
GEOGRAFICKÝ ČASOPIS

46

1994

3

Stanley D. Brunn, Viera Vlčková***

PARTIES, CANDIDATES AND COMPETITIVE REGIONS IN THE 1992 SLOVAK NATIONAL COUNCIL ELECTIONS

Stanley D. Brunn, Viera Vlčková: Parties, candidates nad competitive regions in the 1992 Slovak National Council elections. Geogr. čas., 46, 1994, 3, 2 figs., 7 tabs., 24 refs.

The number and percentages of candidates nominated by the major parties in the 1992 SNC elections corresponded closely with the number of voters in the four regions. Most came from the Western and Central regions and the fewest from Bratislava, but the Bratislava region had the lowest candidate-to-voter ratio. In general the parties performed best where they nominated the most candidates, but there were exceptions. Party competition existed at the regional and district levels throughout Slovakia. While HZDS won the most districts (34), the percentage of its distric vote varied as did the placement of the second, third and fourth leading parties. SDL came in second in 21 districts. Party competition was greatest in the Western and Central regions and in Bratislava.

Key words: voter turnout; political parties; party candidates; campaign strategy; regional party strength; competitive voter regions.

The study of elections continues to be a major focus of research by political geographers (Taylor & Johnston 1979; Taylor 1985; Reynolds & Knight 1989; Johnston, Shelley & Taylor 1990). This research addresses a number of themes, including the patterns of support for major and minor parties, temporal changes in the votes of parties and regions,

* University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky 40506-0027, USA

**Katedra regionálnej ekonómie, geografie a ekonomiky životného prostredia, Ekonomická univerzita, Národohospodárska fakulta, Dolnozemska cesta č. 1, 852 19 Bratislava

the votes of states on national referenda, including new constitutions, and of communities on specific issues (building schools or libraries, protecting sensitive environmental areas, and constructing nuclear power plants) the spatial organization of election districts, and votes in international assemblies, including the United Nations. This rich tradition of studying state and local elections includes numerous contributions of political geographers from Europe and North America especially (Brunn 1974; Johnston 1979; Morrill 1981; Archer & Taylor; Archer & Shelley 1986; Johnston, Shelley & Taylor 1990).

In examining elections political geographers consider a number of criteria. These include where individual parties performed well and poorly. Cities and rural areas are studied to discern how party performance relates to city size, population change, economic activity (agriculture and industry), wealth, minority group numbers, language and religion. Sometimes these variables are compared cartographically with the votes, other times they are included in multivariate statistical models. While voting patterns are an important element in studying elections and political parties, there are other features that merit study including registration levels; voter turnout, that is, where most of those registered to vote actually voted; the number of candidates nominated by each party in each region; the home towns of politicians and the "friends and neighbors" support in their home towns and territories; regional party performance; television and newspaper endorsements and coverage; financial sources for campaigns, the allocation of campaign money, and where politicians make personal visits.

Changes in the world political map since 1989 have presented political geographers with opportunities to examine voting patterns in states where the democratic processes had not previously existed. These opportunities have emerged not only in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, but also in Third World countries. It is thus fitting that political geographers with their interest in voting patterns and processes to use some of their approaches and methodologies and test some theories about electoral results in these new democracies.

Since 1989 political geographers have analyzed a number of elections in former Eastern Europe states and in the former Soviet Union (O'Loughlin and van der Wusten 1993). They are using existing methods of analysis, including cartographic, descriptive, and various statistical analyses, to analyze patterns of support for the major and minor parties, to test "Western" theories and concepts, and to discern the historical roots of these emerging patterns. These recent additions to the literature by geographers include studies on the 1990 parliamentary elections in Czechoslovakia (Blažek & Kostelecký 1991; Pavlinek 1991; Kostelecký 1992; Jehlička & Kostelecký 1993); the historical roots of voting in the Czech lands (Jehlička & Sýkora 1991); the Green Party in Czech lands (Jehlička & Kostelecký 1992); the Hungarian parliamentary elections in 1989 (Kovacs 1993) and 1990 (Martis et al. 1992); the Slovak National Council elections in 1990 and 1992 (Mariot 1991, 1993); elections in Poland from 1989-91 (Regulsa 1993), and in the Soviet Union from 1989-91 (Kolosov 1993).

In regards to the 1992 Slovak National Council (SNC) elections, Mariot (1993) provides valuable and useful insights into those elections. He discusses not only the historical

roots of a SNC before World War Two and during the 1946-90 period, but also the formation and salient characteristics of the major parties in 1990 and 1992. He also mapped at a district level the areas of strength (percentages) for the five leading parties in 1990 (VPN, KDH, SNS, KSS, MKDH + ESWS) and the 1992 (HZDS, KDH, SNS, SDL, MKDH + ESWS). Mariot discusses in detail the changes in the district level performance of parties between 1990 and 1992 and correlates the areas of support with settlement size, religion, and Hungarian minority population.

Our objective is to examine four additional facets of the 1992 by focusing on regional and district variations in party strength. We consider the total votes and voter turnout, number and percentage of candidates running in the major parties, party performance, and party competitiveness. We conclude by suggesting additional research opportunities.

TOTAL VOTES AND VOTER TURNOUT

There were 3 77 073 names on the voters list for the June elections. 3 174 436 or 84,2 % received the envelope to vote and 3 168 301 or 84 % returned the envelope; 3 082 696 or 81,8 % were valid. The percentages of valid votes by region were: Central 83,3 %, Western 82,8 %, Eastern Slovakia 81,2 % and Bratislava 74,5 %. The percentages of the total vote by region were: Western 33 %, Central 31 %, Eastern 28 % and Bratislava 8 %. The total number of votes in the 42 administrative districts ranged from 142 980 in Trnava to 24 809 in Stará Lubovňa (figure 1). The largest totals, in addition to Trnava, were in Nitra (128 166), Košice-mesto (125 288), Prešov (115 230), Trenčín (112 715), Žilina (108 309), Banská Bystrica (107 042), Považská Bystrica (100 042), Topoľčany (98 475) and Nové Zámky (91 981). The other districts with the fewest votes were Svidník (25 701), Veľký Krtíš (28 604), Bratislava I (33 332), Vranov nad Topľou (41 555), Bratislava III (42 104) and Bardejov (46 116).

Votes were cast for 23 parties. The totals ranged from 1 148 625 votes for HZDS to only 2 103 for HZSP-SRÚ (tab.1).

The top 5 parties had 2 349 185 or 79,9 % of all votes counted. They were HZDS with 37,26 %, SDL 14,70 %. KDH 8,88 %, SNS 7,93 %, and MKM-EGY 7,42 %. Six other parties garnered from 2-5 % of the total vote: ODÚ 4,03, SDSS 4,, DS-ODS 3,31, SKDH 3,05, MPP-MOS 2,29, and SZS 2,14; they accounted for only 18 % of all votes. the top 11 parties had 2 818 953 votes or 95,9 % of the total. Twelve parties had 1 % or less of the final vote; their combined total was only 119 294 votes or 4,1 % of all votes.

The regional composition of the 150 deputies elected to the Slovak National Council was: from Western Slovakia 50, Central Slovakia 47, Eastern Slovakia 41, and Bratislava 12 (tab. 2).

Tab.1. Party, Total Votes, and Percent Final Vote: June 1992

Party: Number and Name	Total Vote	Percent
7 HZDS	1 148 625	37,26
8 SDL	453 203	14,70
25 KDH	273 945	8,88
37 SNS	244 527	7,93
20 MKM-EGY	228 885	7,42
26 ODÚ	124 503	4,03
34 SDSS	123 426	4,00
36 DS-ODS	102 058	3,31
16 SKDH	94 162	3,05
40 MPP-MOS	70 689	2,29
30 SZS	66 010	2,14
23 SZ	33 372	1,08
9 SPI	29 818	0,96
35 KSS	23 349	0,75
32 ROI	18 343	0,59
28 ZPR-RSČ	10 069	0,32
12 SSL-SNZ	9 414	0,30
39 SLS	9 129	0,29
11 HROS	7 169	0,23
4 HSD-HMS	3 986	0,12
21 HSS	3 411	0,11
29 NALI	2 500	0,08
6 HZSP-SRÚ	2 103	0,06

Source: Slovenský štatistický úrad, 1992

Tab.2. Composition of the Deputies in the Slovak National Council: Number and Percent of Party Vote Total by Region

Party	Bratislava	Western	Central	Eastern	Total
HZDS	5	22	30	16	73
SDL	2	8	6	12	28
KDH	1	5	4	7	17
SNS	3	5	4	2	14
MKM-EGY	0	9	1	2	12
Other	1	1	2	2	6
Total	12	50	47	41	150
Percent	8	33,3	31,3	27,3	

Source: Slovenský štatistický úrad (1992)

The dominant party in Central Slovakia was HZDS; it has 30 of the 47 seats and in the Western Slovakia 22 of 50. Eastern Slovakia is represented by 16 deputies from HZDS, 12 from SDL, and 7 from KDH. Bratislava is likewise represented by a number of parties; HZDS 5, SNS 3, SDL 2 and KDH 1. MKM-EGY is strongly represented only in the Western Slovakia. In terms of party strength, HZDS has 30 (40 %) of its 73 deputies from Central Slovakia and 22 (30 %) from the Western region. SDL has 12 (43 %) of its 28 deputies from the Eastern region; KDH 7 of its 17 deputies from the same region. SNS won 5 of its 9 seats in the Western region; MKM-EGY won 9 of its 12 in the same region. The smallest percentages of deputies from the four leading parties are in Bratislava.

CANDIDATES, PARTY AND REGION

There were 1603 candidates nominated by 23 parties (tab. 3). The largest number were from KDH with 128 followed by ODU with 125, HZDS with 124 and DS-ODS and SDL with 121 each. The next largest numbers were nominated by SKDH with 102, SNS 98, SDSS 94 and SZS 93. All the remaining parties nominated less than 80. The fewest were nominated by HZSP-SRÚ with 17, followed by HSD-SMS with 15, and ZPR-RSC with 12. The regions with the most candidates also had the largest number of votes cast: Western 789 855, Central 774 855, Eastern 605 904 and Bratislava 181 323. The national population per mandate was 15 873, with the average similar for each region: Central (16 828), Western (16 619), Bratislava (15 110) and Eastern (14 729).

All parties had at least one candidate in each region except HSS with none in Central and Eastern Slovakia and ROI with none in Bratislava. KDH had the most candidates in the Central Slovakia, the second largest number in Eastern, and the third most in Western; the fewest were in Bratislava. ODÚ had the most candidates in Eastern and Central Slovakia. HZDS had the most in Central, second most in Western, third most in Eastern; only 15 of its 124 candidates were in Bratislava. SNS had the most in the Central, then Western, followed by Bratislava. MKM-EGY had the most in the Western, then Eastern, followed by Central; almost half (34) of its candidates were in Western Slovakia. All the major parties had the fewest candidates in Bratislava, except ODÚ. Most of the minor parties also had the fewest candidates in Bratislava. Some had the most candidates in the Eastern Slovakia (SDSS, SZ and ROI), others had the largest numbers in the Central Slovakia (HZOS, SSL-SNZ and KSS), and still others most in Western Slovakia (SZS, MPP-MOS, SLS and HSD-SMS).

There was one candidate nominated for every 1465 voters in the 1992 elections. Yet there was substantial regional variation in the candidate-to-voter ratios; the lowest was in Bratislava with one candidate for every 671 votes cast by all parties, followed by Eastern with 1378, Central 1736 and Western 1759.

The ratios also varied significantly among the major parties in the four regions. KDH, ODÚ, HZDS, SDL and DS-ODS had national averages of one candidate for every 18 000-19 000 voters; the ratio for SNS was almost 24 000 and MKM-EGY 31 746. The ratios were lowest in Bratislava for the major parties. This result is not surprising considering that potential voters would be easier to reach here via television and newspapers and personal appearances. Campaign costs should be lower in a large city and densely populated

district. These factors should facilitate the major and minor parties running candidates in Bratislava. In Bratislava the ratios were lowest for KDH, DS-ODS and ODÚ and the highest for SDL and MKM-EGY.

Tab. 3. Number of Candidates by Party and Region, June 1992

Party	Candidates	Bratislava	Western	Central	Eastern
KDH	128	27	29	37	35
ODÚ	125	24	21	40	40
HZDS	124	15	30	39	40
DS-ODS	121	26	30	36	29
SDL	121	10	38	36	37
SKDH	102	10	27	36	29
SNS	98	20	25	31	22
SDSS	94	11	25	24	34
SZS	93	10	31	27	25
HZOS	76	20	20	21	15
SSL-SNZ	76	21	18	22	15
MKM-EGY	74	11	34	14	15
MPP-MOS	65	4	39	14	8
SLS	47	8	15	12	12
KSS	44	7	11	15	11
SZ	44	8	12	9	15
SPI	37	2	2	11	22
HSS	32	15	17	0	0
NALI	31	8	8	8	7
ROI	27	0	4	5	18
HZSP-SRÚ	17	7	5	2	3
HSD-SMS	15	3	5	4	3
ZPR-RSČ	12	3	3	3	3
TOTAL	1603	270	449	446	438
PERCENT	-	16,8	28,0	27,8	27,3

Whether the second lowest ratios were in the Western or Central or Eastern region depended on the emphasis the party placed on winning certain districts. Four examples illustrate how the ratios varied by party and region. For KDH the ratios were: Bratislava 6 716; Western 27 236, Central 20 921, Eastern 17 254. For ODÚ the ratios were: Bratislava 7 555, Western 37 612, Central 19 353 and Eastern 15 098. The ratios for HZDS were: Bratislava 12 088, Western 26 329, Central 20 523 and Eastern 15 098. The ratios for MKM-EGY, a party which had fewer candidates, they were: Bratislava 16 484, Western 23 231, Central 55 293 and Eastern 40 240. When we compare the ratios for the seven leading parties: KDH, ODÚ, HZDS, SDL, DS-ODS, SNS and MKM-EGY, we find the greatest within region variations in the ratios were found among ODÚ, MKM-EGY, SNS,

KDH and DS-ODS. SDL had the lowest within region variations, indicating the ratios were nearly identical among the four regions.

That there were differences in the number of candidates each party nominates in each region is not unexpected, as parties have urban and rural bases of support and campaign philosophies differ. Whereas one party may be strong in one region, it may be weak in another. Some parties may even be strong in one district and weak in another district in the same region. Also settlement size, minority group population, predominant economic activity, home towns of candidates, and local political culture may affect the number of candidates nominated by a given party. If there are multiple parties in a region or district, there will likely be many overlapping areas of strength, weakness, and competitiveness. Some parties and politicians in planning national campaign strategies will know where they are strong, for example, in home towns, but others have to learn through "trial and error" by visits and local organizing efforts where their messages have voter appeal. Parties will seek to run candidates and spend time and money campaigning in those areas of perceived strength and perceived competitiveness.

PARTY PERFORMANCE AND COMPETITIVENESS BY REGION

While those parties with the most candidates generally received the total votes, there are exceptions. HZDS, the leading party with slightly more than 37 % of the total vote, had four fewer total candidates than KDH (which had the most) but KDH finished third in the final voting (8,88 %). ODÚ had the second largest number of candidates but finished sixth in overall voting, and DS-ODS with the fourth highest number of candidates finished eighth. SDL had the fifth highest number of candidates but finished second, and MKM-EGY with the twelfth largest number of candidates finished fifth. Most of the minor parties (less than 1 % of the final votes) had few candidates. HZSP-SRU ranked twenty-first in number of total candidates and finished twenty-second in total votes. One minor party that performed better in the final vote than in the number of candidates was the ZPR-RSČ; it had the fewest candidates (only 12) but finished sixteenth in overall voting. HROS did worse; it was tied for tenth in the number of candidates, but finished nineteenth in the voting. Also SSL-SNZ was tied for tenth in number of candidates, but finished seventeenth.

If we compare the percentages of candidates of the major parties in each region, we observe some distinct patterns (tab.4). The party and regional percentages can be used to measure competitiveness among the nine leading parties in the four regions. For example, HZDS had 32 % of its candidates in the central region and another 32 % in the West region; only 12 % of its 124 candidates were from Bratislava. SDL had 30 % each in the Western, Central and Eastern regions. KDH had 30 % of its candidates in the Central, and 27 % in the East and only 21 % in Bratislava. SNS had the highest percentage in the Central region and lowest in Bratislava. MKM-EGY had 46 % of its candidates in the Western region, and only 15 % in Bratislava. ODÚ had its highest percentage in the East 32 %; SDSS had similar percentages in the Central and Eastern regions. Both DS-ODS and SKDH had their largest percentages in the Central and smallest in Bratislava. Of the nine leading parties, six had their highest percentages of candidates in the Central region,

eight had their lowest in Bratislava. The Western region was seen as competitive by SDL, MKM-EGY and SDSS. The Central was for all parties except MKM-EGY, as they had 25-32 % of their candidates there. It was the most competitive region. The Eastern was competitive among HZDS, SDL and ODÚ, less for KHD, SNS, and MKM-EGY. Bratislava was competitive among KDH, SNS, and DS-ODS, less for SDL, SKDH, SDSS, and HZDS.

Tab.4. Percentage of Party Candidates and Votes of the Major Parties by Region: June 1992

Party	Bratislava		Western		Central		Eastern	
	% Cand.	% Vt.	% Cand.	% Vt.	% Cand.	% Vt.	% Cand.	% Vt.
HZDS	12	7	24	30	32	43	32	20
SDL	8	8	31	28	30	24	31	40
KDH	21	6	23	29	30	24	27	40
SNS	20	18	26	37	32	31	22	14
MKM-EGY	15	2	46	66	19	14	20	18
ODÚ	19	16	17	21	32	23	32	40
SDSS	12	11	27	27	25	23	26	39
DS-ODS	21	19	25	22	30	25	24	34
SKDH	10	13	26	26	35	39	29	33
% all 23 parties	16,9	8	28,0	33	27,8	31	27,3	28

A comparison of the percentages of candidates and total votes by party for each region also reveals significant variations. These comparisons aid in evaluating the success of a party's campaign. For example, HZDS had 12 % of its candidates in Bratislava, but won only 7 % of its final vote there (Table 4). Likewise in the Eastern region it had 32 % of its candidates, but won only 20 % of its total vote. In the other two regions, the party had higher percentages in votes received than in percentages of candidates nominated. Thus HZDS was more successful in the Western and Central regions with higher percentages of its final vote than in its percentages of candidates in each region. Using the reasoning, SDL was most successful in the Eastern and less in the Western and Central; KDH was successful in the Eastern and very unsuccessful in Bratislava (21 % of its candidates and only 6 % of its vote). SNS was most successful in the Western and least in the Eastern. MKM-EGY was very successful in the Western and not very in Bratislava. ODÚ was also most successful in the Eastern than elsewhere; less successful in the Central region. SDSS for its campaign efforts (number of candidates) was most successful in the Eastern and roughly even in the other districts. DS-ODS was also most successful in the Eastern. SKDH, which received only 3 % of the vote, was most successful in the Eastern and Central regions.

In summary, seven of the nine leading parties were less successful in Bratislava, in that they had a higher percentage of candidates there than their percentage of the total party vote received. Only SNS and ODÚ, SDSS and DS-ODS had similar percentages. HZDS, KDH, SNS, MKM-EGY and ODÚ were most successful in the Western region, HZDS and SKDH in the Central, and SDL, KDH, ODÚ, and DS-ODS in the Eastern. The best examples of the most unsuccessful effort (that is, high percentage of party candidates and low

percentage of total party vote) were KDH and MKM-EGY in Bratislava, SDL, KDH, and ODÚ, in the Central region, and HZDS and SNS in the Eastern region.

PARTY COMPETITIVENESS BY DISTRICT

Mariot's maps (1993) depict the district strengths of the major parties in the 1992 Council elections. They also reveal distinct regional competitiveness, sometimes between two parties and often among three or more. The dominant pattern that emerges is the

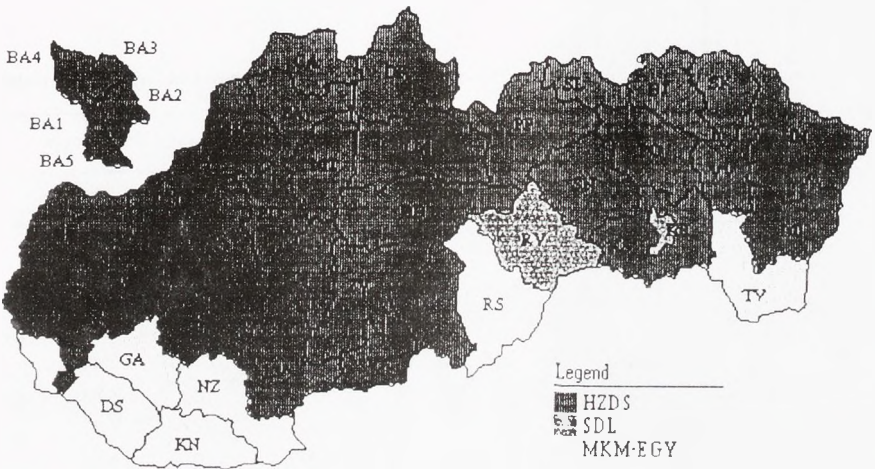


Fig. 1. Winning Party by District.

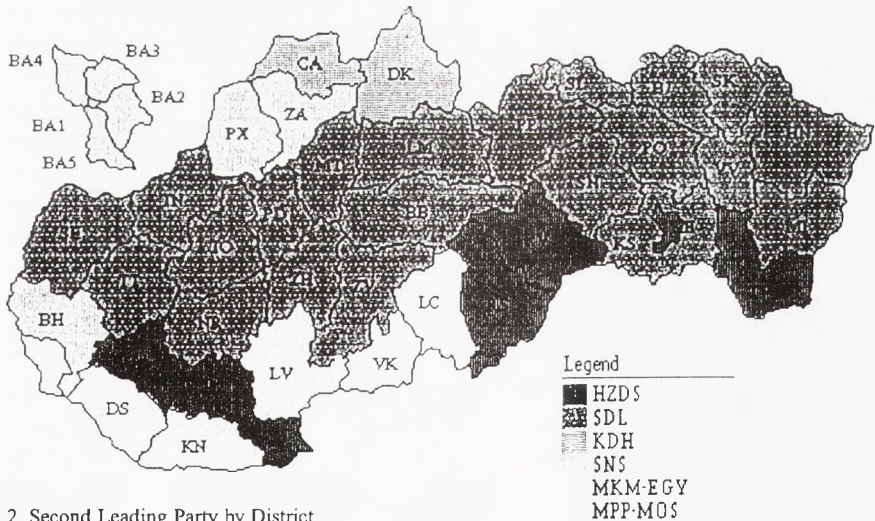


Fig. 2. Second Leading Party by District.

strong performance of HZDS. This party won 34 districts and won in all regions (figure 1). MKM-EGY won 6 districts in areas with large Hungarian population and SDL won the remaining 2. The leading party finishing second was SDL; it came in second in 21 districts (figure 2) in all regions, except the capital. HZDS came in second in 6 districts; 4 won by MKM-EGY. KDH won 5 (Levice, Čadca, Dolný Kubín, Lučenec, and Veľký Krtíš). SNS did not win any districts, but came in second in 8; six were in the capital region. Likewise MPP-MOS did not win any, but came in second in 2 won by MKM-EGY.

The concept of party strength and competitiveness can be illustrated by examining the districts of greatest strength and weakness of each party. All parties had districts where they did very well and where they performed poorly (Table 5).

Tab.5. Performance of Nine Leading Parties in voting; Four Districts with Highest and Lowest Percentages

Party	Percent Total Vote	Highest Percentage		Lowest Percentages	
HZDS	37,26	ČAD	61,26	K-M	20,82
		ŽNH	59,13	ROŽ	19,57
		PRI	57,76	KOM	7,01
		PB	57,22	DS	3,32
SDL	14,7	SVI	29,18	ČAD	7,41
		ROŽ	26,29	DK	6,68
		HUM	26,20	KOM	6,57
		MIC	24,92	DS	5,38
KDH	8,88	SL	21,03	VK	2,24
		DK	19,61	RS	1,45
		PRE	18,56	KOM	1,17
		BAR	18,17	DS	0,87
SNS	7,93	B-5	19,19	KOM	2,50
		B-4	18,53	K-V	2,27
		B-3	17,16	TRE	1,99
		B-2	16,47	DS	0,80
MKM-EGY	7,42	DS	57,77	DK	0,02
		KOM	54,23	ŽIL	0,02
		NZ	30,19	PB	0,02
		GAL	30,38	CAD	0,00
ODÚ	4,03	K-M	13,84	NIT	2,17
		B-1	11,54	SVI	2,02
		K-V	7,88	TOP	1,44
		B-3	7,20	DS	1,23

Tab. 5. cont.

SDSS	4,00	BAR	10,60	ZVO	1,99
		SVI	8,64	PB	1,91
		SEN	8,58	RS	1,87
		SL	8,31	DS	0,71
DS-ODS	3,31	B-1	10,20	DK	1,25
		K-M	7,96	SL	1,20
		B-4	6,69	DS	0,82
		B-5	6,14	SVI	0,74
SKDH	3,05	DK	8,98	GAL	1,05
		LM	5,95	PRE	0,62
		TOP	5,02	KOM	0,22
		B-1	4,86	DS	0,12

HZDS won 50 percent or more of the vote in 8 districts: Čadca (61 %), Žiar nad Hronom, Prievidza, Považská Bystrica, Zvolen, Žilina, Martin, and Banská Bystrica (51 %). In the 34 districts won by HZDS, the margin of victory ranged from 51 % in Čadca, 48 % in Považská Bystrica and Žiar nad Hronom, to 5 % in Košice-vidiek and 2 % in Levice. This party lost only in 8 districts: Dunajská Streda, Galanta, Komárno, Nové Zámky, Rimavská Sobota, Košice-mesto, Rožňava, and Trebišov. It lost by 54 % in Dunajská Streda and 47 % in Galanta, but only by 3 % in Rimavská Sobota and 1 % in Košice-mesto. HZDS did not perform well (percentage wise) in Bratislava; it received only 76 000 votes about 7 % of its total vote in six districts, even though it won all six by margins of 11-15 %. An example of a strong regional party was MKM-EGY; it won in Dunajská Streda and Komárno with 58 % and 54 % of the total votes.

Another measure of party competitiveness is obtained by looking at the dominance of single or multiple parties by district (tab.6). That is, was there a majority party, or two dominant parties, or did three or more parties split the vote? In 10 districts one party received 50 % or more of the final vote, HZDS in the Central region and MKM-EGY in Dunajská Streda and Komárno. In 8 districts one dominant party received 40-49 % of the total vote; these were districts HZDS won in the Western region. In 4 districts two major parties received similar percentages of the total votes, but there was no regional concentration to this pattern. Three major parties split the vote in another 15 districts; these include four districts in Bratislava and several others with medium sized cities in the Eastern region. Four parties split the vote in 4 districts; 3 of these were also in Eastern Slovakia. Six parties split the vote in Bratislava I, which was the most competitive district. HZDS had 25 % and five other parties had between 9-14 %. The districts with a majority vote were those where HZDS and MKM-EGY performed very well. The districts with strong multiple party strength were in Bratislava as well as Rimavská Sobota, Košice-vidiek, Bardejov, and Nové Zámky. The least competitive districts were Dunajská Streda, Ko-

márno, Čadca, Žilina, Martin, Banská Bystrica, Zvolen, Žiar nad Hronom, Prievidza, and Považská Bystrica.

Tab.6. Competitiveness of Parties in Districts

Majority Vote:(50 % or more for one party)

Dunajská Streda; Komárno; Čadca; Žilina; Považská Bystrica; Martin; Prievidza; Banská Bystrica; Žiar nad Hronom; Zvolen

One Party Dominant: 40-49 %

Bratislava-vidiek; Trnava; Nitra; Trenčín; Topoľčany; Dolný Kubín; Liptovský Mikuláš; Lučenec

Two Parties with Similar Percentage Votes

Galanta; Veľký Krtíš; Michalovce; Svidník

Three Parties Splitting the Vote

Bratislava 2, 3, 4, 5; Senica; Levice; Poprad; Rožňava; Spišská Nová Ves; Stará Lubovňa; Prešov; Vranov nad Topľou; Humenné; Trebišov; Košice-mesto

Four Parties Splitting the Vote

Nové Zámky; Rimavská Sobota; Košice-vidiek; Bardejov

Six Parties Splitting the Vote

Bratislava 1

Party competitiveness can also be measured by the place or standing of each party in the final district results. In 8 districts the order of finishing was HZDS, SDL, KDH, and SNS and in another 8 districts the order was HZDS, SDL, SNS, and another party (tab.7).

Tab. 7. Placement of Parties in Final Voting

HZDS, SDL, SNS, KDH (8 districts)

Trnava; Topoľčany; Nitra; Žiar nad Hronom; Prievidza; Martin; Zvolen; Košice-vidiek

HZDS, SDL, SNS, Other (8 districts)

Senica; Banská Bystrica; Prešov; Humenné; Vranov nad Topľou; Michalovce; Bardejov; Stará Lubovňa

HZDS, SNS, SDL, KDH (6 districts)

Bratislava 2, 3, 4, 5; Bratislava vidiek; Považská Bystrica

HZDS, SDL, KDH, SNS (4 districts)

Trenčín; Liptovský Mikuláš; Poprad; Spišská Nová Ves

HZDS, MKM-EGY, SDL (3 districts)

Levice; Lučenec; Veľký Krtíš

MKM-EGY, HZDS, SDL (3 districts)

Nové Zámky; Rimavská Sobota; Trebišov

HZDS, KDH, SNS, SDL (1 district)

Dolný Kubín

HZDS, SNS, KDH, SDL (1 district)

Žilina

HZDS, KDH, SDL, SNS (1 district)

Čadca

SDL, HZDS, MKM-EGY (1 district)

Rožňava

Other Combinations (6 districts)

Bratislava 1; Galanta; Dunajská Streda; Komárno; Košice-mesto; Svidník

In 6 districts the order was HZDS, SNS, SDL, and KDH. The order in 4 districts was HZDS, SDL, KDH, and SNS. In 3 districts the patterns were MKM-EGY, HZDS, and SDL, and in another three the order was HZDS, MKM-EGY, and SDL. A greater variety as evident in 8 districts that had HZDS, SDL, KDH, and other parties.

In most of the Western region, except those districts with large Hungarian populations, the pattern was HZDS, SDL, SNS, and KDH. Five districts in Bratislava had HZDS, SNS, SDL, and KDH. In the Eastern region a number of districts had HZDS, SDL, SNS, and other. Other combinations emerged in Dunajská Streda, Komárno, Galanta, and Košice-mesto.

SUMMARY AND FUTURE RESEARCH

This study examines the role of political parties in regional and district levels in the 1992 election of deputies to the Slovak National Council. Our objective was to identify variations in numbers and percentages of candidates by party and region, party strength, and party competitiveness. The results reveal the importance of party and region in these SNC elections. Our research complements those recent electoral geography studies conducted in new democracies cited above. There are many possibilities for additional electoral geography studies in Slovakia and elsewhere in East/Central Europe. We suggest six topics; these may be conducted by newly trained political geographers or those with previous backgrounds in economic or population geography or regional modelling. First, it is important to examine the concept of local and regional political culture, including the historical roots and current forces and institutions that help define it. Second, we need detailed examinations of the votes of major and minor parties in rural and urban districts. We can use the "friends and neighbors" voting model to test the popularity of local candidates. Third, we support more in-depth studies of the district votes within Bratislava. Some districts, for example, Bratislava I, are very competitive. Detailed local investigations may unravel a number of fascinating emerging political cultures in new and old residential areas, suburbs and inner city areas, those with large numbers of elderly and youthful populations, and areas with new migrants. Fourth, we need to examine the organization and reorganization of electoral and administrative, specifically the criteria for drawing boundaries and whether they favor particular political parties and/or cities (see Morrill 1981). Fifth, it would be useful to examine the campaign strategies of the political parties, including how they decide where to invest money and organizing efforts in specific cities and districts. What are the "target" areas for personal campaigning, television and radio advertising, and placing posters and billboards in strategic locations? A final topic is to examine the votes of deputies once they are serving in the SNC. What kinds of voting patterns are evident in votes on governmental, economic, and social reform and on environmental issues? Are there differences in the votes of deputies from rural and urban areas? Do members of the same party vote alike, whether they come from Bratislava or Eastern or Western Slovakia? What kinds of voting blocs and alliances emerge?

Future investigations need to build on descriptive studies, focus more on theoretical notions and utilize multivariate analyses. Correlation and regression analyses and factor analyses have been useful in helping political geographers and others to unravel the voting

patterns and associated demographic and economic variables. See for example, the statistical analyses by Blažek and Kostolecký (1991) on elections in the Czech lands and by Johnston (1979), Archer and Taylor (1981), and Taylor and Johnston (1979) in the United States and United Kingdom. Such efforts compare votes with population change, migration origins, occupation categories, agricultural and industrial productivity, unemployment levels, religion, family, size, age, divorce levels, education and income levels. We also would encourage geographers to utilize public opinion surveys in their analyses of local and regional voting behavior. Studies in these areas will increase our understanding and knowledge of the political geographies of East/Central Europe.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We acknowledge the assistance of Marcel Šúri and Ján Szöllös in preparing the computer maps and of Petr Pavlínek for providing background information on elections in ČSFR.

POLITICAL PARTIES - ABBREVIATIONS

HZDS	- Movement for Democratic Slovakia
SDL	- Party of the Democratic Left
KDH	- Christian - Democratic Movement
SNS	- Slovak National Party
MKM-EGY	- Coalition Hungarian Christian-Democratic Movement-Együttélés-Co-existence
ODÚ	- Civil Democratic Union
SDSS	- Social-Democratic Party of Slovakia
DS-ODS	- Coalition of Democratic Party and Civil Democratic Party
SKDH	- Slovak Christian-Democratic Movement
MPP-MOS	- Magyar Polgári Párt - Hungarian Civil Party
SZS	- Green Party of Slovakia
SZ	- Green Party
SPI	- Party of the Work and Certainty
KSS	- Communist Party of Slovakia
ROI	- Rom Civil Initiative
ZPR-RSČ	- Association for Republican - Czecho-Slovakia Republican Party
SSL-SNZ	- Freedom Party - Party of National Unification
SLS	- Slovak People's Party
HZOS	- Movement for Liberation of Slovakia
HSD-SMS	- Movement for Autonomous Democratic - Company for Morava and Sliezsko
HSS	- Movement for Social - Justice
NALI	- National Liberals
HZSP-SRÚ	- Coalition Movement for Freedom of Demonstration - Slovak Republican Union

LITERATURE

- ARCHER, J.C., SHELLEY, F. (1986). *American electoral mosaics*. Washington, D.C. (Association of American Geographers).
- ARCHER, J.C., TAYLOR, P. (1981). *Section and Party: A Political geography of american presidential election from Andrew Jackson to Ronald Reagan*. Chichester (John Wiley).
- BLAŽEK, J., KOSTELECKÝ, T. (1991). Geografická analýza výsledku parlamentních voleb v roce 1990. *Sborník České geografické společnosti*, 96, 1-14.
- BRUNN, S. (1974). Electoral geography. In Brunn, S., cd. *Geography and politics in America*. New York (Harper and Row), pp. 271-312.
- BURNETT, A., TAYLOR, P., eds. (1981). *Political studies from spatial perspectives: Anglo-american essays on political geography*. Chichester (John Wiley).
- JEHLIČKA, P., SÝKORA, L. (1991). Stabilita regionální podpory tradičních politických stran v českých zemích (1920-1990). *Sborník České geografické společnosti*, 96, 81-95.
- JEHLIČKA, P., KOSTELECKÝ, T. (1992). The development of the Czechoslovak Green Party since the 1990 elections. *Environmental politics*, 1, 72-94.
- JEHLIČKA, P., KOSTELECKÝ, T., SÝKORA, L. (1993). Czechoslovak parliamentary elections 1990: Old patterns, new trends and lots of surprises. In O'Loughlin, J., Van der Wusten, H., eds. *The new Political geography of Eastern Europe*. London (Belhaven Press), New York (John Wiley & Halstead Press), pp. 235-255.
- JOHNSTON, R. (1979). *Political, electoral, and spatial system*. London (Oxford).
- JOHNSTON, R., SHELLEY, F., TAYLOR, P., eds. (1990). *Developments in electoral geography*. London and New York (Routledge), pp. 1-11.
- KOVACS, Z. (1993). The political geography of Hungarian parliamentary elections, 1989. In O'Loughlin J., Van der Wusten, H., eds. *The new political geography of Eastern Europe*. London (Belhaven Press), New York (John Wiley & Halstead Press), pp. 255-270.
- KOLOSOV, V. (1993). The electoral geography of the former Soviet Union, 1989-91: Retrospective comparisons and theoretical issues. In O'Loughlin, J., Van der Wusten, H., eds. *The new political geography of Eastern Europe*. London (Belhaven Press), New York (John Wiley & Halstead Press), pp. 189-216.
- KOSTELECKÝ, T. (1992). Parliamentary elections of 1990 and 1992 in the Czech Republic - Changing voting patterns of changing political parties. In *Conference on Party Formation in Eastern Europe*. Prague (Charles University).
- MARIOT, P. (1991). Priestorové hodnotenie výsledkov volieb do Slovenskej národnej rady (jún, 1990). *Geografický časopis*, 43, 231-248.
- MARIOT, P. (1993). Die Wahlen in den slowakischen Nationalrat in den Jahren 1900 und 1992. *Geographische Zeitschrift*, 81, 82-97.
- MARTIS, K., KOVACS, D., SANDOR, P. (1992). The geography of the 1990 Hungarian parliamentary elections. *Political geography*, 11, 283-305.
- MORRILL, R. (1981). *Political redistricting and geographic theory*. Washington, D.C. (Association of American Geographers).
- O'LOUGHLIN, J., VAN DER WUSTEN, H., eds. (1993). *The new political geography of Eastern Europe*. London (Belhaven), New York (John Wiley & Halstead Press).
- PAVLINEK, P. (1991). A geographical perspective on the 1990 elections in Czechoslovakia (paper presented at the annual meetings). Miami (Association of American Geographers).
- REGULSKA, J. (1993). Democratic elections and political restructuring in Poland, 1989-91. In O'Loughlin, J., Van der Wusten, H., eds. *The new political geography of Eastern Europe*. London (Belhaven), New York (John Wiley & Halstead Press), pp. 217-234.
- REYNOLDS, D., KNIGHT, D. (1989). Political geography. In Gail, G., Wilmott, C.J., eds. *Geography in America*. Columbus (Merrill), pp. 582-618.
- SLOVENSKÝ ŠTATISTICKÝ ÚRAD (1992). Definitívne výsledky volieb 1992 - SNR. Počty platných hlasov pre politické strany.
- TAYLOR, P. (1985). The geography of elections. In Pacione, M., ed. *Progress in political geography*. London (Croom-Helm), pp. 243-72.
- TAYLOR, P., JOHNSTON, R. (1979). *The geography of elections*. Harmondsworth (Penguin Books).

STRANY, KANDIDÁTI A ZASTÚPENIE REGIÓNOV VO VOLBÁCH DO SLOVENSKEJ NÁRODNEJ RADY V ROKU 1992

Štúdia skúma úlohu politických strán a ich zástupcov vo voľbách v roku 1992 do SNR na regionálnej úrovni. Cieľom bolo určiť variácie v počte kandidátov podľa jednotlivých politických strán, ich sily a konkurencie v jednotlivých regiόnoch Slovenska. Počet a percento kandidátov nominovaných najsilnejšími stranami vo voľbách v roku 1992 do SNR zodpovedá počtu voličov štyroch krajov. Väčšina hlasov pochádza zo západného a stredného Slovenska, najmenej z Bratislavy, pretože tu bol pomer počtu kandidátov k počtu voličov najmenší. Vo všeobecnosti sa politickým stranám darilo najlepšie tam, kde bolo nominovaných najviac kandidátov, boli však i výnimky. Zatiaľ čo HZDS vyhralo vo väčšine okresov (34), podiel získaných hlasov vo volebných okresoch sa rovnako menil v druhej, tretej a štvrtej politickej strane. SDL sa umiestnila ako druhá v dvadsaťjednom volebných okresoch. Konkurencia medzi politickými stranami bola najsilnejšia v západnom a strednom regiόne Slovenska a v Bratislave. Výsledky odhaľujú význam politických strán v okresoch pre voľby do SNR. Náš výskum dopľňa tie geografické štúdie, ktoré sa uskutočnili v nových mladých demokraciách štátov východnej a strednej Európy.

Obr. 1. Víťazné strany podľa okresov.

Obr. 2. V poradí druhá vedúca strana v okrese.

Tab. 1. Politické strany, počet získaných hlasov celkovo a v percentách.

Tab. 2. Zastúpenie poslancov z jednotlivých strán v SNR, ich počty podľa regiόnov.

Tab. 3. Celkový počet kandidátov politických strán v regiόnoch, jún 1992.

Tab. 4. Percentuálny počet poslancov najväčších politických strán vo voľbách kandidujúcich a zvolených.

Tab. 5. Prehľad 9 vedúcich strán vo voľbách, 4 okresy s najväčším a 4 s najnižším ziskom percent.

Tab. 6. Konečné umiestnenie strán vo voľbách.

VYSVETLIVKY SKRATIEK POLITICKÝCH STRÁN

HZDS	- Hnutie za demokratické Slovensko
SDL	- Strana demokratickej ľavice
KDH	- Kresťanskodemokratické hnutie
SNS	- Slovenská národná strana
MKM - EGY	- Koalícia Maďarskej kresťanskodemokratickej hnutie, Együttéles-Wspólnota-Soužití
ODÚ	- Očianska demokratická únia
SDSS	- Sociálnodemokratická strana na Slovensku
DS - ODS	- Koalícia Demokratickej strany a Občianskej demokratickej strany
SKDH	- Slovenské kresťanskodemokratické hnutie
MPP	- MOS - Magyar Polgári Párt - Maďarská občianska strana
SZS	- Strana zelených na Slovensku
SZ	- Strana zelených
SPI	- Strana práce a istoty
KSS	- Komunistická strana Slovenska '91
ROI	- Rómska občianska iniciatíva
ZPR - RSČ	- Združenie pre republiku - Republikánska strana Česko-Slovenska
SSL-SNZ	- Strana slobody - Strana národného zjednotenia
SLS	- Slovenská ľudová strana
HZOS	- Hnutie za oslobodenie Slovenska
HSD - SNS	- Hnutie za samosprávnú demokraciu - Spoločnosť pre Moravu a Sliezsko
HSS	- Hnutie za sociálnu spravodlivosť
NALI	- Národní liberáli
HZSP - SRÚ	- Koalícia Hnutie za slobodu prejavu, Slovenská republikánska únia