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# The macro and micro views of political marketing: the underpinnings of a theory of political marketing

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The multi-disciplinary nature of political marketing lends itself to a micro/macro analysis. The goal of the article is to present the theoretical frames allowing one to develop an approach to political marketing, which may become the foundations of a general theory of political marketing. Like microeconomics and macroeconomics are the two major categories within the field of economics, so are micro and macro approach to political marketing the two major perspectives that allow one to better understand the workings of modern democracies and the processes taking place there. Such an approach can integrate various theories of particular political behavior considered as part of an external macrostructure, understood as broad social, political, legal, economic, and technological context, with the theories of political behavior of individuals and institutions considered as internal microstructure. Copyright © 2012 John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

## INTRODUCTION

There is a common consensus that political marketing has notable importance in politics/is extremely important for politics: elections, referenda, governing, lobbying, public services management, etc., they all represent the marketing triumph of an approach that first originated in business and then transformed the nature of modern politics (Newman, 1999a).

The multi-disciplinary nature of political marketing lends itself to a micro/macro analysis. One could argue that the disciplines including some elements of political science all contain a macro level and a micro level of analysis. Therefore, it makes sense to break down those disciplines along a structure that will tie them all together in a unique and different approach that has not been defined in the field yet. The goal of the article is then to present the theoretical frames allowing one to develop a broader and more comprehensive than before approach to political marketing, which may become the foundations of a general theory of political marketing.

A good example of such analyses is the division in economy into macroeconomics and microeconomics.

Macroeconomics deals with the performance, structure, behavior, and decision making of the whole economy. This includes a national, regional, or global economy. Macroeconomics studies include such aggregated indicators as gross domestic product, unemployment rates, and price indices, which help one to understand how the whole economy functions. Macroeconomists develop models that explain the relationship between such factors as national income, output, consumption, unemployment, inflation, savings, investment, international trade, and international finance (Blanchard, 2011). The consumer is approached here from an external perspective, as one of the elements through which causal relationships between various economic developments can be defined. This perspective is also used for predicting development trends and tendencies for the whole economic system. In contrast, microeconomics is primarily focused on the actions of individual agents, such as companies and consumers, and how their behavior determines prices and quantities in specific markets. It examines how their decisions and behaviors affect the supply and demand for goods and services, which determines prices, and how prices, in turn, determine the quantity supplied and quantity demanded of goods and services (Colander, 2008). From the microeconomics perspective, then, the consumer is approached from an internal perspective

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of a market system and that is why various relationships and rule found in social sciences, including psychology or sociology, can be so useful for explaining various economic developments.

An analogical approach can be applied to political marketing, whose theoretical development can be advanced by applying two mutually dependent levels of analysis: macro and micro. In marketing's macro perspective, the following macrostructures play a very important role: (i) the political system and its legal regulations concerning the foundations of a particular political system (the constitution) as well as ruling, organizing elections, and regulating the media market; (ii) technological forces; (iii) state's demographic structure I; and (iv) modern concepts of marketing management and its methods. Voters, politicians, political parties, opinion leaders, and other organizations (e.g., nongovernmental organizations or labor unions) are considered as subjects that function within these macrostructures on the one hand and also within those microstructures on the other, as agents having a lot of influence on the course of political events and the shape of the microenvironment.

Looking at political behaviors and processes from those two perspectives (macro and micro) simultaneously allows one to better understand the workings of modern democracies and the processes taking place there as well as the development threats and opportunities they face. Such an approach can then integrate various theories of particular political behavior considered as part of an external macrostructure, understood as broad social, political, legal, economic, and technological context, forming and controlling the political behavior of individuals and institutions. On the other hand, such an approach toward marketing can also perform a heuristic function; it is the source of new ideas and an innovative approach to explaining the existing political behaviors and predicting those which might appear in a more or less remote future.

## THE MACRO VIEW ON POLITICAL MARKETING

Cwalina *et al.* (2011) in their advanced model of political marketing assumed that all marketing actions in politics depend on a particular country's political system and its component, both those defined by the law and those less formal ones, influenced by tradition. They call these factors democracy orientation. It influences such a way of perceiving political reality that leads to developing particular rules of running permanent political campaigns or voting campaigns, which might be considered a special case of political campaigns. It can be divided into three basic stages: the precampaign period, the campaign period, and the postcampaign period. One should bear in mind, however, that the division

is artificial because the campaign's permanent character makes it in fact a continuous process. Therefore, the borders between those stages are in fact fluid, and the postcampaign period is in fact the time of preparing for another election, turning thus into precampaign. It is very important to remember that marketing actions are not limited to the relatively short period of political elections but are developed and conducted on a continuous basis—also by the ruling party or president. Therefore, there are no interruptions in the marketing action although it becomes more intensive during the election campaign period.

The course of the political marketing process is also influenced by the so-called environmental forces (Newman, 1994), related to available technology (the Internet, television, direct mail, mobile phone) as well as legal regulations concerning running and financing election and information campaigns. Such environmental forces also include media, which should be treated as a very important force adopted to a particular political system in a given country and having a lot of influence on voter behavior. The formal interaction between a particular political system, democracy orientation, and environmental forces happens in a particular population of a given state, which can vary depending on the voters' demographic structure.

The macrostructures of political marketing discussed in the following sections determine those external frames within which all political agents function and operate.

## The political system and democracy orientation

A political system is a complete set of institutions, interest groups, such as political parties, trade unions, lobby groups, and the relationships between those institutions and the political norms and rules that govern their functions, such as constitution or election law. The system depends on political tradition and determines the efficiency of the developed democratic procedures within the democracy orientation. On the one hand, democracy orientation specifies the manner of implementing the function of authorities and who is the dominant object in the structure of government. On the other hand, democracy orientation also defines who the voters focus on during elections. From this perspective, one may distinguish four fundamental types of such orientation: candidate-oriented democracy, party-leader-oriented democracy, party-oriented democracy, and government-oriented democracy.

A good example of candidate-oriented democracy is the USA, where the choice in an election is very much a function of the sophisticated use of marketing tools to move a person into contention. It is characterized by the electorate's attention shifts from political parties to specific candidates running

for various offices and, particularly, for president. American parties have little direct control over either candidate selection or the running of campaign. Key decisions about campaign strategy are made at the level of the individual candidate and his campaign staff. Although the national party committees play a supportive role, candidate image and policy proposals are main concerns of the electorate (Wattenberg, 1991).

Party-leader-oriented democracy seems to be characteristic of the UK or Mexico, where there is still a focus on the individual in the campaign, but the choice in an election is more a function of the 'approval' of a superbody of influentials who decide who will run in an election. To a great degree, the political party is in a very powerful position, but there is still active use of marketing techniques once the party chooses who the nominee will be. British parties are ideologically cohesive and disciplined, with centralized and hierarchical national organizations, and their leaders are focused on directing the behavior of the whole party in the search for office. But some leaders are much more popular than the policies they stand for, whereas others are less popular. Thus, a voter may prefer the Labour Party's policies but because of quality of the party's leader, the promises in those policies will not be delivered, and, as a consequence, another party may get that person's vote because it has a leader who is believed to be better equipped to fill the role of prime minister. To some voters, leadership may be even more important than the direction in which it leads. It is the leader that voters focus on, and it is the leader whose promotion is the main goal of the campaign.

Party-oriented democracy is characteristic of such countries as Poland, Finland, Czech Republic, or Romania, where the political party is really presenting itself to the voters as the real choice being made. The Polish political system is based on a party system. Therefore, in the parliamentary, presidential, and local elections, candidates supported by main political parties have a better chance of success. During parliamentary elections for a particular candidate to be elected, his or her party (or election committee) must get at least 5% of the votes across the whole country. So a situation may occur (and does occur) that a candidate who won most votes in her or his constituency will not become a Member of Parliament because his or her party was below the election threshold. Such legal regulations lead to campaigns being mainly concentrated on political parties. Obviously, their leaders are an important element of winning such support; however, even their personal success does not guarantee the party's success.

Government-oriented democracy seems to be characteristic of countries like Russia, China, and other countries where governing (and political system) is dominated by one party. Such a system is defined on the website of the China Internet Information Center (www.china.org.cn) as 'democratic centralism'. The Communist Party of China has established formal (through elections within the party) and informal (appointed by the higher-level organization) organizations within the Chinese government. According to the principle of democratic centralism, all members of the whole Communist Party of China are subordinate to the party's National Congress and the Central Committee. Elections are two-tier elections: direct and indirect. Direct elections are applicable to the election of deputies to the people's congresses of the counties, districts, townships, and towns. They adopt the competitive election method, which means that a candidate wins the election when she or he receives more than half of the votes cast. Indirect elections, then, are applicable to the election of deputies to the National People's Congress. Candidates may be nominated by political parties or mass organizations jointly or independently or by more than 10 deputies. In the case of government-oriented democracy, major tasks of the political campaign focus on the communication between the government party and the citizens rather than direct election struggle between candidates or political parties.

Democracy orientation directly determines the course of political campaign in its three stages, precampaign, campaign, and postcampaign periods, and influences, indirectly, particular strategies and tools used to get citizens' support (Money, Marketing, and Management section).

## The technological forces

The development of technology, particularly in well-developed countries such as the USA or some European countries, plays a key role in the success of modern political campaigns as well as marketing campaigns, closely related to them. In his model of political marketing, Newman (1994) mentioned three areas of technological development having important influence on the changes in communicating with citizens and influencing them: the computer (information technologies), the television, and the direct mail. Their evolution has led to more intense and broader application in the marketing practice. Besides, they are more and more interrelated, forming one developed and interactive communication platform or as Gibson (2004) puts it, a 'cyber-campaign tool box'. The proportion of people using the internet to collect news or to research policy alternatives has increased significantly as the technology diffused. From inside candidate and issue campaigns, the internet and related tools have allowed a number of campaigns to make significant advances in fund raising, volunteer coordination, logistics, intelligence on voters, and opposition research. As a result, as Howard (2006,

p. 2) states, a completely new and different way of planning and conducting the campaign emerged, which he defines as the *hypermedia campaign*, 'an agile political organization defined by its capacity for innovatively adopting digital technologies for express political purposes and its capacity for innovatively adapting its organizational structure to conform to new communicative practices.' Integrating such technologies becomes an occasion for organizational adaptation, effecting organizational goals and relationships among professional staff, political leadership, volunteers, financial contributors, citizens, and other political campaigns.

In recent years, the development of information technologies has also facilitated building more personalized relations between the participants of the political life, on the level of both an individual (candidate voter) and the state-citizen relations. Web 2.0., for instance, seems to offer new communication and participation opportunities, allowing one to get more actively involved in politics and running it. It is 'a collection of open-source, interactive and user-controlled online applications expanding the experiences, knowledge and market power of the users as participants in business and social processes. Web 2.0 applications support the creation of informal users' networks facilitating the flow of ideas and knowledge by allowing the efficient generation, dissemination, sharing and editing/refining of informational content' (Constantinides and Fountain, 2008, p. 232–233). Web 2.0 presents politicians with new challenges but also new opportunities for getting and staying in touch with citizens and other political market agents, learning about their needs and opinions as well as interacting with them in a direct and personalized way. Social media are one of most promising group of internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0 and that allow the creation and exchange of user-generated content (Kaplan and Haenlein, 2010). There are various types of social media: blogs, collaborative projects (e.g., Wikipedia), social networking sites (e.g., Facebook, MySpace, Twitter), content communities (e.g., YouTube), and virtual social and game worlds. They are used to a larger and larger extent also in political marketing, to communicate with voters both during and after campaign.

Another technological factor setting new challenges for politicians and political consultants is the fact that we are currently experiencing some kind of 'mobile revolution' in which all information and communication technologies seem to be going mobile. Mobile marketing is the use of wireless media as an integrated content delivery and direct-response vehicle within a cross-media marketing communications program. The wave of mobile telephony is largely behind us but has created an environment in which every single person suddenly owns a personal mobile device and everyone is always 'on' and reachable. The ubiquity of the mobile phone extends the traditional media model of time–space. Mobile advertisers can deliver timely short message service (SMS) ads to consumers on the basis of their demographic characteristics and geographic information. Worldwide, wireless advertisers have already integrated SMS into the media mix. In political campaigning, through the use of SMS, politicians try to directly inform citizens about events they organize, to invite them to participation in campaign, and to ask for their vote.

Social networking and mobile marketing at both the personal and mediated levels will continue to play an integral role in campaigns in democracies around the world in the future. They can therefore be treated as a means of running the political marketing process and initiating voters' cognitive and motivational processes studied at micro level of analysis (The Micro View of Political Marketing section).

### The role of media

Technological forces are closely related to another element of political marketing's macrostructure, that is, media and its role in democratic society. There is a common view that the media is the 'Fourth Estate', and the supporters of this view stress the importance of mass media as an element in the political fight and a way of influencing society. That is why the media system in every country is subject to detailed legal regulations, some of which focus only on defining the function of media in the context of policy. They establish, among other things, the nature of the media system in a given country (public, private, or dual-media system) and provide for such issues as access to television advertising (e.g., free time on public and/or commercial TV, possibility of purchase of advertising time, restrictions according to content of ads) and also who controls the law and how is it controlled related to political campaigns and media organizations (comprehensive and comparative review of law regulations of media systems in various countries is presented in the paper of Kaid and Holtz-Bacha, 2006).

The close relation between the world of politics and the media is made even closer by the specific characteristics of mass communication. Gamson *et al*. (1992) stated that a wide variety of media messages act as teachers of values, ideologies, and beliefs, and they provide images for interpreting the world whether or not the designers are conscious of this intent. From this perspective, as McQuail (1994) notices, the challenge to media order concerns the danger to democracy and freedom contained in the concentrations of power in the hands of media 'barons'. Mass media are often related to some centralized organizations. Publishing newspapers as well as producing and broadcasting radio or TV

programs has to be based on some capital and, as a result, is controlled by it. Schudson (2002), however, believed that forms of ownership do not predict as much about news content as the forms of government within which the media operate. The political economy of news neglects the political in favor of the economic at its peril. Whereas state-operated media in authoritarian political systems serve directly as agents of state social control, both publicly and privately owned media in liberal societies carry out a wider variety of roles, cheerleading the established order, alarming the citizenry about flaws in that order, providing a civic forum for political debate, and serving as a battleground among contesting elites.

Media organizations treat its programs (news, entertainment, other) as a product whose function is to attract viewers and be attractive for them to sell those programs to advertisers. Therefore, media competition does not lead to better-quality programs; just the contrary, television news stations are adopting tabloid news magazine production techniques for newscasts. Television programs that blend information with entertainment have become a prominent feature of the media environment. This has affected the way politics is talked about on television. Traditional newscasts and current affairs programs are no longer the only place where political issues are discussed and politicians can be heard. In contrast to the content of information programs that provides answers to the traditional journalistic questions about real-world events (i.e., who, what, where, when, why, and how), the entertainment programs feature dramatic content embedded in human interactions (such as love, friendliness, or violence) and emotional scenes. The style is distinguished by the prevailing role of celebrities, an informal tone, an empathetic approach, and various devices designed to create an amusing atmosphere (Bastien, 2009). As a result of this changes in TV news format, political communication and modern politicians have more and more to do with popular culture and the entertainment industry.

### The demographic makeup of a country

Democracy orientation of a particular political system and its legal authorization, technological forces, and media are those elements at the macro level that are deeply grounded in the demographic makeup of a country. Their importance depends on the age of the voters and the level of their education, their socio-economic status, ethnicity, etc. All these factors play a crucial role in how politics and, in consequence, political marketing are played out around the globe. Different strategies will be used to reach voters that are less mobile and live in houses far from city centers and do not participate in campaign events from those used to communicate with highly mobile voters spending most of their time in city centers. In a similar way, one's socio-economic status defines his or her sensitivity to receiving information and appreciating events connected with economic policy whose consequences translate directly into better or worse quality of life in various social groups.

There are two important developments related to demographic changes and happening simultaneously in many countries, which attract the attention of demographers, sociologists, psychologists, and, above all, economists: population aging and changes in the gender gap.

The world has never experienced democracies with such a high proportion of older citizens. Peterson (2002) stated, that for nearly all of history, the elderly (people age 65 and over) never amounted to more than 2% or 3% of the population. Today, in the developed world, it amounts to 15%. By the year 2030, the United Nation projects that it will be nearing 25%. Although increasing longevity is one of the triumphs of modernity, it brings with it a new set of problems. The costs of health and social care, the affordability of pensions, and the economic competitiveness of an aging society all prompt anxieties (Metz, 2002).

The political power of the elderly, the so-called 'grey power', is already on the rise. For example, the proportion of the electorate in the UK above the age of 50 was 42% in 2001 and is estimated to be rising to 50% in 2021 (Metz, 2002). Moreover, the retired account for roughly one-fifth of eligible voters in the UK, but their higher levels of electoral participation mean they account for over one-quarter of the votes cast. A similar age shift is taking place in other developed countries. The political power of the elderly is more vivid in elections and in change in marketing campaign focus. In a plurality–majority electoral system, aging increases the political relevance of the elderly voters, as measured by their share of votes. The pivotal political agent becomes an individual who is closer to retirement age and therefore considers a shorter time horizon in evaluating the social security policy.

Aging of the population demands the restructuring of the economy, reshaping of the family, redefining politics, and even rearranging the geopolitical order of the 21st century (Peterson, 2002). These reforms may be difficult to implement in a democracy, however, because also voters age. According to Bovenberg (2008), the danger facing aging societies is that older voters block the needed reforms. In that case, a conflict arises between the political power of older generations (who depend on public transfers and are risk averse) and the economic power of the younger working generations (who control the major scarce resource that fuels the modern knowledge-intensive economy). In other words, politics collides with economics. With politically strong older generations favoring generous

passive spending on pensions and health care at the expense of investments in the human capital of younger generations, government is gradually becoming associated with the political and economic interests of the old, not the young—a reversal of the customary stereotype. However, whether population aging has a major impact on the political landscape will depend at least in part on older voters' evolving attitudes, preferences, and values (Boston and Davey, 2006).

The term 'gender gap' concerns a multidimensional political phenomenon that refers to any political differences between women and men, such as in their ideology, voting behavior, partisanship, attitudes and opinions, or civic engagement, at mass or elite levels (Inglehart and Norris, 2003; Eagly *et al.*, 2004). In established democracies, as recently as the early 1980s, women tended to be more conservative than men in their ideology and voting behavior, a pattern which Inglehart and Norris (2003) called the *traditional gender gap*. It continued to be evident in many postindustrial societies as late as the 1980s. Moreover, this pattern persists today in many postcommunist societies or developing countries where women continue to prove slightly more right wing than men. In many postindustrial societies by the 1990s, women, especially the younger, have shifted leftwards what is the *modern gender gap*. In the USA, the process of gender realignment meant that although women leaned towards the Republican Party in the 1952–1960 presidential elections, during the 1960s and 1970s, traditional gender differences in the electorate faded, and from the 1980s onwards, the modern voting gap became apparent in successive presidential, gubernatorial, and state-level contests, as well as in democratic party identification (e.g., Newman and Sheth, 1984; Eagly *et al.*, 2004).

Inglehart and Norris (2003) on the basis of a developmental theory of the gender gap suggested that long-term structural and cultural trends, which have transformed women's and men's lives, have gradually produced realignment in gender politics in postindustrial societies. Traditional preindustrial societies are characterized by sharply differentiated gender roles that discourage women from jobs outside the home. They emphasized childbearing and child-rearing as the central goal for women and their most important function in life, but careers in the paid workforce were held predominately by men. In postindustrial societies, gender roles have increasingly converged because of a structural revolution in the paid labor force, in educational opportunities for women, and in the characteristics of modern families. Structural factors can be regarded as interacting with, and causing, shifts in cultural attitudes and values that may subsequently exert an independent and direct effect upon voting choice. This pervasive cultural shift has increased the salience of issues such as reproductive choice,

sexual harassment in the workplace, and equal opportunities. The gender gap is also due to greater support among women for a range of left-wing policy issues such as government spending on the welfare state and public services, pro-environmental protection, women's and gay/lesbian rights, and pacifism (e.g., Eagly *et al.*, 2004).

Such macro-processes as society aging and gender realignment are related to both other macro agents and all the elements of political marketing at micro level. For instance, changes in women's social status and their involvement in politics have resulted in legislation changes in many countries known as 'gender quota' (e.g., Paxton *et al.*, 2010; Tripp and Kang, 2008). A 'gender quota' is a party or legislative rule requiring that women make up a certain percentage of a candidate list, a parliamentary assembly, a committee, or a government. This rule has most often two forms: reserved seats, which set aside a certain share of seats in the national legislature for women (on average 20% or 30% women in parliament), and legal quotas, which require that all political parties in a system field a certain percentage of female candidates. It directly translates then into the selection of particular political candidates as well as organization and program changes within political parties (The Politician/ Candidate and the Political Party section).

As far as managing the political marketing process is concerned, Newman and Sheth (1984) stressed that if in the majority of countries women now constitute the majority of voters, focusing on them is an obvious segmentation strategy for political candidates. Similarly, competition between parties for the gray vote is intensified. This prompts parties to prepare more detailed and comprehensive policy packages directed at older voters (Davidson, 2005; Boston and Davey, 2006).

## Money, marketing, and management

Political marketing is closely related to management. First of all, elections are becoming very costly. In the macro perspective, the management is first of all the result of financial regulations defining the directions of marketing campaigns' development and the level of investment (costs) in 'creating' information and political events. The cost of sending this information to voters is also included in those calculations. Furthermore, with the use of sophisticated marketing techniques comes the high cost of consultants to carry out marketing functions. From this perspective, the absolute foundation for any marketing action is managing the finances—getting financial resources (focus on the donators) and spending them in the most efficient way to achieve campaign goals (Herrnson and Campbell, 2009). In the macro view on political marketing, it is related to the development of marketing as a science and

the experiences of consultants working for political campaigns and to the evolution of the marketing concept, which translates directly into changes in a campaign's major managers and its primary focus. It also determines the importance of such elements of political marketing at micro level as political consultants and candidates and the political parties (The Politician/Candidate and the Political Party and The Political Consultants sections).

Newman (1994) discusses in four stages how American presidential campaigns have gone from organizations managed by party bosses (the *party concept*) to organizations managed by marketing consultants (the *marketing concept*). The focus of the organization has also evolved from one that used to be centered on the political party to one centered on the voter. In the *party concept*, the organization has internal focus, which means that it is operated on information generated from the people within the organization and run by party bosses whose only allegiance is to the political party. Grassroots efforts to get the vote out are at the heart of the power of the political party. The candidates at that time had no choice but to rely on the party bosses within the organization to become slated as a nominee, and any characteristics that were not congruent with the party's political profile destroyed the candidate's electoral chances. Marketing has developed the notion of *product concept* that stresses the importance of manufacturing a quality product. Likewise, in politics, the product concept would apply to campaign organizations that have only one goal: to find the best possible candidate to represent the party. In contrast to the party concept in which allegiance is to the party, here, it is redirected to the candidate. The next stage in the evolution of the marketing concept involves a *selling concept* in which the focus of the campaign organization shifts from an internally to an externally driven operation—from party leaders and stuff to party campaign managers and advertising and survey experts (Plasser, 2009). Here, the voter's reaction to the candidate's media appearances becomes critical. However, as with the product concept, the focus is still on the candidate. The *marketing concept* goes a step further by first identifying consumer needs and then developing products and services to meet those needs. The marketing concept begins with the voter, not with the candidate. Moreover, the campaign management is a function of special party campaign units over specialized consultants and experts from outside the party organization.

A similar approach to the evolution of marketing in politics was proposed by Lees-Marshment (2009) for British political parties, although she pointed out three stages: from product-oriented party to sales-oriented party and to market-oriented party.

Together with the evolution of political campaign management and shifts in their major focus, there followed the development of theoretical models describing the political marketing process as well as detailed marketing strategies and tools strategies used to promote politicians and their platforms and to get voters' support. Like the macro level of political marketing, those models should be treated as particular procedures, whose practical application depends on other macro elements, that is, electoral and media law in a particular country, socio-demographic structure of society, and implementation of technological innovations. On the other hand, though, using them is inseparably connected with micro elements—both voters' and political candidates' characteristics. That is why the political marketing process can be compared with a channel through which the micro level is influenced by the macro level (top-down) and also one through which voters, politicians, consultants, and influentials may develop, modify, or even change radically the macro level (bottom-up).

Early conceptualizing efforts related to political marketing referred to or represented the transferring of classical product marketing (4Ps: product, price, place, promotion) to the area of politics (Kotler, 1975; Shama, 1975; Niffenegger, 1988). However, in the course of time, important differences have emerged between the practice and efficiency of marketing strategies used for political and economic purposes. Political marketing, to a larger and larger extent, drew from such disciplines as sociology, communication, political science, and psychology. Moreover, it incorporated ideas developed in service marketing and, especially, relationship marketing (Cwalina *et al.*, 2011), which has been reflected in a number of specific models of the political marketing process (e.g., Newman, 1994; Kotler and Kotler, 1999; Harris, 2001; Lees-Marshment, 2009; Baines, 2011).

The advanced model of political marketing proposed by Cwalina *et al.* (2011) can serve as an example of such a model. According to it, there are three major elements of which the political marketing process consists: campaign message development, message dissemination, and relationship building. Message development refers to distinguishing and defining the profile of target groups of voters for whom an individualized and appropriate campaign platform will be designed—primary and secondary segmentation—and its goal is to define them (Cwalina *et al.*, 2009). The primary segmentation focuses on dividing voters according to the two main criteria: (i) voter party identification (particular party partisanship versus independency) and (ii) voter strength (from heavy partisans to weak partisans to floating voters). Then the goal of the secondary segmentation is developing a deeper knowledge of the target voters, as a result of which their profile can be developed including their demographic, psychological, and behavioral features (The Voter section).

After identifying voting segments, the campaign needs to define the candidate's position in each of the multi-stage process of positioning. This step consists of assessing the candidate's and his opponents' strengths and weaknesses. The key elements here are the following: (i) creating an image of the candidate emphasizing his particular personality features and (ii) developing and presenting a clear position on the country's economic and social issues (The Politician/Candidate and the Political Party). The goal of message development is elaborating and establishing the campaign platform, which is defined in terms of candidate leadership, image, and issues and policies he or she advocates.

The established politician message (platform) is then disseminated on the voter market in a direct or indirect way. The personal (direct) campaign primarily refers to the grassroots effort necessary to build up a volunteer network to handle the day-to-day activities in running the campaign. The goal here is then not only the distribution of the candidate's message but also an attempt to establish and/or enhance relationships with voters and other political influentials (Influentials section). Direct marketing consists of the candidate's meetings with voters and power brokers, such as lobbyists and interest groups. The mediated (indirect) campaign makes use of electronic and printed media outlets such as television, radio, newspapers, magazines (e.g., advertisements, debates, sponsored press releases), direct mail, the Internet (e.g., email, websites, blogs, social network sites), campaign literature (e.g., flyers, brochures), billboards, and any other forms of promotion that are available. Political marketing also adopts new ways of communicating with the voter, mainly related to the development of new technologies such as Web 2.0 or mobile marketing (The Technological Forces section). For example, the use of social networking by the Barack Obama campaign as both a personal and mediated information outlet in 2008 was integral to his victory. Obama's innovative campaign used social network sites (including, among others, Facebook, MySpace, YouTube, Flickr, Twitter, LinkedIn), text messaging, email, and micro-targeting to raise money and reach young voters.

These activities should be supported by public relations efforts that are coordinated with them. The main goal of public relations activities is to strengthen the image of the candidate and his message by creating positive media relations, framing favorite narratives, event management, and sloganeering (Influentials section). The foundation of message dissemination is organizational tasks connected with assembling staff for the campaign team, defining their tasks, and monitoring their activities where soliciting funds for the campaign plays an important role. Then, polling represents the data analysis and research that are used to develop and test new ideas and determine how successful the ideas will be (The Political Consultants section).

The third element of the political marketing process and the goal of the political party or candidate is to establish, maintain, and enhance relationships with voters and other political influentials (media, party organizations, sponsors, lobbyists, interest groups, etc.), so that the objectives of the parties involved are met. And this is achieved by a mutual exchange—both during the election campaign and after it, when the candidate is either ruling or in opposition.

The macro level of political marketing is the infrastructure determining the frames of politicians', voters', and other agents' behavior on the political market. It constitutes the external environment in which the 'spectators' and 'actors' of the political scene function. Metaphorically speaking, macro analysis comes down to answering the following question: 'what political agent's head is inside of'. Another important question that needs to be answered, however, is the following: 'What is inside political agent's head?' And this is what the micro view of political marketing focuses on.

## THE MICRO VIEW OF POLITICAL MARKETING

Particular agents present on the political market (and including voters, politicians, political parties, consultants and pollsters, formal or informal public opinion creators and leaders, lobbyists) are not, as it might seem at first glance, objects trapped in the network of macrostructural relations. They are active agents on the political stage immersed in society's macrostructure but also shaping and changing it. They constitute the micro level in political marketing analyses, and their particular behavior determines who will rule and how. They also influence the course and direction of democracy's development. Therefore, the micro view of political marketing focuses on describing and understanding voters, politicians, and other agents from inside—from the perspective of their emotions, motivation, needs, values, or personality. They determine one's behavior in various spheres of the social life and also in his or her political behavior. One is not a passive recipient of information but keeps looking for it, selecting and processing actively. Therefore, the micro perspective in political marketing takes as a starting point general human behavior related to processing various stimuli on the cognitive and emotional levels, also trying to answer the question of how to influence such processes and—as a result—influence citizens' activity and their relations related to the area of politics.

### The voter

Candidates, to be successful, have to understand the voters and their basic needs and aspirations and the

constituencies they represent or seek to represent. Marketing orientation in politics means that for the political campaign to be successful, one needs to understand the voter because the voter is the key figure in all democracies. 'Understanding' the voter is connected with two closely related issues. First of all, it includes its position in social structure (demographic, sociological, cultural, and geographic features), needs and goals (opinions, beliefs, stands on issues, well-being), and psychological features (personality, attitudes, motives, emotions, or values). On the other hand, understanding the voter is also related to how he or she receives, processes, and interprets political information and how he or she evaluates politicians and their proposals and then takes decisions and implements them. In other words, understanding the voter assumes learning the laws ruling his or her cognitive, affective, and behavioral functioning.

In practical terms, focusing on the voters in political marketing process (Money, Marketing, and Management section) consists in dividing them into segments, or groupings, that the candidate then targets with his or her message. Voters are placed into groups according to their similarity with those in the same group and dissimilarity with those in other groups. In political marketing, the segmentation methods that are most frequently used refer to four groups of variables: geographic, demographic, behavioral, and psychographic. However, some approaches to political market segmentation go beyond these groups of variables and are based on more complex models (Cwalina *et al.*, 2011). No matter what variables are used to define voter segments, the goal of distinguishing them is to get to know the voter in the best possible way to adopt the campaign platform (image and issues) to him or her to convince them to support the candidate or the part. The fundamental voter description/characterization paradigms influencing their decisions during the elections are those developed in sociology, social psychology, and economy (e.g., Wattenberg, 1991; Cwalina *et al.*, 2008).

The sociological approach, also called the socio-structural paradigm, assumes that one's main reason for voting is one's sense of belonging to a social community. Examples of such communities may include ethnic, religious, or occupational groups, social class, or neighborhood networks, all of which point to the collective character of voting behaviors. In other words, it is individuals who vote, but their preferences are determined by their belonging to a given group (Lazarsfeld *et al.*, 1944; Berelson *et al.*, 1954). Sociological variables show a united set of interests shaping political coalitions and defining the level of a party's fit to the needs of various group of people. The voters are treated not as individuals but as a community of interests determined by their social position (social stratification) and acceptance of the same values. For example, in the context of older voters acquiring more and more voting power (The Role of Media section), Davidson (2005) presented the changes in voting campaigns of the major British political parties during the 2005 UK general election, when they had to adapt their strategies to three groups of voters: gray vote (in the age over 50), school gate mum (in the age between 30–45, specifically mothers), and student vote.

The key element of social psychological approach to voter behavior stresses the mediating function of the fixed psychological predispositions and, particularly, party identification, for creating political behavior (Campbell *et al.*, 1960). Party identification is conceptualized as an attitude, a positive emotional evaluation of political objects: parties and candidates. Partisanship is also a heuristic for organizing political information, evaluations, and behaviors (Conover and Feldman, 1981; Cwalina *et al.*, 2008). It is a kind of 'perceptual screen' through which individuals 'filter', interpret, and evaluate political information. Party identification also includes cues about the party background of issue options, ideological position (liberal, conservative, socialist, nationalist or, more broadly, left and right). It also assumes that such identification is stable and not very sensitive to the short-term effects of political campaigns. Being a partisan of a particular party is also connected with sharing stereotypes about the party one supports as well as the other parties on the political market (Farwell and Weiner, 2000). Then it depends only to a small extent on the stands taken by the candidate or party in particular elections on political issues. It also is linked with the time when the decision to vote for particular candidate is made (Chaffee and Rimal, 1996; Cwalina *et al.*, 2011). When strong partisans are certain of their choice even before the beginning of a political campaign (*precampaign deciders*), people without strong party identification or independents make their choices much later—during the course of the campaign (*campaign deciders*) or during the final moments of the campaign (*last-minute deciders*). Many studies in political psychology point to a number of other voter characteristics influencing his or her political behavior. For example, Jost *et al*. (2003) found that psychological predictors for political conservatism are as follows: death anxiety, dogmatism and intolerance of ambiguity, low openness to experience and uncertainty tolerance, needs for order and structure, and fear of threat and loss. Then, according to the Italian national election of 2001, Caprara *et al*. (2006) found that center-left voters were higher than center-right voters in the personality traits of friendliness and openness and lower in energy and conscientiousness, and regarding values—higher in universalism, benevolence, and self-direction and lower in security, power, achievement, conformity, and tradition.

The fundamental axiom of economic approach to voter behavior is the assumption that citizens' behavior in the sphere of politics is rational (Downs, 1957). By voting, the voter makes a conscious intentional choice to support the candidate or the party that in his opinion will bring him the most benefits. A rational citizen wants to maximize the utility of his decisions. Like a consumer, she or he chooses the political program on the market that satisfies her or him the most. As a consequence, she or he does not vote for a candidate but for a solution to a particular political problem (*issue voting*; Nie *et al.*, 1976) on the basis of the evaluation of the ruling party or people after the last election (*retrospective voting*; Key, 1966).

The assumption about the rationality of voters' decisions and behavior (whether full or limited, Popkin, 1991) highlights the importance of psychological processes (e.g., heuristics, emotional and motivational states, stereotypes, categorization, etc.) as the key element defining the way of their understanding of political reality and adopting to it (e.g., Ferejohn and Kuklinski, 1990; Lupia *et al.*, 2000). Because information acquisition is costly, individuals will generally not choose to be completely informed about anything. They will acquire information on a issue only as long as the value to them of the information exceeds the costs of its acquisition. On the basis of his model of the voter's choice behavior, Newman (1999b; Newman and Sheth, 1985) showed that the value of information reaching the voter depends on the specific domain it concerns: issue and policies (candidate's platform), social imagery (perception of reference groups supportive for candidates), emotional feelings aroused by candidate, candidate image, current events (economic, social, or international), personal events (situations in the personal life of the candidate), and epistemic issues (specific motives for support of a given candidate). From the value of the information concerning those particular domains for the voter, he distinguishes four (ideal) groups of voters. *Rational voters*, as is assumed by the economic approach, are primarily concerned on the policies and issues dealing with the economy, foreign policy, and social issues and mainly consider these issues when making their voting decisions. *Emotional voters* are mainly concerned on the candidate personality or image and on particular emotions that a candidate evokes among voters, such as happiness, hope, anxiety, pride, and disappointment. When making political choices, emotional voters follow their feelings. *Social voters* vote for a given candidate associated with a particular social group, including, for instance, a national minority, a particular religion, or a business lobby. This type of voters is more similar to the view presented in the sociological approach to voting behavior. The fourth group, *situational voters*, are particularly sensitive in their choices to anything that has or might have happened recently: negative

(e.g., higher rate of inflation or unemployment or increased corruption) or positive (e.g., increased access to education and to the Internet, lower costs of living, or fewer racial tensions).

Another approach to understanding the voter combining voter behavior with theories of cognitive psychology and psychology of emotion is the predictive model of voter behavior proposed by Cwalina and colleagues (Falkowski and Cwalina, 2002; Cwalina *et al.*, 2004; Cwalina *et al.*, 2008, 2010). The model is a reinterpretation of Newman's model of voter's choice behavior and assumes causal relations between its domains, according to the psychological approaches of cognitive constructivism versus realism. The starting point for the predictive model is two prevailing approaches to causal relationships of cognitive and affective elements of human functioning and their influence on voting behavior. The first approach, called constructivist, stresses the role of a politician's cognitive domains on the affective attitude toward him (*cognition affect*). The second, called realist, points to the relevance of affects in forming the cognitive domains themselves (*affect cognition*). The primary criterion to differentiate the aforementioned approaches is whether perception of affect is direct or not. According to the constructivist approach, the affect is the result of stimuli processed in cognitive structures. According to the realist approach, the affect is the result of direct perception and is independent of information processing. Cwalina *et al.* (2008) presented the comparative analysis of data from three 2000 elections: presidential in Poland and the USA and parliamentary in Slovenia. They found that the realistic paradigm better explains voter behavior than the constructivist one. It means that cognition of the candidate is always 'hot cognition'. This is especially applicable in Poland, where a key factor in influencing voting behavior is evoking positive emotions toward the candidate and then providing voters with a justification for such affect (his image and policy proposals). In the USA, on the other hand, both approaches are relevant. This means that voters have already learned to analyze more carefully messages from presidential campaigns and are more resistant to the unconscious power of affect than in Poland and Slovenia. Furthermore, the voter seems to apply different evaluation and decision-making strategies depending on the candidate. She or he behaves as the motivated tactician (Fiske and Taylor, 2008), a fully engaged thinker with multiple cognitive strategies available, who (consciously or not) chooses among them according to his or her goals, motives, and needs.

Getting to know the voter in the best possible way is the basis of planning an efficient marketing campaign (Money, Marketing, and Management section). However, it is not enough to find out about his or her sociological characteristics, his or her

psychological traits, or political problems important for him or her; it is also necessary to understand the psychological processes that political information processing, politician's impression formation, and the voting choices are based on.

### The politician/candidate and the political party

Ambition lies at the heart of politics, and it thrives on the hope of preferment and the drive for office. Schlesinger (1966) discussed three types of ambition: discrete, static, and progressive. Discrete ambition relates to the politician who seeks an office for one term and then seeks neither re-election nor another office. Static ambition relates to the politician who seeks an office with the intent of attempting to retain it for as long as possible. Progressive ambition relates to the politician who holds an office (incumbents) and attempts to gain another regarded as more attractive. According to these types of ambition, Rohde (1979) argued that almost all contemporary politicians possess progressive ambition in the sense that they would accept higher office if it were offered to them without cost or risk. They might be characterized as driven by motivational syndrome that comprises the needs for power, status, achievement, and affiliation (Winter, 1982). The incumbents have clear advantages (e.g., shared constituencies, previous campaign experience, being known persons), but their defeat may not merely interrupt a career but end it. Politicians with discrete ambition may be called 'amateurs': 'ambitious' are those who are serious about winning the parliament seat or 'experience-seeking' are those who have little intention of winning but rather are motivated primarily by the private consumption value of running (Canon, 1993).

Sole ambition, however, is not the only determinant of one's involvement in policy and winning voters' support. Another important factor may for instance be the politician's gender. Although the expansion of women's formal political representation ranks among the most significant trends in international politics of the last 100 years, in most countries, however, it is still smaller than in the case of men. This is determined by both general structural and cultural conditions (e.g., socialization and gender roles; The Demographic Makeup of a Country section) and also the reluctance of party selection committees to nominate women for winnable seats (i.e., female candidates are more likely to be slated against strong candidates or at the bottom of party lists and hence have little chance of winning) and self-selection mechanism, through which, when compared with men, women are less likely to seek political office (e.g., Randall, 1987; Paxton et al., 2010). Moreover, Studlar and McAllister (1991) stated that incumbency also inhibits women's political advancement: women do not get elected because they are not incumbents, and because they do not get elected, they do not become incumbents.

It seems obvious that the approach to politics as a profession, vocation, hobby, or adventure and the status in politics (incumbent versus challenger) influence politicians' ability to collect various organizational and financial means helping them run in elections. It also determines the degree to which they are willing to base their campaigns on political marketing (Studlar and McAllister, 1991; Henneberg, 2006). In other words, it suggests to what extent and how deeply they are ready to undergo modifications of their 'self' to provide their voters with an attractive image (position themselves in particular target groups) using media and other strategies of campaign message dissemination (Money, Marketing, and Management section).

At the turn of the 21st century, Newman (1999c) stated that modern politics enters the 'age of manufactured images'. Similarly, from the analyses of presidential elections in the 1980s in the USA, Wattenberg (1991) announced the beginning of a new period in voting politics, referring to it as a 'candidate-centered politics era'. It is characterized by the electorate's attention shifts from political parties to specific candidates running for various offices and, particularly, for president. The shift is accompanied by the growing importance of a candidate's individual characteristics of which his or her image is made up.

A politician's positive image may be related to his or her real traits, but it is more and often that the general public may decide who a charismatic leader is. In this way, it is much easier to become a 'public opinion leader' than a 'real leader'. The term 'candidate image' means creating a particular type of representation for a particular purpose (e.g., voting, governing, negotiating), which, by evoking associations, provides the object with additional values (e.g., sociodemographic, psychological, ethnic, or ethical) and thus contributes to the emotional reception of the object (Cwalina et al., 2000). The values through which the constructed object is enriched may never be reflected in his 'real' features. It is enough if they have a certain positive meaning for the receiver. In sum, a politician's image consists of how people perceive him on the basis of his characteristics, leadership potential, and surrounding messages that are conveyed through the mass media and by word of mouth in everyday communication with friends and family (Newman, 1999c).

The most important issue in creating any image is selecting those features that will lay the foundations for further actions (Money, Marketing, and Management section). Such characteristics include personality features that can refer to voters' beliefs about human nature (e.g., integrity and competence, Mondak, 1995; energy and friendliness, Caprara and Zimbardo, 2004; integrity, competence, and charisma, Pancer et al., 1999) or be a consequence

of social demand in a given moment of time. They are the core around which peripheral features are placed. They are less relevant for the voters but important for the realism of the candidate's image. The image has to present a candidate who is psychologically coherent and does not include contradictions that would make him 'weird' or 'implausible'. Therefore, not all the peripheral features have to be positive. It can then be said that completing the image with some peripheral features leads to the creation of a candidate's 'human face'. Another stage in creating the image is 'translating' the characteristics into behaviors that illustrate them or are perceived as if they did. Above all, these are nonverbal behaviors.

Such behaviors should be completed by an appropriate 'soundtrack'. The candidate must present his own views, proposed reforms, or solutions to difficult political problems and must present it in a particular way (e.g., optimistic versus pessimistic, Zullow and Seligman, 1990; ambiguous versus precise; Tomz and Van Houweling, 2009). Scammell (1996), although acknowledging the role of issues in election campaigning, saw their importance not in their intrinsic merit but in their ability to affect the overall image of a candidate's credibility and competence. From this perspective, issues perform a twofold function: on the one hand, they influence directly the support offered to a particular candidate (whose views the voter embraces); on the other hand, they have also an indirect influence by bolstering particular features of the candidate's image. Politicians should also bear in mind that all these image creation activities take place in particular sociopolitical and economic conditions, such as the state of national and global economy, terrorism, disasters (e.g., earthquake, tsunami, floods, nuclear plant accidents), international crisis and wars, etc.

In political marketing process, candidate image and issue positions are used jointly for positioning politicians and their platforms, which is based on a combination of cognition and affect (Baines, 1999; Smith, 2005; Cwalina *et al.*, 2011; Cwalina and Falkowski, 2012). The established politician message (platform) is then disseminated on the voter market in a direct or indirect way (Money, Marketing, and Management section).

## The political consultants

Today, politics has become a big profitable business to consultants who help manufacture politicians' images and conduct successful campaigns. O'Shaughnessy (1990, p. 7) described political consultants as 'the product managers of the political world'. The consultants have become important because they are in a position to help a politician craft a winning image that resonates well with citizens. At the level of overall strategic thinking, the candidate is involved, but when it comes to creating a campaign platform, conducting polls, and

setting up a promotional strategy, very few candidates get involved.

Plasser (2009) distinguished two types of political consultants who manage modern election campaigns. *Party-driven sellers*, the first type, tend to focus their campaign strategy on the national party organization and on the mobilizing force of strong party organizations, preferring a centralized and coordinated approach to campaign management. They try to sell the policy agenda of their party even when concentrating on the communicative role of their top candidates, who are regarded as party advocates, representing and communicating party positions and partisan arguments. *Message-driven marketers*, the second type, primarily concentrate on available financial resources and on the strategic positioning of their candidates and develop messages that appeal to the expectations of specific target groups (Money, Marketing, and Management section). According to Plasser (2009), 60% of the political consultants interviewed in 45 countries operate as party-centered party-driven sellers, and 40% correspond more with the political marketing logic of market-driven marketers.

The services offered by consultants include several different activities, such as direct mail, fund raising, television and radio spots, issue analysis, and print advertising. However, as we move from the television era to the Internet era, the expertise necessary to be a successful consultant will have to change. As Howard (2006) stated, whereas pollsters supply campaigns with important information about the electorate and fund-raising professionals generate revenue, information technology experts have also had significant influence on campaign organization. Information technology experts build their political values into the tools and technologies of modern campaigns, with direct implications for the organization and process of campaigning.

Today, consultants are hired and fired by campaigns in the same way that a corporation might hire a consultant, according to word-of-mouth recommendation and relative success in the past. The consultants have not been exposed to the public nor have they been screened by voters in the same way that party officials have been. So as we become a more market-driven democracy and the power shifts from public officials to hired guns, there is an inherent danger to society that the basis on which candidates are elected will be determined by the ability, both monetarily and otherwise, to hire the right consultant. This is a serious issue that will only be perpetuated by the rising costs of running for public office and the need to hire consultants to manufacture images for politicians.

## Influentials

As Zaller (1992, p. 6) stated, 'Every opinion is a marriage of information and predisposition: information to form a mental picture of the given issue,

and predisposition to motivate some conclusion about it.' Many citizens pay too little attention to public affairs to be able to respond critically to the political communications they encounter. Their understanding of the world of politics and their behavior are then based on opinions and cues coming from people or organizations they trust. People tend to vote the way their associates vote: wives like husbands, labor union members with their union, workers with fellow employees, etc. In consequence, there are in society people who exerted a disproportionally great influence on the vote intentions of their fellows—the so-called opinion leaders (Katz and Lazarsfeld, 1955). Although opinion leaders are not 'leaders' in the usual sense, they influence other person's feelings, thoughts, or behavior that is exerted by the real, implied, or imagined presence or actions of others in their immediate environment (Latané, 1981). However, they also depend on information coming from other sources. Katz and Lazarsfeld (1955) in their two-step flow of communication model suggested that ideas often flow from media to opinion leaders and from them to the less active sections of the population. Then some people in the social network serve as personal transmitters for others. Without these relay individuals, messages originating from the mass media might not reach otherwise unexposed people. Furthermore, when a mass media influence coincides with an interpersonal communication, the opinion leaders play a reinforcement function. Therefore, they are part of a more general and complex source of social impact, which can be defined as 'influential'.

The term influential refers, for example, to the formal organization and its leader (e.g., labor union, civil rights groups, business organizations, environmental movements), to the religious groups and churches, to the public figures such as newspaper editors, experts, or media personalities, whose influence is exerted indirectly via organized media or authority structures. For example, the establishment of the Equal Right Amendment movement, the National Organization of Women, and active role of the League of Women Voters in the United States have significantly influenced changes in legislation as well as in including gender rights issues in party platforms and getting women involved in politics—both as voters and candidates. Likewise, the American Association of Retired Persons, as a lobby group of older people, with a membership of 34 million, is a real power on the political and commercial markets (The Demographic Makeup of a Country section).

However, one should bear in mind that influentials are not only transmitters of opinions but also their creators. Influentials select from a body of potential opinions and fact interpretations that will be presented to the public and, by extension, also deselect those stories of which the audience will hear nothing. They function as a gatekeepers that limit information by selective editing, increase the

amount of information by expansive editing, or reorganize the information through reinterpretation. Influentials set the agenda by making some issues and politicians personal characteristics more salient to the public, and, in consequence, more important. For example, Schonker-Schreck (2004) found that in the late 1990s female political candidates in Israel were still viewed and assessed by print media on the basis of gender rather than on the basis their qualifications and talents. Thus, it is particularly difficult for a new female candidate to market her own unique political image (The Demographic Makeup of a Country section).

Influentials, especially media, also frame issues. Framing, as defined by Gamson and Modigliani (1987, p. 143), is 'a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events, weaving a connection among them. The frame suggests what the controversy is about and the essence of the issue.' Druckman and Nelson (2003), in the context of media influence, stated specifically that framing effects occur when in the course of describing an issue or event, a media emphasis on a subset of potentially relevant considerations causes individuals to focus on these considerations when constructing their opinions. Therefore, framing refers to subtle alterations in the statement or presentation of judgments or choice problems, and framing effects refer to changes in decision outcomes resulting from these alterations.

Because of the importance of influentials in shaping public opinion, they are attracted by politicians who want to increase the power of their campaigns thanks to them. On the other hand, they influence their course and present politicians' opinions and views from a particular perspective. Besides, they can also be represented by lobbying. It is related to the 'stimulation and transmission of a communication, by someone other than a citizen acting on his/her own behalf, directed to a governmental decision-maker with the hope of influencing his/her decision' (McGrath, 2007, p. 273). It means pressure on government—that is, mobilization of public and media opinion around a particular problem (Harris and Lock, 1996). In this way, thanks to their social function and influence on citizen's and politicians' decisions, influentials are an important level in the micro level of political marketing.

## THE MACRO AND MICRO VIEWS OF POLITICAL MARKETING: AN INTEGRATION

The macro and micro perspectives related to political marketing presented here are closely related with each other. Their elements constitute a network of mutual causal influences both within a particular level and also between them. A given country's political situation defined by macro elements, including
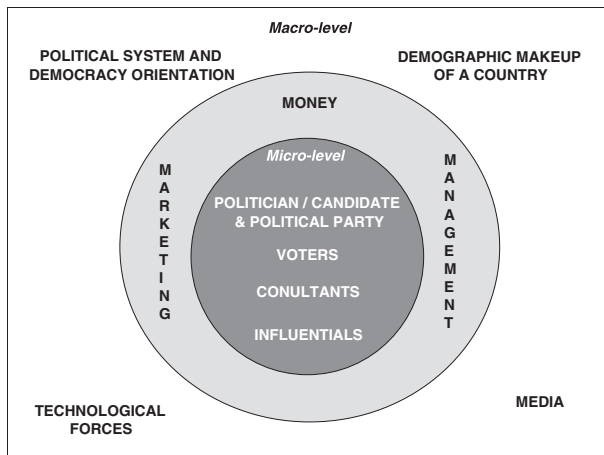
*Figure 1    The macro and micro views of political marketing*

its political culture and the degree of modernization in society, is the context limiting and modifying the actions of particular political agents: voters, politicians and political parties, consultants, and influentials. Figure 1 illustrates the view of political marketing integrating both levels that form it: macro and micro.

The macro and micro factors presented here can be further developed from the existing and available knowledge of political and voter behavior. Such a broad approach toward political marketing allows one to better understand voter behavior and to study it at a multicultural level. One can fully understand such behavior when he or she is able to define cause-and-effect relations not only within those micro elements but also between macro and micro ones.

Looking at political processes and behavior from a macro and micro perspective simultaneously allows one to better understand the functioning of modern democracies, the processes taking place there, and the development opportunities and threats that they face. On the one hand, such an approach integrates various detailed theories of political behavior integrated into the external macrostructure. It is understood as a broad social, political, legal, economic, and technological context regulating and shaping institutions' and individuals' social behavior. On the other hand, such an approach to political marketing can also perform a heuristic function. It is the source of new ideas and innovative approaches to explaining political behavior one can observe nowadays and to predicting a future one.

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