Campaign Communications

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Political communications is an interactive process concerning the transmission of information among politicians, the news media, and the public. The process operates downwards from governing institutions towards citizens, horizontally in linkages among political actors, and also upwards from public opinion towards authorities. Part I of this chapter provides a schematic model of campaign communications and a map of the literature as it has developed during the last decade. Part II builds on this by outlining a conceptual framework for understanding how campaign communications have evolved over time. Part III examines evidence about the impact of campaign communications on elections for the European parliament. The conclusion summarizes the interpretation of trends and considers the broader systemic consequences of this process for representative democracy.

The Study of Campaign Communications

At the most general level, campaigns can best be understood as *organized efforts to inform, persuade, and mobilize*. Campaigns can be directed towards multiple goals and actors such as pursuing elected office or lobbying government, persuading the public about the health risks of smoking, breast cancer or AIDS (Siegel and Biener 1997), and pressuring multinational companies over the price of drugs or the use of sweatshop labor (Sage 1999). Campaigns include four distinct elements, illustrated in Figure 1: the *contextual environment* based on the legal regulations and structure of the mass media within each country, the strategic *objectives* that campaign organizations are seeking to communicate, the direct and mediated *channels of communication* employed by these organizations to convey their messages, and the *impact* of these messages on their targeted audience. This process occurs within a broader societal and political system, characterized by factors such as levels of

socioeconomic and democratic development, and institutional structures like presidential or parliamentary systems, which can be treated as exogenous conditions in this model. Effective campaigns also include a dynamic feedback loop as organizations learn about the response of their targeted audience and adapt their goals and strategies accordingly. The literature on *electoral* campaign communications during the last decade can be sub-divided into these schematic categories, focusing on understanding the contextual environment, the strategic objectives of campaign organizations, the direct and mediated channels of communications, and impact of the messages upon the public.

[Figure 1 about here]

Contextual Environment

At the broadest level in election and referenda campaigns, the legal rules of the game determine the overall context, such as the regulation of campaign finance and advertising, the formal directives governing political broadcasting and freedom of the press, as well as the frequency, number and levels of elected office under contest within the electoral system. The most striking development since the early 1980s has been the dramatic transformation of public broadcasting in Western Europe and in new democracies in Central and Eastern Europe, following the growth of commercial competition from alternative terrestrial, cable and satellite, and now broadband, channels (Smith 1979, 1985; Siune and Truetzschler 1992; McQuail and Siune 1998). This trend has generated considerable concern about the possible consequences for traditional standards of journalism evident on public television, and the most appropriate regulation of political coverage for broadcasters in the multichannel environment (Blumler 1992; Weymouth and Lamizet 1996; Ostergaard 1997; Tracey 1998).

The context of election campaigning is also determined the structure of the mass media within each country. As shown in Table 1 and Figure 2, the diffusion of newspapers and television sets per 1000 population varies considerable among nations, with levels of socioeconomic development shaping access. Among postindustrial societies (ranked by UNDP with the highest levels of human development including income, literacy and education) there is widespread access to these mass media, although within this category some countries like the US and Canada prove far more television-centric than others

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like Norway and Japan that are more newspaper-centric. There are similar contrasts in media access among nations with slightly lower levels of development, such as Israel and Portugal, and Romania and Lithuania. Among the poorer societies, however, there is far less access to either mass media. Similar patterns are evident in terms of the diffusion of radios, telephones and the Internet population (Norris 2000, 2001).

[Figure 2 about here]

Research has examined the changing ownership of newspapers and magazines following the growth of multinational multimedia publishing corporations like Bertelsmann and News Corporation, as well as mega-mergers between organizations like Time-Warner and AOL (Bogart 1995; Badakian 1997; McChesney 1999). Comparative studies have also commonly analyzed the news culture, especially the values that journalists, broadcasters and editors employ as 'gatekeepers' in deciding 'what's news', as well as the organizational structure of newsrooms (Blumler and Gurevitch 1995; Weaver 1998). The rise of digital communication and information technologies has generated much new research, particularly analysis of the use of websites by parties, social movements, transnational policy networks, and the traditional news media (Davis and Owen 1998; Davis 1999; Margolis and Resnick 2000; UNESCO 2000; Norris 2001).

As Blumler et al. argue (1992), we need to move from descriptive studies within particular nations to develop comparative typologies and conceptual frameworks that would enable us to understand systemic cross-national variations in the structure and functions of the news media. Much work has traditionally focused upon post-industrial nations, particularly the United States and Western Europe, although in the 1990s increased attention has been paid to election campaigns in consolidating democracies in Central and Eastern Europe, Latin America, and Asia (Gunther and Mughan 2000), such the problems of the new media in Russia (Mickiewicz 2000), as well as the role of the free press in authoritarian regimes like Burma, China, and Cuba (Sussman 2000).

Campaign Organizations

Extensive research has long focused on understanding the role of campaign organizations like parties, traditional interest groups, and new social

movements, their strategic objectives, how messages are developed and generated to achieve these goals, and how they are then transmitted via *direct* channels that the organizations control, such as paid political advertisements, published literature like party manifestos, leadership speeches, and interest group websites, as well as by *indirect* or mediated channels where journalists, broadcasters, editors and news executives act as gatekeepers, including newspapers, radio, television, and media websites.

In recent decades the most striking development has been the increased professionalization of political marketing campaigns, evident in many countries, including the rise of the class of political consultants, pollsters, advertising executives, and their coterie, and the consequence of this process for strategic communications by political parties and interest groups (Swanson and Mancini 1996; Newman 1999; Thurber and Nelson 2000, Thurber, Nelson and Dulio 2000). Theories have highlighted changes in the symbiotic relationship between parties and the press, with the rise of a more autonomous news industry following a 'media logic' (concerned primarily with generating a mass audience to maximize newspaper sales and TV advertising revenue) rather than a 'party logic' (concerned with conveying ideological messages to a habitual and loyal partisan audience) (Altheide and Snow 1979; Mazzoleni 1987; Panebianco 1998). The mass media are widely regarded as playing a more autonomous role than in the past, not merely passively reflecting but also shaping the process of electioneering, the salient issues on the policy agenda, and the legislative and policymaking process in government. In the post-war era, mainstream political science has commonly regarded political parties and interest groups as the primary channels linking citizens and the state. Yet in many political systems today, the role of the mass media has come to be regarded as equally important, not just for campaigns and elections, but also for governance.

Communication Channels

Another related mainstream research tradition has examined the contents of the campaign messages in different channels of communication, such as the amount of campaign reporting presented in television news, the partisan balance in the press, the positive or negative tone of political advertisements, the agenda-setting reporting of campaign issues, and the representation of minority

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candidates in the news media. Most comparisons are among different media within a particular country, for example contrasts in the campaign messages conveyed by parties and candidates through political advertisements or press releases, and what journalists cover in newspaper columns and TV news stories during an election campaign (Kaid and Holz-Bacha 1995; Just et al. 1996; Praag and Van der Eijk 1998; Norris et al. 1999). Other comparisons examine trends in the contents of campaign coverage over time, such as changes in news coverage of presidential elections (Patterson 1993), stories about political scandals (Lull and Hinerman 1997), or the treatment of social minorities (Entman 2000). Less often, collaborative teams have attempted cross-national comparison of media messages, for example concerning how selected major national newspapers covered a specific event (Jensen 1998), or European Union politics (Richardson and Meinhof 1999; Norris 2000), although there have been only a few attempts to compare the contents of election communications in different societies (see, however, Blumler 1983; Dalton et al. 1998).

Content analysis provides insights into this process using a representative random sample of stories among different media, although alternative qualitative techniques for deconstructing textual and visual messages are also increasingly common (Shoemaker and Reese 1993). The comparison of the contents of different channels, such as the partisan balance of television news, provides insights into who won the battle to dominate the campaign agenda (Lichter 2001). To move beyond description, the content of the campaign messages need to be related to either the prior structural context (to examine their possible causes), or to their potential impact (to understand their effects). Content analysis can document a certain pattern of coverage but, by itself, it cannot assess whether these messages have any impact, given variations in the response of the audience.

Campaign Effects

Lastly perhaps the largest body of research, certainly in American political science, has focused at the individual or micro-level on understanding the potential effects of attention and exposure to different types of campaign communication on public opinion. The literature is too extensive to cite in any systematic fashion here but an excellent summary can be found in Bryant and

Zillman (1994), and the history of classics in the discipline is traced in Lowery and DeFleur (1995). It is conventional to identify three distinct periods of effects research on the study of elections and voting behavior.

The early '*direct effects*' school of social psychology in the interwar era was concerned to identify the impact of government propaganda via the new mass media of movies and the radio, especially under authoritarian regimes but also for the Allies, often using innovative experimental techniques (Hovland 1959).

This approach was succeeded in the post-war era by survey methodology, as the techniques of probability sampling were applied to public opinion. Surveys were used in the classic and highly influential research on the impact of American campaigns by Paul Lazersfeld (1944) and his colleagues at Columbia, and the results of the study helped to fuel the '*minimal effects*' model. The conventional wisdom by the early 1960s, exemplified by Klapper (1960), was that the earlier propaganda school had adopted a naïve 'stimulus-response' model which assumed that media messages had the direct power to change the attitudes and opinions of the mass public. Instead, it was argued, although use of the partisan press reinforced the attentive public, the power of the mass media to *alter* deep-rooted political attitudes and values was strictly limited, not least because the undecided voter paid least attention to campaign messages.

In the last two decades, however, the minimal effects model has come under increased challenge for many reasons, including the use of more sophisticated multi-method research techniques including experimental methods which are capable of capturing even modest campaign effects (Iyengar and Simon 2000); the decline of the predominant 'Michigan' model of voting with the weakening of traditional party loyalties (Dalton and Wattenberg 2000); and the shift in the central focus of the campaign first from newspapers to television studios, and more recently to the Internet (Davis 1999).

During the last decade it has become more common to study media effects using dynamic 'rolling thunder' or panel surveys and also experimental methods, ideally combined with content analysis data. The research agenda has focused upon analyzing the potential impact of exposure and/or attention to different type of mediated messages (such as watching a campaign debate, TV

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ad, or news story) upon three dimensions of public opinion: *political knowledge*, such as awareness or opinions about an issue, information about 'civics', and recognition of political candidates (Bartels 1993; Delli Carpini and Keeter 1996); *political attitudes and values*, such as partisan identification, political trust, or issue salience (Dearing and Rogers 1996; Norris et al. 1999; Norris 2000); and/or *political behavior*, such as voting turnout (Ansolabehere and Iyengar 1996; Lau et al. 1999).

The primary challenges facing effects research are fourfold: to expand generalizations about the impact of exposure to the news media in many countries beyond the United States, in order to see how far American findings hold within different political contexts and media systems; to move beyond cross-sectional surveys, which cannot determine issues of causality, towards more dynamic designs such as panel surveys (Johnston et al. 1992) and experimental designs (Lodge, Steenbergen and Brau 1995); to broaden the notion of 'effects' beyond changes in voting choice to a wider variety of cognitive and affective dependent variables; and, lastly, to link studies of the individual-level analysis of effects to both what we know about the structure of the news industry and the contents of the messages.

The study of political communications is inherently interdisciplinary, bringing together legal theorists, cultural historians, sociologists, economists, professional journalist schools, and social psychologists, as well as students of media studies and political scientists. But there is an important distinction in the focus of different approaches. Communication studies often treat the contents of political messages as the core *dependent* variable, and then seek to explain these phenomena in terms of the broader social, economic, and political context, as well as specific features of the production process, such as the predominant journalistic values in the news culture, or patterns of rhetoric in presidential speeches. This tradition typically asks such questions as, for example, how far is the news shaped by the predominant values of broadcasters and journalists (Weaver 1998)? How far do gender stereotypes influence the depiction of female candidates in the media (Kahn 1996)? How do newspapers report news about campaign opinion polls (Andersen 2000)? And whether there are the significant

differences in the ways that the local, regional and national press covers a campaign (Wasserman 1999).

In contrast, political scientists tend to regard the contents of political communications mainly as *independent* variables, in seeking to explain patterns of mass attitudes and behavior, such as the impact of leadership speeches on presidential popularity (Brace and Hinckley 1992), or the influence of partisan balance in the press on levels of voting support (Dalton et al. 1998). Common questions within this approach would be whether negative party political broadcasts or political advertisements have a significant impact on turnout (Ansolabehere and Iyengar 1995). How far the results of opinion polls affect voting (Schmitt-Beck 1996). And whether television coverage of crime, the economy, or the environment heightens viewers' concern about these issues on the campaign agenda (Dearing and Rogers 1996; Iyengar and Kinder 1987; Semetko et al 1991). And, at the more diffuse level, how have changes in the nature of election communications altered the context for voters' choices?

Developments in Campaign Communications

In recent decades methodological innovations and intellectual frameworks have therefore revived interest in understanding political communications and the role of the news media as a more autonomous actor in the electoral process, but interest has also been generated by key political developments. We can identify three distinct stages in the evolution of election communications, namely the shift from premodern to modern and then postmodern campaigns, which simultaneously transform campaign organizations, the news media, and the electorate, as illustrated in Table 1.

Many accounts have noted the decline of traditional forms of party campaigning, like local rallies and door-to-door canvassing, and developments like the growth of spin-doctors and political consultants. A growing series of case studies has documented these trends in established and newer democracies (Gunther and Mughan 2000). Accounts have interpreted these changes as representing the 'rise of political marketing', if the techniques have been borrowed from the private sector, or the 'Americanization of campaigning', if these forms of electioneering originated in the United States. Building upon this literature, the interpretation offered in this chapter is that changes in campaign

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communications can best be understood as an evolutionary process of *modernization* that simultaneously transforms campaign organizations, the news media, *and* the electorate.

In this theoretical framework, *pre-modern* campaigns are understood to display three characteristics: the campaign organization is based upon direct forms of interpersonal communications between candidates and citizens at local level, with short-term, ad-hoc planning by the party leadership. In the news media the partisan press acts as core intermediary between parties and the public. And the electorate is anchored by strong party loyalties. Typically in these campaigns local parties selected the candidates, rang the doorbells, posted the pamphlets, targeted the wards, planned the resources, and generally provided all the machinery linking voters and candidates. For citizens the model is one that is essentially *local-active*, meaning that most campaigning is concentrated within local communities, conducted through more demanding political activities like rallies, doorstep canvassing, and party meetings.

Modern campaigns are defined as those with a party organization coordinated more closely at central level by political leaders, advised by external professional consultants like opinion pollsters. In the news media, national television becomes the principal forum of campaign events, supplementing other media. And the electorate becomes increasingly decoupled from party and group loyalties. Politicians and professional advisors conduct polls, design advertisements, schedule the theme de jour, leadership tours, news conferences and photo opportunities, handle the press, and battle to dominate the nightly television news. For citizens, the typical experience of the election becomes more passive, in the sense that the main focus of the campaign is located within national television studios, so that most voters become more distant and disengaged spectators in the process.

Lastly *post-modern campaigns* are understood as those where the coterie of professional consultants on advertising, public opinion, marketing, and strategic news management become more co-equal actors with politicians, assuming a more influential role within government in a 'permanent' campaign, as well as coordinating local activity more tightly at the grassroots. The news media fragments into a more complex and incoherent environment of multiple

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channels, outlets and levels. And the electorate becomes more dealigned in their voting choices. For some citizens, the election may represent a return to some of the forms of engagement found in the pre-modern stage, as the new channels of communication potentially allow greater interactivity between voters and politicians.

[Table 1 about here]

The essential features of this model can be expected to vary from one context to another. Rather than claiming that all campaigns are inevitably moving into the post-modern category, this view emphasizes that contests can continue to be arrayed from the pre-modern to the post-modern, due to the influence of a range of intermediary conditions such as the electoral system, campaign regulations, and organizational resources. And instead of a specifically American development, with practices like negative advertising, personalized politics, or high campaign expenditures which are subsequently exported to other countries, it seems more accurate to understand the changes in campaigning as part of the modernization process rooted in technological and political developments common to many post-industrial societies. We can develop the main elements in this theoretical framework and then compare evidence of the main channels of direct and mediated campaigning to see how far we can characterize contemporary European elections along these dimensions.

The Pre-Modern Campaign

Pre-modern campaigning originated in 19th century democracies with the expansion of the franchise, and continued in recognizable form in most post-industrial societies until at least the 1950s, when the advent of televised campaigns and the publication of regular opinion polls started to transform the process. In general elections the pre-modern era was characterized by a campaign organization with the party leader at the apex, surrounded by a few close political advisers, running a relatively short, ad hoc national campaign. The base was a loose organizational network of party volunteers dispersed in local areas. The party organization was predominately locally-oriented, involving politicians, party workers and citizens in direct, face-to-face contact through activities like town-hall hustings, canvassing and branch party meetings. In mass-branch party organizations, members provided the unpaid labor, helping the local

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candidate, advised by the constituency party agent. Pre-modern campaigns relied heavily upon the partisan press as the main source of mediated information, either directly owned and subsidized by party organs, or independently owned and managed but providing sympathetic partisan-spin through editorial columns and political commentary. Newspapers were indirectly supplemented in the 1920s by radio and movies, important sources of news in the interwar period, and these media started to nationalize the campaign even prior to the age of television. The classic theories of voting behavior stressed the stability of the electorate during this era, anchored by social and party loyalties. Lipset and Rokkan (1967) emphasized that European parties were based on stable sectoral cleavages in the electorate, with the divisions of class, religion and region providing the solid bedrocks of electoral support. The earliest studies of campaign communications in America, by Lazarsfeld (1944) and colleagues, emphasized that the primary impact of elections was to reinforce partisan supporters, rather than to produce new converts. Classic accounts of American electoral behavior, by V.O.Key (1964), and Campbell et al. (1960), argued that voters were guided by partisan identification, representing an enduring loyalty or 'standing decision' influencing voting decisions over successive contests. If voters were largely stable, the main function of party organization was to energize and mobilize their traditional base of electoral support.

Today direct forms of campaigning have often been supplemented, rather than replaced. The traditional campaign, built on personal networks of volunteers and face-to-face candidate-voter communications, continues to be common when mobilizing voters in no-frills contests for local, municipal and state-level elected office, for minor parties without generous financial resources, as well as in countries like Britain and Canada where mass-branch party organizations maintain networks of active party members (Denver and Hands 1997; Bell and Fletcher 1991; Carty and Eagles 1999). Electoral systems with multimember seats where politicians compete with others within the same party often emphasize the importance of local campaigning to maintain support. This pattern is evident in Ireland under STV, as well as in Japan where politicians traditionally relied upon a local association, or koenkai, acting as an election machine to maintain contact with voters, when competing with others from within their party under the multimember Single Non-transferable Vote System that was used until

1994 (Flanagan et al. 1991). Direct campaigning also remains characteristic of elections in developing societies like India and South Africa, with relatively low levels of literacy and little access to television. Even in the United States, 'retail' politics continues in the New Hampshire primaries, in district and state caucuses, and in general elections, with candidates meeting activists in local living rooms and diners, and displays of yard signs and bumper stickers (Aldrich 1995). Huckfeldt and Sprague (1995) emphasize the political importance in presidential elections of local mobilization efforts, party canvassing and discussion networks within American communities. Analysis of long-term trends in the proportion of Americans engaged in campaign activism and the results show no consistent and substantial decline across most dimensions (other than the display of buttons and bumper stickers) (Norris 2000). There has been no fall in the proportion contacted by the major U.S. parties, either face-to-face or, more commonly today, by telephone; if anything recent indicators point towards more contacting activity: Pew post-election surveys suggest that about 38% of Americans were contacted over the phone during the 2000 campaign by candidates, parties or other groups urging them to vote in a particular way, including 53% of all voters in the key battleground states (Pew 2000). Nevertheless technological changes, notably the rise of television and of opinion polls, means that in post-industrial societies direct forms of campaigning often become ancillary to mediated channels of party-voter communication.

The Modern Campaign

The evolution of the modern campaign from the early 1950s to the mid-1980s was marked by several related developments in established democracies: the move from dispersed state and local party organizations to a nationally coordinated strategic campaign; from party officials and volunteers contributing time and labor to paid professional consultants specializing in communications, marketing, polling, and campaign management; the shift from more partisan newspapers towards national television news; and the development of a more detached and instrumental electorate, less strongly anchored to party loyalties and social cleavages. The 'long campaign' in the year or so before polling day gradually became as important strategically as the short 'official' campaign.

In most postindustrial democracies the critical shift towards the modern

campaign developed with the rise of television, as well as the publication of regular opinion polling, during the 1950s. This process gradually shifted the primary location of political communications, from the print media towards broadcasting, particularly the mainstream national evening news on the major television channels. The printed press remains politically important, particularly in newspaper-centric systems, since the per capita circulation levels of newspapers in OECD countries has remained stable (Norris 2000: 65). Nevertheless many countries have experienced weakening press-party linkages, as newspapers have become increasingly politically independent, selecting news on the basis of the commercial logic to maximize sales, as discussed earlier, rather than following the political logic of party support (Mazzolini 1987). In the Netherlands, for example, at least until the 1960s there were strong sectoral cleavages, producing 'polarization' as people within a community attended the same schools and churches, joined the same social clubs, sports clubs and community associations, tended to vote for the same party, and therefore bought the party newspaper. The 'zuillen' or pillars were formed around Protestant, Catholic and labor mass movements, which mobilized politically in the early 20th century, at the same time as mass circulation newspapers developed in the Netherlands, creating stable cleavage sub-cultures. A limited number of papers reflected the Protestant, Catholic and Socialist pillars (van der Eijk 2000). The de-pillarization process started in the mid-1960s leading to the decline of the partisan press in the Netherlands. Other countries seem to have often followed a similar process, producing greater internal diversity within newspapers, such as more balanced pro-con op-ed columns, but thereby reducing the degree of external diversity available between different print media.

As with direct forms of personal communications, newspapers did not necessarily decline in importance as sources of political communications, but they became supplemented by television. The main effort of party campaign organizations, from the morning press conferences through the day's events, visits and photo opportunities to the evening rallies and speeches, became increasingly focused on achieving favorable coverage through the main evening news, current affairs programs, and leadership debates on television. The effort was exacerbated by the mainstream audience for these programs, given that until the early 1980s there were only two or three television stations broadcasting in most OECD countries, major news programs occurred at regular prime-time slots in the evening

rather than on a 24-hour cyclical basis, and most countries offered no opportunities for paid political advertising on television. To a large extent, therefore, what was reported on the flagship news programs on Britain's BBC and ITN, on Sweden's SVT, or on Japan's NHK, to a largely captive electorate, *was* the heart of the modern election campaign, setting the agenda for the following morning's newspapers. The role of television news heightened the party leadership's control over the campaign, which became increasingly nationalized.

Swanson and Mancini (1996) suggest that the focus on television campaign has strengthened the spotlight on the party leadership, moving from cleavage-based and issue-based conflict towards a 'personalization' of politics. Case studies suggest that this trend is particularly marked for presidential elections, such as those in Latin America, but it is also apparent in parliamentary elections as well. The shift in emphasis from newspapers to television has probably heightened the visibility of leaders, especially those like Tony Blair and Bill Clinton who seem most comfortable in this medium, although systematic evidence is unavailable to confirm whether this is a general trend in many democracies. Moreover it is not clear whether the focus on leaders in campaign coverage has necessarily led to the increasing importance of party leaders in determining votes in parliamentary systems (Mughan 1995).

In the modern campaign, following the rise of television, parties increasingly developed a coordinated national and regional campaign with communications designed by specialists skilled in advertising, marketing, and polling. The adoption of these practices did not occur overnight; rather one study of European political marketing terms this process a 'shopping model', as parties grafted particular practical techniques which seemed useful or successful in other campaigns onto the existing machinery on a more ad hoc basis (Plassner et al 1999). Party adaptation was particularly evident following extended periods out of power. The move from amateur to professional campaigns was marked by more frequent use of specialist experts, PR consultants, and professional fund-raisers influencing decisions formerly made by candidates or party officials (Thurber and Nelson 2000). Ever since the expansion of the franchise there have always been some 'professional' campaigners, in the form of full-time local agents or party managers, along with permanent staff like press officers at central headquarters.

The new professionals, however, were essentially 'hired guns' external to the party organization, often working on campaigns in different countries, like advertising consultants at Saatchi and Saatchi. Increased use of paid consultants, public opinion polls, direct mail, and professional television broadcasts during the long campaign, led to rising costs and the shift from labor-intensive towards more capital-intensive campaigns.

The professionalization of the political consultancy industry has developed furthest in the United States, with demand fuelled largely by the traditional weakness of American party organizations, the rise of the candidate-centered campaign in the 1960s, the capital-intensive nature of advertising-driven campaigns, and the number and frequency of American primary and general elections. Outside of America the rise of independent political consultants has been slower, mainly because parties have incorporated professionals within their ranks (Panebianco 1998). Organizations like the International Association of Political Consultants (IAPC) and the World Association of Public Opinion Research, along with regional affiliates, bring together polling experts, advertising specialists and campaign consultants.

The rise of the modern campaign was also related to major changes in the electorate, discussed fully in chapters 8 and 9. Many studies highlighted how dealignment has eroded traditional social cleavages and partisan loyalties, producing a more instrumental electorate supporting parties on a more contingent basis based on their policies and performance. The familiar cleavages of class and religion, which had long anchored the European electorate, proved weaker predictors of voting behaviour in many countries as party competition over issues, images and leadership became increasingly important from the 1970s onwards (Dalton et al. 1984; Franklin 1992; Evans 1999; Dalton and Wattenberg 2000). Earlier theories suggested that dealignment was largely a product of long-term socioeconomic secular trends gradually transforming the mass public, stressing rising levels of education, class mobility, and crosscutting cleavages like race and gender. In contrast more recent accounts have emphasized that parties have both contributed towards, and sought to benefit from, these changes in the electorate by developing more 'catch all' strategies, designed to attract voters from outside their core constituency (Evans and Norris

1999). The modern campaign evolved into a familiar pattern from the early fifties until the mid-eighties, with similar, although not identical, changes becoming evident across many post-industrial societies.

The Post-Modern Campaign

Accounts commonly identify only two steps in this historical sequence, regarding the age of television as the culmination of the modernization process. But during the last decade there is evidence of the rise of the 'post-modern' campaign marked by several related developments: the fragmentation of television outlets, with the shift from national broadcasting towards more diverse news sources including satellite and cable stations, talk radio and 24-hour rolling news bulletins; the opportunities for newer forms of party-voter interaction facilitated by the rise of the Internet; and the attempt by parties to reassert control in a more complex, fragmented and rapidly changing news environment through strategic communications and media management during the permanent campaign, with the continuous feedback provided by polls, focus groups and electronic town meetings to inform routine decision-making, not just campaigns. This last stage of the modernization process remains under development, and it is more clearly evident in some societies than in others, but it seems likely to represent the future direction of political campaigning in post-industrial societies. The concept of 'postmodernism' represents a complex phenomenon, open to multiple interpretations, yet it is usually understood to include the characteristics of greater cultural pluralism, social diversity and fragmentation of sources; increased challenges to traditional forms of hierarchical authority and external standards of rational knowledge; and a more inchoate and confused sense of identity. For these reasons, the term does seem to capture many of the developments that are currently transforming the process of campaigning, at least in postindustrial societies.

Two qualifications need to be made. First, the conceptualization refers to campaign not societal modernization. As Swanson and Mancini (1996) argue many other factors may well be transforming society in general, like a greater differentiation of roles, rising educational levels and cognitive skills, and more complex social identities, but these factors remain well outside of the scope of this book. The focus here is restricted only to the developments within campaign

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communication. Moreover, many like Scammell (2000) have characterized recent changes as the rise of political marketing, placing primary emphasis on the strategic activities of parties, politicians, and campaign advisers in their attempt to maintain or expand their share of the electorate. The heart of the political marketing concept is a shift from sales of existing products (advertising party policies, leaders, and images) towards a focus that puts the 'customer' first, using research into voter's needs, wants and drives as revealed through polls, focus groups and similar techniques, and subsequently adopts strategies like developing a dependable reputation for reliable service delivery on key policy issues that aim to maximize votes. This approach does provide useful insights but in contrast the conceptualization of the post-modern campaign in this interpretation places greater emphasis on the way that technological and socio-economic developments have altered the context of campaign communications, like the rise of the Internet, to which all actors - parties, campaign professionals and journalists - have been forced to respond. After all polls were available for at least twenty years before they became widely used internally to shape party strategies. Even in recent campaigns, the use of systematic marketing to inform party policies has often proved limited. The post-modern conceptualization sees politicians as essentially lagging behind technological and economic changes, and running hard to stay in place by adopting the techniques of political marketing in the struggle to cope with a more complex communication environment, rather than driving these developments.

Instead of a linear development, the post-modern campaign symbolizes a return to some of the more localized and interactive forms of communication that were present in the pre-modern period. Digital technologies allow forms of political communication that can be located schematically somewhere between the local-activism of the pre-modern campaign and the national-passive forms of communication characteristic of the modern television campaign. The development of political discussion user-groups on the net, party intranets, interactive websites by government agencies, community associations or transnational policy networks, and the use of email or list-serves to mobilize and organize, as well as the use of the web by 'traditional' news media, represents a mid-way point in the model. These formats continue to evolve, along with the political uses of the web, but

parties, governments and social movements have been rapidly adapting to the digital world.

To document just how far the Internet has penetrated, within the space of less than a decade, in June 2000 a worldwide comparison of 1244 electoral parties (defined as those that contested seats for the lower house in the most recent election) in 179 nations found that in total 39% of all parties had developed their own website, and the proportion online was particularly high among Green parties (71% online), as well as Christian Democrats (62%), Liberals (57%), Social Democrats (52%) and Conservatives (51%) (Norris 2001). The distribution varied by size, but there was only a modest gap between fringe parties (31% of which were online), minor parties (47%) and major parties (52%). Similar patterns were found in the function and content of party websites, measured by their levels of information transparency and interactive communications. Comparisons of the world of online newspapers in 179 nations found that about 2500 newspapers were online in mid-2000, representing about 40% of all daily papers. Access to the Internet varies substantially even among post-industrial societies, as well as among major world regions, and differences in levels of technological diffusion are strongly related to the development of online political institutions (Norris 2001). Nevertheless as political use of the Internet expands, the post-modern campaign adds yet another distinctive layer of communications to the process, supplementing existing channels.

To illustrate the potential impact of these developments we can compare recent trends in the United States, one of the countries at the leading edge of the information society. If we compare use of the news media in the 1992 and the 2000 presidential elections, when people were asked where they got *most* of their news about the presidential campaign, Pew surveys reveal the dramatic erosion in the size of the audience for early evening network TV news, which plummeted from a main source used by over half of all voters to only one fifth in just eight years. American newspapers are also in decline, along with local TV and magazines, and in contrast use of radio news, cable TV and especially the Internet surged during this period. Many using the Internet were turning to traditional news media outlets, like CNN, MSNBC or *the New York Times* online, rather than more specialized news outlets or candidate websites, but nonetheless this process has

altered the form and speed of transmission, accelerating the 24/7 news cycle, as well as the ability of parties and candidates to use direct not mediated channels to contact supporters to encourage fundraising or voluntary activities like emailing friends with support messages on behalf of one of the candidates. Among those Americans who went online for news in campaign 2000, fully 43% said that this information affected their vote. Most of this group (69%) used online sources to get information about the candidate, although one fifth (22%) also sent email about the candidates, 16% got civic information about when and where to vote, 8% participated in campaign chat rooms, and 5% donated money online. The United States has moved online more rapidly than most other post-industrial societies but nevertheless these figures point the way towards the radical potential for new technology to alter and supplement the traditional channels of campaign communications.

Mediating Conditions

The way that campaign communications have evolved over time in different countries, and the pace of change, remains heavily dependent upon mediating conditions. Post-modern campaigns are exemplified most clearly by contests, like US presidential and Congressional elections, characterized by two major catch-all parties with minimal ideological baggage in winner-take-all elections, with an army of technical consultants for hire, widespread use of capital-intensive TV ads in a fragmented multi-channel environment, the rapid expansion of political uses of the internet, and an electorate with weakened party loyalties. Such an open environment is ideal for an entrepreneurial approach designed to maximize electoral support. In contrast, pre-modern campaigning continues to characterize many other types of contest, such as British local elections which are second-order, low-salience contests where the major parties rely primarily upon volunteer grassroots members, activists and candidates in each community to canvass voters and mobilize partisan support, there is minimal national coverage on television or in newspapers, the chief means of publicity remains a matter of handbill displays and printed pamphlets, and financial resources are restricted.

Four major factors can be identified as important mediating conditions affecting the modernization process, namely:

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?? The **regulatory environment**, including the *electoral system* (whether single member majoritarian or proportional party list); the *type of election* (including the frequency of elections, the type of office, such as presidential or parliamentary, and whether sub-national, national or supra-national levels); and the *laws* governing campaigning (such as rules on party funding and state subsidies, campaign expenditure, the publication of opinion polls, and access to political broadcasts or ads).

?? The **media system**, including the level of development of the *political consultancy industry*, (including the availability of professional market researchers, opinion pollsters, advertisers, and campaign managers); and the *structure and culture of the news media* (such as the contrasts already discussed between newspaper-centric or television-centric systems, between the partisan-leaning or 'objective' models of journalism, and whether broadcasting reflects a public service or commercial ethos);

?? The **party system** including the structure, organization, membership and funding of parties (such as whether elite-led, mass-branch, 'catch-all', or cartel); and the system of *party competition* (such as one party predominant, two-party, moderate or polarized pluralism).

?? The **electorate**, including the pattern of *voting behavior* (such as whether electors display strong or weak party loyalties, and whether there is limited or extensive electoral volatility).

Other parts of this book have discussed changes in the electorate (chapters 8 and 9) and party systems (chapter 5) so here we can focus on comparing the regulatory framework and party campaign organizations.

The Regulatory Framework

The regulations governing television coverage during elections concern three main areas: the purchase of paid commercial advertisements, the allocation and contents of free party political broadcasts, and rules governing political balance in campaign debates, news coverage and current affairs. During the era when public service channels predominated in most countries there were severe restrictions on the ability of political parties to purchase any airtime on television. A comparative survey of Western societies in the late 1970s found that

only 5 of the 21 countries had commercial channels, and paid political advertising on television was only allowed in Australia, Canada, Japan, and the United States (Smith 1981). By the mid-1990s, following deregulation and the explosion of commercial channels already documented, about half the OECD countries allowed paid political advertising on television (see Table 1). In practice the use of this facility varied substantially between countries, as well as between public service and commercial channels. In the Netherlands, for example, although political commercials are now allowed, and were used for the first time in 1994, in practice few have been aired mainly because of limited financial resources by Dutch parties (van der Eijk 2000). In contrast, United States campaign ads are employed for every level of office, producing capital-intensive campaigns; for example, about 60% of expenditure in recent presidential campaigns has been devoted to paying for producing and airing TV and radio commercials (West 1997).

[Table 2 about here]

Following the long tradition of public service broadcasting, all OECD countries other than America allocate some free airtime to parties, either on a legal basis or by virtue of a long-standing agreement with broadcasters. The length of these slots varies substantially, from the 30 or 60 second ads common in Italy, to 2.5 minutes in Germany, 4 minutes in France, and an allocation of up to 10 minutes (usually only partially used) for British party political broadcasts. Three formulas are commonly used for allocating time between contestants. Strict equality between all parties is used in countries like the Czech Republic and Mexico; in the latter the Federal Electoral Institute buys 15 minutes per month of advertising on television and radio for each party. Other countries provide allocations based upon the results of the previous general election, for example Greek parties are given airtime based on the size of their membership in the previous parliament, with a modest allocation for parties with no representatives but with many candidates. Lastly countries like Australia and Britain divide the time according to an agreement between parties and the broadcasting authorities.

In addition, all OECD countries have some fair balance rules, either formally or informally regulating the amount of party political coverage on

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television news, current affairs programs, and leadership debates during election periods. In Britain, for example, the ratio used to allocate party political broadcasts is also used to distribute the time balance of news coverage of the parties, following the 'stop-watch' principle. In the 1997 election the allocation was a 5:5:4 ratio whereby the major parties each received five 10 minute party election broadcasts during the campaign, the Liberal Democrats got 4 slots, and other minor parties with at least 50 candidates got one each, with additional arrangements for the regions. In the US presidential debates have followed different formats and schedules, for example the questions have been asked either by selected journalists or by members of the public in an invited audience, or by a mix of both. But all debates follow a strict allocation of time designed to be impartial to all candidates (Coleman 1999).

Party Campaign Organizations and Funding

An extensive literature discussed fully in chapter 5 has documented changes in the structure, membership and finance of party organizations. Drawing primarily on party documents and reports, studies conclude that the role of parties has evolved or adapted since the 1960s in Western democracies, rather than simply weakened (Katz and Mair 1992, 1995; Mair 2001). Documenting trends in twenty European countries from the early 1980s to the 2000, Mair recorded a decline in total party membership whether measured in absolute numbers or as a percentage of the electorate. The decline was strongest in relative terms, meaning that party membership failed to keep up with the expansion in the population. Studies based on survey evidence in fifteen West European countries reach similar conclusions about a modest long-term erosion of party membership in many established democracies, although not a steep or uniform decline (Widfeldt 1995).

In counterbalance Katz and Mair (1995) also found that since the 1960s countries had experienced a substantial increase in the proportion of staff employed by parties, most notably parliamentary party staff paid by state funds, as well as a considerable rise in central party income. Where these personnel and resources are derived from state subventions, this may signal, they suggest a shift from 'mass-branch' parties based primarily upon voluntary Labour towards a 'cartel' party organization, more dependent upon public resources. This pattern

is clearer in some countries rather than others; state subsidies towards parties are far more generous in Germany, Sweden and Norway, for example, than in Ireland, Britain and the Netherlands, where party income remains more dependent on membership dues. Table 2 shows that by the mid-1990s direct funding provided for parties or candidates has become common; 15 out of 20 countries provided public funds, although at different levels of subsidy. In some countries like Canada, France and Australia public subsidies are designed to reimburse some election expenditure, while in others like Netherlands, Ireland and Denmark such funds are designed for other purposes, such as general administration, policy research, political education, or to promote the participation by young people or women (for details see chapter 3). Public funding is often justified to lessen the risk of parties and candidates becoming dependent upon large donations or falling under the influence of lobby groups.

The question whether the 'cartel' party represents the emergence of a new and distinctive type of party organization that is evident in many countries remains controversial. There are also important questions concerning how we interpret the consequences of the decline of party membership, and in particular whether the fall has been concentrated mostly among the less active older members, or whether it involves an across-the-board contraction (Scarrow 2000). Nevertheless, what does seem well established by these studies is that many European countries experienced a gradual shrinkage in grassroots party membership from the 1960s to the late 1990s, reducing the overall pool of voluntary labor available for traditional local campaigning. In counterbalance parties have growing numbers of professional staff, employed in parliament and at central party offices, as well as more generous financial resources from public funds. These developments, accompanied by the technological and economic changes in the news system, have contributed towards the shift from direct to mediated forms of campaigning.

The Use of Communication Sources in EU Elections

To examine the consequences of these organizational developments on campaign activity, we can compare the most common ways that European voters were contacted directly by parties or received alternative sources of mediated information, during campaigns in the 12-member states for the elections to the

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European Parliament in 1989. It should be noted that the European elections are second-order contests, and in this regard the results can best be interpreted as a referendum of the performance of the national government, rather than reflecting genuine policy divisions over European issues or a reaction to the performance of the EU. As a low-key contest, we would expect campaigning to reflect a 'mixed' model, combining elements from both the direct and mediated channels of communications, with variations between countries reflecting their electoral, political and media environments, and this is indeed what we find. The European Election Surveys (EES) asked voters about their activities during the two or three weeks before polling day, how the campaign came to their attention, and also what information sources they found most useful in making up their minds how to vote. Campaign activities can be ranged along a rough continuum from *direct* forms of communication (such as talking to friends or family about the election, trying to persuade someone how to vote, speaking to a party worker, attending a party rally, reading election materials sent to their home and reading an election poster) to indirect or mediated forms of communication (reading an advertisement in a newspaper, reading a newspaper report on the election, watching a television program or listening to a radio program on the election).

[Table 3 about here]

Table 3 shows considerable variations across different items. The single most common type of campaign activity was watching a television program about the election, experienced by half the respondents, although this activity proved far more popular in Germany (61%) than in Luxembourg (43%) or Portugal (30%). The other mediated forms of communication each tapped smaller audiences, such as reading a newspaper report about the election (26%) or hearing a radio program (16%), and again there were considerable cross-national variations in these activities. Some of the more direct forms of party-voter communication proved popular, including discussing the election with friends or family (38%), reading election posters (22%) or reading election materials sent to people's homes (17%). But the results also show that in these election few people reported more active forms of personal engagement such as speaking to a party workers (6%), attending a party meeting or rally (6%), or trying to persuade others how to vote (6%). There were some interesting

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variations between nations, for example rallies were more popular than average in Greece and Italy, while campaign leaflets were a more common form of communication in Ireland and the UK, both characterized in these elections by non-party list electoral systems. Similar patterns were confirmed in the 1994 European elections, where again few of the electorate (7%) reported being contacted by party workers during the campaign, while at the other extreme almost two-thirds (65%) were aware of the campaign on television and radio.

Conclusions: Understanding Campaign Communications

Many commentators have noted the transformation of traditional forms of political campaigning and a growing literature has started to distinguish the key features of these developments. Much of this has been conceptualized as involving an 'Americanization' of campaigning. Swanson and Mancini (1996) provide one of the most ambitious theoretical accounts along these lines, suggesting that the 'Americanization' of campaigning has produced similar developments across postindustrial societies: "Around the world, many of the recent changes in election campaigning share common themes despite great differences in the political cultures, histories, and institutions of the countries in which they have occurred. Increasingly, we find such common practices as political commercials, candidates selected in part for the appealing image they project on television, technical experts hired to produce compelling campaign materials, mounting campaign expenses, and mass media moving center stage in campaigns." The key features of 'Americanization' in this account are certain features of campaigning that are understood to have originated first in US elections, which were subsequently 'exported' to other countries. Swanson and Mancini stress four major developments: the 'personalization' of politics as leaders and candidates rise in importance; the 'scientificization' of campaigning as technical experts like opinion pollsters come to take decisions formerly exercised by party officials; the detachment of parties from citizens as politicians come to be increasingly reliant upon opinion polls rather than direct contact with grassroots activists and voters; and the development of more autonomous structures of communications, as the modern news media are more determined to pursue their own interests rather than to serve the needs of politicians.

Yet the impact of these practices varies substantially between nations depending upon the institutional context of election campaigns, such as the legal rules governing campaigning, the strength of traditional mass-branch party organizations, and the structure of the electorate. There are sharp contrasts between newspaper-centric and television-centric news environments, as well as major differences between broadcasting systems that are predominately commercial, mixed or public service oriented (Norris 2000). The predominance of almost purely commercial television in America is atypical of most democracies. The regulation of campaign ads or party political broadcasts, and systems of campaign finance, also vary substantially cross-nationally. As a result of such structural contrasts, rather than following the American model, election campaigns in different post-industrial societies continue to display striking differences. The rise of television-dominated, personality-driven and money-driven campaigns, often seen as characteristic features of the 'Americanization' of campaigning, has probably gone further in Italy, Venezuela and Israel, for example, than in Britain, Germany and Sweden. National case studies suggest complex and varied patterns of campaigning worldwide, rather a simple and uniform 'Americanization' of campaigning.

Instead this chapter has proposed that the major developments can be understood as a process of *modernization* with campaigns evolving through the pre-modern, modern and post-modern stages. These changes did not displace local constituency activity, as the ritual of canvassing and leafleting continued in many countries characterized by mass-branch party organizations. Dedicated party volunteers and candidates continue to engage in the day-to-day activity of organizing, canvassing, leafleting, telephone polling and mobilizing support. Nevertheless, due to new technology central campaign headquarters can now tightly coordinate even local activity. As mentioned earlier, many of the features of traditional pre-modern campaigns also continue in America; retail face-to-face politics remains important for presidential candidates in the Iowa caucus and the New Hampshire primary, as well as in local and state races. In the same way the printed press remains a vital channel of political communications, particularly in newspaper-centric societies characterized by high readership. Nevertheless the primary focus of campaign activities shifted during the 1950s towards national television news and then subsequently into a wide range of venues like talk

shows, internet web sites and cable stations in a more fragmented electronic environment. The shift towards the 'most-modern' campaign has moved towards the permanent campaign, in which the techniques of electioneering become intertwined with those of governing.

Table 1: Typology of the Evolution of Campaign Communications

	Premodern	*Modern*	
Predominant era	**Mid-19thC to 1950s**	**Early 1960s-late 1980s**	
Campaign Organization	Local and decentralized party volunteers	Nationally coordinated with greater professionalization	Na... d...
Preparations	Short-term, ad hoc	Long campaign	
Central coordination	Party leaders	Central party headquarters, more specialist advisors	Speci... mor...
Feedback	Local canvassing and party meetings	Occasional opinion polls	Regu... group...
Media	Partisan press, local posters and pamphlets, radio broadcasts	Television broadcasts through main evening news, targeted direct mail	TV media... dis...
Campaign events	Local public meetings, whistle-stop leadership tours	News management, daily press conferences, controlled photo-ops	Extens... routi...
Costs	Low budget	Moderate	Hig...
Electorate	Stable social and partisan alignments	Social and partisan dealignment	Socia...

Table 1: Access to the Mass Media in Democratic Nations

Nation	Newspapers per 1000 1996 UNESCO	Radios per 1000 1997 World Bank	TV sets per 1000 1997 World Bank	% Telephones 1998 ITU	% PCs 1998 ITU	Per
Argentina	123	681	289	19.7	4.4	
Australia	293	1376	639	51.2	41.2	
Austria	296	753	516	49.1	2 3.3	
Barbados	.	.	.	42.2	7.5	
Belgium	160	793	510	50.0	28.6	
Belize	.	.	.	13.8	13.0	
Benin	2	108	10	.7	.1	
Bolivia	55	675	116	6.9	.8	
Botswana	27	156	20	6.5	2.6	
Bulgaria	257	543	398	32.9	.	
Canada	159	1077	715	63.4	33.0	
Chile	98	354	232	20.6	4.8	
Costa Rica	94	271	387	17.2	3.9	
Cyprus	.	.	.	58.5	.	
Czech Republic	254	803	447	36.4	9.7	
Denmark	309	1141	585	66.0	37.7	
Dominica	.	.	.	25.2	.	
Dominican Republic	52	178	95	9.3	.	
Ecuador	70	419	293	7.8	1.9	
El Salvador	48	464	375	8.0	.	
Estonia	174	693	480	34.3	3.4	
Finland	455	1496	640	55.4	34.9	
France	218	937	601	57.0	20.8	
Germany	311	948	580	56.7	30.5	
Greece	153	477	466	52.2	5.2	
Grenada	.	.	.	26.3	9.6	
Hungary	186	689	437	33.6	5.9	
Iceland	.	.	.	64.7	32.6	
India	.	121	69	2.2	.8	
Ireland	150	699	403	43.5	27.2	
Israel	290	520	318	47.1	21.7	
Italy	104	878	486	45.1	17.3	
Jamaica	62	480	182	16.6	3.9	
Japan	578	955	707	50.3	23.7	
Kiribati	.	.	.	3.5	.7	

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Korea, Republic Of	393	1033	346	43.3	15.7
Latvia	247	710	49 2	30.2	.
Lithuania	93	513	459	30.0	5.4
Luxembourg	.	.	.	69.2	73.2
Malta	.	.	.	49.9	26.0
Mauritius	75	368	226	21.4	8.7
Micronesia, Fed Stat	.	.	.	8.0	.
Mongolia	27	151	63	3.7	.5
Namibia	19	144	37	6.9	1.9
Netherlands	306	978	543	59.3	31.8
New Zealand	216	990	508	47.9	28.2
Norway	588	915	579	66.0	37.3
Panama Canal Zone	62	299	187	15.1	2.7
Papua New Guinea	15	97	24	1.1	.
Philippines	79	159	108	3.7	1.5
Poland	113	523	413	22.8	4.4
Portugal	75	304	542	41.4	8.1
Romania	300	319	233	16.2	1.0
Slovakia	185	58 0	402	28.6	6.5
Slovenia	199	406	356	37.5	25.1
South Africa	32	317	125	11.5	4.7
Spain	100	333	506	41.4	14.5
St. Lucia	.	.	.	26.8	13.6
St. Vincent & Grenadine	.	.	.	18.8	8.9
Sweden	445	932	531	67.4	36.1
Switzerland	337	1000	535	67.5	42.2
Taiwan	.	.	.	52.4	15.9
Thailand	63	232	236	8.4	2.2
Trinidad & Tobago	123	534	334	15.2	4.7
Tuvalu	.	.	.	.	.
United Kingdom	329	1436	6 45	55.7	26.3
United States	215	2146	847	66.1	45.9
Uruguay	293	607	241	25.0	9.1
Western Samoa	.	.	.	4.9	.5

Sources: Newspapers per 1000 population, *UNESCO Statistical Yearbook, 2000*, Radios and TV Sets pe
Development Indicators World Bank 2000; % Telephones and % PCs International Telecommunication
2000; % of the population online www.NUA.ie; % Weighted Hosts www.Netcraft.com. Democracies are def
Freedom House 2001. www.freedomhouse.org.

Table 2: Campaign Communication Regulation OECD nations, mid-1990s

Country	Paid Political Ads on TV	Free TV Airtime to Parties	Fair Balance Rules	Leader Debate last Election	Ban on publication of opinion polls prior to election	US Consultants involved in recent campaign	Dir... S... p... ca...
Australia	✍	✍	✍	✍			
Austria	✍	✍	✍			✍	
Belgium		✍	✍	✍			
Canada	✍	✍	✍	✍			
Denmark		✍		✍		✍	
Finland		✍	✍	✍		✍	
France		✍	✍	✍	✍	✍	
Germany	✍	✍	✍			✍	
Greece							
Ireland		✍	✍	✍		✍	
Italy	✍	✍	✍		✍	✍	
Japan	✍	✍	✍	✍		✍	
Mexico	✍	✍		✍		✍	
Netherlands	✍	✍	✍				
NZ	✍	✍		✍			
Norway		✍	✍	✍			
Poland		✍					
Portugal				✍	✍		
Spain		✍	✍	✍	✍		
Sweden	✍	✍	✍	✍		✍	
Switzerland		✍	✍		✍	✍	
Turkey		✍	✍	✍			
UK		✍	✍			✍	
US	✍		✍	✍		✍	
OECD Total	11/21	21/22	18/18	16/18	5/16	13/18	

Table 3: Sources of Campaign Communication, 1989 EU Elections

(% 'yes')	Direct Party-Voter Communications						Mediated Party-Vote	
	Talked to friends, family or workmates	Tried to persuade someone to vote	Spoke to a party worker	Attended a public meeting or rally	Read election material sent to my homes	Read an election poster	Read an advertisement in a newspaper	Read a newspaper report about the election
Belgium	19	4	4	3	11	17	16	14
Denmark	42	6	6	3	14	17	25	33
France	39	8	5	3	18	25	14	26
Germany	40	4	9	7	16	35	23	32
Greece	53	4	6	13	11	11	10	46
Ireland	36	3	11	4	25	18	17	30
Italy	47	8	8	11	10	27	17	19
Luxembourg	40	0	7	7	21	29	21	36
Netherlands	37	3	4	3	14	14	15	34
Portugal	26	2	3	4	5	16	8	15
Spain	31	2	3	3	13	15	10	17
UK	32	7	4	1	32	11	15	30
EU12	*38*	*6*	*6*	*5*	*17*	*22*	*16*	*26*

Note: Q "Which of the following did you do during the two or three weeks before the European elections?"

Source: Eurobarometer 31A European Elections N.11819 EU12 June-July 1989.

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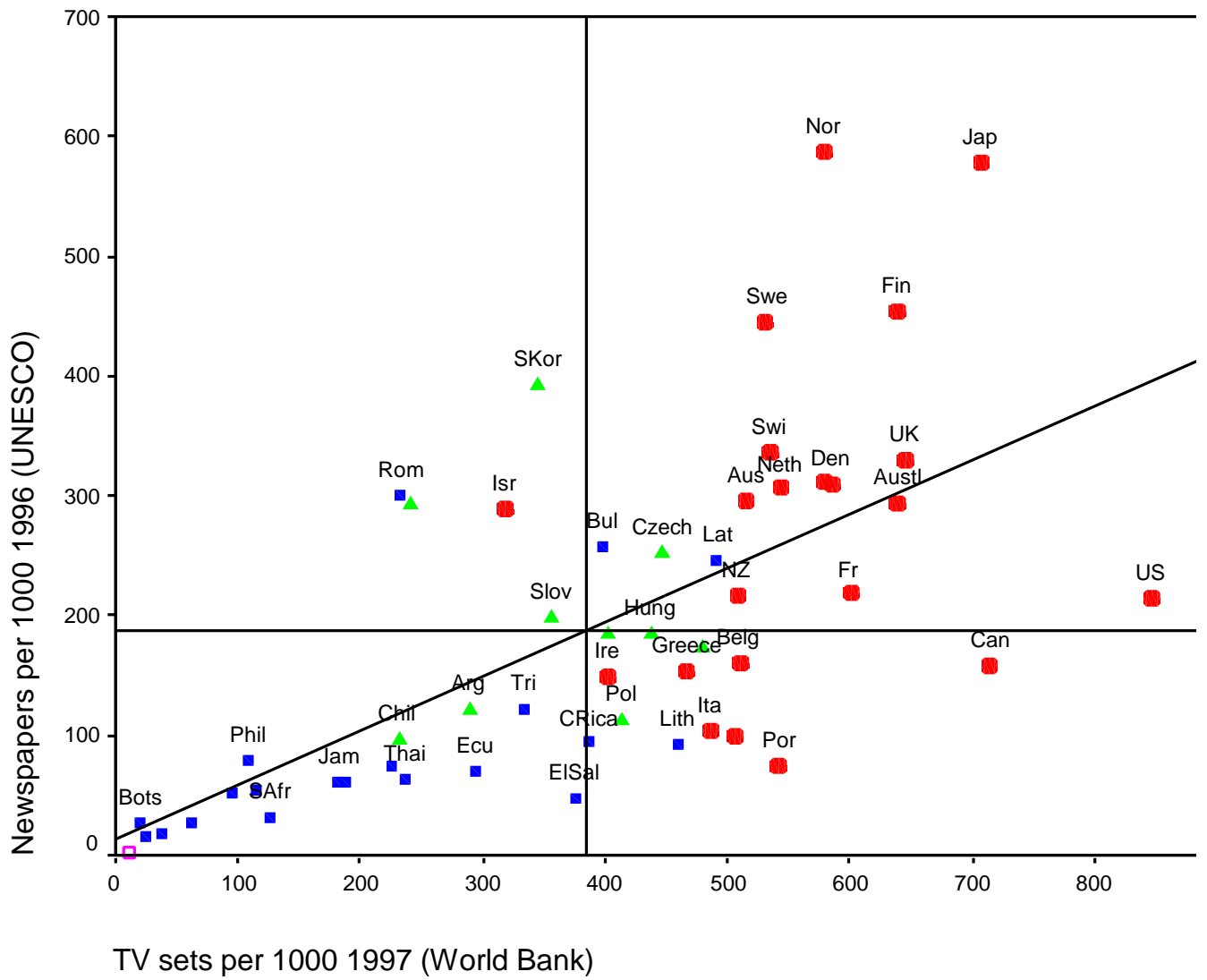TV sets per 1000 1997 (World Bank)

Newspapers per 1000 1996 (UNESCO)

Figure 1: Model of Campaign Communications

Contextual Environment | *Campaign Organizations* | *Communication Channels* | *Campaign Effects*

Legal Regulation of Campaign Communications

Structure of the Mass Media

Parties & Candidates

Interest Groups & Social Movements

Direct

Indirect

Pamphlets
Canvassing
Speeches
Paid Ads
Websites
Group email

Newspapers
Magazines
Television
Radio
Media webs

Journalists, editors, broadcasters and news executives

Public Opinion

Political Knowledge
Political Attitudes
Political Behavior

Feedback loop