Handbook of POLITICAL MARKETING

Bruce I. Newman Editor
## Contents

Foreword xi  
*Peter D. Hart*

Preface xiii  
*Bruce I. Newman*

Acknowledgments xv

Introduction xvii

### SECTION I: Conceptual and Historical Origins of Political Marketing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Political Marketing: Generating Effective Candidates, Campaigns, and Causes</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Philip Kotler and Neil Kotler</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Elite, Popular, and Merchandised Politics: Historical Origins of Presidential Campaign Marketing</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Richard M. Perloff</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The Marketing Colonization of Political Campaigning</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Dominic Wring</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Patrick Butler and Neil Collins</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. The Permanent Campaign: Marketing as a Governing Tool
   Dan Nimmo

SECTION II: Management of Political Campaigns

6. Is There a European Style of Political Marketing?
   A Survey of Political Managers and Consultants
   Fritz Plasser, Christian Scheucher, and Christian Senft
   89

7. Political Consulting: Bridging the Academic and Practical Perspectives
   Dennis E. Kinsey
   113

8. Managing Volunteers: Times Have Changed—Or Have They?
   Gregory G. Lebel
   129

9. Greater Than the Sum of Its Parts: Coordinating the Paid and Earned Media Message
   Dan Schnur
   143

10. Money Doesn’t Grow on Trees: Fund-Raising in American Political Campaigns
    Jennifer A. Steen
    159

SECTION III: Analysis of the Political Marketplace

POLITICAL RESEARCH METHODS

11. Media Polls, Candidates, and Campaigns
    Pama Mitchell and Rob Daves
    177

12. Preelection Polling and Political Campaigns
    Eric W. Rademacher and Alfred J. Tuchfarber
    197

13. Exit Polls and Election Campaigns
    Jürgen Hofrichter
    223

14. Only the Facts: Professional Research and Message Development
    Craig Varoga and Mike Rice
    243
15. A Predictive Model of Voter Behavior: The Repositioning of Bill Clinton
   Bruce I. Newman

   Andrzej Falkowski and Wojiêtech Cwalina

17. A Value-Oriented Model of Candidate Appraisal
   Frank Huber and Andreas Herrmann

18. Grabbing the Nonvoter
   Dorina Miron

SECTION IV: Development of Political Strategy

TACTICAL ISSUES

19. The Nonverbal Image of Politicians and Political Parties
   Günter Schweiger and Michaela Adami

20. Direct Marketing: How Does It Work for Political Campaigns?
   Elaine Sherman

21. Televised Debates: Marketing Presidential Candidates
   Sidney Kraus

22. Voter Segmentation and Candidate Positioning
   Paul R. Baines

POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

23. Political Advertising: A Summary of Research Findings
   Lynda Lee Kaid

   J. Harry Wray
25. Selected Aspects of Communication in German Election Campaigns
   Knut Bergmann and Wolfram Wickert

26. The Impact of Television on the Democratization Processes
   Lilja Raycheva

27. Do the Media Reflect or Shape Public Opinion?
   Jolán Róka

SECTION V: Execution of Political Campaigns

28. The Machine Was Alive and Well and Living in Skokie
   Judith-Rae E. Ross

29. Limitations of Political Marketing?
    A Content Analysis of Press Coverage of Political Issues During the 1997 U.K. General Election Campaign
    Phil Harris, Andrew Lock, and Jennie Roberts

30. Against the Fundamental Rules
    Hans Schmid and Dietmar Ecker

31. The Impact of Dr. Joe's Strategic Positioning:
    A Case Study of a Successful Marketing-Based Election Campaign in Upper Austria
    Michael Strugl, Hans Lugmayr, and Klaus Weissmann

32. Democracy and Elections in the New East Central Europe
    Daniel Odescalchi

33. "Goods Over God": Lobbying and Political Marketing—
    A Case Study of the Campaign by the Shopping Hours Reform Council to Change Sunday Trading Laws in the United Kingdom
    Phil Harris, Hanne Gardner, and Nadja Vetter

34. How Marketing Changed the World: The Political Marketing of an Idea—A Case Study of Privatization
    Nigel Allington, Philip Morgan, and Nicholas O'Shaughnessy
35. Interest Groups and the Political Process: Gender Issues  
   *Barbara Lindsay*  
643

36. The Permanent Campaign: Marketing From the Hill  
   *Wayne P. Steger*  
661

---

**SECTION VI: Political Marketing and Democracy**

37. You Can’t Teach a Dead Dog New Tricks:  
   The Problem of Campaign Finance and  
   Why Reform Has Not Worked  
   *Jon B. Gould*  
687

38. The Cyberspace Election of the Future  
   *Dennis W. Johnson*  
705

39. Political Marketing and Political Propaganda  
   *Nicholas O'Shaughnessy*  
725

40. Money and Politics  
   *J. Harry Wray*  
741

Index  
759

About the Editor  
779

About the Contributors  
781