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A REVIEW OF POLITICAL MARKETING

Bruce I. Newman and Jagdish N. Sheth

ABSTRACT

Although marketing techniques have been widely applied to the political process, there has not been an attempt to integrate the vast amount of literature in this area. This paper presents a framework which ties together the literature found in several related disciplines with the hope that someone will build on this review and develop a theory of political marketing.

I. INTRODUCTION

The application of marketing theory and techniques to other disciplines has steadily increased in the 1970s and is projected to do so in the 1980s (Kotler 1982). As a result of Kotler's work in social marketing, one of the more interesting areas that has developed is political marketing. Although there has been a certain degree of skepticism (Vanour 1974), there is a continuing acceptance of the fact that candidates are being "marketed" to the public (Newman 1981; Sabato 1981; Nimmo & Rivers 1981; Altschuler 1982; Greenfield 1982; Mauer 1983; Goldenberg & Traugott 1984; Alexander 1984; Graber 1984a; Nieburg 1984; Polisty & Wildavsky 1984; Diamond & Bates 1984; Newman & Sheth

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1985a, 1985b, 1986). Recognition of this trend is evidenced by the increasing number of dollars being spent on political advertising. It is no shock to find out that one candidate who ran for Congress in the November 1982 Congressional election spent as much as \$8 million to support his cause. Political advertising is, of course, only one component in the development of a marketing strategy for a candidate, but is widely regarded as the most widely accepted marketing component in any campaign (Charfée 1981; Black 1982; Arterton 1984; Diamond & Bates 1984; Graber 1984a).

For the purposes of this review, it will be desirable to utilize a framework that will pull together various streams of research in several related disciplines, including marketing, advertising, political science, sociology, psychology, journalism, social psychology, communications, economics, and broadcasting. These will be integrated with four forces which interact with one another and work in a coordinated manner to impact on political marketing. To examine more carefully the interrelationships among these forces, we are proposing a framework summarized in Figure 1. The four forces include campaign organization, candidate strategy, communication strategy, and distribution and machine politics.

These are very similar to the standard marketing mix components, with slight alterations that reflect the uniqueness of the "political marketplace." As is true with any marketing organization, resources must be collected before a political organization can be formed. The goal of the party organization should be to identify the salient needs in the marketplace through research and then segment the market and recognize a niche to fill with the appropriate candidate. This must naturally be done according to the laws dictated in each state. Unfortunately, this is not the process that is always followed.

In politics, the party organization is formed and then several candidates are recruited and put through a nominating process whereby those who are chosen are the ones who fit in with the objectives of the organization. The result of this process is the development of a campaign platform. A strategy is then developed for getting the candidate into office. This includes the use of advertisements, endorsements, and an overall communication strategy. Additionally, volunteers are then assembled, voters registered, and strategies defined for winning the election. We will review the literature with an eye both to what has been done in the past and to how changes have evolved in politics to reflect the current emphasis placed on marketing. We present this review with the hope that someone will eventually build a theory of political marketing.

II. CAMPAIGN ORGANIZATION

A. Acquisition and Allocation of Resources

Central to the functioning of any organization is the acquisition and allocation of funds. An organization has to understand the effects of political expenditures in order to assure the optimal resource allocation of funds. In one of the classics

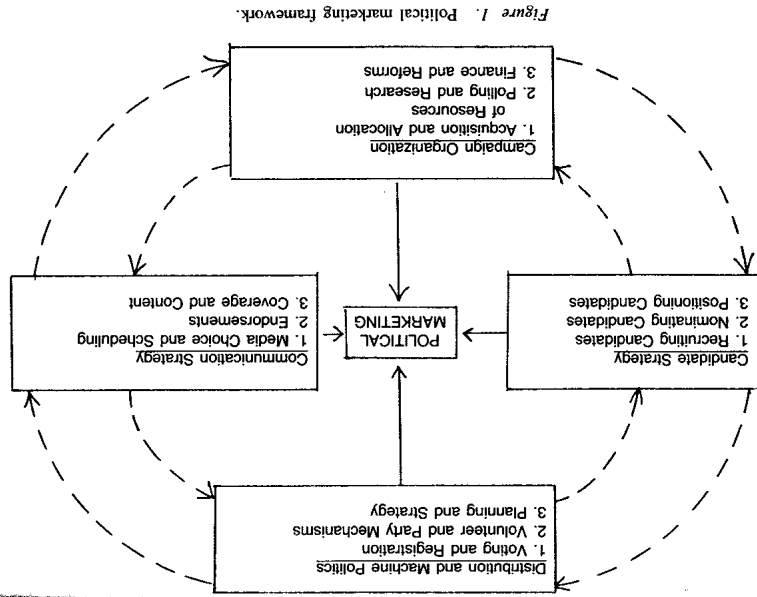


Figure 1. Political marketing framework.

measuring progress. Declercq (1978) concluded that polling was most common in highly competitive, well-financed races. Broh (1983) traces the growth of public opinion polling on television. He concludes that the growth is a consequence of the media's interpretative role and the proliferation of primaries in the nominating process.⁴

There have been some words of caution leveled against the pitfalls and misuse of polling (Nieburg 1984). In a recent set of criticisms by Sudman (1982) he points out that presidents have used opinion polls to aid them to being elected and as input to policy formulation since Franklin Roosevelt's days in office, but cautions that polls may be misused by presidents simply to enhance their own popularity.⁵

In addition to polling, there have been other theories and methods used in voting behavior research. One of the earlier methods was the use of electronic computers and mathematical game theory by Pool and Abelson (1961) to simulate human behavior as a means of exploring the implications of theory and extending the analysis of great masses of data provided by surveys and similar sources. Other researchers have also applied mathematical formulations to voting behavior research (Tullock 1967; Macrae 1970; Herndon & Bernd 1972; Alker et al. 1973). The classic study carried out by Lazarsfeld et al. (1948) was one of the first applications of survey techniques to a presidential election. It introduced researchers to the use of the panel technique. There were other classic studies that made use of the survey method and introduced researchers to the study of opinion formation through the course of an election (Campbell & Kahn 1952; Berelson et al. 1954; Campbell et al. 1954). These studies dealt with such matters as voters' perceptions of politics; their reactions to issues; their attention to mass media; and their influences on one another's political preferences. Panels continue to be used to track political opinions and attitudes during the course of an election (Lehnen & Koek 1974; Markus 1982).

To realize the great strides that have been made in research and polling, one needs only to look back to the criticisms of the theory and methods used in voting behavior research summed up by Eldersveld (1951), who drew the following conclusions: (1) There is poor observance of the simple rules of the scientific research game. (2) There is a failure to make a coordinated assault on the problems of political behavior implicit in the voting process. (3) There is very little research planning leading to an integrated theory construction. (4) Political scientists seem unwilling to cooperate with other social science disciplines in research into political behavior. (5) Too often, research of this type is characterized by poor techniques, more or less rule of thumb, improperly applied. (6) Voting behavior researchers sometimes have a peculiar conception of the meaning of verification. These criticisms clearly point out that we have come a long way in overcoming many of these shortcomings by developing more sophisticated research methods. Although there has been a growing concern about the measurement error in survey research in politics (resulting from such factors as

in this area (*The Costs of Democracy*). Heard (1980) argues that the contribution of money to a political campaign is only one of several forms of political participation. Unfortunately, the study of contributors before 1972 was difficult due to the campaign disclosure law which only went into effect in 1972. The critical issue of rising costs of campaigning for national public office has been well documented (Dunn 1972; Agranoff 1976b; Malbin 1984). Some of the more recent trends include the use of personal campaign funds by wealthy candidates, the increasing influence of political action committees, and the growing use of independent political consultants to oversee the budget process (Alexander 1984).

Several studies have been carried out which have documented the effect of expenditures on campaign outcomes² (Palda 1975; Welch 1976; Glantz et al. 1976; Gierz & Sullivan 1977; Young 1978; Howell & Oiler 1981; Arrington & Ingalls 1984). These studies have addressed issues such as where to allocate funds, whether campaign expenditures are evaluated as a reflection of demand or supply, and the overall impact of expenditures on the outcome of an election.³ It is clear from the review in this area that expenditures on selected campaign activities will have a differential impact depending on the level of the race. Some of the more recent books written in this area point to the increasing importance that candidates have placed on using political consultants to direct the allocation of funds to help the candidate to position her/himself to the specific target markets (Wayne 1980; Sabato 1981; Polsby & Wildavsky 1984; *The League of Women Voters Education Fund* 1984).

B. Polling and Research

In one of the classic studies of voting behavior, Berelson (1954) points out how opinion research can help a democracy to know itself. In his discussion of the fundamental requirements of a democracy, he concludes that opinion studies have done much to specify what actually happens in democratic decision making: (1) by documenting the theoretical assumptions with facts about actual political behavior; (2) by clarifying the concepts and assumptions of democratic theory; and (3) by differentiating and reformulating the general theoretical formulations in more exact terms.

Harris (1963) synthesized the role of private pollsters in the U.S. based on interviews with candidates. He concluded that the candidates seemed to agree that they derive three major benefits from polling: (1) key breakdowns that dissect the political anatomy of the constituency; (2) indications of what the electorate thinks of the candidate as a public figure; and (3) definition of the issues. Harris concluded that polls and politics have had a profound effect on one another. Altschuler (1982) has outlined six major areas where private polls may be used: (1) deciding whether to run; (2) finding the strengths and weaknesses of a candidate and his opponents; (3) determining which issues are most germane to the voter; (4) key subgroup breakdowns; (5) resource allocations; and (6)

response errors in vote reporting, handling item nonresponse, coding, and interpretation in results), surveys currently being used appear to be generating reliable and reproductive measurements (Tom W. Smith 1982; Bachman & O'Malley 1984).

There is no doubt that most of the research used in politics tends to be geared more to the prediction as opposed to the explanation of voting behavior. As a result, research of this type many times is characterized by rules of thumb that have worked in the past as opposed to well-defined research designs. With the vast technological changes taking place in politics, it is imperative that there be more emphasis put on the explanation behind the voter's behavior. This review suggests that the proper research methods are well understood, but the tendency to rely on polling as the basic tool of candidates has prevented more appropriate methods (e.g., marketing research) from being used more frequently (Newman 1983a).

C. Finance Reforms

There have been substantial changes made in the finance reforms on elections. Several books have been written about the finance issues that emanate from the practice of modern electioneering (Alexander 1968, 1984; Dunn 1972; Agranoff 1976a; Marshall 1981; Malbin 1984). Several phases of the financing of campaigns have been covered in these books, including the effect of expenditures on the outcome of elections; the significance of contributing as a form of political action; sources of campaign funds; the ways funds are raised and their effects on the internal management of the parties and on the nominating process; and the revision and regulation of existing practices. Some of the more recent trends which have received publicity and controversy include the use of personal funds by wealthy candidates to finance their election campaigns; the increasing influence of political action committees; and the growing use of independent expenditures.

More specifically, studies have been carried out to determine the effect that federal and state laws have on the allocation of campaign resources. Jacob (1972) suggests that reforms may have marginally decreased the opportunity for challengers to mount successful campaigns against incumbents in congressional races. Brams and Davis (1974) looked at the winner-take-all feature of the U.S. Electoral College and determined that it induces candidates to allocate their resources highly in proportion to the 3/2 power of the electoral votes of each state. Colantoni et al. (1975) concluded that the Electoral College biases campaign resource allocations in favor of large states. They attribute this to the unit rule feature of the Electoral College, rather than to the weighted voting. Using finance information which candidates were required to report, Glantz et al. (1976) studied the 1972 and 1974 elections for the California State Assembly and Congress-

sional delegation and concluded that the challenger's, but not the incumbent's expenditures had a significant effect on the election outcome.

In a study which investigated the effects of spending on local elections, Arrington and Ingalls (1984) concluded that although good candidates tend to get lots of contributions, one must question whether it was the money or the characteristics of the candidate that produced the victory. They suggest that reforms to stop the influence of contributions on elections have not been effective. Instead, they recommend that a better approach might be to determine how to change the election system in order to minimize the role of money.

Welch (1976) cites the case where financing laws passed by Congress is an example where attempts to control spending were ineffective. While the law places a ceiling on candidate expenditure for television, radio, newspapers, magazines, billboards, and telephone solicitation, it leaves open a loophole as to a limit on spending for direct mail.

Alexander (1980a) argues that reform is not neutral, but rather changes institutions and processes in unforeseen ways. He states the problem of election reform very well with the following questions (p. 11):

How do we improve political dialogue, attract a more attentive and well-informed electorate, encourage citizens to participate in the political process as workers, contributors, and voters, and yet diminish financial inequalities among candidates and political parties and reduce the dominance of big money while simultaneously opening opportunities for well-qualified persons to become candidates? How do we apply democratic principles to elections in our age of media politics, seemingly dominated by an atmosphere of dollar politics, in ways consonant with constitutional guarantees?

Alexander concludes that the electoral process has turned into a conflict between a democratic society with public dialogue in free elections and the pressure from the marketplace. There is no doubt that with the ever-increasing use of advertising and modern electioneering the study of reforms will become more important.

III. CANDIDATE STRATEGY

A. Recruiting Candidates

The recruitment of candidates falls within the overall strategy of developing the product that the party organization will offer to the public, namely the candidate. Although there is a clear connection between marketing a product and marketing a candidate, its closest connection is most clearly seen by viewing the candidate as a professional who has a service to offer as does a doctor or lawyer. The most obvious difference between marketing the politician and the professional lies in the motives behind their actions. Rosenzweig (1957) focused on the reasons politicians enter office and their attitudes toward a political career. His

conclusions are based on the results of interviews with 16 candidates running for public office. He cites three critical areas that should be explored in future research: (1) the role of prestige as a motivating force on the decision to enter politics; (2) the politician's perception of her/his own role; and (3) the relationship between the politician and her/his constituency. The results of a study which used the Research Dogmatism Scale (DiRenzo 1967) suggest that professional politicians are characterized by personality structures which are more dogmatic than those of nonpoliticians, and suggest even further distinctions on the basis of political ideology and political party affiliation. Clarke and Donovan (1980) elaborate on the importance of candidate self-esteem as a motivating force which draws people to public office.

Jacob (1972) has raised several questions that relate to the actual process of recruiting the candidates. He spells out just who can run for office; under what conditions business candidates are recruited into the electoral process; the circumstances that promote middle-class and working-class candidates; and the actual process by which elected officials are drawn from the often apathetic masses. In answering these questions, the author reviews the mainstream of psychological and sociological research in political recruitment and develops a rough model of this process. Spadaro (1976) presents a series of findings on the rules of the game of the professional politician. His findings suggest a very pragmatic, nonideological approach to the attainment of political values.

The jockeying for position within the party hierarchy has been spelled out by Jewell and Olson (1982). They offer an insight into how the party establishes interrelationships and activities within the organization. Topics covered here include the goal perspectives of party leaders; leadership role perceptions; motivational diversity in the party hierarchy; and the value perspectives of party leaders. Wittman (1983) presents a model of electoral behavior where the candidate is seen to be driven by the motivation to establish policies and to win. He concludes that candidates who are interested only in policy implementation still have to consider the effect of the position on the candidate's chance of winning. However, a candidate only concerned with winning only has an interest in certain policies if they will help her/him win the election. The empirical evidence supports the theory that candidates are more interested in policies than in winning.

What seems to be missing in the review in this area is the fact that the recruitment of candidates within the party comes after the needs of the political marketplace have been determined. Potential candidates are screened before it is determined whether they will successfully meet voter needs. In effect, the product is developed first, and the marketplace surveyed next. The marketing concept would dictate that voter needs first be identified and candidates then recruited who are believed to be able to satisfy voter needs, rather than only the party needs.

B. Nominating Candidates

Once a set of potential candidates are recruited by the party organization, the party nominee is chosen after going through a nomination process. One of the classic books written in this area is by Pomper (1963). He gives a historical development of presidential nominations, in addition to going over the rules, the convention agenda, and patterns and trends in nominations. In what is thought to be one of the major contributions to the field, White (1961) gives his account of the "smoke-filled" room negotiations and what is a very primitive account of the marketing technique used by each party during the 1960 presidential election. It depicts the preoccupation with the power that lay in the hands of a group of a few select people within the party hierarchy. However, times have changed, and as a result, several new trends have begun.

The key changes in the nominating process covers several areas. First of all, there is an increasing use of the primary for delegate selection. It is generally thought that delegate selection by primaries is likely to weaken the influence of the party's organization and increase the power of the candidate's organization. A second area of change includes the reforms which have changed the rules at the convention. The rule changes encourage more participation by groups previously underrepresented. A third change is the increasing commitment of delegates to issues or candidates rather than to the party (Nice 1980). Other changes include the strategic postures taken by candidates during the nomination process. The essential changes in this area include the following: each candidate is concerned more about his own well-being than with the welfare of all of the candidates; each candidate chooses a strategy which will meet his own goals and serve to manipulate the other candidates as well; no one candidate controls the results of the nomination process; and the nomination process usually produces a nominee well before the national convention (Marshall 1981).

The attempt to model the nomination process has been met with controversy. Epstein (1967) concluded that the changing and uncertain circumstances of nominations often precludes rigorous scientific propositions. However, Aldrich (1980) has developed a model which looks at the relationship between the candidate's ability to acquire resources and her/his success in primaries and caucuses. Aldrich postulates that the expenditure of resources leads to greater electoral success, with electoral success then leading to greater resource-gathering capabilities. His model proves that most candidates will be forced out of the election while only a few will gain the necessary momentum to go on to become the party nominee.

The vast changes taking place in the nomination process have further narrowed the gap between the marketing of a candidate and a product as a result of the reliance on traditional marketing practices such as research, direct mail, promotion, packaging, and advertising to get the candidate's message across to the

various target markets (Foley 1980). In fact, it has been suggested that these changes have been so great as to necessitate a serious look at our current constitutional system in an effort to update to revitalize the weakening political parties which has been so evident in this review (Burns 1984; The League of Women Voters Education Fund 1984).

C. Positioning Candidates

Once a candidate is chosen as the party's nominee, the candidate's strategy evolves into a "niche" which is defined as the particular set of issues and candidate image which is used to appeal to specific voter segments or the electorate. This breaks down into a two-step process, the first being the definition of market segments, and the second the actual position used to convey the candidate's place in a concise form to the voters. This is very well described by Johnson (1971), who used his analysis to examine the structure of the political marketplace as perceived by voters. The purpose of his study was threefold: (1) to learn how candidates are perceived with respect to strengths, weaknesses, similarities, etc.; (2) to learn about voters' desires and how these are satisfied or unsatisfied by the current market; and (3) to integrate these findings strategically, determining the greatest opportunities for candidates and how their images should be modified to produce the greatest vote margin.

There have been several studies which have considered the relative importance of candidate image in the voters' decision process (Trenaman & McQuail 1961; Fox 1967; Wyckoff 1968; Kjeldahl 1971; Nimmo 1973; Campbell 1983). These studies have found a strong association between the evaluation of a candidate's personal qualities and traits and the preferences of voters. Campbell argues that a voter may consider the image of a candidate for several reasons, including lack of other useful information, concern about the impact the candidate will have on the performance of the government, or simply concern about the personality traits of the candidate.

The experiments conducted by Patton and Kaericher (1980) confirm that political candidates who are perceived to be more credible, likable, demographically similar, and similar on issues stands to voters are more likely to win an election. An analysis of 1976 data by Maddox (1980) indicates that nonvoter images of presidential candidates do not differ drastically from images expressed by nonvoters. Campbell (1983) concluded from his analysis of the 1976 presidential primaries that although the candidate's image may have a substantial influence on the vote, the vote has nearly as much impact on the candidate's image.

In his book *The Political Persuaders*, Nimmo (1970) covers the rapid changes taking place in the technology of modern political campaigning and highlights the importance of candidate image. Nimmo (1973) explored the various facets of voters' political images as components of their decision-making process. He related cognitive, affective, and conative aspects of voters' self-images, candidate images, and party images to voting behavior. He found a direct relationship be-

tween some 23 measures of image and voting. Several methods have been used to identify the perceptions of voters so as to enable the candidate to properly define or modify his position in the "political marketplace." Elster (1972) used multidimensional scaling to identify dimensions of political appeal. The results of the scaling were then used in predicting expressions of preference for political personalities. Wildman and Wildman (1976) used the semantic differential to determine whether a candidate's image is stimulus- or perceiver-determined and to determine whether a candidate has an image agreed upon by both his supporters and opponents. Mauser (1980) used the marketing research technique of concept evaluation to develop a positioning strategy for candidates. The technique calls for the generation of new product concepts and preference rankings for each concept. Each position of each concept is then evaluated.

Although candidates have been criticized for taking ambiguous or inconsistent positions, one explanation behind this type of behavior has been attributed to the intentional behavior of the candidate to tailor his message to different audiences (Campbell 1982). However, the results have been mixed on this issue. Johnson was found to alter the ideological content in his messages depending on the ideology of the audience he was addressing. Reagan, however, did not vary the message content with the ideological slant of his audiences. This could be due to the fact that Reagan was trying to "position" himself as a moderate president (Goggin 1984). Candidates have been found to rely on audience reactions to speeches as feedback devices to monitor receptiveness to various positions they take (West 1984). With the increasing importance of the media as a tool to help the candidate shape his position (Nimmo & Rivers 1981), the candidate in the 1980s is forced to reply on more sophisticated marketing methods to position himself to the voters.

IV. COMMUNICATION STRATEGY

There is no doubt that the role of the mass media in politics has expanded in recent decades (Trent & Friedenberg 1983). This is in part due to the fact that as the role of political parties steadily declines voters are turning to the mass media for more information regarding political candidates (Chaffee 1981). The power that the mass media has on the political system has been questioned on a few fronts, including the influence they have on election outcomes (Linsky 1983; Graber 1984a), and turning an election into a spectator sport (Diamond & Bates 1984).

A. Media Choice and Scheduling

The proper choice and scheduling of media will ensure that the "position" chosen by the candidate will be accurately conveyed to the desired audience. The level of the election (local, state, national) and the profile of the desired audience

will ultimately have a bearing on the choice and scheduling of media. Wagner (1983) uses data from the 1976 elections to show that different levels of media exposure produce consistent and systematic differences in public opinion. In a study which compared three different media vehicles, readership of newspapers and magazines was found to correlate positively to voting participation whereas no strong relationship was found between television viewing and voting participation. However, citizens who were heavy viewers of television were found to be less likely to vote. The authors conclude that if media are chosen on the basis of efficiency in reaching voters then newspapers and magazines seem to be better choices than television (Rust et al. 1984).

There have been several studies carried out that looked at the role television has played during the course of an election with mixed results. Dawson and Zinsler (1971) found broadcast expenditures to be only moderately significant in determining election outcomes. They also found the level of expenditures to be most closely correlated with opponents' broadcast efforts. The process of reporting by television networks (especially election night broadcasting) has come under severe scrutiny. Several charges have been made with respect to the unfair effects which coverage in one part of the country could have on other states where voters are still casting their ballots (Bohn 1980; Fant 1980; Ostroff 1980).

The impact of television on the voters is not limited to news and political advertising but has been found to contribute to voters' political ideologies. In a study which looked at over 14,000 respondents, findings show that those people who watch more television are more prone to label themselves as moderates rather than liberals or conservatives (Gerbner et al. 1984). The specific formats used in political commercials vary according to the content of the commercial. Issue-oriented commercials consisted of candidates formally dressed, against in-terror backdrops, talking directly to the camera. Image-oriented commercials, on the other hand, presented candidates accompanied by famous people and citizen testimonials, with music and announcers' voices in the background. The authors concluded that issue-oriented commercials are more straightforward, while image-oriented commercials are more subtly packaged (Styiles 1984).

One of the more frequently used media vehicles in political campaigns has been direct mail. In fact, it has been suggested that direct mail is revolutionizing the way political candidates are being marketed. Some of the more recent developments in this area include the use of television spots to solicit prospective donors, with a toll-free phone number, telephone contacts of donor lists for fund-raising, and the interactive use of cable networks for fund-raising (Snyder 1982). Although newspapers and magazines still remain as sources of political information, presidential politics has tended to rely on television as its main media vehicle. However, for specific target markets (e.g., blacks) newspapers still remain a major channel of political communication (Ewarts & Stempel 1974; Latimer 1983). Even though campaign press releases in the past have been seen as a secondary media vehicle, it has been argued that releases are a viable campaign tool

(Vermeer 1982). More research needs to be done on the comparative benefits of alternative media vehicles for uses at the local, state, and federal level.

Scheduling is very critical in any election. Katz (1957/58) corroborated his two-step flow hypothesis that ideas flow from radio and print to opinion leaders and from these to the less active sections of the population. Mullen (1963a, 1963b) found that candidates in a race for the U.S. Senate concentrated more than half their expenditures in the final two days of the race and that Republicans hoarded 37 percent of their newspaper advertising into the final day of the race. Mullen (1968) studied newspaper advertising in the 1964 campaign and found that Democrats tended to use Nixon's theory of "peaking" a campaign. This strategy has also been found to be successful in last-minute television programming, where findings clearly support an accelerated use of television at the end of the campaign as opposed to a flat-buy strategy (Hofstetter & Buss 1980).

Sternberg (1976) explains how scheduling personal appearances and resulting news coverage requires criteria and standards to determine the composition of the candidates' schedule, as well as certain mechanics and techniques. Chaffee and Choe (1980) challenge the idea that a political campaign can have only limited effects by using media during the campaign rather than either prior to or very late in the campaign. In their study of Wisconsin voters in the 1976 elections, Chaffee and Choe concluded that 90% of the voters who were low in partisanship still paid close attention in the later stages of the campaign (especially to the debates). Unfortunately, the literature on media choice and scheduling does not offer the candidate a set of criteria to use for picking and choosing when to use one media vehicle over another. More research needs to be carried out on how to combine several different types of media throughout the course of the campaign.

B. Endorsements

Another critical issue in any campaign is the constant jockeying for endorsements. The importance of this issue lies with the influence that an endorsement can have on blocs of voters. Several studies reveal mixed findings on the impact of endorsements on voting behavior, with earlier studies supporting their impact and more recent studies refuting their impact. Gregg (1965) confirmed the influence of endorsements on voting in a study of the editorial endorsements of 11 California newspapers. McCombs (1967) found the last-minute endorsements to be most influenced by editorial endorsements in western Los Angeles precincts during the 1966 fall elections. Blume and Lyons (1968) confirmed the effect of editorial endorsements on voting patterns that a local newspaper (monopoly-owned) had on a local election. Hooper (1969) analyzed an Illinois at-large legislative election in 1964 which shows that endorsements account for much of the within-party variance. Mason (1973) used aggregate statistics of the 1964 Illinois at-large elections. He found that the endorsements of civic and special-interest groups affected voting but less so than newspaper endorsements.

More recent studies suggest that endorsements have relatively little impact on voters. In a study of the influence of party endorsements in a statewide primary election, county party endorsements appeared to be less significant than the impact of broadcasting advertising (Nowlan & Moutray 1984). Although newspaper endorsements were found to influence a few voters, the effect was found to be so small during the 1980 presidential election that the authors of this study concluded that they had no impact on the outcome of the election (Hurd & Singletary 1984). In fact they were unable to predict who would be influenced by the endorsements.

The impact of newspaper endorsements is best summed up by Hurd and Singletary (1984) who believe that the effect of these endorsements on voters in a presidential race will vary from election to election in relation to the characteristics of the campaign in question as opposed to the characteristics of the readers or the newspaper. Although the research carried out either documents or refutes the statistical link between endorsements and voting patterns, it does not provide a documentation of the strategy that candidates used to obtain these endorsements. Additionally, it would be interesting to note from a strategic point of view how various types (newspaper, television, party, etc.) of endorsements should be delivered in order to gain the maximum impact on voting.

C. Coverage and Content

Generally speaking, advertising has many functions to serve in a political organization. Findings by Sheinkopf et al. (1972) suggest that candidates' ads boost morale, interaction, and the expectation of electoral success among volunteer workers. They also serve as informational input into the system stimulating ideas and arguments useful in persuading voters. However, the type of content used in a political communication is determined initially by the level of the contest where results have been mixed. Rothschild (1978) proposes a model of involvement and political advertising effects. His data show that political advertising has a stronger effect on low-involvement races (e.g., local elections) rather than on high-involvement races (e.g., federal elections). In a field experiment linking low-involvement learning theory with promotion effects, Swinyard and Coney (1978) found both direct mail advertising and personal canvassing to have high positive voter effects in a low-involvement political race but not in a high-involvement race. The level of spending in House and Senate elections (high involvement) has been found to affect election outcomes (Soley & Reid 1982; Reid & Soley 1984).

A recent trend in political advertising has been the use of negative advertising. Although not a new practice, the increase in this type of advertising has been attributed, at least in part, to both the increased use of television advertising by nonpresidential candidates and to the growth of political action committees that tend to employ negative advertising (Garramone 1984). Results indicate that

negative advertisements bring about negative feelings toward both the targeted opponent and the sponsor. Voter responses have been found to vary with the content and intended message of the commercial. Negative advertisements have also been found not to be as effective for a minority party candidate. The backlash effects found to occur toward the sponsor of the ad or commercial would suggest that independent sponsors be used (Garramone 1984; Merritt 1984).

There has been an increasing amount of importance placed on the decision by candidates to use an issue vs. a personality promotional campaign. In one of the classic books in this area, McGinniss (1968) gives an account of how Richard Nixon used the medium of TV to sell himself. He stressed the importance of using the image of the candidate on the screen to influence voters. This book very well documents the shift in emphasis from issues to the projection of an image by the candidate. Wall (1980) cites the increasing impact of television "personality" campaigns, as opposed to "issue" campaigns, and warns that candidates are being sold as products but with no standards of fairness or accuracy applied. Elebash and Rosene (1982) examined the content of advertisements of political candidates for governor in a deep southern state and concluded that these politicians are moving to more issue-oriented campaigns. Personality factors were found to be equally more important among both males and females than were issue-related factors in a study of the 1980 presidential primary (Newman & Sheeth 1984).

The coverage of campaigns by the media has produced mixed results. Bowers (1972) found that nearly half of the statements in political advertisements in daily newspapers dealt with issues. Graber (1976) did a comparison of campaign news in two successive presidential elections and found major deficiencies in information supply. It was determined that a pattern of heavy stress on personal characteristics and daily campaign events prevails in all sources. This study was based on a content analysis of nearly 10,000 campaign stories. In a content analysis of 12 metropolitan newspapers for a one-month period during the fall of 1982, it was concluded that the press coverage of issues in a House, Senate, and gubernatorial race varied according to the candidates and level of the race, as opposed to the circulation or ownership of the paper (Tidmarsh et al. 1984).

Many questions still remain unanswered in this area, such as: Is the coverage of presidential elections different than for other elections? Are there consequences of varying coverage levels on the outcome of elections? Although there have been some recent attempts to answer these and many other questions (Paterson 1980; Grossman & Kumar 1981; Robinson 1983), there still remains much to learn about the nature and impact of campaign coverage.

Perhaps the most important factor in redefining the electoral process in this country has been the growth of the media. The critical issue that has been raised in this regard relates to the benefits to society. The negative relationship between media expenditures and party saliency (Wattenberg 1982) has led some to argue that the weakening party system is putting too much power in the hands of media

consultants. What is even more critical in this regard is the reluctance of the nation's most respected advertising agencies to work with political clients (Hill 1984), and how this will impact on the quality and nature of political advertisements. The relative sophistication of political communication is very quickly catching up with commercial communications but still has a long way to go.

V. DISTRIBUTION AND MACHINE POLITICS

A. Voting and Registration

An effective campaign organization must insure to the best of its ability that the voters are registered and go to the booth on election day to cast their ballots. Even the most sophisticated promotional strategy will be ineffective if the campaign organization does not operate effectively at the grass roots level to get out the voter. Using a great quantity of surveys, Wollinger and Rosenstone (1980) concluded that only slightly more than 50 percent of the eligible voters exercised their right to vote in recent elections. Their basic finding behind this percentage lies in positively to the age and education of the voter, with other variables having very little effect.

The decline in voter participation has cut across all levels of elections. This has been attributed to several trends taking place in politics. It has been argued that the adoption of reforms tends to diminish high voter turnout as a result of nonpartisan and council-manager governments (Karmig & Walter 1983). Foster (1984) disproved the notion that the closeness of a race has any bearing on turnout. Using state level data from the 1968, 1972, 1976, and 1980 general elections, the empirical results suggest that the relationship between closeness and turnout is weak, unstable, or even nonexistent. Models which have been developed to estimate voter turnout are able to accurately predict the behavior of the electorate (Traugott & Tucker 1984). A strong correlation between the relative size of the majority and minority voter blocs and turnout has been found. This is explained by the fact that majority bloc voters have greater incentives not to vote and to rely on others, and will therefore turn out less heavily (Palfrey & Rosenthal 1983).

Generally speaking, once a voter has registered, he is very likely to vote. Initially then, the challenge to the candidate is to get his target market of voters registered. Kelly et al. (1967) concluded in their study that local differences in the voter turnout are to a large extent related to local differences in rates of registration which reflect a difference in the rules governing and arrangements for handling the registration of voters. In a local study of Milwaukee County residents, Newman (1984) found that the greatest difference between voters who register and those that do not register rested more with rational, rather than emotional reasons, backing up the conclusions Kelly made. There are several alternative explanations as to the basis of a decision to vote or not to vote.

According to Brunk (1980), voters are being pressured to vote as a moral obligation to society. Brunk goes on to say that citizens are routinely told about the positive value of their vote. Some authors (Filer & Kenny 1980; Schier 1982) concluded that individuals will vote if the benefit exceeds the cost. Other authors (Rubinfeld 1980; Rosenstone 1982) used an economic paradigm to better understand voter turnout by looking at unemployment, poverty, and declines in financial well-being. An alternate explanation by several authors posits that voter turnout has more to do with strategic campaign factors (e.g., competition) than with changes in electoral framework factors (Moran & Fenster 1982; Adkison 1982; Kenney 1983; Jewell 1984). There is a general consensus, however, that voter turnout in the U.S. has declined. Some researchers attribute this to structural causes, such as age redistribution and an expanding election calendar (Boyd 1981; Cohen 1982). Other researchers attribute this decline to voter apathy and decline of the party system (Cassel & Hill 1981; Shaffer 1981; Jackson 1983). Finally, some researchers attribute the decline to changes in government structure (Karmig & Walter 1983) or corruption in government (Cox & Kousser 1981).

The studies cited here conclude that citizens don't register because of many factors, including monetary considerations, inconvenience, lack of information, legal obstacles, physical difficulties, and disbelief in voting. Once they are registered, they are more likely to vote if they are disgusted with or tired of the present administration, or support a candidate, or feel obliged. Generally speaking, citizens won't vote if they are too busy, not able to get to the polling place, failed to register, or not qualified to vote. Although these studies give us an insight into the act of registering or voting, they do not shed any light on what it would take to induce citizens to register and vote. From a marketing perspective, it would be fruitful to know what kinds of strategies, if employed, would increase registration and voter turnout.

B. Volunteer and Party Mechanisms

The mechanism by which the campaign organization can influence voter turnout bears on the ability of each candidate to motivate volunteer workers and local party workers. Curright (1963) presents data on the distribution of the activities of precinct committeemen in different political areas of a city. His findings do not reveal a systematic pattern of stronger party activity in precincts where one party receives the greatest voter support, but it does show evidence of effects in both directions. A study by Bowman and Ippolito (1969) relates incentives for party work to the maintenance of activism among local party officials in several communities. It turns out that, for those who plan to continue to work in the community, strong party loyalty is a more important incentive than for those who plan to quit. Howell (1980) reports on the effects of office level on dependence on an elite coalition in local election campaigns, and concludes that a coalition's

influence over a politician depends on how essential s/he perceives that support to be for her/his reelection chances.

There have been several other studies that have looked specifically at the influence of party mechanisms (Wolinger 1963, 1980; Kramer 1970/71; Croity 1971). The conclusions from their studies suggest that personal contact is found to be effective in increasing turnout but not effective in influencing voter preferences. In fact, it was found that impact of precinct work will vary in inverse ratio to the salience of the election to the voters. It was also determined that repeated contacts were found to be relatively ineffective.

Abramowitz et al. (1983) argue that the dangers to the parties from growing involvement of issue-oriented activists have been overexaggerated. They found strong party attachment among these activists. However, even with the advent of new technologies, the management of campaigns (especially at the local level) still must rely on traditional activities. In over 50 personal interviews with candidates for local office, it was reported that the candidates still relied on the techniques of personal contact, such as canvassing, distributing literature, and personal appearances (Howell & Oiler 1981).

Much of the literature on party mechanisms at the national level has become less meaningful with the new reliance on political consultants (McDonald 1961; Chambers & Burnham 1967; Sorauf 1968; Sabato 1981). However, in a more recent work in this area, Kessel (1980) points out that too much emphasis has been focused on voting behavior without an equal emphasis on the importance of political parties and coalition strategies. Party mechanisms is certainly one area that has been drastically affected by the changes in political campaigning, and is a ripe area for more research.

C. Planning and Strategy

Effective maintenance in any campaign organization calls for good planning and cohesive strategies. There are vast political and technological changes taking place on the American political scene today. In what is considered one of the major original works which documents these changes taking place, Glick (1967) presents what he labels as "The New Methodology." This new campaign concept describes a coordinated strategic framework within which the traditional campaign activities are carried out within the limits of a master plan. This new approach to campaign strategy has emphasized the importance on the interrelationships among the key operatives within a campaign organization (Blumenthal 1980; Belker 1982) in addition to control over information and proper use of media (Wayne 1980; Asher 1980; Polsby & Wildavsky 1984), the shaping of public opinion (Goldenberg & Traugott 1984), and the effective use of political consultants (Sabato 1981).

Recent studies and essays on campaign strategy shed an illuminating light on the increasing importance of several strategy dimensions, beginning with the

personal interaction between the candidate and the voter. West (1983) found that during the 1980 presidential campaign, election visits were a vital part of coalition building, and that candidates used their campaign stops to communicate their coalition strategies. West (1984) uses interviews, field observations, and a study of reactions to campaign speeches to reinforce the importance of campaigning as a crucial link between leaders and the public. Campaigning by the candidate has been found to be especially important to the candidate from the in-party, while the number of candidates is seen to be a critical factor to the strategy of the candidate from the out-party (Norlander & Smith 1985). Incumbency is a definite advantage in Congressional races due to the likelihood of the ambivalence and energy of the candidate who seeks to run for another term (Payne 1980). The use of marketing research by candidates to segment markets and develop positions (Newman 1983a) has been documented in several case studies to underscore the importance of applying marketing techniques to political campaigns (Mausser 1983).

Other authors have given a more longitudinal look at campaign strategies. Asher (1976) analyzes presidential elections from the dual perspectives of the candidate seeking support in the electorate and the citizen choosing between competing candidates. He goes into the conditions affecting candidates' strategic choices over a 15-year period. Tatalovich (1979) studied the impact of the Electoral College system on presidential campaigning during the period 1932-1976. He points out that both parties allocate proportionately more campaign "stops" to larger states than to medium-size or small states. He also notes a difference in partisan strategy. Democrats give proportionately more attention than Republicans to the larger states, whereas the GOP concentrates more on campaigning in small states.

Candidate strategies have evolved over the years from an emphasis placed on smoke-filled room negotiations between party officials, to the reliance on image-building in the mass media, to the use of polling to segment markets and position candidates to selected voter target markets (Newman 1983b). With the use of marketing research, valuable information can be generated to help the candidate develop a concept, plan communication and distribution strategy, and make the most efficient use of scarce campaign resources (Kotler & Kotler 1981; Newman & Sheth 1985b, 1986).

VI. CONCLUSION

This review is an attempt at synthesizing a representative sample of the relevant literature on political marketing from several disciplines. The eclectic nature of this area was tied together with a framework in order to identify the forces which impact on political marketing. As is depicted in Figure 1, these forces all directly influence political marketing and at the same time ideally work in a coordinated

manner which allows for one to compensate for the other. Unfortunately, this is not always the case. However, it is not uncommon to find that the best-financed organization will have the most effective group of volunteers. Or in some cases, a weak candidate can be strengthened by making proper use of selected TV spots. When properly followed, the coordinative relationship between these forces closely resembles the interactive nature among the marketing-mix components.

Although most of the articles and books reviewed have shed a more pragmatic light on politics, certain key conceptual similarities and differences between marketing and politics need to be expanded on. As we note in Figure 1, political marketing can be depicted by four components interacting with one another in a similar fashion as the marketing mix components are used to depict commercial marketing. The product in this case ties in with candidate strategy. While they are similar with respect to the fact that a candidate offers a service as does a lawyer or doctor, there are vast differences. A candidate must be recruited and nominated by the party in most cases before he can run as a state or federal candidate. At the local level, there may be more flexibility for a candidate to run as independent. A candidate does, however, have a platform (or set of benefits) to offer the voter as does a lawyer have services to offer to his consumers. Each may also develop an image which is conveyed to the target market in an effort to position oneself relative to competition. The vast changes in the primary structure are bringing about new challenges for a candidate to become the party nominee.

The promotion of a product (or service) relies on many of the same vehicles in a commercial market as it does in a political market. Television, newspapers, radio, magazines, direct mail, and other outlets serve a similar purpose to each. Endorsements to a candidate are unique and not normally found in the routine promotion of a service or product. Candidates are gradually using all of the tools in this area that have been so successful to the commercial marketer. However, the sophistication of political advertisements still has a long way to go before it comes close to the level which has been reached in the commercial marketplace. The time frame of an election also places an additional constraint on media planning for politicians who have a limited time frame to work within. This adds a new dimension to the promotional strategy by the candidate which is not found in the promotion of products and services.

The distribution of a product (or service) includes the place at which the manufacturer, consumer, and all intermediary channel members meet to make the exchange. In politics, this can be analyzed in a similar framework by considering the process by which planning and strategy by the candidate's organization is executed so as to optimize the number of voters who come to the polling booth to make an exchange of their vote for the services of the candidate of their choice. This also calls for the use of intermediary channel members, which includes

campaign workers, party workers, and volunteers who all work to get the voter registered and out to the polling centers on election day. There certainly are vast changes taking place at the party level which has resulted in the increasing importance of political consultants to direct the distribution efforts for the candidate, and a subsequent weakening of the role of the party in this process. The use of personal computers has facilitated this change.

The one component in the marketing mix which would not come into play is price. It really has no bearing on the vote of a citizen, other than the costs involved in actively participating in the democratic process. However, we have our final component which we call campaign organization. This includes many activities which are also found in the organization of a corporation, including the acquisition and allocation of resources and research. Two additional areas which come into play in a political context include polling and finance reforms. We have made a distinction between polling and research by defining polling as the process by which voter opinions are modeled and predicted without any explanation to support the predictions. Research includes the process by which the voter (or consumer) is analyzed in an effort to better explain and understand his behavior. There is clearly a need for more research and less reliance on polling by politicians to give them insights into why a voter prefers and votes for one candidate over another. Finally, the finance reforms, which are unique to politics, have been shaping the political process by putting constraints on spending by candidates and contributions by citizens and organizations.

In the course of our review, we have referred to some of the classics in the literature to provide the reader with a point of reference with respect to how far we have (or have not) come in several different areas. As one might suspect, many areas that have been researched in the commercial marketplaces are lacking in our review of the political marketplace. Therefore, we will now turn to some of the areas where we would like to see more research done.

To begin with, there is a need to identify the strategic impact of using different choices of media for local, state, and national elections. Are posters and billboards more effective in local elections, state elections, or in federal elections? Does it pay to use a TV spot in a state election? Is newspaper advertising more effective than direct mail? What percentage of the budget should go to television, radio, and newspapers, etc.? Tried in with this is the choice of content to put in the advertisements. Under what circumstances should "issues" rather than "candidate personality" be stressed? Is it important to stress a candidate's qualifications? Does it pay to do comparative advertising? Questions like these need to be answered.

Another area that needs to be investigated concerns "packaging" the candidate. Questions regarding the candidate's hairstyle, dress, and mannerisms need to be addressed. With the continued influence of television, these issues will become more critical. Should the candidate act more aggressively in public appear-

ances? Which public appearances should be played up to the media? The answers to these questions become imperative to the formation of the candidate's "image."

Finally, distribution questions such as the choice of location of campaign headquarters and grass roots strategies need to be looked at. There is a growing concern about the importance of getting voters registered. How can citizens be motivated to register? What are some of the strategies used to develop an effective grass roots organization? Where should the campaign headquarters be located? How many outlets should there be? Political marketing is an emerging field and, if we continue to do more research in selected areas of this field, we may have a promise for an eventual theory of political marketing.

NOTES

1. *Time Magazine*, November 15, 1982, p. 32.
2. Other studies are reviewed later in the paper which discuss the allocation of funds for specific media vehicles.
3. See Nagel (1981) for a set of general principles concerning the allocation of campaign expenditures.
4. For an interesting discussion of the effect of exit polls on voter turnout, see Niemi (1983).
5. See Worcester (1983) for a review of the use of public opinion polling in other countries.

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