

# Izborna strategija i razrada izborne kampanje

# Četiri osnovna pravila političkog marketinga (Maarek, 1995)

- Pravilo dosljednosti (konzistentnost političkih kampanja, politike i djelovanja)
- Pravilo sistemskog prevrjednovanja prethodnih kampanja (kritički osvrt na (ne)uspješnost prethodnih kampanja)
- Pravilo minimalne razlike (prepoznatljivost)
- Pravilo maksimalne sigurnosti (NE otvarati pitanja za koja ne postoje konkretna rješenja)

Pri analizi izborne kampanje, neophodno je uzeti u obzir sljedeće komponente (Smit, 1990)

- Pravila (izborna i pravila sprovođenja kampanje)
- Kandidati (nosioci lista)
- Problemi (“Izbore dobija onaj ko nametne ključne probleme oko kojih će se birači opredijeliti”)
- Izorno tijelo (popularnost među onima koji izlaze na izbore)
- Sredstva (ljudi, novac i vrijeme)
- Strategija kampanje

# Razlikovati...

- ❖ *Izborni program*- javni, objavljeni dokument koji je namijenjen najširem krugu biračkog tijela; sadrži ciljeve, vrijednosti i programske principe kojima se žele pridobiti birači
- ❖ *Izborna strategija*- interni dokument, sadrži analize i akcije kojima se želi postići što je moguće veći uspjeh u sprovođenju kampanje

# Osnovni elementi izborne strategije

- Da bi izborna kampanja bila sprovedena na najbolji mogući način uz adekvatne rezultate, neophodna je razrada izborne strategije, što uključuje analizu deset elemenata

# 1. Osnovna obilježja ukupne političke situacije

- (ne)stabilnost društvenih uslova
- Izborna strategija se mora prilagođavati promjenama situacije u društvu

## 2. Istraživanje osnovnih potreba, vrijednosnih usmjerenja i emocionalnih orijentacija

- Krizne situacije dovode do promjene mentalnog sklopa, što zahtijeva prilagođavanje novim vrijednosnim orijentacijama i potrebama
- U nestabilnim situacijama dolazi do izražaja potreba za sigurnošću, koja podrazumijeva: biološku, nacionalnu i socijalnu sigurnost
- Dominantne emocije: mržnja, strah, nada

### 3. Analiza komparativnih prednosti i nedostataka sopstvene ponude

- Samokritički analizirati kvalitet svoje političke ponude
- Prednost stranke koja je na vlasti: stabilnost, sigurnost, odsustvo rizika
- Prednost opozicionih partija: situacija koja, na osnovu potreba biračkog tijela, zahtijeva promjenu



## 4. Analiza komparativnih prednosti i nedostataka konkurencije

- Jačanje sopstvenog imidža
- Anuliranje prednosti konkurentnih partija/kandidata
- Voditi računa o tome da stranke veoma često imaju različita socijalna uporišta i ciljeve
- Prednosti jedne stranke su veoma često nedostaci druge

## 5. Određivanje nivoa sopstvenih aspiracija i ciljeva

- Svako želi da dođe na vlast, ali to realno nije moguće...
- Nivo očekivanja bi trebalo da zavisi od: prethodnih izbornih rezultata, sopstvenih mogućnosti, konkurencije, analize realne društvene situacije, istraživanja javnog mnjenja
- **Treba ići iznad onoga što se može postići, ali NE PREVIŠE**
- Uvijek unaprijed treba odrediti ciljeve i smjerove/načine saradnje

## 6. Analiza potencijalnih saradnika

- predizborne/postizborne koalicije
- Saradnja sa pokretima i pojedincima
- Ne napadati nikoga bez dokaza, jer se na taj način vrata za saradnju zatvaraju
- Uzeti u obzir i odnos birača prema potencijalnim saradnicima (na osnovu istraživanja)

## 7. Utvrđivanje negativnih ciljeva

- Negativni ciljevi= ono što po svaku cijenu treba izbjeći
- Sprječavanje događaja koji imaju negativan uticaj na imidž i djelovanje stranke

## 8. Određivanje socijalnog uporišta kampanje

- Svaka stranka je manje ili više usmjerena na ispunjavanje interesa određene socijalne grupe
- Treba naglasiti koje je socijalno uporište kampanje, ali interno
- Stranke isključivo nacionalne orijentacije u modernom svijetu- rijetkost

## 9. Određivanje ciljnih grupa

- **Stratifikovani pristup**- prilagođavanje političkog programa pojedinačnim grupama, u skladu sa njihovim potrebama, ciljevima i interesima
- Moguće ciljne grupe: žene, mladi, nezaposleni, manjinske grupe (etničke, vjerske)
  - Što preciznija stratifikacija to bolji rezultati

## 10. Segmentacija biračkog tijela

- Svakoj se grupi birača treba obratiti na način koji će ona najbolje prihvatiti
- Četiri oblika segmentacije:
  - *geografski*- različita kulturno-istorijska obilježja ljudi koji žive na određenom prostoru
  - *bihevioralistički*- birači ne ulažu napor da razumiju program stranke, već u njihovom izbornom ponašanju dominira princip stranačke lojalnosti
  - *psihografski*- stavovi birača o nekim osnovnim problemima u društvu
  - *demografski*- objektivne osobine birača- pol, starost, obrazovanje, zanimanje

# Dakle, izborna strategija mora da sadrži sljedeće elemente:

1. Analiza osnovnih obilježja političke situacije
2. Istraživanje osnovnih potreba, vrijednosti i orijentacija
3. Analizu prednosti i nedostataka sopstvene ponude
4. Analizu prednosti i nedostataka ostalih aktera
5. Određivanje nivoa vlastitih ciljeva i aspiracija
6. Analiza potencijalnih saradnika
7. Negativni ciljevi
8. Određivanje socijalnog uporišta/ciljnih grupa
9. Segmentacija biračkog tijela
10. Organizacija kampanje



Kako planirati kampanju?

# Istraživanja javnog mnjenja

- Putokazi kampanje
- Osnovna vrijednost – dešavaju se PRIJE izbora
- Dva cilja:
  - Da se izvrše korekcije ciljeva
  - Da se utvrdi prostor za djelovanje na javnost



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# Prije istraživanja:

- Odrediti koji podaci su korisni i shodno tome planirati istraživanje
- Istraživačka strategija u skladu sa aspiracijama
- Finansijski obzir
- Ključne informacije:
  - Koje su jake strane vaše ponude
  - Odnos toga sa ključnim problemima
  - Šta su jake strane vaših protivnika
  - Koje su slabe strane vaše ponude
- Geografska mapa



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# Prije istraživanja (II)

- Cilj oni kod kojih postoji vjerovatnoća da će glasati za vas
- Fokus grupe prije ankete
- Anketa s ciljem da odredite:
  - Kako usmjeriti marketinšku djelatnost i resurse
  - Koju vrstu aktivnosti treba sprovoditi
  - Ključne poruke koje ćete lansirati
- Istraživanjima tokom kampanje pratiti i korigovati tok kampanje
- Fokus grupe kao dodatni kontrolni mehanizam prije lansiranja poruka

Šta biste vi voljeli da znate?



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# Primjer

## POLITICAL CAMPAIGN PLANNING MANUAL

A STEP BY STEP GUIDE TO WINNING ELECTIONS

By J. Brian O'Day

National Democratic Institute for International Affairs

## APPENDIX B: CAMPAIGN RESEARCH QUESTIONS

These are a series of questions designed to assist the campaign in understanding the particular situation of this campaign and develop a realistic strategy. Not every question may apply to every type of campaign but by working through the entire series you may begin to think about things you may have overlooked.

Some questions you will know the answer to immediately and others will require some research. In some cases, you may have to take an educated guess about the answer to a particular question. You should do this only as a last resort. It is important that you set and stick to a time limit for completing this research and answering these questions.

- 1) Election Rules
  - a) The Type of Election
    - i) What type of election is this (for example, party list or candidate, single mandate or multi mandate)?
    - ii) What is required to win the election (for example, a simple plurality or a majority of the votes cast)?
    - iii) How many seats are open in this election race (for example, is this a single mandate or multi-mandate seat)?
    - iv) Will you be running alone or as part of a team?
    - v) What are the roles and responsibilities of the office you are running for?
  - b) Election Law
    - i) Filing Candidacy
      - (1) What are the filing deadlines?
      - (2) What is needed to file as a candidate?
    - ii) Campaign Finance
      - (1) Are there contribution limits?
      - (2) What requirements are there for reporting contributions?
      - (3) What are the campaign finance filing deadlines?
    - iii) Campaigning
      - (1) What is the law regarding access to the media?
      - (2) What is the law regarding sound trucks, posters, lawn signs or other methods of visibility?
    - iv) Election Day
      - (1) Is there a turnout requirement for the election to be valid?
      - (2) When do the polls open and close?
      - (3) What are the rules about campaigning on Election Day?
      - (4) What are the rules about campaigning near a polling place?
      - (5) Who is responsible for running the elections and validating the results?

- (6) Is there a history of voter fraud in the area?
- 2) The District
- a) What is the district like?
    - i) What are the physical boundaries of the district (in other words, how large is the district)?
    - ii) What are the physical characteristics of the district (for example, is the district rural or urban, flat or mountainous, etc.)?
    - iii) Are there any important environmental factors effecting the district?
    - iv) What is the economic situation in the district?
    - v) Have the economic circumstances recently changed for the better or worse?
    - vi) How has the overall population of the district changed recently?
    - vii) What is the transportation system like?
    - viii) What other data is available on the district?
  - b) What is the political landscape of the district?
    - i) Who are the political players in the district?
    - ii) What is the situation with the local, regional or national political parties?
    - iii) Who are the civic leaders?
    - iv) Who are the business leaders?
    - v) Who else could be considered an opinion leader?
  - c) Where do voters get their information?
    - i) Who, what and where are all the local media outlets?
    - ii) Who controls the local media outlets?
    - iii) Who are the reporters covering this election for the local media outlets?
    - iv) When are the news programs?
    - v) What are the deadlines for the reporters?
    - vi) How does the media view the campaign?
    - vii) How will the media cover the campaign?
    - viii) Which press will be favorable to the candidate and which will be favorable to the opposition?
    - ix) Where can the campaign buy advertisements?
- 3) The Voters
- a) Is there a voter file or accurate list of all possible voters in the district and who has it?
  - b) What is the party breakdown of the voters or level of support for various political parties?





- c) What are the demographic make up of the voters (for example, income levels, education levels, professions, race or ethnic backgrounds, religious background, age, gender, etc.)?
  - d) What is the geographic break down of the voting population (who lives where)?
  - e) Which groups of voters are more likely to vote than other groups of voters?
  - f) What are your supporters like?
  - g) What are the target voters like and how many meet this profile?
  - h) What are the important organizations in the district?
  - i) What are the major forms of recreation?
  - j) Where do people work?
  - k) Where do people shop?
  - l) Do certain demographic groups, such as seniors, students or apartment dwellers tend to live in a particular part of the district?
  - m) Have there been any substantial changes in the overall makeup of the population recently?
- 4) Past Elections
- a) Who ran for this position in past elections?
  - b) What were the results for this position in past elections?
  - c) What percentage of the population voted in past elections?
  - d) How many votes were cast in past elections?
  - e) How many votes were needed to win this position in past elections?
  - f) What are the results for elections for other positions in this district?
  - g) What is the difference in level of support similar candidates received in past elections?
- 5) This Election
- a) The Issues
    - i) What local issues are important to voters?
    - ii) What regional or national issues are important to voters?
    - iii) What is the main motivating factor for voters?
    - iv) What is the voter mood?
    - v) How do the voters feel about the Party leaders?
    - vi) How do the voters feel about the national leaders?
  - b) Other Races
    - i) What other races will be on the ballot in this election and how does their presence impact this race?
    - ii) Who else will have campaign organizations operating in the district?
    - iii) What opportunities are there for coordinating with other campaigns?



- 6) Our Candidate
- a) What is your candidate's background?
    - i) Describe the candidate's childhood.
    - ii) Describe the candidate's education.
    - iii) Describe the candidate's work history.
    - iv) Describe the candidate's immediate family.
    - v) What role will the family play in the campaign?
    - vi) Has the candidate previously held elected or appointed public office?
    - vii) What public statements or important votes has the candidate made?
    - viii) What have others said about the candidate (both good and bad)?
    - ix) Does the candidate have a record of keeping past promises?
    - x) Is there a particular voting group that is either happy or unhappy with the candidate?
    - xi) Are there any court or other public records of the candidate?
    - xii) What is the candidate's voting record and can this be made public?
    - xiii) What is the candidate best known for and how well known is the candidate?
    - xiv) What are the most important accomplishments of the candidate?
    - xv) Is the candidate charismatic when meeting people? Is the candidate a good public speaker?
    - xvi) Are there any negative things in the candidate's past which the campaign should deal with or which an opponent might take advantage of?
  - b) What resources does the candidate or the campaign have?
    - i) What financial resources will the candidate use?
    - ii) How much time will the candidate realistically spend fundraising?
    - iii) To what organizations does the candidate belong?
    - iv) What assistance can these organizations provide?
    - v) What organizations or political action committees are likely to donate to the campaign?
    - vi) What is the cheapest way to raise the most money from proven and potential contributors?
    - vii) Is there early money?
    - viii) When will the money come in?
    - ix) What is the cash flow for the campaign?
    - x) When will the contributions be collected and how will this affect cash flow?
  - c) What does the candidate like and dislike?
- 7) Viable Opponents
- a) Who are the viable opponents?

- b) What are the viable opponents' backgrounds?
  - i) Describe the opponents' education.
  - ii) Describe the opponents' previous jobs.
  - iii) Describe the opponents' previous elected or appointed positions.
  - iv) What is the opponents' voting record?
  - v) What previous public statements or important votes have the opponents' made?
  - vi) Are there court or other public records on the opponents?
  - vii) What negative thing in the opponents' background could be exploited?
- c) What resources do the opponents bring to the campaign?
  - i) How will the opponents fund their campaign?
  - ii) What other resources are available to the opponents?



## APPENDIX D: ISSUES RELATED TO POLITICAL POLLING

### Goals of Polling:

#### 1. Strategic information for political campaign

The chief goal of polling is to provide you with strategic planning information that is useful for conducting its political campaign. Specifically, you must use your polls to find out which demographic groups are most likely to be your supporters and will be persuaded by your message. Polling simply to find out the current standing of the candidate is useless and a waste of valuable resources. The campaign should conduct each poll with a specific purpose, and should have a specific reason for asking each question on the poll.

#### 2. Discover the attitudes and concerns of voters

A political campaign is about voters. To be successful, you must talk about the things in which voters are interested in a way that voters can relate to. Polling is an excellent way to measure the attitudes and concerns of voters.

#### 3. Discover the issues that move voters

Every political activist knows the major issues of the current political campaign. However, given limited resources with which to meet voters, the campaign must know the priorities of the voters among these issues, especially how those priorities differ among sub-sets of the voting population. Polling can help the campaign focus its message and make the best use of its resources.

#### 4. Discover the candidate's position

Voters perceive each candidate to have its own strengths and weaknesses; a candidate that is perceived to be strongly against corruption, for example, may simultaneously be perceived as weak in dealing with economic or foreign policy. The campaign can use polling to discover exactly where it stands in the minds of the voters and to determine on what issues to focus its campaign.

#### 5. Test messages

The campaign can use polling to determine the effectiveness of various messages before committing resources toward communicating those messages to voters. Additionally, you can use polling to determine the effectiveness of the messages that opponents are likely to use against them, as well as the best defenses against those messages.

#### 6. Track trends

As the campaign progresses, you need to know what is happening in the minds of the voters: are they listening to the candidate's messages or to messages of the opponents? Small-scale "tracking polls" can determine this information during the election campaign.

### Types of Questions:

#### 1. Screening questions

Since the purpose of the poll is to formulate election strategy, you should be interested in talking only to those who will actually vote. Political polls typically begin with a set of screening questions to determine who is most likely to vote.

#### 2. Favorability questions

The campaign needs to determine which parties, leaders, and institutions are viewed favorably or unfavorably by voters. The voter must be encouraged to be honest, to admit that he does not know a name or has no opinion; often, a fake "control" name is used for this purpose.

3. Questions about the general political environment

These questions might include "Is the country on the right track or the wrong track?" or "Are you better off or worse off now than you were several years ago?" The purpose of such questions is to gauge the overall mood and attitudes of the voters.

4. Issue importance and positioning questions

These questions ask voters to prioritize the political issues to be discussed in the campaign and to evaluate the parties' performance on these issues. In one variant, voters are asked to rate each issue (crime, inflation, unemployment, etc.) as "extremely important", "very important", "somewhat important", or "not very important"; in another variant, voters are actually asked to prioritize short lists of issues.

5. Leadership qualities and positioning questions

These questions ask voters to prioritize the characteristics that they wish to see in their political leaders. The wording of these questions is similar to that of the issue importance questions, substituting phrases like "strong", "well-educated", or "understands people like me" for the issue terms.

6. Horse race questions

Horse-race questions are quite familiar: "If the election were held today, would you vote for Ivan Ivanov or Sergie Arbatov?" While important for tracking progress, these questions are in some sense the least important questions on the poll. In the American context, the primary purpose of such questions is fundraising or the manipulation of the media, not the basis of political strategy. Because a small percentage of voters may identify with parties or candidates, more useful to candidates are questions about whether voters would consider voting for XXX candidate or party; this way potential supporters can be identified by demographic groups.

7. Message testing questions

Message testing questions might include: "Would you be more likely or less likely to vote for a candidate/party with X characteristics?" The purpose, of course, is to test both the party's and the party's opponents' messages to determine their likely effect.

These questions are often worded neutrally to mask the name of the party or candidate being discussed.

8. Two-sided issue questions

The purpose of these questions is to find out what voters might think about a particular issue after hearing arguments from both sides. A typical question might be: "Proponents of a certain proposal say X, while opponents of the proposal say Y. Do you strongly agree with the proposal, mildly agree with the proposal, mildly disagree, or strongly disagree?"

9. Demographic questions

At the end of a poll, voters are usually asked a series of demographic questions (age, income level, education level, etc.) to determine what differences exist among sub-sets of the population. This is important for defining the demographic groups who are supporting your party, undecided, or supporting your opponents. This is also the key to defining issues and messages that work for demographic groups.

**APPENDIX E: DRAWING CONTRAST WITH YOUR OPPONENTS**

One of the most difficult problems facing candidates and political activists is the problem of creating a contrast with your opponents in the minds of the voters. Party programs and messages tend to be bland and generic, and the voters never understand why one candidate or party is better than another is. As a result, voters grow cynical and begin to view democratic elections as meaningless.

In designing your campaign message, you must give your target audience the sharpest possible contrast with your opponents. If you don't, then your target audience has no reason to vote for you instead of your opponent. In order to ensure that your message has this contrast, you should be able to word it in the following way:

"When you go to the polls on Election Day, I want you to keep one thing in mind. The differences between my opponent and me could not be clearer. You can vote for me, who stands for XXX, or you can vote for my opponents, who stand for YYY. What our country and our region need are a lot more XXX, and a lot less YYY. That's what this election is about, and that's what you are going to decide."

When searching for the "XXX" and "YYY", you may look at the following areas:

1. Values: How is what you stand for significantly different than what your opponents stand for?
2. Policies: What would you do as an elected leader that is significantly different from what your opponents would do?
3. Experience: How will the differences between your work and educational experience and your opponents' experience influence the way you would behave in office? Often, when values and policies are very similar, experience is the best way to draw contrast -- Which candidate is best able to deliver the promised policies or values?

For any particular trait under the above headings, you must craft your message in order to draw the most favorable contrast with your opponents. Examples of how to do this include:

XXX	Vs.	YYY
Values		
Positive change Or Stability, certainty	Vs.	Stagnancy, status quo, Or Instability, uncertainty
Mainstream Or Bold, dynamic	Vs.	Fringe, radical, extreme, Or Staid, unwilling to risk
Patriotic Or Common sense	Vs.	Unpatriotic, Or Nationalist extremism
Pragmatic, compromising Or Idealistic	Vs.	Partisan, uncompromising, Or "Sell-out"
For the common people Or Based on intelligence	Vs.	For the elite Or Anti-intellectual
Optimistic Or Realist	Vs.	Pessimistic, Or Dreamer

Honest, trustworthy Or Realistic, world-wise	Vs.	Corrupt, untrustworthy, Or Naive, "babe-in-the-woods"
<b>Policies</b>		
Protects your region first Or Statesman looking out for the Nation	Vs.	Sell-out to Moscow, Or Provincial, small-minded
Against greedy businessmen Or Pro-business, pro-growth	Vs.	In the pocket of the rich, Or Over-regulation, Anti-growth
Social protection Or For individual responsibility	Vs.	Uncaring, heartless, Or For the narcotic of government support
Individual thinker Or Trusted "team player"	Vs.	Puppet of party leader, Or Maverick, "loose cannon"
For responsible public investment Or For private initiative	Vs.	Allowing factories to deteriorate, Or For support of inefficient wasteful state enterprises
For quick and efficient privatization Or For fairness in distributing assets	Vs.	For continued inefficient management Or For giving national resources to the rich and corrupt
<b>Experience</b>		
Young, dynamic Or Wisdom, experienced	Vs.	Old, stuck in the past Or Foolish, inexperienced
Has the clout to get things done Or Independent, integrity	Vs.	Weak, not serious Or Has ties to corrupt nomenclature
Highly educated and intelligent Or Understands common people	Vs.	Unimpressive background Or Egg headed, out of touch
Extensive government experience Or Real-world experience	Vs.	Untried, untested Or Part of the problem in Moscow
Understands business Or Not corrupted by money	Vs.	Locked in the past system Or New Russian, tainted by money



Date	Activity	Coordinator and Volunteers	Expenses
Election Day			
One Week Before Election Day			
Two Weeks Before Election Day			
Three Weeks Before Election Day			
Four Weeks Before Election Day			