any campaign plan and 20 of them had some kind of plan (no specific or concrete plan). Three of them had a written plan, one wrote down some goals and various deadlines about when and where to advertise, the second one wrote a timeline of the ads and brochures, and the third campaign plan dealt with coordinating the placement and distribution of advertising. Those American Commissioners with some plan wanted to make sure that voters in their party were contacted



and notified of when and where to vote, to go out, and make sure people knew who they were and why they were running, to set out timelines, to set up proper time to release their ads, to make sure that their name was on the ballot, to inform citizens of the issues and letting them know where they stood on them, to follow many of the set dates for election events, to get those who felt like them to the ballot box, to set up when to go door-to-door and meet people from their area, and when and where they should distribute their campaign signs.

*The difference between the Slovenian Councilors and the American Commissioners is that almost all Slovenian Councilors did not have any campaign plan, while almost all the American Commissioners had some kind of plan done. Similar to both, the Slovenian Councilors and the American Commissioners, is that they do not usually have a written campaign plan.*

#### **COLLECTED INFORMATION ABOUT VOTERS, OPPOSING CANDIDATES**

(Question 8)

Sixteen Slovenian Councilors did not collect any information about their voters or the opposing candidates, and two of them knew the opposing candidates, therefore, they did not need to collect any information about them. On the other hand, 12 American Commissioners did not collect any information about their voters or the opposing candidates, 2 of them looked up election results from past years, 3 Commissioners who ran unopposed and 3 Commissioners who knew the opposing candidates did not need to collect any information and 3 of them did a research on their opposing candidate.

*Similar to both, the Slovenian Councilors and the American Commissioners, is that most of them did not collect any information about voters or opposing candidates because they did not have any need for doing that. Most of them knew the opposing candidates and the voters who they wanted to reach were also mostly friends, family, and acquaintances.*

#### **FINANCIAL RESOURCES OF THE CAMPAIGN (Question 9)**

Only four Slovenian Councilors gave us the amount they spent on their campaigns. The amounts were 100 EUR, 200 EUR, 400 EUR and 2500 EUR. Four Councilors have some personal costs while 13 Councilors had no costs with the campaign and do not even know

how much their campaign cost. These costs were covered by their political party. One Councilor had some personal costs as well as the financial help of the party. None of the Slovenian Councilors raised any money for their campaigns. Primary campaign expenses of Councilors were flyers, brochures, transportation by car, posters, advertising in the media, postage, travel expenses, organization of gatherings (banquet), printing and distribution of promotional material, and informal gatherings.

Four American Commissioners did not raise any money for their campaign, while other 18 Commissioners raised money for their campaign. Three of them answered that they only had raised a small amount of money; one of them does not know the amount money which had been raised. The amounts of raised and spend money were from 690 EUR to 56,400 EUR. Main contributors of their campaigns were the Commissioners themselves (13), individuals from the community (14), personal friends (2), businesses (2), party itself (2) and party members (1). Primary campaign expenses of the Commissioners were campaign signs, flyers, brochures, posters, advertising (radio ads) and fees.

*First difference between the Slovenian Councilors and the American Commissioners are bigger amounts spent in campaigns of American Commissioners. The second difference between the Slovenian Councilors and the American Commissioners is raising money for the campaign, which is more common for the American Commissioners. American Commissioners compared with Slovenian Councilors, raised money on their own, while the Slovenian Councilors or received financial help from the Party or they cover the costs of the campaign themselves.*

*Similar to both, the Slovenian Councilors and the American Commissioners are the primary campaign expenses for mechanisms used in their campaigns (flyers, posters, signs, brochures, advertising).*

## 6 CONCLUSION

As mentioned in the introduction, elections are one of the most important expressions of people's sovereignty and essential condition for democratic formation of the most important state bodies, especially the representative body, and also the bodies of local-self government (Grad 2004, 17). Local elections have a similar role and importance as elections at the national level (Grad 1998, 51–52) because local self-government is also essential for its citizens. Local elections allow citizens to influence the compositions of the local representative body, and thus the impact on the decisions made by the representative body. They have crucial importance for the realization of democratic local self-government (Grad 2003, 7–8). Election campaigns are closely related to the elections at national level as well as at local level. Because the study of campaigns for local elections compared to campaigns for national elections are markedly less extensive (Kustec Lipicer 2007, 110), the basis of my Master's Thesis was election campaign at the local level, where I focused on the elections to the municipal council.

In my Master's Thesis, I examined and analyzed the election campaigns of political parties and their candidates in local elections for municipal councils in six municipalities (Krško, Brežice, Sevnica, Kostanjevica na Krki, Radeče and Bistrica ob Sotli) of Posavje and for the Board of Commissioners in 11 Counties (Brookings, Clark, Codington, Deuel, Grant, Hamlin, Kingsbury, Lake, Miner, Moody, and Roberts) of South Dakota in USA and determined their differences and similarities by comparing the following criteria/elements that are relevant and necessary for each campaign: financial resources, used mechanisms/techniques and personnel structure of campaign – volunteers or paid professionals.

Because in all six municipalities of Posavje there is a total of 118 Municipal Councilors and in all 11 counties of South Dakota there is a total of 55 County Commissioners, we decided that it would be easier to contact all of them via email where we explained what we are doing and send them questions (Appendix C). I was responsible for contacting the Municipal Councilors.

At the very beginning of the Master's Thesis, there were problems with the collection of data for analysis. First, because two municipalities did not have email addresses of their Councilors published, I sent an email to municipalities with a request for email addresses of their councilors. In the email, I explained why I needed the email addresses. One Municipality sent me email addresses of their councilors the next day, but the other one did not want to give me their email addresses because according to them »email addresses of our municipal councilors are protected personal data which for the sake of protection cannot be forwarded to third parties«. To those Councilors, the questions were sent via mail (their home addresses were published on the internet site of that municipality).

At the end, we received answers from only 22 Municipal Councilors and also from only 22 County Commissioners. Thus, analysis was made on the basis of only those responses received.

At the beginning of the Master's Thesis, the research questions were set with which I presumed that there are going to be differences and similarities in all elements which election campaign should have to be successful, between election campaigns in Posavje and in South Dakota. According to the analysis done in the chapter 5.2, we can confirm that between campaigns of the Slovenian Councilors and the American Commissioners there are differences as well as similarities in all elements of the successful campaign.

**Main similarities** in campaigns of the Slovenian Councilors and the American Commissioners are in *campaign goals*, which are to gain as many votes from voters and to be elected; in *campaign organization*, where mostly volunteers help them in their campaigns; and in *the lack of information collected* about voters or/and opposing candidates they knew and voters who they wanted to reach were mostly friends, family and acquaintances.

**Main differences** in campaigns of the Slovenian Councilors and the American Commissioners are in *campaign mechanisms used*, where the American Commissioners used that kind of mechanisms with which they had more personal contact with voters than the Slovenian Councilors; in *help offered from the political party*, where the Slovenian councilors received funds from their political parties and the American Commissioners received only basic information about elections, rules, procedure, how to get on the ballot, how to approach voter, etc.; in *financial resources* where American election campaigns have more financial

resources than Slovenian campaigns; in *campaign plan*, where almost all American Commissioners had some kind of plan and on the other hand almost all Slovenian Commissioners did not have any plan; and in *the group of people they wanted to reach during their campaign*, where the main focus of American Commissioners were more likely to reach to powerful people and of Slovenian Councilors were more likely to reach out the weaker members of society.

I also presumed that the American election campaign has more financial resources and therefore the possibility of using multiple tools and hired professionals than the Slovenian election campaign. As it is shown in the analysis in the chapter 5.2, the American election campaign has more financial resources but this does not mean that it also has more possibilities of using multiple tools and hired professionals than the Slovenian election campaign. Neither the American Commissioners nor the Slovenian Councilors have hired professionals but volunteers who helped them in their campaign. Those volunteers were mostly their family and friends because they were cheaper; most of the work was also done by the candidates themselves. As far as the used campaign mechanisms goes, both the American Commissioners and the Slovenian Councilors used multiple campaign mechanisms, but the differences between them were the used campaign mechanisms itself. The American Commissioners, according to the campaign mechanisms they used, had more personal contact with their potential voters than the Slovenian Councilors.

Grad (2003, 12) argued that the importance and role of political parties in local elections is significantly lower than in national elections. In local elections, the personality of a candidate is at forefront (Grad 2003, 11). As it is shown in the analysis done in the chapter 5.2, both the Slovenian Councilors and the American Commissioners agreed that personal characteristics in local elections play a more important role for voters than their political parties. Grad's assertion about the larger role political parties' play in national elections as compared to local elections is not supported by this research. Among Slovenian Councilors, their political party and its program/ideology have a greater importance and the political party contributes nearly all of the funds available to local candidates. On the other hand, among American Commissioners, the political party and the candidate's party affiliation play a much smaller role than the personal characteristics of the candidate.

These findings were made only on the basis of the received responses (22 Slovenian Municipal Councilors and 22 American County Commissioners). These findings could have been completely different if we had done interviews with all Municipal Councilors in Slovenia or with all County Commissioners in USA. The findings could also have been different if all Municipal Councilors of Posavje and also all County Commissioners of South Dakota answered us. However, the likelihood of a biased sample is relatively small; so, we can have confidence in these findings.

As we mentioned in introduction, USA, the world's sole superpower, and Slovenia, a small country in southern central Europe, have different political systems. While USA is a federal system with a strong presidency and a majority voting system, Slovenia is a unitary country with a parliamentary system and proportional voting system. Further, USA is a two-party system and Slovenia, a multi-party system.

The USA has more than two hundred years of democracy while Slovenia is a young democracy with just over two decades of democratic experience. As U.S. president Abraham Lincoln said, democracy is »Government of people, by the people, for the people« The essential elements of every democracy are: separation of powers (executive, legislative, judicative), basic civil rights/human rights, religious liberty and separation of church and state. All these elements have to be written in every country constitution (Definition of Democracy) and we can also find them in constitution of Slovenia and the USA. Thus, both countries meet the basic requirements of democracy. What about in local election campaigns?

Slovenia has multi-party system. That means that on Slovenian elections more than 2 political parties are competing (on average 5-7). In a multi-party system is typical that both major and minor political parties have a good chance to be elected. On the other hand, in America only two political parties compete and only very rarely does third party or independent candidates get elected. What is better, multi-party system or two-party system? Which system is more democratic? Both systems have advantages and disadvantages. When one party dominates the local legislature, decisions are more easily accepted. Unlike a multi-party legislature, the political parties usually have difficulty combining to create a majority on any particular issue. These disagreements are an ever-present feature of all Slovenian municipal councils.

In the analysis done in chapter 5.2 we can see that Slovenian political parties, their program and ideology play much more stronger role for voters than American political parties. In Slovenia, voters mainly decide depending on who is the president of the political party and the values of the political party. They do not give much thought to the candidate and his characteristics, even for those in their community. To voters in Slovenia, the political party is much more important than candidate and his characteristics. If the candidate is not on a list of a popular party, he or she will probably not be elected. In USA, on the other hand, the influence of political party is weak, especially as compared to the candidate and his or her characteristics. As a result, American commissioners have to put much more effort into their campaigns than Slovenian councilors. American commissioners are much more active in their campaigns and they have to raise money for their campaign on their own. Slovenian councilors do not raise their own campaign funds, the political party helps them financially and, as a result, they are less active in campaigns.

In sum, the first reason for the relative inactivity of Slovenian councilors is that they are positioned on a party list by a friend, acquaintances, colleagues, family member, etc. They often do not have a strong desire to run and be elected. The second reason for their inactivity is their affiliation with a popular party which is often the determining factor to be elected. Probably because of these reasons I did not receive more responses from Slovenian councilors because they did not campaign. Consequently did not see the sense of answering questions on campaigns. The activity of the Slovenian councilors would probably be higher, if voters would directly select candidate instead of political parties. Every Slovenian candidate is aware that political party plays a more important role than their personal characteristics. So, the incentive to campaign is relatively low as compared to American candidates.

## **7 POVZETEK V SLOVENSKEM JEZIKU**

### **7.1 RELEVANTNOST, CILJI IN POMEN**

V sodobnem pojmovanju demokracije so volitve eden najpomembnejših izrazov ljudske suverenosti in nujni pogoj za demokratično oblikovanje najpomembnejših državnih organov, zlasti predstavnškega telesa in seveda tudi organov lokalne samouprave (Grad 2004, 17). V takšni predstavnški demokraciji so z volitvami postale neločljivo povezane tudi volilne kampanje (Krašovec 2005, 20). Pojav volilnih kampanj lahko tako razumemo kot pomemben kazalec demokratične razvitosti volilnih procesov, saj na različne načine omogočajo, da se tekmujoči politični subjekti predstavijo in tudi soočijo svojim potencialnim volivcem. S politološkega vidika je volilna kampanja politična aktivnost, povezana s pridobivanjem volilnih glasov ter s tem z volilnimi procesi in volitvami (Kustec Lipicer 2007, 107). V Zakonu o volilni in referendumski kampanji je opredeljena kot »vse politične oglaševalske vsebine in druge oblike politične propagande, katerih namen je vplivati na odločanje volivk in volivcev pri glasovanju na volitvah in med katere sodijo: propaganda v medijih, elektronskih publikacijah in propaganda z uporabo telekomunikacijskih storitev, plakatiranje in javni shodi« (Zakon o volilni in referendumski kampanji 2007, 1. člen). Po Gradu (v Kustec Lipicer 2004, 126) je lokalna samouprava po svojem najglobljem bistvu neprimerno bližja ljudem kot državna organizacija, zadeve lokalne samouprave so veliko bližje vsakdanjemu življenju in ljudem mnogo bolj razumljive kot politično odločanje o državnih zadevah. Lokalne volitve torej pomenijo najpomembnejši vpliv prebivalcev lokalne skupnosti na delovanje lokalne samouprave in so kot take bistvena prvina lokalne demokracije (Haček 1999, 218). Kot pravi Kustec Lipicarjeva (2007, 111), so lokalne volitve s systemske dimenzije vsekakor ena izmed najbolj zanimivih tipov volitev, saj je na eni strani tip volilnega sistema v posamezni od volilnih enot lahko tudi različen, kar posledično dela te volitve še bolj zanimive in hkrati kompleksnejše. Preučevanje kampanj za lokalne volitve je v primerjavi s kampanjami, organiziranimi za namene volitev predstavnikov oblasti na nacionalnih ravneh, izrazito manj obsežno (Kustec Lipice 2007, 110). Prav to je botrovalo odločitvi, da bodo temelj mojega magistrskega dela volilne kampanje na lokalni ravni, pri čemer sem se osredotočila na volitve v občinski svet, ki so poleg županskih volitev najpomembnejše na lokalni ravni. Narejena je bila analiza volilnih kampanj na lokalni ravni dveh povsem različnih političnih sistemov, slovenskega in ameriškega. V Sloveniji je bilo izbrano Posavje in njegovih šest občin: Krško,



Brežice, Sevnica, Kostanjevica na Krki, Radeče in Bistrica ob Sotli, v Ameriki pa Prvo okrožje združenja lokalnih vlad vzhodne in srednje Južne Dakote (v nadaljevanju Južna Dakota) in njenih 11 okrožij. Posavje je bilo izbrano, ker sem doma iz Krškega in poznam lokalno politično okolje. Južna Dakota pa zato, ker je tam doma moj mentor, profesor Aguiar.

Namen magistrske naloge je bil torej preučiti in analizirati volilne kampanje političnih strank in njihovih kandidatov na lokalnih volitvah za občinske svete v Posavju in za okrajne svete komisarjev v Južni Dakoti. Cilj magistrske naloge pa s pomočjo analize njihovih volilnih kampanj ugotoviti podobnosti in razlike dveh popolnoma različnih političnih sistemov. Razlike in podobnosti so bile analizirane s primerjavo naslednjih kriterijev/ elementov, ki so pomembni in potrebni za vsako volilno kampanjo. Ti so:

- ***vložena finančna sredstva***

Denar je tisti, ki narekuje velikost volilnih štabov, volilnih sporočil in tehnologije glasovanja (Ferfila 2002, 188). Najpogostejši in tudi najpomembnejši načini pridobivanja finančnih sredstev so prispevki fizičnih in pravnih oseb, članarine in prispevki članov ter javnofinančne subvencije (Krašovec 2000, 131–142; Krašovec 2005, 23). Več avtorjev je mnenja, da več finančnih sredstev, vloženih v volilno kampanjo, pozitivno vpliva na volilni rezultat stranke oziroma kandidata. Finančna sredstva so torej pomemben dejavnik, ki vpliva na volilni uspeh, saj več vloženih finančnih sredstev poveča možnost predstavitve v javnosti in prepoznavnost stranke oziroma kandidata pri volivcih (Krašovec 2005, 26–27). Študije so pokazale, da so stroški kampanj drastično narasli. Le-ti so se povečali do te mere, da so kandidati z omejenimi sredstvi v volilnem procesu močno prikrajšani. Poleg tega se je pokazal zelo velik potencial korupcije in zlorabe, ko gre za ogromne vsote denarja, zbranega in porabljenega za politične namene. (Hetherington in Keefe 2007, 114–118).

V ZDA se denar, ki se neposredno donira kandidatu, imenuje "trdi" denar. Ureja ga zvezni zakon, ki omejuje količino denarja, ki jo oseba lahko donira kandidatu. To strogo nadzoruje Zvezna volilna komisija. Po drugi strani pa t. i. "mehki" denar ni omejen z zveznimi zakoni in omogoča donatorjem, da prispevajo veliko večje vsote denarja stranki kandidata kot kandidatu samemu (What is Soft Money). Vloga tega denarja se je povečala z McCain-Feingold (ali Bipartisan) Campaign Finance Reform Act (2002).

Strošek volilne kampanje, Zakon o volilni in referendumski kampanji (2007, 15. člen) opredeljuje kot strošek, ki je potreben za izvedbo volilne kampanje za posamezno kandidatno listo ali posameznega kandidata. Mednje šteje: stroške oblikovanja, tiskanja, razobešanja in odstranjevanja plakatov; stroške oblikovanja in objavljanja predvolilnih oglaševalskih vsebin

v medijih; stroške organizacije in izvedbe predvolilnih shodov; stroške oblikovanja, tiskanja, reprodukcije in razpošiljanja predvolilnega materiala; stroške odprtja, vodenja in zaprtja posebnega transakcijskega računa; druge sorodne stroške, ki so nastali izključno zaradi dejanj volilne kampanje. Zakon o volilni in referendumski kampanji (2007, 23. člen) pravi tudi, da stroški volilne kampanje za volitve v predstavniški organ lokalne skupnosti ne smejo preseči 0,40 evra na posameznega volilnega upravičenca v lokalni skupnosti.

- ***uporabljena orodja/mehanizmi***

»Politične stranke do volilnega telesa dostopajo na različne načine in z uporabo različnih orodij, ki so prilagojena družbenemu kontekstu, značilnostim ciljne populacije ter duhu časa, saj je razvoj informacijske in komunikacijske tehnologije odprl precej novih kanalov med strankami in volivci« (Deželan 2010, 55). Ware (v Kustec Lipicer 2007, 113) razlikuje med štirimi ključnimi metodami, ki jih danes politične stranke oziroma kandidati uporabljajo v volilni kampanji. Avtor izpostavi predvsem osebne in neosebne stike kandidatov z volivci, pri čemer razlikuje štiri možne zvrsti stikov in uporabljenih mehanizmov: *intenzivne osebne stike* (pritisaki na prijatelje in sorodnike); *neintenzivne osebne stike* (različni govori kandidatov, srečanja, kampanja od vrat do vrat); *neosebne stike sporočane preko tiskanih medijev* (brošure, letaki, plakati) in *neosebne stike preko elektronskih medijev* (telefoni, radio, televizija, internet). Politične stranke poskušajo doseči svoje strateške cilje in s tem maksimizirati svoj uspeh. Pri tem se praviloma poslužujejo vseh omenjenih vrst mehanizmov. Danes se sicer največji delež komunikacije v kampanjah zgodi preko medijev. Le redki volivci v čas volilne kampanje pridejo v neposreden stik s kandidati, čeprav nove tehnike in tehnologije povečujejo možnost osebnega stika (De Vreese 2010, 119). Na primeru kampanj za lokalne volitve različni avtorji navajajo, da se za njene namene uporablja več neposrednih kampanjskih mehanizmov oziroma neposrednih stikov kandidatov z volivci (Kustec Lipicer 2007, 113). Maarek (v Kustec Lipicer 2007, 113) med njimi izpostavi zlasti pomembnost stalne in vnaprej določene dostopnosti kandidatov na uradnih urah v njihovih prostorih, saj le-to omogoča izjemno kvalitetno komunikacijo med politikom in volivcem. Kot učinkovite mehanizme volilnih kampanj pa Whietely, Seyd in Billingham (v Kustec Lipicer 2007, 114) med drugimi izpostavijo še razobešanje volilnih plakatov, pridobivanje glasov preko telefonov ter obiskov na domu, razdeljevanje letakov, organiziranje volilnih stojnic, pa tudi iskanje finančne podpore.

- ***kadrovska struktura kampanje – prostovoljci ali plačani strokovnjaki?***

Po Fisherju in drugih (2010, 8–9) so se politične stranke vedno zanašale na svoje člane, da sodelujejo pri politični kampanji. Le-ti so vir brezplačne, prostovoljne sile, ki hodi od vrat do

vrat, deli letake, šteje volivce na voliščih, itd. Brez članov politične stranke je skoraj nemogoče voditi tradicionalno politično kampanjo, ki se osredotoča na identificiranje njihovih privrženecv in ki jih mobilizira na dan volitev. Fisher in Denver trdita tudi, da bo kampanja, ki vključuje relativno malo članov, najverjetneje manj uspešna kot tista, ki se lahko obrne na veliko prostovoljcev (Fisher in ostali 2010, 8–9). Današnje kampanje so vse bolj profesionalizirane in stroškovno intenzivne, na drugi strani pa se je rezervoar prostovoljcev izpraznil, zato je v mnogih demokracijah z neposredno finančno podporo za stranke in kandidate posredovala država (van Biezen 2010, 79). Ravno zaradi teh sprememb se o sedanjih volilnih kampanjah zelo pogosto govori kot o visoko profesionalnih, kar pomeni, da so za načrtovalce in izvajalce volilnih kampanj namesto zaposlenih v strankah ter prostovoljcev strank oblikovane in najete posebne skupine strokovnjakov za odnose z javnostmi in marketing (Krašovec 2005, 22–23). S profesionalizacijo kampanje so to delo prevzele posebne strokovne agencije, ki svoje delo opravljajo profesionalno in praviloma ideološko niso v nobeni povezavi s kandidatom, ki ga zastopajo (Kustec Lipicer 2007, 113). Ta profesionalizacija volilnih kampanj je povezana s povečanjem osebja v kampanjah, z bolj sofisticiranemu ciljanju h ključnim volivcem, z večjimi izdatki za oglaševanje in z naraščajočo uporabo kampanjskih tehnik (de Vreese 2010, 121). Nove tehnologije v volilnih kampanjah in najemanje posebnih strokovnjakov za njihovo načrtovanje in izvedbo so povzročile razmah tudi v porabi finančnih sredstev (Katz v Krašovec 2005, 23). Na mesto prostovoljcev so torej stopili profesionalci. V ZDA je menedžment kampanj in opravljanje raznih storitev, povezanih z volilnimi kampanjami, postalo prava industrija (Ferfila 2002, 187). V ZDA to danes ni več hobi, ampak resen poklic, saj so politični svetovalci tisti, ki vzdržujejo tesne vezi s kandidatom ter oblikujejo lokalne volilne strategije iz svojih pisarn (Ferfila 2002, 189). Nujni udeleženci vsake politične kampanje so torej svetovalci za kampanje, raziskovalci javnega mnenja, televizijski producenti in direktorji, nabiralci denarja za volilno kampanjo, pisci govorov in marketinško osebje (Sabato in Shea v Ferfila 2002, 189).

## **7.2 RAZISKOVALNA VPRAŠANJA**

Raziskovalna vprašanja:

*Kakšne so razlike med volilnimi kampanjami v Posavju in v Južni Dakoti?*

Ker sta slovenski in ameriški politični sistem zelo različna, sem predvidevala, da bodo razlike med njima v vseh elementih, ki jih mora vsebovati volilna kampanja, da bo uspešna. Tu sem predvidevala, da ima ameriška volilna kampanja več finančnih sredstev in posledično možnost uporabe več mehanizmov in tudi najetih profesionalcev kot slovenska volilna kampanja.

*- Ali obstajajo kakšne podobnosti med volilnimi kampanjami v Posavju in v Južni Dakoti?*

Čeprav sta slovenski in ameriški politični sistem zelo različna, sem predvidevala, da kljub temu obstajajo nekatere podobnosti med elementi, ki jih mora vsebovati volilna kampanja, da bo uspešna.

*V kolikšni meri so lokalne volitve v Posavju in v Južni Dakoti osredotočene na kandidata in njegove značilnosti in v kolikšni meri na politično stranko?*

Kot trdi Grad (2003, 12), sta pomen in vloga političnih strank na lokalnih volitvah znatno nižji, kot na nacionalnih volitvah. Na lokalnih volitvah je osebnost kandidata v ospredju (Grad 2003, 11). Tu sem predvidevala, da bo tako v Posavju kot v Južni Dakoti ključno vlogo na lokalnih volitvah imela osebnost kandidata.

### **7.3 METODOLOGIJA, PREDSTAVITEV ANALIZE**

Kot je bilo predstavljeno v uvodu, je bil namen magistrskega dela analizirati volilne kampanje političnih strank in njihovih kandidatov na lokalnih volitvah za občinske svete v Posavju in odbore komisarjev v Južni Dakoti in ugotoviti njune razlike in podobnosti. Razlike in podobnosti so bile analizirane s primerjavo naslednjih kriterijev/elementov, ki so pomembni in potrebni za vsako volilno kampanjo. Ti so: vložena finančna sredstva, uporabljena orodja/mehanizmi in kadrovska struktura kampanje – prostovoljci ali plačani strokovnjaki?

Z vprašanji (Priloga C), ki so bila postavljena posavskim občinskim svetnikom in okrožnim komisarjem Južne Dakote, sem poskušala ugotoviti, kakšne so bile volilne kampanje omenjenih območij. Ugotavljala sem, kakšni so bili njihovi cilji, kako je bila njihova kampanja organizirana, koliko ljudi je bilo vanjo vključenih, so imeli prostovoljce ali plačane strokovnjake, katere mehanizme so uporabili, kakšno vlogo je v njihovi kampanji imela politična stranka, kaj je bilo izpostavljeno v njihovih kampanjah – osebne lastnosti ali njihova

politična stranka, kako znani so bili pred volitvami, so imeli izoblikovan načrt kampanje, so zbrali kakšne informacije o volivcih ali protikandidatih in koliko denarja so za kampanjo porabili.

V vseh šestih občinah Posavja je skupno 118 občinskih svetnikov, v vseh 11 okrožjih Južne Dakote pa je skupno 55 okrožnih komisarjev. Prejeli smo odgovore od samo 22 občinskih svetnikov, prav tako tudi od 22 okrožnih komisarjev. Štirje od 22 občinskih svetnikov so samo odgovorili, da kampanje niso imeli, tako da na zastavljena vprašanja niso odgovorili. Trije od 22 okrožnih komisarjev so kandidirali na volitvah brez protikandidatov, vendar so kljub temu odgovorili na zastavljena vprašanja, saj so vseeno imeli kampanjo. Analiza je bila torej narejena na podlagi prejetih odgovorov 22 občinskih svetnikov in 22 okrožnih komisarjev.

## **7.4 ZAKLJUČEK**

Na samem začetku magistrske naloge sem imela težave pri zbiranju podatkov za analizo. Razloga le-teh sta dva. Prvi tiči v neobjavljenih elektronskih naslovih občinskih svetnikov na spletnih straneh dveh občin, zato sem na obe občini poslala prošnjo za elektronske naslove njihovih občinskih svetnikov. V prošnji sem pojasnila zakaj potrebujem elektronske naslove. Prva občina mi je že naslednji dan poslala elektronske naslove vseh njenih občinskih svetnikov, druga pa mi ni želela dati elektronskih naslovov njenih občinskih svetnikov. Njihov odgovor je bil »elektronski naslovi naših občinskih svetnikov so varovani osebni podatki, ki se zaradi samega varstva ne smejo posredovati tretjim osebam«. Občinskim svetnikom te občine, sem poslala vprašanja po pošti (njihovi domači naslovi so bili objavljeni na spletni strani te občine).

Prejeli smo odgovore od samo 22 občinskih svetnikov in prav tako tudi od 22 okrožnih komisarjev. Analiza je bila torej narejena le na podlagi teh prejetih odgovorov.

Na začetku magistrske naloge so bila postavljena raziskovalna vprašanja, s katerimi sem domnevala, da bodo med volilnimi kampanjami v Posavju in v Južni Dakoti tako razlike kot podobnosti v vseh elementih, ki jih mora imeti volilna kampanja, da bi bila uspešna. Glede na analizo v poglavju 5.2 lahko potrdim, da obstajajo med volilnimi kampanjami slovenskih

občinskih svetnikov ter ameriških komisarjev tako razlike kot podobnosti v vseh teh elementih.

**Glavne podobnosti:** cilj kampanje (zmagati na volitvah), organiziranost kampanje (prostovoljci), nič zbranih podatkov o volivcih ali/in protikandidatih (po tem niso imeli nobene potrebe, saj so poznali tako protikandidate kot volivce, ki so jih želeli doseči);

**Glavne razlike:** uporabljeni mehanizmi v kampanji (ameriški komisarji imajo bolj osebni stik s svojimi volivci), pomoč politične stranke (slovenski svetniki so od politične stranke prejeli finančna sredstva, medtem ko ameriški komisarji samo osnovne informacije o poteku volitev), finančna sredstva (ameriške kampanje imajo več finančnih sredstev), načrt kampanje (skoraj vsi ameriški komisarji so imeli načrt kampanje in skoraj vsi slovenski svetniki ga niso imeli) in skupine ljudi, ki so jih želeli v času kampanje doseči (ameriški komisarji so se osredotočili na bolj vplivne ljudi, slovenski svetniki pa na šibkejšje člane družbe).

Prav tako sem predvidevala, da ima ameriška volilna kampanja več finančnih sredstev in posledično možnost uporabe več mehanizmov in prav tako tudi več najetih strokovnjakov kot slovenska volilna kampanja. Kot je razvidno iz analize v poglavju 5.2, ima ameriška volilna kampanja res več finančnih sredstev, vendar to ne pomeni, da ima tudi več možnosti za uporabo več mehanizmov in najetih profesionalcev kot slovenska volilna kampanja. Ne ameriški komisarji in ne slovenski svetniki niso najemali strokovnjakov, pri njihovih kampanjah so jim pomagali prostovoljci. Ti prostovoljci so bili večinoma njihove družine in prijatelji, ker so bili cenejši. Veliko dela v kampanji so opravili tudi kandidati sami. Kar zadeva uporabljene mehanizme v kampanji, so tako ameriški komisarji kot slovenski svetniki uporabili več mehanizmov v svojih kampanjah, razlike med njimi pa so bile v samih uporabljenih mehanizmih, ki so bili različni. Ameriški komisarji so glede na uporabljene mehanizme imeli bolj osebni stik s potencialnimi volivci kot pa slovenski svetniki.

Grad (2003, 12) trdi, da sta pomen in vloga političnih strank na lokalnih volitvah znatno nižji kot na nacionalnih volitvah. Na lokalnih volitvah je osebnost kandidata v ospredju (Grad 2003, 11). Kot je prikazano v analizi, narejeni v poglavju 5.2, so se tako slovenski svetniki kot ameriški komisarji strinjali, da imajo oziroma bi vsaj morale imeti osebne lastnosti kandidata na lokalnih volitvah za volivca, bolj pomembno vlogo kot politična stranka. Gradova trditev, da sta pomen in vloga političnih strank na lokalnih volitvah znatno nižji kot na nacionalnih volitvah, tako glede na odgovore slovenskih svetnikov ne velja. V kampanjah slovenskih

svetnikov ima politična stranka in njen program/ideologija velik pomen, politična stranka za njihovo kampanjo prispeva tudi sredstva (za oglaševanje, letake, plakate). Po drugi strani pa v politična stranka ali strankarska pripadnost kandidata v kampanjah ameriških komisarjev ne igrata pomembne vloge. V ospredju teh kampanj so osebne lastnosti kandidata. Politična stranka pomaga ameriškim komisarjem samo z osnovnimi informacijami o volitvah, pravih ter postopkih, kako priti na glasovnico/ listo, kako pristopiti k volivcem itd., ne prispeva pa finančnih sredstev. Ameriški komisarji večino denarja za njihove kampanje zberejo sami, brez pomoči stranke.

Naj še enkrat poudarim, da so bile ugotovitve narejene le na podlagi prejetih odgovorov (22 posavskih občinskih svetnikov in 22 okrožnih komisarjev Južne Dakote). Te ugotovitve bi lahko bile povsem drugačne, če bi intervjuje naredili z vsemi slovenskimi občinskimi svetniki in z vsemi ameriški okrožnimi komisarji. Že samo, če bi dobili odgovore vseh 118 posavskih občinskih svetnikov in vseh 55 okrožnih komisarjev Južne Dakote, bi verjetno prišli do popolnoma drugačnih ugotovitev.

Kot smo omenili že v uvodu, imata ZDA, svetovna velesila, in Slovenija, majhna država na jugu Srednje Evrope, različna politična sistema. ZDA imajo zvezni sistem z močnim predsednikom in večinskim volilnim sistemom, Slovenija pa je unitarna država s parlamentarnim sistemom in proporcionalnim volilnim sistemom. Za ZDA je značilen dvostrankarski, za Slovenijo pa večstrankarski sistem.

ZDA imajo več kot dvestoletno demokracijo, medtem ko je Slovenija mlada demokracija z nekaj več kot 20 let demokratičnih izkušenj. Kot je dejal ameriški predsednik Abraham Lincoln, je demokracija »vlada ljudi, od ljudi in za ljudi«. Bistveni elementi vsake demokracije so: delitev oblasti (izvršna, zakonodajna in sodna), osnovne državljanske/človekove pravice, verska svoboda in ločitev cerkve od države. Vsi ti elementi morajo biti zapisani v ustavi vsake države (Definition of Democracy). Zapisani so tudi v ustavah Slovenije in ZDA. Obe državi torej izpolnjujeta osnovne zahteve demokracije. Kaj pa v lokalnih volilnih kampanjah?

Slovenija ima večstrankarski sistem, kar pomeni, da na slovenskih volitvah tekmuje več kot 2 stranki (v povprečju 5–7). Značilnost večstrankarskega sistema je, da imajo tako večje kot tudi manjše politične stranke možnost za izvolitev. Nasprotno pa v Ameriki na volitvah

tekmujeta samo dve politični stranki (Demokrati in Republikanci), zato se redko zgodi, da bi bila izvoljena tretja stranka ali neodvisni kandidat. Kaj je torej bolje – večstrankarski ali dvostrankarski sistem? Kateri sistem je bolj demokratičen? Oba sistema imata tako prednosti kot tudi slabosti. V primeru, ko ena politična stranka obvladuje lokalno zakonodajo, so odločitve lažje sprejete kot pa v večstrankarskem sistemu, kjer imajo pri posameznih vprašanjih običajno težave pri doseganju večine, saj pogosto prihaja do različnih interesov. Ta nesoglasja so stalnica v vseh slovenskih občinskih svetih.

V analizi, opravljeni v poglavju 5.2, lahko vidimo, da slovenske politične stranke, njihov program in ideologija igrajo veliko večjo vlogo pri volivcih kot ameriške politične stranke. V Sloveniji se volivci večinoma odločajo glede na to, kdo je predsednik politične stranke in pa glede na vrednote, ki jih ima politična stranka, in ne dajo prednosti posamezniku/ kandidatu, ki kandidira v njihovi lokalni skupnosti. Slovenskim volivcem je torej politična stranka veliko bolj pomembna kot kandidat in njegove osebne lastnosti. Če kandidat ni na listi prave stranke, verjetno ne bo izvoljen. V ZDA pa je vpliv političnih strank šibek v primerjavi s kandidatom in njegovimi osebnimi lastnostmi. Zaradi tega morajo ameriški komisarji v svoje kampanje vložiti veliko več truda kot pa slovenski svetniki. Ameriški komisarji so veliko bolj aktivni v svojih kampanjah (tudi denar za svoje kampanje zbirajo sami), nasprotno pa slovenskim svetnikom za njihove kampanje finančno pomagajo politične stranke in posledično so tako v svojih kampanjah manj aktivni.

Prvi razlog za relativno neaktivnost slovenskih svetnikov je ta, da so na strankarsko listo postavljeni na povabilo prijatelja, znanca, sodelavca, sorodnika itd., sami pa pogosto nimajo močne želje kandidirati in biti izvoljeni. Drugi razlog za njihovo neaktivnost je izbira prave politične stranke, pri kateri kandidirajo. Najverjetneje pa prav zaradi teh dveh razlogov nisem prejela več odgovorov s strani svetnikov, saj niso imeli kampanje in posledično niso videli smisla v odgovarjanju na vprašanja o kampanji. Aktivnost slovenskih svetnikov bi bila verjetno višja, če bi volivci namesto politične stranke neposredno izbirali kandidata. Vsak slovenski kandidat se namreč zaveda, da ima pri volivcih politična stranka pomembnejšo vlogo kot pa njegove osebne lastnosti. Spodbuda za kampanjo je tako pri slovenskih svetnikih relativno nizka v primerjavi z ameriški kandidati.



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## APPENDIX

### APPENDIX A: Voting results in the Municipal Councils in Posavje in 2010

**Table A.1: Municipality Krško**

Number	Name of Lists/ Parties	Number of votes	Percentage of votes	Number of mandats
1.	Slovenian People's Party	2306	24.31%	9
2.	Slovenian Democratic Party	1370	14.45%	5
3.	Social Democrats	1050	11.07%	4
4.	Democratic Party of Slovenian Pensioners	813	8.57%	3
5.	Independent List of new ideas for the municipality development	639	6.74%	2
6.	List for fairness, annuity, and development	451	4.76%	1
7.	New Slovenia	445	4.69%	1
8.	List green circle	419	4.42%	1
9.	Union of Posavje Youth	404	4.26%	1
10.	Liberal Democracy of Slovenia	403	4.25%	1
11.	List for a better tomorrow	378	3.99%	1
12.	Slovenian National Party	280	2.95%	1
13.	Zares – new politics	225	2.37%	0
14.	List for the future of youth	200	2.11%	0
15.	Independent List of Dusan Vodlan for the development of sport	82	0.86%	0
16.	Party of ecological movements of Slovenia	19	0.20%	0

Source: Lokalne volitve 2010.

**Table A.2: Municipality Brežice**

Number	Name of Lists/ Parties	Number of votes	Percentage of votes	Number of mandats
1.	Slovenian Democratic Party	3162	34.41%	12
2.	Union of Posavje Youth	1101	11.98%	4
3.	Social Democrats	1061	11.55%	4
4.	Liberal Democracy of Slovenia	785	8.54%	3
5.	Democratic Party of Slovenian Pensioners	762	8.29%	3
6.	Zares – new politics	362	3.94%	1
7.	Slovenian People's Party	353	3.84%	1
8.	Independet List for progress	311	3.38%	1
9.	Slovenian Union	306	3.33%	1
10.	Day-B Democratic Alternative of independents for Municipality Brezice	222	2.42%	0
11.	Youth Party – Greens of Europe	169	1.84%	0
12.	New Slovenia	164	1.78%	0
13.	Democratic Party of Labour and Solidarity	163	1.77%	0
14.	Slovenian National Party	125	1.36%	0
15.	Independent List of Črešnje and ZASAP	85	0.92%	0
16.	Democratic Party of Slovenia	59	0.65%	0

Source: Lokalne volitve 2010.

**Table A.3: Municipality Sevnica**

Number	Name of Lists/ Parties	Number of votes	Percentage of votes	Number of mandats
1.	Slovenian People's Party	2368	34%	9
2.	Slovenian Democratic Party	1631	24%	6
3.	Social Democrats	789	12%	3
4.	Democratic Party of Slovenian Pensioners	772	11%	3
5.	Zares – new politics	381	6%	1
6.	Union of Posavje Youth	331	5%	1
7.	Liberal Democracy of Slovenia	304	4%	1
8.	New Slovenia	239	3%	1
9.	List for Rural Development	48	0.7%	0

Source: Lokalne volitve 2010.

**Table A.4: Municipality Kostanjevica na Krki**

Number	Name of Lists/Parties	Number of votes	Percentage of votes	Number of mandats
1.	Social Democrats	371	18%	1
2.	Slovenian Democratic Party	253	12%	2
3.	Gorazd Soster (proposed by Matej Jordan and a group of voters)	237	12%	1
4.	Union of Posavje Youth	229	11%	1
5.	Democratic Party of Slovenian Pensioners	159	8%	1
6.	Slovenian People's Party	149	7%	2
7.	Liberal Democracy of Slovenia	137	7%	0
8.	Robert Zagorc (proposed by Sandi Tršinar and a group of voters)	135	7%	1
9.	New Slovenia	127	6%	0
10.	Ales Kegljevic (proposed by Milan Zagorc and a group of voters)	112	6%	1
11.	Joze Marinc (proposed by Vasilij Cuk and a group of voters)	55	3%	0
12.	Alenka Kosak (proposed by Marija Belinger and a group of voters)	47	2%	0
13.	Zares – new politics	19	1%	0

Source: Lokalne volitve 2010.



**Table A.5: Municipality Radeče**

<b>Number</b>	<b>Name of Lists/Parties</b>	<b>Number of votes</b>	<b>Percentage of votes</b>	<b>Number of mandats</b>
1.	Social Democrats	852	37.88%	7
2.	Association for the Advancement of Radeče and area of Radeče	455	20%	4
3.	Slovenian Democratic Party	425	19%	3
4.	New Slovenia	192	9%	1
5.	Democratic Party of Slovenian Pensioners	185	8%	1
6.	Zares – new politics	54	2%	0
7.	Liberal Democracy of Slovenia	44	2%	0
8.	Better Radeče	42	2%	0

Source: Lokalne volitve 2010.

**Table A.6: Municipality Bistrica ob Sotli**

<b>Number</b>	<b>Name of Lists/Parties</b>	<b>Number of votes</b>	<b>Percentage of votes</b>	<b>Number of mandats</b>
1.	Franjo Debelak and a group of voters	1240	27%	4
2.	Slovenian Democratic Party	903	20%	1
3.	Union of Posavje Youth	594	13%	0
4.	New Slovenia	526	12%	0
5.	Jožef Pregrad (Bogomir Marčinkovič and a group of voters)	304	7%	1
6.	Marjan Fendre (Jožef Bratuša and a group of voters)	282	6%	1
7.	Slovenian People's Party	215	5%	0
8.	Marcel Augustinčič and a group of voters	183	4%	0
9.	Marija Debelak (Martina Geršak and a group of voters)	171	4%	0
10.	Franc Božiček (Jože Kunst and a group of voters)	114	2%	0

Source: Lokalne volitve 2010.

**APPENDIX B: Voting results for the County Commissioners in 11 Counties in South Dakota in 2012**

**Table B.1: Voting results for the County Commissioners in 11 Counties in South Dakota in 2012**

	Votes received	Percentage of votes
<b>Brookings County</b>		
REPUBLICAN PARTY	9887	49%
INDEPENDENT	10332	51%
<b>Clark County</b>		
DEMOCRATIC PARTY	152	18%
REPUBLICAN PARTY	378	45%
INDEPENDENT	307	37%
<b>Codington County</b>		
DEMOCRATIC PARTY	5904	40%
REPUBLICAN PARTY	8553	58%
INDEPENDENT	328	2%
<b>Deuel County</b>		
DEMOCRATIC PARTY	197	26%
REPUBLICAN PARTY	157	20%
INDEPENDENT	416	54%
<b>Grant County</b>		
DEMOCRATIC PARTY	293	7%
REPUBLICAN PARTY	1680	41%
INDEPENDENT	2139	52%
<b>Hamlin County</b>		
DEMOCRATIC PARTY	1087	41%
REPUBLICAN PARTY	1586	59%
<b>Kingsbury County</b>	/	/
<b>Lake County</b>	/	/
<b>Miner County</b>	/	/
<b>Moody County</b>		
REPUBLICAN PARTY	343	57%
INDEPENDENT	261	43%
<b>Roberts County</b>		
DEMOCRATIC PARTY	1867	45%
REPUBLICAN PARTY	2250	55%

Source: South Dakota Secretary of State. 2010 Election information.

## APPENDIX C: Interview Questions

- 1.) What were your main campaign goals? Did you have a particular theme(s) or issue(s) you wanted to express? Were there any particular kinds of people (groups) that you wanted to reach out to?
- 2.) How was your campaign “organized”? How many people were involved in your campaign? Did you have volunteers or hired professionals? Maybe both?
- 3.) What were the main “mechanisms” which were used in your campaign? Please circle them.

- distributing brochures, flyers, posters
- contacting voters via telephone, email, door to door
- advertising your campaign on radio, television
- having public speeches, gatherings
- having interviews on radio, television

If you also used any other mechanisms, could you please write down which?

- 4.) What role in your campaign did political party has? How did party or any party leaders help in your campaign? Please circle.

- contribute funds
- run ads/flyers
- conduct training/workshops
- providing formal or informal advice
- providing strategic plan
- providing information/ research on policy issues

Is there any other help which party or any party leaders offered? If yes, could you, please write down what kind of help did they also offer?

- 5.) Where in your campaign highlighted
  - a) your personal characteristics
  - b) in forefront was my political party (please circle).

Do you think that for voters, personal qualities of the candidate plays more important role than political party?

- 6.) Related to above, how well known were you before you ran for office initially? What kinds of clubs and organizations were you active in? How well known was your family before you ran?

- 7.) Many local campaigns develop a campaign plan, which may be written, but is often an informal, verbal guide. Usually, campaign plans describe what is to be done, when it should be done, who should be doing it, and how the work will be completed (Baudry and Scheaffer in Burton and Shea 2010, 25). Did your campaign develop any sort of campaign plan? Was it written? Can you share it with me? If not, can you describe the tasks, timelines, and persons responsible?
- 8.) Did you collect any information about your voters, opposing candidate, etc.? Did you have access to any opinion polls?
- 9.) How much money did you raise and spend in your campaign? What were the primary sources of contributors? What were the primary expenses?