

APPENDIX B

ISSUES RELATED TO POLITICAL POLLING

Goals of Polling:

1. *Strategic information for political campaign*

The chief goal of polling is to provide the party with strategic planning information for conducting its political campaign. Specifically, you must use your polls to find out which demographic groups are most likely to be your supporters to be persuaded by your message. Polling simply to find out the current standing of the party is useless and a waste of valuable resources. The party should conduct each poll with a specific purpose, and the party should have a specific reason for asking each question on the poll.

2. *Discover the attitudes and concerns of voters*

A political campaign is about voters. To be successful, the party must talk about the things in which voters are interested in a way that voters can relate to. Polling is an excellent way to measure the attitudes and concerns of voters.

3. *Discover the issues that move voters*

Every political activist knows the major issues of the current political campaign. However, given limited resources with which to meet voters, the party must know the priorities of the voters among these issues, especially how those priorities differ among sub-sets of the voting population. Polling can help the party focus its message and make the best use of its resources.

4. *Discover the party's position*

Voters perceive each party to have its own strengths and weaknesses; a party that is perceived to be strongly against corruption, for example, may simultaneously be perceived as weak in dealing with economic or foreign policy. The party can use polling to discover exactly where it stands in the

minds of the voters and to determine on what issues to focus its campaign.

5. ***Test messages***

The party can use polling to determine the effectiveness of various messages before committing resources toward communicating those messages to voters. Additionally, the party can use polling to determine the effectiveness of the messages that opponents are likely to use against them, as well as the best defenses against those messages.

6. ***Track trends***

As the campaign progresses, the party needs to know what is happening in the minds of the voters: are they listening to the party's messages or to messages of the party's opponents? Small-scale "tracking polls" can determine this information during the election campaign.

Types of Questions

1. ***Screening questions***

Since the purpose of the poll is to formulate election strategy, the party is interested in talking only to those who will actually vote. Political polls typically begin with a set of screening questions to determine who is most likely to vote.

2. ***Favorability questions***

The party needs to determine which parties, leaders, and institutions are viewed favorably or unfavorably by voters. The voter must be encouraged to be honest, to admit that he doesn't know a name or has no opinion

3. ***Questions about the general political environment***

These questions might include "Is the country on the right track or the wrong track?" or "Are you better off or worse off now than you were several years ago?" The purpose of

such questions is to gauge the overall mood and attitudes of the voters.

4. ***Issue importance and positioning questions***

These questions ask voters to prioritize the political issues to be discussed in the campaign and to evaluate the parties' performance on these issues. In one variant, voters are asked to rate each issue (crime, inflation, unemployment, etc.) as "extremely important", "very important", "somewhat important", or "not very important"; in another variant, voters are actually asked to prioritize short lists of issues.

5. ***Leadership qualities and positioning questions***

These questions ask voters are to prioritize the characteristics that they wish to see in their political leaders. The wording of these questions is similar to that of the issue importance questions, substituting phrases like "strong", "well-educated", or "understands people like me" for the issue terms.

6. ***Horse-race questions***

Horse-race questions are quite familiar: "If the election were held today, would you vote for Ivan Ivanov or Aleksie Arbatov?" While important for tracking progress, these questions are in some sense the least important questions on the poll because a small percentage of voters in Russia identify with parties or candidates. More useful to candidates are questions about whether voters would **consider** voting for XXX candidate or party; this way potential supporters can be identified by demographic groups.

7. ***Message testing questions***

Message testing questions might include: "Would you be more likely or less likely to vote for a candidate/party with X characteristics?" The purpose, of course, is to test both the party's and the party's opponents' messages to determine their likely effect.

These questions are often worded neutrally to mask the name of the party or candidate being discussed.

8. *Two-sided issue questions*

The purpose of these questions is to find out what voters might think about a particular issue after hearing arguments from both sides. A typical question might be: "Proponents of a certain proposal say X, while opponents of the proposal say Y. Do you strongly agree with the proposal, mildly agree with the proposal, mildly disagree, or strongly disagree?"

9. *Demographic questions*

At the end of a poll, voters are usually asked a series of demographic questions (age, income level, education level, etc.) to determine what differences exist among sub-sets of the population. This is important for defining the demographic groups who are supporting your party, undecided, or supporting your opponents. This is also the key to defining issues and messages which work for demographic groups.

Common Mistakes in Design and Use of Polls

1. *Bad sampling*

The sample of the poll must be completely random and must reflect the population that will ultimately vote. Too many or not enough respondents from one sex, age, income, or geographic group, etc. will give inaccurate information about the population as a whole. Screening is critical to ensure that only likely voters respond.

2. *Biased questions*

The purpose of the poll is to give the party accurate information. Thus, all questions must be worded in a neutral, non-biased manner in order to get the most honest response. For example, you will never get accurate information about people's attitudes towards pyramid schemes if you ask questions like "Do you

believe that the government should re-imburse people foolish enough to put their money in well-known pyramid schemes?"

3. ***Insider questions***

Faulty polls often include questions that are well-understood by politicians but not by average people. If the respondent does not understand a question, he cannot give an honest response. For example, few voters will have an opinion on a question like "Do you think that the Conventional Forces in Europe treaty can be applied within the borders of the Russian Federation?" but most will have an opinion on a question like "Do you think that Russia should be prohibited by international treaties from using military force within the borders of the Russian Federation?"

4. ***Questions too general***

Everyone knows that the economy is an important issue in any political campaign. But what exactly about the economy is important? The questions in a poll must be specific to the issues that will be important.

6. ***Over-reliance on horse-race questions***

The answer to a horse-race question is ultimately important only on election day. A party should never become over-confident from strong poll results or despondent from weak poll results. Rather, the party should use the poll to determine its strategy for the future.

7. ***Failure to use cross-tab information to target messages to voter segments***

Voters are not uniform and will not respond in the same way to the same messages. The party should use the poll to find out the differences among sub-sets of voters and to design messages for each target sub-set.

APPENDIX C

GEOGRAPHIC TARGETING METHODOLOGY

This appendix lays out the methodology for measuring the three characteristics important in geographic targeting as explained in Step Three: Voter Targeting and Analysis: Turnout, Performance, and Persuadability.

Turnout is, quite simply, the percent of eligible voters who actually vote. Because our only clue to a precinct's behavior in the upcoming election is its behavior in past elections, we generally predict turnout with the formula:

$$(\text{Votes1} + \text{Votes2}) / (\text{ElVoters} \times 2)$$

Votes1 = Number of votes cast in first past election
Votes2 = Number of votes cast in second past election
ElVoters = Total number of eligible voters in the precinct

Thus, this formula is simply the average turnout over two past elections. Very careful targeters give more weight in their formulas to more recent elections.

In measuring expected turnout, it is important that you choose elections of a similar character to the upcoming election. For example, in the December 1993 Duma elections, voter turnout in St. Petersburg was close to 60%, while in the 1994 local elections, turnout was well under 25%. Probably, the 1993 election will provide a better measure of expected voter turnout in 1995 than the 1994 local elections.

Performance is the percent of voters in a precinct who consistently vote for candidates or parties of the same orientation as your candidate. For the Democratic Party of the United States, Democratic Performance is the average percent of voters who voted for Democratic candidates at all levels over the course of two or more elections. In the U.S., a Democratic candidate might use the following formula to define a precinct's "performance":

$$(\text{Clinton92} + \text{DemCong92} + \text{DemGov94} + \text{DemCong94}) / 4$$

Clinton92 = Bill Clinton's percentage in the precinct in 1992
 DemCong92 = Democratic congressional candidate's percentage in 1992
 DemGov94 = Democratic gubernatorial candidate's percentage in 1994
 DemCong94 = Democratic congressional candidate's percentage in 1994

This formula is a simple average of the performance in the precinct of four democratic candidates in two elections. Performance formulas are usually more complex, and, again, careful targeters give more weight to more recent elections.

Obviously, defining "performance" in Russia will be a little trickier. One possible formula might be:

$$(\text{ParList} + \text{DumCan} + \text{FedAss} + \text{FedAss}) / 4$$

ParList = Party list percentage for parties of orientation similar to your own
 DumCan = Percentage for Duma candidate or candidates with orientation similar to your own
 FedAss = Percentage for democratic Federal Assembly candidates (remember that voters cast two ballots in this race)

This formula is the average of the votes for "friendly orientation" in the three December 1993 elections -- the party list vote, the single mandate Duma vote, and the Federal Assembly vote. Obviously, choosing which parties and which candidates well represent "friendly orientation" will be a little tricky. Some have suggested that the results of the April, 1992 Referendum vote be added to a Russian democratic performance formula (with "Yes" representing "democratic orientation") but, as explained below, the interpretation of the referendum vote is not undisputed.

Persuadability is the percentage of voters in a precinct that don't vote in a consistent way. Either they "split" their vote (vote for candidates of different orientations in the same election) or "shift" their vote (vote for candidates of different orientations over the course of two or more elections). It is generally considered that "vote splitters" and "vote shifters"

are the voters most likely to be persuaded by a campaign's efforts.

In the U.S., a Democratic candidate might use the following formula to measure persuadability. This formula averages the precinct's "vote shifters" (between the congressional races in 1992 and 1994) with the "vote splitters" (between the gubernatorial race and congressional race in 1994).

$$[(\text{DemCong94} - \text{DemCong92}) + (\text{DemGov94} - \text{DemCong94})] / 2$$

DemCong92 = Democratic congressional candidate's percentage in 1992
DemGov94 = Democratic gubernatorial candidate's percentage in 1994
DemCong94 = Democratic congressional candidate's percentage in 1994

Note: Use absolute values for the subtraction results.

In the Russian context, one possible measure of a precinct's persuadability might be:

$$[(\text{ParList} - \text{DumCan}) + (\text{DemList} - \text{YRef93})] / 2$$

YRef93 = Percentage of "Yes" votes on April, 1993 referendum
ParList = Party list percentage for parties of orientation similar to your own
DumCan = Percentage for Duma candidate or candidates of orientation similar to your own

Note: Use absolute values for the subtraction results.

This formula averages "vote splitters" (between the party list election and single mandate election in December, 1993) with "vote shifters" (between the "pro-reform" position in the April, 1992 referendum election and the "pro-reform" position in the December, 1993 party list election). Again, the Russian context is much trickier than the American context. For example, it has been suggested that a "Yes" vote in April, 1992 represented a vote not for reform, but for stability; thus voters supporting the referendum in 1992 and the KPRF in 1993 may have been following a consistent pattern.

APPENDIX D

DRAWING CONTRAST WITH YOUR OPPONENTS

The single most difficult problem facing candidates and political activists is the problem of contrast. Party programs and messages tend to be bland and generic, and the voters never understand why one candidate or party is better than another. As a result, voters grow cynical and begin to view democratic elections as meaningless.

In designing your campaign message, you must give your target audience the sharpest possible contrast with your opponents. If you don't, then your target audience has no reason to vote for you instead of your opponent. In order to ensure that your message has this contrast, you should be able to word it in the following way:

"When you go to the polls on December 17, I want you to keep one thing in mind. The differences between me and my opponent could not be clearer. You can vote for me, who stands for XXX, or you can vote for my opponents, who stand for YYY. What Russia and our region need is a lot more XXX, and a lot less YYY. That's what this election is about, and that's what you are going to decide."

When searching for the "XXX" and "YYY", you may look at the following areas:

1. **Values:** How is what you stand for significantly different than what your opponents stand for?
2. **Policies:** What would you do as a member of the State Duma that is significantly different from what your opponents would do?
3. **Experience:** How will the differences between your and your opponents' work and educational experiences influence the way you would behave in office? Often, when values and policies are very similar, experience is the best way to draw contrast -- Which candidate is best able to deliver the promised policies or values?

For any particular trait under the above headings, you must craft your message in order to draw the most favorable contrast with your opponents.

XXX**vs****YYY****Values**

Positive change	vs	Stagnancy, status quo
Pragmatic, compromising	vs	Partisan, uncompromising
Optimistic	vs	Pessimistic

Policies

Pro-business, pro-		Over-regulation
Social protection	vs	Uncaring, heartless
For responsible public investment	vs	Allowing factories to deteriorate

Experience

Highly educated and intelligent	vs	Unimpressive background
Understands common people	vs	Eggheaded, out of touch
Extensive government experience	vs	Untried, untested

APPENDIX F

GUIDE TO TELEVISION ADVERTISING

This appendix is a guide to television advertising that can be used by political parties and the candidates they have nominated to communicate a message to the voters. The guide has been written for an audience of campaign organizers who have little or no experience using television and who are responsible for developing and implementing a communications strategy for an election campaign.

This guide has been drafted by NDI to give a brief overview of the important elements of political advertising on television, including: planning; scripting; types of advertising; creative options; hiring an advertising agency; organizing a photo shoot; and candidate preparation.

Television is one of the most powerful ways to reach voters in campaign, and a campaign can be perceived by what is shown, or not shown, on the air. Only personal campaigning by the candidate meeting voters will have more of an impact on the election.

Because it is so powerful, television should not be disconnected from the rest of your campaign. Television should use your campaign message to persuade your target groups. The television ads should mirror the messages and issues raised in press conferences, leaflets and posters.

Television can also mirror the national party message, identification and symbols. National party offices can often lend graphics and footage to create continuity between party advertising and candidate advertising. In some places, where the party is not running strong, the candidate may want to run a more independent campaign. Public opinion polling should be your guide in determining whether running under the party banner will help, hurt, or have no effect.

Political advertising closely follows commercial advertising. Watch the best ads for products and try to decipher the messages that the advertisers are conveying. If it's candy they're selling they want you to know it delicious. If it's medicine, they want to

know that doctors or scientists have proven it will work and will offer relief. If it is soap, they want you to know it cleans better, smells nicer, or is more effective than other soaps. Sometimes commercial ads tell a story, sometimes they present facts, sometimes they involve an celebrity endorsement. They are repeated again and again, just as campaign ads will need to be repeated again and again.

To get a better understanding of advertising, take time to review campaign ads from previous campaigns and ask what message they conveyed and if voters were persuaded. Another exercise is to spend time writing down the text and visuals of commercial ads. Keep some paper near your television set. It is always surprising to look at the scripts and see how the language is simple and understandable and how the script flows from one thought to the next.

Planning Ahead

The most common mistake in writing television ad copy is to have everyone involved with the campaign come with a good idea and string them all together. Often you create too many spots or throw too much into one spot. The end result of this effort is an ad that looks and sounds choppy and disconnected.

The best way to prevent this problem is to plan ahead. First decide how many times the campaign will need to reach its targeted audience in order to persuade them. Try to raise the money to make sure your targeted groups can be reached as many times as you can safely say they have heard your message and can remember it. When you have a rough idea of how much television time the campaign can afford, then you can determine how many different spots can be produced.

The usual rule is to try to reach the same targeted audience a minimum of 5-8 times. If you think you will need to buy 20-25 spots in order to reach people 8 times, then the campaign can plan to have ads based on what they can afford.

By planning the number of ads in advance, the campaign can then devise a strategy for what needs to be accomplished in each ad and what idea can be conveyed in each.

Let's say Ivan Ivanov, your candidate, is running for Duma and the message is: "We trust him with our future". The campaign decides it can afford to buy 50 spots which is enough to reach the targeted audience with two different ads. The campaign will buy 25 spots for the first ad, and 25 spots of the second ad.

The campaign can then decide to use one ad to highlight Ivanov's biography and have three people provide testimonials why they trust him with their future. The second spot could build on the first by covering issues that we can trust Ivanov to vote "for the future" like improving education.

Scripting

All the campaign television ads should reiterate the campaign message, theme and key words. Write the message, theme and key words down on paper, so the campaign staff and the advertising agency can use it as a basis for discussions and ideas.

The script should be tightly written, convey key concepts but should not try to cover so much that the message gets lost. A good rule is to have one idea for each short spot. Sometimes campaigns want to put everything on one ad, and the viewer walks away without knowing what they saw.

Don't be afraid to use repetition effectively. Repetition of key themes and key words will help the viewer remember your message. Sociological studies show that people will need to see a spot five to eight times before the key points can be remembered.

A Sample of Repetition:

Ivan Ivanov, trust him for our future. (Announcer)

Ivan Ivanov has a history of working for the people here to get things done. He worked for us to clean up the river.
(Civic Organizer says)

Ivan Ivanov, trust him for our children. (Announcer)

Ivan Ivanov has helped us in getting equipment for our schools. I trust him to help families and children in the future. (Teacher say)

Ivan Ivanov, trust him for the change we need. (Announcer)

Ivan Ivanov, trust him for our future. (Announcer)

The above script also shows that ad copy need not be grammatically correct. That's so the script can sound more like a conversation. Statements or words sometimes convey the thought faster and effectively. The way to test whether the script makes sense is to read it aloud a number of times. Could a few words convey what you want better than what you have written?

Once the script is written then the campaign should determine the visuals that will best support the script. Although the visual does not have to directly match the script, there should not be a contradiction between what is being said and what is being seen. The visuals often have the most impact since what is seen is more memorable than what is said. The visuals also help the campaign underscore points being made by the audio.

Many campaigns attempt to make their candidate look serious by having the candidate at a desk or at a podium. Although this conveys "seriousness" it might not be as strong visually as having the candidate talking seriously to a group of people in an office or on a street corner. Remember that other people in the shot will help bring your ad alive and show the candidate as active.

In our sample ad on Ivanov and the future, the campaign can film Ivanov walking forward talking to three people along a tree lined neighborhood. When the ad talks about the children Ivanov might be filmed reading a group of children a book.

How Long the Spot Should Be

How long the spot is, depends on how much you can repeat it. As we mentioned earlier, repetition is key. People tune in and tune out of television programs. Often the television is on, but the people in the room are focused on a conversation. Even those that are watching are listening but are not focused on the spot. These people walk away saying "that was some candidate."

For this reason advertisers try to buy as much time as it takes to sink the message into the viewer's head. It is better to spend 500,000 rubles on 10 short spots that will reach a larger audience and is repeated, than spending the same amount of money on 3 five minute spots that reach that smaller audience with little or no likelihood of repetition.

The Length of Commercials

15 Seconds is enough to increase the candidate's name identification, state the party and deliver a short concise message. This type of spot might be useful early on in the campaign if the candidate is unknown. It is also useful at the end of the campaign when the candidate is certain to win, but needs to remind voters to vote. This length might be good if the campaign has little money, and needs lots of repetition to fight a strong incumbent. For this, the campaign will need to be creative, because not much can be said in this amount of time.

30 Seconds is enough time to introduce the candidate's message and describe the candidate's issue positions, personal accomplishments, or biographical information that support the message. This is the most common length of ads in the United States because it is long enough to deliver a message, but short enough to be able to buy lots of time.

1 Minute is long enough to go deeper into the message, explain an issue position in further detail, or do a longer biography. If resources are not a problem, this length would be good to do a first introductory ad about the candidate's life, personal accomplishments and message.

Anything over one minute becomes expensive, but can be used if the candidate has to explain a very confusing position or defend against a complicated negative attack.

Over 2 minutes. Unless you have unlimited money, there is really no need for an individual campaign to spend large amounts on a television spot. Longer spots are traditionally used by Presidential candidates or the National parties to explain all of the party positions. Around the world, national parties are often provided or purchase longer time spots to address the country. If free time is offered to your party or the campaign always take advantage of this. Whether longer spots of time would be useful for the party to purchase depends entirely on whether people will watch your longer advertisement or switch the channel.

Types of Political Advertising

Generally introductory ads are broad and tend to set the stage for the campaign ads that follows. For the unknown candidate,

introductory ads are often biographical, and help to explain who the candidate is and why they are running on the basis of the message. If the goal of the ad to increase name recognition, be sure to repeat the name, or have it written on the screen. This is also a good opportunity to position the campaign against the opponent.

If a candidate is planning on running an issue based campaign, it may be more important that the candidate preview their overall philosophy and help establish their credentials on the issues they will run later ads. If the candidate is an incumbent officeholder, the first introductory ad might be about their positive accomplishments. It is also an opportunity for the campaign to talk about a popular issue that the opponent is against.

Issue based ads are the candidate's positions on an a salient issue. The issue the campaign choose to highlight should test high in focus groups or polling. Often the ads will cover one topic like the economy or environment. The campaign always can join issue positions with a connecting overall message like, he cares about us--and supports raising the minimum wage, privatizing housing, and bring new jobs.

In a general listing of issue positions or votes, be careful not go overwhelm the viewer with too much information. It is more likely to be remembered if there are three to four issues presented clearly in thirty seconds.

There's no better way to validate a person's candidacy, than having other people say that they are the best. Good endorsements come from political, civic or cultural leaders who are popular and are willing to nice things about the candidate. Newspaper endorsement ads can make use of positive statements or headlines from the newspaper about your candidate.

Testimonial ads are similar to endorsement ads, but they tend to tell a story of someone who was helped by the candidate. This is very effective in "proving" that a candidate is effective at getting government to work for people. Campaigns look through a candidate's list of accomplishments for success stories that can support the campaign message. For example, in the US, ads will have the owner of a business tell how their Mayor helped them save

their plant is the best way to support the message that the candidate helps the economy.

There have been a number of campaigns who use valuable airtime to only convey what the party's organizational plan, and not the message. Make sure the organizational message does not take the place of the campaign message. A campaign spot that only announces a public meeting will not change voters minds, and that only a small percentage of those who see the ad will actually attend the event. It is alright to use the last few seconds of a television ad to announce a rally, a meeting, an office location or a phone number. In the ads that follow, the organizational spots are devoted to encourage people to pressure the government, or show phone numbers which help the party get names of supporters.

Contrasting ads show your candidate's position in comparison to the main opponent(s). This is a great way to show people what or how you would do things differently. This is most common for challenger candidates who can run against the worst part of an elected officials record, votes and history.

Negative ads are different from contrasting ads because the ad primarily focuses on your opponent(s). Negative advertising is often criticized as being no more than attacks on a person's character and is frequently cited as a reason for low voter turnout. Defenders of negative advertising claim that if the negative advertising is based on someone's record, public statements, and votes that it is fair. Because they are controversial, you should weigh the pros and cons of ads that criticize your opponents very carefully before using them. If you choose to use them, keep in mind the following three rules:

1. Negative statements about your opponent must be accurate.
2. An allegation against your opponent must be a fair representation of factual occurrences.
3. The allegation must be about the "public" record of your opponent.

As Russians know from the last campaign, negative ads are most commonly used when the opponents are likely to win, until people learn negative information on their record and positions. If you

do a negative ad, always support it publicly with actual voting records or newspaper articles. This prevents the campaign from being accused of attacking someone unfairly.

In multiparty races don't attack one opponent if it may help another opponent. In a case like this, think of a message and issues that the opponents have in common that the campaign can use against them both.

Defense ads are most common when the opponent is launching an attack on television that has enough repetition to impact the vote against your candidate. If there are inaccuracies in the negative attack, defend your record in a response and in the press. If there are no inaccuracies, change the argument to your strongest issues and your message.

Clever ads are often more memorable and more talked about among voters than other types of ads. The most common mistake is to make jokes that are funny, but the candidate's name and message are forgotten. If there is a funny way to present your message, test it by telling it among your non-political friends or through a focus group.

Creative Options

Music and Sound Effects

Many Russian campaigns use music with lyrics, but unless this conveys the message, consider saving valuable time by using instrumental music that can also have a voice over it. This can allow a campaign 10-15 more seconds in each ad. Music can convey a message and a mood as much as the text of the script. Choose carefully. Rock and roll is not the best way to get pensioners to pay attention. Depending on the equipment available, you can mix any number of sound effects: music, sound effects and voices. Music and sound effects can fade, go softer, or grow louder throughout the ad. Don't be afraid to experiment.

Graphics

Graphics, photos, and clippings from newspapers, can be filmed in the studio as they are needed. Make sure any graphics are large, clear and understandable. They must be large enough to be understood at a glance.

Additionally, the advertising agency or the local television station may have stock footage that can be used for an ad. They might have a film of major landmarks, a school scene, or even your opponent on tape. All of this can be edited into the campaign ad in the studio, and may save the campaign money. It is much cheaper to use photos, graphics and existing film than having the advertising agency film the candidate.

Computer graphics and script can also be added to the footage. This is extremely effective for using facts or quotes that the viewer may not clearly understand if the information is just delivered verbally.

When Campaigns Should Buy Advertising Time

In general, the heaviest advertising should be done near the end of the campaign. Campaigns should buy backwards from election day, and make sure the advertising is reaching its target audience.

Do not run all your ads the final two days. Chances are you will miss people and not be able to build repetition. Consider spacing them out in order to reach people over a reasonable time period so the target audience will see the spots 5-8 times. An option worth thinking about in a multicandidate field is to establish the candidate early by making a small well placed buy before the other candidates begin to advertise. This is particularly helpful if your candidate is lost among the other unknown candidates.

The most important point is to buy time is to buy when the campaign can reach it's target audience. They are the voters you will need to persuade to win. Demographic data on television viewers is available in Moscow, but elsewhere you will need to rely on your instincts. Ask what programs people are watching when you do your focus groups. Ask non-political friends in the target group what program they are watching.

Finding an Advertising Agency

There are a number of rules in hiring an advertising firm for the campaigns that have the resources to do this. Be sure they understand that the goal of the campaign is not to win an artistic award but to deliver a message that will get votes. Be sure that the advertising agency does not change the campaign

message or project an image of the candidate that is different from what opinion research shows and what is written on leaflets.

Remember that the campaign is the client hiring the firm. Ask questions, communicate the campaign expectations, and don't get pushed around because they say they know more than you do. They may know more about television equipment, but the campaign will know more about politics and messages.

Don't assume that by hiring an advertising firm, a campaign's job is over. There are certain steps involved in each ad, and the campaign should be involved in every part of the process.

The first step is a discussion with the advertiser, the candidate, and the campaign manager about the message that the campaign is trying to convey. This is often the best time to come up with a list of ideas. The advertiser may want to work jointly with the campaign on scripts or come up with several scripts to present at the next meeting.

The script should be approved by the campaign manager and the candidate, and any changes should be made before the advertising firm is given the go-ahead for the filming. This is the opportunity for the campaign to make changes, and discuss the visuals that will accompany the script.

Photo Shoot

Campaigns can save money if the "photo shoot" is well organized and done in one day. All the footage can be shot and re-used from one commercial to the next. The campaign could even finish all the ads months ahead of the election.

A proper campaign "shoot" schedule will save the campaign time and money. Go over it with your advertising company. Visit the various locations ahead of time, decide what the candidate will wear, and plan in advance the people who are needed.

A Sample Morning Shoot Schedule for Sergei Markov, NDI Party:

9:30-10:00 Advertising Firm sets up camera in Ivanov's kitchen

- 10:00-10:40 A shot of Ivanov, and his wife and daughter talking in the kitchen. Candidate and family should wear casual clothes.
- 10:40-11:00 Pack up equipment and go to Patriot's Park, NW Corner, by park bench and trees. Candidate should change into a suit before leaving his house.
- 11:00-11:30 Film Ivanov with two older women and three older men talking seriously in a circle--three women and four men have been confirmed to appear in case a participant can't make it.
- 11:40-12:00 Film Ivanov walking through the park towards the camera carrying his daughter and talking to his wife. (He should wear another color jacket and tie.)
- 12:00-12:15 Move three blocks away to a school. There will be a teacher, and ten 5-7 year old children waiting. Ivanov should wear a casual sweater.
- 12:15-2:00 Film Ivanov reading to the children in a semi-circle. Film Ivanov at the blackboard with the teacher talking to the students. Film the teacher saying the "education script" against the bookcase surrounded by the children. (She has script ahead of time and has practiced her statement).

Putting the Advertisement Together

The final process is the editing of the film. It involves taking the best of each shot and splicing it into 30 seconds. After the film footage is edited, usually then the producer will mix the music, the voices, or the sound effects. The campaign should have someone in the studio with the producers. It is important not to argue about each point, the ad would never get finished, but to understand how the ad is put together. Make sure that the campaign is getting the ad that was planned.