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IMPROVING EFFICIENCY IN MANAGING POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS
(CASE STUDY – MACEDONIAN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS)

ПОДОБРУВАЊЕ НА ЕФИКАСНОСТА ПРИ МЕНАЦИРАЊЕ ПОЛИТИЧКИ
КАМПАЊИ (СТУДИЈА НА СЛУЧАЈ – ПАРЛАМЕНТАРНИ ИЗБОРИ ВО
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Introduction

The art of political campaigning in the last two decades was a subject to a variety of changes and improvements, reflecting the dynamics of technological and scientific developments. New techniques and methods were introduced and the old ones were significantly expanded. The process that only before half a century was considered as an art, now adopting new methods typical for the hard sciences, such as mathematics and statistics, entered in a new era where it was no longer denoted only as a creative intuitive work, but also as a possible scientific domain. It became a combination of art and science, popularly called electioneering, by the scholars in this particular field. The majority of the researchers¹ are accordant that the field of managing political campaigns has passed three main stages in its development: pre-modern, modern and post-modern stage, although there are no strong time bounds between them. The last one, or the post-modern style of campaigning, can be characterized by permanent and highly intensive campaign, and by utilization of sophisticated and targeted operations. The new methods introduced, were consisted of various strategic tools and marketing efforts, and were supported by statistical data, polling and mathematical equations.

Social factors, such as partisan de-alignment and growth of the late deciders², were creating an urge for improving the methods for campaigning, taking into account the increased importance of campaigns in the post-modern period. The primary objective of all those techniques was to improve the efficiency of political campaigns i.e. to contribute for winning the elections with less resources spent. This was mainly a quest for methods that will achieve better electoral results, but with less money spent. One of the methods, which utility was mainly acknowledged in the countries with majoritarian electoral systems, such as United States, was called segment analysis. This method differentiates the electoral districts in three types, depending of how many base and persuadable voters each district have. The logic is to target geographically as many districts as much as suffice for winning, while prioritizing those electoral units that have the largest number of persuadable voters. In this way the valuable resources could be allocated more efficiently. However, the question that inevitably emerges here is whether and to what extent this method will influence on improving the efficiency of the political campaigns in countries with proportional electoral systems, such as the Macedonian parliamentary elections' model? The lack of research in this field in the

¹ Some of them: Rudiger Schmith-Beck, David M. Farrell, David Denver, Gordon Hands, Pippa Norris etc.

² Voters that make their voting decision during campaign or on the election day.

Macedonian intellectual arena, and the utility of this research, which could be both practical and theoretical, make this topic highly relevant and important for analysis. The basic hypothesis that this research will confirm or deny, claims that the method of segment analysis and particularly the technique of geographic targeting, will significantly influence towards improving the efficiency of political campaigns of Macedonian parliamentary elections. The efficiency would be improved in 3 directions: firstly, it will significantly reduce the financial costs of the campaigns, secondly it will reduce the uncertainty about the election outcome, and finally, will decrease the arbitrariness in the decision making process. In order to adjust this method to the conditions of the proportional electoral models, here is developed a model, similar to those used in the campaigns for majoritarian systems, but enriched with factors that are typical only for the proportional systems. The model is called „Strategic Campaign Priority Matrix”, which will be in detail explained and elaborated in the third chapter. The set of methodological approaches will consists of analytical, comparative, critical and polemical approach, each having its share in the total argumentation of the hypothesis. The analytical and comparative method will be used to analyze, compare and then depict the statistical data in a most suitable and understandable way. Critically will be evaluated each argument, and polemically both sides of the coin will be explained. The existing studies in this field, and the bountiful statistical data, will be the main sources from where this research will draw its arguments. And finally, with the mathematical equations, statistical models and matrixes, and with graph charts, we will try to give more weight and intelligibility to our arguments.

This research will be structured in four main chapters. In the first or the theoretical part, an explanations and definitions of all the campaign related concepts will be given. It will begin with an insight about the recent trends in campaigning or electioneering, such as the growth of late-deciders and the increased importance of campaigns. In the end of this part, briefly, all the modern marketing techniques and methods that could be used for mobilization, persuasion and conversion of voters will be enumerated. In the second chapter, the method of segment analysis will be elaborated in detail with all its aspects and related mathematical equations, among which: analysis of average party performance, calculating partisan voters, distinguishing base and soft partisans, and finally calculating the toss-up voters. In the next chapter the first main argument will take place. Here, in a matrix, segments are going to be ranked, by determining which electoral districts (municipalities in our case) should have priority in spending the resources and directing campaign efforts, and thus reducing the costs of wasting the valuable resources. In the fourth and final chapter, where our second main argument will be elaborated, we shall divide some of the municipalities in Macedonia (as

imagined electoral districts) in three types, depending how many partisan and persuadable voters each municipality has, and then different voter contact strategies and marketing tactics will be proposed for each type.

1.Campaigning: elements, functions, recent trends and methods

The notion and field of research of political campaigns, is a subfield of the part of political science that analyze elections. In fact, campaigns are only one part of the whole process of electing public officials and legitimize authority. Marketing is the other field that has close relations with the process of campaign management. It emphasize the similarity with the market, taking into account the fact that campaigns, in some aspects, have the form of a market, where demand and supply intersect. Another reason why campaigns are so closely related to the market and economics is the enormous amount of money spent during campaigning period. Some scholars, mainly political philosophers, denote this economic explanation of the campaigns as too simplified. They claim that campaigns' primary purpose is to be like a „*forums for public deliberation*”³, emphasizing the substantial side of the campaigns i.e. their role to legitimize governmental policies. Other definitions define campaigns from more formal aspect and give them more obvious meaning. For example, one definition claims that „*campaigning is the process of planning and executing activities in an attempt to win votes*”.⁴ Farrell and Schmitt-Beck propose more extensive and profound definition. According to them, political campaigns „*consist of an organized communication effort, involving the role of one or more agencies (be they parties, candidates, government institutions or special interest organizations) seeking to influence the outcome of processes of political decision-making by shaping public opinion.*”⁵ Political actors are campaigning because they expect support for some issue or candidate for elections, from the public, or at least some part of it.⁶ As we can notice, here is emphasized the procedural dimension of the campaigns, regarding campaigns as a part of the political process. Looking from a perspective of the goals of one campaign, Pippa Norris defines campaigns as an „*organized efforts to inform, persuade and mobilize*”, and distinguishes four elements in campaigns: messages, channels of communication, the impact of the messages on their target audience

³ Adam F. Simon. *The Winning Message: Candidate behavior, campaign discourse and democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 2004, p. 11

⁴ Lazarsfeld, Berelson and McPhee 1948. Quoted at Adam F. Simon. *The Winning Message*. 2004, p. 35

⁵ Rudiger Schmith-Beck and David M. Farrell (editors). *Do political campaigns matter? Yes, but it depends*. New York: Routledge, 2002, p. 2

⁶ Ibid, p.2

and the feedback from the audience.⁷ Finally, the last definition that is important and relevant to be quoted here is the one from the Macedonian electoral law, which says that: „*election campaign is a public representation of the verified candidates, by competent election authorities, and their platform in the pre-election period for the specific type of elections.*”⁸

There are various types of political campaigns that could be divided in four main categories, according to their primary purpose. The first one are election campaigns, where primary goal of the competing sides is to win the particular elections. Second type are the referendums, where campaign is focused on one issue, and there are two competing sides, ones who are pro and the others contra. Next type are the single issue campaigns, which differs from referendums in the fact that here is only one actor involved who launches the campaign. The last type of campaigns are the image campaigns which are launched by single actor, but may involve a range of issues. The purpose is to raise the public esteem of the particular candidate or organization.⁹

Political campaigns, as was said above, are not only formal, but also a substantial and meaningful events. One of the functions of a political campaign is to be, not only a formal organized effort for persuading voters, but also to represent a forum where voters could have an opportunity to express their opinion and priorities about certain issues or public policies. It is the element called voters' feedback. That is the reason why the concept of dialogue is from a crucial importance here. Dialogue represents the qualitative side of the campaigns. It is often denoted as a „*yardstick for evaluating the quality of the campaign*”, and it is also the main part of the campaign substance.¹⁰ Many political philosophers, from different centuries, emphasize and glorify this „substantial” function of the political campaigns. For example, for John S. Mill campaign is a „*marketplace of ideas*”.¹¹ Many modern political philosophers, as well, assign great importance to the dialogue, as a discourse that should qualitatively enrich campaigns. They defend this „idealistic” claiming by the argument that the health of one society could only be preserved if campaigns function as a forums for dialogue and public deliberation, where each side have an opportunity to express their rational ideas. This side

⁷ Norris, Pippa. *Do campaign communications matter for civic engagement? American elections from Eisenhower to George W. Bush*. Rudiger Schmith-Beck and David M. Farrell (editors). *Do political campaigns matter? Yes, but it depends*. New York: Routledge, 2002, p.128

⁸ Собрание на Република Македонија. Изборен законик. „Сл.Весник на Република Македонија” бр.40 од 31.03.2006 година, Article 2, Paragraph 13

⁹ Rudiger Schmith-Beck and David M. Farrell (editors). *Do political campaigns matter? Yes, but it depends*. New York: Routledge, 2002, p. 4-5

¹⁰ Adam F. Simon. *The Winning Message: Candidate behavior, campaign discourse and democracy*. 2004, p. 2

¹¹ John S. Mill, cited at Adam F. Simon. *The Winning Message: Candidate behavior, campaign discourse and democracy*. 2004, p.2

particularly is proclaimed by Habermas, according to whom the campaign is an „*ideal speech situation*”.¹² John Rawls considers campaigns as a public political forums and emphasize the notion of deliberation, a concept of which depends the legitimacy of democratic government. According Rawls, „*when citizens deliberate, they exchange views and debate their supporting reasons concerning public political questions.*”¹³

However, without neglecting this qualitative and meaningful side of the political campaigns, this research will be directed more towards the form of the campaign. Or to express with more simplified vocabulary, it will mainly analyze the practical functioning of the campaigns, rather than its substance. Here will be analyzed only one aspect of the whole process of organizing and managing political campaigns. An analogy can be made with those who study and analyze economy from more philosophical perspective, for example, analyzing its functions, such as to allocate the scarce resources in most efficient/equitable/sustainable way (depending which theory you prefer), versus those who analyze, for example, which are the most efficient methods in the strategy for selling some product on the market. This second aspect of the analysis, so to say, is of more practical nature. Although, this type of analysis is very often criticized that does not contribute for the general benefit of the society, researchers that deal with this subject, defend themselves, by claiming that when they help with their researches for some company to achieve larger sales, with that, they indirectly contribute for improving the overall efficiency of the market and thus avoiding market externalities to occur, which can cause unemployment and so on. The „greater” purpose of this research could similarly be defended by the argument that, if efficiency of the campaigns could be improved i.e. less money would be spent for the same or better result, then the corruption in the process of funding campaigns could be decreased. Then the money could be allocated in some other more useful direction. Ultimately, even if there is an excess of funds after the campaign is over, according the Macedonian Electoral law, political parties are obliged the rest of the funds to donate in charities.¹⁴

Although, there is a variety of suggestions for systematization and organization of one campaign, the most common type of organizing a political campaign has the following order: The first step is the research. It is the step that takes place even before the official campaign has started, and it comprises few sub steps such as, research of the election rules, of the district, of voters, past elections, current elections, strengths and weaknesses of the party or

¹² Jurgen Habermas, cited at Ibid, p. 2-3

¹³ John Rawls 1997, cited at Ibid 16

¹⁴ Собрание на Република Македонија. Изборен законик. „Сл.Весник на Република Македонија” бр.40 од 31.03.2006 година, Article 85, Paragraph 6

candidate/s, of the viable opponents, and finally, assessing the political landscape. Next step is setting the goal, of which the most important, although difficult for assessment is determining how many voters are needed to win. Then comes the targeting, which is one of the most important and beneficial step, that every modern and serious campaign includes in its analysis. Part of it will be examined and analyzed in this research. There are two types of targeting, geographic and demographic. They can also be combined. The fourth step in the process of campaigning, is the development of a campaign message. This part is the most subjective and often, the most uncertain, where academic guess and intuition is required, although recently some polling techniques were introduced in order to overcome the uncertainty. Finally, the last step is the development of a voter contact plan.¹⁵

Scholars, mainly analyzing election campaigns from United States and Britain, distinguish three separate stages in the development of election campaigns: pre-modern, modern and post-modern.¹⁶ Each of these campaign periods has its specific approach over campaign organization and marketing. The pre-modern stage, which broadly covers the first half of the 20th century, was characterized, by short-term or ad hoc preparations, and it used both direct (party press, newspaper ads, billboards) and indirect use of media (newspaper coverage). Campaign organization was mainly decentralized with greater role of the local party organizations. There was minimal use of consultants and professional agencies, and politicians were in charge. And finally, parties had social class support base and maintained the vote of specific social categories.¹⁷ Modern campaigns were characterized by long-term (one year in advance) campaign preparations, emphasis was put on the indirect media such as public relations and press conferences, and there was centralizations of the campaigns with growing importance of consultants. In this stage, unlike the pre-modern, political parties tried to win and mobilize voters across all categories.¹⁸ The post-modern or post-fordist stage, is usually defined by a permanent campaign, emphasis is put on the direct use of media (targeted ads, direct mail, cable television, internet), and operations are decentralized with central scrutiny. Professionalization and scientification are another core characteristics of the stage three campaign. And finally, there is also market segmentation and targeting of specific

¹⁵ O'Day, Brian. *Political Campaign Planning Manual: a step by step guide to winning elections*. National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, 2003, p. 3-5

¹⁶ Rudiger Schmith-Beck and David M. Farrell (editors). *Do political campaigns matter? Yes, but it depends*. New York: Routledge, 2002, p.10-12

¹⁷ Farrell and Webb 2000, p. 104. Cited at Rudiger Schmith-Beck and David M. Farrell (editors). *Do political campaigns matter? Yes, but it depends*. New York: Routledge, 2002, p.10-12

¹⁸ Ibid, p.10-12

categories of voters included.¹⁹ Post-modern stage was mainly achieved because of some of the technological advances, such as the computer technology, the Internet, satellite and cable television, new polling techniques, telephone banks, social networks and others. They provided new means for targeted two-way communication²⁰ which has improved the efficiency of the campaigns. Nevertheless, it is difficult to differentiate and find all three stages in the case of the development of the young Macedonian democracy. Macedonian political campaigns, whether parliamentary, presidential or local, could be characterized as a combination of modern and post-modern stage characteristics, in some aspects leaning more towards the one and in some towards the other stage. For example, Macedonian political campaigns could be characterized as permanent with increased usage of polling techniques and campaign consultants, characteristics which are part of the post-modern stage. However, there is still great centralization and nationalization of the campaigns, the use of media is mainly indirect (public relations, press conferences), and there is a limited use of market segmentation and targeting, features typical for the modern stage. Campaigns are also trying to win all categories of voters, and such wasting resources. This research would be one step further toward implementation and using of market segmentation and voter targeting in the campaigns of Macedonian political parties.

1.1. The rise of late deciders and increased significance of political campaigns

For both, scholars who analyze campaigns and for consultants, the biggest mystery and challenge is understanding individual voting choice. There is a variety of theories created for illuminating this seemingly vague issue. One of the theoretical approaches, popularly called traditional view of partisan affiliation, explains individual voting choice mainly in terms of early socialization. According to this approach, voting choice is a stable category determined at the individuals in their pre-adult years. From a panel study in the USA, it is discovered that 80% of the individuals interviewed in 1965, have the same partisan affiliation twenty years after.²¹ Partisan identification has two important components: direction and strength. Direction refers to which party one individual identifies and strength to the intensity of that attachment.²² There are few types of scales that graphically present that intensity,

¹⁹ Ibid, p.10-12

²⁰ Rudiger Schmith-Beck and David M. Farrell (editors). *Do political campaigns matter? Yes, but it depends*. New York: Routledge, 2002 , p.10-12

²¹ John Coleman, Kenneth Goldstein and William Howell. „*Understanding American Politics and Government*”. New York: Longman, 2008, p. 296

²² Ibid, p.296-297

among most often used are the seven and five point scales. In this research, as most suitable, will be used a five point scale.

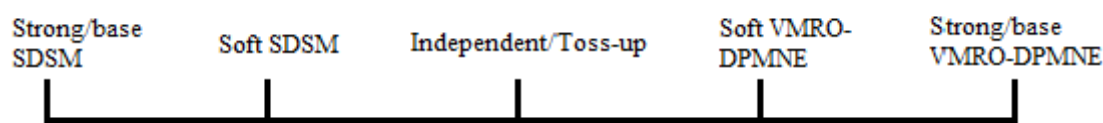


Figure 1. Scale of partisan identification, concerning the two biggest Macedonian political parties, on a five point scale

From studies in United States, it was found that partisan identification is a strong predictor in determining the election outcome. In fact, 90% from the strong Democrats or Republicans have voted for their party's candidate, and around 70-85% from the soft ones.²³ However, this traditional view of voting choice was significantly broadened and altered with the development of political science, campaigning and social conditions. With the rise of late-decider, from the numerous studies conducted, was found that individual voting choice is a more complex category and cannot be understood only in categories of early socialization and partisan attachment. Two recent categories were included: issue voting and candidate appraisal, which combined together with the partisan attachment could predict, more accurately, the individual voting choice.²⁴ Issue voting can be summarized as an attachment of one individual for one particular issue, and according the attitudes he/she has for that issue the vote is distributed. For example, an environmentalist (a person for whom the protection of environment is a priority) will always vote for the party that emphasize that issue in its program. The same can be said about the person whose priority is security. There is an additional division in this category, regarding whether an individual votes retrospectively (looking what the party has done in the past) and prospectively (looking what the party will perform in future about that particular issue). And the last category included in the extended theories was the candidate appraisal, which emphasize candidate qualities such as leadership skills, appearance, popularity and intelligence, in determining individual voting choice.²⁵

Another theoretical approach systemizes voters in four distinct categories and models. In the first model, of early socialization and cognitive consistency, are actually encompassed voters with pre-determined party identification. At this type of voters, campaign effects are strongly limited because individual's voting decision is influenced by an early learned social

²³ Ibid, p. 299

²⁴ Ibid, p.300-308

²⁵ Ibid, p. 300-311

identification. There is little or no consideration of alternatives, and that is the reason why it is very difficult his/hers opinion to be changed. In fact, voters from this category, are receiving and filtering campaign information in a way that confirm their *a priori* attitudes.²⁶ This type of voters usually constitutes and presents the base electoral body of a certain political party. These voters in most of the cases will vote for the party they have always voted for, and any opposite information will be rejected as inconsistent with their beliefs, according to the Cognitive Dissonance Theory. In fact, three phenomena limit the ability of media and campaigns to influence on their attitudes: selective exposure, selective perception and selective retention.²⁷ Second model, called rational choice model, describes some voters as a rational individuals that always make value maximizing decision, evaluating the political parties (or candidates) in terms of the „*expected consequences for their own self-interest*.“²⁸ These type of voters gather information and then weigh their relative costs and benefits. There is unconstrained and constrained model of rational choice. In the third and fourth voting choice models, voters have limited time and interest for politics. They analyze only a few campaign information that always refer as „easy“ issues.²⁹ One of the models, or the third one, is called fast and frugal decision making model, and in it are actually included single issue voters. They make voting decisions based on whether their attitudes on certain issue overlap with the attitudes of one party. And, the fourth model, called bounded rationality and intuitive decision making, includes voters which have stereotyped view over political parties. These voters gather little information and make no calculation of alternatives. Their decision is more intuitive than rational. Voters from model three make also a decisions that puts intuition first, rather than the rational weighing of alternatives.³⁰

When elaborating the theories that try to explain individual voting choice, it is important to mention and another approach, which separates voters from a time perspective i.e. time when they make their decision, before or after the campaign is commenced. Second type of voters are called late deciders, which are especially important in our analysis, because these voters are more likely to be influenced by the campaign. The bigger their number, the

²⁶ Lau, Richard and Redlwask, David. *How voters decide: information, processing, election campaigns*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006, p. 9-11

²⁷ John Coleman, Kenneth Goldstein and William Howell. „*Understanding American Politics and Government*“. New York: Longman, 2008, p. 352-353

²⁸ Lau, Richard and Redlwask, David. *How voters decide: information, processing, election campaigns*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006, p. 6

²⁹ „Easy“ issues deals with policy ends, rather than means. The other type, or the „hard“ issues are more technical in nature and require greater political sophistication, that only voters from the rational choice model are considered to have.

³⁰ Lau, Richard and Redlwask, David. *How voters decide: information, processing, election campaigns*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006, p. 12-14

greater the impact of the campaign. They could also be divided as calculating (who care about the election outcome) and capricious (that have indolent attitude about the outcome).³¹ The obvious conclusion here is that early deciders are usually the base electoral bodies of the parties, and represent the voters with pre-determined party identification, that cannot be influenced by the campaign and comprise in average around 50% of those who vote.³² Nevertheless, from the analysis of the statistical data, from the elections from United States and Britain in the last 70 years, which depicts percentages of early and late deciders, a trend of declining of partisan identification and rise of late deciders can be noticed. For example, in Britain in 1964, the percentage of individuals that strongly identify themselves with certain political party was 42%, to decline to only 16% in 1997.³³ In fact, the party membership of both parties, Labor and Conservative, has decreased significantly. Another statistical indicator, also from Britain, which depicts the rise of voters who decide during campaign (from 12% in 1964 to 24% in 1992)³⁴, bring us to the conclusion that electoral volatility in the past two decades has increased significantly, and thus the election campaigns gained more importance. This trend could also be noticed in the United States. Namely, in 1948 late deciders which constituted 28% of the electoral voting body, rose to 44% in 2000. In Australia the trend is similar, with rise of 15 percentage points within 11 years.³⁵ This widespread trend of decreasing of partisan identifiers and growth of late deciders, which is partly explained by social modernization, suggests that election campaigns begun to have a crucial role in determining the election outcome. Schmitt-Beck and Farrell in the final chapter of the editorial „*Do Campaign Matter?*”, conclude that campaigns indeed matter but depends of the circumstances.³⁶ Ian McAllister in the same manner highlights the growing importance of campaigns, and concludes that because of the growing number of calculating late deciders, „*party strategy based on a reasoned debate and utilizing detailed factual information is more*

³¹ McAllister, Ian. *Calculating or capricious? The new politics of late deciding voters*. Rudiger Schmith-Beck and David M. Farrell (editors). *Do political campaigns matter? Yes, but it depends*. New York: Routledge, 2002, p. 22-40

³² For example: Australia 49% (source: Australian Election Study, 1998), Britain 64% (British Election Study, 1997), and United States 51% (American National Election Study, 2000). Taken from: Ibid, p. 29

³³ Lees-Marshment, Jennifer. *Political marketing and British political parties. The party's just begun*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001, p. 14

³⁴ Ibid, p. 16

³⁵ Sources: American National Election Studies, 1948-2000; British Election Studies, 1974-97; Australian Election Studies, 1987-98. Taken from: McAllister, Ian. *Calculating or capricious? The new politics of late deciding voters*. Rudiger Schmith-Beck and David M. Farrell (editors). *Do political campaigns matter? Yes, but it depends*. New York: Routledge, 2002, p. 24

³⁶ Rudiger Schmith-Beck and David M. Farrell (editors). *Do political campaigns matter? Yes, but it depends*. New York: Routledge, 2002, p. 183-93

*likely to succeed than a superficial campaign based on slogans and sound bites”.*³⁷ Although there is no similar studies in Macedonia, about the variations in the number of late deciders, there is no reason to reject the conclusion that campaign really do matter and in the case of the Macedonian election campaigns. And this research actually tries to analyze and determine the methods for improving the efficiency of election campaigns.

1.2. Types of modern methods for campaigning

The new style of campaigning significantly utilizes technologies that allow two way communication to be developed. The Internet and social networks, such as Facebook, Twitter, MySpace, Blogs (Web 2.0), YouTube and others, have began to constitute the base on which communication, with supporters and all the other voters, is taking place. Social networks, slowly took the role of an Agora, a place where political dialogue, mainly among the young population, is carried out. However, they are not the only technological benefits for the campaigns. The power of data based management was the other important tool utilized by the campaign managers. Whether used for an opposition research, for planning the volunteer activities, or for preserving all the information related with the political platform, these data bases have created solid tactical advantage for the campaigns that prudently use them. Another crucial change is the increased utilization of a variety of professional services among which: strategists, professional fund-raisers, pollsters, media consultants and opposition researchers. The specialization of tasks has replaced the old party leaders' management. Now the role of managing campaigns is left to professionals, each specialized in a different field of campaigning.³⁸ Obama's campaign in 2008, have displayed the real power and advantage of all these new campaign methods and concepts. For each part of Obama's campaign, different specialists were in charge. But the focus was put on the Internet. Obama's Internet toolkit consisted of an interactive web site (www.mybarackobama.com), then online videos, social networks and e-mailings. All these tools had a diverse usage. They were used as a fundraising tools, as methods for attracting volunteers, as a marketing tools and finally as tools for mobilization of voters.³⁹

³⁷ McAllister, Ian. *Calculating or capricious? The new politics of late deciding voters*. Rudiger Schmith-Beck and David M. Farrell (editors). *Do political campaigns matter? Yes, but it depends*. New York: Routledge, 2002, p. 39

³⁸ Michael John Burton and Daniel M. Shea. *Campaign craft: the strategies, tactics, and art of political campaign management-4th ed*. Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2010, p.1-31

³⁹ Delany, Colin. *Learning from Obama: Lessons for Online Communicators in 2009 and Beyond*. 2009. 27 Jan. 2012 <http://www.epolitics.com/learning-from-obama.pdf>

The diversity of methods and techniques for voter contact, were also expanded significantly in the new style of campaigning. Especially, in the field of advertising, new mathematical methods for measuring efficiency were introduced. Gross Rating Point was the most common tool and basic unit for media purchasing, which in fact is a sum of reach multiplied by frequency. Reach presents the share of a target demographic that sees the campaign's ad, and frequency is the number of times that a single person might be reached. For example, a message that plays five times on a program boasting 5% reach, achieves 25 GRPs.⁴⁰

Voter contact tools could also be divided as direct and indirect. The methods for a direct voter contact, consist of a candidate contact (walking in neighborhoods, coffee klatches or cocktail parties), volunteer outreach (canvassing, literature drops, telephone banks), mail efforts (direct mail, e-mail, SMS texts) and "Netroots" politicking (encourage supporters to reach out to friends and acquaintances). On the other side, the indirect ones, or the campaign's communication through the media, could be divided as paid or earned. News releases, news conferences, media events, debates and interviews comprise the earned media tool kit. Paid media represent the ads released on the Television, Radio, Newspapers or in the New Media (Internet or Web Sites).⁴¹ Each of these voter contact tactics and methods could be used in a different combination according the circumstances. Nevertheless, as we shall argue in the fourth chapter of this research, there are certain types of „packages” of combinations of these methods, and each „package” is most effective in a specific type of district or electoral unit, which implemented properly would cause distribution of resources in a most efficient way. The task is only to distinguish the types of electoral districts. The criteria according which, the division will be conducted, is elaborated in the following chapter.

⁴⁰ Michael John Burton and Daniel M. Shea. *Campaign craft: the strategies, tactics, and art of political campaign management-4th ed.* Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2010, p.163

⁴¹ Ibid, p. 159-205

2. Segment analysis

Individuals' voting choice, from always have been a real mystery for scholars and campaign professionals. Nevertheless, although voting choice, as a result of specific inner and outer motivation forces, is strictly an individual matter, an intelligible patterns on an aggregate level could be found. Voters from a specific demographic category, such as education, income, profession, race and ethnicity share similar views and attitudes. Even individuals from a same community, sharing the same problems, needs, identities and way of life, could have similar attitudes. So, it is very probable, at least to the majority of them, to share similar voting preferences. For example, individuals who belong to a demographic category-students, might lean more, toward one party, which more closely represents their views and needs. People with high income might prefer another party and so on. This same logic could also be implemented for the geographic units. One community (whether a municipality, constituency, or a district) might leans more toward one party, compared with the national average. This process and method of analyzing whether some geographic unit leans more toward a particular party, or determining how many partisans and undecided voters one district have, is called geographic segmentation. It encompasses segmentation of voters, in a certain district, into different categories, among which: base and soft partisans and toss-up voters, depending on their past voting history.⁴² Another approach divides voters as partisan and persuadable (which comprises toss-up and soft voters from the other party).⁴³ As persuadable voters are considered those who „*vote for candidates of different orientations over the course of two or more elections*” and are called „vote shifters”.⁴⁴ There are many proposals of equations and methods for calculating the different geographic segments. Past voting history, extensive and precise polling and supporters lists could be used as sources for those calculations. After distinguishing the segments, specific targeting strategy could be implemented.

However, even when statistical data from the past elections and voting history is examined, there are several methods for calculating voting preferences of one geographic segment, each depending from the perspective it takes. It is important to mention that although, statistical and mathematical operations are included, one must not be deluded that the model provides a hundred percent certain explanations, and predicts the outcome in a

⁴² Michael John Burton and Daniel M. Shea. *Campaign craft: the strategies, tactics, and art of political campaign management-4th ed.* Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2010, p.81-93

⁴³ O'Day, Brian. *Political Campaign Planning Manual: a step by step guide to winning elections.* National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, 2003, p.14-20

⁴⁴ Ibid, p.73

deterministic fashion. Rather, this whole process of geographic segmentation is a matter of probability. No matter how accurate the calculations are, or how extensive the statistical data is, it will always yield a result with a certain deviation, which range could also be very difficult to predict. The answer why this area of campaigning is based on a probabilistic foundations, lies mainly in the nature of the field itself. For example, voters from a certain district, may have been preferring one party than another many past elections in a row, but it doesn't mean that on the next election it also will be the case, because some unpredictable events might be involved. We can just claim that, it is more probable one particular party to achieve better election result in a particular district, than another. The claim or prediction could be founded on the segment analysis i.e. which party has a larger base electoral body in a certain district or which district has more probability to deviate from the national average in terms of the election result.

There are lots of positive examples of the utilization of this method of geographic segmentation. It is mainly used in the countries with a majoritarian electoral model, with a single seat constituencies, such as United States, Britain, and others, where the utility of segmentation is more obvious and far more useful than in the proportional multi-seat constituencies, as represented in the Macedonian parliamentary electoral model. However, as shall be argued later in this research, the implementation of a geographic segmentation in the proportional electoral systems' campaigns, could also significantly influence on improving the effectiveness and efficiency of the campaign. Although, this method of geographic segmentation has much longer history in the United States, the most vivid results came in the end of the 20th century, when segmentation, combined with the use of polling and technology, increased to a great extent campaign efficiency. Bill Clinton's presidential campaign from 1992 is such an example. According to David Wilhelm, campaign manager of Clinton's campaign, their targeting strategy was based on a division of the country into three target groups of states: the top-end states, the play hard states and the big challenge states.⁴⁵ Several criteria were used in this division, among which, past voting history, economic performance, „cultural affinity” and constant polling. Thirty-two states were targeted and nineteen were excluded. In the end, Clinton won thirty-one out of thirty-two targeted states, and only one from the nineteen that were not targeted. Top-end states were considered as states that could be won by a limited amount of resources, because Democratic presidential candidates had traditionally won those states. Some of them were: California, Massachusetts and Illinois,

⁴⁵ Newman, Bruce. *The marketing of the president. Political marketing as campaign strategy*. London: SAGE Publications, 1994, p.90

states with large populations, which meant that large amount of resources were saved from the beginning of the campaign. Big challenge states were those that were considered as very difficult to be won and were also not targeted. Most money and resources were spent in the play hard or battleground states, which were estimated as states with larger amount of persuadable voters and states where both parties had equal chance of success.⁴⁶

Presidential campaigns in the United States, in the last twenty years, with even greater intensity, have used and implemented in their strategies, the method of geographic segmentation. For example, in 2008 elections, Obama's campaign divided states, in a similar way, as blue (leaning more toward Democrats), red (leaning more toward Republicans) and yellow (swing and battleground states).⁴⁷ Similarly, in Britain, the Conservative party in 1992, begun a strategy called Battleground voters, of building a database of 2 million target voters, 20,000 from each target constituency. The lists of geographic and demographic data, based on past voting record and „lifestyle” data supplied by commercial firms, were compiled from a computerized electoral registers.⁴⁸

Words of caution, however, is necessary to be mentioned before the elaboration of the geographic segmentation, in the reality of Macedonian parliamentary election campaigns. First of all, as was mentioned before, this process of calculating base, soft and toss-up voters in a certain district, is a matter of probability and sometimes informed guesswork. However, as the experience has shown, in most of the cases this method was very useful. We will argue that it could also be useful even for the campaigns in the proportional model of Macedonian parliamentary election campaigns. Secondly, arithmetic is just the foundation of the segmentation. Without additional polling and further analysis, there is a risk for the segmentation to become even more inaccurate. The existence of strong third parties, could also cause difficulties for the analysis, although this factor could be included in the calculations. Another problem in the case of Macedonia, could be the pre-election party coalitions, whose instability could be serious factor toward an inaccurate estimation. The 2006 election demonstrated the greatest volatility in terms of party fragmentation and coalition instability. For example, the New Social democratic party was formed, as separate from SDSM, and VMRO-Narodna as separate from VMRO-DPMNE. These parties won

⁴⁶ Ibid, p.91

⁴⁷ John Coleman, Kenneth Goldstein and William Howell. „*Understanding American Politics and Government*”. New York: Longman, 2008, p.313

⁴⁸ Denver, David and Hands, Gordon. *Post-Fordism in the constituencies? The continuing development of constituency campaigning in Britain*. Rudiger Schmith-Beck and David M. Farrell (editors). *Do political campaigns matter? Yes, but it depends*. New York: Routledge, 2002, p.116

relatively large amount of votes and seats in the Parliament.⁴⁹ But generally, in the last election cycles, these coalitions have shown high degree of stability. And finally, the last anticipated obstacle for the analysis, could be the relatively small number of parliamentary elections conducted so far in Macedonia, which could also influence on the inaccuracy of our calculation.

2.1. Distinguishing segments

Michael Burton and Daniel Shea in their profound and comprehensive research, „Campaign Craft - The strategies, Tactics, and Art of Political Campaign Management”, provide a detailed explanation of the concept of geographic segmentation with all its components. According to them, a classic scenario for a competitive election represents a district which generally splits its vote between the two largest parties, in the case of their research-the Democrats and the Republicans.⁵⁰ In our case, they would be the two biggest political parties in Macedonia, the right-wing VMRO-DPMNE and the left oriented SDSM.

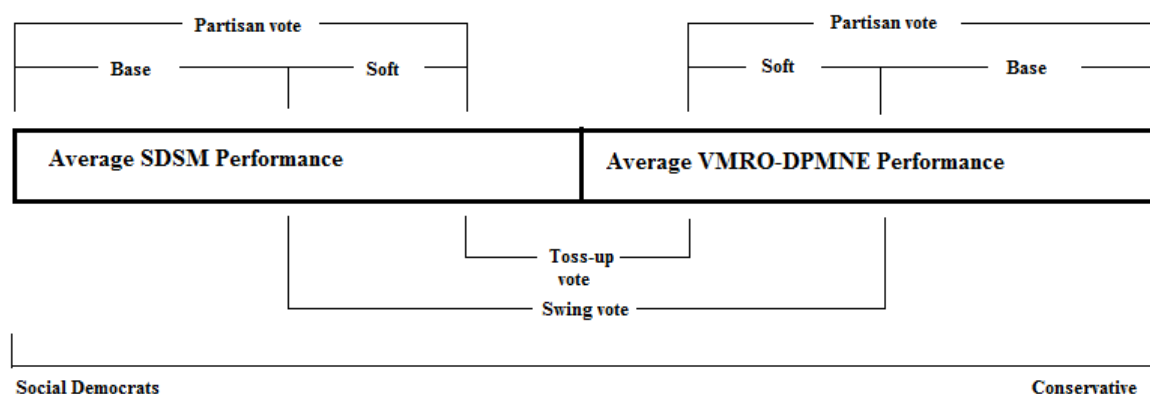


Figure 2. Diagram of a classic scenario for a competitive election, adjusted for the case of the Macedonian parliamentary elections

This hypothetical situation, as depicted on the figure 2 above, is useful as a framework according to which the segments and concepts are compared. The first concept analyzed here is the Average Party Performance, and actually represent „a typical vote share that a party receives when two strong, evenly matched, quality candidates meet head-to-head”.⁵¹ The formula for calculating Average Party Performance has the following form:

⁴⁹ The New Social democratic party won 7 seats and VMRO-Narodna 6. Државна изборна комисија на Република Македонија. Официјална веб страна на ДИК - архива. 16.03.2012.
<http://www.sec.mk/index.php/arhiva>

⁵⁰ Michael John Burton and Daniel M. Shea. *Campaign craft: the strategies, tactics, and art of political campaign management-4th ed.* Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2010, p.81

⁵¹ Ibid, p.82

$$\bullet \text{Average party performance} = \frac{\text{Sum of competitive vote shares}}{\text{Number of election analyzed}}$$

In an ideal campaign situation, 25% of the electorate represents the „Base Vote” of one major party and another 25% are the „Base Vote” of the major opposite party. In fact, it is considered that 25% of the voters of one party and 25% of the voters of the other party, will support even the „worst” candidate from their party. Another 17% of voters of both sides will support barely acceptable candidates from their parties respectively. They are called „Soft Partisans”. The remaining 16% of voters are considered as persuadable voters and are called „Toss-up”.⁵² However, we must bear in mind the fact that in reality this is not always the case. Very often Soft-Partisan Vote could be a smaller number than 17% and Toss-Up and Base Vote could significantly exceed the hypothetical 16 and 25 percent respectively. Very often even the Soft Partisan voters are considered as persuadable. Persuadable voters sometimes are popularly called vote shifters,⁵³ which means they „shift” their vote from one party to another, depending on the circumstances. Partisan Vote is a sum of the base and soft votes. Swing Vote comprises all the actual voters, without the base voters of both parties. The formulas, proposed by Burton and Shea, are as follows:⁵⁴

- *Base vote = Absolute minimum vote share*
- *Soft-Partisan vote = Typical minimum vote share – Base Vote*
- *Toss-up vote = Total vote – (Partisan VMRO-DPMNE + Partisan SDSM)*
- *Partisan vote = Base vote + Soft-Partisan vote*
- *Swing vote = Total vote – (Base VMRO-DPMNE + Base SDSM)*

Base Vote is the worst performance of one party in its history. It is actually the lowest percentage of votes, gained in one election, in the history of a particular party. The value of the Base Vote, usually becomes very obvious with just one look at the past election results of one party. The lowest percentage of votes, is the Base Vote of that party. Base voters are in fact the solid electorate, or voters who strongly identify with certain political party. They would vote for the worst candidate/s that the party could nominate. The only task of the

⁵² Ibid, p.81-82

⁵³ O'Day, J. Brian. *Political Campaign Planning Manual: a step by step guide to winning elections*. National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, 2003, p.73

⁵⁴ Michael John Burton and Daniel M. Shea. *Campaign craft: the strategies, tactics, and art of political campaign management-4th ed.* Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2010, p.81-85

campaign, regarding this type of voters, is to motivate them to get out and vote on the election day.

Unlike the Base Vote, the percentage of the Soft-Partisan Vote is much more difficult to be calculated. In a country with short election history, such as Macedonia, this is even harder. That is because Soft-Partisan Vote is the percentage of votes that a typically poor candidate would win. Or, more precisely, it might be characterized by an „*average worst performance over five election cycles*”.⁵⁵ For example in some municipalities in Macedonia, VMRO-DPMNE have lost only once, so the calculation of their Soft Vote according the proposed formula is even impossible, and intuitive guesswork must be included. Finally, the Toss-Up Vote represent voters that are undecided whom to give their vote, and which frequently shift their vote from one party to another. What differs them with the abstinent voters is that they get out and vote on the election day. And exactly because that reason this group of voters, is the most fertile soil for persuasion and place where marketing could achieve its highest effect. According many scholars and campaign practitioners, the most effective and efficient tactic would be to spend most of the campaign resources in the districts with highest percentage of Toss-Up Votes.⁵⁶ Voters from the Toss-Up category are actually late deciders, which means they make their voting choice during the campaign. The majority of the Base and Soft-Partisan Vote, in contrast, are early deciders, which means their voting choice is made long before the campaign has started.

The accuracy of all these calculations, depends largely on the input, i.e. the statistical data of past voting history. The small number of parliamentary elections in Macedonia, limit to some extent, our ability to make more accurate calculations. Also, the existence of strong third parties, which in some districts are even dominant,⁵⁷ sets up as an obstacle for the measurements. Nevertheless, the third party factor, could also be included in the analyses by calculating the base and soft partisan votes of all third parties in a particular district. Then Toss-up Vote would be the remaining votes of that particular district. Another approach proposed by J. Brian O'Day, separates the geographic segments in a few types according to the percentage of Persuadable voters, Average party performance and Expected turnout.⁵⁸ Usually, districts with „high” level of persuadability are the most suitable place for the

⁵⁵ Ibid, p.84

⁵⁶ O'Day, J. Brian. *Political Campaign Planning Manual: a step by step guide to winning elections*. National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, 2003, p.18

⁵⁷ For example DUI and DPA in the sixth electoral unit. The influence of the third party factor must also not be neglected and in the first, second and fifth electoral unit.

⁵⁸ O'Day, J. Brian. *Political Campaign Planning Manual: a step by step guide to winning elections*. National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, 2003, p.15-16

campaign to focus the largest part of its resources and they always should be of a highest priority. O'Day proposes a few formulas for calculating the concepts enumerated above. Average party performance is similarly, the average votes gained in all the previous elections. On the other side, persuadability is the „percentage of voters in a precinct that do not vote in a consistent way. It is the difference in percentage of votes for similar candidates in two or more consecutive elections”.⁵⁹ The formula can be adjusted to the circumstances of the Macedonian political parties:⁶⁰

- $VMRO-DPMNE \text{ persuadable} = \frac{|2002-2006| + |2006-2008| + |2008-2011|}{3}$

- $SDSM \text{ persuadable} = \frac{|2002-2006| + |2006-2008| + |2008-2011|}{3}$

Persuadability is the percentage of voters that sometimes vote for a particular party, for example for VMRO-DPMNE or for SDSM. The value of persuadability in most cases would be different for both parties, although the difference won't be so significant. It should approximate the value of Toss-Up Votes but we can't expect to overlap, because in the Toss-Up Votes are included and the Soft-Partisans of all third parties, so that value should be slightly higher. Persuadable voters are exactly those voters, often called undecided which in most cases determine the election outcome. That is the reason why their calculation is of a crucial importance before developing the marketing and voter contact strategy. Districts, or municipalities in our case, with higher number of undecided voters, by the laws of logic, should have the highest priority. However, other factors must be considered, such as the Total number of voters in a certain municipality, then the Expected turnout and the Average party performance in that particular municipality. Only after all these elements are considered, the campaign priority matrix could be developed. The expected turnout is the average turnout in one district or any geographic unit, in a few past consecutive elections:

- $Estimated \text{ turnout} = \frac{Sum \text{ of percentage of voter turnout in past elections}}{Number \text{ of elections analyzed}}$

The Cook Partisan Voting Index is another measurement which is important and useful to be mentioned here. It is a measurement of how strongly a district leans toward one political party compared to the nation as a whole. PVI is derived by averaging the results

⁵⁹ Ibid, p.15

⁶⁰ Note: Use absolute values for the subtraction results

from the previous two or more elections and comparing them to national results.⁶¹ The PVI actually is attempting to tell us how far away from the center a given area is positioned. In the classic PVI only two past presidential elections are taken into consideration, in order to avoid larger deviation. However, it depends from the context of the analysis, whether 3 or more past elections should be included in the analysis. The Cook PVI is composed of a big letter (which represents the party toward which the district is leaned), then a sign +, and a number (which is the difference in percentage points from the national average).⁶² For example, a geographical unit with PVI of R+14, is a district or state which is 14 percentage points leaned more toward Republicans, compared to the national average. This Index could also be used in the analysis of the electoral units and municipalities in Macedonia, or more precisely in determining which municipality is leaned more toward VMRO-DPMNE and which toward SDSM. However, because this index is created for a two party system, where R-7 means D+7, additional adjustments must be taken in order to avoid the complications caused by the third party factor.

2.2. Examples of geographic segmentation in Macedonia

To summarize, geographic targeting is simply „*determining who will vote for your candidate based on where they live*”.⁶³ By using statistical data of the past election results, we can calculate some of the segments such as Base Vote, Soft-Partisan Vote, Toss-Up Vote and elements like Average Party Performance. In the calculation of these segments, here will be analyzed only the parliamentary elections from 2002 until now⁶⁴. The reason why the previous election results are neglected is because the inability for comparisons. The electoral model from the 1998 parliamentary election was mixed, where 85 mandates were allocated according the majoritarian system and 35 according the proportional list, which was one for the whole country. Elections from 1990 and 1994 are also excluded because the electoral system was different then and representatives were allocated according the majoritarian model only. From 2002 until now, representatives are chosen from the six so called Electoral

⁶¹ Cook Partisan Voting index. Cook Political Report. 23 Aug. 2012 <http://cookpolitical.com/>

⁶² Just what is the Partisan Voter Index (PVI)? *Sun Nov 16, 2008 at 7:02 PM EST*. [Swing State Project - Campaign and Election News - Covering Key Races Around the Country](http://www.swingstateproject.com/diary/3967/). 23 Aug. 2012

⁶³ O'Day, J. Brian. *Political Campaign Planning Manual: a step by step guide to winning elections*. National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, 2003, p.15

⁶⁴ Only parliamentary elections from 2002, 2006, 2008 and 2011.

units, each bearing twenty representatives, with total of 120 mandates and plus three from the Diaspora and 5 from ethnic minorities.⁶⁵

In our research, municipalities will be taken as a basic geographical unit for analysis, as a middle ground between polling stations and electoral units⁶⁶, and as most suitable for geographic targeting later. Municipalities usually represent relatively cohesive units such as cities, towns, villages and similar communities. Polling stations which are 2976 total and the electoral units which are total six on the territory of Republic of Macedonia⁶⁷, won't be analyzed in this research, although political parties in the preparation of their campaigns could include more comprehensive analysis of the polling stations and electoral units also. In this research, only the framework for the model will be set up and elaborated, and respectively the main hypothesis will be tested. Bellow are shown three tables, where nine municipalities are analyzed in the light of the method of segmentation, together with all the different formulas and approaches explained before:

Municipality	Average party performance		Base Vote		
	SDSM	VMRO-DPMNE	SDSM	VMRO-DPMNE	All third Parties
Prilep	38,69%	48,26%	26%	33%	8%
Bitola	34,91%	46,66%	22%	33%	12%
Centar	45,31%	35,66%	32%	17%	13%
Ilinden	29,18%	56,63%	16%	40%	6%
Karposh	43,67%	37,38%	30%	19%	13%
Kavadarci	34,47%	44,62%	19%	29%	10%
Strumica	47,22%	45,62%	42%	43%	4%

⁶⁵ Собрание на Република Македонија. Изборен законик. „Сл.Весник на Република Македонија” бр.40 од 31.03.2006 година

⁶⁶ Or on Macedonian language they are called respectively: ИМ (Избирачки Места) и ИО (Изборни Единици)

⁶⁷ Државна изборна комисија на Република Македонија. Официјална веб страна на ДИК. 16.03.2012 <http://217.16.84.11/Default.aspx>

Stip	35,65%	48,87%	26%	33%	6%
Ohrid	37,69%	42,46%	29%	35%	13%

Table 1: Estimating Average Party Performance and Base-Partisan Vote for nine randomly selected municipalities

In every approach and method for segmentation, the Base Vote and Average Party Performance, are the primary and pivotal elements for analysis. Their calculation, unlike the Soft and Toss-Up Votes, is mathematically more simple and represent values (percentages) on which campaign managers could rely with higher level of confidence. As shown above, according the formula for calculating Average Party Performance, the percent of Average Party Performance for both political parties in the municipality of Prilep, for example, was computed in a way where the results of the particular party of four past elections were summarized and then divided by four. The result indicates the average performance of that particular party in that municipality, in this case Prilep:

$$\bullet \text{Average VMRO-DPMNE(Prilep)} = \frac{33,06\%+50,01\%+62,35\%+47,63\%}{4} = 48,26\%$$

$$\bullet \text{Average SDSM(Prilep)} = \frac{51,78\%+26,69\%+32,25\%+44,05\%}{4} = 38,69\%$$

For the rest of the municipalities is implemented the same formula and they are calculated in the same way. The value of the Base Vote for VMRO-DPMNE in Prilep is 33,06% or 15.104 votes, which is their worst election result, from parliamentary elections in 2002. For SDSM, the Base Vote in Prilep is slightly smaller and represents 26,69% or 10.197 votes, result achieved in 2006. We must warn, however, that the percentage is relative and depends largely from the turnout. For example, the same absolute number of base voters e.g. 15.104 for VMRO-DPMNE, in a hypothetical elections where turnout would be bigger, would yield slightly lower percentage. However, the relative percentage, rather than the absolute one, is more suitable for analysis, exactly because it takes into account the impact of the turnout, which cannot be neglected.

The next table depicts the values and percentages of the Soft-Partisan Vote and the Toss-Up Vote, percentages that are much harder to compute and their calculation very often requires a degree of guesswork involved. That is why many of the values in the table bellow are approximate, and could be improved by additional polling and further analysis, tasks that require additional financial costs that are far beyond the financial capacity of this paper. Nevertheless, the preciseness, perhaps unusually, is not the main task and concern of this

research. The crucial point here is to determine how this method of segmentation would influence on the campaign efficiency. The numbers could even be hypothetical, as long as correctly and accurately explain the point and the arguments. The preciseness, on the other hand, must be a major task of the campaign managers and professionals. Anyway, this does not mean that values and numbers here are taken out of the sleeve and invented. They are collected carefully and analyzed thoroughly, and represent the real relations, but to some extent are limited in high preciseness, from reasons partially objective (the nature of the topic itself) and subjective (it is not conducted additional polling). In any case, the estimated values do not lose from their usefulness.

Municipality	Soft-Partisan Vote		Toss-Up Vote
	SDSM	VMRO-DPMNE	
Prilep	8%	7%	18%
Bitola	8%	8%	17%
Centar	3%	10%	23%
Ilinden	8%	14%	16%
Karposh	4%	9%	25%
Kavadarci	8%	6%	28%
Strumica	3%	2%	6%
Stip	4%	5%	26%
Ohrid	4%	4%	15%

Table 2: Estimating Soft-Partisan Vote and Toss-Up Vote for nine randomly selected municipalities

The percentage of SDSM soft voters was much easier for calculation. For example in municipality of Prilep, the three worst election results were simply averaged and then from that result the number of base voters was extracted.

$$\bullet \text{SDSM Soft-Partisan (Prilep)} = \frac{26,69+32,25+44,05}{3} = 34,33 - 26,69 = 7,64 \approx 8\%$$

On the other side, the calculation of Soft-Partisans of VMRO-DPMNE in Prilep was much more complicated, considering the fact that, as the formula was requiring, a few losing competition needed to be averaged. However, in Prilep VMRO-DPMNE have lost in only one parliamentary election i.e. in 2002. So, here we simply averaged the worst and the second

worst performance of VMRO-DPMNE, despite the fact that the second worst result in 2011 elections was actually a winning election for them. That is why this number should be taken with a certain dose of scientific skepticism. In this way the difficulties with calculation of Soft Vote could partly be solved. The same formula and logic was used for the other municipalities.

$$\bullet \text{VMRO-DPMNE Soft-Partisan (Prilep)} = \frac{33,06+47,63}{2} = 40,35 - 33,06 = 7,29 \approx 7\%$$

The value of the Toss-Up Votes is the remainder, after partisan vote is calculated. In order to increase accuracy, we included and the Base Vote of third parties⁶⁸ in the analysis, which was the worst result of all third political parties together in one municipality in the parliamentary election history. For example, in the case of Prilep, that was the result of 2008 election, where all third parties in that year won 8,41≈8% of the votes. So the number of Toss-Up Vote in Prilep was calculated in the following way:

$$\bullet \text{Toss-Up Prilep} = \text{Total Vote} - (\text{Base VMRO-DPMNE} + \text{Base SDSM} + \text{Base Third Parties} + \text{Soft VMRO-DPMNE} + \text{Soft SDSM}) = 100 - (33 + 26 + 8 + 7 + 8) = 100 - 82 = 18\%$$

In the next table are presented the values of two concepts, the percentage of persuadable voters in one district and the value of Cook Partisan Voting Index, also very useful in the segment analysis:

Municipality	Persuadable voters		Cook Partisan Voting Index (PVI)
	SDSM	VMRO-DPMNE	
Prilep	14,15%	14,67%	V+3,85
Bitola	14,94%	15,12%	V+6,02
Centar	16,12%	16,81%	S+15,3
Ilinden	15,32%	17,46%	V+21,72
Karposh	15,87%	17,11%	S+6,86
Kavadarci	19,18%	15,31%	V+4,42

⁶⁸ As third parties, in a single cage, were placed all the parties without SDSM and VMRO-DPMNE. This does not mean, however, that they were in some pre-election coalition.

Strumica	4,98%	3,82%	S+7,34
Stip	12,01%	18,68%	V+7,49
Ohrid	10,34%	12,26%	S+0,95

Table 3: Estimating Persuadable voters and Cook PVI for nine randomly selected municipalities

The part of the electorate called persuadable voters, as explained by O'Day, are actually voters that sometimes vote for a particular party.⁶⁹ Persuadable voters shift their vote between two election cycles and can sometimes vote for the opposite party or for some third party. Ultimately, they can even abstain from voting. Persuadable voters can be labeled also as undecided or late deciders, sometimes even as Toss-Up. However, they should not be equated with this category. The category Toss-Up vote, although similar, is slightly broader category than the persuadable voters category, encompassing voters that are also undecided, but always in the end vote for some third option, rather than one of the two biggest parties. As you can notice from the tables, Toss-Up vote is larger than the persuadable voters category, because it contains plus the Soft-Partisans of the third parties. Persuadable voters of SDSM and VMRO-DPMNE are calculated as absolute values of the difference in votes between all election cycles from 2002 until now, divided by three:

$$\bullet \text{Persuadable SDSM (Prilep)} = \frac{|2002-2006| + |2006-2008| + |2008-2011|}{3} =$$

$$\frac{(51,78-26,69) + (26,69-32,25) + (32,25-44,05)}{3} = 14,15\%$$

$$\bullet \text{Persuadable VMRO-DPMNE (Prilep)} = \frac{|2002-2006| + |2006-2008| + |2008-2011|}{3} =$$

$$\frac{(33,06-50,01) + (50,01-62,35) + (62,35-47,63)}{3} = 14,67\%$$

The next important concept sometimes included in the segment analysis is the Cook Partisan Voting Index. The index describes the level of inclination of a certain geographical district toward a political party, or municipality in our case. It is in fact, the percentage of votes that a single party receives in a district, compared to the national average. In our case, the two biggest parties SDSM and VMRO-DPMNE could have both positive inclination in the same municipality, because the existence and influence of the third parties. For example in Prilep the PVI value for SDSM is S+8,75, and for VMRO-DPMNE is V+12,60 which means, that there is a high probability that in Prilep, SDSM will receive 8,75 percentage

⁶⁹ Ibid, p.18

points more votes than the national average percentage of votes of that party. The odds for VMRO-DPMNE in Prilep are 12,60 percentage points more than the national average. The difference between them is 3,85 percentage points in favor of VMRO-DPMNE. This indicates that Prilep is 3,85 percentage points more inclined towards VMRO-DPMNE than SDSM, compared to the relation between Prilep and the national averages of both parties. This index, however, cannot predict the outcome of the next election. Rather it is just another technique and approach that tries, to decompose analytically, and to label geographical units according their inclination toward a particular party. The Partisan Voting Index is computed according the mathematical steps shown bellow:

$$\begin{aligned}
 &\bullet \text{SDSM PVI (Prilep)} = \text{SDSM Total Vote for 2002, 2006, 2008, 2011 (Prilep)} - \text{SDSM Total Vote for 2002,} \\
 &\text{2006, 2008, 2011 (National)}/4 \\
 &(2002 = 51,78 - 41,99 = +10,19) \\
 &(2006 = 26,69 - 22,41 = +4,28) \\
 &(2008 = 32,25 - 22,98 = +9,27) \\
 &(2011 = 44,05 - 32,78 = +11,27) \\
 &= \frac{10,19+4,28+9,27+11,27}{4} = S+8,75
 \end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned}
 &\bullet \text{VMRO-DPMNE PVI (Prilep)} = \text{VMRO-DPMNE Total Vote for 2002, 2006, 2008, 2011 (Prilep)} - \text{VMRO-} \\
 &\text{DPMNE Total Vote for 2002, 2006, 2008, 2011 (National)}/4 \\
 &(2002 = 33,06 - 25,02 = +8,04) \\
 &(2006 = 50,01 - 31,24 = +18,77) \\
 &(2008 = 62,35 - 47,43 = +14,92) \\
 &(2011 = 47,63 - 38,98 = +8,65) \\
 &= \frac{8,04+18,77+14,92+8,65}{4} = V+12,6
 \end{aligned}$$

$$\bullet \text{Total Partisan Voting Index (Prilep)} = (V+12,6) - (S+8,75) = V+3,85$$

The method of geographic segmentation, as was already mentioned, was primarily implemented and widely utilized in the majoritarian electoral systems, such as United States and Great Britain. The reason was more than obvious. In a system where a winner takes all the segmentation of the country in three types of geographic units, depending on the positioning of the unit (whether it is a highly partisan or swing district), could significantly improve campaign efficiency, by targeting only the districts where „your” party has a real chance to win. Although, there are sub-varieties of the majoritarian electoral system, all have a few common features: there are single member constituencies where a candidate can get elected if he/she wins an absolute or relative majority of votes, depending from the specific

rules in the particular country or system. Most often only simple majority or plurality is needed to win the election. The electoral system of United States is typical example for majoritarian system. Whether for governor, representative in the Congress or for a President, the majority rule determines the outcome of the election.⁷⁰ For example, in the Presidential election, 435 electors (plus three from the district of Columbia) from all 50 states choose the President. Each state depending from the number of its population have a certain number of electors, for example, California has 55 electors, Texas 34 and so on.⁷¹ So, if one candidate wins the majority of votes in one of those states he/she takes all the electors. There is no proportional distribution of electors depending on the votes gained by all parties. If Republicans win the majority in Texas, they get all 34 electors. Exactly this fact allows geographic segmentation to be so efficient in United States. After the segment analysis, if one party estimates that they don't have a chance to win a certain state, than they exclude that state from the campaign and marketing efforts, and thus save valuable amount of resources. After that segmentation the campaign could direct its resources in the states where the outcome is unpredictable and where most of the persuadable voters are. Campaign could even exclude, to a certain degree, states in which they have larger electoral base vote and traditionally win elections. In a system where winner takes all, it is not important if you win with 5 or 15 percentage points difference. Anyway you get the seat, or the electors. So, only Swing states are valuable for the campaign efforts. The decision which states are to be considered as swing or battleground, depends from which type of segmentation is taken. In any case, it will significantly increase efficiency and decrease the wasting of resources, then arbitrariness and volatility. This method of segmentation could even be implemented on a lower level than state, such as city, region or a precinct. The logic is the same. Precincts with high certainty to be „your” base or opponent's base are excluded from the campaign and the efforts are directed only to the rest of the precincts where the outcome is unpredictable and previous electoral history has shown high degree of vote shifting between the two parties.

On the other side is the proportional electoral system, the one enshrined in the model of the Macedonian parliamentary election, where the utility of the segment analysis, especially geographic segmentation, is not so obvious and analyzed. On a first glance, the potential benefits cannot be understood in the same manner as with the majoritarian system. At the proportionally distributed votes, unlike the majority rule, all geographical regions are

⁷⁰ John Coleman, Kenneth Goldstein and William Howell. „*Understanding American Politics and Government*”. New York: Longman, 2008

⁷¹ Ibid

important and none of them could be excluded or neglected. The question that arises is whether and how this segment analysis, as elaborated above, could increase campaign efficiency in a systems such as Macedonian with proportional distribution of votes? The hypothesis consisting of two main arguments, claims that although not as much as in the majoritarian systems, the method of segment analysis, could also significantly improve the overall efficiency of the campaigns. The increasing in efficiency would be revealed through a decreased financial costs, decreased arbitrariness and uncertainty, and improved organization. The positive effects of the method would vary, depending of the accuracy of its implementation and of the specific election circumstances. This research will try to show that in the most of the cases, geographic segmentation will yield better election results (which means more votes gained) with less resources spent. The elaboration of the two pivotal arguments will take place in the next two chapters. First main argument assumes increasing in efficiency by ranking the geographical segments (municipalities in our case), according certain parameters such as, Total voters in the unit, Average turnout, Average party performance and the Number of persuadable voters. By creating a matrix of efficiency, as we call it, each municipality gets a specific set of priority points, which can vary for both parties. A municipality that gets most priority points, needs to have priority in the campaign. In this way the arbitrariness and volatility can be significantly reduced, and the resources (human, material, financial) could be distributed more efficiently.

The second main argument emphasizes the importance of implementation of different strategy for a different type of geographical unit. Types of units are determined according the amount of Base Vote (traditional electoral body), that one party has in a certain municipality. Respectively, there are three types of municipalities, type 1, where party A has a significantly larger Base Vote, than type 2 where party B has larger Base Vote, and type 3, where both parties have similar percentage of Base Vote. For example, looking from the point of view of party A, in the municipality of type 1, emphasis will be put on mobilization, and in type 3, on persuasion.⁷² In the last chapter, three types of „packages” will be proposed for the three different types of municipalities. „Packages” will consist of different marketing tools and voter contact methods, each specific for the type of municipality it is designed for. In this way, by ranking the segments and implementing different strategy for the different regions and municipalities, we consider that the campaigns in Macedonia, regarding parliamentary

⁷² Michael John Burton and Daniel M. Shea. *Campaign craft: the strategies, tactics, and art of political campaign management-4th ed.* Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2010, p.85

elections, could improve its efficiency and organization, and decrease arbitrariness and volatility.

Some of the approaches and techniques, such as the creation of priority points and different types of „packages”, are partially invented, or improved from the already existing ones, in the campaigning in United States and Britain. The assessment of accuracy of the arguments, will vary, from comparisons (with the state of campaigning without geographic segmentation), in-depth analysis, statistical explanations, polemic weighing of arguments and critical review.

3. Ranking the segments

The process of campaigning, with all its steps, such as the initial research, the development of campaign plan and the implementation of voter contact strategy, inevitably possess high level of uncertainty and arbitrariness. Arbitrariness is expressed through the need to make decisions based more on intuition and guesswork, and uncertainty is reflected through the unpredictable consequences of the actions undertaken. The relation cause-effect is highly unpredictable, which gives the process strong sign of an Art, rather than science. However, with the rise of the new sophisticated techniques for campaigning⁷³, in the last thirty years, an effort has been made to enrich the process of campaigning with more scientific methods. One of the most widely utilized techniques, especially in the majoritarian electoral systems, was the segment analysis, or simply called segmentation of the electorate. The goal was to distinguish the segments, and then to allocate properly campaign resources. Segmentation could be a demographic or geographic. In the first case, socially significant and relatively cohesive segments are formed and then analyzed. In the case of the geographic segmentation, towards which our research is primarily directed, the elements that represent different units could be the regions, electoral units, districts or municipalities. The benefits of the implementation of this tool, were primarily felt in the states with majoritarian electoral systems. In the states with proportional systems, on the other hand, the effects were uncertain and not completely analyzed. As was posed in the main hypothesis of this research, we consider those effects to be also significant and positively directed toward increased efficiency and decreased arbitrariness and volatility of the campaign. The degree of usefulness, perhaps won't be so obvious as in the majoritarian systems, but however, the positive effects could be felt and measured properly. Below, in this chapter, the first main

⁷³ Norris, Pippa. *Do campaign communications matter for civic engagement? American elections from Eisenhower to George W. Bush*. Rudiger Schmith-Beck and David M. Farrell (editors). *Do political campaigns matter? Yes, but it depends*. New York: Routledge, 2002, p.130

argument will take place. It presents an analysis of the effects of geographic segmentation from the point of view of the process of ranking the segments. This process is also often referred as prioritization of segments. As the name itself indicates, to each geographic unit is given certain coefficient, according which, the segments are ranked. Those on the top, are considered to be most efficient for the campaign to direct its resources. The method of ranking, as shown below, is adjusted from the methods proposed by Burton and Shea⁷⁴ on one side, and O'Day⁷⁵ on the other. The novelty proposed here is the implementation of priority points according which segments are mathematically weighed and ranked in a Strategic Campaign Priority Matrix.

3.1. Campaign priority matrix for geographic targeting

Ranking the geographic segments, according certain objective parameters, is a part of the efforts to approximate the process of campaigning to the realm of science. However, it must be emphasized that most of the parameters analyzed here have probabilistic values, reflecting the nature of the topic itself. Anyway, that does not diminish the value of this method, rather it leaves more space for creativity. The benefit that a campaign could have is mainly expressed through decreased arbitrariness and diminished intuitive decision making, whether from the leaders of the parties or from their advisers. Segment analysis, implemented in the Macedonian parliamentary election campaigns, would present one higher qualitative level of sophistication of the campaign.

Ranking the elements of the analysis (or the nine randomly selected municipalities in our case), is the first possibility for positive influence of the method of segment analysis over campaign efficiency. Ranking is conducted according four chosen parameters: total number of voters in the municipality; expected turnout; average party performance; and percentage of persuadable voters. To each number of those parameters, for each particular municipality, is attached certain priority point which varies depending of the value of those numbers. For example, a municipality with 60.000 voters will have three times more priority points than a municipality with 20.000 voters.⁷⁶ Or, respectively, municipalities with higher expected turnout will have more priority points than those with lower expected turnout. One

⁷⁴ Michael John Burton and Daniel M. Shea. *Campaign craft: the strategies, tactics, and art of political campaign management-4th ed.* Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2010, p.90

⁷⁵ O'Day, J. Brian. *Political Campaign Planning Manual: a step by step guide to winning elections.* National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, 2003, p.16

⁷⁶ $60.000/20.000=3$

municipality with more persuadable voters for a particular party⁷⁷, will also have more priority points than other municipality with less persuadable voters for the same party. Similarly could be explained and the values of priority points regarding average party performance.

So, each value of those four parameters produce certain amount of priority points. The challenge would be how to align all four parameters in a proportional range i.e. how to determine what are the lowest common denominators for all parameters. The first step of the procedure is to calculate the average values, from all nine municipalities, for the four distinct categories or parameters. The average value for the category „total number of voters” is 49.930, for the „expected turnout” 67,64, for „average party performance” 41,83 and for the „persuadability” is 14,12.

●Average (total number of voters) =

$$\frac{67.693+90.301+44.011+13.445+53.848+33.175+49.523+42.933+54.437}{9} = 49.930$$

●Average (expected turnout) = $\frac{65,54+59,27+65,45+71,50+68,41+69,36+75,52+69,14+64,53}{9} = 67,64$

●Average (average party performance-SDSM+VMRO-DPMNE) =

$$\frac{38,69+34,91+45,31+29,18+43,67+34,47+47,22+35,65+37,69+48,26+46,66+35,66+56,63+37,38+44,62+45,62+48,87+42,46}{18} = 41,83$$

●Average (persuadability-SDSM+VMRO-DPMNE) =

$$\frac{14,15+14,94+16,12+15,32+15,87+19,18+4,98+12,01+10,34+14,67+15,12+16,81+17,46+17,11+15,31+3,82+18,68+12,26}{18} = 14,12$$

After the average values for all four categories are calculated, the next step is to determine the lowest common denominators. Because all categories measure and represent different values, the lowest common denominators must also be a different numbers for all four categories, in order to reflect proportionality and possibility for equal measurement. That means we should expect four different lowest common denominators, each specific for its own category. From all averages: 49.930; 67,64; 41,83 and 14,12, the lowest 14,12 is separated, and randomly, as lowest common denominator for that value, is taken the number

⁷⁷ Persuadable voters, or voters that sometimes vote for SDSM or for VMRO-DPMNE, in a certain municipality are different for both parties, although their values are often close. That is the reason why priority points for the same municipality, regarding persuadable voters, are different for both parties. The same is with the priority points attached to average party performance.

3. In this case, is not so important which number would be taken as lowest common denominator, as long as the values of the lowest common denominators for the other three categories are determined in a proportional range. Thus, in order to achieve that, we must estimate how many times the average value of the second lowest category 41,83 is bigger than the average value of the lowest category 14,12. So, we calculate: $41,83/14,12=2,96$. This also means that in order to create proportional lowest common denominator for the average value of the second lowest category 41,83, we must multiply 2,96 by 3 (as lowest common denominator for 14,12). The result is 8,88, which is the lowest common denominator of the second lowest category 41,83. Respectively, according the same procedure, the lowest common denominators for the other two remaining categories are calculated: 14,37 for the category „expected turnout” and 10.608,36 for the category „total number of voters”. Or, we can present that graphically:

	Average value	How many times larger than the lowest value	Values of the lowest common denominators	Priority points
„Total number of voters”	49.930	$49.930/14,12=3.536,12$	$3 \times 3.536,12=10.608,36$	$49.930/10.608,36=4,71$
„Expected turnout”	67,64	$67,64/14,12=4,79$	$3 \times 4,79=14,37$	$67,64/14,37=4,71$
„Average party performance”	41,83	$41,83/14,12=2,96$	$3 \times 2,96=8,88$	$41,83/8,88=4,71$
„Persuadability”	14,12	$14,12/14,12=1$	3	$14,12/3=4,71$

Table 4: Calculation of proportional values for the lowest common denominators of all four chosen categories

After the lowest common denominators for all four categories are proportionally determined, all the separate values for all nine municipalities, are divided by those denominators. Each value is divided by the lowest common denominator from the respective category. The results of those calculations are presented in the following table, which is in fact the Strategic Campaign Priority Matrix:

Municipality	Total number of voters	Expected Turnout	Average Party Performance		Persuadability		Total	
			SDSM	VMRO-DPMNE	SDSM	VMRO-DPMNE	SDSM	VMRO-DPMNE
Prilep	6,38	4,56	4,36	5,43	4,72	4,89	20,02	21,26
Bitola	8,51	4,12	3,93	5,25	4,98	5,04	21,24	22,92
Centar	4,15	4,55	5,10	4,02	5,37	5,60	19,17	18,32
Ilinden	1,27	4,98	3,29	6,38	5,11	5,82	14,65	18,45
Karposh	5,08	4,76	4,92	4,21	5,29	5,70	20,05	19,75
Kavadarci	3,13	4,83	3,88	5,02	6,39	5,10	18,23	18,08
Strumica	4,67	5,26	5,32	5,14	1,66	1,27	16,91	16,34
Stip	4,05	4,81	4,01	5,50	4	6,23	16,87	20,59
Ohrid	5,13	4,49	4,24	4,78	3,45	4,09	17,31	18,49

Table 5: (Strategic Campaign Priority Matrix). Calculating priority points for each municipality, according four parameters: total voters in the municipality, expected turnout, average party performance and number of persuadable voters. Numbers indicate priority points.

According this table, where priority points are presented, the ranking of the nine randomly chosen municipalities from Macedonia, should have the following order⁷⁸:

SDSM	Bitola (21,24)	Karposh (20,05)	Prilep (20,02)	Centar (19,17)	Kavadarci (18,23)	Ohrid (17,31)	Strumica (16,91)	Stip (16,87)	Ilinden (14,56)
VMRO-DPMNE	Bitola (22,92)	Prilep (21,26)	Stip (20,59)	Karposh (19,75)	Ohrid (18,49)	Ilinden (18,45)	Centar (18,32)	Kavadarci (18,08)	Strumica (16,34)

Table 6: Priority lists of SDSM and VMRO-DPMNE in ranking the nine randomly selected municipalities

Looking through the table above we can notice, seemingly, an unusual order. For example, municipality of Ilinden, on the ranking list for VMRO-DPMNE, is before Centar or Strumica. Or the same is with the ranking list for SDSM where Kavadarci should have higher priority than Ohrid, Strumica or Stip. The common wisdom of the political leaders would be, to put on the top on the priority list for campaigning, those municipalities with the largest total number of voters. Their logic would demand Ohrid and Strumica for SDSM, as larger in

⁷⁸ We must emphasize here that the order could be changed, due to mathematical reasons, if in the analysis are considered all 84 municipalities and not only the nine above. So, in order to achieve better preciseness, a further segment analysis of all 84 municipalities is required. The calculation, taking into a consideration only the nine randomly selected municipalities, presented above, is only an example of how the proposed model could be implemented in the campaign strategy in order to achieve increased efficiency.

population, to have higher priority in the allocation of campaign resources, than Kavadarci for example. The reason why there is a discrepancy, between the conventional wisdom, and the strategy proposed by this table is in the fact that in our case, more than one variable was considered. In determining which municipalities to give priority, it is unreasonable to be guided by only one reason or variable, or even only two, such as by only the total number of voters in the particular municipality. In our analysis were involved three other variables, beside the total number of voters. The expected turnout is also important. It doesn't matter a lot if one municipality has large number of voters, if turnout in the past elections was traditionally low. If that is the case, we may reconsider our decision to prioritize that municipality. The Average party performance, or the election results of one party in the past in a particular municipality, is another important indicator for determining the order of the ranking. And last, but not least important is the amount of persuadable voters. The low ranking of Strumica for both parties is mainly due to the extremely low level of persuadable voters. Although, at the other variables Strumica has high values, such as: it has relatively large electorate, high turnout and high average performance for both parties, but the low value of the persuadability, place Strumica at the bottom of the campaign priority list. As another example is municipality Stip. It has comparatively large voter population, medium turnout, but for SDSM it is down on the list because the low value of the other two categories, average party performance and persuadability. On the other side, for VMRO-DPMNE, municipality of Ilinden is before Centar for example, because of its exceptionally high average performance and high level of persuadability. For a contrast, in municipality of Centar, VMRO-DPMNE has poor average performance. In the end, to take into a consideration four variables for determining the ranking of the segments, is more effective than taking into account only one. This claiming can be implemented for many other fields of campaigning, such as marketing strategy or opposition research. In our case it is not excluded to add even more variables. We can also add some demographic factors, such as the number of students or low income people in some municipality, or even to include the financial factor. For example, what if, some geographic unit is high on the ranking list so far, but voter contact and marketing strategy for that unit would be much more expensive, than some other municipality that was low on the list. Thus, paying for billboards in Centar, would be much more costly than paying for billboards in some other municipality. The possibility for including the financial factor in the ranking list is initiated and partly analyzed in the following subchapter.

3.2. Cost-benefit analysis

The analysis of the financial factor is often referred as a cost-benefit analysis, or sometimes even yield analysis. Few factors are important to be analyzed here. The first one is the calculation of the cost per gained vote. It is expressed by the following formula⁷⁹:

$$\bullet \text{Cost per vote gained} = \frac{\text{Cost of Effort}}{\text{Number of votes gained}}$$

We can calculate, using the expenditure reports from the state electoral commission, the costs per gained votes, for both parties, SDSM and VMRO-DPMNE, for 2008 and 2011 elections.⁸⁰

$$\bullet \text{Cost per vote gained-SDSM (2008)} = \frac{594.236 \text{ Euros}}{233.284 \text{ Votes}} = 2,55 \text{ Euros (156,83 MKD) per vote gained}$$

$$\bullet \text{Cost per vote gained-VMRO-DPMNE (2008)} = \frac{1.277.156 \text{ Euros}}{481.501 \text{ Votes}} = 2,65 \text{ Euros (162,98 MKD) per vote gained}$$

$$\bullet \text{Cost per vote gained-SDSM (2011)} = \frac{840.533 \text{ Euros}}{368.496 \text{ Votes}} = 2,28 \text{ Euros (140,22 MKD) per vote gained}$$

$$\bullet \text{Cost per vote gained-VMRO-DPMNE (2011)} = \frac{8.855.132 \text{ Euros}}{438.138 \text{ Votes}} = 20,21 \text{ Euros (1242,92 MKD) per vote gained}$$

There are also some other formulas, proposed by Shea and Burton, for calculating the financial factor in the analysis. Some of them are: Cost per targeted voter, Efficiency or Minimization of waste and Coverage or Maximization of opportunity:

$$\bullet \text{Cost per targeted voter} = \frac{\text{Cost of Effort}}{\text{Number of targeted voters reached}}$$

$$\bullet \text{Efficiency} = \frac{\text{Targeted voters reached}}{\text{Contacts made}}$$

$$\bullet \text{Coverage} = \frac{\text{Targeted voters reached}}{\text{Targeted voters available}}$$

„A candidate seeking high efficiency might look for precincts with a large swing vote, because the probability that any particular voter within those precincts would be

⁷⁹ Michael John Burton and Daniel M. Shea. *Campaign craft: the strategies, tactics, and art of political campaign management-4th ed.* Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2010, p.88

⁸⁰ Државна изборна комисија на Република Македонија. Официјална веб страна на ДИК – финансиски извештаи. 31.08.2012. http://www.sec.mk/arhiva/2008_predvremeniparlamentarni/index/2008-07-04-16-17-11.htm
<http://www.sec.mk/ppi2011/index.php/en/2011-05-26-11-55-58>

undecided might be greater than in the precincts holding a small swing vote”.⁸¹ Coverage, on the other side, is the amount of voters covered by the campaign and the marketing. If a campaign has an unlimited amount of resources (money, time and people), it would strive for 100% coverage and 100% efficiency. But in the real campaign situation this is never the case. That is the reason why, when creating a strategy, some balance has to be found between the limited resources and the voter contacts made. The calculation of the financial factor, represented through Cost per gained and per targeted voter, could also be included in our priority matrix, after the anticipated expenses for the campaigns in each municipality are calculated. The implementation of this variable in the priority matrix could improve accuracy when ranking the segments and indirectly could influence on the overall campaign efficiency.

4. Targeting the segments

The benefit of the segment analysis and its crucial part, geographic segmentation, for the campaign efficiency in the proportional electoral models, have two essential manifestations. The first, as explained in the previous chapter, was the possibility of ranking the segments, according certain parameters, and thus directly reducing arbitrariness and volatility, and indirectly increasing efficiency of the campaign. The second crucial positive influence of geographic segmentation over campaign efficiency, is called geographic targeting, and is expressed by the possibility, after distinguishing the geographic segments, to implement different set of strategies for the different types of geographic units. This element is usually called strategic positioning. It mainly consists of creating different strategies for the different types of geographic segments. Strategy in this case means different approach and set of tactics for the different types of units, or municipalities in our case. The typology of the geographic units, can be conducted according various parameters. In the case of this research, as a crucial line of separation, is taken the number or the level of base voters.

Thus, the difference of more than 10 percentage points in the level of Base Vote in one municipality, between the two major political parties, SDSM and VMRO-DPMNE, could place that municipality in the category, slightly „leaned” towards one party. If the difference is more than 15 percentage points, than that municipality could be categorized as heavily „leaned”. The direction tell us towards which party the inclination take place. The threshold of ≤ 10 percentage points is crucial determinant here. The other threshold, on which we can

⁸¹ Michael John Burton and Daniel M. Shea. *Campaign craft: the strategies, tactics, and art of political campaign management-4th ed.* Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2010, p.89

rely even more heavily is the one of $15 \geq$ percentage points, which in fact denotes a difference in the percentage of Base Vote, between both parties SDSM and VMRO-DPMNE. This separation can also be determined according some other parameters, such as the difference in percentage points in the level of Average party performance, or according the value of the Cook Partisan Voting Index. For example, if the value of PVI is more than +15, for either party, than, that municipality can be marked as inclined significantly towards a particular party, and different strategy would be needed for that municipality. Or even, in order to increase the accuracy of the separation and determination of types, we can combine all three parameters, the difference in percentage points in the Base Vote, the difference in percentage points in the Average Party Performance, and the level of PVI. The results are depicted on the table bellow:

	Difference in the percentage of Base Vote:	Difference in the percentage of Average Party Performance:	Cook Partisan Voting Index:
Prilep	V+7pp	V+9,57pp	V+3,85
Bitola	V+11pp	V+11,75pp	V+6,02
Centar	S+15pp	S+9,65pp	S+15,3
Ilinden	V+24pp	V+27,45pp	V+21,72
Karposh	S+11pp	S+6,29pp	S+6,86
Kavadarci	V+10pp	V+10,15	V+4,42
Strumica	V+1pp	S+1,6pp	S+7,34
Stip	V+7pp	V+13,22pp	V+7,49
Ohrid	V+6pp	V+4,77pp	S+0,95

Table 8: Difference in the percentage of Base Vote and Average Party Performance of SDSM and VMRO-DPMNE and signs of the PVI in nine randomly selected municipalities. Numbers in the middle two columns indicate percentage points. The letter before the numbers indicate in which direction is the difference, whether toward SDSM (S) or toward VMRO-DPMNE (V).

As we can see from the results in the table, few municipalities can fall into the category swing, or type three municipality, as called in this research. From the nine municipalities from this table as purely swing could be categorized: Prilep, Strumica and Ohrid. Bitola, Kavadarci and Stip are slightly inclined toward VMRO-DPMNE and Karposh slightly toward SDSM. On the other hand, at Ilinden and Centar, we can notice significant

inclination towards one of the parties, indicating that different campaign strategies must be implemented in these municipalities. If we look from the point of view of VMRO-DPMNE, in the municipality of Ilinden, they have significantly larger base electoral body, and can conditionally be marked as political party A in that municipality. In this case, Ilinden will fall down in the municipality of type one. Municipalities from type two are exactly the same as those from type one, because there is also one party that have significantly larger base electoral body. The difference is only which party has the larger base voters. In this case, we have provisionally determined SDSM as party B, and typical municipality where they have significantly larger electoral body is municipality of Centar. That is the reason why, Centar shall be denoted as type two municipality. In fact, as we saw, there are actually only two types of geographic electoral segments, the Toss-Up (swing) segments, and the inclined municipalities.

From the description of the Base Vote, in the second chapter, we saw that it is part of the electorate that will always vote for a particular party, regardless of the quality of the candidate or the platform of the particular party.⁸² That is one of the reasons why, the difference in the percentages of the base votes across different municipalities, demand a hypothetical separation of the municipalities in certain types and after, a creation of different campaign strategies for the different types of municipalities. Campaign strategies are composed of different voter contact methods and various political marketing techniques. In the literature analyzing political campaigns, there are several types of voter contact methods, primarily divided as direct and indirect.⁸³ As indirect, are considered those communication methods, such as TV ads, radio, newspapers, and websites, where communication process is conducted indirectly. On the other side, the direct voter contact methods, such as candidate or volunteer canvassing, mail efforts, and Netroots campaigning, use more close communication approach with the voters. All of these techniques which in detail will be elaborated bellow, have different tasks and usefulness, and can cause different effects. Some of them can persuade voters, others can identify supporters, and third can turn-out the vote, or some can even have more than one objective. Some of them, such as TV advertisements, can seek a lot of money, others are more time consuming, and third may demand a lot of people involved.

⁸² Ibid, p.83

⁸³ O'Day, J. Brian. *Political Campaign Planning Manual: a step by step guide to winning elections*. National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, 2003. See also: Michael John Burton and Daniel M. Shea. *Campaign craft: the strategies, tactics, and art of political campaign management-4th ed*. Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2010

Usually, each voter contact method is a combination of some of these three resources: money, time and people.

When planning a campaign, two rules are of a crucial importance: the rule of finite resources and the rule of interchangeability of methods. „*Every decision to do something is a decision not to do something else. When you have twenty volunteers hand out literature, these twenty volunteers cannot make phone calls at the same time. When you spend money on television, you do not have that money to spend on mail*”.⁸⁴ The other important rule when dealing with decision of selecting voter contact methods, is the rule of interchangeability of resources and methods. According that rule, „*you can use different methods and resources to accomplish the same objective*”.⁸⁵ The combination a campaign chooses heavily depends on the circumstances of the election, finances of the campaign and to which geographic or demographic segment the campaign refers. Exactly, that possibility is emphasized by our second argument. Or more specifically, the division of campaign strategies and voter contact methods according the types of municipalities where they will be applied, will significantly influence on increasing the campaign efficiency. Before analyzing the different types of municipalities and different strategies proposed for them, is relevant to describe some of the political marketing orientations. There are three main political marketing orientations. In simplest terms, Market-oriented parties design their product (organization, policies) to suit what voters demand. Product-oriented, decide their behavior or product themselves, without much care for the opinions of voters. And Sales-oriented parties aim to sell what they decide is best for the people, utilizing effective political marketing communication techniques.⁸⁶

3.1. Analysis of a municipality where political party A has larger base electoral body

The logic of segment analysis follows a precise segmentation of the electorate, whether geographic or demographic, then ranking the segments according certain chosen parameters, and finally implementing different campaign strategies, with different order of voter contact techniques, for the different segments. This method, actually, is one of the few developed and broadened in the post-modern period of campaigning, as explained in the first chapter. Some may also find similarities with the Market-Oriented strategy, as explained in

⁸⁴ O'Day, J. Brian. *Political Campaign Planning Manual: a step by step guide to winning elections*. National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, 2003, p.29

⁸⁵ Ibid, p.29

⁸⁶ Lees-Marshment, Jennifer. *The political marketing revolution. Transforming the government of the UK*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004, p.17-19

the theoretical approach of Lees-Marshment.⁸⁷ Nevertheless, the point is clear. Prior analysis must precede the implementation of campaign strategy and voter contact methods. In this way, campaign efficiency could significantly be increased, by reducing the waste of resources and by decreasing arbitrariness and volatility. The second main argument in favor of this claiming, explains how different types of strategies and voter contact methods could be used in the different geographic segments (or municipalities in our case) in order to increase effectiveness and efficiency. Municipalities were divided in three types. In the first type, where party A (or in our case VMRO-DPMNE) has significantly larger base electoral body, the strategy has distinct characteristics from the other types of municipalities. Broadly speaking, the strategy for the type one municipality (as shown in Figure 3), is consisting mainly of mobilizing and reinforcing the partisan voters, and especially the base or traditional voters, to get out on the election day and to vote. Persuasion of the toss-up voters comes as a second priority.⁸⁸

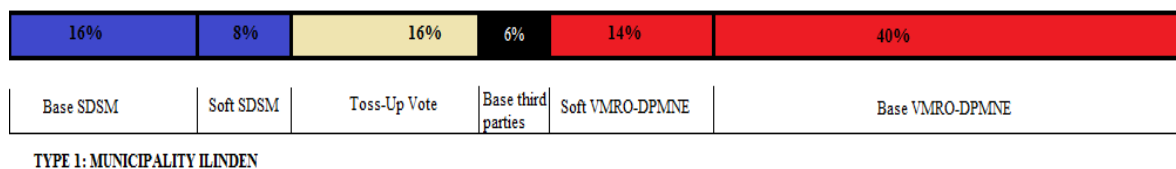


Figure 3. Display of segments in a municipality of type one

The logic is simple and obvious. In a district where one party has more numerous partisan body, their mobilization and high turnout must be a top priority for that party.⁸⁹ Although, partisan voters, including base and soft, are supposed, according the model and the examples shown, to be loyal for the party, there is always a risk for them not to show up at the election day and vote. The reason could broadly vary from apathy, disappointment, decreased interest in politics and so on. But, however, the main reason is because they believe that their vote won't make a difference. If many partisan voters contemplate in similar logic, the result for the respective party could be highly adverse. Thus, in order to avoid this problem and increase turnout of base partisans, which in the respective municipality are in significant number, the campaign must be positioned more closely to the views and attitudes

⁸⁷ Lees-Marshment, Jennifer. *Political marketing and British political parties. The party's just begun*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001. See also:

Lees-Marshment, Jennifer. *The political marketing revolution. Transforming the government of the UK*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004

⁸⁸ Michael John Burton and Daniel M. Shea. *Campaign craft: the strategies, tactics, and art of political campaign management-4th ed*. Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2010, p.115-135

⁸⁹ Ibid, p.115-135

of its traditional voters and must implement tactics, popularly called GOTV⁹⁰ drives.⁹¹ For example, in the municipality of Ilinden, pointed out as an example here, VMRO-DPMNE, as a party with significantly more numerous partisan voters than SDSM, must position itself closer to the values and attitudes of its base voters. In this case, it could be by emphasizing and reconfirming the conservative values. The other required tactic would be the implementation of various techniques to increase the turnout among its partisans. The GOTV tools could vary from simple reminders such as a phone calls or a piece of literature delivered by a volunteer⁹², where voters are asked to get out and vote in the election day. In the same time the importance of their vote is emphasized.⁹³ The most effective time when GOTV technique could be used is just before the election day, when the memory of the effort is still fresh in the voter's minds.⁹⁴ Usually, the geographic units from type one, as Ilinden in our case, are from a second priority in general, just after the swing municipalities, where persuasion methods should be first on the agenda.

The palette of techniques for increasing partisan voter's turnout is quite broad. The first one is visibility, such as putting billboards along the roads, then posters, stickers on cars and so on. These visibility tools reach broad audience and their main objective is to remind voters to vote. Their persuasion power is limited and very poor.⁹⁵ Another useful technique are mail efforts. They could vary from a direct mail, to e-mail or SMS, by which voters are also reminded to vote. As a positive example of using e-mail and SMS to increase voter turnout among its partisans was the Obama campaign from 2008 presidential elections.⁹⁶ The e-mail addresses were mainly collected from the host web page barackobama.com, where an e-mail address is required in order to be able to enter the page.⁹⁷ From the broad range of techniques which could also be used for increasing partisan turnout are: paid media (TV ads, radio and newspapers), although these tools are slightly more expensive than the previous ones, then friends of a friend technique, where a premade card is delivered among supporters who after that need to deliver it among their friends and relatives, and finally there is the

⁹⁰ It is an abbreviation from Get Out The Vote

⁹¹ Michael John Burton and Daniel M. Shea. *Campaign craft: the strategies, tactics, and art of political campaign management-4th ed.* Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2010, p.115-135

⁹² O'Day, J. Brian. *Political Campaign Planning Manual: a step by step guide to winning elections.* National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, 2003, p.30

⁹³ Michael John Burton and Daniel M. Shea. *Campaign craft: the strategies, tactics, and art of political campaign management-4th ed.* Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2010, p.115-135

⁹⁴ O'Day, J. Brian. *Political Campaign Planning Manual: a step by step guide to winning elections.* National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, 2003, p.30

⁹⁵ Ibid, p.33

⁹⁶ Delany, Colin. *Learning from Obama: Lessons for Online Communicators in 2009 and Beyond.* 2009. 27 Jan. 2012 <http://www.epolitics.com/learning-from-obama.pdf>

⁹⁷ The Official site of Barack Obama's presidential campaign. 27 Jan. 2012 <http://www.barackobama.com/>

possibility of the earned media, such as news releases, news conferences, debates and similar tools by which a reinforcement message could be delivered. However, the GOTV drives won't be enough in these geographic districts. Ilinden besides the large number of VMRO-DPMNE partisans, has around 16% toss-up voters that also need to be won in order a better result to be obtained. For that reason methods of persuasion need to be implemented. In a priority order they include: candidate or volunteer canvassing, the usage of paid media such as advertising and the power of the earned media.

For SDSM the picture would be quite different in the same municipality. Their partisans are in much smaller number, and traditionally they have poor results there. That is why, campaigning in this municipality for SDSM should be from a lowest priority.⁹⁸ However, they have several options, for obtaining decent result here. Firstly, low turnout from the opposite party partisans and high turnout from their partisans could improve the impression. Because the conversion, even theoretically, is not very probable⁹⁹, the most useful tactic could be to support a third party, with similar orientation as VMRO-DPMNE, and to try to torn part from its base voters. This tactic is not something unseen on the Macedonian political scene. In 2006, VMRO Narodna, won large number of the VMRO-DPMNE base voters, and the same was with the New Social-Democratic Party and SDSM. And finally, considering the majority of voter's attitudes, in Ilinden, SDSM must reposition themselves more closer to the center on the ideological scale.

3.2. Analysis of a municipality where political party B has larger base electoral body

The second type of municipality (geographic segment) is in fact the same with the first type, with only difference that the two biggest parties have changed their roles. In this case, in the municipality of Centar, SDSM is the party which has significantly larger base electoral body. That could be seen on Figure 4.

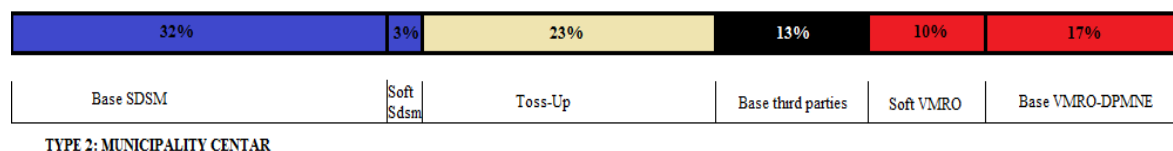


Figure 4. Display of segments in a municipality of type two

⁹⁸ Michael John Burton and Daniel M. Shea. *Campaign craft: the strategies, tactics, and art of political campaign management-4th ed.* Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2010, p.115-135

⁹⁹ John Coleman, Kenneth Goldstein and William Howell. „*Understanding American Politics and Government*”. New York: Longman, 2008, p.353-354

To summarize briefly, in this case SDSM is in a better starting position, having more numerous base partisan voters. They primarily need to mobilize, reinforce and encourage those voters to vote on the Election day. They could use the same range of techniques for GOTV, enumerated for VMRO-DPMNE, in the previous section, when analyzing municipality Ilinden. In terms of strategic positioning, in Centar, most effective tactic for SDSM would be to position themselves more left, but closely to the center. The reason is the high percentage of toss-up voters (23%), over which the persuasion methods could have greater impact, which follow after the GOTV drives are implemented. On the other side, low turnout among SDSM partisans, little creativity and positioning near the center, could cause surprisingly positive result for VMRO-DPMNE.¹⁰⁰ GOTV drives, such as billboards by the roads or phone calls, would not be a wise choice for VMRO-DPMNE in Centar, and very often could even cause an adverse effect, by encouraging the opposite party partisans to increase their turnout.¹⁰¹ A viable option for them might be to focus on the toss-up voters, by using door to door methods, or direct voter contact and conversation with the citizens of the respective municipality. Another option for VMRO-DPMNE in Centar would be the usage of TV, radio and newspaper ads, as useful methods for persuasion. But, anyway, Centar should have lower priority in VMRO-DPMNE's campaign.

3.3. Analysis of a municipality where both political parties have approximately similar base electoral body

Finally, the last type of geographic segment, or a municipality, where the forces of both parties are matched or close, have different and specific strategy and order of the techniques for voter contact. In the municipalities of type three, as the one shown on figure 5, the main strategy must be persuasion, and only after comes the mobilization and reinforcement.¹⁰²

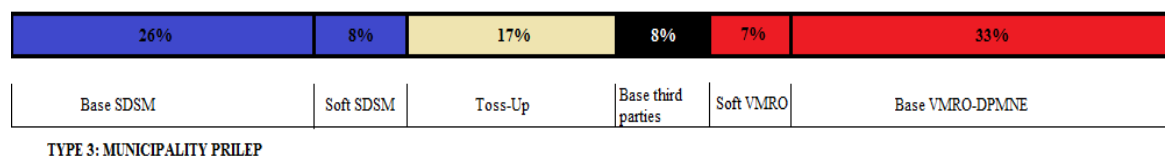


Figure 5. Display of segments in a municipality of type three

¹⁰⁰ Michael John Burton and Daniel M. Shea. *Campaign craft: the strategies, tactics, and art of political campaign management-4th ed.* Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2010, p.115-135

¹⁰¹ Ibid, p.115-135

¹⁰² Ibid, p.115-135

According many campaign researchers and practitioners, the median voter theory, or the centrist approach is most suitable to be implemented at this type of municipality, due to the fact that most of the undecided voters, are positioned near the center.¹⁰³ On the other side, many scholars, supported by the abundant examples, such as the presidential elections in the United States in 2004, oppose to the centrist approach and claim that very often it fails to recognize the power of the base voters, even in the swing districts.¹⁰⁴ In any case, in a situation of evenly matched geographic segments, such as Prilep (taken as an example here, although it is slightly leaned toward VMRO-DPMNE), as a priority for both parties would be persuasion of the undecided, and only after reinforcement of their own partisans.

There are many useful methods of persuasion. They could vary from intensity to cost for their implementation. We can enumerate few, according their effect in persuading undecided voters.¹⁰⁵ The most effective method for persuading voters is to go from door to door, house to house and talk personally to voters.¹⁰⁶ It is often referred as candidate canvassing. Volunteer efforts, such as canvassing and literature drop are another option. Secondly, as an indirect and very effective voter contact method, used for persuasion is the usage of paid media, whether TV, radio or newspapers advertisements. Earned media are another opportunity for persuading the toss-ups. Direct mail, e-mail or SMS, where the party briefly explains its message and main arguments to undecided voters, might be very persuasive technique.¹⁰⁷ Netroots politicking¹⁰⁸, or friends of a friend tactic, could also have very useful persuasive impact. Finally, analyzing the broad range of techniques and the creativity used by the Obama's presidential campaign from 2008, we should not neglect the power of the social networks. Although they could be used as a mobilizing tool also, they have an important component that allows more personal and interactive approach, which gives them very powerful persuasive side. The principle of interconnectivity was broadly utilized by Obama's campaigners, meaning attaching a vast number of YouTube videos on the Facebook or Twitter profiles of its supporters and on the official web page. And in the opposite direction, links of the official web page, and Facebook and Twitter profiles of the campaign, were placed at many other web pages, TV ads, newspapers, billboards and so on. In the end, only a few days before the election, after the persuasion methods in this type of

¹⁰³ Ibid, p.120

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, p.120-121

¹⁰⁵ O'Day, J. Brian. *Political Campaign Planning Manual: a step by step guide to winning elections*. National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, 2003,

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, p.32

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, p.32

¹⁰⁸ Michael John Burton and Daniel M. Shea. *Campaign craft: the strategies, tactics, and art of political campaign management-4th ed.* Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2010, p.192

municipality are chosen and implemented, GOTV techniques are another possible method to be used, in order to encourage partisans to show up on the election day in large numbers.

3.4. The benefit for the campaign

The choice for campaign managers, regarding geographic targeting, will always move from implementing as many techniques as possible, but thus spending more resources, or implementing a carefully chosen small number of techniques for the specific geographical units. An aggressive campaign, using a lot of marketing and voter contact techniques, will in most of the cases yield a positive result. But, however, the main purpose of this research, and probably the most of the campaign organizations, is how to decrease spending and improve efficiency. Consequently, according that principle, the most prudent tactic, would be the implementation of different strategies and specific voter contact techniques for the different geographic segments.

Voter contact task	Effectiveness		Resources		
	Persuade voters	Turn-out vote	Time	Money	People
Literature drop	Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes
Literature handouts	Minimally	Minimally			Yes
Mail	Yes	Yes		Yes	
Door to door	Yes	No	Yes		Yes
Phoning	Minimally	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Visibility	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Endorsements	Yes		Yes		Yes
Coffees	Yes	No	Yes		Yes
Dear friend	Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes
Preset events	Minimally	No	Yes		Yes
Created events	Minimally	Minimally	Yes	Yes	Yes
Press	Yes	Minimally	Yes		
Advertisements	Yes	Yes		Yes	
Web pages	No	No			

Table 9: A list of voter contact techniques, showing their effectiveness in persuading voters, turn-out the vote, and the resources required for their implementation. „Yes” means having significant effectiveness in the particular task or requiring specific type of resource (time, money or people) for the last three columns.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁹ O'Day, J. Brian. *Political Campaign Planning Manual: a step by step guide to winning elections*. National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, 2003, p.37-38

The crucial question is which techniques are most suitable for the specific segments. In the previous subchapters a partial answer was given, following O'Day's list which provides a display and short analysis of some of techniques' effectiveness and resources required. The list is shown in table 9.

By determining specific strategies and specific voter contact methods for the different segments, the precise targeting of the geographic segments, as shown by the examples in the fourth chapter, could increase significantly the overall campaign efficiency. The benefit for the campaign could primarily be expressed through decreased financial expenditures, with focus on only few most effective voter contact methods. And secondly, arbitrariness and uncertainty can also be significantly reduced, by implementing pre-arranged targeting rules.

Conclusion

The field of political science that analyze political campaigns, for a long time was regarded as highly unpredictable area, and was considered more as an Art, rather than science. With the technological innovations and aspirations, that marked the last few decades of the 20th century, campaigns, from both theoretical and practical aspect, were approximated more to the scientific domain, and thus they got one new and more comprehensible side. One of the tools, which benefits were highly utilized in the countries with majoritarian electoral systems, was the method of segment analysis. Segment analysis, in its most simplified form, proposes a geographic or demographic segmentation of the electorate, and then precise targeting of the specific segments. The main hypothesis, that was analyzed in this research, was emphasizing the broad usefulness of this method, with special emphasis on the geographic targeting, towards improving the campaign efficiency in the countries with proportional electoral models. As a case study, here were analyzed political campaigns from the Macedonian parliamentary elections. From the statistical data and already existing studies from other countries, comparatively, analytically, critically and polemically, was evaluated the strength of our arguments. The first main argument was claiming that by ranking the geographic segments (or municipalities in our case), according the four proposed parameters and according the amount of priority points each gets, the campaign could significantly improve its organization, by decreasing arbitrariness and uncertainty in the decision making process. Thus, indirectly, the campaign, knowing its order of priority regions, will save significant amount of resources such as time, money and people. The second main argument, elaborated in the last (fourth) chapter, follows a logic of specific targeting strategy for the specific type of municipality. Three types of municipalities were created and respectively three distinct types of marketing and voter contact strategies were proposed. Similarly, according this argument, by knowing the specific targeting strategy for the specific geographic regions, campaign could reduce arbitrariness and volatility and increase its efficiency. However, beside all the positive influences of the segment analysis and geographic targeting, towards improving campaign efficiency, we must underline the limited effect this method has in the countries with proportional electoral models, compared with the countries where elections are organized according the majoritarian model, such as United States and Britain.

In the end, we can conclude, with high level of certainty, that with the implementation of the method of segment analysis, with geographic targeting specifically, campaigns of the

political parties from Macedonia, regarding parliamentary election, could significantly improve their efficiency (as many votes gained with less resources spent). Compared with the scenario where segment analysis is not implemented, the difference is obvious. And the difference is not only in the votes gained, because a party could win large amount of votes anyway, but rather in the price for that result.

As a practical conclusion from the analysis, we can say that for VMRO-DPMNE, as a party with larger overall base electoral body than SDSM, an intensive mobilization campaign among its own partisans, negative campaign for causing low turnout among SDSM partisans and among part of the undecided, and some minimal effort for gaining few undecided voters, could yield excellent result in terms of high efficiency. For SDSM, on the other hand, the high turnout among its own partisans and among the undecided must be from a highest priority. A range of GOTV techniques can be used for this goal. Intensive persuasion campaign must also be included, by using mainly the most effective tool, door to door canvassing.

With the growth of the group of late deciders, both in the world and in Macedonia, campaigns are becoming increasingly important. This research is just a small effort to understand, channelize and utilize that trend. We leave a room for further and deeper analyses in this field.

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