

T.C.
ISTANBUL AYDIN UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE SCIENCES



**MARKETING OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS AND ITS
COMPONENTS**

MASTER'S THESIS

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(Y1812.13179)

Department of Business
Business Administration Program

JULY, 2022

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DEDICATION

I certify that in this thesis all mentioned research document has been presented and using the academic rules and following ethical rules as well. With the guidance of my advisor Assoc. Prof. Dr. Uğur ŞENER at Istanbul Aydin University. All literature, articles, books and others material sources on which the study was based, have been cited as references accordingly.

Dmytro BABUKHIN

FOREWORD

First of all, I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Ast. Prof. Dr. Uğur Şener for his tolerance, knowledge and tireless efforts all over my research. Secondly, I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to my wonderful family for their endless love, support, and motivation. I am heavily indebted to my teachers Ast. Prof. Dr. Burçin Kaplan and Ivanna Myshchyshcyn who have been supporting me with their knowledge and believing in me from the beginning. In addition, I'd like to express my gratitude to my best friend Özgür Deniz Pınar for his constant help, support, and encouragement, which enabled me to complete my research.

July, 2022

Dmytro BABUKHIN

MARKETING OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS AND ITS COMPONENTS

ABSTRACT

Modern political marketing, as one of the key elements of the election process, is a multifaceted phenomenon characterized by a high degree of technology, strategies, and complexity. Keeping this in mind, only effective management and the use of appropriate marketing tools and strategies will enable parties and candidates to achieve the desired electoral outcome. Advertising is the most common way of delivering political messages to the electorate. In the modern world, digital media has become the most used place for political message distribution, and the most popular place to exchange opinions, interact, and create discussion is social media where online political participation takes place. The purpose of this research is to study and compare the impact of political advertisements and campaigns on brand image and loyalty of political party directly and by means of mediator variables as digital marketing and online political participation to determine the requisiteness and position in Turkey and Ukraine. The research design of this paper is parallel mediation model. The data were collected through structured questionnaires. The surveys were distributed to people by convenient sampling method and gathered 407 people in Turkey and 465 responders in Ukraine. A systematic analysis with different tests has been carried out, and key findings are discussed in the research. The study found that advertising and campaigns, and digital marketing have a significant positive impact on brand image and loyalty to political parties in both countries. In Ukraine, digital marketing was seen as a mediator between advertising and campaigns, brand image and loyalty to political parties, while in Turkey, no mediation was observed. In Turkey, the demographic factors that most influenced the answers were gender and age; in Ukraine, they were education and work experience.

Keywords: brand image, political branding, digital marketing, advertising, political campaigns, political marketing, online political participation.

POLİTİK KAMPANYALAR PAZARLAMASI VE BİLEŞENLERİ

ÖZET

Seçim sürecinin anahtar unsurlarından biri olan modern politik pazarlama, yüksek derecede teknoloji, stratejiler ve kompleks ile karakterize edilen çok yönlü bir olgudur. Bunu akılda tutarak, yalnızca etkin yönetim ve uygun pazarlama araçlarının ve stratejilerinin kullanılması, partilerin ve adayların istenen seçim sonucunu elde etmelerini sağlayacaktır. Reklam, siyasi mesajları seçmenlere iletmenin en yaygın yoludur. Modern dünyada dijital medya, siyasi mesaj dağıtımı için en çok kullanılan yer haline geldi ve fikir alışverişinde bulunmak, etkileşim kurmak ve tartışma yaratmak için en popüler yer, çevrimiçi siyasi katılımın gerçekleştiği sosyal medyadır. Bu araştırmanın amacı, siyasi reklam ve kampanyaların siyasi partilerin marka imajı ve sadakati üzerindeki etkisini doğrudan ve dijital pazarlama ve çevrimiçi siyasi katılım gibi aracı değişkenler aracılığıyla Türkiye ve Ukrayna'daki gerekliliği ve konumu belirlemek için incelemek ve karşılaştırmaktır. Bu makalenin araştırma tasarımı paralel aracılık modelidir. Veriler yapılandırılmış anketler aracılığıyla toplanmıştır. Anketler, uygun örnekleme yöntemiyle kişilere dağıtılmış ve Türkiye'de 407, Ukrayna'da ise 465 kişi toplanmıştır. Farklı testlerle sistematik bir analiz yapılmış ve araştırmada temel bulgular tartışılmıştır. Araştırma, reklam ve kampanyaları ile birlikte dijital pazarlamanın her iki ülkede de siyasi partinin marka imajı ve sadakatine bağlılık üzerinde önemli bir pozitif etkiye sahip olduğunu buldu. Ukrayna'da dijital pazarlama, reklam ve kampanyalar, ve siyasi partinin marka imajı ve sadakati arasında bir aracı olarak görülürken, Türkiye'de herhangi bir aracılık gözlemlenmedi. Türkiye'de cevapları en çok etkileyen demografik faktörler cinsiyet ve yaş; Ukrayna'da bunlar eğitim ve iş tecrübesiydi.

Anahtar Kelimeler: marka imajı, politik markalaşma, dijital pazarlama, reklam, politik kampanyalar, politik pazarlama, çevrimiçi siyasi katılım.

TABLE OF CONTENT

DEDICATION.....	i
FOREWORD.....	ii
ABSTRACT.....	iii
ÖZET.....	iv
TABLE OF CONTENT.....	v
LIST OF FIGURES.....	viii
LIST OF TABLES.....	ix
I. INTRODUCTION.....	1
A. The Importance of Research.....	2
B. Research Purposes.....	2
C. Research Questions.....	3
D. Implications of Research.....	3
E. Hypotheses for Research.....	3
II. LITERATURE REVIEW.....	6
A. Political marketing.....	7
1. Short History of Political Marketing.....	7
2. General Concept of Political Marketing.....	9
3. Political Marketing Mix.....	12
4. Political Marketing Theory.....	15
B. Brand image and loyalty of political party.....	21
1. Brand Image of Political Party.....	21
2. Loyalty of Political Party.....	30
C. Advertisements and Campaigns.....	35
1. Basic Knowledge About Political Ads.....	35
2. Printed Ads.....	39
3. Political Radio Advertising.....	40
4. TV Advertising.....	40
5. Political Ads on Web / in The Internet.....	41
6. Negative Political Ads.....	42

D. Digital Marketing	46
1. Political Digital Marketing Theory	46
2. Importance of Digital Marketing in Political Marketing.....	49
3. Digital Political Marketing Channels	50
4. Digital Political Marketing Strategies	53
E. Political Branding	56
1. General Theory.....	56
2. Political Branding Environment.....	62
III. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....	64
A. Introduction.....	64
B. Research Design.....	64
C. Population	65
D. Sampling Method.....	65
E. Data Collection Instrument	70
F. Statistical Techniques.....	71
1. Simple Percentage Analysis	71
2. Reliability Assessment (Cronbach Alpha Test)	71
3. Descriptive Statistics, Skewness, and Kurtosis	72
4. Correlation Analysis.....	72
5. Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA)	73
6. T test	73
7. Anova	74
8. Hochberg's GT2 test	74
9. Regression	75
10. Mediation Analysis (PROCESS Macro)	76
G. Ethical Consideration of the Research	83
IV. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION.....	84
A. Introduction	84
B. Simple Percentage Analysis	84
C. Reliability Assessment (Cronbach Alpha Test).....	85
D. Descriptive Statistics, Skewness, and Kurtosis	86
E. Correlation Analysis	90
F. Exploratory Factor Analysis EFA.....	92
G. Standard Deviation Histograms.....	93
H. T test	95

I. Anova	96
J. Regression.....	106
K. Mediation Analysis.....	108
L. Statistical diagram modeling for the parallel multiple mediator models	111
M. Hypothesis results	113
V. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION	116
A. Research Summary	116
B. Findings and Conclusions.....	117
C. Limitation and Recommendation for the Future Research.....	122
REFERENCES	124
Appendix-1.....	148



LIST OF FIGURES

	<u>Page</u>
Figure 1. The political brand trinity.	22
Figure 2. External variables of political brand image.	29
Figure 3. Party Brand Loyalty Segmentation.....	33
Figure 4. The relation between ideal and real candidates.	60
Figure 5. The three-stage political branding approach.....	61
Figure 6. The political branding environment.	63
Figure 7. Research model.....	64
Figure 9. Standard deviation histograms – Ukraine (465).	94
Figure 8. Standard deviation histograms – Turkey (407).	94
Figure 10. Stitistical diagram – Turkey (407).....	112
Figure 11. Stitistical diagram – Ukraine (465).....	112

LIST OF TABLES

	<u>Page</u>
Table 1. Critical (X/z) values used in the calculation of confidence intervals.	67
Table 2. Sample size for $\pm 3\%$, $\pm 5\%$, $\pm 7\%$ and $\pm 10\%$ Precision Levels Where Confidence Level is 95% and P = 0.5.	69
Table 3. Steps of the Baron-and-Kenny approach.	79
Table 4. Age.....	84
Table 5. Gender.....	84
Table 6. Education	85
Table 7. Work Experience.....	85
Table 8. Reliability Statistics (Cronbach Alpha Test)	86
Table 9. Descriptive Statistics, Skewness, and Kurtosis – Turkey (407)	87
Table 10. Descriptive Statistics, Skewness, and Kurtosis – Ukraine (465)	89
Table 11. Correlations Analysis – Turkey (n=407)	91
Table 12. Correlations Analysis - Ukraine (n=465).....	92
Table 13. (KMO) and Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	92
Table 14. Exploratory Factor Analysis EFA.....	92
Table 15. T test for gender - Turkey (n=407)	95
Table 16. T test for gender - Ukraine (n=465).....	95
Table 17. Anova test for age groups - Turkey (n=407)	96
Table 18. Hochberg's GT2 test for age groups - Turkey (n=407)	97
Table 19. Anova test for age groups - Ukraine (n=465)	97
Table 20. Hochberg's GT2 test for age groups - Ukraine (n=465).....	98
Table 21. Anova test for education levels - Turkey (n=407)	99
Table 22. Hochberg's GT2 test for education levels - Turkey (n=407).....	101
Table 23. Anova test for education levels - Ukraine (n=465).....	101
Table 24. Hochberg's GT2 test for education levels - Ukraine (n=465)	103
Table 25. Anova test for work experience - Turkey (n=407)	103

Table 26. Hochberg's GT2 test for work experience - Turkey (n=407)	104
Table 27. Anova test for work experience - Ukraine (n=465)	105
Table 28. Hochberg's GT2 test for work experience - Ukraine (n=465)	106
Table 29. Mediation analysis: Mediator variable model – Turkey (n=407)	106
Table 30. Mediation analysis: Mediator variable model – Ukraine (n=465)	107
Table 31. Mediation analysis: Mediator variable model – Turkey (n=407)	107
Table 32. Mediation analysis: Mediator variable model – Ukraine (n=465)	107
Table 33. Mediation analysis: Dependent variable model – Turkey (n=407)	108
Table 34. Mediation analysis: Dependent variable model – Ukraine (n=465)	108
Table 35. Total effect model – Turkey (n=407)	109
Table 36. Total effect model – Ukraine (n=465)	109
Table 37. Direct Effects of X on Y	110
Table 38. Indirect, Partially standardized indirect, and Completely standardized indirect Effects of X on Y – Turkey (n=407)	110
Table 39. Indirect and Completely standardized indirect effects of X on Y – Ukraine (n=465)	111

I. INTRODUCTION

Political marketing refers to the use of marketing principles and tools in political campaigns by political parties and leaders with the goal of positively positioning the party and its leader in the political or electoral market and promoting it to the electorate with the aim of garnering votes for the party (Newman, 2012).

Political marketing as a technology of democratization of society contributes to informing the population about certain political aspects of society, studies the political market and acts as a factor of transparency for society, which contributes to democratization of society. A democratic government must regulate and control the use of destructive technologies that destroy the democratic principles of functioning of the political system of any democratic society. The affinity between democracy and the political market was pointed out by Platon, claiming that both of these phenomena provide citizens with the same opportunity—the opportunity to choose [9, p. 345]. Despite all its flaws, political marketing creates such a competitive environment in which alternative concepts of state-building and governance, government courses and programs, effective political parties, movements, etc. are born.

Nowadays, political marketing has gone digital due to the emergence of new technologies, increasing use of different digital devices, the spread of the internet, and more time spent by humankind in the digital world. Therefore, people engaged in political marketing campaign planning, creation, conduction, and control started to employ the internet as an outstanding tool for political marketing campaigns. Through the internet, political messages can be sent to a certain target by means of advertisements. It is often seen that political advertisements have shifted from traditional form to digital in order to reach as many people as possible. At the same time, the digital world gives the opportunity to share, comment, discuss, like or dislike content, including political content. In this regard, the important element of political marketing as online political participation has emerged.

According to above mentioned trends, political advertisements and campaigns, digital marketing, online political participation, and brand image and loyalty of

political party were chosen as the frame variables of the following research. Additionally, the study was conducted in Turkey and Ukraine in order to analyze similarities and differences regarding the current situation of political marketing.

A. The Importance of Research

This research inspect and compares the influence of political advertisements and campaigns on brand image and loyalty of political party directly and by means of digital marketing and online political participation in Turkey and Ukraine to determine the requisiteness and position of political advertisements in these two countries.

- Political advertisements and campaigns, digital marketing, and online political participation are complementary elements in political marketing.
- Nowadays, political marketing elements, considered here, are the most essential and powerful tools of politicians all over the world when it comes to changing voters' opinions if needed, creating and strengthening appropriate political image and loyalty, increasing voters' loyalty, reaching as many people as possible by targeting methods, and gaining an advantage against opponents in the political arena.
- Lack of academic researchers and information in this field in both Turkey and Ukraine.
- It is a fascinating area that is relevant to my educational and professional background.

B. Research Purposes

- To assess and compare the impact of political advertisements and campaigns, digital marketing, and online political participation in promoting brand image and loyalty of political party in Turkey and Ukraine.
- To find out are digital marketing and online political participation mediators between advertisements and campaigns and brand image and loyalty of political party in both countries.
- To analyse how people are affected by political marketing to promote a better understanding of trends and features of the current political marketing situation in Turkey and Ukraine.

- To make recommendations regarding the political marketing of the countries under consideration.

C. Research Questions

- Does the advertisements and campaigns provide any influence on the brand image and loyalty of political party?
- Is online political participation a mediator in the relationship between advertisements and campaigns and brand image and loyalty of political party?
- Is digital marketing a mediator in the relationship between advertisements and campaigns and brand image and loyalty of political party?
- Does the online political participation effect the brand image and loyalty of political party?
- Does the digital marketing influence the brand image and loyalty of political party?
- Do demographic factors provide any a significant effect on responses?

D. Implications of Research

This research will provide a quantitative contribution to the literature regarding current political marketing situations in Turkey and Ukraine. Additionally, this study is going to compare the outcomes for both countries and reveal similarities and differences between the two nations regarding the topic under consideration.

This research will provide marketers working or interested in political marketing topic with data and recommendations for improving political marketing effectiveness in terms of improving brand image and loyalty of political party.

E. Hypotheses for Research

In accordance with the study aim, research model, and research questions, some hypotheses have been developed. The following list of hypotheses is shown below, concerning both null (H0) and alternative (H1-9) hypotheses:

H₀: "Advertisements and campaigns" have no significant effect on "Brand image and loyalty of political party".

H₁: "Advertisements and campaigns" has a significant effect on "Brand image and loyalty of political party".

H₀: "Online political participation" has no significant effect on "Brand image and loyalty of political party".

H₂: "Online political participation" has a significant effect on "Brand image and loyalty of political party".

H₀: "Digital marketing" has no significant effect on "Brand image and loyalty of political party".

H₃: "Digital marketing" has a significant effect on "Brand image and loyalty of political party".

H₀: The relationship between independent variable "Advertisements and campaigns" and dependent one "Brand image and loyalty of political party" is not mediated by "Online political participation".

H₄: The relationship between independent variable "Advertisements and campaigns" and dependent one "Brand image and loyalty of political party" is mediated by "Online political participation".

H₀: The relationship between independent variable "Advertisements and campaigns" and dependent one "Brand image and loyalty of political party" is not mediated by "Digital marketing".

H₅: The relationship between independent variable "Advertisements and campaigns" and dependent one "Brand image and loyalty of political party" is mediated by "Digital marketing".

H₀: Age does not provide a significant effect on responses.

H₆: Age provides a significant effect on responses.

H₀: Gender does not provide a significant effect on responses.

H₇: Gender provides a significant effect on responses.

H₀: Education level does not provide a significant effect on responses.

H₈: Education level provides a significant effect on responses.

H₀: Work experience does not provide a significant effect on responses.

H₉: Work experience provides a significant effect on responses.



II. LITERATURE REVIEW

A review of the literature on the research topic is an important and obligatory part of every scientific work. A review of the literature helps to provide a theoretical basis for the study, to assess the elaboration of the topic, to justify the choice of the direction of research.

Political marketing and related fields are quite new independent branch of political science. Some examples of political marketing can be observed over at Greek and Roman imperials official political meetings. At that time, political marketing was mostly related to the political propaganda. Up to the first half of the XX century, political propaganda had simply been limited to the mass divulgation of subjective thoughts. The modern recognition and interpretation of political marketing itself and its terms involve great number of definitions, elements, and attributes. Some of them, namely political marketing, brand image and loyalty of political party, advertisements and campaigns, digital marketing, and political branding are main variables of this paper. They are going to be explained and analyzed by utilization of previously conducted and implemented researches.

Up to now, there are a great number of studies related to the topic of this master thesis. The previous studies analyzed in this study were conducted in different countries, most of them were conducted in the United States, as the country of origin of the field of marketing science, and therefore, political marketing.

The Literature Review chapter is aimed to provide information concerning the above-mentioned terms in order to aggregate the thoughts, opinions, visions, and obtained conclusions from the early done studies. The following chapter consists of six subchapters, each of them is designed in order to discuss, explain, and give understanding of particular research variable, issue or idea within the main topic of this research.

Majority of the articles and books were found by means of reliable and valid databases and websites, such as ProQuest (for theses), Scopus, Springer, Web of Science, and Science Direct (for articles).

A. Political marketing

1. Short History of Political Marketing

In accordance with scholars, there are four stages of the political marketing development process (Gugin A.M., 2016, p. 85-87). These four phases of political marketing evolution are listed and explained below:

The first stage covers the 30s of the 20th century when specialists in commercial public relations entered the US political market. They advised Roosevelt F.D. on the preparation, propaganda, and implementation of the program principles of the "new order". Thanks to their advice, the president was very effective in influencing public opinion through the famous "Conversations by the Fireplace." The spectacular election campaign of Truman G. in 1948 was crowned with an unconditional victory thanks to the use of audiovisual communication, and the 40-50s in political communication is already characterized by the dominance of television.

The second stage started with 1952 US presidential elections that was preceded by the first campaign in a typically marketing style. The following campaign strategy for Republican candidate Eisenhower D. was developed in such manner:

- The image, in this case the obvious one, is a national hero;
- The main theme is "time for change" (after 20 years of Democratic rule);
- Avoiding lengthy speeches (the strategy of short communications appeared as a result of the analysis of the perception of long communications of the campaign), an emphasis on 30-60-second stories;
- Addressing directly to the audience;
- Brevity of the campaign: 3 weeks before the elections, which made it possible to achieve a number of advantages:
 - a) Maximize the effect of audience fatigue;
 - b) Provide the maximum amount of information just before the elections;
 - c) Deprive opponents of time to react.

The 1952 campaign was preceded by a thorough survey of public opinion conducted by the J. Gallup Institute, which made it possible to focus the messages on four problems of the United States: corruption, taxes, inflation and the Korean War.

As a result, 40 flights around the country were organized under the general slogan “Eisenhower over America”. The candidate's dialogue with voters took the form of “one question - a short exact answer”.

Third era of political marketing started in European countries, in which, electoral campaigns have long resisted marketing change, primary due to the existence of strong, ideologically diverse parties that had a relatively stable electorate. In 1969, political marketing appeared in the parliamentary elections in Great Britain, and in 1965 in France in the presidential elections. But only in 1959 the Conservative Party in England first time hired an advertising agency to develop an electoral strategy. In 1979, a permanent collaboration was established with the agency Saatchi & Saatchi, which made a significant contribution to another Tory victory. In 1981-1983. M. Thatcher resorted to the help of Charles Lawson, who previously headed the marketing department in an American firm that produces Mars chocolate bars.

In Turkey, first example of political marketing was the poster with the slogan "Enough! Word belongs to the nation!" ("Yeter! Söz milletindir!") within the Democratic Party's (Demokrat Partisi) election campaign. It was distributed utilizing radio, flyers, and posters. Later in 1977 on the general election, the professional election campaign was conducted by the Justice Party (Adalet Partisi). Within the campaign slogan, posters, audiotapes, and press announcements were prepared by professional advertising company "Cen Ajans" (Tan A., 2017, p.54-55).

The strongest resistance to the use of political marketing came from the European left parties. In their opinion, the use of marketing technologies and means could be perceived by voters as contrary to their ideological principles. Back in 1978, part of the leadership of the Labor Party in Great Britain argued that research into the political market and the use of electoral technologies were unacceptable for the working class party.

The last stage is thought to be from the 90s. of the last century to the present. It was during this time that political changes in Europe and the development of democracy triggered the emergence of political marketing in the countries of the former socialist camp and the Soviet Union. For example, American marketing specialists helped Yeltsin B. In the fight for the presidency in 1996 and Russian political strategists in 1999 helped Kuchma L. Later with the advent of digital devices

and the internet, the present political marketing has undergone a significant transition. In the 21st century, the internet, and then social media, played a significant role in identifying much of the world's horde of political leaders. Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and other interactive platforms have been primarily responsible for the elections all over the world.

2. General Concept of Political Marketing

There are many political marketing schools utilizing various methods namely, the North American methodology, the Western and Eastern European vision, and the Asian perspective regarding political marketing. The initial implementation of the term political marketing has been assigned to researcher in the political field Stanley Kelley (1957) in his book on Professional Public Relations and Political Power. In that book, he illustrates the increasing importance of “the public relations man” within political campaigns. However, it took quite a long time until political marketing became regularly recognized as a new perspective in the political arena. Later, marketing specialists, for instance, Philip Kotler encouraged the inclusion of the marketing of organizations, people, and opinions into marketing philosophy and theory. Back in the late 1970s, when considering the American elections, he rightly noted that the task of politicians is to immerse Americans every four years in the illusion that they are ruling the country and making a choice from people who want to rule the country for them (Kotler P., 1975. p. 761).

A certain number of books present information regarding the political marketing area and at the same time reveal the implementation and variation of political marketing as a system and as an activity. Dan Nimmo's work (1970) is one of the primary books devoted to the evolvement of marketing in politics. After some time other scientists published their monographs including O'Shaughnessy N.J. (1990), Newman B.I. (1994, 1999), Franklin B. (1994), Scammell M. (1995), and Maarek P.J. (1995). These early studies describe the familiar relationship between political marketing and electoral campaigning. In the following years, the thought of a single connection between political marketing and election campaigning was rejected quite slowly with the expansion of the scope to the political arena beyond electoral competitions and with a more powerful impact from the marketing discipline. Benefactions from marketing science have driven more extensive examinations on

strategic positions and political market orientation (Henneberg S.C.M., 2006; Ormrod R., 2007; Ormrod R. and Henneberg S.C.M., 2010). Many of these researches are related to Western-style consolidated democracies. They have stimulated the development of political marketing science in the 20-21th centuries and have tried to assume future positions and concept improvements.

The American marketing association (AMA) caused the legitimate appearance of political marketing potentially possible in 1985 by admitting "Ideal marketing" as a type of marketing (Zadeh H., 2012, p.27-28). Political marketing is the activity that directs political candidates and ideas to the voters for the purpose of satisfying their political demands and therefore increasing their support for the mentioned candidate and ideas (Shama A., 1976, p.767). There is a similar definition, namely a collection of actions, manners, or political organizations employed by political parties, candidates and individuals with the aim of generating, communicating, conveying, and interchanging explicit promises of policy, political candidates among voters, political party stakeholders, and society in the main, as one term can be interpreted as political marketing (Hughes A., et al., 2009, p.244). Harrop M. (1990) reflects political marketing as a term related to the whole area of party positioning within the electoral market, not just regarding party's political advertising, political broadcasts, and electoral discussions. In accordance with Henneberg S.C.M. (1996, p. 777), political marketing is defined as trying to create, manage and strengthen long-term voter relationships at benefit both society and political party, in order that the goals of the individual politicians and organizations included are satisfied. This can be done by mutual interchange and realization of promises. Political Marketing, according to O'Cass A. (2001, p.141), was interpreted as the act of investigation, preparation, realization, and election, which are invoked to generate, organize, and manage a commonly advantageous exchange relationship between the parties with the voters, intentionally to achieve political goals for marketers. Political marketing is not an approach to sell a political party or candidates to voters. It might be seen as a permanent theory that sustainably has to be done by a political party or candidate in increasing public trust and perception. Not only according to the political campaign, but also create the political product via building image, platform, and program (Firmansyah P., 2008). The public opinion examination and environmental examination utilized by a party or candidate in order to create and develop a

competitive offering that can assist in the realization of organizational purposes and satisfy electors in order to get their votes can be called political marketing (Cwalina W., et al., 2009, p.70). Political marketing includes the utilization of business marketing theory to the real-life and study of politics and government (Giasson T., et al., 2012). Reviewing the study of Bendle N.T. (2014, p.328), political marketing is defined as an intermediary of the social activity of political interchange, while political marketing management is described as both the art and the science of prosperous administration of this interchange procedure. Later, political marketing has evolved into a state considered by marketing. According to Manshadi M. (2017, p. 233), political marketing is an interdisciplinary type of science and obviously, it considers human science inventions in categories regarded marketing and politics to get the purpose and application mood. Political marketing involves sets of some actions that are invoked to generate, manage, or modify people's attitudes or behavior and connected to a political party, group, or an election candidate (Ashtiani M., et al., 2017, p.343)

In easy words, political marketing is thought to be a bond between two social science branches namely, political science and marketing. Political marketing is a modern science branch that works to aggregate marketing principles in political life. Furthermore, political marketing intends to build and inspire hope, views, opinions, attitudes, and voting performance. (Dharma T.E., et al., 2013, p.585-587). According to Osuagwu L., (2008, p.801), the most crucial aim of political marketing includes visions and public opinion guiding, political ideology development, winning in competitions and political elections, law and referendum related to demands, needs and wants of target market audience. In accordance with Kafashpour A., et al (2008), as a general rule, political marketing attempts to enhance the political party's power in political debates, particularly within the elections (cited in Ashtiani M., et al., 2017, p.343).

Political marketing is not just restricted to classical marketing but has also indicated its presence in new media. Social media is a type of digital media that introduces a place for political advertisers to design a political arena where politicians, government leaders, and political parties are able to utilize social media to direct public opinion in a wanted way. Nowadays, social media has today become shifted to being an influential tool of opinion creation (Md Safiullah, et al., 2017, p.10).

Political marketing is the applying of commercial marketing methods and ideas in politics, it has been utilized within different levels worldwide. Parties use marketing approaches to sell themselves and their policies, moreover, politicians employ marketing to determine what to propose to the public primarily, for instance, what policy should be chosen, which leaders should be selected as being best present those policies, and how should be communicated policy delivery in a better way (Lees-Marshment J., et al., 2010, p.1).

Elements of political marketing include spin, image, and public relations (Kotler, P., Keller K.L., 1976). The fundamental elements of political marketing include economic factors, supporting individuals and factions, marketing mix, individuality, social, political, and cultural conditions (Soleimani A.G., Monem S., 2017, p.141). Political marketing theory claims that party should be market-oriented in order to win elections, an important component of this is the leader. The leader must be popular, with regard to leadership manner, party leadership behavior, characteristics, speaking manner, and others (Lees-Marshment, J., Rudd, C., 2003).

3. Political Marketing Mix

In accordance with Niffenegger P. (1989, p.47), in order to be efficient, political marketing should be designed correctly, developing rightly the marketing mix (product, place, price, promotion) and segmentation of voters.

- **Product.** Within political marketing, the original political product is the campaign mix that involves four components. That set includes the candidate's general election program, party's attitude to the most significant difficulty arises within the campaign, the candidate's image, and last but not least the candidate's political background and party's supporter electors (Newman B.I., 1994, p. 31-34).
- **Place.** It means the political market.
- **Price.** There are latent psychological costs connected with the majority of candidates, for instance, how the electors feel about the candidate's religious and economic background.

- Promotion. This term represents a particular mix of mass media advertising, specialized media advertising, and individual interaction that are applied in order to achieve a party's target voters (Shama A., 1975, p.110).
- Voters Segmentation. Political marketing employs the market segmentation approaches and target groups to come to the target of potential voters and therefore raise the number of votes. Political market segmentation divides voters and potential voters by mapping like-wised groups and picking some of them as its main object to perform campaign program and achieve the party's goals (Shama A., 1975, p.112).

In accordance with Tan A. (2017, p.31-34) political marketing mix includes four general components, and explains them in the following way:

- Product. The importance of the product as a strategic decision variable is that it forms the basis of all marketing activities of a political party. The political product category includes political leader, political idea, and political party. It is substantiated by some evidences. Firstly, leader is the best representative of the whole party and he/she plays vital role in the election process, persuading voters, and managing the party. Secondly, the political idea is introduced as a suggested plan regarding the determination, understanding of the country's problems and issues, their diagnosis, and proposing possible solutions in order to deal with those problems. Moreover, the party program should provide clues to improve the strategic position of the country. Thirdly, a political party copes with two tasks namely, organizational management and marketing. The analysis of the public opinion regarding the activities of political parties, making programs, criticizing opposing programs, and introducing new ones leads to the political formation and allows voters to be more alert to both the ruling and opposition parties. The success of a political party depends primarily on the acceptance of its ideas by the public.
- Price. It is difficult to talk about price and profit in monetary terms in political marketing. However, there are some factors that can be defined as the prices paid for the product. In political marketing, the price can be dues and donations to join the party, as well as voting for the candidate or party and supporting party politics. The cost of going to the polls to support the

party or candidate and donations for the campaign can also be considered the prices paid.

- **Promotion.** In political marketing, promotion is a communication process consisting of many components that conveys information about a political party, a candidate, a leader, or the policies and services they produce to the masses, target voters, or particular individuals. Everything the political party does, especially marketing activities has a promotional effect. All of the communication efforts carried out in order to direct the voters' attitudes towards the party in a positive way and to protect and increase the existing votes are called the promotion mix or communication mix. The promotion mix involves individual propaganda, advertising, public relations, and sales development.
- **Distribution.** Distribution includes all efforts to deliver the messages of the party's promises and promises to the voters. The distribution strategy is about the methods and channels used by candidates to turn to voters in a personal way. When it comes to distribution in political marketing, it comes to mind that the political product, that is, the leader of the party, its candidates, policies, and propaganda should be delivered to the target electorate at the right time, place and in the right way. This can be done by directly reaching the voters without distribution channel or by using some intermediaries. The distribution channel is the path followed by the flow of messages about candidates, ideas, ideologies, policies, solutions to the country's problems, and all their words and promises, from the political party to the target audience.

Political Marketing concerns the political groups such as political parties, groups of interest, and local committees, utilizing the methods and applications of business-marketing with the aim to accomplish their purposes, lead market intelligence to recognize the needs of people in order to meet these demands, by adjusting suitable politic (Khatib F.S., 2012, p.11).

According to Newman B.I. (1994, p.13) political marketing is interpreted as the employment of marketing methods and principles in political campaigns by different people and institutions. The actions included covering the analysis, improvement, performance, and management of integral campaigns by candidates, political parties,

authorities, lobbyists, and groups of interest that look for driving public opinion, promote their own ideas, win elections, and pass law and referenda as an answer to the requirements and desires of voters and community groups. If considering political parties and candidates, for them the theory of political marketing might be accomplished via utilizing the following approaches:

- Communicating messages and ideas;
- Strengthening self-identity, reliability, and clearness;
- Intercommunication and reply to internal and external communities by political party;
- Imaging; accomplish training, processing and examine data for campaign's benefits;
- Constant impact and stimulation society to support a political party (Newman B.I., 1994, p.34).

4. Political Marketing Theory

Newman B. I. (1994, p.87) explains political marketing purpose as the result of the political marketing process is the candidate's image creation in electors' minds of who the candidate is and what he/she symbolizes. Consequently, the candidate's image shifts to be the strategic locus of his/her marketing strategy. Political marketing contains a diversity of classical and contemporary methods. The major classical instruments combine the presence of celebrities, comparative advertising, destructive promotional projects, catching red-handed, and so on and so forth. Some new tools cover network advertising, call centers, bogus surveys, and others (Soleimani A.G., Monem S., 2017, p. 138).

According to the research conducted by LeBaron D. (2008, p.3-4), most of definitions, ideas and theories regarding political marketing have some similarities. Those common parts are listed as follows:

- Political marketing, in actual fact, is strongly connected with political campaigns. From a marketing viewpoint, a political campaign is defined as efforts regarding the recognition of electors' needs and wants, and after that, the satisfaction of those needs and wants by promises regarding political service or product.

- Political marketing is aimed to convince citizens to give their votes for a particular candidate. It is surely indicated that election procedures should be free and clear to keep political marketing meaningful.
- There is an agreement among researchers explaining political marketing as a process of implementing tools applied for the commercial marketplace into the political sphere.

Many researches have examined the role of political marketing. For instance, Bode L., and Dalrymple K.E. (2015) in their paper noted that various candidates regularly apply techniques directly related to political marketing in order to win elections, and they supposed this action as an effective one within obtaining positive results and getting the public votes. In investigating people's reactions towards voting for a particular candidate, based on a research in Mexico, (Chang J., et al., 2009, p.4) confirmed that political marketing plays a truly powerful and significant role in the candidates' selection process. In accordance with Manshadi M. (2017, p. 237), within the conditions of the absence of the market, political marketing is not enough as a tool increasing competition, but a powerful method to enable monopolization and widen the gap between people and government to a larger extent. Moreover, the scholar added that political marketing within the lack of marketing in developing countries creates conditions and environment which are more volatile by highlighting the un-trusted gap between citizens and government.

In accordance with Lees-Marshment, et al. (2010, p.9), political marketing is being utilized in many countries, although it is done in various ways. While structural and semi-structural influences are extremely essential for the comprehension of political parties and what orientation parties intend to select, scientists surprisingly found that also there are more agile and time-bound factors relevant to individual situations and actors. Political marketing is a global set of activities: political parties worldwide all employ marketing methods and ideas however, the degree to which marketing is applied to outline the political product as against to sell it not only differs from one country to another but also from one election process to another one. Nevertheless, the general tendency in political marketing is various and volatile. It is not just related to big office-seeking parties in advanced-level democracies following in order move towards the market-oriented party type but also that parties in beginning democracies finally will follow. In those cases where a party's behavior is found to be

in a market-oriented way, being market-oriented appears mostly as a tactic to win office but not to control office. On the report of the authors, some of the governing parties have reverted to market-oriented programs if there appeared a trend of losing public support, but as a general rule, it did not rescue their falling reputation on elections.

The majority of parties practice marketing techniques in order to promote the state of the party, its ideas, its vision, or its name. Therefore, it might be understood as there are some noticeable obstacles within the adaptation of a marketing-oriented approach or to become market-oriented. Certainly, mixed types in strategy and orientation and a few cases where the parties are actually market-oriented were observed. Alternatively, the outcomes of the study simply prove that the amount of sales-oriented parties is prevailing the market-oriented ones in most of the countries. It might happen because of a diversity of circumstances:

- A considerable amount of party identifiers still exists, even if they are not strong;
- There are still some party members who are required to mobilize voters, distribute party literature and increase funds;
- The left-right division has quite explicit significance.

According to Lees-Marshment, J., (2009, p.33), there are some reasons why political parties use marketing.

- Distribution of ideology, belief, policy, or law.
- Modifying an agenda in the public sphere and media.
- Getting assistance from new-emerged segments in the market.
- Shifting to a coalition partner.
- Expanding the amount and engagement of volunteers.
- Obtaining government control.
- Trying to make the world a better place.

There are a number of reasons why political marketing is thought to be implemented completely into the marketing structure (LeBaron D., 2008, p.15). The list of these reasons includes:

- Political campaigns are extremely important. There are two reasons why.

Firstly, political campaigns actually distinguish and make a difference among candidates. Secondly, some electors do not decide as quickly as the minimal effects model suggests (p. 29-30).

- Nowadays, politics became such a factor that almost if not completely influences every other sphere of economic life
- Integration of marketing in politics has changed politics considerably.

As stated by Henneberg S. (2009, p.19), there are 8 existing universal functions of prosperous political marketing. They can be listed as follows:

- **Product Function.** It is related to the political product. A party has a desire to market its product that generally is the promise of a good administration. On some occasions, the product might be an image of the candidate, an ideology, or some particular external policy. Therefore, the whole political marketing process is intended to market the product.
- **Distribution Function.** The distribution function relates to the circumstances concerning the availability of an offer and the partner within the interchange. The above-mentioned function can be divided into two aspects, campaign transfer, and offering transfer.
- **Cost Function.** It is thought by many that the Cost function is one of the most crucial ones due to the selling some certain product with cost-effectiveness by contrast with other existing products in the market, where the monetary satisfaction of customers is greater. Within political marketing, cost function connects to the management of attitudinal and behavioral limitations of electors via measured campaign strategies. The elector should get all the knowledge about the product for free.
- **Communication Function.** This function is thought to be the core of political marketing. It is related to the campaign delivery aspects of the distribution function. Communication function is about informing about the offer, providing political content, political ideas, future plans, and trying to explain political processes and events in simple and understandable way for primary audience.
- **News Management Function.** In our modern and technologically developed world this function takes a vital place in successful political marketing activity. This function is somehow linked to the Communication function

and means introducing or presentation of a political candidate or political party to society. The function is applied by means of secondary exchange circle audience or media including public relations activities, social media management, online advertising campaign management and others.

- Fundraising Function. Within political marketing, the mobilization of this function mobilizes and pushes all other functions to success. For commercial marketing fundraising is not a big problem, but for political marketing it is vital in order to get financial support and resources for building and managing political campaigns.
- Parallel Campaign Management Function. It denotes the necessity of regulation of a political party's campaign management performance with those of parallel organizations. The utilization of parallel campaigns and support from other organizations is thought to improve the reliability of political communications.
- Internal Cohesion Management Functions. This function is related to managing and maintaining relationships among political party members, party representatives, and party's activities. It is vital not only to deal with the external milieu issues and challenges professionally but also to manage the internal environment within the party, mobilize and deploy available resources in order to build successful political marketing. This function is believed to be extremely important within sustaining the party's internal stability and cohesion which in turn positively reflects on the external party's image.

Lloyd J., (2005, p.41-43) tried to introduce and explain the political marketing mix, covering 5 components. This list of political marketing mix elements involves:

- Services offering. The assessment of the party is done not only based on its electoral policies but also according to its ability to accomplish its obligations and duties.
- Representation. Political marketers should bring together the supply and demand in political marketing. This means that citizens' needs, wants, and requests should be met and satisfied by a politician, political party, leader, or candidate otherwise electors will prefer to give their votes to others, who satisfied them.

- Accommodation. Electors should feel that their voice is heard, their views are taken into consideration, that they can affect the candidate, leader, or party's actions. This factor concern the possibility of modifying or adjusting the main direction of the campaign in the midway.
- Investment. Simply the question is what voters will get if a certain candidate or party is chosen. Electors consider their loyalty to the party as an investment through support in membership or donation or policy reforms that will influence voters positively.
- Outcome. The capacity to deliver policy matters and election promises is one of the most concrete and visible forms of political party assessment done by electors. Consequently, a political party should be seen performing its responsibilities and promises properly.

Based on the above introduced 5-components political marketing mix, Banon V.C., (2011, p.32) created her own political marketing mix, containing 6 following components:

- Service. The society hires high-ranking officials in order to represent and manage that society.
- Investment. Society invests its time, effort, money, and takes risk of winning or losing by choosing the party or a politician. In the case of victory, people have to assess if they are satisfied with the services provided by chosen party or politician.
- Price. The low price is not wanted due to the devaluation of the market. The price should be in the middle range.
- Fundraising. It is extremely essential for the success of a campaign and for the party's image as well. Great fundraising turns into a powerful party image and viability for success.
- Responsible Communications. It emphasizes appealing to all citizens, not just to consumers. This factor contains raising issue awareness, develop various ideological thoughts, avoiding extremism, fascism, managing press coverage, and new media which are going to be an image of off-line activities.
- Accommodation. Within the appearance of new media, flexibility and improved intercommunion with the society and its requirements is highly

demanded. A party or a candidate should be prepared and able to adapt to the events or situations which can occur, which might slightly affect their initial strategy but not completely.

If it comes to political campaigns marketing, Newman B.I. (1994, p.137) declared that nowadays, the victory political campaigns have the consumer focus, identically to prosperous businesses. It is thought that the political campaign starts and finishes remembering the elector.

In recent years, the scientific community has become more critical of political marketing, which has transformed politics from a yearning for a shared vision of the good and noble into a private and sometimes illogical whim of consumption (Hennenberg S., et al., 2009, p.166)

B. Brand image and loyalty of political party

1. Brand Image of Political Party

Public sector brands can be found easily in every country, they might be established on purpose or not. Public sector organizations and institutions are related to people, businesses, and other countries. It can be understood easily that all of them have a certain personal image. Due to the importance of stakeholder and customer perceptions, it is vital to create, control, manage and develop a brand image in order to be successful in the public sector. For the reason that the product within this case is presented by politicians or the political ideas and thoughts they have the establishment of a brand is a peculiar process within the bounds of the political sphere. As a consequence, the political product to be converted into a brand already has some special factors namely, the voice stamp, the features of the face, the style of speaking, the style of clothing. According to these attributes, the electors form and express an opinion regarding the political product. Conclusively, while generating a political brand, one must primarily concentrate on the existing attributes (Borş C., 2019, p.76-78).

Inquiries regarding political brand image topic have a significant value and deserve additional investigation (Smith G., 2001, p.992), and continue to be an interest of many scholars (French A. and Smith G., 2010; Phipps M., et al. 2010; Smith G. and

French A., 2011; Needham C. and Smith G., 2015). The restricted analysis of political brand image investigation has inclined the usage of a measurable, quantitative method (French A. and Smith G., 2010; Mortimore R., et al. 2014).

Within the context of political branding, the political brand, according to scholars Pich C. and Armannsdottir G. (2018, p.47), is considered as the set of such categories as party, party leader and party policy. According to Dichter E. (1985), brand image can be defined as complete opinions in the consumers' minds regarding the brand. Keller K.L. (1993) emphasizes that brand image is related to peoples' brand perception which reflects the brand associations existing in the customer mind.

As indicated by Plummer J. (2000), the brand image involves three components:

- The product's physical characteristics;
- Tangible and intangible operative features and benefits related to the product;
- In which way the brand is identified or its nature.

As emphasized by O'Shaughnessy and Henneberg (2007, p.250), a political brand itself combines three distinctly separated segments:

- The mix of tangible and intangible attributes of a brand, politician, and policy promises;
- The core service offering;
- Recognized and perceived history of the party.

As identified and stated by Pich C. and Newman B.I (2020, p.5), political brands should be observed as a trinity of the following components involving a political party,

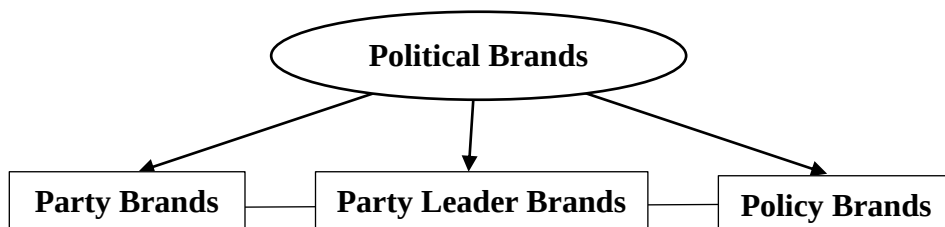


Figure 1. The political brand trinity.

Source: Pich C., Newman B.I. 2020, p.10

leader, and policy. The illustrated interpretation is shown (Figure 1). Such an elementary approach to this issue provides the opportunity to understand the various

kinds of political brands. Moreover, this approach assists to trigger research and then adopt a theoretical perspective.

In accordance with some studies, political brands present the mix of three components containing the party leader, political party, and its policy (Davies G., Mian T., 2010; Smith G., French A., 2011; Butler P., et al. 2011). Above cited researchers conducted their studies by concentrating solely on one of three components. For instance, Smith G., French A. (2011), and Mortimore R., et al. (2014) focused just on the party leader. Meanwhile, Davies G. and Mian T. (2010) considered two aspects namely, party leader and political party.

In compliance with Borş, C. (2019, p.75) the prosperous political brand requires two obvious but extremely important factors namely:

- Understanding political marketing. Within the confines of the turbulent political life and related activity, it is fundamental for politicians to recognize their market, which means their electors, their desires, and wants, not only with the purpose of being capable to portray themselves in an effective way but also in order to obtain voters' trust. Market orientation demands from a candidate a recognition of the core of the exchange process while asking for the vote. If the promises made before getting the wanted position are realized, then the candidate will get the sympathy and, essentially, the confidence of the electors and the public.
- Public recognition. The second vital component of a successful political brand is the candidate's recognition by society. Furthermore, it is thought by many that for the political brand having equity is strongly important. In other words, it is something related to a special quality that the people regard as identical with the brand under consideration and which provides trust.

The author also add that strong political brand owns one special feature what is the discrete, unusual style of communication by means of which it efficiently conveys the desired message, notwithstanding the event in which it is spread: speeches, television appearances, press conferences (Borş C., 2019, p.78).

There is a strong bond between brand image and party image. While working on his paper, Nimmo D. (1976) ascertained that the theory of image itself, while implementing it into the political environment, has derived from the brand image

concept of marketing theory. In accordance with the inference made by Liu C. (2006), both party image and brand image aggregate the total amount of the associations existing in the voters' or consumers' minds regarding a party or a brand. Nevertheless, the ideas of brand and party image have a difference from point of view on the way they have been traditionally utilized. It worth saying that party image has been thought of as a party attitude by many scholars (Liu C. 2006; Matthew D.R. and Prothro J.W., 1966; Trilling R., 1976). Contrary, the understanding, and utilization of brand image are related to the nature of the meaning of image as the entirety of brand-related associations, as was thought by other scientists (Aaker D.A., 1991; Keller K.L., 1993). In this case, the most popular set of brand associations is related to brand personality, but there are no studies that adapted the idea to the context of political parties. In addition, those scientists review and put forth the significant role of brand image in the process of creating and developing not only brand equity but also brand loyalty. According to Hayes D. (2005), who worked on his characteristics ownership theory, electors see parties as owners of human-like characteristics namely, empathy, morality, leadership, and compassion.

The expression “party image” is related to the imaginative pictures which voters hold in minds regarding a political party, or all of the stuff that appears in electors’ mind while thinking of a party (Trilling R., 1976; Liu C., 2006). Political party brand might be interpreted as an aggregated set of the tangible characteristics of the party in terms of colors and emblems and intangible characteristics such as ideology and tradition (Mensah A.K., 2012, p.7). In the majority of the cases, study on party images interprets this concept in a much more parochial way by explaining it solely as the voters' likes and hates regarding a certain political party (Matthew D.R. and Prothro J.W., 1966; Trilling R., 1976). Oppositely, other scientists have expanded the way of thinking by observing the party image as inherent characteristics or intrinsic benefits that electors associate with political parties (Hayes D., 2005; Liu C., 2006). This set might include caring, competent, decisive, moderate, modern, and strong (Liu C., 2006, p.28). The political image is a kind of basic structure since it combines the audience's ideas about the advertised object (a party or a candidate) and characteristics that reflect the real qualities of the object (Chubay S., 2015, p. 117).

In accordance with the thoughts of Scremin G. (2007, p.30-31) political parties are systems that arose and grew around powerful visions and ideologies. For electors,

political parties incorporate a great volume of information and experience. It does not matter if the party is Republican, Democratic, or Green, a party's name involves various sorts of associations in the elector's mind. Moreover, it forms the way how electors process information regarding particular candidates and parties. For electors, political parties incorporate a great volume of information and experience. It does not matter if the party is Republican, Democratic, or Green, a party's name involves various sorts of associations in the elector's mind. Moreover, it forms the way how electors process information regarding particular candidates and parties. However, some marketers avoid adapting the branding principles into the context of politics, journalists, writers, politicians, political consultants. In opposition, electors generally contemplate and communicate regarding political parties utilizing branding related terms.

Lupu N. (2011, p.25) supports this idea by defining a party's brand as the term related to perceiving a prototypical person or group of people who thinks to associate with the party. For instance, the Republic party brand involves some ideas about the prototypical Republican. People put every party on some continuum, it might be ideological (i.e., economic left to right) or based on a certain social scale like class (i.e., poor to affluent). Where people perceive each political party to coincide with the relevant continuum forms the party brand. Borş C. (2019, p.82) supports this point of view saying that communication, brand building, and brand development have to be related to a personal ideal that is associated with potential electors. The politician's image must match with the voters' anticipation and expectations.

The party is the organization and the candidates are its brands. They have similar features and characteristics that determine their relations with a particular party, but at the same time, they might have their individual unique characteristics. A brand is made out of a name and a logo. If it comes to politicians, it tends to be their own name or a creation. In general, the branding strategy utilized by politics is a multi-brand strategy. This strategy insists on engaging both the corporate or party name and the brand or politician's name. A multi-brand strategy is an activity of creating and developing at least two or more brands within the same product category. In the case of politics, this strategy looks like putting forward several candidates from the same political party. Applying the corporate or party name including each brand or candidate is an approach which allows getting benefits from a reputation within differentiation every

brand/candidate of the same party (Banon V.C., 2011, p.91-92). As well as in choosing a product, the voter does not analyze the program of parties or individual politicians, but chooses a brand, first of all it is a surname of candidate (Barkov S.A., et al., 2020, p.814).

Interpretation of political parties as brands assists the explanation of two factors of voters' decision-making. In compliance with Needham C. (2005, p.180), interpretation of political parties as brands assists the explanation of two factors of voters' decision-making, which are

- Party brands implement a foundation for a long-term allegiance within a milieu where products (policies) are reasonably fluent.
- It assists in understanding how electors make decisions within an information-complicated milieu or in political data chaos.

According to the point of view of Marland A. and Decillia B. (2020, p. 344), party brand can be interpreted as the associations of all related tangible and intangible communications. The tangible attributes are ones the voter can see and touch, for instance, politicians, the party name, and party colors. This involves employees who interact with the voters and society as a representative of the party and whose tangible activity is essential for perception evaluation related to the brand (Gotsi M., Wilson A., 2001). As a result, society is encouraged to adopt a homogenous identity as they accept the brand's vision, culture, positioning, personality, relationship, and presentation as part of its lifestyle (De Chernatony L., 1999).

If it comes to the intangibles of a brand, intangible attributes include nonphysical features, for example, messaging, symbolism, party's values, and personality (De Chernatony L, Riley F.D., 1998; Scammell M., 2007). Additionally, the intangible attributes of a party brand cover policies, positive performances, party's losses, and adherent identity. Additionally, the intangible attributes of a party brand cover policies, positive performances, party's losses, and partisan identity. For some adherents, ideological classification exceeds problems as they get identity signals from their preferred political party (Mason L., 2018). The degree of their involvement can reach that point that the party brand becomes part of their own identity. At that point, they become missionaries of that political brand and contributes to political polarization (Marland A., Decillia B., 2020, p. 344).

The creation of a brand and image is thought to be vital and is indicated in the political parties' strategic management (Kavanagh D. 1995; Schweiger G. and Adami M., 1999; Kotler P. and Kotler M. 1999). In accordance with Montoya P. (2003, p.11), there are four universal key principles of brand creating. They involve distinction, generating a position, consistent and persistent (regarding advertisement and promotion), and customizing services. However, there is still an existing question "Can these principles be directly implied to political parties?". If we look from a different viewpoint, it might be understood that concerning the political parties as brands puts them in an interesting and fascinating perspective. As was ascertained by Smith G. (2001) the image creation of political party concerns managed and unmanaged events, celebrity support, and advertising.

In general, the process of creating and promoting a political brand (politician, parties) is similar in terms of stages and significant components to the branding of goods and services. The most important component is the formation of a brand image as a set of beliefs, ideas, thoughts, feelings, and impressions that a person has about an object (Kotler P., Keller R., 2016, p. 324).

Mian T. (2005, p.67-80) distinguishes the list of essential factors within the creation of a party's image. Some of the factors can be controlled and managed by the party. This list comprises:

- History of the parties. It is impossible to change the political party's history. Moreover, its history has already influenced electors' perception.
- Experience of voters. Contradictory to the commercial business structures and products where consumers are able to try or witness the good or service produced by a business and create a perception of it, the concept of elector perception is considered more uncertain and complicated.
- Performance of leaders and parties. The performance of the party and the head of the party will definitely influence their image regardless of national and international problems and predicaments. The announcement regarding all positive and negative situations during the year and popularity of policies will always have a constant effect on the party's image and its leader. Opposition parties also lend themselves to influence. All party leaders' performances are televised and often reflected by media. Leadership and character traits may be in danger of being impaired or damaged during such

activities.

- Image of party leader. Political party leaders often try to create and represent a positive, friendly, and attractive image throughout election campaigns. The performance, nature, and image of the party leader are undoubtedly extremely significant within the perception of the party.
- The media. The media (television, radio, and newspapers) provides assistance regarding the creation and communication of the party's image and its leader. Television and radio are unbiased tools of communication and actually describe the activities of the parties. Nevertheless, newspapers frequently encourage Labor or Conservatives and form or twist politician's image, primarily throughout the election campaign.
- Celebrity associations. Political parties sometimes invite celebrities in order to connect them with the political brand. The purpose of employing celebrities is not only to produce the advertisement but also to create appropriate personality characteristics that are shifted from the celebrity to the party's brand.
- Manifestos. With the purpose of expositing the party's political viewpoints and programs, the party's manifestos have to be prepared and their significance cannot be overvalued. These statements describe the party image to the reader. Generally, every political party presents a party manifesto earlier than the general election starts. The majority of associated information is distributed over the media channels via news and current affairs programs. The aim of the manifesto is to show and explain the party policies regarding the next working year in Parliament.
- Positive and negative advertising. Within the party's advertising activity sometimes it is complicated to distinguish the image element of the announcement from the issue message. Usually, the advert covers both elements. If it comes to political advertising in the broadcast media it can be admired how many advantages it provides. Those pros include:
 - Enhancing the voter's awareness regarding the candidate and his/her, positions referred to certain issues.

- To sequence and put important issues and attributes on the first positions in the voters' minds while making decisions regarding the vote.
- Encouraging and increasing the interest of voters in the campaign.
- To stimulate a greater positive effect toward the candidate as a person.
- Increasing the evaluations polarization regarding the candidate.

Negative advertising is seen to be considerably intricate, employing and making use of technology and mechanisms regarding manipulation, editing, special impacts, and distorting visual imagery. The above-mentioned tricks might result in tampering with an opponent's face, changing the candidate's reputation, and public opinion.

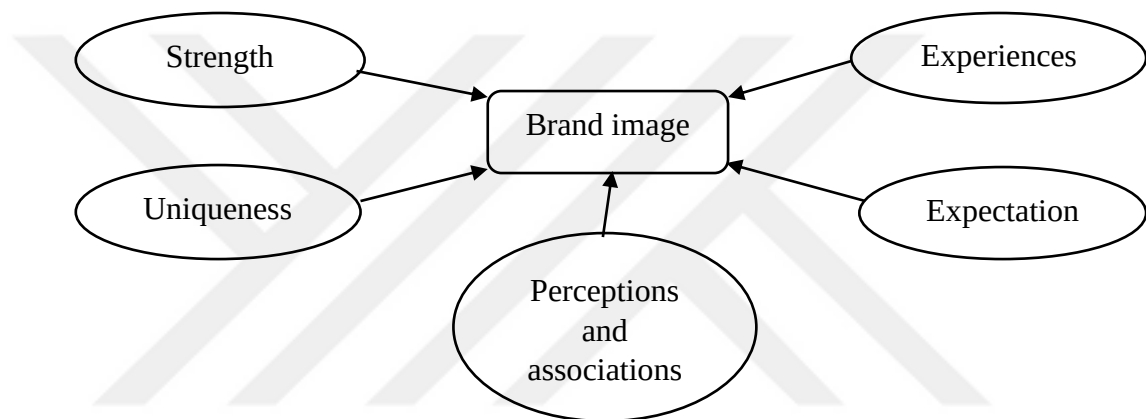


Figure 2. External variables of political brand image.

Source: prepared by author

While conducting the research about the political brand image, Pich C. and Armannsdottir G. (2018, p.47) reach the inference that there are five external variables related to political brand image. Figure 2. The above-drawn variables is explained below.

- **Strength.** This variable belongs to the comprehension and awareness of the brand identification signs from outside formed by the political brand.
- **Uniqueness.** The variable can be interpreted as uncommon essential characteristics and reasons to push voters to accept, support, and love the brand. Nevertheless, the 'uniqueness' variable is strongly connected to the additional four variables and depends on them because they offer and provide unique important attributes in order to differ a political brand from opponents, with the aim of enhancing the success.
- **Expectations.** The variable reflects the anticipations and assumptions

regarding the future growth, development, and performance of a political brand made by outside stakeholders. This activity not only might be a complex for opposition political brands but also might be affected by the conversations, speeches by political competitors.

- Perceptions and associations. The variable presents and explains the perceptions and associations that outside stakeholders assign to political brands. Corporate and individual / sub-brands can also be distinguished as political brands. Therefore, a particular political brand can be put in the context as a local party, candidate / politician, local leader and local party politician.
- Experiences. This variable expresses the experience and witness of outside stakeholders in relation to the political brand. This experience might be direct and indirect. The direct experience contains personal contact, and what external stakeholders personally witnessed. The indirect one comes from word-of-mouth, competitors' narratives, or other information sources.

Borş C. (2019, p.82) emphasizes that there are some mistakes that politicians can do while promoting their political brand. They include: not having enough qualities in communication and wrongly displayed authenticity and charisma. An image can be defended and corrected in public memory by means of positioning and consolidation. This involves the modification of the image to a few essential attributes, making the perception easy to society, and concentrating the public attention on this image (Frigioiu, N., 2014, p. 27, cited in Borş, C., 2019, p.82).

2. Loyalty of Political Party

According to Kabiraj S. and Shanmugan J. (2011, p.286) brand loyalty might be seen as an important object and outcome of prosperous marketing strategies, sales leadership, and product improvement endeavors. Furthermore, brand loyalty can be interpreted as the customer's conscious or unconscious choice, represented through intention or behavior to use a brand constantly. It happens when the customer recognizes that the brand proposes a high-quality product, image, or level of service at a suitable price.

As consumers in the marketplace, voters within the political environment must agree and overcome the contradiction between loyalty to trusted brands and the

introduced new ones, within the process of understanding the complex and contradictory product information. An obstacle in the marketplace is similar to the one in politics, this barrier is the generation and introduction of new products. In this case, consumers and voters these days have more alternatives and options to choose and make a decision compared to the days of yore (Needham C., 2005, p.179-180).

In accordance with Suaib E., et al., (2017, p. 1017), the primary goal of developing the relational community denotes generating a voters' loyalty regarding a certain political party or candidate since every candidate or party wants to win the election. Winning is impossible without a high voters' loyalty. Voter loyalty reduces the uncertainty that exists in the voter's mind when deciding whether to vote for a political party or a particular candidate. Nevertheless, it is not easy to reach voter loyalty to a political party. It requires an emotional connection, a strong ideology, and rationality between political parties and society to get wanted loyalty. Moreover, the process of developing loyalty takes a long time because it is necessary to provide consistency and concrete evidence, taking into account the promises and expectations of people. First, before deciding whether to be loyal to a particular party or not, the constituency waits and ponders. A mistake or failure of a political party might cause the moving of the potential loyal voters to another political party.

As Suaib E., et al., (2017, p.1026) indicated, a party's image does not directly impact voters' loyalty, however, it affects voters' loyalty by means of the mediating impact of voters' satisfaction. In spite of this evidence, scholars argue that electors' loyalty cannot be measured solely by these two variables. According to them, the voters' loyalty can be observed from two viewpoints.

- Loyalty has to be represented by means of engagement, connection, and support for a political party. The support to a party might be understood as the active participation in political party events, passion for party work, continuous discussions. Moreover, support must be matched with a given vote for the party on an election. Loyalty can be called apparent and distinct while the voter is enthusiastic and motivated to go on with promotion and support in the future.
- Loyalty might be reflected in the will, devotion, and real actions of voters with the aim to attract people outside the party in order to support the party's victory. This activity might be accomplished by means of word of mouth or

persuading to support a certain political party. Furthermore, such voters' involvement can be supported by promotional activities and publications regarding the political party. This activity created and conducted by the members is vital in order to engage as many support votes as possible.

As stated in previous researches, (Day G.S., 1969; Jacoby J. and Kyner D.B., 1973; Aaker D.A., 1991; Keller K.L., 1993; Zeithaml V.A. et al., 1996; Oliver R.L., 1999), political party brand loyalty can be separated into two parts:

- Behavioral loyalty. It is clear that the satisfied electors and voters who have got a positive experience with the party give a vote for the same party namely, reelection. Besides that, they advise and persuade others to vote for this political party as well (Needham C., 2006; Smith G., Spotswood F., 2013; Mishra A.A., Mishra A., 2014). As a consequence, electors who are behaviorally loyal to the political brand are expected to repeat buying behavior namely, reelection toward this political brand (Needham C., 2006).
- Attitudinal loyalty. This kind of loyalty involves a special devotion to the party in question accompanied by resolute future expectations, which leads to taking this party into account as the main preferable choice (Mishra A.A., Mishra A., 2014; Oliver R.L., 1999). As stated by Güllüpunar H. and Güllüoğlu Ö. (2013, p.87), the mental and emotional proximity in the relationship between voters and party ideas affects electors' choices. Accordingly to the authors, if talking about the overall commitment of Turkey voters, they have a high level of loyalty to a certain political party. However, it was concluded that there was a middle level of loyalty regarding the emotional commitment, continuance commitment, and normative commitment factors. In addition, it was revealed that the most important loyalty factor affecting the general loyalty of the voters was the normative commitment (pp.96-97).

In compliance with some studies (Smith G. and Spotswood F., 2013; Winchester T.M., et al., 2014) loyalty towards the political brand can be considered as a powerful instrument within political marketing that is able to lower the marketing efforts. If following Campbell A., et al. (1960), it might be agreed that the loyalty of political brand carries on the stability of electors' intention toward the political party. Moreover, loyalty towards the political brand can be interpreted as a kind of political capital. To

sum up, in order to provide the sustainability of positions in the political marketplace and achieve planned goals, political brand leaders must understand and perceive the value of voter's loyalty. Their loyalty might be switched to be the principal element leading the political organization to success. As stated by Scremin G. (2007, p.56), loyalty to a political party can be interpreted as both an impact on in what way different information regarding a political party is operated and a result of party equity. Party loyalty can be increased or decreased according to how the information collected is processed.

If taking into consideration the research of Ross J.G.M. (2018), it should be said that parties are able to divide the voters market according to their historical loyalty (Figure 3). As can be seen from the figure, there is an evolution of the loyalty degree from the voter's side to the political party. This is splitting along the line of party loyalty provides strategic mobilization and maximizes the return on party investment (p.57).

LEAST ← ————— LOYALTY ————— → MOST			
<u>NON-SUPPORTERS</u> Citizens loyal to another party or not member of electoral market	<u>SWITCHERS & SPLITTERS</u> Citizens committed to more than one party; typically swayed by issue or ideology	<u>PASSIVELY LOYAL</u> Citizens supportive out of habit; likely to have high level of recognition and low level of recall	<u>COMMITTED SUPPORTERS</u> Citizens consistently loyal to party

Figure 3. Party Brand Loyalty Segmentation.

Source: Ross J.G.M., 2018, p.58

As stated by Hermanto A. and Narindro L. (2020, p.5), electors' loyalty can be described as a robust emotional connection between certain the party and the voters that constantly support and give a vote to that political parties. As Schofield P. and Reeves P. (2015) emphasized, voting behavior is strongly impacted by loyalty towards a political party. Additionally, they noted that loyalty to a political brand is a topic still being under consideration of scholars and must be studied more deeply in the political marketing literature. There are some factors decreasing the level of society's loyalty to a political party, they include technological developments, urbanization, democracy, individualization, an advantage of rational decision. Nevertheless, loyalty to a political

party can still be seen as a reliable and valid factor related to voter preferences (Güllüpunar H., Güllüoğlu Ö., 2013, p.89).

According to Hermanto A. and Narindro L. (2020, p.1-5), the voters' loyalty can be observed as an outcome of the complicated process covering various elements concerning the particular voter itself, the milieu and surrounding, and political parties. At the same time trust can be thought of as a highly essential supporting factor for political parties to generate and increase voters' loyalty. A trust built by the political parties has been recognized by society due to its competence and ability. If a political party gets voters' trust it will obtain influential attractiveness and appeal because of citizens' confidence. This confidence is related to the idea that the elected political party will be capable implement its goals and fulfill the undertaken obligations. On the contrary, if the party somehow lost the voters' trust, as a result, the party's dream to be chosen on the election will collapse due to citizens' desire to stay away from it. As a consequence, every single party has to pay sufficient attention and try hard in order to get the voters' loyalty to the party. Dimensions utilized for measuring the voters' loyalty include information exchange by word of mouth, change behavior, complaint behavior, sense of belonging, and self-identification. Within the context of the system of political parties, powerful leadership might be an effective tool to develop loyalty or voter community. In compliance with the outcomes and conclusions of the above-discussed paper, leadership and trust in the party significantly affect the voters' loyalty. The results show that the higher the leadership and trust variable scores, the more voter loyalty grows (p.8).

It is interesting to notice that voters' loyalty to political party decreases if their income and education levels are high. As indicated in the research, these days electors' party loyalty display differences. In the modern community where individualization is getting significant importance day by day, the above-mentioned situation will be more obvious (Güllüpunar H., Güllüoğlu Ö., 2013, p.97).

Flavián C. and Guinalíu M. (2006) conducted the investigation in Spain, utilizing a Likert scale questionnaire, and analyzing obtained data via Structural Equation Modeling. Their empirical proof indicates and confirms that trust provides a significant impact on the output of loyalty. In addition, Dagger T.S. and O'Brien T.K. (2010) confirmed the same evidence. Likewise, these researchers contacted the same research

in Australia about the connection and relationship between trust and loyalty. The investigation conclusion shows that trust strongly affects loyalty.

Nam J., et al. (2011) made efforts to differentiate brand loyalty and brand equity. According to the study, brand loyalty cannot be accepted as an element of brand equity. Contrary, it should be observed as one of the outcomes of brand equity. Since brand loyalty is a behavioral system relating to intentions towards repeating purchase (in our case it is a vote) while brand equity can be interpreted as perception. As indicated by Scremin G. (2007, p. 129), party loyalty might be considered not only as a fundamental component of party equity but also as a result of party equity. It is based on the idea that party loyalty takes an important place within the voter-based model of party equity. Moreover, in that model, party loyalty has a moderating influence on voter's responses to party or party-related messages (p.70). According to the results, party loyalty moderates the impact of party equity. This means that people who are party loyal respond more strongly due to the basis of the identification of the candidate's party. As a consequence, voters support candidates who met their party loyalty and disregard candidates from other political parties regardless of whether the candidates communicated the message of a Republican or a Democratic Party individuality (p.128). Moreover, it has been found that loyalty has an important influence on the process political parties impact how society reacts to political messages (p.130). As indicated by several scientists (Smith G., 2001; Guzmán F., Sierra V., 2009; Hermanto A., et al., 2014) within the political marketing field, electors' loyalty and electors' decisions are affected by political party image.

C. Advertisements and Campaigns

1. Basic Knowledge About Political Ads

In concordance with Irak H. Taşcioğlu R. (2017, p.44), the need for political parties and candidates to nominate something to influence voters in politics-related processes, as well as the fact that the public became aware of the discourses and actions of politicians in a short time with the widespread use of the media led to the emergence of political marketing. In addition, these reasons engendered the emergence of political advertising as an element of the promotion complex. In the process of political advertising, consumers are clients, voters, and producers are advertisers namely,

political parties or candidates. Although the marketing of political ideas and promises to influence voters' choices has come under criticism from a certain environment, the use of political advertising is becoming widespread throughout the world. Particularly, at the beginning of the pre-election period, the practice of political advertising appears. Parties or candidates with high electoral potential benefit more from political advertising. Election periods are periods when parties work intensively and include a time during which promises are announced to voters. In general, political parties speed up their campaign activities one to two months before an election; they also focus on the wide utilization of political advertising, especially if election day is approaching.

Kaid L.L. (1981, p. 249) defines political advertising as the process of purchasing time and space by a political party or candidate in mass communication channels and using these tools to convey political messages to the country's political beliefs, attitudes and behaviors. Political advertising can be interpreted as a set of techniques and methods used to introduce the political product package (or party, party leader) to the electorate, to make it different from the competitors and to win the election by obtaining the maximum number of votes with minimum tools and costs (Bongrand M., 1992, p. 17). Political advertising can be presented as an agent used by parties and candidates to present themselves to voters, in most cases through the media (Holtz-Bacha C., Kaid L.L., 2006, p. 3). Political advertisements can usually be viewed as paid media, explaining that time or space is bought to be portrayed through mass mailings (Kaid L.L., 2012, p. 29-30).

Political advertising, like commercial advertising, is a political campaign activity associated with the broadcasting of messages prepared in order to shape the attitude and behavior of voters in favor of a candidate or a party in the media by buying space and time there (Uztuğ F., 2004, p.315). While political parties buy places in the print media for political advertising, they buy time in the visual and audio media, namely radio and television (Aziz A., 2014: 120-121). Clearly, this activity regarding time and place purchases is aimed at reaching a wider audience. Political advertising can be introduced as one of the types of advertising that is used extensively today, in the simplest terms; it is advertisements with political content (Eroğlu H. and Bayraktar S., 2010, p.191).

In accordance with Karaçor S. and Gözümlü P. (2012, p. 408), political advertising is the introduction and promotion of political products, organizations, leaders or

ideologies. Political advertising is a form of mass political communication aimed at creating a positive image of political parties, public authorities, and taking part in the political activities of individual citizens, their actions, ideas, programs at the expense of targeted influence on groups of the electorate using their own functions, techniques and methods. The presented definition makes it possible to distinguish political advertising from other forms of political communication, such as political PR, which is traditionally mixed with political advertising (Chubay S., 2015, p. 119). Political advertising is a method of political propaganda aimed at clarifying, promoting, accepting and, ultimately, providing support to voters regarding the approaches of parties and candidates to the problems of the country, their thoughts and plans about their solution, their political vision, what they are doing and what they plan to do (their promises) (Çankaya E., 2015, p.453). As concluded by Irak H. Taşcioğlu R. (2017, p.46), this technique can bring sympathy to the party or candidate by creating a change in the perception of the voter, can influence the voter by means of various persuasion strategies, and can give positive results when applied correctly.

According to Sinclair J.R. (1995), a political advertisement can be seen as the most important component of a prosperous political campaign. In addition, some scholars (Franz M.M., et al., 2008; Kaid L.L., Davidson D.K., 1986) indicate television as a principal channel of conveying messages from political candidates to society. Political advertising provides a significant impact on the views, beliefs, and behavior of the constituents (Joslyn R.A., 1981; Kaid L.L., 1981; Benoit W.L., et al., 2007). As Manheim J.B. (1991) summed up, if political candidates wish to send impressions, holistic visions, and general perception to their potential voters, they should implant television into their political advertising campaigns. Political advertising is best applied to generate emotion and interest in voters. Nevertheless, the author points out that television should not be included in political campaigns while politicians are going to transmit ideas, policies, or logical rationales.

As stated by Harvell, L.A. (2012, p. 27), political advertisement has two particular features:

- The source ability to control the message. According to Kaid L.L. (1999), this characteristic is thought to be the most considerable advantage. It does not matter which network is used to display the advertising, the political candidate fully controls the message, which is distributed by means of the

political advertisement to electors. Shortly speaking, the network has no ability and right to modify the political message, just conveys it.

- Using channels of mass communication. Kaid L.L. (1999) says that another characteristic of political advertising is the transmission of a political message to voters through mass communication channels. In this respect, the message depends on the media on which it is showed to the public.

Political advertising is the most comprehensive form of political communication (Scammellm A., 2006, p.767). According to Ansolabehere S., et al. (1994, p.829), the aim of political advertising in the majority of cases is to influence election results. In concordance with Chubay S. (2015, p. 117), proceeding from the fact that influence in political advertising is aimed at encouraging people to one or another type of political behavior, including electoral, the purpose of political advertising is formulated as drawing the attention of voters to the subjects of the political process.

Political advertising uses both rational and emotional methods of influencing the audience, focusing on the perceived and unconscious reactions of the recipients. Moreover, emotional methods of influence are recognized as paramount: political advertising is characterized by a focus mainly on the ordinary level of consciousness, largely on the emotional rather than the rational side of it (Chubay S., 2015, p.118).

In accordance with Harwell, L.A. (2012, pp. 27-28), political advertising performs three specific functions.

- Name identification. Political party or political candidate's name identification in voter's mind is important, otherwise, a constituent will not give a vote for individuals or issues he/she does not recognize (Janda K., et al., 2012). It is clear that the more citizens view political ads, the more they are expected to recognize what / who is displayed in political ads.
- Political candidate image. Generally, political ads target definite electors. Sometimes these constituents might overlook the advertisement, particularly if it is negative (Gadarian S.K., Lau R.R., 2011). In other words, if a political advertisement is aimed at a certain group of potential voters, this does not mean that other groups in society will not see it, and at the same time, the target group may miss it.
- Attacking other candidates. Political ads can be observed simultaneously as

a defense tool or a response to an assault of an opponent (Johnson-Cartee K.S., Copeland G., 1991).

As stated by Irak H. Taşcıoğlu R. (2017, p.46), political advertising has a very rich pool of opportunities for communication channels. All media used in commercial advertising, such as the internet, television, radio, cinema, outdoor, newspapers, magazines, posters, vehicles are also used in political advertising. In parallel with the development of technology, advertising tools can also quickly adapt to the change required by age. For instance, using a mobile phone, a voter does not need to go to advertising (billboards, posters, etc.), on the contrary, advertising goes to voters.

2. Printed Ads

In accordance with Kaid L.L. (2012, p.30), democracy and electoral politics from the very beginning of their conceptualization required political advancement. Certainly, in its prototypes, political propaganda was restricted to interpersonal interactions, print and display advertising. If it comes to newspaper advertising, it is suitable for local election campaigns. Another type of visible print ad is the political poster. The political poster can have different styles as display advertising (traditional posters, courtyard signs, billboards, leaflets, etc.). This type of print advertising allows the dissemination of information about political candidates, parties, or ideas, as well as visualization and dramatization of them.

In many countries, rules and restrictions on television ads are much stricter than in the United States, where print advertising plays an important role in conveying the messages of candidates and parties to voters (Kaid L. L., Holtz-Bacha C., 2006). This kind of advertising is frequently utilized with the aim to assault opponents. However, people often think of TV ads when considering visuals, visuals might also be found in print media (Kaid L.L., 2012, p.30).

Another kind of print channel implanted for the distribution of political advertising is car bumper stickers. It is commonly used in the United States easily to identify a candidate or a political party name. One more interesting emerges within the topic is direct mailing. It also offers more impersonation than any political ad. Marketers, who deal with direct mail, have become very adept at targeting messages to recipient features and particular political interests. In some countries, direct mail

has been used successfully with the aim not only to increase funds for candidates and political parties but also to directly influence voting, particularly in electoral situations with low engagement rates (Kaid L.L., 2012, p.31).

3. Political Radio Advertising

Political advertising is carried to people via electronic media such as radio, television, and the Internet. Radio has been a channel for communicating political messages since the first half of the 20th century. Later radio has lost its prevalence as an electronic platform for delivering political ads when television became universally available. Some factors have supported radio's permanent relevance for distributing political messages. One vital factor in radio's permanent importance was its lower cost, both from the viewpoint of production time and airtime (Kaid L.L., 2012, p.31).

Panagopoulos C. and Green D.P. (2008) ascertained the fact that airing even simple radio ads can bring benefits to local candidates, primarily to challengers. Radio advertisement has also demonstrated success in focusing elector attention on substantive issues, which might be applied to increase the value of a candidate's image (Rudd R., 1989).

4. TV Advertising

One of the initial conclusions regarding the impact of television ads was the discovery that such advertising successfully copes with selective exposure, thereby ensuring that voters generally have access to advertising from all sides of the campaign, whether the voter is a supporter or not. Television advertisements might also be believed to increase voter awareness of campaign issues and candidate positions (Kaid L.L., 2012, p.32).

Kaid L.L. (2012, p.41) puts forward an interesting idea regarding Americanized television political advertisement. The question of whether television political advertisement, as practiced around the world, can be called "Americanized" is still open. The majority of the debates have focused on personalization. Although issues continue to prevail in political advertising, in many countries there is an enhanced focus on party leaders and reduction regarding attention to the political party.

In accordance with Fowler E.F., et al., (2021, p.148), TV advertising remains the dominant mode of communication and is unlikely to vanish in future campaigns, that is why the impact of social media adoption will not be felt straight away but is expected to take some time to manifest. The development of targeted technology on television indicates that over time, television may become more like Facebook.

5. Political Ads on Web / in The Internet

As stated by Kaid L.L. (2012, p.34), many platforms and setups of the Internet enable marketers to utilize it for the low-cost distribution of political advertising, giving candidates, political parties, interest groups, corporations, and individuals the opportunity to develop and support their viewpoint. For example, a candidate's website has a right to be seen as a kind of political advertising with nearly endless space to advertise a candidate's positions regarding certain issues, background story, speaking schedule, news coverage, and original video ads on the Internet.

According to the author, jointly with the benefits of unlimited space, lower cost, and no media filter, the online advertisement additionally provides the benefits of

- Being largely unregulated,
- Allowing unmediated conveying promotion messages, which is more reliable comparing with the traditional media. (Choi J.H., et al., 2006),
- Enabling direct communication facilities,
- Being a transmitter for targeted messaging and sending them to a particular group of electors,
- Providing interaction with voters and enabling them to propose their own responses, opinions and discuss them.

Wu H.D. and Dahmen N.S. (2010, p.315) ascertained that positive Web messages increase candidate sympathy and intent to vote. In addition, Web source sponsorship affects the credibility of negative news. As ascertained by Fowler E.F., et al., (2021, p.148), there are different consequences of applying political advertising on social media. Social media overcome obstacles to entry and provide information to electors regarding a wider range of candidates and positions. On the other hand, for already well-financed campaigns, this changes the campaign strategy away from moderation to persuade restless voters and towards base mobilization.

6. Negative Political Ads

As stated by Irak H. Taşcioğlu R. (2017, p.46), in addition to the understanding of conveying positive messages in political campaigns, it is a common strategy to broadcast negative messages about the rival candidate. With negative content ads, the perception of the rival party or candidate on the voter is negated, and it is desired to attract the voter to his side based on this negative perception. Negative or in other words attacking ads take a particular part of the performance and knowledge regarding political advertisement. Negative advertisements are advertisements that have content in a way that shows the negative aspects of the practices of rival parties or candidates to the voters (Demirtaş M., 2010, p.24). Political observers, practitioners, politicians, journalists, academics, and regular constituents all over the world indicate the existence of the application of negative advertising (Kaid L.L., 2012, p.33).

During the campaign process, a negative image of a certain candidate can be created by constantly bringing the rival candidate to the agenda and conveying his failures, inadequacy in terms of leadership, and past wrong actions to the target audience (Devran Y., 2004, p.140).

Some researchers announced the solely minimal influence of negative advertising (versus positive one) on voter responsiveness (Lau R.R., et al., 2007). Others pointed out that there was no connection between negative advertising, political effectiveness, and established political views (Jackson R.A., et al., 2009, p.67). Despite doubts regarding the effectuality of negative political advertising, political candidates are increasingly displaying negative ads in each election, using polarized bias to adapt their messages according to target audiences. According to Kim K., (2020, p.8), negative political advertising can be commented on as one having two sides (positive and negative). Two-sided negative ads deliberately convey both the positive and negative viewpoints of the particular candidate in order to neutralize the negative nature, get ready for potential counter-arguments, and increase the credibility of the argument as a whole. Thus, to a certain degree, a two-sided negative advertisement may be seen as a kind of new and creative technique for messaging offered to the campaign marketers, since it highlights the particular candidate's strengths in a strategic manner. If it comes to one-sided negative advertising, it is considered as a common method of negative political advertisement and contains solely negative

information concerning the objective, focus, and purpose of the message in question. The author adds that a negative campaign plan might be created taking into account the political orientation in the geographic market. For instance, a Democratic candidate can effectively assail a Republican candidate using two-sided arguments within their campaigns. Additionally, the inference points out that a one-sided message can have a stronger effect if voters saw advertisements targeting an opposition party candidate, and the same effect was seen for non-affiliated voters (pp.15-16).

In general, negative or attacking ads constitute a significant proportion of political advertising content in the American elections (Benoit W.L., 1999; Kaid L.L., Johnston A., 2001). Moreover, there is much evidence that negative ads are effective, primarily if the attack is focused on issues rather than on personal opponent's characteristics (Roddy B.L., Garramone G.M., 1988; Geer J.G., 2006). The use of political advertisements by considering negative factors is a technique that many voters do not perceive positively. However, it can be said that the messages of negative advertisements gain attitude and more space in the minds of the voters (Bekiroğlu O., Bal E., 2014, p.118). For this reason, the use of such ads continues intensely in today's campaigns. Negative advertising has its positive aspects: electors find out more about the political issues by means of negative advertising (Kaid, L.L., 2012, p. 42).

The main purpose of the use of negative advertising in terms of political parties or candidates is to reveal the weak sides of the opponents and thus weaken them (Demirtaş M., 2010, p.134). As added by Irak H. and Taşcioğlu R. (2017, p.47), on the one hand, it is aimed to attract the attention of the voter, on the other hand, to change the preference of the voter and to bring him to the point where he will vote in the long term. Although long-term planning is required to achieve this goal, the fact that these advertisements are used during the election period is considered as a factor that carries the time-related limits to a more sensitive position. Negative advertising aims to reduce the confidence and perception of the voter to the rival party/parties, to create suspicion or to feel threatened by the rival candidate, includes attacks on the competitive candidate, the party, or on the candidate's plans and ideas (Zeybek B., 2016, p.102).

By using negative ads, it is desired to influence the choice of the voters through the unwelcome characteristics or shortcomings of the competitors. It can be stated that it is necessary to provide accurate information about competitors in such advertising

campaigns, otherwise, it can be concluded that the ads will support and provide a positive effect on the competitors (Irak H., Taşcioğlu R. 2017, p.54).

According to Bekiroğlu O. and Bal E. (2014, p.119) there are some impacts provided by negative political advertising. They are listed as follows:

- It may result in deceptive accusations regarding the campaign being conducted.
- Allowing voters to evaluate the quality levels of candidates.
- It can have an impact on candidates gaining votes.
- The attitude towards competitors may vary.
- It may cause voters to distance themselves from some candidates.
- It contributes to the clarification of election decisions.
- Depending on the advertising message, it can increase voters' level of participation in the political agenda.
- It may harm the candidate or party organizing the campaign by a boomerang effect.
- May cause victim syndrome.
- It can cause double damage to both the target and the source.

Johnson-Cartee K.S. and Copeland G.A. (1997, p.27-33) divided negative political advertisements into three sub-categories in their research in order to exclude the phenomenon of political advertising from generalized definitions and to provide an informative and clearer understanding.

- Direct attack ads. It is a type of negative ad containing direct attacks on the target candidate's characters, motives, close surroundings, party, and activities. It is done without making almost no comparison with the characteristics of the advertiser, but immediately and directly attacking the opponent (Irak H., Taşcioğlu R., 2017, p.48). According to Balcı S. (2006, p.196), direct attack ads are those that do not compare different candidates and parties. As political candidates, political parties are also attacked through leaders or symbols. In addition, it is thought that such unilateral presentations give positive results in changing the opinions of people with low education levels or reinforcing the crossing opinions.
- Websites might be applied to attack and spread negative messages as part of

a political advertising campaign (Kaid L.L., 2012, p.33). On the other hand, direct attack advertisements can be more effective if the voter has an initial negative tendency towards the party or candidate targeted by the ad (Ansolabehere S., Iyengar S., 1995, p.98).

- As stated by Bekiroğlu O. and Bal E. (2014, pp. 120-121), within direct attack advertisements, it is not possible to mention the superior qualities of the candidate or the party that broadcast the ad. On the contrary, there is an effort to reduce the likeability of a rival party or candidate in the election process. As can be understood, progress is being made on the negative aspects of the opponents in the elections within the scope of direct attack. It can be said that there is no comparison and the superior characteristics of the candidate who made the campaign are not taken into consideration, which is the distinguishing feature of this type of negative advertisement.
- Direct Comparison ads. Rational claims are raised when comparing the party or candidate with the other party or candidates, and the comparative message should be clear, clear and understandable (Irak H., Taşcioğlu R., 2017, p.49). Direct comparison ads appear as advertisements that emphasize the incompetence or weakness of the candidates or parties by comparing them with their competitors. In this comparison, the advertiser party or candidate always shows themselves ahead, superior, and positively different (Balcı S., 2006, p.201). Bekiroğlu O. and Bal E. (2014, p.121-122) support and develop this point of view. They say that this type of advertising is built on a comparison strategy, especially between parties or candidates. It tries to show the party or candidate that broadcasts the advertisement in a different and superior quality while comparing it with its competitor. Unlike offensive advertisements, direct comparison advertisements deal with both the competitors and with the candidates.
- In accordance with Balcı S. (2007: 129), in such advertisements, efforts should be made to keep the success of the competitors in the background. In other words, the opponent's success should be hidden from voters. In addition, careful movement is required within gathering and providing information about the opponent. Because incorrect or wrong information about the competitor can cause undesirable results and the campaign will fail or at least has negative results. In case of providing false information

regarding the competitor, the competitor will have the chance to refute the claims.

- **Implied comparison.** In the implied comparison, there is a direction for the voters to make a comparison regarding the candidates in their own minds. In this context, directive messages must be given in order for the decision of the comparator voter to become desirable (Balcı S., 2007, p.131). The author explains it as following. In advertisements that adopt a strategy of implicit comparison between the parties, the campaign management constantly emphasizes the successful performance and characteristics of its own parties and candidates, while the names of rival parties and candidates are not specifically or even implicitly mentioned. In some cases, the candidate or party giving an advertisement can only be presented in writing form. Thus, voters are directed to make a comparison in their own minds in this type of advertising strategy (p.130). According to Bekiroğlu O. and Bal E. (2014, p.122), this type of advertisement attracts attention as a type of negative advertisement that is often misused in scientific research. Because it is not negative political advertising in itself. While names or other phrases are not used in these advertisements, the presence of supportive messages has great importance in order to achieve the desired results.

D. Digital Marketing

1. Political Digital Marketing Theory

The development of information technologies in recent years has facilitated the establishment of more personalized relationships between participants in political life, both at the level of individual (candidate voters) and state-citizen relations. Thanks to Web 2.0, voters' active participation in politics and their views are announced rapidly. Web 2.0 applications support the creation of informal user networks that facilitate the flow of ideas and information by allowing efficient creation, dissemination, sharing, and rearrangement of informative content (Cwalina W., et al., 2012, p.256-257).

Rahyadi I. and Aras M. (2020, p.338) emphasize that the rise of digital political marketing has been seen since companies embraced digital marketing, and it transforms business strategies into profit. The political sector observes, studies and

implements strategies to gain voter support. Digital political marketing has become one of the marketing trends that has led to the introduction of marketing strategy in various areas of practice. Marek P.J. (2014) applied the term digital political marketing with the aim to describe the tools for winning a political competition. While this technique is very useful within a political campaign, the researcher has warned of the propensity for out-of-control rumors in digital media environment.

Rahyadi I. and Aras M. (2020, p.344) stated that the power of digital political marketing is rooted in the strategic side of the marketing strategy, driven by the increasing number of digital citizens in the role of political audiences. Politicians must create interaction among many different institutions such as internal organizations, their constituents, their partners, and their opponents. Without any question and doubt, the more interactions in the area of comments, retweets, donations, and likes the more participants are achieved, involved, and supported. Digital marketing needs to be planned beforehand and combined with a prepared strategy (p.343).

Voters are considered an indispensable element of democratic life and politics. Political parties and party leaders benefit from digital political marketing by gaining new voters by influencing voters, explaining their actions, and describe their ideologies and goals (Less-Marshment J., 2003, p.28-29; Cwalina W., et al., 2012, p.67).

Howard Dean is thought to be one of the first politicians who used digital political marketing while he ran for the 2004 US presidential election. Roh Moo Hyun won the Korean presidential election in 2003, and he was nicknamed the "First Internet President" (Kim K., 2003). According to Yalcinkaya N. (2018, p.202-204), it is very important to consider digital marketing in a holistic manner and to ensure that all channels are used correctly at the same time. The first successful and integrated study on this issue was observed in the Presidential election in the United States in 2008. In the social media and internet-based campaign run by Barack Obama, digital political marketing was used with a holistic approach and was accepted as the main determinant of the election victory. One of the most important weapons of Barack Obama during the campaign is the website. Obama's website includes many things, for instance, photos and videos from different events, blogs, Obama icons, Obama wallpapers for the desktop. It is possible to say that Barack Obama turned the 2008 US Presidential Election into a "digital revolution" due to his use of social networks.

Obama campaign managers have been in permanent contact with their online supporters wherever they are. It has been done via its official site, YouTube, Facebook, or Myspace. Approximately \$ 700 million has been raised from repeated calls for financial donations. Half of this amount consists of small donations made online (Borins S., 2011, p.85).

Trump's 2015-2016 presidential campaign displayed integrated digital political marketing. His website and social media accounts have carried identical messages throughout his presidential campaign since early 2015. The slogan "Make America Great Again" has always been purposely applied as the headline or subtitle on the front page of digital media. Trump's digital political marketing used social media and websites as tools of digital marketing in the 2015-2016 presidential election. In accordance with the research inference, Trump has primarily used his Twitter directly for commenting and replying to citizens. Website, Instagram, Facebook, and YouTube are the sorts of media that are primarily managed by Trump's management team. All of the utilized social media platforms are connected to the official website. The digital political marketing strategy has also used digital advertising, particularly Facebook advertisements. Digital advertising aims at a small group of people, turn them into Trump supporters (followers on social media) and constantly remind them to come and give a vote for Trump on Election Day (Rahyadi I. and Aras M., 2020, 342-344).

It can be seen that political parties are using digital marketing channels in Turkey. Moreover, those political parties are engaged in the use of websites, and social networks. All political parties publish statements, speeches, and party officials in various places present proposals on current events and facts, and important statements to voters in full form. AK Party and CHP use Mobile Apps. MHP does not have a Mobile Application. AK Party singled out its "leader" as the most important element of its political product package as a separate application on its mobile platform. It is observed that political parties are not much involved in blog management. Only the AK Party has some activities in this regard. Although there are thoughts that political blogs should gain functionality with independent comments, effective blog management will become much more important. This is because young people aged from 10 to 15, who are not currently at the voting age, will cause a great increase in internet literacy and internet usage in the near future. It is highly probable that these young people, who are currently making their decision regarding the usage the internet

purchasing channels, later when reaching voting age, will make their election preferences again according to the information they gain from the internet. In this sense, blogs will be effective in making decisions by the relevant voters and having an idea about the issues they are curious about. It is important for political parties to review their activities in blog management in order to be ready for the future (Yalcinkaya N., 2018, p.213-214).

Nowadays, political parties and party leaders deliver their ideas and ideologies to more people in a shorter time through digital political marketing channels. With technological developments, politicians who actively use digital marketing channels are in a more advantageous position in achieving these goals compared to media tools used in traditional marketing. Politicians communicate interactively with thousands or even millions of people at the same time thanks to social media as one of the digital marketing channels. In this way, politicians can make a political marketing campaign by explaining their feelings and thoughts to the voters (Kılıçaslan EÇ., 2008, p.9; Çakır H., Tufan S., 2016, p.11). In accordance with Karaçor S. (2009, p.123), thanks to this interactive communication, political parties, and party leaders can instantly capture the feelings and thoughts of the voters and develop new campaigns and discourses that can be used in political marketing in this direction. In this case, political parties and party leaders who want to gain political power and win the elections need to be in constant interaction with the people during the election period and the post-election period in order to reach their goals and establish an ideological bond with the voters.

2. Importance of Digital Marketing in Political Marketing

Quinton S., Fennemore p. (2013, p.37) and Marder B., et al., (2018) summarized why it is necessary to support political marketing with digital marketing:

- Political belonging is important in the self-concept of the person.
- People tend not to reveal their political affiliation to the public.
- Social networking sites are critical platforms for contemporary political marketing.
- Fundraising through social media is democratic.
- The participation of the masses can be reduced to a personal level.
- Contributors also generate benefits in self-fulfillment as they express a

willingness to help the community online social networks.

As stated by Yalcinkaya N. (2018, p.204), on the grounds of web 2.0. and the development of technology, it possible to develop different and striking channels that will enable businesses and institutions to both inform consumers about their assets, promote their products, and increase the effectiveness of the messages they want to convey. While these channels constitute important communication tools from the perspective of businesses, they serve as a distribution channel for political parties that market their candidates, programs, and ideologies. It is possible to say that these channels, which are mostly used in practice and considered indispensable for businesses today, have similar features in political marketing. These digital marketing channels utilized within political marketing and marketing of political campaigns are considered and discussed below.

3. Digital Political Marketing Channels

- Web sites. Web sites have gained popularity among those who want to be candidates through their personalization feature and controlled content distribution and have become the main political marketing tool of candidates (Akar E., 2015, p.175). While web pages serve as an aesthetic function in explaining and promoting the image of a candidate, they also serve as a meeting place where potential voters can organize their participation in the campaign (Güler E.G., Ülker E., 2010, p.103).
- SMS. Politicians, who use SMS in political campaigns, provide direct information about the events they organize and invite voters to participate in the campaign. Social networks and mobile marketing, both personal and intermediary, will continue to play a significant role within political campaigns in democracies around the world in the future (Cwalina W., et al., 2012, p.256-257).
- Search Engine Optimization. Finding information on the Internet is a ubiquitous and important activity in e-commerce (Gefen D., Straub D., 2000). In general, search engine marketing uses the direct response model. This model indicates the number of clicks from search results. Although, web designers acknowledge that search results might also have branding involvement (Wasserman T., 2006, p.12) Political parties, which are the most

important democratic actors in a country, know that their official pages and almost all news related to them will take priority in search engines. In this respect, they do not have to make an extra effort Yalcinkaya N. (2018, p.205).

- Social media. Almost all political parties and party sub-organizations now have an active account on social media, and the parties maintain all their political programs through these accounts. In fact, most of the public relations activities of political parties are carried out through these portals. By means of social media, political parties always announce their daily activity programs, political ideas, and conflicts with rival parties to their voters or followers (Köseoğlu Y., Al H., 2013, p.115). According to Çildan C., et al. (2012, p.3), politicians make use of social networks while developing complex product designs according to voters' expectations. During election periods, social networks provide an environment where politicians can introduce themselves, express their ideas and goals, and in return measure the satisfaction of the voters. The politician receives feedback before the elections and thus has the chance to predict the rate of votes more consistently before the election.

Meantime, as stated by Gershon R.A. (2016), there are seven specific and extremely important objects of social media. The list of goals is written as follows:

- Presenting platforms with lower costs to build brand awareness;
 - It creates a place for periodic news and information updates;
 - Generating and presenting an opportunity to meet new friends, work colleagues or customers;
 - Providing recommendations according to friends' experience;
 - Creating the opportunity of using crowdsourcing and also testing customer reactions or product ideas;
 - Social media is able to fulfill important gatekeeper roles, highlighting chosen news, videos for general distribution;
 - It provides information about events, their time and place with the aim to mobilize individuals to action.
- Blogs. The concept of the political blog is defined as a common blog-type

where comments on politics are made. Political blogs often explicitly express political bias. Although blogs are generally seen as too anonymous and distrusted, they can serve as a platform for ideas that are not presented in common media (Akar E., 2015, p.174).

- Video Sharing Sites. YouTube.com has become a very popular platform. Social networking and video sharing sites have started to be used both in marketing and politics, just like blogs and Web sites. These sites gain importance in internet politics marketing as they are mostly used by young voters and create a virtual community (Akar E., 2015, p.175). YouTube social networking and video sharing sites offer some benefits:
 - It has the right to advertise candidates at a lower cost or free of charge.
 - It provides a reasonable place for less-known candidates to spread their message.
 - It enables online campaigns to increase donations and recruit volunteers.
- However, it also brings some problems for Youtube and MySpace campaign staff. The most important of these is that campaigns critical to election results go beyond the candidate's message and image (Gueorguieva V., 2008, p.288-289).
- E-mail. E-mail is a tool that can also be used for political parties. It is often used for intra-party announcements and communication. For example, it might be WhatsApp, BIP, etc. With the development of communication channels and the possibility of sending files through these channels, there is a decrease in e-mail usage (Yalcinkaya N., 2018, p.207).
- Instant Messaging Applications. Political parties and politicians use instant messaging applications in various ways, as they provide the opportunity for more private communication. These applications are sometimes used as a hotline to convey problems, sometimes to provide information on a specific subject and to be informed about progress. It is known to be widely used especially in communication within the political organization. WhatsApp, Line, WeChat, BIP, Tango, Skype, Viber, and Facebook Messenger are some of the most preferred instant messaging applications that are increasingly popular. In addition, there are different models such as Twitter DM, BBM,

iMessage, and Hangouts, which include services such as Google Talk, Google Voice, and Google+ (Yazıcı T., 2015, p.1108).

In the last years, Facebook and Google take a core part in political operations, providing a broad range of commercial digital marketing tools and techniques, as well as unique advertising products for application and utilization in the political sphere (Bond S., 2017). According to Chester J. and Montgomery K.C. (2017, p.4), such political marketing companies additionally have made political campaign revenue an important vertical class in the advertising industry. If considering the 2016 USA elections, the role of Facebook, as a digital marketing tool, cannot be unimportant and undervalued. Due to the requirement from users to provide their real names while registering, Facebook has generated a robust personality-based targeting system that allows political campaigns to reach over 162 million US users and target them separately by age, gender, constituency, and interests. Its online political campaign marketing guide encourages political marketers to utilize every social media platform tool provided to political advertisers, along with Instagram and other resources. It is done with the aim to track people, collect their data through various lead generation tactics, and target them by means of voter files and other data uploads. The digital marketplace growth and sophistication have empowered and support political campaigns within identifying achieving and engaging individual constituencies, and enable them to interact with voters.

4. Digital Political Marketing Strategies

Chester J. and Montgomery K.C. (2017, p.4-7) considered seven fundamental strategies that are typical for this new digital political marketing system. They can be listed as follows:

- Cross-device targeting. Cross-device targeting provides the opportunity for marketers to ascertain if the same individual who is on a social network also utilizes a personal computer and then watches a video using a mobile phone. By means of data recording, a customer record, which may include a physical address and an email address, is connected via multiple matching processes. Moreover, this record links it to what is considered that person's online identity namely, cookies, IP addresses, and other permanent identifiers. Nowadays, cross-device targeting can be called a standard practice for

political campaigns and other various initiatives. Voters' data is uploaded as part of an onboarding process, which allows political marketing campaigns to determine their targets on mobile devices and at particular moments when voters might be more receptive and sensitive to the political message.

- **Programmatic Advertising.** Programmatic advertising is a newly automated practice of buying and placing advertising on digital media. It is done by means of employing computer programs and algorithmic operations to detect and target a client, wherever they are. In addition, the procedure might include real-time sales and auctions that take place in milliseconds with the aim to expose the advertisement to a particular buyer in a distinct context. Programmatic advertising itself has expanded its reach to people, taking advantage of new data sources to achieve individuals across all their devices.
- **Lookalike-modeling.** The application and utilization of big data analytics allow marketers to obtain information regarding a person without direct observation of its behavior or getting permission. It is done with the help of cloning the most valuable clients with the aim to recognize and target other potential people for marketing purposes. When it comes to politics, Lookalike-modeling assist in identifying citizens who are supporters of a potential political party or candidate and who are doing to give a vote for them. To do so, the voters' email addresses, cookies, social media, culture, religion, interests, political positions, and other numerous data points are obtained, used and processed in order to create detailed and abundant voter profiles. For instance, Facebook provides a number of tools for Lookalike modeling by means of its Lookalike Audience advertising platform.
- **Geolocation Targeting.** Mobile devices regularly convey signals that allow advertisers and other interested individuals to make use of a person's location. It is done via the phone's Global Positioning System (GPS), also via Wi-Fi and Bluetooth. These procedures may be accomplished with rising speed and efficiency. Owing to a multitude of innovative geo-targeting technologies, now it is possible to identify consumers and target them wherever they are and whatever they do. A complex and developing infrastructure of geolocation-based data marketing services has been built. This infrastructure has emerged with specific mobile data businesses, machine learning technologies, measurement firms, and recently developed

technical standards aimed to assist and support the targeting process. For instance, applying mobile geolocation targeting techniques took a primary part in the 2016 US election. Moreover, the number of professionals willing to offer their services and assistance in political campaigns was significantly increasing.

- **Online Video Advertising.** Digital video over mobile and other digital devices is recognized as a highly effective approach to convey emotional content from brands and marketing campaigns sides. There are many online video ad forms that offer both short- and long-format content, which are completely suited for both political and other various marketing purposes. YouTube has shifted to be a principal platform for distribution political advertising. It is thought that the majority of citizens make a decision regarding giving a vote not in front of the TV, but while watching mobile video. In another word, it is called “micro-moments”. In terms of data, in the 2016 US election, mobile devices were widely applied in approximately 60% of all election-related internet searches. The workers of YouTube could take advantage of these electoral micro-moments to impact and shift the political views of potential voters between the ages of 18 and 49.
- **Targeted Television Advertising.** TV advertisement still remains the central focus of political marketing campaign strategy. However, it is experiencing a considerable reformation due to digital technology and targeted set-top boxes, which have modified cable and broadcast television into strong micro-targeting machines. Now, the TV is able to deliver the same detailed, personalized advertising messages to singular voters.
- **Psychographic, Neuromarketing, and Emotion-Based Targeting.** Advertisers and marketers applied psychographic data, mood estimation, and emotional testing for decades. Moreover, specialists used these tools as fundamental strategies within political campaign advertisements. Within the industry of digital advertising, these tools have been promoted and developed deeper. These actions have been completed by means of utilizing the positive effects and benefits of neuroscience, cognitive computing, data analysis, behavior tracking, and other current improvements. Detailed messages that trigger a series of emotional and subconscious responses aimed to interact better with people and develop relationships with business brands are thought to be the

digital advertising DNA. Most of the leading brands around the world employ and practice services of neuromarketing, which use neuroscience tools in order to define and measure the emotional influence of advertising messages.

E. Political Branding

1. General Theory

In accordance with Lees-Marshment J. (2009a), political branding can be determined as to how a political party or a politician is perceived by society as a whole. Honestly, it is a broad and uncertain interpretation of political branding. The author meant that a brand is an intangible thing and owns psychological characteristics. Moreover, there is not practical purpose of a brand compared to the product, which has it. According to her viewpoint regarding political brands, there is unawareness of the practical advantages of voting for a candidate namely, governance and policy-making. As an inference from her study, there are three principal features of political branding:

- It must be authentic,
- It must be useful,
- Its success is not guaranteed.

Repeatedly it can be understood these are not clear explanations of the way how a political brand must perform in order to succeed in the political marketplace. It worths emphasizing that Lees-Marshment J. (2009a, p. 120) indicated that the number of negative outcomes of political branding exceeds the number of positive consequences. She argued that branding oversimplifies political discourse by making the society relying on the brand without any specific study of elite behavior. Moreover, the author posited that political branding plays on emotions, reducing controversy. Political branding can also lead to a decrease in freedom at the local level, as well as foster confrontation rather than compromise.

As stated by Arisoy C. (2016, p.465), political branding is the use of consumer branding methods while creating the image in politics. It can also be defined as the tactics used by politicians in particular to win popularity and elections. Political

branding differs from traditional advertising including an identity image campaign covering the whole market. Just as marketing is not just the art of selling a product, branding is not just about advertising. Accordingly, branding is in a transformation from advertising tactics to policy implementation. This use of branding is operated under the name of political branding in political campaigns. From the point of view of political branding, the politician is not only seen as a simple product to be sold. Contrary, politician becomes a branded product. Here, it is also important to create the identity of the branded product.

According to Pich C. and Newman B.I. (2020, p.4), it is possible to clearly define political branding as the significant application of classical ideas, theories, and frames of branding to politics to ensure distinction from political opponents and recognition by voters and political entities.

As stated by research on political branding began to fall into various categories for instance, corporate, candidates, leaders, local and regional, internal or external. Practically, political branding has been proven to be an extension of an examination conducted in the commercial and non-profit sectors, where a citizen/voter in the political market can be seen in the same manner as a consumer in the commercial market (Newman B.I. and Newman T.P., 2018). Borş, K. (2019, p.76) supports this viewpoint saying that, in the political context, branding relates to how a political organization or politician is recognized by the voters. Regular usage of branding techniques is associated with professionalism in election campaigns and voter behavior, which might be paralleled to consumers in the political marketplace. In accordance with this idea, people live in an environment where brands are everywhere, wherever we look. It is important that they take every chance to position themselves in the minds of voters.

Especially in modern times, it is seen that political parties are more and more involved in political branding. The increasing competition in the political market and the increasingly similar characteristics of the political products force political parties to add additional value to their brands. In terms of political parties, the phenomenon of branding appears to have created unwelcome effects such as narrowing the political agenda, increasing opposition events, demanding the conformity of the message, and cutting the political connection at the local level (French A., Smith G., 2010, p.462).

Branding has a functional framework and application area in managing, controlling, and developing the communication of public institutions. First of all, in the harsh nature of political competition, political parties have to differentiate themselves. Organizations are not homogeneous and spread over a wide geography. The necessity of differentiation in the political market and problems regarding the abundance of image-forming resources can be overcome with the supervision framework that will come with political branding (Uztuğ, F., 2007). As stated by Chandler, J. Owen, M. (2002, p. 11), branding today is used in many contexts and is evolving widely. To be successful as political candidates, brands must have charisma. Political branding can be called “big business” because of its widespread use by politicians in elections.

Within political brand concept party, many and various political products such as leader, every candidate, local organizations of the parties, etc. may be gathered under a common brand roof. All of these products create confusion or uncertainty about the brand image. Because of how they carry the brand (name of the party) and how they represent it in cases, where it is impossible to completely control it (Bayraktaroğlu, G., 2002).

Political branding is the strategic use of consumer branding tactics in building a political image. In particular, it refers to the tactics politicians use to gain popularity and win elections. Political branding is not only the use of traditional advertising tactics but also an all-encompassing marketing and image-identity campaign (Sonies, S., 2011).

According to Karayel Bilbil E. and Çelikkol N. (2015, p.239) Political branding is the strategic use of branding tactics in commercial marketing in building a political image. Political branding refers to a combination of the political party itself, its leader, and its candidates. In the political context, branding can be considered in two dimensions:

- Political Parties
- Political Leaders

The political leader or candidate stands out more than the political parties in terms of communicating with the voter one-on-one. In addition, the political leader has more power to influence the voter. In political branding, it is necessary to understand

the concepts of "brand image, brand personality, brand identity, brand loyalty" in order to differentiate from competitors, to exist in the market, to have a clear political discourse, and to have a correct positioning strategy (237).

In accordance with Scammell M. (2007, p.189), the election campaign concept dominated by the mass media is thought to consist entirely of advertising. Even though the concept has not been completely finished, this understanding has started to change seriously. Media-focused approaches are increasingly moving away from being the basis for the strategic logic that shapes election campaigns and the way government communicates. Political branding is evolving to be both the cause and the result of consumer-oriented political communication.

Later, in his theoretical article on political branding, Scammel M. (2015) argues that applying the concepts of brand and branding in political marketing will provide a different perspective in understanding voter behavior. In classical political science theories, while voter choice is evaluated in terms of economic rationality, the use of the concept of political branding will also help to evaluate the image factor. Thus, rational behavior and aesthetics can be combined and the power of factors such as communication, popular culture and personality in political marketing can be explained.

In political marketing, there is a direct relationship between voter communication and the phenomenon of political branding, which is thought to be a very important and significant element. Political actors who are recognized in the eyes of the voters and try to influence their voting behavior by transferring their party policies to the voters should carefully design the party's product within the political branding process. In this case, coordination can be seen particularly important. Inconsistent discourse and behavior towards the voter between the leader and the party program or candidate will damage the integrity of the political brand. This situation may damage the permanence and legitimacy of the brands of political organizations aiming at long-term continuity (Tan A., Baydaş A., 2017, p.598).

Cwalina W. and Falkowski A. (2015, p.166-167) suggest a model regarding the candidate political branding. The contrasting model of similarity is relating to real and ideal political candidates. The ideal candidate (IC) is described by traits including only positive statements. From a marketing point of view, his or her image is an impeccable model and a true example for each of the politicians running in elections (RCs). Consequently, the strategic goal of a politician is to develop their image in such a manner that it meets the ideal candidate characteristics as much as possible. In this respect, the general traits are always positive and are essential within the formation of voters' preferences. Sequentially, the field that determines the variations between ideal politicians and real ones can combine both positive and negative characteristics. They decrease the correlation between the ideal and real politician. Nevertheless, it should be emphasized that in this respect, positive and negative characteristics provide various functions in the formation of the candidate's image. In any case, negative traits are adverse and displeased, they reduce the possibility of a citizen to vote for a particular politician, while positive characteristics as peripheral features of the politician image seem to enrich the political image. Regarding voters, those features can become an additional reason for supporting a politician. The contrast similarity model represents that to increase the resemblance to the ideal candidate, every real candidate should

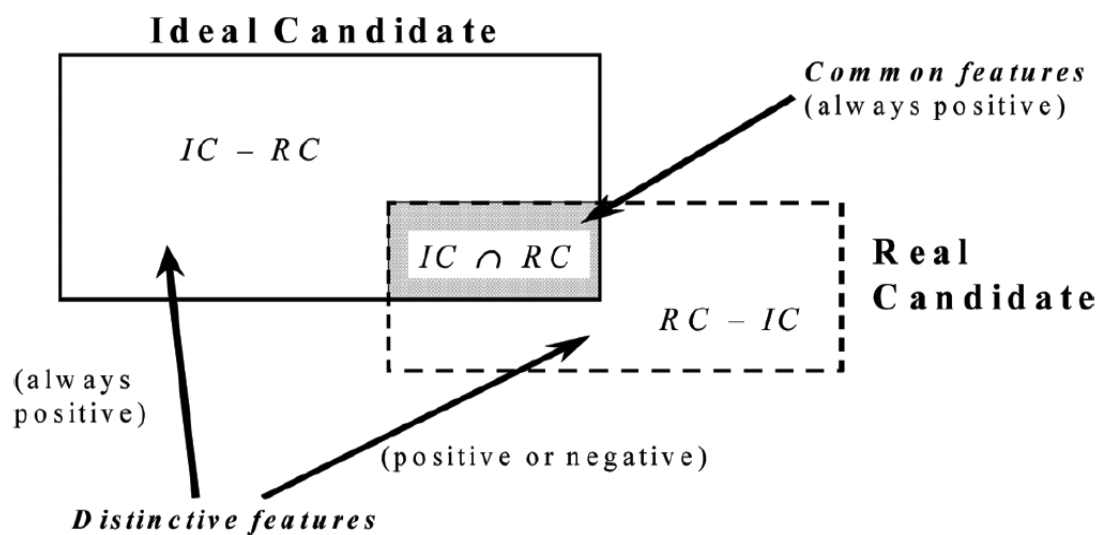


Figure 4. The relation between ideal and real candidates.

Source: Cwalina W. Falkowski A., 2015, p.167

attempt to expand the area he/she shares with the ideal candidate. It can be done by adding similarities and/or shrinking the area which includes distinctive characteristics, primarily by eliminating some specific negative associations.

Scientists Cwalina W. and Falkowski A. (2015, p.169-170) are discussing a model of positioning politicians. The model interprets a three-step approach to political branding (Figure 5.). The central concept is that the image of a politician is imagined as consisting of a portrayal in a voter's memory, and various associations are connected with it. These associations might be distributed to other competing candidates as well as the ideal candidate. This is recognized as a model and standard of comparison when developing detailed marketing campaigns.

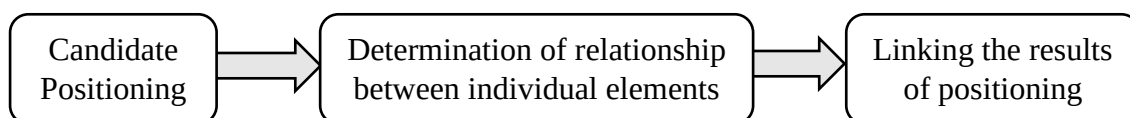


Figure 5. The three-stage political branding approach.

Source: prepared by author

The first stage of branding is candidate positioning. It focuses on similarities that are visible in different segments of the electorate. This stage is concentrated on bonds between politicians and utilizes multidimensional scaling techniques. Its outcomes make it possible to prepare a campaign plan. However, if the aim is to prepare a successful campaign, it is necessary to define the interrelationships between the individual elements (positive and negative) more accurately. Because those elements make up the image of a politician. The before-mentioned supplementary information can be collected from the contrast similarity model. If looking at the model, this similarity between objects can be increased by adding common features and/or removing distinguishing characteristics. It means characteristics that owned by one object, but by not another one.

In the second stage of the approach to political branding, the reciprocal relationship between individual elements (positive and negative, common and distinctive) is determined, which make up the image of the politician. The model makes it possible to determine the interrelationships between the perception of specific politicians and their attitude towards the ideal candidate. In addition, it assumes that political branding is not limited solely to the search for general dimensions of similarity between the image of a specific candidate and an ideal candidate. Contrary, it should be supplemented by a comprehensive analysis of the variety of the associations on which the image is based.

The third level of political branding is the necessity to correlate positioning outcomes with voter decisions. This allows the relative strength of certain voter

preference indicators to be determined and a strategy to be developed in order to incorporate them.

Nielsen S.W. (2016, p. 84–85) argued that within political branding, brand equity can be understood as political brand value. According to the researcher, on the one hand, the power of political branding is the set of associations that constituent connects with a certain political brand. On the other hand, uniqueness is a variety of associations, and favorability can be interpreted as the importance that respondents themselves connect to their associations.

2. Political Branding Environment

According to Pich C. and Newman B.I. (2020, p.9) political brands are complex, multifaceted, and there are still many fields that remain underdeveloped and poorly understood. As clearly can be understood, it is necessary to take a critical view and rethink the concepts, theories, and foundations that have already been employed in political marketing and political branding with the aim to evolve, develop and challenge within various conditions and contexts. For instance, it can be concepts regarding engagement, identity, image, reputation, capital, and positioning. At the same time, numerous concepts, theories, and knowledge have yet to be employed in political marketing and political branding. They involve brand communities, co-creation of values, brand architecture, and event branding, to name just a few that deserve to be reviewed firstly. This demonstrates the many positive possibilities for exploring political branding, especially when traditional political systems are going through rough times, constitutional crises, and the emergence of new political systems. According to the facts identified by authors, the diverse typologies, and the complex essence of political brands, it is crucial to begin creating the political branding environment map, as political brands transcend the party, leader, and politician.

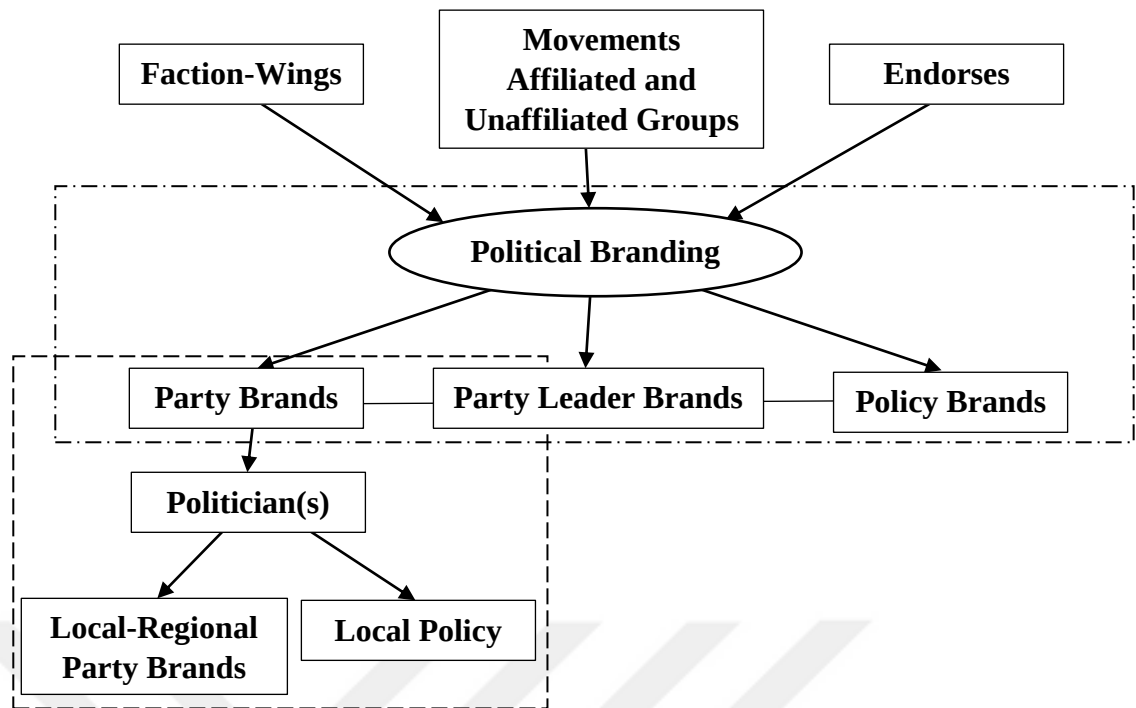


Figure 6. The political branding environment.

Source: Pich C., Newman B.I. 2020, p.10

The milieu of the elements emphasizes the overlapping but separated essence of political brands. As can be seen from the figure, party-political brands can be separated into sub-trinity. Politicians or members of parliament are the leaders of their local party/constituency, which can involve local supporters, activists, and also party members. In addition, a politician or member of parliament can be involved in the generation and promotion of localized policies that might have some differences from those of a party. This draws a sub-political brand that again requires a certain degree of alignment with the party's political brand. Furthermore, there are many varying kinds of sub-political brands that may be affiliated and unaffiliated or factions inside party political brands. They can include political groups, movements, endorsers. Moreover, they can be considered as independent political brands. Hence, the inference made by the authors proposes that there are many relationships and many interconnected political brands that express a complex political branding milieu or ecosystem.

III. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

A. Introduction

Adequate research technique requires appropriate research assessment and development. It will result in better data analysis and more meaningful and accurate results. This chapter describes the methods and techniques used to perform this research. It consists of the Research Methods and Design, Research Population, Research Sample and sampling process, data gathering tools and procedures, and statistical methodologies employed.

B. Research Design

This paper is a mediational and correlational research, which contains independent, mediation and dependent variables. There are three independent variables of the study including Brand image and loyalty of political party, Advertisements and campaigns, and the last but not the least - Digital marketing. Mediating variable of the research being conducted is Online political participation. The dependent variable of the thesis is Political branding. The research model of the present study is presented below at Figure X contains independent, mediating, and dependent variables. The model is drawn below (Figure). A regression-based approach

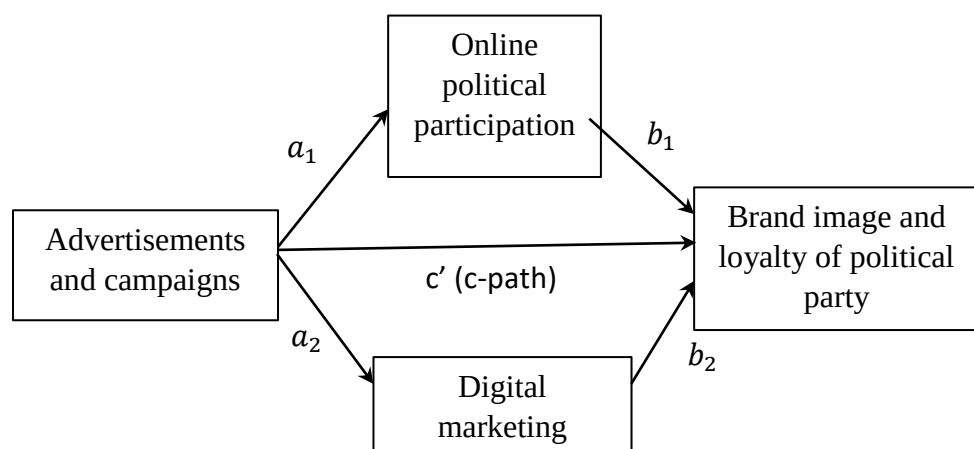


Figure 7. Research model.

Source: prepared by author

will be used to determine mediation and hypothesis testing. Correlation of variables will be measured by Pearson's coefficient of correlation.

C. Population

The population of this research is all citizens of Ukraine and Turkey, who are over 18 years, can be engaged in the voting process and has his/her opinions and views regarding political parties and political candidates. According to the official statistical report prepared by State Statistics Service of Ukraine (UkrStat), the number of resident population over 18 years in Ukraine as of January 1, 2020 accounts for 34.198.849 people. Where 18.735.675 are women, and the rest – 15.463.174 are men (State Statistics Service of Ukraine, 2020, p.28). Data regarding the population are given without taking into account the temporarily occupied territory of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, the city of Sevastopol, part of the temporarily occupied territories in the Donetsk and Luhansk regions. Calculations of the population were made based on available administrative data on state registration of births and deaths and changes in registration of residence.

In accordance with Turkish Statistical Institute (TÜİK) the population of people over 18 years old in Turkey as of January 1, 2020 was 60.863.705 people. Within this amount, the number of women made up 30.624.059 and the male part of the population constitutes 30.239.646.

D. Sampling Method

The non-probability sampling method was utilized while conducting this study. Convenience sampling method was chosen due to its relevance and suitability for the successful management and accomplishment of the research. As stated by Ackoff R.L. (1953), convenience sampling is the way of selecting members due to their readiness, nearness, and availability most of the time to take part in the research. Convenient sampling is generally the preferred sampling method among students because it is inexpensive and simpler than other sampling methods.

Some of the previously completed researches regarding the topic were similarly administered by utilization of the Convenience sampling method while collecting the

data (Schiffman L.G., et al., 2002; Şengün H.I., 2016; Oztürk R., Coban S., 2019; Bramlett, J.C., 2019; Bøggild, T., 2020).

In accordance with Miaoulis G. and Michener R.D. (1976), together with the aim of the study and its potential population, there are three additional factors that assist within the finding the appropriate sample size of any research, those three factors include Level of Precision, Level of Confidence, and Degree Of Variability.

The level of Precision can be also called Sampling Error. This number represents the range where the correct value of the population is expected to be. In most of the cases, this number is showed in presents and accounts for $\pm 5\%$. The level of Confidence is also called Risk Level. This number shows the confidence percentage that the population will choose an answer within a particular range. In most of the reliable studies, this percentage makes up 90%, 95%, or 99%. The last factor is degree of variability of the measured attributes. It refers to the distribution of the attributes in the population. A more heterogeneous population requires a larger sample size to achieve a given level of precision. The less variable or in other words more homogeneous the population, the smaller the sample size is needed.

If it comes to the calculation of the sample size, there are several approaches with different formulas utilized with the aim to reveal the sample size of certain research.

National Education Association (1960) suggested different way to calculate the appropriate and right sample size for any research population (cited in Krejcie, R.V., Morgan, D.W, 1970, p.608). The mentioned formula is shown bellow:

$$s = \frac{X^2 \times N \times P \times (1 - P)}{d^2 \times (N - 1) + X^2 \times P \times (1 - P)}$$

Where, s - required sample size; X^2 - the table value of chi-square for 1 degree of freedom at the desired confidence level (depends on the confidential level that generally makes up 90%, 95%, or 99%) (Table); N - the population size; P - the population proportion (assumed to be 0.5 since this would provide the maximum sample size); d - the degree of accuracy expressed as a proportion.

If utilizing the above explained formula within this study, the following results have been ascertained. If it comes to the sample size for the Ukrainian population, the appropriate sample size (s_1) was calculated as follows:

$$s_1 = \frac{1.96^2 \times 34198849 \times 0.5 \times (1 - 0.5)}{0.05^2 \times (34198849 - 1) + 1.96^2 \times 0.5 \times (1 - 0.5)} = 384.155696$$

Table 1. Critical (X/z) values used in the calculation of confidence intervals.

Confidence level	Critical (X/z) value to be used in confidence interval calculation
50%	0.67449
75%	1.15035
90%	1.64485
95%	1.95996
97%	2.17009
99%	2.57583
99.9%	3.29053

Source: Hazra, A., 2017, p.4126.

After calculating the required sample size by substituting numbers in the formula, the sample size accounts for 384.155696 people. In order to obtain reliable data, it was decided to lower the sample size to 384 people.

In the same manner the appropriate sample size for the Turkish population (s_2) was determined as follows:

$$s_2 = \frac{1.96^2 \times 60863705 \times 0.5 \times (1 - 0.5)}{0.05^2 \times (60863705 - 1) + 1.96^2 \times 0.5 \times (1 - 0.5)} = 384.157583$$

As can be seen from the calculation, the required sample size accounts for 384.157583 people. In order to obtain reliable data, it was decided to leave the sample size for Turkey as 384 people.

Cochran W.G. (1963, p.75) proposes the following formula regarding finding the required sample size.

$$n_0 = \frac{Z^2 \times p \times q}{e^2} ; n = \frac{n_0}{1 + \frac{(n_0 - 1)}{N}}$$

Where, n - sample size required; Z^2 is the abscissa of the normal curve that cuts off an area α at the tails (it is again found in statistical table ()) in accordance with the confidential level that generally makes up 90%, 95%, or 99%); e - the wanted level of accuracy; p - the expected proportion of the attribute present in the population (often it is 0.5%); q is calculated as 1-p; N – the research population.

If calculating manually utilizing the sample size formula of Cochran W.G. (1963). In accordance with the population of this research, the similar results have

been obtained. Firstly, the sample size for the Ukrainian population (n_1) was calculated as follows:

$$n_{01} = \frac{1.96^2 \times 0.5 \times 0.5}{0.05^2} = 384.16; n_1 = \frac{384.16}{1 + \frac{384.16 - 1}{34198849}} = 384.155696$$

After calculating the required sample size by substituting numbers in the given formula, the sample size accounts for 384.155696 people. In order to obtain reliable data, it was decided to consider the sample size for Ukraine as 384 people.

Likewise, the required sample size for the Turkish population (n_2) was assessed as follows:

$$n_{02} = \frac{0.5 \times 0.5 \times 1.96^2}{0.05^2} = 384.16; n_2 = \frac{384.16}{1 + \frac{384.16 - 1}{60863705}} = 384.157582$$

Again, after calculating the required sample size by substituting numbers in the given formula, the sample size accounts for 384.157582 people. In order to obtain reliable data, it was decided to interpret the sample size for Turkey as 384 people.

Yamane, T., (1967, p.886) suggests another formula for calculating sample sizes in order to analyze a known population. The mathematical illustration of the formula is shown below:

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N \times (e^2)}$$

Where, n - sample size required; N - number of people in the population; e - allowable error (margin error), it is calculated in percentages and generally makes up 0.1%, 0.05%, or 0.01%.

Israel G.D. (2013, p.2) used the above explained formula to create the table of sample sizes regarding the certain population or a research. This study is within the category, where the population is more than 100,000 so the required sample size should be 400 people.

Table 2. Sample size for $\pm 3\%$, $\pm 5\%$, $\pm 7\%$ and $\pm 10\%$ Precision Levels Where Confidence Level is 95% and $P = 0.5$.

Size of Population	Sample Size (n) for Precision (e) of:			
	$\pm 3\%$	$\pm 5\%$	$\pm 7\%$	$\pm 10\%$
500	a	222	145	83
600	a	240	152	86
700	a	255	158	88
800	a	267	163	89
900	a	277	166	90
1,000	a	286	169	91
2,000	714	333	185	95
3,000	811	353	191	97
4,000	870	364	194	98
5,000	909	370	196	98
6,000	938	375	197	98
7,000	959	378	198	99
8,000	976	381	199	99
9,000	989	383	200	99
10,000	1,000	385	200	99
15,000	1,034	390	201	99
20,000	1,053	392	204	100
25,000	1,064	394	204	100
50,000	1,087	397	204	100
100,000	1,099	398	204	100
>100,000	1,111	400	204	100

Note: a - assumption of the entire population is low. The whole population under consideration should be sampled.

Source: Israel G.D. (2013, p.2

However, if calculating manually the suitable sample size in accordance with the population of this study, the same results have been obtained. According to the formula of Yamane T., (1967, p. 886), in order to accomplish this study the sample size for the Ukrainian population (n_1) was calculated as follows:

$$n_1 = \frac{34198849}{1 + 34198849 \times (0.05^2)} = 399.995322$$

After calculating the required sample size by substituting numbers in the given formula, the sample size accounts for 399.995322 people. In order to obtain reliable data, it was decided to increase the sample size to 400 people.

Likewise, the required sample size for the Turkish population (n_2) was estimated as follows:

$$n_2 = \frac{60863705}{1 + 60863705 \times (0.05^2)} = 399.997371$$

Once again, after calculating the required sample size by substituting numbers in the given formula, the sample size accounts for 399.997371 people. In order to obtain reliable data, it was decided to increase the sample size to 400 people.

As might be observed from the above drawn calculations, different formulas and approached provides various required sample sizes. However, all of them are in the range between 384 and 400. Therefore, the sample size of this research was decided to be 400 people identically from both Ukraine and Turkey. Consequently, the overall sample size of this study accounts for 800 people.

A survey has been conducted in order to ascertain and learn respondents' attitudes and opinions regarding the marketing political campaigns and their engagement in political participation within the digital world. Furthermore, gender, age, education, and work experience level were observed in order to find out does any of these demographic factors provide an impact on the answer preference.

E. Data Collection Instrument

Data collection is vital to this research regarding political marketing issues. Upon receipt of primary data, the survey method was implied (Oztürk, R., Coban, S., 2019, p. 246). The data collection stage began as the dissertation committee of Istanbul Aydin University approved the thesis proposal. The data used in this research combine primary and secondary data. Primary data was collected via a 21-question survey, utilizing a common 5-point Likert scale (1-strongly disagree; 2-disagree; 3-neutral; 4-agree; 5-strongly agree) and 5-point Likert scale regarding the frequency of action (1-never; 2-rarely; 3-occasionally; 4-often; 5-always). The questionnaire applied in this study was a combination of questions taken from two research conducted before. The questionnaire consolidates questions regarding the marketing of political campaigns separated into five different sections namely, Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party, Advertisements and Campaigns, Digital Marketing, Online Political Participation, and demographical questions. The questionnaire was prepared using a Google Forms-based survey tool. The process of data collection was conducted in Turkey (Ankara and Istanbul) and Ukraine (Lviv and Kyiv). The questionnaire was distributed to people from different backgrounds, education and occupation level, and various age groups and genders. However, the questionnaire was not distributed to people younger than 18. It was done with the purpose of engaging people who have

already been able to vote and make a decision regarding the support of a specific party or a political candidate. To make a questionnaire easy to be understood and answered, moreover, to avoid misunderstanding, it was translated into Turkish and Ukrainian languages with the preservation of the meaning of questions asked. From Turkey the data was collected twice because of the low reliability coefficient got at the first time. At the first time data was collected from 488 respondents and then excluded due not appropriate reliability coefficient that was considerably lower than 0.7. At the second time, data was collected from different 423 Turkish respondents, but according to the further check, the final sample became 407. From Ukraine 465 respondents were collected. In total from both countries 872 people were asked and their responses were considered for the future analyses. Chapter 4 has a full description of the completed data collection.

F. Statistical Techniques

1. Simple Percentage Analysis

The demographic data represents the characteristics and profiles of the survey respondents. The subchapter is going to generate a comprehensive description of the respondents' percentages using an accumulated summary of the research participants' demographic characteristics: $(100 * \text{Respondents' Number}) / \text{Total Respondents' Number} = \text{Percentage}$.

2. Reliability Assessment (Cronbach Alpha Test)

The reliability test is an important criterion for evaluating the test result. It is a measure of the accuracy with which a feature is tested. The test helps to select questions for the further analyses. With the help of various criteria, it is established which questions are suitable for a particular test and which are not. While running the reliability test some inappropriate statements are excluded, and the remaining ones are included in the final form of the test. A test designed in this way should not be regarded as a statistical testing method, but as a method for examining personality traits. Maximum likelihood estimation can be done in SPSS to evaluate test scores. For this, the reliability coefficient is determined, which is a measure of the accuracy of testing a certain feature. SPSS offers many methods for this purpose; by default, Cronbach's

Alpha is set to a value between 0 and 1. In this research reliability test was done separately for each variable in the Ukrainian and Turkish datasets in turn. Generally if the reliability coefficient (α) is equal or above 0.7, the questions of a particular variable are accepted. Within the data collection process in Turkey, there was a problem of very low reliability coefficient, which is inappropriate for the further data analyses and procedures. In this case, the decision was made to re-collect the data in Turkey. For the second time after collecting the new data set, the reliability coefficients for every variable were seen as admissible for running the next steps of analysis.

3. Descriptive Statistics, Skewness, and Kurtosis

The descriptive analysis is done with the aim to explain the essential data structures. Such an analysis provides a fundamental overview of the data obtained and the replies to each survey question, resulting in the first step of quantitative analysis. Furthermore, Skewness and Kurtosis are components of the normalcy assessment, which determines whether or not a data set is normally distributed. It indicates whether or not the data are naturally distributed around the mean (Baghban, et al., 2013).

Skewness can be observed when the data distribution is either below or above the mean, resulting in a non-asymmetrical distribution around the mean. In order to avoid skewness, the skew analysis values must be between 3 and -3. When it comes to Kurtosis, it occurs when the data distribution has a higher or lower peak than the normal distribution; the analysis findings must be between 8 and -8 to establish that there is no kurtosis (Kline, 2011).

4. Correlation Analysis

In order to measure the degree of relationship between variables correlation analysis is needed to be carried out. However, it does not specify which variable is the cause and which is the consequence. The analysis of the correlation between two variables is known as simple correlation, whereas the correlation between more than two variables might be partial or numerous. Correlation may be examined using two ways: diagrammatic and mathematical methods. When it is examined diagrammatically using a scatter diagram, it cannot yield an accurate value of

correlation in all cases. There are other mathematical approaches and equations, but Karl Pearson's Method is commonly utilised (Magnello, 2009).

The correlation coefficient of Karl Pearson (knowns as Pearson Correlation) is a mathematical approach for determining the degree of relationship between two variables. It is used to investigate the relationship between two quantitative variables and is symbolised by the symbol r . (Sthapit, Yadav, Khanal, & Dangol, 2017).

The computed correlation can be interpreted as follows:

- If $r = 1$, the correlation is seen as being perfectly positive.
- The correlation is considered to be a perfect negative if $r = -1$.
- The variables X and Y are defined to be uncorrelated if $r = 0$.
- If $0 < r \leq 0.4$, the correlation is thought to be poor.
- If $0.4 < r \leq 0.7$, the correlation is accepted as moderate.
- If $0.7 < r \leq 1$, the correlation is considered as strong.

Correlation coefficients around $+1$ or -1 are understood as having a very strong positive or negative correlation, while those going towards zero are thought to have a very low correlation (Gupta & Kapoor, 2014).

5. Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA)

EFA contribute to the degree of link between observable and latent variables. It attempts to determine the number of factors that are covariant with the observed variable.

To obtain the required factor loading, questions with loading less than 0.50 and multiple loading between variables were removed (Byrne, 2010). According to Pallant (2013) the value of KMO is excepted as appropriate if it is 0.6 and above. Kaiser (1974) suggests a minimum of 0.5, the value between 0.5 and 0.7 are mediocre, value between 0.7 and 0.8 are good, value between 0.8 and 0.9 are great and value between 0.9 and above are superb (Hutcheson & Sofroniou, 1999).

6. T test

In order to compare two groups whose means are unrelated to one another independent samples t-test is used (University of Arizona Military Reach, 2009). Two

samples are considered independent if the sample values chosen from one population are not associated, paired, or matched with the sample values chosen from the other group. An independent sample t-test indicates whether or not there is a statistically significant difference in the mean scores of the two groups. In statistical words, the researcher is determining the likelihood that the two sets of data come from the same population. In other words, an independent sample is one in which the members in each group are unrelated to one another (Banda G.. 2018, p.51). In this study, independent samples t test is used to calculate the difference in answers between males and females.

7. Anova

ANOVA is a statistical method used to find variations in the means of experimental groups. In experimental designs with one dependent variable that is a continuous parametric numerical outcome measure and numerous experimental groups within one or more independent (categorical) variables (Sawyer S.T., 2009, p.27). The British statistician and geneticist Ronald Fisher first developed this method in the 1920s and 1930s. This analysis is sometimes called Fisher's Analysis of Variance, as they are generally characterized by their use of the F-distribution in tests of statistical significance.

8. Hochberg's GT2 test

After conducting the Anova test additional 'Post Hoc' tests must be performed to validate the location of the found differences between groups. The post-hoc tests are largely t-tests with a correction for multiple testing. Hochberg's GT2 is a test of multiple comparison that employs the Studentized maximum modulus. When the sample sizes for the groups are considerably varied, Hochberg's GT2 performs better than other Post Hoc tests. Hochberg's GT2 has a lot of power and can handle type I errors (Mooi E., Sarstedt M., 2011, p.145).

9. Regression

Multiple regression analysis is a set of techniques for studying straight-line relationships between two or more variables. Multiple regression estimates β 's utilising the following equation

$$y_j = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_{1j} + \beta_2 X_{2j} + \dots + \beta_p X_{pj} + \varepsilon_j$$

X 's are independent variables. Y is the dependent variable. Subscript j expresses the number of observations. B are unknown regression coefficients. Each β represents the original unknown parameter (population), ε_j is the error of observations j , p is the number of independent variables (predictors, regressors).

After β 's are estimated, many different indices exist aiming to determine the reliability of these estimates. One of the most popular of these reliability metrics is the correlation coefficient. The correlation coefficient, or in simple words, correlation, is an index which can range from -1 to 1. When its value is near to zero, there is no linear relationship. The closer the correlation is to plus or minus one, the stronger the relationship. A value of one or minus one symbolises a perfect linear relationship between two variables.

Mediation models and the indirect effects can be verified by regression analysis. After the regression coefficient for the indirect effect has been calculated, it is required to be checked for significance or a confidence interval to be drawn. However, there are some existing discussions over the best way to calculate the standard error employed in the significance test or confidence interval. Meanwhile, there are many suggested ways to calculate standard errors. One of the difficulties is that the distribution of the sampling related to the indirect effect can be an abnormal distribution. As a result, this has increased the emphasis on confidence intervals, which can be formed as asymmetric.

There are two common methods to examining the significance of indirect effects that seem to work better than others. Those methods are (1) bootstrap methods (also called "nonparametric oversampling") and (2) Monte Carlo methods (also called "parametric oversampling"). For bootstrapping, indirect effects testing software ordinarily propose two choices. The first one is called the "percentile" bootstrap, which includes confidence intervals employing normal cutoffs for the distribution of the

sample without the explicit correction of biases. If considering the accelerated (refers to the graded standard deviation correction) bias-corrected bootstrap estimate, it averagely corrects the bias and also adjusts the standard deviation through the potential values of the indirect coefficient (Newsom, J.T., 2020a, p.2-3).

The bias-corrected bootstrap method can bring a Type I error rate that is somewhat higher than the percentile bootstrap method (Biesanz J.C., et al., 2010; Fritz M.S., et al., 2012). Tofighi D. and McKinnon D.P. (2016) observed the fact that both bootstrap percentile confidence intervals and the Monte Carlo method implement good tests with appropriate Type I error rates and statistical power. However, the Monte Carlo approach was slightly more powerful in one case. Other methods have been proposed to measure effect size, such as the ratio of the indirect effect to the total one (Preacher K.J. and Kelley K., 2011), although McKinnon D.P. and others found this indicator to be unstable at smaller sample sizes.

Each component of the suggested mediation model was evaluated using multiple regression analysis. The findings are shown in tables 1,2,3 and 4 . The findings include

- the relationship between Advertisements and Campaigns and Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party (c-path),
- the influence of Advertisements and Campaigns on Online Political Participation (a-path),
- the impact of Advertisements and Campaigns on Digital Marketing (b-path),
- and the relationship between Advertisements and Campaigns and Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party via Online Political Participation and Digital Marketing (c'-path).

10. Mediation Analysis (PROCESS Macro)

Mediation analysis is a statistical method for testing whether the influence of the independent variable X on the dependent variable Y ($X \rightarrow Y$) is at the minimum partially defined by the chain of impacts of the independent variable on the mediating variable Z and the intermediate variable on the dependent one ($X \rightarrow Z \rightarrow Y$) (Fiedler K., et al., 2011, p. 1231). Hence, mediation analysis is thought to be an essential research tool (Judd C.M., Kenny D.A., 1981; Baron R., Kenny D.A., 1986; MacKinnon D.P., et al., 2002; Bullock J., et al., 2010).

Baron R. and Kenny D. (1986) showed firstly that X is not only associated with Y, but X is also correlated with Z and Z, in turn, impacts Y. By highlighting the mediating variable Z, a hypothesis can be tested (Sobel test) that the remaining influence of X on Y is reduced or vanished when an indirect path through Z is excluded. Following Fiedler K., et al. (2011, p. 1235), the statistical basis for mediation analysis should be understood within the one-sided if-then logic. If it is correct that Z mediates the effects of the X variable on the Y variable, then mediation analysis might be used in order to test the statistical significance of the mediator model.

Within the mediation analysis, the understanding of the degree to which a mediator can determine the relationship between X and Y is defined by the direct influence of X on Y. Which in other words, is the effect of X on Y that is not associated with a change in M. On the one hand, in the situation when the significant indirect effect is observed but the direct effect is negligible, mediation completely relates to the change in Y due to X. Thus, the complete mediation can be recognized (Baron R.M. and Kenny D.A. 1986; Zhao X., et al. 2010). On the other hand, if the direct impact of X on Y is significant, mediator M can only partly describes the relationship of X on Y. In this case, the term partial mediation is appropriate for usage (James L.R. and Brett J.M. 1984; Zhao X., et al. 2010). Many researchers insist that full mediation is a mandatory standard, but most research work on mediation analysis is done using partial mediation only (Iacobucci D., 2008).

MacKinnon D.P. (2008) provides the identical thought regarding the issue by saying that a mediation impact refers to the system where the independent variable X affects the dependent variable Y through the mediating variable M placed between X and Y. The effect of a mediation variable can often be divided into direct and indirect impacts. Two regression equations can be applied as an uncomplicated method to test these impacts. The first one connects the independent variable X and the mediating variable M, as can be observed below:

$$M = b_M + aX + e_M$$

The second equation describes the calculation of dependent variable Y for both independent variable X and mediating variable M, which allows checking the effect of mediating variable M on dependent variable Y by managing independent variable X.

$$Y = b_Y + c'X + bM + e_Y$$

The indirect effect is interpreted by the product ($a \times b$) in the two equations drawn before. The total influence of independent variable X on dependent variable Y is the sum of direct and indirect impacts ($a \times b + c'$), where c' is a direct effect in the presence of mediating variable M.

In accordance with Baron R. and Kenny D.A. (1986, p.1176), first, a primary reason for a mediated impact is the overall direct influence of the independent variable on the dependent one. Second, the independent variable is required to provide a significant impact on the suggested mediation variable. Subsequently, the suggested mediation variable should provide a notable impact on the dependent variable. By managing the suggested mediator, the influence of the independent variable on the dependent should be reduced. In the event that the reduction of direct impact is not fully visible, it is indicated that there are several factors of mediation.

As stated by (Borau S., et al., 2015, p. 91), there are three different approaches applied with the aim to examine mediation effects:

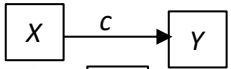
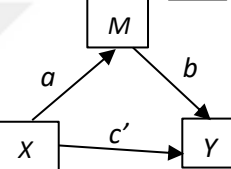
- Causal stage method generated by Baron R. and Kenny D.A. (1986);
- Sobel test (Sobel M.E., 1982, 1986) and the significance value of the indirect effect (MacKinnon D.P., et al., 2007);
- Bootstrapping approach (Preacher K.J. and F A.F., 2004, 2008).

Whereas the first two methods are frequently applied together and express the common way of testing mediation, bootstrapping is a newer method in mediation analysis (Demming C.L., et al., 2017, p.81).

The fundamental principle of the causal steps method is that it does not test the indirect effect itself, but concludes mediation by examining all paths of the study model independently in four steps (Baron R. and Kenny D.A. 1986). The approach developed by Baron R. and Kenny D.A. includes testing the overall impact of X on Y, the impact of X on M, the impact of M on Y, and the direct impact of X on Y (Demming C.L., et al., 2017, p.82). Analysis of mediation using the method developed by Baron R. and Kenny D.A. (1986) is easy to implement. It is a popular approach, often employed in studies with further publication in academic journals since 1986, when Baron R. and Kenny D.A. declared their method. Above explained four step method is illustrated below (Demming C.L., et al., 2017, p.82). Where Y is the dependent variable, X is the independent variable, and M is a mediating variable. The

coefficient c expresses how well X defines Y ; c' shows the strength of the prediction Y from X , with the removed strength of the M -to- Y relationship; b is a coefficient representing the strength of the bond between M and Y with X -to- Y relationship strength removed; and a coefficient expresses the strength of the ratio between X and M . $i_{1,2,3}$ are intersections in each equation describing the average score of each variable respectively; and $\varepsilon_{Y,M}$ represent an error, or part of the relationship that cannot be prognosed respectively for variables.

Table 3. Steps of the Baron-and-Kenny approach.

Step	Tested path	Regression equation	Visualization
Step 1	c path (total effect of X on Y)	$Y = i_1 + cX + \varepsilon_Y$	
Step 2	a path (effect of X on M)	$M = i_2 + aX + \varepsilon_M$	
Step 3	b path (effect of M on Y)	$Y = i_3 + c'X + bM + \varepsilon_Y$	
Step 4	c' path (direct effect of X on Y)	$Y = i_3 + c'X + bM + \varepsilon_Y$	

Notes: Bold terms symbolize the tested parameters.

Source: Demming C.L., et al., 2017, p.82.

There is a discussion regarding the rejection of the approach to causation generated by Baron R. and Kenny D.A. (1986). Some authors have described its significant restrictions and the risk of getting incorrect results (Zhao X., et al., 2010, 2011). Following Demming C.L., et al. (2017, p.82), the most significant problems are lack of power of the method (it means that the method frequently is not able to uncover the true mediation process). Along with that, the method is enable to verify the indirect impact of ab . Furthermore, the requirements for steps (1) and (4) appear to be excessively limiting and irrelevant to establish mediation.

The Sobel test also called the normal theory approach, has an advantage namely, it removes one weakness of the Baron R. and Kenny D.A. method by setting a formal test for the indirect effect of ab . The Sobel test applies logic to infer indirect impacts comparable to that generally utilized to evaluate direct effects. To carry out the test, there is a formula where the product of the coefficients a and b is calculated, after that this product is divided by se_{ab} - the estimate of the standard error ab , and compare this empirical z-score with the critical value from the standard normal distribution (Sobel M.E., 1982). If talking about the estimate of the standard error (se_{ab}), there are several methodological differences in the Sobel test, however, all of them generate almost the

same results. The most modest se_{ab} assessment approach and the Sobel test formula are illustrated as follows:

$$Z = \frac{ab}{se_{ab}}; \text{ where } se_{ab} = \sqrt{a^2 se_b^2 + b^2 se_a^2}$$

According to researchers, Sobel's test is based on the hypothesis that the indirect impact of mediation is normally distributed. This presumption is tested pretty seldom, which carries the risk of biased results (Edwards J.R. and Lambert L.S., 2007).

Bootstrapping was created in order to provide standard errors and confidence intervals in cases where standard assumptions are not valid. The method is easy to implement within its concept but it demands a lot of computational time. When applying the bootstrap method, the principal assumption is that the sample is considerably close to or represents the real population of the research. Due to this assumption, bootstrapping does not possess the ability to work well for small samples. This is so because the small sample is unlikely to be representative of the whole population (Efron B. and Tibshirani R.J., 1993).

Bootstrapping is a non-parametric test that eliminates the normal distribution presumption because it is stable despite the distribution. Bootstrapping calculates a confidence interval for an indirect impact that can be considered as a significant one if this interval does not involve zero (Preacher K.J. and Hayes A.F., 2008). This technique is more trustworthy and reliable when examining the mediation effect compared to the method proposed by Baron R. and Kenny D.A. (1986) or the Sobel test. The calculations are built on a formal test of the significance of an indirect impact applying the bootstrap approach (Hayes A.F., 2013). This technique is appropriate in the case when the dependent variable is dichotomous (the macro script automatically modifies and turns from linear to logistic regression when a binary dependent variable is encountered).

It is important to note that bootstrapping approach provides more opportunities for detecting indirect impacts but does not display a higher tendency for Type I errors (for instance, calls for derived values). Thus, it can be said with 95% certainty that mediation is present (Preacher K.J. and Hayes A.F., 2004). The percentile bootstrap is particularly proper in such cases where the reliability of the estimate is critical, for example, when samples cover potential outliers (Creedon P.S. and Hayes A.F., 2015), when path a or b is large and the other path is zero, or when a small sample is

encountered ($n < 50$) (Koopman J. et al., 2015). For large sample sizes, it is advised to apply an alternative form called a bias-corrected bootstrap. This method usually results in slightly more liberal bootstrap confidence intervals as it regulates the confidence interval for bias in the bootstrap sample distribution (Efron B., 1987). In spite of the fact that the percentile bootstrap and the bias-corrected bootstrap methods vary slightly in their scores; both tests are significantly better compared to the Sobel test and the Baron and Kenny method in terms of statistical power (Hayes A.F. and Scharkow M., 2013). As concluded by Demming C.L., et al. (2017, p.82), among the all widely applied, trustworthy, and easy-to-use approaches, bootstrapping is observed to be the most promising method for conducting the mediation analysis. There is also an agreement to encourage the employment and usage of bootstrapping within testing the impacts of mediation (Shrout P.E. and Bolger N., 2002; Preacher K.J. and Hayes A.F., 2004, 2008; Hayes A.F., 2013).

Zhao X., et al. (2010, 2011) suggested a new typology of mediation effects, in particular by the differentiation between complementary mediation and competitive mediation. Where within the complementary mediation indirect effect ($a \times b$) and direct effect (c') are significant and have the same signs and oppositely if looking at competitive mediation where indirect effect ($a \times b$) and the direct effect (c') are significant but have opposite signs. As stated by Hayes A.F. (2013), this typology goes beyond the common differentiation between full mediation and partial mediation, which is frequently criticized for its impractical and not unrealistic nature.

Methods of structural equations might be linked to bootstrapping in order to verify mediation impacts (Iacobucci D. et al., 2007; Zhao X., et al., 2010, 2011). Scientists advise applying above mentioned techniques in the case when the mediator variable is categorical/dichotomous. The Mplus software program is properly adapted for this situation (Muthén L.K. and Muthén B.O., 2011).

Using the percentile method for a confidence interval bootstrapping works for any statistic, as long as the bootstrap distribution is

- Approximately symmetric
- Approximately continuous
- Approximately bell-shaped (employment of the standard error method also requires it).

There are different approaches and opinions regarding the bootstrap values interpretation. For instance, Felsenstein J. (1985, p. 786) suggested that bootstrap values of 95% or more can be recognised as statistically significant. Other values may be rejected if they occur in less than 5% of bootstrap measures. Nonetheless, bootstrap confidence levels refer to individual nodes, they are not mutual statements of confidence. Therefore, although the two clades may be maintained at 95% and consequently they do not contradict each other, the confidence interval including both clades can be solely 90%, and confidence in the joints decreases when considering additional nodes. Thus, the confidence in the joints for a large tree will be certainly low, even if all nodes have secure maintenance. The majority consensus tree, which summarizes all replicas of the bootstraps, produce a set of consistent nodes, each with a probability of rejection below 50%, and can be described as a general assessment of phylogeny in the bootstrapping.

Hillis D.M. and Bull J.J. (1993, p. 183) argue that bootstrap proportions are very inaccurate, except when parametric values are close to 0 and 1. Their research indicated that conditions they recognised as typical for most phylogenetic analyzes, bootstrap proportions are biased and conservative measures of accuracy. It means that under certain conditions, the proportions of 70% or more of the bootstrap, usually correspond to (with a greater than or equal to 95% probability) true clade. Thus, Hillis D.M. and Bull J.J. (1993) challenged the original interpretations of the bootstrap values of Felsenstein J. In contrast to Felsenstein J., the values of the bootstrap show poor repeatability and accuracy but indicators of accuracy are thought of as conservative. Many researchers accepted Hillis D.M. and Bull J.J.'s "70%" as an indication of support but without consideration of the conditions under which this value has been got. This involves equal rates of change, symmetrical phylogeny, and changes among nodes of 20% or less of the characters. At the minimum, the first two conditions can be seen as unrealistic within real phylogenies, and when all these conditions are not met, the values of the bootstrap of 50% or more can overestimate the accuracy.

When it comes to the political marketing field, the bootstrapping method is commonly utilized within the data analysis in the area. Many researchers have applied bootstrapping technique while conducting their studies in the science areas related to political marketing (Iyer, P., et al., 2017; Marder B., et al., 2018; Rutter, R.N., et al., 2018; Akaileh M.A., et al., 2018; Anderson J.E., et al., 2018; Fouzia H.A. and Aban

A.Q., 2019; Hultman, M. et al., 2019). Therefore, Hayes' bootstrapping method conducted by means of PROCESS Version 4.1 in SPSS statistic software was applied to analyze the collected data in this study.

G. Ethical Consideration of the Research

Every research must be done and implemented ethically. All study activities were done ethically, and the data collection strategy for this research followed a strict confidentiality procedure and privacy because the data was solely used for analysis. At no point during the research implementation was the data utilized for personal gain or interest, and the participant's privacy was respected because no name, id or address was asked in the survey.

IV. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

A. Introduction

This chapter contains the results of the data analysis performed for this study with all needed statistics, tables and explanation. It begins with a simple percentage analysis, reliability analysis, descriptive statistics, skewness, and kurtosis followed by correlation analysis. The hypothesis testing is carried out utilizing mediation analysis.

B. Simple Percentage Analysis

Demographic questions concern the characteristics of research participants. The outcomes were as follows:

Table 4. Age

Age group	Turkey		Ukraine	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
18-24	210	51,6%	197	42,4%
25-34	99	24,3%	91	19,6%
35-44	52	12,8%	105	22,6%
45-54	15	3,7%	37	8,0%
55-64	14	3,4%	26	5,6%
65 and above	17	4,2%	9	1,9%
Total	407	100,0%	465	100,0%

The majority of respondents in both countries are aged from 18 to 24, followed by 25-34 and 35-44 age groups.

Table 5. Gender

Gender	Turkey		Ukraine	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Female	239	58,7%	317	68,2%
Male	168	41,3%	148	31,8%
Total	407	100,0%	465	100,0%

If considering gender, more than half of the respondents from both countries are females, in Turkey almost 59% are females and in Ukraine 68% are females.

Table 6. Education

Education level	Turkey		Ukraine	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
High school student	15	3,7%	5	1,1%
High school graduate	31	7,6%	20	4,3%
Bachelor student	168	41,3%	107	23,0%
Bachelor graduate	106	26,0%	72	15,5%
Master student	33	8,1%	35	7,5%
Master graduate	32	7,9%	166	35,7%
PhD student	4	1,0%	9	1,9%
PhD graduate	18	4,4%	51	11,0%
Total	407	100,0%	465	100,0%

When it comes to answerers' education, the majority (41%) of Turkish respondents are bachelor students, while in Ukraine bachelor students are just 23% of the total respondents. In contrast to this, the majority (36%) of survey participants in Ukraine are master graduates. Interestingly, from Ukraine 11% of respondents are academicians while in Turkey this percentage is just 4%.

Table 7. Work Experience

Working period	Turkey		Ukraine	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
No work experience	139	34,2%	38	8,2%
Less than 2 years	80	19,7%	105	22,6%
2-5 years	56	13,8%	99	21,3%
6-10 years	31	7,6%	56	12,0%
More than 10 years	101	24,8%	167	35,9%
Total	407	100,0%	465	100,0%

If considering work experience, one third of Turkish respondents have no work experience, while one third of Ukrainian answerers have more than 10 years of work experience.

C. Reliability Assessment (Cronbach Alpha Test)

For the first variable "Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party" within Turkish dataset $\alpha = 0.617$. If looking at the "if item deleted" column any elimination is needed to increase the α coefficient. If examining the reliability of the same variable, but from the Ukrainian side, we can declare that the α for Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party variable questions is equal to 0.776.

Table 8. Reliability Statistics (Cronbach Alpha Test)

	Cronbach's Alpha	Results
Turkey		
Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party	0.716	Accepted reliability
Advertisements and Campaigns	0.706	Accepted reliability
Digital Marketing	0.849	Accepted reliability
Online Political Participation	0.761	Accepted reliability
Ukraine		
Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party	0.737	Accepted reliability
Advertisements and Campaigns	0.727	Accepted reliability
Digital Marketing	0.819	Accepted reliability
Online Political Participation	0.861	Accepted reliability

D. Descriptive Statistics, Skewness, and Kurtosis

The tables below provide information regarding the descriptive mean and standard deviation values, as well as the skewness and kurtosis coefficients, which reveal that the survey questions' responses are not skewed and have no kurtosis except for survey question № 4.6 with Skewness of 3,662 and Kurtosis 14,580 for Turkish data, in Ukrainian data such an issue is not observed.

If considering Turkey in the aspect of brand image and loyalty of political party, Table 9 shows that respondents agreed that the candidates of the party create a strong brand image of the party ($mean = 3,95$), the party is aligned with their beliefs and interests ($mean = 3,28$), and the party they are loyal to gives more attention to the problems of youth and younger generation of the region ($mean = 3,42$). Additionally, turkish responders agreed that party they are loyal to gives more attention to the problems of youth and younger generation of the region ($mean = 3,42$), the advertisements gives them a constant reminder about the party even during the non-election periods ($mean = 3,28$), the memes and spoofs on digital media making them think about the political party at a different meaning ($mean = 3,49$), and digital media helps in providing a voice to express their views and opinions about politics or political parties ($mean = 3,20$). At the same time, the majority of respondents did not agree on trusting the political party only based on its brand image

(*mean* = 2,08) the views and writings of online bloggers and celebrities are given more importance in their decision about the political party (*mean* = 2,68).

When it comes to political advertisements and campaigns, turkish answerers did not agree of being a loyal follower of a particular political party throughout their lifes (*mean* = 2,22) the advertisements of the political parties being very informative (*mean* = 2,05) and the campaigns conducted assure them about the political party (*mean* = 2,38). Survey participants strongly disagreed (*mean* = 1,93) that whatever the criticism is made they would always prefer that party. In contrast to this, responders only agreed that the speech delivered by the parties are very strong and influential during voting period (*mean* = 3,08).

When considering digital marketing, respondents agreed that they often search for political information (*mean* = 3,23), read humorous content related to politics (*mean* = 3,47), and watch a political video.

If talking about online political participation, survey participants rarely (*mean* = 2,05) forward political information to others. Most of the responders never (*mean* = 1,57) participated in/read political discussions, and posted political information on their profile page (*mean* = 1,21), and post a ‘like’, message, or a comment on someone else’s message on the political party profile page (*mean* = 1,57).

Table 9. Descriptive Statistics, Skewness, and Kurtosis – Turkey (407)

Turkey	Mean	Std. Deviation	3>Sk>-3 Skewness	8>Ku>-8 Kurtosis
Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party Q1: The candidates of the party create a strong brand image of the party.	3,95*	,985	-1,419	2,107
Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party Q2: I trust the political party completely based on its brand image.	2,08*	,969	1,007	,802
Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party Q3: The brand (party) is aligned with my beliefs and interests.	3,28*	1,255	-,584	-,805
Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party Q4: The brand(party) gives more attention to the problems of youth and younger generation of the region.	3,42*	1,109	-,582	-,218

continued

Turkey	Mean	Std. Deviation	3>Sk>-3	8>Ku>-8
Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party Q5: The advertisements give me a constant reminder about the party even during the non-election periods.	3,28*	1,086	-,592	-,494
Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party Q6: The memes and spoofs on digital media make me think about the political party at a different meaning.	3,49*	1,096	-,688	-,379
Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party Q7: The views and writings of online bloggers and celebrities are given more importance in my decision about the political party.	2,68*	1,146	,180	-,973
Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party Q8: Digital media helps in providing a voice to express my views and opinions about politics or political parties.	3,25*	1,191	-,481	-,841
Advertisements and Campaigns Q1: I am a loyal follower of a particular political party throughout my life.	2,22*	1,208	,759	-,546
Advertisements and Campaigns Q2: Whatever the criticism is made I would always prefer that party.	1,93*	1,125	1,157	,440
Advertisements and Campaigns Q3: The advertisements of the political parties are very informative.	2,05*	,961	,955	,784
Advertisements and Campaigns Q4: The campaigns conducted gives me assurance about the brand(political party).	2,38*	1,064	,437	-,518
Advertisements and Campaigns Q5: The speeches delivered by the parties are very strong and influential during the voting period.	3,08*	1,204	-,266	-1,020
Digital Marketing Q1: I search for political information.	3,23**	1,044	-,127	-,447
Digital Marketing Q2: I read humorous content related to politics.	3,47**	1,084	-,345	-,500
Digital Marketing Q3: I watch a political video	3,04**	1,027	,104	-,331
Online Political Participation Q1: I forward political information to others.	2,05**	1,123	,946	,160
Online Political Participation Q2: I participate in/read political discussions.	1,57**	,954	1,903	3,393
Online Political Participation Q3. I post political information on their profile page.	1,21**	,630	3,662	14,580
Online Political Participation Q4: I post a 'like', message, or a comment on someone else's message on the political party profile page.	1,57**	,891	1,558	1,843

*1 = Strongly disagree | 2 = Disagree | 3 = Neutral | 4 = Agree | 5 = Strongly agree

**1 = Never | 2 = Rarely | 3 = Occasionally | 4 = Often | 5 = Always

If looking at Ukraine in the brand image and loyalty of political party issue, Table 10 provides information that respondents agreed on the candidates of the party create a strong brand image of the party ($mean = 3,84$), the party is aligned with their beliefs and interests ($mean = 3,62$). Furthermore, ukrainian answerers agreed on digital media helping in providing a voice to express their views and opinions about

politics or political parties (*mean* = 3,36), the party gives more attention to the problems of youth and younger generation of the region (*mean* = 3,33), and the advertisements giving them a constant reminder about the party even during the non-election periods (*mean* = 3,26). At the same time, ukrainian responders did not agree on trusting the political party completely based on its brand image (*mean* = 2,81), and the memes and spoofs on digital media making them think about the political party at a different meaning (*mean* = 2,80). The idea that the views and writings of online bloggers and celebrities are given more importance in respondents decision about the political party was not supported (*mean* = 2,50).

When it comes to political advertisements and campaigns, responders did not agree on being a loyal follower of a particular political party throughout their life (*mean* = 2,39), advertisements of the political parties being very informative (*mean* = 2,47), and campaigns conducted giving them assurance about the political party (*mean* = 2,70). Conversely, they support the thought that the speech delivered by the parties are very strong and influential during voting period (*mean* = 3,20). Also survey participants support the idea of being effected by criticism against party they were loyal to (*mean* = 2,58).

If considering digital marketing, ukrainian answerers agreed that they rarely search for political information (*mean* = 2,88), read humorous content related to politics (*mean* = 2,86), and watch a political video (*mean* = 2,50).

If talking about ukrainians' online political participation again they rarely forward political information to others (*mean* = 2,13), and participate in/read political discussions (*mean* = 2,17). Additionally, ukrainian respondents mostly never post political information on their profile page (*mean* = 1,71) and post a 'like', message, or a comment on someone else's message on the political party profile page (*mean* = 1,98).

Table 10. Descriptive Statistics, Skewness, and Kurtosis – Ukraine (465)

Ukraine	Mean	Std. Deviation	3>Sk>-3	8>Ku>8
			Skewness	Kurtosis
Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party Q1: The candidates of the party create a strong brand image of the party.	3,84*	0,989	-1,092	1,056

continued

Ukraine	Mean	Std. Deviation	3>Sk>-3 Skewness	8>Ku>-8 Kurtosis
Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party Q3: The brand (party) is aligned with my beliefs and interests.	3,62*	1,015	-,812	,375
Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party Q4: The brand(party) gives more attention to the problems of youth and younger generation of the region.	3,33*	1,067	-,526	-,182
Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party Q5: The advertisements give me a constant reminder about the party even during the non-election periods.	3,26*	1,090	-,315	-,805
Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party Q6: The memes and spoofs on digital media make me think about the political party at a different meaning.	2,80*	1,080	,094	-,979
Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party Q7: The views and writings of online bloggers and celebrities are given more importance in my decision about the political party.	2,50*	1,028	,206	-,850
Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party Q8: Digital media helps in providing a voice to express my views and opinions about politics or political parties.	3,36*	,999	-,546	-,173
Advertisements and Campaigns Q1: I am a loyal follower of a particular political party throughout my life.	2,39*	1,040	,527	-,312
Advertisements and Campaigns Q2: Whatever the criticism is made I would always prefer that party.	2,58*	1,131	,415	-,691
Advertisements and Campaigns Q3: The advertisements of the political parties are very informative.	2,47*	1,030	,530	-,335
Advertisements and Campaigns Q4: The campaigns conducted give me assurance about the brand(political party).	2,70*	1,007	,165	-,630
Advertisements and Campaigns Q5: The speeches delivered by the parties are very strong and influential during the voting period.	3,20*	1,074	-,344	-,782
Digital Marketing Q1: I search for political information.	2,88**	1,254	,075	-1,191
Digital Marketing Q2: I read humorous content related to politics.	2,86**	1,140	,127	-,897
Digital Marketing Q3: I watch a political video	2,50**	1,141	,518	-,606
Online Political Participation Q1: I forward political information to others.	2,13**	1,023	,799	,078
Online Political Participation Q2: I participate in/read political discussions.	2,17**	1,056	,670	-,365
Online Political Participation Q3. I post political information on their profile page.	1,71**	,845	1,232	1,388
Online Political Participation Q4: I post a 'like', message, or a comment on someone else's message on the political party profile page.	1,98**	1,051	1,056	,440

*1 = Strongly disagree | 2 = Disagree | 3 = Neutral | 4 = Agree | 5 = Strongly agree

**1 = Never | 2 = Rarely | 3 = Occasionally | 4 = Often | 5 = Always

E. Correlation Analysis

As can be seen from the table 11, if considering Pearson Correlation coefficients for Turkey, there is a moderate correlation between Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party and Advertisements and Campaigns ($r = 0,413$). If looking at other relationships among variables, low correlations are observed since the r coefficient is in the range between 0 and 0,4. When looking at the significance value or in other words p value it is equal to 0,000 it is smaller than the α coefficient ($\alpha = 0,01$) which means that there is enough evidence to suggest that the correlation observed does exist in the population under consideration.

Table 11. Correlations Analysis – Turkey (n=407)

		Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party	Advertise- ments and Campaigns	Digital Marketing	Online Political Partici- pation
Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party	Pearson Correlation	1	,413**	,273**	,176**
	Sig. (2- tailed)		,000	,000	,000
	N	407	407	407	407
Advertisements and Campaig- ns	Pearson Correlation	,413**	1	,048	,224**
	Sig. (2- tailed)	,000		,330	,000
	N	407	407	407	407
Digital Marketing	Pearson Correlation	,273**	,048	1	,330**
	Sig. (2- tailed)	,000	,330		,000
	N	407	407	407	407
Online Political Participation	Pearson Correlation	,176**	,224**	,330**	1
	Sig. (2- tailed)	,000	,000	,000	
	N	407	407	407	407

**, Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

If examining the Pearson Correlation coefficient in the Ukrainian dataset, likewise in the Turkish one, just one moderate correlation is observed again between Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party and Advertisements and Campaigns ($r = 0,463$). The strong correlation is found between digital marketing and online political participation ($r = 0,616$). There are low correlations observed among other variables of this study. When it comes to the p value, again the significance value accounts for 0,000, it is smaller than α ($\alpha = 0,01$) which means that the results were highly significant or in other words, very unlikely to have occurred by chance alone.

Table 12. Correlations Analysis - Ukraine (n=465)

		Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party	Advertisements and Campaigns	Digital Marketing	Online Political Participation
Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party	Pearson Correlation	1	,463**	,319**	,244**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,000	,000	,000
	N	465	465	465	465
Advertisements and Campaigns	Pearson Correlation	,463**	1	,249**	,356**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000		,000	,000
	N	465	465	465	465
Digital Marketing	Pearson Correlation	,319**	,249**	1	,616**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	,000		,000
	N	465	465	465	465
Online Political Participation	Pearson Correlation	,244**	,356**	,616**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	,000	,000	
	N	465	465	465	465

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

F. Exploratory Factor Analysis EFA

(KMO) factor measure and Bartlett's Test of Sphericity, as shown in the table below, indicated mediocre and good loadings:

Table 13. (KMO) and Bartlett's Test of Sphericity

	KMO	Bartlett's Test of Sphericity
Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party	0.751	.000
Advertisements and Campaigns	0.662	.000
Digital Marketing	0.663	.000
Online Political Participation	0.733	.000

The factor loadings of the turkish and ukrainian survey questions are showed in following table № 14:

Table 14. Exploratory Factor Analysis EFA

	Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party
Q1:	.703
Q2:	.575

continued

Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party	
Q3:	.768
Q4	.712
Q5	.520
Q6	.658
Q7	.591
Q8	.538
Advertisements and Campaigns	
Q1	.583
Q2	.586
Q3	.617
Q4	.464
Q5	.562
Digital Marketing	
Q1	.779
Q2	.647
Q3	.823
Online Political Participation	
Q1	.790
Q2	.790
Q3	.633
Q4	.693

G. Standard Deviation Histograms

If looking at standard deviation histograms (Figure 8) for every variable, it might be observed that Turkish dataset (N=407) has almost normal distribution except for online political participation. Where, for Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party $M=3.18$, $SD=.557$; for Advertisements and Campaigns $M=2.33$, $SD=.757$; for Digital Marketing $M=3.25$, $SD=.922$; and for Online Political Participation $M=1.60$, $SD=.70$.

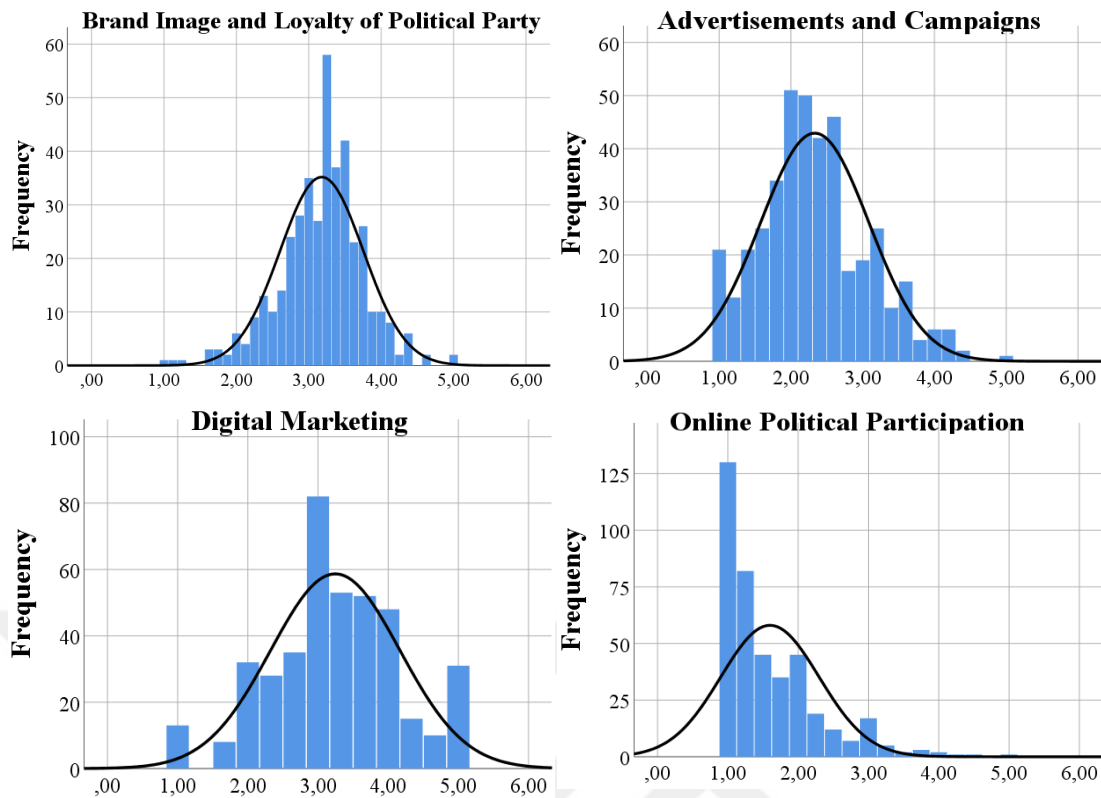


Figure 8. Standard deviation histograms – Turkey (407).

When considering Ukrainian data (N=465), here almost normal distribution for all variables except for online political participation is observed as well (Figure9).

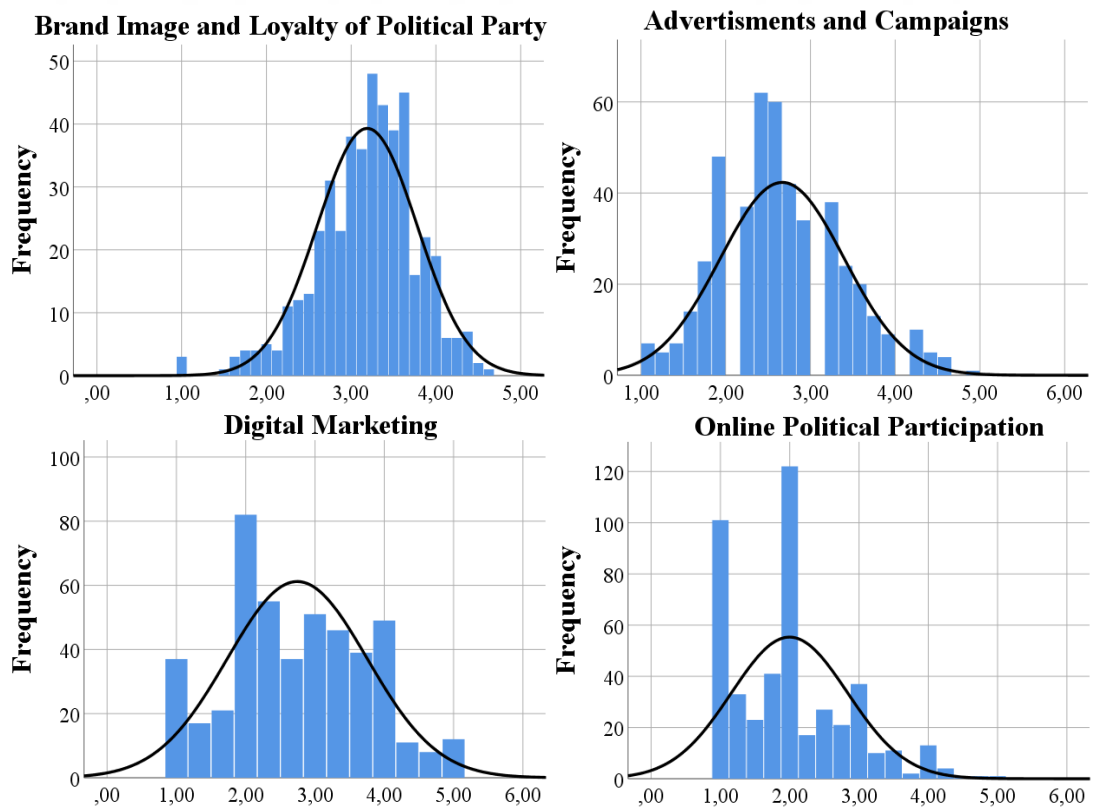


Figure 9. Standard deviation histograms – Ukraine (465).

According to the results, for Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party $M=3.19$, $SD=.59$; for Advertisements and Campaigns $M=2.67$, $SD=.73$; for Digital Marketing $M=2.74$, $SD=1.011$; and for Online Political Participation $M=2.00$, $SD=.838$.

Normal distribution is an important feature of the considered data for future analyses conduction. However, in the following regression based analyses data distribution type does not play a significant role (Hanke J.E., Wichern D.W., 2014).

H. T test

In order to find out the statistical difference in answers between turkish men and women the T test has been run (Table 15). As can be seen from the results, there are significant differences between males and females regarding advertisements and campaigns, digital marketing and online political participation. Therefore, in regard to the above mentioned variables H1 hypothesis is accepted.

Table 15. T test for gender - Turkey (n=407)

	Gender	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	T value	Significance
Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party	Female	239	3,1919	,60826	,590	,556
	Male	168	3,1585	,52988		
Advertisements and Campaigns	Female	239	2,3941	,78717	2,017	,044
	Male	168	2,2440	,70360		
Digital Marketing	Female	239	3,1269	,93942	-3,173	,002
	Male	168	3,4147	,87281		
Online Political Participation	Female	239	1,5314	,61542	-2,212	,028
	Male	168	1,6935	,79703		

If considering differences between Ukrainian men and women, it can be concluded that there is no significant difference in the variances for any variable. As a result, H0 hypothesis is a accepted.

Table 16. T test for gender - Ukraine (n=465)

	Gender	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	T value	Significance
Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party	Female	317	3,1841	,58135	-,254	,800
	Male	148	3,1993	,60973		
Advertisements and Campaigns	Female	317	2,6489	,70722	-,750	,454
	Male	148	2,7054	,77843		
Digital Marketing	Female	317	2,6961	,99392	-1,475	,141
	Male	148	2,8468	1,04138		
Online Political Participation	Female	317	1,9771	,81184	-,733	,464
	Male	148	2,0405	,89360		

I. Anova

As a result of the Anova test performed for Turkish dataset in Table 17, a significance was found in age groups regarding advertisements and campaigns, digital marketing and online political participation ($p_1 = 0,001$, $p_2 = 0,022$, $p_3 = 0,001$, respectively). In order to observe which age groups shows significant differences Hochberg's GT2 test was applied.

Table 17. Anova test for age groups - Turkey (n=407)

	Age group	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	F	Significance
Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party	18-24	210	3,1637	,57607	,333	,893
	25-34	99	3,1503	,61961		
	35-44	52	3,2524	,55764		
	45-54	15	3,2167	,56392		
	55-64	14	3,1696	,54949		
	65 and above	17	3,2647	,45260		
Advertisements and Campaigns	18-24	210	2,2505	,73642	4,216	,001
	25-34	99	2,3414	,79552		
	35-44	52	2,4115	,79055		
	45-54	15	2,4933	,45272		
	55-64	14	2,1429	,59963		
	65 and above	17	3,0588	,61141		
Digital Marketing	18-24	210	3,1984	,89139	2,672	,022
	25-34	99	3,2593	,90921		
	35-44	52	3,3462	,96781		
	45-54	15	3,7778	1,00528		
	55-64	14	3,5476	,54861		
	65 and above	17	2,7255	1,15611		
Online Political Participation	18-24	210	1,5095	,64465	4,804	,000
	25-34	99	1,5606	,60934		
	35-44	52	1,6731	,81128		
	45-54	15	1,7333	,75868		
	55-64	14	2,0536	,77941		
	65 and above	17	2,1912	,96229		

Post Hoc tests were used to find out between which groups this significance was observed. Hochberg's GT2 test was applied. As a result of the Hochberg's GT2 test, there is a significant difference between individuals from the 65 and above age group and those from the 18-24, 25-34, 35-44, and 55-64 year old groups, when talking about advertisements and campaigns ($p_1 = 0,001$, $p_2 = 0,004$, $p_3 = 0,028$, $p_4 = 0,010$ respectively). When it comes to digital marketing, there is only a marginal difference between the 45-54 and 65+ age groups ($p = 0,018$). Regarding online political

participation, people from the 65 and above age group demonstrate a significant difference from 18–24 and 25–34-year old Turkish citizens ($p_1 = 0,001$, $p_2 = 0,007$ respectively).

Table 18. Hochberg's GT2 test for age groups - Turkey (n=407)

	Age groups	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 and above
Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party	18-24	-	1,000	,997	1,000	1,000	1,000
	25-34	1,000	-	,995	1,000	1,000	1,000
	35-44	,997	,995	-	1,000	1,000	1,000
	45-54	1,000	1,000	1,000	-	1,000	1,000
	55-64	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	-	1,000
	65 and above	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	-
Advertisements and Campaigns	18-24	-	,996	,927	,975	1,000	,000
	25-34	,996	-	1,000	1,000	,998	,004
	35-44	,927	1,000	-	1,000	,979	,028
	45-54	,975	1,000	1,000	-	,966	,384
	55-64	1,000	,998	,979	,966	-	,010
	65 and above	,000	,004	,028	,384	,010	-
Digital Marketing	18-24	-	1,000	,995	,238	,933	,460
	25-34	1,000	-	1,000	,464	,990	,330
	35-44	,995	1,000	-	,815	1,000	,207
	45-54	,238	,464	,815	-	1,000	,018
	55-64	,933	,990	1,000	1,000	-	,177
	65 and above	,460	,330	,207	,018	,177	-
Online Political Participation	18-24	-	1,000	,858	,976	,061	,001
	25-34	1,000	-	,998	,999	,165	,007
	35-44	,858	,998	-	1,000	,633	,099
	45-54	,976	,999	1,000	-	,969	,598
	55-64	,061	,165	,633	,969	-	1,000
	65 and above	,001	,007	,099	,598	1,000	-

When looking at Anova test performed for ukrainian dataset in Table 19, a significance was found between age groups and advertisements and campaigns, and online political participation ($p_1 = 0,019$, $p_2 = 0,004$ respectively). In order to observe which age groups shows significant differences Hochberg's GT2 test was applied.

Table 19. Anova test for age groups - Ukraine (n=465)

	Age group	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	F	Significance
Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party	18-24	197	3,1650	,57219	1,000	,417
	25-34	91	3,2445	,53226		
	35-44	105	3,2274	,61158		
	45-54	37	3,1892	,74688		
	55-64	26	3,1442	,56313		
	65 and above	9	2,8333	,62812		

continued

	Age group	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	F	Significance
Advertisements and Campaigns	18-24	197	2,5635	,70875	2,732	,019
	25-34	91	2,6626	,67142		
	35-44	105	2,7676	,75045		
	45-54	37	2,7351	,80699		
	55-64	26	3,0308	,85359		
	65 and above	9	2,4667	,36056		
Digital Marketing	18-24	197	2,7343	1,07007	1,342	,245
	25-34	91	2,6923	,99658		
	35-44	105	2,6317	,89266		
	45-54	37	2,9820	1,11926		
	55-64	26	2,9487	,91259		
	65 and above	9	3,2222	,74536		
Online Political Participation	18-24	197	1,9061	,83341	3,538	,004
	25-34	91	1,8764	,71236		
	35-44	105	2,0405	,81018		
	45-54	37	2,2500	1,02571		
	55-64	26	2,4038	,94360		
	65 and above	9	2,5000	,68465		

As a result of the Hochberg's GT2 test for ukrainian dataset, there is a significant difference between individuals from 18-24 age group and people from 55-64 age group when talking about advertisements and campaigns ($p=0,031$). Regarding other variables there is no significant difference between groups.

Table 20. Hochberg's GT2 test for age groups - Ukraine (n=465)

	Age groups	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 and above
Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party	18-24	-	,994	,999	1,000	1,000	,790
	25-34	,994	-	1,000	1,000	1,000	,509
	35-44	,999	1,000	-	1,000	1,000	,569
	45-54	1,000	1,000	1,000	-	1,000	,808
	55-64	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	-	,941
	65 and above	,790	,509	,569	,808	,941	-
Advertisements and Campaigns	18-24	-	,992	,260	,953	,031	1,000
	25-34	,992	-	,996	1,000	,289	1,000
	35-44	,260	,996	-	1,000	,782	,980
	45-54	,953	1,000	1,000	-	,826	,997
	55-64	,031	,289	,782	,826	-	,491
	65 and above	1,000	1,000	,980	,997	,491	-
Digital Marketing	18-24	-	1,000	1,000	,938	,996	,920
	25-34	1,000	-	1,000	,896	,987	,881
	35-44	1,000	1,000	-	,660	,914	,764
	45-54	,938	,896	,660	-	1,000	1,000
	55-64	,996	,987	,914	1,000	-	1,000

continued

	Age groups	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 and above
Digital Marketing	65 and above	,920	,881	,764	1,000	1,000	-
Online Political Participation	18-24	-	1,000	,947	,268	,060	,418
	25-34	1,000	-	,933	,271	,063	,379
	35-44	,947	,933	-	,953	,500	,824
	45-54	,268	,271	,953	-	1,000	1,000
	55-64	,060	,063	,500	1,000	-	1,000
	65 and above	,418	,379	,824	1,000	1,000	-

According to results of the Anova test conducted in Table 21, there is a significant difference between the educational levels regarding advertisements and campaigns and online political participation ($p_1 = 0,042$, $p_2 = 0,050$, respectively). The Hochberg's GT2 test, one of the Post Hoc tests, was used to determine which educational level groups had this significance.

Table 21. Anova test for education levels - Turkey (n=407)

	Education level	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	F	Significance
Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party	High school student	15	3,2167	,54582	1,587	,138
	High school graduate	31	2,9597	,62947		
	Bachelor student	168	3,1257	,62260		
	Bachelor graduate	106	3,2983	,50166		
	Master student	33	3,1970	,54846		
	Master graduate	32	3,2305	,44801		
	PhD student	4	3,0625	,50518		
	PhD graduate	18	3,2014	,66716		
Advertisements and Campaigns	High school student	15	2,2533	,45649	2,109	,042
	High school graduate	31	2,3613	,74908		
	Bachelor student	168	2,2881	,78875		
	Bachelor graduate	106	2,3132	,73343		
	Master student	33	2,1152	,81245		
	Master graduate	32	2,7188	,70365		

continued

	Education level	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	F	Significance
Advertisements and Campaigns	PhD student	4	2,2000	,36515	2,109	,042
	PhD graduate	18	2,6111	,64524		
Digital Marketing	High school student	15	3,3333	,85449	1,754	,095
	High school graduate	31	3,1398	,87675		
	Bachelor student	168	3,1091	,90867		
	Bachelor graduate	106	3,4308	,86919		
	Master student	33	3,4646	,83308		
	Master graduate	32	3,3229	1,14374		
	PhD student	4	2,7500	,56928		
	PhD graduate	18	3,1111	1,10849		
	High school student	15	1,2500	,35355		
	High school graduate	31	1,6452	,60475		
Online Political Participation	Bachelor student	168	1,4911	,60307	2,030	,050
	Bachelor graduate	106	1,7288	,78233		
	Master student	33	1,6894	,88836		
	Master graduate	32	1,7578	,78669		
	PhD student	4	1,7500	,28868		
	PhD graduate	18	1,5556	,75027		

According to the results from Table 22, there is a significant difference between turkish master students and master graduates in response to advertisements and campaigns and online political participation ($p_1 = 0,042$). No significant differences were found between other research variables and educational status.

Table 22. Hochberg's GT2 test for education levels - Turkey (n=407)

	Education level	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Advertisements and Campaigns	1	-	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	,740	1,000	,994
	2	1,000	-	1,000	1,000	,997	,812	1,000	1,000
	3	1,000	1,000	-	1,000	,999	,082	1,000	,907
	4	1,000	1,000	1,000	-	,996	,191	1,000	,969
	5	1,000	,997	,999	,996	-	,035	1,000	,495
	6	,740	,812	,082	,191	,035	-	,997	1,000
	7	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	,997	-	1,000
	8	,994	1,000	,907	,969	,495	1,000	1,000	-
Online Political Participation	1	-	,867	,998	,299	,698	,425	,998	,998
	2	,867	-	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
	3	,998	1,000	-	,154	,980	,733	1,000	1,000
	4	,299	1,000	,154	-	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
	5	,698	1,000	,980	1,000	-	1,000	1,000	1,000
	6	,425	1,000	,733	1,000	1,000	-	1,000	1,000
	7	,998	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	-	1,000
	8	,998	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	-

1- High school student; 2- High school graduate; 3- Bachelor student; 4- Bachelor graduate; 5- Master student; 6- Master graduate; 7- PhD student; 8- PhD graduate.

Anova test conducted for ukrainian dataset in Table 23 shows that there is a significant difference in association of the educational levels with brand image and loyalty of political party, and digital marketing ($p_1 = 0,001$, $p_2 = 0,025$, respectively). The Hochberg's GT2 test was applied to find out which educational level groups provide this significance.

Table 23. Anova test for education levels - Ukraine (n=465)

	Education level	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	F	Significance
Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party	High school student	5	3,3750	,34233	4,317	,000
	High school graduate	20	2,7375	,66380		
	Bachelor student	107	3,2150	,56238		
	Bachelor graduate	72	2,9688	,72273		
	Master student	35	3,1929	,53494		
	Master graduate	166	3,2688	,52758		
	PhD student	9	3,4306	,46817		
	PhD graduate	51	3,2990	,54030		
Advertisements and Campaigns	High school student	5	2,8400	,58992	,908	,500

continued

	Education level	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	F	Significance
Advertisements and Campaigns	High school graduate	20	2,5800	,79974	,908	,500
	Bachelor student	107	2,6019	,73792		
	Bachelor graduate	72	2,5806	,76114		
	Master student	35	2,8000	,62119		
	Master graduate	166	2,6699	,73158		
	PhD student	9	2,6889	,83133		
	PhD graduate	51	2,8373	,70284		
Digital Marketing	High school student	5	2,6000	,54772	2,320	,025
	High school graduate	20	2,7000	,97872		
	Bachelor student	107	2,9283	1,11124		
	Bachelor graduate	72	2,3981	,89099		
	Master student	35	2,7714	1,00252		
	Master graduate	166	2,7108	1,00272		
	PhD student	9	2,5556	,88192		
	PhD graduate	51	3,0000	,94516		
Online Political Participation	High school student	5	2,0500	,71589	1,572	,142
	High school graduate	20	2,1000	,84449		
	Bachelor student	107	1,9907	,88417		
	Bachelor graduate	72	1,7813	,75636		
	Master student	35	2,1071	,94380		
	Master graduate	166	2,0060	,81925		
	PhD student	9	1,6667	,59948		
	PhD graduate	51	2,2255	,84151		

In conformity with the results of Hochberg's GT2 test from Table 24, there are significant differences between ukrainian high school graduates and bachelor students ($p = 0,020$); high school graduates and master graduates ($p = 0,003$); high school graduates and PhD graduates ($p = 0,007$); bachelor graduates and master graduates ($p = 0,007$); bachelor graduates and PhD graduates ($p = 0,050$) in response to brand image and loyalty of political party. When talking about association of education levels and digital marketing, there are significant differences between bachelor students and bachelor graduates ($p = 0,015$); bachelor graduates and PhD graduates ($p = 0,030$).

Table 24. Hochberg's GT2 test for education levels - Ukraine (n=465)

	Education level	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party	1	-	,534	1,000	,976	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
	2	,534	-	,020	,962	,130	,003	,077	,007
	3	1,000	,020	-	,136	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
	4	,976	,962	,136	-	,815	,007	,485	,050
	5	1,000	,130	1,000	,815	-	1,000	1,000	1,000
	6	1,000	,003	1,000	,007	1,000	-	1,000	1,000
	7	1,000	,077	1,000	,485	1,000	1,000	-	1,000
	8	1,000	,007	1,000	,050	1,000	1,000	1,000	-
Digital Marketing	1	-	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
	2	1,000	-	1,000	,999	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
	3	1,000	1,000	-	,015	1,000	,900	1,000	1,000
	4	1,000	,999	,015	-	,868	,534	1,000	,030
	5	1,000	1,000	1,000	,868	-	1,000	1,000	1,000
	6	1,000	1,000	,900	,534	1,000	-	1,000	,871
	7	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	-	,999
	8	1,000	1,000	1,000	,030	1,000	,871	,999	-

1- High school student; 2- High school graduate; 3- Bachelor student; 4- Bachelor graduate; 5- Master student; 6- Master graduate; 7- PhD student; 8- PhD graduate.

Anova test was also applied regarding the work experience and performed in Table 25. There is a significant difference between groups regarding online political participation ($p = 0,013$).

Table 25. Anova test for work experience - Turkey (n=407)

	Work experience	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	F	Significance
Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party	No work experience	139	3,0935	,56508	1,579	,179
	Less than 2 years	80	3,2531	,47898		
	2-5 years	56	3,2500	,59209		
	6-10 years	31	3,1008	,74051		
	More than 10 years	101	3,2191	,59198		

continued

	Work experience	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	F	Significance
Advertisements and Campaigns	No work experience	139	2,2504	,68019	1,490	,205
	Less than 2 years	80	2,2700	,80887		
	2-5 years	56	2,3250	,79045		
	6-10 years	31	2,4839	,86221		
	More than 10 years	101	2,4515	,75347		
Digital Marketing	No work experience	139	3,1439	,83892	,878	,477
	Less than 2 years	80	3,2375	,89567		
	2-5 years	56	3,3095	,88273		
	6-10 years	31	3,2366	1,08592		
	More than 10 years	101	3,3597	1,01837		
Online Political Participation	No work experience	139	1,4604	,51364	3,233	,013
	Less than 2 years	80	1,6375	,80730		
	2-5 years	56	1,5893	,75442		
	6-10 years	31	1,5403	,60241		
	More than 10 years	101	1,7797	,79080		

In order to find which work experience groups significantly differ from one another by online political participation, the Hochberg's GT2 test was applied. It turned out that there is a significant difference between Turkish citizens with no work experience and those who have worked for more than 10 years ($p = 0,005$).

Table 26. Hochberg's GT2 test for work experience - Turkey (n=407)

	Work experience	No work experience	Less than 2 years	2-5 years	6-10 years	More than 10 years
Online Political Participation	No work experience	-	,509	,935	1,000	,005
	Less than 2 years	,509	-	1,000	,999	,844
	2-5 years	,935	1,000	-	1,000	,647
	6-10 years	1,000	,999	1,000	-	,620
	More than 10 years	,005	,844	,647	,620	-

In order to assess the significant differences in responses between work experience groups the Anova test was conducted in Table 27. As reported in the table, there are significant differences in work experience groups in relation to advertisements and campaigns, and online political participation ($p_1 = 0,014$, $p_2 =$

0,014 respectively). In order to define which groups provide those differences the Hochberg's GT2 test has been run.

Table 27. Anova test for work experience - Ukraine (n=465)

	Work experience	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	F	Significance
Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party	No work experience	38	3,1875	,49979	2,148	,074
	Less than 2 years	105	3,2214	,59223		
	2-5 years	99	3,0972	,60834		
	6-10 years	56	3,3728	,58216		
	More than 10 years	167	3,1617	,59051		
Advertisements and Campaigns	No work experience	38	2,7263	,60166	3,158	,014
	Less than 2 years	105	2,6057	,69695		
	2-5 years	99	2,4747	,75948		
	6-10 years	56	2,7875	,66608		
	More than 10 years	167	2,7653	,76046		
Digital Marketing	No work experience	38	3,0263	1,01751	1,937	,103
	Less than 2 years	105	2,7175	1,00403		
	2-5 years	99	2,5758	1,10021		
	6-10 years	56	2,6369	,87681		
	More than 10 years	167	2,8323	,98779		
Online Political Participation	No work experience	38	1,9737	,70660	3,152	,014
	Less than 2 years	105	1,8786	,89477		
	2-5 years	99	1,8586	,68247		
	6-10 years	56	1,9554	,77914		
	More than 10 years	167	2,1737	,90710		

In agreement with the results of Hochberg's GT2 test in Table 28, there is a significant difference between Ukrainians having 2–5 years of work experience and individuals with more than 10 years of work experience in relation to advertisements and campaigns ($p = 0,016$). When it comes to online political participation, people having more than 10 years of work experience are significantly different from the less than 2 year and 2–5 year work experience groups ($p_1 = 0,044$, $p_2 = 0,029$ respectively).

Table 28. Hochberg's GT2 test for work experience - Ukraine (n=465)

	Work experience	No work experience	Less than 2 years	2-5 years	6-10 years	More than 10 years
Advertisements and Campaigns	No work experience	-	,991	,509	1,000	1,000
	Less than 2 years	,991	-	,887	,748	,550
	2-5 years	,509	,887	-	,096	,016
	6-10 years	1,000	,748	,096	-	1,000
	More than 10 years	1,000	,550	,016	1,000	-
Online Political Participation	No work experience	-	1,000	,998	1,000	,862
	Less than 2 years	1,000	-	1,000	1,000	,044
	2-5 years	,998	1,000	-	,999	,029
	6-10 years	1,000	1,000	,999	-	,606
	More than 10 years	,862	,044	,029	,606	-

J. Regression

From the table 29 it is observed that in Turkey advertisements and campaigns provides significant positive effect on the online political participation ($\beta = 0,1897$, $t = 4,2319$, $p = 0,000$). Additionally, age ($\beta = 0,1200$, $t = 2,9747$, $p = 0,0031$) and gender ($\beta = 0,1568$, $t = 2,2701$, $p = 0,0237$) have a significant positive impact.

Table 29. Mediation analysis: Mediator variable model – Turkey (n=407)

	coeff	Online Political Participation				LLCI	ULCI
		se	t	p			
Constant	,9596	,1350	7,1091	,0000	,6943	1,2250	
Advertisements and Campaigns	,1897	,0448	4,2319	,0000	,1016	,2778	
Age	,1200	,0403	2,9747	,0031	,0407	,1993	
Gender	,1568	,0691	2,2701	,0237	,0210	,2925	
Education	-,0106	,0263	-,4048	,6859	-,0623	,0410	
Work Experience	-,0234	,0331	-,7077	,4795	-,0885	,0416	

If looking at Table 30, likewise in Turkey, in Ukraine advertisements and campaigns provides significant positive impact on the online political participation ($\beta = 0,3888$, $t = 7.7767$, $p = 0,000$). However, here just age is significant ($\beta = 0,936$, $t = 2,1042$, $p = 0,0359$).

Table 30. Mediation analysis: Mediator variable model – Ukraine (n=465)

	Online Political Participation				LLCI	ULCI
	coeff	se	t	p		
Constant	,8070	,1724	4,6820	,0000	,4683	1,1457
Advertisements and Campaigns	,3888	,0500	7,7767	,0000	,2905	,4870
Age	,0936	,0445	2,1042	,0359	,0062	,1810
Gender	,0652	,0780	,8350	,4041	-,0882	,2185
Education	-,0181	,0243	-,7442	,4572	-,0659	,0297
Work Experience	,0045	,0445	,1010	,9196	-,0830	,0920

If looking at the Table 31, a_2 -path as the association between advertisements and campaigns and digital marketing appears to be insignificantly positive for turkish dataset ($\beta = 0,4122$, $t = 6,5691$, $p = 0,000$). From demographic factors just gender is significant predictors here ($\beta = 0,2887$, $t = 3,0690$, $p = 0,0023$).

Table 31. Mediation analysis: Mediator variable model – Turkey (n=407)

	Digital Marketing				LLCI	ULCI
	coeff	se	t	p		
Constant	2,8620	,1839	15,5652	,0000	2,5005	3,2234
Advertisements and Campaigns	,0833	,0611	1,3650	,1730	-,0367	,2034
Age	-,1009	,0550	-1,8352	,0672	-,2089	,0072
Gender	,2887	,0941	3,0690	,0023	,1038	,4736
Education	,0052	,0358	,1438	,8857	-,0652	,0755
Work Experience	,0921	,0451	2,0435	,0417	,0035	,1807

When looking at Ukrainian dataset in Table 32, advertisements and campaigns has a significant positive effect on digital marketing ($\beta = 0,3319$, $t = 5.2803$, $p = 0,000$). Demographic factors are not the significant predictors here.

Table 32. Mediation analysis: Mediator variable model – Ukraine (n=465)

	Digital Marketing				LLCI	ULCI
	coeff	se	t	p		
Constant	1,8637	,2167	8,6000	,0000	1,4378	2,2896
Advertisements and Campaigns	,3319	,0629	5,2803	,0000	,2084	,4554
Age	,0972	,0559	1,7372	,0830	-,0128	,2071
Gender	,1418	,0981	1,4452	,1491	-,0510	,3346
Education	,0052	,0306	,1711	,8642	-,0549	,0653
Work Experience	-,0841	,0560	-1,5018	,1338	-,1942	,0260

K. Mediation Analysis

Table 33 indicates that b_1 -path as the link between online political participation and brand image and loyalty of political party is insignificantly positive ($\beta = 0,0120$, $t = 0,2982$, $p = 0,7657$). b_2 -path as the association between digital marketing and brand image and loyalty of political party is significantly positive ($\beta = 0,1566$, $t = 5,3100$, $p = 0,0000$). In this regression, demographic factors are not significant predictors at all.

Table 33. Mediation analysis: Dependent variable model – Turkey (n=407)

	coeff	se	Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party			
			t	p	LLCI	ULCI
Constant	1,9203	,1304	14,7279	,0000	1,6640	2,1767
Advertisements and Campaigns	,3036	,0348	8,7204	,0000	,2352	,3721
Online Political Participation	,0120	,0402	,2982	,7657	-,0670	,0910
Digital Marketing	,1566	,0295	5,3100	,0000	,0986	,2146
Age	-,0313	,0313	-,9989	,3184	-,0929	,0303
Gender	-,0354	,0532	-,6651	,5064	-,1400	,0692
Education	,0178	,0200	,8911	,3734	-,0215	,0571
Work Experience	,0115	,0253	,4529	,6509	-,0383	,0613

In Ukrainian version of the above-calculated regression in Table 34, b_1 -path as the link between online political participation and brand image and loyalty of political party is insignificantly negative ($\beta = -0,0200$, $t = -0,5740$, $p = 0,5662$). b_2 -path as the association between digital marketing and brand image and loyalty of political party is significantly positive ($\beta = 0,1225$, $t = 4,4120$, $p = 0,0000$). Here just education level is the significant predictor ($\beta = 0,0592$, $t = 4,0079$, $p = 0,0001$).

Table 34. Mediation analysis: Dependent variable model – Ukraine (n=465)

	coeff	se	Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party			
			t	p	LLCI	ULCI
Constant	1,6890	,1128	14,9797	,0000	1,4675	1,9106
Advertisements and Campaigns	,4160	,0323	12,8741	,0000	,3525	,4794
Online Political Participation	-,0200	,0349	-,5740	,5662	-,0887	,0486
Digital Marketing	,1225	,0278	4,4120	,0000	,0679	,1771
Age	-,0731	,0271	-2,6933	,0073	-,1265	-,0198
Gender	-,0499	,0475	-1,0502	,2942	-,1432	,0434
Education	,0592	,0148	4,0079	,0001	,0302	,0883

continued

	coeff	se	t	p	LLCI	ULCI
Work Experience	-,0060	,0271	-,2223	,8242	-,0594	,0473

As can be seen from Table 35, c'-path here shows a significant positive effect of advertisements and campaigns on brand image and loyalty of political party ($\beta = 0,3190$, $t = 9,0222$, $p = 0,000$). Nearly 18% of the variance in brand image and loyalty of political party was accounted for by the predictors ($R - sq = 0,18$).

Table 35. Total effect model – Turkey (n=407)

	Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party					
	coeff	se	t	p	LLCI	ULCI
Constant	2,3801	,1065	22,3558	,0000	2,1708	2,5893
Advertisements and Campaigns	,3190	,0354	9,0222	,0000	,2495	,3885
Age	-,0457	,0318	-1,4348	,1521	-,1082	,0169
Gender	,0117	,0545	,2148	,8300	-,0954	,1188
Education	,0185	,0207	,8917	,3731	-,0223	,0592
Work Experience	,0256	,0261	,9818	,3268	-,0257	,0769
Model Summary	R	R-sq	MSE	df1	df2	p
	,4192	,1757	,2776	5,0000	401,0000	,0000

The results from Table 36 suggest that political advertisements and campaigns has positive significant impact on brand image and loyalty of political party ($\beta = 0,4488$, $t = 14,4245$ $p = 0,000$). Likewise in the second regression, from all of the demographic factors only education is the significant predictor ($\beta = 0,0602$, $t = 3,9798$, $p = 0,0001$). The predictors accounted for 33% of the variance in brand image and loyalty of political party ($R - sq = 0,33$).

Table 36. Total effect model – Ukraine (n=465)

	Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party					
	coeff	se	t	p	LLCI	ULCI
Constant	1,9012	,1073	17,7229	,0000	1,6904	2,1120
Advertisements and Campaigns	,4488	,0311	14,4245	,0000	,3877	,5100
Age	-,0631	,0277	-2,2783	,0232	-,1175	-,0087
Gender	-,0338	,0486	-,6957	,4869	-,1292	,0617
Education	,0602	,0151	3,9798	,0001	,0305	,0900
Work Experience	-,0164	,0277	-,5926	,5537	-,0709	,0381
Model Summary	R	R-sq	MSE	df1	df2	p
	,5768	,3327	,2348	5,0000	459,0000	,0000

Results from Table 37 indicated that in Turkey, c-path as the effect of advertisements and campaigns on brand image and loyalty of political party is a significant predictor ($\beta = 0,3036$, $t = 8,7204$, $p = 0,000$). From the calculations within ukrainian data, the same situation is observed ($\beta = 0,4160$, $t = 12,8741$, $p = 0,000$).

Table 37. Direct Effects of X on Y

	coeff	se	t	p	LLCI	ULCI
Turkey (n=259)	,3036	,0348	8,7204	,0000	,2352	,3721
Ukraine (n=465)	,4160	,0323	12,8741	,0000	,3525	,4794

In Table 38, the indirect effects were calculated with 5000 samples and 95% level of confidence using a percentile bootstrap estimation technique, which was implemented with the PROCESS Version 4.1 (Hayes, 2022). The results show that proposed mediators (online political participation and digital marketing) provides insignificant positive indirect impact ($\beta = 0,0023$ and $\beta = 0,0131$ respectively). These findings suggested that in Turkey online political participation and digital marketing cannot be observed as mediators between advertisements and campaigns and brand image and loyalty of political party.

Table 38. Indirect, and Completely standardized indirect Effects of X on Y – Turkey (n=407)

	Effect	Indirect effect(s) of X on Y		
		BootSE	BootLLCI	BootULCI
Total	,0153	,0148	-,0109	,0477
Online Political Participation	,0023	,0077	-,0125	,0188
Digital Marketing	,0131	,0124	-,0078	,0407
Total	,0201	,0192	-,0144	,0616
Online Political Participation	,0030	,0102	-,0166	,0247
Digital Marketing	,0171	,0160	-,0104	,0530

In the same way, using PROCESS regression coefficients were calculated for the ukrainian dataset in Table 39. As might be understood, in Ukraine just digital marketing has provided significant coefficient values ($\beta = 0,0407$), and completely standardized $\beta = 0,0503$. By means of the results, digital marketing plays a mediation role in the relationship between advertisements and campaigns and brand image and loyalty of political party.

Table 39. Indirect and Completely standardized indirect effects of X on Y – Ukraine (n=465)

	Effect	Indirect effect(s) of X on Y		
		BootSE	BootLLCI	BootULCI
Total	,0329	,0138	,0074	,0608
Online Political Participation	-,0078	,0128	-,0327	,0172
Digital Marketing	,0407	,0123	,0194	,0673
	Effect	Completely standardized indirect effect(s) of X on Y		
		BootSE	BootLLCI	BootULCI
Total	,0407	,0169	,0092	,0760
Online Political Participation	-,0096	,0157	-,0405	,0213
Digital Marketing	,0503	,0146	,0244	,0817

L. Statistical diagram modeling for the parallel multiple mediator models

Figures depicts the model's statistical diagram. As can be observed, it has three consequent variables, therefore estimating all of the effects needs three equations, one for each of the mediators (M1 and M2) and one for the result Y. The advertisements and campaigns (X) is the lone predictor in the mediator equations, but the equation for brand image and loyalty of political party (Y) contains both advertisements and campaigns, and the two mediators. According to the results above, the path coefficients are placed on the statistical diagram in Figures for turkish and ukrainian versions respectively.

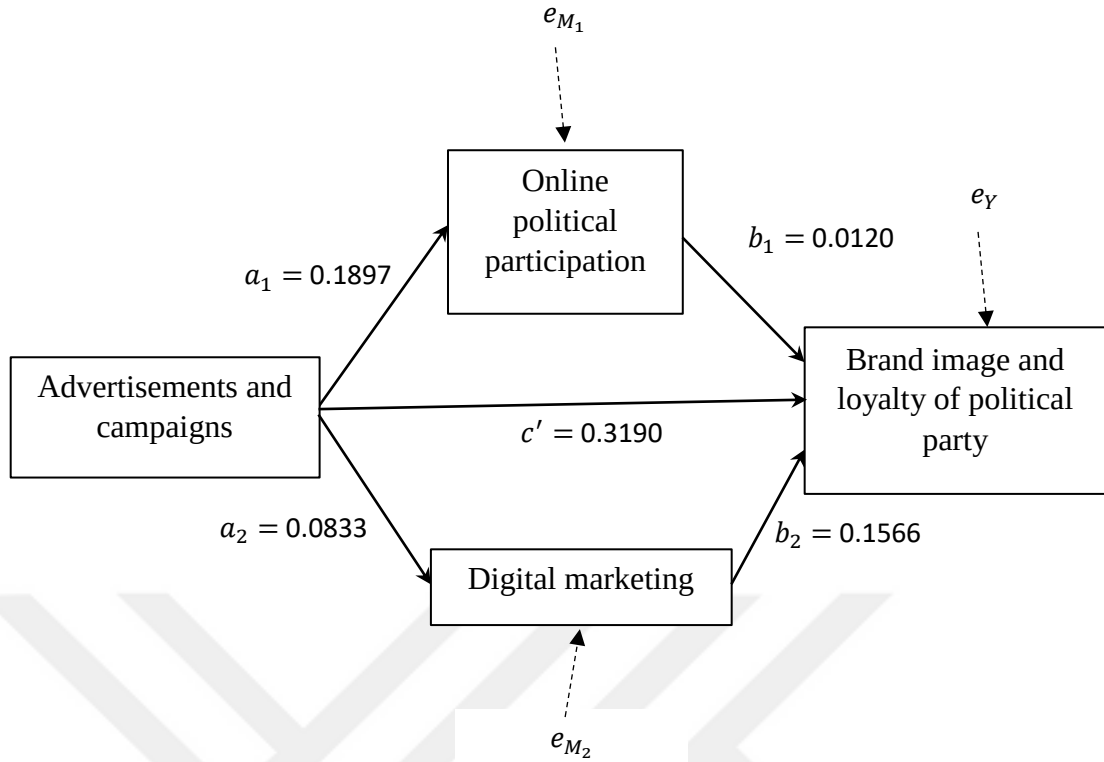


Figure 10. Stitistical diagram – Turkey (407).

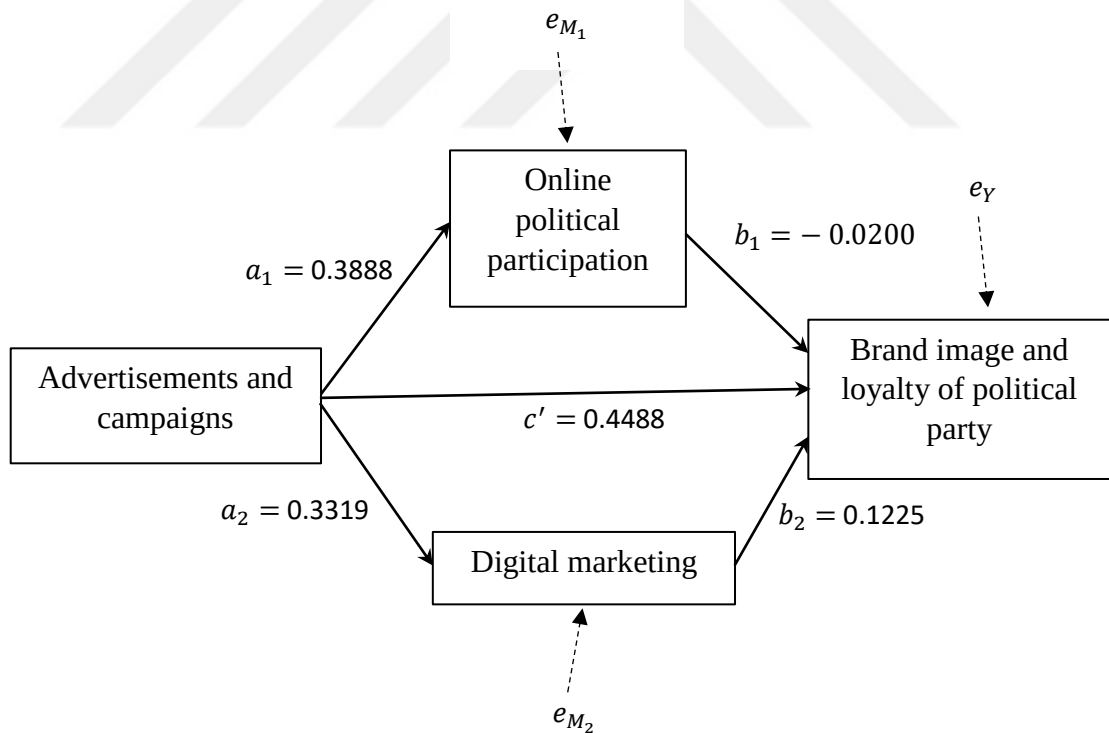


Figure 11. Stitistical diagram – Ukraine (465).

M. Hypothesis results

The First three hypotheses of this research are testing the direct effect from the independent variable and mediation variables to a dependent variable:

- H1. "Advertisements and campaigns" has a significant effect on "Brand image and loyalty of political party".
- H2. "Online political participation" has a significant effect on "Brand image and loyalty of political party".
- H3. "Digital marketing" has a significant effect on "Brand image and loyalty of political party".
- The next two hypotheses of this study are testing the mediation impact of mediating variable in the relationship between the independent variable and mediation variables to a dependent variable:
- H4. The relationship between independent variable "Advertisements and campaigns" and dependent one "Brand image and loyalty of political party" is mediated by "Online political participation".
- H5. The relationship between independent variable "Advertisements and campaigns" and dependent one "Brand image and loyalty of political party" is mediated by "Digital marketing".

The last hypothesis of this paper is testing the differences in responses of different age, gender, education level, work experience groups regarding considered variables:

- H6. Age provides a significant effect on responses.
- H7. Gender provides a significant effect on responses.
- H8. Education level provides a significant effect on responses.
- H9. Work experience provides a significant effect on responses.

According to the above conducted analyses, the following hypothesis results are shown below:

In Turkey

- There is an effect of advertisements and campaigns on brand image and loyalty of political party.
- There is no significant impact of online political participation on brand image

and loyalty of political party.

- There is a significant influence of digital marketing on brand image and loyalty of political party.
- There is no mediation effect of online political participation between advertisements and campaigns, and brand image and loyalty of political party.
- There is no mediation impact of digital marketing between advertisements and campaigns, and brand image and loyalty of political party.
- Regarding advertisements, people from the 65 and above age group provide significant differences in their responses compared to other age groups, except the 45-54 year old group. Concerning digital marketing, the 65 and above age group is significantly different from the 45-54 year old group. When it comes to online political participation, Turkish citizens from the 65 and above age group respond differently than their counterparts aged from 18 to 34.
- There are significant differences in responses between males and females when considering advertisement and campaigns, digital marketing and online political participation.
- If talking about education levels, there is a significant difference in responses between master students and master graduates regarding political advertisement.
- Regarding work experience, there is a significant difference between people having no work experience and those who have 10 years and more of work experience in response to online political participation .

In Ukraine

- There is a significant effect of advertisements and campaigns on brand image and loyalty of political party.
- There is no significant impact of online political participation on brand image and loyalty of political party.
- There is a significant effect of digital marketing on brand image and loyalty of political party.
- There is no mediation effect of online political participation between advertisements and campaigns, and brand image and loyalty of political

party.

- There is a mediation effect of digital marketing between advertisements and campaigns, and brand image and loyalty of political party.
- Regarding advertisements, people from the 18-24 age group provide significant differences in their responses compared to 55-64 age group,
- There are no significant differences in responses between males and females regarding considered variables.
- If talking about education levels, there are significant differences in responses between high school graduates and bachelor students, high school graduates and master graduates, high school graduates and PhD graduates, bachelor graduates and master graduates, bachelor graduates and PhD graduates regarding brand image and loyalty of political party.
- Regarding work experience, there are significant differences between people having 2–5 years of work experience and those who have 10 years and more of work experience in response to political advertisements. When it comes to online political participation, individuals with 10 years and more of work experience respond differently from those who have up to 5 years of work experience.

V. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

A. Research Summary

In the political market, candidates compete for power and here the supply usually exceeds the demand. Hence, such competition always generates political marketing, because it is primarily related to the promotion of goods in this market, ie: political power, organization, ideas and beliefs. In democracies, billions of dollars are spent annually on political marketing. Successful application of marketing techniques in politics ensures the achievement of popularity, victory in elections, and keeping at the top of the success peak. Otherwise, a political leader without marketing activities is doomed to failure. In modern times political marketing becomes a more and more popular topic both for elective campaign marketers and for academicians.

According to this trend, political marketing and its components was chosen as the main topic of this master thesis. Advertisements and Campaigns, Online Political Participation, Digital Marketing, and Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party were observed, studied and analysed in this paper as the components of political marketing in Ukraine and Turkey. This study began with a review of the prior literature to determine previous researchers' thoughts, ideas and views on the main topic, analysis conduction, and hypothesis testing. The literature review was conducted by means of quality articles and studies from reliable websites. Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party was chosen as the dependent variable, with Advertisements and Campaigns as the independent variable. Furthermore, two mediation variables were added effecting the relationships between the above mentioned independent and dependent variables.

The quantitative research was implemented in Turkey (Ankara & Istanbul) and Ukraine (Lviv & Kyiv) as a survey (20 main and 4 demographic questions) was filled out. Data was collected through Google Forms survey platform in December–January 2021 in Ukraine and repeated survey distribution in March–May 2022 in Turkey. Therefore, all responses were assessed using casual and frequency five-point Likert scales, with 407 acceptable answers in Turkey and 465 accepted responses in Ukraine

based on preliminary data screening. The measurement scales were adopted from prior research in "Impact of Brand Advertising in Political Campaigns" by Elangovan K. (2019) and Nandi D. (2017) "The Influence of Political Marketing Using Social Media on Trust, Loyalty and Voting Intention of the Youth of South Africa".

The hypotheses were tested by PROCESS Version 4.1 (Hayes, 2020) regression analysis software and the findings of this study were obtained by mediation testing, which took into consideration the effect coefficient, significance, and the R-square value.

B. Findings and Conclusions

- The first finding of this research is that: there is a significant effect of political advertisements and campaigns on brand image and loyalty of political party, so that it was accepted in both Turkey and Ukraine.

The finding of this study is also supported by Smith, I.G. (2001). In this study the researcher support the idea of advertising as a strong tool affecting political brand image. Moreover, according to his findings, it can be surely anticipate that political party advertising will become even more important in the future. Given the new campaign spending caps, it is expected that the media employed will be closely scrutinised to achieve the most impact from this investment. This is what we are seeing at the moment, politicians and political parties are spending more and more money on their advertising, both traditional and digital. Cwalina, W. and Falkowski, A. (2006) have the same opinion that political advertising has an impact on the image of political parties. According to their findings, advertisement can also be linked to a specific remodeling of the candidate's image in the eyes of his or her followers.

The above finding is in line with the research of Sung and Kim (2010). Their study points out the importance of appropriate party advertising affecting the political party's brand image. Political parties, in particular, are advised to investigate voter views of brand personality to assess whether the brand personality is aligned with the vision, goals, and objectives of the political party. As a result, planning and implementing suitable advertising campaigns compatible with personality traits boost political party loyalty. According to finding of Williams C.B. (2017), her study supports the effectiveness of a focused political advertising approach in influencing the image of a political leader. The newest study of Grusell M. and Nord L., (2020)

says that advertising is one of the visual symbols of the image of a politician, so it can be considered a significant predictor.

As a consequence of regression analysis it was found that political advertisements and campaigns provide positive significant effect on brand image and loyalty of political party. The same outcomes were observed both in turkish and ukrainian dataset. Thus, it should be said that turkish and ukrainian mentalities are similar at this point.

- The second finding of this research is that: there is no effect of online political participation on brand image and loyalty of political party, so that it was accepted both in Turkey and Ukraine.

As stated by Tan A and Armutçu B (2020), AK party, that won the last election, is focused on the constant developing the content and interaction on website and social media, together with its presence in online environment in order engage people around. By doing that they increase the party brand image and potential voters' loyalty to them. This finding is also supported by similar study on the online political participation study in Turkey (Çolak M., 2021). According to that apoliticism can be seen in Y generation that is aged from 25 to 40 years, and it has negative effects on the political participation. Generation Z (up to 25 years) has provided low political participation. In addition, its interest in political participation levels is low. Consequently, turkish and ukrainian reaction regarding the online political participation is similar.

- Third, there is a significant impact of digital marketing on brand image and loyalty of political party, so that it was accepted both in Turkey and Ukraine.

According to Tan A and Armutçu B (2020, p.10), first two political parties that received the most votes in the 24 June 2018 Presidential and Parliamentary elections actively use digital marketing channels in the field of political marketing. On the official websites of these two political parties, the current activities of the political parties and their leaders are fully available and presented to the voters. Demukh T. (2021) points out the important effect of digital marketing on the political leader image, saing that the current president of Ukraine Zelensky is not an expert in politics, but with the help of digital content he created an image of an expert. Thus, the Internet has become an important platform for his image creation. As the consequence, turkish and unkainian politicians knowing the great effect of digital marketing of public opinion, widely imply and use digital marketing in their political marketing campaigns

what increase their public image and loyalty to them. As can be understandable turkish and ukrainian mentalities are same at this point.

- The forth finding of this research is that: in Turkey and Ukraine relationship between political advertisements and campaigns, and brand image and loyalty of political party are mediated by different factors. It is observed that digital marketing seems to play a mediation role in such relationship in Ukraine. While in Turkey neither online political participation nor digital marketing is seen as a mediator.

As stated by Georgiievska V. et al. (2021), in Ukraine the majority of active political parties use their own websites that include the key party realities, programmes, documents, news, current information, videos, blogs. In social networks, party communication is becoming more successful. As a result of network capabilities, widespread access to the Internet's information capacity, and the expanding importance of multimedia tools in Ukraine's media space, there is a progressive shift from traditional media to electronic media in the country's party media segment, that means shift from the traditional marketing to digital marketing. Muzychenko H. (2020, p.39) emphasizes that with each new election campaign, such a channel for the distribution of political advertising, such as the print media, surrenders its position and yields to other channels, including the digital media. V. Zelensky did not rely on traditional channels of political election advertising, but took a relatively new path for Ukraine - he worked with the electorate through digital media channels.

When it comes to Turkey, Yalçinkaya N. (2018, p. 214) supports the idea that among turkish political parties digital marketing is not as powerful as it seems. The researcher says that today, digital channels and digital marketing are indispensable elements for turkish political parties and politicians. However, it is not possible to say that digital marketing alone is sufficient today, because there is a mass of voters who have not yet met the internet or do not allow it to affect their lives. As confirmed by Tan A and Armutçu B (2020, p.10), there are so group of voters that cannot be reached through digital marketing channels, so turkish political parties are employing the traditional marketing method and delivered to the voters. If talking about online political participation Tan A and Armutçu B (2020, p.10) support the finding of this thesis. Their study determined that the two political parties and their leaders, which were the subject of the research, were not indifferent to social media, but this area

could not be used at the desired level, and it was observed that they did not bring the interactive power of social media to the fore because they used social media unilaterally.

In contrast to previous researchers, Waller (2013) discovered that in the United States, Europe, and the Middle East, young generation is involved in online political participation more and more. Increased conversations about democracy and civil rights on Twitter, Facebook, YouTube in social media plays an essential role in online political participation (Wojcieszak 2013). When it comes to digital marketing, Chester, J. and Montgomery, Kathryn C. (2017) say that, the growing important role of digital marketing in modern political campaigns is fundamentally redefining modern politics, affecting interactions among candidates, parties, voters, and the media. Digital technologies have made significant positive contributions to the vibrancy of the political sphere, such as greatly expanding sources of news and information, greatly rising opportunities for citizen participation, and letting people from different backgrounds to form coalitions and influence policy.

- The fifth finding of this research is that: there are different demographic factors affecting responses regarding considered variables in both countries. In Turkey, belonging to certain gender, age and education level groups makes people respond differently in regard to advertisement and campaigns.

In Turkey, belonging to certain gender, age, and education level groups makes people respond differently to political advertisements and campaigns. In Ukraine, responses to advertisements and campaigns are slightly directed by age and work experience.

If considering digital marketing, reactions of Turks are in control of gender and age. Conversely, Ukrainians' thoughts differ in regards to only education level.

Gender, age, and work experience are the most influential demographic factors in responses to online political participation in Turkey. While in Ukraine, responses differ in relation to age and work experience. Furthermore, only in Ukraine, responses regarding political party brand image and loyalty differ according to education level.

When comparing Turkish and Ukrainians' thoughts and attitude towards political marketing it can be seen that in both countries the candidates of the party create a strong brand image of the party and parties give more attention to the problems of

youth and younger generation of the current region. In addition, the speech delivered by the parties are very strong and influential during voting period. Both in Turkey and Ukraine people are not loyal follower of a particular political party throughout their lives, and they are vulnerable to the criticism towards political parties.

In both countries the advertisements gives a constant reminder about the party even during the non-election periods, and digital media helps in providing a voice to express peoples' views and opinions about politics or political parties. Both nations do not trust the political party completely based on its brand image and the views and writings of online bloggers and celebrities do not effect respondents' decision, do not think of advertisements of the political parties, as being very informative, and the campaigns conducted do not assure people about the political party.

Turkish and ukrainians rarely forward political information to others, and mostly never post political information on their profile page, and post a 'like', message, or a comment on someone else's message on the political party profile page.

In Turkey, memes and spoofs on digital media make people think about the political party at a different meaning while in Ukraine they do not. Additionally, in Turkey people often search for political information, read humorous content related to politics, and watch a political video, while Ukrainians rarely do that. In Ukraine, people rarely participate in/read political discussions while turkish mostly never do that.

In cultural identification theory, human beliefs, interests, and thinking patterns, etc. are affected by culture. In addition, the results of this research show us the same situation in Turkey and Ukraine, that political decisions of voters are connected to their beliefs and interests. It provides us with evidence that a political party's success is related to their image with cultural features.

The social identity theory of intergroup behavior (Tajfel and Turner, 1986) presents an adequate model for describing how social identity influences people's decision-making. According to the theory, people try to maintain a positive perception of their in-groups (those who share the same identity) while displaying negative attitudes toward their out-groups (i.e., those with a different identity). As stated in this theory, in/out-group is an important element in decision making. It shows us that the political decisions of voters are affected by being in-group. It provides us evidence

again with another theory that a political party's success is related to their cultural image.

C. Limitation and Recommendation for the Future Research

As every research has its own restrictions and weak points, this study also has several limitations, which might be solved or become a research topic for the future studies related to the political marketing. The list of research restrictions is drawn as follows:

- First, just advertisements and campaigns was chosen as the main predictor for brand image and loyalty of political party. Other important forms of marketing related to brand image and loyalty of political party social enterprises and aimed on increasing it were not considered and analyzed in this study. In this regard, future researchers are encouraged to perform and investigate additional marketing tools and approaches that are directly linked to the brand image and loyalty of political party.
- Secondly, this research chose digital marketing and online political participation as mediator variables. However, there are can be many unconsidered mediator variables as political marketing is a broad enough topic to allow it. Therefore, it is advised to use additional mediation variables especially if the study will be repeated in Turkey.
- Third, this study used a relatively small sample size of two nations (Turkey and Ukraine), future researchers are suggested to replicate the same study concept with a bigger sample size in other countries to compare and generalize the results.
- Convenience sampling was used for data collection for this research. In the future studies it is advised to employ different type of probability sampling.
- Since this study was limited to political campaigns marketing questions in Turkey and Ukraine. Therefore, the results may not be applicable to all types of product or service marketing. Further studies on different sorts of marketing and other nations are strongly advised in order to generalise the findings.
- This study does not go at specific aspects of the countries under consideration. However, the results of this study demonstrate that there are

some differences between these two nations. Future researchers may investigate and explore national-level and country-specific variables connected to the impact of political advertisements and campaigns.

- The questionnaire used in this research was planned to be short to encourage more people to the survey and make the data collection process easier. It is recommended to enlarge the question amount and if possible add monthly income and place of staying (rural area, city) questions, as they are known as important elements for marketing campaigns.
- Time constraint due to political instability and war in Ukraine.

This study works on bridging earlier research gaps in the literature for the influence of political advertisements and campaigns on brand image and loyalty of political party directly and by means of digital marketing and online political participation in Turkey and Ukraine. Therefore conducting further research in this field will assist to bridge this gap and provide access to more data and value to this field. Social marketing is seen as an effective method for SEhip success. Thus, this study compares the results of Turkey and Ukraine by examining the link among one independent variable, "Advertisements and Campaigns", two mediating variables, "Digital Marketing" and "Online Political Participation", and one dependent variable, "Brand Image and Loyalty of Political Party".

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Appendix-1

MARKETING OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS AND ITS COMPONENTS

As part of my MBA thesis at İstanbul Aydın University, I am conducting this questionnaire to analyze how marketing helps in influencing the political campaigns through its various components. Any information gained will certainly remain confidential and will only be used for research purposes. The estimated time for filling out this questionnaire takes on average 3 minutes. I will be thankful for your support and contribution to my thesis work. Thank you.

Please indicate to which extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements and how much they suit you by using the following scale, where

1-strongly disagree; 2-disagree; 3-neutral; 4-agree; 5- strongly agree.

STATEMENTS	1	2	3	4	5
BRAND IMAGE AND LOYALTY OF POLITICAL PARTY					
Q1: The candidates of the party create a strong brand image of the party.					
Q2: I trust the political party completely based on its brand image.					
Q3: The brand (party) is aligned with my beliefs and interests.					
Q4: The brand(party) gives more attention to the problems of youth and younger generation of the region.					
Q5: The advertisements give me a constant reminder about the party even during the non-election periods.					
Q6: The memes and spoofs on digital media make me think about the political party at a different meaning.					
Q7: The views and writings of online bloggers and celebrities are given more importance in my decision about the political party.					
Q8: Digital media helps in providing a voice to express my views and opinions about politics or political parties.					
ADVERTISEMENTS AND CAMPAIGNS					
Q1: I am a loyal follower of a particular political party throughout my life.					
Q2: Whatever the criticism is made I would always prefer that party.					

continue

Q3: The advertisements of the political parties are very informative.					
Q4: The campaigns conducted give me assurance about the brand(political party).					
Q5: The speeches delivered by the parties are very strong and influential during the voting period.					

Please indicate how often do you do or not do the activity with the following statements and how much they suit you by using the following scale, where

1- never; 2-rarely; 3-occasionally; 4-often; 5-always.

DIGITAL MARKETING					
Q1: I search for political information.					
Q2: I read humorous content related to politics.					
Q3: I watch a political video					
ONLINE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION					
Q1: I forward political information to others.					
Q2: I participate in/read political discussions.					
Q3: I post political information on their profile page.					
Q4: I post a 'like', message, or a comment on someone else's message on the political party profile page.					

Thank you for participation in the questionnair