SPATIAL ALLOCATION OF MARKETING RESOURCES

IN A POLITICAL CAMPAIGN

By

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Stillwater, Oklahoma

1970

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PREFACE

Virtually any scholar may profit from an understanding of spatial concepts as they relate to his field. As an undergraduate economics major, I was always intrigued by the effect of place upon economic theories. As a Certified Public Accountant, I have had opportunities to witness the importance of good location to a business. As a private citizen active in politics, again my interest turned to the geographic aspects of elections. This fascination with the spatial aspects of other fields is evident in this thesis which examines the geography of marketing in a political campaign.

Much has been written about political campaign strategy since World War II, often in the form of "confidential" or "restricted" manuscripts. The fact that so little space in these writings has been devoted to the spatial distinctions in the effectiveness of various campaign techniques has been puzzling to me. Accordingly, when the opportunity arose to explore this topic for my thesis, I was anxious to investigate.

There are many people to whom I am indebted as a result of their help with this endeavor. My patient advisor, Dr. Paul Hagle always attempted to modify his schedule to my advantage as most of the work on this thesis did not commence until I had a full-time job seventy-five miles from campus. His ability to offer numerous helpful suggestions and give discerning guidance despite lengthy periods of inactivity on my part due to job demands is greatly appreciated. Special

over the last three years; I have been forced to spend a vacation in the OSU library, refuse an invitation to a Christmas party, refuse two invitations to visit my in-laws and cancel several other similar occasions. At this writing Linda, my wife, has still not filed for divorce. Accordingly, she is due special gratitude for her understanding and devotion.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The management of a political campaign is an increasingly scientific endeavor. More candidates are using sophisticated electronic data processing equipment to analyze data. At the same time, increasing numbers of "professionals" are entering the scene, hoping to duplicate the earlier successes of campaign consultants such as Spencer-Roberts and Campaign Consultants, Inc.

More attention is being given to the question of how best to present the candidate in a favorable light. This requires some knowledge of marketing, advertising, and geography, as well as political science. As campaign managers recognize the potential for use of more sophisticated techniques, a need arises for formal training and research.

The Republican party was the first to start this in a big way with the "nuts-and-bolts" approach of former National GOP Chairman, Ray Bliss in the late 1960's. During his tenure, the party sponsored seminars in campaign management at locations across the country. The Democrats were soon to follow, although much spade work in this area had already been accomplished by the Committee on Political Education of the AFL-CIO. The entrance of Eugene McCarthy into the 1968 presidential sweepstakes brought a renewed interest in the technique of door-to-door canvassing on the part of a large segment of the

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Democratic party. This interest was followed by more detailed studies of the art of practical politics.

Most of the writings by professionals in the field have dealt with the use of campaign techniques; i.e., which techniques to use and how to use them. A smaller amount of space has been given to overall geographic emphasis in a campaign. However, to the knowledge of this writer, no one has yet combined the two themes—which is the purpose of this research. The principal focus of this paper is the determination of "what should go where" in a political campaign.

Are all techniques available to a candidate and his manager of equal effectiveness at all locations in the electoral landscape? If not, there is a need to determine the best approach for each type of region. In so doing, we allow the candidate maximum exposure of his ideas at the most effective location and time.

Accordingly, there will be four specific goals of this research:

1. Determine the most advantageous location for various campaign activities.

2. Gain an understanding of the reasons for the greater success of these activities in some locations, as opposed to others.

3. Gain an understanding of the relationship between the location of campaign activities and the timing of campaign activities.

4. Through the use of a simulation process, demonstrate the impact of our findings on campaign strategy and explore some means through which our findings can be most effectively utilized.

Any research on political campaign management meets with immediate difficulty. First, it is difficult to gauge the impact of a particular tool or technique because laboratory conditions are nonexistent and because proper management has a relatively small influence on the final result. Good campaign management can make the difference in a close race, but almost no manager will claim that he can get a dull, witless candidate with unpopular views and an unimpressive record elected unless he is fortunate enough to have an opponent with the same qualities. Thus, good campaign techniques may not readily reveal themselves when first tried as the qualifications and position of the candidate play a larger role in determining whether or not he gets elected.

A second and even more difficult problem is the confidential nature of political campaigns. Few candidates will readily discuss their strategy. Thus, access to vital information is often blocked, even for a "detached" researcher.

This confidentiality and the variance in the approach to campaigning between Republicans and Democrats almost dictates that the researcher confine his efforts to one party. For this paper, the Republican party was selected due to the writer's prior activity within the Republican party and thereby access to essential information. Therefore, this research will be confined to geographic allocation of campaign resources for Republican candidates. Oklahoma will be used as a political landscape upon which to simulate an application of the research findings although this paper will utilize the experience of campaigns outside of Oklahoma.

The art of political campaigning requires the campaign manager to employ several geographic concepts. He must identify the relatively homogeneous regions within the voting constituency. He must also identify the nodes of influence within these regions—both locational and socio-economic. Specifically, the campaign manager must identify those issues which will work to his candidate's advantage in each region and then determine the location of related campaign activities, such that the impact of exploiting these issues is maximized. The scientific campaign manager will also consider the potential impact of alternative campaign procedures upon the diffusion of information about the race.

Given the obvious relationship between geography and political campaigning, it is surprising that there is so little dialogue between professional politicians and geographers. Elections provide a rich landscape for the study of geographic concepts. Conversely, a workable understanding of geographic concepts is certain to enhance the campaign manager's prospects of election success.

This research will investigate a process, the placement of political campaign activities, where geography plays the central role. It is also a process to which professional geographers have paid little attention.

As this paper concerns a topic not commonly analyzed by geographers, it is appropriate to preface our examination of spatial factors with a discussion of basic political strategy. Such a discussion follows:

There are three major aspects of political campaign strategy: (1) getting supporters of the candidate to the polls, (2) winning

the allegiance of undecided voters, and (3) demoralizing the sup-
porters of the opponent. Most professional campaign managers would
agree with this order of the objectives. It should be pointed out
that most of the nonphilosophical decisions in a campaign (such as
how much advertising to buy) are not made by the candidate but by his
campaign manager or a campaign coordinating committee.

In order to gain a high turnout of voters favorable to his can-
didate, the campaign manager seeks to keep voter interest at a high
level. In addition, a volunteer organization which calls on sup-
porters of the candidate on election day plays a key role. To
achieve a high turnout of supporters, most managers use the technique
of peaking, although there is not universal agreement on the effec-
tiveness of this strategem.

In attempting to win the undecided voters, the manager will
often have polls conducted to learn the thinking of the electorate
on key issues and to gain an appraisal of the strengths and weak-
nesses of his candidate as perceived by the voters. From this, the
campaign manager attempts to emphasize the positions of the candidate
which are in general agreement with the view of the electorate and
present the candidate to the public in such a manner that his
strengths are emphasized and his weaknesses diminished in the eyes
of the public.

Demoralizing the opposition usually consists of ignoring one's
opponent in the hope of lulling his supporters into inactivity.
Some managers do not even allow their candidate to make appearances
in areas where the opponent holds a two-to-one or greater advantage.
They reason that the number of votes to be gained is outweighed by

the fact that such an appearance will focus more attention on the race and lead to an increased turnout of the opponents' supporters.

Another important aspect of campaigning, according to a few, is that the aspect most critical to success is fund raising. The importance of fund raising is likely to increase under the influence of the campaign financing reform acts. All of the candidate's other activities are dependent upon his ability to finance them. Great television commercials are worthless without the money necessary to purchase air time.

It is not always the candidate with the largest campaign treasury who wins. Efficient management and creative planning can stretch campaign dollars. Effective or "catchy" advertisements can make up for lack of abundant funds. Proper management will eliminate much waste. There have been campaigns at the statewide level in which only about 10% of the printed campaign literature ever made it into the hands of potential voters.

Most campaign activities are localized. They occur at a specific location on the landscape. In the following chapters, we shall examine those factors which should influence the selection of one specific location over alternative locations for the site of a campaign activity. It is hoped that this research will broaden our understanding of the democratic process, particularly from the spatial perspective, and reveal the role of place in campaign planning.

CHAPTER II

PREVIOUS WORK IN THE FIELD

The review of previous writing relating to the thesis topic has
been divided into the following categories:

1. Previous research on the topic by geographers

2. Previous research on related topics of electoral
   geography

3. Studies of diffusion from a theoretical viewpoint

4. Studies of the diffusion of political information
   and allegiance

5. Related research by non-geographers

6. Writings on the topic and related topics by profes-
   sional campaign strategists which are nonempirical
   in nature.

Professional geographers have made only a meager beginning in
applying spatial concepts to political campaigns. While geographers
have made analyses of particular elections and the diffusion of politi-
cal ideas and movements, not a single article has been published in a
major geographic journal concerning the spatial organization of poli-
tical campaign activities. That this interesting field is fair game
for geographers is evident from the geographical slant of Kevin
Phillips' watershed book, The Emerging Republican Majority. Joel
Malnick, writing in Geographical Review, comments "the book is an

outstanding treatise on American cultural geography."[1] (Indeed, it

should be noted that Phillips' book deals with the cultural rather

than the marketing aspects of campaign geography.)

Despite what appears to be an aversion to the "practical" aspects

of political campaigning, professional geographers have not been

totally indifferent to the decision making process of democratic

countries. Writing in Progress in Geography, Kevin Cox outlines a

framework for the study of "spatial sources of variation in the voting

of individuals." He argues that electoral geography should take "an

approach which emphasizes the space in which areal units or voters are

embedded, and the relationships of these units across space."[2] This

thesis corresponds to Cox's approach in that it explores means of

influencing these relationships which are available to the political

strategist.

Electoral geographers have yet to reach a firm consensus on some

of the more substantial means of the diffusion of political opinion.

One of the debates, which is revelant to the subject matter of this

thesis, is the importance of the "friends and neighbors" effect. Cox

concludes that this phenomenon is of greater importance in the suburbs,

stating "more conversions are possible in the suburbs because fewer

wives work and have more time available for neighboring."[3] This is

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[1]Joel R. Malnick, The Geographical Review, Volume 61 (July, 1971),
pp. 457-458.

[2]Kevin R. Cox, "The Voting Decision in a Spatial Context,"
Progress in Geography, Volume I (1969), pp. 81-117.

[3]Kevin R. Cox, "Suburbs and Voting Behavior in the London Metro-
politan Area," Annals of the Association of American Geographers,
Volume 58 (1968), pp. 111-127.

disputed by Roger Kasperson, who questions the rationale used by Cox in making his findings.[4] Unfortunately, neither writer discussed the implications of their views for political campaign strategy, despite some very obvious implications.

As will be discussed in Chapter IV, the majority of contemporary campaign strategists believe that neighbor-to-neighbor campaigning is most effective in the suburbs of large metropolitan areas. This would seem to indicate their adherence to Cox's position, although Cox does not use such evidence to support his thesis. A review of successful campaign techniques could much establish the validity of the conflicting hypotheses.

Similarly, other researchers have failed to consider spatial distinctions in campaign techniques when researching problems in electoral geography. I. R. McPhail explored the causes of the outcome of the 1969 mayoralty contest in Los Angeles.[5] In this election, incumbent Sam Yorty and insurgent Tom Bradley were pitted against each other in a run-off. Bradley, in his bid to become the first black mayor of Los Angeles, had forged a substantial lead over Yorty and other major rivals in the primary and was favored to win the run-off, having come close to accumulating the needed majority in the primary. However, Bradley had to wait out another Yorty term to make history, as the incumbent attracted enough of the votes of the other defeated rivals

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[4]Roger E. Kasperson, "On Suburbia and Voting Behavior," Annals of Association of American Geographers, Volume 59 (1969), p. 405.

[5]I. R. McPhail, "The Vote for Mayor of Los Angeles in 1969," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Volume 61 (1971), pp. 744-758.

to win the run-off. While McPhail is "unable to determine clearly the reasons" for the outcome of the election, he lists a number of issues which Yorty emphasized in the final election which were aimed at the voters in regions which had shown limited interest in either candidate in the primary. Thus, Yorty seemed best able to analyze the geographic differences within the electorate to the extent that he identified the supposed needs of the voters residing in regions with a large number of "savables" and appealed to these needs. It would be interesting to know if either Yorty or Bradley used special tactics (apart from rhetoric) to woo voters who lived in regions which cast a proportionately large share of their votes for other candidates in the primary. Unfortunately, McPhail's paper does not investigate tactical considerations.

R. J. Johnston studies an election in Christchurch City to gauge the impact of "local effects" upon the voting pattern.[6] According to those who hold that a "friends and neighbors" effect influences voting behavior, "the nearer one lives to a candidate's home, the more likely one is to know him, or know somebody who knows him. Such interpersonal knowledge is expected to attract support for the candidate, with electors voting for the person rather than the cause he represents." Johnston concludes, from his study of the Christchurch election, that local effects do play a role in the electoral decision; that there exists some "pride in the local boy" who will "fight for local causes." He further concludes that "isolated candidates are most likely to pick

[6]R. J. Johnston, "Local Effects in Voting at a Local Election," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Volume 64 (1974), pp. 418-429.

up a local effect" and that local effects are not as significant if the candidate lives in an area where his party usually receives the bulk of the vote. Again, Johnston does not consider the importance of the tactics used by the candidates. Questions such as "Where did the candidate spend his time campaigning?" or "Where did he erect billboards?" go unanswered. If they are irrelevant, then campaigning is merely a trivial exercise which wastes much time and money pursuing a desired objective: victory. Few candidates, at least very few victorious candidates, would agree with this position.

To a significant degree, the study of political campaign effects is a study of diffusion. It could be asserted that the principal responsibility of the campaign manager is to activate the greatest number of strategic nodes for the dissemination of information and propaganda favorable to the cause of his candidate. Accordingly, we will review some relevant studies of diffusion and attempt to develop a conceptual framework for the diffusion of voter preference.

Classic diffusion theory deals with origin nodes, destination nodes and their relationship. With some adjustments, the classic model is well suited to the political scene. In a campaign, there are origin nodes (opinion givers) and destination nodes (opinion receivers). There are also different types of emissions going from origin nodes to destination nodes.

A landmark study by Paul Lazarsfeld, et al., The People's Choice, finds that not all emissions are equally effective. The study finds that interpersonal emissions are more directly effective in influencing voter preference than media emissions. It also finds that "the weight of personal contacts upon opinion lies, paradoxically, in their

greater casualness and non-purposiveness in political matters" and

"talk that is 'forbidden fruit' is particularly effective."[7] As an

example, Lazarsfeld cites a waitress who voted based upon the gossip

between her customers. Although, as we shall see later, subsequent

studies have reached different conclusions about the relative effec-

tiveness of media and personal emissions,[8] all are in agreement that

emissions from origin nodes differ in their impact due to the nature of

the emission, as well as the resistance characteristic of the destina-

tion node.

The standard diffusion model for voter preference was outlined by

Lazarsfeld as the Two Step-flow Hypothesis.[9] According to this

hypothesis, ideas flow from the media to opinion leaders and from

there to the less active sections of the population. The Two Step-

flow Hypothesis is diagrammed in Figure 1.[10]

Lazarsfeld found that opinion leaders were more likely to get

their ideas directly from the media.[11] These would, in turn,

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[7]Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet, The
People's Choice: How the Voter Makes Up His Mind in a Presidential
Campaign, (New York, 1968), p. 150.

[8]John P. Robinson, "Interpersonal Influence in Election Campaigns:
Two Step-flow Hypotheses," Public Opinion Quarterly; Volume 40 (1976),
pp. 304-319.

[9]Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet, The
People's Choice: How the Voter Makes Up His Mind in a Presidential
Campaign, (New York, 1968), p. 151.

[10]John P. Robinson, "Interpersonal Influence in Election Campaigns:
Two Step-flow Hypotheses," Public Opinion Quarterly; Volume 40 (1976),
p. 306.

[11]Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet, The
People's Choice: How the Voter Makes Up His Mind in a Presidential
Campaign, (New York, 1968), p. 51.

MASS MEDIA

Ideas   Ideas

OPINION
LEADERS

Ideas   Ideas   Ideas

LESS
INTERESTED

Source: Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson and Hazel Gaudet, _The People's Choice: How the Voter Makes Up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign_ (1968).

Figure 1. Standard Two Step-Flow Hypothesis

influence the less active. This corresponds to our traditional under-

standing of diffusion, as outlined by Everett Rogers, where the early

adopters are more literate and more cosmopolite than later adopters.[12]

If we account to media the role of innovator, we again find ourselves

consistent with the classical interpretation of the diffusion process

in that innovators are frequently disdained by the general population,

thus exerting their influence indirectly, through early adopters.[13]

The Lazarsfeld study also found that political opinion leaders and

the less active were distributed through all socio-economic levels of

society.[14] This indicates a tendency toward monomorphism, where an

individual acts as an opinion leader for only one topic. Research by

Elihu Katz and Lazarsfeld indicates that "the hypothesis of a gener-

alized leader receives little support" but that "each arena has a corps

of leaders of its own."[15] This would help explain the political homo-

geneity among socio-economic groups. Rogers writes that

> when a high degree of homophily is present, these elite indi-
> viduals interact mainly with each other, and there is little
> 'trickle down' of the innovation to nonelites. Homophilic
> diffusion patterns cause new ideas to spread horizontally,
> rather than vertically, within a system. Homophily, there-
> fore, acts to slow down the rate of diffusion.[16]

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[12]Everett M. Rogers, Communication of Innovations, (New York, 1971), p. 185.

[13]Ibid., p. 183.

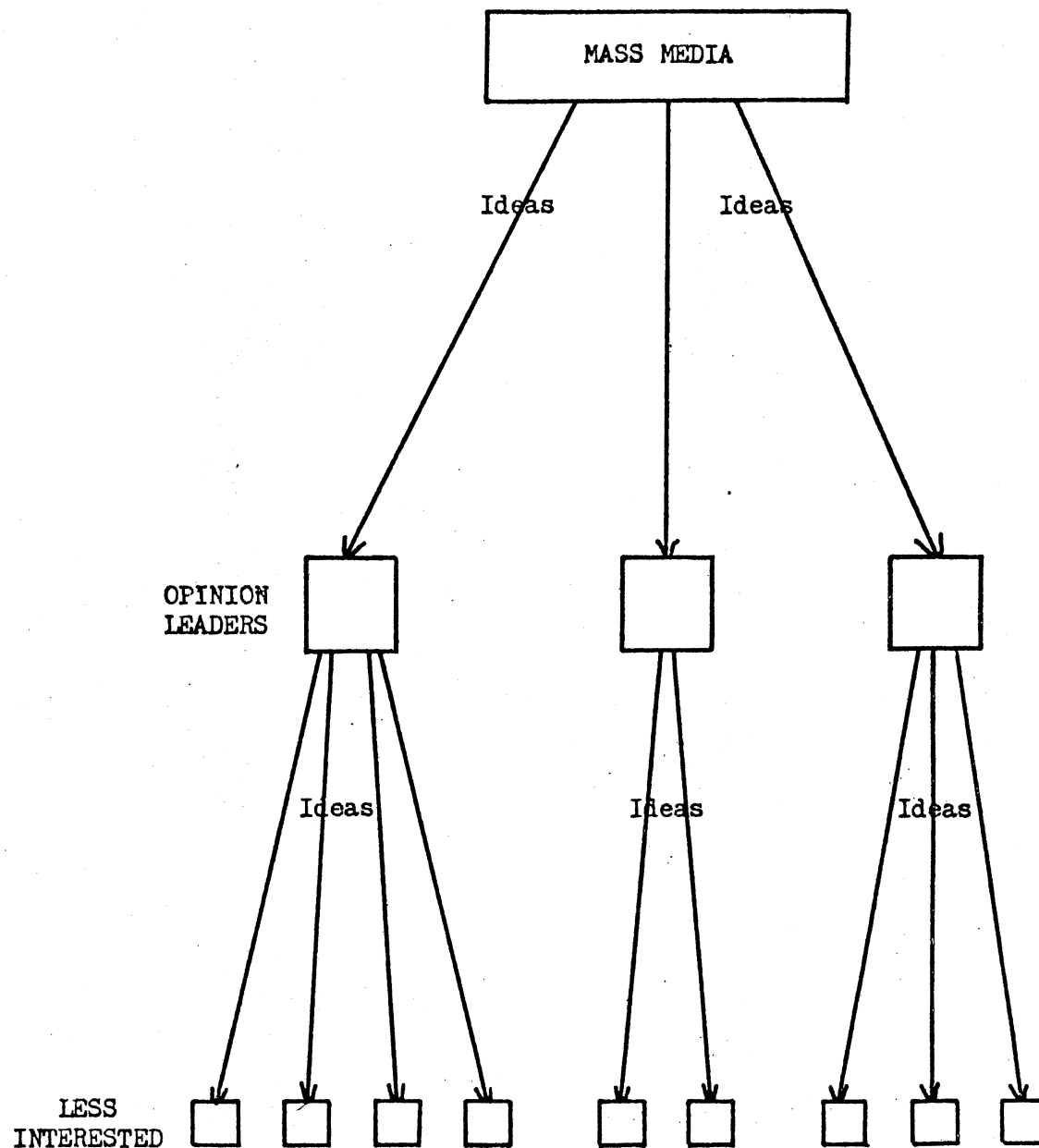[14]Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice: How the Voter Makes Up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign, (New York, 1968), p. 50.

[15]Elihu Katz and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Personal Influence: The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communication, (New York, 1955), p. 344.

[16]Everett M. Rogers, Communication of Innovations, (New York, 1971), p. 185.

Each homophilous group has its own set of opinion leaders since, according to Rogers, a transfer of ideas is more likely to occur between a source and a receiver who are homophilous.[17]

Lawrence Brown has argued for inclusion of the concept of removals in the framework of diffusion.[18] This is certainly appropriate for a diffusion model of voter preference. Experience has shown that there is also a need to include "backlash" in our model as well. It is not uncommon for a political campaign to stimulate an opposition group to mount a counter-campaign. When the counter-campaign becomes more powerful, the original effort is rendered counter-productive. This usually happens when innovators attempt to play the role of legitimizers and where the idea/candidate is not compatible with the salient characteristics of the existing social system. Change agent success is positively related to the extent that he works through opinion leaders.[19]

Therefore, we have a standard model through which propaganda is emitted from the media which serves as an innovator to early adopters (opinion leaders) in all levels of society. These early adopters then exert influence through interpersonal contact with people in their own socio-economic group. Additional support for the hypothesis that the socio-economic elite are not the political elite comes from the research of Alvin Boskoff and Marmon Zeigler. Using a DeKalb Co. (Ga.)

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[17]Ibid., p. 210.

[18]Lawrence A. Brown, Diffusion Processes and Location, (Philadelphia, 1968), p. 14.

[19]Donald R. McNeill, The Fight for Flouridation, (New York, 1957), p. 292.

bond issue for their study, they found "the voters neither knew or cared what the voluntary associations were saying."[20] The influence, therefore, of one socio-economic group upon another is limited.

According to diffusion theory, the political elite would be those who are both politically knowledgeable and socially popular within their own socio-economic group.[21] Those who are popular will have greater opportunities for both receiving and emitting messages. Therefore, they will receive messages earlier and pass them to a wider circle of acquaintances.

Researchers have also found that opinion givers tend to be selective in emitting messages. They generally tend to tell messages to those who they think will be interested.[22] This tendency would increase the effectiveness of opinion givers, if, in fact, they do by nature seek out those with a low resistence characteristic to their message. This is disputed by Robinson, who finds considerable argumentation between opinion givers of different persuasions.[23]

Peer group pressure helps to channel the diffusion process according to several scholars. Lazarsfeld et al., found that opinion within

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[20]Alvin A. Boskoff and Harmon Zeigler, Voting Patterns in a Local Election, (Philadelphia, 1964), p. 78.

[21]Everett M. Rogers, Communication of Innovations, (New York, 1971), p. 188. Also, Lawrence A. Brown, Diffusion Processes and Location, (Philadelphia, 1968), p. 17.

[22]Georg Karlsson, Social Mechanisms: Studies in Sociological Theory, (Stockholm, 1958), p. 34. Also, Everett M. Rogers, Communication of Innovations, (New York, 1971), p. 139.

[23]John P. Robinson, "Interpersonal Influence in Election Campaigns: Two Step-flow Hypotheses," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 40, No. 3, (1976), pp. 304-319.

different socio-economic groups tends to crystallize as the campaign

progresses. According to Lazarsfeld, "People want, and need, to be

told that they are right and to know that other people agree with

them."[24] They are most likely to receive this reinforcement if they

are consistent with the preferences expressed within their own socio-

economic group. Lazarsfeld concludes that the campaign period serves

to activate latent predispositions. Similarly, Lazarsfeld found that

voters who tended to have the greatest difficulty forming a decision

were those with a foot in more than one socio-economic camp. For

instance, if a voter was a member of a religious group which was

strongly Democrat, but was economically in a class which was predomi-

nantly Republican, he would tend to vacillate.

Support for this view is widespread. Charles Atkin and Gary Heald

found that the "crucial goal" for a candidate is to "focus voters'

attention on which factors to think about rather than to convince them

about what to think."[25] Boskoff and Zeigler found that "given the

operation of selective perception, the essential function of mass media

is to reinforce or activate latent attitudes."[26] In his study of the

1968 election, Kevin Phillips notes that as the campaign progressed,

support for George Wallace retreated into its Deep South crucible.[27]

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[24]Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice: How The Voter Makes Up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign, (New York, 1968), p. 139.

[25]Charles Atkin and Gary Heald, "Effects of Political Advertising," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 40, No. 2, (1976), pp. 216-228.

[26]Alvin A. Boskoff and Harmon Zeigler, Voting Patterns in a Local Election, (Philadelphia, 1964), p. 78.

[27]Kevin P. Phillips, The Emerging Republican Majority, (New Rochelle, 1969), p. 33.

Similarity also exists between the progress of diffusion, as found by geographers and scholars of electoral behavior. Brown cites a study by Torsten Hagerstrand which divides the diffusion process into three stages:

> (1) a primary stage during which adoption centers are established, (2) a diffusion stage during which adoption increases rapidly in the primary centers and spreads outward to surrounding areas, and (3) a condensing stage during which diffusion slows and eventually ceases following saturation.[28]

Lazarsfeld et al., report that this is the same process which occurs during a campaign with individuals who perceive themselves as most affected by the outcome, lining up early and gradually, influencing the less interested. According to Lazarsfeld, "those who decide last are those voters who feel that the outcome will affect them lease."[29]

The similarity appears to exist at the micro as well as the macro scale. Rogers outlines the innovation-decision process as knowledge, persuasion, decision and confirmation.[30] In outlining the steps of activation of voter preference, Lazarsfeld lists four almost identical steps: (1) propaganda arouses interest, (2) increased interest brings increased exposure, (3) attention is selective, and (4) votes crystallize.[31]

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[28]Lawrence A. Brown, Diffusion Processes and Location, (Philadelphia, 1968), p. 32.

[29]Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice: How The Voter Makes Up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign, (New York, 1968), p. 61.

[30]Everett M. Rogers, Communication of Innovations, (New York, 1971), p. 99.

[31]Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice: How The Voter Makes Up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign, (New York, 1968), p. 75.

Unfortunately for campaign managers, the researchers have not been able to isolate those independent variables or traits which would allow accurate and early identification of opinion leaders. As stated earlier, researchers have found that opinion leaders in voter preference are to be found in all social and economic categories. However, as opinion leaders tend to be more interested, it follows that they will be more likely to seek out information. Further, Lazarsfeld found that opinion leaders rely more upon the formal media than non-opinion leaders.[32]

This has some rather obvious implications for a political campaign. It would be wise to make extensive use of formal media directed at opinion leaders early in the campaign and to spend this period attempting to enlist opinion leaders in the cause of candidate. That is, the candidate should utilize the existing network for the diffusion of political ideas as early as possible to maximize the "multiplier-effect" as interest in the election intensifies. The latter part of the campaign should be spent in reinforcing favorable voter decisions and activating latent predispositions toward the candidate.

There is dispute about the role of the media in voter decision-making. As noted, Lazarsfeld asserts that communication media are most helpful in assisting opinion leaders in arriving at a decision while the less active rely almost totally upon interpersonal relationships.[33] Robinson, on the other hand, classifies a sizeable minority of the voting population as "non-discussants." That is, there are voters who

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[32]Ibid., p. 151.

[33]Ibid., p. 152.

do not discuss politics with acquaintances and rely entirely on for-

mal media for decision-making information. Given the inclusion of a

class of nondiscussants, Robinson's findings do not materially chal-

lenge the earlier findings of Lazarsfeld, except that Robinson finds

the categories of voters and flows of information to be less rigid

than Lazarsfeld.[34] Robinson's revised step-flow sequences are shown

in Figure 2.

In either case, however, a strategy based upon winning the alle-

giance of opinion leaders early in the campaign and then aiming at

the less active segments of the electorate would be logical. Robinson

does not repudiate Lazarsfeld's diffusion network, but limits its

importance to something less than 100 percent control of the outcome.

We have examined the natural course of diffusion in a campaign.

What of precinct work or "planned diffusion?" Although Lazarsfeld

et al., reported that casual influence is superior in its effective-

ness, they did find instances where a personal solicitation of

undecided voters by a partisan late in the campaign was decisive.[35]

Raymond Wolfinger reports that precinct work does influence voting

behavior and further reports that its impact will vary inversely

with the salience of the election to the voters.[36] Wolfinger bases

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[34]John P. Robinson, "Interpersonal Influence in Election Cam-
paigns: Two Step-flow Hypotheses," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 40,
No. 3, (1976), pp. 304-319.

[35]Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson and Hazel Gaudet, The
People's Choice: How The Voter Makes Up His Mind in a Presidential
Campaign, (New York, 1968), p. XXV.

[36]Raymond E. Wolfinger, "The Influence of Precinct Work on Voting
Behavior," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 27, No. 3, (1963), pp. 387-
398.
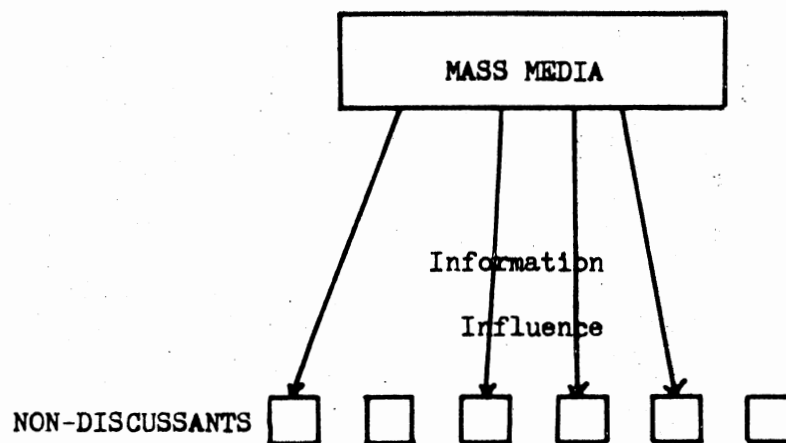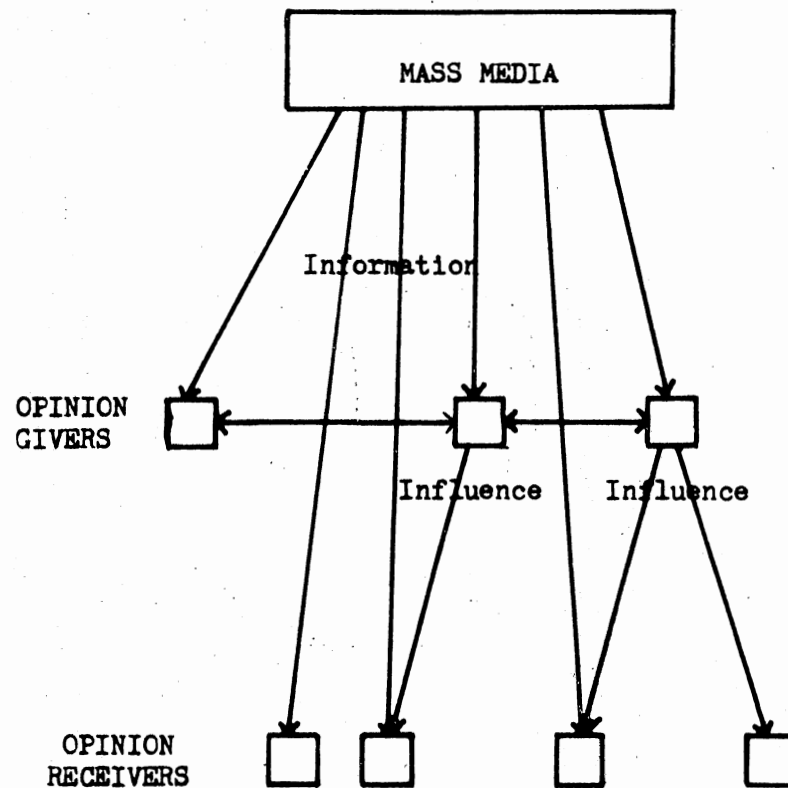
Source: John P. Robinson, "Interpersonal Influence in
Election Campaigns: Two Step-flow Hypotheses,"
Public Opinion Quaterly (1976).

Figure 2. Revised Step-Flow Hypothesis

his findings on voting statistics, rather than personal interviews.
However, in the Lazarsfeld study, those voters who were influenced by
precinct workers were those who previously "didn't expect to vote."
It is not unreasonable to suggest that there may be some correlation
between this group and Robinson's "non-discussants." This would mean
that canvassing would be most effective late in the campaign when the
voter's interest, once aroused, would be less exposed to conflicting
views from potentially more homophilous sources.

In summary, it appears that a campaign is essentially a competi-
tion between two diffusion processes. The campaign manager who does
understand the nature of diffusion and can recognize the impact of
its "laws" upon his plans will have an advantage. Accordingly, the
research findings of this paper will be integrated with currently
accepted diffusion principles in drawing conclusions about effective
campaign techniques.

Some helpful background was also found in the research of polit-
ical scientist Marjorie Random Hershey who discusses campaign
decision-making in The Making of Campaign Strategy. Hershey's
principal concern is with the tolerance of ambiguity by candidates
and their managers and its affect upon decision-making and the result-
ing implications for our political system. Consistent with the
findings of this thesis, the respondents to Hershey's survey dis-
played virtually no geographically-oriented thinking in their
decision-making processes.

Hershey also outlined difficulties in discerning what is rele-
vant data on campaign techniques from election returns. Dr. Hershey
notes,

> the election result - the major agent of reward or
> punishment - is a powerful teacher but not a very inform-
> ative one. It rewards campaigns that include many dozens
> of different behaviors and punishes others that contain
> some of the same behaviors. The voting returns do not
> state clearly which of the campaign's behaviors are being
> condemned. They simply say 'pass' or 'fail.' The cam-
> paigner's learning process takes place in an atmosphere
> of uncertainty. He does not know exactly what he did
> right and what he did wrong.[37]

Thus, while non-geographic in outlook, Hershey's work is an aide in

clarifying the difficulties involved with objective research on the

usefulness of campaign techniques.

The writings of campaign technicians were surveyed, but few dwelt

directly on the topic of this paper. Two advocates of the "new

politics" of the late sixties did give some attention to the geog-

raphic aspects of campaigning in their writings. Chester G. Atkins

emphasizes the importance of "voting analysis" in Getting Elected: A

Guide to Winning State and Local Office.[38] Atkins encourages an

overall investment of resources between regions based upon a socio-

economic-political study of those regions. However, Atkins fails to

distinguish between the types of resources available in a campaign.

Dick Simpson's Winning Elections: A Handbook in Participatory

Politics gives some guidelines for the regional planning of canvas-

sing activities.[39] While Simpson says little about the resource

allocation problem, he does recognize that different types of regions

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[37]Marjorie Random Hershey, The Making of Campaign Strategy,
(Lexington, 1974), p. 118.

[38]Chester G. Atkins, Getting Elected: A Guide to Winning State
and Local Office, (Boston, 1973).

[39]Dick Simpson, Winning Elections: A Handbook in Participatory
Politics, (Chicago, 1972).

require different approaches. Simpson first describes the conduct of a canvass in a "normal" area and then three types of "regions" which vary from the norm: (1) ghettos, (2) high-rise luxury, and (3) rural.

Finding little in the published words of geographers or campaign technicians, the writer did locate some material in unpublished, "confidential" manuals of the Republican party which were made available to him. Many of these writings recognized a need for scientific resource allocation in campaigns. Formulas were suggested for determining the relative importance of the regions comprising an election district in a campaign. However, none of these writings addressed either of the following problems: (1) the law of diminishing returns as applied to campaign resources, or (2) the selective emphasis upon particular resources in particular region-types within an overall framework of resource allocation.

What is the consequence of so little discussion of the thesis topic in relevant professional publications? Does this mean that the topic receives little attention because it merits little attention? As one geography professor suggested, "perhaps there is a reason" why noted geographers say virtually nothing about the subject. It would seem that there are at least two reasons: (1) the relative youth of the field of electoral geography, and (2) the particular problems of conducting research on political campaigns which is scientific in nature.

Additional solace may be found in the nature of our discipline, "the perfect profession for the curious." Before proceeding, it should be stated that this is not a study to indulge "unchecked curiosity" but rather, to heed Clyde Browning's admonition, a study

which will "advance the discipline... and contribute to other aspects of geography."[40] On these grounds, this thesis is justified. It will introduce a new repository of evidence for geographical problem solving and a new dimension to electoral geography which should compliment existing research.

[40]Clyde E. Browning, "The Question, 'But Is It Geography?' - Revisited," The Professional Geographer, Vol. 26, (1974), p. 137.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this research is to gain a better understanding of
the locational function of political campaign decision-making. Specif-
ically, this paper seeks to discover the most advantageous location for
various campaign activities, explore the reasons behind these advan-
tages, correlate advantageous location with effective timing of activi-
ties and demonstrate the impact of these findings on campaign strategy.
Thus, this study will appraise the options of the campaign strategist
in allocating the resources available to him.

The resources to be considered are divided into three broad areas:
media, organization and the candidate's time. Due to the nature of
political campaigning and the difficulties involved in a study of this
subject, much of the research is necessarily based upon subjective
information. However, it remains the writer's purpose to make relative
evaluations of the merits of campaign techniques in rural and urban
areas and in regions distinguished by their political behavior.

Due to the subjective nature of the decision-making being investi-
gated, reliance is placed upon professional judgment. An attempt was
made to poll the opinions of those with demonstrated expertise in the
field, to evaluate their collective judgment as to the best allocation
of resources between regions. It was the writer's assumption that
those who had been associated with winning political campaigns would

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more likely have an accurate knowledge of these allocative relation-
ships than those who had not been associated with winning campaigns;
the underlying assumption being that good practices result in a win-
ning effort. A national survey was conducted in which inquiry was made
of every Republican elected to the U. S. Senate, a governship, or a
major statewide office such as Lieutenant Governor or Attorney General.

The writer wishes to emphasize that the findings are based on sub-
jective choices and decisions reflected in the collective judgment of
the survey respondents. However, if perception is an asset in planning
and if proper planning is an asset in winning an election, then confi-
dence may be placed in the reliability of the survey findings.

The survey made inquiry into three broad areas. First, an
attempt was made to gauge the extent to which regional planning is
currently utilized in campaigns. In addition, specific inquiries were
made to probe the extent to which the respondent was aware of the need
to consider spatial organization in making tactical decisions. The
purpose of this was to gain an understanding of the "state-of-the-art"
in regional allocation of campaign resources in political campaigns.

The second area of inquiry focuses upon the respondent's estima-
tion of the value of various techniques in different contexts which
varied in terms of their geographic application. The respondent was
given a list of campaign techniques and asked to rate the effective-
ness of each (on a scale of one to five) in urban, suburban, rural
settings, etc. and in areas of different political leanings (i.e.,
Democratic, Republican and swing). These responses were to be averaged
numerically to gain a composite estimation of the value of each tech-
nique in each type of area. It should be explained that these ratings

are ordinal measures based on subjective choice and are meaningful primarily as they relate to each other.

Last, the survey inquired as to any new techniques which were inaugurated in the campaign and a description of the strengths and weaknesses of the technique. New campaign tactics are regularly being developed, some of which add new dimensions to the art of political strategy. The purpose of this set of questions was to identify new campaign techniques. A copy of the survey appears as an appendix to this thesis.

The survey and a short explanation along with a cover letter from Senator Dewey Bartlett requesting cooperation, were mailed to all Republican governors, U. S. senators, and other major statewide office-holders. However, as the potential respondents are often deluged with correspondence to which they find it difficult to direct their full attention and as some candidates do not participate heavily in the tactical decisions of their campaigns, preferring to leave this responsibility to their campaign manager and his staff, the potential respondent was urged to refer the survey to a member of his staff who was familiar with the decisions made during the campaign.

One problem developed which forced the writer to take some compensating measures. The number of survey responses was low. Only thirty were received and only eighteen contained the data required. A few sent regrets, some explaining it was their policy not to answer questionnaires and others mentioning lack of time. In retrospect, the writer thinks that the latter problem could have been solved by beginning his letter of explanation with "please refer this letter and questionnaire to someone on your staff who is familiar with the

decisions made and strategy employed in your last campaign." In the letter sent with the survey, this suggestion was contained in the last sentence. The excuse of "not enough time" coupled with the fact that nearly half of the letters were answered by the candidate and not referred to a member of the staff leads the writer to conclude that politicians are highly unlikely to read the last sentence of a letter.

In an effort to compensate for this deficiency, attempts were made to salvage the survey findings by supplementing them with other procedures. An attempt was made to substitute quality for quantity by gaining a more in-depth analysis of the questions in the survey.

One additional procedure used was to secure the assistance of a full-time campaign adviser of the Republican National Committee who was personally familiar with some of the campaigns about which the writer had received responses. Each questionnaire was reviewed in an attempt to classify ambiguities and identify possible explanations of unusual responses.

The responses to the survey were compared with observations found in the literature on political campaigning in order to resolve survey-generated contradictions. No contradictory responses were received except for some highly differing opinions on the effectiveness of direct mail.

Follow-up telephone calls were made to one-third of the respondents--those whose answers required additional information. All of these steps proved most helpful and created conditions under which survey responses could be used with greater confidence when coupled with the clarifications obtained through the follow-up work. It should be noted that none of the survey findings was materially deviant

from the observations obtained by these alternate procedures; i.e., the alternate procedures served to amplify rather than refute the original survey findings.

The next step was the transformation of the survey findings into a workable form. If an allocation of campaign resources for a particular technique is to be made between regions based upon the degree of effectiveness of the technique in those regions, a quantitative measure of effectiveness is necessary. Thus, the survey findings were extrapolated from ordinal data into scalar data.

The raw scores or "ratings" assigned each technique in each type of region by the respondents were simply averaged into "consensus ratings." These consensus ratings were subjectively altered based upon observations gained through the alternate or follow-up procedures. In no case, however, was the ranked order of the effectiveness of the techniques changed. These adjusted ratings were then used as the quantitative measure of the effectiveness of a campaign technique in a particular type of region.

The survey responses, as clarified by follow-up procedures, were subjected to scrutiny in an attempt to learn the cause of the relative success or failure of a technique in a type of region. This scrutiny included direct questioning of survey respondents and other parties in follow-up interviews and comparison of survey responses to appropriate diffusion concepts. Similar measures were used to ascertain the most advantageous timing for a technique in a region-type.

The second major aspect of this work involved the use of the survey findings in a simulated political campaign. For this purpose, Oklahoma was selected as the political landscape.

The first step in the simulation was the gathering of raw data on voter affiliation and behavior. For these items, the Oklahoma State Election Board was consulted. This data on voter affiliation and behavior, much of it at the precinct level, was then aggregated into regions. As the method of developing these regions constitutes a significant part of this thesis, a more detailed discussion of the procedures used will be provided in Chapter VIII of this report.

To faciliate the application of the survey findings, data on Oklahoma voting patterns was compiled. An analysis was made to locate target voters or "ducks" in each region. Basic assumptions (outlined below) were made about what constituted a target voter, as must be done in any campaign. Using the behavior characteristics associated with these assumptions, the importance of each region in our simulated campaign was determined. The specifics of the analysis are explained in the following paragraphs.

The determination of the number of target voters in each region requires some special mention. The assumption was made that a target voter in the general election would be one who voted a split-ticket in a past election. The elections used to make this determination were the statewide elections of 1966, 1968, and 1972. These years were chosen because a Republican had won election to a statewide office in each year, delineating those otherwise Democratic votes which a Republican candidate must capture in order to be successful.

The tacit assumption here is this: There are certain voters who will vote for the Democrat regardless of the qualities of the candidates and appeal of the campaign propaganda and, likewise, certain voters will choose the Republican. We will wish to direct our campaign

efforts at the voter who may be persuaded. Ideally, we wish to know

the number of voters who vote a split-ticket. Since this information

cannot be obtained, the best available measure of hardcore or die-hard

support, and conversely, the number of voters open to persuasion, is

the vote cast for the Democrat and the vote cast for the Republican

who made the worst showings.[1] The difference between the vote for the

Democrat making the worst showing and the Republican making the worst

showing should approximate the number of voters to whom campaign

appeals may be made with a reasonable expectation of exerting some

influence.

The most successful Republican candidates (i.e., the races in

which Democrats did worst) and the offices they won in each year con-

sidered were: 1966, Dewey Bartlett, Governor; 1968, Henry Bellmon,

U. S. Senate; and 1972, Dewey Bartlett, U. S. Senate. In each year,

the Republican candidate for statewide office with the lowest percent-

age of the votes was also selected. These were: 1966, William

McKnight, Treasurer; 1968, I. E. Chenoweth, Corporation Commissioner;

1972, Chris Tirey, Corporation Commissioner. The target voters equaled

the difference in the percentage of the vote received by the winning

Republican candidate and the percentage of the vote received by the

Republican making the worst showing times the number of registered

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[1]This is a method generally used by campaign practitioners. For a more detailed discussion, see Stephen B. Shadegg, How to Win an Election (New York, 1964).

voters. The percentages for the three elections were averaged and multiplied by the 1974 registration figures.[2]

The final steps in the simulation were the determination of the value of each technique in each region and the appropriate timing of activities. This was a matter of finding the product of the rating of the technique in the region and the number of target voters in the region, and relating this product to the overall allocation problem given the desire to effect the most efficient diffusion of positive information about the candidate.

The methodology just described is summarized in Figure 3.

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[2]Accordingly, the number of target voters for each county was determined by the following formula:

$$(((a \div u) - (b \div v)) + ((c \div w) - (d \div x)) + ((e \div y) - (f \div z))) * r \div 3$$

where, "a" is number of votes for Bartlett in 1966
     "b" " " " " " McKnight in 1966
     "c" " " " " " Bellmon in 1968
     "d" " " " " " Chenoweth in 1968
     "e" " " " " " Bartlett in 1972
     "f" " " " " " Tirey in 1972
     "r" is the number of registered voters
     "u" is total votes cast in 1966 race for Governor
     "v" " " " " " 1966 race for Treasurer
     "w" " " " " " 1968 race for U. S. Senate
     "x" " " " " " 1968 race for Corporation Commissioner
     "y" " " " " " 1972 race for U. S. Senate
     "z" " " " " " 1972 race for Corporation Commissioner
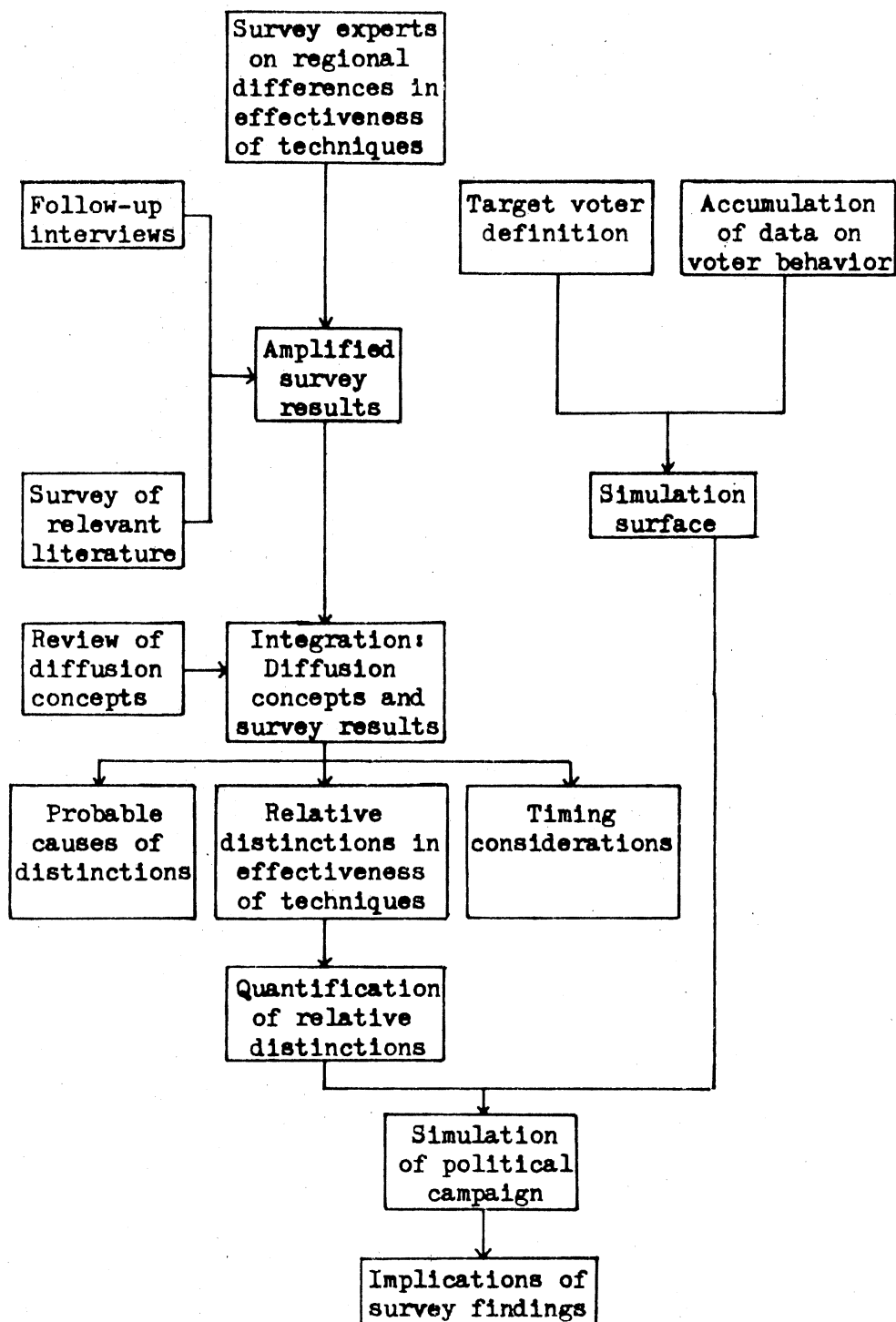
Figure 3. Flowchart of Methodology

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS OF THE SURVEY

The survey of successful statewide candidates was an attempt to

draw upon the collective expertise of campaign strategists whose

methods have passed the test of an election. The survey inquired into

the role of scientific resource allocation in the most recent campaign

of the respondent, the development of new techniques by the respondent,

and most importantly, the respondent's judgment as to the most effec-

tive techniques in regions distinguished by their demographic charac-

teristics and voting behavior. Due to a limited response to the

survey, follow-up telephone calls were made to respondents to clarify

inconsistent or incomplete replies, and the responses were reviewed

with a professional campaign manager for additional interpretation.

The primary purpose of this chapter is to report the responses to

the survey as amplified by the follow-up procedures. Examination of

the reasons for the variances in the effectiveness of techniques in

different region-types is undertaken in the three succeeding chapters.

The survey revealed that little use is currently made of scien-

tific resource allocation in campaign strategy, at least not in the

spatial dimension. Not a single respondent reported a systematic use

of procedures for allocating campaign resources among regions. The

closest any of the respondents came to such a disclosure were three

respondents who reported that they allocated newspaper advertising on

the basis of the response to prior ads. Using this method of alloca-

tion, the candidate ran an ad in every paper in the state which had a

coupon attached for the reader to fill out and mail to the candidate's

headquarters. All future expenditures for newspaper advertising were

made in direct proportion to the response to the first ad.

The use of a coupon to allocate future advertising dollars is a

common procedure in product advertising.[1] The idea is spend money on

the media where people are reading the ad (the assumption being that

mail response is an accurate measure of readership). Some advertisers

also feel that their ads will receive more favorable position if the

editor knows that future revenues depend upon reader response.

There is certainly reason to criticize the application of this

technique to political advertising. If the purpose of the ad is to

solicit money or workers, then allocation of advertising according to

response probably has merit. However, if the purpose of the adver-

tising campaign is to persuade the undecided voter, the advantage of

this allocation procedure would appear to diminish. The reader most

likely to respond to a message extolling candidate John Doe would be a

reader predisposed toward John Doe. It is doubtful that a reader who

is genuinely undecided prior to reading the advertisement would be so

moved by one ad that he would form an allegiance to candidate Doe and

then act upon this new allegiance. Therefore, if this form of adver-

tising allocation is to be effective, the influence on the voter must

be indirect, and as shall be seen, there is evidence that indirect

influence may be elicited by this strategy. We shall return to this

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[1]For instance, Maurice I. Mandell, _Advertising_, (Englewood Cliffs, 1968), p. 571.

allocation method in Chapter V, after we have reviewed the responses of our survey respondents.

Despite the lack of regular application of spatial allocation concepts to campaign planning, respondents did indicate an awareness of variances in the effectiveness of techniques in different region-types. The opinions of the respondents concerning these variances are reported in the pages which immediately follow. New techniques and ideas which were reported are covered in the appropriate section in the remainder of this chapter.

Allocation of Media Resources

The choice of media in a campaign is heavily influenced by a number of non-geographic factors, the qualities of the candidate being the primary consideration. For example, a highly "visual" candidate would want to make extensive use of television. An articulate candidate would want to express himself over radio.

In addition, much of media buying is in terms of social and economic factors. A television program generally attracts an audience largely exhibiting a particular range of socio-economic traits. This is especially true of radio stations. As most media are sold on a geographic basis, direct mail being the major exception, an opportunity is afforded to target not only by regions, but by socio-economic group as well.

There are basically two types of political advertising: "name recognition" and "influence." Name recognition emphasizes use of those media which present the candidate's name and possibly a short slogan, such as billboards, yard signs and bumper strips. The thrust is to get

the candidate's name before the public in such a way that it will be remembered. Influence media afford an opportunity to give a specific reason or reasons why the candidate should be elected. These include television, radio, newspaper, direct mail, and literature distribution. Of course, influence media may also be used to increase a candidate's name recognition.

In every survey category, the respondents rated influence media as more effective than name recognition media. This is consistent with the opinion of most advertising men that people must have a reason before taking a particular action, such as buying a new product.[2] However, at least two professionals in the field of campaign management cautioned that the lack of enthusiasm among the survey respondents for name recognition media may be that the respondents were all associated with incumbents who would generally have fewer name recognition problems. An incumbent, having been in the public spotlight in the course of holding office will generally be better known than his challenger. Both suggested that the results would have been more favorable to name recognition media if the survey had focused on non-incumbents or "first-termers," whose names were less well known to the public. The data generated by the writer's survey is insufficient to evaluate this proposition.

Television

The respondents rated television as a most effective media in every type of area. The advantage over other media was especially

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[2]David Ogilvy, <u>Confessions of An Advertising Man</u>, (New York, (1963), p. 95.

evident in urban and swing areas. As the majority of television markets include both urban and rural areas, the important consideration is the use of television to influence the undecided or swing voter.

Newspaper

Small town weekly newspapers were rated as the best method of reaching the small town voter by the respondents. Daily and Sunday newspapers rated well, but not as high, while weekly suburban "shoppers" were given the lowest ratings of the information media. There was little variation in preference for newspaper advertising between Democratic, Republican, and swing areas.

Some respondents noted that it is usually impossible to totally coordinate a newspaper advertising campaign on a statewide basis. Local groups of supporters will often purchase space in the local newspaper for their candidate completely independent of the campaign manager's direction.

Radio

Radio receives relatively high marks for effectiveness in every area. It is rated best relative to other media in Democratic areas. Several respondents noted that their use of radio was limited to supplementing television. Such usage may be especially important in a state where some counties along the border are served largely or exclusively by out-of-state television stations. It may not be feasible to pay the high fees for the excess out-of-state coverage of the television station. However, these counties may usually be reached by local radio for a lot less money.

Direct Mail

Responses concerning direct mail were erratic. Some rated it the most effective media, others rated it the least effective. The lack of agreement suggests that the effectiveness of direct mail depends upon imaginative use, and that some campaign managers lack the ability or knowledge to use it profitably. This supposition agrees with several direct mail experts who believe that the potential of direct mail for political advertising is largely untouched.[3]

Direct mail is one medium where geography usually plays a small role in its selection and allocation. People of similar interest and/ or circumstances are the target of the mailer. Lists are sold which consist of the names of subscribers to a particular magazine or journal or names of members of organizations. Most campaign mail requires only a stamp, so no geographic differences in cost are involved.

While a direct mail strategy may be formulated on a geographical basis, such as mailing to all residents in a particular zip code or precinct, this is usually not the primary emphasis in political campaigns. Direct mail is most commonly used to appeal to special interest groups.[4] For instance, a candidate opposed to gun registration might send a brochure identifying him with this position to all members of the National Rifle Association, while a candidate opposed to nuclear power development might target a mailer to members of the

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[3]Christian Brann, Direct Mail and Direct Response Promotion, (London, 1971), p. 229.

[4]Roy Paul Nelson, The Design of Advertising, (Dubuque, 1973), p. 213.

Sierra Club. In either instance, all members of the target group would be sent a mailer, regardless of their geographic location within the state. Stratification is socio-economic rather than spatial.

Non-Mail Literature Distribution

Literature distribution ranks high in Republican and swing regions. Respondents mentioned two principal methods of distributing brochures. The first is distribution in connection with a door-to-door canvass. The second method is to distribute flyers via pretty girls on busy street corners.

The older method of sticking something under someone's windshield wiper does more harm than good according to some respondents. Also receiving criticism was the tactic of attaching a piece of literature to every door handle. Personal contact appears to be important.

Billboards

Billboards are rated about even with bumper strips as the most effective form of strict name recognition advertising. The respondents noted little difference between regions as to the effectiveness of billboards. Some respondents considered billboards to be an "ecological mess." They reported fear that unsightly billboards actually lose more votes than they generate. Even some advertising men share this philosophy.[5]

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[5]David Ogilvy, Confessions of An Advertising Man, (New York, 1963), p. 95.

Bumper Strips

Bumper strips were rated as being of about equal effectiveness in all types of regions. Some of the respondents noted that bumper strips were ecologically superior to billboards. One special technique advocated by some is to withhold the distribution of bumper strips to the latest possible date and then distribute as many as possible at one time. The rationale is that the impact of numerous bumper strips appearing at once is significant and favorable.[6]

Yard Signs and Fence Signs

This method of advertising generally received low ratings. One exception was a respondent representing a candidate whose state included a tobacco growing region. His opinion was that posters erected on the sides of tobacco barns were very effective. However, the respondent also noted that this method of political advertising is somewhat of a tradition in his state and that the public shows interest in which candidate can elicit the most "support" from tobacco farmers.

Buttons

Buttons were said by some to be necessary for supporter morale. However, they were rated as generally ineffective.

Pencils, Shopping Bags, etc., With Candidate Name

Only a minority of the respondents reported any experience with

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[6]Stephen C. Shadegg, How to Win An Election, (New York, 1964), p. 67.

these items. Those who did gave the technique the worst rating in every category. As one respondent stated, "only use is to keep companies in business who manufacture them."

Summary

According to the survey responses, television should be used in all areas to promote the candidate. Especially extensive use of television should be made if the candidate is suited to the medium. As television is rated about equally (and highly) effective in all types of regions, it should be used in all areas. Newspaper advertising should receive heavy emphasis in smaller communities and literature distribution should be emphasized in non-rural Republican areas. Radio should be used as a supplement, particularly in television market fringe areas. Special interest groups should be solicited with direct mail. The bulk of the media budget should be directed to these types of advertising.

As volunteer workers are crucial to any political endeavor, an effort should be made to maintain their morale. Consequently, the candidate should have on hand for his workers' use a supply of bumper strips and possibly yard signs and buttons. A candidate with name recognition difficulties might also want to consider purchasing some billboard space, provided that ecologically palatable locations are available. But all other name recognition gimmicks should be avoided unless special circumstances direct otherwise.

The relative effectiveness of media techniques between types of regions is illustrated in Table I which follows.

TABLE I

RESPONDENTS' CONSENSUS RANKING OF MEDIA TECHNIQUES
IN DIFFERENT TYPES OF REGIONS

Rural	Medium-size City
1. Newspaper, weekly	1. Television
2. Television	2. Newspaper, daily
3. Radio	3. Radio
4. Direct mail	4. Newspaper, Sunday
5. Literature	5. Literature
6. Newspaper, Sunday	6. Direct mail
7. Newspaper, daily	7. Bumper strips
8. Bumper strips	8. Billboards
9. Billboards	9. Yard signs
10. Fence signs	10. Buttons
11. Yard signs	11. Newspaper, weekly
12. Buttons	12. Fence signs
13. Pencils, shopping bags, etc. with candidate's name	13. Pencils, shopping bags, etc. with candidate's name

Urban	Suburban
1. Television	1. Television
2. Direct mail	2. Direct mail
3. Newspaper, Sunday	3. Newspaper, daily
4. Newspaper, daily	4. Radio
5. Radio	5. Literature
6. Literature	6. Newspaper, Sunday
7. Bumper strips	7. Bumper strips
8. Billboards	8. Yard signs
9. Yard signs	9. Billboards
10. Buttons	10. Newspapers, weekly
11. Newspaper, weekly	11. Buttons
12. Fence signs	12. Fence signs
13. Pencils, shopping bags, etc. with candidate's name	13. Pencils, shopping bags, etc. with candidate's name

Allocation of the Candidate's Time

The principal theme of any campaign is the candidate's exposure to the voters in such a manner that the voters will vote for the candidate on election day. Central to this theme is the candidate himself and the way in which he allocates his time. The candidate must allocate his time spatially, as well as budget his time functionally.

In addition to making campaign appearances where the candidate appeals directly for votes or for volunteers who will work to get votes, the candidate must engage in certain supporting activities if his appearances are to be effective. The principal supporting activities are strategy and planning, briefing (or "education"), fund raising (especially where the candidate lacks an effective finance chairman), and advertising "takes." Throughout all of this, the candidate must remain "fresh," so a certain amount of relaxation is necessary, as campaigning is very tiring and strenuous. For this reason, some campaign managers insist that all campaign photography be done early, before the candidate becomes fatigued.[7]

The amount of time which each candidate has available for allocation varies between campaigners. Some candidates seem to be tireless, while others tire easily. Few in this latter category are ever elected unless they have a reputation of high standing, in which case past efforts, in effect, substitute for the lack of vigor. About the most for which any candidate may hope is thirty appearances (of about two hours each) per week, in addition to weekly strategy sessions, daily

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[7]Ibid., p. 194.

briefings, and a certain amount of time for recuperation. Of course, there are some candidates who can get elected on one-tenth that amount and some who are so entrenched that they do not even draw opposition.

The respondents considered personal appearances by the candidate to be most crucial in rural areas and small towns. This is especially true when the effectiveness of the candidate's time is compared to the effectiveness of the campaign organization. The successful candidates surveyed believe in emphasizing on personal appearances in small towns and good organization in urban areas and suburbs.

Several items should be noted in the assessment of personal appearances by the candidate. An increasing number of candidates wage year-long campaigns, providing opportunities for stops in more places. Thus, the candidate can visit small communities early in the year which would have to be ignored by a candidate in a shorter campaign. Several also visit each county in the state at least once, not wanting any voters to think they are being ignored. The technique of "peaking" is popular among Republicans. Peaking involves making low-key stops in outlying areas early, then gradually increasing the tempo of the campaign by staging the larger rallies and more newsworthy events toward the end of the effort. The goal is to reach the climax of the campaign on election day.[8]

Many of the respondents considered media coverage to be the key to the successful use of the candidate's time. They assert that the importance of a candidate's visit to place "X" is not so much in meeting the citizens of "X" as in getting the candidate's visit covered by

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[8]Ibid., p. 52.

the local newspaper, and, if possible, the television stations serving
the region. The respondents further observed that the evening news and
front page of the morning paper were the choicest forms of media cov-
erage. Also of interest is the report of one respondent that whatever
a candidate says will be given greater weight if he says it "out of
town." But this does not appear to be the common view.

Consistent with the importance of media coverage of the candi-
date's appearances, one campaign team used the TV markets to schedule
their candidate. The idea was to make certain that the candidate
received publicity in each TV market area at least once per week.
Figure 4 is a simple form often used to schedule the candidate's time
in this manner.

In considering the most effective of the various types of candi-
date appearances in different areas; speeches to civic clubs, hand-
shaking tours and rallies were generally rated superior to coffees and
appearances at parades, festivals, and fairs. It seems that candidates
do not want to compete for attention with beauty queens and prize-
winning apple pies.

Civic Clubs

Appearances before civic clubs were rated as being highly effec-
tive in virtually every type of area. They were considered as the
most effective type of candidate appearance in every category except
Democratic regions. According to the respondents, the candidate should
be scheduled at as many civic clubs as possible when he is making a
tour through Republican or marginal territory. Of course, this does
not mean the candidate will spend all of his time at civic clubs.

Figure 4. Planning Form to Allocate Candidate Appearances

Many towns have only one civic club, if that, and it may meet only once per week.

The advantages given for civic clubs are that they are a primary gathering place for community "opinion-makers," and they are often routinely covered by the press. In addition, little preparation is required, in that it is not necessary to attempt to try to encourage a turnout, that being the responsibility of the club leadership.

Rallies

The respondents advanced three principal benefits from rallies: (1) publicity resulting from media coverage, (2) boosting the morale of campaign workers, and (3) establishing the credibility of an underdog as a viable candidate. Consistent with the aim of peaking late in the campaign, most respondents felt that rallies were more effective in the later stages of the campaign than in the earlier going. Some reported holding a major rally every night in the last week of the campaign.

One exception to the concept of peaking exists where the candidate is a definite underdog. One respondent worked for an elected official who had been unsuccessful in his previous statewide campaign. In the second effort, it was decided to kick off the campaign with a large rally in the most Democratic area of the state. The rally was a success, and, according to the respondent, the press, which previously paid little attention to the candidate, began to give prominent coverage to the candidate's statements and activities. A similar result was also reported by a second respondent candidate who came from far behind to stage an upset. The activities of a candidate with little chance of winning are not newsworthy events. Rallies can play an important role

in convincing the news media that a particular candidate has a chance
of winning. For these reasons, rallies are important from the stand-
point of building and maintaining momentum.

Hand-Shaking Tours

Shaking hands with potential voters is rated effective in all
areas and especially in Democratic regions. Prime targets for such
tours are generally factories, shopping centers, and "Main Street."
Several respondents worked in campaigns where the candidate interrupted
his hand shaking only long enough to pay a visit to the local news-
paper editor. Hand-shaking tours may be scheduled at almost any day-
light hour; therefore, unlike speeches to civic clubs, they are very
flexible and can be used when it is impossible to schedule any other
type of activity.

Coffees, Ice Cream Socials, Etc.

Although this type of "backyard rally" did not receive high
ratings by the respondents, many did note that they are highly useful
early in the campaign to recruit workers for canvassing. A coffee or
ice cream social usually exposes the candidate to a relatively small
number of voters, many of whom will readily volunteer to help in his
campaign. Therefore, they should be scheduled early, before publicity
becomes the principal consideration, and in areas where a strong
organization is most essential.

Parades, Festivals, Etc.

Parades and festivals received low ratings, an exception being those in rural areas. However, the respondents did rate these as superior to fair booths where, presumably, the candidate would be seeing fewer people but would have opportunity to talk with them longer. The consensus is that candidates would do well to participate in festivals and parades only when held in rural areas, and then only if they are early in the campaign.

Fair Booths

While some of the respondents considered fair booths to be a good recruiting device, few liked having the candidate present. It is their view that the candidate should be mobile and not stationary. Nevertheless, some respondents reported that local supporters are often so adamant about having the candidate attend such functions that he finds himself obliged to put in at least a token appearance.

Summary

The time of the candidate brings better returns in rural areas and small towns than in more populous areas. Early in the campaign, the candidate should appear in as many small towns as possible, speaking to civic clubs, attending parades and festivals, and just shaking hands with people on the street. Additionally, coffees should be scheduled where volunteers are needed most. As the campaign progresses, the candidate should speak in larger towns and plan at least one appearance per week in each TV market area. The final week of the campaign should

include a major rally each night. If the candidate is an underdog, he may find it helpful to stage as large a rally as possible in Democratic territory six to ten weeks prior to the election.

In moving the candidate through time and over the landscape, the respondents seemed to be in general agreement that the candidate should stage "his own" events, rather than be a part of existing events. A candidate can have more control over the scheduling of his activities if he plans them; i.e., he can more effectively allocate his time.

The relative effectiveness of alternative utilizations of a candidate's time in different types of regions is illustrated in Table II which follows (page 53).

Allocation of Organizational Resources

There are professional campaign managers who believe the most effective campaign tactic is to recruit and train enough dedicated volunteers to ring every doorbell in the state or district and personally solicit the vote of the occupant.[9] These managers assert that the most effective campaign technique is the candidate meeting the voter and asking for his vote. As it is physically impossible for a state-wide candidate to shake hands with every voter, they believe the next best alternative is to have a stand-in represent the candidate. This is the philosophy behind canvassing or "doorbelling," as it is sometimes called. Democratic strategists also give this technique high

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[9]Robert F. Bonitati, "Managing to Manage Volunteers," in Richard Carson (ed.), Ways to Win, (Washington, 1966), p. 129.

TABLE II

RESPONDENTS' CONSENSUS RANKING OF MOST EFFECTIVE USES OF
CANDIDATE'S TIME IN DIFFERENT TYPES OF REGIONS

Rural	Medium-size City
1. Speeches to civic clubs	1. Speeches to civic clubs
2. Hand-shaking tours	2. Hand-shaking tours
3. Rallies	3. Rallies
4. Parades, festivals, etc.	4. Coffees, ice cream socials
5. Coffees, ice cream socials	5. Parades, festivals, etc.
6. Fairs	6. Fairs

Urban	Suburban
1. Speeches to civic clubs	1. Speeches to civic clubs
2. Hand-shaking tours	2. Hand-shaking tours
3. Rallies	3. Rallies
4. Coffees, ice cream socials	4. Coffees, ice cream socials
5. Parades, festivals, etc.	5. Parades, festivals, etc.
6. Fairs	6. Fairs

Democrat	Swing
1. Hand-shaking tours	1. Speeches to civic clubs
2. Speeches to civic clubs	2. Hand-shaking tours
3. Rallies	3. Rallies
4. Parades, festivals, etc.	4. Parades, festivals, etc.
5. Coffees, ice cream socials	5. Coffees, ice cream socials
6. Fairs	6. Fairs

Republican

1. Speeches to civic clubs
2. Rallies
3. Hand-shaking tours
4. Coffees, ice cream socials
5. Parades, festivals, etc.
6. Fairs

marks.[10] A brief review of the procedure and rationale for canvassing
will assist our understanding of its locational advantages.

From the candidate's point of view, voters fall into three cate-
gories: "saints, sinners and savables;" a "saint" is a voter who has
made up his mind to vote for the candidate, a "sinner" is a voter who
has made up his mind to vote against the candidate, while a "savable"
is undecided or wavering. The goal of every campaign is to persuade
the savables to become saints and to get all of the saints to the polls.
Accordingly, canvassing serves the purposes of giving the canvassed
voters a personal link to the campaign and locating the saints and sav-
ables.

Workers usually canvass in pairs. They are given a small terri-
tory, such as two city blocks, which is close to their own home (so as
to more closely identify with the voters whom they will canvass). They
attempt to contact every voter in their territory.

Canvassers are simply instructed to find the preference or lean-
ings of each voter. Sinners are thanked and otherwise ignored. Saints
are encouraged to vote on election day. Savables are asked what they
feel to be the most important issues and are encouraged to support the
candidate.

The canvassers note the response of each voter contacted. The
responses are turned in at the campaign headquarters where they are
kept in a master file. A mailing is usually sent to each savable out-
lining the candidate's position on the issue which the savable felt was

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[10]Dick Simpson, Winning Elections: A Handbook in Participatory
Politics, (Chicago, 1972).

most important in the campaign. Saints are contacted on election day
and encouraged to vote. Those who need assistance are given rides to
the polls.[11] The strategy of the canvasser is outlined in Figure 5.

Canvassing is an effort by the campaign to relate directly with
the individual voter. It tailors the campaign effort to the needs of
that voter. Because of the canvasser's ability to interact with the
individual voter and his needs, it is highly effective.

One problem in organizing a canvass is the difficulty in recruit-
ing volunteers. Even ardent supporters of a candidate are often reluc-
tant to go door-to-door, and training those who do volunteer is time
consuming. In an attempt to neutralize this imediment, canvassing is
often done by telephone. Face to face contact is traded for a method
more palatable to the potential volunteer. In addition, use of the
telephone cuts down on the number of volunteers needed.[12]

Another determinant of a candidate's ability to canvass voters is
his ability to attract committed volunteers. The candidate best able
to do this is not necessarily the candidate with the best chance of
winning. Barry Goldwater in 1964 and George McGovern in 1972 both
attracted far more volunteers than their opponents, yet neither was
every seriously considered to have a chance of winning. Many observers
believe that most of the potential precinct workers are to be found
concentrated in two groups on opposite ends of the political spectrum.
For this reason, a "moderate" candidate may have difficulty eliciting

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[11]For a more detailed explanation, see Stephen Shadegg, How to Win
An Election, (New York, 1964), p. 125.

[12]George Kent, "Getting Votes by Telephone," in Ern Reynolds and
Georgis McNemar (ed.), Campaign Management, (Washington, 1966), p. 133.

```
        ┌─────────────┐
        │  Canvasser  │
        │    asks     │
        │ allegiance  │
        │ of resident │
        └─────────────┘
               │
               ▼
            ◇ Response ◇
```

Figure 5. Canvassing Strategy

Canvasser asks allegiance of resident

Response

Response unfavorable to candidate

Response non-committal

Response favorable to candidate

Canvasser asks resident: "What is the most important issue ?"

Canvasser thanks resident for support

Interview terminated

Interview terminated

Interview terminated

No further action

Resident sent literature on candidate's posistion on issue by headquarters

Resident offered transportation to polls on election day by headquarters

Figure 5. Canvassing Strategy

the degree of commitment necessary to marshall a corps of canvas-

sers.[13]

Door-to-Door Canvassing

"Doorbelling" is one of the few techniques which the respondents

considered to be more effective in urban and suburban areas than in

rural areas and small towns. In addition, the technique is considered

most effective in swing areas. This is consistent with the argument

of the advocates of canvassing who emphasize the importance of face-

to-face contact in persuading the voter.

Telephone Canvassing

This method of contacting voters is rated superior to doorbelling

only in rural areas and small towns. One problem noted with telephone

canvassing is that voters are more reluctant to give their preference

over the telephone. However, doorbelling becomes less efficient in

those areas where residences are further apart, as doorbelling requires

a greater number of volunteers to cover the same number of voters. The

opinion of the respondents is that telephone canvassing also becomes

more effective relative to doorbelling as the territory becomes more

Republican.

Summary

Given that it may be prudent to avoid certain areas of over-

whelming support for one's opponent, a canvass of some nature should be

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[13]"Post Industrial Politics: A Guide to 1976," Congressional
Quarterly, (November 15, 1975), pp. 2475-2478.

organized wherever possible. The candidate should initially attempt to organize as many door-to-door canvassers as possible in non-rural swing areas and Democratic areas. This should be supplemented by a telephone canvass in rural and Republican areas. The relative effectiveness of different organizational methods and the relative effectiveness of campaign efforts are illustrated in Table III.

TABLE III

RESPONDENTS' CONSENSUS RANKING OF ORGANIZATIONAL
TECHNIQUES IN DIFFERENT TYPES OF REGIONS

Rural	Medium-size City
1. Telephone canvassing 2. Door-to-door canvassing	1. Door-to-door canvassing 2. Telephone canvassing

Urban	Suburban
1. Door-to-door canvassing 2. Telephone canvassing	1. Door-to-door canvassing 2. Telephone canvassing

There are a few campaign managers who advocate the use of store-front headquarters as a campaign strategem.[14] The technique is to open a highly visible headquarters in an area of high pedestrian traffic so that it serves as a "billboard" and promotes interaction

[14]Roy Pfautch, "Creating Votes with Headquarters," in Richard Carson (ed.), Ways to Win, (Washington, 1967), pp. 165-173.

between campaign volunteers and the "man-on-the-street." However,

none of the survey respondents mentioned this technique. According

to the survey, headquarters should be apportioned in such a way as to

most efficiently serve volunteers.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF SURVEY RESPONSES ON MEDIA

In chapters five, six and seven, we shall examine the survey results in considerably more detail and make comparisons between the survey findings, the conceptual framework of diffusion and theories concerning voter decision-making. The purpose of this analysis will be to determine the reasons why certain campaign techniques are more effective in some region-types than others and to determine the most advantageous timing for these techniques.

The survey respondents considered more media advertising to be of about equal effectiveness in all region-types. However, most types of media ads were thought to be more effective in certain types of regions. Television was considered more effective in urban areas than in rural areas. Radio was rated as superior in Democratic regions. Local newspapers were thought to be best in rural areas. Name recognition media were held to be less effective generally than information media with billboards and bumper strips receiving the highest rankings from the survey respondents.

Media play three key roles in influencing voter preference. First, they act as innovators and activate the latent sensitivities

of opinion givers.[1] In this role, they are especially effective as they encourage the more interested segments of the electorate latently predisposed to the candidate to form their own opinions favorable to the candidate. According to Lazarsfeld, opinions which are "casual" and less "formal" are more effective when expressed. Therefore, we should expect opinion receivers to be influenced more by opinion givers who form their "own" view of the candidate than by the media directly, or by canvassers whose expression of opinion is "non-casual" and "structured."

Second, media are effective in reinforcing those decisions made by opinion receivers. As Lazarsfeld pointed out, the new adherent needs to be reassured that this decision is the correct one and that he is not alone in his allegiance.[2] The campaign advertisements serve to establish and maintain this bandwagon effect as new voters are "converted" by opinion givers.

Third, Robinson has found that some voters rely very little or not at all on information obtained from other voters in reaching a decision. He maintains that there exists a minority of voters who do not engage in political discussions, but rather reach their own con- clusions on the basis of information gathered from mass media sources.[3]

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[1]Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice, How the Voter Makes Up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign, (New York, 1968), p. 152.

[2]Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice, How the Voter Makes Up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign, (New York, 1968), p. 122.

[3]John P. Robinson, "Interpersonal Influence in Election Cam- paigns: Two Step-flow Hypotheses," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 40, No. 3, (1976), pp. 304-319.

We see that media advertising can be used to favorably influence three groups of voters: (1) the opinion givers who are activated by an appeal to their latent predispositions, (2) the opinion receivers whose conversion is reinforced, and (3) the non-discussants who are persuaded directly by mass media. The purpose and type of appeal made to each group is different. The opinion givers and non-discussants are led to form an opinion. The opinion receivers have their existing opinions reinforced. The opinion receivers and non-discussants, as groups, are less interested in the election than the opinion givers. Therefore, they tend to form their opinions later in the campaign and only after the tempo of the campaign has reached the threshold necessary to arouse their interest; a threshold higher than that required to activate the opinion givers.

What implications does this have for campaign strategy? We shall examine this question from two viewpoints; the implications for the timing of activities and the implication for the location of activities.

In the diffusion of voter preference, we found that mass media plays the role of innovator. Those who adopt early are those who are most interested in the campaign and most likely to attempt to influence others. Present research into the diffusion process tells us that those early adopters tend to have broader political interests and be more cosmopolite than their fellow electors. In addition, the ideal situation is to motivate early adopters to form "independent" reasons for supporting the candidate, so as to promote a "less canned sales pitch" on their behalf as they attempt to influence others.

For these reasons, early advertising appeals should provide more background information than those to be run later in the campaign. As the focus of advertising shifts from activation of opinion givers to reinforcement for opinion receivers and activation of non-discussants, it will be necessary to reduce the complexity of the appeal as the interest level of the target audience decreases. While the appeals become less complex, they should also become more intense or "hard-hitting." Figure 6 illustrates the desired trends in the appeals and target audience as the campaign progresses.

To summarize, the campaign manager should plan his advertising to appeal early to opinion givers, providing them with information which they may use to persuade others. Later in the campaign, the appeals should become more compact and emphatic. Such a strategy will harmonize with the natural diffusionary process in that it first activates opinion givers and later supplements their activities. The roles played by media advertising and the resulting implications for timing such advertising are illustrated in Figure 7.

In describing at the optimum spatial allocation of media advertising, the survey respondents demonstrated a decided preference for television. Only in region-types where other media have particular advantages are they rated on a par with television in terms of effectiveness. The survey respondents consider television to be effective in every region-type and it should be used to influence voters in all region-types, especially where the candidate is capable of making a good television presentation.

Newspaper advertising is rated most effective in rural areas. One explanation for this may be found in an examination of the

Political Interest Level
of Target Audience of
Advertising Messages

time

Complexity of
Advertising Messages
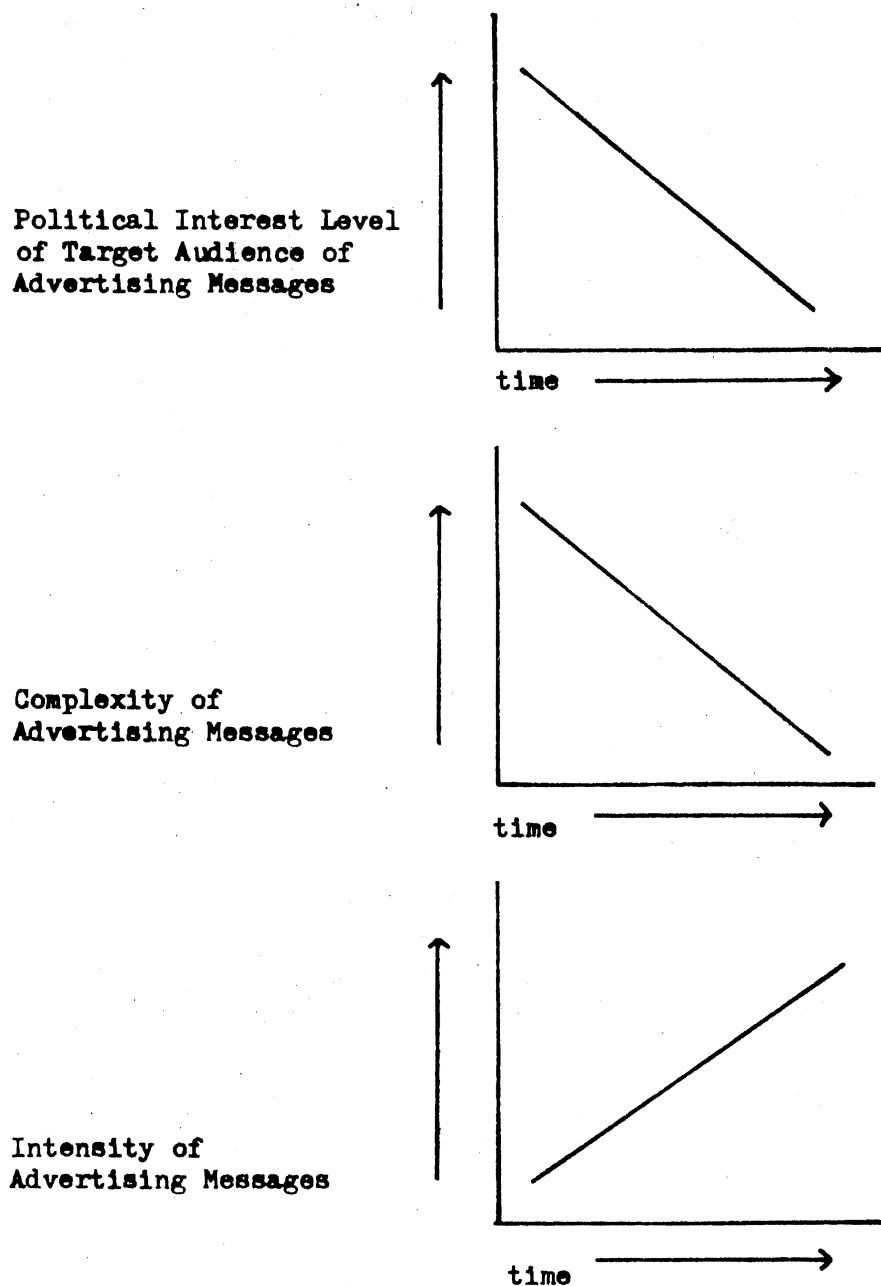
time

Intensity of
Advertising Messages

time

Figure 6. Desired Trends in Advertising
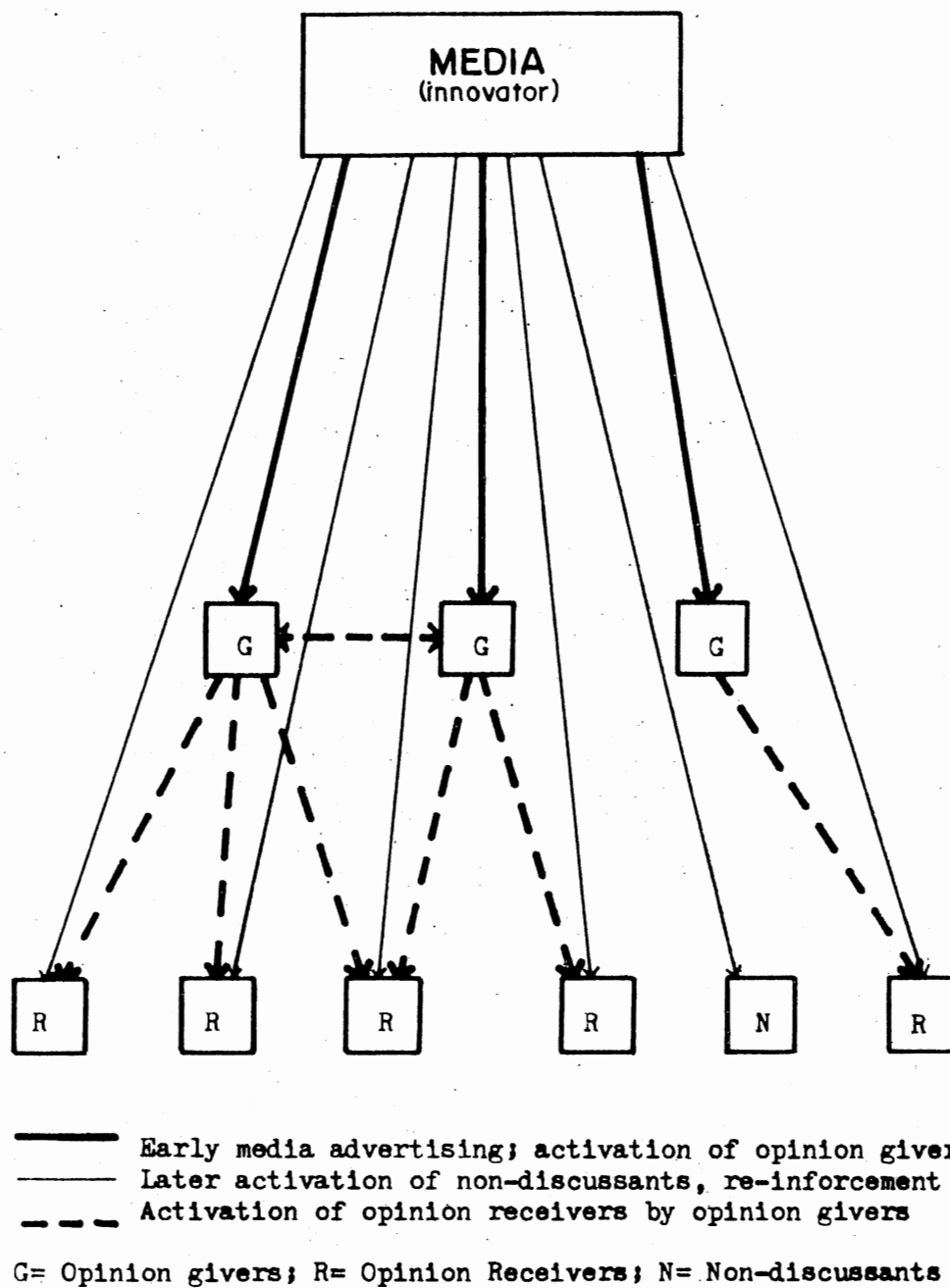Messages During Campaign

Figure 7. Relationship Between Advertising and Diffusion Process

respective natures of the nodal regions of market dominance of news-
papers and television stations. The nodal regions of large urban
newspapers and television stations are similar, both influencing large
areas. However, television stations, because of a government-enforced
oligipoly and a higher break-even threshold, are centered almost
exclusively in urban areas. The region of market dominance of a tele-
vision station extends without interruption from its node to the
border with its neighbor. This may be seen in Figure 8, which traces
the regions of market dominance of Oklahoma television stations.

The regions of market dominance of daily newspapers are quite
disimilar in structure. The continuity of the nodal region is inter-
rupted by islands of dominance of newspapers serving more local
interests. Thus, traveling on a line from the node of a large metro-
politan newspaper's region of market dominance to its most remote
hinterland, one will likely pass through sub-regions where the domi-
nance of the metropolitan newspaper is replaced temporarily by the
market dominance of a more local newspapers. Continuing along the
line, the dominance of the metropolitan newspaper eventually resumes.
This may be seen in Figure 9, which outlines the regions of market
dominance of newspapers in Oklahoma. The contrast between the nature
of the newspaper region and the television region is evident when
Figures 8 and 9 are compared.

It is in the smaller and more compact regions, where newspapers
may attend more closely to local interests than the relatively remote
television stations, that newspaper advertising replaces television
advertising as the media forum most favored by the survey respondents.
It should be noted that even in rural areas, television advertising

Source: <u>Television Factbook</u>
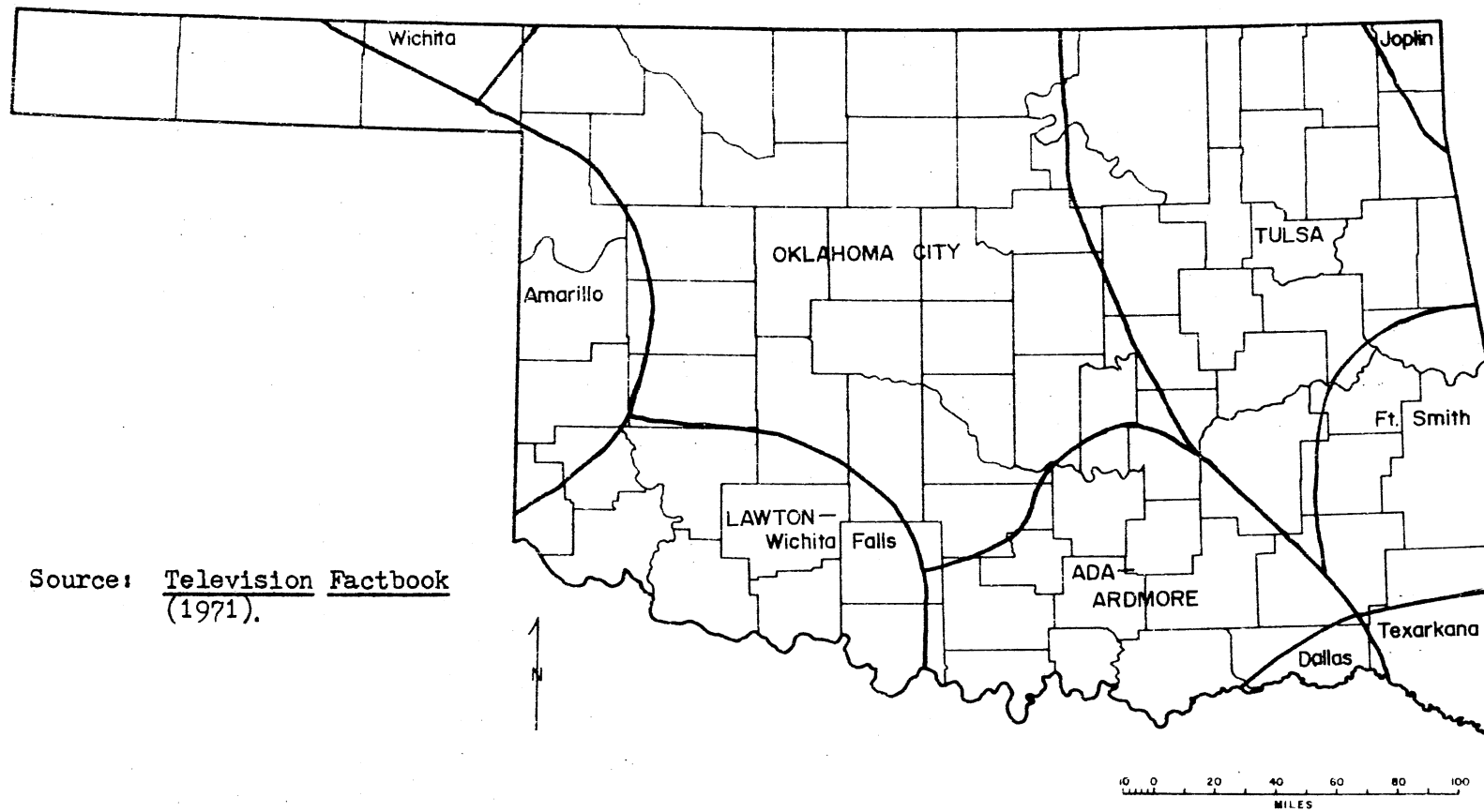(1971).

Figure 8. Regions of Market Dominance: Oklahoma Television Stations

Legend:
- Oklahoma City
- Tulsa
- Mixed
- Other

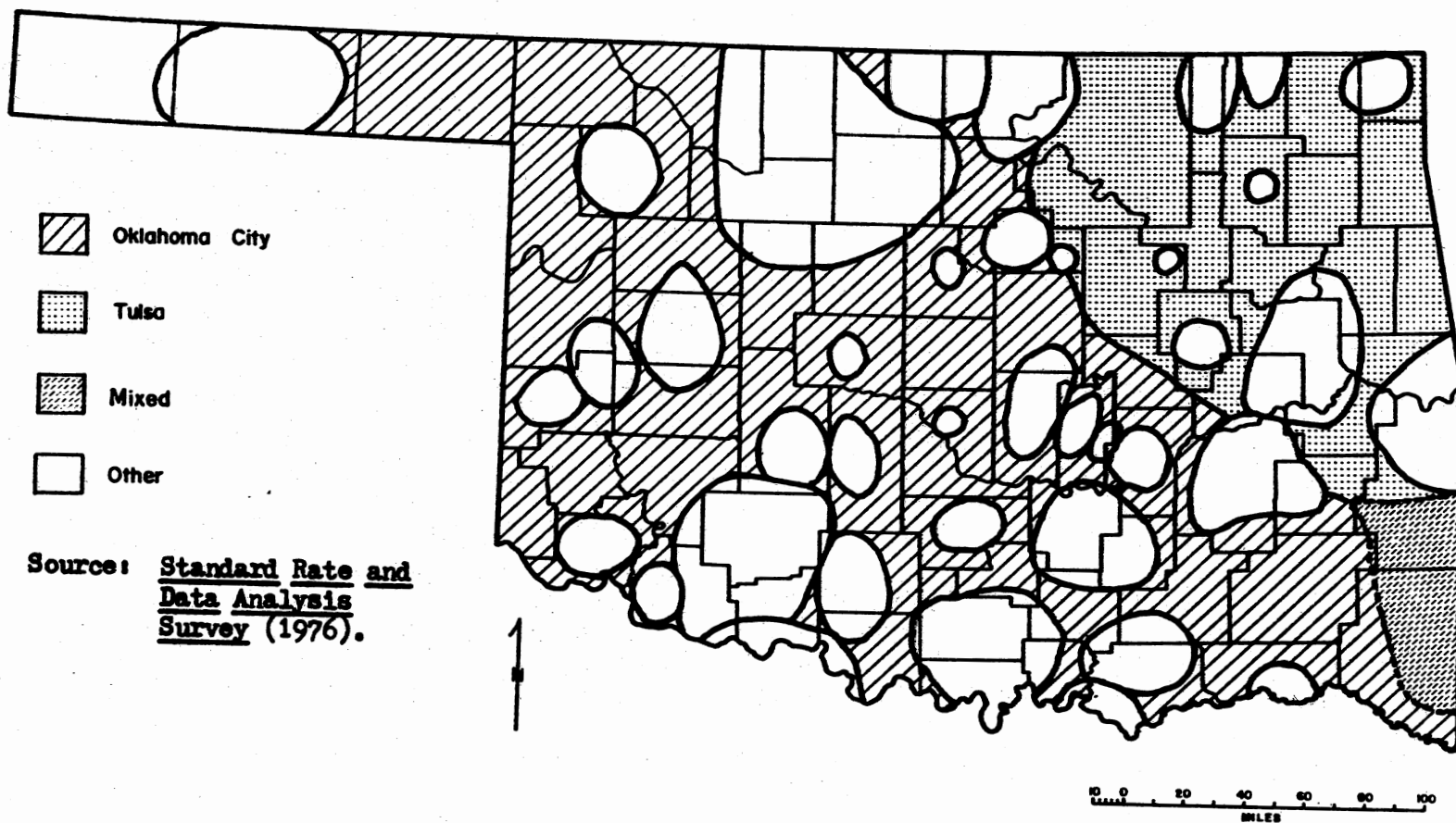Source: Standard Rate and Data Analysis Survey (1976).

Figure 9. Regions of Market Dominance: Oklahoma Daily Newspapers

is rated about equal with newspaper advertising in effectiveness.
Television advertising is rated superior in urban areas.

It was noted at the beginning of Chapter IV that a few of the
survey respondents did report one instance where they attempted to
methodically allocated campaign resources. These respondents included
a return coupon in a newspaper advertisement run in every newspaper in
their state. Future advertising was purchased in proportion to the
response to the first advertisement. At this point, following an
examination of the relationship between campaign advertising and the
diffusion process, it should be informative to review the rationate
for this strategy.

Those who respond to the coupon advertisement are the early
adopters and therefore, those most likely to be opinion givers. As
previously noted, advertising late in a campaign serves the two prin-
cipal purposes of reinforcing the decisions of opinion receivers and
persuading the non-discussants. It follows that those regions with
the largest number of opinion givers will be the same regions with
the largest number of opinion receivers but the fewest number of non-
discussants.

Therefore, this strategy of allocating newspaper advertising
will be effective in the role of reinforcing the conversions of
opinion receivers, although less effective in persuading non-discus-
sants. The key element in determining the soundness of this strategy
is the size of the non-discussant portion of the electorate. The
extensive research of Lazarsfeld did not reveal the existence of such
a group. The more recent but less extensive research of Robinson
gives evidence of the existences of such a group, but does not

establish its size.[4] A more definitive evaluation of this technique must await such a determination.

Other forms of mass media advertising seem to be most effective in those areas where the particular structure of their audience allows marketing advantages not enjoyed by television. Newspaper advertising is rated best in areas where the region served by the newspaper is small and compact, namely, rural areas. The same is true with radio.

It will be recalled that radio is considered for Republicans to be most effective relative to other media in Democratic regions. An examination of the structure of the listening regions of radio stations may help us to understand why this is the case. Like newspapers, radio stations are often found outside larger cities serving local interests. In addition, radio stations distinguish themselves by their programming and thus, two stations located in the same city may not compete directly with each other because each attempts to attract a different type of listening audience.

Campaign strategists will find it advantageous to advertise so that they activate as many opinion givers favorable to their candidate as possible while arousing the fewest possible opinion givers opposed to their candidate. By strategically placing radio advertisements with stations whose audience within a Democratic region is less Democratic than that of the region as a whole, a Republican candidate may activate favorable opinion givers while arousing less opposition than he would be emphasizing a medium with more mass audience appeal.

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[4]Ibid., p. 304-319.

An extension of this reasoning would lead us to conclude that direct mail advertising would be more effective in Democratic regions early in the campaign. As the survey did not investigate the proper timing of campaign techniques, we lack empirical evidence to evaluate this hypothesis. However, we would also expect direct mail, because of its ability to "target" very small affinity groups, to be most effective relative to other media advertising where the other media have less opportunity to accommodate local interests. The survey respondents gave direct mail higher relative marks in more urban areas, precisely the region-type where other media must accommodate more diverse interests.

With respect to name recognition media, the respondents favored billboards and bumper strips over other forms. The comments of the respondents indicate that voter reaction to the "ecological mess" created by billboards should determine the extent to which billboards are utilized. In addition, supporters of a candidate may wish to publicly identify with the candidate so that a supply of bumper strips and/or yard signs may be essential for good worker morale. Such public displays of support may also serve to reinforce the conversions of opinion receivers.[5]

In summary, the campaign manager should utilize television to the extent permitted by the candidate's appearance. Television should be supplemented or replaced as the primary media where the special characteristics of alternative media are suited to the region.

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[5]Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice, How the Voter Makes Up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign, (New York, 1968), p. 122.

Advertising should also be planned to facilitate and reinforce the

process of diffusion of voter preference.

CHAPTER VI

ANALYSIS OF SURVEY RESPONSES ON CANDIDATE'S TIME

Theoretically, the candidate is the initiator of his own campaign. Regardless of advice and "management" he may receive from his campaign staff, it is the candidate who has ultimate responsibility for his election or defeat. It is the name of the candidate which appears on the ballot, and he is the person the voters will elect or reject.

Certainly, varying degrees of exceptions to this situation exist. A candidate may be the choice of a machine with which he is closely identified and over which he exerts little control. Or, he may be asked to enter the race by a group of civic minded individuals who want a "change." However, even in these instances, professional campaign managers believe that the candidate, not his manager, should be the central figure in his own campaign.[1]

The candidate, therefore, usually assumes the role of the ultimate innovator in his own campaign. How should this innovator respond to his environment so as to more widely spread his message? In examining this question, we shall review previous writings on diffusion in light of the responses to our survey.

We found earlier that researchers into the diffusion process have

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[1]Stuart Spencer, "The Philosophy and Posture of Campaign Management," in Ern Reynolds and Georgis McNemar (eds.), Campaign Management, (Washington, 1966), p. 2.

concluded that an innovator, in and of himself, is not often able to
win many adherents to his ideas. Innovators tend to be disdained by
their fellow members in a local system.[2] To accomplish the spread of
an idea, the innovator must work through recognized opinion leaders.[3]
In addition, the innovator must identify and accommodate the salient
characteristics of the population.[4]

An exception to these rules occurs when the objectives of the
established opinion leaders are no longer compatible with the salient
characteristics of the population. In such a situation, a change in
those who occupy the role of opinion leader is likely to take place.[5]
The candidate must, therefore, oppose established leadership with
caution, or he will be viewed as a contemptible "outsider."

The survey respondents noted that the important considerations in
allocating the candidate's time was what others would say about what
the candidate said. Many believed that the best candidate schedule
would maximize media coverage. Other respondents commented upon the
importance of utilizing the candidate to recruit canvassers. In
either case, the respondents are consistent with the theories of the
diffusionists who maintain that an innovator needs legitimatizers to
make his message acceptable.

Additional support for this viewpoint comes from the research of
Lazarsfeld who found that secondary sources of personal campaign

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[2]Everett M. Rogers, Communication of Innovations, (New York,
1971), p. 168.

[3]Ibid., p. 243.

[4]Ibid., p. 145.

[5]Ibid., p. 261.

propaganda were the most effective. This finding forms the basis of Lazarsfeld's Two Step-flow Hypthesis.[6]

The job of the candidate is to activate opinion leaders. We should expect candidates who allocate their time so as to activate the greatest number of opinion leaders to be more successful. Between the candidate and the voting public is a group of influential citizens. They are both more likely to be convinced directly by the innovator-candidate and more able to convince the opinion receivers in the voting population. Such a viewpoint is consistent with the currently accepted diffusion models. It is supported by the survey respondents and research on voter behavior. Therefore, the candidate should use his time to win the adherence of opinion leaders.

In addition to being an "innovator," the candidate is also a "happening." More precisely, the activity of the candidate and the response which is generated focus voter interest on the candidate. Response to the activities of the candidate also demonstrates accept-ance of the candidate by the public and often implies much about his chances of election.

Many respondents as well as writers on political campaign strat-egy stress the importance of a "bandwagon effect" where the intensity of the campaign grows right up until election day.[7] A review of the diffusion process will disclose that there are several good reasons for doing this.

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[6]Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice, How The Voter Makes Up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign, (3rd ed., New York, 1968), p. 150.

[7]Stephen C. Shadegg, How to Win An Election, (New York, 1964), p. 70.

As the campaign progresses, more and more opinion receivers begin to form opinions. These opinions require reinforcement. If the new adherent believes that more people are making the decision he has just made, he will feel secure. To the contrary, if he feels that more people are being persuaded in the opposite direction, he will probably question his judgment. Lazarsfeld found the process of reinforcement important in voter decision making.[8]

In addition, voters exhibit different levels of interest in elections. The voters who believe the outcome will affect them least generally decide last, if they decide to vote at all.[9] The campaign must gain the attention of these voters when they are most likely to make a decision.

Lazarsfeld also found that a small minority of voters would vote for whomever they though would be the winner.[10] Therefore, "peaking" offers direct as well as indirect advantages. We may conclude that the candidate should be constantly increasing the tempo and intensity of campaign appearances.

The strategy dictated by the survey findings is one which seeks to activate opinion givers early in the campaign and create increasing voter interest in the later stages. As the diffusion process has a "multiplication" effect, it is desirable to activate the process as early as possible. We would also desire to begin the process earliest

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[8]Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice, How The Voter Makes Up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign, (3rd ed., New York, 1968), p. 122.

[9]Ibid., p. 61.

[10]Ibid., p. 163.

where the "diffusion-chain" is potentially the longest. We would expect this to be generally true where there are the most people in a diffusion system, namely urban areas. Figure 10 demonstrates how these desired goals intertwine to form an appropriate strategy.[11]

The candidate should begin recruiting opinion-giver adherents in places with the largest hinterlands earliest in the campaign. However, campaign appearances in such places are also those most likely to receive the most extensive media coverage. Therefore, theoretically, the campaign should begin and end in the same place, but for different reasons. The first appearance is for the purpose of influencing a strategic few while the last appearance is aimed at the mass of the voting public.

This means something of an urban-rural-urban campaign schedule. The candidate begins with coffees and similar events in places of high rank order and continues with similar efforts in places of progressively lesser rank order. At some point, the process is reversed with attention-getting rallies in places of progressively higher rank order. As the survey respondents noted, speeches to civic clubs are very effective, allowing the candidate to address opinion givers and stimulating media coverage in the same event.

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[11]This is also consistent with the findings of diffusion researchers that ideas will more readily spread from urban centers to hinterlands, rather than vice-versa.

Relative Emphasis
upon Activation
of Opinion Givers

time
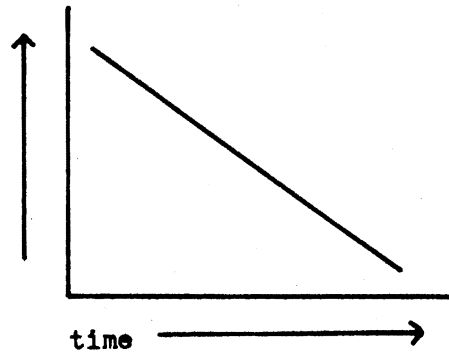
Desired Level of
Overall Voter Interest
in Campaign

time
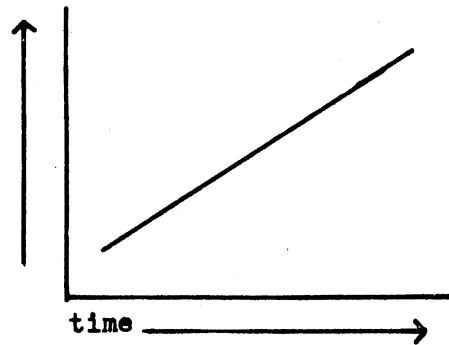
Relative Size of
Places (including
hinterland) Where
Candidate Appearances
Are Staged

time
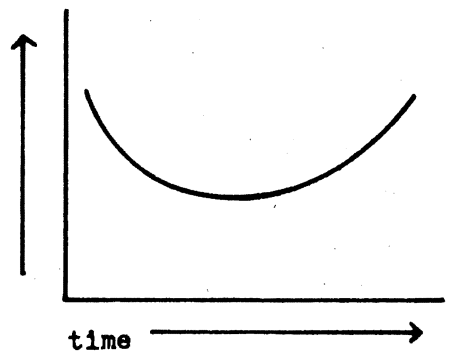
Figure 10. Desired Trends in Campaign Activity

CHAPTER VII

ANALYSIS OF SURVEY RESPONSES ON ORGANIZATION

Volunteer organizations supporting a candidate represent an

attempt to translate the deep commitment of a relatively few citizens

into the deciding factor on election day. Many campaign managers ask

volunteers to think of themselves as personal representatives of the

candidate.[1] This may not be too implausible, as it is usually only

the "true believers" who volunteer in the candidate's services.

Volunteer organizations attempt to fill the "gaps" in the cam-

paign strategy. As we examine the role of the volunteers, we will

find they are, in fact, most effective with those voters who escape

persuasion by other means. Most volunteer efforts are centered on

canvassing or similar activities. Our analysis will consider the

volunteer and the canvasser to be the same.

The purpose of canvassing is to make certain that the canvassed

voter has access to the information which will best encourage his

support of the candidate, and, if he is a supporter or "saint," that

he will act positively upon his decision. The canvasser attempts to,

(1) interest those voters who are not otherwise interested in the

election, (2) influence those voters having difficulty arriving at a

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[1]Robert F. Bonitati, "Managing to Manage Volunteers," in Richard
Carson (ed.), Ways to Win, (Washington, 1967), p. 129.

decision, and (3) identify supporters of the candidate and make certain they vote. In each case, voters who are decisively persuaded by the other campaign activities are the target of the canvasser.

It would seem logical that elections with a low turnout would be susceptible to influence by canvassers. In this situation, canvassers would have more targets (potential "stay-at-homes" and disinterested voters). There is empirical evidence to support this position.[2]

The survey respondents indicated a preference for organizational efforts in urban and suburban areas as opposed to a preference for candidate appearances in rural areas. In addition, the respondents noted that canvassing is most effective if accomplished during the last two weeks of the campaign. Both of these observations are consistent with the rationale of current theories on the diffusion of voter preference.

The other campaign activities attempt to utilize existing diffusion networks to obtain support. Those outside of the diffusion network or receivers of divergent emissions or tellings are those upon whom the canvasser may exert the most influence. Therefore, we would expect the effectiveness of canvassing to increase as the stability of the normal diffusion networks decreases.

The canvassing process represents a pure two step-flow situation, as emissioned by Lazarsfeld. Step one is candidate to canvasser, and step two is the canvasser to the canvassed. Such an impromptu diffusion network will most likely be successful with voters who are

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[2]Raymond E. Wolfinger, "The Influence of Precinct Work on Voting Behavior," A Comparative Study of Party Organization, ed. William E. Wright (Columbus, 1971), p. 566.

not oriented to an existing network for the diffusion of political information. We would expect to find such voters among a more mobile, and therefore urban, population.

In addition, rural areas tend to vote more heavily on a percentage basis than urban areas. Again, we find more targets for the canvasser in the non-rural areas. Those voters most likely to decide on the basis of the normal diffusion process and most likely to act upon that decision without additional encouragement would best be influenced (indirectly) by appearances of the candidate. We may conclude that the opinion of the survey respondents is that canvassing, relative to candidate appearances, becomes more important as the location becomes less rural.

The rationale for canvassing late in the campaign is also consistent with the functioning of the diffusion process. Each of the objectives of the canvasser, identifying supporters, influencing the undecided and raising the disinterested above their resistance threshold, is more easily accomplished late in the campaign.

As the campaign proceeds, more people will make a decision to support one candidate rather than his opponent. Obviously, there is also less time in which the "saint" may change his mind. Therefore, there are more supporters who may be accurately identified as the canvassing progressively takes place later in the campaign. The lack of time between canvassing and election day also reduces the period during which the attention of the disinterested voter must be maintained.

While canvassing represents personal interaction, it is not casual interaction. Rather, it is formal and partisan. According to

Lazarsfeld, opinion receivers are more likely to be influenced by personal persuasion than media persuasion.[3] However, the more casual the telling, the more likely it is that a favorable response will be evoked. This means that canvassing will be most effective where the voter has not reached a decision as a result of more casual inter-personal contacts. This group of voters will become more evident at the end of the campaign.

We see, therefore, that the diffusion process dictates changes in the campaign emphasis as the campaign progresses. The early media message should be one of providing information to voters with which they may make their own decisions while progressively later media messages should be more hard-hitting. The appearances of the candidate should change from the objective of activating opinion givers to the objective of focusing increasing attention on the campaign. In both instances, the purpose is to activate a process of diffusion of favorable voter preference and then reinforce favorable voter decisions.

Organizational efforts are concerned with recruiting volunteers who will subsequently canvass voters. In each case, the proper timing of the activities as suggested by the survey respondents is consistent with the process of diffusion of voter preference.

[3] Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice, How The Voter Makes Up His in a Presidential Campaign, (New York, 1968), p. 158.

CHAPTER VIII

PARAMETERS AND ASSUMPTIONS OF THE

SIMULATION PROCESS

The simulation of a campaign requires that assumptions be made concerning the characteristics of the voters and the candidates whose behavior will be simulated. In addition, parameters on the detail of our analysis must also be established. The purpose of this chapter is to outline these parameters and assumptions.

A candidate who wishes to scientifically allocate the resources available to him must first accumulate a data base. Such a process requires that he begin by defining the regions for which he will accumulate data. This, in turn, requires a decision as to the precision to be sought. Presumably, the greater the precision, the more useful will be the candidate's allocation, but at a greater cost.

The simulation process contained in this thesis will follow the steps outlined below. We shall begin by defining regions in our data base and organizing these regions into a suitable hierarchy. This will be followed by an explanation of the assumptions used in the simulation and an overview of the landscape on which the simulation will be carried out.

In gathering data for the application of a political strategy, a candidate must make a decision as to which type of region shall predominate in his thinking: political or marketing. Political regions

are uniform regions whose boundaries are determined by political decisions, such as counties and precincts. Marketing regions are nodal regions whose boundaries are determined by marketing activity.

If the candidate decides to use marketing regions, he has the advantage of planning with the use of regions which will correspond with the media tools at his disposal. Thus, the candidate may be more precise in estimating the impact of his activities and more scientific in developing his campaign.

If the candidate decides to use political regions, he is sacrificing precision for a reduction in cost. Most of the data available on voting behavior is arranged by political regions, i.e., counties. Converting this data to an arrangement coinciding with marketing regions would require a very considerable number of man-hours. The cost for all but the well-financed campaigns would likely be prohibitive.

In developing the simulation data base, compromises have been made. The assumptions are made: (1) that the behavior of voters of the same party affiliation living within the same county is not distinguished by their location within the county, (2) that members of both parties turned out to vote in the general election in exactly the same ratio, and (3) that no registered Republican cast a vote for a Democratic candidate for any office unless the Democrat had 100% of the votes cast by registered Democrats.

Given these assumptions, it is possible to ascertain the past voting behavior of a particular precinct with only a moderate expenditure of time. The precincts can then be organized into marketing regions, and the behavior of each region analyzed. This is not to

argue for the accuracy of this method, although most probably it is reasonable approximation of reality; rather, the purpose is to organize voting behavior data in such a way as to demonstrate how marketing regions can be utilized in campaign planning.

The regions are organized into a hierarchy of precincts, places, and towns. A town is a community which has a newspaper published at least once per week. A place is a community which has some commercial development. The definition of the latter tends to be arbitrary, especially since it was not possible to personally inspect each site. The determination was made by inquiring of county officials over the telephone as to whether any stores were located in the community. The location of Oklahoma towns may be seen in Figure 11.

While it is outside of the territory covered by this research, it should be pointed out that the same results could be obtained in urban areas by using shopping centers as the nodes of marketing regions. Urban precincts could be organized into these regions and the candi-date would be able to scientifically determine the shopping areas where he should make hand-shaking tours.

In making resource allocation decisions, the candidate must first determine a basis for making these decisions. No amount of program-ming or research can ever replace the need for political acumen, i.e., knowing what is and is not going to be a material factor in the campaign. Once the candidate and his manager make the necessary political judgments, electronic data processing can assist in the application of the candidate's judgments to the political landscape.

This simulation of a primary and a general election campaign entails some arbitrary judgments on the part of a candidate which

Figure 11. Oklahoma Towns Outside Oklahoma and Tulsa Counties

will be outlined later. It is not appropriate for present purposes to critically evaluate these decisions, but rather to apply the survey findings to these judgments on a given political landscape, in this case, the state of Oklahoma. It should also be emphasized that the survey data are insufficient (and are not intended) for purposes of making precise quantitative allocations. The findings are designed solely to illustrate variances in the relative strength of campaign techniques between region-types.

The process of this simulation began with the development of marketing regions. The location of each precinct was determined through conversations with county election board officials. In many instances, where oral communication seemed unlikely to accurately locate the precinct, precinct maps were requested. Each precinct was then assigned to a "place," a community with commercial development, as discussed earlier. Each place was then assigned to a town, a community in which a newspaper is regularly published for profit. Reliance was placed upon the judgment of the local officials in making these assignments, as they would likely be more familiar with the habits of the local citizens. In most instances, assignments were made on the basis of an inquiry as to where the inhabitants of a particular precinct would buy groceries. The locations given by county officials were compared with available maps of the Census Bureau and Geological Survey. A subsequent inquiry was made if the information furnished by the election board official appeared unreasonable.

Each place was then classified as to whether it was a "metropolis," "city," or "town." Again, these divisions are somewhat

arbitrary, but some distinction must be made to accommodate the non-calibrated urban-rural scale used in the survey. Oklahoma City and Tulsa and their satellites were classified as "metropolises" while eight municipalities with a 1970 population of greater than 25,000 were classified as "cities." These are Bartlesville, Enid, Lawton, Muskogee, Norman, Ponca City, Shawnee, and Stillwater.

Inevitably, activities on behalf of a candidate during the primary will have a residual effect during the general election, and this needs to be taken into account in the simulation. For instance, suppose places A and B are of equal importance to the candidate in the general election. Suppose further that during the primary, the candidate visited place A but not place B. The candidate would place more importance on visiting place B during the general election due to the law of diminishing returns. For this reason, we shall assume that an activity or resource allocation during the primary will reduce the need for a similar activity or allocation during the general election by one-third.

The figure one-third was selected because it is the writer's opinion that this is the approximate residual value of appearances and advertising of a primary campaign in a general election campaign in Oklahoma. This opinion was shared by political strategists with whom the problem was discussed.

It is also necessary to make some assumptions concerning the candidate whose campaign will be simulated, his opponent, and the salient factors in allocating campaign resources as perceived by the candidate. These assumptions follow:

(1) The candidate is a Republican running for a major statewide

office in Oklahoma.

(2) The candidate has a primary opponent.

(3) In neither the primary nor the general election is the candidate a distinct favorite or underdog.

(4) The incumbent is not seeking re-election and the candidate whose campaign shall be simulated is able to devote his full energies toward the election.

(5) In both the primary and the general election, the candidate has access to adequate financial resources.

(6) In neither campaign is the home district of any candidate a material factor. (As a practical matter, this is almost never true. A candidate will have an unusually close association with those voters from his "hometown" or "neighborhood;" thus, he makes an unusually good showing in this area.[1]) This factor is being ignored as its effect varies markedly between elections and is a consequence of special circumstances, i.e., the location of the candidates' homes. Further, we shall assume that the appeal of a candidate to a particular ethnic or economic group is not unusual for a candidate of his party affiliation. Such an appeal most often exists where a candidate is a member of a relatively closely-knit group which will find the urge to vote for "one of their own" to be greater than the urge to vote for someone who shares their

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[1]R. J. Johnston, "Local Effects in Voting at a Local Election," Annals of The Association of American Geographers, Volume 64 (1974), pp. 418-429.

view of government. A clear example of this is the unusually

large percentage of Catholic voters who voted for John F.

Kennedy in 1960 or the solidarity of Massachusetts black

voters in their support of Republican Edward Brooke in 1966.

(7) The flow of decision-making is assumed to be in a downward

direction with respect to the organizational hierarchy.

As the survey respondents noted, there are situations in

almost every campaign where the candidate must do certain

things he would not do otherwise in order to maintain the

goodwill of his supporters. Thus, he may be obliged to

appear in a particular place at an inopportune time or

advertise in a certain newspaper where such advertising

will influence relatively few votes. We shall make the

assumption that our candidate's supporters will make no

such demands upon the candidate; that all his decisions

as to the geographical aspects of the campaign will be

made in the best interest of the candidate attempting

to win the election, such "best interest" being deter-

mined by our survey findings.

(8) Voting behavior patterns will be assumed to be as follows:

a. Primary: The candidate will have an equally

good chance of getting the vote of any regis-

tered Republican. Thus, the resources of the

campaign will be allocated among regions solely

in proportion to the number of registered

Republicans in each region.

b. General Election: The determining factor in

the voting behavior of voters in the general

election will be propensity of otherwise

Democratic voters to crossover and vote for

a Republican candidate. This propensity is

measured by the willingness of voters to vote

for a Republican in previous elections, as

explained in Chapter III on "Methodology."

Each aspect of a simulated campaign will be considered in terms

of time and space, a separate sub-chapter being devoted to each major

area: (1) media, (2) the candidate's time, and (3) organization.

As Oklahoma will serve as the political landscape upon which the

campaign strategy will be simulated, it should be helpful to under-

stand something of its electoral behavior. Accordingly, a brief

discussion of Oklahoma voting patterns and trends is presented in the

following paragraphs.

Oklahoma has historically been a Democratic state and remains so

today at the local level. Oklahoma observed fifty-five years of

statehood before electing a Republican governor. Only a handful of

Republicans have been victorious in other statewide elections. How-

ever, Oklahoma has supported the Republican national ticket often,

especially in recent years. The state was swept along in the isola-

tionist sentiment of 1920, the anti-Catholic prejudice of 1928, and

the general conservative trend of the southwestern United States
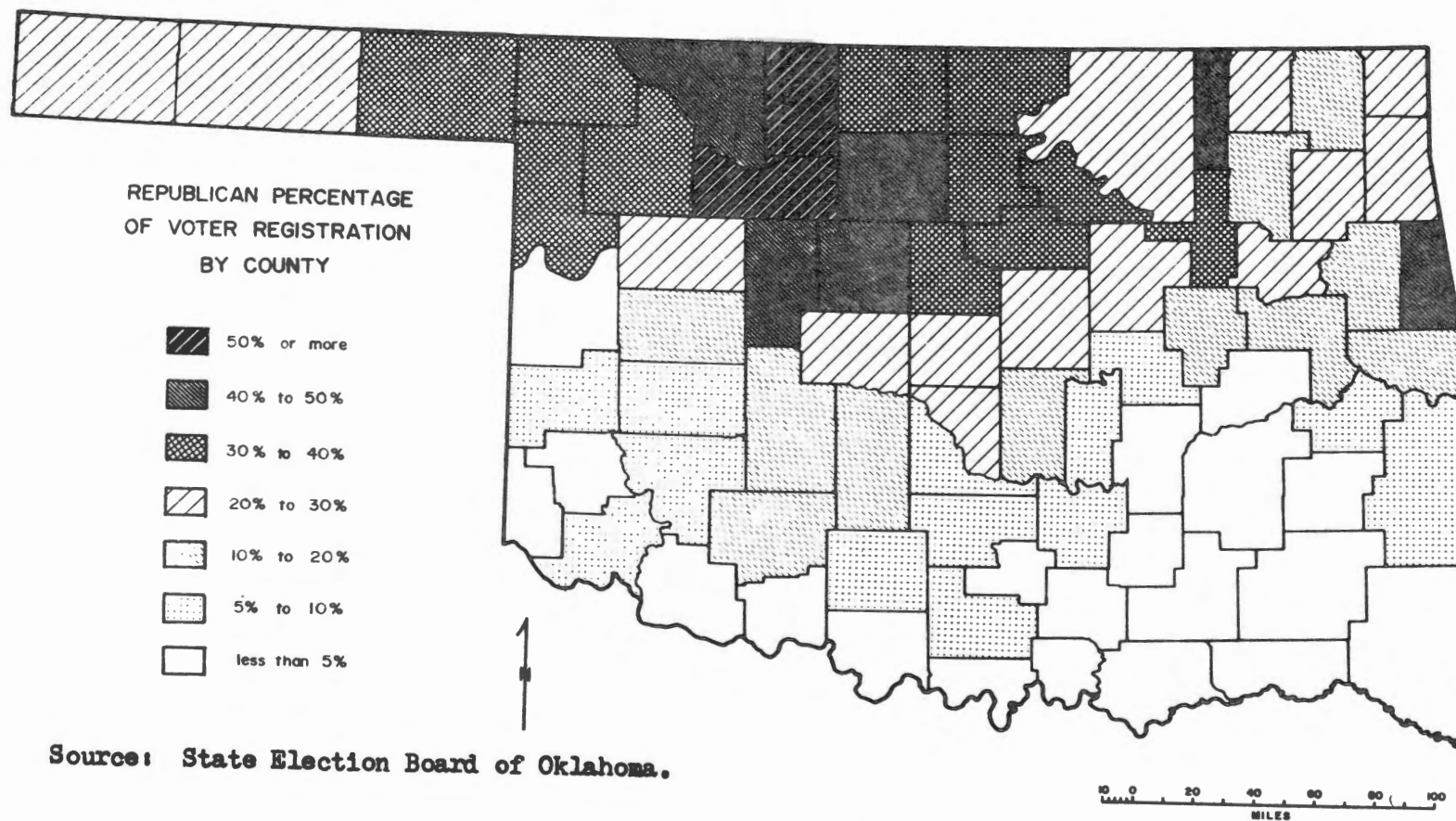
following the Korean War.

Harry Truman was the last Democratic presidential hopeful to win

convincingly in the state. Eisenhower carried Oklahoma for the

Republicans in 1952 and 1956 while Oklahoma always proved to be one of Richard Nixon's banner states. Barry Goldwater lost the state in 1964, but only in Idaho did he still lose outside the South and lose by a smaller percentage of the vote.

Just as Oklahoma is traditionally a Democratic state, it is clearly moving in the direction of the Republican party. While it is not the purpose of this paper to explore the reasons behind these patterns, it is evident that more and more traditionally Democratic Oklahomans are casting their votes for Republican candidates on a statewide basis.

The Republican party in Oklahoma finds its main strength in the larger urban areas, Tulsa and Oklahoma City and to a growing degree, Lawton and the one traditionally Republican region of the state: the North-Central Wheat Growing Region. The only two counties in the state with a majority Republican registration, Major and Alfalfa, are to be found here. Registration percentages by county are shown in Figure 12. But while Republicans manage small majorities in these areas of the state, the Democrats have managed to offset these by piling up impressive margins in what is known as "Little Dixie."

Little Dixie, roughly the southern one-third of the state, is the core of Democratic strength in Oklahoma. Some counties have Democratic to Republican registration ratios of better than two hundred to one. As a result, it is difficult for Republicans to overcome such solid strength by their showing in other parts of the state. However, two trends are slowly changing this pattern. First, Republicans have made significant inroads into Democratic strength, if not in registration, at least in voting habits in southern Oklahoma. The oil

REPUBLICAN PERCENTAGE
OF VOTER REGISTRATION
BY COUNTY

50% or more
40% to 50%
30% to 40%
20% to 30%
10% to 20%
5% to 10%
less than 5%

Source: State Election Board of Oklahoma.

Figure 12. Oklahoma Voter Registration by County

fields in south central and southwest Oklahoma have shown a pro-
nounced Republican trend. Secondly, the largely Republican urban
areas have grown at a faster rate than the heavily Democratic counties
of "Little Dixie," many of which are losing population.

The Republican trend does not appear to be all-encompassing. The
Democrats appear to be at least holding their own in the traditionally
Republican wheat-growing region and the semi-industrialized north-
eastern portion of the state. However, it appears that the state, as
a whole, will continue to move in the direction of the GOP relative to
the rest of the country. The localized trends are illustrated in
Figure 13.

We have defined our regions and organized them into an appro-
priate hierarchy. Necessary assumptions have been made concerning the
campaign strategy to be simulated. We may now proceed to apply
Oklahoma voting data and the results of the survey to these regions
and the assumptions outlined in this chapter in order to simulate an
optimal allocation of campaign resources in a hypothetical statewide
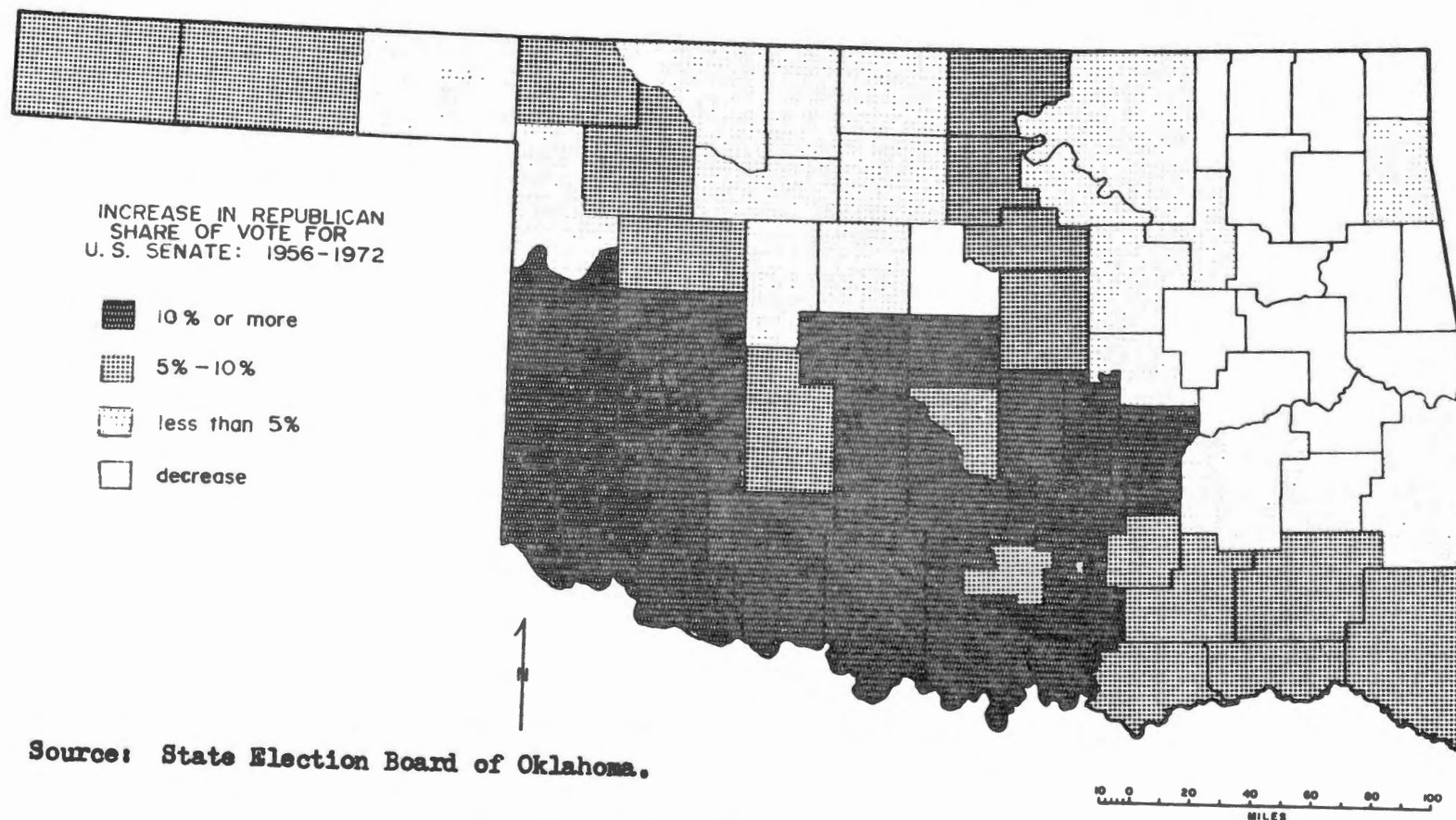election.

INCREASE IN REPUBLICAN
SHARE OF VOTE FOR
U. S. SENATE: 1956-1972

▓ 10 % or more

▒ 5% - 10%

░ less than 5%

☐ decrease

Source: State Election Board of Oklahoma.

MILES

Figure 13. Oklahoma Voting Trends

CHAPTER IX

THE SIMULATED CAMPAIGN

This thesis has examined the spatial distinctions in the effec-
tiveness of various campaign techniques. As a part of this examina-
tion, an effort has been made to discern the theoretical basis for
these distinctions. Consequently, it should prove useful to relate
our findings to a campaign situation. This should enable us to con-
sider some of the practical problems involved in the implementation of
the findings of this thesis.

To facilitate the relation of our findings to a campaign situa-
tion, a simulation process shall be used. Region definitions and
assumptions have been made as outlined in the previous chapter. It is
the purpose of the simulation to demonstrate a method for the appli-
cation of the survey findings to the campaign.

The survey classified campaign resources into three broad areas:
media, the candidate's time, and organization. Our simulation will
use these same categories with each category considered separately.

Media

The findings of the survey revealed three types of media that are
considered superior in their effectiveness: television, radio, and
newspapers. Of these, television was considered to be the best in
reaching urban voters while newspaper advertising was considered

slightly advantageous in rural areas. Accordingly, our simulation will feature television as the primary medium in urban areas with the local newspaper being utilized more heavily in small towns.

The survey respondents rated other media, with the exception of direct mail, as inferior, and thus they will not be considered here. However, many of these do have special advantages which should be recognized. Bumper strips and yard signs are important for worker morale and should be made available to supporters of the candidate. In addition, literature distribution is considered to be effective when accomplished in connection with personal solicitation. However, these are not geographical problems, except for solicitation, as it relates to volunteer organization--a subject to be dealt with later. Therefore, we shall make only this mention of these techniques in our simulation.

In current practice, direct mail is generally targeted on a non-geographic basis. Only those particular voters whom the candidate wishes to reach need be recipients of his mailer. This high degree of selectivity is accompanied by a higher cost per "message," but the glowing results of using direct mail reported by many of the respondents indicates that it has a place in the campaign strategy.

Direct mail may lend itself to geographical distribution, such as a mailer to every residence with a particular zip code. However, the current practice is to purchase a list of people with common cultural traits within the marketing region (which in the present instance is the state in which the political campaign is being waged) and mail to these individuals. As direct mail communication as a means of campaigning for votes is generally practiced on a non-geographic basis,

it will not be given further consideration in this thesis.

Radio was considered a relatively effective means of advertising, but survey respondents indicated its use to be most effective as a supplement or reinforcement to television advertising. Radio ads should be apportioned on the same basis as television advertising, except that due to economic considerations, it may be necessary to use radio as a substitute for television in peripheral areas.

The geographic allocation of media resources (or any other resource for that matter) forces the campaign planner to cope with a difficult problem: the applicability and efficiency of the law of diminishing returns. This aspect of advertising is subject to a great deal of controversy and uncertainty, yet it is impossible for any relevant allocation discussion to avoid giving it mention.

Suppose that we have two regions, A and B, and that we have determined that a particular technique is equally effective in both regions. Let us assume further that we have determined that region A contains twice as many target voters as region B. If the total resources available in our campaign allow only one usage of the technique under consideration, we would utilize it in region A. However, suppose we are able to use the technique twice, in which region should it be utilized a second time?

The law of diminishing returns tells us that the relevant ratio for making this decision is no longer 2:1 in favor of A. The rate at which the effectiveness of a technique declines with additional usage almost certainly varies between different techniques. Complicating the issue, there is a school of thought which maintains that the law of diminishing returns is inapplicable to some forms of advertising,

at least until several messages are received by the target.[1] For

instance, they would maintain that a second TV advertisement is more

effective than the first (i.e., two are more than twice as effective

as one) and that the law of diminishing returns does not become

applicable until five or six or seven TV messages have been observed.

This controversial and complicated matter is ignored by the lead-

ing methods of campaign advertising analysis. The assumption is made

that the effectiveness of any given N^{th} usage of a technique is the

product of the inverse of one plus the number of previous usages (or

1/N) times the number of target voters in the region being considered.

If the law of diminishing returns is not applicable, this method,

which appears to have general acceptance, is inaccurate. It is cer-

tainly deserving of further scrutiny. However, it will be accepted

here in making all calculations necessary for our simulation.

This "contradiction" is excused on the following grounds: (1) the

process is not inconsistent with the generally accepted practices

presently used and (2) the purpose of this research is to demonstrate

only relative, not quantitative, advantages of one technique over

another. This is not intended to be a statistical study, rather

simulation procedures are used only to illustrate the application of

the relative differences indicated by the survey findings.

Having explained this restriction on the methods used, a series of

illustrations will be demonstrated, dealing first with allocation of

television and radio advertising, and second with the allocation of

newspaper advertising.

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[1] Ovid Riso, _Advertising Cost Control Handbook_, (New York, 1973).

Television

Oklahoma has four TV market areas with stations located within
its boundaries. These are Oklahoma City, Tulsa, Ardmore-Ada and
Lawton-Wichita Falls. In addition, several stations outside Oklahoma
have market dominance in areas of the state's periphery. The most
important of these TV Market Areas are Amarillo, Ft. Smith and Joplin.
Shreveport, Dallas and Wichita also have limited areas of dominance.
The region of dominance for each of these TV Market Areas is illus-
trated in Figure 8.

In an attempt to utilize the marketing region concept more fully,
the towns of Oklahoma were organized into the TV regions of market
dominance. This required a degree of extrapolation, as the statistics
on these market areas are organized by counties. In each instance,
the aggregation was made on the basis of distance. For instance, if
towns A and B (of approximately the same size) were both in a given
county influenced equally by TV market areas X and Y, and A was
situated nearer to station X and farther from station Y than town B,
then town A was aggregated into the region of market dominance of
station X and town B into the region of station Y.

Television is of greatest importance in reaching the urban and
swing voter. In the simulation it will be given greater emphasis in
these areas. The assumptions of the simulation, stated earlier, give
an intended built-in bias for emphasizing the swing areas. The main
concern is to accent the use of TV in more urban areas.

In allocating resources to be used in the purchase of television
time, a judgment must be made as to the relative merits of television
and newspaper advertising as we move from urban to more rural areas.

As noted earlier, the findings presented herein are not sufficient to
make a precise quantitative judgment. Rather, the findings only indi-
cate that in rural areas newspapers are equal or slightly superior to
television in effectiveness and that, as we move along a scale toward
more urban areas, television becomes more important and newspapers
less important. However, a simulation necessitates a precise value
and for our purposes, the following weights (indicies of effective-
ness) have been assigned to television: Metropolis 17, city 13, and
town 8.

The importance of each TV Market Area in the primary is summarized
by Table IV. An assumption is made that 100 units of television
resources are available for allocation.

TABLE IV

ALLOCATION OF TELEVISION ADVERTISING
RESOURCES IN PRIMARY CAMPAIGN

TV Market Area	Units Expended
Oklahoma City	50
Tulsa	44
Lawton—Wichita Falls	2
Ada—Ardmore	1
Amarillo	1
Ft. Smith	1
Joplin	1
	100

In determining the importance of each TV Market Area for the general election, we shall assume that each unit expended during the primary has a residual value equal to one-third of its value during the primary. Taking this into account, we arrive at the following optimum allocation for the general election, given our assumptions using 100 units as the amount of resources available for allocation.

TABLE V

ALLOCATION OF TELEVISION ADVERTISING
IN GENERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN

TV Market Area	Units Expended
Oklahoma City	50
Tulsa	36
Lawton–Wichita Falls	6
Ada–Ardmore	1
Amarillo	1
Ft. Smith	1
Shreveport	1
	100

Radio advertisements should be allocated on esstentially the same basis as television ads with the exception of those areas where radio should be used as a substitute for television. This would be most important in the areas served by Amarillo, Ft. Smith, Joplin,

Shreveport, Dallas, and Wichita television stations. The radio stations which would receive this special emphasis are shown in Figure 14.

Newspapers

The survey respondents rated television as superior to newspaper advertising in the more urbanized areas. However, newspaper was considered to be at least equal to television in rural areas. Accordingly, our simulation makes greater use of newspaper advertising in rural areas.

In addition, the respondents indicated a preference for the rural newspaper in reaching the rural voter and the simulation will reflect this as well. In determining the amount of newspaper advertising to be purchased, the following weights were established for each type of town: metropolis 3, city 7, town 12. Thus, for our purposes of simulation, an ad in a "town" newspaper will be considered four times more important than an ad in a "metropolis" newspaper. The writer wishes to emphasize that the findings of his survey provide no basis for this particular ratio. The findings indicate that an ad in a rural newspaper is more important than a similar ad in an urban newspaper only on a "per target voter" basis. Whether this ratio most correctly is two-to-one, four-to-one, or ten-to-one and the extent to which this is modified by diminishing returns is beyond the scope of this paper.

Another unique feature is that many voters subscribe to both a local and a metropolitan newspaper. Consistent with the survey findings, local papers will be given greater weight in these situations. The relative importance of each newspaper to both the primary and general election is indicated in Tables VI and VII which follow.
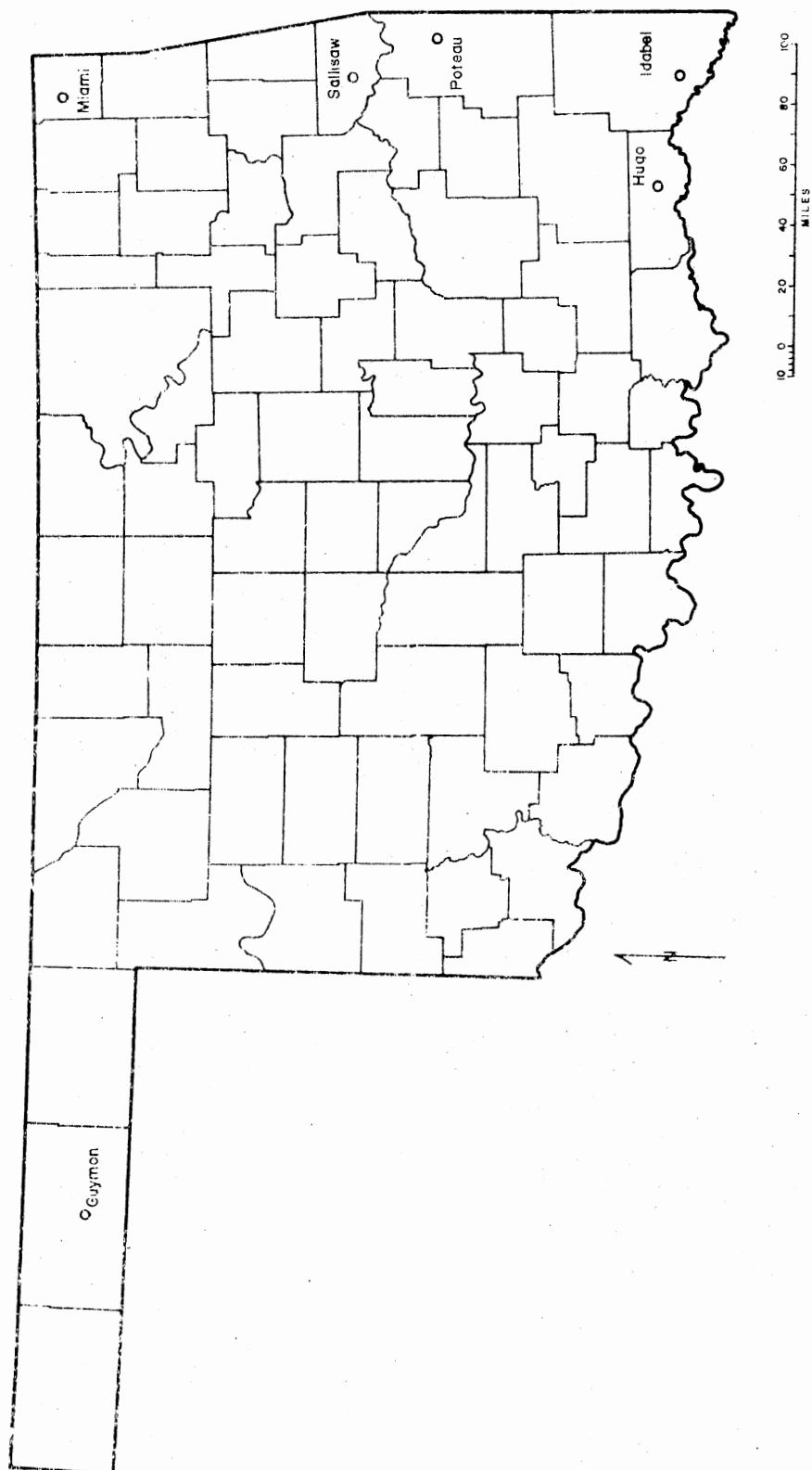
Figure 14. Peripheral Radio Stations in Oklahoma

TABLE VI

ALLOCATION OF NEWSPAPER ADVERTISING
RESOURCES IN PRIMARY CAMPAIGN

City	Allocation
Tulsa	18.9%
Oklahoma City	18.7
Enid	7.0
Bartlesville	3.5
Norman	3.3
Ponca City	2.7
Stillwater	2.2
Lawton	1.6
Muskogee	1.6
Woodward	1.4
Other Dailies	21.6
Weeklies	17.5
TOTAL	100.0%

TABLE VII

ALLOCATION OF NEWSPAPER ADVERTISING
IN GENERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN

City	Allocation
Oklahoma City	22.4%
Tulsa	12.9
Lawton	3.1
Norman	3.0
Ada	2.3
McAlester	2.3
Ardmore	2.1
Shawnee	2.1
Muskogee	1.9
Enid	1.6
Other Dailies	28.7
Weeklies	17.6
TOTAL	100.0%

Candidate's Time

The survey respondents think that personal appearances by the
candidate are of greater relative importance in smaller towns than in
larger cities. Accordingly, the candidate in the simulated model will
spend a greater portion of his time visiting smaller towns relative to
their importance in his campaign. In allocating the candidate's time,

it was decided to calibrate this difference as follows: a visit to a
metropolis is one-third as effective as a visit to a town and one-half
as effective as a visit to a city. Therefore, to mathematically deter-
mine the number of visits, the importance factor of each town is
multiplied by three and that of each city is multiplied by two.
Visits are allocated according to these weighted importance factors.

The general election period (assuming there is no run-off) is ten
weeks with twenty-one weeks allotted for the primary campaign. This
should allow an active candidate, as discussed in Chapter IV, to make
twenty-seven appearances per week which should provide adequate time
for campaign planning, filming TV commercials, staff and policy
briefings, etc. It should be noted that rather than make two separate
appearances in a place which is allocated two "visits," the candidate
may simply make one appearance of longer than usual length.

The timing of the visits is also important. The candidate will
get more mileage from his personal appearances if they are covered by
the media. Therefore, he will want to appear in each major market
every week. The use of the form illustrated in Figure 4 will be
helpful here. The candidate will also want to stage larger rallies
toward the end of the campaign. The optimum allocation of visits by
the candidate for the primary is shown in Figure 15 and for the
general election in Figure 16.

Organization

The allocation of organizational resources differs from the allo-
cation of other resources in two major respects. It is more elusive
of prior planning and there is a great deal more residual value from

One dot represents one visit
on a schedule of 588 visits.
Number of visits to Oklahoma
and Tulsa counties shown in
parenthesis.

(76)

(62)
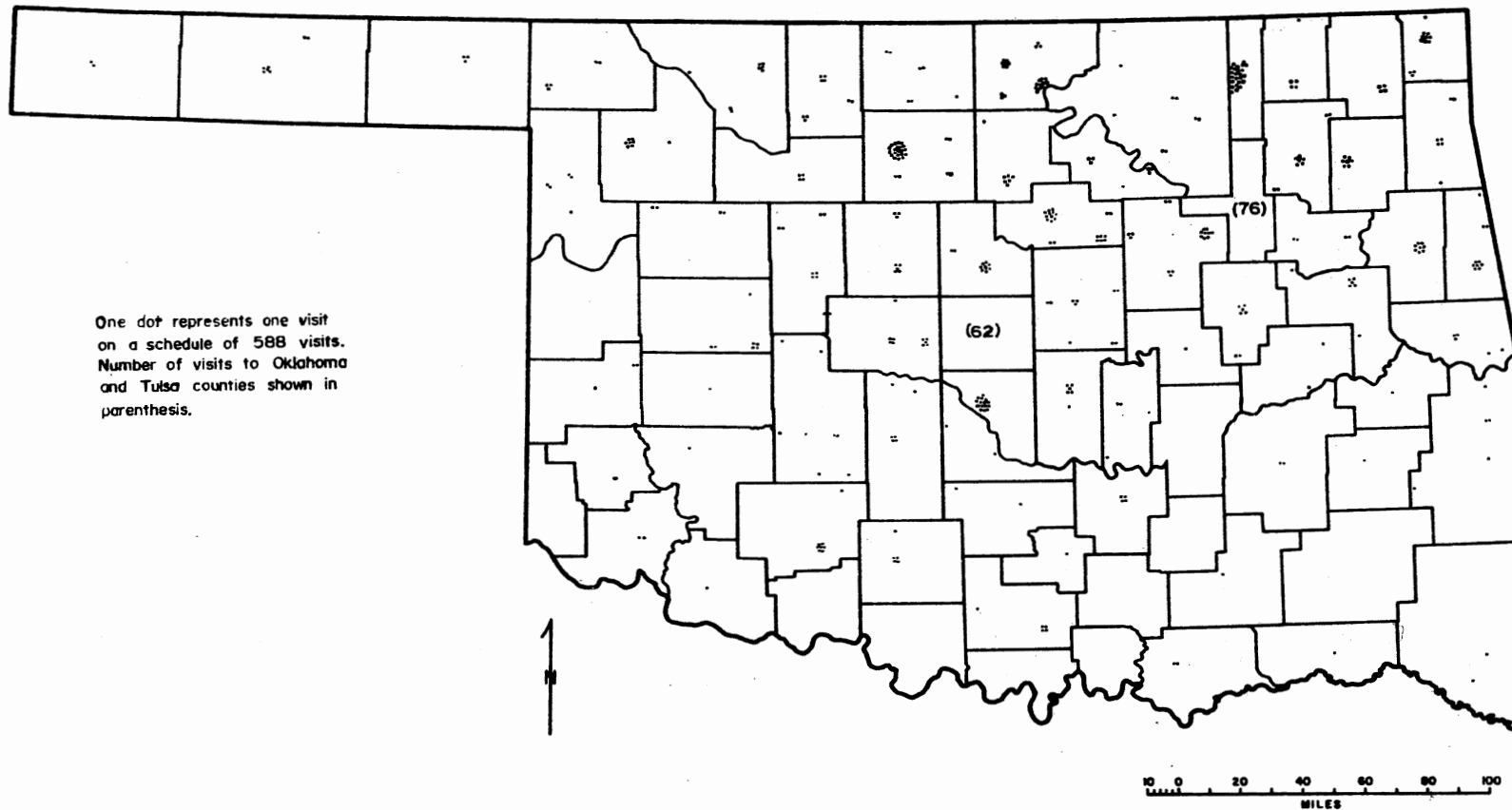
Figure 15. Optimum Allocation of Candidate Visits for Primary Election

One dot represents one visit
on a schedule of 276 visits.
Number of visits to Oklahoma
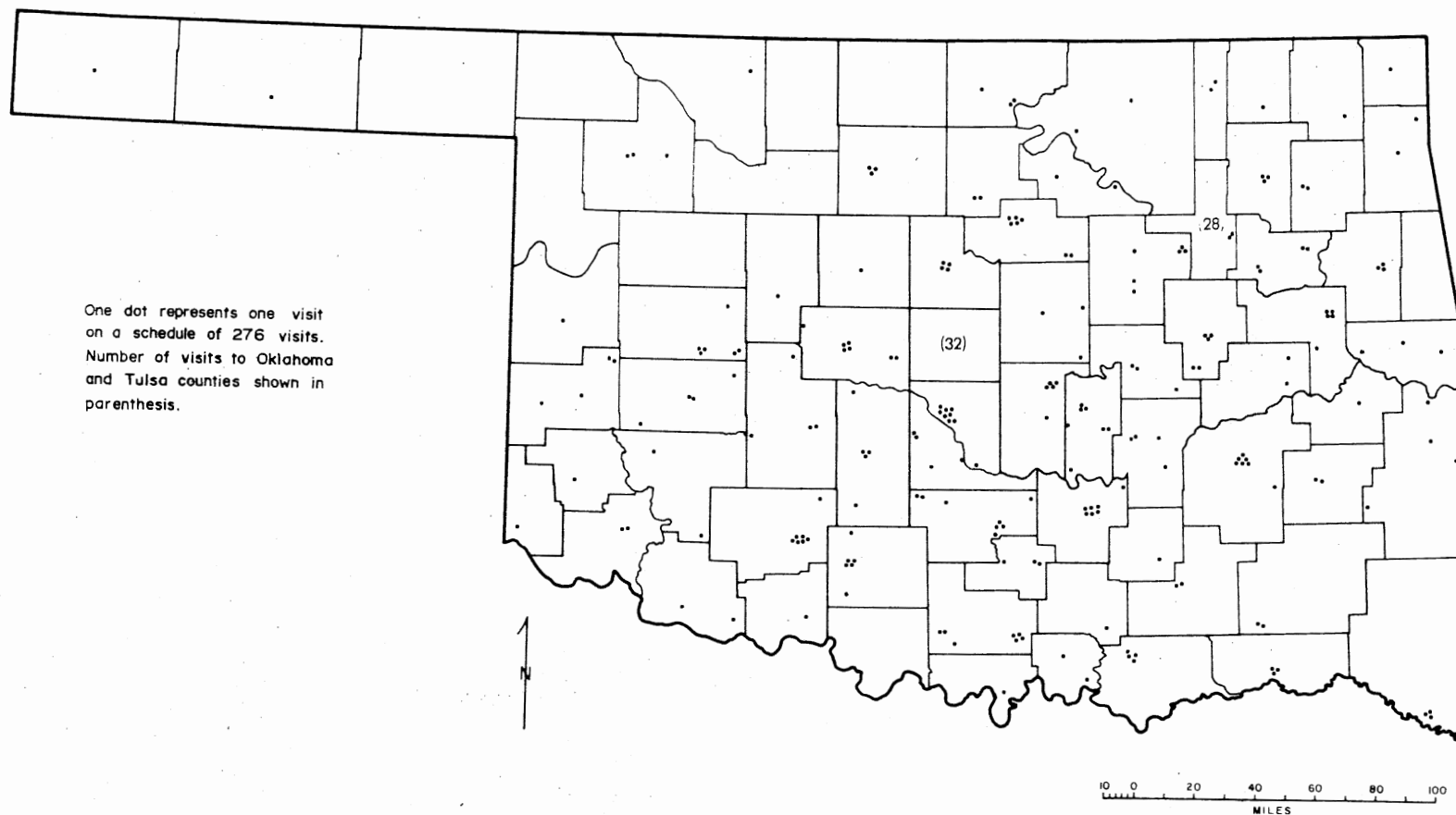and Tulsa counties shown in
parenthesis.

Figure 16. Optimum Allocation of Candidate Visits for General Election

efforts expended in the primary which carry over into the general election.

The activities of a campaign staff member in developing an organization of volunteer workers is highly dependent upon the response he receives. Consequently, one area may require a great deal more effort than another in order to achieve the same result. Thus, a staff person is able to plan his activities in only the broadwest sense of the term.

Once the cooperation of a volunteer is secured in assisting the candidate, the assistance of the volunteer can usually be counted upon throughout the campaign. As a result, if the staff person has recruited and organized sufficiently in a heavily Republican area in anticipation of the primary, little additional work is likely to be required for the general election. Thus, following a successful primary the staff member may concentrate his attention on more Democratic areas.

Further complicating matters is the fact that organizational work requires lead time. This means that some work for the general election must be done during the period of the primary.

Our survey findings indicate that organizational efforts are more productive in urban areas than in rural areas. In addition, the survey found that telephone canvassing is more acceptable as a substitute for door-to-door canvassing in rural areas than in urban areas. As door-to-door canvassing is a more difficult and time consuming activity to organize, the emphasis on spending time on organization in urban areas is increased.

As a result, the following estimated weights have been given to

each type of place: metropolis 6, city 3 and town 2. This ratio will also serve to balance the emphasis between organization and personal appearances by the candidate and the overall emphasis upon target voters in metropolises, cities and towns. We shall assume that three staff men have been hired for the purpose of organizing volunteers.

Because of the different impact of the residual value of organizational efforts in the primary upon the general election, a different system will be used for allocation. The importance of the primary and the general election shall be considered equal in establishing "districts" for the coordinators.

Upon the above assumptions, one coordinator would be allocated to Oklahoma City, one to Tulsa, and one to the rest of the state. The coordinator responsible for areas outside of Oklahoma City and Tulsa should concentrate his attention on the larger cities, making certain that some organization exists in each of these before making an effort in smaller towns.

CHAPTER X

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Few institutions have as much effect upon the lives of people in the free world as elections. The election process is the mechanism through which the people speak and mold the shape of their government.

Those who campaign for public office do so in a setting replete with spatial distinctions which they must recognize, interpret and assimilate into an effective framework: a campaign strategy. The review of previous work in this field indicates that politicans are far more aware of the importance of the spatial aspects of campaigning than are geographers. The skills of our profession, when brought to the political arena, should enhance our understanding of the most fundamental of democratic institutions.

The spatial distinctions relevant to political campaigning are of two principal types: (1) those which deal with distinctions among the electorate, and (2) those which deal with distinctions between the efficacy of various campaign techniques. As to the first category, geographers have accomplished a limited, yet promising amount of research. Much of this research is yet untapped by professional politicians; very few references to the works of noted geographers were found outside of professional journals during research on this thesis. It appears that the introduction of geographic expertise into political campaign remains largely to the future.

As to the distinctions between the efficacy of various campaign techniques in different spatial environments, little in the way of systematic research has been accomplished. Not a single published geographer has attacked this problem squarely and very few writers on practical politics give thought to an analysis of this problem. It should be noted that both the writers and political strategists surveyed were aware such distinctions do exist, yet it has remained for a researcher to analyze the effect of these distinctions upon political campaign strategy. Such has been the purpose of this research: to catalog the advantages of campaign techniques in different geographic niches and to demonstrate a possible application of this knowledge to a political campaign.

The principal questions addressed by this thesis were: (1) what role does spatial allocation presently occupy in political campaign strategy and (2) do successful campaign strategists perceive spatial distinctions in the effectiveness of campaign techniques and, if so, what are they? A corollary problem addressed was the practicality of using marketing regions in place of political regions for purposes of campaign planning.

This thesis found that there is presently very little spatially oriented campaign planning. It was found that a limited number of political campaign managers have written of the virtues of such planning, but the survey responses indicate that the application of these theories is not widely practiced. Virtually no attention has been given to the spatial aspects of campaign planning by recognized geographers.

Nevertheless, successful campaign strategists do recognize that

distinctions exist in the spatial efficacy of campaign techniques.
These were detailed and analyzed in the body of this thesis. It
appears that this knowledge has not yet been systematically incor-
porated into the planning of political campaigns.

Through simulation of a statewide political campaign, the thesis
demonstrated the application of the survey findings. It was found
that geographic analysis may play a more significant role in campaign
planning--allowing a campaign manager a means of scientifically allo-
cating resources.

Conclusion

In determining the type of regions to be used in making spatial
allocations, the inherent advantages of marketing regions and political
regions were discussed. It was noted that marketing regions conform
more closely with planning parameters, but that virtually all data
which distinguishes voting behavior is organized into political
regions. The thesis demonstrated a method of transposing data from
political regions into marketing regions with relatively little cost.

It is incumbent upon those who write theses to discuss possible
directions for future research. While there are many tempting avenues
to be explored, it appears that the greatest immediate gains could be
made by meshing what we know, or at least that which is generally
accepted, with a review of the strategic considerations involved in
the political campaigns studied by electoral geographers. This is to
say that some discussions of campaign strategy and its impact should be
introduced into analyses of observed spatial phenomenon in elections.
The electoral process is not a good laboratory, and geographers should

control for the introduction of "strategic" factors into campaigns which would distort their findings.

This is not to assert that this research is not without value or should not lead to additional examination. Rather, it is to assert that an effort is needed to establish that geographic analysis is relevant to the electoral process (which, intrinsically, it is) and to isolate significant electoral processes for geographic analysis. Such has been the thrust of this thesis.

There is one major exception to this advocacy of retrenchment. Due to circumstances peculiar to political campaigning as elaborated in the text, this research has been limited to an exploration of perceived spatial distinctions in Republican campaigns. It is obvious that our knowledge of this subject is in need of a similar study by someone privy to the thoughts of prominent strategists in the Democrat party.

Through this research, it has been shown that distinctions do exist in the efficacy of various campaign techniques in different types of regions. It has also demonstrated that while leading campaign strategists are aware of this distinction, they do not apply this awareness in a systematic manner to campaign planning. Finally, this thesis has cataloged these distinctions and shown how they may be integrated into the planning of campaign strategy.

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APPENDIX

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

Name:_____Phone:_____

Address:_____

Candidate:_____

State, Office:_____

Year of campaign:_____

What types of areas did you emphasize in trying to schedule the candidate for personal appearances?

In what types of areas did you place most of your billboards?

In what types of areas did you do most of your newspaper advertising?

Did you have an overall plan by which you tried to evenly allocate campaign resources (advertising, organization, the candidate's time) among regions in your state?

Please rate the effectiveness of the following campaign activies in each of the following areas of your state.
(1 = Excellent, 2 = Good, 3 = Average, 4 = Fair, and 5 = Poor)

	Rural & Small Towns	Democratic Areas	Medium-size City	Swing Areas	Large Urban Areas	Republican Areas	Suburbs
Advertising:							
Television							
Radio							
Sunday Newspaper							
Daily Newspaper							
Weekly Newspaper							
Direct Mail							
Billboards							
Yard Signs							
Fence Signs							
Bumper Strips							
Literature Distribution							
Buttons							
Pencils, shopping bags, etc. with candidate's name							
Organization:							
Canvassing (door-to-door)							
Canvassing (telephone)							
Candidate's Time							
Rallies							
Speeches to Civic Clubs							
Hand-shaking Tours							
Coffee/Ice Cream Socials							
Fair Booths							
Parades, Festivals							

COMMENTS:

How did you distribute your bumper strips, yard signs, etc. to your supporters? (If these were primarily distributed through your headquarters or area chairmen, please indicate how many of these you had.)

Were there any new or special techniques or ideas of any kind that you used in the campaign? (If yes, please describe.)

In writing my thesis, may I use the candidate's name in regard to what has been mentioned above?_____
Your wishes in this respect will be strictly observed!

VITA

Thomas Edward Daxon

Candidate for the Degree of

Master of Science

Thesis: SPATIAL ALLOCATION OF MARKETING RESOURCES IN A POLITICAL CAMPAIGN

Major Field: Geography

Biographical:

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