

**INFLUENCE OF POLITICAL MARKETING ON
CITIZEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION
IN PUNJAB**

A Thesis

**Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
award of the degree of**

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
MANAGEMENT**

By

Krishan Gopal

41400053

Supervised By

Dr. Rajesh Verma



LOVELY PROFESSIONAL UNIVERSITY

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DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis entitled “**Influence of Political Marketing on Citizen’s Political Participation in Punjab**” has been prepared by me under the guidance of Dr. Rajesh Verma, Professor & Additional Dean, Mittal School of Business, Lovely Professional University, Phagwara, Punjab. No part of this thesis has formed the basis for the award of any degree or fellowship previously.

Krishan Gopal

Reg. No.: 41400053

Mittal School of Business

Lovely Professional University

Phagwara, Punjab

Date:

CERTIFICATE

I certify that **Krishan Gopal** has prepared his thesis entitle “**Influence of Political Marketing on Citizen’s Political Participation in Punjab**” for the award of Ph.D degree of the Lovely Professional University, under my guidance. He has carried out the work at Mittal School of Business, Lovely Professional University.

Dr. Rajesh Verma

Professor & Additional Dean

Mittal School of Business

Lovely Professional University

Phagwara, Punjab

Date:

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Political marketing is evolving. It is one of the most exciting areas of research today. Almost everyone feels it has something to say but no one seems exactly sure what that is. Its researchers argue it will go far- but not agreed in which direction. It has substantial potential and grabs the attention of political parties/candidates, Journalists and public. Not similar to academic knowledge, it is very relevant to everyday lives at a time when citizens in many countries appear increasingly dissatisfied with politics and politicians. Questions such as what effects successful political marketing and political participation, what people perceive about political parties/candidates are long standing. Political marketing has something new to say about all of them. Marketing is penetrating in the entire political sphere- not just the political parties but charitable interest groups, health services and education, local government are using political marketing. Moreover, the rise of political marketing may- although it is not yet proved- stimulate more responsive government that is more in tune with the citizens, with political policies designed to satisfy citizens needs rather than elite political rhetoric.

The review of literature began with general literature regarding political marketing, political participation, brand personality and brand equity. More than two hundred research papers published in international journals of repute, related articles from books and websites and significant news published on this subject were reviewed.

All the studies were categorized into four sections; studies on factors effecting success of political marketing; studies on influence of political marketing on political participation; studies on assessing the brand personality; studies on measuring the brand equity.

A comprehensive study of past literature clearly reflected that over the years the use of political marketing tools by the political parties/candidates has been increasing. A significant number of studies on political marketing have been carried out in developed countries but very few studies have been done in India and no published literature was found on studies focused specially on Punjab. Voters demonstrate behavioural differences in political participation and in perceiving the political

parties due to varying needs and demands and cultures across geographies. So voter's perceptions about successful political marketing was required to be studied for political strategists to create customized options for political parties to more efficient in communicating with the target audiences. On the similar lines one cannot ignore the influence of culture of a particular geographic area on the political participation of citizens. When an effort was made out to find out the influence of political marketing activities on political participation of citizens no supporting literature was found from Indian especially from the region of Punjab. Given the notion that political participation varies across the geographies a gap was identified to study the influence of marketing activities by political parties/candidates to influence the citizen's political participation in the state of Punjab. As more and more political parties/candidates are indulging in marketing activities to create an image in the minds of citizens, it is of great importance to understand the perceived personality of political parties from perspective of voters. No research was found regarding assessing the personality of political parties in India from perspective of voters. The resemblance in choice of commercial brands and political parties by consumers/voters motivates political parties/candidates to apply the strategies of brand management to convince the target voters and make the offerings (political product) trustable, attractive, and different from competitive parties. Moreover, the political parties are expected to play a vital role in the society political socialization process because of which application of branding strategies is very critical. The brand equity of a political party is majorly based on the trust of voters that has very great influence on tendency to actively participate in the politics. On the same lines considering the population of Punjab a need was felt to measure the brand equity of political parties of Punjab. No research was found about the brand equity of political parties in India from the perspective of voters. Keeping these gaps in mind, five objectives were finalized with the purpose to add to the body of knowledge in political marketing.

First objective was to study the factors effecting success of political marketing. Second objective was to study the influence of political marketing on citizen's political participation. Third objective of this study was to develop a framework to understand the impact of different factors on successful political marketing which in

turn leads more citizens' political participation. In fourth objective of this study idea was to assess the brand personality of political parties in Punjab. Fifth and last objective of the study was to measure the political brand equity of political parties in Punjab.

A cross sectional descriptive and exploratory study was designed using the multistage sampling to achieve the objectives. A fixed number of respondents from ten districts of Punjab were selected for the study. The respondents were drawn from Ludhiana, Amritsar, Jalandhar, Patiala, Gurdaspur, Hoshiarpur, Sangrur, Bhatinda, Tarantaran and Moga as these districts are highest number of voters in Punjab. The Sample consisted of 1400 Voters from ten districts of Punjab mentioned above. The research instrument used for data collection consisted of seven scales including (i) a self-developed 14 item scale that explore the respondents perception regarding political marketing success (ii) a self-developed 25 item scale to explore the respondents perception about the factors effecting political marketing success (iii) a self-developed 25 items scale to explore how respondents politically participate (iv) a self-developed 38 items scale to understand the influence of marketing activities on political participation (v) a scale to see respondent loyalty towards a particular political party (vi) a 28 item personality scale adapted from brand personality of Aaker, J.L. (1997) to explore the respondents perceptions about the brand personality of political parties (vii) brand concept map methodology developed by John et al. (2006) to measure the brand equity of political parties. The statistical analysis approach included measurement of scale reliability with Cronbach's alpha, descriptive analysis, exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis, multivariate regression analysis, correlation analysis, t- test, one -way ANNOVA. The data analysis was done using SPSS and AMOS version 21.0.

Data analysis resulted in the following major findings:

- 1) The factors effecting success of political marketing were identified through multi- variate linear regression analysis. Market orientation (identification of voters' needs, addressing voters real issues, designing and modification in programs and policies based on voter's needs and fulfillment of voter's needs) followed by building and managing a favourable and strong image (strong

image, continuous efforts to improve image, reputation and consideration of image while voting), conducting market research (conduct of surveys, participation by voters in survey, seeking information about competitors and collection of data at grass root level) and party/candidate positioning (substantial position, how to position and utilizing the opportunities to position in the minds of voters) are the factors which significantly effect the success of political marketing. However, market segmentation and targeting (categorization of voters on the geographical, demographical, psychological, behavioural, interest groups and clan basis) does not have any significant effect on success of political marketing.

- 2) Influence of marketing activities by political parties/candidates on citizen's political participation was identified through multi- variate linear regression analysis. By using media advertising tools (social networking sites, on line news/websites, television, radio, newspaper, leaflets, posters, hoardings, cell phone, and direct mail stealth campaign), symbols (party symbols, depiction of specific persons while communicating with voters, grand projects as symbols to show themselves as preservers of culture/history, hosting events to communicate with voters, highlighting achievements while communicating with voters and celebrations of historical events), sectarian political tools (caste based politics, religion based politics, language based politics, region based politics and attire based politics) and marketing techniques and tactics (celebrity endorsement, oppo (use of personal information of the opponent to embarrass him publically, rallies, personal contact, road shows, prerecorded messages (robo- calls), comparative advertisements, promotional material (cap, stickers etc.), money/ gifts and liquor/drugs) political parties can increase the political participation of citizens. Whereas using planning tools (understanding of citizens needs and wants before designing and development of policies and programs, modification in programs and policies to deal effectively with changes in citizens needs and wants and to deal effectively with opposition parties by political parties/candidates, coalitions with other political parties, involvement of professionals in designing policies and selection of convenient place to meet the target voters) do not have any significant influence on political participation of citizens.

- 3) To understand the impact of different factors on successful political marketing which in turn leads more citizen's political participation a theoretical framework was tested by using structure equation modeling. The findings reveal that there is strong positive influence from market orientation, conducting marketing research, party candidate positioning and building and managing strong image on successful political marketing which leads to Citizens' political participation. In this framework, gender, age, religion and caste are observed as control variables.
- 4) Brand personality of five major political parties of Punjab (Indian National Congress, Bharitiya Janta Party, Shiromani Akali Dal, Aam Aadmi Party and Bahujan Samaj Party) was accessed by applying adapted Aaker's brand personality scale and using t test and one way ANNOVA. It was found that there is significant difference on all personality traits based on the level of support in case of all the parties. The partisan supporters have a more positive view of party personality than the less partisan supporters (Sympathizers and Non Aligned). It was also found that respondents perceive Aam Adami party the most honest party and Bhartiya Janta Party as most tough party. Respondents also perceive the Leadership of Indian National Congress, Bhartiya Janta Party and Shiromani Akali Dal better than the Bahujan Samaj Party. On other personality dimensions such as Uniqueness, Image and Spirited there was no significant difference among the parties.
- 5) Brand equity of five major political parties of Punjab (Indian National Congress, Bharitiya Janta Party, Shiromani Akali Dal, Aam Aadmi Party and Bahujan Samaj Party) was measured by applying Brand Concept Maps methodology developed by John et al. (2006) and using the work of Krishnan (1996). It was found that Brand equity of Indian National Congress Party is high as compared to other parties.

This study also found new perspectives for future research. Of the specific interest is how political party/candidate can create credible image in the minds of voters. Will voters believe the efforts to create or change an image as signaled by leader if the lower level workers and leader appear largely unchanged? In addition, although

factors effecting successful political marketing have been identified, the relative importance of these factors in terms of voting behaviour needs to be explored. For example market orientation has a great influence on party/candidate choice than image is? Do different segments of voters have different influencing factors? Furthermore, this research is focused exclusively on the views of voters, for the holistic understanding the views of political parties/candidates should also be considered. The current study highlights the Influence of marketing activities on political participation. Further studies in this area may answer the questions whether marketing activities influence differs among gender, education status, income, occupation and religion. Further the relative importance of these marketing activities to influence the political participation needs to be explored.

In this study although brand personality dimensions in politics have been determined, capability to comment on the relative importance of these dimensions on the voting behaviour is not there. For Example is leadership having a great impact on party choice than uniqueness or honesty? The complete field of ideal Personalities is very critical area for future research. Does ideal personality differ between voter's segments? In this study researcher has concentrated on explaining brand mapping and brand equity measurement of five main political parties. Brand Concept Maps may be also used to compare and contrast important electoral groups. So for example, future research could target floating/nonaligned voters in marginal seats to see what associations of the competing political brands are in their collective memories, accessible for use when voting and thus likely to influence the outcome of a general election. Another interesting possibility with this method would be to adopt a longitudinal approach over the duration of an election campaign to see a) how, if at all, the campaign influences the mental maps of voters and b) if there are changes, whether these are effecting changes in voting intention (to vote or abstain; to switch allegiance). Longitudinal research could also compare and contrast election campaign effects across differing 'segments' using the BCM approach. A more protracted longitudinal study that covered the period of a parliament or longer would allow for the analysis of how significant events (war, sleaze, economic mismanagement etc.) effect consumer memory of political brands and potentially

shed light on tipping points in voting intentions. Finally, the BCM approach can also be used with differing focus. So for example it could be used with the leader as the main stimulus in the map's creation. Parties might also be interested to analyse the memory maps of voters on specific policies.

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(Krishan Gopal)

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| S. NO. | ABBREVIATION | FULL FORM |
|--------|--------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. | BMI | Building and Managing Strong Image |
| 2. | CFA | Confirmatory Factor Analysis |
| 3. | CMR | Conducting Market Research |
| 4. | MO | Market Orientation |
| 5. | PCP | Party/Candidate Positioning |
| 6. | PP | Political Participation |
| 7. | SPM | Successful Political Marketing |

CHAPTER – 1

INTRODUCTION

The application of marketing tools in politics has been not given much attention in both the marketing and politics literature (Mauser, 1983; O’Shaughnessy, 2003). In reality use of marketing techniques for political activities has become more frequent and common in developed western countries i.e USA, Canada and Europe during last 30 Years (Bains and O’Shaughnessy,2014; Lees Marshment, 2001) and now other countries of the world are not an exception to this. In India majority of the political parties are now using different tools and techniques of marketing to attract the voters. The recent Lok Sabha elections in 2014 and 2019 proved the power of political marketing. The 2014 elections would be in history because very first time online crowd sourcing used by political parties and played a very crucial part in designing communications. The significant usage of technology in political arena has been started by Mr. Narendra Modi (Prime Ministerial candidate of Bhartiya Janta Party) who diligently use social media and other sophisticated online tools to convince the young voters all over the country. The schedule and timing of advertising “Achhe din aane wale hain” and “ Ab ki baar Modi Sarkar” in broadcast and Print Media was very critical. Campaign “Har Har Modi, Ghar Gahr Modi” was very much synchronized with other pre-recorded messages in rural areas. Although the Bhartiya Janta Party campaign was conclusive and touched the main issues of economy, the Campaign of Indian National Congress with the slogan “Har Haath Shakti, Har Haath Tarakki” was not successful to convince voters. Similarly in 2019 Bhartiya Janta Party Campaign of “ Mai Bhi Chowkidar” and “Phir Ek Baar Modi Sarkar” proved effective as compared to Indian National Congress Campaign “Chowkidar Chor Hai” and “Ab Hoga Nyay”. Similarly Vidhan Sabha elections of Punjab in 2017 have witnessed significant use of marketing tools in political campaigns. Political parties used integrated marketing communication tools i.e. use of social networking sites, advertisements in all forms of media, promotion through merchandise, public relations, use of latest technology to deliver 3D speeches etc. to reach and attract all sorts of voters.

The increasing influence of marketing in political arena is based on the belief that campaigns in politics really matters. It means efforts in marketing actually influence target voters systematically and meaningfully. At a very first glance this might seem quite evident but an in-depth study of available literature presents a different story (Gelman and King, 1993; Holbrook, 1996). The supporters of “minimal effects” argue that the actual influence of political campaign is insignificant. On the contrary, others have the opinion that political campaigns have significant effect on the voting behaviour which can be measured also. Strangely academics researchers have not paid much attention to political marketing. They found it interesting but not very relevant (Luck, 1969). The basic objective of this chapter is to bridge the gap in the existing literature by clearly defining the meaning and dimensions of political marketing, how political marketing evolved and putting forward a view point that why the field of political marketing requires more attention. An in-depth analysis will reveal that political marketing is very strong but an ignored stepchild of political science and marketing (Harris, 2010; Mauser, 1983).

The existence of political marketing had co-existed with the theories of marketing primarily developed for commercial purposes. Political marketing is basically concerned with the application of marketing theories by political parties to achieve their objectives. In addition to application of marketing theories, conducting marketing research to identify the problems and needs of the citizens, frame and change the policies based on such research to solve those problems more effectively are the important components of political marketing.

1.1 WHAT IS POLITICAL MARKETING?

According to Keller and Kotler (2009) Marketing is “organizational function and a set of process for creating, communicating and delivering value to customers and for managing customer relationships in a way that benefit the organization and its stakeholders”.

Marketing discipline is effected by many other disciplines and to reciprocate helps in the development of other bodies of knowledge within the management area. In the context of nonprofit marketing, social marketing and political marketing application of the theories of consumer marketing is a recent occurrence (Henneberg, 2004).

Less Marshment and Robert (2005) explained that political marketing is important area in academic study and in politics all over the world. Voters are now treated as consumers by the political parties, political systems are now referred as markets, and policies are now considered as a product to satisfy the consumers. There is growing pressure from different groups within the society on achievable promises and need to perform in government. All these things are really important for success in political market which is very dynamic and unpredictable. The current different insights into the voter attitude and behavior have been quoted by the researcher's areas such as sociology and economics, occupational sociology and political geography (Dunleavy, 1990).

The definition of politics in oxford dictionary is "The science dealing with the form, organization, and the administration of the state or part of one" (Rees and Gardner, 2005).

Different authors have given different definitions of political marketing which are summarized in the table no. 1.1.

From the table 1.1, definitions several common points can be chalked out. First of all majority of the authors agrees that political marketing is linked with political campaigns. It includes identifying the needs of voters which can be served with the help of political product. Secondly the main aim of political marketing is to influence people to behave/vote in a certain way. This means that elections must be without any fear and biasness so to make political marketing meaningful. Thirdly there is agreement between researchers that political marketing applies tools and techniques developed for commercial purposes into political arena. That is way majority of the political parties now talked about voters segmentation based on different criteria. Fourth political marketing is broader than the political advertisement. Political marketing includes many activities such as identification of needs of voters, segmentation of voters, planning and execution of different marketing programs etc. Political advertisement could be one of the most expensive and important among all those activities but it is not the only one. In nutshell it can be concluded that political marketing is use of marketing tools and techniques by any political setting.

Table 1.1: Definitions of Political Marketing

| | |
|---------------------------|--|
| Butler and Collins (1994) | The basic purpose of Political marketing is to influence voters during the elections. Political marketing is differentiated from the traditional marketing in the sense that in political marketing hopes, dreams and ideology are sold whereas in traditional marketing the sale is of products and services. But political marketing apply same tools such as advertisement, public relations and publicity as used in traditional marketing. |
| Kavanagh (1995) | Political marketing is application of tools and techniques to get the understanding voter opinion and behaviour before and during the election campaign to develop the contents and to measure the effect of campaign. |
| O’Cass (1996) | Political marketing is building and maintaining mutually beneficial relationship between the voters and political party through panning, implementation and control of political and voter’s programs. |
| Wring (1996) | Political marketing is using of marketing research to design and promote the offerings which satisfies the voters and helps in achieving the organizational objectives. |
| Newman (1999) | Political marketing is utilization of tools and techniques of marketing while designing political campaigns by the various political parties and individuals. The process includes planning, management and execution of campaigns by the candidates or political parties, governments or various other organizations that wants to influence citizen’s opinion, promote their own philosophies, win political battles and pass legislations to meet the aspirations of voters or certain groups in the society. |
| Lees-Marshment (2001) | Political marketing is adapting commercial marketing tools and techniques by political organizations for the achievement of their objectives. |
| Osuagwu (2008) | Political marketing is application of tools and techniques of traditional marketing in political issues by persons, groups, organizations or even nations. |
| Menon (2009) | The American marketing association adds the word “idea” in its redefinition of marketing in 1985 to define political marketing; giving that “Marketing is the process of planning and executing the conception, pricing, promotion and distribution of ideas, goods and services to create exchanges that satisfies individuals and organizational objectives.” |

Further, from marketing point of view a politician or a political party is a service provider and voter/citizen must be viewed as a customer in political market place. A politician is different from the other service providers because he operates in a complex environment that includes both controllable and uncontrollable factors. Secondly he/she plays the role of both campaigner as well as the service provider and thirdly the type and level of communication used in politics are different from the one used in commercial organizations.

1.2 DIMENSIONS OF POLITICAL MARKETING

Different researchers described different dimensions of political marketing. Osuagwu (2008) describes cyber democracy, political advertising, direct marketing, publicity in politics, women in politics, e-government, Marketing research and strategic corporate lobbying the main dimensions of political marketing. Vankov (2013) divided dimensions of political marketing in three parts namely strategic dimensions which consists of rationale of political marketing, target segments, targeting strategy and importance of political marketing for party, exchange dimensions which includes interaction, value construct and temporal orientation and activity dimensions which includes political marketing activity, instruments and campaign orientation.

1.3 THE EVOLUTION OF POLITICAL MARKETING

According to Lees-Marshment (2001), “Over and above to only a set of activities, political marketing should be considered as a general outlook or orientation”. Like the business organizations which have developed and transformed its orientation over the long period of time, political parties have also experienced tremendous transformation in their outlook and thinking.

In the year 1799 Thomas Jefferson authored a book based on political beliefs that was extensively distributed among the common people and worked as a base for his 1800 presidential elections (Wikipedia, 2018a). The first recorded marketing research in political arena was conducted by Harrisburg in 1824 when he asked the respondents about their planning to vote in the forthcoming elections (McDaniel et al., 2008). A few supporters of John Quincy, sixth president of United States, printed

pamphlets, known as coffin handbills primarily for the purpose of attacking the main rival Andrew Jackson in 1828 that allegedly caused the death of wife of Andrew Jackson (Wikipedia, 2018b). Since those times of United States of America, almost every political aspirant has undertaken some kind of marketing activities. Although there has been some link between politics and marketing, over the time, the association between the two has evolved and became very complex. Like commercial marketing, Political marketing has passed through three different phases known as “Product oriented phase, sales oriented phase and marketing oriented phase.

In marketing language, the initial years of political marketing were characterized by product orientation approach. A follower of product oriented political organization contends what it stands for and believes in. It believes that voters will apprehend it is right and support and vote for the party (Less- Marshment, 2001). Voters are crucial but no deliberate effort is made to identify what they want. In case product oriented political party loses an election, the responsibility of loss is fixed on the failure to convince enough people or it is assigned to the assumption that voters were not ready for the message delivered by the party. One very prominent feature of product oriented phase was Smoke filled backrooms where party leaders and political elites met and take the decisions regarding nomination of the candidates. The primary focus during this era was the party and what was beneficial for its interests and long term competitive advantage. In nut shell, party was of prime importance and the public was secondary. The product focus lasted till the 20th century. Warren G. Harding conducted his presidential bid in 1920 as a “front porch campaign” in which huge number of voters came to his house to hear him speak. Harry Truman’s very famous Whistle Stop tour in 1948 was an effort to convince people that his positions were correct and the people must support and vote for him. In some way, Harry Truman’s campaign fill the gap between the product oriented and sales oriented era’s.

The starting of sales oriented era had its roots in the elections of 1948 in USA but came to complete materialization in 1952 during the states presidential elections (Newman, 1993). During this election campaign Dwight Eisenhower’s staff done an elementary segmentation of voters and sent out different appeals to the identified

segments (Baines, 1999). In 1960, Kennedy advisers organized piles of 3 by 5 index cards, each meant for a target voter to mobilize in the critical Wisconsin Primaries and West Virginia (Newman, 1999). Although the application of segmentation and targets concepts indicate a rudimentary marketing orientation, but the primary emphasis was to identify the segments that would be receptive of candidates messages, as opposed to consider voters as consumers. A primary element of sales oriented political party is the belief that “consumers will not purchase enough of the company’s products unless it undertakes a large scale promotion and selling effort” (Kotler and Armstrong, 2004). In this structure, political parties give attention to the voters, but their focus is on promoting and selling the products they are offering.

The present paradigm i.e marketing orientation, started during the presidential elections campaign in USA in 1980. Ronald Reagan employed Richard Wirthlin to conduct polls and produce market intelligence. Wirthlin generate a data base known as Political Information System which combined historical, institutional, qualitative and quantitative data to anticipate who will vote and how they would vote (Shaughnessy et al., 2012). The influential 1980 campaign leads to the beginning of scientific and systematic use of commercial marketing tools in the political arena. Since then many marketing methods have been used into political campaigns. Some of these tools include merging of some specific areas with automated prerecorded message on phone from a popular politician or celebrity, requesting panels of voters to respond to surveys immediately after a specific campaign, and usage of hand held dials to measure voter’s reactions to remarks made in the debates. The Republicans, by 2004, started a voter database named as Voter Vault and executed a voter turnout project called “72 Hour Project” that increased Republican turnout of Election Day. To counter this Democrats also developed a voter data base Demzilla and based on Republican’s model also created a voter turnout data base (Balz, 2006; Dreazen, 2006).

Adopting a marketing orientation, however is much more than applying the latest marketing techniques. It involves the change in thinking that reverses the focus in product oriented approach. According to Kohli and Jaworksi (1990) “a marketing orientation is the organization wide generation of market intelligence pertaining to current and future customer’s needs, dissemination of the intelligence across

departments and organization wide responsiveness to it". Marketing orientation primary implication is customer's first approach meaning thereby that the entire organization is adapted towards satisfying consumers or voters needs and wants. While leftovers of sales oriented approach still hang around, the marketing orientation has occupied the dominance in recent years.

There are several outcomes tied up to the adoption and application of marketing orientation. First Political campaigns have become professionalized and much more controlled. As Scammell (1999) and Nickerson and Roggers (2014) argues the contemporary campaign is capital intensive, dependent on a relatively smaller number of volunteers, centrally more controlled, more reliance on non-party professionals and experts from marketing and media, and very less face to face communication with voters. This is exactly opposite to the traditional approach of "boots on the ground" and undoubtedly less centralized campaign structure. But there are some probable disadvantages of this approach: voters may be less involved resulting in apathy. There is also some evidence that voters are less responsive to mass media persuasion efforts. Although there are many advantages of increasing the broad appeal of campaign, but it may come at the cost of sacrificing the personal touch which is very fruitful in convincing a specific segments of voters.

Second, one of the main principal of marketing orientation is it involves potential customers at every step of value creation i.e conceptualization, design, development and production process. In political marketing it implies that voter's inputs are utilized while framing and pursuing the policies. While this is opposite to traditional belief of a political party or politician sticking to their ideology and taking a firm stand, there is some proof that Reagan and Thatcher (both known as doctrinaire politicians) were ready to use voters input to frame specific policies (Scammell, 1999). Some have argued that this approach will eventually lead to the death of political courage. Undoubtedly this approach will not be used to the extreme where every policy is decided on the basis of marketing research.

Third, a very important outcome of marketing orientation is political parties now days are organized on a permanent basis, coordinated by a permanent staff of marketing and communications professionals. The regular campaign requires a

permanent market research program (Sparrow and Turner, 2001; Walker and Nowlin, 2018). A marketing orientation is inherently a permanent campaign, which demands politicians and parties to remain continually in campaign mode. Some experts noted that rise of permanent campaign has not been accepted with enthusiasm universally (Henneberg 2004; O'Shaughnessy, 2002). The essence of political marketing orientation is considered in certain sections as a negative term that sums up everything that is wrong with politics today. For example, some feel that marketing is basically a manipulative activity i.e conspiracy of skilled humbugs that have no place in public platform (Key, 1966). Some others have argued that policies and votes should not be purchased and sold in the market as if they were commodities (Marland, 2003; Rothschild, 1978). Still others argued that political marketing is a tool of gagging of democracy and an indication that rich, rather than the best are taking control and this contradicts the democratic principles (O'Shaughnessy, 2002). In spite of critic's concerns and criticism that good politics and marketing are contradictory, it is clear that in advanced democracies the political marketing has become a permanent attribute.

1.4 POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Political participation in its simple sense means taking part in politics (Easton, 1965). Political participation referred to “those legal activities by citizens which are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel and /or the actions they take” (Dalton, 2008; Verba et al., 1987). It includes the activities like campaigning, demonstrating, voting, rioting and other similar activities. The type of political participation differs widely between different cultures, political systems and different time frames. The evident doubt is how to arrive at a meaningful conclusion about the points of parity and difference in different types of participation across different nations and different cultures.

1.4.1 Many Faces of Participation

The concept of participation has got significant attention in political science. Contradiction between advocates of system oriented and development perspectives have influenced the normative side of it, whereas a lot of taxonomies, dimensions and theories can be found in empirical approaches. Researcher in this study is

neither concerned with the established theory nor with the categorization of different methods of participation. The important is differentiation between political participation behaviour and rest of the human behaviour to construct the scale for political participation. Two common differences will be considered: The difference between conventional and unconventional way of participation and between governmental and non-governmental oriented behaviour.

Let us start by considering simple meaning of political participation. In simple words, political participation means taking part in politics. According to Easton (1965) Politics is process of creation and allocation of values. So this it can be concluded that political participation includes all those kinds of behaviour which makes possible for the citizens to participate in values creation and allocation process for the society. Two observations can be made on this point. First the behaviour is intentional to influence the process- but not necessary always. For example working for a political party or candidate can be with the intention to get some advantages from the political party or candidate, without the objective to influence the process of creating and allocating of values to the society. Secondly voluntary participation can also be abandoned as specific trait of political participation. For example, protest against setting up of an industry in your residential area can be considered under this. In this case, behaviour remains politically important whether it is voluntary or not.

In majority of the countries values creation and allocation are not done by government agencies only, so participation can be seen in other domains as well. Participation is a crucial link between interests and requirements of the citizens and process of creation and allocation of values. No more arguments are needed to justify the concept of participation in a broader context. In fact, arguments are required to restrict a definition like that. A broad concept of participation has many advantages both from analytical and comparative point of view. On the other hand, limiting the focus on government sector has many problems because the scope of these sectors varies with time/place (Dalton, 2008; Helmers, 1975).

Moreover, it is also indecisive that people are capable to make a distinction between their requirements and interests as per governmental/non-governmental criteria.

Even in non-totalitarian or democracy systems, it is difficult to make people understand what belongs to government sector and what belongs to private sector and creation of values. In developed countries governments have increased the scope of their activities, offering fulfillment of citizen's basic needs and regulate many of their activities. Consecutively, citizens require the fulfillment of more demands and expect attention from government machinery. Especially, in a liberal democracy, excessive expectations and demands are generated, which makes demarcation between typical government activities and non-governmental tasks very difficult. On the grass root level, a citizen is faced with the issue of government interfering deeply in his/her affairs, for example, an employee loosing job, a customer watching television on surfing the internet or a citizen in need of driving license or a subsidy on certain commodities. So whether or not political participation should be restricted to only government sector should be left to the decision of potential participants (Hirschman, 1982).

Another viewpoint dominates the difference between conventional and unconventional modes of participation. Many researchers pin point the types of behaviour that should be considered unconventional mode of political participation. In addition to 'protest' and political action there are many other terms like untraditional, non-electoral, not legitimate, unorthodox and as previously mentioned un-conventional. Majority of these terms have negative surplus meaning and are status quo oriented.

In the context of unconventional political participation the work of Alan Marsh is most significant and interesting. He developed instrument to measure unconventional political participation. Respondents were exposed to a set of ten stimuli i.e. demonstrations, refusing to pay rent and taxes, damaging property, violence, strikes, painting slogans, occupations, boycott, blockades and petitions. The cognitive, conative and affective elements of the attitude towards the above mentioned modes of participation asked from the respondents. Deterministic cumulative model of Guttman was applied to develop a protest potential scale. (Marsh, 1974, 1977, 1979).

1.5 RESEARCH ON POLITICAL MARKETING IN WESTERN COUNTRIES

The increasing use of political marketing is the outcome of amalgamation of marketing knowledge and politics. The main goal of political marketing is to effect the voters and putting the political party in advantageous position than their rival political parties by applying specific tools and approaches. Political marketing aims to increase the political party dominance in conflicting situations especially in elections. Political parties make an effort to increase their success chances in those situations by using political marketing.

The recent research studies about application of marketing concepts and techniques into political arena played a very important role in explaining a new field of study in public and social marketing. Also last decade has seen a phenomenal growth in research into application of marketing theories in politics (Beckman, 2018). So appraising political processes and voter's behaviour from a marketing point of view offers new understanding into the way of working and achievements of political parties. Niffenegger (1989) applied P. McKarti's marketing model, using process of environmental scanning and finally including product, price, promotion and position he highlights the marketing role and functions in elections with reference to USA Politics. Further Butler and Collins (1994) highlights the basic features of political marketing in context to Europe which includes political product, Political organization, Political market and process characteristics and marketing strategies related to each characteristic. They concluded that political marketing is very helpful in understanding the behaviour of voters and then marketing tools can be applied to drive the voter's opinion. Bains et. al. (2002) develop marketing planning frame work for political parties in UK political system to improve brand image and effectively coordinate election campaign which includes four stages namely constituency identification and collection of information determination of, competition and deciding about the voting group, party positioning and targeting of voter group and analysis after the elections. Marland (2003) examined the use of five traditional political marketing tools (direct mail stealth campaign, comparative advertisement, pre campaigning, celebrity endorsements, oppo) and five contemporary marketing tactics (push polls, video imaging, robo calls, internet

campaigns, paid phone banks) by the political parties in Canada. The study also examined the applicability of American style marketing tactics in Canada and found that Canadian political strategists are very selective in adopting the American style marketing tactics. Thrassou (2008) found out important determinants of small political parties marketing communication success and develops the marketing communication frame work for small political parties in developed countries based on increasing inter relation between political and commercial marketing, an environmental perspective that increases and develops relationship between party and voters, association of critical factors of success and perception management and the presence of many limitations of application of classical marketing theory to small political parties. Potincu (2008) conceptualized the various ethical and unethical issues prevalent in the political marketing area which could have an effect on electoral behaviour during the elections campaigns. The author highlights surveys having a negative influence i.e. being published during the electoral campaign only to change the voting intentions of the electorate and excessive use of persuasive method and techniques as unethical ways to manipulate the voters in Brasov, Romania. Dean and Croft (2009) argued that electorate behaviour is complex and not simple. In politics there is no simple model as exchange process which can explain the electorate decision making process. After considering the different forms of rationality, critical reasoning, notion of irrationality and emotional decision making the researchers proposed a framework based on interplay between rationality, irrationality, reasoning and emotions to understand the electorate decision making in United Kingdom. Less (2009) discussed about how marketing tools can be used after winning the elections while governance. A framework using new theoretical view points and comparative empirical research has been developed for market oriented government in Europe which includes five main areas of (a) delivery management and communication (b) continual market consultation (c) responsive product re-development and strategic thinking (d) Product refinement in response to competition (e) maintenance or re-establishment of a market oriented attitude among MP's and leadership (f) engagement in market oriented communication . Bains and O'Shaughnessy (2014) highlighted the very interesting aspect of application of political marketing techniques developed for electoral and governmental campaigning, fundraising campaigns and lobbying are now being used

in army, by the not for profit organizations and by the terrorist groups with the aim of winning hearts and minds. Karpf (2017) explored the impact of digital media on the success of Trump in 2016 presidential elections. Further, Towner and Munoz (2018) explored the new media effect on political participation on baby boomers and found that facebook has more positive influence on political participation of baby boomers as compared to blogs, twitter and you tube.

Rothschild (1978) in his study “political advertising: A neglected policy issue in marketing” present a model to hypothesize some effects of political advertising in USA. The study highlighted the role of television and increase in campaign cost in changing the marketing/political relationship from implicit to explicit. By taking into consideration the literature on involvement and political advertisement effects the study concluded that neither all voters nor all voting situations are same. Highly involved voters will not be affected by political advertisement whereas less involved voters will be more easily influenced by political advertisement. By looking at the effect of advertisement on voters study also raised several policy issues regarding control the nature and amount of political advertising. Holbrook (1996) opted for concrete approach called “minimal effects hypothesis”, which says that campaign may or may not matter but the outcome of campaigns are predictable in advance by taking into consideration the status of the economy and the popularity and performance of incumbent president. Fournier, et.al. (2004) and Beckman (2018) argues that all the voters do not make up their mind in advance regarding voting. There are voters who decide whom to vote during the campaign, after the campaign or even on the Election Day. American national elections “2016” data also revealed that approximately 14.8% of the voters make up their mind during the conventions, 27.6% after the conventions and 2.2% on the election date. So there is great room to influence voters through political campaigns. To elaborate further Baron (2008) in his study conducted in USA concludes that there are situations where campaigns do not have any effect and on the other hand there are certain situations where campaign matters. Campaigns does not have much impact on preference shifting whereas when there is question of turning unlikely and non- voters into voters campaign definitely has the influence.

From the above it is very clear that research on political marketing has got considerable attention of scholars in European countries, UK and USA which includes study of marketing strategies of political parties, proposing marketing planning framework for political parties, proposing frameworks to understand the decision making behaviour of voters, using marketing tools after winning the elections and study of effects of campaigns and advertisements on the voters etc.

1.6 POLITICAL MARKETING RESEARCH STATUS IN INDIA

The survival and growth of democracy in any country depends on different opinions, alternative policy choices and constructive criticism. In fact discussions and debate are two pillars of democracy. Violence is fatal for democracy and political competition. Contrarily honest and fair political actions symbolize the healthy democratic process. Practices of political parties in any country have long term ramification on the growth and stability of any country. Political practices usually fabricate the nature of national politics. Being the largest democracy in world and with 2293 political parties (www.eic.nic.in, accessed on March16, 2020) it is quite imperative and interested to know the extent and nature of research on application of political marketing. But as far as research related with application of political marketing in Indian context is concerned the researcher could find very less work. The article by Thakur (2014) highlighted the use of different medias by Prime Minister Candidate Mr. Narendra Modi during Lok Sabha elections in 2014 with special reference to social media. Banerjee and Chaudhuri (2016) studied the influence of voter's demographics and newspaper in shaping political party choice in India and found that gender, marital status and income of the respondent do not have any influence on the choice of political party whereas occupation and newspaper choice of voters have significant influence on choice of political party. Safiullah et al. (2017) studied the effect of social media usage by political parties on the 2014 general elections outcome in India and found that social media buzz has positive and significant impact on the outcome of general elections of 2014. Jain et al. (2017) developed the framework to study the influence of political branding and develop the strong relationship with the voters. Further, Jain et al. (2018) examine brand personality and its application to political branding with special reference to Bhartiya Janta Party and found that development of strong brand personality is very important to get success in the elections.

Although In India the total numbers of political parties are quite large i.e. 2293 (www.eic.nic.in, accessed on March 16, 2020) as compared to very few political parties in advanced western countries still there is theoretical deprivation in the area of political marketing. Lock and Harris (1996) regret that the work in political marketing as compared to development in political activity and is very less. In addition the application of marketing principles, theories and strategies has not been sufficiently explored covering different cultures and political settings. Because of dearth of research contribution in this area, general results of political marketing are difficult to draw. So to comprehend the political behaviour i.e strategies and practices of political bodies it is vital that one should use theoretical models developed within related conditions and countries and check the applicability of these frameworks in particular political setting and environment. Further both marketing and political systems have considerable tremor on conduct and directions of the society. So any research on linkage between political systems and marketing is very much desirable especially in developing countries such as India which has grasp democratic tendencies. The central to democracy is political parties and present day democracy is the creation of political parties. It is impossible to think democracy without political parties. So research on this area should include analysis of policies, programs and strategies of political parties. In the developing countries like India empirical research on political practices and processes is very limited. The disciple of political marketing is at very young stage and the applicability of marketing in political activities is debatable.

Research work into application of political marketing tools in developed countries such as USA, UK and Europe concludes that scope of political marketing is very broad and it also throws light of analytical tools which political party's uses to achieve effectiveness and efficiency (Less Marshment, 2001). But a major drawback in literature related with political marketing is that it is mainly concentrated with the issues of political systems of Europe, USA and UK which may not be true in other democracies of the world (Butler and Collins, 1996). With the help of research in political marketing area in developing country like India a clear understanding of competitive positions of different political parties, marketing strategies of political parties and its effects on voters can be worked out.

CHAPTER – 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This chapter deals with the study of literature that is relevant for the thesis. In order to get a complete understanding of the influence of political marketing on citizen's political participation, a comprehensive review of literature was undertaken. The past and contemporary studies clarifying various dimensions of political marketing have been carefully examined. To support the need of this study the gap in the previous studies was identified. Extant studies have been categorized as follows:

- 2.1 Studies on factors effecting political marketing success
- 2.2 Studies on influence of political marketing on political participation
- 2.3 Studies on assessing the brand personality
- 2.4 Studies on measuring the brand equity

2.1 STUDIES ON FACTORS EFFECTING POLITICAL MARKETING SUCCESS

Today Politics all over the world is heavily influenced by the marketing and same sophisticated marketing tools applied by companies for marketing their products and services is being used by political organizations to market their ideologies and ideas.

Due to growing interest in political marketing area for making effective and efficient political product, it is very much required to study the major factors of successful political marketing. To accomplish this object it is required to answer the following question

Q: What are the main elements of successful political marketing?

2.1.1 Political Marketing Mix

The core of marketing mix is product. From the voter's viewpoint, product comprises of "party image", "leader image" and "policy commitments."

The perceptions about "party image" are developed on the basis of record in office, unity of purpose and recent history and credibility of political party/leader (Harrop,

1990; Jain and Ganesh, 2019). The most important in building party image is policies of the party on which party manifesto is based. During last 3 decades researchers has started placing more focus on rational choice belief of voter judgment of the issues and choosing for the political party which is in synchronization with specific policy likings (Himmelweit et al., 1985; Harrop, 1988). Nevertheless the comprehensive scenario is not simple to change from image of the political party to issues based clarification of voter's alternative because leader image also plays an important part, which constructs the third element in product mix.

Active role played by media has assisted mitigating this tendency; as quoted by Philip Kotler "Voters hardly meet or Know the political leaders; they only have transmitted images" (Scammell, 2015; Kotler, 1982; O'Shaughnessy, 2002).

2.1.1.1 Promotion: Promotion is one of the most crucial parts of political marketing campaign. The promotion mix broadly can be divided into two major parts. One is paid promotion which includes all types of advertisement be it broadcast, print, poster, or the flourishing digital marketing. The other type is free promotion commonly known as publicity that political parties get but do not purchase (Bains and O'Shaughnessy, 2014; O'Shaughnessy, 2002).

Usual to commercial market and growingly an important element of political process, public relation, is an important tool applied to get positive attention of media for the organization.

Party symbols, slogan, colours give an added elements to the entire communication mix.

2.1.1.2 Placement: The core of distribution or placement is chain of retailers or distributors in case of commercial market. In politics the identical form is party workers at grass root level. The political parties can arrange their membership at local or regional basis. The members of these parties provide volunteer labour and crucial inputs during the time of elections. In addition this machinery also coordinates with national level network to liaison local happenings and visits by leaders of the party. In India, it is very important to keep in mind that family is very

important that plays a very influential role in the voting process (Banerjee and Choudhary, 2018; Farrell and Wortmann, 1987).

2.1.1.3 Price: Pricing can be viewed as how political parties raise funds and attract members. Intention to vote or vote correlates to price in political marketing. To have the large voters base, party needs to match its strategy of communication with voter's reaction accessed by using opinion analysis and votes.

After the comprehensive and extensive review of literature, the authors has extracted the below mentioned factors for effective political marketing strategy.

2.1.2 Market Orientation Strategy and Political Marketing

Market Orientation in political marketing attracts great interest as it provides likely perspective to win elections. Sometimes this strategy also increases concerns among party members and other stakeholders having huge investments/ attachments to a specific candidate or party. These participants have their own perspectives of framing policies and may be hesitant in changing party policies as per the research (Lees-Marshment, 2009; O'Shaughnessy, 2012).

Many researchers (Lees-Marshment, 2001; Newman, 1999; Ormrod, 2005; O'Shaughnessy, 2012) concluded that a market orientation helps political party/ candidate to be in contact with and reactive to target voter issues.

Ormod (2005) suggested a theoretical framework of market orientation based on behavior and attitude. As behavior, Ormod considered behavioral construct regarding generation of information and its distribution, with reference from Kohli and Jaworski (1990) research and believed them with consistent external communication and member participation constructs. From an attitudinal point of view, he suggested four constructs as internal orientation, external orientation, voter orientation and competitor orientation.

Lees-Marshment (2008) contended that market orientation is all about developing behavior to provide satisfaction to voters. Political parties utilize market intelligence to discover voter requirements, and then develop its product which satisfies voter's demands. Usually political parties do not try to change the thinking of people, but

provide solutions as per their requirements. Market-oriented parties will always try to satisfy voter's needs and wants, failure in which means unhappy voters and risk of losing their support. Marshment (2008) explained that a market oriented political party will do the following four important activities:

- 1) **Utilization of Market Intelligence:** This is same as information in Ormod's model indicates that political parties have to invest heavily in identifying the requirements and voters behaviour. Party can use Quantitative/Qualitative, Formal/Informal or Primary/Secondary research methods with the help of professionals with political and marketing expertise conducting required searches.
- 2) **Modification of Behavior:** The political party then will modify its behavior by developing its product based on the outcomes of its market research. This includes the modification in behavior at all levels of party in addition to slogans and posters. Party has to take into account the opposition party areas of strengths and weaknesses to design and differentiate its product.
- 3) **Implementation:** The political party/ organization will then implement the modified offering in the entire organization/party. The more the modification in behavior is desired the tougher the job is for the leadership to get backing for change. The management needs to be aware of probable issues and then take necessary measures to overcome such issues.
- 4) **Communication of New Behavior:** Now party will communicate its modified product design to the voters. This will include communication to begin as soon as possible before the elections. The party will showcase the behavior as per new offering at all times and at all levels.

2.1.3 Efficient Marketing Research

Doing marketing research and conducting opinion polls is quite traditional in politics. There are various types of polls on which political parties rely on. Surveys conducted over time to understand where the voters stands at various stages during a campaign (cross-sectional and panel surveys) and surveys carried out immediately after voters cast their votes (exit polls) (Supadhiloke, 2015; Newman, 1999).

Opinion poll has emerged as a very critical tool of the contemporary elections. In executing a successful political campaign is the inclusion of opposite party week points, obtained through market intelligence. In fact campaign is the time to research ideas, making promises and then tested these in the market place, known as test marketing (Newman, 1999; Supadhiloke, 2015).

Traditionally opinion research was usually conducted using quantitative methods. More recently, political parties have started employing consultants specialized in the “psychological” system of private polling develop to probe more deep rooted attitudes and values (Worcester, 1991). As a result research in campaigns are now focusing on combining quantitative research with qualitative research. Opinion research feedback is a critical element in the development of an impressive marketing mix (Jacobs and Mettler, 2018; Marshment, 2005; Ormrod, 2005; O’Shaughnessy, 2002).

2.1.4 Market Segmentation and Targeting

Segmentation is an important tool of knowing consumers what they want, and what price they are willing to pay. Segmentation is also best way to access the customers. Market segmentation can be done on the basis of socio demographic and psychological profile, social groups with different socio economic and behaviors. Segmentation allows the organizations to develop a marketing plan for each segment (Benon, 2004; Davidson and Binstock, 2012).

Given their almost similar strategic objectives, Strategists in politics have also used segmentation and targeting tools. Research in marketing has highlighted the potential advantages to be acquired from segmenting voters according to, geographic, demographic or psychographic basis (Banon, 2004; Smith and Saunders, 1990; Yorke and Meehan, 1986).

In politics, segmentation has been used by almost every party to choose which segment of voters they can target with the policies and Ideologies (Butler and Harris, 2009; Newman, 1999).

Parties before targeting voters should discreetly recognize the segments, its profile and plan the offering at the first step (Bains et al., 2003; Lees-Marshment and Roberts, 2005).

After that parties needs to take decision on targeting the segment. Available resources will play a very important role in this decision.

2.1.5 Party/Candidate Positioning

In political marketing analysis the concept of positioning has a central place. After segmentation and deciding of targets, the political party/candidate has to create a position in the market place. Positioning involves many steps that starts with candidate/political party assessing own as well as competitors strengths and weaknesses (Baines et al., 2014; Newman, 1999). Positioning is a tool which enables a political party/candidate to create and communicate his image to the target voters effectively. To create a favourable image and increase the support political strategists use ideologies, issues, policies and reasoned arguments and style of presentation to win the voter's mind. Positioning is related with many things; the internal strengths and capabilities of political parties/candidates must be evaluated and should be matched with opportunities available in the external environment of prospective target segments; and ultimately, positioning describe the position of party/candidate in the competition (Cwalina and Falkowski, 2014; Mauser, 1983; and O'Shaughnessy, 2002). The image of a candidate/political party is created with the usage of media by highlighting some personality characteristics of the candidate and stressing various issues which are close to the heart of voters (Baines et al., 2014; Carriere, 2016; De Donder and Gallego, 2017; Newman, 1999).

2.1.6 Image Management

The positioning theory for image management was developed by Schoenwald (1987). Mauser (1983) in the revolutionary research on political marketing, keeps the concept of image at the center of his work.

The process of managing image has been applied by the political parties/candidates to create modified images that more precisely coordinate with their new constituencies (Pich and Armannsdottir, 2018; Schneider, 2004). In Marketing ideology is a labeling process same in the nature used for branding the products. Majority of the people use ideology to label political parties and themselves and then create a relation with political party/candidate with the help of this information. These labels are same as developed for the products by marketers to build an image

which describe what they meant for in customers mind (Jain and BE, 2019). Decision on the image of candidate is one of the important decisions in political campaigns that dominate how the organizers of campaign wish people to perceive about the personality of the candidate. Image statement is the base on which political parties/ candidates shape their campaigns. Critical is how to change the core message to distinct target groups. On some occasions, voters are interested in serious discussion on problems, on other occasions they may want to hear slogans and what they want to hear (Juholin, 2001; Jain and BE, 2019).

With reference to above discussion, the following hypothesized model can be framed.

2.1.7 Hypothesized Research Model

From the above comprehensive study on political marketing, the following model worked out and is shown in Figure 2.1

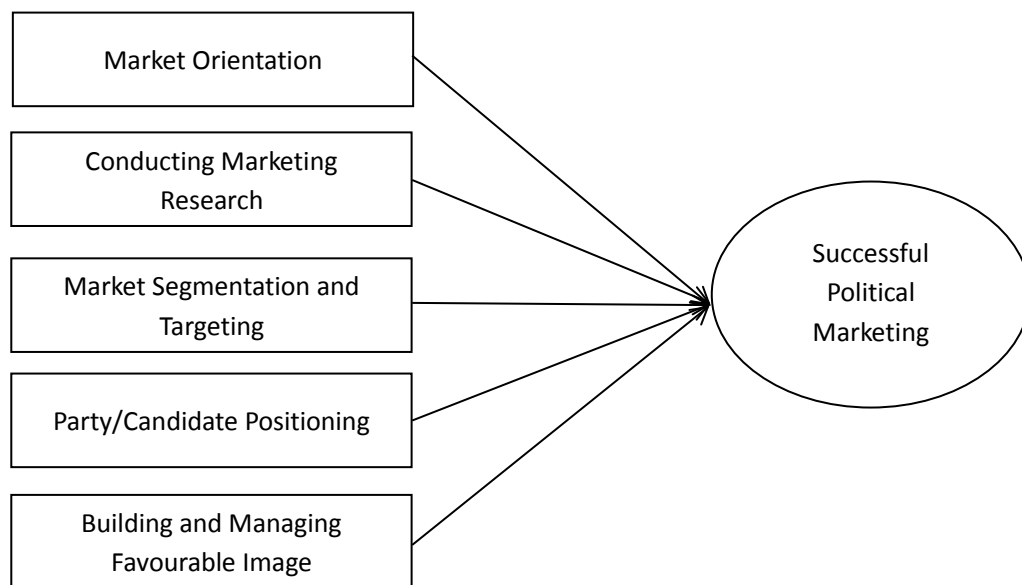


Figure 2.1: Conceptualized Model of Successful Political Marketing

2.2 STUDIES ON INFLUENCE OF POLITICAL MARKETING ON POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

People political participation is considered as fundamental criteria to judge the strength of a democracy. The issue of political participation has been a major area of

interest for both political scientists and sociologists because it is related with very essential act of democracy i.e. influencing the selection process as well as decision making of government. However political participation phenomena are very dynamic and evolving. At different points of time, people are likely to be less or more politically active. Riley et al. (2010) advocated that at present we are experiencing a period of detachment from traditional politics. They cited Gotze and Colman (2001) and Griffin (2005) to advocate that alienation from traditional politics and structure is because of very fast transformation of the political landscape. Detachment from traditional politics, however, does not seem to be a very wide- ranging phenomenon meaning thereby that it does not effect consistently all societies and all people at the same time.

Early studies utilized the reasoned action theory as one of the prominently used theory to explain behavioural intentions of people. Researchers engaged in analyzing voters behavioural intentions have concluded that the reasoned action theory is a right starting point for understanding the voter's behavioural intentions. As per this theory the normative and cognitive components leads to formation of attitude, this as a result forms behavioural intentions and finally leads to actual behaviour (Ajzen, 1985).

Different frameworks have been proposed subsequently based on the model of planned behaviour. To predict the voter's behavioural intentions researchers worked for more specific models. Researchers were primarily interested in the factors that effect voter's behavioural intentions. Pioneer in these models was the model proposed by Newman and Sheth (1985) in which they pinpointed following factors that influence voter's behaviour.

- 1) Policies and Issues
- 2) Emotional feelings
- 3) Social Imagery
- 4) Current events
- 5) Candidate's Image
- 6) Epistemic issues and
- 7) Personal events

However there was criticism of this model because various researchers have stressed that the framework assumed that these factors are independent but many researchers have highlighted that this is not the case and there is an interaction between these factors. But those models have also been criticized because of non-inclusion of effect of election polls and media (Cwalina et al., 2000, 2010).

An updated model for Newman and Sheth's model was developed by Cwalina et al. (2008). This model was based on the assumption of causal relationship between the cognitive elements i.e. media effects voters feelings and cognitive attitudes; and that there is interaction between cognitive domains and media. Subsequently Cwalina et al. (2010) in a comparative study based on the data of USA and polish 2000 presidential elections proposed a test for voter's behaviour on the basis of cognitive domains; emotional feelings and role of media in elections. Researchers also introduced four types of voter's: emotional, social, rational, and situational voters. The study found out that voter behaviour is more rational than emotional. But the question arises regarding the generalization of the same conclusion on our Indian society's voting behaviour.

Fisher and Fisher (1992) proposed a model based on the information and motivation for predicting behaviour which connects information, motivation and behavioural skills. The model postulated that motivation and information effects voter's behaviour. The model has been appreciated for its potential to design and develop programs to predict change in behaviour. Further to predict political behaviour Perugini (2005) suggested following three main models:

- 1) The additive model which considers both implicit and explicit variables for political preference that predict voting behaviour;
- 2) The double-disassociation model that suggests that explicit attitude influence deliberative behaviour and implicit attitude influence impulsive behaviour; and
- 3) The interaction model that suggests that the attitude interplay influence the relationship between the voting behaviour and explicit and implicit measures.

Further, studies on voter behaviour stressed on image of political party/candidate in elections. Studies has suggested that leadership, power, intelligence, competence, morality and credibility to be very important characteristics of a political

party/candidate (Benoit and McHale, 2004; Jain and BE, 2019; Kinder, 1994; Pancer et al., 1999).

Fastnow et al. (1999) & Michelutti, L. (2008) investigated the effect of religion on political behaviour. The main outcome of their study was that religious affiliation significantly effects voting behaviour. Researchers also found that the influence of religion has changed over time. This is primarily because of the changing ideologies of different religious groups towards issues related with the society over a period of time (McClendon and Riedl, 2015; Omelicheva and Ahmed, 2018). Some studies have investigated the difference between specific and general beliefs in voter's behaviour. While majority of the studies have established that specific beliefs are significant in forecasting voter behaviour, Park et al. (2006) concluded that general beliefs are much more stronger (three times) than specific beliefs in influencing voter's behaviour.

Bashirieh (1997) and Persson (2015) concluded that political participation among the people with higher education and higher income is higher in democratic societies. Socio-demographic characteristics such as socio-economic status and age have been considered as differentiating people in participatory behaviours (Kitanova,2019; Melo and Stockemer, 2014;Nagler, 1991; Rosenstone and Hansen, 1993; Verba et al., 1995). In many western democracies women are less active as compared to men in political processes (Bishop, 2013; Coffe and Bolzendahl, 2010; Conway, 2001; Inglehart and Norris, 2003; Lovenduski, 2001; Norris et al., 2004). As per life cycle theory (Butler and strokes, 1969; Highton and Wolfinger, 2001; Kimberlee, 1998) age is further variable discriminating between individuals as far as political participation is concerned. As people grow older, their interest in politics and their willingness to play an active role would increase. Many studies have also highlighted the role played by socio economic status (SES) and education in promoting the political engagement among people (Aras and Christensen, 2018; Brady et al., 1995; Persson, 2015). However, recently, the significance of SES and education in encouraging political engagement have been put into perspective. Education seems to have an influence on voting, but no other participatory alternatives (Jarvis, 2002; Persson, 2015).

In addition to socio- demographic characteristics there are psychological variables that act as antecedents of political and social activism. These are socialization function of family, feelings about trustworthiness of political institutions, perception of political efficacy, the optimistic versus cynical attitude towards politics and interest in politics.

Several studies demonstrated that socialization processes such as opportunity to gather information and share opinions on politics within one's own family or circle of peers and friends, positively influence the possibility to become actively involved in political and social activities (Easton and Dennis, 1967; Flores, 2001; Jennings and Niemi 1981; Jennings et al. 2001; Liebes and Ribak, 1992; Mutz and Martin, 2001; Quintelier; 2015; Sherrod et al., 2004). Verba et al. (1995) concluded that the socialization agents encourage the tendency to take active part in the public sphere; the opportunity to know more about the political issues and accessing right amount of information lays a foundation for participating in conventional and un conventional political participation (Fahmy, 2003; McClurg, 2003; Tang and Lee, 2013).

Studies have shown controversial outcomes about the relationship between the decision to actively involved in politics and perceived trustworthiness of institutions. Some researchers claim that reciprocal trust between people and institutions is essential to develop active political participation (Alford, 2001; Freitag and Buhlmann, 2009; Huseby, 2000; Orren, 1997; Uslaner and Brown, 2005). On the other hand, some researchers' states that mistrust is not as such a demotivating factor, it can instead encourage people to take part in protest actions bypassing the institutions (Citrin and Luks 2001; Dalton, 2002; Norris, 1999). Tendency to adopt conventional form of participation such as voting, participation in rallies etc. is dependent on trust (Oyler, 2006), whereas mistrust would enhance the participation in unconventional modes of political participation such as protest, strikes etc. (Hooghe and Marien, 2013; Miller, 1974; Pierce and Converse, 1989; Tarrow, 1994). The Citizens increasing suspicion towards political institutions would also promote active citizenship (Inglehart, 2015). In other words, distrust would not discourage participation; instead it would rather promote community based forms of participation (civic associations, social movements, citizens committees etc.).

Studies also authenticate the interaction effect between trust and political efficacy (Craig 2018; Paige, 1971; Pollock, 1983; Seligson, 1980), which is considered as one of the most dominant factor in deciding the participation in political sphere (Niemi et al., 1991; Norris et al., 2004; Zimmermann, 1989). There is broad agreement on a two-dimensional model of political efficacy; comprises of an internal dimension- same as of self-efficacy, the perception of being able to exercise an influence in the political arena- and an external dimension- the perception of political institutions willingness to satisfy the needs of the people (Converse, 1972; Craig and Maggiotto, 1982; Morrell, 2003; Niemi et al., 1991). A third dimension has been suggested by Yeich and Levine (1994), which is collective political efficacy, which means the perception of being able to influence the political activities through collective action. External and internal political efficacy has shown significant correlation with citizens' participatory behaviour (Catt, 2005). Low level of self-efficacy demotivates the people to take active roles (Balch, 1974; Finkel, 1985; Norris et al., 2004; Shaffer, 1981). Also, from the combination of internal and external efficacy, different types of participation develop (Madsen, 1987; Pollock, 1983). According to Zimmerman (1989), individuals who display high internal and external efficacy scores are likely to participate in conventional mode; on the other hand, individuals who show low external but high internal efficacy, are likely to participate in unconventional forms of participation. Those who have low level of self-efficacy but believes that political institutions react in a positive way to the needs of people, tends to display the attitude of acceptance and subordination. And at last, low perceived internal and external efficacy results in apathy, alienation and indifference to politics.

Cynicism has been viewed as one of the main factors for lack of support for political institutions. Cynicism is opposite to institutional trustworthiness (T. Mannarini et al., 2008). Cynicism is tendency to not rely on the competencies of political institutions (Krouwel and Abts, 2006; Shao and Liu, 2019). On the other hand, Eisinger (2000) claims that cynics intentionally distant themselves from the politics and are not simply indifferent to politics.

Studies focusing on interest in politics illustrates that the motivation of young people to involve in politics declined over the recent past, thereby indicating that political

interest is a very important antecedent of political participation (Bean, 1989; Crotty, 1991; Melo and Stockemer, 2014; Park, 1999; Plutzer, 2002).

Cwaline et al. (2005) and Hager (2019) highlighted that political advertisement influences voter's behaviour in the following four different ways:

- 1) Political advertisements can strengthen already established voter's behaviour.
- 2) Political advertisements can weaken the already established voter's behaviour.
- 3) Political advertisements can neither strengthen nor weaken the existing voter's behaviour, but can lead to re-evaluation of political party/candidates image by the voters.
- 4) Political advertisements have no influence on voter's behaviour.

Some researchers worked on the influence of negative political advertisements and negative campaign tactics on voter's behaviour and found out that the impact of negative political advertisements and campaigns is dependent on the source credibility (Yoon et al., 2005).

According to Kolovos and Harris (2005) Communication and promotional mix is the most important component in political marketing campaign. The promotional mix can be categorized in paid and free media. Advertisements have been done on a very large scale by all major political parties in the recent past (Ehrenberg and Bernard, 1997; Falkowski and Cwalina, 2012; kaid 1995; Lau & Ronver, 2007). According to Shen et al. (2011) party symbols, colours, slogans provide extra visibility to the overall communication mix and plays an important part in creating voters view point about the different political parties". Publicity which political parties get from political activists, journalists, and opinion leaders refers to free media. Compared to paid advertisement campaigns, political parties have no or little control on free publicity regarding their product. Spokesperson of different political parties participate in TV programs, debates, interviews for promoting the view points and ideologies of their respective political parties and motivating the target voters to vote for their political party. In India the rising influence of press, broadcast and digital media played an important role in shaping the voting behaviour and perceptions of citizens towards the political parties. Broadly the literature highlights that as compared to ordinary business situations free media plays a very critical role in politics (Ardevol et al., 2018 ; O'Shaughnessy, 2001).

Political marketing concepts should be applied consistently by a political party or candidate to build trust, image and increase the political participation of people in a positive way. However, building an image can only be done through a long term relationship, not only at the time of campaign. Political marketing should be taken in a broader sense. First and foremost, the scope of political marketing is much wider than just political communication. Second, the tools and techniques of political marketing are applicable on the entire process of political party organization. Third, political marketing is not just limited to the application of marketing techniques but also used marketing concepts, marketing strategy, offer programs and ideas and design product for the market and sophisticated analysis of data. Fourth, political marketing is the amalgamation of different disciplines such as sociology, psychology and political science. Fifth political marketing concept is applicable in various political situations starting from election process to lobbying in parliament.

2.3 STUDIES ON ASSESSING BRAND PERSONALITY

The topic of brand personality has started created a great interest among academicians and practitioners over the last 50 years. However more focus on the concept started in the 1990's when brand personification and association of human personality traits with the brands were formed (Aaker, 1997). "Brand Personification means the brand displays a character with human like characteristics" (Cohen, 2014). Many studies proved that it is quite natural for the customers to establish relationship with the brand (Fournier, 1998).

According to Aaker (1997) Brands like human being have a personality which is set of human characteristics associated with the brand. This idea is based on animism theory, which assumes the core need of human being to animate dead objects by assigning them human characteristic which thereby make it easy to interact with objects (Gilmore, 1919). The customers interact with the brands as if they were human beings, particularly when brands are attached to the meaningful products (Aaker, 1996). Consumers adopt brands to reflect their self-identity. This self-identity can be either their actual identity or an ideal self which they want to become. Customers also show their personality in their purchasing and consumption behaviour . Brands therefore act as a reflective symbol of consumer self (Ahmad

and Thyagaraj, 2015). In case of functional benefits, brand personality aids in making the functions more compelling (Aaker, 1996). So, brand personality is a medium for indicating and representing the product benefits and brand characteristics. In place of direct communication of functional benefits, it is easier to develop a personality which signifies these benefits (Ahmad and Thyagaraj, 2015). Therefore brand personality helps in creating a distinctive image in the minds of customers which is different than the competitive functional attributes existing in the market.

Brands have great impact on the psychology of customers regarding evaluation of products and services. In one of the most popular experiments consumers in blind test (in which brands not revealed to customers) favoured Pepsi over Coke. When the brands were told to the customers, Coke won over Pepsi by a huge margin (De Chernatony, 2009). Brands, according to Keller (1993) are not physical but intangible. Brand is primarily concerned with knowledge and image of a particular product stored in the mind of the customers. Brand knowledge in the minds of customers is outcome of individual pieces of information termed as nodes that link together in the mind of the customers to form associative networks (Collins and Loftus, 1975; Wyer and Srull, 1989). Information is retrieved from the mind when a node gets some input or stimuli by a process called activation (De. Groot, 1989). Thus the stimulus of watching Narendra Modi on television can activate from memory other associations such as Bhartiya Janta Party, Gujarat Model, Black Money, Surgical strike on Pakistan and so on.

So political brand is a related network of interconnected information mainly political in nature held in the memory and retrievable when some stimulus is used from the memory of a voter.

Personality is defined as “the set of meanings constructed by an observer to describe the inner characteristics of another person” (Allen and Olson, 1995) and “brand personality is the set of human characteristics associated with the brand” (Aaker, 1997). From the voter point the political party personality is the outcome of associative network of the human characteristics related to that party held in the mind and is retrieved when some stimuli is given to the voter. The sources for the development of brand personality are quite large in number.

2.3.1 Brand Personality Dimensions

Having established that brand includes tangible and intangibles components, scholars started working on the very important intangible element i.e. the brand personality dimensions. The challenge before the researchers was to determine personality dimensions and how to measure those dimensions i.e. measurement scale. Till the first half of 1990's researchers applied either personality traits of human beings as mentioned in the psychology or ad-hoc scales to access the brand personality of the product and its influence on customer behaviour. But it was found that scale applicable to measure human personality cannot be applied to measure the personality of brands (Aaker, 1997). Wells et al. (1957) tried to illustrate brand personality with the help of adjectives taken from "The Teachers Word Book of 30000 Words". The adjectives which were mentioned at least fifty times among ten lakh people asked were selected for the study. Later this list was shortened to 108 adjectives. This methodology could not be used for further research because of subjectivity of resulting list and absence of empirical validation.

Alt and Griggs (1988) divided brands in two categories namely "successful and less successful brands" and assigned characteristics to each of the clusters with the help of experts. It produced three brand personality dimensions known as 'Extraversion', 'Virtue' and 'Social Acceptability'. Batra et al. (1993) also suggested a model to measure brand personality based on personality characteristics compiled by Anderson (1968). They picked up two hundred expressions for describing brands which was reduced to 30 words. Nine brands were assessed with the help of fifteen respondents on the basis of generated personality traits. The outcome was seven factors solution which was further described by two bipolar adjective pairs. This scale could not be taken as credible because of limited number of brands and small sample size taken in the study (Hieronimus, 2003).

It is clear that the studies mentioned above lacked universal validation because of improper research methodology and small sample size. So there was a need to develop a reliable and valid brand personality scale to measure brand personality. Aaker (1997) overcame the limitations of past scales as discussed above and developed a brand personality scale. This scale got wide acceptability all over the

world. Aaker (1997) work and subsequently work done by other researchers on the basis of her brand personality scale are discussed below.

2.3.2 Aaker Brand Personality Dimensions

Aaker (1997) develop a five dimension brand personality model known as The Big Five. She developed this scale by taking 114 possible personality traits of a human being and then asked 631 respondents which traits were relevant in describing specific brands. Both product and services brands were considered in study and total number was 37 which includes Visa credit card, news channel CNN, and some complex brands like Apple and IBM computers and Mercedes automobiles which requires consumers to think and evaluate various alternatives before taking the decision. An exploratory principal component factor analysis was applied. It was perceived that brands have five distinctive personality dimensions: Sincerity, Excitement, Competence, Sophistication and Ruggedness. The outcomes of factor analysis confirmed the strength of brand personality dimensions. By applying Cronbach's alphas high level of reliability of five brand personality dimensions were confirmed. At last, the results of confirmatory factor analysis by taking twenty brands in ten product categories, 180 respondents, and 42 personality traits provided add on support for five dimensions. In nutshell, the outcomes of these analyses displayed that the scale of brand personality has 42 individual personality traits under five main dimensions. These dimensions are Sincerity, Excitement, Competence, Sophisticated and Ruggedness. Sincerity is made up of honesty, sincere, down to earth and wholesome traits. Brand personality dimension Excitement is derived from exciting, up to date, daring and imaginative traits. Brands are Competent if they have reliable, successful and hardworking personality traits whereas Sophistication includes smooth, good looking and upper class personality traits. Finally a brand has Ruggedness if it is perceived masculine, rugged and tough.

Aaker study explained that the five dimensions of brand personality scale was generic and could be applied to measure brand personality across cultures and product categories. Subsequently this scale was used by many researchers in their studies.

Ferrandi et al. (2000) in their study titled “Aaker brand personality scale in French context: A replication and a preliminary test of its validity” found out a five factor structure in which four dimensions confirm with the dimensions of Aaker (Sincerity, Excitement, Sophistication and Ruggedness) whereas competence dimension was not applicable to the French context. In place of competence Conviviality dimension was added to the scale. It is clear from this study that dimensions of brand personality may be different in different countries and cultures. Aaker et al. (2001) conducted studies to find out how expressive and symbolic attributes associated with the commercial brands are structured and how this structure differs in across three cultures- Spain, Japan and USA. They found out that ruggedness, peacefulness and excitement dimensions of brand personality carries similar meaning in USA and Japan. This finding of differences and similarities in basic structure were also supported by another study on brand personality structure conducted by them in Spain and USA. Deane et al. (2003) considered brands just like real people and developed a new brand personality scale for Netherland. They applied majorly the same methodology as used by Aaker (1997) in assessing the brand personality. Their findings were slightly different with a six factor solution – Competence, Ruggedness, Excitement, Gentle, Distinguishing and Annoying. Even though they have not used the Aaker brand personality scale as such, still dimensions namely Competence, Ruggedness and Excitement coincide with the Aaker’s brand personality scale. Further Helgesona and Supphellen (2003) conducted their study in Russia and confirmed the usefulness of Aaker’s brand personality scale. The evaluated two brands i.e. Levis and Ford. They found five brand personality dimensions which they named as Sincerity, Successful and contemporary, Sophistication, Excitement and Ruggedness. The second dimension (Successful and Contemporary) contained the traits from four different dimensions of brand personality, but the other four dimensions are same as of Aaker’s brand personality scale. The findings of this study showed that brand personality traits may shift from one dimension to another dimension depending upon culture of a particular place. Researchers concluded that conflict of Aaker’s (1997) that brand personality scale is less cross culturally stronger than human personality measures is true. Rojas et al. (2004) using brand personality scale, conducted a study to access the brand personality for the Ford brand in Chile. The study was conducted in two cities in Chile and data was collected from three hundred respondents. The

respondents were categorized into three groups a) the admirers b) the antagonists and c) the cold blooded. The results of confirmatory factor analysis and analysis of the structural model did not prove that 'Ruggedness' dimension was valid. The validity of the scale was checked using factor analysis which indicated 13 personality dimensions and 10 items of Aaker brand personality scale was not applicable. The study also suggested that selecting of personality dimension other than 'competence' could help the company to improve its positioning. Thomas and Sekar (2008) conducted a research to assess the brand personality of Colgate brand in Tiruchirappalli, Tamil Nadu, by applying Aaker brand personality scale. The major finding of the study was majority of the Colgate users (115 respondents) were hardcore loyal to the Colgate but some preferred Pepsodent and Close up along with Colgate. The switched loyals switched among brands once in three months. Ruggedness, Excitement and Competence personality dimensions were the key of Colgate brand personality. Maehle et al. (2011) conducted a study to find out what brand characteristics effects customer's perceptions and what products or brands customers perceive as ideal or not ideal. The primary objective of this study was to find out utility of brand personality for marketers and relationship between brand personality dimensions brand trust as well as brand affect. The outcomes of this study support the findings of Batra et al. (1993) that the personality dimensions are applicable to all the products and these products are connected with different personality dimensions. The study also found out that Ruggedness and Sincerity personality dimensions are more likely to influence brand trust than brand affect whereas excitement and sophistication dimensions more likely to affect brand affect than brand trust. Mohammadian and Dehabadi (2012) analyzed the brand personality of Nike, Puma and Adidas by applying Aaker's brand personality framework in Iran. The outcome showed that Adidas received higher Score on Sincerity and Competence than other two brands. In case of Puma Sophistication and Ruggedness and in case of Nike Excitement dimension scored higher as compared to other brands. Further Mustamil et al. (2014) conducted a research to determine the brand personality of Nike shoes in Malaysia by using Aaker's brand personality scale. Data was collected from 120 students from Malaysian public university. The findings of the study showed that personality traits Real, Charming, Trendy, Imaginative, Cheerful, down-to- Earth, Good looking and friendly were highly associated with the Nike. Sou and Tong (2016) conducted a study to examine

the impact of brand personality on satisfaction of customers and brand loyalty by employing Aaker's brand personality scale and found out that different dimensions of brand personality have varied effects on consumer satisfaction and brand loyalty of brand personality.

As far as applicability of Aaker brand personality scale to organizations is concerned Venable et al. (2003) in their study measuring the brand personality of non-profit organizations concentrated on dimensions of brand personality of products and services in non-profit sector. They had conducted three qualitative studies to investigate the individual's perceptions about the brand personality related to three different product categories of nonprofit organizations; arts/humanities, health and environment/rights. The major findings of these studies were: I) People can easily assign human personality characteristics to the nonprofit organizations. II) A five factor structure of nonprofit brand personality came out having the same four of the five dimensions found out by Aaker (1997) namely Competence, Excitement, Sophistication and Ruggedness. The new fifth dimension identified was Nurturing. Smith et al. (2006) assessed the brand personality of Australian organization named Netball Victoria by using Aaker brand personality scale. They collected the data from 413 respondents who were members of the Netball Victoria. Oblimin rotation and principal axis factoring suggested that Aaker's brand personality scale requires to be modified because of which they introduced 'Innovation', a new factor, in the framework. The findings of the study divulged that excitement and competence, Sincerity and Competence and Sophistication and Ruggedness were highly correlated personality factors. Netball Victoria was found to be strongly associated with Innovation, Sincerity and Competence personality dimensions, moderately associated with Sophistication and Excitement and very less associated with Ruggedness. Ekin and Hosany (2006) conducted a research to find out whether tourists attribute personality traits to tourism destinations by applying Aaker brand personality scale. The findings of the research pointed out that perception of destination personality is three dimensional- Excitement, Conviviality and Sincerity. They also found out that personality of destination has a positive influence on Intention to recommend and perceived destination image. They also highlighted that the brand personality concept can be applied to tourism destinations.

Personality traits developed by Aaker were applied by Schneider (2004) to German political parties and politicians. He used the scale to measure the stability and level of political brand knowledge. Further Smith (2009) altered the Aaker's scale of brand personality to measure the brand personality of two major political parties of UK. The research concluded that supporters (both partisan and less partisan) were not significantly different in their views of personality dimensions of labour party whereas on the other hand supporters (both partisan and less partisan) of conservative party significantly differs in their views of personality dimensions of conservative party. Rutter et al. (2018) investigates the brand personality of five major English political parties based on the communications by them through their websites . Researchers used Aaker's brand personality scale to analyze the brand personality and found out that the major two dimensions on which brand personality of political parties differ are tradeoff between communicating sincerity and communicating competence and between the communicating sophistication and communicating ruggedness. The research concluded that brand personality of political parties differs significantly except Green party. Further Jain et al (2018) examined the application of brand personality to political branding. Study Was focused on brand personality of political leader from BJP party brand. The research concluded that brand personality dimensions such as sincerity; agreeableness, competence, energy, openness, conscientiousness and emotional stability were clearly associated with a political leader. Negative qualities such as dictatorial attitudes and arrogance affected the political leader's brand personality. Religious partisanship was another strong negative trait affecting the brand personality of the political leader.

After going through research studies related with accessing brand personality it has been found that majority of the studies are related with commercial brands and Aaker brand personality scale is used to measure brand personality. Very less work has been done on accessing the brand personality of political parties. Whatever limited research is there on brand personality related with political party it is in context to advanced western countries. Researcher could not find any study in context to brand personality of political parties in India.

2.4 STUDIES ON MEASURING BRAND EQUITY

The concept of brand equity is very popular among researchers and practitioners as many researchers have concluded that brand is one of the most precious assets an organization has. According to Cobb- Walgren et. al, (1995) “The higher brand equity leads to higher purchase intentions and positive consumer perceptions”. Higher brand equity gives an opportunity to the organizations for successful brand extensions, strength against promotional pressures of competitors and developing barriers to entry (Farquhar, 1989).

According to Barwise (1993) in the 1980’s, advertisement practitioners started using the concept of brand equity extensively. Many important academic contributors to the concept of brand equity in 1990’s were Aaker (1991), Kapferer (1992), Keller (1993) and Shocker, A et.al. (1994). Almost all the definitions of brand equity agree that brand equity concept involves the value added to the product by the customers positive perceptions about a particular brand (Chaudhuri 2001; Winters 1991).

In the early researches more focus was on using financial techniques to measure brand equity. (Farquhar1990, Kapferer 1992,Simon & Sullivan 1993 and Swait et al. 1993). Recently, customer based contexts of measuring brand equity has been defined increasingly by researchers (Keller, 1993) which is further stretched to include the effect of brand equity on purchase intentions, brand preferences (Alba & Hutchinson, 1987).

2.4.1 Customer Based Brand Equity

Majorly academicians have suggested financial approach and customer based approach to study the concept of brand equity. The first approach of measuring the brand equity involves calculating the brand’s financial value (Farquhar et al. 1990, Simon & Sullivan 1993). Second approach involves assessing the customer response towards a brand name (Keller 1993, Shocker et al. 1994).

Different authors have given different dimensions and definitions of brand equity which is summarized in the following table:

Table 2.1: Definitions of Brand Equity

| Study | Description of Brand Equity Concept |
|--------------------------|--|
| Shocker & Weitz. (1988) | Brand equity is the set of associations and behaviours of brand's consumers, middlemen and organization that allows the brand to gain higher sales or more margins than it would in the absence of brand name and that provide the brand a sustainable, strong and differentiated advantage over the competitors. |
| Aaker (1991) | Brand equity is value associated by consumers with a brand, as reflected in brand awareness, brand association, perceived quality and brand loyalty. |
| Swait et al. (1993) | Brand equity is consumer's implied valuation of a brand in a market scenario with differentiated brands as compared to a market scenario with no brand differentiation. Brands provide a cue about the nature of product or service quality, status and image in the minds of the customers. |
| Keller (1993) | Brand equity is the differential effect of brand knowledge on consumer response to the marketing of the brand. Brand knowledge implies the all brand associations linked to the brand in the long term memory of the consumer. |
| Kamakura & Russel (1991) | Consumer based brand equity takes place when the consumer know the brand well and have some unique, favourable and strong brand associations in the memory. |
| Lassar et al. (1995) | Brand equity is consumer perception of overall superiority of brand name when compared to other brands. Brand equity has five main perceptual dimensions which include performance, value, trustworthiness, social image and attachment. |
| Aaker (1996) | Brand equity includes loyalty of customers based on satisfaction, real or potential price premium charged by brand, Perceived comparative quality, brand personality, perceived brand leadership, perceived brand value, customers perceptions about the organization (credible, admired or trusted) Perceived differentiation, brand awareness which includes recognition and recall, market share and distribution coverage. |

It is quite evident from the above table that variety of research in brand equity throughout the years resulted in different dimensions of brand equity that can be associated with the brand. However, it is very pertinent to note that all models take into consideration one or more dimensions of brand equity of the Aaker model

(Keller 1993; Motameni and Shahrokhi 1998; Yoo and Donthu 2001; Kim et al. 2004). So, broadly the consumer based brand equity consists of four dimensions namely brand awareness, brand association, perceived quality and brand loyalty.

2.4.2 Measuring Customer Based Brand Equity- A Framework

Value that customers associate with the brand (Aaker, 1991). Brand Equity is customer's perception of overall superiority of a product with a particular brand name compared to other brands. It is more of a customer's perception rather than any objective indicators (Jeon, 2017; Lassar et al. 1995). Following literature highlights the five dimensions of customer based brand equity.

2.4.2.1 Brand Awareness: Awareness of brand is a very critical determinant in majority of brand equity frameworks (Aaker, 1991; Agarwal and Rao, 1996; Hsu et al., 2012; Kapferer, 1992; Keller, 1993; Krishnan, 1996; Liu et al., 2015; Mackay, 2001; Mahajan and Rao, 1994). Keller (2003) defines awareness as "the customer's ability to recall and recognize the brand as reflected by their ability to identify the brand under different conditions and to link the brand name, logo, symbol and so forth to contain associations in memory". Aaker (1996) establishes other more advanced degrees of awareness over and above recognition and recall. He incorporates top of mind, dominance of brand, knowledge of brand and opinion of brand.

As stated by Aaker (1996), for niche or new brands, brand awareness and recognition can be very important. For already famous brands, top of mind and recall are more meaningful and sensitive. Brand opinion and brand knowledge can be used to some extent to increase the measurement of brand recall. Aaker conceptualizes that brand awareness must precede brand associations. A customer must be aware of the brand for developing a set of associations (Liu et al., 2015; Swatila, 2018; Washburn & Plank 2002).

2.4.2.2 Brand Associations: The most accepted aspect of brand equity is brand association (Aaker, 1992). Associations acts as a basis for buy decision and brand loyalty (Aaker, 1991).

Brand associations include all brand related perceptions, images, thoughts, feelings, beliefs, attitudes (Kotler and Keller, 2016). Other researchers (Farquhar, 1993; Martin and Brown, 1990; Sasmita and Mohd Suki, 2015; Sharma, 2017) identify associations that contribute to the brand equity. Chen (2001) divides brand associations in two parts- product associations and organizational associations.

2.4.2.3 Product Associations: Product associations consist of both functional attribute associations as well as non-functional associations (Chen 2001). Functional attribute means tangible features of a product (Buil et al, 2008; de Chernatory and McWilliam, 1990; Keller,1993; Hankinson and Cowking, 1993). Consumers link the performance of functional attributes to the brand while they do evaluation of brand (Stylidis, 2019). If a brand fails to perform the promised functions, the brand will have low level of brand equity. Performance means a consumer judgment about a brand long-lasting and fault free operations and faultless product's physical construction. On the other hand non- functional attributes includes symbolic attributes (Aaker, 1991; Chen et al., 2011; Farquhar et.al, 1990; Keller, 1993; Park et al., 1986). Non-functional attributes are the intangible features that satisfies customer's needs for personal expression, self-esteem or social approval (de Chernatony and McWilliam, 1990; Hankinson and Cowking, 1993; Keller, 1993; Pitta et al., 1995). Customers often associate social image, trustworthiness, perceived value, country of origin, differentiation and organizational associations to a brand.

2.4.2.4 Social Image: Lassar et al. (1995) limit image dimension to the social dimension, naming it social image as it contributes more to the brand equity. Social image means consumer's perception of the brand esteem hold by the social group in which he/she is the member. It involves the ascription a consumer makes and thinks that other makes to the typical user of a brand. Postive social image of product contributes significantly in the development of brand equity (Qalati and Kwabena, 2019).

2.4.2.5 Trustworthiness: Martin and Brown (1991) and Lassar et al. (1995) in their brand equity models consider trustworthiness as a critical feature in assessing the brand equity. According to Lassar et al. (1995) trustworthiness is the confidence a

consumer have on the organization and its communications and as to whether the organization's action would be in the interest of consumer. Consumers give high value to the brands that they trust (Chahal and Rani, 2017).

2.4.2.6 Perceived Value: The concept of perceived value has been considered one of the most critical attribute of brand equity in many equity models (Feldwick, 1996; Laser et al., 1995; Martin and Brown, 1991). Laser et al. (1995) defined perceived value as brand utility perceived by the consumer in comparison to its cost which is assessed on the simultaneous considerations of what is received and what is paid to receive it. Consumer selection of a particular brand largely depends upon a perceived balance between all the utilities and price of the product (Yan, 2019). A consumer is ready to pay more prices because of the higher brand equity.

2.4.2.7 Country of Origin: Thakor (1996) and Brunetti (2019) asserted that brand country of origin is an important parameter in assessing the brand equity. According to them brand origin is the place, region or country to which brand is perceived to belong by its customers. Country of origin steer associations in the minds of consumers (Aaker, 1991; Keller, 1993). Thorelli et al. (1989) and Andehn and Decosta (2018) argued that country of origin of a product is an extrinsic cue, which like brand name, influence consumer's perception.

Johansson et al. (1985) and Bilkey and Nes (1991) asserted that Country of origin refers to country of origin of an organization/product, or the country in which the product is assembled or manufactured. Thakor and Lavack (2003) and Parkvithee and Miranda (2012) states that less attention should be given to place where organizations manufacture their products and more to the place where customers perceive the brand country of origin to be.

2.4.2.8 Differentiation: Hoyer and Brown (1990) argue that central determinants of consumer based brand equity are the brands offers benefits to consumers by differentiating products. This differentiation facilitates the processing and retrieval of information. Other researchers (Davicik and Sharma, 2015; Ries and Trout, 1985; also emphasize the importance of distinctive character of brand to the success of a brand. Kapferer (1992) defined distinctiveness as the degree to which consumer consider that a brand is different from its competitors.

2.4.2.9 Organizational Associations: Organizational associations include associations related with organization's expertise in manufacturing and delivering its products and corporate social responsibility associations which include firm's activities to fulfill societal obligations (Chen, 2001; Wang et al. 2015).

Consumer considers the organization i.e. people, values and programs that lie behind the brand while evaluating the brand (Aaker, 1996). Corporate social responsibility is another important dimension that is influencing the development of brands in the present era, especially corporate brands as people wants to know how, what and where these brands are giving back to society. CSR have become very important as the organizations have recognized how it can add or reduce their value (Blumenthal and Bergstrom, 2003; Tilt, 2016).

2.4.2.10 Perceived Quality: Perceived quality is considered as a very important dimension of brand equity (Aaker, 1991; Feldwick, 1996; Kamakura and Russell, 1991; Kapferer, 1991; Martin and Brown, 1990; Nath and Datta, 2011; Loureiro, 2013; Sharma, 2017) rather than as a part of overall brand association (Gordon and Calantone, 1994; Keller, 1992). Perceived quality is the customer's judgment about a product's overall superiority and that is different from objective quality (Zeithaml, 1988). Objective quality is related with the measurement of products/services processes and quality control methods. It is not necessary that high objective quality contributes to the brand equity (Anselmsson et al., 2007). Because it is almost impossible for the customers to do the correct and complete judgments of the objective quality, they use quality cues that they think are related with the quality (Acebron and Dopico, 2000; Nath and Datta, 2011; Stylidis, 2019; Zeithaml, 1988). So, perceived quality is formed to make the judgment about the overall quality of product/service. Boulding et al. (1993) asserted that quality of any product/service is directly influenced by perceptions. Customers often use the quality attributes to judge the quality of unfamiliar products. So it is important to understand the relevant quality attributes with regard to brand equity.

2.4.2.11 Brand Loyalty: One of the key dimensions of brand equity is brand loyalty. Brand loyalty is attachment that a customer has with the brand (Aaker, 1991). Grembler and Brown (1996) explain different types of loyalty. Behavioural

loyalty is related to customer behaviour that can be seen by number of repeat purchases (Keller et al., 2011) or preference to rebuy the brand as a first choice (Oliver, 1997). Another type of loyalty is cognitive loyalty that is related with the position of brand in the customer's mind, when he/she requires purchasing a product. This type of loyalty is related to the awareness and recall level. So a brand should be able to be at the top of customer awareness and recall to become the customer's first choice (cognitive loyalty) for purchased repeatedly (behavioural loyalty) (Keller, 1998).

Chaudhuri and Holbrook (2001) and Ferreira and Coelho (2015) describes that brand loyalty is linearly connected with price of brand. According to Aaker (1996) The price premium is the primary indicator of customer loyalty which is the amount a customer is ready to pay for a particular brand as compared to competitor brand offering similar benefits and it may be low or high or negative or positive depending on the two brands involved in the comparison. Brand loyalty is also linearly related with the intentions to purchase (Danish et al., 2018).

From the review of literature it is evident that there is hardly any research and literature available in Indian context on the impact of political marketing on political participation of citizens. The theoretical deprivation in this area makes it inevitable to conduct the research in the area of political marketing which will fill the existing gap and add to the existing body of knowledge in management education by taking into consideration the Indian perspective and particularly state of Punjab. Also political parties as the drivers of democracy must understand that what citizens think about them and what can be done to increase their political participation.

CHAPTER – 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents details of research methodology used for the achievement of research objectives of the present study. This chapter includes the description of need and scope of study, research design and sampling, objectives and major hypothesis of the study, data collection, sample description, research instruments employed for the achievement of research variables under study.

3.1 NEED AND SCOPE OF STUDY

As India is the world's largest democracy and the strength and survival of democracy depends on citizen's political participation i.e. casting the votes and taking active part in the process of formulation of policies and other matters of national importance. This research study will find out the impact of political marketing on citizen's political participation and will suggest what can be done to improve the political participation of citizen's.

In India the total numbers of political parties are quite large i.e. 2293 (eic.nic.in, accessed on March 16, 2020) as compared to very few political parties in advanced western countries. As political parties are drivers of democracy it is important for them to understand what voter's think and what image a voter carry about them so that they can plan the communication with the voter's effectively to increase their participation in the political process.

The area of study was limited to the survey of voters from the different districts of Punjab. The Scope of this study was limited to state of Punjab only because political dimensions in India is more prominent at local and regional level. So to bring in sharp focus on state level dimensions of political landscape the study has been restricted to Punjab state only. For assessing brand personality and measuring brand equity the present study took into consideration 5 major political parties of Punjab namely Indian National Congress, Bharitiya Janta Party, Shiromani Akali Dal, Aam Aadmi Party and Bahujan Samaj Party. The parties had been selected on the basis of percentage of votes polled in General Elections, 2017 to Legislative Assembly of

Punjab. The political parties which got more than 1% votes out of total votes polled have been selected for the study as these parties play a very important role in the formulation of government by entering in alliance with other parties.

Given the relevance of the study, influence of political marketing on citizen's political participation, the beneficiaries of the study will be political parties, political leaders, political scientists who are interested in political participation of citizens.

3.2 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

During review of literature it has been observed that there is hardly any study available on the influence of political marketing on citizens political participation and on voter's perceptions about personality & equity of political parties in context to India specially Punjab. Keeping in view the gap in existing literature following objectives have been framed which would help in filling the existing gap:

- 1) To study the factors effecting the political marketing success.
- 2) To study the influence of political marketing on citizen's political participation.
- 3) Develop a framework to understand the impact of different factors on successful political marketing which in turn leads more citizen's political participation.
- 4) To assess the brand personality of political parties in Punjab.
- 5) To measure the political brand equity of political parties in Punjab.

3.3 MAJOR HYPOTHESIS

To accomplish the objectives of the study, following hypothesis were formulated:

H_{0(1.1)} : There is no significant effect of Market orientation on political marketing success.

H_{0(1.2)} : There is no significant effect of market segmentation and targeting on political marketing success.

- H_{0(1.3)}** : There is no significant effect of party/candidate positioning on political marketing success.
- H_{0(1.4)}** : There is no significant effect of image on political marketing success.
- H_{0(1.5)}** : There is no significant effect of market research on political marketing success.
- H_{0(2.1)}** : There is no significant influence of utilizing sectarian political tools on political participation.
- H_{0(2.2)}** : There is no significant influence of using planning tools on political participation.
- H_{0(2.3)}** : There is no significant influence of using symbols on political participation.
- H_{0(2.4)}** : There is no significant influence of using media advertising tools on political participation.
- H_{0(2.5)}** : There is no significant influence of marketing techniques/tactics on political participation.
- H_{0(3.1)}** : There is no significant impact of Market orientation on political marketing success.
- H_{0(3.2)}** : There is no significant effect of market research on political marketing success.
- H_{0(3.3)}** : There is no significant impact of party/candidate positioning on political marketing success.
- H_{0(3.4)}** : There is no significant impact of image on political marketing success.
- H_{0(3.5)}** : There is no significant impact of political marketing success on political participation.
- H_{0(4.1)}** : There is no significant difference between brand personality of political parties on the basis of level of support.

- H_{0(4.2)}** : There is no significant difference in Leadership personality dimension of political parties in Punjab.
- H_{0(4.3)}** : There is no significant difference in Uniqueness personality dimension of political parties in Punjab.
- H_{0(4.4)}** : There is no significant difference in Honesty personality dimension of political parties in Punjab.
- H_{0(4.5)}** : There is no significant difference in Image personality dimension of political parties in Punjab.
- H_{0(4.6)}** : There is no significant difference in Toughness personality dimension of political parties in Punjab.
- H_{0(4.7)}** : There is no significant difference in Spirited personality dimension of political parties in Punjab.
- H_{0(5.1)}** : There is no significant difference in political brand equity of political parties in Punjab.

Statistical analysis associated with each research objective is given in the following table:

Table 3.1: Statistical Analysis Associated with Research Objectives

| Objective | Hypothesis | Statistical Technique |
|---|--|--|
| To study the factors effecting the political marketing success. | <p>H_{0(1.1)} : There is no significant effect of Market orientation on political marketing success.</p> <p>H_{0(1.2)} : There is no significant effect of market segmentation and targeting on political marketing success.</p> <p>H₀₍₁₃₎ : There is no significant effect of party / candidate positioning on political marketing success.</p> <p>H₀₍₁₄₎ : There is no significant effect of image on political marketing success.</p> | <p>1. Scale Realiability Test- Cronbach's alpha coefficient.</p> <p>2. Multiple Regression</p> |

Contd. ...

| Objective | Hypothesis | Statistical Technique |
|--|---|--|
| | H₀₍₁₅₎ : There is no significant effect of market research on political marketing success. | |
| To study the influence of political marketing on citizen's political participation. | <p>H_{0(2.1)} : There is no significant influence of utilizing sectarian political tools on political participation.</p> <p>H_{0(2.2)} : There is no significant influence of using planning tools on political participation.</p> <p>H_{0(2.3)} : There is no significant influence of using symbols on political participation.</p> <p>H_{0(2.4)} : There is no significant influence of using media advertising tools on political participation.</p> <p>H_{0(2.5)} : There is no significant influence of marketing techniques / tactics on political participation.</p> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Scale Reliability Test- Cronbach's alpha coefficient. 2. Multiple Regression |
| Develop a framework to understand the impact of different factors on political marketing success which in turn leads more citizen's political participation. | <p>H_{0(3.1)} : There is no significant impact of Market orientation on political marketing success.</p> <p>H_{0(3.2)} : There is no significant effect of market research on political marketing success.</p> <p>H_{0(3.3)} : There is no significant impact of party / candidate positioning on political marketing success.</p> <p>H_{0(3.4)} : There is no significant impact of image on political marketing success.</p> <p>H_{0(3.5)} : There is no significant impact of political marketing success on political participation.</p> | Structural Equation Modeling |
| To assess the brand personality of political parties in Punjab. | H_{0(4.1)} : There is no significant difference between brand personality of political parties on the basis of level of support | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Exploratory factor Analysis 2. Confirmatory factor analysis |

Contd. ...

| Objective | Hypothesis | Statistical Technique |
|---|--|---|
| | <p>H_{0(4.2)} : There is no significant difference in Leadership personality dimension of political parties in Punjab.</p> <p>H_{0(4.3)} : There is no significant difference in Uniqueness personality dimension of political parties in Punjab.</p> <p>H_{0(4.4)} : There is no significant difference in Honesty personality dimension of political parties in Punjab.</p> <p>H_{0(4.5)} : There is no significant difference in Image personality dimension of political parties in Punjab.</p> <p>H_{0(4.6)} : There is no significant difference in Toughness personality dimension of political parties in Punjab.</p> <p>H_{0(4.7)} : There is no significant difference in Spirited personality dimension of political parties in Punjab.</p> | <p>3. Scale Reliability Test- Cronbach's alpha coefficient.</p> <p>4. T- Test</p> <p>5. One-Way Annova</p> <p>6. Post -Hoc Test</p> |
| To measure the political brand equity of political parties in Punjab. | H_{0(5.1)} : There is no significant difference in political brand equity of political parties in Punjab. | Brand Concept Maps |

3.4 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Various researchers like Campbell, Stanley and Gage (1963) and Johnson (2001) have given different definitions of research design. They define research design as a controlled and systematic method of enquiry which helps in planning the process for collecting and examining the required information. The research design is blue print of research work that shows the draft for the methodology for data collection, the method of sampling, the instrument of research and data analysis etc. (Malhotra & Dash, 2013).

The research design used in the present study is both exploratory and descriptive. Exploratory qualitative research using in-depth interviews was conducted to find out associations about political parties chosen for the study, construction of brand concepts maps and finally to measure the brand equity of political parties. Descriptive research design implies natural observation of behaviour, characteristics and attitude of population under study without any deliberate manipulation of the variables. Research design used for the present study involves the following steps:

3.4.1 Survey of Secondary Sources

Secondary data provides the necessary theoretical framework to build a conceptual model that has been used as a road map for empirical observations. Survey of secondary sources is very helpful because familiarity with the secondary data helps in identifying the deficiencies and gaps. For the present study, secondary data has been collected from all the possible sources like articles, research papers, review papers, magazines, journals, books, statistical reports etc. that directly or indirectly related with the main idea of the present study. Efforts were made to get complete understanding and knowledge of concepts (political marketing, political participation, brand personality, brand equity). Secondary data helped in identification of all relevant dimensions of political marketing, political participation, brand personality, brand equity while designing the research instrument, which was administered on the sample respondents to get primary data for the research.

3.4.2 The Study Population

The aim of the present study was to carry out five objectives related with political marketing in Punjab. For this purpose five major political parties of Punjab were chosen namely Indian National Congress, Bharitiya Janta Party, Shiromani Akali Dal, Aam Aadmi Party and Bahujan Samaj Party. The parties have been selected on the basis of percentage of votes polled in General Elections, 2017 to Legislative Assembly of Punjab. The political parties which got more than 1% votes out of total votes polled have been selected for the study. The population of the study consists of all the voters of Punjab.

3.4.3 Sample Size and Selection

In the present study sample Survey was conducted to collect first hand data from the respondents. The large size of the population and quantitative nature of the data were two important considerations in favour of adoption of sample survey method. A total of 1400 voters were the respondents for the study. The sample size was calculated considering the 2, 07, 04, 230 voter numbers as on 6th January 2018 (www.eci.nic.in). Out of initial sample of 1400, 1000 was divided among districts by arranging all the 22 districts of Punjab in ascending order according to the total number of voters in the district and then selecting the top 10 districts. After that 100 respondents was selected from each district out of top 10 districts. Further 100 voters within a particular district were divided on the basis of rural and urban areas, voter gender ratio, occupation and age group. Lastly the remaining 400 voters were divided on the basis of loyalty towards a particular party to achieve the objectives of measuring brand equity. Multistage sampling technique was used to select the appropriate sample for the study. In the first stage quota sampling technique and in the second stage convenience sampling was used to select the respondents.

3.4.4 Research Instrument

Primary data which was of great importance and the backbone of the study was collected from the voters of Punjab with the help of widely used and well known method of sample survey. A scientifically structured questionnaire based on extensive review of literature and secondary data was used to take response from the respondents.

3.4.5 Development of the Instrument

The instrument used in this study was developed after the extensive review of literature and secondary data sources. The first and foremost step was to decide what precisely falls within the construct domain and what does not. To decide what needs to be included and what not to be included a comprehensive review of all major conceptual literature on political marketing success, factors effecting political marketing success, political marketing mix, political participation, brand personality and brand equity measurement of political parties were undertaken. Need was felt

for having five metric scales for measuring political marketing success, factors effecting successful political marketing, political participation, marketing activities influencing political participation and brand personality of political parties. To achieve the objective of accessing brand equity of political parties a qualitative approach known as “brand concept maps” was used. Finally the demographic information or personal variables were captured.

For developing each scale the earlier published and tested instruments were explored. The standardized scales were not available except Aaker scale for measuring the brand personality. The available scale of measuring the brand personality was adapted to suit the needs of the study. The questionnaire consisted of six questions. Its development is explained scale wise as below:

Scale 1: Political marketing success

The scale was developed on the basis of in-depth and extensive review of literature to understand the voter’s perceptions about successful political marketing. Fourteen items in this scale were adapted from the Farrel (1985); Haroop (1990); Qualter (1985); O’Shaughnessy (2002); Brennan & Henneberg (2008); Bains & O’Shanughnessy (2014); Lilleker (2015); Banerjee and Chaudhuri (2016); Safiullah et al. (2017).

Scale 2: Factors effecting political marketing success

This part consisted to items related to factors effecting the political marketing success. Five factors effecting political marketing success were identified after the in-depth review of literature namely **Market orientation** represented by seven items adapted from Lees-Marshment (2001a, b, 2008); Newman (1999); Ormrod (2005), Ormrod and Henneberg (2008); Ormrod & Savigny (2012) **Marketing segmentation and targeting** represented by seven items adapted from Bannon (2004); Lees- Marshment (2005), Newman (1990); Miller et al. (1990); Yorke and Meehan(1986); Smith and Hrist (2001); Murray and Scime (2010); **Party/Candidate positioning** represented by three statements adapted from Fletcher (1984); Smith and Saunders (1990), Suyanto & Arwiyah (2015); Carriere (2016); **Image** represented by 4 items adapted from Juholin (2001); Mauser (1983);

Newman (1999); Grabe & Bucy (2009); Karpf (2017) and **Market research** represented by four items and adapted from Henneberg (2008); Lees-Marshment (2009); Scammell (1999) and Lees-Marshment (2012).

Scale 3: Political Participation

This scale consisted to variables related to different ways through which citizen's takes part in politics. On the basis of inputs received from the review of literature twenty five variables were identified. The variables for this scale were adapted from the Jan and Deth (1986); T.Mannarini et al. (2008); Gaventa, J. & Valderrama, C. (1999); Shachar, R. (2009); Ustaahmetoglu, E. (2014); Lamprianou, L. (2013) and Pruitt (2017).

Scale 4: Political Marketing

This part consisted of items related with different marketing activities undertaken by political parties to influence the political participation of citizens. Six major political marketing activities identified after comprehensive and in-depth review of literature namely **Utilizing sectarian political tools** represented by five items adapted from Farrell and Wortmann (1987); Niffenegger (1989); Mirzaei et al. (2012) and Huber and SuryaNarayan (2016); **Using planning tools** Baines et al.(2002); Banarjee & Ray (2016); Butler and Collins (1994); Lees-Marshment (2001a, b, 2008); Newman (1999); Ormrod (2005) and Osuagwu (2008); **Using symbols** represented by six items adapted from the study of Balfe (1987); Pielke (2012);Canning (2010); Frankel (1953); Landsman (1985); Posner (1998); Soltan (1995) and; **Using media advertising tools** represented by ten items adapted from the study of Bains et al. (2001); Thakur (2014); Lillekar (2015); Scammell (2016); Gurau and Ayadi (2011); Marland (2003) and Williams and Gulati (2013); and **Marketing techniques/tactics** represented by ten items adapted from the study of Rothschild (1978); Marland (2003); Van Deth (2015); Scammell (2016); Nownes (2017).

Scale 5: Political Brand Personality

In order to access the brand personality of political parties, this part consisted of items related with voter's perception about the personality of political parties. Aaker (1997) brand personality scale was adapted to achieve the objective of accessing

brand personality of political parties. To ensure high level of validity and reliability scale development procedure proposed by Churchill (1979) was followed which is also in agreement with Anderson and Bagozzi, Youjae & Lyne (1991); Gerbing (1982); Hinkin (1995) and Nunnally & Bernstein (1994).

Scale 6: Brand Equity

A consumer oriented approach, brand concept maps, adapted from the study of John et al. (2006) was used to map the political brand. The brand maps were analyzed to determine and distinguish the brand characteristics. After that the work of Aaker (1991) and Krishnan (1996) was used to measure the brand personality of political parties.

Part 7: Demographic Profile

This part of the questionnaire obtained information about the demographic profile of the respondent in terms of gender, age, cast, religion, occupation, qualification, monthly income, area and district. Personal details like name of the respondent, address and contact number were not sought as anonymity and confidentiality were primary requirement to get unbiased responses. Moreover the personal details were also not required as per the objectives of the study.

At this point to check the face validity of the instrument questionnaire was presented to the academicians and political activists to make it sure that questionnaire is measuring what it is expected to measure. On the suggestions of the experts items were deleted, modified and added to ensure the validity of the questionnaire.

Finalized items were scaled in order to reveal magnitude of attributes (Malhotra and Dash, 2013). Five point Likert scale was used to measure items through the questionnaire. Pre- testing of preliminary questionnaire was the next step. For ease and clarity of response a pilot study was conducted in which the questionnaire was administered on 10% of the respondents Bajpai (2011); Cann et al. (2008). Respondents were asked to give the response after carefully reading the items in the questionnaire so that probable ambiguities and difficulties could be eliminated. After receiving their feedback and suggestions, further improvements were done in presentation of items and language of questions.

3.4.6 Validity and Reliability of the Instrument

Heeler, R.M and Ray (1972) concluded that marketing researchers hardly assess the reliability and ensure validity of their instruments. It is very critical that researchers must measure the accuracy of the instruments used in the study to produce accurate and consistent results. Therefore in the present study validity and reliability of the instrument was assessed to verify the consistency of the instrument items.

Validity is defined as “the attribute of an instrument wherein it truly measures what it was intended to measure”. Validity of an instrument is assessed to confirm that instrument shows the true difference on the attribute that is being measured. There are many faces and components of the concept of validity (Cronchback, 1971).

Face validity also called apparent validity of the instrument reflects that instrument appears to be valid to the reader. But the validity of the instrument is much beyond the appearance so content validity of the instrument was also attempted. Content validity which is also known as logical validity signifies that items in the instrument measures all the dimensions of constructs for which response is being sought (Lacity & Janson, 1994).

In this study multiple items were developed to achieve the objectives under the study. First of all face and content validity was done by extensive review of related literature. After that these items were presented to twelve academicians and political activists having in-depth knowledge of the area. They rated each item for its relevance and consistency with respect to opinion being sought and also recommend deletion and modification of items and inclusion of certain new items. After necessary amendments the instrument was again presented to the same experts. This time the experts found no issues in the items and items were considered to have a high consistency with objectives of the study and were finally included in the instrument.

Reliability means consistency of the instrument to get the same results if it will be measured more than once (Malhotra & Dash, 2014). The reliability of the instrument was measured based on the data collected from ten percent of sample under study by using statistical package for social sciences. Objective wise reliability scores were

calculated for all the items under study, and reliability was found to be more than .85 for all the items.

Consequently, the instrument was found to be both reliable and valid for collecting data from the respondents.

3.4.7 Administration of the Questionnaire

The instrument was administered personally after accessing its validity and reliability. In order to get response from the respondents the suitable communication channels was used depending on the respondent physical location. Since telephonic response rate was very low and questionnaire was lengthy in nature, response was collected through personal interviews. Two instruments were framed, one for getting quantitative data from the respondents and another one to get qualitative data to achieve the fifth objective under the study.

3.4.8 Sample Description

The demographics of respondents under study are:

Table 3.2: Sample Description

| Variable | Detail | Number of respondents (First 4 Objectives) | Number of respondents (Fifth Objective) |
|-----------------|------------------------|---|--|
| Gender | Male | 568 | 228 |
| | Female | 432 | 172 |
| Age | 18-35 | 570 | 224 |
| | 36-60 | 376 | 152 |
| | Above 60 | 54 | 24 |
| Caste | General | 616 | 248 |
| | Scheduled Class | 310 | 128 |
| | Other Backward Classes | 74 | 24 |
| Religion | Sikh | 543 | 216 |
| | Hindu | 408 | 163 |
| | Others | 49 | 21 |

Contd. ...

| Variable | Detail | Number of respondents (First 4 Objectives) | Number of respondents (Fifth Objective) |
|-----------------|---------------------------------------|---|--|
| Occupation | Student | 127 | 107 |
| | Businessman | 169 | 96 |
| | Farmer | 232 | 52 |
| | Govt. Employee | 95 | 34 |
| | Pvt. Employee | 184 | 48 |
| | Retired | 41 | 14 |
| | Un-Employed | 152 | 49 |
| Qualification | Illiterate | 45 | 4 |
| | Below 10 th /Matriculation | 76 | 21 |
| | 10 th /Matriculation | 81 | 28 |
| | 10+2 | 229 | 47 |
| | Under Graduate | 361 | 123 |
| | Post Graduate | 192 | 165 |
| | Ph.D./ Doctorate | 16 | 12 |
| Monthly Income | 10000 or less | 329 | 98 |
| | 10001-20000 | 220 | 121 |
| | 20001-40000 | 289 | 78 |
| | 40000-60000 | 119 | 62 |
| | 60000 or more | 43 | 41 |
| Area | Rural | 584 | 236 |
| | Urban | 416 | 164 |

The filled in questionnaire were checked for completeness before analyzing the data which is given in the next chapter.

3.4.9 Statistical Tools

The collected data was recorded in statistical package for social sciences (SPSS 21.0) for analysis. In order to analyze the first and second objectives/hypothesis (To study the factors effecting the political marketing success and to study the influence of political marketing on citizen's political participation) multiple regression was used. Furthermore, structure equation modeling was employed using SPSS 21.0 to

analyze the third objective/ hypothesis (Develop a framework to understand the impact of different factors on successful political marketing which in turn leads more citizens' political participation. To analyze the fourth objective/hypothesis (To assess the brand personality of political parties in Punjab) T-test and one way Annova was used. And lastly to measure the political brand equity of political parties in Punjab qualitative technique brand concept maps was used.

CHAPTER – 4

FACTORS EFFECTING POLITICAL MARKETING SUCCESS

The main aim of this chapter is to understand the factors effecting successful political marketing. In today's scenario all the major political parties are spending huge money on marketing. According to one estimate by Bloomberg quint (2019) published on their website that spending by political parties in Lok Sabha, 2019 elections is expected to be around 2500-2600 crores which is 73 percent more than the spending in Lok Sabha, 2014. So it is very important to understand what constitutes successful political marketing and the factors effecting the same.

4.1 SUCESSFUL POLITICAL MARKETING

In order to measure the successful political marketing, 14 items scale developed after the comprehensive and extensive review of literature was used. The scale was found to be reliable as Cronbach's alpha was .971, which is well above the minimum acceptable limit of .70 (Hair et al., 2009). The response was taken on a five point Likert scale ranging from 1 to 5, where 5 stands for strongly agree and 1 stands for strongly disagree. Descriptive statistics of response on successful political marketing is tabulated in Table 4.1.

It has been found from table 4.1 that respondents believe that political party/ leader they support undertakes effective campaigning using print media, broadcast media, outdoor media and digital media with mean scores of 3.80, 3.78, 3.76 and 3.73 respectively but undertaking regular grass root activities (membership drives, local meeting etc.) and honoring of promises by political party/leader they support is an issue with mean score of 3.40 and 3.14 respectively.

It is significant to mention that it appears that respondents of the present study are much more agreed that political party/candidate that they support undertakes effective campaign using different kinds of media as compared to honoring of promises by the political party/candidate.

Table 4.1: Dimensions of Successful Political Marketing

| Statement | Mean | Std. Deviation |
|---|-------------|-----------------------|
| Undertakes effective campaign using print media. | 3.80 | .891 |
| Undertakes effective campaign using broadcast media. | 3.78 | .888 |
| Undertakes effective campaign using outdoor media. | 3.76 | .866 |
| National/Regional Agenda outlined is significant. | 3.73 | .943 |
| Undertakes effective campaign using digital media. | 3.73 | .911 |
| Is concerned about image (relations, expressions, past, appearance). | 3.71 | .967 |
| Offers credible promises. | 3.63 | .980 |
| Undertakes efforts to meet target voters. | 3.58 | .988 |
| Offers convincing promises. | 3.54 | .978 |
| Spends Judiciously to fund campaign, activities and programs. | 3.45 | 1.071 |
| Actively updates the voters on achievements and activities. | 3.45 | .964 |
| Has capability over keeping internal unity. | 3.44 | .981 |
| Undertakes regular grass root activities (membership drives, local meetings etc.) | 3.40 | .960 |
| Honors promises. | 3.14 | 1.022 |
| Average | 3.58 | 0.958 |
| N=1000 | | |

The next question in questionnaire was intended to understand the factors effecting successful political marketing. In order to identify the factors effecting successful political marketing a comprehensive and in-depth review of literature was undertaken. “Five factors namely Market orientation, Market Segmentation and Targeting, Party/Candidate Positing, Image and Market Research were identified. (Appendix1). The scale was found to be reliable as Cronbach’s alpha was .911,

which is well above the minimum acceptable limit of .70 (Hair et al., 2009). The response was taken on a five point Likert scale ranging from 1 to 5, where 5 stands for strongly agree and 1 stands for strongly disagree. Descriptive statistics of response on factors effecting successful political marketing is tabulated in the following tables.”

Table 4.2: Market Orientation

| Variable | Mean | Std. Deviation |
|--|-------------|-----------------------|
| Political parties/ candidates make efforts in understanding voters needs before designing their policies | 3.83 | .902 |
| Political parties/ candidates modify their programs to deal effectively with the opposition parties. | 3.83 | .886 |
| Political parties/ candidates policies and objectives address voter’s real issues. | 3.68 | .965 |
| Political parties/ candidates plan and develop programs based on voter’s needs. | 3.67 | .943 |
| Political parties/ candidates modify their programs to deal effectively with changes in voter’s needs. | 3.67 | 1.014 |
| Political parties/ candidates modify their programs to deal effectively with changes in environment. | 3.53 | .972 |
| Political Parties’ programs fulfill voter’s needs. | 3.12 | .993 |
| Average | 3.62 | 0.954 |
| N=1000 | | |

It has been found that respondents feel that political parties/ candidates make efforts in understanding voter’s needs before designing their policies (Mean 3.83) and also modify their programs to deal effectively with the opposition parties (Mean 3.83). Fulfillment of voter’s need got least score (Mean 3.22) meaning thereby fulfillment of promises by political parties is an issue.

Table 4.3: Market Segmentation and Targeting

| Variable | Mean | Std. Deviation |
|---|-------------|-----------------------|
| Political parties/ candidates categorize voters on geographical basis (Rural/Urban). | 3.61 | 1.047 |
| Political parties/ candidates categorize voters on demographical basis (Male /Female /Income/ Occupation/ Age/ religion/ social class etc. | 3.56 | .907 |
| Political parties/candidates target voters on Clans bases. | 3.44 | 1.027 |
| Political parties/ candidates categorize the voters based on different interest groups. | 3.38 | 1.037 |
| I am a target of one or more of these parties | 3.38 | .964 |
| Political parties/ candidates categorize voters on psychological basis (Life Style/ Values/ Personality Traits etc.) | 3.35 | 1.007 |
| Political parties/ candidates categorize voters on behavioral basis (Decision Roles/ Occasions/ Benefits sought/Loyalty Status/Attitude etc.) | 3.22 | 1.090 |
| Average | 3.42 | 1.011 |
| N=1000 | | |

It has been found that respondents believe that political parties/candidates categorize voters on geographical and demographical basis with mean score of 3.61 and 3.56. Voter's categorization on psychological and behavioural basis got least mean score of 3.35 and 3.22 respectively.

Table 4.4: Party/Candidate Positioning

| Variable | Mean | Std. Deviation |
|---|-------------|-----------------------|
| The political party/ candidate that I vote for has substantial position comparing to competitors. | 3.85 | .815 |
| The political party / candidate that I vote for knows exactly how to position himself/herself in the mind of voters. | 3.77 | .837 |
| The political party / candidate that I vote for utilizes all available opportunities to position himself/herself in the mind of voters. | 3.72 | .868 |
| Average | 3.78 | 0.84 |
| N=1000 | | |

It is clear from the above table that voter's believe that the political party candidates they vote have substantial position as compared to competitors (mean score 3.85) followed by party/candidate they vote knows how to position and utilizes all available opportunities to position himself/herself in the minds of voters (mean score 3.77 and 3.72).

Table 4.5: Image

| Variable | Mean | Std. Deviation |
|--|-------------|-----------------------|
| The party/candidate that I vote for, has strong Image | 3.90 | .865 |
| When voting, I take into account political party/candidates' image. | 3.77 | .956 |
| Political Party/candidate that I vote for makes efforts to improve continuously their image. | 3.73 | .898 |
| The political party/ candidate that I vote for, has reputation to represent me. | 3.66 | .937 |
| Average | 3.77 | 0.914 |
| N=1000 | | |

It has been found that voter's believe that political party/candidate they vote for has strong image with mean score 3.90 followed by consideration of political party/candidate image while voting with mean score of 3.77. Voters also believe that political party/candidate they vote for make efforts to improve continuously their image and have reputation to represent them with mean score of 3.73 and 3.66.

Table 4.6: Market Research

| Variable | Mean | Std. Deviation |
|---|-------------|-----------------------|
| Political Parties/candidates collect data at grass root level. | 3.33 | 1.052 |
| Political Parties/candidates conduct the surveys. | 3.23 | 1.115 |
| Political Parties/candidates often seek information from me about competitors. | 3.08 | 1.216 |
| I have participated in different surveys/ group meetings) conducted by political parties /candidates. | 3.04 | 1.286 |
| Average | 3.17 | 1.167 |
| N=1000 | | |

It case of market research respondents somehow believe that political parties/ candidates collect data at grass root level and also conduct the necessary surveys (mean score 3.33 and 3.23) but on seeking information by the political parties and on participation in different surveys conducted by political parties respondents are neutral with mean score of 3.08 and 3.04).

Table 4.7: Mean of Successful Political Marketing Factor

| Factor | Mean | Std. Deviation |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|-----------------------|
| Party/Candidate Positioning | 3.78 | .84 |
| Image | 3.77 | .914 |
| Market Orientation | 3.62 | 1.01 |
| Market Segmentation and Targeting | 3.42 | .954 |
| Market Research | 3.17 | 1.167 |
| N=1000 | | |

It is clear from the above table that Party/candidate positioning got the highest mean score (3.78) whereas Market research received the minimum mean scores (3.17).

4.2 HYPOTHESIS TESTING AND RESULTS

In order to understand the effect of factors identified through review of literature on successful political marketing multiple regression was performed. Successful political marketing was taken as the dependent variable and the five factors namely Market Orientation, Market Segmentation and Targeting, Party Candidate Positioning, Building and Managing Favourable and Strong Image and Market Research were taken as independent variables. The respondents personal variables namely gender, age, caste, religion, occupation, qualification, income, area and district were taken as control variables. The data was checked for multicollinearity and normal distribution and was found to be appropriate.

Table 4.8: Fitness of Model for Regression Analysis

| Model | R | R Square | Significance |
|-------|------|----------|--------------|
| 1 | .702 | .492 | .000 |

Note: Predictors: (Constant), Market Orientation, Market Segmentation and Targeting, Party/Candidate Positioning, Image & Market Research. Dependent variable: Successful Political Marketing

The analysis of linear regression model shows that R^2 is .492, meaning thereby that independent variables explain 49.2% variance in dependent variables. This also means that more variables can also be included in the model to allow more explanation to the variance of dependent variable. As p value is .000 which depicts that model is statistically significant which means that fitness of model is high in explaining the successful political marketing.

After meeting all the assumptions to apply regression analysis, the multiple regression analysis was used to test the hypothesis to find out the effect of independent variables (market research, market orientation, segmentation and targeting, positioning and image) on the dependent variables (successful political marketing). The decision rule followed for accepting the null hypothesis was: Accept null hypothesis if value of p is greater than .05 and reject null hypothesis if p value is less than .05. Table 4.9 shows the results of hypothesis testing.

From table 4.9, results of hypothesis testing shows that applying market orientation has a significant effect on successful political marketing. This finding is consistent with Newman (1999); Lees-Marshment (2001a, 2008) and Ormrod (2005); Scammell (2016) and Choudhury (2019) findings. This exhibited that political parties in Punjab successfully applied the rules of recent marketing concept while designing and implementing their campaigns. This also means that voters in Punjab feel that political parties strive hard in understanding their needs and wants. They also believe that political parties policies discuss their main problems and parties modify their policies to deal effectively with changes in their needs and wants. But voters are not very satisfied when it comes to fulfillment of their needs. Market segmentation and targeting do not have significant effect on the successful political marketing.

Table 4.9: Result of Multiple Regression for Testing the Impact of Independent Variables on Successful Political Marketing

| Hypothesis | Beta | t value | Significance | Comment |
|--|------|---------|--------------|---------|
| H₀₍₁₁₎ : There is no significant effect of Market orientation on political marketing success. | .336 | 14.55 | .000 | Reject |
| H₀₍₁₂₎ : There is no significant effect of market segmentation and targeting on political marketing success. | .060 | 2.082 | .058 | Accept |
| H₀₍₁₃₎ : There is no significant effect of party/candidate positioning on political marketing success. | .112 | 3.498 | .000 | Reject |
| H₀₍₁₄₎ : There is no significant effect of image on political marketing success. | .178 | 5.767 | .000 | Reject |
| H₀₍₁₅₎ : There is no significant effect of market research on political marketing success. | .127 | 4.529 | .000 | Reject |

This result is contradictory with earlier findings (Bannon, 2004; Davidson and Binstock, 2012; Lees-Marshment, 2005; Miller et al., 1990; Newman, 1999; Smith and Saunders, 1990; Yorke and Meehan, 1986 and Murray and Scime, 2010). This also means that voters in Punjab do not believe that political parties divide voters on geographic, demographic, psychological or behavioral basis. Although voters were somehow aware about geographic and demographic segmentation but majority of the voters were having very less information and knowledge about the other basis of segmentation. Positioning has significant effect on the successful political marketing. This result is in line with earlier findings (Baines et al., 2014; Fletcher, 1984; Mauser, 1983; Newman, 1999; O'Shaughnessy, 2002; Smith and Saunders, 1990; Suyanto and Arwiyah, 2015; Carriere, 2016 and Cwalina and Drzewiecka, 2019). It means that voters in Punjab believe that political parties/ candidates they vote for has significant position as compared to competitors. Also voters believe that political parties/candidates make efforts to position themselves in the minds of voters. Managing and building a strong and favourable image have significant effect

on the successful political marketing. This result is similar to previous studies (Baines et al., 2014; Juholin, 2001; Maarek, 2008; Newman, 1999; Scammell, 2015 ; Karpf, 2017 and Jain and Ganesh, 2019) Voters appear to be very much interested in party/candidate image. It is also clear from the result that voters feel that candidate/ parties make continues efforts in improving their image basically when citizens are more informed and consider image while voting in elections. Finally, it has been observed that efficient market research has a significant effect on successful political marketing. This result is also in line with what (Hughes and Dann, 2009; Newman, 1999; and O'Shaughnessy, 2002; Worcester, 1991 and Scammell,2016) found in their studies. Results shows that respondents somehow believe that political parties/ candidates collect data at grass root level and also conduct the necessary surveys) but on seeking information by the political parties and on participation in different surveys respondent were not very satisfied.

CHAPTER – 5

INFLUENCE OF POLITICAL MARKETING ON CITIZEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

This chapter deals with the assessment of influence of political marketing on citizen's political participation. Political parties use different political marketing tools to influence the political participation of citizens. Researchers and political scientists believe that political marketing increases political party's power in political conflicting situations especially in elections. Political parties try to increase their success probability in these situations by applying political marketing process. According to their ideology, political parties develop appropriate integrated marketing to reach out and influence their target markets. Political parties are the gears for democracy machine. In the present era, all economies, whether developed or developing, understood this reality that healthy competition between different political parties with different social, cultural, economic and ideological policies for coming in power and managing the society affairs have resulted in citizens more participation in country's management and more transparency and accountability of the government. Therefore societies are paying serious attention to the functioning and performance of political parties in managing the country.

An endeavor to identify the marketing activities influence on political participation can help political parties to better approach the issue to the mutual benefit of both party and society.

5.1 INFLUENCE OF POLITICAL MARKETING ON POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The present study used a self-developed scale consisting of 25 statements related with political participation and 38 statements related with influence of marketing activities on political participation undertaken by political parties. Both the scales were found to be reliable as Cronbach's alpha was .948 and .955 respectively, which is well above the minimum acceptable limit of .70 (Hair et al., 2017). The political

participation scale included statements pertaining to positive as well as negative political participation such as reading /listening about politics, discussion about politics, work for a political party, attending rallies, meetings, influencing friends, relatives etc. on formation of political opinion, taking part in strikes/blockades, refusing to pay taxes/rent etc. Another important aspect explored was the voter's perception about the degree of influence the marketing activities undertaken by political parties have on their political participation. The respondents were asked to express their level of agreement or disagreement for each statement of political participation scale on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 to 5 representing 'always', 'often', 'sometimes', 'rarely', and 'never'. In case of scale of influence of marketing activities on political participation respondents were asked to express their perception about degree of influence for each statement on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 to 5 representing 'extremely influential', 'very influential', 'somewhat influential', 'slightly influential' and 'not at all influential'. A five point scale was used to capture the accurate perceptions of the respondents. Descriptive statistics related with political participation is shown in table 5.1 and descriptive statistics related with Influence of marketing activities on political participation is shown in tables 5.2 to 5.6 .

From table 5.1, it has been observed that voting in elections is the most common way of political participation with mean score of 3.88 followed by reading about politics in print media and use TV/Radio to know about politics with mean score of 3.80 and 3.73 respectively.

The next set of political participation activities include discussion of politics with friends, relatives and colleagues and convincing friends, relatives and colleagues to vote with mean score of 3.13 and 3.08 respectively.

The least preferred set of political participation activities include taking part in demonstrations, refusing to pay government rent and taxes, supporting financially a political party/candidate during election campaigning, taking part in blockades, filing petitions against the government with mean score of 1.82, 1.76, 1.73, 1.70 and 1.66 respectively.

Table 5.1: Descriptive Statistics of Political Participation

| Variable | Mean | Std. Deviation |
|--|-------------|-----------------------|
| I always vote in elections. | 3.88 | 1.261 |
| I read about politics in Print Media (Newspapers / Magazines etc.) | 3.80 | .988 |
| I use TV/Radio to know about politics. | 3.73 | 1.044 |
| I use social media to know about politics | 3.32 | 1.261 |
| I discuss about politics with my friends, relatives and colleagues. | 3.13 | 1.193 |
| I try to convince my friends, relatives and colleagues to vote. | 3.08 | 1.373 |
| I search on internet about politics. | 2.89 | 1.232 |
| I participate actively to solve the community problems. | 2.75 | 1.314 |
| I contact with the representative of local authorities or parties on certain issues. | 2.24 | 1.226 |
| I try to influence my friends, relatives and colleagues on formation of political opinion. | 2.17 | 1.250 |
| I voluntarily work for a political party or candidates during elections | 2.07 | 1.236 |
| I take part in strikes to influence government. | 2.02 | 1.241 |
| I support activists of political movements or parties. | 1.99 | 1.150 |
| I work for a political party or candidate regular basis. | 1.97 | 1.203 |
| I attend political rallies. | 1.96 | 1.229 |
| I try to persuade my friends to attend the political rallies/ seminars. | 1.95 | 1.198 |
| I attend political meetings. | 1.95 | 1.176 |
| I wear a campaign sign (symbol of political party). | 1.92 | 1.171 |
| I voluntarily take part in boycotts to influence government. | 1.88 | 1.187 |
| I am a member of political party. | 1.82 | 1.173 |
| I take part in demonstration to influence government. | 1.82 | 1.124 |
| I refuse to pay government rent and taxes to influence government decisions. | 1.76 | 1.085 |
| I support financially a political party / candidate during election campaigning. | 1.73 | 1.073 |
| I take part in blockades to influence government. | 1.70 | 1.035 |
| I file petitions against the government. | 1.66 | 1.064 |
| N=1000 | | |

Table 5.2: Descriptive Statistics of Utilizing Sectarian Political Tools

| Activity | Mean | Std. Deviation |
|--------------------------|-------------|-----------------------|
| Caste based politics. | 3.30 | 1.412 |
| Religion based politics. | 3.25 | 1.427 |
| Region based politics. | 3.21 | 1.304 |
| Language based politics. | 3.03 | 1.381 |
| Attire based politics. | 2.81 | 1.310 |
| Average | 3.12 | 1.367 |
| N=1000 | | |

It is clear from the above table that the most important activities which influence the political participation of voters in utilizing sectarian political tools are caste based politics and religion based politics with mean score of 3.30 and 3.25 respectively, whereas the least important activity is attire based politics with mean score of 3.81 which influence the political participation of voters. Results indicates proliferation of religion and cast by the political parties to influence the political participation of voters.

Table 5.3: Descriptive Statistics of Using Panning Tools

| Activity | Mean | Std. Deviation |
|--|-------------|-----------------------|
| Planning and development of programs based on my needs and wants. | 3.79 | 1.029 |
| Modification in program and policies to deal effectively with changes in my needs and wants. | 3.75 | 1.043 |
| Involvement of professionals in designing policies. | 3.52 | 1.048 |
| Modification in program and policies to deal effectively with opposition parties. | 3.49 | 1.073 |
| Selection of the convenient place to meet its targeted voters. | 3.35 | 1.111 |
| Coalitions with other political parties. | 3.29 | 1.122 |
| Average | 3.53 | 1.071 |
| N=1000 | | |

It has been observed that the most important activities, in using planning tools, which influences the political participation are planning and development of programs based on voter's needs, modification in program and policies to deal effectively with changes in voters needs and wants with mean score of 3.79 and 3.75 respectively. The least important activities which influence the political participation are selection of convenient place to meet targeted voters and coalitions with other political parties with mean score of 3.35 and 3.29 respectively.

Table 5.4: Descriptive Statistics of Using Symbols

| Marketing Activity | Mean | Std. Deviation |
|---|-------------|-----------------------|
| Highlighting achievements while communicating with voters. | 3.62 | 1.048 |
| Hosting events to communicate with voters. | 3.60 | 1.062 |
| Use of grand projects as symbols to show themselves as preservers of culture/history. | 3.53 | 1.102 |
| Prominent use of Party symbols by political parties. | 3.49 | 1.140 |
| Celebrations of historical events | 3.45 | 1.041 |
| Depiction of specific persons while communicating with voters. | 3.44 | 1.094 |
| Average | 3.52 | 1.081 |
| N=1000 | | |

It is clear from the above table that in using symbols by political parties/candidates voter's believe that the most important activities which influences their political participation are highlighting achievements while communicating, hosting events to communicate and use of grand projects as a symbol to show themselves as preservers of culture/history with mean score of 3.62, 3.60 and 3.53 respectively. Depiction of specific persons while communicating with voters and Celebrations of historical events emerges as the least important activity in influencing the political participation of voters with mean score of 3.44 and 3.45 respectively.

Table 5.5: Descriptive Statistics of Using Media Advertising Tools

| Activity | Mean | Std. Deviation |
|--------------------------------|-------------|-----------------------|
| Television. | 4.06 | .911 |
| Newspaper. | 4.00 | 1.011 |
| Posters. | 3.73 | 1.246 |
| Hoardings. | 3.68 | 1.125 |
| Social Networking Sites. | 3.65 | 1.165 |
| Online news/websites. | 3.63 | 1.140 |
| Leaflets. | 3.60 | 1.142 |
| Radio. | 3.58 | 1.157 |
| Cell Phone. | 3.31 | 1.238 |
| Direct Mail Stealth Campaigns. | 2.93 | 1.292 |
| Average | 3.62 | 1.143 |
| N=1000 | | |

It has been found that usage of television and newspaper by the political parties are most media important media advertising tools which influences the political participation of voters with mean score of 4.06 and 4.00 respectively. On the other hand the least important media advertising tools which influence the political participation are direct mail stealth campaigns and cell phones with mean score of 2.93 and 3.31 respectively.

From table 5.6, it has been observed that in marketing techniques/tactics used by political parties/candidates personal contacts, rallies, road shows and celebrity endorsement are the most important activities which influence the political participation of voters with mean score of 3.93, 3.82, 3.72 and 3.71 respectively. On the other hand the least important activities which influence the political participation of voters are liquor/drugs and pre- recorded messages with mean score of 2.92 and 3.18 respectively.

Table 5.6: Descriptive Statistics of Marketing Techniques/ Tactics

| Activity | Mean | Std. Deviation |
|---|-------------|-----------------------|
| Personal Contact | 3.93 | .961 |
| Rallies | 3.82 | 1.028 |
| Road Shows | 3.72 | 1.071 |
| Celebrity endorsement. | 3.71 | 1.094 |
| Oppo (use of personal information of the opponent to embarrass him publically). | 3.46 | 1.177 |
| Comparative Advertising. | 3.44 | 1.082 |
| Money/gifts. | 3.32 | 1.358 |
| Promotional material (caps, stickers etc). | 3.29 | 1.238 |
| Pre-recorded messages (Robo-Calls). | 3.18 | 1.173 |
| Liquor/Drugs. | 2.92 | 1.486 |
| Average | 3.48 | 1.167 |
| N=1000 | | |

5.2 HYPHOTHESIS TESTING AND RESULTS

In order to understand the Influence of different political marketing activities indentified through review of literature on political participation multiple regression was performed. Political participation was taken as the dependent variable and the five marketing activities namely Sectarian Political Tools, Planning Tools, Symbols, Media Advertising Tools and Marketing Techniques and Tactics were taken as independent variables. The respondents personal variables namely gender, age, caste, religion, occupation, qualification, income, area and district were taken as control variables. The data was checked for multicollinearity and normal distribution and was found to be appropriate

Table 5.7: Fitness of Model for Regression Analysis

| Model | R | R Square | Significance |
|--|----------|-----------------|---------------------|
| 1 | .658 | .442 | .000 |
| Note: Predictors :(Constant), Utilizing Sectarian Political Tools, Using Planning Tools, Using Symbols, Using Media Advertising Tools and Marketing Techniques and Tactics. Dependent variable: Political Participation | | | |

The analysis of linear regression model shows that R^2 is .442, meaning thereby that independent variables explain 44.2% variance in dependent variables. This also means that more variables can also be included in the model to allow more explanation to the variance of dependent variable. As p value is .000 which depicts that model is statistically significant which means that fitness of model is high in explaining the political participation.

After meeting all the assumptions to apply regression analysis, the multi-variate linear regression analysis was used to test the hypothesis to find out the influence of independent variables (Utilizing sectarian political tools, using planning tools, using symbols, using media advertising tools and marketing techniques and tactics) on the dependent variable (political participation). The decision rule followed for accepting the null hypothesis was: Accept null hypothesis if value of p is greater than .05 and reject null hypothesis if p value is less than .05. Following table shows the results of hypothesis testing:

Table 5.8: Result of Multiple Regression for Testing the Impact of Independent Variables on Citizen’s Political Participation

| Hypothesis | Beta | t value | Significance | Comment |
|---|-------|---------|--------------|---------|
| $H_{0(21)}$:There is no significant influence of utilizing sectarian political tools on political participation. | .119 | 4.735 | .000 | Reject |
| $H_{0(22)}$:There is no significant influence of using planning tools on political participation. | -.039 | -1.095 | .274 | Accept |
| $H_{0(23)}$:There is no significant influence of using symbols on political participation. | .148 | 3.627 | .000 | Reject |
| $H_{0(24)}$:There is no significant influence of using media advertising tools on political participation | .176 | 4.159 | .000 | Reject |
| $H_{0(25)}$:There is no significant influence of marketing techniques / tactics on political participation. | .216 | 6.243 | .000 | Reject |

Results of hypothesis testing shows that that utilizing sectarian political tools significantly and positively influence the political participation. This result is consistent with Omelicheva and Ahmed (2017); Sankaran (2017) Jaffery and Young (2012) and Katsara (2016). It is clear from the result that there is no significant influence of using planning tools on political participation. This result is contradictory with earlier findings of Sualman et al. (2017); Sagarzazu and Kluver (2017); Sridharan (2003); Singh (2019) and Bali et al. (2019). This means that political participation of citizens in Punjab is not influenced by using planning tools like understanding of citizens' needs and wants before designing and development of policies and programs, modification in programs and policies to deal effectively with changes in citizens' needs and wants and to deal effectively with opposition parties by political parties/candidates. Also Coalitions with other political parties, involvement of professionals in designing policies and selection of convenient place to meet the target voters has no significant influence on political participation. Using symbols by political parties/candidates has significant and positive influence on political participation of citizens. This result supports the earlier findings of Canning (2010); Pielke (2012) ; Gill and Angosto (2018) and Linklater (2019). Using Media Advertising tools by political parties/candidates has significant and positive influence on political participation of citizens. This results also supports the earlier findings of harris (2010); Karpf (2017); Lillekar (2015); Tunor and Munoz (2016); Scammell (2016); Narcesian et al. (2016) and Ahmad et al. (2019). Marketing Techniques and Tactics used by political parties/candidates has significant influence on political participation of citizens in Punjab. This results supports the earlier findings of Marland (2003); Scammell (2016); Nownes (2017) and Paget (2019) This shows that celebrity endorsement, oppo (use of personal information of the opponent to embarrass him publically), rallies, personal contact, road shows, prerecorded messages (robo- calls), comparative advertisements, promotional material (cap, stickers etc.), money/ gifts and liquor/drugs) has significant influence on political participation of citizens in Punjab.

CHAPTER – 6

FRAMEWORK TO UNDERSTAND THE IMPACT OF DIFFERENT FACTORS ON SUCCESSFUL POLITICAL MARKETING WHICH IN TURN LEADS MORE CITIZENS POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Based on the review of literature and findings of Objective 2 in chapter 4 the proposed conceptual framework to understand the impact of different factors on successful political marketing which in turn leads to more citizens' political participation is shown in Figure 6.1.

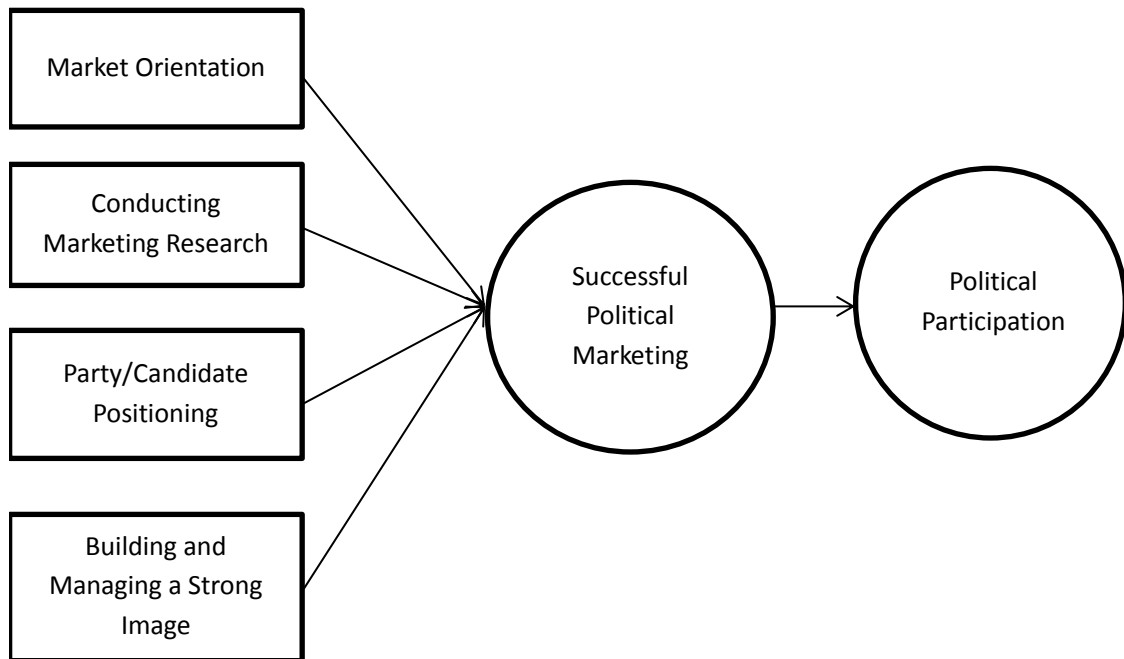


Figure 6.1: Proposed Conceptual Framework

A structural equation modeling approach was used to determine the research model. AMOS 21.0 was employed to calculate the parameters and evaluate the fit of model as shown in Figure 6.1.

6.1 EVALUATION AND REFINEMENT OF MEASUREMENT MODEL

In order to validate the reliability of the measurement variables in the model, the items that prohibit the single dimensionality of each construct were excluded

through Item to total correlation of each measurement variable and Cronbach's alpha. Thus, ten items were excluded by considering item to total correlations employing the well accepted cut off of .05. The Cronbach's alpha of constructs is mentioned in table 6.1. The Cronbach's alpha ranged from .768 to .971 for all the six constructs which is well above the accepted limit of .70 (Hair et al., 2009).

Table 6.1: Reliability Statistics

| Sr. No. | Construct | Cronbach's Alpha |
|----------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1 | Conducting Marketing Research | .854 |
| 2 | Political Participation | .948 |
| 3 | Successful Political Marketing | .971 |
| 4 | Market Orientation | .876 |
| 5 | Party Candidate Positioning | .896 |
| 6 | Building and Managing a Strong Image | .768 |

6.2 MODEL ASSESSMENT

The Main aim of Confirmatory factor analysis is to evaluate the factorial structure of complete scale and testing the validity and reliability of the corresponding measurement model by means of convergent and discriminant validity in order to make sure the uni-dimensionality of the multiple item structures (Bollen, 1988).

Confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was conducted for each construct using refined items. In the first step, items removed if it loads the wrong factor or cross- loads or exhibits high standardized residual (Anderson & Gerbing, 1988; Bollen, 1988). This is followed by removing any item if found to be represented by another indicator. After removing the item CFA was run again. The resulted in the removal of three items from citizens' political participation for model fit. Table 6.2 shows the calculated reliability of the constructs: .854, .961, .971, .878, .896 and .768 by calculating its Cronbach's alpha vale. The constructs are found to have reliability above the accepted limit of .70 (Hair et al., 2009) and can be used for further analysis.

The result of confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) shows that chi-square is statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 2274.62$; $df = 884$, $P = .073$). The ratio of chi-square to the degree of freedom is 2.573, which is well within the acceptable limit of 5 (Hair et al., 2009). Further the Value of goodness of fit index (GFI) is found to be .905; for competitive fit index (CFI), the value is .958; for root square residual (RMR) the value is .041 and for root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) value is .040. All these values are within the acceptable limits.

Composite reliability (CR) Average variance extracted (AVE) were calculated to examine the convergent validity of measurement model (Fornell & Larcker, 1984). The average variance extracted explains the measure of variance obtained by the measurement of construct corresponding to the correlation between the measurement error and latent variable. All AVE indicators extracted have variance more than minimum threshold value of 50% (Bagozzi & Yi, 1988).

For measuring the discriminant validity of the measures, two methodologies were adopted. First values of AVE were compared to the square of parameter estimates in latent variable. This shows that the correlation between the indicators of construct is greater than the correlation between the construct. Second, the discriminant validity of each construct can be proved with the help of load of each indicator in the structure is more than any other variable (Chen et al., 1998). The Table 6.3 shows the mean, standard deviation and correlation between constructs for each construct.

Table 6.2: CFA Result of the Measurement Model

| Constructs | Cronbach's Alpha | CR | AVE | Parameter Estimate |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------|------------|---------------------------|
| Conducting Marketing Research | .854 | .869 | .624 | .648-.830 |
| Political Participation | .961 | .954 | .597 | .514-.856 |
| Successful Political Marketing | .971 | .970 | .701 | .821-.846 |
| Market Orientation | .878 | .892 | .580 | .599-.863 |
| Party Candidate Positioning | .896 | .896 | .742 | .849-.875 |
| Building and Managing a Strong Image | .768 | .763 | .518 | .550-.657 |

Note: $\chi^2/df = 2.573$, $P = .073$, $GFI = .905$, $CFI = .958$; $NFI = .933$, $RMR = .041$, $RMSEA = .040$,

Table 6.3: Correlation Matrix

| Construct | Mean | Std. Deviation | CMR | PP | SPM | MO | PCP | BMI |
|------------------|-------------|-----------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| CMR | 3.17 | 1.16 | 0.790 | | | | | |
| PP | 2.13 | 1.12 | 0.516 | 0.773 | | | | |
| SPM | 3.58 | .958 | 0.023 | 0.048 | 0.838 | | | |
| MO | 3.65 | .952 | 0.558 | 0.337 | 0.004 | 0.762 | | |
| PCP | 3.78 | .84 | 0.060 | -0.011 | -0.005 | 0.047 | 0.861 | |
| BMI | 3.8 | .90 | 0.454 | 0.236 | -0.017 | 0.478 | 0.047 | 0.720 |

(Note: CMR= Conducting Market Research, PP= Political Participation, SPM=Successful Political Marketing, MO= Market Orientation, PCP= Party Candidate Positioning, BMI= Building and Managing Strong Image.)

In summary, the analysis supports the convergent and discriminant validity of this measure. Figure 6.2 gives the comprehensive picture of Confirmatory factor analysis.

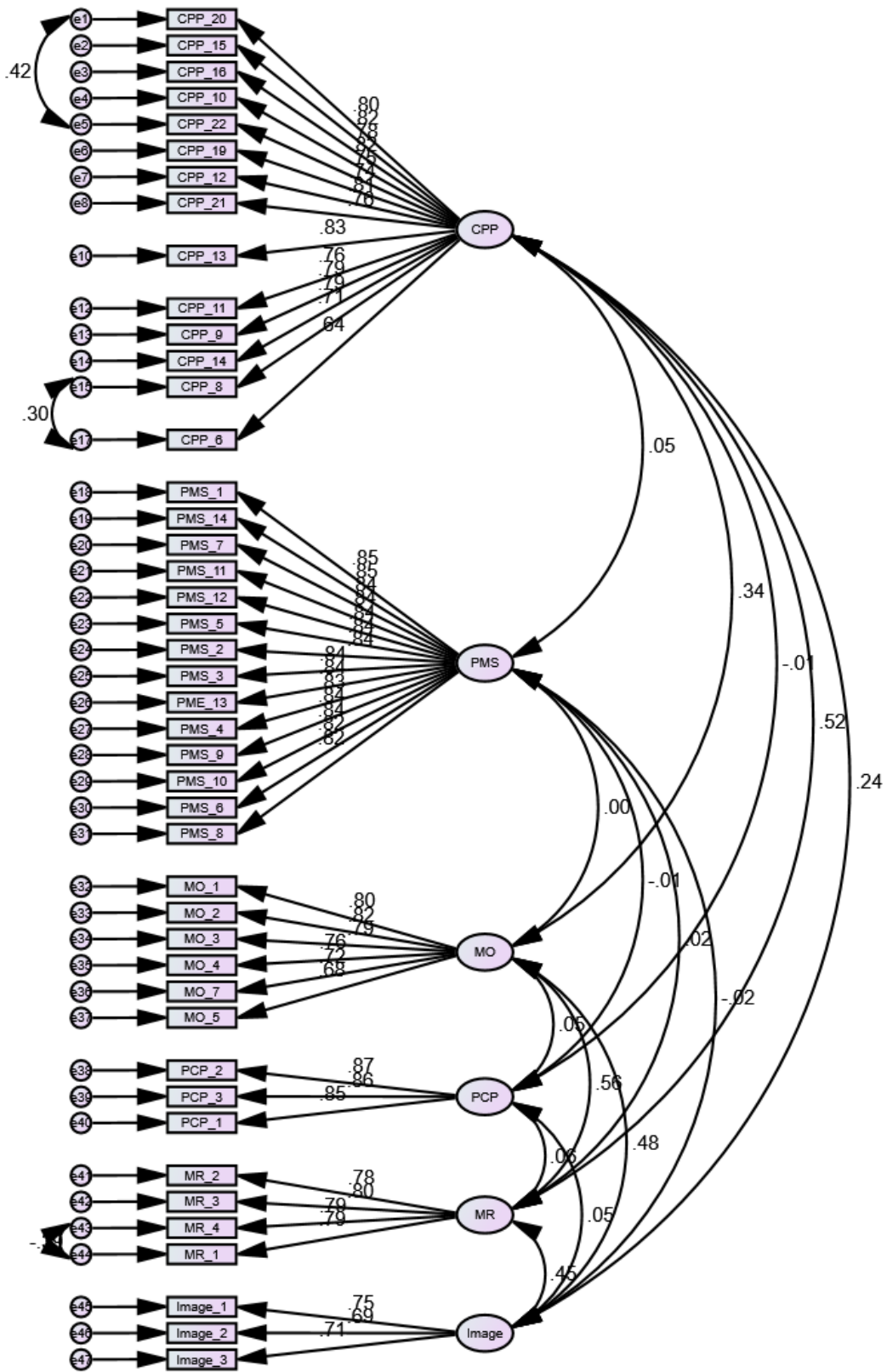


Figure 6.2: Confirmatory Factor Analysis

6.3 STRUCTURAL MODEL ANALYSIS

Structural equation modeling (SEM) was used for testing the proposed framework. The results shows that the $\chi^2/df=3.119$, $P=.062$, $GFI=.995$, $CFI=.988$, $NFI=.983$, $RMR=.009$, $RMSEA=.046$ are within the acceptable limits, suggesting a good model fit. These fit indices are sufficient and maintains that structure model reveals an acceptable data and could be applied to explain the hypothesis. The results of Hypothesis testing are shown in Table 6.4:

Table 6.4: Path Analysis Results

| Hypothesis | Path | Estimate | C.R. | P | Result |
|---------------------|-----------|----------|--------|-----|-----------|
| H _{0(3.1)} | MO → SPM | .215 | 5.081 | *** | Supported |
| H _{0(3.2)} | CMR → SPM | .136 | 1.921 | * | Supported |
| H _{0(3.3)} | PCP → SPM | .421 | 2.927 | *** | Supported |
| H _{0(3.4)} | BMI → SPM | .608 | 13.800 | *** | Supported |
| H _{0(3.5)} | SPM → PP | .668 | 19.708 | *** | Supported |

The result shows that all hypotheses are positively significant. Market Orientation ($\beta=.215$, $p<.05$), conducting marketing research ($\beta=.136$, $p<.05$) Party candidate positioning ($\beta=.421$, $p<.05$) and Building and Managing strong image ($\beta=.608$, $p<.05$) significantly influence the successful political marketing. The findings also reveal that there is strong influence from Market orientation, conducting marketing research, Party candidate positioning and Building and Managing strong image on successful political marketing which leads to Citizen's political participation.

Figure 6.2 gives the comprehensive picture of Structure model of successful political marketing and citizens' political participation.

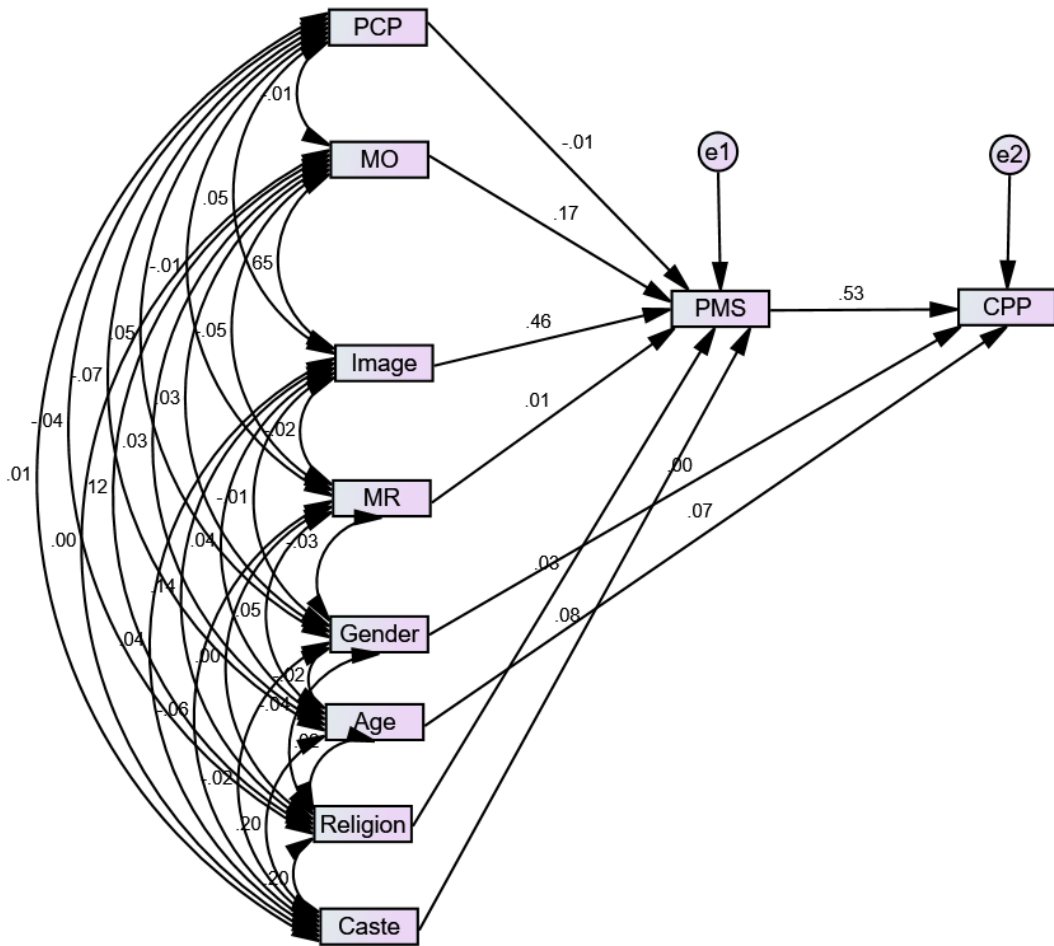


Figure 6.3: Structure Equation Model

6.4 CONTROL VARIABLES

Control variables are that we need to account for, but they don't drive our theory. In this model Gender, Age, religion and caste are observed as control variables. Gender and age do not have significant impact on political participation; both display non-significant paths. Likewise the results reveal that religion and caste has no impact on successful political marketing; both also display non-significant paths.

CHAPTER – 7

BRAND PERSONALITY OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN PUNJAB

Brands have great impact on the psychology of customers regarding evaluation of products and services. In one of the most popular experiments consumers in blind test (in which brands not revealed to customers) favoured Pepsi over Coke. When the brands were told to the customers, Coke won over Pepsi by a huge margin (De Chernatony and McDonald, 2000). Such brand effect can also be seen in Politics. People may stop liking the policies when they found that policies are framed by a particular party.

Brand personality is one of the important components of brand Image (Keller, 1993) and wide research has been done on the construct. But majority of the research is focused on commercial brands and brand personality in case of politics is rarely focused by researchers. This chapter therefore attempts to build an understanding of brand personality construct in politics. In the beginning theory of consumer learning is used to comprehend how voters gain knowledge about particular party personality and politicians. Secondly research develops a conceptual understanding of the important sources of knowledge considered by voters to develop brand personality. After that amended scale of brand personality is developed for use with Indian political parties.

7.1 ARE POLITICAL PARTIES BRAND?

To start with it is very important to justify the usage of approach of brand in party politics. No doubt in marketing literature there is acceptance that one of the most important assets of an organization is brand (Aaker, 1991, 1996 Kapferer, 2004; Keller, 1993; Rutter et al., 2018) The applicability of marketing approach in non-profit markets (Kotler, 1982) further broadens the application of branding in Universities, Government run organizations etc. In fact principles of branding are applied in all kinds of organizations where consumer choice is involved. So it is unquestionable that political parties are organizations in which promises, ideas, thoughts are sold to get voter support. So a series of research papers are there

accepting politicians and political parties as brands (Kavanagh, 1995; Kotler, 1999; Needham, 2006; Schweiger and Adami, 1999; Smith and French, 2009; White and de Chernatony, 2002; Needham and Smith (2015); Jain et al., 2017 and Jain et al., 2018). There are concerns to use concept of brand in politics because of difference in commercial and political markets. For example Lock and Harris (1996) concluded that there is much more complexity in the range of products offered by political parties than other brands ranging from promises on health, education, poverty, defense etc. While voting a voter is required to agree on none or all of a party's policies. In addition the policies accepted at the time of voting are more liable to change than other products or services because political parties may compromise on them once elected to power (Butler and Collins, 1994.)

Also there are worries about the detrimental outcome of creating brands on the democratic process. For getting advantage over rival political parties branding strategies restrict the political agenda and even expand the political disconnection at the grass root level (Needham, 2006; Lilleker and Negrine, 2003; Scammell, 1999, 2015). Some of the researchers have the opinion that branding benefits a political party at the cost of democratic process.

Although the negative view of branding is valid but it is not complete. The branding role it supports oriented towards product, focused mainly on what a political party do to influence voters. Another approach to branding is consumer oriented perspective followed by a huge branding literature which focuses on why and how customers learn about the brands. This literature is built with the assumption that customers have natural urge to know about the brands so that they can wisely decide while purchasing and to deal effectively with increasingly complex and cluttered market place. It is this view of branding that is taken into consideration in this paper.

7.2 CONSUMER BRAND KNOWLEDGE

Brands are not physical but intangible (Keller, 1993). Brand is primarily concerned with knowledge and image of a particular product stored in the mind of the customers. Brand knowledge in the minds of customers is outcome of separate bits of information termed as nodes that connect together in the mind of the customers to form alike networks (Collins and Loftus, 1975; Wyer and Srull, 1989). Knowledge is

retrieved from the mind when a node gets some input or stimuli from others by a procedure called activation (De. Groot, 1989). Thus the stimulus of seeing any political leader on television can trigger from mind other associations such as political party that leader belongs to, Initiatives taken by the leader or political party and so on. Therefore political brand is a related network of interdependent information mainly stored in the memory and retrievable when some stimulus is used from the memory of a voter.

Personality, according to Allen and Olson (1995) is the set of meanings developed by a person to depict the characteristics of another person. Aaker (1997) define brand personality as the set of human characteristics associated with the brand. From the customer point of view the political party personality is the outcome of associative network of the human characteristics related to that party stored in the mind and is retrieved when some stimuli is given to the voter. The sources through which brand personality can be developed are quite large in number.

7.3 MOTIVATION OF CONSUMER TO DEVELOP PARTY POLITICAL PERSONALITY

Highlighting the process that how personality develops in mind does not throw light on the motivation behind development of related network of information about a particular political party. For majority of the voters collecting knowledge about a political party is costly because of efforts involved in it against the motivation to do so (Downs, 1957). Majority of the Indian political parties offer almost same kind of promises (Product) to the voters like welfare of under privileged, economic development, elimination of corruption etc. but differs on the methods of doing it. So to make a distinction between the parties huge efforts required. Encounter with increased cost of learning, voters tend to use informational shortcuts to decide their voting intentions (Popkins et. al., 1976). One of such shortcut is personality viewpoint of political parties. Recent researches showed that leaders and party image was having more influence in engaging voters than the policies a political party adopts (Mori, 2005; Jain et al., 2019).

Voters can use the brand personality to lessen the danger of voting for dishonest party. Politics is based on faith and credibility (Bellin, 2008; Wind & Mahajan,

2002; Jain et al., 2019) and voters while voting did not know whether the policies promised by the political parties will be delivered or not? Faced with this uncertainty and also almost same policies there is possibility that voters will choose the party that is most trusted to fulfill their promises.

7.4 BRAND PERSONALITY OF POLITICAL PARTY

The marketing literature highlights the advantages that an organization (political party) can get from a favorable brand personality. A set of unique and beneficial association can be created with the help of distinctive brand personality (Keller, 1993; Phau and Lau, 2000; Needham and Smith, 2015). So brand personality has a very important role to play in influencing consumer choice and preferences (Batra et al., 1993; Biel, 1993; Kuenzel and Halliday, 2010; Jain et al., 2018). It is also true in politics where it has been observed that personality has ability to influence the voting intentions (Newman, 1999; Park; Jain et al., 2018).

There are end less stimuli that can influence the personality of a political party. These are events, politicians/party actions/ Brand users and endorsers which influence the personality of a political party.

7.5 PERSONALITY OF A POLITICIAN

Personality of a particular person is created in the mind of another person by observing the behavior of that person. A person can be inferred as cruel if he/she is seen kicking an animal. The process how brand personality formed is same as of personality of a human being. Brand personification is done, based on the observed behavior of brand, allowing human characteristics to be drawn from the actions or planned action.

It has already been seen that politicians and political parties has distinguishable personalities (Schneider, 2004; Skarzynska, 2004; Pich and Dean, 2015). Specifically leader is more powerful than the party in personality terms, so it is very easy for the voters to gain knowledge about leader's personality traits than the artificial entity i.e. party.

It has been widely accepted that politics is all about apologue than policy implementation or it is more of image rather than actual work. So there is no difference between politicians and actors who perform in a pre-defined way to achieve party political objectives which are predetermined (O'Shaughnessy, 2003). For example, many times Aam Aadmi Party chief and Delhi chief minister Arvind Kejriwal travelled through metro train to reach its office. Similarly on number of occasions he and his ministers are seen using their own normal cars rather than luxury official's cars for their work. Similarly Indian National Congress Vice President Mr. Rahul Gandhi on lot of occasions has been seen living in backward class people homes and eating with them. All this behavior is planned to make clear the personality traits which are important for the choice of a party or a leader.

Additionally behavior and action the politician's physical appearance also influences the personality conclusion to be drawn. Thus being young as compared to other opposite party leader Mr. Arvind Kejriwal may be perceived more contemporary than his predecessor Mrs. Sheela Dikshit.

7.6 POLITICAL PARTIES

Although leaders have more direct influence on perception of personality, the role of party cannot be overlooked. The party offers the umbrella of prediction, recognition and cohesion like corporate brands (Scammell, 2015; Singer, 2002). Its long life as compared to politician signifies that it has wide range of meanings attached with it. Thus one of the important sources of personality traits will be core party values or party ideology. For example the Bharatiya Janta Party commitment to decrease subsidies and construction of Ram Temple may reasonably be expected to influence its perception on "Daring" and "Original" traits of personality.

The behavior of a party in the past or its current policies also influences the perceived personality. For instance, real or promised work on corruption, fraud, crime etc. can appear a party soft or tough.

For a voter the personality of politicians and political party is not distinct but combined to construct related connections in the memory about the overall brand. Generally company and product brands interact and create synergy to enforce each

other in a positive way. In recent Indian general elections it has been seen that personality of a particular leader has been utilized to reposition the parties which are not very well perceived.

7.7 BRAND USERS AND ENDORSERS

Brand users and endorsers are also recognized as a possible impact on brand personality (Aaker, 1997). Members of a political party as common brand users can give the powerful indications to the public at large about the overall party personality. The Aam Aadmi Party, for example, has been perceived by their membership as young and contemporary.

The celebrity who endorses a particular party is also considered one of the important sources of personality association. Their power of celebrity in influencing the party political personality depends upon their trustworthiness, credibility and attractiveness (Bennett, 2011; Ohanian, 1991; Nownes 2017). These criteria are in harmony of Navjot Singh Sidhu (Ex- cricketer) Hema Malini (TV actress) who was the star campaigners of BJP and Congress in 2019 general elections. Party strategists value celebrities because they acquire personality traits which are very distinct from seasoned politicians. These are majorly related with personality characteristics such as trendy, professional, and cool than the majority of the politicians. Interestingly these associative meanings is able to transfer from endorser to the political party even they are in very different kind of markets. However this is a risky strategy if the ideas of celebrity endorsers are not implemented and converted into policies then they can utilize their position to criticize the political party (Nownes, 2017). So involvement of endorser can prove both positive and negative.

7.8 EVENTS

Both Controllable and Uncontrollable events affects greatly the perceptions about personality of a political party. Controllable events if not handled properly will have negative effect on the brand personality of any party. Latest riot in Jatt Andolan is an example of an event which could have been controlled with the timely action of government. But it is not handled properly which leads to negative image of ruling government in Haryana.

The role of uncontrollable events in politics is more as compared to most other organizations. These uncontrollable events can have both positive and negative impact on the personality of political party, For example, decrease in international oil prices decreases inflation in 2015 in India which leads to have positive impact on BJP personality to meet the promise of decrease in inflation rate. It is also very important how media covers all such events which influence how the personality of a particular party will be perceived by the voters. Right message need to be communicated to the public through “unpaid” media to build or defend the party’s image.

7.9 ADVERTISING

In the commercial organizations marketing professionals have become more conscious of the importance of building positive brand image through the paid advertising (Malik et al., 2013; Yaverbaum, 2001).

However political parties have limited capacity to afford a uniform personality driven campaign. Majority of the advertisement in politics which is concentrated in the general election campaign period is outside the control of Advertising Standard Authority. Because of which majority of the political parties concentrates on advertising which is negative in nature and focuses on personality of opposition parties or their main leaders. Thus the last Indian general elections were majorly focused on negative personality advertising of opposition parties. BJP majorly concentrated on the corruption, scams and inflation during the INC party tenure. In one of the research in India it has been found out that persuasive advertisement had significant impact on the personality traits formation of brands although there was variation of influence depending upon the treatment of persuasive advertisement and product type (Merabet, 2012).

7.10 PARTISANSHIP AND POLITICAL PARTY PERSONALITY

It is clear that everybody do not have same level of interest in politics. In commercial organizations involvement with the brand affects how the information is processed and stored in the memory of customers (Petty et al. 1983). More involvement leads to more soughing of information and more in depth thinking, majorly issued based, takes place. In politics it is particular candidate preference

which affects the way the information about a party and its leaders is interpreted. Liking for a particular candidate leads to selective selection and interpretation of information. Dogmatic processing of Information takes place if it is not consistent with the currently held views. For biased processing various defense mechanisms are usually used such as development of counter arguments, selective selection and distortion of information and even avoidance of information (Falkowski and Jablonska, 2018; Klein and Ahluwalia, 2005). Thus negative information by liked leader may be avoided if it appears in a newspaper or magazine which is supported by opposition parties. This clearly shows that voters will filter the negative information and process only positive information about the preferred leader or political party. Partisanship is thus affects the way how information is processed in the memory. It means more partisan a voter the more positive perceptions would be about the preferred party.

7.11 BRAND PERSONALITY SCALE IN INDIAN POLITICS

Aaker (1997) developed a brand personality scale by taking commercial brands because of which lot of research happened in accessing the brand personality of different products, services and organizations (Bairrada 2019; Aaker 1999, Diamantopolous et al., 2005; George and Anandkumar 2018). Aaker (1997) developed brand personality scale by taking 114 possible personality traits of a human being and then asked respondents which traits were relevant in describing specific brands. Both product and services brands were considered in study and total number was 37 which includes Visa credit card, news channel CNN, and some complex brands like Apple and IBM computers and Mercedes automobiles which requires consumers to think and evaluate various alternatives before taking the decision. The final scale has 42 individual personality traits under five main dimensions. These dimensions are “Sincerity, Excitement, Competence, Sophisticated and Ruggedness”. Sincerity is made up of honesty, sincere, down to earth and wholesome traits. Brand personality dimension Excitement is derived from exciting, up to date, daring and imaginative traits. Brands are Competent if they have reliable, successful and hardworking personality traits whereas Sophistication includes smooth, good looking and upper class personality traits. Finally, Ruggedness consists of masculinity, ruggedness and toughness.

A brand may not be considered by customers comprising all the personality traits. For example, a rugged brand may find it difficult to be treated as sophisticated brand. Primarily political parties will aspire to be perceived as honest, competent and reliable. All these can affect the perceptions about trustworthiness of a political party.

This scale is applied without any alteration in German political scenario by Schneider (2004). This scale is used by him to access the stability and level of political brand knowledge but the validity of the scale to measure the political party personality was not tested. Recent research however argues that there is need to amend this scale before applying it to measure the brand personality (Aaker et al., 2001; Chu & Sung, 2003; Nwanganga et al., 2017; Tunca 2014; Venable et al., 2005). As commercial brands are very different from political brands, it is not very certain that whether the brand personality structure in case of Indian politics will be same as that of USA commercial brands or not? To test this Aaker brand personality scale was used with Indian political parties to judge whether same brand structure applied or not? To ensure high level of validity and reliability researchers have followed the scale development procedure proposed by Churchill (1979) which is also in agreement with Anderson and Gerbing (1982), Bagozzi et al. (1991), Hinkin (1995), Nunnally & Bernstein (1994).

Before the scale was finalized it was pretested. "Expert" pretest was done with the help of ten academicians having exhaustive knowledge of the subject area. The pretests showed that some traits e.g. Corporate, Glamorous, Charming, western, rough, cool, up-to-date, upper class were seen as confusing or repetitive with other mentioned traits with context to Indian political parties and hence these items were not included in the questionnaire. The scale was modified and again feedback from the experts was taken. This time experts were fine with the scale and they did not suggest any item to be deleted or modified. After that second pretest comprising 50 respondents similar to the research group was conducted. To check the reliability the Cronbach's Alpha was calculated and found to be .756 (Table 7.1) which is more than the minimum acceptable limit (Nunnally, 1994). This shows that the consistency between items is adequate and researchers can go ahead with the final data collection.

Table 7.1: Reliability of Scale

| Cronbach's Alpha | No. of items |
|-------------------------|---------------------|
| .756 | 34 |

The questionnaire was then filled by 412 voters selected from 10 districts of Punjab to measure their individual perceptions about the personality of five major political parties of Punjab i.e. Indian National Congress, Bharitiya Janta Party, Shiromani Akali Dal, Aam Aadmi Party and Bahujan Samaj Party. Of the respondents 114 were Indian National Congress Supporters, 92 Bharitiya Janta party Supporter, 74 were Shiromani Akali Dal Supporters, 82 were Aam Adami Party supporters and 22 were Bahujan Samaj Party Supporters. Rest was either sympathizer or non-aligned.

7.12 RESULTS

7.12.1 Exploratory Factor Analysis

Researcher has conducted several iterative cycles of factor analysis on data. The number of factors extracted and total variance explained was studied after each cycle. Items having low communalities and correlations were deleted to improve the factor structure and to get the matrix with much clear loadings. To analyze the data Principle component matrix with varimax rotation was used.

7.12.2 Validity and Reliability of Instrument

The result of Kaiser –Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy indicated that KMO is more than .6 (.840) and negligible significance level was shown by Bartlett's test of sphericity (Table7.2). This result showed that data was adequate for factor analysis.

Table 7.2: Adequacy of Sample

| | | |
|---|--------------------|----------|
| Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy | | .840 |
| Bartlett's Test of Sphericity | Approx. Chi-Square | 18205.53 |
| | Df | 496 |
| | Sig. | .000 |

Factor Structure: Rotated component matrix was used to classify the items. The results are depicted in Table 7.3.

Table 7.3: Rotated Component Matrix

| Variables | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
|---|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| Reliable | .960 | | | | | |
| Hardworking | .970 | | | | | |
| Secure | .873 | | | | | |
| Intelligent | .897 | | | | | |
| Technical | .719 | | | | | |
| Successful | .893 | | | | | |
| Leader | .850 | | | | | |
| Confident | .977 | | | | | |
| Real | | .877 | | | | |
| Wholesome | | .942 | | | | |
| Original | | .970 | | | | |
| Unique | | .963 | | | | |
| Independent | | .967 | | | | |
| Down to earth | | | .930 | | | |
| Honest | | | .939 | | | |
| Sincere | | | .944 | | | |
| Sentimental | | | .933 | | | |
| Friendly | | | .870 | | | |
| Trendy | | | | .973 | | |
| Exciting | | | | .933 | | |
| Young | | | | .824 | | |
| Contemporary | | | | .721 | | |
| Good looking | | | | .966 | | |
| Feminine | | | | | -.811 | |
| Outdoorsy | | | | | .922 | |
| Masculine | | | | | .952 | |
| Tough | | | | | .810 | |
| Cheerful | | | | | | .834 |
| Daring | | | | | | .825 |
| Spirited | | | | | | .843 |
| Imaginative | | | | | | .832 |
| Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. | | | | | | |
| Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization. | | | | | | |
| a. Rotation converged in 5 iterations. | | | | | | |

The modified 6 factor structure is shown in figure 7.1. Even if some of the dimensions came out are similar to Aaker (1997) model but the complete structure is significantly different (See figure 7.2 for Aaker model). Majority of the personality traits have loaded in a different way to produce dimensions that are combination of Aaker's original five dimensions. This required giving new names to all the dimensions (Table 7.4) to present in an effective way the brand personality structure in Indian Politics.

Table 7.4: Personality Dimensions

| Personality dimension | Factor | Variance explained | Eigen value |
|-----------------------|--------|--------------------|-------------|
| Leadership | 1 | 20.35% | 6.80 |
| Uniqueness | 2 | 14.30% | 5.45 |
| Honesty | 3 | 13.56% | 3.99 |
| Image | 4 | 13.15% | 3.94 |
| Toughness | 5 | 9.83% | 3.00 |
| Spirited | 6 | 9.18% | 2.52 |

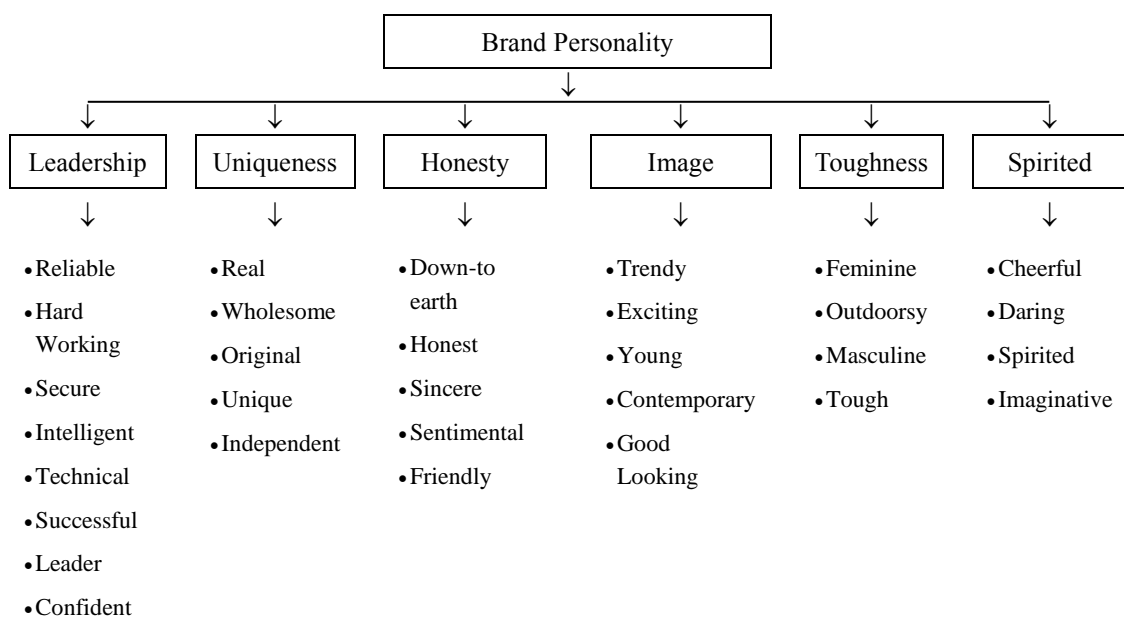


Figure 7.1: Modified Brand Personality Scale for Indian Political Parties

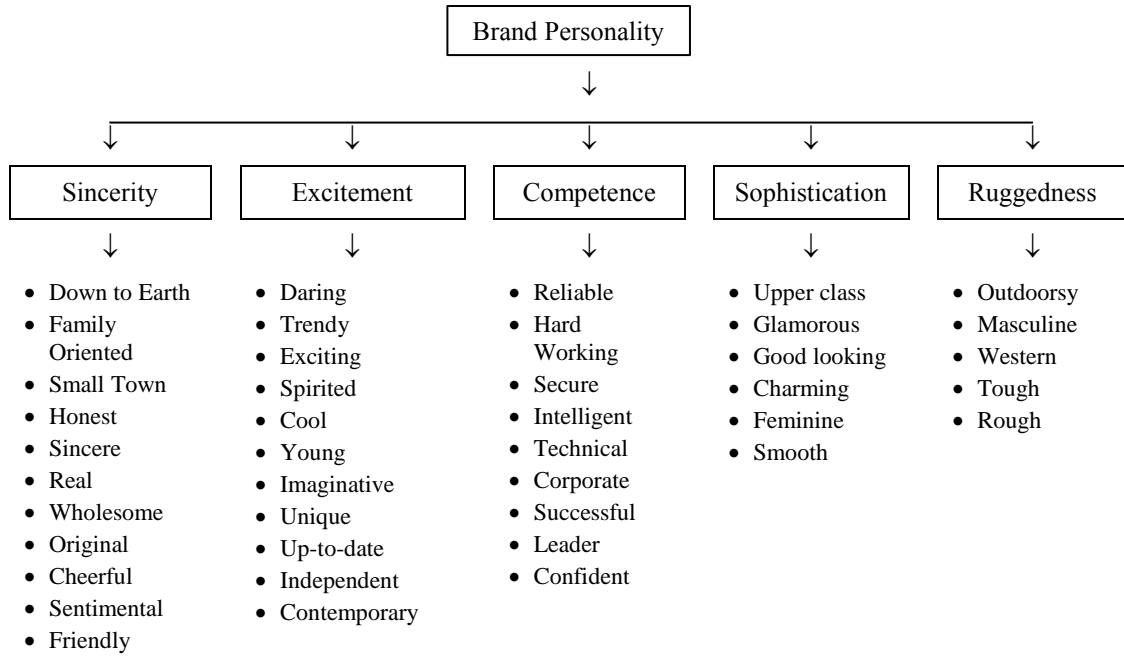


Figure 7.2: Aaker (1997) Brand Personality Scale

The above differences (See Figure 7.1 and Figure 7.2) clearly supports that the structure of brand personality is very unique and using Aaker’s (1997) brand personality scale is inappropriate in this context.

7.12.3 Confirmatory factor analysis

Confirmatory factor analysis is a special case of SEM (Joreskog and Sorbom, 2004). The confirmatory factor analysis was applied using SPSS Amos 22.0 to the six factors extracted in factor analysis. The result of confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) Shows that Chi square=902.51, CMIN/DF=2.15, P= .057, GFI= .821, RMR= .321, CFI=.85, RMSEA=.048. Careful Scrutiny of the results revealed that some indicators are below the threshold level. After the inspection of modification indices, covariance, standardized residue covariance two items were deleted and again the analysis was run. The final indices Chi square= 816.76, CMIN/DF=2.45, P=.073, GFI=.878, RMR= .027, CFI=.97, RMSEA=.059 were all in the acceptable limits.

Figure 7.3 gives a comprehensive view of confirmatory factor analysis and Table 7.6 presents factors extracted after confirmatory factor analysis.

The final items were again checked for internal consistency and Cronbach’s alpha was calculated using SPSS. The value of Cronbach’s alpha was .722 (Table 7.5) which indicates high degree of internal consistency.

Table 7.5: Reliability Analysis

| Cronbach's Alpha | No. of Items |
|-------------------------|---------------------|
| .722 | 28 |

To check the construct validity the composite reliability of all the factors calculated which was in the satisfactory range of .686 to .756 (Hair, Anderson, Tatham & Black, 1995). Also the average variance of the six factors extracted ranges from .518 to .641 which is also in the acceptable limits. So these values indicate the construct validity of scale. Factorial loading and reliability measures also support the construct validity of the scale.

Table 7.6: Extracted Factors

| Variable Code | Variable Description | Factor Name |
|--|---|--------------------|
| LD1 LD2 LD3 LD4 LD5 LD6 LD7 LD8 | Reliable Hard Working Secure Intelligent Technical Successful Leader Confident | Leadership |
| UN1 UN2 UN3 UN4 UN5 | Real Wholesome Original Unique Independent | Uniqueness |
| HO1 HO2 HO3 | Down-to earth Honest Sincere | Honesty |
| IM1 IM2 IM3 IM5 | Trendy Exciting Young Good Looking | Image |
| TO1 TO2 TO3 TO4 | Feminine Outdoorsy Masculine Tough | Toughness |
| SP1 SP2 SP3 SP4 | Cheerful Daring Spirited Imaginative | Spirited |

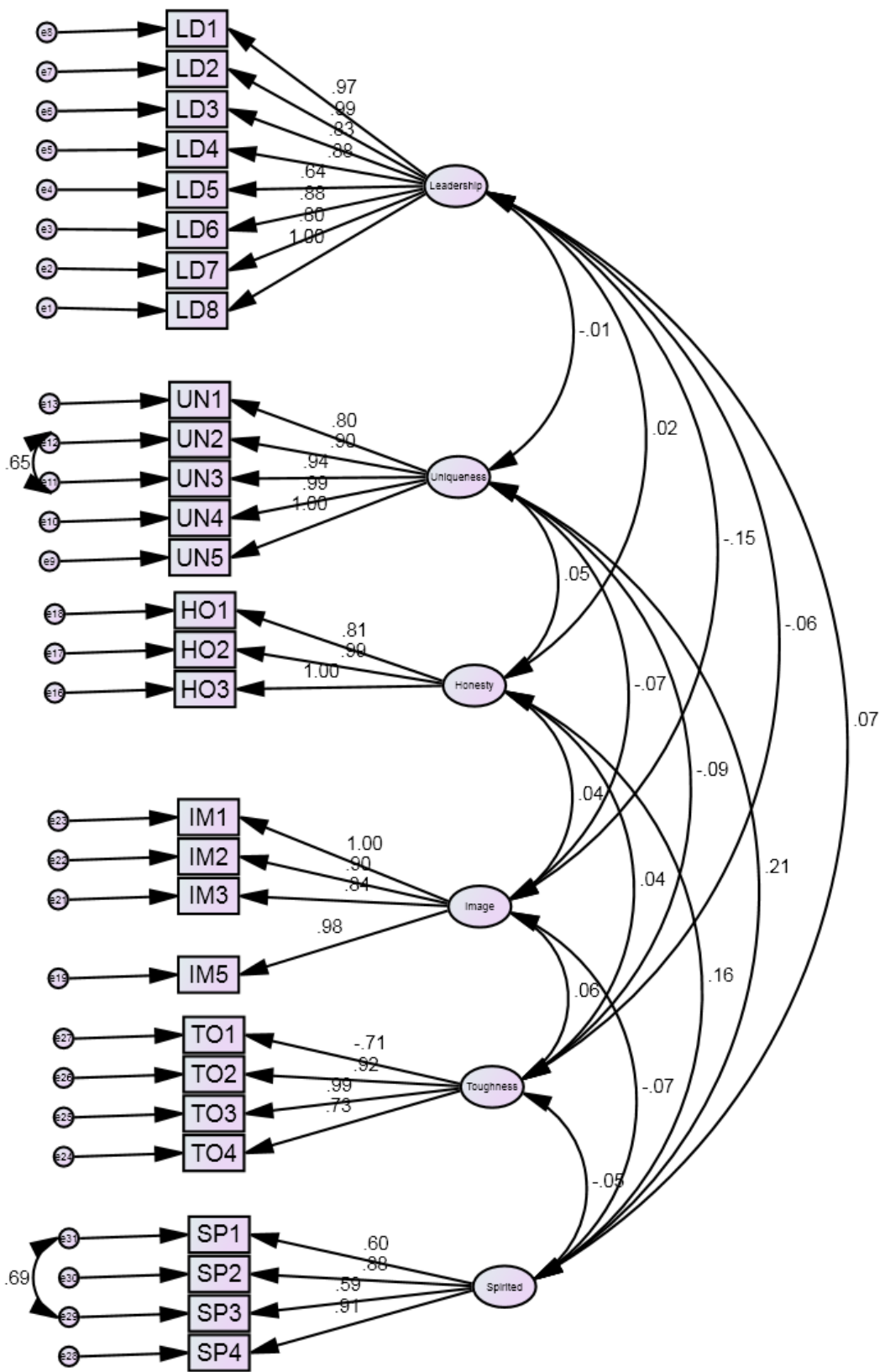


Figure 7.3: Confirmatory Factor Analysis Model

7.13 HYPOTHESIS TESTING AND RESULTS

The modified brand personality scale was used to analyze the personality of the major five political parties (Indian National Congress, Bharitiya Janta Party, Shiromani Akali Dal, Aam Aadmi Party and Bahujan Samaj Party) in Punjab. As discussed previously, instead of assuming that all the supporters are same, respondents were asked to point out the level of their commitment towards the party they prefer. This allows brand personality of political party to be compared between less partisan and partisan respondents.

Table 7.7: Comparison of Partisan Loyalty Effects on Brand Personality

| Brand Personality Dimension | Indian National Congress Partisanship ^a | | Bharitiya Janta Party Partisanship ^b | | Shiromani Akali Dal Partisanship ^c | | Aam Aadmi Party Partisanship ^d | | Bahujan Samaj Party Partisanship ^e | |
|-----------------------------|--|--------|---|--------|---|--------|---|--------|---|--------|
| | High | Low | High | Low | High | Low | High | Low | High | Low |
| Leadership | 4.131 | 3.722* | 4.078 | 3.749* | 4.029 | 3.670* | 3.946 | 3.431* | 3.815 | 2.750* |
| Uniqueness | 3.946 | 3.549* | 3.876 | 3.513* | 3.854 | 3.540* | 3.821 | 3.292* | 4.037 | 3.413* |
| Honesty | 3.720 | 3.222* | 3.736 | 3.433* | 3.835 | 3.260* | 4.196 | 3.583* | 3.407 | 2.500* |
| Image | 3.798 | 3.469* | 3.938 | 3.615* | 3.864 | 3.340* | 3.821 | 3.278* | 3.926 | 2.938* |
| Toughness | 3.792 | 3.309* | 4.031 | 3.722* | 3.680 | 3.250* | 3.607 | 3.194* | 3.556 | 2.875* |
| Spirited | 3.988 | 3.648* | 3.961 | 3.690* | 3.971 | 3.520* | 3.875 | 3.472* | 4.000 | 2.938* |

^a Indian National Congress mean scores: high= Partisan, low= Sympathizers and Non Aligned.

^b Bharitiya Janta Party mean scores: high= Partisan, low= Sympathizers and Non Aligned.

^c Shiromani Akali Dal mean scores: high= Partisan, low= Sympathizers and Non Aligned.

^d Aam Adami Party mean scores: high= Partisan, low= Sympathizers and Non Aligned.

^e Bahujan Samaj Party mean scores: high= Partisan, low= Sympathizers and Non Aligned.

*Significant at P < .05 Level

It is evident from the above table that there is significant difference among all personality traits based on the level of support in case of all the parties. Hence $H_{0(4.1)}$ was rejected. The partisan supporters have a more positive view of party personality than the less partisan supporters (Sympathizers and Non Aligned).

Brand Personality difference between partisan and non-partisan supporters was on the same lines as suggested by the wider marketing literature. The literature supports that more partisan supporters will perceive the personality of the political party quite differently from the less partisan supporters. This is because partisan supporters held a more positive view of the personality of party which they support as compared to non-partisan supporters. Partisans in case of all the parties chosen for the study (Indian National Congress, Bharatiya Janta Party, Shiromani Akali Dal, Aam Adami Party and Bahujan Samaj Party) were significantly different from their less loyal supporters on all personality dimensions. From this, it is possible to postulate that the partisan supporters remain more positive while the less loyal supporters is more likely to acknowledge the problems with the party because of which personality perceptions affected accordingly.

7.13.1 Brand Personality of Political Parties in Punjab

7.13.1.1 Personality Dimension:Leadership: To study whether Leadership personality dimension varies significantly across the five chosen political parties of Punjab namely Indian National Congress, Bharatiya Janta Party, Shiromani Akali Dal, Aam Adami Party and Bahujan Samaj Party, hypothesis $H_{0(4.2)}$ was framed:

$H_{0(4.2)}$: There is no significant difference in Leadership personality dimension of political parties in Punjab.

The mean score of leadership dimension by the party supporters are tabulated in the table 7.8. The mean scores were compared across the five political parties using ANNOVA. The F Value at 4.739 was significant at .05 level (Table 7.9) The result of ANNOVA suggests that there was significant difference in leadership personality dimension among political parties .Hence $H_{0(4.2)}$ was rejected. On making multiple comparisons using least square difference (LSD) method (Table 7.10) Leadership of Indian National Congress was found to be significantly different from Bahujan Samaj Party and Aam Adami Party at .05 level of significance. Also Leadership of Bhartiya Janta Party and Shiromani Akali Dal was found to be significantly different from Bahujan Samaj Party. Mean Leadership score of Indian National Congress Bhartiya Janta and Shiromani Akali Dal Party was significantly more than Bahujan Samaj Party.

Table 7.8: Leadership Mean Score

| Political Party | Mean | Std. Deviation |
|--------------------------|-------|----------------|
| Indian National Congress | 3.941 | .8526 |
| Bharitiya Janta Party | 3.895 | 1.0221 |
| Shiromani Akali Dal | 3.852 | .8070 |
| Aam Aadmi Party | 3.656 | .9511 |
| Bahujan Samaj Party | 3.419 | 1.0518 |

Table 7.9: ANNOVA of Leadership Dimension across Political Parties

| Variations | Sum of Squares | Df | Mean Square | F | *p-value |
|----------------|----------------|-----|-------------|-------|----------|
| Between Groups | 16.068 | 4 | 4.017 | 4.739 | .001 |
| Within Groups | 843.432 | 995 | .848 | | |
| Total | 859.500 | 999 | | | |

Table 7.10: Post-Hoc Tests of Multiple Comparison of Leadership Dimension across Political Parties

| Political Party (A) | Political Party (B) | Mean Difference (A-B) | Std. Error | Sig. |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|------------|------|
| Indian National Congress | Bharitiya Janta Party | .0452 | .0736 | .973 |
| | Shiromani Akali Dal | .0884 | .0826 | .822 |
| | Aam Aadmi Party | .2844* | .0963 | .027 |
| | Bahujan Samaj Party | .5220* | .1495 | .005 |
| Bharitiya Janta Party | Indian National Congress | -.0452 | .0736 | .973 |
| | Shiromani Akali Dal | .0432 | .0833 | .986 |
| | Aam Aadmi Party | .2392 | .0969 | .099 |
| | Bahujan Samaj Party | .4768* | .1499 | .013 |
| Shiromani Akali Dal | Indian National Congress | -.0884 | .0826 | .822 |
| | Bharitiya Janta Party | -.0432 | .0833 | .986 |
| | Aam Aadmi Party | .1960 | .1039 | .326 |
| | Bahujan Samaj Party | .4336* | .1546 | .041 |
| Aam Aadmi Party | Indian National Congress | -.2844* | .0963 | .027 |
| | Bharitiya Janta Party | -.2392 | .0969 | .099 |
| | Shiromani Akali Dal | -.1960 | .1039 | .326 |
| | Bahujan Samaj Party | .2376 | .1623 | .586 |
| Bahujan Samaj Party | Indian National Congress | -.5220* | .1495 | .005 |
| | Bharitiya Janta Party | -.4768* | .1499 | .013 |
| | Shiromani Akali Dal | -.4336* | .1546 | .041 |
| | Aam Aadmi Party | -.2376 | .1623 | .586 |

7.13.1.2 Personality Dimension: Uniqueness: To study whether Uniqueness personality dimension varies significantly across the five chosen political parties of Punjab namely Indian National Congress, Bharitiya Janta Party, Shiromani Akali Dal, Aam Adami Party and Bahujan Samaj Party, hypothesis $H_{0(4.3)}$ was framed:

$H_{0(4.3)}$: There is no significant difference in Uniqueness personality dimension of political parties in Punjab.

The mean score of uniqueness dimension by the party supporters are tabulated in the table 7.11. The mean scores were compared across the five political parties using ANNOVA. The F Value at 1.737 was not significant at .05 Level (Table 7.12). The result of ANNOVA suggests that there was no significant difference in uniqueness personality dimension across five political parties taken into consideration. **Hence $H_{0(4.3)}$ was accepted.** Multiple comparisons using least square difference (LSD) method (Table 7.13) also reveals that there is no significant difference in mean scores of leadership dimension across political parties.

Table 7.11: Uniqueness Mean Score

| Political Party | Mean | Std. Deviation |
|--------------------------|-------|----------------|
| Indian National Congress | 3.769 | .8617 |
| Bharitiya Janta Party | 3.676 | 1.0000 |
| Shiromani Akali Dal | 3.700 | .9138 |
| Aam Aadmi Party | 3.523 | .9958 |
| Bahujan Samaj Party | 3.581 | .9570 |

Table 7.12: ANNOVA of Uniqueness Dimension across Political parties

| Variations | Sum of Squares | Df | Mean Square | F | *p-value |
|----------------|----------------|-----|-------------|-------|----------|
| Between Groups | 6.108 | 4 | 1.527 | 1.737 | .140 |
| Within Groups | 874.923 | 995 | .879 | | |
| Total | 881.031 | 999 | | | |

Table 7.13: Post-Hoc Tests of Multiple Comparison of Uniqueness Dimension across Political Parties

| Political Party (A) | Political Party (B) | Mean Difference (A-B) | Std. Error | Sig. |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------|
| Indian National Congress | Bharitiya Janta Party | .0923 | .0750 | .733 |
| | Shiromani Akali Dal | .0692 | .0841 | .924 |
| | Aam Aadmi Party | .2453 | .0981 | .091 |
| | Bahujan Samaj Party | .1874 | .1523 | .734 |
| Bharitiya Janta Party | Indian National Congress | -.0923 | .0750 | .733 |
| | Shiromani Akali Dal | -.0230 | .0849 | .999 |
| | Aam Aadmi Party | .1530 | .0987 | .530 |
| | Bahujan Samaj Party | .0951 | .1527 | .971 |
| Shiromani Akali Dal | Indian National Congress | -.0692 | .0841 | .924 |
| | Bharitiya Janta Party | .0230 | .0849 | .999 |
| | Aam Aadmi Party | .1761 | .1058 | .457 |
| | Bahujan Samaj Party | .1181 | .1574 | .944 |
| Aam Aadmi Party | Indian National Congress | -.2453 | .0981 | .091 |
| | Bharitiya Janta Party | -.1530 | .0987 | .530 |
| | Shiromani Akali Dal | -.1761 | .1058 | .457 |
| | Bahujan Samaj Party | -.0580 | .1653 | .997 |
| Bahujan Samaj Party | Indian National Congress | -.1874 | .1523 | .734 |
| | Bharitiya Janta Party | -.0951 | .1527 | .971 |
| | Shiromani Akali Dal | -.1181 | .1574 | .944 |
| | Aam Aadmi Party | .0580 | .1653 | .997 |

7.13.1.3: Personality Dimension: Honesty: To study whether Honesty personality dimension varies significantly across the five chosen political parties of Punjab namely Indian National Congress, Bharitiya Janta Party, Shiromani Akali Dal, Aam Adami Party and Bahujan Samaj Party, hypothesis $H_{0(4.4)}$ was framed:

$H_{0(4.4)}$: There is no significant difference in Honesty personality dimension of political parties in Punjab.

The mean score of honesty dimension by the party supporters are tabulated in the Table 7.14. The mean scores were compared across the five political parties using ANNOVA. The F Value at 6.659 was significant at .05 level (Table 7.15). The result of ANNOVA suggests that there was significant difference in honesty personality dimension across five political parties taken into consideration. Hence $H_{0(4.4)}$ was rejected. On making multiple comparisons using least square difference (LSD) method (Table 7.16), honesty of Aam Adami Party was found to be significantly different from other four political parties at .05 level of significance. Mean honesty score of Aam Adami Party was significantly more than other parties (Table 7.14).

Table 7.14: Honesty Mean Score

| Political Party | Mean | Std. Deviation |
|--------------------------|-------|----------------|
| Indian National Congress | 3.488 | .8992 |
| Bharitiya Janta Party | 3.565 | .9737 |
| Shiromani Akali Dal | 3.552 | .8794 |
| Aam Aadmi Party | 3.852 | .9144 |
| Bahujan Samaj Party | 3.070 | 1.0327 |

Table 7.15: ANNOVA of Honesty Dimension across Political Parties

| Variations | Sum of Squares | Df | Mean Square | F | *p-value |
|----------------|----------------|-----|-------------|-------|----------|
| Between Groups | 22.871 | 4 | 5.718 | 6.659 | .000 |
| Within Groups | 854.320 | 995 | .859 | | |
| Total | 877.191 | 999 | | | |

**Table 7.16: Post-Hoc Tests of Multiple Comparison of Honesty Dimension
across Political Parties**

| Political Party (A) | Political Party (B) | Mean Difference (A-B) | Std. Error | Sig. |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------|
| Indian National Congress | Bharitiya Janta Party | -.0779 | .0741 | .831 |
| | Shiromani Akali Dal | -.0642 | .0831 | .939 |
| | Aam Aadmi Party | -.3641* | .0969 | .002 |
| | Bahujan Samaj Party | .4177* | .1505 | .044 |
| Bharitiya Janta Party | Indian National Congress | .0779 | .0741 | .831 |
| | Shiromani Akali Dal | .0136 | .0839 | 1.000 |
| | Aam Aadmi Party | -.2862* | .0975 | .028 |
| | Bahujan Samaj Party | .4956* | .1509 | .009 |
| Shiromani Akali Dal | Indian National Congress | .0642 | .0831 | .939 |
| | Bharitiya Janta Party | -.0136 | .0839 | 1.000 |
| | Aam Aadmi Party | -.2998* | .1046 | .034 |
| | Bahujan Samaj Party | .4820* | .1556 | .017 |
| Aam Aadmi Party | Indian National Congress | .3641* | .0969 | .002 |
| | Bharitiya Janta Party | .2862* | .0975 | .028 |
| | Shiromani Akali Dal | .2998* | .1046 | .034 |
| | Bahujan Samaj Party | .7818* | .1633 | .000 |
| Bahujan Samaj Party | Indian National Congress | -.4177* | .1505 | .044 |
| | Bharitiya Janta Party | -.4956* | .1509 | .009 |
| | Shiromani Akali Dal | -.4820* | .1556 | .017 |
| | Aam Aadmi Party | -.7818* | .1633 | .000 |

7.13.1.4 Personality Dimension: Image: To study whether Image personality dimension varies significantly across the five chosen political parties of Punjab namely Indian National Congress, Bharitiya Janta Party, Shiromani Akali Dal, Aam Adami Party and Bahujan Samaj Party, hypothesis $H_{0(4.5)}$ was framed:

$H_{0(4.5)}$: There is no significant difference in Image personality dimension of political parties in Punjab.

The mean score of image dimension by the party supporters are tabulated in the Table 7.17. The mean scores were compared across the five political parties using ANNOVA. The F Value at 2.067 was not significant at .05 Level (Table 7.18). The result of ANNOVA suggests that there was no significant difference in image personality dimension across five political parties taken into consideration. Hence $H_{0(4.5)}$ was accepted. Multiple comparisons using least square difference (LSD) method (Table 7.19) also reveals that there is no significant difference in mean scores of leadership dimension across political parties.

Table 7.17: Image Mean Score

| Political Party | Mean | Std. Deviation |
|--------------------------|-------|----------------|
| Indian National Congress | 3.647 | .8363 |
| Bharitiya Janta Party | 3.755 | .9244 |
| Shiromani Akali Dal | 3.606 | .8801 |
| Aam Aadmi Party | 3.516 | .9220 |
| Bahujan Samaj Party | 3.558 | .7959 |

Table 7.18: ANNOVA of Image Dimension across Political Parties

| Variations | Sum of Squares | Df | Mean Square | F | *p-value |
|----------------|----------------|-----|-------------|-------|----------|
| Between Groups | 6.438 | 4 | 1.610 | 2.067 | .083 |
| Within Groups | 774.761 | 995 | .779 | | |
| Total | 781.199 | 999 | | | |

Table 7.19: Post-Hoc Tests of Multiple Comparison of Image Dimension across Political Parties

| Political Party (A) | Political Party (B) | Mean Difference (A-B) | Std. Error | Sig. |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------|
| Indian National Congress | Bharitiya Janta Party | -.1080 | .0706 | .542 |
| | Shiromani Akali Dal | .0410 | .0792 | .986 |
| | Aam Aadmi Party | .1313 | .0923 | .613 |
| | Bahujan Samaj Party | .0887 | .1433 | .972 |
| Bharitiya Janta Party | Indian National Congress | .1080 | .0706 | .542 |
| | Shiromani Akali Dal | .1490 | .0799 | .337 |
| | Aam Aadmi Party | .2393 | .0929 | .076 |
| | Bahujan Samaj Party | .1968 | .1437 | .648 |
| Shiromani Akali Dal | Indian National Congress | -.0410 | .0792 | .986 |
| | Bharitiya Janta Party | -.1490 | .0799 | .337 |
| | Aam Aadmi Party | .0903 | .0996 | .894 |
| | Bahujan Samaj Party | .0478 | .1481 | .998 |
| Aam Aadmi Party | Indian National Congress | -.1313 | .0923 | .613 |
| | Bharitiya Janta Party | -.2393 | .0929 | .076 |
| | Shiromani Akali Dal | -.0903 | .0996 | .894 |
| | Bahujan Samaj Party | -.0425 | .1555 | .999 |
| Bahujan Samaj Party | Indian National Congress | -.0887 | .1433 | .972 |
| | Bharitiya Janta Party | -.1968 | .1437 | .648 |
| | Shiromani Akali Dal | -.0478 | .1481 | .998 |
| | Aam Aadmi Party | .0425 | .1555 | .999 |

7.13.1.5: Personality Dimension: Toughness: To study whether Toughness personality dimension varies significantly across the five chosen political parties of Punjab namely Indian National Congress, Bharitiya Janta Party, Shiromani Akali Dal, Aam Adami Party and Bahujan Samaj Party, hypothesis $H_{0(4.6)}$ was framed:

$H_{0(4.6)}$: There is no significant difference in Toughness personality dimension of political parties in Punjab.

The mean score of Toughness dimension by the party supporters are tabulated in the Table 7.20. The mean scores were compared across the five political parties using ANNOVA. The F Value at 10.229 was not significant at .05 level (Table 7.21). The result of ANNOVA suggests that there was significant difference in Toughness personality dimension across five political parties taken into consideration. Hence $H_{0(4.6)}$ was rejected. On making multiple comparisons using least square difference (LSD) method (Table 7.22), Toughness personality dimension of Bhartiya Janta Party was found to be significantly different from other four political parties at .05 level of significance. Mean Toughness score of Bhartiya Janta Party was significantly more than other parties (Table 7.20).

Table 7.20: Toughness Mean Score

| Political Party | Mean | Std. Deviation |
|--------------------------|-------|----------------|
| Indian National Congress | 3.566 | .9346 |
| Bharitiya Janta Party | 3.856 | .8331 |
| Shiromani Akali Dal | 3.468 | .9188 |
| Aam Aadmi Party | 3.375 | .9881 |
| Bahujan Samaj Party | 3.302 | 1.0809 |

Table 7.21: ANNOVA of Toughness Dimension across Political Parties

| Variations | Sum of Squares | Df | Mean Square | F | *p-value |
|----------------|----------------|-----|-------------|--------|----------|
| Between Groups | 34.292 | 4 | 8.573 | 10.229 | .000 |
| Within Groups | 833.907 | 995 | .838 | | |
| Total | 868.199 | 999 | | | |

Table 7.22: Post-Hoc Tests of multiple comparison of Toughness Dimension across Political Parties

| Political Party (A) | Political Party (B) | Mean Difference (A-B) | Std. Error | Sig. |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|-------------|
| Indian National Congress | Bharitiya Janta Party | -.2906* | .0732 | .001 |
| | Shiromani Akali Dal | .0976 | .0821 | .758 |
| | Aam Aadmi Party | .1906 | .0957 | .271 |
| | Bahujan Samaj Party | .2633 | .1487 | .391 |
| Bharitiya Janta Party | Indian National Congress | .2906* | .0732 | .001 |
| | Shiromani Akali Dal | .3882* | .0829 | .000 |
| | Aam Aadmi Party | .4812* | .0964 | .000 |
| | Bahujan Samaj Party | .5539* | .1491 | .002 |
| Shiromani Akali Dal | Indian National Congress | -.0976 | .0821 | .758 |
| | Bharitiya Janta Party | -.3882* | .0829 | .000 |
| | Aam Aadmi Party | .0930 | .1033 | .897 |
| | Bahujan Samaj Party | .1657 | .1537 | .818 |
| Aam Aadmi Party | Indian National Congress | -.1906 | .0957 | .271 |
| | Bharitiya Janta Party | -.4812* | .0964 | .000 |
| | Shiromani Akali Dal | -.0930 | .1033 | .897 |
| | Bahujan Samaj Party | .0727 | .1614 | .992 |
| Bahujan Samaj Party | Indian National Congress | -.2633 | .1487 | .391 |
| | Bharitiya Janta Party | -.5539* | .1491 | .002 |
| | Shiromani Akali Dal | -.1657 | .1537 | .818 |
| | Aam Aadmi Party | -.0727 | .1614 | .992 |

7.13.1.6 Personality Dimension: Spirited : To study whether Spirited personality dimension varies significantly across the five chosen political parties of Punjab namely Indian National Congress, Bharitiya Janta Party, Shiromani Akali Dal, Aam Adami Party and Bahujan Samaj Party, hypothesis $H_{0(4.7)}$ was framed:

$H_{0(4.7)}$: There is no significant difference in Spirited personality dimension of political parties in Punjab.

The mean score of spirited dimension by the party supporters are tabulated in the table 7.23. The mean scores were compared across the five political parties using ANNOVA. The F Value at 1.441 was not significant at .05 level (Table 7.24). The result of ANNOVA suggests that there was no significant difference in spirited personality dimension across five political parties taken into consideration. Hence $H_{0(4.7)}$ was accepted. Multiple comparisons using least square difference (LSD) method (Table 7.25) also reveals that there is no significant difference in mean scores of Toughness dimension across political parties.

Table 7.23: Spirited Mean Score

| Political Party | Mean | Std. Deviation |
|--------------------------|-------|----------------|
| Indian National Congress | 3.834 | .8962 |
| Bharitiya Janta Party | 3.817 | 1.0207 |
| Shiromani Akali Dal | 3.749 | .9392 |
| Aam Aadmi Party | 3.648 | .8473 |
| Bahujan Samaj Party | 3.605 | .9294 |

Table 7.24: ANNOVA of Spirited Dimension across Political Parties

| Variations | Sum of Squares | Df | Mean Square | F | *p-value |
|----------------|----------------|-----|-------------|-------|----------|
| Between Groups | 5.097 | 4 | 1.274 | 1.441 | .218 |
| Within Groups | 879.619 | 995 | .884 | | |
| Total | 884.716 | 999 | | | |

**Table 7.25: Post-Hoc Tests of Multiple Comparison of Spirited Dimension
across Political Parties**

| Political Party (A) | Political Party (B) | Mean Difference (A-B) | Std. Error | Sig. |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------|
| Indian National Congress | Bharitiya Janta Party | .0174 | .0752 | .999 |
| | Shiromani Akali Dal | .0856 | .0844 | .849 |
| | Aam Aadmi Party | .1859 | .0983 | .323 |
| | Bahujan Samaj Party | .2297 | .1527 | .560 |
| Bharitiya Janta Party | Indian National Congress | -.0174 | .0752 | .999 |
| | Shiromani Akali Dal | .0682 | .0851 | .930 |
| | Aam Aadmi Party | .1686 | .0990 | .432 |
| | Bahujan Samaj Party | .2123 | .1531 | .636 |
| Shiromani Akali Dal | Indian National Congress | -.0856 | .0844 | .849 |
| | Bharitiya Janta Party | -.0682 | .0851 | .930 |
| | Aam Aadmi Party | .1003 | .1061 | .879 |
| | Bahujan Samaj Party | .1441 | .1578 | .892 |
| Aam Aadmi Party | Indian National Congress | -.1859 | .0983 | .323 |
| | Bharitiya Janta Party | -.1686 | .0990 | .432 |
| | Shiromani Akali Dal | -.1003 | .1061 | .879 |
| | Bahujan Samaj Party | .0438 | .1657 | .999 |
| Bahujan Samaj Party | Indian National Congress | -.2297 | .1527 | .560 |
| | Bharitiya Janta Party | -.2123 | .1531 | .636 |
| | Shiromani Akali Dal | -.1441 | .1578 | .892 |
| | Aam Aadmi Party | -.0438 | .1657 | .999 |

On comparing the brand personality dimensions of political parties it has been observed that there is no significant difference in spirited, uniqueness and image personality dimensions among the chosen political parties but as far as leadership, honesty and toughness personality dimensions are concerned there is significant difference among the parties. Indian National Congress Party, Bhartiya Janta Party and Shiromani Akali Dal are perceived to be significantly different as compared to Bahujan Samaj Party as far as leadership personality dimension is concerned. Aam Adami party is perceived more honest as compared to other parties. This is because Aam Adami Party came into existence because of India again corruption movement that had been demanding the Jan Lokpal Bill. Also since its inception Aam Adami Party is focusing on clean politics free from corruption and VIP culture. In case of Toughness Bhartiya Janta Party is perceived tougher as compared to other parties. This is because in the recent past Bhartiya Janta Party has taken some tough decisions like demonetization of currency, implementation of goods and services Tax, decisions to fight terrorism etc.

CHAPTER – 8

BRAND EQUITY OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN PUNJAB

Considering political parties as brands is common in present era and is a separation of concept of branding from its real marketing origins related with commercial products. In fact principles of branding have been used in almost all the situations in which any kind of consumer decision making regarding picking up of one out of many options is involved, e.g., services, physical products, people, ideas or organisations (Keller, 2002). It is unquestionable that political parties are organisations in which political leaders tries to exchange promises and ideas for voters support. According to Keller (2002) “As branding is applied more and more in different settings, brand theory and best practice guidelines need to be refined to reflect the unique realities of those settings”. Many researchers argued that politics is different from commercial markets (Butler and Collins, 1999; Henneberg, 2006; Lock and Harris, 1996; Manshadi 2017; O’Shaughnessy, 2001). Therefore the main objective was not to be dictatorial about the usage of branding principles in political arena but to develop knowledge of how voters see the political brand. Theory of consumer learning was applied to political brand to achieve this objective. With this theoretical support, and applying an empirically tested and validated methodology for brands measurement, researcher used consumer-oriented approach for developing maps of the political parties (brands). An attempt was also made to develop the methodology for assessing the power of political brands and simultaneously, political brand equity.

8.1 THE RISE OF POLITICAL BRAND

Brands are important. Brands can play a very vital role in shaping consumer preferences and choices by producing in consumers a perceived differentiation between competing products/services (Aaker, 1991; Chovanova et al. 2015; Kapferer, 2004; Tybout and Sternthal, 2001). There is plenty of literature recognizing politicians/ political parties as brands (Harris and Lock, 2001; Jaain et al. Kavanagh, 1995; Kotler, 1999; Needham, 2005, 2006; Reeves et al., 2006; Rutter et al. 2018; Scammell, 2007; Schneider, 2004; Smith, 2001; White and de

Chernatony, 2002; Winther, 2017). One of the major reason reasons for the more focus and attention on political brand is the dynamic character of Democracies. According to Kirchheimer (1966) “viewing parties as brands is an irresistible response to the move from mass based to a party that attracts people with diverse political viewpoints and ideologies (Catch all Party)”. Voters are more likely to act rationally rather than influenced by class affiliation when voting (Ashworth, 2018; Downs, 1957). So to get support of voters to get victory in an election “the catch-all party” must have made a positive impact on to the thousands of target voters. This role is similar to that of a popular brand in commercial marketing (Kirchheimer, 1966). On the other hand, a result of the ‘catch-all’ approach used by the main political parties is that they mainly compete over the same target voters. Also, to get support of these same voters the political parties offers almost same policies and programs to voters (Nelson, 1984). I such a situation it becomes very difficult to make a difference between political parties. So it increases the time and efforts of voters to make a difference between political parties.

Contrary to these changes, in democracies lots of citizens have very less interest and involvement with party politics. For majority of them collecting information about political parties is costly and time consuming against the motivation to do so (Downs, 1957; Smith and French, 2009). Confronted with these learning costs, specially increased by valence politics, voters tries to save time and energy by using analytical shortcuts to help them decide their voting intention (Lee et al., 2016; Popkin, 1994; Sniderman et al., 1991). For many voters, the associations that they have of the party brand acts like a helpful heuristic, hindering the need to actively engage in learning about a party, its policies and ideologies (Forehand et al., 2004). As part of the overall brand, the image of the leader for example, been established as an investigating tool for voter judgment of overall capability of political party, attractiveness and responsiveness (Clarke et al., 2004; Jain et al., 2019; Nielsen and Larsen, 2014).

8.2 MANAGERIAL VERSUS CONSUMER POLITICAL BRANDING

Although more and more voters perceive political parties similar to other service brands because of consumer based reasons, but the application of branding

principles in the political arena has not been very clear. Moreover, use of branding principles in politics has been viewed to deliver undesirable results such as rising disputes and confrontation, rising political disconnection at the grass root level and commanding of obedience of behaviour/message (Ahmed et al. 2017; Needham, 2005; Scammell, 1999). Many researchers criticized usage of branding principles in politics (Aaker and Joachimstaller, 2000). In majority of research in academics, branding is based on a consumer-oriented approach primarily concerned with the investigation of in what ways consumer know about brands (Gustafsson; 2015; Keller and Lehmann, 2006). The consumer-oriented model of branding is relied on the assumption that consumers create information structures about a product or organization (For example, political party) which is stored in the memory for recovery. It contends that customers have an interior interest and inspiration to learn and choose about brands, fundamentally to decide where to purchase that or not (or make their choice while voting) and to manage the dynamically over conveyed and complex world. This approach presents many new conceptual perspectives to probe the political brand.

8.3 POLITICAL BRAND AS CONSUMER MEMORY

According to Keller (1993) Brands are not physical but intangible. Brand is primarily concerned with knowledge and image of a particular product stored in the mind of the customers. Brand knowledge in the minds of customers is outcome of individual pieces of information termed as nodes that link together in the mind of the customers to form associative networks (Collins and Loftus, 1975; Wyer and Srull, 1989). Information is retrieved from the mind when a node gets some input or stimuli by a process called activation. (De. Groot, 1989). Thus the stimulus of seeing Narendra Modi on television can activate from memory other associations such as Bhartiya Janta Party, Gujarat model, black money and the case of Gujrat riots, surgical strikes and so on.

Therefore from a consumer learning point of view, the political brand is characterized as a system of interconnected information related with politics, stored

in mind and available when stimulated. In today's era research in political marketing is known for measuring views of the voters about political parties', their policies and programs and leaders. The types of actual associations of the political brand held in the mind of a voter have not been measured extensively. Also there is lack of literature on strength and inter relationship of associations which voters held in the mind about political brands. As a result the accurate information about political brand from the perspective of associative network is not available. This is a major lapse as consumers form their attitudes and make decisions based on the associations held in memory (Keller, 1993).

8.4 MEASURING POLITICAL BRAND EQUITY

Brand is one of the important consideration of differentiating the products and services of an organization from the competitors. There has been lot of efforts to measure and access the overall value of a brand because of the value customers attached to brand. The term used for this value is brand equity and is defined as the differential effect of brand associations on consumer responses towards the brand. A brand is said to have positive (negative) customer based brand equity when customers react more (less) favorably to an element of marketing mix for the brand than they do to the same marketing mix element when it is attributed to a fictitiously named or unnamed version of a product or a service (Keller, 1993). In the political context example may be if a voter views a party political communication more (less) positively because of already existing positive (negative) view about the party.

There are number of ways advocated by the researchers for measuring the brand equity. One of the important and widely used approaches to measure brand equity is based on four dimensions namely "brand awareness, brand association, perceived quality and brand loyalty" (Aaker, 1991: Keller, 1993). The above mentioned dimensions further got empirical support from (Brunetti, 2019; Pappu et al., 2005; Qalati et al., 2015 and Yoo and Donthu, 2001) which presents the framework for the deliberation of political brand equity which is as follows:

8.4.1 Brand Awareness

All political parties (Indian National Congress, Shiromani Akali Dal, Bhartiya Janta Party, and Aam Adami Party & Bahujan Samaj Party) are undoubtedly very strong as far as awareness is concerned. Their spontaneous recall when asked, name the main political parties in Punjab shows, a very high level of awareness of political parties (brands). High recall, although a prerequisite for equity but itself is not enough because brand recall triggers brand associations which may be positive, neutral or negative. Positive brand associations increases brand equity whereas negative or neutral associations do not contribute any value to brand equity.

8.4.2 Loyalty

Clarke et al. (2004) after analyzing British Election Panel Surveys and British Election Studies over the period 1964-2001 observed that “very sizeable minorities change their party identification. Currently approximately seventy percent of voters stay with same party over successive elections”. This finding got further support from (Koop and Bressanelli, 2018; Shufeldt, 2018). This can be viewed in two ways. Sociologists who studies election trends consider this as proof of “substantial ongoing partisanship in politics”. On the other hand retaining the support of a large chunk of existing customers for a prolonged time period can be seen as an indicator of high brand equity.

8.4.3 Perceived Quality

Researcher in this study could not find any literature on the perceived quality of political brands. The existing literature on service quality is very substantial and using Zeithaml et al. (1990) pioneer work, the dimension that seems relevant to politics are mentioned in the table 8.1.

Table 8.1: Probable Influence on Perceived Quality of Bhartiya Janta Party

| Service Quality Dimension | Features | Political Event Allowing Service Quality Judgment |
|----------------------------------|--|--|
| Security | Freedom from danger, risk or doubt | Inability to solve Kashmir issue (1947-2018) Surgical Strike on Pakistan (2017 & 2019) Decision on Border dispute with China (2017 & 2020) |
| Credibility | Honesty, believability and Trustworthiness | Decision on demonetization to unearth black money (2017) Political Sleaze (for example, favoring particular industrialists/politicians) (2014-2020) |
| Communication | Listening and keeping consumers involved | Prime Minister “Mann Ki Baat” Program on all the media channels (From 2014 onwards). Official App of Prime Minister Narendra Modi. |
| Reliability / Competence | Ability to perform the promised service | MGNREGA (2005-2018) Lack of employment opportunities provided (2014-2019) Inaccuracies over electrification of all urban and rural houses figures (2018) |

(Source: Zeithaml et al. (1990))

Approximately seventy five percent voters agreed that politicians and even cabinet ministers do not tell the truth or hide important information (Worcester, 2003). Also the trust on political parties and politicians is declining (Dermody & Henmer-Lloyd, 2005; Newton et al., 2018). In addition to these trends overall level of perceived sleaze by political parties and politicians is increasing. In a nutshell, above dimensions of perceived quality indicates that the two major national level political parties are not strong.

8.4.4 Brand Associations

It is clear that not all brand associations are equally important or positive and as a result influence brand equity in a different manner. Keller (1993) recognizes this and use strength, favourability and uniqueness of brand associations to measure brand equity. Strength indicates the associations that come in mind after listening the name

of a political party, Favourability means whether these associations are positive or negative and uniqueness means the associations that are different from the competitive parties. So to become a powerful brand with strong brand equity a brand needs to have strong and favourable associations and some associations needs to be unique on certain parameters critical to consumers/voters.

The remaining part focuses on how to measure brand associations related with a political party and how these associations contribute to the overall brand equity of that party. It is worthwhile to note that perceptions about brand quality of a political party are built on the basis of associations of a political party. Consecutively the overall viewpoint of quality of brand impacts allegiance with the party and eventually voting decision. So associations related with brand serves as the fundamental basis of consumer based brand equity.

8.5 BUILDING MENTAL MAPS

The dominant method of representing the memory of consumer is utilizing mental maps that uncover associations stored in memory connection of these associations with one another (Henderson et al., 1998). But, the mapping approach is very tedious and requires in-depth training for the researcher. To overcome this limitation recently John et al. (2006) has proposed a very candid but empirically reliable and valid method, Brand Concept Maps, for accumulating, combining and generating a single common map that reflects the associative network of a specific brand for a specific group. Instead of repeating the John et al. (2006) Brand Concept Maps methodology, the focus is on a) applied Brand Concept Maps to the political market, b) use Brand Concept Maps to examine the features of the political arena and c) Measuring of brand equity of political parties

The starting point of Brand Concept Maps approach is to use a stimulus to activate memory of respondent about a brand. The party name (Indian National Congress/ Shiromani Akali Dal/Bhartiya Janta Party/Aam Adami Party and Bahujan Samaj Party) was used as stimulus in this research. The decision of utilizing the party name as the stimulus and not the leaders associated with the party is because party name provides the blanket of recognition, coherence and predictability like corporate brands (Singer, 2002). Party also provides information which is easy to understand,

credible, and mostly consistent for long duration (Ahler, 2018; Tomz and Sniderman, 2004). The larger duration and blanket behaviour advocates that the party name as stimulus will cover all the relevant and critical associations like ideology, policies, leaders as stored in memory of people.

For this research samples of two voters group were taken from 10 districts of Punjab (Ludhiana, Amritsar, Jalandhar, Patiala, Gurdaspur, Hoshiarpur, Sangrur, Bathinda, Taran taran, Moga). One sample was used for the first stage i.e. Elicitation (N = 200) and another sample was used for the second stage i.e. mapping stage (N= 200).

8.5.1 Elicitation Stage

Brand Concept Maps approach starts with Elicitation wherein the first sample group was asked to think about a political party and write down the associations that appeared in their mind. Respondents were free to choose the party they liked the most. Respondents having no party preference were allocated a political party randomly.

This resulted in 43 Shiromani Akali Dal and 57 Indian National Congress responses, 40 Bharatiya Janta Party responses, 35 Aam Aadmi Party responses and 25 Bahujan Samaj Party responses. These produced an unprompted list of 70 associations of Shiromani Akali Dal and 76 associations of Indian National Congress, 71 associations of BJP, 24 associations of Aam Adami Party and 11 associations of Bahujan Samaj Party which can be found in Table 8.5.1 to Table 8.5.5 respectively.

Table 8.2: Associations Produced during the Elicitation Stage for Shiromani Akali Dal

| Association | %age of Respondents |
|--------------------------|---------------------|
| Prakash Singh Badal | 100 |
| Sukhbir Singh Badal | 100 |
| Election Symbol – Scales | 100 |
| Party Belonging to Sikhs | 81 |
| Drug issue | 79 |
| Atta Dal Scheme | 70 |

Contd. ...

| Association | %age of Respondents |
|---|----------------------------|
| Corruption | 70 |
| Liquor Issue | 67 |
| Control Over SGPC | 65 |
| Free Electricity to Farmers | 65 |
| Bikram Singh Majithia | 63 |
| Bicycles to Girl Students | 56 |
| Farmers Suicide | 53 |
| Partnership With BJP | 51 |
| Power Surplus State | 47 |
| Infrastructure Development | 47 |
| Road Infrastructure | 47 |
| Free Education to Toppers | 40 |
| Welfare Programmes | 40 |
| Shagun Scheme | 40 |
| Done work for own benefits | 37 |
| Father-Son Rule | 30 |
| Free Electricity – Scheduled/Backward classes | 28 |
| Harsimrat kaur Badal | 28 |
| Free Education to Meritorious Students | 26 |
| Sangat Darshan | 26 |
| Construction of Heritage Buildings | 26 |
| Slogan-Raj Nahi Sewa | 23 |
| Business Acquired Forcefully | 21 |
| Cable Operators Issue(Fastway) | 21 |
| Nanhi Chhaan | 21 |
| Higher Electricity rates | 21 |
| Road maintenance | 19 |
| Blue Card Scheme | 19 |

Contd. ...

| Association | %age of Respondents |
|---|----------------------------|
| Business Effected a lot | 19 |
| Old Age Pension | 19 |
| Panthic Agenda | 19 |
| Loan to Farmers | 16 |
| Seva Kendras | 16 |
| Oldest Regional Political Party | 16 |
| Felony | 16 |
| No development | 16 |
| Skill Development Centers | 16 |
| Transport Business owned by Badal Family | 14 |
| Student organization of India | 14 |
| Punjabiyat Ideology | 12 |
| Delhi Sikh Gurdwara Management Committee | 12 |
| Introduced City Buses in some districts | 12 |
| Inflation not controlled | 12 |
| Played with Law | 12 |
| BhagatPuran Singh Sehat Bima Yogna | 9 |
| Water and Sewage Facilities in 165 towns | 9 |
| Popular Under Master Tara Singh | 9 |
| VIP culture | 9 |
| Health insurance schemes for government employees | 9 |
| Protection of Minorities | 9 |
| Boost to Solar Energy | 7 |
| Job Provides only to Sikh | 7 |
| Unplanned Development | 7 |
| Water dispute not resolved | 7 |
| Waga Border Development | 7 |
| Land Mafia | 7 |
| Punjabi Suba Movement | 7 |

| Association | %age of Respondents |
|--|----------------------------|
| Sikh Political Party | 5 |
| Participated in Independence of India | 5 |
| Balri Janam Tohfa Scheme for welfare of construction workers | 5 |
| Free Ambulance facility | 5 |
| Attract NRI | 5 |
| No effective policy | 5 |
| Less grounded | 5 |

Table 8.3: Associations Produced during the Elicitation Stage for Indian National Congress

| Associations | %age of Respondent |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Leads to Independence | 92 |
| Dr. Manmohan Singh | 88 |
| JawaharLal Nehru | 86 |
| Amrinder Singh | 83 |
| Indra Gandhi | 79 |
| Rajiv Gandhi | 70 |
| Election Symbol: Hand | 70 |
| Corruption | 70 |
| Inability to take decisions | 70 |
| Loan waiver of Farmers (in Punjab) | 62 |
| Dynastic Politics (Family) | 62 |
| Rahul Gandhi | 60 |
| 2G Spectrum Scam | 60 |
| Leadership Deficit | 54 |
| Old Party | 53 |
| Secularism | 51 |
| Coal corruption | 39 |

Contd. ...

| Associations | %age of Respondent |
|---|---------------------------|
| Sonia Gandhi | 36 |
| Navjot Singh Sidhu | 36 |
| BakhraNangal dam inauguration | 35 |
| Action against drugs Mafia | 35 |
| Mahatma Gandhi | 34 |
| Policy paralysis | 32 |
| Enacted Pension Schemes | 30 |
| Emergency 1984 | 30 |
| Operation Blue star 1984 | 30 |
| Fails to provide strong opposition | 30 |
| Delhi Metro | 27 |
| Common Wealth Games Corruption | 26 |
| Fail to fulfill promises | 26 |
| National Student Union of India (NSUI) | 23 |
| Bofors Scandel | 23 |
| National Rural Health Mission | 22 |
| SarvaShikshaAbhiyanProgramme | 21 |
| UPA | 20 |
| Liberalization | 19 |
| Mid Day Meal Scheme | 19 |
| Reservation | 18 |
| MANREGA Project | 18 |
| Loosing grounds in Modern India | 18 |
| Progressive Party | 16 |
| Division of States | 16 |
| Many corruption scandals | 16 |
| Nasbandi during emergency | 14 |
| Claims to be 'secular' but always Anti- Hindu | 14 |
| Banking Sector reforms | 14 |

Contd. ...

| Associations | %age of Respondent |
|--|---------------------------|
| Black Money | 14 |
| Green Revolution in Punjab | 14 |
| Indian Youth Congress | 14 |
| Inclusive development with Industrialization | 12 |
| No Value for Common Man | 12 |
| National Herald Case | 12 |
| Initiate GST | 9 |
| Centrist Party | 9 |
| Free trade policy for Handicrafts,Artisians | 9 |
| Looted country for 60 years | 9 |
| Freedom to Journalists, Labours, Professionals | 9 |
| Food security to all | 9 |
| Depreciation of Rupee | 9 |
| Congress Seva Dal | 9 |
| Indian National Trade Union Congress | 9 |
| Improve Education system | 9 |
| Party without a strong Leadership | 9 |
| Optimistic policies but miserable at execution | 9 |
| Seasoned Bureaucrats | 9 |
| Crazy for Power | 9 |
| Job Fairs in Punjab | 9 |
| Removes Acute Poverty | 7 |
| Passed Child Labour Act | 7 |
| Undue influence of one family | 7 |
| Lost opportunities at economic front | 7 |
| Mortgage gold of country in 1991 | 5 |
| Fast GDP Growth | 4 |
| Week Foreign Policy | 4 |
| Agusta Westland deal | 4 |
| Birth control policy by Sanjay Gandhi | 4 |

Table 8.4: Associations Produced during the Elicitation Stage for Bharatiya Janta Party

| Association | %age of Respondents |
|--|---------------------|
| NarendraModi | 100 |
| Ability to take tough decisions | 90 |
| Demonetization | 88 |
| GST | 75 |
| Swatch Bharat Abhiyan | 63 |
| Amit Shah | 63 |
| Election Symbol: Lotus | 60 |
| Surgical Strikes | 60 |
| Atal Bihari Vajpayee | 57 |
| Hindu Party | 53 |
| Alliance with Shriomani Akali Dal | 43 |
| Party for business class | 40 |
| Make in India | 40 |
| Babri Masjid Demolition & Ram Mandir | 38 |
| Influence of RSS | 35 |
| Nationalism | 31 |
| Anti-Terrorism | 28 |
| Surrender of LPG Subsidy | 26 |
| World Tour for Better International Relation | 26 |
| Arun Jaitley | 25 |
| Better than Congress | 25 |
| Visionary leadership | 25 |
| Saffron Party | 23 |
| Gained Strength over last 10 years | 23 |
| Opposition Party- Congress | 23 |
| Skill India Campaign | 23 |

Contd. ...

| Association | %age of Respondents |
|---|----------------------------|
| Triple Talaq Bill | 23 |
| Good Governance | 22 |
| Linkage of almost everything to Aadhar card | 20 |
| Yoga | 20 |
| Development Agenda | 20 |
| Riots in Gujarat | 20 |
| Bullet Train | 18 |
| Beti Bachao, Beti Padhao Yojana | 18 |
| Lal Krishna Advani | 18 |
| Failed to fulfill promises | 18 |
| Farmers suicide | 18 |
| Mann ki Baat Program by Prime Minister | 18 |
| New Currency (2017) | 18 |
| Smriti Irani | 18 |
| Gujarat Development Model | 15 |
| Smart City Project | 15 |
| Cow Protection | 15 |
| Promise to bring back black money | 15 |
| More FDI | 15 |
| Mohan Bhagwat | 15 |
| Startup India | 15 |
| Yogi Adityanath | 13 |
| Hope | 13 |
| Economic Growth | 13 |
| Rajnath Singh | 13 |
| Sambit Patra | 13 |
| Transparency in Government functioning | 13 |
| Doubling of Farmers Income | 10 |
| Ram Nath Kovind | 10 |

Contd. ...

| Association | %age of Respondents |
|--|----------------------------|
| Support to Army | 10 |
| Ease of doing business | 8 |
| Reduction in corruption | 8 |
| Anti Muslim | 8 |
| Manohar Lal Khattar | 8 |
| Support to Muslims | 8 |
| Atal Pension Yojana | 8 |
| Better Infrastructure | 6 |
| Women Empowerment | 5 |
| Ganga cleaning project | 5 |
| Growth in IT sector | 5 |
| Better Employment | 4 |
| Implementation of One Rank One Pension Policy in Army | 4 |
| Implementation of Biometric Attendance in central government offices | 3 |
| Gita divas celebrations | 3 |
| Prakash Narayan | 3 |

Table 8.5: Associations Produced during the Elicitation Stage for Aam Adami Party

| Association | %age of Respondents |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Arvind Kejriwal | 91 |
| Broom | 74 |
| Bhagwant Mann | 67 |
| Anna Hajaare | 64 |
| Gandhi Topi | 64 |
| Conflict with Centre Government | 53 |
| Allegation on Others | 40 |
| In Power in Delhi | 37 |

Contd. ...

| Association | %age of Respondents |
|--|----------------------------|
| Lokpal Bill/Anti Corruption | 34 |
| Young Party | 34 |
| Drama Party | 30 |
| Fake promises | 28 |
| Strong Criticism of BJP | 28 |
| Vocal against Corruption | 23 |
| WagonR | 23 |
| Odd Even Formula in Delhi | 21 |
| Popular In Punjab | 15 |
| More Youth Participation in Party Activities | 13 |
| Quality education in Govt. School in Delhi | 13 |
| Electricity bill subsidy in Delhi | 13 |
| End of VIP Culture | 10 |
| Opportunistic | 10 |
| Common man Leadership | 8 |
| Kumar Vishwas | 5 |

Table 8.6: Associations Produced during the Elicitation Stage for Bahujan Samaj Party

| Association | %age of Respondents |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Party belonging to SC/ST/OBC | 88 |
| Mayawati | 72 |
| Election Symbol: Elephant | 68 |
| Strong hold in UP | 60 |
| Corruption Charges against Mayawati | 60 |
| Kanshi Ram | 36 |
| World Bank Criticism | 28 |
| Kanshiram Garib AwasYojna | 28 |
| Gram Sabha Land(Pattas) | 24 |
| Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar | 18 |
| Weak Position in Punjab | 14 |

This list was then cut down to 21 (Shiromani Akali Dal) (Table 8.5.6), 23 (Indian National Congress) (Table 8.5.7), 15 (Bharatiya Janta Party) (Table 8.5.8), 11 (Aam Adami Party) (Table 8.5.9) & 6 (Bahujan Samaj Party) (Table 8.5.10) by eliminating associations mentioned by less than 33 percent respondents

Table 8.7: Shiromani Akali Dal Associations

| Association | %age of Respondents |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Prakash Singh Badal | 100 |
| Sukhbir Singh Badal | 100 |
| Election Symbol:Scale | 100 |
| Party Belonging to Sikhs | 81 |
| Drugs Issue | 79 |
| Atta Dal Scheme | 70 |
| Corruption | 70 |
| Liquor Issue | 67 |
| Control over SGPC | 65 |
| Free electricity to Farmers | 65 |
| Bikram Singh Majithia | 63 |
| Bicycles to Girl Students | 56 |
| Farmer Suicide | 53 |
| Partnership with BJP | 51 |
| Power Surplus State | 47 |
| Infrastructure Development | 47 |
| Road Infrastructure | 47 |
| Free Education to Toppers | 40 |
| Welfare Programme | 40 |
| Shagun Scheme | 40 |
| Done work for own benefits | 37 |

Table 8.8: Indian National Congress Associations

| Association | %age of Respondents |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Leads to Independence | 92 |
| Dr.Manmohan Singh | 88 |
| JawaharLal Nehru | 86 |
| Amrinder Singh | 83 |
| Indra Gandhi | 79 |
| Rajiv Gandhi | 70 |
| Election Symbol: Hand | 70 |
| Corruption | 70 |
| Non - Aggressive stand | 70 |
| Loan waiver of Farmers (in Punjab) | 62 |
| Dynastic Politics (Family) | 62 |
| Rahul Gandhi | 60 |
| 2G Spectrum Scam | 60 |
| Leadership Deficit | 54 |
| Old Party | 53 |
| Secularism | 51 |
| Coal corruption | 39 |
| Sonia Gandhi | 36 |
| Navjot Singh Sidhu | 36 |
| BakhraNangal dam inauguration | 35 |
| Action against drugs Mafia | 35 |
| Mahatma Gandhi | 34 |

Table 8.9: Bhartiya Janta Party Associations

| Association | %age of Respondents |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| NarendraModi | 100 |
| Ability to take tough decisions | 90 |
| Demonetization | 88 |
| GST | 75 |
| Swatch Bharat Abhiyan | 63 |
| Amit Shah | 63 |
| Election Symbol: Lotus | 60 |
| Surgical Strike | 60 |
| Atal Bihari Vajpayee | 57 |
| Hindu Party | 53 |
| Alliance with Shiromani Akali Dal | 43 |
| Party for business class | 40 |
| Make in India | 40 |
| Babri Masjid Demolition & Ram Mandir | 38 |
| Influence of RSS | 35 |

Table 8.10: Aam Adami Party Associations

| Association | %age of Respondents |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Arvind Kejriwal | 91 |
| Election Symbol: Broom | 74 |
| Bhagwant Mann | 67 |
| Anna Hajaare | 64 |
| Gandhi Topi | 64 |
| Conflict with Centre Government | 53 |
| Drama Party | 44 |
| Allegation on Others | 40 |
| In Power in Delhi | 37 |
| Lokpal Bill/Anti Corruption | 34 |
| Young Party | 34 |

Table 8.11: Bahujan Samaj Party Associations

| Association | %age of Respondents |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Party Related with SC/ST/OBC | 88 |
| Mayawati | 72 |
| Election Symbol: Elephant | 68 |
| Stronghold in UP | 60 |
| Corruption | 60 |
| Kanshi Ram | 36 |

8.5.2 Mapping Stage

In the second stage different set of sample was used for the purpose of mapping the associations. Respondents were exposed to a brand map example (VW Beetle) to instruct them how create a brand map. The respondents were asked to choose a political party which they preferred. This resulted in 50 Shiromani Akali Dal and 63 Indian National Congress responses, 37 Bharatiya Janta Party responses, 28 Aam Aadmi Party responses and 22 Bahujan Samaj Party responses. Next the respondents they were displayed the associations for their selected party obtained from the first stage i.e. Elicitation and requested to create map for the selected party. Respondents were told that they could add their own associations if these associations were not included in the list obtained from elicitation stage. Respondents were asked to identify relevant associations and link associations with each other. After competing this, respondents were requested to draw single, double or triple lines to reflect the strength of link between the associations. At last respondents were requested to specify whether they believed the association to be negative, positive, or neutral.

8.5.3 Aggregation Stage

In the Aggregation stage, one aggregate map for each party was generated by using the individual maps. The following procedure was followed for the same:

- 1) Identification of brand associations (first and second order) that appears on most of the individual maps.
- 2) Addition of first-order associations to the aggregate map those were associated with the party frequently.
- 3) Including the second-order associations by connecting them to the already arranged first-order associations.
- 4) Addition of (third-order) associations to the aggregate map. These associations are considered because of high frequency links to first and or second-order associations.
- 5) Computing the average for each link, based on the weights in the individual maps.

8.5.4 Brand Associations of Shiromani Akali Dal, Indian National Congress, Bharitiya Janta Party, Aam Adami Party and Bahujan Samaj Party Brands

The Maps constructed after the aggregation stage are given in Figure 8.1 for Shiromani Akali Dal Figure 8.2 for Indian National Congress, Figure 8.3 for Bharitiya Janta Party, Figure 8.4 for Aam Adami Party and Figure 8.5 for Bahujan Samaj Party. These maps indicate the respondent's association about a party who demonstrated a strong or weak preference about that party. Given that respondents are affiliated with the party brands the maps are quite positive also except the map of Bahujan Samaj Party. The Parties are shown as without color. Its first-order associations are shown in green colour. The second-order associations are shown in yellow colour and third-order associations are shown in blue colour:



Figure 8.1: Brand Consensus Map of Shiromani Akali Dal

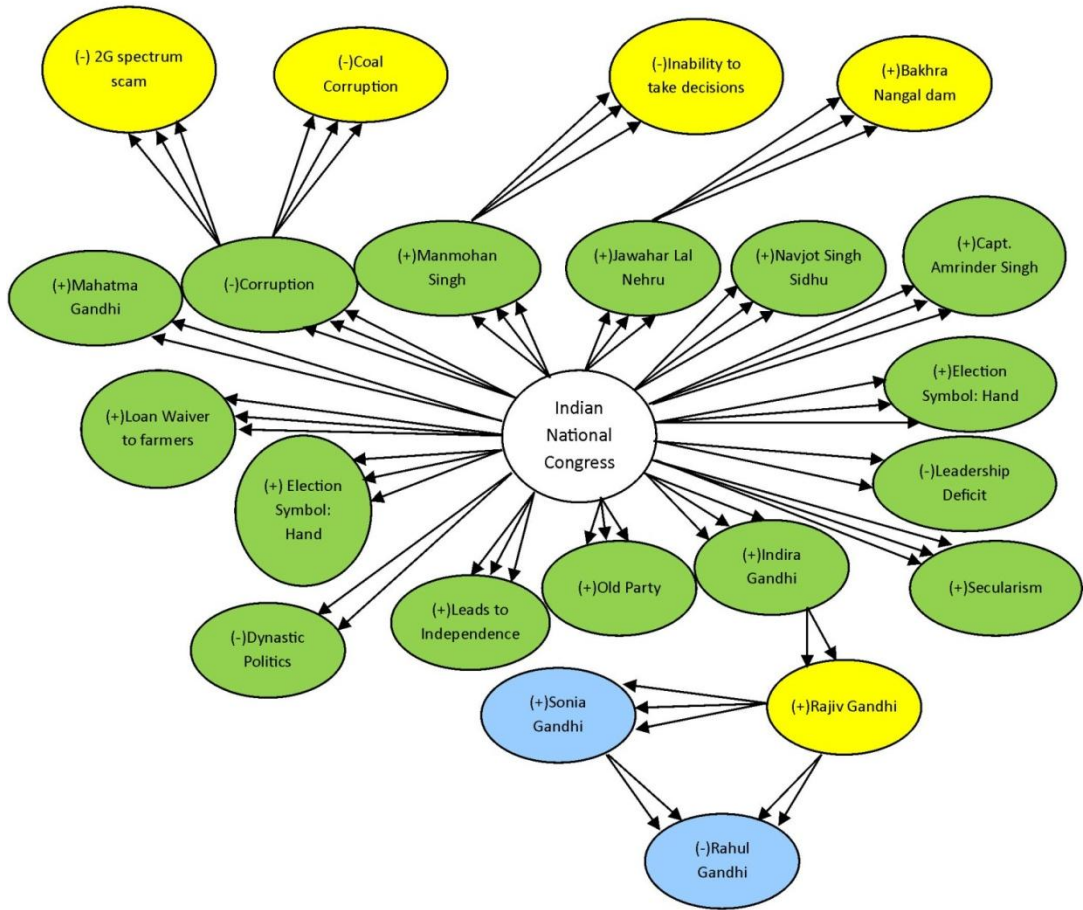


Figure 8.2: Brand Consensus Map of Indian National Congress

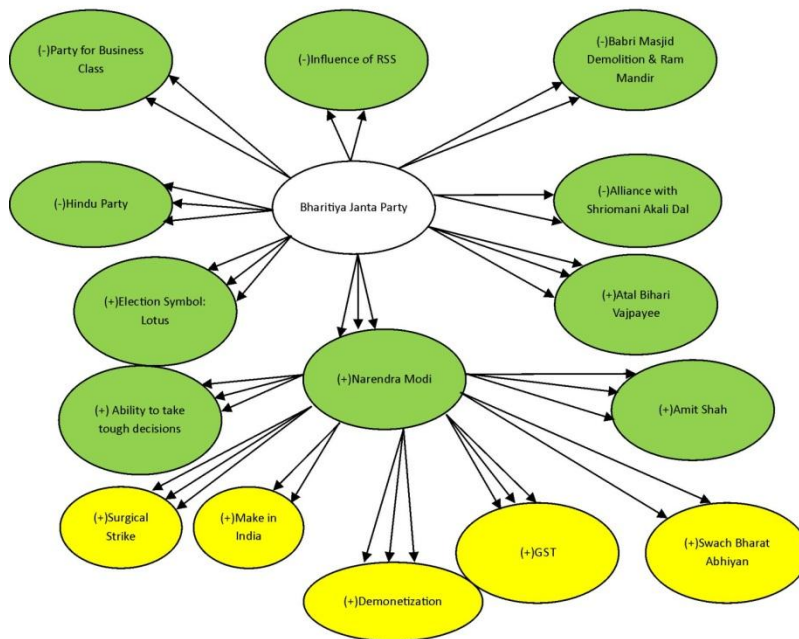


Figure 8.3: Brand Consensus Map of Bharitiya Janta Party



Figure 8.4: Brand Consensus Map of Aam Adami Party

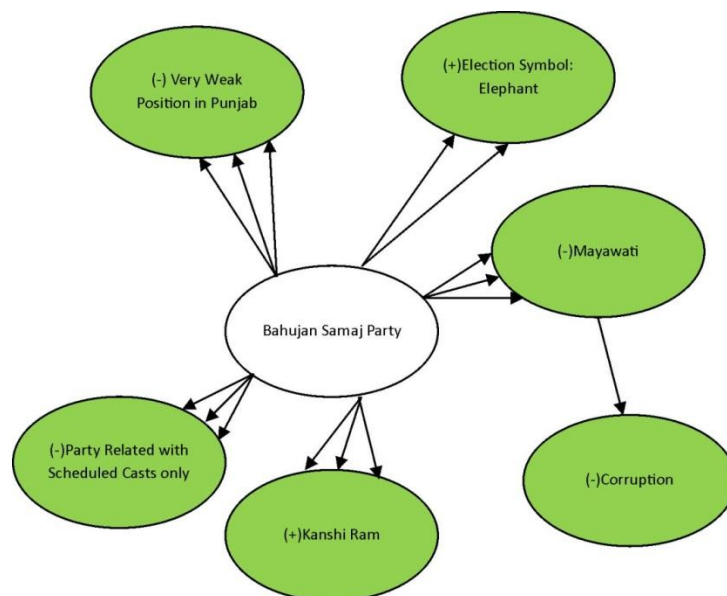


Figure 8.5: Brand Consensus Map of Bahujan Samaj Party

8.6 MEASURING THE EQUITY OF POLITICAL BRANDS

As earlier identified, Brand Equity can be measured by strength, favorability and uniqueness of a brand's associations (Keller, 1993). What was left is to apply these parameters to the aggregate maps of maps of Shiromani Akali Dal, Indian National Congress, Bhartiya Janta Party, Aam Adami Party and Bahujan Samaj Party developed above. To achieve this, the work of Krishnan (1996) to measure brand equity through brand associations was used.

8.6.1 Strength

One measure of equity is the number of associations that comes in the mind of respondent when asked to think about a party. A party with more associations as compared to competitors has more relationships among associations and as a result associations can be recollected from memory through spreading activation by number of ways. Thus, on the basis of aggregate maps in figure 8.1 to figure 8.5 the Indian National Congress having 22 associations is strongest among all the parties. But the in-depth analysis based on categorization (Using Brand concept maps) of associations as 1st order, 2nd order and 3rd order provides more critical view (Table 8.12). It is clear that Indian National Congress has more associations directly linked to the party whereas Shiromani Akali Dal is more strong in terms of number when second and third order associations were considered. The importance of associations can be judged by looking into the type of such associations. The more number of associations will be beneficial only when these associations are positive.

Table 8.12: Number of Associations by Type

| Type of Association | Shiromani Akali Dal | Indian National Congress | Bhartiya Janta Party | Aam Adami Party | Bahujan Samaj Party |
|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| First-Order | 6 | 15 | 10 | 08 | 5 |
| Second-Order | 6 | 5 | 05 | 02 | 1 |
| Third-Order | 9 | 2 | 0 | 01 | 0 |
| Total | 21 | 22 | 15 | 11 | 6 |

8.6.2 Favourability

Brand equity does not depend only on number of associations. So according to Krishnan (1996) “it is essential to calculate the net valence of the associations that is (positive associations - negative associations)/ (total number of associations)”. For Shiromani Akali Dal this calculation gives the favourability score of .24 (13-8/21). For the Indian National Congress this favourability score is .35 (15-7/23). Similarly for Bhartiya Janta Party this favourability score is .33 (10-5/15), Aam Aadmi Party & Bahujan Samaj Party this score is .27 (7-4/11) & -.33 (2-4/6) with 1 being hundred percent favourability. Thus the Indian National Congress and Bhartiya Janta Party are seen most favorably followed by Aam Adami Party and Shiromani Akali Dal with the favourability score of .27 & .24. Bahujan Samaj party with -.33 score is having least favourability.

8.6.3 Uniqueness

Uniqueness is the proportion of association that distinctive to brand as compared to competitors. As the generated lists included many different associations from one another, the resulting consensus maps were expected to be different and show novel brands. The maps share only one association i.e. Corruption. The remaining associations (20 for Shiromani Akali Dal, 21 for Indian National Congress, 15 for Bhartiya Janta Party, 11 for Aam Adami Party and 5 for Bahujan Samaj Party) are unique. Calculation of ratio of unique associations shows that Shiromani Akali Dal have $20/21=95.23\%$ unique associations, Indian National Congress has $21/22=95.45\%$ unique associations whereas Bahujan Samaj Party has $5/6=83.33\%$ unique associations. In case of Bhartiya Janta Party and Aam Adami Party 100% associations are unique. The analysis shows that the all the political party brands are very unique from each other.

When analyzing the brand equity of political brands, it's not enough to take into consideration the three measures of brand equity in segregation (Keller, 1998). With regards to strength, Indian National Congress is having more first order and second order associations than other parties whereas Shiromani Akali Dal have more third order associations. Broadly maps of four parties (Indian National Congress, Shiromani Akali Dal, and Bharitiya Janta Party & Aam Adami Party) have more

positive associations than the negative associations but the map of Bahujan Samaj Party is broadly negative. In terms of favourability Bhartiya Janta Party and Indian National Congress scores are higher than the other parties. All parties exhibited very high levels of unique associations. This is clearly contradicted with the perception that political parties now days are more or less the same, because of valence politics. The selected sample pin pointed very unique associations and as a result resultant maps were also very different.

Taken together, the Indian National Congress brand has more strength, favorability than all the other political parties. Maps of Indian National Congress, Shiromani Akali Dal and BSP share only 1 association (Corruption).

As a whole Indian National Congress brand has more strength than other parties, is most favorably perceived and has almost all the unique associations and therefore has the greater equity than the other parties. Hence $H_{0(5,1)}$ was rejected. No doubt this result applies only to the sampled groups. This result must also be analyzed in relation to history of the political marketplace; high brand awareness of political parties but lack of loyalty towards a particular political party and a very low quality of the service which political parties deliver as against the promises made.

CHAPTER – 9

FINDINGS, SUGGESTIONS AND CONCLUSION

This chapter summarizes the complete study, presents the major conclusions from each chapter and outlines the future scope for research.

9.1 SUMMARY AND FINDINGS

Chapter 1 explained the concept of political marketing, its significance in the contemporary politics, different dimensions of political marketing and evolution of political marketing. This chapter also explained political participation and many faces of political participation. In the context of increasing awareness of citizen's due to widespread availability of information on major media platforms like newspapers, television, social networking sites political parties need to capitalize on the strengths of political marketing. The rationale for the current study was explained in the light of very less research on issues related with the political marketing with reference to Indian context. Given the increasing focus and expenditure by political parties on different marketing activities, it was found essential to explore the different factors which effect successful political marketing, identify different marketing activities which influence the political participation of citizen's, study the brand personality perceptions of political parties and assessing the brand equity of political parties.

Chapter 2 dealt with review of literature that was pertinent to the subject matter of thesis. More than four hundred research papers published in various international journals of repute, related articles from websites and books on this subject was reviewed. All the studies were divided into four sections namely studies on factors effecting political marketing success, studies on influence of political marketing on political participation, studies on assessing the brand personality and studies on measuring the brand equity. The review revealed that political marketing success depends on factors such as market orientation, conducting marketing research, market segmentation and targeting, party/candidate positioning and building and managing favourable image. Various studies on marketing activities influencing political participation were reviewed. Political participation, being a multi

dimensional concept was found to include both positive and negative forms of political participation. A comprehensive review revealed that marketing activities of political parties can be categorized as utilization of sectarian political tools, utilizing planning tools, using symbols, using media advertisement tools and marketing techniques/tactics. A few studies revealed the positive association between utilizing sectarian political tools and political participation. The effectiveness of using symbols to influence the political participation was explored by few studies. They found that political parties by using symbols such as party symbols, hosting events to communicate with voters, use of grand projects as symbols to show themselves as preservers of culture/history and celebrations of historical events, can positively influence the political participation of citizens. Various studies revealed contradictory results of using using media advertisement tools, planning tools and marketing technique and tactics on political participation. Majority of the studies related with the assessing of brand personality used Aaker's Brand Personality Scale to access the personality of commercial brands. But on assessing the brand personality of political parties there is contradictory view points on using Aaker's brand personality scale, as political parties are very different from commercial products. Studies related with measuring the brand equity revealed that there are four dimensions of customer based brand equity namely brand awareness, brand associations, perceived quality and brand loyalty.

The review of literature revealed the need to conduct a comprehensive study on different dimensions of political marketing such as factors for successful political marketing, Influence of political marketing on political participation, perceptions of citizens regarding brand personality of political parties and measuring of brand equity of political parties as very few such studies existed in the Indian context.

Chapter 3 explained research methodology used for the achievement of research objectives of the present study. This chapter includes the description of need and scope of study, research design and sampling, objectives and major hypothesis of the study, data collection, sample description, research instruments employed for the achievement of research variables under study. A cross-sectional explorative and descriptive was designed using a multi-stage sampling technique was used for drawing a fixed number of respondents from the selected districts. The respondents

were drawn from Ludhiana, Amritsar, Jalandhar, Patiala, Gurdaspur, Hoshiarpur, Sangrur, Bhatinda, Tarantaran and Moga as these districts are highest number of voters in Punjab. The Sample consisted of 1400 Voters from ten districts of Punjab mentioned above. The research instrument used for data collection consisted of seven scales including (i) a self-developed 14 item scale that explore the respondents perception regarding political marketing success (ii) a self-developed 25 item scale to explore the respondents perception about the factors effecting political marketing success (iii) a self-developed 25 items scale to explore how respondents politically participate (iv) a self-developed 38 items scale to understand the influence of marketing activities on political participation (v) a scale to see respondent loyalty towards a particular political party (vi) a 28 item personality scale adapted from brand personality of Aaker, J.L. (1997) to explore the respondents perceptions about the brand personality of political parties (vii) brand concept map methodology developed by John et al. (2006) to measure the brand equity of political parties. The statistical analysis approach included measurement of scale reliability with Cronbach's alpha, descriptive analysis, exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis, multivariate regression analysis, correlation analysis, t- test, one -way ANNOVA.

Objective Wise Detailed Findings Are As Follows:

9.1.1 Factors Effecting Political Marketing Success

The factors effecting success of political marketing were identified through multi-variate linear regression analysis. Findings suggested that there are many factors which effect political marketing success. Major findings are:

- i) Anlaysia of dimensions of successful political marketing revealed that respondents believe that political party/ leader they support undertakes effective campaigning using print media, broadcast media, outdoor media and digital media but undertaking regular grass root activities and honoring of promises by the political party/leader they support is an issue.
- ii) It hs been found that respondents believe that political parties/ candidates make efforts in understanding voter's needs before designing their policies but fulfillment of promises by political parties is an issue.

- iii) It has been found that respondents believe that political parties/candidates categorize voters on geographical and demographical basis. It is evident from the different schemes of Punjab government like Mai Bhago Istri Shakti Scheme (meant for below poverty females living in rural areas), Post Matric Scholarship Scheme (meant for SC and OBC students below a particular income group), Aashirwaad scheme (meant for marrying girls belonging to blue card holders poor families), Ayushman Bharat- Sarabht Sehat Bima Yagna (meant for blue card holders poor families, farmers registered under Punjab Mandi board, construction workers registered with construction worker's welfare board and families registered under excise and taxation department) etc. Interestingly, about 27 percent of respondents feels that they are not the target of any political party meaning thereby, political parties hardly make any efforts to reach put to such voters.
- iv) It has been found that respondents believe that the political party candidates they vote have substantial position as compared to competitors. About image of political party/ candidate, respondents believe that political party/candidate they vote for has strong image and they consider image of party/candidate while voting.
- v) It has been found that respondents believe that political parties/ candidates collect data at grass root level and also conduct the necessary surveys but on seeking information by the political parties and on participation in different surveys conducted by political parties respondents were neutral.
- vi) It has been found that market orientation, party candidate positioning, managing and building a strong image and conducting efficient market research has significant positive effect on successful political marketing. Whereas Market segmentation and and targeting does not having any significant effect on successful political marketing. In explaining variance in the dependent variable these factors are Building and managing a favourable and strong image followed by party candidate positioning, applying a market oriented strategy and conducting an efficient market research.

9.1.2 Influence of Political Marketing on Citizen's Political Participation

Influence of marketing activities by political parties/candidates on citizen's political participation was identified through multi-variate linear regression analysis and descriptive statistics. Findings related to Influence of political marketing on citizens political participation suggested that various marketing activities by political parties/candidates influence the political participation of citizen's. Major findings are:

- i) It has been found that voting in elections is the most common way of political participation followed by reading about politics in print media and use TV/Radio to know about politics. The least preferred set of political participation activities include taking part in demonstrations, refusing to pay government rent and taxes, supporting financially a political party/candidate during election campaigning, taking part in blockades, filing petitions against the government.
- ii) It has been found that the most important activities, in utilizing sectarian political tools by political parties/candidates, which influence the political participation of voters are caste based politics and religion based politics. Results indicates proliferation of religion and caste by the political parties to influence the political participation of voters.
- iii) It has been found that the most important activities, in using planning tools by political parties/candidates, which influences the political participation are planning and development of programs based on voter's needs and modifications in program and policies to deal effectively with changes in voters needs and wants.
- iv) In using symbols by political parties/candidates respondents believe that the most important activities which influences their political participation are highlighting achievements while communicating, hosting events to communicate and use of grand projects as a symbol to show themselves as preservers of culture/history. The result supports the government activities like advertisements of government achievements in different newspapers and through

hordings at major places, construction of different monuments and buildings to preserve the heritage and culture (Virasat –e- Khalsa, Jang- e- Azadi Memorial, Ram Tirath Temple etc).

- v) It has been found that usage of television and newspaper by the political parties are most important media advertising tools which influences the political participation of voters.
- vi) In marketing techniques/tactics used by political parties/candidates personal contacts, rallies, road shows and celebrity endorsement are the most important activities which influence the political participation of voters.
- vii) It has been found that there is significant and positive relationship between political marketing components including utilizing sectarian-political tools, using symbols, using media advertising tools and marketing techniques and tactics on citizens political participation in Punjab. In explaining variance in the dependent variable these factors are marketing techniques and tactics, using media advertising tools, using symbols and utilizing sectarian-political tools. However, there is not significant influence of using planning tools on political participation.

9.1.3 Framework to Understand The Impact of Different Factors on Successful Political Marketing Which in Turn Leads More Citizen's Political Participation

Based on the review of literature and findings of Objective 2 in chapter 4 the proposed conceptual framework to understand the impact of different factors on successful political marketing which in turn leads to more citizens' political participation was tested by using structural equation modeling. The findings reveal that there is strong positive influence from Market orientation, conducting marketing research, Party candidate positioning and Building and Managing strong image on successful political marketing which leads to Citizens' political participation. In this framework, Gender, Age, religion and caste are observed as control variables.

9.1.4 Brand Personality of Political Parties in Punjab

Brand personality of five major political parties of Punjab (Indian National Congress, Bharitiya Janta Party, Shiromani Akali Dal, Aam Aadmi Party and Bahujan Samaj Party) was accessed by applying adapted Aaker's brand personality scale and using t test and one way ANNOVA. Major Findings are:

- i) It has been found that the political party's personality is very much different from other commercial brands. To be very specific 14 out of 42(Approximately 33%) original variables found out to be very confusing as far as politics is concerned or did not add significantly to the explanatory power of the scale and so were removed. Also factor analysis exhibited a brand personality structure in politics which is very much different from existing brand personality structure of commercial brands. Presumptive personality dimensions in case of politics (e. g uniqueness, image and leadership) are exhibited in the modified personality structure that became evident from the analysis.

A major distinction between the commercial and political markets is attaching greater importance to leadership in politics i.e. prominent leaders influences the personality of their political parties. Commercial brands (with some exceptions like Apple's Steve job, Tata's Rattan Tata and Patanjali's Baba Ramdev) usually do not have such leaders who are very popular and known and from whom the personality of a brand may be judged. Majority of the commercial organizations have to depend upon the celebrities or other endorsers to build brand personality. Whereas personality of a political party may be obtained directly from the personality of prominent politicians belongs to that party. It is worth mentioning here that both image and leadership dimensions here are defined more by items that are reflection of a person (Intelligent, reliable, confident, hardworking, and young) than a product (technical, corporate) and that are why it is different from the personality of commercial brands.

The appearance of uniqueness dimension in brand personality scale at first sight is an unanticipated one. To attain success in politics it is critical to be an

across-the-board party (Kirchheimer, 1966) which has created larger policy similarities or less differences between the main political parties. Because of this it may be expected that uniqueness is not important as a measure of brand personality. On observation, however, the main political parties strived to remain in power for ages during which time the perceptions implanted that differences exist between them. Differences tend to become more fixed with the passage of time for example Reebok and Nike, Pepsi and Coke. In case of commercial markets negative advertisement is rarely used and brands are positioned far from the competition. In politics although policies are more or less the same, the aggressive way political parties attack on their rival parties and aggressive communication regarding work on different policies creates the impression of difference between them and this intensity is somehow missing in case of commercial brands. In addition to this it must not be forgotten even if policies are same there are many other means to be seen as unique and distinctive. People have already witnessed the exemplification of political parties in the appearance of their well accepted and favored leaders that enables personality differences among political parties to be identified by voters.

Another major difference between the commercial markets and politics is greater importance attached with honesty in case of politics. Although there are examples commercial brands honesty was in question (e.g. Volkswagen, Nestle), but these are very rare and brands could not exist for long if they are seen to be not honest i.e. promising features, benefits etc. which they cannot deliver. So while describing the brand personality in commercial markets honesty is likely to be less important. On the other hand in politics promises made by political parties are on very large scale than the commercial brands. In case of politics media and opposite political parties regularly raise a question on the honesty of political party and leaders in power. Such circumstances provide justification for its appearance as an important dimension in the modified scale of brand personality.

Although the main differences explained above between the brand personality scale of political and commercial brands are logical but still they are

speculative. In spite of all which can be said with certainty is that whatever may be the actual reasons for different structure of brand personality for political brands, differences prevail. The findings highlight the viewpoint that given the differences between commercial sector and politics a cautious approach is required while applying marketing methods, tools, ideas and specifically different scales to politics.”

- ii) It has been found that there is significant difference among all personality traits based on the level of support in case of all the parties. The partisan supporters have a more positive view of party personality than the less partisan supporters (Sympathizers and Non Aligned).
- iii) On comparing the brand personality dimensions of political parties it has been found that there is no significant difference in spirited, uniqueness and image personality dimensions among the chosen political parties but as far as leadership, honesty and toughness personality dimensions are concerned there is significant difference among the parties. Indian National Congress Party, Bhartiya Janta Party and Shiromani Akali Dal are perceived to be significantly different as compared to Bahujan Samaj Party as far as leadership personality dimension is concerned. Aam Adami party is perceived more honest as compared to other parties. In case of Toughness Bhartiya Janta Party is perceived tougher as compared to other parties.

9.1.5 Brand Equity of Political Parties in Punjab

Brand equity of five major political parties of Punjab (Indian National Congress, Bharitiya Janta Party, Shiromani Akali Dal, Aam Aadmi Party and Bahujan Samaj Party) was measured by applying Brand Concept Maps methodology developed by John et al. (2006) and using the work of Krishnan (1996). The Major Findings are:

- i) In depth analysis of brand attributes has established the significance of the leader with the party brand. For Shiromani Akali Dal it also shows how Parkash Singh Badal & Sukhbir Singh Badal is major part of the brand. Parkash Singh Badal has many strong negative associations like Corruption, Farmers suicide and control over SGPC. On the other hand people associate

Parkash Singh Badal positively with the welfare programs. Similarly in case of Sukhbir Singh Badal strong negative associations are work for own benefits, liquor issue and drugs issue whereas positive association is infrastructure development.

- ii) For the Indian National Congress, it is surprising that people see majority of the leaders as positive associations for the party. Corruption and Dynastic Politics are the the major negative associations of Indian National Congress party whereas secularism, loan waiver to farmers in Punjab, leads to independence and old party are the major positive associations. The greater number of associations, although only one, in the Indian National Congress is expected as party is in power in Punjab and opposition party is usually at disadvantage in communicating with the voters.
- iii) For the Bharitiya Janta party, number of brand associations (15) are less than two major parties. For Bharitiya Janta Party the map reveals how important Narendra Modi is for Bhartiya Janta Party brand and people associate all the major initiatives of the party positively with the leader (Narendra Modi). The map also reveals that Narendra Modi has been very successful in appropriately positioning himself in the mind of people on some of the very important issues faced by the country such as surgical strike, make in India, demonetization, GST and Swach Bharat abhiyan. Map also reveals that Bhartiya Janta Party has negative associations with the issues such as influence of RSS, Hindu party, party for business class and Babri masjid demolition.
- iv) In case of Aam Adami Party the numbers of associations are less (11) than the three major parties of Punjab but the favorability score is high as compared to Shiromani Akali Dal and Bahujan Samaj party. So it is quite evident that people associate the Aam Aadmi party with more positive associations as compared to Shiromani Akali Dal and Bahujan Samaj Party. The major positive associations of AAP is party leaders (Arvid Kejriwal, Bhagwant Mann) and Anna Hazzare to whom people positively associate with Arvind Kejriwal. As this party emerge from the crusade against corruption and demand of Lokpal Bill so people also associate Lokpal bill positively with the

party. The major negative associations related with the parties are Lack of Unity between centre and state unit, all the times putting allegations on others & young and inexperienced party.

- v) In case of Bahujan Samaj Party the numbers of associations are only six and four out of six associations are negatively associated with the party. As opposite to other parties people associate leaders of the party (Mayawati) negatively with the party. Other negative associations are corruption, Very weak position in Punjab and party related with SC only.
- vi) It has been found that as a whole Indian National Congress brand has more strength than other parties, is most favorably perceived and has almost all the unique associations and therefore has the greater equity than the other parties.

9.2 SUGGESTIONS

In the light of the results of current study the key suggestions are:

- i) As voters consider image of political party/candidate while voting, political parties/candidates should put more efforts to improve their image in the minds of voters. Also political parties must make all the possible efforts to position effectively in the minds of voters. voters are not very satisfied when it comes to fulfillment of their needs. So political parties should pay more attention to the fulfillment of voter's needs by honoring their promises. While conducting marketing research, which is one of the main factor for political marketing success political parties/candidates should try to include maximum possible voters to give them the sense of importance and affiliation with the party.
- ii) Political parties should frequently organize the personal contact progrmans, rallies and road shows to influence the political participation of citizen's in their favour. Celebrity endorsement is also an effective way to positively influence the political particilation of citizen's. In media adversiement tools political parties /candidates should spend more of their budget on newspapers and television to influence the political participation of citizen's. Further Political parties / candidates must highlight their achievements while communicating with the citizen's by hosting different events. They should use

grand projects as symbol to show themselves as preservers of culture/history. Political parties/candidates can influence the political participation by framing and implementing policies based on religion and caste.

- iii) Results showed that political parties differs from each other on certain personality dimensions. Honesty personality dimension of Aam Adami party was found to be perceived more positively by respondents as compared to Indian National Congress, Bharitiya Janta Party, Shiromani Akali Dal and Bahujan Samaj Party. So, Aam Aadmi Party can use this dimension while communicating with the target voters to influence them in the favour of party. Similarly Toughness personality dimension of Bharitiya Janta Party was found to be perceived more positively by respondents as compared to Indian National Congress, Shiromani Akali Dal, Aam Adami Party and Bahujan Samaj Party. So, Bharitya Janta Party can use this dimension while communicating with the target voters to influence them in the favour of party. In fact, Bhartiya Janta Party is already doing it successfully while communicating it with target audiences. Leadership personality dimension of Indian National Congress was found to be perceived more positively by respondents as compared to Bahujan Samaj Party and Aam Adami Party. So, Indian National Congress can use leadership personality dimensions against Aam Adami Party and Bahujan Samaj Party while communicating with the target voters to influence them in the favour of party. Also Leadership dimension of Bhartiya Janta Party and Shiromani Akali Dal was found to be perceived more positively by respondents as compared to Bahujan Samaj Party. So, these parties can also use leadership personality dimension against Bahujan Samaj Party while communicating with the target voters to influence them in the favour of party.
- iv) Shiromani Akali Dal has many strong negative associations like Corruption, Farmers suicide and control over SGPC, work for own benefits, liquor issue and drugs issue. On the other hand positive associations of Shiromani Akali Dal are welfare programs and infrastructure development. Shiromani Akali Dal should highlight the positive associations while communicating with target voter's and try to distance the party from the negative associations.

- v) For the Indian National Congress positive associations are leadership, secularism, loan waiver to farmers in Punjab, leads to independence and old party whereas Corruption and Dynastic Politics are the the major negative associations. Indian National Congress should highlight the positive associations while communicating with target voter's and try to distance the party from the negative associations.
- vi) Majority of the respondents appreciates the tough decisions taken by Bhartiya Janta Party in the recent past like surgical strike, make in India, GST etc. So party should keep on taking tough decisions in the interest of Country and people and should keep on highlighting all such decisions while communicating with the target voter's Bhartiya Janta Party should try to distance the party on issues perceived negative by the respondents such as influence of RSS on working of the party, image of hindu party and Babri masjid demolition.
- vii) Respondents perceive Aam Adami party honest and against the corruption. So Aam Aadmi Party should keep on raising the voice against wrong and corrupt practices. The major negative associations related with the parties are Lack of Unity between center and state unit, young and inexperienced party. Party should try to resolve negative associations by working on creating unity between center and state unit and should try to induct some honest and experienced leaders in the party.
- viii) Respondents associate Bahujan Samaj Party with corruption and party related with SC only. So, Bahujan Samaj Party should try to work honestly and target mass people instead of targeting only SC for broadening the support base of party in Punjab.

9.3 CONCLUSION

Use of marketing techniques for political activities has become more frequent and common in developed western countries i.e USA, Canada and Europe during last 30 Years (Bains and O'Shaughnessy, 2014; Lees Marshment, 2001) and now other countries of the world are not an exception to this. The concept of political

marketing has received considerable attention both from political organizations and academicians during last three decades (Bains and O'Shaughnessy, 2014). Literature has also shown that by effective use of marketing techniques in politics a political party can create a unique position and image in the minds of the people, which is very difficult for rival parties to imitate (Jain et al., 2019). Despite all this increase in literature on political marketing, the overall concept is still at a very initial stage and there are many areas surrounding it which needs to be explored further.

From the view point of academicians still there is a lack of clarity and conflict on how political marketing is different from commercial marketing, what are various dimensions of political marketing, are commercial brands and political brands same, can personality of political brands be measured by using the instruments available for measuring the commercial brands, how brand equity of political parties can be measured. Most of the literature on political marketing is quite young and scattered. It is included in the subjects like political science, psychology and social science (Lees-Marshment, 2001).

This study has made an attempt to link the literature on political marketing in a meaningful way. The study has highlighted that Building and managing a favourable and strong image, party candidate positioning, applying a market oriented strategy and conducting an efficient market research are key factors for political marketing success. The study has also concluded that by using sectarian-political tools, symbols, media advertising tools and marketing techniques and tactics political parties/candidates can influence the citizens political participation in Punjab.

This study has made an attempt to develop a framework to understand the impact of different factors on successful political marketing which in turn leads more citizens political participation which is based on empirical research. The result highlighted that there is strong positive influence from Market orientation, conducting marketing research, Party candidate positioning and Building and Managing strong image on successful political marketing which leads to Citizens' political participation. In this framework, Gender, Age, religion and caste are observed as control variables. This has provided scholars necessary literature for future empirical research on political marketing success and political participation.

This study has made an attempt to access the brand personality of five major political parties of Punjab (Indian National Congress, Bharitiya Janta Party, Shiromani Akali Dal, Aam Aadmi Party and Bahujan Samaj Party) and highlighted that Aaker's brand personality scale for accessing the brand personality of commercial brands is not appropriate for accessing the brand personality of political parties as political parties are very different from commercial brands. The result highlighted that 14 out of 42 original variables of Asker's brand personality scale found out to be very confusing as far as politics is concerned. Also results indicates a brand personality structure in politics which is very much different from existing brand personality structure of commercial brands. The study also pointed out that partisan supporters have a more positive view of party personality than the less partisan supporters. This study has also pointed out that in case of spirited, uniqueness and image personality dimensions there is no significant difference among the chosen political parties but as far as leadership, honesty and toughness personality dimensions are concerned there is significant difference among the parties. The study suggested that political parties must use personality dimensions perceived positive by respondents while communicating with the target voters.

This study has also made an attempt to measure the Brand equity of five major political parties of Punjab (Indian National Congress, Bharitiya Janta Party, Shiromani Akali Dal, Aam Aadmi Party and Bahujan Samaj Party) by applying Brand Concept Maps methodology developed by John et al. (2006) and using the work of Krishnan (1996). The study has concluded that different political parties have different positive and negative associations and these associations are very unique. Results indicate that Indian National Congress brand has the greater equity than the other parties. The study suggested that the political parties should use positive associations while communicating with target audiences and try to distance their parties from the negative associations to be successful in political arena.

9.4 LIMITATIONS

As applicable to most other studies, the present study has its own limitations which are as follows:

- Although an effort was made to do a comprehensive and in-depth review of literature, but interpretation and understanding might have been restricted to the researcher's visualization.
- The sample was taken from the state of Punjab only as data collection required personal interviews of the respondents in majority of the cases, so the results can not be generalized to the whole of India as different regions/states have their specific issues. Also acceptability and image of political parties varies from one region/state to another state.
- Although researcher have proper literature support for all the techniques applied in this research, but majority of the statistical tools applied in this study depends on sample size. So results may fluctuate with a smaller or higher sample size, impacting the validity and reliability of results of this study.
- This study takes the response from voter's on political issues and political parties which is quite sensitive and there is possibility that respondents may be biased in responding to the specific questions.

9.5 SCOPE FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This study also found new perspectives for future research. Of the specific interest is how political party/candidate can create credible image in the minds of voters. Will voters believe the efforts to create or change an image as signaled by leader if the lower level workers and leaders appear largely unchanged? In addition, although factors effecting successful political marketing have been identified, the relative importance of these factors in terms of voting behaviour needs to be explored. For example market orientation has a great influence on party/candidate choice than image is? Do different segments of voters have different influencing factors? Furthermore, this research is focused exclusively on the views of voters, for the holistic understanding the views of political parties/candidates should also be considered. The current study highlights the Influence of marketing activities on political participation. Further studies in this area may answer the questions whether marketing activities influence differs among gender, education status, income, occupation and religion. Further the relative importance of these marketing activities to influence the political participation needs to be explored.

In this study although brand personality dimensions in politics have been determined, capability to comment on the relative importance of these dimensions on the voting behaviour is not there. For Example, is leadership having a great impact on party choice than uniqueness or honesty? The complete field of ideal Personalities is very critical area for future research. Does ideal personality differ between voter's segments? In this study researcher has concentrated on explaining brand mapping and brand equity measurement of five main political parties. Brand Concept Maps may be also used to compare and contrast important electoral groups. So for example, future research could target floating/nonaligned voters in marginal seats to see what associations of the competing political brands are in their collective memories, accessible for use when voting and thus likely to influence the outcome of a general election. Another interesting possibility with this method would be to adopt a longitudinal approach over the duration of an election campaign to see a) how, if at all, the campaign influences the mental maps of voters and b) if there are changes, whether these are effecting changes in voting intention (to vote or abstain; to switch allegiance). Longitudinal research could also compare and contrast election campaign effects across differing segments using the BCM approach. A more protracted longitudinal study that covered the period of a parliament or longer would allow for the analysis of how significant events (war, sleaze, economic mismanagement etc.) effect consumer memory of political brands and potentially shed light on tipping points in voting intentions. Finally, the BCM approach can also be used with differing focus. So for example it could be used with the leader as the main stimulus in the map's creation. Parties might also be interested to analyse the memory maps of voters on specific policies.

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QUESTIONNAIRE

I am Krishan Gopal, a PhD research Scholar at Mittal School of Business, Lovely Professional University. I am trying to study the **Influence of Political Marketing on Citizen’s Political Participation in Punjab**. I would appreciate if you can take out some time to help me with your response. Your response will be kept strictly confidential and to be used only by me for research purposes.

Q1. Please indicate your degree of agreement/disagreement with the following dimensions of successful political marketing keeping in mind the political party or the leader that you support.

| Dimension | 5 Strongly Agree | 4 Agree | 3 Neutral | 2 Disagree | 1 Strongly Disagree |
|--|------------------------|------------|--------------|---------------|---------------------------|
| Political marketing Success | | | | | |
| National / Regional Agenda outlined is significant. | | | | | |
| Offers credible promises. | | | | | |
| Offers convincing promises. | | | | | |
| Honors promises. | | | | | |
| Is concerned about image (relations, expressions, past, appearance). | | | | | |
| Undertakes effective campaign using print media. | | | | | |
| Undertakes effective campaign using broadcast media. | | | | | |
| Undertakes effective campaign using digital media. | | | | | |
| Undertakes effective campaign using outdoor media. | | | | | |
| Spends Judiciously to fund campaign, activities and programs. | | | | | |

| Dimension | 5 Strongly Agree | 4 Agree | 3 Neutral | 2 Disagree | 1 Strongly Disagree |
|---|---------------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------------|
| Has capability over keeping internal unity. | | | | | |
| Undertakes efforts to meet target voters. | | | | | |
| Actively updates the voters on achievements and activities. | | | | | |
| Undertakes regular grass root activities (membership drives, local meetings etc.) | | | | | |

Q2: Please indicate your degree of agreement/disagreement with the following factors which effect “successful political marketing”.

| Factor | 5 Strongly Agree | 4 Agree | 3 Neutral | 2 Disagree | 1 Strongly Disagree |
|--|---------------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------------|
| Market Orientation | | | | | |
| Political parties/ candidates make efforts in understanding voters’ needs before designing their policies. | | | | | |
| Political parties/ candidates policies and objectives address voters’ real issues. | | | | | |
| Political parties/ candidates plan and develop programs based on voters needs. | | | | | |
| Political parties/ candidates modify their programs to deal effectively with changes in voters needs. | | | | | |
| Political parties/ candidates modify their programs to deal effectively with changes in environment. | | | | | |
| Political parties/ candidates modify their programs to deal effectively with the opposition parties. | | | | | |
| Political Parties’ programs fulfill voter’s needs. | | | | | |

| Factor | 5 Strongly Agree | 4 Agree | 3 Neutral | 2 Disagree | 1 Strongly Disagree |
|---|---------------------|------------|--------------|---------------|------------------------|
| Market Segmentation and Targeting | | | | | |
| Political parties/ candidates categorize voters on geographical basis (Rural/Urban). | | | | | |
| Political parties/ candidates categorize voters on demographical basis (Male/ Female/ Income/ Occupation/ Age/ religion/ social class etc.) | | | | | |
| Political parties/ candidates categorize voters on psychological basis (Life Style/ Values/ Personality Traits etc.) | | | | | |
| Political parties/ candidates categorize voters on behavioral basis (Decision Roles/ Occasions/ Benefits sought/ Loyalty Status/ Attitude etc.) | | | | | |
| Political parties/ candidates categorize the voters based on different interest groups. | | | | | |
| Political parties/ candidates target voters on Clans bases. | | | | | |
| I am a target of one or more of these parties | | | | | |
| Party /Candidate Positioning | | | | | |
| The political party/ candidate that I vote for has substantial position comparing to competitors. | | | | | |
| The political party / candidate that I vote for knows exactly how to position himself/herself in the mind of voters. | | | | | |
| The political party / candidate that I vote for utilizes all available opportunities to position himself/herself in the mind of voters. | | | | | |

| Factor | 5 Strongly Agree | 4 Agree | 3 Neutral | 2 Disagree | 1 Strongly Disagree |
|---|---------------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------------|
| Image | | | | | |
| The party/candidate that I vote for, has strong Image | | | | | |
| Political Party/candidate that I vote for makes efforts to improve continuously their image. | | | | | |
| The political party/ candidate that I vote for, has reputation to represent me. | | | | | |
| When voting, I take into account political party/candidates' image. | | | | | |
| Market research | | | | | |
| I have participated in different surveys/ group meetings) conducted by political parties /candidates. | | | | | |
| Political Parties/candidates conduct the surveys. | | | | | |
| Political Parties/candidates often seek information from me about competitors. | | | | | |
| Political Parties/candidates collect data at grass root level. | | | | | |

Q3. Please indicates the degree of your political participation against each of the following statements.

| Statement | 5 Always | 4 Often | 3 Sometimes | 2 Rarely | 1 Never |
|--|---------------------|--------------------|------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| I read about politics in Print Media (Newspapers/Magazines etc.) | | | | | |
| I use TV/Radio to know about politics. | | | | | |
| I use social media to know about politics | | | | | |
| I search on internet about politics. | | | | | |

| Statement | 5 Always | 4 Often | 3 Sometimes | 2 Rarely | 1 Never |
|--|---------------------|--------------------|------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| I discuss about politics with my friends, relatives and colleagues. | | | | | |
| I take part in strikes to influence government. | | | | | |
| I voluntarily work for a political party or candidates during elections | | | | | |
| I wear a campaign sign (symbol of political party). | | | | | |
| I work for a political party or candidate regular basis. | | | | | |
| I voluntarily take part in boycotts to influence government. | | | | | |
| I contact with the representative of local authorities or parties on certain issues. | | | | | |
| I am a member of political party. | | | | | |
| I take part in demonstration to influence government. | | | | | |
| I refuse to pay government rent and taxes to influence government decisions. | | | | | |
| I take part in blockades to influence government. | | | | | |
| I support activists of political movements or parties. | | | | | |
| I try to influence my friends, relatives and colleagues on formation of political opinion. | | | | | |
| I try to persuade my friends to attend the political rallies/ seminars. | | | | | |
| I file petitions against the government. | | | | | |
| I attend political rallies. | | | | | |
| I support financially a political party / candidate during election campaigning. | | | | | |

| Statement | 5 Always | 4 Often | 3 Sometimes | 2 Rarely | 1 Never |
|---|---------------------|--------------------|------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| I attend political meetings. | | | | | |
| I always vote in elections. | | | | | |
| I participate actively to solve the community problems. | | | | | |
| I try to convince my friends, relatives and colleagues to vote. | | | | | |

Q4. Please indicate the degree of influence the following activities undertaken by political parties have on your political participation.

| Activity | 5. Extremely influential | 4. Very influential | 3. Somewhat influential | 2. Slightly influential | 1. Not at all influential |
|--|---|------------------------------------|--|--|--|
| Utilizing Sectarian Political Tools | | | | | |
| Caste based politics. | | | | | |
| Religion based politics. | | | | | |
| Language based politics. | | | | | |
| Attire based politics. | | | | | |
| Region based politics. | | | | | |
| Using Planning Tools | | | | | |
| Understanding of my needs and wants before designing the policies. | | | | | |
| Planning and development of programs based on my needs and wants. | | | | | |

| Activity | 5. Extremely influential | 4. Very influential | 3. Somewhat influential | 2. Slightly influential | 1. Not at all influential |
|--|---|------------------------------------|--|--|--|
| Modification in program and policies to deal effectively with changes in my needs and wants. | | | | | |
| Modification in program and policies to deal effectively with opposition parties. | | | | | |
| Coalitions with other political parties. | | | | | |
| Selection of the convenient place to meet its targeted voters. | | | | | |
| Involvement of professionals in designing policies. | | | | | |
| Using Symbols | | | | | |
| Prominent use of Party symbols by political parties. | | | | | |
| Depiction of specific persons while communicating with voters. | | | | | |
| Use of grand projects as symbols to show themselves as preservers of culture/history. | | | | | |
| Hosting events to communicate with voters. | | | | | |

| Activity | 5. Extremely influential | 4. Very influential | 3. Somewhat influential | 2. Slightly influential | 1. Not at all influential |
|---|---|------------------------------------|--|--|--|
| Highlighting achievements while communicating with voters. | | | | | |
| Celebrations of historical events. | | | | | |
| Using Media Advertising Tools | | | | | |
| Social Networking Sites. | | | | | |
| Online news/websites. | | | | | |
| Television. | | | | | |
| Radio. | | | | | |
| Newspaper. | | | | | |
| Leaflets. | | | | | |
| Posters. | | | | | |
| Hoardings. | | | | | |
| Cell Phone. | | | | | |
| Direct Mail Stealth Campaigns. | | | | | |
| Marketing Techniques/ Tactics | | | | | |
| Celebrity endorsement. | | | | | |
| Oppo (use of personal information of the opponent to embarrass him publically). | | | | | |
| Rallies | | | | | |
| Personal Contact | | | | | |
| Road Shows | | | | | |

| Activity | 5. Extremely influential | 4. Very influential | 3. Somewhat influential | 2. Slightly influential | 1. Not at all influential |
|--|---|------------------------------------|--|--|--|
| Pre recorded messages (Robo-Calls). | | | | | |
| Comparative Advertising. | | | | | |
| Promotional material (caps, stickers etc). | | | | | |
| Money/gifts. | | | | | |
| Liquor/Drugs. | | | | | |

Q5. Describe your level of loyalty towards a political party out of the parties mentioned below. Kindly pick one choice only.

(Partisan= Party Supporter, Sympathizer: Closer to it than other parties, Residual identifier/Nonaligned: No party preference.

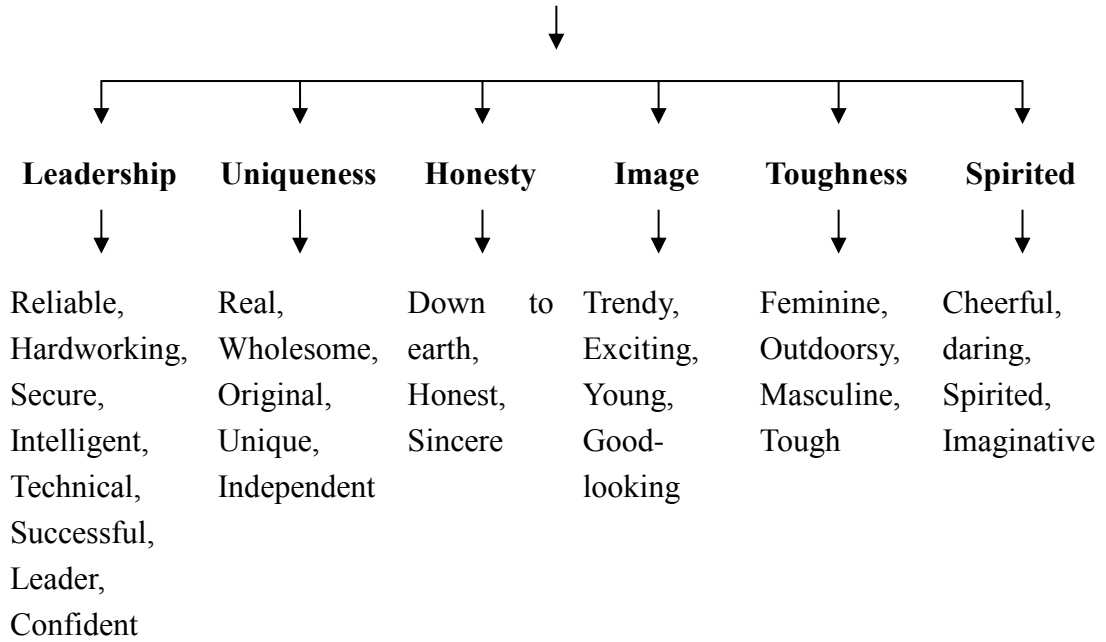
| Loyalty Status → | Partisan | Sympathizer | Residual Identifier/Non Aligned |
|--------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|--|
| Party ↓ | | | |
| Indian National Congress | | | |
| Bharatiya Janta Party | | | |
| Shiromani Akali Dal | | | |
| Aam Adami Party | | | |
| Bahujan Samaj Wadi Party | | | |

Q6. Think of political parties as human being/person. On the basis of your perception/thinking indicate your degree of agreement/disagreement with the following personality factors.

(In case of Partisan and Sympathizer give your response regarding the Chosen party only. In case of Residual Identifier/ Non Aligned give your response regarding the party who do you think is performing better as compared to other parties.

| | | | | |
|----------------|-------|----------------------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Neither agree nor disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

PERSONALITY FACTORS



Indian National Congress

| | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|

Bharitiya Janta Party

| | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|

Shiromani Akali Dal

| | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|

Aam Aadmi Party

| | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|

Bahujan Samaj Party

| | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|

Demographics

- Your Gender** Male Female
- Your Age** 18-35 36-60 Above 60
- Your Caste** General Schedule Caste Other Backward Classes
- Your Religion** Sikh Hindu -----Other
- Your Occupation** Student Businessman Farmer Govt. Employee
 Private Employee Retired Unemployed
- Your Qualification** Illiterate Below 10th/ Matriculation 10th/ Matriculation 10+2
 Under Graduate Post Graduate PhD/ Doctorate Others
- Monthly Income** 10000 or less 10001-20000 20001-40000 40000-60000
 60000 or more
- Area** Rural Urban

District of Punjab you belongs to: _____

Thank you

ਪ੍ਰਸ਼ਨਾਵਲੀ

ਮੈਂ ਕ੍ਰਿਸ਼ਣ ਗੋਪਾਲ, ਲਵਲੀ ਪ੍ਰੋਫੈਸ਼ਨਲ ਯੂਨੀਵਰਸਿਟੀ ਦੇ ਮਿੱਤਲ ਸਕੂਲ ਆਫ ਬਿਜ਼ਨਸ ਵਿਖੇ ਪੀਐਚਡੀ ਖੋਜੀ ਵਿਦਵਾਨ ਹਾਂ ! ਮੈਂ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਵਿੱਚ ਨਾਗਰਿਕ ਦੀ ਸਿਆਸੀ ਸਾਂਝੇਦਾਰੀ ਉੱਤੇ ਸਿਆਸੀ ਮਾਰਕੀਟਿੰਗ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵ ਦਾ ਅਧਿਐਨ ਕਰਨ ਦੀ ਕੋਸ਼ਿਸ਼ ਕਰ ਰਿਹਾ ਹਾਂ!

ਜੇ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਆਪਣੇ ਜਵਾਬ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਮੇਰੀ ਮਦਦ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ ਕੁਝ ਸਮਾਂ ਕੱਢ ਸਕਦੇ ਹੋ ਤਾਂ ਇਸ ਲਈ ਮੈਂ ਸ਼ੁਕਰਗੁਜ਼ਾਰ ਹੋਵਾਂਗਾ। ਤੁਹਾਡਾ ਜਵਾਬ ਸਖਤੀ ਨਾਲ ਗੁਪਤ ਰੱਖਿਆ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ ਅਤੇ ਖੋਜ ਦੇ ਉਦੇਸ਼ਾਂ ਲਈ ਸਿਰਫ ਮੇਰੇ ਦੁਆਰਾ ਵਰਤਿਆ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ।

ਪ੍ਰਸ਼ਨ 1: ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾ ਕਰਕੇ ਸਿਆਸੀ ਪਾਰਟੀ ਜਾਂ ਉਸ ਲੀਡਰ ਜਿਸ ਨੂੰ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਸਮਰਥਨ ਕਰਦੇ ਹੋ, ਨੂੰ ਧਿਆਨ ਵਿੱਚ ਰੱਖ ਕੇ, ਸਫਲ ਸਿਆਸੀ ਮਾਰਕੀਟਿੰਗ ਦੇ ਹੇਠ ਦਿੱਤੇ ਮਾਪਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਸਹਿਮਤੀ / ਅਸਹਿਮਤੀ ਦੀ ਤੁਹਾਡੀ ਡਿਗਰੀ ਦੱਸੋ।

| ਮਾਪ | 5 ਪੂਰੀ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਸਹਿਮਤ | 4 ਸਹਿਮਤ | 3 ਨਿਰਪੱਖ | 2 ਅਸਹਿਮਤ | 1 ਪੂਰੀ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਅਸਹਿਮਤ |
|--|---------------------------|------------|-------------|-------------|----------------------------|
| ਰਾਜਨੀਤਕ ਮਾਰਕੀਟਿੰਗ ਸਫਲਤਾ | | | | | |
| ਮਹੱਤਵਪੂਰਣ ਰਾਸ਼ਟਰੀ / ਖੇਤਰੀ ਕਾਰਜ-ਸੂਚੀ ਪੇਸ਼ ਕਰਦਾ ਹੈ। | | | | | |
| ਭਰੋਸੇਮੰਦ ਵਾਅਦੇ ਪੇਸ਼ ਕਰਦਾ ਹੈ। | | | | | |
| ਵਿਸ਼ਵਾਸਪੂਰਨ ਵਾਅਦੇ ਪੇਸ਼ ਕਰਦਾ ਹੈ। | | | | | |
| ਵਾਅਦੇ ਪੂਰੇ ਕਰਦਾ ਹੈ। | | | | | |
| ਪ੍ਰਤਿਸ਼ਠਾ ਬਾਰੇ ਚਿੰਤਾ ਕਰਦਾ ਹੈ (ਸਬੰਧ, ਸਮੀਕਰਨ, ਅਤੀਤ, ਦਿੱਖ)। | | | | | |
| ਪ੍ਰਿੰਟ ਮੀਡੀਆ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ ਕਰਦੇ ਹੋਏ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਸ਼ਾਲੀ ਮੁਹਿੰਮ ਨੂੰ ਪੇਸ਼ ਕਰਦਾ ਹੈ। | | | | | |
| ਬ੍ਰੈਡਕਾਸਟ ਮੀਡੀਆ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ ਕਰਦੇ ਹੋਏ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਸ਼ਾਲੀ ਮੁਹਿੰਮ ਨੂੰ ਪੇਸ਼ ਕਰਦਾ ਹੈ। | | | | | |

| ਮਾਪ | 5 ਪੂਰੀ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਸਹਿਮਤ | 4 ਸਹਿਮਤ | 3 ਨਿਰਪੱਖ | 2 ਅਸਹਿਮਤ | 1 ਪੂਰੀ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਅਸਹਿਮਤ |
|--|---------------------------|------------|-------------|-------------|----------------------------|
| ਡਿਜੀਟਲ ਮੀਡੀਆ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ ਕਰਦੇ ਹੋਏ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਸ਼ਾਲੀ ਮੁਹਿੰਮ ਨੂੰ ਪੇਸ਼ ਕਰਦਾ ਹੈ। | | | | | |
| ਆਊਟਡੋਰ ਮੀਡੀਆ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ ਕਰਦੇ ਹੋਏ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਸ਼ਾਲੀ ਮੁਹਿੰਮ ਨੂੰ ਪੇਸ਼ ਕਰਦਾ ਹੈ। | | | | | |
| ਮੁਹਿੰਮ, ਗਤੀਵਿਧੀਆਂ ਅਤੇ ਪ੍ਰੋਗਰਾਮਾਂ ਲਈ ਫੰਡ ਸਿਆਣਪ ਨਾਲ ਖਰਚ ਕਰਦਾ ਹੈ। | | | | | |
| ਅੰਦਰੂਨੀ ਏਕਤਾ ਰੱਖਣ ਦੀ ਸਮਰੱਥਾ ਹੈ। | | | | | |
| ਟਾਰਗੇਟ ਵੇਟਰਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਮਿਲਣ ਲਈ ਯਤਨ ਕਰਦਾ ਹੈ। | | | | | |
| ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤੀਆਂ ਅਤੇ ਗਤੀਵਿਧੀਆਂ ਉੱਤੇ ਵੇਟਰਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਲਗਾਤਾਰ ਅਪਡੇਟ ਕਰਦਾ ਹੈ। | | | | | |
| ਨਿਯਮਤ ਜ਼ਮੀਨੀ ਗਤੀਵਿਧੀਆਂ ਕਰਦਾ ਹੈ (ਮੈਂਬਰਸ਼ਿਪ ਡਰਾਈਵ, ਸਥਾਨਕ ਮੀਟਿੰਗਾਂ ਆਦਿ) । | | | | | |

ਪ੍ਰਸ਼ਨ2: ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾ ਕਰਕੇ "ਸਫਲ ਰਾਜਨੀਤਕ ਮਾਰਕੀਟਿੰਗ" ਨੂੰ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਿਤ ਕਰਨ ਵਾਲੇ ਹੇਠ ਦਿੱਤੇ ਕਾਰਕਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਆਪਣੇ ਸਮਝੌਤੇ / ਅਸਹਿਮਤੀ ਦੀ ਡਿਗਰੀ ਦਿਖਾਓ

| ਕਾਰਕ | 5 ਪੂਰੀ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਸਹਿਮਤ | 4 ਸਹਿਮਤ | 3 ਨਿਰਪੱਖ | 2 ਅਸਹਿਮਤ | 1 ਪੂਰੀ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਅਸਹਿਮਤ |
|--|---------------------------|------------|-------------|-------------|----------------------------|
| ਮਾਰਕੀਟ ਸਥਿਤੀ | | | | | |
| ਸਿਆਸੀ ਪਾਰਟੀਆਂ / ਉਮੀਦਵਾਰ ਆਪਣੀ ਨੀਤੀ ਬਣਾਉਣ ਤੋਂ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਵੇਟਰਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਸਮਝਣ ਲਈ ਯਤਨ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਨ। | | | | | |

| ਕਾਰਕ | 5 ਪੂਰੀ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਸਹਿਮਤ | 4 ਸਹਿਮਤ | 3 ਨਿਰਪੱਖ | 2 ਅਸਹਿਮਤ | 1 ਪੂਰੀ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਅਸਹਿਮਤ |
|--|---------------------------|------------|-------------|-------------|----------------------------|
| ਸਿਆਸੀ ਪਾਰਟੀਆਂ/ਉਮੀਦਵਾਰਾਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਨੀਤੀਆਂ ਅਤੇ ਉਦੇਸ਼ ਵੇਟਰਾਂ ਦੇ ਅਸਲ ਮੁੱਦਿਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਹੱਲ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਨ। | | | | | |
| ਸਿਆਸੀ ਪਾਰਟੀਆਂ/ਉਮੀਦਵਾਰ ਵੇਟਰਾਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਜ਼ਰੂਰਤਾਂ ਦੇ ਆਧਾਰ ਤੇ ਪ੍ਰੋਗਰਾਮ ਵਿਕਸਿਤ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਨ। | | | | | |
| ਸਿਆਸੀ ਪਾਰਟੀਆਂ / ਉਮੀਦਵਾਰ ਵੇਟਰਾਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਜ਼ਰੂਰਤਾਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਤਬਦੀਲੀ ਨਾਲ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਸ਼ਾਲੀ ਢੰਗ ਨਾਲ ਨਜਿੱਠਣ ਲਈ ਆਪਣੇ ਪ੍ਰੋਗਰਾਮਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਸੋਧਦੇ ਹਨ। | | | | | |
| ਸਿਆਸੀ ਪਾਰਟੀਆਂ / ਉਮੀਦਵਾਰ ਵਾਤਾਵਰਣ ਵਿੱਚ ਤਬਦੀਲੀ ਨਾਲ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਸ਼ਾਲੀ ਢੰਗ ਨਾਲ ਨਜਿੱਠਣ ਲਈ ਆਪਣੇ ਪ੍ਰੋਗਰਾਮਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਸੋਧਦੇ ਹਨ। | | | | | |
| ਸਿਆਸੀ ਪਾਰਟੀਆਂ/ਉਮੀਦਵਾਰ ਵਿਰੋਧੀ ਧਿਰਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਸ਼ਾਲੀ ਢੰਗ ਨਾਲ ਨਜਿੱਠਣ ਲਈ ਆਪਣੇ ਪ੍ਰੋਗਰਾਮਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਸੋਧਦੇ ਹਨ। | | | | | |
| ਸਿਆਸੀ ਪਾਰਟੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰੋਗਰਾਮ ਵੇਟਰਾਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਜ਼ਰੂਰਤਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਪੂਰਾ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਨ। | | | | | |
| ਮਾਰਕੀਟ ਵਿਭਾਜਨ ਅਤੇ ਟਾਰਗੇਟ | | | | | |
| ਸਿਆਸੀ ਪਾਰਟੀਆਂ/ਉਮੀਦਵਾਰ ਵੇਟਰਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਭੂਗੋਲਿਕ ਆਧਾਰ (ਪਿੰਡ / ਸ਼ਹਿਰੀ) ਦੇ ਆਧਾਰ ਤੇ ਵੰਡਦੇ ਹਨ। | | | | | |
| ਸਿਆਸੀ ਪਾਰਟੀਆਂ / ਉਮੀਦਵਾਰ ਵੇਟਰਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਜਨਅੰਕੜੇ ਦੇ ਆਧਾਰ ਤੇ ਵੰਡਦੇ ਹਨ (ਮਰਦ / ਔਰਤ / ਆਮਦਨ / ਕਿੱਤਾ / ਉਮਰ / ਧਰਮ / ਸਮਾਜਿਕ ਸ਼੍ਰੇਣੀ ਆਦਿ) । | | | | | |
| ਸਿਆਸੀ ਪਾਰਟੀਆਂ / ਉਮੀਦਵਾਰ ਵੇਟਰਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਮਨੋਵਿਗਿਆਨਕ ਆਧਾਰ 'ਤੇ ਵੰਡਦੇ ਹਨ (ਲਾਈਫ ਸਟਾਈਲ / ਵੈਲਯੁ / ਵਿਅਕਤੀਗਤ ਗੁਣਾਂ ਆਦਿ) । | | | | | |

| ਕਾਰਕ | 5 ਪੂਰੀ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਸਹਿਮਤ | 4 ਸਹਿਮਤ | 3 ਨਿਰਪੱਖ | 2 ਅਸਹਿਮਤ | 1 ਪੂਰੀ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਅਸਹਿਮਤ |
|--|---------------------------|------------|-------------|-------------|----------------------------|
| ਸਿਆਸੀ ਪਾਰਟੀਆਂ / ਉਮੀਦਵਾਰ ਵੋਟਰਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਵਤੀਰੇ ਆਧਾਰ ਤੇ ਵੰਡਦੇ ਹਨ (ਫੈਸਲਾਕਰਨ ਦੇ ਰੋਲ / ਮੌਕਿਆਂ / ਲਾਭ ਦੀ ਮੰਗ / ਪ੍ਰਤੀਬੱਧਤਾ ਸਥਿਤੀ / ਰਵੱਈਆ ਆਦਿ) | | | | | |
| ਸਿਆਸੀ ਪਾਰਟੀਆਂ/ਉਮੀਦਵਾਰ ਵੱਖ-ਵੱਖ ਦਿਲਚਸਪੀ ਗਰੁੱਪਾਂ ਦੇ ਆਧਾਰ ਤੇ ਵੋਟਰਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਵੰਡਦੇ ਹਨ। | | | | | |
| ਸਿਆਸੀ ਪਾਰਟੀਆਂ/ਉਮੀਦਵਾਰ ਵੋਟਰਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਭਾਈਚਾਰੇ ਦੇ ਆਧਾਰ ਤੇ ਟਾਰਗੇਟ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਨ। | | | | | |
| ਮੈਂ ਇਹਨਾਂ ਵਿੱਚੋਂ ਇਕ ਜਾਂ ਜ਼ਿਆਦਾ ਪਾਰਟੀਆਂ / ਉਮੀਦਵਾਰਾਂ ਦਾ ਟਾਰਗੇਟ ਹਾਂ। | | | | | |
| ਪਾਰਟੀ / ਉਮੀਦਵਾਰ ਸਥਿਤੀ | | | | | |
| ਰਾਜਨੀਤਿਕ ਪਾਰਟੀ / ਉਮੀਦਵਾਰ ਜਿਸ ਦੇ ਲਈ ਮੈਂ ਵੋਟ ਕਰਦਾ ਹਾਂ ਉਸ ਦੀ ਸਥਿਤੀ ਪ੍ਰਤੀਯੋਗੀਆਂ ਦੀ ਤੁਲਨਾ ਵਿਚ ਬਿਹਤਰ ਹੈ। | | | | | |
| ਰਾਜਨੀਤਿਕ ਪਾਰਟੀ / ਉਮੀਦਵਾਰ ਜਿਸ ਦੇ ਲਈ ਮੈਂ ਵੋਟ ਕਰਦਾ ਹਾਂ ਇਹ ਜਾਣਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਕਿਵੇਂ ਵੋਟਰਾਂ ਦੇ ਮਨ ਵਿਚ ਆਪਣੀ ਸਥਿਤੀ ਬਿਹਤਰ ਬਣਾਉਣੀ ਹੈ। | | | | | |
| ਰਾਜਨੀਤਿਕ ਪਾਰਟੀ / ਉਮੀਦਵਾਰ ਜਿਸ ਦੇ ਲਈ ਮੈਂ ਵੋਟ ਕਰਦਾ ਹਾਂ ਉਹ ਵੋਟਰਾਂ ਦੇ ਮਨ ਵਿਚ ਆਪਣੀ ਸਥਿਤੀ ਬਿਹਤਰ ਬਣਾਉਣ ਲਈ ਸਾਰੇ ਉਪਲੱਬਧ ਮੌਕਿਆਂ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ ਕਰਦਾ ਹੈ। | | | | | |
| ਆਮ ਧਾਰਨਾ | | | | | |
| ਰਾਜਨੀਤਿਕ ਪਾਰਟੀ / ਉਮੀਦਵਾਰ ਜਿਸ ਦੇ ਲਈ ਮੈਂ ਵੋਟ ਕਰਦਾ ਹਾਂ ਉਸ ਦੀ ਆਮ ਧਾਰਨਾ ਮਜ਼ਬੂਤ ਹੈ। | | | | | |

| ਕਾਰਕ | 5 ਪੂਰੀ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਸਹਿਮਤ | 4 ਸਹਿਮਤ | 3 ਨਿਰਪੱਖ | 2 ਅਸਹਿਮਤ | 1 ਪੂਰੀ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਅਸਹਿਮਤ |
|---|---------------------------|------------|-------------|-------------|----------------------------|
| ਰਾਜਨੀਤਕ ਪਾਰਟੀ / ਉਮੀਦਵਾਰ ਜਿਸ ਦੇ ਲਈ ਮੈਂ ਵੋਟ ਕਰਦਾ ਹਾਂ ਉਹ ਲਗਾਤਾਰ ਆਪਣੀ ਆਮ ਧਾਰਨਾ ਨੂੰ ਸੁਧਾਰਨ ਦੇ ਯਤਨ ਕਰਦਾ ਹੈ। | | | | | |
| ਰਾਜਨੀਤਕ ਪਾਰਟੀ / ਉਮੀਦਵਾਰ ਜਿਸ ਦੇ ਲਈ ਮੈਂ ਵੋਟ ਕਰਦਾ ਹਾਂ ਉਸ ਕੋਲ ਮੇਰੀ ਪ੍ਰਤਿਨਿਧਤਾ ਕਰਨ ਦੀ ਪ੍ਰਤਿਸ਼ਠਾ ਹੈ। | | | | | |
| ਜਦੋਂ ਮੈਂ ਵੋਟਿੰਗ ਕਰਦਾ ਹਾਂ ਤਾਂ ਮੈਂ ਰਾਜਨੀਤਕ ਪਾਰਟੀ / ਉਮੀਦਵਾਰ ਦੀ ਆਮ ਧਾਰਨਾ ਨੂੰ ਧਿਆਨ ਵਿੱਚ ਰੱਖਦਾ ਹਾਂ। | | | | | |
| ਮਾਰਕੀਟ ਦੀ ਖੋਜ/ ਪੜਤਾਲ | | | | | |
| ਮੈਂ ਸਿਆਸੀ ਪਾਰਟੀਆਂ / ਉਮੀਦਵਾਰਾਂ ਦੁਆਰਾ ਆਯੋਜਿਤ ਸਰਵੇਖਣਾਂ / ਸਮੂਹ ਦੀਆਂ ਮੀਟਿੰਗਾਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਹਿੱਸਾ ਲਿਆ ਹੈ। | | | | | |
| ਸਿਆਸੀ ਪਾਰਟੀਆਂ / ਉਮੀਦਵਾਰ ਸਰਵੇਖਣ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਨ। | | | | | |
| ਸਿਆਸੀ ਪਾਰਟੀਆਂ / ਉਮੀਦਵਾਰ ਅਕਸਰ ਬਾਰੇ ਮੇਰੇ ਕੋਲੋਂ ਵਿਰੋਧੀ ਧਿਰਾਂ ਜਾਣਕਾਰੀ ਲੈਣ ਦੀ ਕੋਸ਼ਿਸ਼ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਨ। | | | | | |
| ਸਿਆਸੀ ਪਾਰਟੀਆਂ / ਉਮੀਦਵਾਰ ਜ਼ਮੀਨੀ ਪੱਧਰ 'ਤੇ ਡਾਟਾ ਇਕੱਠਾ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਨ। | | | | | |

ਪ੍ਰਸ਼ਨ3. ਕਿਰਪਾ ਕਰਕੇ ਹੇਠਾਂ ਦੱਸੇ ਹਰ ਕਥਨ ਦੇ ਵਿਰੁੱਧ ਤੁਹਾਡੀ ਰਾਜਨੀਤਕ ਹਿੱਸੇਦਾਰੀ ਦੀ ਡਿਗਰੀ ਦਰਸਾਉ।

| ਕਥਨ | 5 ਹਮੇਸ਼ਾ | 4 ਅਕਸਰ | 3 ਕਦੇ ਕਦੇ | 2 ਬਹੁਤ ਹੀ ਘੱਟ | 1 ਕਦੇ ਨਹੀਂ |
|---|-------------|-----------|-----------------|---------------------|------------------|
| ਮੈਂ ਪ੍ਰਿੰਟ ਮੀਡੀਆ ਵਿੱਚ ਰਾਜਨੀਤੀ ਬਾਰੇ ਪੜਦਾ ਹਾਂ (ਅਖਬਾਰ / ਮੈਗਜ਼ੀਨ ਆਦਿ) । | | | | | |

| ਕਥਨ | 5 ਹਮੇਸ਼ਾ | 4 ਅਕਸਰ | 3 ਕਦੇ ਕਦੇ | 2 ਬਹੁਤ ਹੀ ਘੱਟ | 1 ਕਦੇ ਨਹੀਂ |
|---|-------------|-----------|-----------------|---------------------|------------------|
| ਰਾਜਨੀਤੀ ਬਾਰੇ ਪਤਾ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ ਮੈਂ ਟੀ.ਵੀ. / ਰੇਡੀਓ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ ਕਰਦਾ ਹਾਂ। | | | | | |
| ਰਾਜਨੀਤੀ ਬਾਰੇ ਪਤਾ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ ਮੈਂ ਸੋਸ਼ਲ ਮੀਡੀਆ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ ਕਰਦਾ ਹਾਂ। | | | | | |
| ਮੈਂ ਰਾਜਨੀਤੀ ਬਾਰੇ ਇੰਟਰਨੈੱਟ ਤੇ ਖੋਜ ਕਰਦਾ ਹਾਂ। | | | | | |
| ਮੈਂ ਆਪਣੇ ਦੋਸਤਾਂ, ਰਿਸ਼ਤੇਦਾਰਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਸਹਿਕਰਮੀਆਂ ਨਾਲ ਰਾਜਨੀਤੀ ਬਾਰੇ ਚਰਚਾ ਕਰਦਾ ਹਾਂ। | | | | | |
| ਮੈਂ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਨੂੰ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਿਤ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ ਹੜਤਾਲਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਹਿੱਸਾ ਲੈਂਦਾ ਹਾਂ। | | | | | |
| ਚੋਣਾਂ ਦੌਰਾਨ ਮੈਂ ਆਪਣੀ ਮਰਜ਼ੀ ਨਾਲ ਕਿਸੇ ਸਿਆਸੀ ਪਾਰਟੀ ਜਾਂ ਉਮੀਦਵਾਰਾਂ ਲਈ ਕੰਮ ਕਰਦਾ ਹਾਂ। | | | | | |
| ਮੈਂ ਮੁਹਿੰਮ ਚਿੰਨ੍ਹ / ਸਿਆਸੀ ਪਾਰਟੀ ਦਾ ਚਿੰਨ੍ਹ ਪਹਿਨਦਾ ਹਾਂ। | | | | | |
| ਮੈਂ ਕਿਸੇ ਸਿਆਸੀ ਪਾਰਟੀ ਜਾਂ ਉਮੀਦਵਾਰ ਲਈ ਨਿਯਮਤ ਤੌਰ ਤੇ ਕੰਮ ਕਰਦਾ ਹਾਂ। | | | | | |
| ਸਰਕਾਰ ਨੂੰ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਿਤ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ ਮੈਂ ਸਵੈ-ਇੱਛਾ ਨਾਲ ਬਾਈਕਾਟ ਵਿਚ ਹਿੱਸਾ ਲੈਂਦਾ ਹਾਂ। | | | | | |
| ਮੈਂ ਕੁਝ ਮੁੱਦਿਆਂ 'ਤੇ ਸਥਾਨਕ ਅਥੋਰਿਟੀਆਂ ਜਾਂ ਪਾਰਟੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਨੁਮਾਇੰਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਸੰਪਰਕ ਕਰਦਾ ਹਾਂ। | | | | | |
| ਮੈਂ ਸਿਆਸੀ ਪਾਰਟੀ ਦਾ ਮੈਂਬਰ ਹਾਂ। | | | | | |
| ਮੈਂ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਨੂੰ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਿਤ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ ਪ੍ਰਦਰਸ਼ਨ ਵਿੱਚ ਹਿੱਸਾ ਲੈਂਦਾ ਹਾਂ। | | | | | |
| ਮੈਂ ਸਰਕਾਰੀ ਫੈਸਲਿਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਿਤ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ ਸਰਕਾਰੀ ਕਿਰਾਇਆ ਅਤੇ ਟੈਕਸ ਦੇਣ ਤੋਂ ਇਨਕਾਰ ਕਰਦਾ ਹਾਂ। | | | | | |
| ਮੈਂ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਨੂੰ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਿਤ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ ਨਾਕਾਬੰਦੀ ਵਿਚ ਹਿੱਸਾ ਲੈਂਦਾ ਹਾਂ। | | | | | |
| ਮੈਂ ਸਿਆਸੀ ਅੰਦੋਲਨਾਂ ਦੇ ਕਾਰਕੁਨਾਂ ਦੀ ਸਹਾਇਤਾ ਕਰਦਾ ਹਾਂ। | | | | | |

| ਕਥਨ | 5 ਹਮੇਸ਼ਾ | 4 ਅਕਸਰ | 3 ਕਦੇ ਕਦੇ | 2 ਬਹੁਤ ਹੀ ਘੱਟ | 1 ਕਦੇ ਨਹੀਂ |
|--|-------------|-----------|-----------------|---------------------|------------------|
| ਮੈਂ ਆਪਣੇ ਦੋਸਤਾਂ, ਰਿਸ਼ਤੇਦਾਰਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਸਹਿਕਰਮੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਸਿਆਸੀ ਮੱਤ ਦੇ ਗਠਨ ਤੇ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਿਤ ਕਰਨ ਦੀ ਕੋਸ਼ਿਸ਼ ਕਰਦਾ ਹਾਂ। | | | | | |
| ਮੈਂ ਆਪਣੇ ਮਿੱਤਰਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਸਿਆਸੀ ਰੈਲੀਆਂ / ਸੈਮੀਨਾਰਾਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਹਿੱਸਾ ਲੈਣ ਲਈ ਮਨਾਉਣ ਦੀ ਕੋਸ਼ਿਸ਼ ਕਰਦਾ ਹਾਂ। | | | | | |
| ਮੈਂ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਵਿਰੁੱਧ ਪਟੀਸ਼ਨਾਂ ਦਾਇਰ ਕਰਦਾ ਹਾਂ। | | | | | |
| ਮੈਂ ਸਿਆਸੀ ਰੈਲੀਆਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਹਿੱਸਾ ਲੈਂਦਾ ਹਾਂ। | | | | | |
| ਚੋਣ ਪ੍ਰਚਾਰ ਦੌਰਾਨ ਮੈਂ ਕਿਸੇ ਸਿਆਸੀ ਪਾਰਟੀ / ਉਮੀਦਵਾਰ ਦੀ ਵਿੱਤੀ ਤੌਰ ਤੇ ਮਦਦ ਕਰਦਾ ਹਾਂ। | | | | | |
| ਮੈਂ ਸਿਆਸੀ ਮੀਟਿੰਗਾਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹਾਂ। | | | | | |
| ਮੈਂ ਹਮੇਸ਼ਾ ਚੋਣਾਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਵੋਟ ਦਿੰਦਾ ਹਾਂ। | | | | | |
| ਮੈਂ ਭਾਈਚਾਰੇ ਦੀਆਂ ਸਮੱਸਿਆਵਾਂ ਹੱਲ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ ਸਰਗਰਮੀ ਨਾਲ ਭਾਗ ਲੈਂਦਾ ਹਾਂ। | | | | | |
| ਮੈਂ ਆਪਣੇ ਦੋਸਤਾਂ, ਰਿਸ਼ਤੇਦਾਰਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਸਹਿਕਰਮੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਵੋਟ ਪਾਉਣ ਲਈ ਮਨਾਉਣ ਦੀ ਕੋਸ਼ਿਸ਼ ਕਰਦਾ ਹਾਂ। | | | | | |

ਪ੍ਰਸ਼ਨ 4. ਕਿਰਪਾ ਕਰਕੇ ਰਾਜਨੀਤਿਕ ਪਾਰਟੀਆਂ ਦੁਆਰਾ ਕੀਤੇ ਗਏ ਕੰਮਾਂ ਦਾ ਤੁਹਾਡੀ ਸਿਆਸੀ ਹਿੱਸੇਦਾਰੀ ਉੱਤੇ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵ ਦੀ ਡਿਗਰੀ ਨੂੰ ਦਸੋ।

| ਕੰਮ | 5. ਬਹੁਤ ਜ਼ਿਆਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਸ਼ਾਲੀ | 4. ਬਹੁਤ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਸ਼ਾਲੀ | 3. ਕੁਝ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਸ਼ਾਲੀ | 2. ਥੋੜ੍ਹਾ ਜਿਹਾ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਸ਼ਾਲੀ | 1. ਬਿਲਕੁਲ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਸ਼ਾਲੀ ਨਹੀਂ |
|---|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| ਸੰਪ੍ਰਦਾਇਕ ਰਾਜਨੀਤਕ ਤਰੀਕੀਆਂ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ | | | | | |
| ਜਾਤ ਅਧਾਰਿਤ ਰਾਜਨੀਤੀ। | | | | | |
| ਧਰਮ ਅਧਾਰਿਤ ਰਾਜਨੀਤੀ। | | | | | |
| ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਅਧਾਰਿਤ ਰਾਜਨੀਤੀ। | | | | | |

| ਕੰਮ | 5. ਬਹੁਤ ਜ਼ਿਆਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਸ਼ਾਲੀ | 4. ਬਹੁਤ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਸ਼ਾਲੀ | 3. ਕੁਝ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਸ਼ਾਲੀ | 2. ਥੋੜ੍ਹਾ ਜਿਹਾ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਸ਼ਾਲੀ | 1. ਬਿਲਕੁਲ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਸ਼ਾਲੀ ਨਹੀਂ |
|--|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| ਪਹਿਰਾਵੇ ਅਧਾਰਿਤ ਰਾਜਨੀਤੀ। | | | | | |
| ਖੇਤਰੀ ਅਧਾਰਿਤ ਰਾਜਨੀਤੀ। | | | | | |
| ਯੋਜਨਾਬੰਦੀ ਤਰੀਕੀਆਂ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ | | | | | |
| ਪਾਲਿਸੀ ਬਣਾਉਣ ਤੋਂ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਮੇਰੀਆਂ ਲੋੜਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਇੱਛਾ ਨੂੰ ਸਮਝਣਾ। | | | | | |
| ਮੇਰੀਆਂ ਲੋੜਾਂ ਦੇ ਅਧਾਰ ਤੇ ਪ੍ਰੋਗਰਾਮਾਂ ਦੀ ਯੋਜਨਾਬੰਦੀ ਅਤੇ ਵਿਕਾਸ। | | | | | |
| ਮੇਰੀ ਲੋੜਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਤਬਦੀਲੀਆਂ ਨਾਲ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਸ਼ਾਲੀ ਢੰਗ ਨਾਲ ਨਜਿੱਠਣ ਲਈ ਪ੍ਰੋਗਰਾਮ ਅਤੇ ਨੀਤੀਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਤਬਦੀਲੀਆਂ। | | | | | |
| ਵਿਰੋਧੀ ਪਾਰਟੀਆਂ ਨਾਲ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵੀ ਢੰਗ ਨਾਲ ਨਜਿੱਠਣ ਲਈ ਪ੍ਰੋਗਰਾਮ ਅਤੇ ਨੀਤੀਆਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਸੋਧ। | | | | | |
| ਹੋਰ ਸਿਆਸੀ ਪਾਰਟੀਆਂ ਨਾਲ ਗਠਜੋੜ। | | | | | |
| ਨਿਸ਼ਾਨੇ ਵਾਲੇ ਵੋਟਰਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਮਿਲਣ ਲਈ ਸੁਵਿਧਾਜਨਕ ਜਗ੍ਹਾ ਦੀ ਚੋਣ। | | | | | |
| ਨੀਤੀਆਂ ਬਣਾਉਣ ਲਈ ਪੇਸ਼ੇਵਰਾਂ ਦੀ ਸ਼ਮੂਲੀਅਤ। | | | | | |

| ਕੰਮ | 5. ਬਹੁਤ ਜ਼ਿਆਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਸ਼ਾਲੀ | 4. ਬਹੁਤ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਸ਼ਾਲੀ | 3. ਕੁਝ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਸ਼ਾਲੀ | 2. ਥੋੜ੍ਹਾ ਜਿਹਾ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਸ਼ਾਲੀ | 1. ਬਿਲਕੁਲ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਸ਼ਾਲੀ ਨਹੀਂ |
|---|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| ਚਿੰਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਯੋਗ ਕਰਨਾ | | | | | |
| ਸਿਆਸੀ ਪਾਰਟੀਆਂ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਪਾਰਟੀ ਦੇ ਚਿੰਨ੍ਹ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਮੁੱਖ ਇਸਤੇਮਾਲ। | | | | | |
| ਵੋਟਰਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਸੰਪਰਕ ਕਰਦੇ ਸਮੇਂ ਵਿਸ਼ੇਸ਼ ਵਿਅਕਤੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਦਰਸਾਉਣਾ। | | | | | |
| ਸਭਿਆਚਾਰ / ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਦੇ ਰਖਵਾਲੇ ਵਜੋਂ ਆਪਣੇ ਆਪ ਨੂੰ ਦਿਖਾਉਣ ਲਈ ਵਿਸ਼ਾਲ ਪ੍ਰੋਜੈਕਟਾਂ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ। | | | | | |
| ਵੋਟਰਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਸੰਪਰਕ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ ਵੱਖ ਵੱਖ ਸਮਾਗਮਾਂ ਦਾ ਅਯੋਜਨ ਕਰਨਾ। | | | | | |
| ਵੋਟਰਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਕਰਦੇ ਸਮੇਂ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਉਜਾਗਰ ਕਰਨਾ। | | | | | |
| ਇਤਿਹਾਸਿਕ ਘਟਨਾਵਾਂ ਦਾ ਜਸ਼ਨ। | | | | | |
| ਮੀਡੀਆ ਵਿਗਿਆਪਨ ਸਾਧਨ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ | | | | | |
| ਸੋਸ਼ਲ ਨੈੱਟਵਰਕਿੰਗ ਸਾਈਟਸ। | | | | | |
| ਆਨਲਾਈਨ ਨਿਊਜ਼ / ਵੈੱਬਸਾਈਟ। | | | | | |
| ਟੈਲੀਵਿਜ਼ਨ। | | | | | |
| ਰੇਡੀਓ। | | | | | |
| ਅਖਬਾਰ। | | | | | |
| ਲੀਫ਼ਲੈਟਸ। | | | | | |

| ਕੰਮ | 5. ਬਹੁਤ ਜਿਆਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਸ਼ਾਲੀ | 4. ਬਹੁਤ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਸ਼ਾਲੀ | 3. ਕੁਝ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਸ਼ਾਲੀ | 2. ਥੋੜ੍ਹਾ ਜਿਹਾ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਸ਼ਾਲੀ | 1. ਬਿਲਕੁਲ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਸ਼ਾਲੀ ਨਹੀਂ |
|--|------------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| ਪੋਸਟਰ। | | | | | |
| ਹੇਡਿੰਗਜ਼। | | | | | |
| ਮੋਬਾਇਲ ਫੋਨ। | | | | | |
| ਚੁਪਚਾਪ ਸਿੱਧੀ ਮੇਲ ਅਭਿਆਨ। | | | | | |
| ਮਾਰਕੀਟਿੰਗ ਤਕਨੀਕ / ਰਣਨੀਤੀ | | | | | |
| ਸੇਲਿਬ੍ਰਿਟੀ ਪ੍ਰੋਮੋਸ਼ਨ। | | | | | |
| ਵਿਰੋਧੀ ਦੀ ਨਿੱਜੀ ਜਾਣਕਾਰੀ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਪਬਲਿਕ ਰੂਪ ਵਿੱਚ ਸ਼ਰਮਿੰਦਾ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ। | | | | | |
| ਰੈਲੀਆਂ। | | | | | |
| ਨਿੱਜੀ ਸੰਪਰਕ। | | | | | |
| ਰੇਡ ਸ਼ੋਅਜ਼। | | | | | |
| ਪੂਰਵ ਰਿਕਾਰਡ ਕੀਤੇ ਸੁਨੇਹੇ (ਰੇਬੋਟ-ਕਾਲਾਂ) । | | | | | |
| ਤੁਲਨਾਤਮਕ ਵਿਗਿਆਪਨ। | | | | | |
| ਪ੍ਰੋਮੋਸ਼ਨ ਸਮੱਗਰੀ (ਟੋਪੀ, ਸਟਿੱਕਰ ਆਦਿ) । | | | | | |
| ਪੈਸਾ / ਤੋਹਫ਼ੇ। | | | | | |
| ਸ਼ਰਾਬ / ਨਸ਼ੀਲੇ ਪਦਾਰਥ। | | | | | |

ਪ੍ਰਸ਼ਨ5. ਹੇਠਾਂ ਦਿੱਤੇ ਧਿਰਾਂ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਇਕ ਸਿਆਸੀ ਪਾਰਟੀ ਵੱਲ ਆਪਣੇ ਵਫ਼ਾਦਾਰੀ ਦੇ ਪੱਧਰ ਦਾ ਵਰਣਨ ਕਰੋ. ਕਿਰਪਾ ਕਰਕੇ ਸਿਰਫ ਇੱਕ ਹੀ ਵਿਕਲਪ ਚੁਣੋ।

(ਪਾਰਟਿਸਨ= ਪਾਰਟੀ ਸਮਰਥਕ, ਹਮਦਰਦੀ = ਦੂਜੀਆਂ ਪਾਰਟੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਮੁਕਾਬਲੇ ਇਸਦੇ ਨੇੜੇ, ਨਿਰਪੱਖ = ਕੋਈ ਪਾਰਟੀ ਤਰਜੀਹ ਨਹੀਂ।

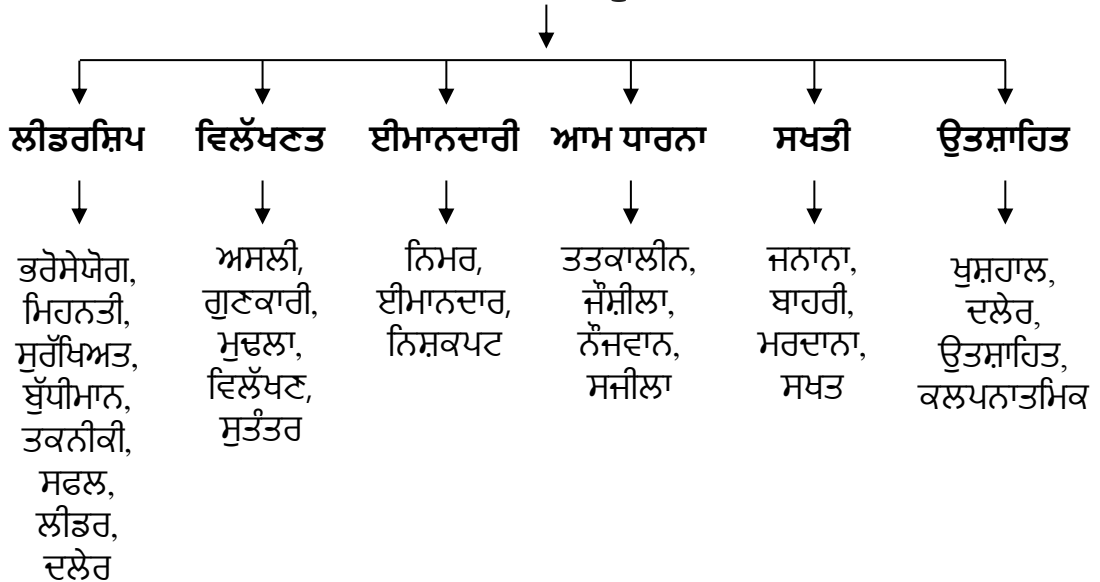
| | | | |
|-----------------------|---------|--------|--------|
| ਵਫ਼ਾਦਾਰੀ ਸਥਿਤੀ → | ਪਾਰਟਿਸਨ | ਹਮਦਰਦੀ | ਨਿਰਪੱਖ |
| ਪਾਰਟੀ ↓ | | | |
| ਇੰਡੀਅਨ ਨੈਸ਼ਨਲ ਕਾਂਗਰਸ | | | |
| ਭਾਰਤੀ ਜਨਤਾ ਪਾਰਟੀ | | | |
| ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਦਲ | | | |
| ਆਮ ਆਦਮੀ ਪਾਰਟੀ | | | |
| ਬਹੁਜਨ ਸਮਾਜ ਵਾਦੀ ਪਾਰਟੀ | | | |

ਪ੍ਰਸ਼ਨ 6. ਰਾਜਨੀਤਕ ਪਾਰਟੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਮਨੁੱਖ / ਵਿਅਕਤੀ ਵਜੋਂ ਸੋਚੋ। ਤੁਹਾਡੀ ਧਾਰਨਾ / ਸੋਚ ਦੇ ਆਧਾਰ 'ਤੇ ਹੇਠਾਂ ਦਿੱਤੀਆਂ ਸ਼ਖ਼ਸੀਅਤ ਦੀਆਂ ਵਿਸ਼ੇਸ਼ਤਾਵਾਂ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਆਪਣੀ ਸਹਿਮਤੀ / ਅਸਹਿਮਤੀ ਦੀ ਦਰ ਦਰਸਾਉ।

(ਪਾਰਟਿਸਨ ਅਤੇ ਹਮਦਰਦੀ ਵਾਲੇ ਮਾਮਲੇ ਵਿਚ ਚੁਣੇ ਹੋਏ ਪਾਰਟੀ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਤੀ ਆਪਣਾ ਜਵਾਬ ਦਿਓ। ਨਿਰਪੱਖ ਦੇ ਮਾਮਲੇ ਵਿਚ ਉਸ ਪਾਰਟੀ ਬਾਰੇ ਆਪਣੀ ਪ੍ਰਤੀਕ੍ਰਿਆ ਦਿਓ ਜੋ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਖ਼ਿਆਲ ਨਾਲ ਦੂਜੇ ਪਾਰਟੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਮੁਕਾਬਲੇ ਬਿਹਤਰ ਪ੍ਰਦਰਸ਼ਨ ਕਰ ਰਹੀ ਹੈ।

| ਪੂਰੀ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਸਹਿਮਤ | ਸਹਿਮਤ | ਨਿਰਪੱਖ | ਅਸਹਿਮਤ | ਪੂਰੀ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਅਸਹਿਮਤ |
|-------------------|-------|--------|--------|--------------------|
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

ਸ਼ਖ਼ਸੀਅਤ ਦੇ ਗੁਣ



ਇੰਡੀਅਨ ਨੈਸ਼ਨਲ ਕਾਂਗਰਸ

| | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|

ਭਰਤਿਆ ਜਨਤਾ ਪਾਰਟੀ

| | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|

ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਦਲ

| | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|

ਆਮ ਆਦਮੀ ਪਾਰਟੀ

| | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|

ਬਹੁਜਨ ਸਮਾਜ ਪਾਰਟੀ

| | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|

ਜਨਅੰਕੜੇ

- ਤੁਹਾਡਾ ਲਿੰਗ ਮਰਦ ਔਰਤ
- ਤੁਹਾਡੀ ਉਮਰ 18-35 36-60 60 ਸਾਲ ਤੋਂ ਉੱਪਰ
- ਤੁਹਾਡੀ ਜਾਤ ਜਨਰਲ ਅਨੁਸੂਚਿਤ ਜਾਤੀ ਹੋਰ ਪਛੜਿਆ ਜਾਤੀਆਂ
- ਤੁਹਾਡਾ ਧਰਮ ਸਿੱਖ ਹਿੰਦੂ -----ਹੋਰ
- ਤੁਹਾਡਾ ਕਿੱਤਾ ਵਿਦਿਆਰਥੀ ਕਾਰੋਬਾਰੀ ਕਿਸਾਨ ਸਰਕਾਰੀ ਕਰਮਚਾਰੀ
- ਪ੍ਰਾਈਵੇਟ ਕਰਮਚਾਰੀ ਰਿਟਾਇਰਡ ਬੇਰੁਜ਼ਗਾਰ
- ਤੁਹਾਡੀ ਯੋਗਤਾ ਅਨਪੜ੍ਹ 10 ਵੀਂ / ਮੈਟ੍ਰਿਕੂਲੇਸ਼ਨ ਤੋਂ ਘੱਟ 10 ਵੀਂ / ਮੈਟ੍ਰਿਕੂਲੇਸ਼ਨ 10+2
- ਗ੍ਰੈਜੂਏਟ ਪੋਸਟ ਗ੍ਰੈਜੂਏਟ ਪੀਐਚਡੀ / ਡਾਕਟਰੈਟ ਹੋਰ
- ਮਾਸੀਕ ਆਮਦਨ 10000 ਜਾਂ ਘੱਟ 10001-20000 20001-40000 40000-60000
- 60000 ਜਾਂ ਇਸ ਤੋਂ ਵੱਧ
- ਖੇਤਰ ਪੇਂਡੂ ਸ਼ਹਿਰੀ

ਤੁਹਾਡਾ ਜ਼ਿਲ੍ਹਾ: _____

ਪੰਨਵਾਦ

QUESTIONNAIRE- POLITICAL BRAND EQUITY

I am Krishan Gopal, a PhD research Scholar at Mittal School of Business, Lovely Professional University. I am trying to study the **Political Brand Equity of Political Parties in Punjab**. I would appreciate if you can take out some time to help me with your response. Your response will be kept strictly confidential and to be used only by me for research purposes.

Q1. Which of the following political parties you like the most? Tick any one.

- Indian National Congress
 Bharitiya Janta Party
 Shiromani Akali Dal
 Aam Aadmi Party
 Bahujan Samaj Party

Q2: Mention the associations that come in your mind when you think of chosen political party.

| Sr. No. | Associations |
|---------|--------------|
| 1 | |
| 2 | |
| 3 | |
| 4 | |
| 5 | |
| 6 | |
| 7 | |
| 8 | |
| 9 | |
| 10 | |
| 11 | |
| 12 | |
| 13 | |
| 14 | |
| 15 | |

Demographics

Your Gender Male Female

Your Age 18-35 36-60 Above 60

Your Caste General Schedule Caste Other Backward Classes

Your Religion Sikh Hindu -----Other

Your Occupation Student Businessman Farmer Govt. Employee
 Private Employee Retired Unemployed

Your Qualification Illiterate Below 10th/ Matriculation 10th/ Matriculation 10+2
 Under Graduate Post Graduate PhD/ Doctorate Others

Monthly Income 10000 or less 10001-20000 20001-40000 40000-60000
 60000 or more

Area Rural Urban

District of Punjab you belongs to: _____

Thank you