

# THE SLOVENIAN GREENS: FROM EARLY SUCESS TO LONG-TERM FAILURE

Danica Fink-Hafner  
Matej Knep  
Meta Novak



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# **The Slovenian Greens: From Early Success to Long-Term Failure**

Danica Fink-Hafner, Matej Knep, Meta Novak

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# Abbreviations

DEMOS	Democratic Opposition of Slovenia [ <i>Demokratska opozicija Slovenije</i> ]
EFGP	European Federation of Green Parties
EG	European Greens
EP	European Parliament
EU	European Union
LZČPV	Citizen's List for Clean Potable Water [ <i>Lista za čisto pitno vodo</i> ]
MEP	Member of the European Parliament
MP	Member of Parliament
NGO	Nongovernmental Organisation
SEG	Party of Ecological Movements of Slovenia [ <i>Stranka ekoloških gibanj Slovenije</i> ]
SMS	Party of Youth of Slovenia [ <i>Stranka mladih Slovenije</i> ]
SPOS	Slovenian Public Opinion Survey [ <i>Slovensko javno mnenje</i> ]
TRS	Party for Sustainable Development of Slovenia [ <i>Stranka za trajnostni razvoj Slovenije</i> ]
ZK	Green Coalition [ <i>Želena koalicija</i> ]
ZS	Zeleni Slovenije [Greens of Slovenia]
ZZ	United Greens [ <i>Ždruženi Zeleni</i> ]
ZL	United Left [ <i>Ždružena levica</i> ]

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# 1 INTRODUCTION

Green parties face a number of challenges to achieving parliamentary success. Achieving long-term success is particularly difficult. The Irish and Czech Greens, for example, managed to gain parliamentary seats, but forfeited their legitimacy in an ill-advised government coalition with the right (Jepps, 2010). In Romania, Green parties achieved an early success by taking advantage of a ballot structure which confused voters, thereby securing parliamentary seats without securing legitimacy (Pavlínek and Pickles, 2000: 190–191). By contrast, the Greens in the Netherlands have been a stable faction in the Dutch parliament despite the party system being predominantly determined by the Dutch consociational political system. In the United Kingdom, the Green Party of England and Wales first entered the House of Commons in 2010; although it gained over a million votes across the country, the UK's first-past-the-post electoral system ensured that it gained only one parliamentary seat (Crossley, 2015). Furthermore, while it has been argued that the support for Green parties correlates with the shift from a modern industrial society to a post-modern, post-industrial society (Bürklin, 1985), this argument is not as applicable to western European countries as it is to post-socialist Eastern European countries due to their post-socialist transitions. Although both structural and agential factors are critical for new parties seeking to enter parliament for the first time (Bolleyer, 2013), there has been little research into understanding how new parties in general and new Green parties in particular maintain their parliamentary seats (Fink-Hafner and Krašovec, 2013).

So, what factors determine Green party electoral success? Researchers have so far focused only on a limited range of factors which could be broadly described as *external* and *internal*. It has often been

acknowledged that electoral rules and party systems (so-called ‘external factors’) are the primary explanation for Green party success (or lack thereof), as is clearly the case in the United Kingdom.

By contrast, the case of Romania suggests Green party parliamentary success may have been due to a possible manipulation of electoral rules in its favour, whereas the Greens in the Netherlands have succeeded *in spite* of the country’s unfavourable external institutional characteristics. Indeed, Ferdinand Müller-Rommel (1985) also noticed that the policy decisions of some Green parties in Western countries have had an important impact on their success. However, with the exception of a few brief observations (as in the cases of the Irish, Czech and Romanian Greens), this agential set of factors has not been systematically analysed. Green parties have been observed to be organisationally fragmented since the early period of Green party development (Rüdig, 1985; Kitschelt, 1989; O’Neil, 2012).

The role of agency may be critical. Intra-party conflicts among European Green parties have led to party splits, particularly during the early stages of their development (O’Neil, 2012: 174–175). Furthermore, conflicts among Green parties within a particular milieu (for instance, in the Netherlands during the 1990s) have led to inter-Green party competition which has resulted in poor parliamentary representation for the Greens (Lucardie and Vorman, 2008). In spite of this, Green parties have been able to join forces to obtain positions in government, as happened in Belgium in 1999 (Buelens and Deschouwer, 2002). Since it is possible to identify different Green party behavioural patterns, it is important to take into account the potential significance of political agency (Blühdorn and Szarka, 2004).

At the time of writing, the window of opportunity for Green party electoral success opened by the recent economic crisis has been analysed in just a few Western countries (Hernández and Kriesi, 2015) and Greece (Botetzagias and Vasilopoulos, 2015). Our analysis aims to offer an insight into the possible strategic uses of the crisis circumstances (such as the decline in the legitimacy of ‘ideological’ parties in power) which could enable Green parties in a post-socialist context to succeed at the ballot box.

In short, this book tests the often overlooked thesis that the characteristics of agency within the Green party segment in a given national party system may be a crucial factor in the long-term success or failure of Green parties within that system. Furthermore, we

believe this to be a timely contribution, since most Green parties in Europe appear unable to capitalise on the crisis of legitimacy currently facing mainstream parties both nationally and in the European Parliament. They have often failed to occupy the gaps in political representation that have opened up. We will test our thesis on the case of Slovenia.

Our particular focus is on the post-socialist context in which the question remains: to what extent does the post-socialist context affect the development of Green parties? Our thesis is that there is no single answer to this question. Firstly, since the 1989 wave of transitions to democracy, post-socialist party systems have dynamically evolved. In some cases, the party system has undergone gradual consolidation; in some cases it has been frozen; and in some cases it has been destabilised (Enyedi and Casal Bértoa, 2011). Secondly, post-socialist countries have to varying degrees experienced constitutional and electoral engineering (Fink-Hafner and Hafner-Fink, 2009). Both aspects considerably co-determine the opportunities for Green parties to enter post-socialist parliamentary arenas. Furthermore, there is considerable variance in the dominant values among post-socialist countries (Listhaug and Ringdal, 2006).

Although in some respects Europeanisation is a factor of domestic developments, we will exclude it as a relevant factor impacting on the national party system. This is because researchers have observed little evidence that Europeanisation has actually impacted on either national political party politics in general (Mair, 2000; Ladrech, 2002; Lewis and Mansfeldova, eds, 2006; Poguntke et al., eds, 2007) or Slovenian politics in particular (Krašovec and Lajh, 2008).

Slovenia makes a good case study for analysing the significance of Green parties' political agency for several reasons: Slovenian electoral rules are relatively non-stringent.<sup>1</sup> The Slovenian party system is open. Slovenian society is characterised by a considerable level of post-modern values and post-modern post-national citizenship compared to other post-socialist countries (Inglehart and Welzel, 2005: 60–63; Hafner-Fink et al., 2013). This can be evidenced by the

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<sup>1</sup> Prior to the first multi-party elections in Slovenia, both the old and oppositional political parties were insecure about their electoral success and so decided to introduce the proportional system for the Socio-political Chamber of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia (as it was still named at the time). Subsequent changes to the electoral rules have been minor and have not effectively closed the parliamentary party system.

emergence of a significant post-modern Green consciousness among Slovenian voters as early as the 1980s (Toš et al., 1987; Malnar and Šinko, 2012).

More illustrative arguments in favour of a Slovenian case study are presented in the following section on the research question and the analytical framework. This will be followed by a brief overview of the factors affecting Green party developments, as identified in the literature. Following the case study of the Slovenian Green party segment we will conclude by summarising our findings.



## 2 THE RESEARCH QUESTION AND THE METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

Our thesis is that external factors – such as electoral rules, the characteristics of competition within a party system, the value orientation of the electorate – are important. However, external factors are not the only factors that determine whether Green parties both enter parliament and endure the long term. The economic crises which hit Slovenia at the beginning of 1990s and again in 2011 (the international financial and economic crisis of 2008 reached Slovenia with some delay) cannot in themselves explain the persistently poor electoral results of either the existing Green parties or the newly emerging Green parties. As the early 1990s confirmed, an economic crisis may even provide a window of opportunity for old and for new parties if their leadership is able to take advantage of the circumstances. Indeed, not only have new parties with new leaders been able to enter the Slovenian parliament in the recent circumstances; they have even assumed control of the government after the two consecutive pre-term elections in the context of the most recent crisis. For this reason, we argue that, where external factors make for a more accessible party system for new entrants, and where voters' (green) values do not radically alter over time, it is the internal factor that best explains the success or failure of Green parties in a particular national context.

Since Green parties first emerged in Western Europe (particularly in Germany) in the context of the social and political changes particular to the 1970s and 1980s, researchers have been analysing the various factors that contributed to their emergence and development in this part of the world. As already mentioned, external factors have

usually been understood in terms of the various characteristics of the national political environment. As a rule, the internal factors have included the organisational fragmentation of Green parties, but not so much the characteristics of party leadership and its behaviour. Although our focus is on the post-socialist context, we will analyse the interplay of all three factors. Indeed, we will look at the dynamics between (1) the national political-environment factor and (2) the internal agency characteristics of Green Party developments, and also take account of (3) the economic crisis as an intervening factor.

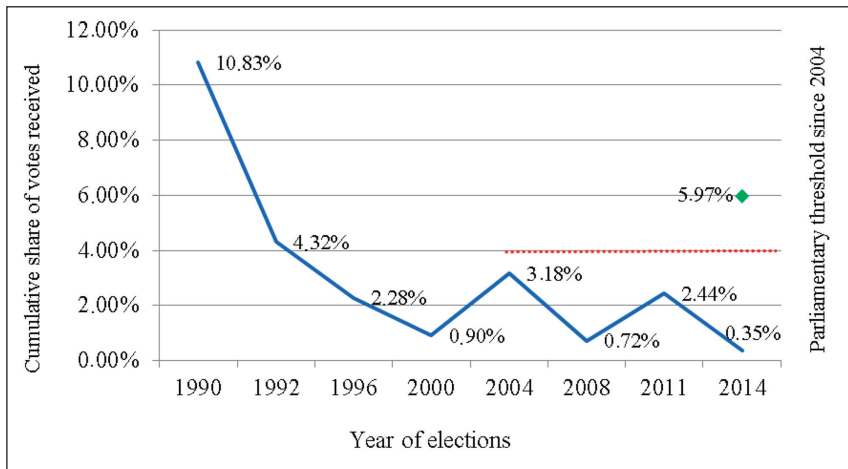
From a methodological point of view, Slovenia offers a valuable case study because its experiences provide an opportunity to study Green party politics in an institutional context that is relatively stable, inclusive and post-socialist. Furthermore, in such an institutional context the openness of a party system has endured. Additionally, pro-environmental values, which evolved during the 1980s, have kept considerable status in spite of some ups and downs (as presented in the next sections of the book). Slovenia – as described – provides a ‘natural laboratory’ for studying the role of agency in the development of Green parties.

According to the 2008 post-national citizenship index data (composed of protest potential, universalism, international trust, institutional participation, supranational identity and self-direction), Slovenia appeared to be close to the average post-national citizenship index of 21 EU member states, including Cyprus, Estonia, the United Kingdom and Spain (Hafner-Fink et al., 2013: 879). When the countries were clustered according to aggregate indicators of new (post-national) citizenship (i.e. institutional political participation, protest participation, universalistic values, self-direction values, supranational identity, and trust in international organisations) Slovenia fell within the same cluster as Portugal and Spain (Hafner-Fink et al., 2013: 880).

Slovenian attitudes had already begun to shift in this direction during the 1980s, at the time supporting the development of the new Green social movement. By the end of the 1980s, a greater number of adult citizens surveyed held that by year 2000, environmental damage would represent a greater threat to world security than an economic crisis (47 per cent of respondents for the former compared with 44 per cent of respondents for the latter) (Malnar, 1992: 37). Of those surveyed, 67.1 per cent were ready to participate in voluntary environmental cleaning initiatives, 54.5 per cent

would save household energy (petrol, electricity), 50.6 per cent were ready to contribute to a cleaner environment by participating in or supporting political organisations with such policy goals, 33.6 per cent were ready to pay green taxes to maintain a clean environment (Kos, 1993: 46). While environmental consciousness in the 1980s was initially more prevalent among the more educated members of the population, it soon spread more widely and across all generations, due in part to the inclusion of environmentalism in the state education system (Malnar and Šinko, 2012: 489–490). While expressions of environmental concern in a narrower sense (opinions on particular environmental matters) have become less vociferous since 2011, this decline in public discourse should not be seen as an indication of a decline in environmental values (Anderson, 1997; Malnar and Šinko, 2012: 488). Indeed, the massive scope of mobilisation of citizens to solve environmental problems is ongoing proof that environmental values remain important to most citizens. For instance, the Let’s Clean Slovenia/ *Očistimo Slovenijo* initiative, organised since 2010, draws volunteers from all parts of Slovenia (Geopedia, 2013). In 2012, around 270,000 volunteers – more than 13 per cent of the Slovenian population – participated in the initiative (Statistical Office of Slovenia, 2012; Društvo Ekologi brez meja, 2012).

Figure 1: Cumulative percentage of votes for Green parties at parliamentary elections in Slovenia since 1990



Source: data from Table 1 (electoral results of Green parties at national and European elections).

At Slovenia's first multi-party elections in April 1990, the Greens of Slovenia achieved a major electoral success compared with other Central European post-communist countries, winning 8.8 per cent of votes and eight out of 80 parliamentary seats. In spite of the inclusiveness of the national institutional and broader political environment, Green parties proved to be unsuccessful after the 1992 elections which were held on the basis of the new constitution adopted in December 1991.

Since the 1996 general elections, none of the competing Green parties has entered either the National Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia on their own at the 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2011 elections, nor have they gained any seats in the European Parliament since Slovenia's EU membership (elections were held in 2004, 2009 and 2014).

Although the 2011 pre-term elections, which took place in the context of the crisis, created a new window of opportunity, it was only in the most recent pre-term elections in 2014 that one small Green party actually entered parliament. Even then, they have only been successful as part of the United Left coalition/*Združena levica*. Such developments can be explained by the internal characteristics of the Green party segment in Slovenia.

Our empirical analysis of the case of Slovenia is focused on national elections only. The empirical work is based on the following methods: a review of research into party politics in Slovenia and original Green Party documents, some of which are accessible on the internet, and some of which are held in private archives; a secondary analysis of data from the Slovenian Public Opinion Survey; interviews with prominent Green politicians in Slovenia published in the Slovenian media (*Mladina*, *Dnevnik*, *Delo*); and a series of interviews conducted in 2013, 2014 and 2015 with representatives of Slovenia's Green parties.

### **3 THEORETICAL LENSES: FACTORS OF GREEN PARTY DEVELOPMENT**

#### **The Political Environment**

The political environment is often defined as the institutional factors and characteristics of party competition (Kriesi, 1995; Rootes, 1995; Faucher 1999; Lucardie 2000; Hino, 2006; Carter, 2007 and 2008). The parliamentary political system and the proportional electoral system (both have been in place in Slovenia since the transition to democracy) are recognised in political science literature as favourable to both political parties representing particular interests as well as to new political parties attempting to enter parliament. The electoral rules determining the openness of the party system for new parties are often considered to be critical factors (Pennisi, 1998; Faucher 1999; Tavits, 2006; Carter, 2007; Selb and Pituctin, 2010). Proportional electoral systems without thresholds or low thresholds (below 5 per cent) – such as Slovenia’s – are believed to allow party system openness.

The characteristics of party system competition have been identified as a factor which co-determines both the degree of openness for new parties and the viability of new parties (Kitschelt, 1988; Kaelberer, 1993; Rootes, 1995; Lago and Martinez, 2011). To some extent, culture and values have been identified as an extension of the political environment in as far as they influence party politics in the voter-party linkage (Faucher, 1999).

The Green party phenomenon has usually been explained by changes in the social structure and the predominant values, characterised as a shift from a modern condition to a post-modern condition (Inglehart, 1971; Dalton, 1993). The key factors affecting Green party developments in Europe have been held to include the presence of post-modern environmental values, institutional structures and the nature of party competition (Rootes, 1995). Müller-Rommel (1998: 192) has observed that Green parties also represent a form of protest vote against the established political institutions. Furthermore, in those countries with socialist systems, Green movements and embryonic Green parties (along with other oppositional movements and parties) first had to fight to establish the necessary democratic preconditions before being able to pursue their political and policy agendas (Fink-Hafner, 1992).

The national political environment has often been recognised as a relevant factor in the development of Green parties (e.g. Burchell, 2002; Carter, 2007; Richardson, 1995, 2005). In the post-socialist context, authors have focused on the role of the political environment to such an extent that they have even under-researched other factors (Fagan, 2004; Carmin and Fagan, 2010; Císař, 2010). In this book, we will consider the relevance of the national political environment for the value dimensions of both institutions and citizens.

## **The Internal Agential Characteristics of Green Party Developments**

Green party agency has only been partially addressed in the literature. When it has been addressed it has been mostly dealt with in one of two ways.

*Firstly*, within the framework of Green political thought. Here, agency has been primarily perceived as a collective political actor in the form of a Green movement, with the Green party in question as an internally complex organism composed of various social groups following the grassroots democracy values of a 'movement party' (Goodin, 1992; Talshir, 2002: 3–16). Indeed, the personalisation of politics in terms of charismatic leaders has been regarded as being incompatible with such values (Carter, 2007: 117). Rather, there have either been several political persons sharing the leading political roles or there has even been a large collective leadership of this kind of political agency (Carter, 2007: 121). Agency in terms of leadership has

remained an underestimated element in the Green party literature in spite of the importance of political leadership recognised in the general literature on party organisation (see Panebianco, 1988). Some authors of the ‘Green party literature’ segment have glossed over the question of political leadership as a ‘relatively self-explanatory category’ (Burchell, 2002: 48).

*Secondly*, analyses of particular Green party organisational adaptations to gain a certain share of the vote in order to enter the parliamentary party system and the related strategic challenges have tended to take priority over analyses of Green party political leadership. Indeed, research reveals that factionalism among Green parties (as with other party groups) is not uncommon and represents a major problem for agency (Rüdiger, 1985; Kitschelt, 1989; Kaelberer, 1993 and 1998; Rootes, 1995; Karamichas and Botetzagia, 2003; Botetzagias and Vasilopoulos, 2015), particularly in the early stages of a party’s development (O’Neil, 2012). Examples in the media demonstrate how a Green party’s success is often linked to the strengths of its leadership, as has recently been the case in the UK (Martin, 2015), just as a leader’s eccentric behaviour may explain a party’s failure – for example, the former Green leader in the UK who claimed to be the Messiah (Hattenstone, 2015).

In contrast to the recent UK example of a charismatic female Green leader, women have only rarely been seen in the leading position – as with many parties from other ideological-political party families. Nevertheless, this fact particularly stands out in the case of Greens that emerged from new social movements of the 1970s and 1980s. We can observe that Green social movements of that time typically included a considerable proportion of women (see e.g. Fink-Hafner, 1992: 134–135). Nevertheless, women have not made it into the top political roles even within such movements.

Empirical cases have also shown that conflict is as common as collaboration among Green parties (Buelens and Deschouwer, 2002; Lucardie and Vorman, 2008; Botetzagias and Vasilopoulos, 2015). So far, Green parties have faced a dilemma between the ‘fundamental ideological’ and the ‘pragmatic’. Here, the role of a competent political leadership becomes critical in steering a path between the ‘fundamentalists’ and the ‘pragmatists’. A failure by the leadership to do so has led to the demise of Green parties (Karamichas and Botetzagia, 2003: 65). Furthermore, political leadership – especially when alienated from its members and supporters – may make strategic

decisions (e.g. marriages of convenience in coalition-building) that cost the party its political survival (Jepps, 2010). Although collaboration has often contributed to Green party successes, the merits of this strategy should be questioned, not simply due to the broader ideological and political differences, but also due to the personal animosities among the leaders of the different Green parties (see Nadenichek Golder, 2006: 79, Lukaš and Outlý, 2008: 80).

Despite being a potentially critical factor in explaining the Green phenomenon, there has been little research into the factionalism among Green parties (Karamichas and Botetzagia, 2003: 67). Researchers have identified internal distinctions between conservative ('purist') Green parties and New Left ('rainbow') Green parties, as well as distinctions in the degrees of inclusiveness between Green parties, distinctions between 'ideologists' and 'pragmatists' (Rüdig, 1985; Kitschelt, 1989; Kaelberer, 1993 and 1998; Rootes, 1995) and distinctions between the socio-economically left-leaning and the conservative/ right-wing Green parties. The strategic decisions of various Green parties – whether beneficial or damaging – have usually been presented as party decisions and not as a question of leadership, as was the case in the collaboration among Green parties from Western and Eastern Germany following reunification (Burchell, 2002: 54). The recent economic crisis, however, has demonstrated the importance of strategic leadership decisions for both the long-term survival of Green parties as well as for the chance for Green parties to offer voters a viable non-corrupt and responsive political alternative.

## **The Economic Crisis**

The economic crisis has presented a number of challenges which may have had at least two potential impacts on Green party developments. On one hand, the crisis may have impacted on the ranking of citizens' values in favour of materialistic values (rather than post-materialistic values). The crisis may also have affected the ranking of voters' preferences and public policies in a negative direction when it comes to the greening of politics. On the other hand, the nature of the political management of the economic crisis in some countries may have affected the legitimacy of the more mainstream parties in power and may have opened a window for opposition parties and new parties to enter the system. In any case, the economic crisis has



created a critical multidimensional situation that calls for strategic political reaction.

While Green parties emerging in the economically and politically destabilised socialist context of the 1980s joined the newly emerging opposition parties against the regime (Ramet, 1995), the post-socialist setting is no longer so different from that of modern political systems. Consequently, the reactions of Green parties in post-socialist political systems to the recent international financial and economic crisis are comparable to the reactions of Green parties in Western political systems.

In the recent international financial and economic crisis, green issues and their post-materialistic foundations appear to have been relatively ‘crisis-proof’ and Green parties do not appear to have suffered any systematic disadvantage in elections in Europe (Bukow and Switek, 2013). Moreover, the latest research (Hernández and Kriesi, 2015) reveals that the recent recession has in fact enhanced opportunities for dynamic changes to party systems. The mainstream parties have been losing to the radical populist right, the radical left, and to non-mainstream parties (chief among them have been Green parties). The crisis has in fact served to accelerate the existing long-term trends in the restructuring of Western European party systems (Hernández and Kriesi, 2015: 26). In the idiosyncratic post-socialist contexts, however, in which the incumbents have been punished less for economic hardship than for increased corruption (Hernández and Kriesi, 2015: 25), the predictability of the incumbent vote has increased while the volatility of CEE party systems remains considerably higher than in Western Europe (Hernández and Kriesi, 2015: 26). In post-socialist countries like Slovenia, where privatisation of public enterprises is still in progress, the related phenomena of ‘tycoonisation’, increasing unemployment, poverty and the loss of trust in political parties and governments add to the challenges of political elites. Although a strategic combination of environmental and socio-economic issues could arguably mobilise a significant share of the vote in such circumstances, the practical responses of Green party leaders in a post-socialist context (as well as in Western countries) can only be identified by empirical analysis.



## 4 THE DEVELOPMENT OF GREEN PARTIES IN SLOVENIA

### From Social Movement to Party Politics

Slovenia has a tradition of nature conservation activism within civil society going back over a century. However, the modern environmental movement emerged in the 1960s. In 1971, the national environmental umbrella organisation, the League of Societies for the Protection of the Environment in Slovenia/*Zveza društev za varstvo okolja v Sloveniji*, was established.

Key people in the League of Societies for the Protection of the Environment in Slovenia were also prominent members<sup>1</sup> of the League of Communists at the time. The League Societies was not only able to reach out to a broader public, but was also tolerated when presenting what were – at least for the ruling party – rather radical views on ecology (Plut, 2015).

Nevertheless, it was the post-modern environmental movement (a type of new social movement of the 1980s) that provided the opportunity for the emergence of one of the oppositional political parties at the end of the 1980s (Fink-Hafner, 1992; Knep and Fink-Hafner, 2011). The post-modern environmental movement began as a loosely organised but publicly-visible protest-movement against industrial development in the first half of the 1980s. The movement's most notable campaigns included the shutting down of the Krško nuclear power plant and the Žirovnica uranium mine, campaigning for the

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<sup>1</sup> Among them were Matej Bor, Jelka Kraiger, Avguštin Lah and Aleš Bebler (Plut, 2015).

installation of cleaning devices in several of Slovenia's coal-burning power stations, and cutting the price of lead-free petrol. For a while, this movement found its political place beneath the umbrella of the increasingly oppositional League of Socialist Youth/*Žveza socialistične mladine*. As in other parts of Europe, The Greens of Slovenia/*Zeleni Slovenije* had their roots in new social movements (Feinstein, 1992; Bomberg, 1998, 2005; Burchell, 2002; Müller-Rommel, 2002; Jehlička et al., 2011). Indeed, The Greens of Slovenia was the only party formed out of the new social movement milieu of the 1980s, during the period of Slovenia's transition to democracy. It was established in Ljubljana on 11 June 1989 – just a few months before the amendments to the Constitution of the then Socialist Republic of Slovenia permitted party pluralism.

The Greens of Slovenia presented themselves as a 'social and political movement' in line with the idea of a party-movement (*bewegungs-partei*), after the example of the German Greens. The Greens of Slovenia's statutory rules (from 30 June 1990) included some organisational elements typical for a party. Indeed, sections I, II, III, IV determine the Greens as a political organisation – a legal entity with members, organisational units and bodies. All three organisational faces of the party – parliamentary, activists and central office – were recognised. So were some 'other forms of linking'/'*druge oblike povezovanja*' (section V) and political streams within the party (section VI). Even sympathisers were expected to sign membership forms/*pristopno izjavo* in order to participate in shaping the programme as well as at all party bodies and public meetings. Internal political streams were given 'the rights of a political minority'/'*pravice politične manjšine*', including the visibility of minority opinion in party conclusions (representing the opinion of the majority) (line 25 in the framework of section VI). The party faction could only be established in cases of fundamental disagreements, which even ongoing discussion could not resolve (line 28 in the section VI). Internal democracy was also evident in the candidate selection rules for national elections – based on bottom-up processes and secret ballots (section VIII). Together, the statutory rules reflected both the party's organisational characteristics and some elements of social movement-type political participation.

By 1992, The Greens of Slovenia had evolved into a party based on organisation at the national and several sub-national levels (regions, local communities/*občine* and the lowest/*krajevne organizacije*).

The party central was distinguished from the parliamentary Greens. Its internal democracy followed similar models to other parties in Slovenia at the time by including the rights and duties of party members, the party assembly, the council, the executive board, the programme council, supervisory board and board for statutory matters and complaints, president and vice-president, secretary general, Green Party MPs club, secretariat and last but not least political coordination reserved for emergency situations (Zeleni Slovenije, 1992c). The remains of the early enthusiasm for a more movement-like organisation can be seen in several rules allowing party members considerable autonomy and freedom. Indeed, the same statutory rules allowed the organisation of internal factions in cases of more long-term disagreements among members of the party (Article 58). The cadre policy was also determined democratically, allowing all party organs, all sub-national organisations and party members to take an active part in proposing party candidates for national elections, using secret ballots in the council to choose candidates for the party list and autonomous sub-national organisational units' decisions about local election candidates. The party's primary financial resources came from membership fees, state subsidies, contributions from physical and legal persons.

The Greens of Slovenia, demanding democratisation, joined an emerging bloc of oppositional political leagues (Šešerko, 1990 and 1992; Fink-Hafner, 1992; Klemenc, 2011). But, they faced difficulties shortly after the first multi-party elections when they entered parliament and government. Among the sources of difficulties were two party matters. Firstly, the relationships between internal party organs were not clearly defined between the presidency, the programme council and the secretariat; between the executive committee and other committees; between the MPs' club, the executive committee and secretariat. Secondly, the management of political pluralism within the party was ineffective when trying to fulfil their coalition partners' expectation that MPs' voting behaviour would be disciplined (Plut, 1991a: 3). These differences between decisions made by party central and by the Green MPs endangered the reputation of a serious and reliable party.<sup>2</sup>

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2 See e.g. the document by the President of the Greens of Slovenia, Dušan Plut, *Za Zelene kot resno in zanesljivo stranko (odnos stranka – poslanski klub)*, Ptuj, 13. 6. 1992; and the document by Božo Flajšman, *Kako do učinkovite zelene stranke? Tekst za razpravo na Skupščini Zelenih Slovenije*, Ptuj, 13. 6. 1992.

During its first two years, The Greens of Slovenia, like other parliamentary parties at the time, had to deal with both the difficulties of establishing a viable political organisation, and had to overcome numerous historic political obstacles: the intervention of the Yugoslav Army; the adoption of the new constitution; the establishment of a new independent state with revised state institutions and army; determining the privatisation model; and a sharp increase in economic problems, including high unemployment; the introduction of Slovenian currency; and the multiple social impacts of the war in the neighbouring region. All of these major political issues represented major challenges even to more established parties, by they were particularly harmful to the Greens, since they overshadowed environmental issues both in the media and governmental decision-making. Ideological differences within the Greens between factions on the left and the right led to clashes over how to approach the big issues and subsequently damaged party unity, in much the same way as they did in other new Slovenian parties. Nevertheless, some environmental policies were put into place during the Greens' period of representation in government.

Looking back at the last two decades, it can be said that party splits and the electoral failures of Slovenia's Green parties have led to cycles of new Green parties forming, none of which have yet been able to achieve the level of success attained by The Greens of Slovenia during Slovenia's transitional period.

## **Green Parties at Elections**

The Greens of Slovenia / *Želeni Slovenije* not only achieved remarkable success in the watershed elections of April 1990, but also entered the internally rather ideologically heterogeneous Demos's<sup>3</sup> government, led by Lojze Peterle (Slovenian Christian Democrats / *Slovenski krščanski demokrati*). They achieved this before internal organisational consolidation. The then vice president of the Greens, Vane Gošnik, was even elected Vice President of the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia. At the elections for the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia on 8 April 1990, the prominent green activist, Dušan Plut, became a member of the collective Presidency. While the Greens

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<sup>3</sup> *Demos* was led by Jože Pučnik, but he decided not to assume the position of Prime Minister (a note by Plut, 2015).

gained important positions in the government, including ministerial positions in the fields of environmental protection and health and energy, which enabled them to influence crucial policy decisions, they also had to address some crucial macro political issues of the time. These included: the establishment of a new economic and political order; the creation of an independent Slovenian state; and repositioning the country for European integration. The Greens of Slovenia succeeded in re-entering parliament in the 1992 elections, which were held on the basis of the new constitution adopted in December 1991. However, since the 1996 general elections, no Green party has managed to enter the National Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia at the 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008 regular as well as the 2011 and the 2014 pre-term elections (Table 1).

Table 1: Lists of Slovenian Green parties which competed in the national parliamentary elections and at the European Parliament elections, and their electoral results (percentage of votes and – in brackets – a number of parliamentary seats won)

Year of elections/ Green political parties	1990	1992	1996	2000	2004 EP	2004	2008	2009 EP	2011	2014 EP	2014
The Greens of Slovenia [Zeleni Slovenije]	8.84% (8)	3.7% (5)	1.76% (0)	---	2.3% (0) <sup>5</sup>	0.69% (0)	0.51% (0)	---	0.36% (0)	0.83% (0)	0.53% (0)
Green Alternative [Zelena alternativa]	---	---	0.52% (0)	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
United Greens <sup>2</sup> [Združeni Zeleni]	---	---	---	0.90% (0)	---	---	---	0.73% (0)	---	---	---
Green Coalition <sup>3</sup> [Zelena koalicija]	---	---	---	---	---	---	0.21% (0)	---	---	---	---
Party for Sustainable Development of Slovenia [Stranka za trajnostni razvoj Slovenije – TRS]	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1.22% (0)	See Coalition United Left	See Coalition United Left
Citizen's Green List/ Slovenian Ecological Movement/ Party of Ecological Movements of Slovenia [Državljska zelena lista/ Slovensko ekološko gibanje/ Stranka ekoloških gibanj Slovenije]	1.99% (0)	0.62% (0)	---	---	0.59% (0)	0.41% (0)	---	---	---	---	---
Youth Party of Slovenia/ Youth Party – Greens of Europe [Stranka mladih Slovenije – Evropski Zeleni]	---	---	---	4.33% (4) <sup>1</sup>	2.3% (0) <sup>5</sup>	2.08% (0)	---	1.96% (0)	0.86% (0) <sup>8</sup>	---	---
Coalition United Left <sup>9</sup> [Koalicija Združena leвица]	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	5.47% (0)	5.97% (6)
total	10.83% (8)	4.32% (5)	2.28% (0)	0.9% (0) <sup>4</sup>	2.89% (0) <sup>5</sup>	3.18% (0)	0.72% (0)	2.69% (0)	2.44% (0)	0.83%+ (0)	0.53%+ <sup>3</sup> n/a

## Notes:

- <sup>1</sup> Several, mostly local parties which only appeared at the national level by chance have been excluded from the list (The Green Movement of the Ljubljana Municipality of Moste-Polje, which competed at the 1992 parliamentary elections and won 0.06 per cent of the vote; the List for Clean Potable Water, which competed in the 2008 parliamentary elections and won 0.39 per cent of the vote and joined the United Greens for the 2009 European Parliament elections; and the Acacias, which competed at the 1996 and 2004 parliamentary elections as the independent list of Marko Breclj, and at the 2008 and 2011 parliamentary elections and won 0.11 per cent, 0.05 per cent, 0.02 per cent and 0.02 per cent shares of the vote).
- <sup>2</sup> Different alliances of the factions of The Greens of Slovenia competed under the label of United Greens. At the parliamentary elections in 2000, an alliance was formed between The Greens of Slovenia and the Green Alternative (Trampuš, 2000), while at the European Parliament elections in 2009 an alliance was formed between The Greens of Slovenia, Green Progress, The Green Party and the Party for Clean Potable Water (MMC RTV SLO/ STA 2009).
- <sup>3</sup> The Green Coalition is an alliance between two factions of the former members of The Greens of Slovenia, established for the purpose of competing in parliamentary elections. Each of these factions established its own political party – Green Progress and The Green Party – active mostly at the local level.
- <sup>4</sup> Prior to the 2004 elections, the Youth Party of Slovenia was not profiled as a Green party.
- <sup>5</sup> The Greens of Slovenia and the Youth Party of Slovenia competed with a joint list of candidates at the 2004 European Parliament elections. The electoral result shown in the table refers to the joint list.
- <sup>6</sup> The Party of Ecological Movements of Slovenia has competed on a joint list with the parliamentary party the Social Democrats since the 2008 parliamentary elections. However, none of the candidates from the Party of Ecological Movements has gained a parliamentary seat.
- <sup>7</sup> The Youth Party of Slovenia competed at the 2008 national parliamentary elections on a joint list with the parliamentary party, the Slovenian People's Party. The joint list won 5.21 per cent of the vote and 5 parliamentary seats. However, none of the Youth Party's candidates gained a parliamentary seat.
- <sup>8</sup> At the 2011 parliamentary elections, the Youth Party formed a Green alliance called the Youth Party of Slovenia – The Greens, involving non-parliamentary political parties the Youth Party – the Greens of Europe, the Green Coalition, the Christian Socialists of Slovenia, the Democrats of Slovenia and the Union for the Slovenian Littoral (Mavsar, 2011).
- <sup>9</sup> A coalition of the Party for Sustainable Development of Slovenia and radical left parties.

Sources: Krašovec and Boh 2002, DVK 2004a, 2004b, 2008, 2009, 2011, Party for Sustainable Development of Slovenia 2014.

The Greens of Slovenia have remained the most persistent and regular green competitor at national elections. But, since 1996 they have only been able to gather the support of between 0.51 per cent and 1.76 per cent of voters. The recent success of the Coalition United Left at the 2014 pre-term elections with 5.97 per cent of votes is hard to measure in terms of the success of a particular Green party. This is because TRS, the Party for the eco-socialism<sup>4</sup> gained one of the six parliamentary seats won by the Coalition United Left. Currently, only Matjaž Hanžek represents a Green party segment in the parliament. The Initiative for Democratic Socialism/*Iniciativa za demokratični socializem*<sup>5</sup> led by Luka Mesec gained three out of six seats

4 More on TRS at [www.gibanje-trs.si/kaj-in-kdo-smo-trs.html](http://www.gibanje-trs.si/kaj-in-kdo-smo-trs.html).

5 More on IDS at [www.demokraticni-socializem.si/](http://www.demokraticni-socializem.si/).



while one seat has been filled by a representative of ‘social movements and individuals’. In public it is also Luka Mesec, who appears as the Coalition United Left leader.

Green parties have also been unsuccessful in the European Parliament (EP) elections in 2004, 2009 and 2014 (Table 2).

Table 2: List of Slovenian Political Parties with representatives in the European parliament, their European Affiliations and number of MEPs in the period 2004–2014

PARTY	No. of MEPs following 2004 EP elections	No. of MEPs following 2009 EP elections	No. of MEPs following 2014 EP elections
Social Democrats [ <i>Socialni demokrati</i> ]; until spring 2005 the United List of Social Democrats [ <i>Združena lista socialnih demokratov</i> ]	1 (PES)	2 (S&D)	1 (S&D)
Democratic Party of Pensioners [ <i>Demokratska stranka upokojencev</i> ]	2 common MEPs with the Liberal Democracy (ALDE)		1 (ALDE)
Liberal Democracy of Slovenia [ <i>Liberalna demokracija Slovenije</i> ]	2 common MEPs with the Democratic Party of Pensioners (ALDE)	1 (ALDE)	
Slovenian Democratic Party [ <i>Slovenska demokratska stranka</i> ]; formerly the Slovenian Social Democratic Party [ <i>Slovenska social-demokratska stranka</i> ]	2 (EPP-ED)	2 (EPP)	3 (EPP)
New Slovenia – Christian People’s Party [ <i>Nova Slovenija-krščanska ljudska stranka</i> ]	2 (EPP-ED)	1 (EPP)	
New Slovenia – Christian People’s Party and Slovenian People’s Party [ <i>Nova Slovenija-krščanska ljudska stranka in Slovenska ljudska stranka</i> ]			2 (EPP)
For Real – New Politics [ <i>Zares-nova politika</i> ]	Party did not exist	1 (ALDE)	
I believe! List of dr. Igor Šoltes [ <i>Verjamem! Lista dr. Igorja Šoltesa</i> ]			1 (Group of the Greens/European Free Alliance)

Sources: Državna volilna komisija (<http://www.dvk-rs.si/index.php/si/volitve/evropski-parlament>) and Fink-Hafner and Deželan (2016).

Again, only The Greens of Slovenia have competed in more than one EP election. They gained between 0.83 and 2.3 per cent – never enough to gain an MEP seat.

As a rule, the Slovenian political parties with elected MEPs lean toward the three main ideological and party groups in the European Parliament. Nevertheless, the Party of Youth of Slovenia, which had no clear affiliation until 2003 (having focused on the interests of youth and some liberal issues) did shift towards green issues in the 2004 campaign. Since 2003, it has been linked to the European Federation of Green Parties/European Greens (EFGP/EG). However,

the only Slovenian MEP so far linked to the Group of the Greens/European Free Alliance has been Igor Šoltes. His party *Verjamen! Lista dr. Igorja Šoltesa* was established under his presidency just before the 2014 European elections. As the party won one seat in the European Parliament, Igor Šoltes became an MEP and transferred most of his activities to Brussels. The party seems to have ceased to exist before reaching any organisational consolidation. Slovenia currently has one Green MEP who is neither linked to a Slovenian Green party nor any national party.

Only a few Green parties have tended to be both organised nationally and competitive at local elections. All in all, Green parties have remained on the margins of local politics (Table 3).

Quite often, Green parties are in fact local initiatives with a rather peculiar policy goal. Some are forms of protests against noise or other kinds of pollution – such as *Against noise.si* in Nova Gorica. Others present themselves as supporters of using land for growing vegetables – such as the List for Clean Potable Water/*Lista za čisto pitno vodo* in Ljubljana<sup>6</sup>. Nevertheless, they have differed in ideological point of view. Some have been centre-left parties – such as Greens of Slovenia during transition and Slovenian Ecological Movement/Party of ecological movements of Slovenia. Others openly favoured some rightist policies. This was particularly noticeable in their open intolerance of particular ethnic minorities (e.g. List for Clean Potable Water).

## Green Party Fragmentation and Coalitions

The series of electoral failures since 1992 have been accompanied by the emergence of new Green parties, the formation of Green coalitions prior to elections, as well as attempts by Green parties to form new alliances with established parliamentary as well as non-parliamentary political parties.

At the 1996 general elections, a faction of The Greens of Slovenia – which had established a new party, Green Alternative/*Želena alternativa*, competed separately.<sup>7</sup> Due to the electoral defeat of

6 Redakcija Financ, 'Lista za čisto pitno vodo zahteva več kmetijskih površin za sonaravno pridelavo hrane', 27th July 2004, at <http://www.finance.si/94858/Lista-za-%C4%8Disto-pitno-vodo-zahteva-ve%C4%8D-kmetijskih-povr%C5%A1in-za-sonaravno-pridelavo-hrane>, 29th May 2015.

7 According to Lipič (2003), the Green Alternative of Slovenia has not been active since 2000.

Table 3: The Results of Slovenian Green parties at local elections in the main cities (municipalities with city status)

Parties	Celje	Koper	Kranj	Ljubljana	Maribor	Murska Sobota	Nova Gorica	Novo mesto	Ptuj	Slovenj Gradec	Velenje
Greens of Slovenia [Zeleni Slovenije]	1998: 3.11%			1998: 0.41%	1998: 2.15%	1998: 9.00%		1998: 1.74%	1998: 9.04%	1998: 3.28%	1998: 2.06%
				2002: 2.31%(1)							
	2006: 2.98%			2006: 2.49%	2006: 1.75%	2006: 3.19%		2006: 0.79%	2006: 4.24%		
	2010: 2.92%	2006: 1.85 %	1998: 3.39%	2010: 4.18%	2010: 4.11%			2010: 1.05%	2010: 4.94%	2010: 2.34%	2010: 1.13%
Green Alternative of Slovenia [Zelena alternativa Slovenije]				1998: 0.41%	1998: 0.56%						
Slovenian Ecological Movement/ Party of Ecological Movements of Slovenia [Slovensko ekološko gibanje/ Stranka ekoloških gibanj Slovenije]				2002: 1.79 %							
	2006: 1.88%			2006: 0.41%	2006: 0.49%	2006: 2.79%	2006: 1.38 %	2006: 0.41%	2006: 1.14%		2006: 1.28%
				2010: 0.65%		2010: 1.36%	2010: 1.39%			2010: 2.02%	
Slovenian Youth Party/ Youth Party – Greens of Europe [Stranka mladih Slovenije/Stranka mladih – Evropski Zeleni]	2002: 4.53%	2002: 1.41%	2002: 3.61%	2002: 3.49%(1)	2002: 3.2%	2002: 5.04%	2002: 4.69%	2002: 3.56%	2002: 6.63%	2002: 8.90%	2002: 6.92%
			2006: 4.82%	2006: 1.21%	2006: 3.57%		2006: 2.01%	2006: 1.36%	2006: 8.49%		2006: 4.05%
			2010: 1.20%	2010: 1.00%	2010: 2.61%				2010: 4.26%	2010: 1.16%	2010: 4.18%
List for Clean Potable Water [Lista za čisto pitno vodo]				2002: 2.39% (1)							
				2006: 1.85%				2006: 1.68%			
				2010: 1.50%							
For Environmentally Friendly Maribor [Za okolju prijazen Maribor]					2006: 1.11%						
Against noise.si [Protihrupu.si]*							2006: 0.54%				
Pensioner and Ecological List Celje [Upokojenska in ekološka lista Celje]	2010: 2.24%										

\*Nova Gorica, Fighters for peace and quiet [Bojemiki za mir in tišino].

Source: Statistical Office RS.

1996, the factions of The Greens of Slovenia formed a coalition (The Greens of Slovenia and Green Alternative) prior to the 2000 general elections, in which they competed – unsuccessfully – as The United Greens/*Ždruženi Zelenci*. At the 2004 general elections (under the influence of EP elections and representatives from the European Federation of Green Parties/European Green Party), three Green parties negotiated a united Green list for the EP elections. The three parties were: The Greens of Slovenia, the Youth Party of Slovenia/*Stranka mladih Slovenije* and the Party of Ecological Movements/*Stranka ekoloških gibanj*. However, their inability to agree on a list of candidates led the Party of Ecological Movements to abandon further negotiations (Lipič, 2013). Ultimately, all three parties competed independently and failed to gain a single parliamentary seat.

Following their extended period of defeat, the Green parties began to seek new alliances with the more established political parties and to form new Green alliances. At the 2008 parliamentary elections, The Greens of Slovenia competed independently, but two of its factions, which had previously created two locally active Green parties, namely Green Progress/*Zeleni progres* and The Green Party/*Zelena stranka*, formed an alliance named The Green Coalition/*Zelena koalicija* (Ogrin, 2013). Additionally, the Youth Party of Slovenia allied with the centre-right Slovenian People's Party/*Slovenska ljudska stranka*, while the Party of Ecological Movements allied with the centre-left Social Democrats/*Socijalni demokrati*. Although the two joint lists in which a Green Party allied with an established party both won enough votes to enter the National Assembly, none of the Green candidates gained a single parliamentary seat. Prior to the 2009 European Parliament elections, the Greens formed a new Green alliance, again named The United Greens. It was formed from The Greens of Slovenia, Green Progress, The Green Party and the Party for Clean Potable Water. This new Green alliance was also unsuccessful. Prior to the 2009 European elections, the Youth Party added a Green label to the party's name<sup>8</sup>, and competed independently but nevertheless failed to elect an MEP. Prior to the 2011 pre-term general elections, the Youth Party allied with several small non-parliamentary political parties, including some of the smaller Green parties. They also negotiated to include The Greens of Slovenia, but the negotiations failed

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8 The leading candidate on the joint Green list, Alenka Paulin, the former press representative of the centre-right parliamentary party, the Slovenian Democratic Party/*Slovenska demokratska stranka* was proposed by the Youth Party of Slovenia.

and The Greens of Slovenia decided to compete independently. Additionally, during the period of destabilisation of the Slovenian party system in 2011, notable activists, including former members of The Greens of Slovenia and the Liberal Democracy of Slovenia/*Liberalna demokracija Slovenije*, established a new Green party *Stranka za trajnostni razvoj Slovenije – TRS/ The Party for Sustainable Development of Slovenia*. Although this new party gained considerable public attention and achieved the highest electoral result of any Green party, it once again failed to gain enough votes to enter parliament. At the 2014 pre-term elections, the coalition between the Party for Sustainable Development of Slovenia and the parties of the new left together gained 5.97 per cent of votes and six seats. In spite of this, there remains no visible change in green parliamentary representation.

## **Greens in Government**

At the elections for the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia on 8 April 1990, Dušan Plut, became a member of the collective Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia. Following Slovenia's first multi-party elections in 1990, The Greens of Slovenia entered the Demos governing coalition.

The Greens also gained four ministerial positions filled by Miha Jazbinšek, Peter Tancig, Božidar Voljč and Miha Tomšič<sup>9</sup> (Table 4). Leo Šešerko even became Deputy Prime Minister in charge of environmental protection and regional development. When Demos disintegrated due to its insurmountable ideological differences, The Greens of Slovenia joined the first Drnovšek government (established after the vote of confidence in 1992) with three ministers (Miha Jazbinšek, Božidar Voljč and Peter Tancig).

Gaining five parliamentary seats following the 1992 general election, they also supported the second Drnovšek government and gained two ministerial positions (Božidar Voljč and Miha Jazbinšek). After stepping down at the beginning of 1994, Jazbinšek remained politically active at the local level in the capital of Slovenia – Ljubljana municipality. Voljč continued to serve as Minister of Health even after the disintegration of the Greens.

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9 Interestingly, Miha Tomšič was included in the Greens' quota as an expert in the field of nuclear energy, despite his family's participation in the top ruling Communist party positions in the past.

Table 4: Green members of coalition governments in Slovenia (1990–2015)\*

Governments Prime Minister	1990–1992 Peterle	1992–1992 Drnovšek I	1993–1996 Drnovšek II
<b>Green Ministers</b>	environment and spatial planning (Miha Jazbinšek)	environment and spatial planning (Miha Jazbinšek)	environment and spatial planning (Miha Jazbinšek); stepped down/ended mandate on 1 Feb. 1994
	research and technology (Peter Tancig)	research and technology (Peter Tancig)	/
	healthcare, family and social security (Božidar Voljč)	healthcare, family and social security (Božidar Voljč)	health (Božidar Voljč)
	energy (Miha Tomšič)	/	/
<b>Green Deputy Prime Minister</b>	ecology and regional development (Leo Šešerko)	/	/

\* Since 1996 there have been no Green ministers in any government.

Source: [http://www.vlada.si/o\\_vladi/pretekle\\_vlade/](http://www.vlada.si/o_vladi/pretekle_vlade/), last accessed on 4 November 2015.

With a significant number of MPs and posts in the government headed by Lojze Peterle, The Greens of Slovenia contributed to the centre-left orientation in the ideological structure of the government. While they did support Slovenia's independence, they were against lustration and contributed to Slovenia not adopting a lustration policy comparable to other post-socialist countries.

In spite of the political weight they had in Peterle's government, The Greens of Slovenia complained that in the first government coalition they enjoyed little support on ecological issues, such as bio-agriculture and the temporary closure of the most unsuccessful, environmentally and economically, enterprises (Plut, 1991b: 6). Even the Demos coalition's promise to close down the Krško nuclear plant by 1995 was not implemented.<sup>10</sup> It is quite indicative that a document on the Green party achievements in the first two years of being a parliamentary and governmental party (Zeleni Slovenije, 1992b<sup>11</sup>) starts with the following sentence:

10 According to Šešerko, who successfully collected enough signatures among MPs from various parliamentary party clubs in favour of a referendum for closing down the Krško nuclear plant, some of the signatures were withdrawn after Prime Minister Janez Drnovšek's personal intervention the night before the planned official presentation of the referendum in the parliament (Šešerko, 2015).

11 See also Dušan Plut, *Okvirni pregled dvoletnih rezultatov* (maj 1990 – april 1992) *Zelenih Slovenije na področju varstva okolja*. Ljubljana, 11 May 1992.

*‘It is true that we, due to outvoting [sl. preglasovanje], didn’t succeed in passing a law on a referendum on the early closure of the Krško nuclear plant; in cleaning the Sava river from Ljubljana and Krško as we expected, hoped and promised; in preventing the further construction of the Golica hydro-electrical plant;...’.*

However, the same document lists many very specific policy measures and projects that were adopted and implemented within the two years. Among the most prominent are: ‘the greening’ of a new constitution (adopted in December 1991); the adoption of a law on closing down the uranium mine in Žirovski vrh; cutting taxes on some energy devices and construction material to build more eco-friendly buildings; measures to decrease dangerous industrial emissions and to clean several rivers; supporting projects in the field of waste management; ensuring an increase in the production of recycled paper and its use in Slovenia; the introduction of cleaning devices in a series of individual factories in the chemical industry; leading several ‘small’ green projects such as those focused on the protecting of a particular bird species [*ptica zlatovranka*]; the promotion of plastic Christmas trees; collecting and sending medical drugs to the people in the Ukraine whose health had been endangered by the nuclear accident in Chernobyl; and establishing a shelter for refugees from the former Yugoslav territory.

The Green minister, Peter Tancig, reported on 23 projects in the field of ecology financed or co-financed by the Ministry of Science and Technology (Tancig, 1991). Likewise, Jazbinšek reported on many green policies, and their monitoring and control – under the umbrella of the Ministry of Environment and Spatial Planning (Jazbinšek, no date).

Green policy achievements were also reported by the Green Vice-Minister (Sešerko, 1991) and the leader of the Green MPs’ club (Šavli, 1991). Šavli revealed that the attendance of Green MPs at parliamentary sessions were among the highest at the time. According to the analysis of policy initiatives and MP’s questions in the period between May 1990 and October 1991, Green MPs were the third most active group in the parliament although they were part of a governmental party (Fink-Hafner, 1991).

Unlike the Greens in the transitional national elections, the Coalition United Left (including one left Green party and two radical

left parties) consciously decided not to participate in the post-2014 election formation of coalition government. Rather, it opted for oppositional status when the party first entered parliament.



## 5 EXPLAINING THE DEVELOPMENT OF GREEN PARTIES IN SLOVENIA

### The Political Environment

*Institutional rules.* Since the transitional period in Slovenia, the institutional environment for establishing political parties has been favourable (see more in Fink-Hafner, 2001). Specifically, it has been relatively easy to establish a new political party in Slovenia. Under the 1989 law, just 20 Slovene citizens were required to found a political party; however, since the implementation of the 1994 law, 200 founding members are now required to establish and register a new political party. This minimum is rather moderate given the number of eligible voters in Slovenia (1,713,067 at the last national elections). Despite the ongoing debates about possible mechanisms to defragment and stabilise Slovenia's party system, the rule has not changed.

Furthermore, Slovenia's new constitution, adopted in December 1991, established Slovenia as a parliamentary democracy. A proportional electoral system has been in place since 1989 with only minor changes (Fink-Hafner, 2010). In fact, even after the introduction of a four per cent threshold in 2004, new parties have not only been able to enter parliament, they have also immediately become parties of Prime Ministers in coalition governments (Fink-Hafner and Krašovec, 2013).

*Party financing.* In the transition period the old transformed socio-political organisations had an advantage over the newly established parties in terms of their already consolidated organisational networks

and available resources. As the new party system (the successors of transformed socio-political organisations and newly established political parties) matured, the number of political parties competing at national elections decreased to about 17. Nevertheless, a group of core parties had been gaining an increasing share of votes (Fink-Hafner et al., 2011: 14).

The establishment of a cartel of parliamentary parties deprived extra-parliamentary parties of considerable state financing (Krašovec and Haughton, 2011). In 1999, the Constitutional Court ruled that limiting public subsidies to parliamentary parties was unconstitutional. This is why the National Assembly in 2000 passed amendments to the Law on Political Parties, opening access to public subsidies to all parties which had at the last elections received at least one per cent of votes and had candidates in three-quarters of constituencies. However, in 2002, the Constitutional Court again ruled against the National Assembly's decision, arguing that the one per cent level of support as the only requirement for a party to be entitled to public subsidies was not in accordance with the Constitution (see more in Krašovec and Haughton, 2011). Changes to the Law on Political Parties adopted in 2005<sup>1</sup>, raised the one per cent criteria to 1.2 per cent of the vote when two parties jointly file a candidate list; this minimum threshold rises further to 1.5 per cent when the candidate list is filed jointly by three or more parties. Also, the law included some additional rules for ensuring the participation of parties in state financing in accordance with the number of votes received in all electoral units. Otherwise, the last three changes to the Law on Political Parties (2007, 2013, 2014<sup>2</sup>) have been particularly oriented toward ensuring transparency and control over party financing.

In fact, non-parliamentary parties (including Green parties) were affected by the systemic exclusion of non-parliamentary parties from state financing until 2005. Meanwhile numerous green groups active at the sub-national level have been unable to count on the substantial resources from the highly fragmented sub-national units (currently

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1 *Žakon o političnih strankah (uradno prečiščeno besedilo (ZPolS-UPB1)*, Uradni list, 2005, No. 11, 10 November 2005, p. 10482, <http://www.uradni-list.si/1/objava.jsp?sop=2005-01-4345>.

2 *Žakon o spremembah in dopolnitvah Zakona o političnih strankah (ZPolS-F)*, adopted by the National Assembly 12 June 2014, <http://www.pisrs.si/Pis.web/pregledPredpisa?id=ZAKO359>, 15 September 2015.

there are as many as 212 local communities).<sup>3</sup> Such fragmentation at the sub-national level also causes the financial weaknesses among local communities.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, a functioning state organisation at the regional level is still lacking, despite the fact that the constitution was amended in 2006 by changing articles 121, 140 and 143<sup>5</sup> to allow for the regionalisation of Slovenia. However, due to the inability of parliamentary political parties to agree a comprehensive set of laws to establish regions, Slovenia remains a single political unit.

Additionally, the financing of Green parties in Slovenia has become problematic due to the internal divisions among The Greens of Slovenia. When Green MPs collectively joined the Liberal Democracy of Slovenia (constituting the LDS's Ecological Forum) in March 1994, they continued to enjoy all the financial benefits available to them due to their occupation of Green parliamentary seats until the end of the term in December 1996. This episode split The Greens of Slovenia and has poisoned relations between Green parties ever since.

*Party system characteristics.* The polarisation of the party system in Slovenia has been more moderate than in many other post-communist countries that joined the third democratisation wave (Enyedi and Casal Bértoa, 2011). Indeed, after a short transitional bi-polar stage, the first decade of the post-transition party system developments could be characterised as tri-polar. The right (conservative) pole was fragmented and included the People's Christian Democratic Party and the anti-communist Social Democratic Party. The left pole comprised the successor of the reformed League of Communists transformed into a social-democratic party with external links to international social-democracy. The successor of the reformed League of Socialist Youth/Liberal Party occupied the centre ground, offering liberal politics without attempting to reform the welfare state. Both

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3 See more on statistics on local communities at the Government Office of the Republic of Slovenia for Local Self-Government and Regional Policy website, [http://www.arhiv.svlr.gov.si/si/delovna\\_podrocja/podrocje\\_lokalne\\_samouprave/obcine/index.html](http://www.arhiv.svlr.gov.si/si/delovna_podrocja/podrocje_lokalne_samouprave/obcine/index.html), 4 October 2015.

4 Slovene Municipalities in Figures 2012, Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, [http://www.stat.si/novica\\_prikazi.aspx?id=4811](http://www.stat.si/novica_prikazi.aspx?id=4811), 18 October 2013.

5 For more details, see the Government Office of the Republic of Slovenia for Local Self-Government and Regional Policy website, [http://www.arhiv.svlr.gov.si/si/delovna\\_podrocja/podrocje\\_lokalne\\_samouprave/pokrajine/index.html](http://www.arhiv.svlr.gov.si/si/delovna_podrocja/podrocje_lokalne_samouprave/pokrajine/index.html), 4 October 2015.

parties tended to absorb small political groupings (including green) during the 1990s. After the decline of electoral support for Liberal Democracy of Slovenia (the milestone being the 2000 elections), the party system competition shifted toward the bi-polar pattern. The competition between the centre-left and the centre-right over some ideological issues evoked the major conservative-liberal divisions of the second half of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century (Kos, 1996: 85–86). Furthermore, these divisions also overlap with the still strong communist – anti-communist divide. This divide remains closely related to the opposing assessments of both the Second World War and the post-war domestic politics. Increasingly, this division also encompasses the pro-welfare versus minimal-state debate (Fink-Hafner, 2010 and 2012).

While this fault line has challenged Green parties, the greening of the manifestos of non-Green parties has proved a case of merely paying lip-service and has not particularly threatened the Green parties' support base. Indeed, as shown by Zajc, Kropivnik, Kustec Lipicer (2012: 90–91), government coalition agreements have only included environmental policies as a dedicated segment when there have been Green representatives in the government. Even then, environmental policy has usually been packed together with planning issues, housing, and water policy. Since 2004, it has gained a consistent representation in recent coalition agreements within the environment and spatial sector due more to the influence of the European Union's core strategies than to internal policy orientations (Knep and Fink-Hafner, 2011).

Following the mismanagement of the financial crisis in Slovenia, the party system broke down. The 2011 and 2014 pre-term elections brought newly established parties, established just prior to these elections, into the parliament at the expense of the previously long-term core of parties (Table 5).

While the percentage of votes for successors of the transformed old socio-political organisations fell from 35.66 per cent in 2008 to 10.52 per cent in 2011 and to 5.98 per cent in 2014, the percentage of valid votes for parliamentary parties (including the very new ones) suddenly increased from 56.69 per cent in 2008 to a little above 81 per cent both in 2011 and 2014. Even with the changing parliamentary structure, the parliament still consists of seven parties, as it has done since 2004. Since 1996, the share of the four biggest parties together has remained between 71.36 and 74.29 per cent. Nevertheless

it was only after the 2014 elections that the coalition government of three parties has been able to control the parliamentary majority. The party system centre ground is currently occupied by the Party of Modern Centre/*Stranka modernega centra* (originally called the Party of Miro Cerar), which holds 36 of the parliament's 90 seats and 17 ministers<sup>6</sup>, including the Prime Minister. The party's main asset is said to be Miro Cerar's personal moral integrity and the moral integrity of 'new faces'/'*novi obrazi*' who entered politics with Cerar's party.

*Table 5:* The characteristics of party systems immediately after the 1990–2014 national elections

Characteristics	1990	1992	1996	2000	2004	2008	2011	2014
No. of parties and party lists competing at elections	17	33	18	16	23	17	20	17
Number of parliamentary parties	9	8	7	8	7	7 <sup>1</sup>	7	7
Percentage of valid votes for old parties (successors of transformed socio-political organisations) represented in the parliament	37.1	37.0	36.0	48.3	33.0	35.66	10.52	5.98
Percentage of valid votes for parliamentary parties without roots in old socio-political organisations (regardless of ideological orientation)	54.8	45.3	52.7	47.9	55.3	56.69	81.75	81.32
Percentage of valid votes for the four biggest parliamentary parties	57.4	61.6	72.1	73.7	71.14	74.29	73.52	71.36
No. of parties in government coalitions immediately following the elections	6	4	3	4(+1) <sup>2</sup>	4	4	5	3

<sup>1</sup> The Slovenian People's Party and Party of the Youth of Slovenia (PYS) competed together at the 2008 elections, but PYS did not win any seats. If PYS were counted as a parliamentary party, the total number of parliamentary parties would be eight.

<sup>2</sup> Liberal Democracy of Slovenia, United List of Social Democrats, Slovenian People's Party, Democratic Party of Pensioners and a special agreement on collaboration between the Liberal Democracy of Slovenia and the Party of the Youth of Slovenia.

*Increasing Personification of Politics.* Without a doubt the leading political personality of the transition period was *Milan Kučan*. He not only beat the intra-party competition between the conservative and liberal wings within the League of Communists of Slovenia in the mid-1980s, but he also successfully led the adaptation of the League to processes of democratisation. Under his leadership, the reformed League won the largest share of votes as an individual party at the first multi-party elections. His liberal politics allowed him to become a national leader rewarded by a first-round victory at the first direct

<sup>6</sup> Two out of the 17 ministers are without portfolio. See more information at [http://www.vlada.si/o\\_vladi/clani\\_vlade/](http://www.vlada.si/o_vladi/clani_vlade/).

elections of the President of the Republic of Slovenia (in 1992) based on the new Constitution (1991). As president, he 'froze' his party membership. Since the President of the Republic of Slovenia enjoys only limited powers, Kučan was not closely involved in the institutional day-to-day politics. He retired in 2002 after two presidential mandates and announced his decision not to return to party politics, although it is widely believed that he continues to exert considerable influence 'behind the scenes'.

As in many other countries, the consolidation of the party system in Slovenia went hand in hand with the process of enhancing the role of the leading party personalities. The Liberal Democracy of Slovenia (successor of the reformed League of Socialist Youth) had been for a long time recognised due to *Janez Drnovšek's* political leadership. Indeed, it was the reformed League of Socialist Youth which actively sought to combine organisational resources with a proper leader after the transition to democracy. The merger of the organisation with *Janez Drnovšek* proved to be successful for both parties for a decade. According to public opinion polls, no Prime Minister in Slovenia has so far achieved *Drnovšek's* level of public legitimacy, in spite of complaints about his personal characteristics and peculiar behaviour. When he became the President of the republic of Slovenia, no Liberal leader was able to fill his shoes as head of the party. The party ceased to function after its total electoral defeat in 2011 while *Drnovšek* proved himself a charismatic leader of the Movement for Justice and Development.<sup>7</sup>

The most recognisable leader of the social-democratic party segment after *Kučan's* shift to the Presidency has been *Borut Pahor*. *Pahor* had been developing his personal political image so intensively that he gained a separate public status from his party. This became especially evident after his decision to run for President, winning in 2012. Since *Pahor's* departure from the Social Democrats, the party has struggled to find a charismatic leader.

Only *Janez Janša*, the epitome of conservative/anti-communist politics in Slovenia, has endured as a long-term political personality. *Janša* gains a special mention in Slovenia's recent history due to his involvement in oppositional activities as a journalist and his appearance before the military court in Ljubljana during the 1980s. After

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<sup>7</sup> More on the movement and *Drnovšek's* role in it see at the movement's website: <http://www.gibanje.org/>.

Jože Pučnik's short spell as leader at the beginning of 1990s, Janša took over the anti-communist Social Democratic Party. Under Janša's leadership the party shifted to the centre-right and was renamed the Slovenian Democratic Party. As the president of the Slovenian Democratic Party, Janša has been often recognised as the leader of the centre-right segment of the party system in spite of criticism from other centre-right parties and conflicts within this cluster of parties. In spite of the Patria corruption affair, Janša has not been replaced as leader – either of his party or of the centre-right in general.

Among the more short-lived leading national political personalities have been *Lojze Peterle* (leader of the Christian Democrats) and *Marjan Podobnik* (leader of the conservative Slovenian Peoples' Party). While Peterle has maintained a political role as a member of the European Parliament, like all other Slovenian MEPs only rarely publicly recognised in Slovenian day-to-day politics, Podobnik has disappeared from politics.

After the establishment of the Slovenian National Party and its success at the 1992 parliamentary elections, *Žmago Jelinčič Plemeniti* stood out as a charismatic leader of his small nationalist party. The Slovenian National Party lost parliamentary status in 2011 and left the public space together with Jelinčič's retirement.

Like Jelinčič, and also a leader of a small political party, the Democratic Party of Pensioners, *Karl Erjavec's* public image punches above his weight, given the size of electoral support enjoyed by his party. What enables him to stand out so much is the fact that he leads a party, which often plays the role of 'kingmaker' in government coalition-building (Fink-Hafner and Krašovec, 2013).

The most recent phenomenon in Slovenian politics has been the emergence of ever new parties, known primarily as parties belonging to a particular personality, and more often than not, these parties are even named after their leaders. Among them have been the Citizens' Alliance of Gregor Virant/*Državljska lista Gregorja Viranta*, the Alliance of Alenka Bratušek/*Zavezništvo Alenke Bratušek*, the List of Igor Šoltes/*Lista Igorja Šoltesa*, the Party of Miro Cerar/*Stranka Mira Cerarja* (currently the party of the Prime Minister, recently renamed into Party of the Modern Centre/*Stranka modernega centra*).

It is hard to find a comparably recognisable Green party leader. With the exception of *Dušan Plut* – environmental activist in the 1980s and the first leader of The Greens of Slovenia – Green parties have so far been unable to offer any leaders with public recognition

*Table 6.* Political figures with reputation. The cumulative percentage of the first, second, third and fourth named political persons with the greatest reputation in percentage.

Political figures	SPOS 1990	SPOS 1991/2	SPOS 1992/3	SPOS 1993/1	SPOS 1994/1	SPOS 1994/2	SPOS 1994/4	SPOS 1995/1	SPOS 1995/3	SPOS 1996/1	SPOS 1997/1	SPOS 1998/2	SPOS 2000/1	SPOS 2001/2	SPOS 2002/1	SPOS 2003/1	SPOS 2006/2	SPOS 2011/2
Janez Stanovnik	84.9%			74.9%	55.4%	60.0%	58.5%	72.9%	73.0%	73.0%	72.0%	74.7%	68.2%	76.3%	68.3%	55.4%	49.5%	12.3%
Miljan Kučan	56.6%	88.6%	83.9%															
Jože Smole	57.9%																	
Janez Drnovšek	33.2%	55.5%	66.3%	59.9%	42.6%	48.2%	47.5%	64.3%	60.9%	60.1%	56.0%	59.4%	70.6%	73.9%	60.9%	71.9%	49.2%	
Igor Bavičar	11.7%	16.8%	9.3%	5.5%														
Marko Bulc	17.7%																	
Štefan Korošec	5.4%																	
Dimitrij Rupel		33.1%	24.8%	17.9%														
Janez Janša		27.5%	22.4%		31.5%	38.6%	31.6%	16.6%	16.5%	23.4%	19.9%	5.7%	15.7%	20.9%	13.1%	16.2%	36.1%	16.7%
Lojze Peterle		25.9%	12.6%	14.0%	9.3%		16.6%	5.3%	5.7%	11.5%	9.2%						20.0%	
France Bučar		5.6%																
Jelko Kacin		26.5%	24.3%		6.2%	11.7%	6.1%										8.3%	
Marijan Podobnik					13.7%	16.4%	14.8%	6.4%	11.6%	21.3%	33.2%							
Herman Rigelnik						5.1%				5.4%					6.1%			
Zmago Jelincič							12.4%			5.8%							9.1%	8.8%
Zoran Thaler																		
Janez Podobnik											31.2%	13.3%						
Borut Pahor											11.9%		8.3%	10.5%	21.8%	7.9%	27.4%	11.8%
France Arhar															12.8%	15.0%		
Anton Rop																		
Janez Potočnik																		
Danilo Türk																		
Katarina Kresal																	6.7%	6.4%
Karel Erjavec																		41.8%
Radovan Zerjav																		5.9%
Matej Lahovnik																		12.8%
																		6.6%
																		5.9%

Sources: Toš et al. 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994a, 1994b, 1994c, 1994d, 1995a, 1995b, 1996, 1997, 1998b, 2000a, 2001a, 2002, 2003, Malnar et al. 2006, 2011



comparable to Plut's. What made Plut an outstanding leader in the Green segment of Slovenia's politics was the sum of his personal stake in environmental engagement (he was engaged in a struggle against pollution in his home region – Bela krajina), his expertise (he was a geographer, working at the University of Ljubljana), his experience (he was active in the Union of Societies for Environmental Protection) and his ability to speak convincingly on environmental problems and policies in public. While *Luka Mesec*, the leader of the United Left, has been gaining recognition as a rising political personality with radical left ideas close to those of Syriza in Greece he has so far not clearly espoused any clear views on ecology or sustainable development. Several personalities who had been involved in the creation of TRS and were known as leftist activists and intellectuals (especially *Matjaž Hanžek*, who served as Ombudsman) have seemed to lack the charisma required for such a political role – as seen in their showing at the 2014 pre-election TV broadcasts. Both Hanžek and Mesec have been primarily concerned with socio-economic paradigmatic problems and the related political questions rather than with the environmental dimensions of these issues.

As had been the case under socialism, Green politics in Slovenia in the post-1990s hardly featured any female leaders in top political positions. As a rule, females in Slovenia have so far taken over political parties when they have been in decline, for example in the case of the Liberal Democracy of Slovenia and New Slovenia. In the case of Green parties, a few female faces have so far become publicly visible. Dušan Plut (2015) noted that Manca Košir was an active player in the early political establishment of The Greens of Slovenia (being also the Green candidate at the presidential elections) and of the movement TRS. However, so far no females have become publicly prominent Green political figures.<sup>8</sup>

*Weak Europeanisation impact.* So far, research (Fink-Hafner and Krašovec, 2006; Krašovec et al., 2006; Krašovec and Lajh, 2008 and 2009) has not revealed Slovenia's joining the European integration

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<sup>8</sup> In a telephone conversation on 30 October 2015, Manca Košir explained to Danica Fink Hafner that she had decided not to enter politics even after gaining the largest share of votes for The Greens of Slovenia at the 1990 elections, and instead passed her votes on to her two male colleagues (in accordance of the law at that time). Similarly, Košir also decided not to enter party politics after the establishment of the TRS party as a political arm of the TRS movement.

processes to have had any significant impact on Slovenian parties as organisations or on party competition. For this reason, Europeanisation is not included as a factor in our analysis.

*Electorate.* Research into Green politics since the 1970s has seen a shift in values among voters which has been recognised as an important factor in the development and success of Green movements and parties. Indeed, today environmental protection is a desired value and environmental issues represent an important segment of public policies (Gantar, 2004: 20) although in practice they may be subordinate to economic values and interests in actual policymaking.

In general, the increased concern for the environment can be explained by the shift from materialistic goals (economic goals and physical security) to post-materialistic goals (self-expression and quality of life) (Inglehart, 1971). At first, post materialism was understood as a new system of values that appeared in western industrial societies after the Second World War. Its main characteristic is the shift from materialistic values (Inglehart, 1995). Materialistic values include a preference for a system of economic and political stability that can maintain order (Malnar, 2002: 15–16). By contrast, environmental values are often seen as post-materialistic concerns, a characteristic of post-modern conditions rather than modern conditions. Post-materialistic values include preferences for social and political participation, self-realisation, aesthetic, meeting intellectual needs and emphasising social solidarity (Malnar, 2002: 16). With the increased importance of ‘quality of life’ issues, concern for the environment has become more significant. The more post-materialistic the value orientation of the citizen, the more ready he or she is to value self-expression, quality of life and protection of the environment (Nas, 1998: 287, 291; Malnar and Šinko, 2012: 478) and the more willing they are to make financial sacrifices for the environment and participate in environmental movements (Inglehart, 1995). The establishment of Green parties has been associated with the shift towards post-materialistic conditions (Inglehart, 1995: 68). Green parties have overtaken post materialistic values and contributed to the decline of materialistic values by encouraging political discourse (Tranter and Western, 2009: 161).

Post-materialistic values evolved in non-Western parts of Europe in the context of the multiple crises in collapsing socialist systems and major domestic and international ecological disasters during the 1980s (particularly Chernobyl). The shift in values in Slovenia had

been at least to some extent also connected to the generally increasing global awareness of the effects of the predominant ‘economic growth’ paradigm on the environment – as critically presented in the study *The Limits to Growth*, published by the Club of Rome. Environmental damage – particularly to the woods in Slovenia (often understood as one of the symbols of Slovenian identity) and the popular criticism of pollution also in songs such as *Dead River/Mrtva reka* by Marjan Smode<sup>9</sup> increased environmental awareness among citizens. Although Green movements and parties in general did not appear important in successful transitions to democracy in all these countries to the same extent, in Slovenia Green parties did matter – as attested by their initial electoral success. Although The Greens of Slovenia were identified as a new post-modern centre-left Green party, they were sometimes characterised as a party attracting the support of those who had turned their backs on the reformed political organisations of the old regime and at the same time shunned the new centre-right parties. What then can be said in light of the attitudes of Slovenian voters towards the environment and their post-materialistic orientation? Did green values exist as a basis for Green party politics? Could it be said that the Greens capitalised on the greening of social values?

To answer these questions we will look at data on the values and attitudes of Slovenes toward environmental issues gathered in the framework of the longitudinal Slovenian Public Opinion Survey (SPOS). Early public opinion research showed interest in environmental issues in Slovenia. The earliest data on how Slovenian voters perceive the environment dates back to 1969. In Table 7 we can see attitudes towards mountains in 1969 and 1986. Slovenian voters expressed pro-environmental values in the 1980s (Malnar and Šinko, 2012). The difference in perception of the natural environment between the 1960s and 1980s is substantial. It appears that, already by the 1980s, attitudes towards the environment had changed from ‘pragmatic/functionalist’ positions to ‘conservational’ ones, where citizens value preservation of the environment over its exploitation (Kos, 2004: 311). This might be explained by higher levels of post-modern values in Slovenia compared to other central and eastern European countries and by a shift from modern to post-modern conditions (Hafner-Fink et al., 2013).

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<sup>9</sup> The video is available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FvbN4XDn1TM>.

Table 7: Attitudes towards the natural beauty of the mountains

	SPOS 1969	SPOS 1986
1 – The mountains should be left untouched in their natural beauty, even if they remain inaccessible for many people	12.9%	44.0%
2 – We need to build paths, roads, cables, even if the mountains would lose something of their beauty	41.4%	14.9%
3 – Some of the mountains we need to preserve intact – others we need to build on	45.3%	41.0%
4 – Other	0.4%	/
Total	100.00%	100.00%

Source: Kos 2004: 310

Protection of the environment continued to be highly valued in the following years (see Appendix 2). Voters expressed similar support for nature conservation as for world peace, the fight against poverty and human rights. A clean environment established itself as a highly-desired and accepted value that everyone refers to (Gantar, 2004).

Public opinion surveys also clearly indicate that the second half of the 1980s and the early 1990s saw an increase in general environmental concern among the public. However, this increased concern cannot be attributed solely to the shift towards post-materialistic values (Nas, 1998: 298). Positive public attitudes towards the environment can be encouraged by post-materialistic values as well as by objective conditions (Malnar and Šinko, 2012: 478). Perceived threats are better explained by individual events than by socialisation effects (Malnar, 2002: 24). Support for environmental protection tends to be higher in countries with relatively objectively severe environmental problems. People can be concerned about the environment due when they face ecological problems (Malnar and Šinko, 2012: 474).

In Slovenia the increased concern for the environment can be also traced to the promotion of environmental awareness through mass media coverage of a series of environmental catastrophes in Slovenia as well as Chernobyl (Fink-Hafner, 1992; Knep and Fink-Hafner, 2011; Malnar and Šinko, 2012). In 1987 (just after Chernobyl) 42.5 per cent of voters expressed great fear and 46.4 per cent expressed fear that something similar to the Chernobyl disaster would occur closer to Slovenia (Toš et al., 1987). Here the media plays an important role. The media identifies the problems and specifies the topics for public debate (Malnar and Šinko, 2012: 476). Individuals rarely have first-hand experience of environmental issues. What is more, due to the complexity of environmental issues, individuals struggle to

imagine and explain them through the language of everyday experience (Malnar in Šinko, 2000: 164). Their attitudes towards the environment are thus encouraged by opinion makers: experts, relevant institutions, media, interest groups, officials or their private network of family and friends (Malnar and Šinko, 2012: 475). Public perceptions of environmental concerns are thus dependent on accompanying events and not just by subjective cultural factors and changes to post-materialistic values (Inglehart, 1995).

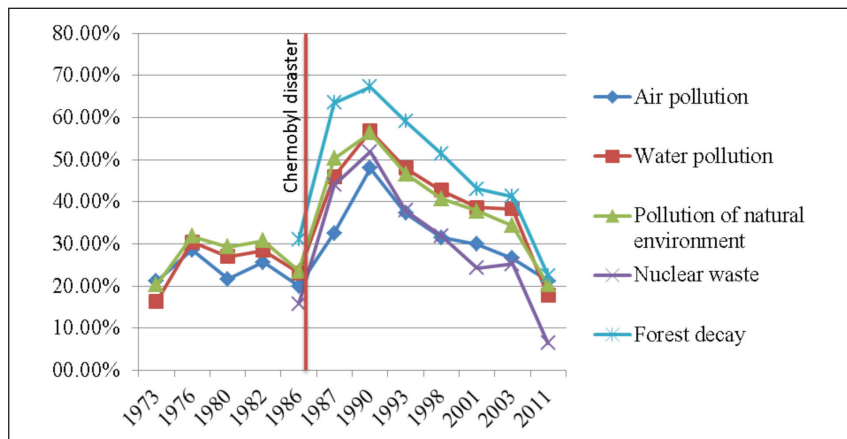
Finally, attitudes and values may be objectified. Positive real-life changes in public environment policies may shape voters' attitudes. For example, the extent to which Slovenes are satisfied with environmental conditions is related to measurable features of their living environment (Appendix 3). So, where data shows improving positive trends, satisfaction increases; likewise, where data shows declining standards, satisfaction decreases.<sup>10</sup>

One of the dynamics of environmental attitude is environmental concern, which has been measured among Slovenian voters for a longer period of time (1973–2011). Ecological concern in 1973 was rather low; it started increasing in 1986 and peaked in the 1990s (Malnar and Šinko, 2012: 483). Voters expressed the highest concern for forest decay, but concern for different forms of pollution increased and decreased simultaneously (Figure 2). Although concern for the environment was previously higher among the educated and the young, these differences among citizens over 18 have decreased considerably during the last decade and have almost disappeared. This is also due to the inclusion of environmental topics on the school curricula (Malnar and Šinko, 2012: 489–490). Neither are there any significant statistical variations between right-leaning and left-leaning voters (Hafner-Fink et al., 2011). But this comes as no surprise since environmental orientation in the political space resides outside of the traditional division between left and right and remains an autonomous political option (Malnar, 2002: 29). However, we can find a small difference between religious respondents and atheists. Non-religious respondents perceive higher levels of concern for the environment (Hafner-Fink et al., 2011) and are more environmentally oriented (Kirn, 2003).

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<sup>10</sup> Such a case in point could be CO<sub>2</sub> emissions: in 1970, Slovenia ranked 84th in the World, in 1990 87<sup>th</sup>, in 2000 81<sup>th</sup>, in 2010 again 87<sup>th</sup> and in 2013 91<sup>st</sup>. Source: EDGAR, at <http://edgar.jrc.ec.europa.eu/overview.php?v=CO2ts> 1990–2013.

Figure 2: Are the following phenomena in your living and working environment hazardous for you...or are there no such problems? 'It is a big problem' + 'It is dangerous to my life' (percentage).



Source: Slovenian Public Opinion Survey; Toš et al. 1973, 1976, 1980, 1982, 1986, 1987, 1990, 1993, 1998a, 2001a, 2003, Hafner-Fink et al. 2011.

While perceptions of environmental risk have gradually decreased since 1990, (and environmental concern in 2011 returned to the level observed in the early 1970s) attitudes towards the issue of environmental protection have remained relatively positive (Malnar, 1992; Malnar and Šinko, 2012). Environmental orientation appears to be more than just a short-term trend. It became a constant topic of political discussion (Bell in Malnar, 2002: 24). In Slovenia, although environmental values still appear to be regarded as less important than economic values (Hafner-Fink, Uhan and Gregorčič, 2011), environmental values persist (Malnar, 2002) (see also Appendix 2 and Appendix 4). Material standards of household and broad economic goals are predominantly those points where individuals prioritise economic orientations before environmental orientations (Malnar, 2002: 13). This can be seen in other countries where, in the 1990s, concerns for law and order, healthcare and unemployment were more explicit than concern for the environment (Malnar and Šinko, 2012: 483–484). When we ask citizens specifically about protection of the environment, public opinion data clearly shows that the environment is highly valued. But when citizens are confronted

with exact environmental actions and attitudes, more pragmatic and functional positions are also expressed. Strong public support for environmental protection is not always reflected in the day-to-day practices of many individuals (Kos, 2004: 319). The relationship between environmental attitudes and activities is loose (Malnar and Šinko, 2012: 489). Environmental awareness was thus evaluated as relatively shallow and lacking deep roots (Kos, 2004: 319). Most solutions to environmental problems demand sacrifices citizens may not be ready to make (Nas, 1998: 298).

This may be why Green parties have been unable to mobilise voters effectively since the early 1990s, and thus failed to make any impact on public opinion polls until 2011 (Toš et al., 1990, 1992, 1996 and 2000a). A high awareness of environmental issues does not translate directly into active preservation of the environment. Concern for the environment can also be expressed by membership of civil society organisations and active participation in civil society by volunteering for environmental groups and organisations. Already in the 1990s, the majority of Slovenes agreed that preservation of the environment could be achieved through individual long-term efforts – 76.4 per cent of voters believed that an individual can, by changing his established habits, help reduce pollution (Kos, 2004: 312). This attitude has even improved over the years. In 2000 (Toš et al., 2000b) as many as 40.4 per cent of voters thought that individuals alone cannot do much for the environment. By 2011 only 32.7 per cent agreed with the same position (Hafner-Fink et al., 2011). According to Kos (2004), this demonstrates a high mobilisation potential for civil society.

Individuals also expressed support for ecological movements by actively expressing disagreement with the statement that the ecological movement represents a group of discontents who oppose any progress (Appendix 5). Despite support for ecological activism, ecological political activity is rather low in Slovenia. It is quite easy to support ecological movements without being asked to make personal sacrifices (Inglehart, 1995). This may be the reason why only a minority of individuals are members of environmental organisations (3.6 per cent of Slovenes according to Hafner-Fink et al., 2011) or express any other form of ecological activism – one of the rare indicators of actual green attitudes. In 2011, 11 per cent of Slovenes claimed to have signed a petition in support of environmental issues, 7 per cent donated money to an environmental group and 3 per cent



had participated in environmental protests or demonstrations during the last five years (Hafner-Fink et al., 2011).

Despite general support for a cleaner environment, understanding of public opinion toward the environment is not so straightforward. Masja Nas (1998: 280, 287) distinguishes between concern for the environment and activities done for the environment. Based on public opinion data, she defines four types of attitudes towards the environment: 1) 'Greys' or 'non-greens' represent a below average concern and activity for the environment; 2) 'Contemplatives' express an above average concern but below average activity; 3) 'Apparently impetuous' express a below average concern but above average activity; and 4) 'Greens' who express an above average activity and concern. Similarly Kirn (2003) distinguishes between three types of positions on the environment among Slovenes: 1) the ecological position; 2) the non-ecological position; and 3) the balance between an ecological and non-ecological position. Among Slovenes in general we can observe a high level of public willingness to help solve ecological problems (Appendix 6). Of the respondents, 41.8 per cent make special efforts to buy fruit and vegetables grown without pesticides and other chemicals, 49.8 per cent restrict domestic consumption of energy or fuels for environmental reasons, 37.1 per cent save or reuse water and 30 per cent decide not to purchase certain products for environmental reasons (Hafner-Fink et al., 2011). When it comes to the division of public funds, the environment is recognised as one of the sectors that should receive more public money even if this means higher taxes (Appendix 7). Some 66.4 per cent of respondents believe that more money or somewhat more money should be spent on a cleaner environment. Voters would allocate more money only to health and education (Toš et al., 2003). Despite the concrete actions that individuals are ready to undertake, they have at the same time a very simplified understanding of ecological issues (Kos, 2004: 312). For example 86 per cent of voters always or regularly sort waste (Hafner-Fink et al., 2011). But this indicator does not always indicate a green attitude. It is often dependent on the organisation of recycling in the local community infrastructure. Sorting waste can often also be a reflection of tidiness (Malnar, 2002: 15). The surprisingly large public response to the Let's Clean Slovenia/*Očistimo Slovenijo* initiative can also be seen as community tidiness rather than environmentalism. Both recycling and participating in cleaning actions is an 'easy' environmental action (Inglehart, 1995: 68). Indeed, in 1992



most citizens perceived ecology as a cleaning action (Kos, 2004: 312) where they do not have to make economic sacrifices, while deeper ecological attitudes are rather rare. But, they do exist including the readiness to pay a special environmental tax. This was expressed in 1992 when 33.6 per cent of citizens said they were willing to pay such a tax (Toš et al., 1992).

## **Internal Agential Factors**

### ***The organisational development of Green parties in Slovenia***

The Greens of Slovenia were established in 1989 taking as their model the German Greens (*Die Grünen*). Similar to many other oppositional parties at the time, the party soon faced internal left-right divisions. Problems also arose because the party had entered government before it had consolidated its organisation. Among the critical decisions was whether or not to support the vote of confidence in Lojze Peterle's government, which contributed to the break-up of The Greens of Slovenia into several Green parties in 1993. Some leading Green political figures exited politics altogether in protest at the environmental conduct of the governing coalition. The more centre-left Green MPs left the Greens of Slovenia and joined The Greens – Eco-social Party/*Želeni – eko-socialna stranka*. The party was led by Peter Tancig, Minister of Science and Technology. In March 1994 the Greens – Eco-social Party merged with the Liberal Democratic Party, Democratic Party and Socialist Party into the Liberal Democracy of Slovenia. Together with some of the former members of The Greens of Slovenia, Leo Šešerko (who had held the post of speaker for the group before exiting the governing coalition) established a new Green party: The Green Alternative of Slovenia. The more centre-right oriented Green political figures under the leadership of Vane Gošnik remained under the umbrella of The Greens of Slovenia. This fragmentation was further fractured by the conflict between two groups who considered themselves Greens of Slovenia.<sup>11</sup> In such a context, numerous actors became involved in conflicts over the party documentation and over the finances of The Greens of Slovenia, which remain unresolved at the time of writing (November 2015). In autumn 1995, the Ministry of Internal

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<sup>11</sup> One group was led by Štefan Han and the other by Dušan Puh.

Affairs, in charge of the official registration of political parties, decided to remove The Greens of Slovenia from the official registry of parties on the grounds that the party had not completed the official paperwork in time, as required by the new 1994 Law on Political Parties. The Greens of Slovenia sued, and the Constitutional Court suspended the Ministry's decision in 1996. Since 2003, when Vlado Čuš became the president, The Greens of Slovenia have further split. Part of its membership joined the small non-parliamentary Progressive Party/*Progresivna stranka* to form Green Progress/*Zeleni progres*. Meanwhile, some local Green organisations formed the independent Green Party/*Zelena stranka* (Ogrin, 2013).

Environmentalists who had allied with the successor to the transformed League of Communists (the current Social Democrats) competed separately and unsuccessfully at the 1990 elections as the Citizens' Green List. Karel Lipič, a former representative of several trade unions, was able to attract considerable membership and subsequently led the organisation's re-orientation toward a non-governmental environmental umbrella organisation. This later served as the basis for the Party of Ecological Movements of Slovenia.

In 2002, some former members of The Greens of Slovenia joined the Party of Ecological Movements of Slovenia. Among them was Leo Šešerko (previously the president of the Green Alternative of Slovenia) and Božidar Voljč (initially serving as a member of Liberal Democracy of Slovenia as Green Minister for Health). After failing to establish a coalition among Green parties prior to the 2004 European Parliament and general elections, the Party of Ecological Movements of Slovenia again turned to the Social Democrats. At the 2008 general elections, two candidates from the Party of Ecological Movements of Slovenia (one of whom was its president, Marinka Vovk) participated as candidates on the Social Democrats' list. The Social Democrats also established an ecological-rural forum that managed to attract some members of the Party of Ecological Movements of Slovenia. The Party of Ecological Movements of Slovenia is now considered defunct – a result of its total merger with the Social Democrats (Lipič, 2013).

After losing its parliamentary position in 2004, the Youth Party of Slovenia announced its turn toward Green politics by joining the European Greens just prior to the 2004 EP elections. However, this failed to convince voters. Dušan Plut and Matjaž Hanžek both contributed to the emergence of the Movement for Sustainable Development of

Slovenia/*Gibanje za trajnostni razvoj Slovenije* in 2011. Hanžek became the president of the Party for Sustainable Development of Slovenia/*Stranka za trajnostni razvoj Slovenije* (TRS) (the political wing of the movement was established on 17 March 2014 as ‘the political fist of the movement’/‘*politična pest gibanja*’<sup>12</sup>); he was replaced by the newly elected president Violeta Tomič at the party convention in March 2015. By contrast, Plut has remained in the TRS movement and has not even joined the party TRS (Plut, 2015). Some of the members of Liberal Democracy of Slovenia and the new party For Real – New Politics (established in 2007) also joined the Party for Sustainable Development of Slovenia in 2011. However, TRS proved to be another disappointment. The party lacked a charismatic leader and demonstrated breathtaking organisational incompetence by failing to comply with the administrative rules when returning its candidate list for the 2011 pre-term elections. As a result, it forfeited its chance to compete at the elections in all desired electoral wards and thus remained a non-parliamentary party. At the 2014 pre-term elections, TRS joined the United Left coalition led by Luka Mesec and once more fell into obscurity. The TRS movement’s activity has also been decreasing (Plut, 2015).

### ***Ideological divisions and internal disputes among the Greens***

Early ideological characteristics of the Greens. The early development of green ideology in Slovenia was closely tied to Green movements in the West at the time, particularly Germany and UK. The programme document *Programska izhodišča* (Zeleni Slovenije, 1990) includes 11 pages of very specific policy goals based on the following three principles: 1) an ecologically balanced and holistic social development; 2) the responsible individual; and 3) environmental protection.

The main policy goals of the Greens of Slovenia had been: a green, healthy, non-nuclear, secure, democratic and sovereign Slovenian state. The principles and goals have been specified at two levels. At a still more general level this Green party did – like all the newly established oppositional parties at the time, this Green party stood for: human dignity, human rights and freedoms; and political pluralism, the rule of law and parliamentary democracy. Additionally, the

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<sup>12</sup> The nickname coined by Manca Košir (Plut, 2015).

Greens supported a referendum on a sovereign Slovenia with its own army and currency and Slovenia's membership of the European Community. The Greens also favoured the nationalisation of social ownership/*podržavljanje družbene lastnine* and the gradual transition into other forms of ownership. Among their specified values were: ideologically neutral education; autonomy and guaranteed development finances for universities; respect for minority Roma and Hungarian rights; women's rights and the abandonment of the official secrets journal and other secret legal norms.

When building the new political institutions, The Greens of Slovenia favoured a one-chamber parliament and a proportional electoral system.

The right of individuals to self-organise and sovereignty for the Slovenian nation/*narod* was necessarily considered to be limited to ecological, democratic and non-violent endeavours (Zeleni Slovenije, 1990: 1). The Green's attitude toward 'the Slovenian national question' was evident from their open support for particular policies and political decisions at the time. Among the most indicative were their demand for Slovenian to be the official language of the army, the securing of Slovenian territory, and many other defence and military policies.

The Greens also held positive views of Slovenia's integration with the European Community. As with Greens throughout Western Europe at the time, they demanded a re-definition of external relations with the Third world. This included the abolition of links with authoritarian regimes and political groupings, support for democratic political groups, a ban on export of waste, dirty industries and arms to these countries, and developmental support for these countries.

Among the specific Slovenian policy goals and initiatives listed in the same document, some stood out: the closing down of the Krško nuclear plant and various other security measures in the field of nuclear safety; zero-growth orientation in the field of energy policy; a range of policy proposals to protect air, water, sea and coast, landscape and forests, and manage traffic; public utilities/*komunala* and urbanism; waste and waste deposits; financial instruments for sanctioning unwanted behaviour and to encourage ecologically desirable behaviour. The Greens of Slovenia had a sense of the need to link environmental policies with other policies, particularly social policy, research and sports policy, regional development, economy and agriculture.

Consistently, the Greens gained important positions in the government after the 1990 elections, including ministerial positions in the fields of environmental protection, health and energy. While these positions enabled them to influence crucial policy decisions, they also had to deal with taking part in major political decisions on crucial macro political, economic and security issues of the time. Among these was the establishment of a new economic and political order, the creation of an independent Slovenian state and Slovenia's practical reorienting from the former Yugoslav region toward the European integration processes.

However, in 1992 the Greens still favoured 'an alternative world view' / '*alternativen pogled na svet*' (Plut et al., 1992), which denied that any classical ideology or world view (Christian, liberal, socialist-social-democratic, Marxist) is able to holistically react to the pollution and decay of the planet. In the new social movement ideology in the West, the 'humano-ecological paradigm' appeared to offer the best answer: the '*humano-ecological paradigm understood as both local and planetary responsibility for sustainable protection of life preconditions of current and future generations, plants and animals*'<sup>13</sup> (Plut et al., 1992: 1). In terms of the ideological left-right continuum, while the Greens declared themselves a pluralist party / *pluralistična stranka* (Plut et al., 1992: 1), several orientations pointed towards a centre-left ideological leaning. Green issues have tended to go hand-in-hand with ideas of a non-violent society and a society based on solidarity, the strengthening of local self-management, the diminishing of social inequalities in regional development, a more just distribution of wealth, the freedom of religious expression and a clear separation of the Church and the state, respect for ethnic, cultural, gender and other differences and liberal attitude toward immigrants (Plut et al., 1992: 1). Similarly, the Greens often reacted positively to essential democratic values *bazična demokracija* referring not only a participative culture in general, but also when directly supporting referenda, decentralised decision-making, a more moderately spread social power, the active participation of the employed in co-determining and sustaining regional, ethnic and other identities (see Zeleni Slovenije, 1992a).

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13 The original wording in Slovene: »Nastajajoča, celostna humanoekološka paradigma pojmovana kot lokalna in planetarna odgovornost za trajno zaščito pogojev življenja sedanjih in bodočih generacij, rasilin in živali je temelj nazorske in moralno-etične opredelitve Zelenih.«

It comes as no surprise that the most prominent leader of The Greens of Slovenia, Dušan Plut, often claimed the party is both environmental and sensitive to social issues. According to a public opinion survey in the transition period, 16 per cent of supporters of The Green Party of Slovenia aligned themselves on the left, 48 per cent in the centre, 6 per cent on the right while 30 per cent did not place themselves on the left-right spectrum at all (Toš et al., 1991).

*Internal divisions.* Following the 1990 elections, The Greens of Slovenia were internally divided more or less evenly along liberal-conservative ideological lines and were therefore unable to decide whether to join the Demos party bloc at the first multi-party elections. Later the Greens hesitated again in joining the Demos government (Plut, 2009). However, while voters positioned The Greens of Slovenia near the centre of the left-right ideological spectrum between 1991 and 1993 (Kropivnik, 1994), the internal party disputes along left-right lines proved damaging for the party's sustainability. This fact – together with the very public personal animosities – damaged the party's reputation leading to its split in March 1993. The centre-left (liberal) wing of the party, which included Plut, created a new party: The Greens-Eco-social Party. The conservative (centre-right) faction under the leadership of Vane Gošnik remained within The Greens of Slovenia. Since 2003 the party has been led by Vlado Čuš (Trampuš, 2000). The centre-left (liberal) wing of The Greens of Slovenia was represented within the ecological forum of the Liberal Democracy of Slovenia until its decline at the turn of the millennium.

The Party of Ecological Movements of Slovenia have offered voters a red-green option by officially cooperating with the Social Democrats since 2008. Although the Youth Party of Slovenia originally positioned itself on the centre-left, supporting the creation of a centre-left government following the 2000 elections, it has also been a pragmatic player. The party has since entered pre-electoral party alliances with centre-right parties.

The recently established Party for Sustainable Development of Slovenia/*Stranka za trajnostni razvoj Slovenije* (TRS) with its emphasis on social policy matters has positioned itself closer to the red-green than to the liberal-green option (Hanžek, 2011; Košir, 2011; Lipič, 2013; Majhenič and Valič, 2013; Ogrin 2013). The main programme goal of the party is to build a society of democratic ecological socialism/*družba demokratičnega ekološkega socializma*. Indeed, eco-socialism and ecological humanism/*eko-socializem, ekološki humanizem*

are the programme's key-words<sup>14</sup>. TRS is programmatically close to the Initiative for Democratic Socialism – the coalition partner within the United left/*Združena levica*. The Initiative for Democratic Socialism pursues the programme of democratic socialism. It builds on the call for the revival of the Left including not only democratic socialism and welfare policies, but also the democratisation of the European Union<sup>15</sup>.

### ***Critical political decisions and failures of leadership.***

Based on documents as well as interviews with Green political leaders published in the mass media between 1989 and 2014 and interviews conducted in 2013/2014, we can identify a number of critical decision-making and leadership failures by Green leaders that have significantly contributed to the long-term decline of the Green party segment in Slovenia. The following six are regarded as the most critical failures.

*Firstly*, here is the earliest and most ambiguous example. From an organisational development point of view, the decision by The Greens of Slovenia to join the Demos coalition seemed to be a mistake. The broader leadership at the time could not agree on this issue. In fact, the party at the time did actually not have a political programme outlining where the party stood on big political questions in Slovenia. The decision-making on joining the Demos government within the leadership was indeed indecisive (the votes were 28 against 28). The final decision came down to the deciding vote by the party leader, Dušan Plut. As already noted earlier, the relationship between internal party organs (presidency – programme council – secretariat; the executive committee – other committees; the MPs' club – the executive committee – secretariat) was poorly defined at the time.

However, there are also arguments against such an evaluation. Among them is the argument that the successors of former socio-political organisations of the old regime favoured nuclear energy and the Greens could not join them (Šešerko, 2015). Furthermore, joining the Demos coalition was critical in taking major political decisions on the establishment of Slovenia's independent state (Plut, 2015).

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14 See more in *Program Stranke TRS*, at <http://www.gibanje-trs.si/program-gibanja.html>, 15 September 2015.

15 *Koraki k demokratičnemu socializmu, Inicijativa za demokratični socializem*, available at <http://www.demokracicni-socializem.si/programski-dokumenti/program-ids/>, 15 September 2015.



According to Plut, green policies have only become feasible since Slovenia became an independent state; they were not possible while Slovenia remained part of Yugoslavia. In such circumstances Plut's decision to lead The Greens of Slovenia into the Demos centre-right government was based on an agreement with the government to close down the Krško nuclear plant. The Demos government's failure to fulfil its promise not only resulted in disillusionment among the supporters of The Greens of Slovenia but also added to the splintering of the Green party segment. Plut has publicly accepted this as his personal failure – '*osebni poraz*' (Plut 2009).

*Secondly*, various segments of the newly emerging Green parties (including the centre-left wing of The Greens of Slovenia together with all Green MPs) have tried to integrate closely with other (mostly centre-left) parties. The most prominent among these had been the Liberal Democracy of Slovenia and the successor of the reformed League of Communists. Decisions to collaborate or even integrate with such 'ideological' parties have proved to be beneficial primarily to the non-Green parties or to the Green politicians who used the collaborations to further their political career rather than to promote any Green party agenda.

*Thirdly*, the increasingly fragmented Green leadership has been unable either to resolve the conflict over the alleged misuse of the parliamentary party funding following the initial split of The Greens of Slovenia or to take the allegation of corruption up with the appropriate institutions. Even the later attempts at mediation by the European Green Federation failed as dialogue between Green party members broke down in acrimony.

*Fourthly*, several locally self-made politicians have exploited local Green political organisations to shore up their own personal careers at the local level without contributing to the construction of a nationally strong Green party.

*Fifthly*, weak managerial abilities have damaged the overall success of Green parties. This was particularly obvious when the left-oriented Green party, TRS, was established and gained surprisingly public support just prior to the 2011 pre-term elections. Yet, the party leadership failed to file all candidate lists in accordance with official rules and thus forfeited their opportunity to win enough votes to enter parliament.

*Sixthly*, in spite of the perceived mismanagement of the global economic crisis by the long-term core of parties in Slovenia's party



system, which has led voters to shift their support to new centre-left parties, no Green party leadership has managed to take advantage of these circumstances to take the lead in integrating the Greens with these new left anti-establishment sympathies. Rather, TRS joined the newly emerged leftist political groupings under the young leader of the new left in Slovenia. No other Green party has been able to match even the TRS achievements. And no Green party has been able to offer a young generation of political leaders.

## **The Impact of the Economic Crisis**

*Impact on Party Politics.* The recent international financial and economic crisis, the budget mismanagement and the numerous political scandals have radically shaken up the party system in Slovenia. As already noted, new parties have not only gained a considerable share of seats in the parliament but have also succeeded in forming coalition governments with their leader as prime minister. By emphasising the economic and social agenda over the environmental agenda (Beltran, ed., 2012; Majhenič and Valič, 2013), the newly established Party for Sustainable Development of Slovenia/*Stranka za trajnostni razvoj Slovenije* managed to appeal to the public mood more successfully than any of the newly-established political parties in the run up to the 2011 pre-term elections (Kurdija et al., 2011). Nevertheless, poor administrative management caused them to fail to capitalise on this support. Again at the 2014 pre-term elections, completely new political parties entered the parliament. The voters hardly re-elected any incumbent MPs. As shown in Tables 5 and 8, starting with the 2011 pre-term elections, voters have radically abandoned support for the cluster of old parties (successors of the transformed socio-political organisations). Instead, they have transferred their support to parties without roots in old socio-political organisations. Indeed, as much as 81 per cent of the total vote went to parliamentary parties without roots in old socio-political organisations at both elections since 2011.

Table 8: The core and other segments of the parliamentary party system in Slovenia immediately following elections (1992–2014)

MAIN CLUSTERS OF PARTIES ON THE LEFT-RIGHT CONTINUUM	Election results	1992	1996	2000	2004	2008	2011 (pre-term elections)	2014 (pre-term elections)
Liberal Democracy of Slovenia [ <i>Liberalna demokracija Slovenije</i> ] <sup>1</sup>	no. of votes	278,851	288,783	390,797	220,848	54,771		
	% of votes	23.46	27.01	36.21	22.80	5.21		
	No. of seats	22	25	34	23	5		
	% of seats	24.44	27.77	37.77	25.55	5.56		
Slovenian Democratic Party [ <i>Slovenska demokratska stranka</i> ] <sup>1</sup>	no. of votes	39,675	172,470	170,541	281,710	307,735	288,719	181,052
	% of votes	3.34	16.13	15.80	29.08	29.26	26.19	20.71
	No. of seats	4	16	14	29	28	26	21
	% of seats	4.44	17.77	15.56	32.22	31.1	29.54	23.86
Social Democrats [ <i>Socialni demokrati</i> ] <sup>1</sup>	no. of votes	161,349	96,597	130,268	98,527	320,248	115,952	52,249
	% of votes	13.58	9.03	12.07	10.17	30.45	10.52	5.98
	No. of seats	14	9	11	10	29	10	6
	% of seats	15.56	10	12.22	11.11	32.2	11.36	6.82
<b>Three main parties of the first party system – total</b>	no. of votes	40.38	52.17	64.08	62.05	64.92	36.71	26.69
	No. of seats	40	50	59	62	62	36	27
<b>PEOPLES'-CHRISTIAN PARTIES:</b>								
Slovenian Christian Democrats [ <i>Slovenski krščanski demokrati</i> ]	no. of votes	172,424	102,852					
	% of votes	14.51	9.62					
	No. of seats	15	10					
	% of seats	16.66	11.11					
Slovenian People's Party [ <i>Slovenska ljudska stranka</i> ] <sup>1</sup>	no. of votes	103,300	207,186	102,817	66,032	54,809 <sup>2</sup>	75,311	
	% of votes	8.69	19.38	9.53	6.82	5.21 <sup>2</sup>	6.83	
	No. of seats	10	19	9	7	5	6	
	% of seats	11.11	21.11	10	7.78	5.56	6.82	
New Slovenia-Christian People's Party [ <i>Nova Slovenija – krščanska ljudska stranka</i> ]	no. of votes			94,661	88,073		53,758	48,846
	% of votes			8.76	9.09		4.88	5.59
	No. of seats			8	9		4	5
	% of seats			8.89	10		4.54	5.56
<b>Peoples'-Christian parties – total</b>	% of votes	23.2	29.0	18.29	15.91	5.21	11.71	5.59
	No. of seats	25	29	17	16	5	10	5
<b>OTHER PARTIES:</b>	No of other parties	2	2	3	2	4	3	4
Slovenian National Party [ <i>Slovenska nacionalna stranka</i> ]	no. of votes	119,091	34,422	47,251	60,750	56,832		
	% of votes	10.02	3.22	4.38	6.27	5.40		
	No. of seats	12	4	4	6	5		
	% of seats	13.33	4.44	4.44	6.65	5.56		
Democratic Party of Pensioners of Slovenia [ <i>Demokratska stranka upokojencev Slovenije – DESUS</i> ]	no. of votes		46,152	55,696	39,150	78,353	76,853	88,968
	% of votes		4.32	5.16	4.04	7.45	6.97	10.18
	No. of seats		5	4	4	7	6	10
	% of seats		5.56	4.44	4.44	7.78	6.82	11.11
For Real – New Politics [ <i>Zares – nova politika</i> ]	no. of votes					98,526		
	% of votes					9.37		
	No. of seats					9		
	% of seats					10.0		

MAIN CLUSTERS OF PARTIES ON THE LEFT-RIGHT CONTINUUM	Election results	1992	1996	2000	2004	2008	2011 (pre-term elections)	2014 (pre-term elections)
Democratic Party [ <i>Demokratska stranka</i> ]	no. of votes	59,487						
	% of votes	5.01						
	No. of seats	6						
	% of seats	6.67						
Party of Youth – European Greens [Stranka mladih – Zeleni Evrope] <sup>1</sup>	no. of votes			46,719		see note 2		
	% of votes			4.33				
	No. of seats			4				
	% of seats			4.44				
List of Zoran Jankovič – Positive Slovenia [ <i>Lista Zorana Jankoviča – Pozitivna Slovenija</i> ]	no. of votes						314,273	
	% of votes						28.51	
	No. of seats						28	
	% of seats						31.81	
Citizens' Alliance of Gregor Virant (CAGV) [ <i>Državljska lista Gregorja Viranta (DLGV)</i> ]	no. of votes						92,282	
	% of votes						8.37	
	No. of seats						8	
	% of seats						9.09	
Party of Miro Cerar [ <i>Stranka Mira Cerarja – SMC</i> ] <sup>3</sup>	no. of votes							301,563
	% of votes							34.49
	No. of seats							36
	% of seats							40.90
Coalition United Left (Democratic Party of Labour, Initiative for Democratic Socialism and Party for Sustainable Development of Slovenia) [ <i>Koalicija Združena levica (Demokratska stranka dela, Inicijativa za demokratični socializem in Stranka za trajnostni razvoj Slovenije)</i> ]	no. of votes							52,189
	% of votes							5.97
	No. of seats							6
	% of seats							6.65
Alliance of Alenka Bratušek [ <i>Zaveznitvo Alenke Bratušek</i> ]	no. of votes							38,293
	% of votes							4.38
	No. of seats							4
	% of seats							4.44
<b>Other parties – total</b>	% of votes	15.03	7.54	13.87	10.31	22.22 (without 5.21)	43.85-	55.02
	No. of seats	18	9	12	10	21	42	56

Notes:

<sup>1</sup> The latest names also for the predecessors of the same parties are used in this table.

<sup>2</sup> SLS and SMS competed together at the 2008 elections and together gained 5.21 per cent of the vote; however all parliamentary seats were occupied by MPs from the Slovenian People's Party.

<sup>3</sup> Following the elections, the party renamed in the Party of Modern Centre [*Stranka modernega centra*]. The table shows own calculations based on the data from the following sources: Uradni list Republike Slovenije: 17/90; 60/92; 65/96; 98/2000, gathered by Alenka Krašovec and Tomaž Boh, in Fink-Hafner and Boh, (eds.) (2002); Republiška volilna komisija – <http://www.rvk.si>; [http://volitve.gov.si/dz2008/rezultati/rezultati\\_slo.html](http://volitve.gov.si/dz2008/rezultati/rezultati_slo.html), 11 May 2009; <http://volitve.gov.si/dz2011/>, 11 February 2012.

In the context of the 2011–2014 political earthquake, even the core of the anti-communist parties – which had survived the first 12 years of constitutional reforms – have lost their electoral support. The completely new parties which emerged just prior to the 2011 and 2014 elections gained as much as 36.88 per cent of votes and 36 parliamentary seats in 2011 and 44.84 per cent of votes and 46 parliamentary seats in 2014. It should be noted that 46 votes represent as much as the absolute majority in the 90-seat lower chamber – the National Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia.<sup>16</sup>

*The Positioning of Green Parties within the Dynamically Changing Party System.* A decrease in the already low levels of public trust in parliamentary political parties, coupled with greater radicalisation, has caused voters to become more open toward newly-emerging political parties. Yet not a single Green party has managed to integrate green issues with the issues of rising unemployment, the anti-austerity mood, the de-legitimisation of mainstream parties leading unsuccessful governments and appropriate its own organisational capacity. Unlike the 1980s period, Slovenia's Green parties have been unable to learn from the German Greens' successful 'green new deal', which managed to combine environmental policy with the need to create jobs (Rüdig, 2012). Indeed, Slovenian Green parties have failed to enjoy the recent global rise in Green party fortunes (Wachtler, 2014; European Green Party, 2014).

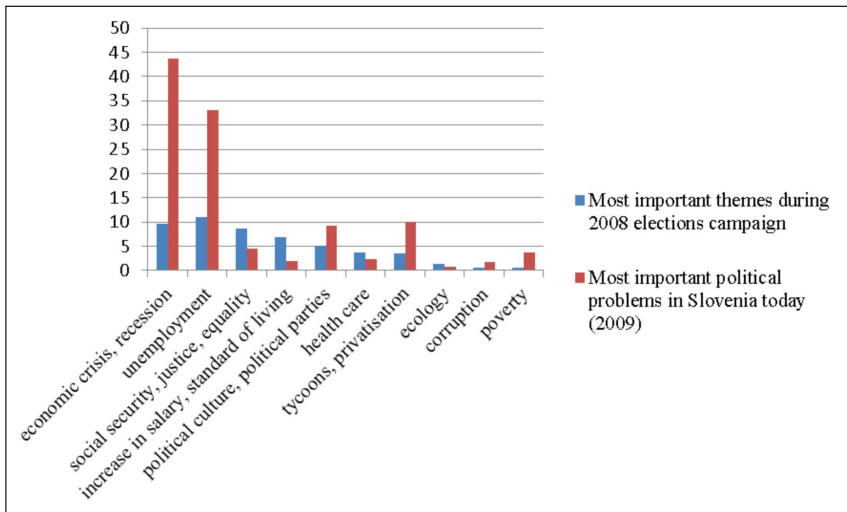
*The Impact on Voter Perceptions and Values.* In contrast to the poor managerial capacity of the Party for Sustainable Development of Slovenia/*Stranka za trajnostni razvoj Slovenije* and other Green parties, the citizens' initiative (Ecologists without Borders/*Ekologi brez meja*) has been much more efficient. Using the slogan 'Let's clean up Slovenia in one day' / *Očistimo Slovenijo v enem dnevu*, and with the support of the mass media, it has managed to attract several hundred-thousand supporters each year since 2010.

Nevertheless, the hierarchy of the most important political issues seem to have changed during the last few years. Voters have placed environmental issues on the back burner. According to public opinion surveys data from 2009, voters recognised economic crises and recession as the 'most important current political problem'. It was also recognised as one of most important issues during the

16 88 of the 90 MPs are elected according to the general electoral rules. Two representatives (one for the Hungarian minority and one for the Italian minority) are elected separately within the framework of these two ethnic minorities.

2008 election campaign together with unemployment (see Figure 3). However, at that time ecology turned out to be recognised as more important than issues of poverty and corruption. But in 2009, when the crisis started to affect the everyday lives of Slovenes, ecology was seen as the least important ‘current political problem’ (Malešič et al., 2009). Indeed, the economic crisis led to a temporary shift in public opinion – economic issues in the short term were deemed more important than environmental ones (Malnar, 2002: 24).

Figure 3. The percentage of respondents to the questions ‘Thinking about the parliamentary elections of September last year [2008], what for you personally was the most important theme during the electoral campaign? And what was for you personally the second most important theme? Thinking now of today’s situation, which do you think is the most important political problem in Slovenia today? And which is the second most important political problem?’



\* The chart shows the cumulative results of the most important and second most important campaign themes (blue) during the 2008 parliamentary elections and the cumulative results of the most important and second most important political problems (red) in Slovenia, for the selected answers. The public opinion survey was carried out in spring 2009.

Source: Malešič et al. 2009.

Slovenes experienced the economic crisis personally. In the spring 2009, 57.8 per cent of citizens experienced effects of the crisis and 59 per cent of respondents subsequently changed their consumption habits (Malešič et al., 2009). After 2008 Slovenes continued to prioritise economic issues. In 2011 (Hafner-Fink et al., 2011), the majority of respondents (61.9 per cent) identified the economy as the one of the two most important current issues in Slovenia (Appendix 8). The second most important issue was poverty, identified by 51.1 per cent of citizens. The environment was placed towards the bottom of the list. Only 10 per cent of voters said the environment was one of the two most important 'current issues in Slovenia'. Moreover, 46 per cent of voters expressed concern that 'too many of us worry about the future of our environment and not enough about everything that is happening today in terms of prices and employment'. However, the prevalence of economic materialistic values may be just a temporary consequence of the economic crisis. Indeed, the longitudinal data (covering 22 years) for the six founders of the European Union show that even citizens that were oriented more towards post-materialistic values tend to gravitate towards materialistic values during periods of economic recession. Post-materialistic values, after all, depend on economic security. Indeed, previous research has shown that, once economic conditions returned to normal, citizens once again started to express post-materialistic values (Inglehart, 1995).

But this does not mean that green values are 'lost'. Even though only a minority of voters identified environmental issues as the most important in Slovenia, as much as 39.8 per cent of respondents said they were very worried about environmental problems and 34.5 per cent they were worried (Hafner-Fink et al., 2011). Some see the protection of the environment as directly dependent on economic progress. The majority (59.2 per cent) of voters said that economic growth in Slovenia is a precondition for a protected environment (Hafner-Fink et al., 2011). Of most concern to Slovenes and their families is air pollution (Appendix 9). The use of chemicals and pesticides, the disposal of household waste, and water pollution are also considered threats. It is interesting that 8.3 per cent of respondents do not feel threatened by any environmental issue while only 1.3 per cent of respondents do not recognise any environmental problem. This means that although economic take priority in times of economic crisis, almost everyone still recognises the existence of at least one environmental issue.

The majority of respondents (70.1 per cent) believe that Slovenia as a country does not contribute enough to the protection of the environment. But almost everyone believes that environmental problems are global and should be solved internationally. Some 93 per cent of citizens support the international environmental agreements that Slovenia and other countries should respect. Before Slovenia became full a member of the EU, environmental protection was one of the areas of everyday life (besides easier border crossing and access to education) where Slovenian voters anticipated improvements with full membership (Appendix 10). Apparently, environmental issues are perceived as being more global than national domestic issues.

Overall, the economic crisis did not dramatically change the environmental attitudes of Slovenes. Some environmentally friendly activities are also dependent on infrastructure and opportunities, which have improved in recent years. Activities such as recycling and sorting waste have also enjoyed more active support recently. Today 85.7 per cent of voters separate glass, metal, plastic and paper for recycling. In 2000 only 39 per cent of respondents always or often sorted waste (Hafner-Fink et al., 2011). Moreover, compared with EU member states, Slovenia separates the highest percentage of waste for recycling (Eurobarometer, 2014). The share of voters who buy organic food has also increased from 35.2 per cent in 2000 to 41.8 in 2011. The greater promotion of organic food probably has contributed to the increase in the number of voters who buy fruit and vegetables grown without pesticides. However, it is difficult for citizens to engage in environmental activities that demand some sort of sacrifice and may even result in a lower standard of living. Although 68.1 per cent of voters claim that they do what is good for the environment, even if this includes spending more money or taking more time to perform an activity, only 18.3 per cent of respondents would give up their car for environmental reasons and only 33.1 per cent would be willing to give up their standard of living to protect the environment (Hafner-Fink et al., 2011). Slovenes are also below the EU average when it comes to cutting down on personal consumption, such as by turning down air conditioning or heating, not leaving appliances on stand-by, buying energy efficient appliances and not purchasing over-packaged products and buying products with a longer life (Eurobarometer, 2014).

The economic crisis has changed voters' preferences including choosing not to make financial sacrifices for the environment. Only

28.3 per cent would be willing to pay much higher prices to protect the environment and only 17.6 per cent would be willing to pay significantly higher taxes to protect the environment (Hafner-Fink et al., 2011). Even if these differences are not considerable, we can observe less engagement in ecological activism. Comparing the data from 2000 with opinion polls in 2011 we find similar levels of membership of environmental organisations, but fewer respondents in 2011 signed a petition relating to environmental protection, fewer joined some sort of environmental protest or demonstration, or donated money to protect the environment (see Table 9).

*Table 9: Ecological activism*

<b>Ecological activism</b>	<b>SPOS 2000/2</b>	<b>SPOS 2011/1</b>
Member of a group that has as its main objective the preservation and protection of the environment.	3.7%	3.6%
In the last 5 years signed a petition for the protection of the environment?	12%	10.9%
In the last 5 years have given money to a group for environmental protection?	10.7%	6.9%
In the last 5 years have participated in a protest or demonstration for protecting the environment?	4.5%	2.8%

Source: Slovenian Public Opinion Survey; Toš et al. 2000b, Hafner-Fink et al. 2011.

The percentage declined the most when it came to financial donations to environmental organisations. In 2011 only 7 per cent of citizens donated money compared with 11 per cent in 2000. It is not green attitudes but rather financial sacrifices that remain the most difficult for citizens to make in times of economic crises. Nevertheless, voters believe that individuals can be encouraged to protect the environment through education and information rather than by penalties or higher taxes (see also Appendix 11).



## 6 CONCLUSIONS

In the book we have considered the interplay between three factors affecting the development of Green parties: (1) the national political-environment factor; (2) the internal agency characteristics of Green party developments; and (3) the economic crisis as an intervening factor. This interplay was tested by reference to the case study of Slovenia.

The Greens of Slovenia (as in the West) emerged in the context of an increasing global and domestic awareness of environmental issues, nourished not only by Western intellectual and activist links, but also informed by major international and domestic ecological disasters.

Political institutions, including the constitutional system and electoral rules, have generally proved to impact on the party arena. Indeed, institutional engineering by the dominant parties has been used at least temporarily to exclude some competitors from the party system, not only in Western countries, but also in the new post-socialist democracies. By contrast, Slovenia's rather stable institutional rules – which have allowed for an open-party system – cannot be regarded as a crucial factor in the decline of Green parties since the short-lived but significant electoral success of The Greens of Slovenia in 1990 and 1992. Although the core of Slovenia's predominant parties managed to exclude non-parliamentary parties from state funding for a while, this did not prevent many new (non-Green) parties entering parliament shortly after their establishment. While the post-1992 party system has recently lost a great deal of its legitimacy, new parties have managed to gain governmental status immediately after entering parliament. Although the success of new parties has not been enjoyed by any Green parties, green values among voters

have not waned and cannot be considered lost, even in the context of the economic crisis.

Indeed, the economic crisis has so far proved to be both a challenge as well as an opportunity for Green parties. This has been confirmed not only by several countries in the context of the recent international financial and economic crisis, but also by the case of The Greens of Slovenia in the transitional period from the 1980s to 1990s in Slovenia. The economic crisis is not just about the conflict between green and non-green issues. Rather, the question is whether Green (and other) parties are able to offer an alternative solution to the existing socio-political problems which must be addressed in order to solve the crisis. The combination of Green and centre-left ideological orientation in Slovenia during transition proved to be a winning formula. Similarly, it seemed to be a winning combination in the case of TRS – as opinion polls showed just before the 2011 pre-term elections to the National Assembly. TRS (due to its managerial failure in 2011) was only able to enter the National Assembly after the 2014 early elections as part of the New Left. No Green party in Slovenia leaning toward the centre-right has come near to the success of the centre-left The Greens of Slovenia.

Therefore, is it possible to conclude that the internal – particularly agential – characteristics of Green party developments could be key to explaining the decline of Green parties in particular national circumstances? Weber (1968: 58) notes that the charisma of political leaders cannot be learned but rather must be ‘awakened’ and ‘tested’. It is perhaps to be expected that some mistaken political decisions would be made in the early post-socialist context when the new political party elites lacked political experience in a multi-party context. Furthermore, it is to be expected that some individuals would prioritise the benefits of public office at the local and national level for their own personal gain – as occurred in a number of countries during the early stages of democratic development. And, as the case of the Green Party in the UK demonstrates, a particular leader may prove decisive in a party’s success at the ballot box even in the context of the United Kingdom’s extraordinarily restrictive electoral rules. Last but not least, as the German Greens demonstrated, an intellectual capacity and an ability to engage in the wider debates on the economy and democracy do matter.

The Greens of Slovenia were most successful when intensively linked to green intellectual and political movements in the West. At

that time the Green movement's activist Dušan Plut turned into a publicly recognisable and respected political leader. However the decision to occupy several important institutional roles in the political system before organisational consolidation led to a situation in which institutions swallowed Green party leaders. On one hand, the party was a victim of its own success. On the other hand, a challenging inter-play between a party's success and the personal gains of its personalities from entering the state institutions at various levels proved to be disastrous for Green parties in Slovenia. The recent revival of the green-red (TRS) involving certain members of the old green-red elite failed to attract a new generation of activists and leaders. Rather, they emerged autonomously, but agreed to join forces with the TRS when competing at the 2014 elections. It remains to be seen whether the green aspects of TRS will suffer the same fate as previous Green parties and movements merging with other – ideological – parties. Nevertheless, the first year of the new parliament (after the 2014 early elections) has not seen any publicly visible 'green' activities by Green MPs – unlike, for example, the Greek Greens (allied with Syriza), which can be credited with a number of parliamentary questions on environmental issues (Botetzagias and Vasilopoulos, 2015: 15). Some Green political figures, from the transition generation (1980s/1990s) particularly, stress that critical changes to capitalism as a socio-economic system are crucial for solving environmental problems, and count on eco-socialism as an alternative to the current system (see Plut, 2014). But a new generation of Green leaders is missing. The new left-leaning generation lacks young leaders who can bring together left socio-economic, left political and a Green transformation.

In conclusion, our main finding is that political agency matters. Looking at the post Second World War period, we can say that it matters on two levels. Firstly, it matters on the theoretical ideational, macro-social and macro-political level, critically reflecting a particular stage of capitalist development. In the West and post-socialist East this is first of all a criticism of a particular type/stage of global capitalism that peaked in the 1970s and again after 2000. Secondly, agency matters because it links internal party characteristics and the choice of party strategies with electoral success. Indeed, it seems to be a necessary (albeit insufficient) precondition for the success of a political party in general elections. To fully grasp the importance of the internal agency factor in relation to other factors that determine

party electoral success, a comparative view of the variations among national contexts – as well as among party families – is required. Further cross-country comparative research will be required to identify not just the necessary but also the sufficient conditions for the short-term and long-term electoral successes of Green parties.

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# Appendix

*Appendix 1: List of registered political parties in Slovenia on 19<sup>th</sup> September 2015*

	Registration number	Name of the party	Short name of the party	Acronym	Head-quarter	Address	Legal representative
1	4001184000	Združeni Zeleni		ZZ	Ljubljana, Ljubljana	Cilenškova ulica 35	Galun Tamara
2	1029894000	Gibanje za Slovenijo		GZS	Ljubljana, Ljubljana	Cesta v Kleče 9	Mavrič Vidovič Bojan
3	1029711000	Slovenska ljudska stranka		SLS	Ljubljana, Ljubljana	Beethovnova ulica 4	Zidanšek Marko
4	5977967000	Narodna stranka dela	Stranka dela	NSD	Ajdovščina, Ajdovščina	Šibeniška ulica 21	Poljšak Marjan
5	1029843000	Stranka ekoloških gibanj Slovenije	Ekologi	SEG	Ljubljana, Ljubljana	Litostrojska cesta 40	Lipič Karel
6	5892333000	Stranka enakopravnih dežel	Enakopravni deželani	SED	Ljubljana, Ljubljana	Levstikov trg 8	Svetek Blaž
7	5951763000	Zeleni Slovenije	Zeleni		Ljubljana, Ljubljana	Komenskega ulica 11	Čuš Vlado
8	1030124000	Ankaran je naš		AJN	Koper, Koper	Gortanov trg 15	Popovič Boris
9	1030060000	Neodvisna lista ZARJA	"ZARJA"	NLZ	Sežana, Sežana	Kosovelova ulica 4B	Slavkovič Radica
10	1030167000	Lipa			Maribor, Maribor	Rasbergerjeva ulica 2	Peče Sašo
11	5299446000	Slovenska demokratska stranka	Slovenski demokrati	SDS	Ljubljana, Ljubljana	Trstenjakova ulica 8	Janša Ivan
12	5836778000	Demokratska stranka Slovenije	Demokrati Slovenije	DS	Ljubljana, Ljubljana	Linhartova cesta 13	Cuzak Josip
13	5916046000	Krščansko-socialna unija	Krščanski socialisti	KSU	Ljubljana, Ljubljana	Kajuhova ulica 4	Rutar Jožef
14	1029959000	Oljka			Koper, Koper	Burlinova ulica 1	Peroša Patrik
15	1029967000	Lista za čisto pitno vodo		LZČPV	Ljubljana, Ljubljana	Zarnikova ulica 19	Jarc Mihael

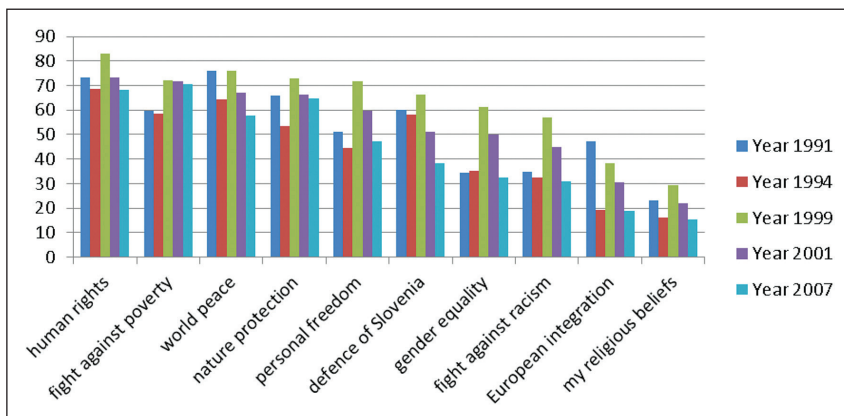
	Registration number	Name of the party	Short name of the party	Acronym	Head-quarter	Address	Legal representative
16	5147484000	Socialni demokrati		SD	Ljubljana, Ljubljana	Levstikova ulica 15	Levanič Dejan
17	5305101000	Socialna liberalna stranka	Slovenski liberalci	LS	Ljubljana, Ljubljana	Prešernova cesta 3	Gros Vitomir
18	1030108000	Krščansko demokratska stranka	Krščanski demokrati	KDS	Maribor, Zrkovci	Cesta ob lipi 10	Štruel Oton
19	1030116000	Slovenija za vedno		SZV	Koper, Koper	Gortanov trg 15	Popovič Boris
20	1030159000	Zares – socialno liberalni	Zares		Ljubljana, Ljubljana	Dunajska cesta 106	Gruden Uroš
21	1029738000	Nova Slovenija – krščanski demokrati	Nova Slovenija	NSi	Ljubljana, Ljubljana	Cankarjeva cesta 11	Novak Ljudmila
22	5837090000	Liberalna demokracija Slovenije		LDS	Ljubljana, Ljubljana	Dunajska cesta 5	Hribar Rok
23	5954088000	Nova demokracija Slovenije		NDS	Dravograd, Dravograd	Mariborska cesta 11	Riznik Jožef
24	5982227000	LMB – Lista za Maribor	Lista za Maribor	LMB	Maribor, Maribor	Miklošičeva ulica 6	Arih Aleš
25	1029975000	Koper je naš		KJN	Koper, Koper	Gortanov trg 15	Popovič Boris
26	1030078000	Izola je naša		IJN	Izola, Izola	Pittonijeva ulica 2	Gerk Bogdan
27	1029720000	Stranka mladih – Zeleni Evrope	SMS – ZELENI	SMS	Ljubljana, Ljubljana	Mesarska cesta 28	Jurišič Igor
28	549273400	DeSUS – Demokratična stranka upokojencev Slovenije		DeSUS	Ljubljana, Ljubljana	Kersnikova ulica 6	Erjavec Karl Viktor
29	5670144000	Komunistična partija Slovenije		KPS	Ljubljana, Ljubljana	Tržaška cesta 2	Lenardič Mavricij Karl
30	1120999000	Stranka demokratske akcije Slovenije	SDA Slovenije	SDAS	Ljubljana, Ljubljana	Makucova ulica 24	Hadžić Mehmed
31	1029924000	Lista za pravičnost in razvoj	Pravičnost in razvoj	LPR	Maribor, Maribor	Loška ulica 13	Auer Stojan
32	1030019000	Zveza za Dolenjsko – ZZD	Zveza za Dolenjsko	ZZD	Novo mesto, Novo mesto	Župančičevo sprehajališče 1	Muhič Alojzij
34	1030027000	Piran je naš		PJN	Piran, Lucija	Obala 114	Mahnič Marino
34	1030132000	Krščanski socialisti Slovenije	Socialisti	KSS	Ljubljana, Ljubljana	Mihov štradoln 13	Magajna Andrej
36	5870526000	Zveza za napredek Radeč in radeškega območja	Zveza	ZA-R	Radeče, Radeče	V gaju 15	Pintarič Rafaela
36	1030094000	Akacije			Koper, Koper	Ulica II. prekomorske brigade 13B	Brecelj Marko
37	1029754000	Glas žensk Slovenije	Glas žensk	GŽS	Maribor, Maribor	Leona Zalaznika ulica 12	Piberl Monika
38	1029797000	Neodvisna stranka Pomurja		NSP	Murska Sobota, Murska Sobota	Slomškova ulica 1	Korpič Jože
39	5982413000	Naprej Slovenija	NPS	NPS	Ljubljana, Ljubljana	Badjurova ulica 3	Svetek Blaž

	<b>Registration number</b>	<b>Name of the party</b>	<b>Short name of the party</b>	<b>Acronym</b>	<b>Head-quarter</b>	<b>Address</b>	<b>Legal representative</b>
40	1030035000	Lista Sonce	Sonce		Brežice, Brežice	Černelčeva cesta 3	Škof Uroš
41	1029819000	Lista za skupno občino Miklavž na D. P.	Lista za Miklavž	LM	Miklavž a Drav. polju, Miklavž na Drav. polju	Cesta v Rogozo 4	Janžek Dušan
42	5768870000	Stranka slovenskega naroda	Slovenski narod	SSN	Maribor, Maribor	Efenkova ulica 10	Majc Miha
43	5638143000	Zveza za Primorsko-ZPP	Zveza za Primorsko	ZPP	Nova Gorica, Nova Gorica	Erjavčeva ulica 4	Božič Danijel
45	1030051000	Stranka za delovna mesta	Za delovna mesta	ZDM	Celje, Celje	Linhartova ulica 22	Esih Stanko
45	5485657000	Slovenska nacionalna stranka		SNS	Ljubljana, Ljubljana	Bleiweisova cesta 13	Jelinčič Plemeniti Zmago
46	4016203000	Slovenska Unija	Unija	SU	Ljubljana, Ljubljana	Dunajska cesta 156	Dimovski Vlado
47	4008731000	Stara pravda stranka prava		SPSP	Slovenska Bistrica, Slov. Bistrica	Potrčeva ulica 12	Poljanec Ludvik
48	4010086000	Stranka enakih možnosti Slovenije	SEM Slovenije	SEM-Si	Ljubljana, Ljubljana	Dunajska cesta 184A	Pečarič Helena
49	2404869000	Premik			Železniki, Železniki	Češnjica 54	Mesec Peter
50	4024559000	Stranka Humana Slovenija	Humana Slovenija	HS	Ptuj, Ptuj	Rogaška cesta 36	Šic Miran
51	4022459000	Stranka Medgeneracijske Solidarnosti in Razvoja	Medgeneracijska stranka	smsr	Maribor, Maribor	Gregorčičeva ulica 24	Ambrožič Borut
52	4022629000	Zveza za prihodnost	Za prihodnost		Žalec, Žalec	Cankarjeva ulica 5	Fideršek Jasmin
53	4036697	Stranka za ekosocializem in trajnostni razvoj Slovenije - TRS	Stranka TRS	TRS	Ljubljana, Ljubljana	Parmova ulica 41	Tomič Violeta
54	4024044000	Istra-Istria			Izola, Izola	Ulica svetega Petra 13	Krajcar Egidio
55	4024567000	NARCISA – Stranka rdečega prahu	NARCISA		Jesenice, Slovenski Javornik	Cesta Alojza Travnja 22	Rebolj Miha
56	4023510000	Zagorje gre naprej – Združenje za napredek Zasavja	Zagorje gre naprej	ZGN	Zagorje ob Savi, Izlake	Izlake 19	Švagan Matjaž
57	4023897000	LTS – Lista za Kamnik	LTS – Za Kamnik		Kamnik, Kamnik	Maistrova ulica 18	Mošnik Marija
58	4021118000	Stranka združena Istra	Združena Istra	ZI	Piran, Lucija	Obala 93	Vranješ Boštjan
59	4029615000	DROT – za razvoj	DROT		Trebnje, Trebnje	Gubčeva cesta 28	Smuk Špela
60	4023790000	Demokratska stranka dela		DSD	Ljubljana, Ljubljana	Linhartova cesta 13	Žnidaršič Franc
61	4023749000	Neodvisen.si – Indipendente.si	Neodvisen.si		Piran, Lucija	Obala 144	Gašpar-Mišič Gašpar

	Registration number	Name of the party	Short name of the party	Acronym	Head-quarter	Address	Legal representative
62	4023595000	Zelena koalicija		ZKo	Ljubljana, Ljubljana	Ulica bratov Učakar 4	Černagoj Franc
63	4022904000	LTD – Toni Dragar – Lista Za vse generacije	LTD – Za vse generacije	LTD	Domžale, Ihan	Na ledinah 1A	Dragar Toni
64	4022173000	Lista za Domžale	Za Domžale		Domžale, Domžale	Krakovska cesta 18	Marčun Metod
65	4037022000	Positivna Slovenija		PS	Ljubljana, Ljubljana	Wolfova ulica 8	Komel Tina
66	4037057000	Državljska lista		DL	Ljubljana, Ljubljana	Ukmarjeva ulica 2	Starman Bojan
67	4050070000	Povezane lokalne skupnosti		PLS	Kranj, Kranj	Ulica Mirka Vadnova 8	Frelih Janez
68	4050096000	Stranka za napredek krajevnih skupnosti		SZKNS	Kranj, Babni Vrt	Babni Vrt 4	Lombar Jože
69	4053117000	Združeno slovensko ljudstvo		ZSL	Hajdina, Zg. Hajdina	Zgornja Hajdina 134	Rimele Aleksander
70	4047672000	Piratska stranka Slovenije	Pirati		Ljubljana, Ljubljana	Majaronova ulica 6	Deželak Rok
71	4064119000	Iniciativa za demokratični socializem		IDS	Ljubljana, Ljubljana	Miklošičeva cesta 38	Mesec Luka
72	4060342000	Solidarnost, za pravično družbo	Solidarnost		Ljubljana, Ljubljana	Einspielerjeva ulica 6	Učakar Tjaša
73	4066111000	Stranka VERJAMEM	VERJAMEM		Ljubljana, Ljubljana	Trg Osvobodilne fronte 13	Šoltes Igor
74	4067002000	Lista Marjana Šarca – Naprej Kamnik	LMŠ-Naprej Kamnik	LMŠ	Kamnik, Šmarca	Bistriška cesta 10A	Kralj Branko
76	4064607000	Skupaj za mengeško občino – skupaj zmoremo več	Skupaj za mengeško občino	SMO	Mengeš, Mengeš	Jelovškova ulica 15	Gubanc Peter
76	4067312000	Županova lista		ŽL	Maribor, Maribor	Grajska ulica 7	Vogrin Željko
77	4068173000	Stranka za Razvoj Občin in Krajev		ROK	Brežice, Brežice	Cesta prvih borcev 47	Žibert Marijan
78	4068351000	Naša Notranjska		NaNo	Cerknica, Cerknica	Cesta 4. maja 47	Petan Domen
79	4066456000	Brezposelni in ogroženi Slovenije	BIO Slovenije	BIOS	Jesenice, Jesenice	Cesta Cirila Tavčarja 1A	Mihelič Radmila
80	4068556000	Lista REZA – gibanje za moderno in transparentno politiko	Lista REZA		Domžale, Domžale	Ljubljanska cesta 24	Oldroyd Alenka
81	4066065000	Stranka modernega centra		SMC	Ljubljana, Ljubljana	Beethovnova ulica 2	Kopač Erik
82	4065948000	Zavezištvo Alenke Bratušek	Zavezištvo AB	ZaAB	Ljubljana, Ljubljana	Štefanova ulica 5	Pavlič Jernej
83	4067126000	Gibanje Zedinjena Slovenija	Zedinjena Slovenija	ZSi	Maribor, Maribor	Vrablova ulica 2	Šiško Andrej
84	4058291000	Gospodarsko aktivna stranka		GAS	Grosuplje, Velika Račna	Velika Račna 48	Kovšca Alojz
85	4067452000	Več za Kranj		VZK	Kranj, Kranj	Pot v Bitnje 24	Trilar Boštjan

Source: Ministrstvo za notranje zadeve 2015, <http://mrzsp.gov.si/rdrubjave/ps/index.faces>, 19. 9. 2015.

Appendix 2: Percentage of respondents to the question ‘For which of the following things do you think it is worth taking risks and making some sacrifices?’



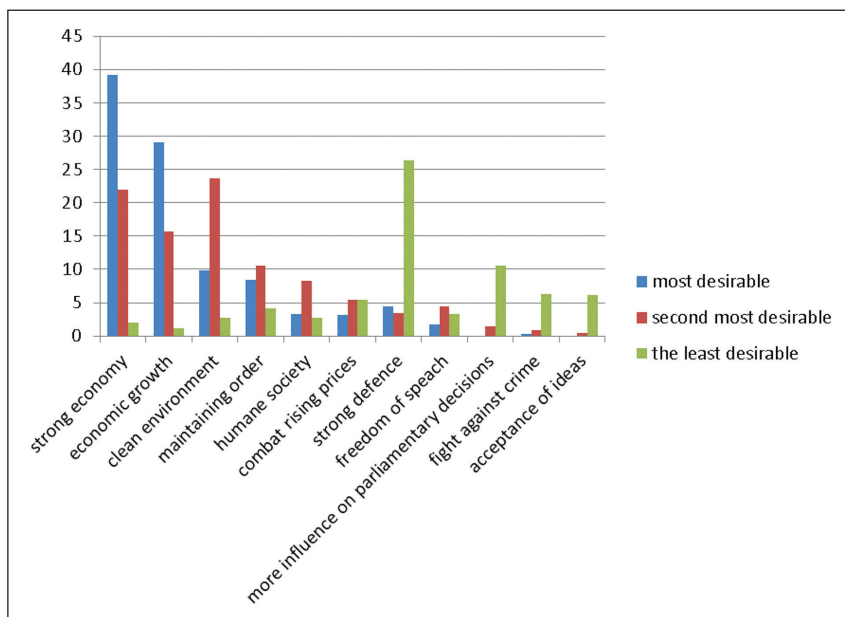
Sources: Slovenian Public Opinion Surveys; Toš *et al.* 1991, 1994, 1999, 2001b, Malešič *et al.* 2007.

*Appendix 3: Satisfaction with living environment, EUROSTAT 2015*

Country	Mean	Low %	Medium %	High %	Urban population exposure to air pollution by particulate matter
Bulgaria	5.2	59.0%	32.6%	8.4%	45.9 µg/m <sup>3</sup>
Cyprus	6.0	37.3%	49.3%	13.4%	36.4 µg/m <sup>3</sup>
Italy	6.0	35.6%	53.7%	10.8%	30.0 µg/m <sup>3</sup>
Greece	6.2	36.5%	45.2%	18.3%	/
Croatia	6.3	39.7%	37.9%	22.4%	/
Portugal	6.3	37.8%	42.6%	19.6%	23.6 µg/m <sup>3</sup>
Hungary	6.5	31.7%	52.2%	16.1%	28.8 µg/m <sup>3</sup>
Estonia	6.8	28.5%	53.4%	18.1%	12.7 µg/m <sup>3</sup>
Slovakia	6.9	28.3%	48.9%	22.8%	28.9 µg/m <sup>3</sup>
Malta	7.1	22.8%	46.8%	30.4%	/
Latvia	7.2	19.1%	54.7%	26.2%	22.8 µg/m <sup>3</sup>
Spain	7.2	17.4%	58.9%	23.7%	23.9 µg/m <sup>3</sup>
EU 28	7.3	19.2%	51.4%	29.4%	24.9 µg/m <sup>3</sup>
Romania	7.4	14.6%	56.3%	29.1%	33.0 µg/m <sup>3</sup>
Czech Republic	7.5	17.8%	48.7%	33.5%	27.5 µg/m <sup>3</sup>
Iceland	7.5	14.2%	56.6%	29.2%	8.7 µg/m <sup>3</sup>
Belgium	7.6	7.5%	70.3%	22.2%	24.8 µg/m <sup>3</sup>
France	7.6	10.7%	61.3%	28.0%	23.7 µg/m <sup>3</sup>
Poland	7.6	18.2%	42.0%	39.7%	36.6 µg/m <sup>3</sup>
Germany	7.7	15.9%	43.1%	40.9%	19.8 µg/m <sup>3</sup>
Slovenia	7.7	17.6%	40.1%	42.3%	25.4 µg/m <sup>3</sup>
Sweden	7.7	13.8%	51.8%	34.4%	14.3 µg/m <sup>3</sup>
Finland	7.8	9.0%	56.3%	34.7%	11.0 µg/m <sup>3</sup>
Lithuania	7.8	13.0%	44.9%	42.1%	20.6 µg/m <sup>3</sup>
Luxembourg	7.8	9.2%	56.9%	33.9%	17.8 µg/m <sup>3</sup>
United Kingdom	7.8	11.3%	50.6%	38.2%	18.1 µg/m <sup>3</sup>
Switzerland	7.9	12.0%	46.2%	41.8%	19.2 µg/m <sup>3</sup>
Ireland	8.0	10.1%	46.2%	43.7%	14.0 µg/m <sup>3</sup>
Netherlands	8.0	4.0%	64.7%	31.3%	21.0 µg/m <sup>3</sup>
Denmark	8.2	10.8%	36.6%	52.6%	17.4 µg/m <sup>3</sup>
Norway	8.3	6.1%	45.8%	48.1%	16.1 µg/m <sup>3</sup>
Austria	8.4	9.5%	33.3%	57.2%	22.4 µg/m <sup>3</sup>

Source: Eurostat 2005, Available on: [http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/cache/infographs/qol/index\\_en.html](http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/cache/infographs/qol/index_en.html), 2, June 2015.

*Appendix 4.* Percentage of respondents to the question ‘In your opinion, which of the following goals is the most desirable for Slovenia? Which is the second most desirable?’



Source: Slovenian Public Opinion Survey; Toš *et al.* 1991.

*Appendix 5:* Support for environmental movements

The movement for the protection of the environment represents a group of discontents who oppose any progress	SPOS 1986	SPOS 1987	SPOS 1990
I totally agree	4.0%	5.2%	5.2%
mostly agree	9.9%	7.8%	7.7%
I do not know, undecided	26.3%	21.8%	18.4%
mostly disagree	30.0%	29.3%	22.3%
I do not agree	29.8%	36.0%	46.4%

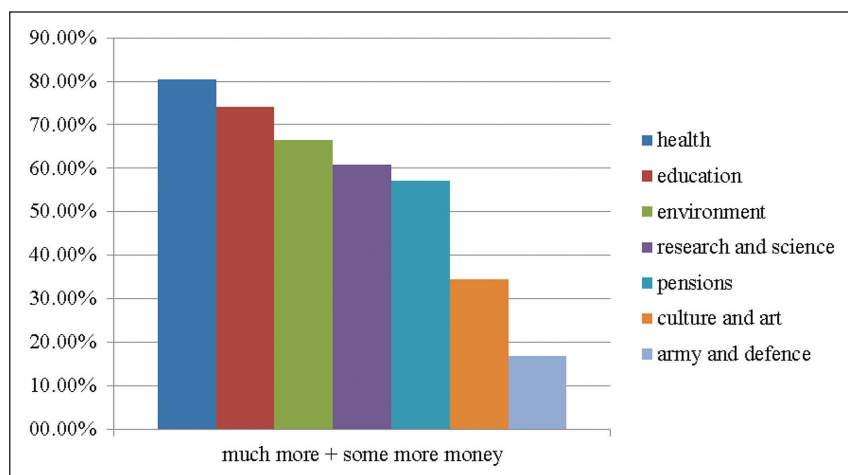
Source: Slovenian Public Opinion Survey; Toš *et al.* 1986, 1987, 1990.

*Appendix 6: Environmental practices*

'Always' + 'often' in percentage	SPOS 2011/1
How often do you make a special effort and separate your waste for recycling – i.e. glass, metal, plastic, paper and so on?	85.7%
How often do you make a special effort to buy fruit and vegetables grown without pesticides and other chemical agents?	41.8%
And how often do you give up driving the car for environmental reasons?	18.3%
How often do you restrict domestic consumption of energy or fuels for environmental reasons?	49.8%
How often do you save or reuse already used water for ecological reasons?	37.1%
And how often do you decide that you will not purchase certain products due to environmental reasons?	30.0%

Source: Slovenian Public Opinion Survey; Hafner-Fink et al. 2011.

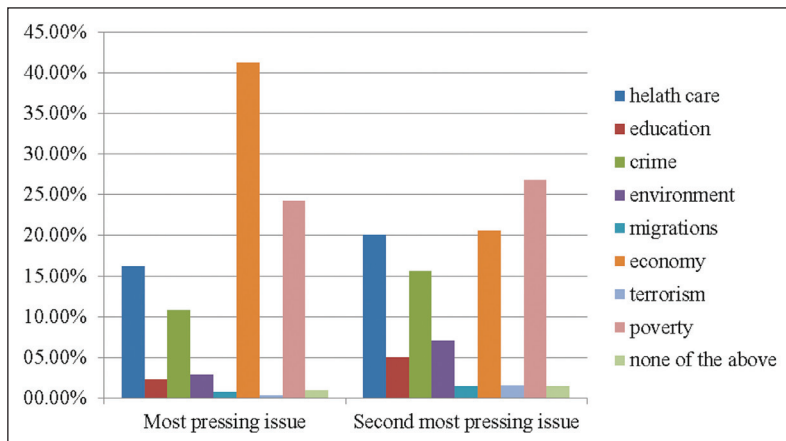
*Appendix 7:* For the areas listed below, should the Slovenian government provide less, the same or more money than currently? In doing so, bear in mind that an increase in expenditure in some areas would mean a reduction in others or increases in taxes and contributions. The government should ensure: 'much more' + 'some more money' in percentage.



Source: Slovenian Public Opinion Survey; Toš et al. 2003.

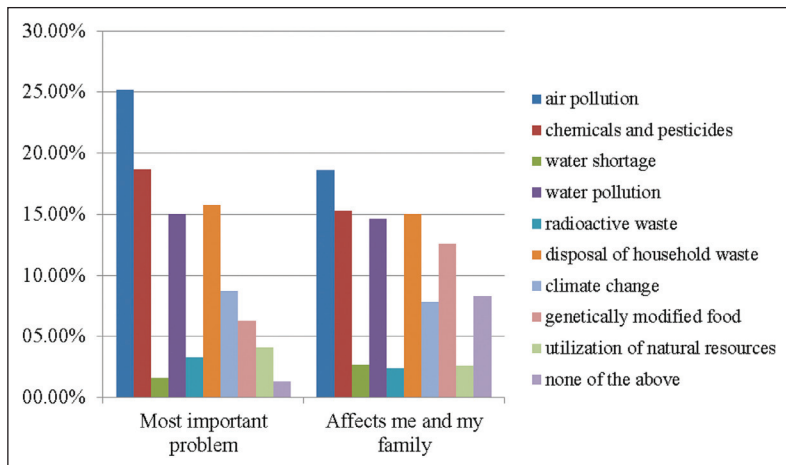


*Appendix 8:* Percentage of respondents to the questions: ‘Which of the following issues is currently the most pressing in Slovenia? And which is the second most pressing issue in Slovenia?’



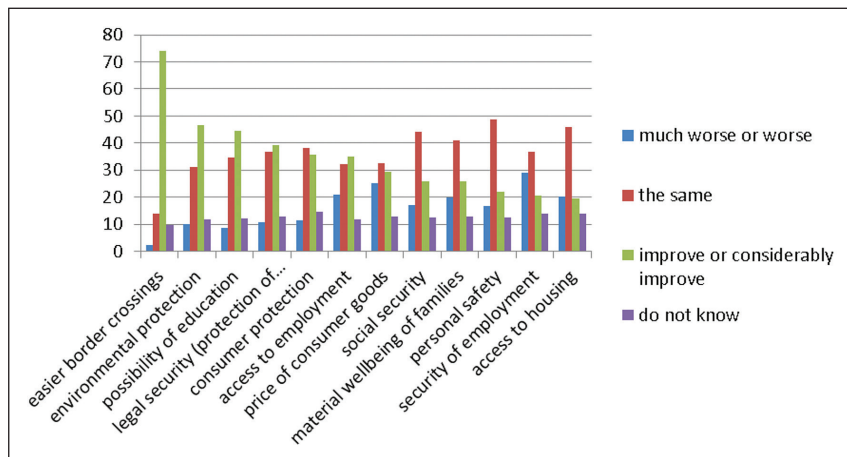
Source: Slovenian Public Opinion Survey; Hafner-Fink et al. 2011.

*Appendix 9:* Percentage of respondents to the questions: ‘Which of the problems (if any) do you think is most important for Slovenia as a whole? And which of these problems (if any) affects you and your family the most?’



Source: Slovenian Public Opinion Survey; Hafner-Fink et al. 2011.

*Appendix 10:* Percentage of respondents to the question ‘For each of the following areas of everyday life, please estimate whether you think the situation would improve or worsen should Slovenia become an EU member’



Source: Slovenian Public Opinion Survey; Toš *et al.* 2002.

*Appendix 11:* Ensuring greater protection of the environment

How ensure that people in Slovenia better protect the environment: Which of the following ways do you think would work best?	SPOS 2011/1
High penalties for people who harm the environment	25.8%
Tax measures to reward people who protect the environment	27.4%
More information and education for people about the benefits of environmental protection	46.8%

Source: Slovenian Public Opinion Survey; Hafner Fink *et al.* 2011.

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