

## ENGLISH SUMMARIES

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### Campaign Advertising and Electoral Success in a Municipal Election

by Veikko Pietilä

The study analyzed the connections between campaign advertising and electoral success on the level of individual candidates with special emphasis on whether campaign advertising has any influence on the success of individual candidates. The effects of advertising on party success, on the other hand, were not explored.

The object of the study was the 1972 municipal election with respect to one municipality, the city of Tampere. The candidates representing the three parties strongest locally were selected as those candidates whose advertising and success were studied. These parties are the Finnish People's Democratic League (SKDL), the Social Democratic Party (SDP), and the Conservative National Coalition Party (Kokoomus). Information on the campaign advertisements by candidates representing these parties and published in the local newspapers were gathered for the study. Information on the votes given to them were likewise gathered. These sets of data thus indicate electoral success.

With respect to advertising, only the *advertising volume* per candidate was studied — that is, the amount of advertising resorted to by each candidate. The contents of advertising were not touched upon in the study. The hypothesis that served as a starting point for the investigation was of course that in so far as advertising volume influences success at the polls, the vote given to a candidate should be the bigger, the bigger his advertising volume is.

For the purposes of the study the SKDL candidates were divided into two groups according to the two factions found in the party. The relationships between advertising and success were examined separately within these two groups as well as the SDP and Kokoomus groups of candidates so that variations in support for different parties could not blur these relationships. The correlations between advertising and success went in the expected direction within every group, even though none of them could be considered especially high with the exception of one group.

When scatter diagrams for the variables within each group were drawn, it was found that in each group low correlations were due to a few exceptional cases only. Some of these had done extremely well in spite of an average amount of advertising while others had put up a mediocre showing despite very heavy advertising. Almost all of the former ones were »old» candidates who had participated in previous elections and done well at them. All of the latter ones were »old» candidates who had participated in previous elections and put up an average showing at the most.

The effect of these exceptions on correlations was minimized by converting the original value accorded to the advertising volume and the vote into their

logarithms. As a consequence of scale transformation the correlations generally rose quite clearly.

When examining the correlations of the variables separately within the groups of »old» and new candidates, it was found that if the original values of the variables were used the correlations were higher among the new candidates of each group than among the »old» candidates. If, on the other hand, logarithms were used variations in correlations between new and »old» candidates got more even.

Although the connections between advertising and success are as hypothesized, this does not entitle us to conclude that the amount of advertising would have influenced electoral success. The connections may have been caused by such other factors that influence both advertising and success in the same direction. One such factor is the number of potential supporters behind a candidate, which can well be thought to manifest itself in a member vote within the party or in a previous electoral success. It can directly influence success in the election presently under examination. It can also influence advertising in so far as candidates assess the strength of their support on the basis of the member vote or their previous success and in so far as a good showing in them activates and a poor one discourages advertising.

Among new candidates a causal chain between success in member vote, advertising, and success in the election proper was detected, according to which success in member vote had influenced advertising and advertising on its part had had an effect on success in the election proper. The success of »old» candidates in the election that was studied, on the other hand, depended primarily on their success in previous elections. This was especially true of the »old» candidates representing the SDP and the Kokoomus, whereas among the »old» candidates within both factions in the SKDL there were indications of a causal chain where previous success would have influenced success in member vote, which again would have affected advertising and advertising, finally, the actual outcome.

It was for this reason that the connection between advertising and success was examined in both groups of the SKDL candidates in a more detailed manner. It was found that advertising within both groups was concentrated: in both groups campaigning was centered on a relatively small number of candidates. The votes polled by both groups had also piled up for these »main candidates». Hence it is evident that a concentrated advertising campaign has *indicated* to a voter of either group *the candidates between which he should make his choice* if he is to aim at the best possible result from the point of view of his own faction. In this case advertising seems to have had some kind of *directive* influence.

The results of the investigation give cause to two conclusions. First, campaign advertising would seem to have an effect on success *if it is concentrated* — if it is used for pushing through a relatively small group of candidates so that the other candidates in the group remain clearly in the background. Then, advertising in a way pinpoints this small group as the one whose members should be voted if the voter happens to support that particular faction or party which is responsible for the advertisements. Making this directive ploy a success would, however, seem to presuppose that it reaches voters who understand the motives behind it and are themselves motivated to work for them. Second, campaign advertising would seem to have an effect on *the electoral success*

*of new candidates in particular.* This result is understandable enough as a successful candidate must make his way into the public's mind, and heavy advertising is one way to that end.

### **Cabinet Formation as a Combinatorial and Coalition-Theoretical Problem**

by Markku Laakso

The rapid development of game theory during the last decades has strongly influenced political science, too. In particular the analysis of cabinet formations with the help of hypotheses derived from game and coalition theories has become a central object of interest. In explaining cabinet formation coalition theory following certain criteria simply aims at finding the coalition that best fulfils the prescribed conditions from among all possible coalitions. A prerequisite for understanding the theoretical basis of cabinet formation is in the first place that we know all the possible coalitions that can form the final cabinet coalition. The combinatorial approach, through which the properties of such a group of theoretical possibilities can be established, has been almost totally neglected in political science although logically it should precede the coalition-theoretical approach.

In the first part of the article our aim was to explain some of the logical mechanisms connected with cabinet formation through the use of combinatorics: the number of theoretical minority and majority combinations and the influence of party size on the properties of majority coalitions.

A recent improvement in explaining the structure of cabinet coalitions is Michael Taylor's D,E,M,S system of criteria which was applied to the present relative strength of parties in the Finnish parliament. The results obtained, however, cannot perhaps be considered too relevant as to their predictive value: in five cases out of seven a combination was arrived at which included either the SMP (Finnish Rural Party) or the SKYP (a splinter group of the SMP). Twice a combination of the SDP (Social Democratic Party), the KESK (Center Party), and the RKP (Swedish People's Party) was reached, the same being always the result, too, when the conditions laid down for criterion D (ideological distance) were eased. In spite of rapid development coalition theory is still very much dependent on mathematical game theory. In the Taylor system for example, criteria M, E, and D are all connected with the minimality of the majority coalition to be formed, a fact that can easily be argued for in game-theoretical terms. Criterion D alone brings in other important decisional aspects.

Another fairly important reason why coalition theory for the present cannot predict the more probable cabinet coalitions is that coalition theory analyzes the group of theoretically and not politically possible majority coalitions. Towards the end of the article an alternative approach was thus presented, the purpose of which is to some extent to eliminate these defects. The task of future research would be the precise formulation of this approach so that

the contributing factors of criterion I (the criterion which enables us to move from the theoretically possible coalitions to the politically possible ones — e.g. 1) programmatic and ideological factors, 2) the «legitimacy» of the parties from the point of view of the political system, 3) foreign policy factors, 4) the internal situation of the parties, 5) experiences of coalition formation during previous cabinets — could be defined «quantitatively» in order to establish the politically relevant coalitions and put the combinations obtained in an order of probability.