



International Research Journal of Marketing & Economics

ISSN (2348-9766) Impact Factor: 5.779

Vol. 6, Issue 10, October 2019

© Association of Academic Researchers and Faculties (AARF)

Website-www.aarf.asia,Email id : editoraarf@gmail.com

---

T.C.

ISTANBUL AYDIN UNIVERSITY

INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES



**THE IMPACT OF POLITICAL MARKETING ON THE VOTERS' BEHAVIOR IN  
AFGHANISTAN**

**Hamid BARAK**

**Email: [Hamid\\_barak2011@yahoo.com](mailto:Hamid_barak2011@yahoo.com)**

**Istanbul Aydin University**

**Istanbul, Turkey**

**THE IMPACT OF POLITICAL MARKETING ON THE VOTERS' BEHAVIOR IN  
AFGHANISTAN**

**ABSTRACT**

In current political world, the competition amongst politicians intending to achieve important positions by the civilians' votes is vividly substantial. Therefore, the process of creating favorable social attitudes through a strong campaign to win the voters over in the targeted area for each candidate is highly prominent to identify their importance in reaching a specific goal. Such a campaign is usually via advertisements aiming at selling the politicians' characteristics, ideas, future plans, and leadership abilities and so on which is called political marketing. This study examined the impact of political marketing on the voters' behavior in Afghanistan. The main purpose of this research is investigation of relationship between voters' behavior and these factor: Political marketing, Economic, Personality, Culture,

---

© Association of Academic Researchers and Faculties (AARF)

A Monthly Double-Blind Peer Reviewed Refereed Open Access International e-Journal - Included in the International Serial Directories.

Beliefs, Social and Political, that have effect on voters' behavior. 199 participants who were eligible to vote were selected as the participants. Utilizing a quantitative method, the required data was collected through a questionnaire. The results of the current study indicated that Personality, Economic, Culture and Political marketing were the key factors affecting the voters' behavior towards voting to a particular candidate.

**Keywords:** *Political Marketing, voters' behavior, political parties, independent candidate, political campaign.*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

In current political world, the competition aimed to achieve important positions by the civilians' votes (Abramowitz, 1989). Therefore, the process of creating favorable social attitudes in the targeted area for each candidate is highly prominent to identify their importance in reaching a specific goal. Different managerial and psychological policies have led the leadership and management of this process to achieve this goal and win the people's vote. Generally, political marketing is the first usage (Kelly, 1957). Definition of political marketing in general: Political marketing is facilitator of the social process of political exchanges (Bendle, 2014). There are various arguments about the use of political marketing during the election campaign (Bendle and Cotte, 2016). The political marketing is a new phenomenon in countries like Afghanistan and influences the psychological skills and opinions of the voters to vote. In this research, I examine the impact of political marketing on voters' behavior in Afghanistan. To achieve a favorable outcome of political marketing in Afghanistan, there are factors which have a greater impact on voters' behavior.

## 2. Voter Behavior

Voters and their initial wishes and wishes are the choices that all candidates are seeking to succeed in the chosen constituencies they represent. Candidates must understand the needs, and needs of the community. Political marketing is a successful political campaign that must be understood by voters in order to achieve this success because voters have the key to power in all democracies. In fact, the "knowing" of voters is related to two parts. The first part involves recognizing the point in the social building of "sociological, demographic, traditional, and geographical topographies." And the partner includes the needs and objectives of "beliefs, issues and well-being," and "spiritual characteristics" of personality, attitude, motives, feelings or values (WojciechCwalina et al 2012: p, 262). On the second

part, voters' perceptions of how information is received and processed, and how to interpret political information, the politicians evaluate their programs and their proposals. In other words, voters act according to the rules governing cognitive, emotional and behavioral functions (WojciecheCwalina et al, 2012). Sociologically, also called the sociological paradigm, assumes that the main reason for voting is the feeling of a member of the social community. Examples of such communities may include ethnic, religious or occupational groups, social classes or neighboring networks, all of which refer to the collective character of voting behavior. In other words, they are those who vote, but their preferences are determined by their dependence on a particular group (Lazarsfeld, 1944; Berelson, 1954).

### **3. Factors that affect the voters' behavior**

Newman and Shett (1985) use seven variables: social imagery, issues and policies, candidate image, emotional feelings, current events, epistemic issues, personal events in the lives of voters, political options more than 90% accurately predicted. Their model is more than predictions based on population or participation. Later, five predictive variables were reformed based on political issues, candidate personality, social imagery, probable situational and epistemic (Newman and Sheth, 1987). This model has been repeated several times (Benur and Newman, 2010; Newman, 1999; Newman, 2002).

#### **3.1. Political marketing**

Political marketing is relatively a new term in the political science literature, it means using marketing tools in your politics, expressing techniques and methods in the political process (Dr. Sudha Menon, 2008). In other words, the result of the interaction between politics and marketing is called political marketing. It is still an activity or method that reflects the influence of politics through marketing. Activities such as celebrity confirmation, political propaganda, professional advisers and campaign leaders, online campaigns, use of meetings, micro-targeting, etc. Some widespread use of political marketing is used (Marshment, 2006).

#### **3.2. Economic**

Economic factor is one of the most important factors in people's lives, this factor directly affects the financial status and economic power of people. Economic indicators based on economic factors in society are the main indicators of social welfare and welfare of people

(Bode, Dalrymple, 2015). In the different researches show that the effectiveness and effect of economic factors on social satisfaction and life satisfaction in society and positive attitude towards politicians with favorable economic attitude (Andrews, Kaplan, 2015).

### **. Social.3.3**

The social status and related conditions, such as education, social organizations, per capita studies, etc., are catastrophic factors that affect public opinion, support people from the ruling party, or lead people to government or against the rule it. In other words, this component focuses more on the issue of party rather than on individual and individuals. Therefore, the factor is very effective in people's behavior (Bode and Dalrymple, 2015).

### **3.4. Political**

The political party can only maintain its identity when it maintains its identity. In fact, it is a marketing campaign that can constantly update a party, and that the party will have the planning and decision to nominate, to gain and maintain it makes it a connection to the people. Therefore, this indirect political effect on people's opinions directly affects public opinion, with direct consequences of the political situation, which is based on political slogans and titles based on the relationship and policy of reform and reconstruction (Collinson, 2015).

### **3.5. Culture**

Cultural issues include cultural, social, and political issues, words, habits and cultural conditions, including the foundations of society and the traditional beliefs of every society (Bendle, Ryoo and Nastasoiu, 2017). In other words, people in different nationalities have certain cultural principles that respect and value their values and traditions. Over the years, various studies have also shown that candidates have always been more likely to vote and support with slogans and programs based on the preservation of cultural issues that have been held in the election, and that cultural issues play a role in voter behavior. It has also been remarkable for political parties and politics (Bendle and Wang, 2016).

### **3.6. Belief**

Religious teachings and teachings on ethics and social practices often lead to political behaviors of individuals and group norms, or in other words, they refer people to a series of

political and party preferences that have a religious basis, society Accepts. Therefore, insistence on ethical-religious beliefs and values and the survival of these values and beliefs through religious practices, such as: worship, reading the Bible, etc. In fact, strengthening political preferences and a party based on religious teachings and teachings (Lehman, 2001).

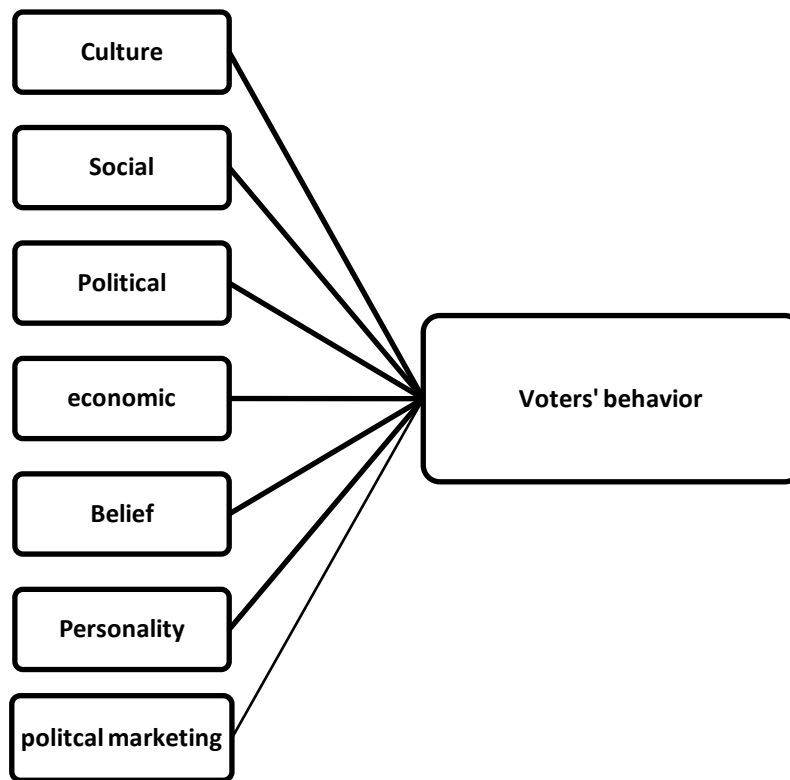
### **3.7. Personality**

Political marketing researchers are also interested in examining the impact of personality on voters' behavior (Eystenck, 1954). In literature, personality traits such as authoritarian personality, hard-core controversy, conservative, storytelling, and other personal factors are used to explain the behavior of voters. To develop a relationship between personality and political choices, one can develop various personality theories to this day. It will be useful for political marketers to understand the relationship between personality traits and voters' choices in terms of political ideology, which voters love what kinds of personality (Mc Glosky, 1958; Rokeach, 1960).

## **4. Research Methodology**

This is a descriptive research, that we examined the impact of independent variables “Political marketing, Economic, Social, Political, Culture, Beliefs, Personality” on dependent variable “voters’ behavior”. This quantitative study evaluated the impact and correlation between the factors influencing the behavior of voters. In this research, seven factors affecting voting behavior have been investigated. In addition, this method can show the correlation between the variables

### **4.1. Research Model**



**Figure 3.1:**Conceptual Mode

#### 4.2. Sample size and sampling method

The participants of the current study were Afghan citizens who were eligible to vote. Acknowledging the convenience sampling, 199 subjects of the study whose ages range from 18 to 55 were the respondents.

To calculate the size of sample formula proposed by (Tabachanick and Fidell, 2007) was used (2007).

$N = 50 + 8m$ . Where

$N$ = Sample Size

$M$ = the number of independent variable

$N = 50 + 8m$ .

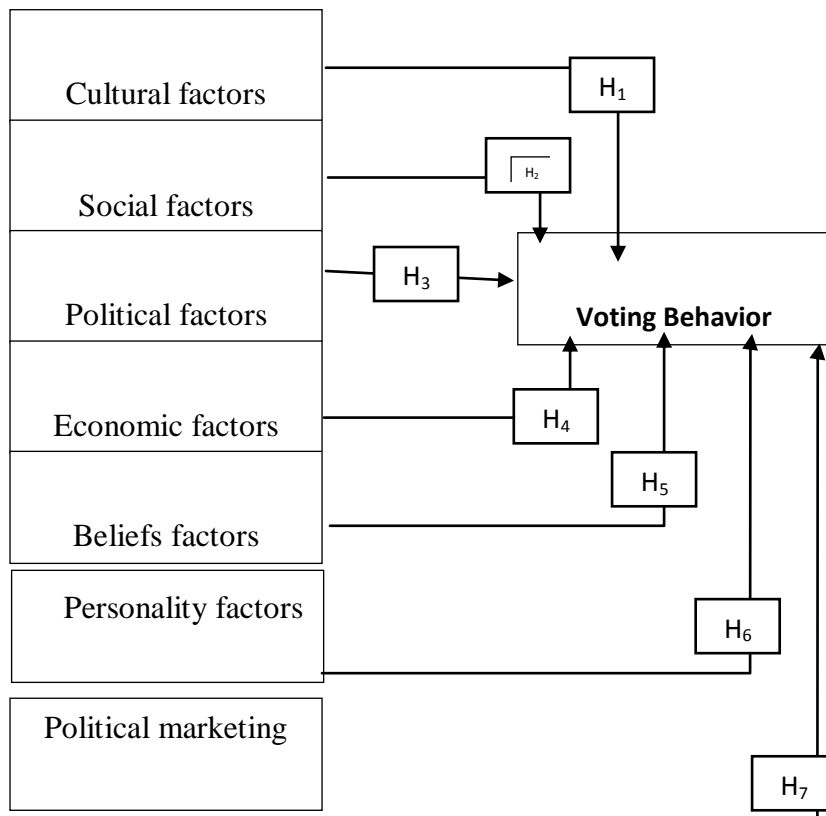
$$50 + 56 = 106$$

Based on this formula required example size for this learning is defined as 106 (as the amount of independent variable equals to seven).

Sample size is defend as (199) to exceed the minimum threshold.

## 5.Hypotheses and Graphical Model

Graphical model of the study and hypotheses are as following;



**Figure 5.1:** Graphical model

- SH1: Cultural factors affect on voters' behavior.
- SH2: Social factors affect on voters' behavior.
- SH3: Political factors affect on voters' behavior
- SH4: Economic factors affect on voters' behavior.
- SH5: Beliefs factors affect on voters' behavior.
- SH6: Personality factors affect on voters' behavior.
- SH7: Political marketing factors affect on voters' behavior.

### 5.1. Respondent's Profile

The sample for current study consisted of 199 complete responses. 79 % of them are male and 21% are female. 41 % of the respondents were married and 59% of the respondents were single. The age of survey participants varied between 18 and 55 years, 60 % of them are

between 26-45 years. Majority of the sample (93 %) has bachelors and postgraduate degree. 63 % of the sample is student whereas 31 % of them is empolyee.78 % of the respondents have income less than 500 USD yearly. A considerable part of the survey participants (69%) has voted before. Table 4.1 presents demographics of sample.

**Table 5.1:** Demographics

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>Percentage (%)</u>
<i>Sex (n=199)</i>		
Male	157	79
Female	42	21
<i>Marital Status (n=192)</i>		
Married	78	41
Single	114	59
<i>Age group (n=198)</i>		
18-25	80	40
26 -35	104	53
36-45	13	7
46-55	1	0
<i>Education level (n=199)</i>		
Intermediate	3	2
High School	11	5
Bachelor Degree	88	44
MsC& PhD Degree	97	49
<i>Occupation (n=198)</i>		
Student	125	63
Employee	61	31
Retired	1	1
Unemployed	11	6
<i>Income Level(n=198)</i>		
Less than 200 USD	68	34
200 – 500 USD	87	44
501 – 1000 USD	31	16
1001 and above	12	6
<i>Voting (n=195)</i>		
Yes	134	69
No	61	31

### **Reliability Assessment 5.2**

Reliability is related to the degree to which test results are free of measurement error. Additionally, the reliability examines how consistent the measured item is among respondents and steadiness of the characteristics across time period (Smith and Albaum, 2005). Table 3 depicts the reliability assessment of each construct. The reliability has been established as Cronbach alpha value is above 0.7 for each construct.



**Table 5.3: Reliability Analysis**

<b>Construct</b>	<b>Reliability (Cronbach Alpha)</b>	<b>Number of Items</b>
Cultural Factors	0,856	5
Social Factors	0,759	3
Political Factors	0,772	3
Economic Factors	0,877	6
Beliefs	0,801	4
Personality	0,852	6
Political Marketing	0,883	5
Voting Behavior	0,887	5

### 5.3. Hypothesis Testing

Regression analysis is defined as a reliable method followed in statistics for identifying the relationship between independent variables and dependent variables. By regression analysis, which variables have an impact on the research topic of interest and also the degree of that impact can be observed.

In order to examine hypotheses linear regression analysis was conducted. Table 4 shows that there is a positive strong correlation between two variables ( $0 < 0.05$ ,  $R = 0,810$ ) According to ANOVA test results ( $p = 0,00 < 0,05$ ) independent variables explain % 64 of the variance in voting behavior ( $R^2 = 0,641$ ,  $p < 0,05$ ). To test each hypotheses p values and  $R^2$  are examined. As seen in Table 6 cultural factors, ( $t = 2,264$ ,  $p = 0.025$ ), economic factors ( $t = 2,535$ ,  $p = 0.01$ ) personality ( $t = 3,58$ ,  $p = 0.00$ ) and political factors have positive affect on voting behavior in the 95% confidence interval, whereas the effect of social, political factors and beliefs weren't found statistically significant ( $p > 0,05$ ).

As a summary, cultural factors ( $H1: \beta = 0.184$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ) economic factors ( $H4: \beta = 0.190$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ), personality ( $H6: \beta = 0.194$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ) and political marketing ( $H7: \beta = 0.270$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ) have positive impacts on voting behavior.

**Table 5.4:** The Results of Regression Analysis

	$\beta$	t value	p	R	R2	Tolerans	VIF
(Constant)		0,094	0,925	,810 <sup>a</sup>	0,641		
Cultural Factors	0,184	2,264	0,025			0,322	3,013
Social Factors	-0,057	-0,677	0,500			0,301	3,318
Political Factors	0,04	0,048	0,962			0,321	3,111
Economic Factors	0,190	2,027	0,044			0,244	4,101
Beliefs	0,153	1,671	0,097			0,255	3,924
Personality	0,194	2,535	0,012			0,366	2,732
Political Marketing	0,270	3,588	0,00			0,378	2,649

According to the multiple regression analysis results, H<sub>1</sub>, H<sub>4</sub>, H<sub>6</sub> and H<sub>7</sub> were accepted ( $p < 0,05$ ), while H<sub>2</sub>, H<sub>3</sub> and H<sub>5</sub> are rejected ( $p > 0,05$ ). Summary table of hypothesis tests are shown at below (Table 5).

**Table 5.5:** Summary Table of Hypothesis Tests

Hypotheses	Relationships	Status
H <sub>1</sub>	Voting <--- Cultural Factors Beh	Accepted
H <sub>2</sub>	Voting <--- Social Factors Beh.	Rejected
H <sub>3</sub>	Voting <--- Political Factors Beh.	Rejected
H <sub>4</sub>	Voting <--- Economic Factors Beh.	Accepted
H <sub>5</sub>	Voting <--- Beliefs Beh.	Rejected
H <sub>6</sub>	Voting <--- Personality Beh.	Accepted
H <sub>7</sub>	Voting <--- Political Marketing Beh.	Accepted

## 6. Conclusion

The purpose of this research was to find out the relationship between voters' behavior and the factor effect on voters' behavior. . This study examined the importance of factors: Political marketing, Economic, Personality, Culture, Beliefs, Social and Political, and influencing the behavior of voters, and reflecting the real impact of political marketing on voters' behavior in Afghanistan. The results obtained from this model showed that the strongest factor affecting on voters' behavior are: Political marketing, Economic. Cultural, Personality, influence on the voters' behavior, And also affect variables such as: political, social, Beliefs and political factors on the voters' behavior. In a similar study that was conducted in Iran by Soleimani and Monem

(2017), five of the above mentioned factors were considered as the main components of political marketing on the behavior of voters. Therefore, the results have proven that the factors behind the creation of the political marketing and the factors are the definitive elements that can guide them through appropriate use of them and the related solutions of thought and public opinion in the predicted direction.

## REFERENCES

- Alavi, M., & Carlson, P.** (1992). A review of MIS research and disciplinary development. *Journal of Management Information Systems*, 8(4), 45- 62.
- Alesina, A., Roubini, N. and Cohen, G.** (1997) *Political Cycles and the Macroeconomy*(Cambridge: MIT Press).
- Almond, G.** (1960). A functional approach to comparative politics. In G. Almond & J. Coleman (Eds.), *The politics of the developing areas* (pp. 3–64). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Alternativet.** (2017a). *Alternativet in English*. Retrieved January 16, 2017, from <http://alternativet.dk/english/>
- Anderson, C.J.** (1998) 'Parties, Party Systems and Satisfaction with Democratic Performance in the New Europe'. *Political Studies*, Vol. 46, No. 3, pp. 572–88.
- Andrews, W., Kaplan, T.**(2015). "Where the Candidates Stand on 2016's Biggest Issues." *The New York Times*, Accessed August 12, 2016.
- Bagozzi, R.P.** (1975) 'Marketing as Exchange', *Journal of Marketing* 39(October): 32–9.

- Baines PR** (ed.) (2011). *Political Marketing*, Vol I–III, Sage Publishers: Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Baines PR.** (1999). Voter segmentation and candidate positioning. *In Handbook of Political Marketing*, BI Newman (ed.). Sage Publications: Thousand Oaks, CA; 403–420.
- Baines, P., Harris, P. and Newman, B.I.** (1999a) New Realpolitik: political campaigning and the application of political marketing across cultures. *Proceedings of the European Marketing Academy Conference*. Humboldt University, Berlin, May. Cited in Baines and Egan (2001).
- Bastien F.** (2009). Beyond sex and saxophones: interviewing practices and political substance on televised talk shows. *Canadian Political Science Review* 3(2): 70–88. behavior. *Journal of Consumer Research* 12(2): 178–187. behavior: comparative analysis of Poland and the US. *European Journal of Marketing* 44(3/4): 351–368.
- Bendle, N. T., NastasoIU, M.A.** (2014). “Primary Elections and US Political Marketing.” In Bendle, N. T., Ryoo, J., NastasoIU, M.A. (2017). “The 2016 U.S. Primaries: Parties and Bendle, N. T., Wang, X. (2016). “Uncovering the Message from the Mess of Big Data.”
- Berelson B, Lazarsfeld P, McPhee W.** (1954). *Voting: a study of opinion formation in a presidential campaign*. University Chicago of Press: Chicago, IL
- Blanchard, O.** (2011). *Macroeconomics*. PrenticeHall: Englewood Cliffs, NJ.
- Bode, L., Dalrymple, K.E.** (2015). “Politics in 140 Characters or Less: *Campaign* 2(2): 119–146.23(1): 1–26.3–11.317–33.
- Bode, L., Dalrymple, K.E.** (2015). “Politics in 140 Characters or Less: Campaign
- Bruce I.** (1981) *The explanation and Prediction of Voting Intentions and Actual Voting Behavior in a Presidential Primary race*. Business Administration Department. University of Illinois, Champaign IL. *Business Horizons* 59 (1):115-24. doi: 10.1016/j.bushor.2015.10.001. *Business Horizons* 59 (1):115-24. doi: 10.1016/j.bushor.2015.10.001.
- Buss, A.R. & Poley, W.** (1976) *Individual Differences: Traits and Factors*. New York: Halsted Press.

- Butler, P. and Collins, N.** (1994) Political Marketing: Structure and Process. *European Journal of Marketing*, 28(1), p.19-34. MCB University Press, ISSN: 0309-0566.
- Butler, P. and Collins, N.** (1996) Strategic analysis in political markets. *European Journal of Marketing*, 30(10/11), p.25-36. MCB University Press, ISSN: 0309-0566.
- Butler, P. and Collins, N.** (1999) A conceptual framework for political marketing. In Newman, B. (Ed.). *The Handbook of Political Marketing*. Sage, London, p.55-72. Cited in Baines and Egan (2001) and Palmer (2002).
- Campbell A, Converse PE, Miller WE, Stokes DE.** (1960). *The American Voter*. John Wiley & Sons: New York.
- Canon** (1993). Political amateurs in U.S. House elections. *American Journal of Political Science* 37(4): 1119–1141.
- Canon DT.** (1993). Sacrificial lambs or strategic politicians? Political amateurs in U.S. House elections. *American Journal of Political Science* 37(4): 1119–1141.
- Caprara GV, Schwartz SH, Capanna C, Vecchione M, Barbaranelli C.** (2006). Personality and politics: values, traits, and political choice. *Political Psychology* 27(1): 1–28.
- Caprara GV.** (2004). Personalizing politics, Zimbardo PG: a congruency model of political preference. *USA Psychologist* 59(7) 581–594.
- Colander, DC.** (2008). *Microeconomics*. McGraw-Hill: New York.
- Collinson, S.** (2015). “Joe Biden Won’t Run for President.” CNN, Accessed 08/11/2016. Communication, Network Interaction, and Political Participation on Twitter.
- Conover, Feldman S.** (1981). The origins and meaning of liberal AND conservative self-identifications. *USA Journal of Political Science* 25(4): 617–645.
- Constantinides, Fountain** (2008). Conceptual foundations and marketing issues. *Journal of Direct, New York, NY, USA: Routledge*. Cosgrove 85-111. New York, NY, USA: Routledge. *Data and Digital Marketing Process* 9(3): 231–244. Cosgrove 85-
- Crouch, C.** (2004). *Post-democracy*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Cwalina W, Falkowski A, Kaid LL.** (2000). Role of advertising in forming the image of politicians: comparative analysis of Poland, France, and Germany. *Media Psychology*
- Cwalina W, Falkowski A, Newman BI, Verčič D.** (2004). Models of voter behavior in traditional and evolving democracies: U.S. *Journal of Political Marketing* 3(2) 7–30.

- Cwalina W, Falkowski A, Newman BI.** (2008,2009, 2010) Towards the development of a cross-cultural model of voter A Cross- Cultural Theory of Voter Behavior. Haworth Press/Taylor & Francis Group: New York.
- Cwalina W, Falkowski A, Newman BI.** (2009). Political management and marketing. In Routledge Handbook of Political Management, Johnson DW (ed). Routledge: New York: 67–80.
- Cwalina, W. Falkowski, A.** (2012). The macro and micro views of political marketing: The underpinnings of a theory of political marketing. *Journal of Public Affairs* · November 2012 DOI: 10.1002/pa.1421
- Davidson S.** (2005). Grey power, school gate mums and the youth vote: age as a key factor in voter segmentation and engagement in the 2005 UK general election. *Journal of Marketing Management* 21(9): 1179–1192.
- Downs A.** (1957). *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. Harper: New York.
- Drucker, P** (1973) *Management: Tasks, Responsibilities, Practices*. New York, Harper and Row.
- Druckman JN, Nelson KR.** (2003). Framing and deliberation: how citizens' conversations limit elite influence.
- Duch, R.M. and Stevenson, R.** (2010) 'The Global Economy, Competency and the Economic Vote'.
- Duch, R.M. and Stevenson, R.T.** (2008) *The Economic Vote: How Political and Economic Institution Condition Election Results* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Egan, J.** (1999) Political marketing: lessons from the mainstream. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 15(6), p.495-504. Cited in Baines and Egan (2001).
- Eystenck, H.** (1954). *The Psychology of Politics*. New York: Doubleday.
- Fair, R.C.** (1978) 'The Effect of Economic Events on Votes for President'. *Review of Economic*.
- Falkowski A, CwalinaW.** (2002). Structural models of voter behavior in the 2000 Polish presidential election. *Journal of Political Marketing* 1(2/3): 137–158.
- Ferejohn, J.** (1986) 'Incumbent Performance and Electoral Control'. *Public Choice*, Vol. 50, pp.5–25.
- Fiorina, M.P.** (1981) *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections* (New Haven, CT: Yale Fiske ST, Taylor SE. 2008. *Social Cognition: From Brains to Culture*. McGraw-Hill: New York.
- Fiske, S. & Taylor, S.** (1991). *Social Cognition*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

- Gamson WA, Croteau D, Hoynes W, Sasson T.** (1992). Media images and the social construction of reality. *Annual Review of Sociology* 18: 373–393.
- Gamson WA, Modigliani A.** (1987). The changing culture of affirmative action. In *Research in Political Sociology*, Vol. 3, Braumgart RA (ed.). JAI Press: Greenwich, CT; 137–177.
- Garry, J. and Tilley, J.** (2009) ‘The Macroeconomic Factors Conditioning the Impact of Identity on Attitudes towards the EU’. *European Union Politics*, Vol. 10, No. 3, pp. 361–79.
- Gibson RK.** (2004). Web campaigning from a global perspective. *Asia-Pacific Review* 11(1): 95–126
- Grönroos, C.** (1978) ‘A Service-Oriented Approach to Marketing of Services’, *European*
- Grönroos, C.** (1982) ‘An Applied Service Marketing Theory’, *European Journal of*
- Grönroos, C.** (1990) ‘Relationship Approach to Marketing in Service Contexts: The
- Grönroos, C.** (1990) Marketing re-defined. *Management Decision*, 28(8). Cited in O’Shaughnessy (2001)
- Grönroos, C.** (1997) ‘Value-Driven Relational Marketing: From Products to Resources
- Grönroos, C.** (1999) ‘Relationship Marketing: Challenges for the Organization’, *Journal*
- Grönroos, C.** (2000) *Service Management and Marketing. A Customer Relationship*
- Grönroos, C.** (2006) ‘Adopting a Service Logic for Marketing’, *Marketing Theory* 6(3):
- Harris P, Lock A.** (1996). Machiavellian marketing: the development of corporate lobbying in the UK. *Journal of Marketing Management* 12(4): 313–328.
- Harvey, D.** (2007). *A brief history of neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Henneberg, S.** (1995), “Introduction to the conference”, in O’Shaughnessy, N.J. and Henneberg, S (Eds.) *Conference Proceedings: Political Marketing Evolving Science or Maturing Art?* Judge Institute of Management Studies, University of Cambridge. Cited in Butler and Collins (1996).
- Henneberg, S.** (1996) Second conference on political marketing. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 12, p.777-783. Cited in O’Shaughnessy (2001).
- Henneberg, S.C.** (2004) The views of an advocatusdei: Political marketing and its critics. *Journal of Public Affairs*, 4(3), p.225-243.
- Herrnson PS** (2009). Modern political campaigns in theUSA. In *Routledge Manual of Political Administration*, Johnson DW (ed). Routledge: New York, 11–23.
- Hirschheim, R.** (1985). Information systems epistemology: An historical perspective.

- Homer, P. M. and L. R. Kahle.** (1988). "A Structural Equation Test of the Value-attitude behavior Hierarchy," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, vol. 54: 638-646.
- Howard PN.** (2006). *New Media Campaigns and the Managed Citizen*. Cambridge University Press: New York
- J** (2005). Homogeneous Models and Heterogeneous Voters. *Political Studies* Volume 53, Issue 4, pages 653–675
- J. Gillies** 65-80. London: Plagrove Macmillan. Jakarta. *Journal* 13(3), 4–16.
- Kaid, Holtz-Bacha C.** (eds.) (2006). *The Sage Handbook of Political Advertising*. Sage Publications: Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Kaplan, Haenlein M.** (2010). Operators of the world, unite; The experiments and opportunities of social media. *Business Horizons* 53(1): 59–68.
- Katz, Lazarsfeld PF.** (1955). *Individual Effect: the Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communications*. Free Press: Glencoe, IL.
- Key VO** (1966). *The Accountable Electorate*. Cambridge Belknap, MA.
- Key, V.O.** (1966) *The Responsible Electorate* (New York: Vintage Books).
- Klein, N.** (2015). *This changes everything: Capitalism vs. the climate*. London: Penguin.
- Kotler P, Kotler N.** (1999). Political marketing. Generating effective candidates, campaigns, and causes. In *Handbook of Political Marketing*, BI Newman (ed.). Sage Publications:
- Kotler P.** (1975). Overview of political candidate marketing. *Advances in Consumer Research* 2(1): 761–769.
- Kotler, P. and Keller, K.L.** (2006) *Marketing Management*. Upper Saddle River, New Jersey, Pearson Prentice Hall, 12th ed.
- Kotler, Philip. Keller. KL** (2006). " *Marketing management*. Prentice Hall London.
- Lazarsfeld P, Berelson B, Gaudet H.** (1944). *The People's Choice: How the Voter Make Up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign*. Columbia University Press: New York.
- Lazarsfeld, P, Berelson, B. and Gaudet, H.** (1944). *The People's Choice: How the Voter Make Up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign*. Columbia University Press: New York.
- Lees-Marshment, J.** (2006) *Debate Political Marketing Theory and Practice: A Reply to Ormrod's Critique of the Lees-Marshment Market-Oriented Party Model*. *Politics*, 26(2), p.119-125.



- Lock, A, and Harris, P.** (1996) Political marketing – vive la difference! *European Journal of Marketing*, 30(10/11), p.21-31. Cited in O’Cass (2002) and Baines and Egan (2001).
- Locke, E. A.** (1976). "The Nature and Consequences of Job Satisfaction," In Dunnette, M. D. (Ed.), *Handbook of Industrial and Organizational Psychology*, Chicago: Rand McNally *Management Approach*. Chichester: John Wiley. *Marketing* 16(7): 30–41.
- McCarthy, E.J.** (1960) *Basic Marketing*. Homewood, IL: Irwin.
- McCrae, R.R.** (1989). Why Advocate the Five Factor Model: Joint Analysis of the Neo-Pi and Other Instruments. In D.M. Buss & N. Cantor (Eds.). *Personality Psychology: Recent Trends and Emerging Directions*. (Pp.237- 245). New York: Springer Verlag.
- McGovern, G.J., Court, D., Quelch, J.A. and Crawford, B.** (2004) ‘Bringing Customers into the Boardroom’, *Harvard Business Review* 82(November): 70–80.
- McGrath C.** (2007). Framing lobbying messages: defining and communicating political issues persuasively. *Journal of Public Affairs* 7(3): 269–280. and Competencies’, *Journal of Marketing Management* 13(5): 407–19.
- Metz D.** (2002). The politics of population ageing. *Political Quarterly* 73(3): 321–327.
- Miller, W.E.** (1976) “*The cross-national use of party identification as a stimulus to political inquiry*”, in Budge et al., *Party identification and Beyond*, pp.21-31. Ref.from O’Shaughnessy (1991)
- Mondak JJ.** (1995). integrity Competence, the electoral achievement of congressional incumbents. *Journal of Politics* 57(4): 1043–1069.
- Newman BI and Sheth JN.** (1984). The “gender gap” in elector attitudes and behavior: some marketing implications.
- Newman BI and Sheth, JN.** (1985)." Primary A model of voter behavior". *Journal of Consumer Research* 12(2): 178–187.
- Newman BI, Sheth JN.**(1985). A typical of chief elector *Periodical of Marketing* 12(8): 588–601. *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 72, No. 1, pp. 105–23.
- Newman BI.** (1994). *The Marketing of the President: Political Marketing as Campaign Strategy*. Sage Publications:
- Newman, Bruce I** (1994) *The marketing of the president: Political marketing as campaign strategy*. Sage Publications California.

- Newman, Bruce I.** (1999) *The Mass Marketing of Politics: Democracy in an Age of Manufactured Images*. Sage Publications California.
- Newman, Bruce I., and Jagdish N. Sheth.** (1985): *A model of primary voter behavior*. Journal of Consumer Research 178-187.
- Nie N, Verba S, Petrocik J.** (1976). *The Changing American Voter*. Harvard University Press: Cambridge, MA.
- O'Shaughnessy N.** (1990). High priesthood, low priestcraft: the role of political consultants. *European Journal of Marketing* 24(2): 7–23.
- O'Shaughnessy, N.J.** (1990) *The Phenomenon of Political Marketing*. Basingstoke, Macmillan. Cited in Savugny (2007) and Henneberg (2004).
- Odegard, Peter H., and Elva Allen Helms.** (1938). *American politics, a study in political dynamics*, by Peter H. Odegard... and E. Allen Helms."of *Business Research* 46(3): 327–35.
- Orlikowski, W. J., & Baroudi, J. J.** (1991). Studying information technology in organizations: Research approaches and assumptions. *Information*
- Pallant, J.** (2010). *SPSS Existence Manual, A Step by Step Leader to Data Examination*, McGraw Hill, Using SPSS for Windows Third Edition, Open University Press
- Palmer, J.** (2002) *Smoke and mirrors: is that the way it is? Themes in political marketing*. *Media Culture Society*, 24, p.345-363, Sage Publications.
- Pancer SM, Brown SD, Barr CW.** (1999). Forming impression of political leaders: a cross-national comparison. *Political Psychology* 20(2): 345–368.
- Persson, T. and Tabellini, G.** (1990) *Macroeconomic Policy, Credibility and Politics* (New York: Harwood Academic).
- Plasser F** (2009). In *Routledge Handbook of Political consulting worldwide Political Management*, DW Johnson (Routledge: New York; 24–41."ed") *Political Marketing* 15:311-32. doi:10.1080/15377857.2014.959686 *Political Marketing in the United States*, edited by J. Lees-Marshment B. Conley and K. *Political Marketing in the United States*, edited by J. Lees-Marshment B. Conley and K. Press.
- Poguntke, T., Scarrow, S., and Webb, P., with Allern, E., Aylott, N., van Biezen, I., Calossi, E., CostaLobo, M., Cross, W.,...Verge, T.** (2016). Party rules, party resources, and the politics of parliamentary democracies: How parties organize in the 21st century. *Party Politics*, 22(6), 661–678.

- R M., Jr.** (1968). "Values" In Triandis, H. C. and R. W. Brislin (Eds.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, New York: Macmillan.
- Reid, D.** (1988) Marketing the political product. *European Journal of Marketing*, 22 (9), p.34-47. Cited in Baines and Egan (2001). *Research methods in information systems*, 13-35.
- Rohde** (1979) DW. *USA Journal of Political Science* Risk-bearing and liberal ambition, the situation of memberships of the USA House of Governments,
- Rokeach, M. J.** (1973). *The Nature of Human Values*, New York: Free Press
- SalembaEmpat, Sekaran, U. & Bougie, R.** (2006). Investigation method for commercial.
- Savigny, H.** (2007) Focus Groups and Political Marketing: Science and Democracy as Axiomatic? *BJPIR (The British Journal of Politics and International Relations)*, 9, p.122-137. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-856x.2007.00253.x
- Scammell, M.** (1999) Political Marketing: Lessons for Political Science. *Political Studies*, XLVII, p.718-739.
- Schlesinger J** (1966) *Political AND Ambition and Politics, Careers in the USA*. Chicago, Rand McNally.
- Schwartz, S. H.** (1992). "Universals in the Content and Structure of Values: Theoretical Advances and Empirical Tests in 20 Countries," In Zanna, M. P. (Ed.), *Advances in Experimental*
- Serricchio, F., Tsakatika, M. and Quaglia, L.** (2013) 'Eurocepticism and the Global Financial Crisis'. *JCMS*, Vol. 51, No. 1, pp. 51–64.
- Shama, Abraham** (1975), *Applications of Marketing Concepts to Candidate Marketing, in Advances in Consumer Research*, ed. Mary Jane Schlinger, Ann Arbor, MI: Association for Consumer Research, 793-801. (Ref in Newman:1981)
- Sheth. Jagdish N.** (1975) *Toward a Model of individual Choice Behavior*. (Ref. in Newman 1981.)
- Smith G.** (2005). Positioning political parties: the 2005 UK general election. *Journal of Marketing Management* 21(9): 1135–1149.
- Smith, S.M. and Albaum, G.S.** (2005). *Fundamentals of Marketing Research*. Sage Publication. *Social Psychology*, New York: Academic Press. *Statistics*, Vol. 60, No. 2, pp. 159–73. *systems research*, 2(1), 1-28.
- T.E. Nygren, L.E. Jones.** (1977) *Individual differences in perceptions and preferences for political candidates*. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 13 (1977), pp. 182–197 *The political marketing activities explained below are reproduced from*

*Lees-Marshment, Jennifer, The Marriage of Politics and Marketing, Political Studies, Vol. 49, 2001, p.698* Thousand Oaks, CA; 3–18.University Press).

**Wattenberg MP.** (1991). *The Rise of Candidate-Centered Politics: Presidential Elections of the 1980s.* Harvard University Press: Cambridge, MA.

**Webster Jr., F.E.** (1992) ‘The Changing Role of Marketing in the Corporation’, *Journal of Marketing* 56(October): 1–17.

**Webster Jr., F.E., Malter, A.J. and Ganesan, S.** (2005) ‘The Decline and Dispersion of Marketing Competence’, *MIT Sloan Management Review* 46(4): 35–43.

**Webster, F.** (1992) the changing role of marketing in the corporation. *Journal of Marketing*, 56 (October), p.1-17.

**Winter DG** (1982). Incentive and performance in high-level candidates. In *Motivation and Society*, Stewart (ed.) Jossey-Bass, San Francisco, CA; 244–273.

**Wring, D.** (1999) The Marketing Colonisation of Political Campaigning. In: B.I. Newman (Ed) (1999a) *Handbook of Political Marketing*. London, Sage Publications, Inc., p.1-22.

**Zaller JR.** 1992. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion.* Cambridge University Press: New York.