

**PEMASARAN POLITIK DI NEGERI PERLIS: KAJIAN
TERHADAP ISU-ISU, CALON DAN STRATEGI BERKEMPEN
MENJELANG PILIHANRAYA UMUM MALAYSIA KE 13**

RASHIDI BIN MOHD NASIR

**SARJANA SAINS PENGURUSAN
UNIVERSITI UTARA MALAYSIA
JANUARI 2014**

**PEMASARAN POLITIK DI NEGERI PERLIS: KAJIAN TERHADAP
ISU-ISU, CALON DAN STRATEGI BERKEMPEN MENJELANG
PILIHANRAYA UMUM MALAYSIA KE 13**

**Oleh
RASHIDI**

**Tesis DiSerahkan Kepada
Othman Yeop Abdullah Graduated of School Business,
Universiti Utara Malaysia,
Sebagai Memenuhi Keperluan Sarjana**



Othman Yeop Abdullah
Graduate School of Business

Universiti Utara Malaysia

PERAKUAN KERJA KERTAS PROJEK
(*Certification of Project Paper*)

Saya, mengaku bertandatangan, memperakukan bahawa
(*I, the undersigned, certified that*)
RASHIDI BIN MOHD NASIR (811093)

Calon untuk Ijazah Sarjana
(*Candidate for the degree of*)
MASTER OF SCIENCE (MANAGEMENT)


telah mengemukakan kertas projek yang bertajuk
(*has presented his/her project paper of the following title*)

**PEMASARAN POLITIK DI NEGERI PERLIS : KAJIAN TERHADAP ISU-ISU, CALON DAN STRATEGI
BERKEMPEN MENJELANG PILIHAN RAYA UMUM MALAYSIA KE-13**

Seperti yang tercatat di muka surat tajuk dan kulit kertas projek
(*as it appears on the title page and front cover of the project paper*)

Bahawa kertas projek tersebut boleh diterima dari segi bentuk serta kandungan dan meliputi bidang ilmu dengan memuaskan.
(*that the project paper acceptable in the form and content and that a satisfactory knowledge of the field is covered by the project paper*).

Nama Penyelia : **DR. FAIROL HALIM**
(*Name of Supervisor*)

Tandatangan : 
(*Signature*)
DR. FAIROL HALIM
Senior Lecturer
School of Business Management
College of Business
Universiti Utara Malaysia

Tarikh : **23 JANUARY 2014**
(*Date*)

KEBENARAN MENGGUNA

Dalam membentangkan disertasi ini sebagai memenuhi sebahagian daripada syarat untuk ijazah Siswazah dari Universiti Utara Malaysia (UUM) , saya bersetuju bahawa Perpustakaan universiti ini boleh membuat pemeriksaan ke atasnya. Saya seterusnya bersetuju bahawa kebenaran untuk menyalin disertasi ini dalam apa-apa cara , secara keseluruhan atau sebahagiannya, bagi tujuan ilmiah dan boleh diberikan kepada penyelia saya dan oleh Dekan Othman Yeop Abdullah Sekolah Pengajian Siswazah Perniagaan di mana saya membuat disertasi ini. Difahamkan bahawa sebarang penyalinan atau penerbitan atau penggunaan ini bahagian disertasi itu untuk keuntungan kewangan tidak dibenarkan tanpa kebenaran bertulis . Ia juga difahami bahawa pengiktirafan sewajarnya diberikan kepada saya dan kepada UUM dalam mana-mana kegunaan kesarjanaan yang boleh dibuat daripada apa-apa bahan dalam disertasi saya. Permintaan bagi kebenaran untuk menyalin atau menggunakan bahan-bahan lain dalam disertasi ini secara keseluruhan atau sebahagiannya hendaklah dialamatkan kepada:

Dean of Othman Yeop Abdullah Graduate School of Business

Universiti Utara Malaysia

06010 UUM Sintok

Kedah Darul Aman\

ABSTRAK

Pemasaran politik menjadi semakin penting di Malaysia dan sudah lama digunakan di seluruh dunia dalam membantu keberkesanan berkempen. Objektif kajian ini adalah untuk mengkaji penggunaan pemasaran politik dalam Pilihan Raya Umum Malaysia yang ke 13. Di negeri Perlis secara khususnya kajian ini melihat terhadap isu, calon dan strategi berkempen. Penyelidikan ini bertujuan untuk mengenalpasti apakah faktor yang boleh mempengaruhi corak pengundian pemilih sepanjang tempoh berkempen dan hari pengundian. Daripada 15 Dewan Undangan Negeri (DUN), 6 kawasan dipilih sebagai lokasi kajian yang terdiri daripada kawasan putih, kelabu dan hitam. Kaedah kajian fenomena telah digunakan dalam kajian ini untuk mengutip data kajian dan disusuli dengan temuramah dengan pemilih serta calon-calon yang bertanding. Kajian ini mendokumentasikan elemen pemasaran politik yang telah digunakan sepanjang tempoh berkempen pada PRU ke 13 yang lalu di negeri Perlis

Kata Kunci : Pemasaran Politik, Strategi Kempen, Negeri Perlis

ABSTRACT

Political marketing is becoming increasingly important in Malaysia and widely used around the world to ensure campaign effectiveness. The objective of this study was to investigate the use of political marketing in 13th Malaysia General Election in Perlis. Specifically, this study focused on the issues, candidates and campaign strategy. This study aimed to identify the factors that can influence voting patterns during the electoral campaign and polling day. Out of the fifteen (15) State Legislative Assembly (DUN), six (6) areas were selected as a study location ranging from the white, gray and black areas. The phenomenological study was applied to collect data followed by interviews with voters and candidates. This study documented the elements of political marketing has been used throughout the campaign period in the last general election to 13 in Perlis.

Key words : Political Marketing , Campaign Strategy, Negeri Perlis\

PENGHARGAAN

Dengan nama Allah yang Maha Pengasih dan Maha Penyayang. Saya memanjatkan kesyukuran kehadiran Ilahi yang dengan izin nya memberikan kudrat, ketabahan dan kesabaran sehingga dapat menyiapkan desertasi sarjana ini. Di kesempatan yang singkat ini saya ingin merakamkan setinggi-tinggi penghargaan kepada insan-insan yang telah memberikan dorongan dan semangat sepanjang perjuangan untuk menyiapkan desertasi ini.

Pertama sekali, setinggi-tinggi penghargaan diucapkan kepada penyelia saya sepanjang menyiapkan desertasi ini iaitu Dr. Fairol bin Halim kerana memberikan tunjuk ajar serta dorongan dan bimbingan dengan penuh dedikasi dan sabar memberi tunjuk ajar walaupun dalam kesibukan tugas sehinggalah desertasi ini dapat disiapkan. Ucapan terima kasih juga kepada penyelia kedua saya iaitu Dr. Ainuddin kerana memberi tunjuk ajar serta membantu menyemak dan memperbetulkan kesalahan yang dilakukan.

Terima kasih juga diucapkan kepada keluarga tersayang terutama ayah Mohd Nasir Yusof serta kakak-kakak yang memberi dorongan dan galakan serta iringan doa.

Ucapan terima kasih yang tidak terhingga juga kepada sahabat-sahabat yang turut membantu secara langsung dan tidak langsung iaitu Mohd Sharul Nizan, Mohammad Syafiq Fazil, Farah Lina, Abdullah Sani, Asniza dan Dr Nurazwa. Tidak lupa kepada rakan di Suruhanjaya Pilihan Raya Negeri Perlis, UMNO Negeri Perlis, PAS Negeri Perlis. Sekalung penghargaan juga kepada responden dan calon-calon yang bertanding kerana meluangkan masa untuk ditemuramah. Tidak lupa juga kepada Cik Salwani pihak Pejabat Pentadbiran Negeri Perlis.

Akhir sekali penghargaan ini turut ditujukan amnya kepada pihak Kementerian Pengajian Tinggi dan khususnya kepada Universiti Utara Malaysia. Tanpa kalian semua sudah tentu desertasi ini tidak dapat disempurnakan.

Rashidi Mohd Nasir

No 3884,

Jalan Jati 14,

Bandar Putra,

81000,

Kulai, Johor

27 November 2013

ISI KANDUNGAN

Kebenaran Mengguna	i
Abstrak	ii – iii
Penghargaan	Iv – v
Isi Kandungan	Vi - ix
BAB 1 : PENGENALAN	
1.0 Pengenalan	1 – 5
1.1 Persoalan Kajian	6
1.2 Objektif kajian	7
1.3 Kepentingan Kajian	7
1.4 Skop Kajian	8
1.5 Had Kajian	8
BAB 2 : SOROTAN KARYA	
2.0 Sorotan karya	9 - 11
2.1 Pemasaran	11 -12
2.2 Pemasaran Politik	13 – 17
2.3 Isu-Isu	17 – 19

2.4 Calon	20 – 24
2.5 Strategi Berkempen	25 – 33
2.6 Proses Pemasaran Politik	34
2.7 Gelagat Pengundian	35
2.8 Model Sosiologi (Columbia)	35 - 36
2.9 Model Psikologi Sosial (Michigan)	37 – 38
2.10 Model Pilihan Rasional (Rational (Choice)	38-40
2.11 Pilihan Pengundian	41 -44
BAB 3 : METODOLOGI KAJIAN	
3.0 Pengenalan	45
3.1 Kajian Fenomena	46 – 56
3.2 Analisis Data	56 – 58
3.3 Reka Bentuk Kajian	58
3.3.1 Pendekatan Kajian	58 – 59
3.3.2 Kawasan Kajian	59
3.3.3 Sampel Kajian	59
3.3.4 Kajian Lapangan	59
3.3.5 Instrumen Kajian	60
3.3.6 Protokol Kajian	61
3.3.7 Rangka Kerja Penyelidikan	62
BAB 4 : DAPATAN KAJIAN	
4.0 Pengenalan	63

4.1 Isu-Isu Sepanjang Tempoh Berkempen	63 - 77
4.2 Isu-Isu Berkempen & Hubungan Kajian Terdahulu	77 -- 79
4.3 Temuramah Pemilih	80 – 87
4.3.1 Temuramah Calon	88 – 97
4.4 Calon-Calon Bertanding Bagi Parlimen & DUN Untuk Negeri Perlis	98
4.4.1 Profil Calon-Calon Bertanding bagi Parlimen Negeri Perlis	98 - 109
4.4.2 Profil Calon-Calon Bertanding bagi Dewan Undangan Negeri	110 – 158
4.5 Calon-Calon Bertanding Mengikut Peringkat Umur	159 – 160
4.6 Calon-Calon Bertanding Mengikut Jantina	161 - 162
4.7 Calon-Calon Bertanding Mengikut Kelayakan	162 – 164
4.8 Faktor Calon dan Hubungan Kajian Terdahulu	164 – 168
4.9 Temuramah Pemilih	168 – 174
4.9.1 Temuramah Calon	175- 178
4.10 Strategi Berkempen Parti Bertanding	178 – 187
4.11 Strategi Berkempen & Hubungan Kajian Terdahulu	188 – 190
4.12 Temuramah Pemilih	191 – 195
4.12.1 Temuramah Calon	195 - 197
4.13 Jumlah Pemilih Biasa Pilihan Raya Umum ke 13 Bagi Negeri Perlis Mengikut Parlimen dan Dewan Undangan Negeri	198 – 199
4.14 Keputusan Pilihan Raya ke 13, Dewan Undangan Negeri dan Parlimen Bagi Negeri perlis	199 – 202
4.15 Analisa Trend Majoriti Pilihan Raya Umum 1999 – 2013 Bagi Kawasan Parlimen Negeri Perlis	203 – 205

4.16 Analisa Trend Majoriti Pilihan Raya Umum 1999 – 2013 Bagi Dewan Undangan Negeri Perlis	206 – 220
BAB 5 : PERBINCANGAN & KESIMPULAN	
5.1 Isu-Isu	221 - 222
5. 2 Calon	222
5. 3 Strategi berkempen	223
5.4 Kesimpulan	224 - 227
5.5 Cadangan Di Masa hadapan	225 - 226
Lampiran 1	228 – 229
Lampiran 2	230
Bibliografi	231 - 243

1.0 PENGENALAN

Malaysia adalah sebagai sebuah negara yang mengamalkan sistem demokrasi berparlimen yang mengadakan pilihan raya setiap lima tahun sekali iaitu dengan mengikut suara majoriti rakyat sebagai keputusan dan parti yang memenangi 2/3 dari kerusi parlimen akan diberi kuasa memerintah selama satu penggal. Pilihan raya Umum Ke-13 (PRU13) akan diadakan seurus parlimen dibubarkan oleh Yang diPertuan Agong (YDPA). Semboyan pilihan raya umum (PRU13) telah dilaungkan dalam Perhimpunan Agung UMNO ke-62 yang berlangsung di PWTC pada 29 November 2011 oleh Dato' Seri Najib Tun Abdul Razak, presiden UMNO sebagai petanda PRU13 semakin dekat. Begitu juga laungan persediaan PRU13 oleh para pemimpin parti dalam Pakatan Rakyat (PR). Kedua-dua gabungan parti sama ada dari pihak BN dan parti PR melakukan persediaan rapi dalam menghadapi PRU13.

Rentetan dari tsunami politik pada pilihan raya umum tahun 2008 yang menyaksikan beberapa negeri jatuh ke tangan PR, ia pasti akan membawa agenda transformasi oleh Barisan Nasional dalam menawan kembali hati pengundi dalam PRU Ke-13 kali ini. Pertembungan antara BN dan PR pada PRU13 dilihat sebagai medan sengit kerana masing-masing ingin memperolehi kemenangan di kawasan yang bakal dipertandingkan kelak. Malaysia sebagai sebuah negara yang mengamalkan demokrasi berparlimen ingin melihat perkembangan pilihan raya sebagai platform penting dalam menentukan kematangan amalan demokrasi di negara ini.

Pilihan raya umum ke-13 di adakan pada 5 Mei 2013 setelah parlimen dibubarkan pada 3 April 2013 oleh Perdana Menteri Malaysia Datuk Seri Najib Tun Razak. Mengikut Perlembagaan Malaysia, tempoh penggal parlimen ialah lima tahun sejak bermulanya ia

The contents of
the thesis is for
internal user
only

Bibliography

- Abramson, P. R., Aldrich, J. H., & Rhode, D. (1994). *change and continuity in the 1992 Elections*. Washington: CQ Press.
- Adams, James, III, S. M., & Grofman, B. (2005). *Aunified Theory of party Competition: A cross-National Analysis Integrating Spatial and Behavioral Factors*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Adams, J. (2001). *Party Competition and Responsible Party Government*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Adams, J., Samuel, M., I., & Bernard, G. (2005). *A Unified Theory of Party Competition*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Aldrich, John, H., John, L., Sullivan, & Borgida, E. (1989). "Foreign Affairs and Issue Voting: Do Presidential Candidates 'Waltz Before a Blind Audience'?" *American Political Science Review* , 83 (1), pp. 123-141.
- Aldrich, J. H., Sullivan, J. I., & Borgida, E (1989, Mar). Foreign Affairs and Issue Voting: Do Presidential Candidates "Waltz Before A Blind Audience?" *The American Political Science Review*. 83, 1. 123-141.
- Almond, & Gabriel. (1950). *The American People and Foreign Policy*. New York: Harcourt Brace.
- Alvarez, M. R., Nagler, J. & R. Willette, J. R. (2000). Measuring the Relative Impact of Issues and the Economy in Democratic Elections. *Electoral Studies*, 19, 237-53.
- Alvarez, R. M., & nagler, J. (2001). The Likely consequences of internet voting for political participation. *Loyola of Los Angeles Law Review* , 34 (3), pp. 1115-1152.
- Anderson, C. J. (2000). Economic Voting and Political Context: A Comparative Perspective. *Electoral Studies*, 19, 151-70.
- Apospori, E., Avlonitis, G., & Zisouli, M. (2005). The role of political marketing on voting behaviour in Greece. *55th Political Studies Association Conference, 4-7, university of Leeds* , pp. 1-21.
- Asch, S. (1946). "Forming Impressions of Personality," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* , 41 (3), pp. 258-90.
- Ashworth, P. D. (2003). An approach to phenomenological psychology: the contingencies of the lifeworld. *Journal of phenomenology* , 34 (6), pp. 145-156.
- Ashworth, P. D. (2006). Seeing oneself as a carer in the activity of acring: attending ti the lifeworld of a person with Alzheimer's disease. *International Journal of qualitative studies on health and wellbeing* , 1 (14), pp.212-225.

- Azoulay, A., & Kapterer, J. N. (2003). Do brand personality scales really measure brand personality? *Journal of Brand Management* , 11 (2), pp. 143-155.
- Bagozzi, R. P. (1974). Marketing as an organized behavioral system exchange. *Journal of marketing* , 4 (38), pp. 77-81.
- Bagozzi, R. P. (1975). marketing as change. *Journal of marketing* (39), pp. 32-39.
- Baines, P. R., & Egan, J. (2001). :Marketing and political campaigning: mutually exclusive or exclusively mutual?". *Qualitative market research: An international journal* , 4 (1), pp. 25-34.
- Baines, P., Plasser, F., & Scheucher, C. (1999). *operationalising political marketing: a comparison of US and ZWestern European consultants and managers*. London: Discussion paper series, Middlesex University Business School.
- Bartels, L. M. (2000). Partisanship and Voting Behavior, 1952-1996. *American Journal of Political Science*, 44, 35-50.
- Belknap, G., & Campbell, A. (1952). Political party identification and attitudes toward foreign policy. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 15, 601-623.
- Berelson, B. R., Lazarsfeld, P. F. & McPhee. W. N. (1954). *Voting: A Study of Public Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
- Blodgett, J. G., Granbois, D. H., & Walters, R. G. (1993). The Effects of Perceived Justice on Complainants Negative Word-of-Mouth Behavior and Repatronage Intentions. *Journal of Retailing*, 69, 4, 399-428.
- Blunt, C. C, Petrocik, J. R., & Steeper, F. T. (1998). *Priming and Issue Agenda in American Campaigns*. Paper prepared for presentation at the Annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.
- Bowler, S, & Donovan, T. (1998). *Demanding Choices: Opinion, Voting, and Direct Democracy*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Butler, P., & Collins, N. (2001). Payment on delivery: recognising constituency service as political marketing. *European Journal of marketing* , 9-10 (35), pp. 1026-1037.
- Butler, P., Collins, N., & Fellenz, M. (2007). Theory-building in political marketing: parrallels in public management. *Journal of Political Marketing* , 6 (2t3), pp 91-107.
- Butler, D. & Stokes, D. (1974). *Political Change in Britain (2nd Ed)*. London: Macmillan.
- Campbell, A, Converse, P. E., Miller, W. E & Stokes. D. E. (1960). *The American Voter*. Chicago, Illinois: U Campbell, J. (2011, January 2). Introduction to Methods of Qualitative Research: Video Series. Ft. Lauderdale, Florida, U.S.A.

Campbell, J. (n.d.). *Introductive Methods to Qualitative Research: Course Notes*. Retrieved October 6, 2011, from [jasonjcampbell.org](http://www.jasonjcampbell.org):
http://www.jasonjcampbell.org/uploads/Methods_of_Qualitative_Research_and_Inquiry.pdf

University of Chicago Press.

Carmines, E. G., & Stimson, J. A. (1980). The Two Faces of Issue Voting. *American Political Science Review*, 74, 78-91.

Conover, P. J. (1984). The Influence of Group Identification on Political Perception and Evaluation. *Journal of Politics*, 46, 760-785.

Converse, P. E., (1970). Attitudes and Nonattitudes. In E. Tufte, (Ed.). *The Quantitative Analysis of Social Problems*. Reading, Mass: Addison Wesley.

Caprara, G. V., Barbaranelli, C., & Zimbardo, P. G. (1997). Politicians 'uniquely simple personalities. *nNature* , 385 (493).

Caprara, G. V., barbaranelli, C., & Zimbardo, P. G. (2002). When parsimony subdues distinctiveness: simplified public perceptions of politicians' personality. *Political Psychology* , 23 (1), pp. 77-95.

Carpini, D., X, M., & Keeter, S. (1996). *What Americans Know About Politics and Why It Matters*. New Haven : Yale University Press.

Cornelissen, J. (2002). Metaphorical reasoning and knowledge generation: the case of political marketing. *Journal of Political marketing* , 1 (1), pp 193-209.

Creswell, J. (2007). *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches 2nd Edition*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Conover, P. J., & Feldman, S. (1989). Candidate perception in an ambiguous world: campaigns, cues, and inference process. *American Journal of Political Science* , 33 (4), pp. 912-940.

Dahlberg, K, Drew, N, & Nystrom. (2001). *Reflective lifeworld research*. Sweden: Studentlitteratur.

Dalton, R. & Wattenberg. M. (1993). The Not So Simple Act of Voting. In Ada Finifter, ed. *Political Science: The State of the Discipline (2nd Ed)*. Washington: American Political Science Association.

Dean, D., & Croft, R. (2000). Friend and relations: long-term approach to political campaigning. *European Journal of marketing* , 10-11 (35), pp. 1197-1216.

Delli, C., & Keeter. S. (1996). *What Americans Know about Politics and Why It Matters*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

- Dermody, J., & Scullion, R. (2001). Delusion or grandeur? marketing's is contribution to "meaningfull" western political consumption. *Ueropean Journal of marketing* , 35 (9-10), pp. 1085-1098.
- Dow, J. K., (1999). Voter choice in the 1995 French presidential election. *Political Behavior*, 21, 4. 305-324.
- Downs, A. (1957). *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper.
- Duch, R. M. (2001). A Developmental Model of Heterogeneous Economic Voting in New Democracies. *American Political Science Review*. 95: 895-910.
- Enelow, J. M. & Hinich, M. J. (1984). *The Spatial Theory of Voting: An Introduction*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Erikson, R. S. (1989). Economic Conditions and the Presidential Vote. *American Political Science Review*, 83, 567-573.
- Erikson, R. S. (1990). Economic Conditions and the Congressional Vote: A Review of the Macrolevel Evidence. *American Journal of Political Science*, 34, 373-399.
- Eulau, H. & Lewis-Beck. M. S. (1985). *Economic conditions and electoral outcomes: The United States and Western Europe*. New York: Agathon Press.
- Fairol, H., Hasnizam, S., Shahrin, S., Maria, A. R., Hasnizam, H., Zolkafli, H., Intan, S. A., Normalisa, M. I., Azanin, A., Selvan, P., Salniza, S., & Romle, H. (2012). *Prinsip Pemasaran*. Kuala Lumpur: Pearson.
- Farrell, D. M. (1996). *Campaign strategies and tactics*. In: :LeDuc,L,R.G.Niemi and P. Norris (Eds.), *Comparing Democracies, Elections and Voting in Global Perspective*. CA: Thousand Oaks.
- Ferejohn, J. (1986). Incumbent Performance and Electoral Control. *Public Choice*, 50, 5-26.
- Finlay, L, & Evans. (2009). *Relational centred qualitative research for psychotherapists and counsellors:exploring meanings and experience*. wiley blackwells publishing.
- Fiorina, M. (1978). Economic Retrospective Voting in American National Elections: A Micro-Analysis. *American Journal of Political Science*, 22, 426-43.
- Fiorina, M. (1981). *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Firmanzah. (2007). *Marketing politik* (1 ed.). Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia.
- Franklin, C. H. & Jackson, J. E. (1983). The dynamics of party identification. *The American Political Science Review*, 77, 957-973.
- Franklin, C. H. (1985). *The Decline of Class Voting in Britain*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- Funk, & Carolyn, L. (1996). "Understanding Trait Inferences in candidate image,". *Research in Micropolitics, Vol. 5, Michael X* , pp. 97-123.
- Funk, C. L. (1999). Bringing the candidate into models of candidate evaluation. *The Journal of Politics* , 61 (3), pp. 700 - 722.
- Funk, C. L. (1999). Bringing the candidate into models of candidate evaluation. *The journal of politics* , 61 (3), pp. 700-722.
- Giorgi, A. (1994). A phenomenological perspective on certain qualitative research method. *Journal of phenomenological psychology* , 25, pp. 190-220.
- Giorgi, A. (1989). One type of analysis of descriptive data: procedures involved in following a phenomenological psychological method. *Method* , 1, pp. 39-61.
- Giorgi, A. (1985). *Sketch of a psychological phenomenological method*. Pittsburgh: Phenomenology and psychological research.
- Giorgi, A., & Giorgi, B. (2003). *Phenomenology in A Smith (ed)*. London: Sage.
- Gomez, B. T., & Wilson, J. M. (2001). Political Sophistication and Economic Voting in the American Electorate: A Theory of Heterogeneous Attribution. *American Journal of Political Science*, 45, 899-914.
- Groseclose, & Tim. (2001). "A model of candidate location when one candidates has a valence advantage." *American Journal of Political Science* , 4, pp. 862-86.
- Halling, S., & Leifer, M. (1991). The theory and practice of dialogal research. *Journal of phenomenological psychology* , 22 (1), pp. 1-15.
- Hamill, R., Milton L. & Blake, F. (1985). The Breadth, Depth, and Utility of Class, Partisan, and Ideological Schemata. *American Journal of Political Science*. 29, 850-852.
- Harrop, M. (1990). Political marketing. *Parliament Aff* , 43, pp. 277-291.
- Harrop, M., & Miller. W. L. (1987). *Elections and Voters: A Comprehensive Introduction*. London: Macmillan.
- Heidegger, M. (1962). *Being and Time*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Hetherington, M. J. (1996). The Media's Role in Forming Voter's National Economic Evaluations in 1992. *American Journal of Political Science*, 40, 372-395.
- Hinich, M, & Enelow. J. (1984). *The Spatial Theory of Voting: An Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hinich, M. J. & Munger. M. C. (1994). *Ideology and the Theory of Political Choice*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.

- Hinich, M. & Munger, M. C. (1997). *Analytical Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Husserl, E. (1931). *Ideas: general introduction to pure phenomenology*. London: George Allen and Unwin.
- Husserl, E. (1970). *The crisis of European sciences and transcendental phenomenology*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.
- Ho, K. (1996). *Dealignment Decades On: Partisanship and Party Support in Great Britain, 1979-96*. Dissertation Manuscript.
- Howard, J. A. (1989). *Consumer Behavior in Marketing Strategy*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.
- Howell, S. E. (1981). Short Term Forces and Changing Partisanship. *Political Behavior*, 3, 2: 163-180.
- Iyenger, S., & Kinder, D. R., (1987). *News that Matters*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Jacobson, Gary, C., & Kernell, S. (1983). *Strategy and Choice in congressional election*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Jackson, J. E. (1975). Issues, party choices, and presidential votes. *American Journal of Political Science*, 19, 161-185.
- Janda, K., Berry, J., & Goldman, J. (1997). *The Challenge of Democracy*, (5th Ed). Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Kavanagh, D. (1995). *Election campaigning: The New Marketing of Politics*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Kavanagh, D. (1996). New campaign communications. consequences for political parties. *Harvard Int. J Press Polit* , 1 (3), pp. 60-76.
- Keith, B. E., Magleby, D. B., Nelson, C. J., Orr, E., Wesley, M. C., & Wolfinger, R. E. (1992). *The Myth of the Independent Voter*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Key, V. O., Jr. (1966). *The Responsible Electorate: Rationality in Presidential Voting, 1936-1960*. New York: Vintage.
- Kiewiet, D. R. (1983). *Macroeconomics & Micropolitics: the Electoral Effects of Economic Issues*. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press.
- Kinder, D. R., & David O. S. (1985). Public Opinion and Public Action.” In Lindzey, G. & Aronson E. (eds.) *The Handbook of Social Psychology (3rd Ed)*. New York: Random House.
- Kolovos, I., & P, H. (2005). *Political marketing and political communication: The relationship Revisited*. Retrieved from: <http://eprints.otago.ac.nz/32/1/pm-pc.pdf>.

- Kolovos, I., & Harris, P. (2005). *Political marketing and political communication: the relationship revisited*. Dunedin, New Zealand: Department of Marketing, University of Otago.
- Kotler, P. (1972). A generic concept of marketing. *J. Market* , 36, pp. 46-54.
- Kotler, P., & G, Z. (1971). Social Marketing: an approach to Planned social change. *J. Market* , 35, pp. 3-12.
- Kotler, P., & S, J. L. (1969). Broadening the concept's of marketing. *J. Market* , 33, pp. 10-15.
- Kotler, P., & Levy, S. J. (1969). Broadening the concept of marketing. *Journal of marketing* , 1 (33), pp. 29-36.
- Kramer, G. H. (1971). Short-Term Fluctuations in U.S. Voting Behavior, 1896-1964. *American Political Science Review*, 71, 131-143.
- Lane, J. E., & Ersson, S. O. (1987). *Politics and Society in Western Europe*. Sage Publications; London and Beverly Hills.
- Lau, R. R. (1985). Two Explanations for Negativity Effects in Political Behavior. *American Journal of Political Science*, 29, 119-138.
- Lazarsfeld, P. F., Berelson, B., & Hazel, G. (1948). *The people's choice*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Lees - Marshment, J. (2005). The marketing campaign: The British General Election of 2005. *Journal of Marketing management* , 21, pp. 1151-1160.
- Lees-Marshment, P. (2001). *Political marketing and British: Political parties*. Manchester University Press: The party's just begun.
- Lees-Marshment, J. (2001). *Political marketing and British political parties: The party's just begun*. UK: Manchester University Press.
- Lavine, Howard, Borgina, E., John, L., Sullivan, Cynthia, J., et al. " The Relationship of National and personal issue salience to attitude Assessibility on foreign and domestic policy issues. *Political Psychology* , 17, pp. 293-316
- Levy, S. J. (2002). Revisiting the Marketing domain. *Eur. J. Market* , 35 (9), pp. 1074-1084.
- Levy, S. J., & Kotler, P. (1979). Toward a broader concept of marketing's role in social order. *Journal of Academy of Academy Science* , 3 (7), pp. 232-238.
- Lewis-Beck, M. S. (1983). Economics and the French Voter: A Microanalysis. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 47, 347-60.
- Lewis-Beck, M. S. (1993). The French Voter – Steadfast or changing? In Danielm Boy and Nonna Mayer (Eds.). *The French Voter Decides* (pp. 1-14). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

- Lewis-Beck, M. S., & Paldam, M. (2000). Economic Voting: An Introduction. *Electoral Studies*, 19, 113-21.
- Lewis-Beck, M. S. (1986). Comparative Economic Voting: Britain, France, Germany and Italy. *American Journal of Political Science*, 30, 315-346.
- Lewis-Beck, M. S. (1988). *Economic and Elections in Major Western Democracies*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Lilleker, D, Negrine, R, (2002). Professionalization: Of what? Since when? By whom? *The Harvard International Journal of Press/politics*, 7, 4, 103.
- Lin, Tse-Min. (1999). The Historical Significance of Economic Voting, 1872-1996. *Social Science History*, 23, 561-591.
- Lipset, Seymour M., & Stein Rokkan (1967). Cleavage Structures, Party Systems and Voter Alignments. Introduction. In Seymour M. Lipset & Stein Rokkan, (Eds.). *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives*. New York: The Free Press.
- Lock, A., & Harris, P. (1996). Political marketing - viva la differenced. *European Journal of marketing* , 30 (10/11), pp 14-24.
- Luskin, R. C. (1987). Measuring Political Sophistication. *American Journal of Political Science*, 31,856-899.
- Maarek, P. J. (1995). *Political marketing and communication* . Guildford: John Libbey.
- MacDonald, S. E., Prothro, J. W., Rabinowitz, G., & Brown, K. J. (1988). Political Evocation and Styles of Candidate Evaluation. *Political Behavior*, 10, 117-135.
- MacKuen, M. B., Ericson, R. S., & Stimson, J. A. (1989). Macropartisanship. *American Political Science Review*, 83, 1125-1142.
- Magaloni, B. (1999). Is the PRI Fading?: Economic Performance, Electoral Accountability, and Voting Behavior in the 1994 and 1997 Elections." In Jorge Dominquez and Alejandro Poire (Eds.). *The New Mexican Party System*. New York: Routledge.
- Magaloni, B. (2006). *Voting for Autocracy: Hegemonic Party Survival and its Demise in Mexico*. Cambridge University Press.
- Manza, J. & Brooks. C. (1999). *Social Cleavages and Political Change: Voter Alignments and U.S. Party Coalitions*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Markus, G. B. (1988). The Impact of Personal and National Economic Conditions on Presidential Vote: A Pooled Cross-sectional Analysis. *American Journal of Political Science*, 33, 137-54.
- Markus, & Gregory. (1982). "Political Attitudes During and Election Year: A report on the 1980 NES Panel Study,". *American Political Science Review* , 76 (3), pp. 538-60.

- Markus, G. B., & Converse, P. E. (1979). A Dynamic Simultaneous Equation Model of Electoral Choice. *American Political Science Review*, 73, 1055-1077.
- Mausser, G. (1983). *Political Marketing: An Approach to Campaign Strategy*. New York: Praeger.
- Mayhew, & David, R. (1974). *Congress: The Electoral connection*. New Haven CT: Yale university Press.
- McDonald, M. D. & Budge, I. (2005). *Elections, Party, Democracy: Conferring the Median Mandate*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- McGirt, E. (2008). The brand called Obama. *Fast company* .
- Medvic, S. (2006). Understanding campaign strategy: 'deliberate priming; and the role of professional political consultants. *Journal of Political Marketing* , 5 (112), pp 11-32.
- Meguid, B. M. (2005). Competition between Unequals: The Role of Mainstream Party Strategy in Niche Party Success. *American Political Science Review*, 99, 347-360.
- Miller, W. E. (1991). Party Identification, Realignment and Party Voting: Back to the Basics. *American Political Science Review* 85: 557-568.
- Needham, C. (2006). Brands and Political Loyalty. *Journal of Brand Management* , 13 (3), pp. 178-187.
- Newman, B. I. (1994). *The Marketing of the President. Political marketing as campaign strategy*. CA: Thousand Oaks.
- Newman, B. I., & Sheth, J. N. (1985, Sept). A model of primary voter behavior. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 12, 178-187.
- Niffenegger, P. B. (1989). strategies for success from the political marketer. *Journal of consumer marketing* , 6.
- Norpoth, H. (1996). Presidents and the Prospective Voter. *Journal of Politics*, 58, 776-792.
- Nor, M., Asaari, H., Karia, N., & Haron, M. (2006). Political marketing vs commercial marketing: something in common for gains. *Global conference on business and economics* .
- Norris, P. (2000). *The Virtuos Circle: Political communication in post industrial societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Norris, P. (2005). *Political parties and democracy in theoretical and practical perspectives: development in party communications*. U.S.A: National democratic institute for international affairs.
- O' Cass, A. (1996). Political marketing and the marketing concept Eur. *J. Market* , 30 (10/11), pp. 37-53.

- O'Cass, A. (2001). Political marketing: an investigation of the political marketing concept and political marketorientation in Australian Politics. *European Journal of marketing* , 35 (9-10), pp. 1003-1025.
- Ormrod, R. P. (2004). *Operationalising the conceptual Model of Political Market Orientation*. Sundsvalli: Political communication Research.
- O' Shaughnessy, N. J., & S, C. M. (2002). *The Idea of Political Marketing*. CT: Westport, Praeger.
- O'Shaughnessy, N. (2001). The marketing of political marketing. *European Journal of Marketing* , 9-10 (35), pp. 9-10.
- Pacek, A. & Radcliff, B. (1995). Economic Voting and the Welfare State: A Cross-National Analysis. *Journal of Politics*, 57, 44-61.
- Pacek, A. (1994). Macroeconomic Conditions and Electoral Politics in East Central Europe. *American Journal of Political Science*, 38, 723-44.
- Page, B. I., & Jones, C. J. (1979). Reciprocal effects of policy preferences, party loyalties and the vote. *American Political Science Review*, 73, 1071-1089.
- Page, B. I., & Brody, R. A. (1972). Policy Voting and the Electoral Process: The Vietnam War Issue. *American Political Science Review*. 66, 979-995.
- Paldam, M. (1991). How Robust is the Vote Function." In Norpoth, H. Lewis-Beck, M. & Lafay, J. D. (Eds.). *Economics and Politics: The Calculus of Support*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Patterson, T. R., & McClure. (1976). " *Political Advertising Voter Reaction*.". Asheville N.C: Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Association for public opinion research.
- Petrocik, J. R. (1996, August). Issue Ownership in Presidential Elections, with a 1980 Case Study. *American Journal of Political Science*, 40, 3, 825-850.
- Pierce, P. A. (1993). Political sophistication and the use of candidate traits in candidate evaluation. *Political Psychology* , 14 (1), pp. 21-35.
- Plasser, F., & G, P. (2002). *Global Political Campaigning*. westport, Praeger: A world wide analysis of campaign professionals and their practices.
- Plummer, J. T. (1984/85). How personality makes a difference. *Journal of Advertising Research* , 24 (6), pp. 27-31.
- Pomper, G. M. (1972). From Confusion to Clarity: Issues and American Voters, 1956-1968. *American Political Science Review*, 66, 415-428.
- Popkin, S. L. (1991). *The Reasoning Voter: Communication and Persuasion in Presidential Campaigns*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

- Popkin, S., Gorman, J. W., Philips, C., & Smith, J. A. (1976). Comment: What have you done for me lately? Toward an investment theory of voting. *The American Political Science Review*, 70 (3), pp. 779-805.
- Powell, G. B. Jr., & Whitten, G. (1993). A Cross-National Analysis of Economic Voting: Taking Account of the Political Context. *American Journal of Political Science* 37: 391-414.
- Powell, G. B. Jr., (2000). *Elections as Instruments of Democracy*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Przeworski, A. (1991). *Democracy and the Market*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Rabinowitz, G., Prothro, J. W., & Jacoby, W. (1982). Salience as a factor in the impact of issues on candidate evaluation. *Journal of Politics*, 44, 41-63.
- Remmer, K. L. (1991). The Political Impact of Economic Crisis in Latin America in the 1980's. *American Political Science Review*, 85, 777-800.
- Rennard, C. (1995). *The campaign manual* (2 ed.). Hebden Bridge: ALDC.
- RePass, D. E. (1971). Issue salience and party choice. *American Political Science Review*, 65, 389-400.
- Rivers, & Douglas. (1988). "Heterogeneity in Models of Electoral Choice". *American Journal of Political Science*, 32 (3), pp. 737-757.
- Roberts, K. M., & Wibbels, E. (1999). Party Systems and Electoral Volatility in Latin America: A Test of Economic, Institutional, and Structural Explanations. *American Political Science Review*. 93, 575-590.
- Rothschild, M. (1978). "Political Advertising: A Neglected Policy Issue in Marketing." *Journal of Marketing Research*, 15, pp. 58-71.
- Rosenstone, S. J. (1985, Winter) Explaining the 1984 Presidential Election. *The Brookings Review*. 3, 2.
- Rowe, J. O., Halling, S, Davies, E, et al. (1989). *The psychology of forgiving another: a dialogal research approach*. in R S Valle and S Halling (eds) *Existential phenomenological perspectives in psychology: exploring the breadth of human experience*. New York: Plenum press.
- Scammell, M. (1994). The phenomenon of Political marketing: The thatcher contribution. *contemporary Record*, 8 (1), pp. 23-44.
- Scammell, N. (1995). *Designer Politics: How elections are won*. Basingstoke: Macmillan Press.
- Schneider, H. (2004). Branding in politics - manifestations. *Journal of Political marketing*, 3 (3), pp. 41 - 67.

- Schofield, N., Sened, I. & Nixon, D.(1998). Nash Equilibrium in multiparty competition with Stochastic Voters. *Annals of Operations Research*, 84, 3-27.
- Shabad, G., & Andersen, K. (1979). Candidate evaluations by men and women. *Public Opinion Quarterly* , 43 (1), pp. 18 - 35.
- Shama, A. (1976). The marketing of political candidates. *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Sciene* , 4 (4), pp. 764-777.
- Shanks, J., Merrill, Warren, E., & Miller. (1990). "Policy direction and performance Evaluation: Complementary Explanations of the reagan Election,". *British Journal of Political Science* , 20, pp. 143-235.
- Skar Z . y n' ska, K. (2004). Politicians in television: 'The Big Five' in impression formation. *Journal of Political Marketing* , 3 (2), pp. 31-45.
- Smith, B. (2009). Public still sky-high on obama 'brand'.
http://www.politico.com/news/stories/0209/18861_Page2.html. *politico* , accessed 1April 2009.
- Smith, G., & Hirtst, A, (2001). Strategic political segmentation: A new approach for a new era of political marketing, *European Journal of Marketing*, 9/10, 1058-1073.
- Stokes, Donald, E., Warren, E., & Miller. (1962). "Party Government and the saliency of congress". *Public opinion quarterly* , 77 (4), pp. 945-56.
- Stromback, J., A, M. M., & K, S. (2010). Bridging two schools of thought: Applications of Public relations theory to Political Marketing. *J. Polit Market* , 9, pp. 73-92.
- Tan, A. C., Ho, K., Kang, K. T., & Yu, T. C. (2000). What if we don't party? Political partisanship in Taiwan and Korea in 1990s. *Koninklijke*. Brill NV: Leiden.
- Todorov, Alexander, Mandisodza, A., Goren, A., & Hall, C. (2005). "Inferences of Competence from Faces predict election outcomes,". *Science* , 308 (june), pp. 1623-26.
- Todres, L. (2007). *Embodied enquiry: phenomenological touchstones for research, psychotherephy and spirituality*. Macmillan.
- Tufte, E. R. (1978). *Political Control of the Economy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Van Manen, M. (1990). *Researching Lived experience:Human science for an action sensitive pedagogy*. NewYork: State University of New York Press.
- Vercic, D. (2004). Campaigns from around the world, *Journal of Political Marketing*, 3, 3, 113-114.
- Yorke, D., & Meehan, S. (1986). AORN in the political marketplace. *European Journal of Marketing* , 20 (8), pp. 63-76.

Wertz, F. J. (2005). Phenomenological research methods for counseling psychology. *Journal of counseling psychology* , 52 (2), pp. 167-177.

Willis, J. (2007). *Foundations of Qualitative Research: Interpretive and Critical Approaches*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Wring, D. (2005). *The politics of marketing the labour party*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmilan.