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MARKETING

TRABALHO FINAL DE MESTRADO
DISSERTAÇÃO

POLITICAL MARKETING IN PRESIDENTIAL AND LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS

FILIPE MIGUEL SILVANO DOS SANTOS LOURENÇO

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RESUMO

Marketing político é uma disciplina que tem vindo a ganhar cada vez mais atenção no mundo académico e uma das suas áreas de pesquisa é o facto de marketing político necessitar de diferentes práticas conforme a cultura do país em que está a ser aplicado, no entanto ainda não foram estudadas diferentes práticas que têm de ser aplicadas dentro da mesma cultura, mas para diferentes tipos de eleições.

Este estudo irá analisar as diferenças que campanhas para eleições presidenciais e legislativas têm de ter em atenção em Portugal, estudando o caso da campanha presidencial de 2016 de sua excelência Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa, e da campanha legislativa de 2015 sua excelência António Costa e do PS. O estudo irá usar uma abordagem qualitativa, à procura de descobrir pensamentos mais profundos dos eleitores, de modo a tentar descobrir se existiram diferenças entre as duas campanhas, para assim justificar um posterior estudo mais aprofundado do assunto. As maiores diferenças encontradas foram ao nível de características pessoais, em que no caso do presidente MRS se dá maior importância à sua personalidade, enquanto que no caso do primeiro ministro se deu mais importância às suas capacidades; o partido político teve maior relevância nas eleições legislativas, enquanto que o histórico pessoal e a fama tiveram mais relevância nas presidenciais; os eleitores deram maior importância ao programa eleitoral do primeiro ministro achando que a sua função principal é de legislar, enquanto que a função do presidente é mais de representar o país e estar próximo do povo; e ainda houve diferenças a nível de campanha, com o primeiro ministro a usar uma campanha bastante grande e o presidente a usar uma campanha menor, mas a utilizar mais os canais de media grátis, como aparecer nas notícias e participação em debates.

Palavras-Chave: Marketing político; Campanha presidencial; Campanha legislativa

ABSTRACT

Political marketing is a subject which has been gaining growing attention in the academic world, and one of its areas of research is the fact that political marketing needs to apply different practices dependent on the culture in which it is being applied, however there haven't been any studies regarding different practices which have to be applied within the same culture, but regarding different kinds of elections.

This study will analyze differences that campaigns for presidential and legislative elections need to take into consideration when being prepared, studying the case of his excellence, president Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa's 2016 presidential campaign, and his excellence prime minister António Costa and PS's 2015 legislative campaign. This study will use a qualitative approach in order to discover the electorate deeper thoughts on the subject, to discover differences that existed in the two campaigns, to justify future deeper research on the subject. The biggest differences found were in the personal characteristics of the candidates, with people paying more attention to the personality of the president and the capacities of the prime minister; the political party has a higher level of importance when it is legislative elections while the historic and reputation were more relevant in presidential elections; the electorate gave more importance to the electoral program of the prime minister, believing that his main function is to legislate, while the main functions for the president were to represent the country and to be closer to the people; and there were also differences at the level of the campaign, with the prime minister using a bigger campaign, and the president a smaller one, but taking more advantage of the free media, like appearances on the news and public debates.

Keywords: Political marketing, legislative campaigns, presidential campaigns

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CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

1.1. Teorethical contextualization

Political marketing has been gaining relevance roughly since the 1940's when politicians started using techniques of mass communication similar to those used in product marketing at the time, to make their message reach as many people as possible (Shama, 1976), even though authors like Kotler (1975), affirm that marketing has always been relevant in the political arena, since there has been a democracy in practice. Since then, the techniques and approaches have been evolving, accompanying the evolution in technologies and in the area of product marketing (Shama, 1976), reaching the present day, when political marketing is being more relevant than ever, with politicians paying increasing attention to the subject, using more specialists in the area when preparing their political campaign and less volunteer workers (Buttler, and Collins, 1994), with a significant increase in the spending in political campaigns, with the latest intermediate elections in America (in 2018) being the most expensive of its kind ever, with an approximate cost of 5.2 billion dollars (Schouten, 2018), and with many of the latest presidential campaigns being considered as some of the greatest marketing events in the world; for example Bill Clinton's campaign in 1992 has been used has a basis in the planning of many other political campaigns all over the world (Lees-Marshment and Lilleker, 2012), Obama's campaign has become famous for starting the use of technologies of Web 2.0 for reaching a new audience who did not have a lot of interest in politics prior to the campaign (Wattal, Schuff, Mandviwalla, and Williams, 2010), and Donald Trump's campaign completely changed the traditional communication channels used in politics and has been said to start a nationalist movement all over the world (Rachman, 2018). Indeed, this advance in political marketing in the United States has been seen as a potential problem to the world, with people not wanting the Americanization of politics worldwide. This issue was in part answered by Lees-Marshment and Lilleker (2012), who say that even though many of the techniques used in political marketing, can be transferred from country to country, like techniques in targeting and segmentation of the population, two equal political campaigns in two different countries will never have the same exact result, since voting is something very personal, and different countries will have different cultures, needs and wants. This has been corroborated by Cwalina, Falkowski, and Newman (2012), who wrote that even in countries which apply democracy there can be different kinds of democratic orientations,

with for example some cultures paying more attention to the candidate and other cultures paying more attention to the political party when making their voting decision.

Portugal has two big nation-wide elections: the presidential and the legislative election, where the president and the members of the Assembly are elected respectively, with the legislative elections usually also determining the Prime minister of the country. There have been some studies regarding the differences in political marketing that need to be applied in the context of different cultures, but the author could not find any study about differences in political marketing that need to be regarded in the same country but pertaining to different kinds of elections. So, the objective of this study is to serve as a preliminary test, and analyze whether future investigations should be made on the subject of differences in political marketing requisites when preparing legislative and presidential campaigns in Portugal, and it will be done by analyzing the campaign of both his excellence, Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa (MRS) – the Portuguese president; and his excellence, António Costa (AC) – the Portuguese prime minister.

1.2. Study Relevance

Differences in political marketing approaches regarding the culture of a country are already well studied, although little studies have been done regarding the differences in the political marketing approach regarding the same culture, but different kinds of elections.

This project will be based on a literature review with the aim of discovering the elements of political marketing which a party or a candidate has to take in consideration when preparing their campaign and after that by analyzing whether these elements have the same importance, or which adaptations should be made, when preparing presidential and legislative elections. This will be analyzed through the eyes of the voter, because it would be difficult to reach the information within the political campaign preparation, and because the impression that the voters have will be the most important in the voting day since they are the ones who make the final decision on who reaches political power.

This study is relevant on the basis that it hasn't been done yet. Political marketing is a field of study that has been gaining consistent growing attention by academia, yet most studies pertain to what happens in the American environment (or, less often, in other big countries), leaving countries with other political environments relatively unknown. This study will serve as a basis to check whether the subject deserves to be studied further, since it will only be dedicated to two political campaigns, but it hopes in giving some

assistance in the preparation of political campaigns in Portugal, and maybe also serving as a basis for the study of the same problem in other different types of democracy.

1.3. Study Objectives

The purpose of this study, is to identify through the literature review which are the elements that politicians have to take into consideration when preparing their political campaign, and to understand if there is or there isn't any differentiation when it comes to preparing campaigns to different kind of political elections, creating the research question: "Can political campaigns in Portugal for presidential and legislative elections, use the same approach in terms of political marketing, or do they have to adapt it?". To answer this question, it was created 4 propositions based on the literature review, which will be presented in chapter 2 of this project.

1.4. Structure of the Dissertation

This project is divided into 5 chapters: Introduction; Literature Review; Methodology; Empirical Analysis and Conclusions.

The first chapter will serve as an explanation of why the subject is relevant, followed by a chapter where it is analyzed knowledge previously obtained by other authors on the matter. The chapter related to methodology explains how the study was conducted and why did the author choose to follow said path. Empirical analysis will serve to determine which are the factors in which there is an actual difference when it comes to the political campaigns of president MRS and prime minister AC, and finally in the conclusions, there will be made a comparison between the findings in this paper and previous findings by other authors, also confirming or denying the factors which are different in the campaigns, and explaining the contributions and limitations of the study.

CHAPTER 2 - LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Portuguese Political System

Portugal uses a representative democracy where the citizens elect a representant to make political decisions for them, with a unicameral organ – the *Assembleia da República;* and a semi-presidential system – the constitution imposes a president and a prime minister, who are responsible for the legislation of the country (*República Portuguesa*). In Portugal the highest form of law is expressed in the constitution, which stipulates the rights of the citizens, its essential principles, and the big political orientations which the elements of the State should follow, and it defines the structure of the state in four organs of sovereignty – the president of the Republic, the assembly of the Republic, the Government and the Courts (art. 110, CRP; *República Portuguesa*).

The president of the Republic is considered the head of state, elected by the citizens of the country either residing in it, or living abroad, through secret, universal and direct suffrage (art.121, no.1, CRP), with the main functions of guaranteeing the independence of the country, the unity of the state and the proper operation of the democratic institutions, while also being the Commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces (art.120, CRP), whose competencies are presented in the articles 133, 134 and 135 of the Constitution.

The Assemblies' objective is to represent all the Portuguese citizens through elected representatives accordingly to the Hondt proportional method (art. 147-149, CRP), having their competencies represented in the articles 161 to 165 of the Constitution, having the legislative function as their priority.

The government is described in the article 182 and 183 of the constitution as "the entity that conducts the country's general policy and the senior organ of the public administrations", comprised by "the Prime Minister, the Ministers and the Secretaries and Under Secretaries of State", being created from the Assembly. According to article 187 of the Constitution, the prime minister is appointed by the president of the Republic "after consulting parties with seats in Assembly of the Republic and in the light of the electoral results". The competences of the Prime minister are described in article 201, no.1.

"The Courts are the entities that exercise sovereignty with the competence to administer justice in the name of the people" (art. 202, no.2, CRP), being independent of other political entities and subject only to the law (art. 203, CRP), and whose decisions prevail over any other authorities (art. 205, CRP).

2.2. Political Marketing

Political marketing has been defined by Shama (1976) has "the process by which political candidates and ideas are directed at the voters in order to satisfy their political needs and thus gain their support for the candidate and ideas in question", and it falls under the category of marketing, because there is an exchange happening between the voter who gives his vote and support to a candidate in exchange for the services that are promised by the candidate (O'Cass, 1996), and can be a very effective set of techniques and ideas, since marketing specializes in the analyzes and persuasion of a large group of people (Butler and Collins, 1994).

According to the Shama (1976), political marketing has had an evolution similar to the one of product marketing, starting to gain relevance in the 1940's when it had a candidate orientation, which can be compared to the product orientation in product marketing, where the main focus was on promotion, with the candidate being seen as a product which needs exposure to the public through mass media, which started as a greater use of radio and later television channels, with the objective of creating public awareness which was believed to be correlated with voter preference, but still with very little concern about studying the needs and wants of the population. In this era, most parties had already a defined strategy and "product", and their goal was to try and convince voters that their strategy is better than the ones presented by their opponents (O' Cass, 1996).

According to Shama (1976) in the beginning of the 1960's political consultants started to understand that in order to maximize the number of votes, mass communication is not enough, and that all campaign activities need to be integrated and coordinated, starting to practice the study of voters, voter segmentation, differentiated promotion dependent on target audience, and a comprehensive marketing plan. And in more present times political marketing as evolved to a marketing orientation, similar to the marketing orientation in product marketing, with a higher voter orientation (candidates being selected to represent the party for their ability to get voter approval), with a higher integration of different marketing activities, like the search for the needs, wants and values of the target markets (O'Cass, 1996), and with a focus on the long term (gaining votes for the present and future elections, both for the candidate as for the party). Historically, political organizations have always tried to use the latest communication technology to reach more people, from newspapers to the radio, and the television; and

the emergence of the internet only brought more possibilities of interaction between the political entities and the general public, for example, Barack Obama's campaign used YouTube videos to spread their campaign material, which was watched for 14.5 million hours, and combined with other social media and the campaign website, proving the internet as an efficient method for "informing, persuading, reminding, fundraising, networking, getting the vote out" (Butler and Harris, 2009)

Although being more used and more widely spread (Harris and Lock, 2011), there are still a number of specialists who either don't believe in the benefits of marketing in the political arena, or don't believe that it should be done for ethical reasons, but this happens due to a reductive idea of the concept of marketing and an insufficient knowledge about its purpose and what it can offer (O'Cass, 1996), and according to Kotler (1975), the concept of political campaigns will always be associated with marketing with similar concepts like market research and advertising, and it is the choice of the candidate and the party whether to use the tools that are available to them, or to not use and risk falling behind. There is also debate to which extent should political marketing rely on the principles of product marketing, with some authors adopting a position of seeing political parties as companies and thus using management assumptions and frameworks to guide their decisions, other authors suggest that there is a need for a more reflexive approach before blindly apply the principles from product marketing, and there is a third group which due to the contingent nature of political marketing, says that there is a need for a more interpretative approach (Savigny, 2007; Lock and Harris, 1996). In the case of Lock and Harris (1996), who believe that there is a need for adaptation of the marketing principles from product marketing to political, they also believe that the models and frameworks should be adapted, or if necessary, new ones need to be made to better adapt to the complex environment surrounding politics and all of its moving actors.

In the last years political marketing has been gaining importance for political institutions due to a more competitive environment with political parties and candidates spending more capital in the campaigns (*OpenSecrets.org*), due to a diminishing level of loyalty in the political arena, with people more willing to change their support for political parties (Butler and Collins, 1994), which in turn led to a diminishing number of party members and volunteer workers (Mair and Van Biezen, 2001) who are responsible for both spreading the message of the party or candidate and for collecting donations(O'Cass and Pecotich, 2005). Nowadays political entities are more scrutinized than ever, with people having a higher access to information, with politics being one of the areas of

marketing where the media and the news pay more attention, not only during the campaigning season, but all throughout the presidency (Butler and Collins, 1994), which led to the creation of the concept of permanent campaign – the idea that political parties have to care for their image even after the election season, with the difference between governing and campaigning becoming increasingly thinner (Sparrow and Turner, 2001).

Kotler (1975) created a scheme representing the political marketing map, which represents the factors and actors which have to be taken into consideration when preparing a political campaign, which will be adapted to this project. It starts with the (1) environment which represent the problems and opportunities present at the time in society, followed by the (2) sellers which are represented by all the parties and all the actors that are working with or within the party to win the election, who create a (3) product concept strategy which should be appealing to the voters, followed by a (4) communication and distribution strategy.

2.2.1. Environment

The environment represents the opportunities and issues that are present to the candidates at certain point in time (Kotler, 1975) which can be found when we look at the macro structures present in each country, which can be the political system and legal regulations, technological forces, demographic structures, and concepts of marketing management and its tools and methods (Cwalina, Falkowski, and Newman, 2012).

The act of voting is very ideologically charged, with democracy and the possibility for everyone to vote, being seen as a great accomplishment of modern society, making many people interested in participating in it, which gives the idea that political campaigns should have dignity, and that political institutions must behave in a way which honors this accomplishment, with the act of voting being seen as well as an act of social affirmation, when an individual shows what he stands for and in what he believes(Butler and Collins, 1994). This is one of the reasons why a clear understanding of the values, needs and wants of the population must be taken in great consideration when a political institution is trying to draft their intended positioning - attributes that the political institution attempts to put into the mind of the voters in relation to themselves (Baines, Crawford, O'Shaughnessy, Worcester and Mortimore, 2013); so that they can be sure that there exists empathy and compatibility of values when they are presenting their message to the people (Butler and Collins, 1994). This means that a party should start their

strategizing by gathering research about the state of the country and trying to understand the meaning behind what the people merely say, as to find their deeper needs and wants, dividing people into more optimized segments to find new opportunities (Scammel, 1999).

One of the characteristics of a country that will have the most impact on the strategy of a political party is its demography, for example a candidate cannot use the same communication techniques to a really old population, or a really young population or they cannot send the same message to a country that has a high level of quality of life, or a country which is still in its developing stage (Cwalina et al., 2012). According to Cwalina et al. (2012) there are two big changes in the demography of many countries, which are the fact that there has been an increase in the proportion of older citizens, which has been called the "rise of the grey vote", which not only are increasing in number, but who are also more likely to vote (Metz, 2002), and which can have a big impact on the kind of policies which are appealing to the general public (Bovenberg, 2008), and the other change in the demography is the changes in the gender gap, which represents differences in the behavior of women and man in general, which have been becoming less noticeable in the political environment, with women turning from being predominantly more conservative than men, which began to shift in the United States in the 1980s with women participating more in the paid workforce, and the transformation of the gender roles (Ronald and Norris, 2003).

So, before starting to develop a strategy for the political campaign, a political party, or candidate must start by doing market research to find the deeper needs and desires of the population, to deliver a product which is the most appealing to the population as possible.

Concerning the "environment" aspect of political campaigns, the following proposition will be analyzed:

P1: Legislative elections campaigns take different considerations than presidential elections when it comes to the environment aspect of political marketing

2.2.2. Seller

The sellers are composed by the candidates, the parties and their interest groups (Kotler, 1975). In different countries, or places, the focus of the political marketer will differentiate depending on various factors like the political system, even in different

countries where democracy is applied, there are still different types of democracy orientation – for example, the USA has a more candidate-oriented democracy, while countries like Poland have a more party-oriented democracy (Cwalina et al., 2012). Some authors consider that in political marketing the politician is himself part of the product (Butler and Collins, 1994), making all of his characteristics, like motivations to run for the election and goals, personality and even physiological traits like gender, having some degree of importance, not only to the public, but also to determine to what extent he is willing to apply political marketing, meaning "to what extent and how deeply they are ready to undergo modifications of their 'self' to provide their voters with an attractive image (position themselves in particular target groups) using media and other strategies of campaign message dissemination" (Cwalina et al., 2012; Henneberg, 2006). So, the politician needs to craft an image – the way people perceive him (Baines et al., 2013); whose features may lay a foundation for his further actions. These characteristics might not be very important to the voter, but it will *convince them of the realism of the candidate's image*, for example, Al Ries (2008) affirms that one of the main reasons why Barack Obama won the American presidential elections in 2008 is due to the consistency of its image, which is an indicator of honesty, and never changing the chore message he defended of "Change", as opposed by the main opponents who seemed to swing their opinions on some of their main focus points. After this image is created, it needs to be transmitted to the voters, especially through nonverbal behaviors in the candidate's appearances, and his stances on different issues (Cwalina et al., 2012).

The objective of both candidate and political parties is to increase the number of voters, win the elections and maintain themselves in power, so their main focus is to attract new members, and retain old ones (Lock and Harris, 1996). The increase in membership will not only increase the number of voters, but will also be important both for funding and to run political activities based on volunteer work, and might even work as a tool for communication through word-of-mouth, specially when we have into account the great importance of opinion leaders and non-experts in shaping the ideas of the majority of people, who don't take the time to get themselves very informed about politics (O'Cass and Pecotich, 2005; Butler and Collins, 1994). According to Lynch, Bains and Egan (2006), one of the ways a party can make sure to keep long-term advantages, is through the creation of unique resources which are able to deliver advantages in the long-term (resource-based view), which in politics are usually either leadership, vision for the organization in term of policymaking, the people who can

either be the leader, the members of the party, or the staff, policies and how they are presented which need to attract both present and future voters, background knowledge about the population and organizational skills which will allow the whole institution to run in the same direction, both at a national and local level.

One of the traditional characteristics of the political environment is the fact that there is a high degree of loyalty to the party, which usually meant that politicians don't take a great risk when shifting policies, but at the same time it also means that it will be more difficult for a party to steal votes from another, creating the need for parties to focus a lot of resources on new voters (Butler and Collins, 1994). But in recent times many voters have become disillusioned with political parties and their leaders, leading to feelings of apathy and cynicism in relation to the political process (Lock and Harris, 1994; Scammel, 1999), which led to a decrease in the number of party members and a higher number of floating voters (Mair and Van Biezen, 2001), which according to Brown (2003), is due to the fact that the consumer, or the voter is becoming more aware of the fact that sellers in the product marketing and politicians in political marketing are using tools only to get them to buy their product, for example by the use of rhetoric instead of actual solutions (Butler and Collins, 1994); making it easier for those brands which are thought of as being honest or authentic to get more votes (Butler and Harris, 2009). This diminishing in the loyalty of the voters is one of the reasons why it became important for the parties to become more professionalized and to focus on political marketing and in the development of their marketing tools (Butler and Harris, 2009).

Both the image of the candidate and the political party have been considered to be an important factor in the political environment, which can be observed by the fact that some people vote for one party or candidate even though they prefer the policies of another (Buttler and Collins, 1994), because of factors like perceived governing capacity and reputation (Scammel, 1999; Harrop, 1997). So, one of the functions of marketing in the political environment is to reduce uncertainty in the electorate, by using strategies to increase the confidence of people in the candidate or the party, which can be done by information policies, by the history of achievements, and by the promises made (Scammel, 1999).

So, when deciding their strategies, the candidate has to have into consideration his image, making sure that it is likable and adjusted to the preferences of the population (Lees-Marshment and Lilleker, 2012), while at the same time being believable and consistent with their message.

Concerning the "seller" aspect of political campaigns, the following proposition will be analyzed:

P2: Legislative elections campaigns need to take into different consideration the seller aspect when compared with presidential elections

2.2.3. Product Concept Strategy

According to Kotler (1975), the product concept should be a mixture of "philosophy, stands on particular issues, personal style, and background qualifications". Niffenegger (1988) defined product, in a political context, as a complex mix of all the potential benefits that the voter is expecting to receive from the election of a candidate, with these expected benefits being mostly spelled in the candidate's communications, but also being dependent on the candidate's image, his past records and the party he associates with. Some of the characteristics of this product are that it cannot be separated from the candidate or the party, meaning that you cannot get one without the other, making the voter choice even more complex. For example, a voter might like the candidate and his stance on the issues, but still not vote for him because of the political party he represents (Butler and Collins, 1994). Another characteristic identified by Butler and Collins (1994), is that the product is mutable – meaning that the expectations from the voter might not be met, because what a politician said that he would do, does not correspond to his actions after getting elected; and the voter knows that this might happen, so a good party reputation and a trustworthy character from the candidate, might be a necessity when it comes to getting elected.

Although not having a price attached to the voting process, Niffenegger (1988) affirms that there are still a number of costs which the voter associates with the election of certain candidate, which might be of economic nature, for example, increases in taxes, or decreases in government aids, there might be costs related with the national image, if the voter believes that the candidate does not have the strength or the character to represent the country, or they can be related with psychological factors, like the fact that the voter does not feel comfortable with some of the candidate's characteristics, like religious or ethnic background, or even with some of the physiological characteristics, like the gender of the politician (Cwalina et al., 2012).

So, for a candidate to have success, his message has to clear and appealing to the public, by going in accordance with the findings from the study of the market.

Concerning the "product concept strategy" aspect of political campaigns, the following propositions will be analyzed:

P3: Legislative elections campaigns need to take into different consideration the product concept when compared with presidential elections

2.2.4. Communication and Distribution Channels

When the term Political marketing started to be used, its mains focus and function was to serve as a communication tool, trying to transmit the message of the candidate or the party, to the highest number of people possible (Shama, 1975), and today it still is one of its main functions (Niffenegger, 2006). According to Niffenegger (2006) in political marketing, there are two possible distribution channels, which can be a personal appearance from the candidate or through programs with volunteer workers. The personal appearances can consist of rallies, meetings, etc. and can be a very difficult thing when trying to reach a large geographical area, which implies time consumed and costs occurred. Volunteer programs are used more in regional segments, for example by putting up signs, registering the voters or asking for donations. There is however a problem: with the lessening of the loyalty from the people into political parties, there also came a reduction on the number of volunteer workers, but with the evolution of political marketing, and the professionalization of the practice this problem doesn't seem to be so relevant, with more professionalized practices needing less staff to be accomplished (Butler and Collins, 1994).

One of the characteristics of communication exclusive to political marketing is the existence of negative advertising (Butler and Collins, 1994), which according to Klein and Ahluwalia (2005) is more efficient in influencing the people who already disliked a candidate, to dislike him even further, but also having impact on voters who are still undecided in their voting choice, if it attacks a salient or more relevant issue in an area where there were already doubts about the candidate.

The medias started having so much importance in the political system, that some authors like Scammel (1999) say that it has formed into a powerful autonomous participant in the election process, which can have impact on the results of the elections by teaching different values, beliefs and ideas to the population (Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes, and Sasson, 1992), since what they communicate is what people talk about (Serrano, 1999).

One of the criticism of modern campaigns and the introduction of a marketing perspective is that communication stopped having substance, and focusing more in style, with politicians just reciting pre-made statements whenever a question is directed to them, and focusing on "branding" an issue as one of the main causes of the party, instead of actually explaining what they are planning on doing to resolve the issue (Butler and Collins, 1994). Showing different symbols has become more important than the explanation of action plans for the resolution of the problems of society. Nowadays, with the evolution of communication channels, which have become more accessible to the population in general, information regarding politics is easier than ever to get, but at the same time, this information has been transformed to be more sensationalized and trivialized, looking to offer drama instead of factual or more relevant news (Butler and Collins, 1994), although some authors do not consider this to be a problem, as it helps people with the creation of a clearer image of what a candidate or party stand for without the need to do extensive research and accompany closely every complicated detail (Harrop, 1990).

So for a politician to have success he needs to pay attention to his communication strategy, making sure that it is transmitted to as many people as possible, but at the same time making sure that the message is believable and that it goes in accordance to the needs and wants of the electorate.

About the "communication and distribution channels" aspect of political campaigns, the following proposition will be analyzed:

P4: Legislative elections campaigns need to take into different consideration the communication and distribution channels when compared with presidential elections

CHAPTER 3 - METHODOLOGY

This chapter will focus on explaining the methodologies used in this project as well as an explanation on why these were the chosen methodologies, being structured as: Purpose and type of study, sample and data gathering, development of the interview, sample analysis, operational description of the codes, and reliability and validity of the analysis of the qualitative data.

3.1. Purpose and Type of Study

To guide in the definition of a methodology, it was used the model presented by Saunders, Thornill, and Lewis (2012). It will be used an interpretivist philosophy as the subject being studied is highly polarizing with great emotional importance to many people, where each person will create their own interpretation of the events, and it will be used a deductive approach, since the subjects being studied have already been studied by previous authors, which will now be applied to a different topic – the Portuguese legislative and presidential elections.

The study will have an exploratory nature, which was described by Saunders et al. (2012) as a "*valuable means to ask open questions to discover what is happening and gain insights about a topic of interest*", which will be particularly useful in topics which have not had a lot of research done on them; and the methodology being used will be of qualitative nature, as it best suits the interpretivist philosophy, the exploratory purpose, and the topic being studied where there is not a lot of prior information, being able to find deeper opinions usually on a smaller number of people (Saunders et al., 2012). The qualitative research will not focus on having a big sample, but instead on finding deeper knowledge about a social group (Gerhardt e Silveira, 2009).

The strategy used will be mono-method, a case study- the study of the campaigns of his excellence, president Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa, and his excellence, prime minister António Costa/ PS; which "*explores a research topic or phenomenon within its context, or within a number of real-life contexts*", and can be defined as a research strategy which involves the empirical investigation of a particular and contemporary phenomena within a real scenario (Saunders et al., 2012). This strategy was chosen since it suits particularly well with exploratory research by offering insights which other methods might not be able to (Rowley, 2002), being useful in topics where there is not a lot of existing theory (Eisenhardt, 1969). This strategy will be used with the objective of finding a rich and

solid description of the event being studied, and it will have a cross-sectional time horizon with all the data gathering happening within the same time period, and no further data collection being done.

3.2. Sample and Data Gathering

The data collection will be done through semi-structured interviews, with a semi-rigid script (Index 1) for the questions being asked, which will have very open and broad questions where the interviewed will be able to explain his or her ideas, and the interviewer will try to dig deeper to have a better idea of the beliefs of the sample being studied which will be non-probabilistic by convenience, as it was easier to get access to them, and it did not bring any costs. The interviews were performed between the 1st and 15th of September of 2019 to a total of 15 people, having on average 16 minutes of length, recorded either by skype software when performed through the internet (9 interviews) or through mobile device when performed in person (6 interviews), which were later transcribed and individually analyzed

3.3. Development of the Interview

The interview has two main parts, the first where the interviewer asks about the research topic and the second part relating to the profile of the interviewed (Index 1). Even though this project is written in English, the interviews were conducted in Portuguese, for being easier for native speakers to better transmit their ideas and thoughts.

The interview starts with a brief introduction to the topic and by thanking in advance for the willingness of the interviewed to participate in the project, and is followed by the first part of the questions where it is asked whether or not the person has interest in politics and open questions about their opinion on Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa and António Costa, and which are the main points that people focus when deciding on whom to vote for the positions they now occupy, of president and prime minister of Portugal, followed by more specific questions related to the connection between the candidates and each of the propositions being studied related to the topics of environment, seller, product concept strategy and communication and distribution channels; and finishing this section by asking again which were the aspects the interviewed focused more when deciding on whom to vote for each position.

The second part of the interview the questions were made to have a better description of the sample, being asked: whether they had voted on both or one of the

elections related to this study (no people were interviewed who had not voted in at least one of the elections), gender, age, professional situation, and highest degree of education.

3.4. Sample Analysis

This study has a sample size of 15 individuals, characterized by being non-probabilistic by convenience, meaning that it doesn't represent the population being studied; whose only criteria to being selected was that they had voted in at least one of the elections being studied – presidential elections of 2016, and legislative elections of 2015. This sample was chosen based on being easy to access, and because it represents a homogeneous group of individuals of the same segment of the population.

It can be observed in Table 1, that the sample consisted of 47% women and 53% male, both being represented almost to the same degree (there is one more man in the sample than women). All of the participants are young people with ages between 22 and 26 years old, with at least a bachelor degree (80%), or a master's degree (20%), meaning that all the people interviewed has a higher education, and in relation to the professional situation 27% of the sample is just working, 33% is just studying and 40% of the sample is both studying and working.

Concerning the voting habits of the sample, it was required that they would have voted in at least one of the elections being studied, with 27% voting in just one of the elections, and 73% saying they had voted in both elections. This means that even people who answered that they did not have a lot of interest in politics, practiced their right to vote, so they are of interest to the study.

Table 1 – Sample description

Sample (N=15)	Options	%	N
Gender	Feminine	46,7%	7
	Masculine	53,3%	8
Age	20-30	100%	15
Professional Situation	Working	26,7%	4
	Studying	33,3%	5
	Student-worker	40%	6
Schooling degree	Bachelor degree	80%	12
	Master degree	20%	3
Voting Habit	Voted in 1 election	26,7%	4
	Voted in both elections	73,3%	11

3.5. *Operational Description of the Codes*

The factors which must be taken into consideration when preparing a political campaign both for president and prime minister were obtained both from the literature review presented in the 2nd chapter of this project and through the analysis of the interviews conducted.

Table 2 – Description of the codes

Code-father	Code	Id.	Operational Definition
Environment	Knowledge about the population	Previous	Clear understanding of the values, needs and wants of the population (Baines et al., 2013)
Seller	Personal Characteristics	Previous	Individual characteristics of a candidate which makes up his or her image (Cwalina et al., 2012)
	Party	Previous	"Association of citizens who share political or social conceptions or interest and who proposes to reach power" (*Infopedia*)
	History/ Reputation	Previous	Externally authenticated record of achievements which will serve to create confidence in the buyer before the purchase (Scammel, 1999)
Product	Function	New	An activity that is natural to or the purpose of a person or thing (*Lexico*)
	Political Program	Previous	Complex mix of all the potential benefits that the voter is expecting to receive from the election of a candidate (Niffenegger, 1988)
Communication and distribution channels	Skepticism	Previous	The voter is becoming more aware of the fact that sellers in the product marketing and politicians in political marketing are using tools only to get them to buy their product, for example by the use of rhetoric instead of actual solutions (Buttler and Collins, 1994)
	Honesty	Previous	In a time of skepticism, it will be easier for those brands which are perceived as being honest or authentic to get more votes (Buttler and Harris, 2009)
	Campaign	Previous	"Campaigns matter because they educate citizens and offer them the opportunity to make informed voting decisions" (Benoit, 2007)

3.6. Reliability and Validity of the Analysis of the Qualitative Data

To assure reliability and validity of the data collect through the interviews it was calculated the percentage of reliability with the equation suggested by Miles and Hubberman (1984), where the total of classifications taken from items from the interviews, accorded by the author and a judge with knowledge about the matter, is divided by the number of classifications found by the author, and that total is multiplied by 100.

After the transcription of the interviews all the items analyzed in each were divided into codes and sub-codes, related to a "father-code" which represents the 4 main topics being analyzed in the project: environment, seller, product concept strategy, and communication and distribution channels, reaching a total of 270 items. These items were validated by the judge, until both the author and judge were in 100% agreement, eliminating 5 of them, so getting an agreement coefficient of 98,1%.

Table 3 – Codifications Reliability

Code	Total codified	Total agreed	Total eliminated	agreement coefficient
Knowledge about population	32	32	0	100%
Personal characteristics	64	61	3	95%
Party	51	50	1	98%
Historic/ Reputation	33	33	0	100%
Function	25	24	1	96%
Electoral program	14	14	0	100%
Skepticism	14	14	0	100%
Honesty	11	11	0	100%
Political campaign	26	26	0	100%
Total	270	265	5	98%

CHAPTER 4 - EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS

4.1. Analysis of Frequency

The analysis of frequencies is used to define which of the codes the people interviewed believe are relevant in the subject of presidential and legislative campaigns, with the number of people who mentioned it presented in the table below (Table 4). It was considered that the more relevant codes were the ones that had a percentage of frequency higher than 50% (even though the other codes are still relevant, since the interview had very open questions, which might had not led some of the interviewed to talk about the same topics), which are: president MRS knows the people (53%); having charisma is relevant for the candidates (60%), but when describing the president there is more mention of his personality (80%), while when describing the prime minister there is more mention of his capacities (60%); there is still loyalty to the political parties (53%), which is more relevant for prime minister AC (53%), while president MRS is trying to disassociate himself from his party (67%); the historic and reputation of the president had a high impact on people voting for him (73%); people believe that the function of president MRS is to represent the Portuguese people (60%), and the function of prime minister AC is to legislate (53%); there is a higher degree of skepticism when it comes to prime minister AC (53%); and while in campaign president MRS used a lot of free media, like appearing in the news or public debates (53%).

Table 4 – Analysis of frequency

Código	Frequence (N=15)	%
Conhecimento acerca da população		
• President		
> Proximity to the people	5	33,3
> Use of professional teams	3	20,0
> Knows the people	8	53,3
• Prime Minister		
> Distant/ appears less	6	40,0
> Use of professional teams	3	20,0
> Knows the people	5	33,3
Personal Characteristics		
• Charisma	9	60,0
• President		
> Description of personality	12	80,0
> Description of capacities	2	13,3
> Importance of personality	13	86,7
• Prime Minister		
> Description of personality	3	20,0
> Description of capacities	9	60,0
> Importance of capacities	4	26,7
Party		
• Loyalty to the party	8	53,3
• President		
> Disassociate from party	10	66,7
> Influence on ideals	4	26,7
> I don't Know his party	2	13,3
• Prime Minister		
> Higher importance of party	8	53,3
> Loyalty in voting	3	20,0
> Influence on ideals	5	33,3
• Isn't relevant	3	20,0
Historic/ Reputation		
• President		
> Popular	2	13,3
> Impact on vote	11	73,3
• Prime Minister		
> President of Lisbon	4	26,7
> Less well-known	5	33,3
> I don't know what he has done	5	33,3
Function		
• President		
> Represent portuguese people	9	60,0
> Be close to the people	5	33,3
• Prime Minister		
> Legislate	8	53,3
> Represent the country	1	6,7
> Organize Parliament	1	6,7
Electoral Program		
• Prime Minister		
> More relevant	7	46,7
> Influences the vote	4	26,7
• Relevant	3	20,0
Skepticism		
• Prime Minister	8	53,3
• President	3	20,0
• Not necessarily negative	2	13,3
Honesty		
• President	7	46,7
• Prime Minister	1	6,7
Political Campaign		
• President		
> No campaign	5	33,3
> Small campaign	2	13,3
> Free media	8	53,3
• Prime Minister		
> Big campaign	3	20,0
> Advertisement	6	40,0
> Free media	2	13,3

4.2. Environment

4.2.1 Knowledge about Population

In general, people think that president MRS has better knowledge about the population than prime minister AC, with 53% of the interviewed people saying that the president knows well the population. They say the president knows the population either because he is close to the people (33%), which 33% of the sample also believes that is one of his functions, or because he uses professional teams that analyze the population and report to him. In comparison, only 33% of the people believe that the prime minister has a good knowledge about the people, with 40% of the sample saying that he is more distant from the population or appears less in contact with the public, and 20% of the sample also mentioning that it is likely that he uses professional teams to aid him getting knowledge about the population.

Table 5 - Remarks regarding knowledge about population

MRS	AC
"I think Marcelo has knowledge regarding what people want, because he is closer to them than the government and the prime minister, and I believe that his work and the measures he approves are in compliance with what the people want"	"I don't think the prime minister is close enough to the population to have knowledge about that [what people want]" "I think that Costa also knows about these concerns, he is not as present, but I believe that he knows what is going on"

4.3. Seller

4.3.1 Personal Characteristics

When talking in general terms, without referring to one candidate or the other, 60% of the population said that the charisma of the candidate is relevant, but when describing each candidate there was a big variation in the kind of characteristics they used for each candidate. When describing president MRS 12 people described personal characteristics related to the personality, most commonly about him being open, nice, transparent, and honest, while only 2 people talking about his capacities, which were being smart or knowledgeable, with 87% of the sample affirming that personality is more relevant when

it comes to the president and not so much when it comes to the prime minister (although still having some significance for the latter). When describing prime minister AC only 3 people referred to his personality while 9 people referred to his capacities, referring a lot to his capacity to lead and manage the country and his knowledge about how the government works and legislative processes, with 27% of the sample explicitly saying the capacities in the prime minister have a greater importance than his personality.

Table 6 - Remarks regarding personal characteristics

MRS	AC
"Honestly my opinion is that in terms of his personality is that he appears to be very affable and close to the population, he has an honest and frontal posture, a simple character, and his objective is to appear to be closer to the population than any other candidate who has occupied the same position"	"For the prime minister, having character is important of course, but you don't need the same level of characteristics [has the president] … I think he needs capacities to coordinate the country, to have more knowledge about the laws and such things, because that is what he is going to be working on every day in parliament"

4.3.2 Political Party

In terms of political party, 53% of the population mentioned that there is some degree of loyalty, either talking about them or the population in general, but without mentioning any of the candidates in specific. When referring to president MRS, 67% of the interviewed believe that he either disassociated or is trying to disassociate from the party he used to represent – PSD; with only 2 people referring that they have no knowledge about which party, he is or was associated with, but even though people believe he is trying to separate himself from his political party, 27% of the sample also referred that the party and the party ideals will still have some impact on how he acts during his presidency. In terms of the prime minister, 53% of the sample mentioned that the party will have a higher impact on their decision to vote, with 3 people referring loyalty to one party in specific when voting for this position, and 33% also mentioned that the party has a big influence on the ideals that the candidate will have and will represent.

Table 7 - Remarks regarding political parties

Political Parties
"I believe there is more proximity from the prime minister to his party, than with the president as his position demands a bigger distance. I believe that in the legislative component the party will have bigger importance, than with the president because, there I look more to the human component, I will look more to the person and not as much to the party"

4.3.3 Historic/ Reputation

Referring to historic and reputation of the candidate, every one of the interviewed knew MRS before the election, with 73% of the population saying that already knowing him either influenced their vote or was the only factor when deciding on whom to vote. In relation to prime minister AC, everyone mentioned that they had at least seen him before, but only 27% of the sample mentioned the fact that he had been mayor of Lisbon, but 5 people said that he was less well-known, and 5 people referred that they did not know what he had done while he was in the government.

Table 8 - Remarks regarding Historic/ Reputation

MRS	AC
"Before he was president I didn't think of him as close to the people as now, but I felt he was an interesting person based on his commentaries, and he was an opinion to take into consideration, because every week he commented on the most important topics, and I thought his opinions to be pertinent, and without a doubt, that influenced my opinion of him"	"Before he was prime minister, I knew him as mayor of Lisbon, but because I did not leave in Lisbon, I didn't know that much about him" "The prime minister, I know that before he was mayor of Lisbon, but I didn't know him that well"

4.4. Product Concept Strategy

4.4.1 Function

When talking about the function of each candidate, which represents what people expect the person to do while in office, there is a big distinction between both candidates. When talking about MRS, 60% of the sample mentioned that they expect him to represent the Portuguese people, and 33% mentioned that it is important that he is close to the population. When referring to AC only one person referred that he also represents the country, while 53% of the sample mentioned that his main function should be legislative.

Table 9 - Remarks regarding Function

MRS	AC
"The role of president is based a lot more in public relations and representing the people, that is why he [MRS] is always appearing everywhere"	"[for prime minister] I believe that is needed higher capacity to coordinate the country, you need more knowledge about laws and such stuff because that's what you are going to be working on every day in parliament"

4.4.2 Electoral Program

When talking about the electoral program, in general, people did not remember what the candidates had promised, but most say that at the time of the elections they did know it and tried to get informed about it, only one of the interviewed mentioned remembering MRS talking about having a discussion about the subject of abortions. 47% of the sample referred the electoral program as being more important to the prime minister with 27% of the people saying that it influenced their vote. 3 people also referred the electoral program as being relevant for both candidates and in both elections.

Table 10 - Remark regarding Electoral Program

Electoral program
"I try to listen to what they have to say, and I make my decision from there, so the measures they defend I believe are the most important thing, maybe mostly for the prime minister who will be working every day on the laws"

4.5. Communication and distribution channels

4.5.1 Skepticism and Honesty

Even though people consider MRS as being closer to the population, and AC as appearing in public less often, 53% of the sample still referred as being skeptic of the prime minister, compared with 20% who felt skeptic about MRS, while 47% of the people referred to MRS as being honest, while only 1 person referred to AC as being honest. But, even though some people consider both the president and the prime minister of doing somethings just to get the votes, 2 people also mentioned that this is not necessarily

negative if it also brings something positive to the population, giving the example of lowering the price of public transport passes to families.

Table 11 - Remarks regarding skepticism/honesty

MRS	AC
"[MRS] appears to be honest, obviously there is always a bit of politics involved; he doesn't always want to leave his place to go to the fairs, but he does it because it is an obligation, but when he is there I don't believe that he is fake. He probably wouldn't go to every fair if he wasn't president, but that being his obligation, I believe he does his obligation; he appears to be very transparent in that sort of things"	"The prime minister I think is also being honest, but the votes will have a bigger impact on what he does" "This measure of the passes was clearly to gain votes, but I also cannot say that it was a bad measure"

4.5.2 Political Campaign

When it comes to the political campaign, as it was in the electoral program, most people said they did not remember exactly what happened, they just had an idea. 7 people referred that president MRS did not have a political campaign or that it was a very small campaign, with 8 people mentioning that they remember him using especially free media, like appearing in the news, or debates. In contrast, 3 people referred to the campaign of AC as being big, with 40% of the sample remembering the use of paid advertisements, like billboards, with 2 people also referring his use of free media.

Table 12 - Remarks regarding political campaign

MRS	AC
"Marcelo did not have a campaign, I saw him on television, but it was as a commentator… I think he did not need to have a campaign because everyone already knew him and liked him and what he had done"	"Costa was everywhere. He had advertisements on television, on the radio, he had billboards on the road"

CHAPTER 5 - CONCLUSIONS

In the conclusions section of the project, the results found in the last chapter will be compared with the literature review made by previous investigators, followed by limitations and contributions of the study as well as recommendations for future investigations.

5.1. Environment

Concerning the environment, this study sought to analyze whether there are differences that candidates must take into consideration when working on this factor when they are preparing legislative or presidential campaigns. One of the limitations of this study is that the model used was designed through the perspective of the candidate or the political party to use when preparing their strategy and was adapted to fit this project which took information from the point view of the voter, but according to Buttler and Collins (1994), this will also have relevance, since one of the reasons to collect information about the population is to make sure that the image that is presented to the public shows empathy and compatibility of values and that it is in accordance with the culture, showing that the perspective of the voter is also relevant for the case.

Scammel (1999) mentioned that when starting the strategizing of a political endeavor, researchers should start by collecting information about the needs and wants of the population, but with the methodology used in this project, by not being in contact with the people responsible for the campaigns, it could not be checked whether studies were made regarding this aspect or not. What can be understood is that in general people do believe that both prime minister and president have knowledge about the population and what they want with the biggest difference being that president MRS gets more knowledge from being closer with the population while prime minister AC is more distant so he should get his information from other sources.

So, there were not found differences in this factor when comparing the campaign of the president and the prime minister.

5.2. Seller

With the second proposition, this project sought to analyze whether the "seller" factor should have a different strategizing when preparing presidential and legislative elections. Butler and Collins (1994) mention that both candidate and party image are important in this factor, referring to the fact that some people vote for one party just

because of that party or for one candidate just because of the candidate while preferring the policies of others. Butler and Colins (1994) mentioned that all of the candidate's characteristics will have some degree of importance for the public, and while analyzing both candidates, it was found some differences in the description people used for both. When categorizing president MRS, people would most often refer to his personality like the fact of him being honest and transparent, and when referring to prime minister AC people would most often mention his capacities for leading the country and managing the politicians in the parliament.

When analyzing the influence of the party in the campaign of the candidates, in general the sample said that it had more influence when they were thinking of prime minister AC, while believing that president MRS was trying to distance himself from PSD, his party. One of the traditional characteristics of political marketing according to Butler and Colins (1994) is that there is a high degree of loyalty in relation to political parties, which means that politicians don't have so much risk when shifting policies, but it will be harder for one party to steal votes from others, needing to have a bigger focus on new voters. In the interviews, there was a lot of mention when it comes to loyalty specially directed to the prime minister, or the party of the prime minister. These results lead to the idea that when preparing a legislative election, the campaign may count with a higher level of loyalty from previous voters, even though this is diminishing (Mair and Van Biezen, 2001), so they must have a higher focus on gaining votes from the younger generations (first time voters), while for presidential elections as there is not as much loyalty, and the candidate is not as much associated with the party, there will need to be a focus on obtaining the votes from the population in general instead of focusing on the smaller segment. This may also indicate that candidates associated with smaller parties may also have a higher chance of success when competing for the presidential election, as one of the main focus that the interviewed mentioned was the fact that fame and reputation had a big impact when it came to the election of president MRS. According to Scammel (1999), showing the history of achievements is one of the ways to increase the confidence of the people in one candidate, and so reducing uncertainty in the electorate, and according to this study, this aspect seems to be more relevant when it comes to presidential elections, as most people knew that the prime minister AC had been previously involved in politics, but many did not know in which positions, nor what he had done when he was in power.

Cwalina et al. (2012), mentions that there are different countries may have different types of democracy orientations, and in the literature review of this paper there were given the examples of Poland which has a party-oriented democracy, where the political party is the entity in which the electorate cast their vote, and the USA which has a more candidate-oriented democracy where the party may assist the candidate, but his image and the policies he proposes are the bigger concerns for the electorate (Wattenberg, 1991). The results from this study suggest that within a country there might also exist different kinds of democracy orientations, with people giving more importance to the candidate and his personality in presidential elections and giving higher importance to the party in legislative elections.

5.3. Product Concept Strategy

The third proposition of the project sought to analyze whether Legislative and presidential campaigns need to take into different consideration the product factor, meaning the expected benefits that people are expecting to receive from the election of a candidate (Niffenegger, 1988). When analyzing the results of the study, most people referred to having a higher interest in the politics which are defended by prime minister AC, mainly because they consider his function to be legislating the country while the functions presented to president MRS was to represent the country and its people and to be close with the population. Niffenegger (1988) affirms that even though there are no costs when voting, people will still associate some costs with their choice, which can be economic, costs in national image, or costs related to psychological factors. This study seems to indicate that the job of prime minister is more relevant with the economic costs, because people give the prime minister the function of legislating the country, and the job of president seems to be more connected with the costs associated with national image, with one of the functions of the president being to represent the country. There was no mention of costs related to psychological factors.

5.4. Communication and Distribution Channels

The last proposition sought to analyze whether communication and distribution channels need to be taken into different consideration when being prepared for presidential and legislative elections. Nowadays, the media have a lot of power in the political sphere, having the possibility of impacting the result of elections (Scammel, 1999; Gamson et al., 1992), and this study agrees with this premise, with the sample commenting especially about television. Brown (2003) and Butler and Collins (1994)

mention that we are in a time of high levels of cynicism, with people starting to believe that the communications presented by politicians are less focused on substance, so according to Butler and Harris (2009), those brands which are thought of as being authentic will have a higher number of voters. This study showed that there is a higher degree of skepticism when it comes to prime minister AC even though they consider president MRS to be more present and remember seeing him speak more times and having a clearer image of him. Likewise, there is a higher belief in the honesty of president MRS than prime minister AC, which may be due to the fact that the sample on average had a higher opinion about the president. This seems to indicate that MRS will less likely be questioned about his honesty, while the actions of prime minister will be more scrutinized by the public.

Shama (1975) mentions that when it first started gaining relevance, political marketing's main focus was to transmit the message of the candidate or the party, and according to Niffenegger (2006), nowadays, this is still one of its main functions. Niffenegger (2006) mentions that there are 2 main levels of distribution channels: personal appearances and programs with volunteer workers but in the interviews, the only ones mentioned by the sample when asked where they got their information from, consisted only of appearances from the candidate or party, mostly in television. People characterized president MRS's campaign either as being small, or by not existing at all, getting most of their information from his appearances on the news, or debates, meaning free media, while prime minister AC's campaign was considered to be bigger, and although some people also mentioned the use of free media, there was a higher mention of advertisement. This might indicate that in Portugal volunteer programs have less impact than where the study presented by Niffenegger (2006) happened, also showing a difference in the strategy used by both candidates.

It is also worthy to note that even though some authors like Wattal et al. (2010), comment that nowadays the new communication channels presented in Web 2.0 are gaining relevance, there were very few mentions of these in this study, which might indicate that this is a fairly recent trend in Portugal.

5.5. Academic Implications

Before this study was made, there were already studies regarding differences that political campaigns need to take in consideration when being prepared to different geographical areas (mostly because of how democracy and laws are organized in said

locations and because of differences in the people's wants, needs, and culture), but there were still no studies regarding differences that political campaigns must take in account when being prepared to the same country, but different types of election. The present study by showing that the campaigns of Portuguese president MRS and prime minister AC demonstrates that there are some differences that must be taken into consideration when preparing each, which must be further investigated.

The purpose of the study was to discover whether there were differences in the political campaign requisites of both candidates because if this was confirmed, it opens the door to more in-depth studies on the subject regarding differences in legislative and presidential campaigns, and this difference was confirmed.

5.6. Practical Implications

One of the criticisms that the discipline of political marketing is receiving, is that the advances made in it will lead to a globalization of its practices, or because most of the research is made in the USA, that there will happen an Americanization of politics nowadays. This problem had already been addressed by Lees-Marshment and Lilleker (2012), who said that differences in culture will not allow a campaign to be completely copied from one country to another. This study also shows that even with the same population, sharing the same culture, there are still some aspects that cannot be copied from one election to another for different positions, but because of the lack of representativity of the sample, we cannot yet make conclusions regarding definitive aspects or factors which are different from one campaign to the other.

5.7. Limitations and Future Studies

The sample chosen for this study, was not only small, but it was also very homogeneous, composed of young people with ages between 20 and 30 years old, who had some kind of higher education, so the representativeness of the population is non-existent, and for most of them, the legislative elections of 2015, when PS gained, and AC became prime minister, was the first time when they were able to vote on a nationwide election, so their ideas are relevant when talking about these 2 elections in particular, but the knowledge related to more widespread politics might be questioned. Also, the interviews were performed a long time after the elections, so the interviewed did not have a perfect recollection of the events or of the thoughts they had at the time of the events, which might bring some errors in the data provided.

The biggest limitation in the study derives from the fact that it is a qualitative study with a small sample, which means that it is not representative of the Portuguese population, and it cannot be generalized to other cultures. The focus of the project was to analyze whether there were differences in the requirements for the elections of president MRS and prime minister AC, as to encourage future studies with higher representativeness of the population, and which could be generalized to every election and not just for some specific cases. Another limitation of the study is the fact that only 2 cases were analyzed. This could mean that there were no actual differences when preparing political campaigns for different positions, but instead that there exist differences in each election, regardless of whether they are for the same position or not. This limitation could also be solved by conducting future studies of quantitative character, which not only were representative of the whole population, but which also encompassed the study of legislative and presidential elections without studying particular cases.

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ATTACHMENTS

Attachment 1 – Interview Script

Bom dia! Neste momento estou a realizar o meu trabalho final de mestrado pelo ISEG em Marketing, e por isso agradeço a sua disponibilidade e atenção ao realizar estra entrevista. O tema do meu projeto é acerca das diferenças que as campanhas de marketing têm de ter em atenção quando está a ser preparado uma campanha presidencial e uma campanha legislativa, tomando o caso do presidente Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa e do primeiro ministro António Costa. Eu já estive a fazer uma pesquisa em que autores anteriores identificaram 5 aspetos que os candidatos e partidos têm de ter em atenção quando estão a preparar a sua campanha, e queria ter a sua opinião acerca destes temas, que são: ambiente, vendedor que identifica o partido ou o candidato, produto político, comunicação e canais de distribuição e mercado, que representa o fato de os políticos terem de adaptar todos estas funções a cada um dos segmentos da população. Tem alguma pergunta antes de começar?

1) Tem interesse na vida política e procura informação acerca desta?
2) Qual a sua opinião acerca de Marcelo; e de António Costa?
3) Quando está a tomar a sua decisão de voto quais são os principais fatores que toma em conta? São os mesmos para o presidente e para o primeiro ministro?
4) Na sua opinião quais são os assuntos a que o povo dá mais atenção quando vai votar, se tivesse de dizer 2, por exemplo saúde ou segurança? Acha que Marcelo tem trabalhado bem sobre estes elementos? E António costa? [Environment]
5) Associa António costa e Marcelo a algum partido político? Este partido teve alguma importância na sua decisão de votar ou não votar nos candidatos? [Seller]
6) O que acha do Marcelo enquanto pessoa e em relação ao seu carácter? E em relação a António Costa? Isto tem importância na sua escolha enquanto vota? [Seller]
7) Tem conhecimento acerca das ideologias políticas ou promessas da campanha de cada um dos políticos? [Product]
8) Lembra-se de ter ouvido ou visto alguma coisa sobre estas durante a campanha dos dois políticos? [Communication]

9) Acha que o presidente está a ser honesto quando comunica com a população, ou por vezes está só à procura de mais votos? E o primeiro ministro? [Communication]

10) Depois de toda esta entrevista, quais acha que são os fatores mais importantes para o presidente e para o primeiro ministro quando for votar em cada um?

Perguntas relacionadas com carácter – idade; educação; situação profissional; hábitos de voto