

**Research Title: “Developing Image Based Positioning
Strategies for Retaining the Political Parties’
Electoral Bases: A New Theoretical Perspective”**

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Abstract

In the recent past, there has been an increasing interest in the topic of personal values and their influence on end-users' behaviour in the context of both commercial and political environment. However, there has been little research aimed at linking voters' value priorities, and the influence of these values in the formulation and implementation of successful organizational strategies.

This dissertation is concerned with the area of personal values, how voters' values influence both strategy process and its outcomes in the formation of competitive segmentation/positioning strategies within the political environment, and with the developing field of political marketing, in order the retention of political parties' electoral bases to be achieved. The research strategy is based on a qualitative approach to discovering the value priorities of voter segments. Working on coding applications, throughout the voters' value-behaviour spectrum, the reasoning and impact of personal values on voters' political behaviour will be identified. Also, the identification of value priorities perceptions based on political image, since the leader's image and party's image are basic components of the political product offering, will be described. Finally, based on voters' value priorities an image-based positioning strategy will be proposed.

Rokeach's, Schwartz's, and Rohan's theoretical background provide the main basis for understanding the topic of personal values. The qualitative method which will be used is based on Grand McCracken's "*The Long Interview*" method which consists of the basic research framework. However, in parallel, the inductive approach for Ground Theory development has been employed for more solid elements for the Greek Voters' electoral behaviour interpretation to be achieved. Moreover, for more reliability and support for the interview process and outcomes to be achieved, the Theory of Planned Behaviour from the field of Social Psychology is also employed. This will lead to a consensus of image-based positioning strategic directions. As a result, an approach showing the impact of personal values on strategy formulation for the retention of the political parties' electoral bases is proposed.

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Declaration

I declare that no part of this dissertation has been taken from existing published or unpublished material without due acknowledgement and that all secondary material used therein has been fully referenced

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 The Research Problem

Although there is considerable development within the field of political marketing there still exist gaps within the extant theory. One of the most important theoretical gaps that can be observed is the retention of the political parties' electoral bases; these gaps are highlighted in the Chapter of Literature Review.

Being more specific, since the 1950s, the major part of voters of the so-called "western world countries" used to vote for the same political party sequentially (Shachar, 2003; Salvik and Crew, with Day, N. and Macdermid, R. 1983). However, since the beginning of the nineties, there has been observed a gradual but permanent decrease in voters' loyalty and consequently a problem in the retention of the parties' electoral bases. This phenomenon was attributed to the plethora of information provided by the media, which in turn had provided voters with more information about electoral opportunities (Butler and Harris 2009; Meguid 2008; Negrine and Lilleker 2002).

Greek researchers held a different opinion about this. More specifically E. Teperoglou and E. Tsatsanis (2014), argue that the so-called *metapolitefsis era* established in Greece in 1974 brought seven years of dictatorship to an end, and against expectations, one of the most stable two-party systems in Europe emerged. Indeed, the dominance of the parties led some commentators to label the Third Republic a "partitocrazia" (Anthopoulos, 2008: 113), in the vein of the Italian First Republic. At its core stood the two major parties – the socialist PASOK, and right-wing New Democracy – which structured political competition firmly along the left-right axis. Indeed, this cleavage has been a defining characteristic of Greek politics for most of the twentieth century and has contributed to a sense of continuity in Greek politics despite the changes in political regime and political parties. As Gunther (2005: 270) states, only the left-right stance of the parties has served as a significant inhibitor of inter-bloc volatility in Greece.

The steady alternation of the two major parties in government since 1974 was further supported by the extreme majoritarianism engineered into the Greek electoral system and was broken only by two short-lived coalitions in 1989. This stable duopoly allowed for the return of several features of early parliamentary life in Greece in the nineteenth century. Specifically, PASOK and New Democracy operated a modernized version of the patron-client system with party linkages replacing personalized ties. Both parties were dominated by charismatic leaders who relied on populist rhetoric and were run in a top-down fashion. The existing strength of political identities shaped by past regime crises and buttressed by existing clientelist ties meant that levels of party attachment were high from the early days of the new regime (Featherstone, 2005: 229; Charalambis, 1989) and led to the formation of highly durable parallel networks of “left” and “right” political blocs. In every national election from the 1970s until the start of the twenty-first century, New Democracy and PASOK gathered well over 80% of the vote. This all came to a dramatic end, however, in the aftermath of the global financial crisis and the Greek economic meltdown. The parliamentary elections of 2007 and 2009 saw the combined vote for the two major parties for the first time fall slightly below 80% (79.9% and 77.4% respectively). In 2012, however, it collapsed completely to less than one-third.

In any case, the permanent stabilization of the decrease of voters’ loyalty, has led political parties to be faced with newly developed problems such as the balancing act between meeting the needs of the increasing number of floating voters and their hard-core electoral bases (Dann and Hughes 2008; Lilleker 2005).

Moreover, the recent developments in the Southern European Countries’ economies and particularly Greece have contributed to the loyalty decline of voters even more and led it to significantly low levels (Heyer, 2012).

1.2 Justification of Research

Accordingly, two dominant incentives led to the development of this research: Firstly, the role of personal values on voters’ decision making through close

observation of the voters' thinking processes; and secondly, how these value-based thinking processes would affect political marketing strategies in a way that, through the mutual benefit of both political parties and voters, lead to the retention of political parties' electoral bases.

Personal Values are cognitive representations of desirable, abstract, transituational goals that serve as guiding principles in people's lives (Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz, 1992; Rohan, 2000).

The general importance of values in political preferences, championed by Rokeach (1973, 1979), is being acknowledged by students of political attitudes (Zaller, 1992). Significant scholars are emphasizing the central role of values in politics, stating that "underlying all political belief systems are ultimate terminal values that specify the end states of public policy" (Tetlock, 2000, p. 247) and that values "allow people to organize their political evaluations in a relatively consistent manner" (Feldman, S. 2003, p. 491).

Values assume a particularly informative role in voters' political choices whenever universal ideals are at stake and when political parties profess a set of value-oriented ideals (Barnea & Schwartz, 1998; Feldman, 2003).

Yet there has been a surprisingly little contribution to the impact of values on political decisions in the Greek political context.

Consequently, since personal values are considered as sources of *long-term equity*, and hence, sources of loyalty conditions (Caprara et al, 2006), the identification of voters' value systems and their impact on political marketing strategies created the main motive for this thesis to commence. This acquires even greater significance when the electorate's decision making can be described by close observation of their value-based thinking processes.

This main motive is sourcing from the intention to create a process that would allow close observation of the voters' thinking processes; that is, to be able to observe, throughout all the stages of their thinking processes, how voters make electoral decisions.

Being more specific, this thesis does not intend to provide information about what the electoral choices of the Greek Voters are; but instead of it, how these voters decide to vote, and mostly under what criteria they make these electoral decisions.

This emerged requirement led to the necessity for developing a process for close observation and identification of the Greek Voters' value systems, the detailed observation of the Greek Voters decision making or value-based thinking processes, and the Greek Voters' perceptions connected to their value-based image associations; and in turn, based on the analysis of these image associations, a new strategic proposition for the retention of political parties' electoral bases to be developed.

It is the above argument, therefore, which led to the investigation of the Greek Voters' value-based decision making or Value-based thinking processes in a developing and interdisciplinary field such as the field of Political Marketing.

As such, in this thesis it is assumed that close observation of the voters' decision making, by tracing their value-based thinking processes, significant inferences can be elicited which lead to *long-term equity* or loyalty conditions; this is argued since personal values by themselves are sources of long-term equity (Schwartz, 1992; Caprara and Zimbardo, 2004; Caprara et al, 2006) and hence they can lead to the development of strategies for the retention of the political parties electoral bases.

1.3 Conceptual Framework

In this thesis, the conceptual framework upon which the research is relying is based on McCracken's (1988) Semi-structured *Long Interview* method. Accordingly, the research was conducted on four faces.

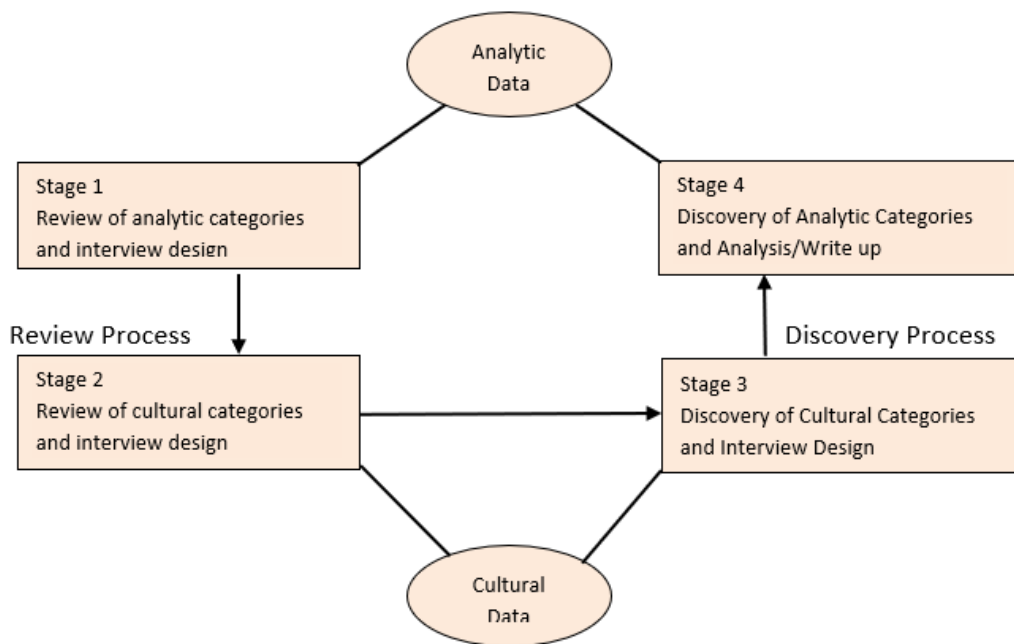


Figure 1.1: Long Qualitative Interview: Four-Part Method of Enquiry (McCracken, 1988, p. 30)

Figure 1

Being more specific, the First Face refers to the review of literature from the studies of major areas such as Political Marketing, Value Theory, Theory of Political Image, and Influence of Attitudes on Social Behaviour Theories. From the gaps of literature review, initial insights were elicited from this stage.

The Second Face aims at using the researcher as an instrument of inquiry by taking advantage of his intimate acquaintance, knowledge, and experience (McCracken, 1988) of the Greek political environment.

The Third Face can be seen as a Data Collection process that includes a questionnaire construction and interview procedure. The interview procedure continued until the exhaustion of data collection was integrated. For this stage, in particular, twenty (20) long interviews were conducted to explore the Greek voters' thinking processes; this was made through close observation of their decision making based on a process which was developed for this reason.

The Fourth Face refers to Data Analysis. The data collected from the Third Face was the main source of information for the Fourth Face. The previously mentioned process of Data Collection and Data Analysis was relying on an inductive approach

for developing *grounded theory* based on Glaser, B., and Strauss, A. (1965, 1967), Glaser, B. (1978), Straus, A., and Corbin, J. (1998), and Gioia et al (2012). The findings were perceptions derived from the close observation of the Greek Voters' value-based thinking processes which led to the elicitation of personally relevant image associations; these image associations, in turn, would form the major background upon which a positioning proposition aiming at the retention of the Greek political parties' electoral bases would be built.

Accordingly, after the accomplishment of Data Analysis a Theoretical Category or Model as a major theoretical proposition, which will be based on three Major Categories, and three Sub-Categories, would be introduced.

1.4 Research Aim and research questions.

The current research aims at offering the first detailed study of the Greek Voters' electoral decision making through close observation of their evolved thinking processes. The general goal is to provide further insights to the literature related to the retention of the political parties' electoral bases by developing political marketing strategies of mutual benefit for both political parties and voters. Therefore, the *basic aim* of this research is:

To provide an understanding of how Voters' value-based thinking processes influence the retention of the political parties' electoral bases.

Accordingly, a new theoretical perspective will be introduced for more advanced political marketing strategies to be formulated. Also, within the broader study, the research focuses, through close observation of the Greek voters' value-based thinking processes and their perceptions, on the elicitation of personally relevant image associations. Twenty (20) individuals who are Greek citizens and reside in Greece comprise the sample on which this research study has focused. The study makes an investigation of these voters' personal evaluations of the Greek political parties through their current and past daily living experiences related to Greek

politics. More specifically, the aim is to conduct a qualitative study that intends to accomplish this research through four major objectives.

From the current research, several promising areas might have provided insights and answers to the question of successful implementation of strategies that lead to loyalty and retention of political parties' electoral bases although they are mostly of quantitative character (Baines, et al, 2003; Baines, et al, 2011; Ben-Ur, J. and Newman, B.I., 2010; French, A. and Smith, G., 2010; Gerber, A.S., Huber, G. A. and Washington, E., 2010; Green, J. and Jennings, W., 2011; Marsh, M. and Tilley, J., 2010; Newman, P., 2007; O'Cass, A., 2002, 2003; O'Cass, A. and Natarajan, R., 2003). This is further discussed in the Chapter of Methodology. However, qualitative research into voters' loyalty and retention are still underdeveloped, leaving an absence of in-depth research both at the theoretical and empirical level. This underdevelopment is even bigger, particularly in the Greek political environment.

The main focus of this research is the process of strategy development within the political marketing field. Consequently, the forces that influence this process will be investigated. The strategy process focuses on the people or the voters that influence the formulation of this process or those influenced by the outcome of this strategy. If organizational strategies are based on end-users' personal views, then strategies within the political marketing field must depend on aspects that influence the voters' way of seeing the world; and since the deepest source of peoples' wills and desires are peoples' personal values then strategy processes will greatly depend on the voters' thinking processes, the basic component of which are voters' personal values. Several theories influence this proposition. Harrison (1999) states that "the personal values of the decision-maker and the values of the organization significantly influence the entire process of decision making". Lord and Brown propose that values serve two important functions. First, "values can provide coherence and a sense of purpose to an individual's behaviour, since values are enduring and transcend situations", and second, "values are the basis for behaviours that meet the needs of groups or larger social units because values are normative standards" (Lord and Brown, 2001, p.138). Consequently, since voters' values are determinant factors that impact organizational strategy the question that arises after this is: **How can Greek voters' personal values be identified?**

Moreover, and as a consequence of this, a basic motive of the study was to investigate in depth the thinking processes based on personal experiences of the target groups that would be identified within the Greek electorate; that is, how people make sense of their daily living experiences and their perceived structure of the world, and in line with this make political decisions.

Therefore, the focus of this research study is the exploration of the individual voters' decision making through the close observation of their thinking processes that lead to these decisions; and due to this, the next question that arises is: **How are Greek voters' thinking processes, based on their personal values, developed?**

That is, the research will attempt to make sense out of or interpret experiences from the perspective of those who live it; or, the specific experiences of the Greek voters. This will lead to the elicitation of insights or image associations of personal character emerging out of the observation and in-depth investigation of the Greek voters' value-based thinking processes; these image associations will constitute the base upon which personally relevant positioning strategies will be built and proposed. So, the next question is: **How can the Greek voters' image associations derived from their value-based thinking processes be elicited?**

In turn, by knowing the voters' value-based thinking processes, political marketers will be able to sense in a better way the nature of mutual benefit between voters and political parties and consequently develop more advanced strategies and sustainable relationships between political parties and the electorate. Accordingly, and having in mind the importance of the Greek voters' value-based thinking processes, the next question that arises is: **How could political parties' strategies be best formulated, so that retention of the political parties' electoral bases to be achieved?**

Concerning the retention of the parties' electoral bases, the research questions examine whether and how voters' personal values contribute to strategy formulation, for desired positive outcomes to be achieved in both: the political parties' electoral profit as well as the voters' benefits in a mutually beneficial manner. Therefore, processes that would lead to the observation and description of voters' reasoning concerning their voting attitudes and behaviours were necessary

to be developed. This would render this research study an instrument of observation and in the detailed description of the voters' thinking processes. And as a result, this will allow to a closer observation of individual voters' perceptions, and hence, the elicitation of personally relevant and coherent image associations which will be the basic components of image-based positioning/advertising propositions.

Consequently, political messages will be built according to the attributes that these image associations provide; these personally relevant image associations, in turn, can be translated to significant information that would lead to the development of messages through which greater impact on the voters' mindsets would be exerted and *long-term equity* for retention of the political parties' electoral bases would be achieved.

1.5 Research Questions

The thinking processes of individuals towards the development of a decision for a particular objective, with the assumption that this was a direct reflection of voters' life conditions (Bacha, 1995; Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet, 1944; Caprara *et al*, 1997; Caprara, 2006; De Pelsmacker et al., 2005; Downs, 1957; Feldman, 2003; Fournier, 1998; Harrop, 1990; Lages & Fernandes, 2005; Newman, 1994; Peter & Olson, 2008), always attracted the attention of investigators. This is since by knowing the rationale under which individuals, and in particular the electorate, make decisions for an objective or a group of objectives of similar nature, then attitudes and behaviours emerged for the same objectives may be predicted in the future. This argument will obtain more significance under the assumption that the electorates' thinking processes are value-based since values exert a decisive role for voters in organizing political evaluations and preferences (Rokeach 1968, 1973, and 1979). Therefore, it becomes evident that the investigation of the voters' thinking processes is a fundamental objective of this research. Therefore the incorporation of the voters' personal values within the voters' thinking processes will provide more significance in it. Therefore, personal values are considered to be the cornerstone of

the electorate's thinking processes. Consequently, the first question that would lead to the accomplishment of the aim of this research will be:

Question 1: How can Greek voters' personal values be identified?

The Greek voters' personal values were the first and fundamental prerequisite which should be identified for the bases of this research to be formed and commence.

Accordingly, one of the most important tasks of the particular research is the observation and description of the Greek voters' thinking processes which additionally would source from their value systems, that is, the Greek voters' values, intermediate stage, motivations, attitudes, consequences, voting behaviour, and finally the investigation of political parties. The process of value-based decision-making is sourcing from the theoretical background described by Ajzen and Fishbein (1977). These two authors made a thorough description of how the individuals' thinking processes are inspired, restricted, and eventually integrated providing a significant background for a plethora of insights for future research investigations. For the current research, this will be the basic tool in order for the value-based thinking processes of the Greek voters to be described. This will allow the researcher to segment the electorate, to observe the rationale of their decision making, and additionally to develop links between stages and different categories. Hence the second research question will be:

Question 2: How are Greek voters' thinking processes, based on their personal values, developed?

The observation and description of Greek voters' value-based thinking processes will be the source of the required elements for the accomplishment of the final objective which is to build positioning propositions for the Greek political parties; that is, the elicitation of personally relevant image associations. A political image has long term character, it is accomplished from one election period to the other, it is a basic "ingredient" of the political product offering, and it impacts campaigning significantly.

It is considered that the most appropriate way in which image has been transformed in an operational framework and for the needs of the current research to be better served the approach of *linkages between characteristics and feelings/emotions* which is credited to Oxenfeldt (1974) is employed; more details about this approach are provided in Chapter Six: Positioning; accordingly, the connection between perceptions which is the most important contribution of this approach will be elicited. That is when thinking about an object some feature of it typically comes to the mind. This feature itself brings something else to mind, which in turn brings yet another thought to mind. What happens is that concepts imply other concepts, producing an implication network reflecting memory linkages which are considered as the fundamental components of the image. This connection of key elements that define the object provides a translation of the meaning of the political product to personally relevant descriptors provide the basis for the image; hence its impact on a positioning strategy for the retention of the political parties' electoral base is enormous. Consequently, the third question will be:

Question 3: How can image associations from voters' value-based thinking processes be elicited?

To cover the third question the required background had to be created. Such background was composed of image associations, selected from perceptions of voters' value-based thinking processes. This led to the creation of the required conditions to answer the fourth (4th) question. The theoretical background upon which this question will be covered is provided by Gengler, C., & Reynolds, T.J. (1995), Guttman, J., & Reynolds, T.J. (1979), Peter, J.P., & Olson, J.C. (1999), Ries, A., and Trout, J. (1981), L. Percy & A. Woodside, (1983). According to these authors a successful advertising message "*must touch base with reality*"; and reality is what already exists in the prospects' mind. In parallel with this we must recall the argumentation borrowed from the previous or third objective which is:

"To be creative, to create something that doesn't already exist in the mind is becoming more and more difficult; if not impossible. The basic approach of

positioning is not to create something new and different. But to manipulate what's already up there in the mind. To retie the connections that already exist."

Since the major problem of the message received from the prospects' mind is the "overcommunicated society" as a solution is proposed the "oversimplified message" (Ries, A. and Trout, J., 2001). Moreover, the positioning concept of the "oversimplified message" was further developed into this theory by the concept of "owning a word in the mind". In turn, when the advantages of a political candidate/ party or product must be communicated "things must be turned inside out"; that is, the solution to the problem will not be found inside the product/object, not even inside someone's mind. The solution to the problem will be found inside the prospect's mind (Ries, A. and Trout, J., 2001). In other words, since so little of the message is going to get through anyway, there must be a concentration on the receiving end; that is, on the perceptions of the prospects. Not the reality of the product/object. Moreover "In politics", as John Lindsay argues, "The perception is the reality". So, too, in advertising, in business, and life. This is why image associations and perceptions are so important.

What matters, are the perceptions that exist in the mind. The essence of positioning thinking is to accept the perceptions as reality and then restructure those perceptions to create the desired position. Hence, what is requested after this are *keywords* representing image associations from perceptions in the prospects' minds or from the voters' value-based thinking processes. Accordingly, the fourth question will be:

Question 4: How can voters' value-based thinking processes impact the positioning strategy process and its formulation so political parties manage to retain their electoral bases?

In this research real-world evidence is sought to explain the role of personal values and value-based thinking processes in developing and implementing image-based positioning strategies which are finally accomplished by having answered the fourth (4th) question. Hence, through this thesis, which is exploratory, the influence of

voters' personal values on voters' decision making and its impact on positioning strategy processes for creating *long term equity* (Caprara et al 2006), are explored (see also Dyllick, 2006; Punch, 2005, 2006).

1.6 Structure of the Thesis

The structure of the thesis is shown in Table 1.4. The theoretical aspects of the research are presented in the first three chapters of the thesis. The First (1st) Chapter provides a brief introduction to the research questions and research background. The Second (2nd) Chapter discusses the literature related to political marketing theory as well as supportive theories borrowed from other disciplines are described. In the Third (3rd) Chapter the researcher is used as an instrument of inquiry by taking advantage of the intimate acquaintance with his own culture. In the Fourth (4th) Chapter, the methodology applied to the thesis is explained. The Fifth (5th) Chapter presents the research findings from Data Collection and explains the Data Analysis of the research. In the Sixth (6th) Chapter the development of a positioning proposition for the retention of the political parties' electoral bases is presented. The last or the Seventh (7th) Chapter concludes with the summary of the research findings which led to the research contribution, the managerial implications, the research limitations, and implications for future research.

Table 1

Table 1.4: Structure of the Thesis

Chapter	Title	Major Contents
One	Introduction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Establishes the research background Introduces research aim and objectives and research questions
Two	Literature Review	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reviews literature of political marketing Reviews supportive theories borrowed from other disciplines such as the value theory, the theory of image, and studies related to the theory of reasoned action.

Three	Personal Views and Experience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reviews personal views • Refines the research problems by presenting research assumptions for main study
Four	Methodology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explains the epistemology, constructivist ontology, and constructivist epistemology used in this study • Describes the structure and procedure of the main study • Describes the data collection process
Five	Data findings and analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provides the research findings and analysis from the data collected
Six	Positioning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Describes the positioning proposition for the retention of the political parties' electoral bases. More explanation is provided in Chapter Six: Positioning.
Seven	Conclusions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provides reflection on this study and the implications for future research

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a review of the current literature in the area of Political Marketing, as well as, theories from other disciplines related to the concept of voters' decision making. In particular, these theories will be related to value-based image associations, selected from perceptions of the voters thinking processes, which affect the strategy formulation for retaining the political parties' electoral bases. This refers to the Stage One (McCracken, 1988) of the study as shown in Figure 1.2; and it will contribute to formulating the subsequent stages of this thesis.

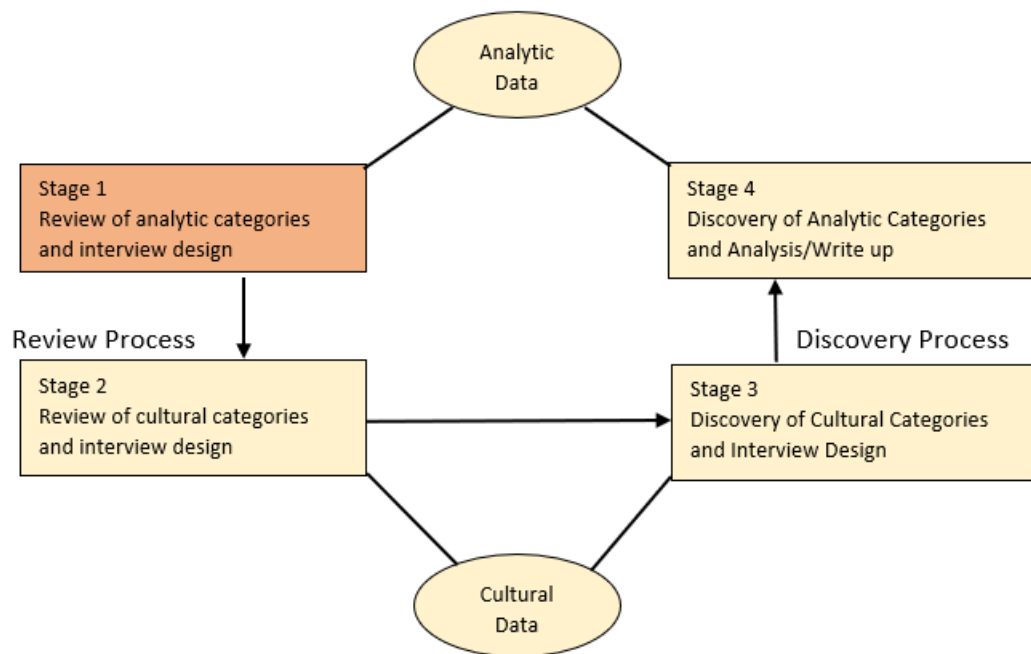


Figure 2.1: Long Qualitative Interview: Stage 1 Review of Analytic Categories and Interview Design

Figure 2

This chapter is divided into three parts:

- *Part One* provides an overview and evaluation of the research accomplished in the field of Political marketing studies. It considers political marketing studies such as the Theory of Political Marketing, the Socio-Psychological

(Michigan) Model and the concept of Party Identification, the Economic (Rational-Choice) Model, Marketing Models of the Consumer and Voter, the Importance of Party Image, Marketing Strategy and Kirchheimer, Kirchheimer Today-the Customised Party, the Concept of Political Marketing Management as a “New” Phenomenon, as well as Fundamentals and Definitions as the most important topics. The nature of the political exchange as fundamentally different from the commercial exchange is also described. An overview of Political Marketing Research in Greece is also provided; and issues related to the Emergence of Political Relationship Marketing, Political Marketing as an Exchange, Political Relationship Marketing, and the role of Political Relationship Marketing in the current research are also offered.

- *Part Two* offers a review of supportive literature borrowed from other disciplines such as the Value Theory and the Influence of Attitudes on Social Behaviour Theory. These two theoretical domains are supportive theories or theories upon which the concept of *Voters’ Value-based Thinking Processes* (VVbTP) has relied. It is the concept upon which the accomplishment of this research is based. It was found that there was a necessity of Epistemological orientation (more details will be provided in Chapter Three: Methodology); as well as that the areas of Political Relationship Marketing and Value-based research in Greece were under-researched.
- *Part Three*, a Summary, research Gaps in Political Marketing, and Emerging Themes from the Literature aiming to produce managerial implications are provided.

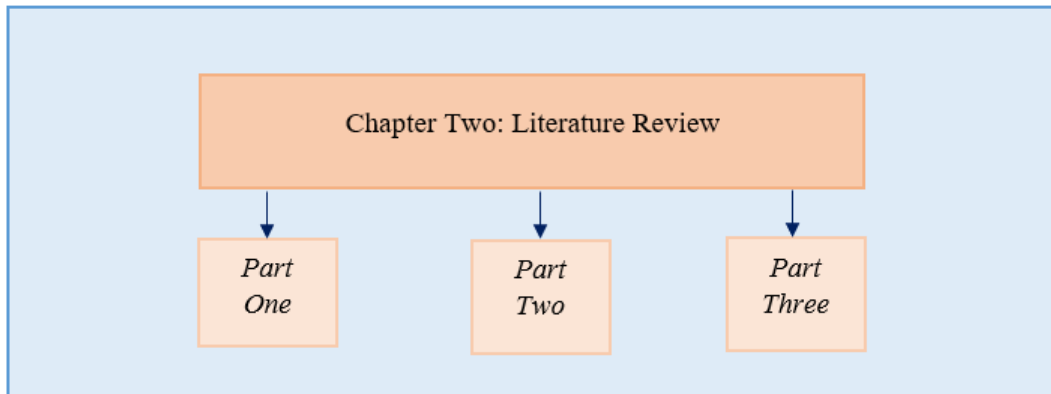


Figure 2.2: Parts of Chapter Two: Literature Review.

Figure 3

Consequently, Chapter Two: Literature Review will commence with *Part One*, which is mainly focused on Political Marketing studies, as already mentioned in the Introduction of the chapter.

2.2 Part One of Literature review

The main purpose of *Part One* is to provide an understanding of the concept of Political Marketing to the reader. With a view to this, there is presented an overview of literature related to main concepts, functions, and instruments aiming at both long term (i.e. positioning strategies) and short term (i.e. campaigning) activities.

Consequently, going through a road map, topics such as the three models of voting behaviour, Party Image, Marketing Strategy and Kirchheimer, the Customised Party, the concept of Political Marketing Management, as well as an overview of Political Marketing Research in Greece, and issues related to Political Relationship Marketing and its role for this thesis will be mainly described.

At the end of *Part One*, a briefing about the existing Political Marketing studies will be provided. Accordingly, the necessity for the accomplishment of this thesis in the field of Political Marketing will start being emerged.

2.2.1 Models of Voting Behaviour

For a better understanding for the reader to be provided an overview of the literature of the political science related to electoral behaviour, which consists of a significant component the concept of Political Marketing, will be made.

Consequently, in the following sections, the main theoretical models that explain the electoral behaviour— Sociological model of voting behaviour, Psychosocial model of voting behaviour, and Rational choice theory — stressing the continuity and theoretical complementarity between them will be described (found in *Theoretical models of voting behaviour*, Rui Antunes, 2010). It also proposes a reconceptualization of the concept of partisanship to integrate all relevant contributions of the three main models of voting behaviour in a holistic approach to electoral behaviour.

The scientific study of voting behaviour is marked by three major research schools: *the Sociological Model*, often identified as School of Columbia, with the main reference in Applied Bureau of Social Research of Columbia University, whose work begins with the publication of the book *The People's Choice* (Lazarsfeld, Berelson, & Gaudet, 1944) and focuses on the influences of social factors; *the Psychosocial Model*, also identified as School of Michigan, which has its major reference in the work of Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes (1960) —*The American Voter* — and assumes that party identification is the main factor behind the behaviour of voters; and *the Rational Choice Theory*, also referred to as a model of economic voting, or even as School of Rochester, whose landmark work is the work of Anthony Downs (1957) — *An Economic Theory of Democracy* — and that puts emphasis on variables such as rationality, choice, uncertainty, and information. In this article are presented the main theoretical assumptions of these three models, emphasizing the continuity and theoretical complementarity linking the psychosocial model to the sociological model and the rational choice theory.

2.2.1a Sociological model (School of Columbia) of voting behaviour

The theoretical assumptions of the sociological model of voting behaviour are defined in three essential works: *The People's Choice* (Lazarsfeld, Berelson, &

Gaudet, 1944), *Voting* (Berelson, Lazarsfeld, & McPhee, 1954), and *Personal Influence* (Katz & Lazarsfeld, 1955). Paul Lazarsfeld, whose previous interests had focused on the study of the psychological mechanisms involved in the processes of choice and in the effects of publicity, advertising, and mass media on consumer behaviour, had two main objectives in this research: a) to study the effects of exposure to the media, that is, to know how voters arrive at their decisions and the role of media in this process; and b) to test a new methodology of successive interviews with a panel of subjects and a control group (Rossi, 1964). The study, whose report was published under the title *The People's Choice* (Lazarsfeld, Berelson, & Gaudet, 1944), begins by characterizing the supporters of the two main political parties in the U.S. using a panel of 600 subjects who were interviewed seven times over the seven months of the campaign, to then identify the voters who changed their position during the campaign period, comparing three groups: those who decided their vote before beginning the campaign, those whose decision was taken during the party convention, and those that decided their vote only at an advanced stage of the campaign.

The central hypothesis of Lazarsfeld et al. (1944) was that the act of voting is an individual act, affected mainly by the personality of the voter and his exposure to the media. The results, however, contradict the main thesis, suggesting that the effect of the media in the electoral decision was minimal and that the decisive influence was the social groups to which they belonged (Lazarsfeld et al., 1967, p. 69).

Political homogeneity of social groups

The main finding of Lazarsfeld et al. (1944) was that the majority of voters voted according to their original political predisposition. Of the 600 subjects who were included, only 54 changed their position throughout the process. The association between electoral behaviour and the social groups to which they belonged was so strong that it was possible to explain the electoral choices using only the three factors that defined the Index of Political Predisposition used in research: socio-economic status, religion, and area of residence (Lazarsfeld et al., 1967, p. 69).

The effect of conversion and modification of the voting option identified in the study is primarily distributed among voters who were previously classified by investigators

as independent, i.e., those who had initial predispositions opposed to candidates, however, they were subjects of one or more social groups to which the subjects belonged. However, these voters were persuaded to vote for a candidate, not as the result of an analysis of the proposals submitted by each candidate but due to the following pressure from members of their community (Lazarsfeld et al., 1967, p. 69).

Activation, reinforcement and conversion

With regard specifically to the role of electoral campaigns and communication processes associated with them, the study identifies three types of possible effects: activation of the indifferent, strengthening the link to the political party, and conversion of the undecided. It was found that the greatest impact of the campaign is focused on voters who are already predisposed to vote for the candidate backed by this party, strengthening and/or activating that prior predisposition. Only 8% of voters changed their initial position following the election campaign (Lazarsfeld et al., 1967, p.103). These results do not mean, however, that the authors conclude that electoral campaigns are considered useless. On the contrary, it seems to solidify the cohesiveness of party supporters around their electoral proposals than to convince voters of other parties to change their position. This result seems to be linked to those who had more interest in politics and had already set their option to vote are also those who paid more attention to the campaign: “In other words, the as-yet undecided is the very group which is less likely to read or listen to his propaganda” (Lazarsfeld et al., 1967, p. 124).

But also, concerning the role of the election campaign, it was found that the influence of social groups to which the individual belongs is crucial for the results since it identified a mediation process — by opinion leaders of groups— between communication conveyed by mass media and voters (Lazarsfeld et al., 1967, p.151).

These results contradict the initial hypothesis that the act of voting is an individual act. On the contrary, the relationship between social groups to which subjects belong indicates that the decisions of voters are processes of group cohesion, rather than individual acts (Lazarsfeld et al., 1967, p. 148).

The Nature of Personal Influence

In this first study, conducted in Erie County (Ohio), the concept of two-step-flow of communication was introduced and it appeared as a hypothesis developed to explain the role of opinion leaders in mediating the communication flow between the media and voters and it was described by Lazarsfeld et al. (1944) by only three short paragraphs. The concept was subsequently developed by Katz and Lazarsfeld in “Personal Influence: The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communications” (1955), considered one of the most influential works in the research of mass communication, where the authors reaffirmed and developed the idea that the subjects’ responses to media messages are mediated through interpersonal relationships and their groups to which subjects belong, and that some individuals act as opinion leaders, building and rebuilding the meaning of the messages of media in their social circles.

Social transmission of political choices

The insufficiency of the study conducted in Erie County led these authors to replicate it, with some changes, in the presidential elections of 1948, which opposed Harry Truman, incumbent President, to Thomas Dewey, governor of New York. The results were published by Berelson, Lazarsfeld, and McPhee (1954) in “Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign”. The findings of this study, as in Erie County, indicate that (1) the *social differentiation* — based on socio-economic status, religion, race, and place of residence — is a precondition for political dissent and subsequent electoral cleavage; (2) there are conditions of *transmissibility* which ensure the maintenance and persistence of this differentiation from generation to generation; (3) and that the conditions for greater *social and physical proximity* between members of a group, as opposed to less closeness with members of other groups, facilitates and maintains electoral cleavage (Berelson, Lazarsfeld, & McPhee, 1954, p. 75).

The results again showed that the political predisposition of the subjects, established based on their socioeconomic status, race, religion, area of residence, correlated markedly with his voting option, and even those subjects initially move away from this initial position end, mostly, by “returning” to it. This return to the ‘natural’

position of the voters in their social group — explained by the fact that the subjects make use of people from their social relationships to expose their doubts and ask for advice, which leads them to obtain advice that leads back to the electoral position of the majority of their social group — is considered the most interesting psychological phenomenon, and simultaneously the most relevant in the political point of view. The authors refer to this psychological phenomenon as *reactivation* (Berelson, Lazarsfeld, & McPhee, 1954).

Democratic practice and theory

From the theoretical point of view, the most relevant contribution of this second study is the conceptualization of electoral behaviour in a sociological model that attempts to reconcile the assumptions of the democratic organization of society and the electoral behaviour of the subjects, which is considered to be in apparent contradiction with these assumptions. The authors identify the political features of voters that we would expect to find in a democratic system — interest, discussion and motivation, knowledge, principles, and rationale — to conclude that, in reality, according to data from their investigations, most subjects have no interest or motivation on matters of political nature (Berelson, Lazarsfeld, & McPhee, 1954, p. 308); have limited and poor knowledge of political affairs (p. 308); have not decided their vote based on principles (p. 309); do not support their electoral decisions on reason (p. 311).

Against this backdrop in which voters do not seem to satisfy the conditions necessary in a democratic regime, the authors argue that democracies have not collapsed and, instead, have become stronger because the logic of democracy works in an aggregate and not at the individual level. If all voters had a high degree of interest and political motivation that would also be reflected in greater division among voters in a climate of greater political cleavage and antagonism that could endanger the system itself. Rather than require individuals who are highly interested and motivated by political, democracy needs that society is composed of heterogeneous groups to ensure the plurality of ideas and political proposals (Berelson, Lazarsfeld, & McPhee, 1954, p. 314).

Social cleavage

Although the work of Lazarsfeld and Berelson is associated with sociological models of electoral behaviour, it is important to note that the micro-sociological approach they use in their research identifies several processes of psychological nature, ranging from perception, social identity, and in-group preference, through the use of Gestalt principles to explain the propensity of voters to choose “good form” — in this case, the “natural” position of their social group — which, though not theorized as such, are anticipations of later psychosocial approaches. Although these authors do not draw theoretical relevant conclusions from a psychosocial point of view, opting instead for explanations that emphasize the sociological approach, they pioneered the research generated by the school of Michigan and what is known as a psychosocial approach to voting behaviour. The extension and further development of the sociological model of voting behaviour, as such, are associated with the book “Political Man” (Lipset SM, 1960) and the publication of “Party Systems and Voter Alignment: Cross-National Perspectives” (Lipset & Rokkan, 1967) focused on the development of the party system in Western Europe.

The sociological model has, however, limitations in explaining the variations that occur in voting due to economic factors specific to each election. Social factors may explain the long-term stability of voting behaviour, but do not explain the variations that occur in the behaviour of voters in different elections, just as they do not explain why individuals who belong to certain social groups vote according to what one would expect of individuals belonging to different social groups. There are, however, attempts to overcome these difficulties within the sociological approach; for example, investigations that argue that the study of voting behaviour should not be done from the voter’s perspective but valuing contextual factors as the political programs of parties, the role of media, the countries’ economic structure and the context in which the relationship between voters and parties becomes stronger (Curtice, 2002; van der Eijk, 2002; van der Eijk, Franklin & Oppenhuis, 1996; Glasgow & Alvarez, 2005; Johnson, Shively, & Stein, 2002; Wright, 1977).

These limitations have led to the Michigan psychosocial model that attempts to overcome them using the concept of partisanship, with which it seeks to link the

influence of sociological and historical long-term factors, identified in the sociological model, and the social and political short-term factors that characterize each election.

2.2.1b Psychosocial model of voting behaviour (School of Michigan)

The psychosocial model has its origin in studies conducted by the Survey Research Centre at the University of Michigan during the 1948 U.S. presidential elections, its results analyzed by Campbell and Kahn (1952) in *The People Elect a President*; the elections of 1952's report was presented by Campbell, Gurin, and Miller (1954) in *The Voter Decides*; and elections in 1956, where results, combined with those obtained in previous investigations, have led to the book *The American Voter*, written by Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes (1960). These works mark the beginning of a long series of studies conducted by the Survey Research Centre and more recently by the Centre of Political Studies at the University of Michigan, which extend to the present day, although currently falling under American National Electoral Studies (ANES), investigations that involve a greater variety of institutions, maintaining, however, the initial theoretical basis. The questionnaires and databases of these investigations are references in most election studies conducted in the United States of America.

Partisanship

The central concept of this model of voting behaviour is partisanship, which is designed as a psychological affinity, stable and lasting relationship with a political party that does not necessarily translate into a concrete link, namely registration, or consistently voting and systematically militancy with this party (Campbell, Converse, Miller, & Stokes, 1960, p. 121).

The notion of partisanship, introduced in the study of voting behaviour by Campbell et al. (1960), was influenced by the concept of the reference group (Hyman & Singer, 1968) and has similarities with the idea of anticipatory socialization introduced by Merton and Kitt (1950) to define the situations in which individuals choose a reference group to which they do not belong and begin to act according to what they perceive as the rules of that group. According to these authors, partisanship is acquired through a socialization process, influenced by the values and attitudes of

family, colleagues, and peers, a process that Miller and Shanks (1996) considered similar to that which leads subjects to identify with a religion. This emotional link the subject to “their” political party can be achieved with varying degrees of involvement in a process analogous to what happens with the connection of individuals to a religion, manifested in ways as different as going from non-religious to deeply religious (Green, Palmquist, & Schickler, 2002, p. ix).

Notably, the model also does not match partisanship with the voter’s choice. This separation between the psychological nature of partisanship and the objective nature of voting behaviour is reflected, in methodological terms, in the option of not measuring this variable from the actual voting of the subject, but through their self-positioning (Campbell, Converse, Miller, & Stokes, 1960, p. 122).

In this perspective, partisanship is not seen as a variable that tells us directly and unambiguously which is the vote option of an elector Campbell et al. (1960).

Funnel of causality

The explanatory model of relations between the variables involved in the definition of electoral behaviour is called a funnel of causality. This metaphor represents the chain of events that contributes to the vote of the subjects, distinguishing distal factors (socio-economic and historical factors, values and attitudes and membership groups) and proximal factors (issues, candidates, election campaign, political and economic situation, the government action, influence of friends). At the entrance of the funnel are the sociological and social characteristics that influence the next element of this sequence that is partisanship. Partisanship has, in turn, a decisive role in evaluating candidates, the issues, the incidents of the campaign that are reported in the media, and the conversations that voters have with family and friends about the election. The output of this funnel is the vote. This scheme clarifies the central role of partisanship as a result of the combination of dispositional and long-term factors and as a factor moderating the effect of short-term variables on voting behaviour (Campbell et al., 1960).

Although the model encompasses all these factors, it focuses its attention on the relationship of partisanship, candidates, and issues and less on social factors and communication systems (Niemi & Weisberg, 2001).

Proximal and distal factors

According to Campbell et al. (1960), changes in party identification are rare and occur as reactions to events of great impact (long-term factors). Study findings suggest that changes in party identification occur at the individual level when there are adjustments in the social status of the subjects (e.g., entry into an institution of higher education, marriage, change of the area of residence, change of job, etc..) or when changes occur in the broader field of social and political organization, (e.g., the end of the fascist regime in Portugal, entry into the European Union; the end of the Soviet Union, etc.).

If changes in social factors can produce long-term changes in partisanship, the short-term factors are seen as just being able to change the electoral choice of subjects in a given election, without affecting their partisanship (Campbell, Converse, Miller, & Stokes, 1960, Green & Palmquist, 1990). The relationship between partisanship and short-term factors is manifested through attitudes toward policy proposals, candidates, and group benefits (Harrop and Miller, 1987). However, while partisanship influences the perception of situational variables, it is also possible that the proposals, the speech, or the candidates are so totally against the expectations, values, or interests of voters, that this situation is unlikely to be shaped by this perceptual filter and bring the subject to not vote or even vote for another party. According to the assumptions of the model, this would not affect the partisanship that would continue, despite this circumstantial disloyalty, to maintain their prior identification.

The role of partisanship has been, however, contested since its formulation in the 60s, not only based on difficulty in applying it to the electoral systems that are not essentially bi-partisan, as is the case in most Western European countries (Budge, Crewe, & Farlie, 1976) but especially with the argument that there is a progressive weakening of the connection of individuals to political parties in the U.S. (Nie, Verba, & Petrocik, 1976; Stanley & Niemi, 1991; Stanley & Niemi, 2000) and in Europe (Crewe & Denver 1985; Dalton, 1984; Dalton, 2000; Dalton, Flanagan, & Beck, 1984, Schmitt & Holmberg, 1995), which calls into question the thesis of the stability of partisanship and points to a progressive misalignment of voters concerning political parties. The way the model conceives the relationship between psychosocial factors

and partisanship is challenged by researchers who believe that the Michigan model overestimates the role of long-term partisan loyalties (Dalton, Flanagan, & Beck, 1984; Dalton, 2000; Fiorina 1981; Franklin, Mackie & Valen, 1992; Kiewiet, 1983; Wattenberg, 1994). In general, all these criticisms of the psychosocial model focus on the difficulty that this theoretical approach shows in explaining the reasons why some voters who identify with a party — a process that has an underlying emotional relationship in nature and consequently, loyalty is of crucial importance — vote for another party or to refrain from participating in an election. For these researchers, it is the proximal factors that play a decisive role in the misalignment of the voters and the consequent volatility that characterizes the Western democracies since the early 1960s. In this perspective, voters adjust their connection to political parties according to the evaluation they make, in every election, of economic conditions, and how the parties and their leaders deal with them. Party identification works, at best, merely as a cognitive shortcut — and not as a social identity — that allows voters to cope with the extra information required to review all proposals, without implying the existence of an emotional link between these voters and political parties.

These criticisms are, in general, presented by authors who argue that the explanation of changes in voting choices of voters should be sought not through the use of a psychosocial variable but by considering factors related to information processing and the rationality of voters and the political and electoral system. In the following section, we present the theoretical model that led to these approaches.

2.2.1c Theory of rational choice (model of economic voting)

The theoretical background for an economic explanation of voting behaviour has been submitted by Anthony Downs work (1957) on “An Economic Theory of Democracy.”

This theory is commonly referred to as a rational choice theory. This is an attempt to explain electoral behaviour taking as its starting point the work done within the political economy by Kenneth Arrows (1951, 1986) that relates economic parameters

— resources, goods, and technology — with a political outcome or choice. The premise is simple: if the assumptions of rational choice can explain the market, then they can explain the political functioning. It establishes a direct analogy between consumers and voters and between enterprises and political parties. If companies seek to maximize profits and consumers act to maximize the utility, it can, then, be theorized in the sense that voters seek to maximize the utility of their vote as the parties act to maximize electoral gains obtained from their political proposals (Downs, 1957, pp. 295-296).

The operation of the model is based on three fundamental premises: (1) all decisions — those that are made by voters and political parties — are rational, i.e., guided by self-interest and enforced by the principle of *maximization of action's utility*; (2) the democratic political system implies a level of *consistency* that supports predictions about the consequences of decisions made by voters and political parties, i.e., their agents — voters, parties and government — are responsible and trustworthy, which makes it possible to make predictions about the consequences that result from different choices, and (3) the democratic system assumes — despite the consistency stated in the previous point — a level of *uncertainty*, sufficiently important to allow different options.

Maximizing the action's utility

The concept of rationality is of key importance in understanding the theory of rational choice and it is important to clarify that in Downs' economic theory, rationality is the assumption that voters and political parties act directly according to their interests. From this perspective, the term rationality is applied in the sense that the means used are appropriate to the goals (Downs, 1957, p. 5).

According to this understanding of rationality, elections serve to choose a government and, consequently, rational behaviour in an election is one that is oriented towards this objective and not to any other.

The axiom of self-interest applies equally to the activities of political parties. According to rational choice theory, political parties seek to win elections, not by any altruistic motive relating to the application of a political program, but to gain prestige for itself and the gains inherent to being in power. Since the prestige and

profits that political parties pursue is concretized by electoral victories, then we can say that the main objective of parties is winning elections. The rational objective is materialized if they can get more votes than any other party. Namely, the activities of political parties are guided by the principle of utility maximization of action (Downs, 1957, p. 28).

Consistency

The rationality of the political system derives from the fact that voters, political parties, and government have always several interconnected options available to choose from, ordered from most to least favourable. The order of preference is transitive so that if the subject prefers A to B and B to C then also prefers A to C (Downs, 1957).

Under this approach, when faced with two alternatives, the rational subjects compare the expected benefits of each option. In cases of electoral choice, they compare the expected results for the election of the party in government, with the expectation of earnings in case of winning the opposition party. If the difference between these two values is positive, they vote for the governing party.

The rational choice presupposes, therefore, not only the possibility of making predictions about the behaviour of other individuals, political parties, and government but also the possibility to compare them. The question that arises is how those subjects calculate the expected value in each of the alternatives. Concerning the government party, they may calculate the expected value according to the previous action of that party, assuming there will be continuity of policy pursued while in government, however, the opposition party does not have an indicator of the same nature. Once the hypothesis is that the rational comparison is one that uses the same time unit as a benchmark, i.e., the mandate that expires, then the voter compares the performance of the government party to what is supposed that each opposition party would have done if they had still been in government. Of course, calculating this differential can only be done if we assume that parties are consistent. If not, this leads to the impossibility of rational choice and consequently the collapse of the democratic system.

Uncertainty

It was shown earlier that the rational choice theory argues that the rationality of political behaviour leads voters and parties to act according to their interests. In the case of political parties is their interest to enjoy the benefits of exercising power and the benefits it brings. Once that is achieved only by obtaining more votes than other parties, it would be expected that the rational behaviour of parties would lead them to defend the proposals that safeguard the interests of the majority of the electorate and that this move would lead inevitably to a situation of non-differentiation of their proposals. It is noticed, however, that this is not what happens. Political parties argue and present proposals to the electorate sufficiently differentiated to mobilize voters to turn out. According to Downs (1957), the diversity of societies and social conflicts introduce levels of uncertainty that lead both to the emergence of ideologies and ambiguity concerning social groups that may be more useful for the electoral victory, and consequently, the differentiation of the proposals submitted by political parties. As such, it can be observed that if the electoral market (political system) is dominated by one brand (political party), other brands only can grow if they bet on strategies that enhance the specific needs of a market niche (social minority groups) not satisfied with the products (policy proposals) provided by the big brand (dominant party) and/or the specific needs of significant fringes of consumers (voters) of this dominant brand (party) (Downs, 1957, p. 101).

The rational choice theory considers that what matters to voters is not ideology but concrete actions that governments take. Although what matters to voters are not the intentions or the political discourse of the parties, i.e., their ideology, but their concrete actions, the rational choice theory argues that the comparison between ideologies is only used if the voter already has previously concrete indicators relating to actions carried out effectively. If the voter is only able to distinguish parties only by their ideology, then parties are equal concerning the interests of the voter (Downs, 1957, p. 98).

Spatial representation

Downs (1957) represents the relative positioning of political parties and voters using a spatial analogy build on the work of Harold Hotelling (1929) and Smithies, A. (1941)

that consists in representing the political preferences of voters on a linear scale numbered from left to right, from zero to one hundred. Voters and political parties have a certain place on the scale according to their political position. As mentioned above, voters tend to choose the parties that are closest to their position and the parties will tend to position themselves at a point on the scale that maximizes the number of electoral votes. If a voter is placed in position 35 of the scale, it can be deduced that when he has to choose between a party located at position 30 and another located in position 25, he will choose that one that is in position 30. Likewise, he will prefer a political party in position 40 for another in position 45. This means that if voters are scattered in the range according to a distribution with only a mode, parties tend to put themselves also on this mode and, therefore, to approach each other. If voters are spread to create multiple modes over the scale, that fact will lead each of the political parties to put up near one of these modes which will cause a breach between them.

Strategic vote

According to the model, the decision to vote in an election is supported by an irrational belief about the effectiveness of such action. As the elections are aimed at choosing the government and not the expression of preferences, the voter will evaluate the chances of that party winning the election: *“Each citizen uses his forecast to determine whether the party he most prefers is a part of the relevant range of choice. If he believes it is not, then rationality commands him to vote for some other party”* (Downs, 1957, p. 48).

This decision by strategic voting depends not only on the assessment of the chances of the favourite party winning but also the risk of the elections being won by a political party considered undesirable. The decision by strategic voting will depend largely on the importance that the subject goes to the need to keep a certain party out of government (Downs, 1957, p. 49).

According to the model of rational choice, the likelihood of citizens to vote is higher if their expectations regarding the critical importance of their vote, and the expected benefits from voting are larger than the costs. Faced with the choice between several candidates the voter must determine what the difference to their interests,

resulting in victory (or loss) of candidate A, B, or C. If this analysis does not expect significant differences associated with victory or defeat of any candidates, the potential benefit of voting is zero and the higher the probability of not participating in the elections.

Likewise, if the voters realize that their vote will not have a decisive importance for the election result, the probability of not voting increases. Blais (2000) presents a critical analysis of this theory based on the finding that *“unfortunately for the theory, many people do vote. In fact, a clear majority vote in the most important elections, where the numbers of voters are extremely large and the probability of casting a decisive vote is minuscule”* (p. 2); and concludes that even the cost seems to have no significant influence on voting behaviour (Blais, 2000). What seems to work is not the perception that one vote can make a difference, but that the result can be very close (Blais, 2000, p. 139).

This same criticism had been made previously by Uhlaner (1989), who concluded that the rational theory has difficulty in explaining individual participation in collective action, which in the case of voting behaviour, was tantamount to finding that *“Unfortunately for the theory, people do vote”* (p. 300). Green and Shapiro (1994) took this and other arguments of a methodological nature in what is one of the most important critics of rational choice theory. The approach of these authors focuses on methodological issues, which criticize the post hoc development of the theory (Green & Shapiro, 1994, p. 34), the absence of empirical tests (p. 38), as well as the selection, use, and interpretation of selected data (p. 42). Voter turnout, which the authors analyse in detail in their book, is used to illustrate the methodological weaknesses that link to rational choice theory (Green & Shapiro, 1994, pp. 47-48).

This underlying requirement that voters have accurate and detailed information about their interests and parties' proposals is the main weakness of this model. The proponents of this approach try to overcome this weakness using the concept of heuristics and a cognitive shortcut to explain how voters would be able to make decisions based on little information (Lupia, McCubbins, & Popkin, 2000; Popkin, 1994; Simon HA, 1955; Sniderman, Brody, & Tetlock, 1991). It is argued that voters, unable to cope with the complexity and information overload, used indicators such

as the positions taken concerning candidates and electoral issues by certain media, public figures, organizations or entities, heuristics for reasoning about the interest of the electoral proposals. Hence, this is not information about political issues and electoral proposals, but the trust that voters have in sources of heuristic reasoning.

Lacking information on the issues and electoral proposals, voters believe the position of a candidate is favourable or unfavourable to their interests according to the trust they place in a medium of mass communication, in an organization, an entity, or a personality. That is, voters, decide, in fact, based on trust, not based on the information. Then voters return to the proposals of the sociological model — that people vote according to their social group — and psychosocial — that people vote according to their partisanship.

This brief presentation of the main explanatory models of electoral behaviour allows us to identify a complementarity between them. The sociological models value the contribution of social and historical contexts that gave rise to the emergence of political parties and that, according to this view, justify the party political divisions and the resulting behaviour of voters; the rational or economic models that consider the crucial role in shaping the voting behaviour is played by the evaluation of political and economic factors that characterize each election *per se*; the psychosocial models emphasized the relationship between these two types of factors (distal and proximal), a relationship that is mediated and moderated by the psychological link established between voters and political parties, i.e., partisanship.

It is argued that the reasons that lead individuals to change their vote from one election to another, about studies which take as a theoretical reference to the sociological model (Berelson, Lazarsfeld, & McPhee, 1954; Lazarsfeld, Berelson, & Gaudet, 1944; Lipset & Rokkan, 1967) or psychosocial approach (Campbell, Converse, Miller, & Stokes, 1960; Miller & Shanks, 1996) provide a consistent explanation for the stability of electoral choices, but show to be quite fragile in clarifying the reasons why some voters to vote differently in consecutive elections. In turn, the approaches in the framework of rational choice theory (Buchanan & Tullock, 2001; Downs, 1957), although they provide interesting clues for understanding the fluctuations in voting behaviour, are insufficient when it comes to

explaining the fact that a considerable majority of voters vote with remarkable stability.

To bridge this gap and integrate the contributions of all these approaches is proposed a revision of the central concept of the psychosocial approach — partisanship — in the light of current studies of social identity, trying to show, theoretically and empirically, that the reconceptualization of the concept of partisanship helps to explain situations where changes in electoral behaviour occur, maintaining the potential of the psychosocial model in understanding the stability of voting options (Antunes, 2008).

As noticed, in its traditional sense, the concept of partisanship was modelled from the concept of the reference group paradigm (Hyman & Singer, 1968; Merton & Kitt, 1950) — of research groups led by social psychology in the middle of last century — that emphasized subjective belonging to a group. Also relevant in this adaptation of research from social psychology to the study of voting behaviour was the idea of anticipatory socialization, introduced by Merton and Kitt (1950) to define the situations in which the subjects chose a reference group to which they did not belong, acting according to what they perceive as being the standards of that group. The importance of this perspective of partisanship as a subjective belonging to a group is better understood if we consider that the psychosocial model of electoral behaviour has emerged as a response to difficulties of the sociological model (Berelson, Lazarsfeld, & McPhee, 1954; Lazarsfeld, Berelson, & Gaudet, 1944) to effectively articulate the influence of belonging to social groups with the intervention of proximal factors. The sociological model, although it provides a plausible explanation for the fact that most people from one social group vote a certain way, cannot explain, equally plausibly, the reason why people belonging to certain social groups do not vote according to the majority choice among members of these groups. By shifting the focus of the membership belongs to the subjective lens, placing the definition of partisanship on the interaction between distal social factors and proximal economic variables, Campbell et al. (1960) solved this theoretical problem quite effectively. However, the decisive role of partisanship in the definition of the options to vote is challenged, because it appears that, contrary to the psychosocial model advocated, in each election, a significant number of voters

vote for a party other than that they identify with. In general, these critics use arguments that are based on rational choice theory (Downs, 1957), an approach focusing only on the influence of electoral proximal variables, namely economic factors.

It is therefore in this context that Antunes (2008, 2010) reconceptualized the concept of partisanship using the actual approach that the social psychology makes to the social identity to support the general hypothesis that the changes that occur in the electoral choices of voters are not unpredictable but likely to advance according to their partisanship. It is argued that the limitations of the traditional concept of partisanship rooted in its conception as a stable cognitive entity and not as a process of self-categorization, dynamic and responsive to changes in the context, in which different levels of the same electoral identity coexist and are mutually interconnected (Oakes, 1987; Reynolds, Turner, & Haslam, 2003; Turner, Hogg, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987).

In this scheme, the categories available to the subject, i.e., political parties, would be organized in each voter — what Antunes (2008) has called the *subjective political field* — depending on their ability to describe reality and its emotional significance and relevance to the subject. The category which became more frequently used, due to its better adaptation to the political contexts in which the subject acts more frequently, takes a higher emotional value and occupies the central place in his *subjective political field*, becoming central in their electoral identity. It is that category (party) which, *in general* (as is asked in the evaluation question of partisanship), is adequate for most electoral and political situations. The other categories are organized in two groups according to whether or not that may be used in other contexts: those parties that are considered as referring always to outgroups, whatever is the situation (i.e., those that are not, under any circumstances, electoral options); all other political parties that are *secondary partisanship identities*, that are accessible to the subject and can be mobilized if the specific context is set as the most appropriate.

This way of understanding party identification can accommodate the contribution of the three main theoretical approaches of electoral behaviour, keeping the specific

contribution of each one in the definition of the variables they consider essential in the definition of electoral choice.

In addition to the above models of voting behaviour, three more major editions came to provide a significant contribution in the literature of Political Science as well as in Political Marketing; these were Lipset's *political man*, Popkin's *reasoning voter*, and Marcus et al *affective intelligence and political judgment*.

2.2.1d Lipset S. M. Political Man: the social bases of politics.

According to Archer R. (2010), Seymour Martin Lipset was arguably one of the most important political sociologists. Claims such as these indicate that Lipset's work stands out in several respects. Starting from a significant range and volume of his writings, for over fifty years he produced about 25 books, edited another 25, and wrote at least 485 articles and commentaries (Marks and Diamond, 1992, and Lipset, 1996). Moreover, the centrality of the issues he addressed, their rootedness in classic questions of the sociological canon, and the impact he had on other scholars, all attest to the significance of his work. Right at the beginning of this corpus of work sits the *Political Man*. Lipset's lifelong intellectual and scholarly agenda emerged from his early activist commitments and involvement in socialist politics.

Moreover, *Political Man* is considered to be one of Lipset's most significant contributions. According to Philipp Korom (2019), in *Political Man*, Lipset posits that in every democracy, conflicts between social groups are expressed through the party system, which at the core represents a transformation of the class struggle ('democratic class struggle' in Table 3). He points out that the gulf between social classes is not the only cleavage that is expressed through political parties ('social cleavages').

It is, nevertheless, the book's main thread that socioeconomic differences mostly determine voting behaviour ('class voting'). He theorizes the attraction of working-class voters to authoritarian views ('working-class authoritarianism'), introduces different types of political values such as (economic) liberalism/conservatism ('conservative and liberal attitudes'), and explores the importance of education for such attitudes ('education'). Most importantly, Lipset analyses the social conditions

of democracies ('social requisites of democracy'), paying special attention to economic growth ('economic development and democracy'). Finally, *Political Man* is also cited for mostly theoretical arguments related to what became known as 'modernization theory' (Volpe, 2010).

Table 2.1 suggests, first and foremost, that *Political Man* is a cornucopia of ideas, which is evident by the great variety of different references to the work. Nevertheless, one can draw two general conclusions with all cautiousness. First, Lipset's core arguments are more often used in political science than sociology, where we find a higher percentage of perfunctory citations. Second, the book serves mostly as a source of reference to political scientists when considering questions related to voting behaviour, political participation, or social cleavages that affect electoral behaviour, whereas sociologists tend to cite Lipset if they are writing on values (for instance, on economic liberalism or authoritarianism) (Korom, P., 2019).

Table 2

Table 2.1. Content of *Political Man* referred to in citing articles that are classified as belonging to political science or sociology (in %). (Found in Philipp Korom, 2019)

	Political science		Sociology	
	1980–1990	2000–2010	1980–1990	2000–2010
Class politics/voting	2	12	0	10
Conservative/liberal attitudes	4	0	12	8
Democratic class struggle	4	0	6	4
Economic development and democracy	0	10	2	2
Education	0	2	2	10
Modernisation theory	4	8	6	10
<i>Perfunctory</i>	10	6	18	22
Political participation	14	4	2	0
(Cross-cutting) social cleavages	10	12	0	4
Social requisites of democracy	2	6	0	2
Working-class authoritarianism	2	4	10	0
Other topics	48	36	42	28
	100	100	100	100

Note: There are considered fifty randomly selected citing articles, for the timespan 1980–1990 and 2000–2010 for each discipline, thus a total of 200 journal articles.

It has been claimed that *Some Social Requisites of Democracy* (1959) is to be regarded as one of the most influential political science essays of the past half-

century (Diamond, 2006). In this essay, reproduced in *Political Man* (published in the following year), Lipset posits a list of factors that constitute the conditions, though not necessarily the causes, for democracy ('requisites of democracy'). There exist two interpretations of Lipset's theory. The wide interpretation is that the interplay of many changing social conditions (such as rising educational levels, urbanization, and industrialization) fosters a democratic culture ('socioeconomic development') that needs to be perceived as legitimate to stay firmly established ('legitimacy'). The boiled-down version of Lipset's argument is that there is a simple correlation between per capita income and democracy, and, indeed, Lipset argues in a central passage that 'the more well-to-do a nation, the greater the chances that it will sustain democracy' (Lipset, 1959, p. 75).

Table 2.2 clearly shows that the 'Lipset thesis' as discussed in the literature of both disciplines tends to take the form of a rather simple formula according to which democracy is related to the state of economic development.

Table 3

Table 2.2. Content of Some Social Requisites of Democracy referred to in citing articles that are classified as belonging to political science or sociology (in %). (Found in Philipp Korom, 2019)

	Political science		Sociology	
	1980–1990	2000–2010	1980–1990	2000–2010
Economic development and democracy	32	44	36	52
Education-Democracy Hypothesis	0	6	4	4
Legitimacy	8	2	0	4
Perfunctory	20	10	12	8
Political culture/values and democracy	0	2	0	12
Requisites of democracy	4	12	0	0
Socioeconomic development and democracy	14	6	24	12
Other topics	22	18	24	8
	100	100	100	100

Notes: For sociology, considered are twenty-five randomly selected citing articles for the timespan 1980–1990 and 2000–2010, thus a total of 50 journal articles. The numbers for political science are based on fifty randomly selected citing articles for the timespan 1980–1990 and 2000–2010, thus a total of 100 journal articles.

Overall, in some cases, the reception of Lipset's work is similar in both disciplines while in other cases the afterlife of a publication differs hugely. The best example of the later reception pattern is *Political Man*. As Lipset used statistical and historical

data to demonstrate that social class is one of the chief determinants of political behaviour, the book became easily canonized in political science as a key contribution to the behavioural analysis of political systems. *Political Man* was also – at least initially – well received in sociology, which is best illustrated by the book winning the prestigious Maclver Award of the American Sociological Association in 1962.

However, even if highly regarded by (political) sociologists, the book never influenced the collective understanding of sociology as a discipline to the same extent. As Da Silva and Vieira (2011) argue, the canonization of texts hinges on three capacities of a text: to provide an exemplar to subsequent generations on how to conduct research, to serve disciplinary self-legitimation, and to integrate the discipline. Regarding all three dimensions, *Political Man* was, much like Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*, ill-suited to become a sociological classic.

2.2.1e Popkin. 1994. The reasoning voter: Communication and persuasion in presidential campaigns.

Popkin's Main Argument relies on a theory of low information rationality to explain how voters can make rational choices between candidates. Voters do this by using information shortcuts that they receive during campaigns, usually using something like a "drunkard's search." Voters use small amounts of personal information to construct a narrative about candidates. Essentially, they ask themselves this: "Based on what I know about the candidate personally, what is the probability that this presidential candidate was a good governor? What is the probability that he will be a good president?"

Its *Place in Literature* draws on the Columbia school's insights about campaigns, and socialization, Downs's theory of information shortcuts and voters as investors and on modern political psychology and behaviour studies to develop his theory. Argues against theorists such as Converse and those who argue that political behaviour is irrational. See Lupia and McCubbins for further development of Popkin's arguments.

Its *Methodology* develops theory by drawing on previous research. Supports theory with analysis of recent elections.

Popkin's Argument

Low information rationality: Popkin's analysis is based on one main premise: voters use *low information rationality* gained in their daily lives, through the media, and through personal interactions, to evaluate candidates and facilitate electoral choices.

Political "Knowledge": Despite a more educated electorate, *knowledge* of civics has not increased significantly in forty years. According to Popkin, theorists who argue that political competence could be measured by knowledge of "civics book" knowledge and names of specific bills (i.e. the Michigan studies) have missed the larger point that voters do manage to gain an understanding of where candidates stand on important issues. He argues that education has not changed how people think, but it does allow us to better interpret and connect different cues.

Information as a By-Product: Popkin argues that most of the information voters learn about politics is picked up as a by-product of activities they pursue as a part of daily life (homeowners learn about interest rates, shoppers learn about prices and inflation, etc.--thus, people know how the economy is doing). Media helps to explain what politicians are doing and the relevance of those actions for individuals, and campaigns help to clarify the issues. Voters develop an affinity towards like-minded opinion leaders in media and personal interactions.

Media and Friends: Interpersonal communication is seen as a way of developing assessments of parties and candidates. Information received from the media is discussed with friends and helps to create opinions. While voters do care about issue proximity, they also focus on candidate competency and sincerity and rely heavily on cues to make these evaluations.

Party ID as a Running Tally: Drawing on Fiorina (1981) and his own earlier work (Popkin et al., 1976), Popkin views party identification as a running tally of party assessment and looks at party identification of candidates as providing an important default value which voters use to evaluate them. He sees "a sophisticated pattern of

transmission from past elections and interactions among and between people in the current election" (p.71).

Creating Narratives about Candidates: Popkin argues that voters often function as clinicians (who gather limited information and infer from it a broader narrative), in contrast to statisticians (who weigh only facts to make a decision). He illustrates a few concepts to explain this relationship:

- *Representativeness Heuristic:* Voters often compare a candidate to a pre-existing stereotype of how certain people act. For instance, they may compare a presidential candidate to their image of what a president should be like, or compare a candidate to their stereotype of how someone who "does the right thing" would act. Essentially, we take our pre-existing idea of what a president should be, then compare it with personal information about the candidate using a "goodness of fit" test. A few bad votes in a politician's record can dramatically undermine this "goodness of fit," since we like to think that mistakes by others were intentional (whereas our own mistakes were the result of external conditions). Voters use this personal information not only to predict what kind of president you will be but also (e.g.) what kind of Governor Jimmy Carter probably was: Based on who Carter is, how likely is it that he was a good governor?
- *Gresham's Law of Information:* A small amount of personal information can drive out a large amount of previous impersonal information because personal information is much more helpful than political information in constructing narratives. Because personal information is so important (much more than a political record is), even new challengers can rapidly catch up with incumbents in the polls--though only the incumbent has a political record, voters get personal information about both candidates. Voters judge candidates more on how "presidential" they look than on their actual record.
- *Framing:* Framing is the way that we look at the president. For example, heavy media coverage of economic problems leads us to not only update our evaluation of the president's handling of the economy but also to weight this

issue-specific evaluation more heavily when making a broader evaluation of the president's overall performance. Popkin discusses five frames that matter.

1. Candidate vs president. When incumbents speak only from the Rose Garden, they are seen as presidents. When they are seen on the campaign trail, they are mere candidates.
 2. Candidate's personality vs candidate's record (see above). Personality matters more.
 3. Candidate vs nominee. Political conventions can change the way you are viewed (a candidate becomes a nominee).
 4. Domestic vs international issues. Which one matters for this campaign?
 5. Inflation vs unemployment vs poverty. Which current economic problem affects how candidates are viewed?
- *Pseudocertainty* (Calculation Shortcuts): When we can use one of these shortcuts, we are more confident in our evaluations (although, ironically, our evaluations are more likely to be incorrect):
 1. When all our information is consistent (i.e. all supports one candidate)
 2. When probabilities are close to 0 or 1. We don't understand finer probabilities well and are uncomfortable with them.
 3. A good sure thing vs a probabilistic better thing. We like the sure thing better, even though the expected value of the gamble is better (see Quattrone and Tversky, 1988).
 - *Drunkard's Search*: The term is based on the image of a drunk looking for his lost car keys where the streetlight is shining, even though that's not where he lost them; he looks there because that's where the light is. People are more likely to use one-dimensional searches, such as focusing on a single attribute about a candidate or using the front runner's characteristics as a measurement of other candidates. Symbols are often drawn upon to represent issues (e.g. the hostages representing Carter's incompetence in foreign affairs.). Our decision about where to look for information (i.e. which streetlight to use) determines which decision we make.

Campaigns

Popkin also focuses significantly on the role of the campaign in facilitating choice. He argues that the campaign (1) increases the importance of (some) issues, (2) strengthens the connections between issues and the office, and (3) increases the perceived differences between candidates. Details:

- Increase importance of issues: In the Columbia studies, the authors found that voters have varying degrees of attachment to the parties--and that, if the campaign demonstrates the importance of particular issues right now, then crossover voting is most likely if you aren't confident in your party's ability to handle those issues.
- Strengthen connections between issues and office: Though voters can imagine connections between certain policies and certain offices, it's hard for them to know which offices are responsible for certain things. News and campaigns can remind voters that a particular office can influence a particular policy area.
- Increase perceived differences: Demonstrate to voters that the candidates are likely to do different things about the issues that are important.

Data: Primaries

Popkin draws on lessons from presidential primaries to illustrate his theory, noting that, since primaries are more complex than general elections, it should be more difficult to apply the theory to them. He notes how candidates who do well in early primaries get large bounces in approval. Popkin argues that this is due to new info people receive about the candidate, as well as to the victories making a candidate a better strategic choice, not to mention having a persuasion effect by themselves. He links the failure of some experienced candidates to their (perceived) incompetency or to their failure to create a strong narrative about themselves in relation to the presidency. After laying out the theory, Popkin uses it to analyze the Democratic primaries of 1976 and 1984, the Republican primaries of 1980, and the election of 1992

2.2.1f Affective Intelligence Theory (Marcus, G. E., Neuman, W. R., & MacKuen, M. B., 2000. *Affective Intelligence and Political Judgment*.)

Affective Intelligence Theory is focused on the “fast, automatic, and perceptual”, and it is concerned with accounting for what lays before the later cognitive appraisal processes that seek to explain emotion as it is expressed within consciousness. Another way to say this is that Affective Intelligence Theory focuses on *the preconscious, understood as what comes before consciousness in the temporal order*.

The impetus for Affective Intelligence Theory came from the then sterile debate taking place among American political scientists concerning the question of whether the American electorate was competent to make collective action political decisions (Bartels, 1996; Converse, 2000; Erikson, 2007; Key Jr. & Cummings, 1966; Lau & Redlawsk, 1997; Schudson, 1998; Smith, 1989). Much of the debate presupposed a crude reason-passion dichotomy which saw passion as a threat to competence and dispassionate reason as the principal conduit to competence. Marcus’ primary concern was to re-examine the ancient and persistent dichotomy between reason and passion. The longstanding presumption has been that emotion is, by definition, the opposite of reason. Much of the political science research on voters’ competence in democratic societies fell into one of two camps. The first largely ignored emotion while the second used emotion to blame the electorate for its failure to make the correct judgment. Therefore, it was time to see if emotion re-imagined could prove useful to better understand all forms of political behaviours.

In 1984-85, George Marcus took under consideration two theoretical backgrounds: first the neuroscientist Jeffrey Gray’s work in affective neuroscience (Gray, 1970; Gray, 1981; Gray, 1985) and then later expand his focus to Edmund Rolls’ theory of affect (Rolls, 1992; Rolls, 1999; Rolls, 2005). This literature offers a new and more complex account of emotion and reason. This led to a critical insight that in turn was instrumental in generating Affective Intelligence Theory as a dual-process model. In dual-process models humans are understood to have two modes of judgment. *First*, the normal default mode of judgment is often labeled intuitive, automatic, or system

1. The *second* is often labeled deliberative, rational, or system 2 (Haidt, 2001; Kahneman, 2011; Chaiken and Trope, 1999; Sherman, Gawronski & Trope, 2014). Crucially, *emotion* is involved in both modes of judgment, with anxiety playing a pivotal role in triggering when people depart from reliance on the default mode to take up the reasoning mode. Similarly, our understanding of *reasoning* is also reshaped by this formulation, with reasoning serving different functions in each of the two modes of judgment. In what follows, are provided some of the missing details.

The Lesson from Neuroscience: In the work of Benjamin Libet, it is argued that conscious volition is not the sole place to focus on to understand political behaviour but that many of the appraisals that orient our political behaviours are preconscious. Libet's research demonstrated that it takes about 500 milliseconds after the sensory and somatosensory electrical signals arrive in the brain for the brain to construct consciousness (Libet et al., 1979, Libet et al., 1983, Libet, 1985, Libet, 2004). This suggests that unconscious neural activity is actually in charge of much of human behaviour, with conscious processes commonly serving to provide post-hoc semantic accounts (Kunst-Wilson & Zajonc, 1980; Zajonc, 1980). The recognition that consciousness is too slow and inaccurate to have granular control of actions suggests that consciousness, in the words of Jeffrey Gray, is an "error-correcting space", with most actions commonly under the control of preconscious systems (Gray, 2004). The "preconscious system" has since been labeled in a variety of roughly equivalent ways, including the "intuitive system" (Haidt, 2001), the "automatic system" (Bargh & Pietromonaco, 1982; Bargh, Chaiken, Govender, & Pratto, 1992; Bargh & Chartrand, 1999) or simply "system 1" (Kahneman, 2011).

As it has long been known, much of that process of construction is largely hidden, not below consciousness as standard conventions would have it but before consciousness.

But if the preconscious is so demonstrably influential, then why do we have consciousness? This seems an especially important question given that consciousness, the so-called seat of our "higher cognitive functions", has a very high

caloric demanding capacity. Why invest so much energy if that capacity offers but a rarely used standby capacity? Jeff Gray in his last posthumous book offers the best explanation: consciousness is an error-correcting space (Gray, 2004, p. 312). What Gray meant by this is that not all circumstances are well suited to the “automaticity” of the preconscious. More specifically, when humans confront novel and unfamiliar settings, prior habits are most likely to lead to error.

In sum, when we face the unusual, we are best served by having our conscious capacities taken over. Affective Intelligence Theory serves to account for when we rely on the preconscious capacities we all have, and when we shift to conscious deliberation (Marcus, 1988).

Here then is a brief overview of the Affective Intelligence model that George Marcus, Michael MacKuen, and W. Russell Neuman have developed (MacKuen, Marcus, Neuman, & Keele, 2007; Marcus, 2013a, 2013b; MacKuen, Wolak, Keele, & Marcus, 2010). And, following that description, some of the new understandings of political behaviour and judgment that were uncovered thereby will be described.

The Theory of Affective Intelligence: The first important axiom of Affective Intelligence Theory (AIT) is that, in a normal wakeful state, multiple affect-eliciting appraisals are active at the same time, generating rapid shifts in strategic assessments of the world allowing early control over those actions that are then underway. Because these appraisals occur well before conscious awareness, only those that are sufficiently robust and persistent become subjectively available. Affective Intelligence Theory is primarily concerned with the functional dynamics associated with each of the three ongoing preconscious appraisals. Each appraisal uses a specific affect to assay one of three distinct strategic tasks (Marcus, 2013a; Marcus, 2013b; Marcus, 2013c). These tasks are shown below.

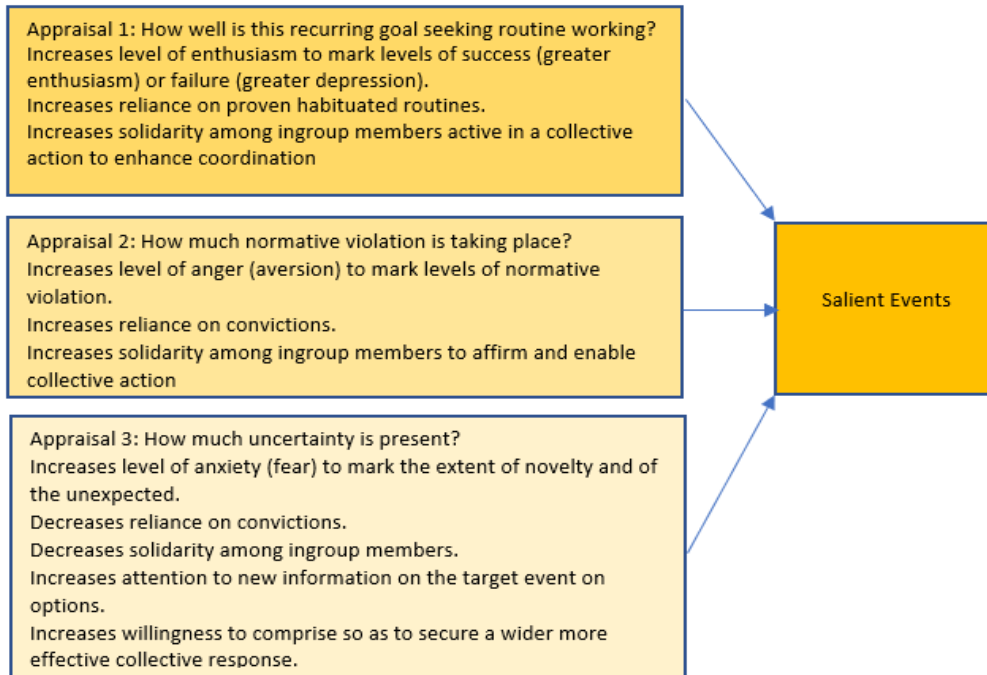


Figure 2.3: The Theory of Affective Intelligence: Three Concurrent Parallel Preconscious Appraisals

Figure 4

As shown in Figure 2.3, at any given instance all three appraisals are ongoing. Two of the appraisals are concerned with the swift assessment and control of actions that implement familiar goal-seeking routines. We understand these as habits, habits that can be relied on to manage the familiar recurring tasks of life. Most of what we do requires little in the way of active conscious control (James, 1890). A reflection of this is driving and/or voting (Spezio, et al., 2008; Willis & Todorov, 2006).

The Benefits of AIT: The new offerings of Marcus and his colleagues are two (MacKuen et al., 2007; MacKuen et al., 2010; Neuman et al., 2007). The *first one* has to do with understanding how people go about voting. The *second one* has to do with a longstanding claim that what animates conservatives is fear of change (Robin, 2004; Jost et al., 2003; Hibbing et al., 2014). Let's begin with voting (at least as practiced in the United States). From scholars at the University of Michigan came the Normal Vote model (Converse, 1964): a now well-known and widely accepted portrait describing public ignorance of the major candidates and where they stood concerning the predominant issues of the day. The Normal Vote model advances the

claim that partisan voting decisions are derived from a robust reliance on partisanship, whereas the voting decisions of independents results from responsiveness to “short-term” forces (hence the colloquial name “swing voters”). The Rational Choice account arrived shortly afterward from economics. In its initial formulation, rational choice held that voters engaged in a rational consideration of the alternatives presented to them, choosing that which best served their interests (Downs 1957). Rational choice posits an attentive and thoughtful electorate that makes explicit comparisons and adjudicates among them through rational evaluation of their respective costs and benefits. Unfortunately, this model has a remarkable lack of empirical support (Quattrone and Tversky 1988). Both conventional approaches find that the public does not satisfy the common normative standards held up for assessing the capacity of the public to serve as empowered citizens. If democracy requires an attentive and politically learned electorate and requires voters to give at least modest attention and thoughtful consideration to the policy and leadership choices before them, then neither account suffices.

AIT argues that the Normal Vote Model and the Rational Choice Model have both gotten something right, but share a similar error by taking a special case of political judgment and treating it as if it were the general case. How can it be that the Normal Vote and Rational Choice models are special cases, that is, theoretical specifications that apply only in some rather than in all circumstances? The two established theories presume that voters have invariant patterns of judgment and behaviour. In the case of the Normal Vote account, voters are either partisan or not, and these immutable qualities fully control what people do, for example, whether they will pay attention (partisans do, independents do not), when they decide for whom to vote (partisans early in campaigns and nonpartisans late), and so forth. Partisans have certain qualities and they consistently display them, just as nonpartisans display their characteristic qualities (as we shall see, a similar case can be made for ideology as a stable defining quality). In the case of Rational Choice theory (or its more recent variant, bounded rationality), voters think and act rationally all the time and, in every circumstance, as long as at least minimal stakes are in play. The orienting insight of Affective Intelligence Theory is that voters shift between different decision

strategies, roughly along the lines suggested by the dual-process understanding of human judgment.

The theory, as shown in Figure 2.3, demonstrates how we can integrate the Normal vote and Rational Choice accounts (with one important change to the latter). When people feel they are in familiar circumstances, engaged in recurring previously learned habits, they will act as partisans (voting their ideological and partisan predilections). However, when they feel themselves in a novel, unfamiliar settings, they will abandon – at least temporarily – those convictions (both implicit and explicit). Instead, feeling anxious, they will seek to learn more about the candidates and more about where they stand on the issues of the day. And, they will then vote based on what they learn (Marcus and MacKuen, 1993). Thus, they act under the guidance of the “system 1” intuitive mode of judgment when conditions are familiar, but under the guidance of the “system 2” deliberative mode of judgment when conditions are uncertain (MacKuen et al. 2007, 2010).

In sum, the theory of Affective Intelligence leads us to reject both the dystopic portrait of the ill-informed and irrational public and the more utopian aspiration for the full-time rational citizen. Instead, it is observed a more complex and a more dynamic understanding in which citizens display shapeshifting capacities, moving, on occasion from solid partisan determination to deliberate consideration freed from convictions (Marcus, 2013b). The important aftermath of this analysis is that, contrary to common belief, it is not the case that reason and emotions are in complete conflict. Fear of the uncertainty is an emotion and yet, according to AIT, it is involved in the engagement of a system 2 process (Appraisal 3 in Figure 2.3). This shows that the ability to have emotions may be an essential part of the very ability to reason (on this topic, see also influential work by Bechara and colleagues (1997; 2005)). On the other hand, the AIT model also accounts for the role emotions play in non-deliberative system 1 processes, which are often related to the emotions of enthusiasm (Appraisal 1 in Figure 2.3) and anger (Appraisal 2 in Figure 2.3). If AIT is on the right track, the reason-passion dichotomy is a coarse and inappropriate tool for making sense of political behaviour, because of the complex role emotions play in

sometimes facilitating and sometimes hindering rational deliberation, which is thus hidden from view.

The second offering has to do with conservatism. The “conservative mind” has long been of interest to scholars, pundits, and academic scholars (Adorno et al, 1950; Jost et al, 2003; Robin, 2004, 2011; Wilson, 1973). A popular account in the academy puts fear at the centre of why some adopt conservative views and values and others progressive (or liberal) views and values. Standard accounts, both old and more recent, have argued that it is fear that drives the public towards nationalist, often xenophobic and authoritarian parties (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950; Fromm, 1965; Wilson, 1973; Jost, Glaser, Kruglanski, & Sulloway, 2003; Landau et al., 2004).

According to AIT, it is far more likely that the fundamental motivation for conservatism is *anger*. *Anger* arises when faced with challenges to important norms foundational to the social order. What has been found is that *anger* fuels support for conservative policies and voting for conservative candidates, whereas *anxiety* undermines support for such policies and candidates. According to AIT, *anger* and *anxiety* will activate two distinct patterns of information processing. *Heightened anger* will make people use system 1 or intuitive judgments and make them reliant on their pre-existing convictions. *Heightened anxiety* will shift people to system 2, or deliberative reasoning and undermine the influence of pre-existing convictions. As anger rises among conservatives, their convictions are strengthened. On the other hand, anxiety undermines conservatives’ reliance on their convictions. This happens because anxiety initiates a new judgment stance, that of deliberative reasoners interested in exploring collective action solutions that are not bound to or by normally potent convictions. Hence, in the main, the role of *anxiety (fear)* has been misjudged as the principal motivator for support for authoritarian policies and leaders (Jost et al., 2003; Landau et al., 2004). Conversely, the crucial role of *anger* has been underestimated. In sum, we anticipate that generalized public anger – whatever the target maybe – explains why so many electorates are turning to the right.

Apart from the above overview, there are other significant influences made by several theoretical streams; and Political Science exerts a significant influence on it. One of the major political scientists who provided a significant contribution to the development of Political Marketing was Otto Kirchheimer.

2.2.2 Otto Kirchheimer's "Catch-All Party"

Given the complex determinants of consumer behaviour, any marketing model of the voter is likely to reflect a wider range of influences. Within the range of these influences, political science possesses a distinctive place; and one of the most significant contributions was made by Otto Kirchheimer, a political scientist, by an article published under the title "The Transformation of the Western European Party System" (Kirchheimer 1966). This article was widely known as Kirchheimer's "Catch-All Party".

An overview of Otto Kirchheimer and his "Catch-All Party" was made by Andre Krouwel (West European Politics, April 2003). Kirchheimer's anxiety about modern democracy originated with what he saw as the vanishing of principled opposition within parliament and society, and the reduction of politics to the mere management of the state. This leads to a collusion of political parties and the state, severing of the societal links of party organizations, and erosion of the classic separation of powers. In fact, the famous catch-all paper, which was published posthumously as 'The Transformation of Western European Party Systems' in a volume edited by La Palombara and Weiner (Kirchheimer, 1966a), is little more than a summary of a much more extensive theory of party transformation, within which we see an early and highly prescient assessment of many of the problems which contemporary party scholars sometimes believe they have newly discovered. The outlines of this general theory can be found in his other writings, in English, French, and German, as well as in his lecture notes and private papers (Kirchheimer's papers can be found in the German Intellectual Emigré Collection, Department of Special Collections and Archives, State University of Albany, New York). In these various writings, and foreshadowing many of the current debates, Kirchheimer in the 1950s and 1960s analyzed the functional transformation of parties, and in particular that of the Social and Christian democratic parties; emphasized the increasing aloofness of

parties concerning civil society, as well as their declining level of civic embeddedness; and pointed to the possible emergence of a state–party cartel as the outcome of these processes. Besides, he analyzed both the causes and consequences of weakening party–voter alignments, the alterations in the ideological orientation of political parties and the restructuring of their electoral support, all of which was combining to create a radical transformation in the basic structures of mass politics in Western Europe.

The first concern about Kirchheimer’s concept is with what he terms the *erosion of parliamentary democracy* and *the vanishing of political opposition*. Kirchheimer was particularly concerned with the disappearance of the opposition of principle, not only in fascist and socialist states but also in the established democracies. A second major concern of Kirchheimer was with the formation of a so-called ‘state-party cartel’, a development that Kirchheimer had already analyzed in 1954, long before Lehmbruch, Lijphart, or Katz and Mair had proposed their later versions of cartel democracy (Kirchheimer, 1954b). Kirchheimer’s third concern was with the professionalization of party organizations and the personalization of the party–voter link. Again, pointing to this development as early as the 1950s, Kirchheimer warned against this ‘personalized politics’ making politics devoid of substance, conflict, and choice (Kirchheimer, 1958a; Kirchheimer, 1957b; Kirchheimer, 1959a). Vanishing opposition, cartelization, and professionalization then all lead to the fourth concern: depoliticization, political apathy, and the erosion of the classic separation of powers.

The Frailty of Democracy

The one theme that recurs throughout Kirchheimer’s work involves the vulnerability of the democratic polity. Growing up in Germany, where he was born in 1905 in a Jewish middle-class family, Kirchheimer witnessed the erosion of a liberal democratic system, which left him with a lasting sensitivity to problems of political exclusion and the abuse of power. Even within the socialist movement, where he trained trade union staff, he perceived a process of exclusion resulting from a concentration of power at the leadership level and depoliticization and apathy at the level of the mass membership (K. Linne, 1994). However, his aversion towards political exclusion and

abuse of power was concerning von Hindenburg, who, according to Kirchheimer, transformed the formally democratic Weimar Republic into a 'presidential dictatorship' (Kirchheimer 1930a; Kirchheimer 1932e). Kirchheimer's legal training at the universities of Köln, Berlin, and Bonn gave him the ability to apply a rigorous analysis to the misuse of the President's constitutional prerogatives (Kirchheimer, 1932c; Kirchheimer, 1932d). By his actions, Hindenburg had effectively excluded the working class from representation at the government level and created a political crisis solely for his re-election.

When Hindenburg later went on to appoint Adolf Hitler as Reichskanzler in 1933, Kirchheimer, who was then an active member of the SPD and a teacher at trade union schools, moved to Paris employed at the exiled 'Frankfurter Institut für Sozialforschung' (Kirchheimer 1940; Kirchheimer 1941a).

When the Frankfurt institute moved to New York in 1937, Kirchheimer also emigrated to the United States, where he became a university teacher, and where he was also later employed at the Office of Strategic Studies (OSS) and the Department of State where he worked on issues relating to the post-war re-democratization of Europe, and of Germany, in particular, arguing that 'the party and the state bureaucracy together constitute an organ of mass domination' (Kirchheimer, 1941a).

Following Hitler's defeat, Kirchheimer had expected to witness a thorough de-Nazification of the German polity. What he saw instead was the dominance of an anti-left and anti-communist attitude (Kirchheimer, 1962a), lack of change in patterns of political representation, and in the division of power among social groups (Kirchheimer, 1950). After he left the State Department, he finally used all the information he had gathered over the years to teach and write about political developments in Europe. It was during this period that he concentrated in particular on the transformation of political parties and their modified systemic functions.

The Catch-All Thesis

As early as 1954, in an analysis of the West German political system, Kirchheimer had introduced the concept of the catch-all party (Kirchheimer, 1954a). Although in none

of his essays does Kirchheimer develop an exact definition of this new type of political party as a clear and coherent set of indicators as to what precisely constituted a catch-all party, 12 years after its first introduction, Kirchheimer had still only formulated a very cursory definition of the catch-all transformation; this was a process which he then conceived of as involving five related elements: a) Drastic reduction of the party's ideological baggage. ... b) Further strengthening of top leadership groups, whose actions and omissions are now judged from the viewpoint of their contribution to the efficiency of the entire social system rather than identification with the goals of their particular organization. c) Downgrading of the role of the individual party member, a role considered a historical relic which may obscure the newly built-up catch-all party image. d) De-emphasis of the class-gardée, specific social-class or denominational clientele, in favour of recruiting voters among the population at large, e) Securing access to a variety of interest groups for financial and electoral reasons (Kirchheimer, 1966a). A lot of modifications took place although the *Catch-All Thesis* took a more precise form; that is: Kirchheimer, 1964c, pages 185 to 188, page 189, on pages 194–5 in the first published version were almost completely re-written.

At the same time as he was working on what was to be the 1966 paper, Kirchheimer was also busy with a German-language version of the article, a version that was also subject to much reconsideration and reformulation (Kirchheimer, 1964e; Kirchheimer, 1965d). The German version was published one year earlier than the often-quoted English version, and these versions differ at several points (For example, page 24 of the German version contains a section in which Kirchheimer discusses the relation between the timing of state-building and the integration capacity of parties in the interbellum). Indeed, it is evident that Kirchheimer was still in the process of fully unfolding his catch-all theory at the time of his death in 1966, and it is the lingering imprecision in these final and effectively incomplete versions of the thesis that has led to so much confusion in the subsequent analyses and applications of his ideas.

One way of dispelling this confusion is therefore to unpack the catch-all thesis and to reconstruct it according to Kirchheimer's original ideas. To begin that reconstruction

should look not only at Kirchheimer's published work but also at his archive of unpublished papers and lecture notes from his courses at Columbia University (A. Krouwel, 1999); should also look to the references and sources originally cited by Kirchheimer in his definition of the various elements of the catch-all thesis, since this allows us to see what other ideas he had sought to incorporate in his theory.

Thus, for example, if someone looked first at what Kirchheimer sought to indicate for developments at the party organizational level, then he can look to the work of both Lohmar and Pizzorno, both of whom he cites in this regard (Kirchheimer, 1966a; U. Lohmar, 1963; A. Pizzorno, 1964). And these, in turn, would suggest that Kirchheimer regarded the downgrading of the role of party members as a multifaceted process, including stagnation in the size of membership of parties, a transformation towards a more balanced social profile in terms of party membership, and reduced importance of membership fees in terms of the overall party revenue (U. Lohmar, 1963). Additionally, the role of members declines as mediators between party leaders and the electorate and in the selection of the leadership (A. Krouwel, 1999). Party leaders are co-opted into the leadership group based on their technical and managerial qualities rather than because of their ideological orientation or class origin (A. Krouwel, 1999; A. Pizzorno, 1964). Moreover, regarding Duverger, Kirchheimer also argues that citizens are increasingly excluded from political participation, in that catch-all parties offer less and less opportunity for membership activity, particularly as they disconnect themselves from formerly affiliated organizations (Kirchheimer, 1966a; Kirchheimer, 1954b). Catch-all party organizations become increasingly professional and capital intensive and depend increasingly on state subsidies and interest group contributions for their income, and the independent mass media for their communication needs (Kirchheimer, 1966a).

As far as the ideology of catch-all parties was concerned, Kirchheimer tended to see this as conditioned by electoral strategy. 'While parties are mass parties', he noted in one lecture, 'a party large enough to get a majority has to be so catch-all that it cannot have a unique ideological program.' (Kirchheimer, 1962c).

Kirchheimer's notes also show his assumption that catch-all parties will adopt similar policy positions in the centre of the political spectrum and that they will emphasize

similar issues: 'Under proportional representation, one party can ignore the others in establishing its program, and can emphasize the points in which it is unique. However, the CDU and SPD aim for the middle. (In) English and American systems, the parties fight for marginal voters. Certain people always vote for one party, but to get the floating vote one party minimizes its differences from the next.' (Kirchheimer, 1962c).

To support his thesis on the ideological convergence of parties in the centre, Kirchheimer refers to Downs' *Economic Theory of Democracy*, and the argument that the primary goal of political parties is winning the next election (Kirchheimer, 1966a). This Downsian concept of the 'multi-policy party' is essentially equivalent to Kirchheimer's catchall concept (A. Mintzel, 1984), with both authors pointing to the fact that parties sacrificed their former ideological position and the interests of their core electorate to maximize their electoral appeal. The catch-all party is described as a mass-consumer good in that it mobilizes voters on policy preferences rather than on ideology. These multi-interpretable ideologies are products for the electoral market, being limited only by the fact that voters will not vote if all parties stress identical programs. Parties, therefore, compete utilizing personalities (candidates), traditional loyalties, and other 'irrational' means (The difference between the analyses of Kirchheimer and Downs is that Downs explains this behaviour with a rational choice model, while Kirchheimer ascribes catch-all behaviour to the 'present conditions of spreading secular and mass consumer-goods orientation, with shifting and less obtrusive class lines' which puts 'parties under pressure to become catchall peoples' parties' (Kirchheimer 1966a, 190)).

When commenting on inter-party elite co-operation, Kirchheimer refers to Torgersen's work to illustrate how European parties stabilized their political relations using cross-party consensus (Torgersen distinguishes four problems: First, the decreasing differences between the platforms and programs of parties, which concern the major political alternatives within a political system. Second, the low quality of the intellectual and academic discussion. Third, the problem of declining mass activity, reducing parties to 'pretty empty organizational shells'. The fourth problem relates to the channels of political influence in cases such as Austria, where

parties 'have established elaborate agreements between themselves to share power'. U. Torgersen, 'The Trend toward Political Consensus: The Case of Norway', *Acta Sociologica* 6 (1962), Kirchheimer, 1966a, pp.159–60). Swedish and Norwegian social democrats reduced political competition to a minimum by reducing the distinctiveness of their political programs. The political conflict was evident only when it proved necessary to emphasize the distinctiveness of the parties to the electorate. Parties adopted centrist positions and deemphasized 'antiquated' political issues and 'inappropriate' traditional lines of conflict. All political leaders cooperate closely with one another, thus leaving little room for political opposition, and as a result of this inter-party co-operation, the political participation of citizens declines substantially.

Referring to work by Rokkan and Valen, Kirchheimer provides additional evidence for a reduction in political competition and participation (Kirchheimer, 1966a), and, citing Lipset, he argues that increasing affluence and the consequent upward social mobility within Western industrial democracies has resulted in the emergence of new middle strata (Kirchheimer, 1966a). Indeed, in many respects, Kirchheimer leans heavily on Lipset in this regard. In Lipset's view, for example, the professionalization of politics served to minimize class conflict and generated substantial political consensus and moderation as well as a pragmatic orientation among all major parties. And while Lipset argued that communist parties seemed reluctant to accept these new social realities, it was also clear that some of them (including the Italian and French communists) had modified their ideology in a social-democratic direction (S.M. Lipset, 1964).

The result was, for Lipset, that most major parties were now making a transclass appeal, with programs spearheaded by a commitment to collective bargaining and moderate political and socio-economic changes. Parties on both the left and the right had amicably resolved the class conflict in an acceptance of social-democratic ideology since rightist parties had accepted the welfare state and economic planning and leftist parties had moderated their ideas for revision of capitalism (A. Krouwel, 1999). Catholic and socialist mass parties were transforming their electoral appeal, losing their membership and attendance at party meetings as well as the readership

of their newspapers ('The transformation in class attitudes as reflected in political and interest group behaviour is most noticeable in northern non-Latin Europe and among the socialist and Roman Catholic political parties' (A. Krouwel, 1999, p.272). 'In Germany and Italy, the Christian Democratic type parties, with their efforts to retain the support of a large segment of the unionized working classes, have made a trans-class appeal in favour of moderate changes' (A. Krouwel, 1999, p.276)).

Non-partisan interest groups, on the other hand, were gaining in membership and power. The result was a system in which there were only moderate parties with a middle-class appeal, all of them competing towards the centre of the political arena (A. Krouwel, 1999, pp 282-90). From there to Kirchheimer's ideas on the catch-all party was an easy step to take (M. Dogan and R. Rose (eds.), 1971).

At the third and crucial electoral dimension, which gave the catch-all party its name, Kirchheimer argues that the catch-all 'people's' party attempts to transgress the (already declining) socio-economic and cultural cleavages among the electorate to attract a broader 'audience' (Kirchheimer, 1966). In his lecture notes, Kirchheimer clarified what he meant by the notion of a wider electoral 'catchment' of parties (Kirchheimer (undated II)). In the mid-1960s, parties in the main countries of continental Europe and Britain were changing significantly and becoming what he saw as American-style catch-all parties.

These parties ceased to recruit their voters among a specific clientele and, although parties can never appeal to 100 percent of the voters, 'the general appeal is to *all* social classes. Only those with definite points of view contra are excluded' (Kirchheimer (undated II)). According to Kirchheimer, a Catholic party, for example, can appeal to all voters except for convinced anti-clericals (Kirchheimer, 1966a). To Kirchheimer, this mass appeal is not only facilitated by the decline in ideological profile, by the fading of class distinctions, and by increasing social mobility, but it is also helped by the fact that voters are increasingly attracted by the personality of party leaders. Catch-all parties reduce politics to individual political personalities. Kirchheimer also thought that if the *Weltanschauung* of the party were lost, the electorate would more easily shift its loyalty with every turnover in leadership.

Kirchheimer's Political Theory

Framed in a set of mainly socio-economic explanations, where the emergence of catch-all parties is seen as a political product of economic affluence and redistribution through the welfare state, the catch-all thesis is a wide-ranging theory about the functional transformation of political parties at the organizational, ideological and electoral level. Nevertheless, even in this more elaborate and clearer form, the catch-all thesis is only a small but important part of the more general political theory that he sought to elaborate. In brief, this more generalized political theory revolved around four distinctive but related concerns (Kirchheimer, 1964b):

- The erosion of parliamentary democracy, not only through the rise to power of fascist or communist regimes but also in established democracies as a result of vanishing political antagonism and principled opposition.
- The subsequent formation of a state-party cartel, where parties disconnect themselves from their social foundations and become amalgamated with the state, reducing politics to mere 'state management' by professional politicians who will abuse legal means for their political ends.
- Disconnected from their social origin and resourced by the state, parties professionalize their party organization and personalize their electoral appeal.
- This eventually leads to extensive depoliticization, political apathy of the mass population, and the waning of the classic separation of legislative, executive, and judicial powers.

In an updated research proposal, Kirchheimer specified these four interconnected domains in which he wished to analyse changes in the character and role of political parties (Kirchheimer, undated I).

Next to the decline of parliament in authority and prestige, he points to a process of partisan de-ideologization and the development of a tripartite power cartel consisting of political parties, the state, and powerful interest groups. Parties had begun to shift away from society into the state apparatus, which has resulted in a

decline in the political activism of different social classes. The role of party members had also changed, with the result that there was an increased gap between members and party leaders. Furthermore, the policy preferences of elected representatives had shifted, affecting the cohesiveness of party organizations and the mechanisms of inner-party decision-making.

Democratic political regimes no longer sought to integrate citizens into the body politic, but only to appease them in their role as uncritical consumers of 'political products'.

On the erosion of parliamentary democracy, Kirchheimer sketched a gloomy picture of steady functional decline of parliaments as representatives of the people, as controllers of the executive, and as lawmakers (Kirchheimer, 1963a). During the nineteenth century parliaments transformed from pure representative bodies to primarily governmental institutions to such an extent that the legislative and executive functions became co-mingled. As large chunks of public policy were excluded from parliamentary discussion, either by explicit or implicit agreement and as the resources of the ministries have mushroomed while parliament remains a relatively minor apparatus, the individual representative becomes powerless. Legislative and executive powers become concentrated at the governmental level and the scrutinizing of policy proposals occurs within cabinet rather than within parliament. From a democratic perspective, popularly elected parliamentarians should make political decisions and not concern themselves primarily with technical problems, yet in current political systems, it is the bureaucrats who make policy decisions while parliament is left to work out the technicalities.

In another unpublished paper dealing with political elites in advanced industrial societies, Kirchheimer again points to this increasing diffusion of political institutions and practices, to de-ideologization, and a decline in a political competition (Kirchheimer, 1964d). Contradicting pluralist notions, Kirchheimer argues that while new members can gain access to the elite group, they do not replace the ruling elite. Moreover, the transformation of mass parties into catch-all parties has reduced their representative function, in that parties now restrict themselves to the 'effective selection of political personnel ... change to a catch-all party allocates to the party

mainly electioneering or referenda engineering functions and de-emphasizes anything more than the symbolic participation of the mass of the people in the political process' (Kirchheimer, 1964d).

Echoing his earlier concerns, Kirchheimer stressed the increasing alienation from the political process of ordinary citizens, particularly the lower strata, resulting in their absence from the decisive power structures. Western political systems are faced with a mutual loss of control: citizens lose control over political organizations and political organizations lose control over their adherents. This erosion of formal control and the institutional disconnection between the leadership strata and the population at large results in the concentration of power in the hands of popular leaders (Kirchheimer, 1963b). As long as popular leaders remain within the existing democratic framework their personalities can serve as a citizen–system link. On the other hand, the personalization and concentration of power at the individual rather than the institutional level may also result in its abuse. Referring to De Gaulle, Kirchheimer argues that momentary popular leaders may use their popularity to destroy existing political structures and replace them with pseudo-legitimate authoritarian decision-making procedures that can serve their political objectives (Kirchheimer, 1963b).

The concern for the abuse of legal provisions for political ends remains a constant theme in Kirchheimer's work (Kirchheimer, 1955; Kirchheimer, 1961a), such that at one point he even suggests that the difference between democratic and totalitarian regimes lies merely in the frequency and severity with which legal means are abused for political ends (Kirchheimer, 1955). In all regimes, he argued, power-holders will abuse legal provisions if and when they risk losing their privileged positions. Examples of such abuse include ruling by decree, dissolving parliament, and manipulating political opponents and mass media to retain their positions of power. Having witnessed the dissolution of Weimar democracy into a presidential and subsequently Nazi dictatorship, Kirchheimer became convinced of the importance of democratic rules, the political rights of citizens, and a well-functioning and democratically elected parliament. His personal experience with legal procedures and 'justice' being used for political ends in Germany, France, and the United States

only reinforced this conviction. Indeed, the coming together of executive and judicial powers preoccupied Kirchheimer over the decades (Kirchheimer, 1932e; Kirchheimer, 1940; Kirchheimer, 1955; Kirchheimer, 1959b; Kirchheimer, 1961a; Kirchheimer, 1961c; Kirchheimer, 1965a; Kirchheimer, 1967).

The Contemporary Relevance of Kirchheimer's Political Theory

As is evident from this account, there are many contemporary developments in West European political systems that were already identified, *in nuce*, by Otto Kirchheimer in the 1950s and 1960s. Kirchheimer's analyses of party transformation and its wider implications for the functioning of party democracy already addressed topics that still dominate the contemporary debate on party transformation. In particular, he observed at an early stage the emergence of a state-party cartel that resulted from processes of depoliticization and the vanishing of opposition (Katz, R. S. & Mair, P., 1995). Indeed, his analysis goes even further when we take his earlier work into account. Already in the 1930s and 1940s, he detected a waning of the tripartite divisions of legislative, executive, and judicial powers, and claimed that the representatives of these powers – political parties, governments, and the courts – were increasingly forming a unified cartel. This power block left individual citizens virtually powerless in their attempts to influence their environment. Kirchheimer was also very prescient in pointing to the increasing level of professionalization and personalization in party politics, due to which political party organizations were becoming mere electioneering machines.

What makes Kirchheimer's work even more remarkable and valuable, however, is that while most of his contemporaries were arguing that politicians were conducting ancient feuds long forgotten by everyone else, Kirchheimer's concern was the opposite. According to Kirchheimer, postwar politics differed from the *interbellum* in that the catch-all people's party acted as an agent for the personal political ambition of elites, rather than as a mass organization oriented towards the mobilization of citizens and towards a fundamental transformation of society. According to Kirchheimer, the state seeks to legitimize its actions through the parties in parliament, and these political parties depend more and more on the state for their

resources. Incorporated into the state, parties are no longer principally opposed to the dominant regime and no longer formulate policy programs aiming at a fundamental change in society. Kirchheimer labeled this process the 'waning' (and even 'vanishing') of opposition, as a result of which parties will be inclined to progressively withdraw from civil society into a state-party cartel, thus weakening their internal cohesion and facilitating a rationalization of their structures and procedures. One consequence of this development is that the individual citizen can play only a very modest and passive role in party politics.

Kirchheimer's writings were sometimes based on personal observations, and they can also be considered as an amalgam of different elements drawn from theories of social structure, from empirical party sociology, and some of the principles derived from Downs' economic theory of democracy (D. Riesman, N. Glazer, and R. Denny, *The Lonely Crowd. A Study of the Changing American Character* (New York: Doubleday & Company 1950, and D. Bell, *The End of Ideology* (Glencoe: The Free Press 1960), see for this Schmidt, 'Allerweltparteien'). These elements were combined with strong normative views on democratic and social developments, views originating in his traumatic experiences during the collapse of the Weimar Republic, and further exacerbated by his fear that American political practices would become dominant in Western Europe. Despite his, sometimes, haphazard methodology and opaque lexicon, the importance of Kirchheimer's work lies in his ability to select from numerous data what was relevant, to differentiate general tendencies from specific events, and to combine this originally and creatively. This ability enabled Kirchheimer to sketch trends and developments that are still being discussed by twenty-first-century political scientists and observers. Besides, Kirchheimer was able to draw attention to a new type of party, the catch-all party, and simultaneously to identify the consequences of its emergence for modern democracies (For an evaluation of Kirchheimer's system of thought see J.H. Herz, 'In Memoriam: Otto Kirchheimer', *Political Science Quarterly* 81/3 (1966), pp.1-3; J.H. Herz and E. Hula, 'Otto Kirchheimer. An Introduction to his Life and Work', in Burin and Shell, *Politics, Law and Social Change*, pp. iv-xxxviii). In all, Otto Kirchheimer's acute vision, inventiveness, and broad-ranging scholarship allowed him to construct

a comprehensive, cohesive, and still relevant political theory about the transformation of Western political systems.

In the previous sections, a description of the contribution of Political Science in the Political Marketing field was made. It is however necessary for an explanation about core issues of Political Marketing to be provided. Hence, in the next sections a definitional attempt of Political Marketing will be made; also, interpretations of political marketing, Political Marketing as an exchange process, and Political relationship marketing; the Role of Stakeholders in Political Marketing will be discussed; and finally, the Political Marketing Strategic Dimensions will be described.

2.2.3 An attempt to define Political Marketing

Political Marketing is still being considered as a developing (sub) discipline and often, deliberately or not, misunderstood. Consequently, this led towards the requirement of a definitional attempt for a better determination and identification of it as a field; and in turn increase any political actor's understanding about this, yet, developing (sub) discipline.

For this effort, Robert Ormrod (2012) offers a significant argumentation for defining Political Marketing. More specifically he argues that until now, definitions of political marketing have mirrored developments in the definition of commercial marketing (Henneberg 2002). However, recent developments in political marketing theory have underlined the fundamental differences between political and commercial marketing (Baines et al. 2003; Henneberg and Ormrod 2013), and therefore it is imperative to develop a definition of political marketing that takes its point of departure from political marketing theory. This raises the first issue that must be addressed by a definition: what is the explanatory realm of political marketing? Should the definition focus on a narrow interpretation of political marketing (political marketing as a set of activities) or on a wide interpretation (political marketing as a philosophy) (Henneberg 2008)? The second issue concerns the nature of the political exchange as fundamentally different from the commercial exchange (that is, a triadic interaction contra a dyadic interaction; Henneberg and Ormrod 2013). Does this mean that the definition of political marketing can nevertheless be based on the concept of

exchange as it is understood in the commercial literature? The third issue builds on the question of a narrow or broad understanding of political marketing, as well as the nature of the political exchange: to what extent are relationships a central component of a definition of political marketing (Bannon 2005; Henneberg and O'Shaughnessy 2009)? Finally, most political marketing research focuses primarily on voters as the key stakeholder group, despite the importance of this group varying according to the position on the electoral cycle (Ormrod and Henneberg 2011). This raises the final issue to be addressed by this definition: does one focus on normative and/or strategic approaches to identifying and categorizing specific stakeholder groups or does one adopt a neutral stance, instead of leaving this choice to the individual political actor?

The aim of this proposition was to develop a definition of political marketing. This aim is motivated by the need to make explicit our understanding of what political marketing is, a necessary exercise when discussing theories and concepts (and empirical methods) in political marketing. This proposition will proceed as follows. First, five existing definitions of political marketing that have been selected to represent advances in research from the origins of academic research into political marketing in the mid-1970's up to nowadays will be presented. After these 'wide' and 'narrow' interpretations of political marketing, the nature of the political marketing exchange, political relationship marketing, and how the stakeholder concept can be integrated into an understanding of political marketing will be discussed. Finally, a new definition of political marketing that takes into account the various issues that are discussed in this proposition, derived from the *political* rather than commercial marketing literature is proposed.

Definitions of Political Marketing

The first definition of political marketing can be traced back to Shama (1976), who defined political marketing as "the process by which political candidates and their ideas are directed at voters in order to satisfy their potential needs and thus gain their support for the candidate and ideas in question" (Shama 1976: 766). This definition was developed as part of the broadening of marketing debate in the early 1970s (Kotler and Levy 1969; Kotler 1975). Shama's (1976) definition of political

marketing mirrored its commercial counterpart in that political marketing was seen as a process rather than an organizational philosophy, with the focus on political candidates satisfying voters as the central exchange partners rather than a wider focus on relationships.

Lock and Harris' (1996) definition reflected developments in the field of commercial marketing from a transaction-based to a relationship-based approach. Lock and Harris (1996) define political marketing as both a discipline and an activity. As a discipline, political marketing is "the study of the processes of exchanges between political entities and their environment and amongst themselves, with particular reference to the positioning of both those entities and their communications", whilst as an activity, political marketing is "concerned with strategies for positioning and communications, and the methods through which these strategies may be realized, including the search for information into attitudes, awareness, and response of target audiences. (Lock and Harris 1996: 21-22). This definition, therefore, recognizes that political marketing is not solely concerned with the actions of political actors through the permanent campaign and that the underlying mechanism is that of the exchange of value between political entities and environments at both the aggregate and individual levels.

Henneberg (2002) proposed that "Political marketing seeks to establish, maintain and enhance long-term political relationships at a profit for society so that the objectives of the individual political actors and organizations involved are met. This is done by mutual exchange and fulfillment of promises" (Henneberg 2002: 103). This definition is close to that of (Grönroos 1990) in the commercial literature, building on the relationship marketing approach (Bannon 2005, Henneberg and O'Shaughnessy 2009). Two key stakeholders are named; society and political actors (both individuals and organizations).

The American Marketing Association (AMA) defines political marketing as "Marketing designed to influence target audiences to vote for a particular person, party, or proposition" (AMA 20072). This definition builds on the AMA's definition of commercial marketing as "the activity, set of institutions, and processes for creating, communicating, delivering, and exchanging offerings that have value for customers, clients, partners, and society at large" (AMA 20073). Hughes and Dann (2009: 244)

integrate and develop the AMA's (2007) definitions and propose that political marketing is "a set of activities, processes or political institutions used by political organizations, candidates and individuals to create, communicate, deliver and exchange promises of value with voter-consumers, political party stakeholders and society at large". The influence of the AMA's (2007) definition is apparent in the lack of an explicit reference to relationship building in Hughes and Dann's (2009) definition; on the other hand, the role of stakeholders is emphasized in the definition by identifying four groups as relevant for analysis, namely political marketers, voter/consumers, party stakeholders and society in general.

Finally, Winther-Nielsen (2011: 29) considers political marketing to be "concerned with reciprocated exchanges of value between political entities and their environments". As such, Winther-Nielsen's (2011) definition builds on Lock and Harris (1996) with its focus on entities and environments and follows the modern perception of political marketing as focusing on exchanges of value. Where Winther-Nielsen's (2011) definition differs is that no specific goal is stated, in contrast to Lock and Harris' (1996) focus on political marketing as a discipline and a set of processes, and Henneberg's (2002) more general focus on relationship building and long-term organizational aims.

Interpretations of political marketing

Discussions surrounding the theoretical foundations of both commercial and political marketing remain unresolved and fragmented in the academic literature, and the dominant instrumental/managerial paradigm results in the current empirical focus of research on descriptive studies of activities carried out by political actors (Henneberg 2008). This leads to asking the following question: is political marketing, or should political marketing be, solely concerned with getting a candidate elected, or does, or should, political marketing provide a theoretical and conceptual lens through which to understand phenomena in the political marketplace? These two interpretations of the nature and scope of political marketing can be described as 'narrow' and 'wide' approaches, respectively (Henneberg 2008).

The narrow approach focuses on political marketing management, that is, how tools from the commercial marketing literature are used to achieve political actors'

tactical and strategic aims. By concentrating on marketing activities, the narrow interpretation of the nature and role of marketing in the political context reduces the explanatory realm of political marketing as a research field to the observable behaviour of political actors. This narrow interpretation, coupled with the adoption of outdated concepts and models from the field of commercial marketing (Henneberg and O'Shaughnessy 2007), results in a body of research that is open to criticism from marketing and political scientists alike (Henneberg 2004, 2008).

On the other hand, the wide interpretation of the nature and scope of political marketing emphasizes the use of theories and concepts from the commercial marketing literature that are developed to suit the idiosyncratic nature of the political context. Marketing's role in the political organization focuses on facilitating exchanges of value and on relationship-building with various stakeholders such as voters, competing parties or candidates, and the media (Dean and Croft 2001; Hughes and Dann 2009). This wide interpretation of political marketing can contribute to the understanding of the political context by providing an alternative theoretical 'lens' through which to view political behaviour (Henneberg 2004). For example, political science concentrates on structural or group characteristics when examining voter behaviour; a political marketing perspective would instead help understand how individual voters make decisions, become part of a discrete group, and make sense of the political brand (Henneberg 2008).

The five current definitions vary in their adoption of the narrow and wide interpretations of the nature and scope of political marketing. What can be seen is that apart from the AMA (2007) definition, there has been a gradual shift in emphasis over time from a narrow interpretation towards a wide interpretation. This definitional shift has followed developments in the field of commercial marketing, from a transaction-based approach towards a relationship, and network-based approaches (Henneberg 2002). This wider interpretation has implications for our understanding of the concept of exchange: whilst a transaction-based approach to market exchanges implies a short-term perspective, the wider interpretation implies a long-term perspective that sees relationship management as a key activity. However, whilst the commercial exchange of value can be seen as a dyadic

interaction, the unique characteristics of the political marketplace necessitate an understanding of the political exchange as an interaction triad.

Political Marketing as an exchange process

The definitions of political marketing discussed above are unified in that they all focus on the exchange of value as the fundamental concept in political marketing. This exchange of value is understood in the same way as it is in the commercial marketing literature, that is, as a dyadic interaction between two actors that both possess agency and enter into the exchange freely (Brennan and Henneberg 2008). However, Henneberg and Ormrod (2013) argue that a political exchange needs to be conceptualized as three linked interactions rather than as one dyadic (buyer/seller) exchange which is characteristic of commercial market interactions. These three exchanges are the electoral interactions between voters and political actors (parties/candidates), the parliamentary interactions between political actors that have mandates in the parliament, and the governmental interactions between governments and citizens. This triadic structure to each political exchange means that it is necessary for each interaction to be successful before the political exchange is complete; not only must the political actor receive enough votes to be represented in the parliament, but the political actor has to both be able to influence legislation, and environmental factors have to be amenable to the implementation of the legislation (Henneberg and Ormrod 2013). In the following, we briefly discuss the characteristics of each of the three interactions.

The electoral interaction takes place between the voter and the political actor at election time and is the most common object of political marketing research due to its salience. Unlike a commercial exchange between a business and a consumer, the electoral interaction is not characterized by balanced reciprocity as the political actor receives value immediately in the form of the vote whilst usually the voter only receives a general promise that certain behaviours will occur in return, such as the implementation of election pledges. The second key difference between the commercial exchange and the electoral interaction is how decisions are made that decide the composition of the elected assembly and thus whether the interaction is successful – whilst an individual actor or small groups such as a buying centre or

family make the decision in the commercial exchange, all voters take part in the decision, and the majority decision prevails (this majority depends on the voting system and vote aggregation algorithm that is used in a party system).

If the electoral interaction is successful, the candidate or party becomes represented in the parliament. Depending on the aggregated decision of the electorate, this may or may not result in the candidate or party being part of the parliamentary majority (Henneberg and Ormrod 2013). Therefore, the characteristics of the parliamentary interaction are closely linked to the wider political system; for example, in the United States there are few parties and so majoritarian rule is the norm (or is it that because of a majoritarian system, there are only a few parties?); in European proportional representation systems such as Denmark and Germany, coalition governments are the norm, and so the original offering of the party or candidate in the electoral interaction is 'watered down', although this may even have been taken into account in the process surrounding the development of the political offering (Bowler and Farrell 1992). On the micro-level, the parliamentary interaction takes place between elected representatives and is manifested in the day-to-day *realpolitik* of running a government, securing parliamentary majorities, and developing and passing legislation. As such it is possible for the electoral interaction to be successful but the nature and composition of the elected assembly may hinder the reciprocation of value by the political actor.

The final interaction occurs in the governmental market, that is, between the government and citizens as a result of the conceptualization of the first interaction in the electoral marketplace between voters on the one hand, and parties or candidates on the other (Henneberg and Ormrod 2013). In this interaction, the promised offering is reciprocated by tax revenues and other resources that are not necessarily tied to any specific spending promises. However, it is not only citizens who are affected by government legislation, as all stakeholders in society are influenced either directly or indirectly by laws that are passed, for example when income tax increases result in lower disposable income for individual consumers. In addition to this, there are many socio-economic factors that have the potential to mediate, moderate or even prevent this interaction from being successful, such as

high inflation, industrial disputes, and post-election exogenous shocks to the economy.

Therefore, it is only if all three of these interactions are successfully reciprocated that a political exchange is completed. This triadic structure stands in stark contrast to the dyadic structure that characterizes commercial exchanges. For example, it is possible for both the electoral and parliamentary interactions to be successful (the voter's chosen candidate or party is elected and forms part of the ruling majority), but if socio-economic forces mean that the election promise cannot be carried out, the governmental interaction cannot be completed and so the political exchange fails.

Political relationship marketing

A relationship-based approach to understanding the way in which commercial organizations in business-to-business markets interact with their stakeholders was first proposed by Grönroos (1990) and has since developed into the new (service) dominant logic of marketing (Vargo and Lusch 2004). However, despite an increased focus on the relationship and network interaction aspects of commercial exchanges, this approach has been slow to influence political marketing literature and practice. The dominant approach in political marketing remains the instrumental/managerial paradigm, despite criticisms (Bannon 2005). Henneberg and O'Shaughnessy (2009) argue that a relationship-based approach has the potential to influence political marketing on two levels: the micro-level with its focus on interaction and exchange relationships between the political actor and individual stakeholders, and the macro-level with its focus on the wider interplay between a relationship-based approach and the structural and systemic nature of the political marketplace.

How a political party or candidate manages relationships with individual stakeholders at the micro-level is a matter of prioritization – scarce resources mean that identifiable voter segments are more attractive than others, some coalition partners are more ideologically compatible than others, and certain stakeholders are more important from a normative perspective. Whilst Henneberg and Ormrod (2013) focus on the electorate in their discussion of micro-level issues, the concept

and practical manifestation of political relationship marketing can be equally applied to stakeholders in general.

Political relationship marketing at the macro-level is associated with the extent to which the interaction between the political actor and the political system leads to a short-term focus on popular offerings at election time or a more long-term building of relationships with key stakeholder groups. Both of these approaches are a matter of degree (a greater or lesser relationship intensity), can coexist within a single political system (for example, Henneberg's (2006) *Tactical Populist* and *Relationship Builder* strategic political posture types) and are dynamic (can vary across the electoral cycle or according to socio-economic developments over time).

Stakeholders in political marketing

Who – or what – is a stakeholder, and what is a stake? Friedman and Miles (2006) identify no less than 55 different definitions of the characteristics of stakeholders, ranging from definitions that focus on the implications for the performance of the organization (Freeman 1984) and managerial activities (Gray et al. 1996), to very broad definitions that include future generations, animals and even naturally occurring phenomena (Starik 1994). These definitions can be placed into one of three groups, namely those definitions focusing on normative, descriptive, or instrumental/strategic issues (Friedman and Miles 2006). For political managers, a normative approach to identifying stakeholders correspond to decisions concerning which stakeholders ought to be selected to facilitate exchange with, the descriptive approach to how managers actually select such stakeholders, and the instrumental/strategic approach to how stakeholders are identified in the strategic planning process. In practice, it is most useful to concentrate on normative and strategic definitions as these allow for a measure of analysis, as opposed to simply describing the relationship between the organization and the stakeholder, a common criticism of political marketing research (Henneberg 2004).

Adopting a normative approach to identifying stakeholders involves asking questions about which stakeholders the political organization *ought* to include in its deliberations about its offering. The normative approach is closely linked to questions involving values, ethics, societal norms, the number of stakeholders that

are included in decision-making processes, and how these stakeholders are selected (Bishop 2000; O'Shaughnessy 2002). On the other hand, a strategic approach to identifying relevant stakeholders implies a goal-oriented approach where concrete, measurable success criteria can be developed. Irrespective of which approach is selected, the question remains as to how to categorize these stakeholders. Carroll (2005) discusses three general ways in which to categorize stakeholders, based upon whether the stakeholder is internal or external to the organization, is primary or secondary to achieving the goals of the organization, or is characterized by a mixture of the power of the stakeholder, the legitimacy of the stakeholder's claim and the urgency with which the stakeholder's claim has to be dealt with.

Despite a long history of research into stakeholder theories in relation to the commercial literature (Friedman and Miles (2006) identify an internal memo at the Stanford Research Institute in 1964 as providing the first definition), little research has been carried out in the political marketing literature that specifically investigates the applicability of alternative stakeholder approaches or categorization schemes in the political marketing context, despite the recognition that political candidates are dependent on more than just exchanges of value with voters at election time (Kotler, 1975; Shama 1976; Newman 1994). Probably the most in-depth analysis of the role of stakeholders in the development of a definition of political marketing was published by Hughes and Dann (2009) who discuss the nature of stakeholders in the political marketing context. They propose seventeen stakeholder types developed from a review of the commercial, nonprofit, and social marketing literature, using Scholem and Stewart's (2002) stakeholder mapping process. Whilst Hughes and Dann's (2009) article suggests a specific method of identifying and classifying stakeholders, we argue that an *a priori* linking of specific stakeholder groups to the definition of political marketing can be too restrictive.

Whilst the actual derivation of the relevant stakeholders in the political marketing literature has remained implicit, the voter and the mass media have both been the subject of the vast majority of research. This is unsurprising given the relative visibility and importance of these groups to political actors, especially at election time, but it does emphasize the goal-oriented, strategic approach to identifying stakeholders and implies a narrow approach to understanding the scope of political

marketing. Add to this a normative angle and the subsequent broader understanding of the scope of political marketing, it becomes clear that other stakeholders such as competing parties/candidates, grassroots party members, and public sector workers, can be included in conceptual models (Dean and Croft 2001, Ormrod 2005, 2007, Ormrod and Henneberg 2010, 2011; Henneberg 2002, Newman 1994), and arguably that this wider perspective is necessary given the focus of the governmental interaction of the political marketing exchange on exogenous factors.

The question thus arises of how broad the definition of stakeholders in the political marketplace should or can be in order to achieve the aims of the political actor. At first glance, marketing would seem to prescribe a narrow approach to identifying stakeholders as it focuses on achieving aims, irrespective of whether these aims are long term or not. However, taking a broad approach to identifying and categorizing stakeholders in the political marketing context may provide a more informative angle, including as it does both normative and strategic elements. For example, using Starik's (1994) approach would lead to the inclusion of the global economy as an independent stakeholder in political marketing; indeed, the global economy would fit in with the majority of definitions of stakeholders in that it directly affects and can be affected by the governmental interaction of the political marketing exchange, but the questions remain as to whether this inclusion is because the economy should be included or because it is necessary for the success of the political candidate or party. The discussion above points to the necessity of including both normative and strategic elements in political marketing research and practice. A goal-oriented approach is arguably more realistic in the electoral interaction as resource limitations impact certain activities such as voter segmentation and opinion polling. However, the wider implications of the legislation for all stakeholders necessitates a wider, normative view. Therefore, due to the differences between political systems, the structure and history of each system, and the diverse characteristics of the stakeholders within each system, we argue that a *definition* of political marketing cannot *a priori* specify an approach to identifying and categorizing stakeholders that is applicable across all political systems or even valid at all points on the electoral cycle within a political system. As such, the question of whether a political actor focuses on a particular stakeholder on normative or strategic grounds is context-

specific, and therefore it is necessary to resist the temptation to argue for one approach to identifying and categorizing stakeholders over another; what is essential, however, is that the stakeholder concept is included within the definition of political marketing.

Defining political marketing

Ormrod argues that from the above discussion several characteristics of a definition of political marketing that bears more or less resemblance to existing definitions of political marketing can be identified. Firstly, the concept of exchange has been argued to be fundamentally different in the political context; instead of the exchange as a dyad underpinning a commercial marketing understanding, three linked interactions that result in one political system exchange are posited. Relationships are essential to facilitating these exchanges, and so it is necessary to distinguish between political marketing at the micro-and macro-levels. Furthermore, the nature of the political exchange and the implications of adopting a perspective based on relationships and interactions necessitates both a wide interpretation of political marketing as a research 'lens' or perspective through which to observe phenomena in the political sphere *and* as a strategic approach. Finally, this wide interpretation of the scope of political marketing research leads to the inclusion of stakeholders in the normative and strategic considerations of political actors.

From the above discussion, the following definition of political marketing is proposed:

Political marketing is a perspective from which to understand phenomena in the political sphere and an approach that seeks to facilitate political exchanges of value through interactions in the electoral, parliamentary and governmental markets to manage relationships with stakeholders.

As with the majority of previous definitions of political marketing, exchanges of value, relationships, and stakeholders are core elements of this definition. However, this definition differs in several key ways. Firstly, the exchange component is understood as a triadic interaction rather than a dyadic exchange. Secondly, political relationships are dynamically managed, a characteristic that does not dictate a specific duration or intensity. Finally, there is a non-specific understanding of

stakeholders that allows for differences at the systemic and organizational level, and from normative and strategic approaches.

2.2.4 The Political Marketing Strategic Dimensions

Nikolay Vankov (2013) also provides a significant proposition about the strategic dimensions of Political Marketing. Accordingly, Political Marketing as an academic discipline 'works' on two levels: firstly, it consists of explanatory constructs for political marketing management activities as employed by political actors in practice; secondly, it represents an exchange or interaction-based research lens to explain the political sphere per se (Henneberg, S. C., and O'Shaughnessy, N., 2008).

More specifically, political marketing research needs to be concerned with issues of democracy in general and its commensurability with political marketing management and its underlying concepts, such as voter-orientation, or market orientation (Newman, B. I., 2002). This goes beyond more specific questions about the applicability of political marketing activities in politics, such as whether it is ethical to focus only on 'floating voters' in a targeted election strategy (Baines, P. R., Harris, P., and Lewis, B. R., 2002).

The point of departure of this argument is the fundamental question regarding the integrity of political marketing management.

By posing the question in this way, there is somehow not enough clarity regarding the constructs concerned: what do we mean by 'democracy', and what exactly is 'political marketing management' in this context? Thus, this question quickly disintegrates into more complex sub-questions once the two main components are scrutinized.

Political marketing management and its theoretical and conceptual foundations, following marketing theory, is not a monolithic bloc of unambiguous definitions, clear aims, and aligned activities, but comprises many different 'schools'. Below, three distinct concepts of marketing orientation in politics that span the space of possible options are described: a 'selling oriented' concept of political marketing management, an 'instrument-mix-oriented' concept, and a 'relationship-building' concept which is also informed by societal marketing considerations. Thus, the initial

conceptual question about the relationship of political marketing and democracy needs to be related to each of these concepts of political marketing management.

Strategic dimensions of Political Marketing

Political marketing provides a theoretical umbrella for different applications of marketing concepts within the political sphere. No singular approach to political marketing exists.

As is the case with marketing theory, a similar variety of approaches exist in political marketing management. This is represented in the extant literature by analyses of communication-based campaigning approaches, by strategic positioning approaches, or by concepts based on the organizational attitudes and behaviours in their relationship with external and internal political stakeholders. However, there have been a few categorization attempts to make a comparison of different political marketing management approaches, e.g. Lees-Marshment's conceptualization of product, sales, and, market(ing)-oriented parties (Lees-Marshment, J. 2001).

The strategic dimensions of political marketing as represented by different, often incompatible concepts have to be precise about:

- Selling-orientated political marketing;
- Instrument-oriented political marketing;
- Relational political marketing.

These approaches have been chosen because they illustrate the ideal types of orientations and are based on state-of-the-art research discussions. Furthermore, they constitute the dominating paradigm for research and practice in this area.

The *Selling-oriented* political marketing is most often equated with a traditional, ideology-oriented approach to politics (Henneberg, S. C., 2002). The political offering, i.e. the policy promises, and the electoral and campaign activities are derived from solid political convictions, often characterized by an alignment with certain interests within dominant or social cleavages, such as class and region. A 'market-leading' perspective and predominantly tactical use of political marketing instruments characterize this approach (e.g. Henneberg S. C., 2006). Selling-oriented

political marketing is often seen as the 'first age' of political marketing, exemplified by the use of party-political broadcasts, slogans, posters, and the 30-second ad spot. It has been argued that this meant that political management mattered more than political marketing.

The *instrumentally-oriented* political marketing can be characterized as the sophisticated and managerial use of political marketing activities and strategies employed to convince voters of the value of the political offering, adapt the offering to target segment preferences, and implement political marketing campaigns effectively and efficiently through the coordinated use of a multitude of political marketing instruments. This is in line with 'market-led' approaches of strategic marketing, or a 'following' mentality as a radical interpretation of a voter-orientation.

The major Greek political parties' election campaigns represent an example of such 'focus group'-driven campaigning. An instrumental approach can mean a focus on short-term expediency with an emphasis on responding to tracking polls and public opinions.

Recently, a *Relational Approach* to political marketing has been advocated (Henneberg, S. C., and O'Shaughnessy, N., 2008). This is inspired by societal marketing considerations which have also been advocated in the political sphere. The emphasis is on long-term exchange interactions that benefit all relevant actors as well as society. Value considerations are linked to an acknowledgment of the (inter)dependency of all involved exchange partners and are therefore grounded in mutual benefits as well as societal needs, based on delivering promises, i.e. a voter and citizen-inclusive approach to policy implementation (Johansen, H. P. M., 2005). To make the relational approach to political marketing operational, however, it has to go beyond the cosmetics and the superficial. For example, e-mails, blog and website posts, social networking sites, and YouTube videos have all been used extensively by the candidates.

To compare these three distinct approaches, some pivotal characteristics are selected which emphasize the essence of the different political marketing concepts. These dimensions are used to describe types and therefore to some extent generic aspects and cover elements of the strategy on which the specific political marketing

is based, the envisaged characteristics of the underlying political exchanges, as well as the specific activity patterns associated with the relevant political marketing (see Table 2.3).

With regard to the strategic dimensions, the three political marketing rationales differ: while a selling-oriented approach is offering focused, i.e. puts an ideology or conviction first, instrumentally-oriented political marketing is focused on a deep understanding of primary stakeholders, and specifically on target voters' needs and wants. A relational approach enhances this perspective in line with a wider societal orientation which also incorporates the interests of stakeholders that are not direct exchange partners, and assesses the tradeoffs between short-term and long-term effects. While this implies a differentiated targeting approach covering core and periphery actors, the instrumentally-oriented political marketing focuses pragmatically on those decisive voter segments which need to be convinced in order to achieve the organizational aims, i.e. main target segments are 'floating or indecisive voters'.

Table 4

		Selling-oriented political marketing	Instrumentally-political marketing	Relational political marketing
STRATEGIC DIMENSIONS	Rationale of political marketing	<i>Offering (ideology)</i>	<i>Voter needs</i>	<i>Voter and societal needs</i>
	Target segment(s)	<i>Cleavage group</i>	<i>Floating voters</i>	<i>Core and periphery voters</i>
	Targeting strategy	<i>Undifferentiated</i>	<i>Differentiated</i>	<i>Differentiated/ Micro</i>
	Importance of political marketing for party	<i>Peripheral; tactical activity management</i>	<i>Central; tactical/strategic activity management</i>	<i>Central; strategic policy development/ implementation; strategic/ tactical activity management</i>

EXCHANGE DIMENSIONS	Interaction	<i>One-way</i>	<i>Mediated one-way</i>	<i>Dialogue</i>
	Value construct	<i>Conviction-based promises</i>	<i>Needs-based promises</i>	<i>Mediated needs-based promises</i>
	Temporal orientation	<i>Short-term, electoral</i>	<i>Short-term, electoral</i>	<i>Long-term, electoral and governmental</i>
ACTIVITY	Political marketing activity	<i>Communication</i>	<i>Communication, Channel management, Offering development, Activity co-ordination, Intelligence management</i>	<i>Policy and value strategy development, Promises implementation, Micro-activity management, Managing in relationships</i>
	Instruments	<i>Push marketing instruments</i>	<i>Push and Pull marketing instruments</i>	<i>Relationship building instruments</i>
	Campaign orientation	<i>Election</i>	<i>Election; Resource-generation</i>	<i>Election, Government, Resource generation; Implementation</i>

Table 2.3. Three concepts of Political Marketing

An undifferentiated targeting of voters who are aligned with the core offering is to be expected for selling-oriented political organizations. Consequently, these political actors use political marketing as a peripheral and tactical tool of politics, while political marketing is central for the two other approaches, specifically for the relational political marketing management concept which perceives marketing strategy as the guiding principle of offering creation, stakeholder interaction, as well as service delivery in politics (Smith, G. and Hirst, A., 2001).

The exchange dimensions of political marketing rationale are concerned with what kind of interaction is facilitated by the specific approach, on what aspects value considerations are based, and what time perspective underpins the different approaches. For a selling-oriented political marketing approach, a uni-directional and episode-based exchange, focusing on election campaigns, is characteristic. This is in line with a conviction-based definition of exchange value components. Instrumentally-oriented political marketing shows some similarities. However, the

underlying exchange value concept derives its content from the current needs of specific groups of voters or the prevailing public opinion. On the other hand, the relational political marketing concept stresses the long-term perspective, including besides elections other interaction processes, such as governing and policy implementation as part of societal interactions. A dialogue with changing agenda-setting functions between different interaction partners is envisaged, with a societally-mediated value concept as its foundation (Scammell, M., 1999).

Relational political marketing is based on a comprehensive and 'permanent' (i.e. continuously ongoing) portfolio of marketing activities, including policy development, communication, and implementation, and long-term relationship and stakeholder management. This contrast with the more limited activity set of the other two approaches: while the instrumental political marketing orientation focuses specifically on communication, intelligence gathering, and market-based policy development, a selling oriented political marketing predominantly uses communication activities, specifically deployed in a push-marketing setting for election campaigns.

Both sections of "An attempt to define Political Marketing" and "The Political Marketing Strategic Dimensions" provided significant clarification to understand Political Marketing as a developing discipline, as well as its strategic options. However, the significant element that was met in the above descriptions, as well as in a significant part of literature related to this thesis is Political Relationship Marketing which will be described in the next section.

2.2.5 The role of Political Relationship Marketing in the current research.

During the last decades, relationship marketing has become the main topic of political marketing research (Grönroos, 1994; Morgan and Hunt, 1994; Iacobucci and Ostrom 1996; Vargo and Lusch, 2004; Lees-Marshment et al., 2014). Palmatier (Palmatier, 2008, p. 5) defines relationship marketing as the "process of identifying, developing, maintaining, and terminating relational exchanges to enhance

performance". In particular, literature has shown that political relationship marketing affects the competitiveness of political parties as actors of the political domain, therefore influencing the achievement of their final goals (Henneberg and O'Shaughnessy, 2009; Ormrod and Savigny, 2011). Therefore, political parties need to acknowledge the importance of nurturing and developing a variety of relationships as a long-term strategic imperative (Bannon, 2005).

In the political domain, the creation of such relationships between citizens and political institutions can be promoted through relationship marketing activities (Henneberg and O'Shaughnessy, 2009).

Therefore, relying on the models of Morgan and Hunt (1994), and Henneberg and O'Shaughnessy (2009), we examine which are the determinants and the outputs of effective political relationship marketing strategies that can be applied to the political domain.

The quality of the relationship (Palmatier, 2008) between political actors, such as political parties and voters, affects political actors and the performance of one side towards the other (Henneberg and O'Shaughnessy, 2009). Such quality is defined in terms of the level of trust and commitment (Morgan and Hunt, 1994) of the electorate towards the political parties, the goals that such organizations pursue, the activities that they execute, the values that they embody and promote, and the political markets vision that they want to put into effect. When the quality of the relationship is high, the reputation of the institution, as well as the value created—as they are perceived by the electorate—increase, while the perceived risk lowers. The main determinants that make it possible to create trust-based and commitment-based relationships through relationship marketing activities, according to the literature, can be: First, through the *co-operative approach*; more specifically, the relationship management has to be inspired by a long-term and interactive approach to nurture and develop a variety of mutually beneficial relationships. Such an approach should aim at producing a win-win situation, where value is maximized by both "sellers" (political parties) and "users" (voters), and where the users are no longer be considered as passive actors, but as a part actively involved in the process (Newman, 1999; Morgan and Hunt, 1994; Vargo and Lusch, 2004). To achieve these goals, the political parties, should develop competencies in political relationship

marketing and routinely carry out initiatives to create long-term bonds of reciprocity with external stakeholders, and above all with actual and potential users (voters); and second, through the *shared values and goals* approach; that is, the creation of trust-based and commitment-based relationships also depends on the capability to share with the electorate (and, in particular, with the selected segments) a system of common values and goals (Nahapiet and Ghoshal, 1998). For this reason, it is important not only to define a coherent set of functional and symbolic attributes (through voters' perceptions or image associations) that fit with the selected segments (both users and other relevant stakeholders) but also to properly and explicitly communicate them through a strategic positioning proposition. This strategic positioning proposition is requested to develop a shared platform of values—as well as of pursued objectives—that represents the common base for mutual comprehension, joint commitment, and putting efforts towards the same direction.

The elements of the conceptual model are closely related to each other; in fact, they constitute a network of mutual influence both within a particular strategy and also between them.

For instance, based on the discussion above, it is clear that image associations also affect the quality of the relationships in which the political party is embedded. In fact, image associations contribute to defining the perceived reliability of the political party, so clearly affecting the antecedents and the outcomes of the marketing relationship strategy.

Moreover, it is important to underline that the positioning strategy represents an operational tool and that can be effectively managed and meaningfully interpreted only if considered as part of a broader and more complex strategic marketing process. Thus, it is not possible to understand the contribution that marketing can give to the retention of the political parties' electoral bases, by merely analysing these operational tools while overlooking the whole strategy.

2.2.7 Political Marketing Research in Greece.

One of the most significant articles that signal the beginning of the description of the political marketing activities in Greece was *The Role of Image-Makers in the Greek Political Scene* (Prodromos Yannas, 2002). The paper addresses the role of image-makers (political consultants) in the Greek political scene. First, it is argued the growth of political consulting in Greece in the 1990s is intimately linked to the deregulation of the Greek TV scene. Second, the national elections of April 2000 will provide the context for documenting the crucial role that image-makers play in the development of image management strategy and techniques; the convergence of Greek campaigning with communication practices which have been developed and used in American elections renders support to the adaptation version of the "Americanization thesis."

An editorial *Political Marketing in Greece Is Ready for Take-Off* (Prodromos Yannas, 2005) which investigated the reception of political marketing in Greece and to summarize the research findings of the first conference followed. This editorial will begin by addressing focal points of a critique that several Greek academics have expressed about the marketing of politics. The purview includes the critical viewpoints, not only as a reminder of legitimate academic reservations, but to underscore the obstacles that political marketing confronts in Greece, a country where research in this subfield is just beginning to appear. The paper will then examine how widespread are political marketing concepts and techniques in the Greek context, providing a review of some important contributions. Finally, the paper will discuss papers that were presented at the first political marketing conference in Greece in 2003. The articles selected for this issue encompass both the election campaign and non-election periods. Naturally, election periods become foci of attention for political marketing experts and the focus of this collection has been on the Greek local elections for prefectures and municipalities held in October 2002. The issue is supplemented by an article that analyses the use of the internet in an off-election period.

An article about *Independent Candidacies in Greece* (Spiros Rizopoulos, 2005) aimed to demonstrate that three main factors are considered as keys to a successful

political campaign that remain the same around the globe. These basic factors are (a) those campaign methods drawn from and designed in the USA and can be adapted to the needs of campaigns implemented in foreign countries; (b) the importance of polling; and, (c) the successful strategy planning and implementation depending on the candidate's attitude and cooperative spirit. The relevance of these factors is exhibited through a case study, the successful campaign strategy of an independent candidate for the post of the mayor in the city of Serres in Northern Greece during the 2002 Greek municipal elections.

The new communication system of interconnected computer networks is altering the nature of political communication in many innovative and significant ways. In Greece, the development of the Internet as a mass communication medium had a short history by then, and it is far from being a fully-fledged medium of political communication. Except for relatively few cases, the use of the Internet has been shown to increase during the pre-election campaign periods. The *Greek Political Marketing Online* (Nicolas Demertzis, Katerina Diamantaki, Angeliki Gazi, and Nektarios Sartzetakis, 2005) presents the results of a research project, which explores the personal Web sites of the Greek parliamentarians in an off-campaign period. The research was conducted through the systematic observation, examination, and analysis of a sample of personal Web pages owned by cross-party elected members of the Greek Parliament.

Since the restoration of democracy in 1974, Greek politics have undergone a serious transformation, exemplified by the increase in political participation that strongly affected political advertising at the national and local levels. The major claim of the paper *Political Advertising in Greek Municipal and Prefecture Elections of 2002* (Tessa Doukeri & Nikolaos Panagiotou, 2005) is that political campaigns in major cities in Greece are "modern" while in the periphery of the country political campaigning is based more upon direct forms of interpersonal relations. Its claim is based upon an examination of the role of political advertising in the major metropolitan city of Thessaloniki (around 1.000.000 inhabitants), and the semi-peripheral city of Kastoria (around 17.000 inhabitants), both situated in Northern Greece. The primary objective of this study is to establish a strong factual foundation that can be used by

policymakers, opinion leaders, and citizens to understand the role of political advertising in national and municipal elections in Greece.

Short message service (SMS) is a new way of communication. Teenagers and young people are the main users of mobile messages. The paper *SMS in Everyday Political Marketing in Greece* (Ifigeneia Mylona, 2008), examines the use of SMS for political advertising and political campaigning in Greece. A survey was conducted that tried to identify whether and how politicians use SMS for communicating with their voters. Are there different attitudes depending on the age and the gender of politicians? Do politicians use SMS only during their political campaign, or do they use it regularly (i.e., to inform their voters of specific events or communicate with voters, such as sending greetings to their voters during Christmas, or to communicate with their political party)?

The paper *“Online political marketing in Greece: An evaluation of the 2007 national elections and two case studies”* (Constantinos K. Coursaris, Savvas Papagiannidis, 2009) presents findings on the use of Web sites as a political marketing tool in the context of the 2007 Greek national elections. The questions guiding this research are how popular were online campaigns in terms of candidate use of Web sites and which trust and credibility-building Web site design cues were leveraged by candidates. This study also explored differences in online campaign practices both between Greek political parties and between the 2007 national Greek elections and the 2002 federal US elections. The entire population of Greek candidates' Web sites (n = 373) was reviewed and evaluated against a framework that consisted of 58 Web site design features reflecting the potential of Web technologies for political marketing. Results indicate that only 18% of Greek candidates had a Web presence in 2007, and on average these online campaigns were quite limited in their implementations of practices such as volunteer recruitment, fundraising, and Web-exclusive activities. On average, these implementations led in certain areas but more interestingly lagged the US in online political marketing activities such as the provision of electronic paraphernalia, a campaign calendar, a privacy policy, issues statements, and endorsements. Twenty-four Web site design features are recommended for candidates to remain at par within the online political marketing

scene in Greece. Findings are complemented by two case studies of Web sites that demonstrate mature use of Web technologies in online political campaigning. The study *Political Culture and Perception of Political Marketing Tools: A Cross-Generational Comparison* (Eleni Apospori, George Avlonitis & Maria Zisouli, 2010) explores differences in political culture and perceptions of political marketing between generations. Growing educational level is significant in transforming individuals' political culture. Changes are assumed to affect younger more than older generations. The authors use a random sample of 301 respondents. Statistical techniques are employed for data analysis. For political marketing to play a leading role in the political education of the younger generation, it has to be trusted and ahead of the emerging political culture. The results do not support the hypothesis about the cross-generational differences in perceptions of political marketing. This means that we have to reconsider the way political marketing has been employed so far in Greece.

The purpose of *Political marketing in the Greek context: does market orientation exist?* (Iordanis Kotzaivazoglou, 2011) is twofold: (1) to investigate whether and to what extent the two major parties in Greece, ND, and PASOK, are market-oriented, and (2) to examine how effectively the two existing political market orientation models can explain the Greek reality. These models, Market-Oriented Party (MOP) and Political Market Orientation (PMO) combined with the concept of Strategic Political Postures (SPPs), form the theoretical underpinnings of the paper. The author followed an explanatory case study approach to examine the two major Greek political parties. The case study evidence indicated that both Greek parties of government used elements of market orientation. However, they cannot be characterized as fully market-oriented, since they focused almost exclusively on short-term voter desires and failed to fulfil their pre-election promises. The paper concludes that the two models of market orientation may partially explain the Greek case.

The paper *"Do websites influence the nature of voting intentions? The case of two national elections in Greece"* (Savvas Papagiannidis, Constantinos K. Coursaris, Michael Bourlakis, 2012), aimed to contribute to the growing body of research on online political marketing by investigating the use of websites as a marketing tool in

the 2007 and 2009 general elections in Greece. The two main research objectives are first to establish the key factors affecting voters' trust when it comes to using politicians' websites and secondly to examine whether and to what extent the influence of trust-building factors changes over-time, as the online environment matures. The key findings of this research are that users tend to visit the websites of favoured candidates, which reinforces their positive perceptions of them, while as far as the websites themselves and their content and the services provided are concerned there is still room for improvement.

In the paper *"Online Engagement and Impact: The case of the Greek Politicians during the Financial Crisis"* (Savvas Papagiannidis, Teta Stamati, Hartmut Behr, 2013) the authors studied how Greek politicians use their Internet presence and in particular social media to engage citizens, examining the perceived significance of establishing an online presence and the motivating and hindering factors for doing so. The authors also studied how online strategies are implemented and executed in three different periods, namely pre-elections, a crisis period (in the authors' case the Greek sovereign debt crisis), and a 'normal' period. To answer the authors' research questions the authors adapted a social media conceptual framework to online political presence. Data were collected via in-depth interviews with candidates of 5 different political parties taking part in the general elections of 2012. The authors' analysis suggests that although politicians are increasingly interested in engaging with citizens via online technologies, their efforts are not always focused on achieving measurable and tangible results. Politicians' online strategies need to be organized around the concepts of communication, engagement, and influence and not around the electronic spaces where these take place, i.e. the objectives and the means need to be distinguished and utilized. The authors discuss the implications of their findings from a theoretical and practical perspective, in the context of online political marketing and political participation and engagement.

Implementing a political marketing strategy requires not only that a party listen to the needs and wishes of the electorate and shape its product accordingly, but also be in a position to deliver it once elected. The purpose of *"When political marketing strategy ignores delivery: Lessons from the Greek experience"* (Iordanis Kotzaivazolou, 2015) is to describe the outcomes that making excessive pre-

election promises, which are impossible to implement when in government, can have for a party. The method used is a descriptive case study, with data drawn from Greek experience and PASOK's political marketing strategy under the leadership of George Papandreou in 2009-2011. Shortly before the economic crisis engulfed the country, PASOK pursued a strategy of extravagant campaign promises that gave him a comfortable electoral win. Afterward, however, those pre-election pledges prevented him from promptly taking the austerity measures needed to deal with the crisis. The result was as adverse for the party as it was for the country and its citizens. This case study helps fill a gap in political marketing theory concerning the choices that a party of government might make or avoid when governing at a time of economic crisis, which will force it to take severely unpopular measures that are contrary to the voters.

Various academic authors have analysed the implementation and the impact of the permanent campaign strategy by political executives in presidential and parliamentary systems, notably the United States and the United Kingdom. *The Permanent Campaign Strategy of Prime Ministers in Parliamentary Systems: The Case of Greece* (Panos Koliastasis, 2016) builds on this literature and extends the research on the permanent campaign in the European parliamentary majoritarian context by examining contemporary Greece as a national case study. The research focuses on the cases of three successive Greek prime ministers: the centre-left Kostas Simitis (1996–2004), the centre-right Kostas Karamanlis (2004–2009), and the left-of-centre George Papandreou (2009–2011). In particular, the article addresses two issues: whether these premiers exercised a permanent campaign strategy and what effect the permanent campaign had on their popularity. The conclusion is that all three did adopt a permanent campaign strategy, yet the impact on their public approval was weak, aligning themselves with their British and American counterparts.

A study that employs a longitudinal approach to investigate the use of gender stereotypes in print political advertisements for male candidates for parliamentary seats in Greece is presented by "*Gender stereotypes in advertisements for male politicians: longitudinal evidence from Greece*" (Iordanis Kotzaivazoglou, Leonidas Hatzithomas, Eirini Tsihla, 2018). For this research, a sample of 863 advertisements

from 20 daily national and local Greek newspapers issued between 1993 and 2009 was content analysed. The results of the study indicate that the predominant gender stereotypes in political advertising throughout the period in question were those of the successful and dynamic male politicians. The study revealed, however, that a definite change in the predominant stereotypes took place throughout the period, there is a gradual shift towards the presentation of gender-egalitarian, male figures. While in commercial advertising gender stereotypes have been extensively examined, there is a dearth of research on their manifestation in political advertising.

2.3 Part Two of Literature Review

The main purpose of *Part Two* is to provide an understanding of the supportive literature, its role in this research, and particularly its importance for the *Voters' Value based Thinking Processes*. The particular process is value-based due to its strong dependence on the Value Theory. Therefore, issues such as what are "Values", Schwartz's Values Theory, the Structure of Values and their Dynamics, Influences on Individuals' Value Priorities, Values and Voting Behaviour, and Applications of the Value Theory in the Political Domain and correlation with Ideologies will be discussed. Moreover, the particular process provides close and detailed observation of the seven stages of the voters' value-based thinking processes; consequently, through the particular process attitudes and behaviours of individual voters' will be closely observed. Hence, there is a necessity for another theoretical background upon which the attitudinal and behavioural character of the (VVbTP) will rely. This is the Influence of Attitudes on Social Behaviour Theory which will explain how individual voters shape political attitudes and make decisions, or how they reconsider their previous attitudes and/or decisions with social and political norms, or with an emerged objective or theme. Therefore, the Principle of Aggregation, the MODE model, the Reasoned Action Approach, and the Explicit and Implicit Attitudes on Social Behaviour are issues that will be discussed.

At the end of *Part Two*, a briefing about these theories and their supportive role for the (VVbTP) will be made.

2.3.1 The Value Theory

Joas (2000) points out that historians locate the origin of the concept 'value theory' in the eighteenth century where the value was linked to economic life and the study of economics. It was then a topic of philosophy in the nineteenth century before "value" entered the cultural and social sciences and became a customary term in the public in the twentieth century.

Grunow-Erdmann and Erdmann (1993) observe that the term "value" has been one of the most commonly used terms in modern times, and has been defined in many different ways in different academic disciplines. While the occupation with "values" has been notable in theology and philosophy for quite some time, increased interest in the topic became evident in other fields such as sociology, economics, management, law, and politics in the 1950s (Grunow-Erdmann & Erdmann, 1993; Joas, 2000). Perhaps because the concept of values has been discussed in so many different disciplines and used in different ways, it has become problematic. As Rohan (2000) states: "the status of values theory and research suffers because the word *value* is open to abuse and overuse..." (p. 255). Therefore, if the concept of values is used, it should be clearly defined and delineated. This is not always the case in management literature.

The following literature and concept review aim to 1) clarify the use of the term "values" in the context of the current research and 2) to provide a clear structure for the evaluation of personal values in the context of political marketing.

What are "Values"?

The concept of personal values is frequently used to explain and predict decisions and behaviours. It is problematic, however, that the conceptions and definitions of human values are frequently inconsistent (Rohan, 2000). At times, the term "value" is used as a verb, where "value refers to the process of ascertaining the merit of an entity concerning an abstract value system structure" (Rohan, 2000, p. 258). At other times, "value" takes the form of a noun, and it represents the outcome of the process of ascertaining merit (Rohan, 2000).

Rokeach (1973) provides a clear delineation of the concept of values in his assumptions about human values, which are reflected in many other conceptions:

- 1) The total number of values that a person possesses is relatively small;
- 2) All men (sic) everywhere possess the same values to different degrees;
- 3) Values are organized into value systems;
- 4) The antecedents of human values can be traced to culture, society, and its institutions;
- 5) The consequences of human values will be manifested in virtually all phenomena that social scientists might consider worth investigating and understanding. (p. 3)

Rokeach (1973) argues that:

“A value is an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence.” (p.5)

Values are organized into value systems in which "a *value system* is an enduring organization of beliefs that concern preferable modes of conduct or end-states of existence along a continuum of relative importance" (Rokeach, 1973, p. 5). Though Rokeach recognizes the existence of value systems he proposes no particular structure for them (see also Rohan, 2000). Both values and norms provide individuals and groups with guidelines to define the behaviours that are preferred and might even be obligatory, as well as the states of affairs that are desirable (or undesirable) (Rokeach, 1979). Values, as the criteria for determining what is desirable, are differentiated from norms, which Rokeach (1979) defines as “specific obligatory demands, claims, expectations, rules” (p. 15).

While the role of values in guiding behaviour is taken for granted by many management theorists (i.e. Hambrick & Mason, 1884; Mintzberg, Lampel, Quinn, & Ghoshal, 2003), there is little agreement regarding the nature of the link between values and behaviour in general (Bardi & Schwartz, 2003; Meglino & Ravlin, 1998).

Rokeach (1979) recognizes that value systems and prior beliefs guide behaviour in specific situations based on concrete motivations, but he presents no concrete evidence to establish a link between values and behaviour. Meglino and Ravlin (1998) make a clearer connection by summarizing values literature to show that the evaluation of decisions and resulting behaviour is related to individual values.

Whereas choices and behaviours are guided by values, particularly when the values are implicitly or explicitly triggered, they are also part of an individual's self-concept (Verplanken & Holland, 2002). In their study of the relations between values and behaviour, Bardi and Schwartz (2003) found that values motivate behaviour. However, normative pressures can blur the relationship between the two if they are strong enough. Jagodzinski (2004) provides support for Bardi and Schwartz's findings by explaining the relationships between collective cultural values, individual value priorities, and behaviour theoretically. Individual values, though influenced by societal values through the socialization process, affect behaviour directly. Despite the direct influence of values, the behaviour is also influenced by societal preferences, as well as by other situational variables.

Building on the work of Verplanken and Holland (2002), Schwartz (2006) explains how values are activated and that the association between values and action occurs in four stages. A vital precondition for values to be reflected in behaviour is that the relevant values are triggered. This precondition implies that the values exist consciously or unconsciously and that they are important to the individual for the evaluation of a given situation or action. Second, since values have a motivational aspect, they lead to an automatic, unconscious preference of particular actions that help to achieve valued aims. The third process involves values in their function of focusing on attention, perception, and interpretation in any given situation. Finally, when activated, values affect the planning and implementation of activities to promote behaviour that is consistent with higher values.

In their study of the nature of personal values, Bain, Kashima, and Haslam (2006) find that human values involve beliefs that arise from definitions, conventions, and artifacts that are created by humans to serve specific functions and purposes. They find that the importance that individuals and groups place on individual values is related to beliefs about human nature. This has implications for how individuals react in value-laden situations.

While various theoretical frameworks have been proposed to understand values, two central values theories have emerged over the past decades: Rokeach's conception of values and the Schwartz values theory. Both continue to provide the basis for much of the management-related research regarding values. Schwartz's theory on values is influenced by both Rokeach and the work of Kluckhohn, an anthropologist and social theorist (Schwartz, 1996). Schwartz's value theory is frequently used in research on behaviours or attitudes in terms of the underlying values held by an individual or group. Since this study seeks to identify the contribution or effect of values on political marketing strategies, Schwartz's values theory appears to be the appropriate choice. The origins, contents, and development of the Schwartz values theory are summarized in the next section.

Introduction to Schwartz' Values Theory

Analyzing and building on the work of other value theorists, S.H. Schwartz summarized five main features that are common to all conceptions of values:

- a) Values are beliefs. These beliefs are tied to emotions and not objective ideas.

- b) Values are a motivational construct. That is, they refer to desirable goals that are worth striving for.

- c) Values transcend specific situations. The abstract nature of values distinguishes them from norms and attitudes, which refer to more specific actions, objects, or situations.

- d) Values guide selection or evaluation (of actions, policies, people, and events). In this way, values can be understood as standards or criteria.

e) Values are ordered by relative importance to one another. Individuals hold values in ordered systems that include priorities. The hierarchical nature of values also differentiates them from attitudes and norms. (Schwartz, 1992, 2006, 2009; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987).

Schwartz (2006) defines **values** as “desirable, trans-situational goals, varying in importance, that serve as guiding principles in people’s lives” (p.1) and sees values as derived from three universal human requirements: (a) needs of the human organism based in biology, (b) requirements for social coordination between individuals, and (c) requirements that result from the needs for survival and welfare in groups (Schwartz, 1992, 2006b, 2009; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987, 1990).

The motivational interest-serving aspect of values is central to Schwartz’s values theory. Originally working with Rokeach’s (1973) specific lists of terminal and instrumental values, Schwartz and Bilsky (1987, 1990) identified distinctive groupings of the universally accepted 57 values derived from Rokeach’s lists. The groupings are based on the underlying motivational aspects of these 57 values, as well as the compatible and antagonistic interests implied by individual values. The researchers first identified eight and later ten basic and motivationally distinct value domains. These are defined and described in Table 2.4.

Table 5

Table 2.4: Schwartz's Ten Basic Values

Basic Value	Central Motivational Goal	Representative values:
1. Self-Direction	Independent thought and action: choosing, creating, exploring.	Creativity, freedom, independence, curiosity
2. Stimulation	Excitement, novelty, and challenge in life.	Daringness, a varied life, an exciting life
3. Hedonism	Pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself.	Pleasure, enjoyment in life
4. Achievement	Personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards (emphasis on active demonstration of successful performance in concrete interactions between individuals).	Success, capability, ambition, influence

5. Power	Social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources (emphasis on attaining or preserving a dominant position within the social system).	Social power, authority, wealth
6. Security	Safety, harmony, and stability of society, of relationships, and of self.	Family security, national security, social order, cleanliness, reciprocation of favours
7. Conformity	Restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms (entails subordination to persons, cooperation to avoid negative consequences for one-self).	Politeness, obedience, self-discipline, honour parents and elders
8. Tradition	Respect, commitment, and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide the self (focused on subordination to abstract objects such as traditions and ideas).	Humility, acceptance of my portion in life, devotion, respect for tradition, moderate
9. Benevolence	Preserving and enhancing the welfare of those with whom one is in frequent personal contact (the “in-group”) (internalized motivational base for cooperative social relations).	Helpful, honesty, forgiveness, loyalty, responsibility
10. Universalism	Understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and nature.	Broadminded, wisdom, social justice, equality, a world at peace, a world of beauty, unity with nature, protecting the environment

Source: Rohan (2000) and Schwartz (1992, 1996, 2006, 2009)

Both Schwartz and Rokeach assume that these basic values are valid across all cultures. Various scholars have confirmed the validity of this assumption, as well as the comprehensiveness of the ten basic values across cultures (Schwartz, 1992, 1996, 2006; Schwartz & Bardi, 2001; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987, 1990; Schwartz & Boehnke, 2004; Schwartz & Sagiv, 1995). Issues of value architecture, motivations related to them, and their expressions will be described in the next section.

The Structure of Values and their Dynamics

In Schwartz' conception of values, there is a dynamic relationship between the ten basic values (Schwartz, 1992, 2006) that results from the affinity and antagonism rooted in the motivational aspects of values. Actions based on any value have

consequences (psychological, practical, and/or social) that can be either in conflict or in harmony with other values. This results in a circular structure that describes the patterns of value domains (Figure 2.4). Basic value domains that lie next to each other around the circle are compatible with one another, while those opposite each other express conflicting motivations.

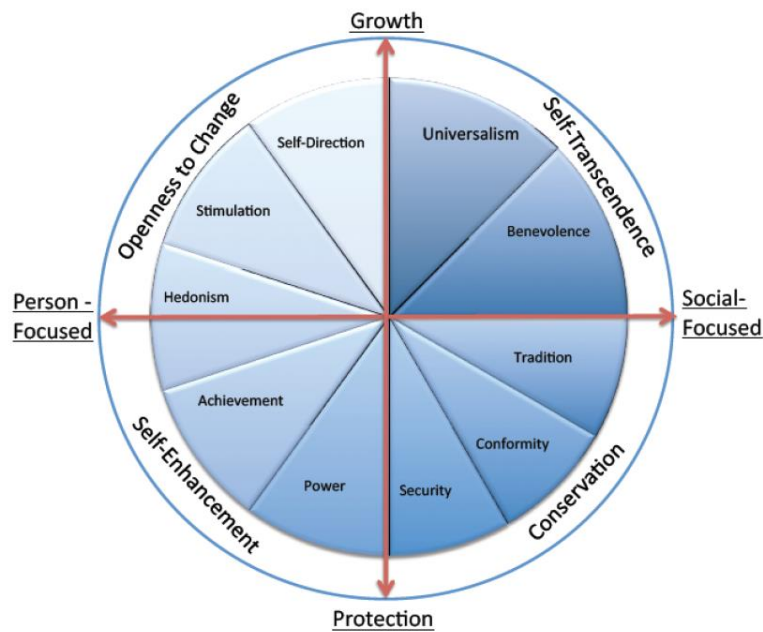


Figure 2.4: The Schwartz Value Dimensions

Figure 5

Schwartz (2006, 2009) condenses the values into two orthogonal dimensions that highlight the conflicts across the value domains. This dynamic structure underscores motivational dimensions in terms of two fundamental human problems that require resolution (Rohan, 2000): finding a balance between personal self-interest versus pro-social and pro-environmental interests (person-focus versus social-focus) and between striving for growth and independence versus resistance to change and preservation of order (growth versus protection). Whereas self-enhancement is focused on self-interest, the values in the dimension of self-transcendence (represented by the values of universalism and benevolence) are concerned with the welfare and interests of others (both near and far) and of nature. Similarly, openness to change underscores independent action and opposes conservation (representing

security, conformity, and tradition), which relates to self-restriction, order, certainty, and protection (Schwartz, 2006, 2009).

The opposing ends of the orthogonal dimensions denote the higher-order values, which are composed of values that share a motivational goal. The higher-order value of openness to change combines the values of self-direction, stimulation, and hedonism. Conservation values are security, conformity, and tradition. Universalism and benevolence values combine to form self-transcendence, and self-enhancement is composed of power, achievement, and, to some extent, hedonism. Figure 2.2 indicates the basic values, their allocation to the higher-order values, and the orthogonal nature of the relations between values.

According to Schwartz (1996), the dynamic structure of the ten basic values is helpful when studying differences in value priorities. This is because, rather than focusing on the priorities of singular values within an unordered system, a dynamic structure allows for a comprehensive comparison of a whole system of values concerning an external variable. The orthogonal dimensions also allow many variations in the way the motivational aspects of values are evaluated across the higher-order values, from openness to change to conservation (OC/C), and self-enhancement to self-transcendence (ST/SE) (Rohan, 2000).

Several researchers have been able to confirm the Schwartz value theory and the structure of value dimensions in international samples. Fontaine, Portinga, Delbeke, and Schwartz (2008) studied data from 38 countries, finding that, across samples, Schwartz' values theory and the two-dimensional configuration is robust. It reflects "the average structure of the values domain across cultural and social groups" (p. 359). The postulated quasi-circumflex structure of values was originally defined through the use of spatial plots. Later, Multi-Dimensional Scaling (MDS) and Similarity Structure Analysis (SSA) were applied in which the structure was confirmed, using more than 200 samples from 60 countries (Mohler & Wohn, 2005; Schwartz & Boehnke, 2004). Schwartz and Boehnke (2004) also confirmed the structure using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA). Using data from the European Social Survey (ESS), which includes a 21-Item Schwarz portrait values questionnaire, Mohler and Wohn (2005) were unable, however, to fully confirm the universal structure of values across all samples.

Nominally values remain the same for every individual. What changes is the priority of the values or the structure of the value system for each individual? There are consequently factors and circumstances that may influence the individuals' value system. These are going to be described in the next section.

Influences on Individual's Value Priorities

Value priorities are influenced by several factors, including life circumstances, the level of the attainability of values in the face of the inherent trade-offs that some situations entail, and the influences of age, gender, and education (Schwartz, 2006, 2009). Personality and temperament, and the social and political environment also influence values as they affect circumstances. Because the relative priorities of an individual's values are changeable, the possible influences on values are briefly explained.

Several reciprocal relationships exist between characteristics such as age, gender, and education, and these determine which values are attainable and which ones are not. Not all personal value priorities can be acted upon under all circumstances.

When individuals cannot act upon prioritized values, more reachable goals replace less reachable ones in the order of priorities (Schwartz & Bardi, 1997). For instance, when values that relate to self-actualization and pro-social behaviour are not attainable, they may be replaced by conservation and self-enhancing values (Hitlin & Piliavin, 2004). This may be particularly salient in the business environment in which pro-socially oriented managers may not be able to act on their values because of economic constraints.

The influence of age on value priorities is also linked to the circumstances and situations with which an individual is confronted. Age relates to the opportunities, limitations, or resources available at any given time. The process of socialization contributes to the values that are formed in adolescence and lay the groundwork for the value priorities that an individual starts out. Generally, younger people, including students, prioritize values that emphasize freedom, independence, and novelty. As people age and take on responsibilities, for example when they start a family, value priorities become more focused on security and tradition. Using data from the European Social Survey (ESS), Schwartz (2006) finds that there is a positive

relationship between increasing age and a movement toward more benevolent and traditional values.

Gender also plays a small role in value priorities. Whereas men consistently attribute higher priority to power, stimulation, hedonism, achievement, and self-direction, women prioritize benevolence and universalism, regardless of age (Schwartz & Rubel-Lifschitz, 2009; Schwartz & Rubel, 2005). Although the gender-related differences in value priorities are consistent across cultures, they are relatively small and may be explained by evolutionary adaptations or social roles (Schwartz & Rubel, 2005).

There is a bilateral relationship between values and education. Education is influenced by values but also exerts an influence on choices of level and direction of education. Individuals that have access to formal education are more likely to value self-direction, stimulation, and achievement values since education lead to new opportunities, chances for employment, and a lower priority of security values.

Values priorities may also influence the course of study of an individual. For instance, Gandal, Roccas, Sagiv, and Wrzesniewski (2005) found that economics students favour self-enhancement values over universalism from the beginning of their university studies, right through to their end. Such value orientations may well influence decisions and policy recommendations that economists (and business students) will implement in later professional life.

Table 6

Table 2.5: Definitions of Ten Value Constructs and Sample PVQ Items (Source Caprara et al. 2006)

Value and Motivational Goal	Sample Items (A)
<i>Power</i> : social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources.	"He likes to be in charge and tell others what to do. He wants people to do what he says."
<i>Achievement</i> : personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards.	"Being very successful is important to him. He likes to stand out and to impress other people."
<i>Hedonism</i> : Pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself.	"He really wants to enjoy life. Having a good time is very important to him."
<i>Stimulation</i> : excitement, novelty, and challenge in life.	"He looks for adventures and likes to take risks. He wants to have an exciting life."
<i>Self-direction</i> : independent thought and action, choosing, creating, exploring.	"He thinks it's important to be interested in things. He is curious and tries to understand everything."

<i>Universalism</i> : understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature.	"He wants everyone to be treated justly, even people he doesn't know. It is important to him to protect the weak in society."
<i>Benevolence</i> : preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact.	"He always wants to help the people who are close to him. It's very important to him to care for the people he knows and likes."
<i>Tradition</i> : respect, commitment, and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide the self.	"He thinks it is important to do things the way he learned from his family. He wants to follow their customs and traditions."
<i>Conformity</i> : restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms.	"He believes that people should do what they're told. He thinks people should follow rules at all times, even when no-one is watching."
<i>Security</i> : safety, harmony, and stability of society, of relationships, and of self.	"It is important to him to live in secure surroundings. He avoids anything that might endanger his safety."

(A)The PVQ forms were gender appropriate, varying only in the pronouns.

Moreover, values' influences are not limited only in the level of education. They may exert influences on the level of political preferences as well. This will be described in the next section.

Values and Voting Behaviour

The general importance of values in political preferences, championed by Rokeach (1973, 1979), is being acknowledged by students of political attitudes (Zaller, 1992). Contemporary scholars are emphasising the central role of values in politics, stating that "underlying all political belief systems are ultimate terminal values that specify the end states of public policy" (Tetlock, 2000, p. 247) and that values "allow people to organize their political evaluations in a relatively consistent manner" (S. Feldman, 2003, p. 491).

Values are cognitive representations of desirable, abstract, transituational goals that serve as guiding principles in people's lives (Rohan, 2000; Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz, 1992). Values assume a particularly informative role in voters' political choices whenever universal ideals are at stake and when political parties profess a set of value-oriented ideals. Yet there has been surprisingly little empirical research on the impact of values on political decisions in different social and cultural contexts (Barnea & Schwartz, 1998; Feldman, 2003).

Table 7

**Table 2.6: Definitions of Global Trait Domains, Trait Facets, and Sample BFQ Items
(Source Caprara et al. 2006)**

Global Domains	Facets and Sample Items
<i>Energy</i> : Level of activity, vigor, sociability, talkativeness, need to excel, persuasiveness, competitiveness	<i>Dynamism</i> : Activity and enthusiasm (“I am an active and vigorous person”). <i>Dominance</i> : Assertiveness and self-confidence (“Generally I tend to assert myself rather than give in”).
<i>Friendliness</i> : Concern and sensitiveness towards others and their needs	<i>Cooperativeness</i> : Altruism, empathy, generosity, unselfishness (“I understand when people need my help”). <i>Politeness</i> : Kindness, civility, docility, and trust (“Usually I’m cordial even to people I dislike”).
<i>Conscientiousness</i> : Self-regulation in both its proactive and inhibitory aspects	<i>Scrupulousness</i> : Dependability, orderliness, and precision (“Before completing a job I spend a lot of time revising it”). <i>Perseverance</i> : Capability of fulfilling one’s own tasks and commitments, tenaciousness, persistence (“I always pursue the decisions I’ve made through to the end”).
<i>Emotional Stability</i> : Capability to control one’s emotional reactions, absence of negative affects, psychological adjustment	<i>Emotion Control</i> : Absence of anxiety, depression, and vulnerability, mood stability (“I often feel nervous”). <i>Impulse Control</i> : Capability of controlling irritation, discontent, and anger (“I’m rather touchy”).
<i>Openness</i> : Broadness of one’s own cultural interests, tolerance of diversity, exploration of novelty	<i>Openness to Culture</i> : Intellectual curiosity, interest in being informed, appreciation of culture (“I’m always informed about what’s happening in the world”). <i>Openness to Experiences</i> : Openness to novelty, tolerance of values, interest toward diverse people, habits, and life-styles (“I’m fascinated by novelties”).

Caprara and Zimbardo (2004) found that traditional demographics had no utility in differentiating among voters of main political coalitions, with income, education, age, and gender have negligible effects. In dramatic contrast, both values and traits did prove to be effective predictors. In particular, initial trait results in finding that

centre-right voters scored higher in both Energy and Conscientiousness and lower in both Friendliness and Openness than did centre-left voters. Concerning value differentiation, centre-right voters scored higher in power and security and lower in universalism and benevolence than did their centre-left peers. Thus, differences in values among voters mirrored differences in traits while matching the political agendas of the two coalitions. The alleged virtues of the market economy supported by the centre-right political agenda are revealed in their high scores on Energy and Conscientiousness in the domain of traits, whereas higher scores on power and security in the domain of values attest to the traditional concern of the right-wing for recognition of individual achievements and social order. Similarly, the alleged virtues of the welfare state advanced by the centre-left agenda are revealed in their high scores on Friendliness and Openness in the domain of traits, whereas universalism and benevolence in the domain of values attest to the traditional concern of the left-wing for equality and social justice (Bobbio, 1995; Rokeach, 1973). Each of these combinations of traits and values dominated the predictive value of traditional sociodemographic variables.

Of particular importance was that values had a much greater predictive utility than did traits. In the psychological foundation of voters' political party preferences, values assume primacy over traits.

Above all, human personality is conceived as a set of dynamic, self-regulatory systems that emerge and operate over the life course in the service of personal adaptations (Caprara & Cervone, 2000); and personal values as a basic part of these internal systems guide affective, cognitive, and motivational processes, directing people toward achieving individual and collective goals. They provide coherence and continuity in behavioural patterns across different settings, and they create, foster, and preserve a sense of personal identity (Bandura, 2001; Caprara & Cervone, 2000; Mischel & Shoda, 1998).

Consequently, researchers as well as academics have agreed that almost all human behaviours are influenced, directly or indirectly, by personal values (Feather, 1975). Building on the work of earlier researchers, Rokeach (1973, 1979) provides a useful

definition of values, as well as a framework for understanding both terminal and instrumental values. Rokeach (1973) states:

“A **value** is an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence” (p.5).

Values made it possible for a person to make choices as well as motivate ideas and guides people's behaviour (Rokeach, 1973). Similarly, Schwartz (1992) defines personal values as “enduring beliefs that individuals hold about specific modes of conduct that they think are important and the guiding principles in their lives”. Besides, Schwartz (2006), viewed values as the concepts or beliefs, that were associated with desired goals to be achieved of desirable end-states or behaviours that transcend specific situations, guide the selection or evaluate the behaviour, events, or conduct that allow these goals to be achieved. However, these goals are ordered by relative importance (Schwartz, 2006). Values are so central to individuals' personality and cognitive structure (Pitts and Woodside, 1991) that they influence every facet of human behaviour (Rokeach, 1973, p. 24) such as attitudes, decisions, moral judgments, evaluations, and social action. A framework of Values Effect developed by Meglino and Ravlin (1998) indicates the variety of effect produced by personal values. This includes outcomes such as, a person's belief, attitude, perception, decision, behaviour, and performance, as the function of the personal values that act as the determinant in decision making. This in turn enables people to forecast the behaviour of others. Also, any values that are inconsistent behaviour will lead people to exhibit a lower level of satisfaction (Meglino & Ravlin, 1998) and increase the role of ambiguity and conflict (Fisher & Gitelson, 1983).

Taking consideration of the above definitions, personal values are as part of people's life that provides guidance and direction for how to live. In simple words, this means that when dealing with the ultimate goals that people want to achieve in their lives, people will be based on certain principles, qualities that have some intrinsic worth to consider before choose or select certain behaviour, situation, or object. Humans, therefore, unconsciously behave in ways that move them toward what they value or

away from anything which opposed to that value. When people possess what they value, they are complacent, if they are deprived of what they value, they feel frustration or dissatisfaction.

Thus, the above discussion provides evidence supporting the reason why marketing has for so long studied the effects of personal values in consumer behaviour, in the consumption of both goods and services. Kropp et al. (2005) has noted that there is a considerable contribution in academic literature according to which he has pointed out and illustrated the importance of personal values in shaping the behaviour of the consumer. These studies include shopping motivations by Kahle and Chiagouris (1997), restaurant choice (Boote, 1981) clothing and fashion, gift-giving, travel and tourism (Muller et al, 1991), and segment markets (De Pelsmacker et al., 2005) and food choice (Goldsmith et al., 1995). Moreover, empirical research on services by Lages and Fernandes (2005) found that personal values may play a significant role in how consumers evaluate the quality of service concerning the firm. According to Peter & Olson (2008), consumers' values serve as a focal point in many cognitive tasks, such as attitude formation or decision-making about a brand purchase. They further serve to organize the representations of meanings for products and brands stored in consumers' knowledge structures.

In politics, numerous researchers are emphasizing that values act as the central role in political judgment and choice; for example, Tetlock (2000, p.247) stated that "underlying all political belief systems are ultimate terminal values that specify the end states of public policy". Feldman (2003, p. 491) states that values "allow people to organize their political evaluations in a relatively consistent manner". In terms of voting behaviour, Schwartz (1994) argues that basic values are the foundations of people's specific political values and ideologies and may facilitate people to organize their political evaluations in a relatively consistent and coherent manner. Caprara et al (2006) discussed the mechanism by which the voters' values promote their political choice. Moreover, Caprara et al. (2006) who focused on personalization politics argues that people tend to vote for parties which platform or image suggests that electing them would promote attainment or preservation of people's own cherished, personal values.

The above discussion indicates that studying the personal value and individual political preference provides an understanding of voting behaviour in the political context for the variation of the voters' political opinion, as well as, in attitudes and perceptions towards candidates and/or political parties. Personal values are considered to be *the basic element and sources of human thinking processes*. Due to this, for a deeper understanding of the *reasoning of value-based thinking processes* a qualitative manner usually is required to be investigated. However, researches mainly examined the personal values and political preferences mostly using quantitative research approaches; that is, researchers have not conducted any research investigating the voters' thinking processes, considering values as a basic component and source of it, in a qualitative manner. One of the most common scales used to measure personal values about political preference was developed from Schwartz's 10 basic personal values model (Schwartz, 1992). This theory has proven empirically and quantifiably the relationship between values and political preference. Based on this, Caprara et al., (2006) argue that people tend to vote for parties whose platform or image would promote the attainment or preservation of people's own cherished. While Barnea (2003), argued that supporters of different political parties from 14 democratic countries were significantly different in their personal values. The model provides a useful framework for assessing the individual differences in personal values and it appears to be valid across cultures as a frame of reference when the personal values are measured (Caprara et al., 2009).

Moreover, this value theory is the most conceptually elaborated one and has extensively been tested empirically in more than 74 countries where 2000 samples had been involved in the study. The primary content aspect of value in this model is the 10 motivationally distinct types of values namely; 1) self-direction, 2) universalism, 3) benevolence, 4) tradition, 5) conformity, 6) security, 7) power, 8) achievement, 9) hedonism and 10) stimulation with multiple items per value as the values inventory.

These 10 distinct but interrelated values are derived from universal requirements of the human condition as proposed by Schwartz (1992). These universal needs have included the requirements of individuals such as biological organisms, the requirements of society for coordinated social interaction, and group survival and

welfare requirements. Moreover, the relationships among these 10 values can be summarized in terms of four higher-order value types on two bipolar dimensions: openness to change (combining stimulation and self-direction values) versus conservation (combining security, conformity, and tradition), and self-enhancement (combining power and achievement) versus self-transcendence (combining universalism and benevolence). Hedonism shares some elements of both openness to change and self-enhancement.

The potential significance of personal values in political decisions is tentatively brought forward in several studies. Similarly, in politics, the roles of personal values are also expected to contribute when it comes to political decision. Numerous researchers are emphasizing the values as the central role in political judgment and choice; for example, Tetlock (2000, p.247) stated that “underlying all political belief systems are ultimate terminal values that specify the end states of public policy”.

Political orientation has been found to associate strongly with the Schwartz (1992) model of personal values (e.g. Caprara et al., 2006; Schwartz, 1996). Barnea (2003) study political preferences and personal values in 14 countries and found two main patterns that explain the relationship between personal values and political preferences. Where political competition revolves around issues of national security versus equal rights and freedoms for all, the key values that structure voters’ preferences are security and conformity versus universalism and self-direction where the focus of political competition revolves around the distribution of material.

As prementioned, researches that mainly examined personal values and political preference mostly used quantitative research approaches. For example, a study by Caprara used, nevertheless, these values’ inventory is not sufficient to capture the nuances of values, especially in terms of how these values cognitively state their rationale when they evaluate the candidate’s image before the voting decision. This is parallel to the notion by Chan and Rossiter (2003) who stated that the investigation of the reasoning of why people hold certain values is best addressed via a qualitative approach. As discussed above, there is ample evidence to support the study of individuals’ or voters’ personal values in an attempt to understand the voting behaviour, since personal values deal with the end states of our existence or

the ultimate goals that people wish to achieve in their lives. Consequently, by understanding the value-based thinking processes, political marketers will be able to uncover in full scale the rationale by which voters make judgments about a political party and/or candidate; this approach will be enforced even more if the researcher takes under consideration the image associations that source from voters' perceptions.

Applications of the Value Theory in the Political Domain and correlation with Ideologies.

Dimensions postulated or identified in studies of politically relevant values can also be located within the framework of the current value structure. First, consider Inglehart's (1977) materialist vs. post-materialist value dimension. Materialist values, presumably grounded in experiences of insecurity, emphasize social order and stability and the political and economic arrangements believed to ensure them. They correspond to the adjacent value types of security and power, types with similar psychodynamic underpinnings (Bilsky & Schwartz, 1994). Postmaterialist values emphasize individual freedoms, citizen involvement, equality, and environmental concerns, corresponding to the adjacent universalism and self-direction value types. These two pairs of value types are opposed in the circular value structure (Fig. 2.2), forming a dimension that captures the essence of Inglehart's dimension.

Rokeach's (1973) "two-value model" proposed that equality and freedom form orthogonal dimensions for contrasting political ideologies. His discussion of these values reveals that equality represents universalism values and freedom represents self-direction values. However, these two value types are adjacent in the value structure, rather than orthogonal. Supporting the value structure rather than Rokeach's view, multi-item scales for equality and freedom, developed to examine the two-value model more reliably, intercorrelated substantially (Mueller, 1974, p 43). Also compatible with their adjacent positions, freedom has provided no independent prediction of political orientations beside the prediction by equality, in many studies (summarized in Helkama, Uutela, & Schwartz, 1992).

Recent research has identified four values as discriminators among supporters and leaders of different political parties-equality, a world at peace, a world of beauty,

and national security (summarized in Braithwaite, 1985). The first three values represent the universalism type and are associated with liberal or “left” political views. National security is part of the security type and is associated with conservative or “right” views. Thus, these findings support a political value dimension opposing universalism to security, an opposition found in the circular value structure.

Braithwaite (1985), provided the most sophisticated recent analysis of the dimensions of political and social values. Because her findings appear both to support and to conflict with Schwartz’s views, they are discussed in some detail. Braithwaite identified two factors, consistent across samples, in analyses of 18 social goals. These goals were rated for their importance as standards for society, rather than as personal values. The first factor, *international harmony, and equality* emphasizes equality of opportunity and outcomes, promoting the welfare of all people, preserving nature, a world of beauty and peace, international cooperation, and citizen involvement. These values precisely express the goals of Schwartz’s universalism value type. The second factor, *national strength, and order* emphasize national security, order, and power. These values express the social goals of Schwartz’s security value type.

The correlations of these factors with various personal values further support the value structure. The first correlates with additional universalism values (e.g., wisdom, understanding, tolerance) and with self-direction (the pursuit of knowledge, self-knowledge, and improvement) and benevolence values (helpful, generous, forgiving, and considerate). Self-direction and benevolence are the value types adjacent to universalism in the value structure (see Fig. 2.2). The second correlates with other security values (clean, neat) and with conformity (polite, reliable, refined) and power values (authority, prosperity, social recognition). Power and conformity are adjacent to security in the value structure.

However, contrary to the opposition of universalism and security in the value structure, Braithwaite’s two factors form relatively independent value dimensions rather than a single bipolar dimension. Indeed, her two factors are somewhat positively correlated (.12, .23, .38, in three samples). This raises a problem because the associated value types are opposed to the value structure. However, Schwartz

argues that empirical findings and statistical considerations lead to the question of whether the two approaches are truly contradictory.

Braithwaite (1985), reported associations of her two dimensions with social attitudes (income redistribution, exporting uranium, crime control), willingness to engage in political protest, and voting behaviour. In every instance, the associations for the two dimensions were in opposing directions. This consistent pattern of opposing associations suggests that *international harmony and equality* and *national strength and order* are conceptually opposed rather than independent. This pattern is compatible with the opposition between universalism and security in the value structure.

The statistical explanation derives from the fact that individuals show a response tendency to rate values in general as more or less important. This generates positive correlations among most values (e.g., typically above 80% positive among the 56 values in my survey). As a result of the positivity of correlations, factors based on raw value ratings are rarely bipolar. Controlling this response tendency, by standardizing within respondent or partially out each respondent's mean value rating, reduces intercorrelations and yields bipolar factors. Indexes of universalism and of security values, which represent Braithwaite's two dimensions, for example, show weak positive correlations across samples. Controlling the response tendency, however, yields negative correlations that reflect their conceptual opposition. SSA (Smallest Space Analysis, see Schwartz, 1994) is invulnerable to this response tendency. Hence, its structures can reveal conceptual oppositions obscured in factor analyses.

Scores on universalism vs. security values are clearly relevant to the study of political orientations and behaviour. But the value structure also implies a more comprehensive set of associations between value priorities and political orientations. Two major dimensions of political ideology on which parties in various countries have been demonstrated to differ (Janda, 1980) can be related to the two basic dimensions of the value structure. These are labeled as classical liberalism and economic egalitarianism.

Classical liberalism ideology refers to whether the government should devote itself more to guarding and cultivating individual freedoms and civil rights or to protecting

the societal status quo by controlling deviance from within or enemies from without. The basic value dimension, openness to change vs. conservation, is relevant to people's stance toward classical liberalism. Associations with self-direction and tradition should be strongest because the attainment of their core goals is most affected by policy differences on freedom vs. control. The more a party is seen as emphasizing individual freedoms at the expense of protecting the status quo, the more likely are those for whom self-direction values are of great importance and tradition values of little importance to support it. The other conservation value types, conformity, and security should also promote support for parties that favour the status quo, and the other openness types, stimulation, and hedonism should promote support for parties that emphasize freedom.

The circular structure of the value types implies an integrated pattern of associations between values and any outside variable (Schwartz, 1992), such as political orientation. Starting from the most positively associated value type (e.g., self-direction, for classical liberalism), associations should become less positive, moving in both directions around the circle to the least positively associated type (e.g., tradition). This integrated hypothesis received strong support in a discriminant function analysis of party preferences and value priorities of a representative national sample in Israel (Barnea & Schwartz, 1998).

The second dimension of political ideology, economic egalitarianism, refers to whether the government should devote itself more to promoting equality by redistributing resources or protecting citizens' ability to retain the wealth they generate to foster economic growth and efficiency. The basic value dimension, self-transcendence vs. self-enhancement, is relevant to people's stance toward economic egalitarianism. Associations of egalitarian orientations should be mostly positive with universalism/benevolence and most negative with power because the attainment of the core goals of these value types is most affected by policy differences on resource distribution. Associations with the other value types should follow from their order around the circular structure, thereby forming a comprehensive, integrated hypothesis.

Moreover, a significant supportive element in the above theoretical background is the Influence of Attitudes on Social Behaviour. This theory which is derived from the field of Social Psychology, as well as its role in the concept of (VVbTP), will be discussed in the next sections.

2.3.2 The Theory of Planned Behaviour.

This part of the theoretical background describes the effort and outcomes that investigators have accomplished for the correlation of attitudes and behaviours to reach a satisfactory predictive level.

More specifically, in this section, the role of attitudes in human social behaviour is discussed. It will be shown that to understand the influence of attitudes on behaviour, two types of attitudes must be distinguished. The first type refers to general attitudes toward an object (i.e. a political party or political leader/personality, the political or social environment). The second type refers to attitudes toward performing specific behaviours for an object or target (a particular political issue or an economic scandal etc.). These attitudes are referred to as *attitudes toward a behaviour*. A parallel distinction between broad behavioural categories or multiple-act aggregates and single behaviours is also made.

First, the problems and issues involved in relating general and behaviour-specific attitudes to multiple-act aggregates and single behaviours are considered. The evolved discussion about the determinants of specific behaviours is guided largely by a reasoned action approach which assumes that people's behaviour follows reasonably from their beliefs, attitudes, and intentions. We focus on this causal analysis because a great deal of contemporary research concerning the influence of attitudes on behaviour is conducted within this conceptual framework.

Our main focus will be directed on four topics, mainly described by Ajzen and Fishbein, which are considered to be the most important for the accomplishment of this research. These topics are the *Principle of Aggregation*, the *MODE model*, the *Reasoned Action* approach, and the *explicit attitudes and implicit behaviour*. These topics are part of *The Theory of Planned Behaviour* (Icek Ajzen, 1991) abbreviated as TPB. Therefore, the first topic will be described by:

The Principle of Aggregation.

In short, strong relations between general attitudes toward an object and any given behaviour directed at that object cannot be expected. On close examination, what appear to be inconsistencies at the evaluative level, inconsistencies between general attitudes and specific behaviours for the attitude object, turn out to be more apparent than real. In the early studies reviewed by Wicker (1969), investigators were, by and large, concerned with broad social issues such as racial integration and discrimination, aggression, conformity, authoritarianism, religiosity, labor-management relations, and so forth. They felt that behaviours in these domains were reflections of broad underlying attitudes. Thus, racial discrimination was assumed to reflect prejudicial attitudes toward racial or ethnic minorities, that altruistic behaviour could be explained by reference to positive attitudes toward helping others, and that adherence to religious traditions was a reflection of favourable attitudes toward religion and the church. The first step, typically, was to develop an instrument or select an existing instrument, that would assess attitudes presumed to be relevant to the domain of interest.

Ajzen & Fishbein suggested that the next step should be to identify a set of behaviours broadly representative of the same behavioural domain. Instead, investigators tended to select a single behaviour that they could readily observe and that they believed would be indicative of behaviour in the domain of interest. In retrospect, there is reason to doubt that the particular behaviours selected (or for that matter any single behaviour) could be representative of the broad behavioural domains under investigation.

In fact, when the behavioural criterion is broadly representative of the behavioural domain, rather than a single, arbitrarily selected action, strong relations between attitudes and behaviour are observed. For example, in a study of religiosity (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1974) several instruments were used to assess attitudes toward religion, and participants were asked to indicate whether they did or did not perform each of a set of 100 behaviours in this domain. Whereas the general attitudes were typically poor predictors of individual behaviours, they showed strong correlations (ranging from .61 to .71) with an aggregate measure across all 100 behaviours, a measure

designed to reflect the general pattern of religiosity. Similar results were reported for abortion activism (Werner, 1978) and protection of the environment (Weigel & Newman, 1976).

Described in this manner, the advantage of aggregation can be simply to increase the reliability of the behavioural measure. However, identifying a set of behaviours that have evaluative implications and are broadly representative of the domain under investigation not only increases the measure's reliability but also ensures that the behavioural criterion has construct validity. For example, to obtain a measure of discrimination against a group of people such as the mentally ill, any single behaviour (even if reliably assessed) cannot capture the broad meaning of discrimination. To obtain a measure of discrimination against the mentally ill that is not only reliable but also valid, we must observe a variety of behaviours each of which reflects some degree of favourableness or unfavourableness for the mentally ill.

Later approaches took the position that variables in addition to attitude must be taken into consideration, suggesting that attitudes play a very limited role because they are important predictors of behaviour only for certain individuals and in certain situations.

The inconsistencies between general attitudes and specific actions that emerged in early research led investigators to question the utility and, indeed, the existence of broad behavioural dispositions or attitudes. Contrary to this pessimistic view, our discussion about *the principle of aggregation* has shown that it is very useful to think of broad behavioural dispositions and that these dispositions are reflected equally well in verbal responses and overt actions. It is for this reason that very high correlations between attitudes toward objects and multiple-act criteria are obtained.

The MODE Model

A broadly considered as the most direct and sophisticated attempt to deal with the processes whereby general attitudes may influence the performance of specific behaviours can be found in Fazio's (1986, 1990a, 1995; Fazio & Towles-Schwen, 1999) MODE model. Building on past work concerning the effects of attitudes on perceptions and judgments (see Eagly & Chaiken, 1998, for a review), the model

assumes that general attitudes can influence or bias perception and judgments of information relevant to the attitude object, a bias that is congruent with the valence of the attitude. However, for this bias to occur, the attitude must first be *activated*. Consistent with the logic of other dual-mode processing theories (see Chaiken & Trope, 1999), the MODE model posits that attitudes can be activated in one of two ways: in a controlled or deliberative fashion, and automatically or spontaneously. The acronym MODE is used to suggest that “motivation and opportunity act as determinants of spontaneous versus deliberative attitude-to-behaviour processes” (Fazio, 1995, p. 257). When people are sufficiently motivated and have the cognitive capacity to do so, they can retrieve or construct their attitudes toward an object in an effortful manner.

When motivation or cognitive capacity is low, attitudes can become available only if they are automatically activated. According to the MODE model, such automatic or spontaneous activation is reserved for strong attitudes. Specifically, *attitude* is defined as a learned association in memory between an object and a positive or negative evaluation of that object, and attitude strength is equivalent to the strength of this association (Fazio, 1990a). Thus, automatic attitude activation occurs when a strong link has been established in memory between the attitude object and a positive or negative evaluation. The stronger the attitude, the more likely it is that it will be automatically activated and, hence, be chronically accessible from memory. The degree of accessibility (i.e., attitude strength) is usually operationalized by measuring the latency of responses to attitudinal questions: the faster the response, the more accessible the attitude is assumed to be (e.g., Fazio & Williams, 1986; see also Fazio, 1990b; Fazio, Sanbonmatsu, Powell, & Kardes, 1986).

Fazio (1990a) has also suggested that by biasing perception and interpretation of new information, strong attitudes are more likely to be resistant to change than are weak attitudes. This is consistent with the general view that strong attitudes involve issues of personal relevance and are held with great conviction or certainty (see Petty & Krosnick, 1995; Raden, 1985). As a result, they are assumed to be persistent over time and be resistant to attack, to influence perceptions and judgments, and to guide overt behaviour (Krosnick & Petty, 1995).

Processes that take place in the immediate behavioural situation vary as a function of deliberative versus spontaneous processing mode. When motivation and cognitive capacity to carefully process information is high, attitudes do not have to be chronically accessible because they can be effortfully retrieved. Whether activated automatically or retrieved effortfully, the general attitude is available and can bias deliberations. Individuals who hold favourable attitudes are likely to notice, attend to, and process primarily the object's positive attributes, whereas individuals with unfavourable attitudes toward the object are likely to direct attention to its negative qualities. These perceptions of the object (and relevant contextual elements, such as social norms) influence the person's *definition of the event*, possibly directing attention to positive or negative consequences of performing the behaviour in line with the positive or negative evaluation of the object. This process is expected to influence the person's attitude toward the behaviour and, thus, guide behaviour following the valence of the general attitude. Although in the deliberative processing mode "... the degree to which the individual's attitude toward the object is capable of automatic activation from memory becomes irrelevant to the behavioural decision process" (Fazio, 1990a, p. 93), once activated (whether spontaneously or deliberately) the attitude can automatically bias information processing and judgments; and this is more likely to be the case for strong, highly accessible attitudes than for weak attitudes. As a result, readily accessible attitudes are more likely than relatively inaccessible attitudes to bias the definition of the event, to influence attitudes toward possible behaviours in the situation, and, hence, to guide the performance of specific behaviours for the attitude object.

The Reasoned Action Approach

The process described whereby people arrive at their intentions represents a *reasoned action approach* to the explanation and prediction of social behaviour in the sense that people's behavioural intentions are assumed to follow reasonably from their beliefs about performing the behaviour. These beliefs need not be veridical; they may be inaccurate, biased, or even irrational. However, once a set of beliefs is formed, it provides the cognitive foundation from which attitudes,

perceived social norms, and perceptions of control—and ultimately intentions—are assumed to follow reasonably and consistently.

It is important to realize that the behavioural, normative, and control beliefs people hold about the performance of a given behaviour are influenced by a wide variety of cultural, personal, and situational factors. Thus, we may find differences in beliefs between men and women, young and old, Black and White, educated and uneducated, rich and poor, dominant and submissive, shy and outgoing, and between individuals who have an individualistic and those who have a collectivistic orientation. Besides, they may be affected by the physical environment, the social environment, exposure to information, as well as such broad dispositions as values and prejudices.

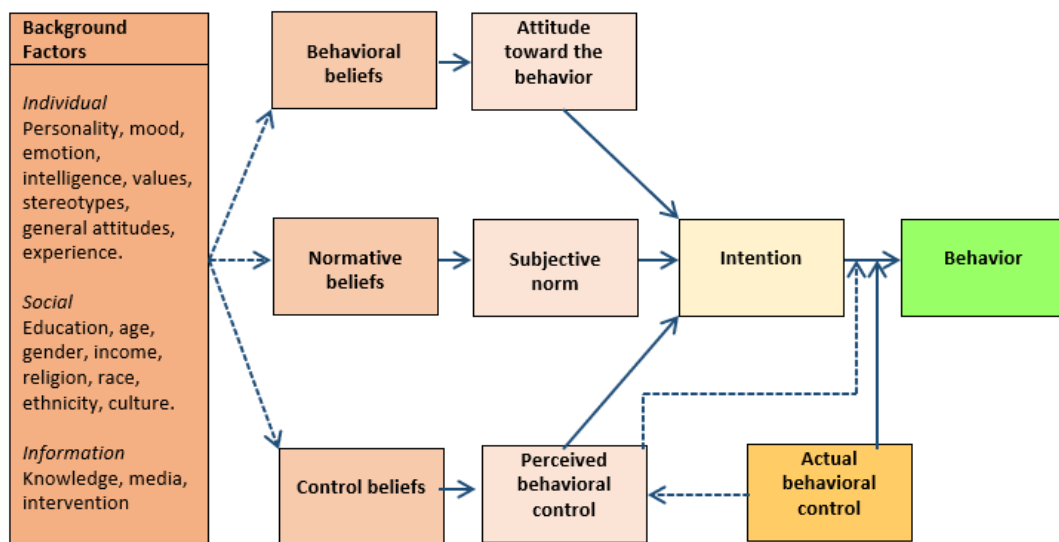


Figure 2.5: The theories of reasoned action and planned behaviour

Figure 6

Figure 2.5 depicts one way in which the antecedents of intentions and behaviour can be represented (Ajzen, 1991; Fishbein, 2000). Implicit in this model are several fundamental assumptions:

1. Intention is the immediate antecedent of actual behaviour.

2. Intention, in turn, is determined by attitude toward the behaviour, subjective norm, and perceived behavioural control.

3. These determinants are themselves a function, respectively, of underlying behavioural, normative, and control beliefs.

4. Behavioural, normative, and control beliefs can vary as a function of a wide range of background factors.

In Figure 2.5, the solid arrow pointing from actual control to the intention–behaviour link indicates that volitional control is expected to moderate the intention–behaviour relation such that the effect of intention on behaviour is stronger when actual control is high rather than low.

Also, as noted earlier, to the extent that perceived behavioural control is veridical, it can serve as a proxy for actual control and be used to improve the prediction of behaviour. This possibility is shown by the dotted arrows that connect actual control to perceived control and perceived control to the intention–behaviour link.

First, the performance of behaviour can provide new information about the likely outcomes of the behaviour, about expectations of others, and about issues of control. These feedback loops are of course likely to influence future intentions and behaviour, and they are partly captured by including past behaviour among the background factors that influence beliefs.

Second, once formed, attitudes toward a behaviour can work backward to influence the formation of new behavioural beliefs. That is, existing attitudes can bias perception and interpretation of new information—sometimes through a process of wishful thinking or rationalization—and, thus, influence the formation of new behavioural beliefs (see McGuire & McGuire, 1991). The same may be true for subjective norms feeding back on normative beliefs, and for existing perceptions of control influencing the formation of new control beliefs.

Third, attitudes, subjective norms, and perceptions of control, although conceptually independent, can correlate with each other because they may be based in part on

the same information. For example, if behaviour is thought to produce favourable health outcomes, people may form a positive attitude toward the behaviour, and they may also infer that their spouses or other relevant referents would want them to perform it. Similarly, people who believe that they lack the skills required to perform a behaviour may anticipate failure and, thus, may develop a negative attitude toward the behaviour.

Fourth, the diagram fails to show the relative weights or importance of attitude, subjective norm, and perceived control in the prediction of intention. It is assumed that these weights vary as a function of the particular behaviour and the population under consideration. Thus, one behaviour may be influenced primarily by attitudinal considerations, whereas another behaviour may be primarily under the influence of normative or control factors. In fact, in some applications, one or another of the three predictors may be irrelevant and make no significant contribution to the prediction of intention. Similar effects may be observed as we move from one population to another. When this happens, it merely indicates that for the particular behaviour or population under investigation, the factor in question is not an important consideration in the formation of intentions. Such a finding should not be considered evidence inconsistent with a reasoned action approach.

Note also that at the core of the model depicted in Figure 2.5 is a causal chain of effects starting with the formation of behavioural, normative, and control beliefs. These beliefs are assumed to influence attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behavioural control which, in turn, produce intentions and behaviour. Behaviour, thus, rests ultimately on the information people have relevant to the behaviour, and it is in this sense that behaviour is reasoned. However, this should not be taken to mean that people consciously review every step in the chain each time they engage in a behaviour. Once formed, attitudes, norms, perceptions of control, and intentions can be highly accessible and readily available to guide the performance of the behaviour.

That is, people do not have to review their behavioural, normative, or control beliefs for these constructs to be activated. For example, a previously formed attitude toward lifting weights is automatically activated and can be readily available in the future without having to consider all the likely advantages and disadvantages of this

behaviour (see Ajzen & Fishbein, 2000 for a discussion of automatic processes in reasoned action).

Explicit and Implicit Attitudes on Social Behaviours.

The review of the literature up to this point has shown that work on the attitude-behaviour relation has restored faith in the utility and predictive validity of the attitude construct. However, in relatively recent years a renewed challenge to the postulated relation between attitudes and behaviour can be discerned, particularly in the domain of prejudice and discrimination (Fiske, 1998). Work in this field has led investigators to argue that although expressions of stereotypical beliefs and prejudicial attitudes have declined markedly over the past decades (e.g., Dovidio, 2001; Schuman, Steeh, Bobo, & Krysan, 1997), yet discrimination against historically disadvantaged racial and ethnic groups continues to be evident in employment, education, housing, healthcare, and criminal justice (e.g., Bushway & Piehl, 2001; Crosby, Bromley, & Saxe, 1980; Daniels, 2001; Hacker, 1995; Landrine, Klonoff, & Alcaraz, 1997; Myers & Chan, 1995).

Although widely accepted, evidence for the disparity between declines in broad societal patterns of prejudicial attitudes accompanied by continued discriminatory behaviours is indirect and mostly circumstantial. Accordingly, only one study (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000) has examined this issue directly. In this study, conducted at a Northeastern liberal arts college, prejudicial attitudes toward African Americans were found to decline slightly, but significantly, from 1988–1989 to the 1998–1999 academic year. In contrast, hiring recommendations regarding Black and White job candidates with ambiguous qualifications favoured the White candidate over the Black candidate to the same extent in both time periods.

Note, however, that it is impossible to assess changes in overall discrimination by examining a single judgmental bias. Had the investigators selected a different indicator of discrimination, perhaps voting to elect a Black versus White candidate to student office, the results might have been very different. To make a convincing case that, over the years, prejudice has declined more than discrimination, then broad measures of these constructs should be made, be standardized, and changes in average values overtime should be observed. If this was done, discriminatory

behaviour which had declined just as much—or perhaps even more—than expressed prejudice could have been found.

Despite the lack of firm empirical support, many investigators accept the proposition that prejudice has declined much more than discrimination. As in the 1950s, the immediate reaction to the apparent inconsistency between racial attitudes and behaviour was to question the validity of attitude measures (e.g., Crosby, Bromley, & Saxe, 1980; McConahay, Hardee, & Batts, 1981): Because of self-presentational concerns, people were presumably reluctant to express their true (negative) feelings. There was also an assumption, however, that the nature of racial prejudice had changed to become more subtle and nuanced, milder than the blatant racism of the past (McConahay, 1986). Also, prejudice might be expressed indirectly and symbolically, for example, as opposition to preferential treatment for minorities (Sears, 1988). Other theorists proposed that racial attitudes had become ambiguous or aversive, containing explicit egalitarian elements as well as more subtle and unacknowledged negative beliefs and feelings (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986).

2.3.3 Discussion about the influence of Attitudes on Social Behaviour

Theories on the Voters' Value-based Thinking Processes.

This overview of the nature of contemporary prejudice provided a ready explanation for the apparent gap between low professed prejudice and high levels of discrimination. The high levels of discrimination suggested that prejudice was still very much present, but that because it had become very subtle, standard attitude scales—which measure *explicit* stereotypes and prejudice—were incapable of capturing these *implicit* dispositions. The contrast between implicit and explicit levels of prejudice plays an important role in Devine's (1989; Devine, Monteith, Zuwerink, & Elliot, 1991) dissociation model. According to this model, prejudiced and nonprejudiced individuals are equally familiar with prevailing cultural stereotypes, and these implicit stereotypes are activated automatically in the actual or symbolic presence of stereotyped group members. Nonprejudiced individuals are assumed to differ from prejudiced individuals in their explicit rejection of the cultural

stereotypes and their greater motivation to inhibit the influence of automatically activated stereotypes on judgments, feelings, and actions. A similar line of reasoning underlies the application of the MODE model to the relationship between prejudice and discrimination (Fazio & Dunton, 1997; Fazio & Towles-Schwen, 1999).

Whereas in Devine's dissociation model what is automatically activated are culturally shared stereotypes, in the MODE model the individual's own stereotype is automatically activated. As in Devine's model, however, whether or not this implicit stereotype affects judgments and behaviour depends on the individual's motivation to control seemingly prejudiced reactions (Dunton & Fazio, 1997; see also Devine & Monteith, 1999).

These models of prejudice are consistent with the proposition that people can hold two attitudes at the same time, one *implicit* and often unrecognized, and the other *explicit* and under conscious control (Wilson, Lindsey, & Schooler, 2000). The implicit attitude is assumed to be automatically activated, whereas activation of the explicit attitude is said to require cognitive effort. Prejudicial attitudes, according to this view, maybe held implicitly and be activated automatically but, given sufficient motivation and cognitive resources, the more favourable, egalitarian attitude may be retrieved and can override the effect of the implicit prejudicial attitude.

The concern with implicit attitudes in research on prejudice and discrimination is consistent with another theorizing in attitudes and social cognition that emphasizes automatic, unconscious processes assumed to function in parallel with, or in place of, deliberative action (e.g. Bargh, 1989; Bargh & Chartrand, 1999; Fazio, 1990a; Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Langer, 1978; Wegner & Wheatley, 1999). Research on subtle aspects of prejudice received a further boost with the development of new measurement techniques that rely on reaction times to probe for implicit attitudes, most notably the implicit association test (Greenwald, McGhee & Schwartz, 1998) and evaluative priming (Dovidio, Evans, & Tyler, 1986; Fazio, Jackson, Dunton, & Williams, 1995; see Fazio & Olson, 2003, for a review). It now became possible to compare implicit and explicit attitude measures and to examine their ability to predict actual behaviour.

In this overview has been made an effort to show that the Theory of Planned Behaviour (Icek Ajzen, 1991) provides a useful conceptual framework for dealing with the complexities of human social behaviour. The theory incorporates some of the central concepts in the social and behavioural sciences, and it defines these concepts in a way that permits prediction and understanding of particular behaviours in specified contexts. Attitudes toward the behaviour, subjective norms with respect to the behaviour, and perceived control over the behaviour are usually found to predict behavioural intentions with a high degree of accuracy. In turn, these intentions, in combination with perceived behavioural control, can account for a considerable proportion of variance in behaviour.

At the same time, there are still many issues that remain unresolved. The Theory of Planned Behaviour traces attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behavioural control to an underlying foundation of beliefs about the behaviour. Although there is plenty of evidence for significant relations between behavioural beliefs and attitudes toward the behaviour, between normative beliefs and subjective norms, and between control beliefs and perceptions of behavioural control, the exact form of these relations is still uncertain. The most widely accepted view, which describes the nature of the relations in terms of expectancy-value models, has received some support, but there is clearly much room for improvement. Of particular concern are correlations of only moderate magnitude that are frequently observed in attempts to relate belief-based measures of the theory's constructs to other, more global measures of these constructs (Icek Ajzen, 1991). Optimally rescaling measures of belief strength, outcome evaluation, motivation to comply, and the perceived power of control factors can help overcome scaling limitations, but the observed gain in correlations between global and belief-based measures is insufficient to deal with the problem.

From a general view, however, application of the Theory of Planned Behaviour to a particular area of interest, be it problem drinking (Schiegel, d' Avernas, Zanna, DeCourville, & Manske, 1990), or leisure behaviour (Ajzen & Driver, in press, a, b), provides a host of information that is extremely useful in any attempt to understand these behaviours or to implement interventions that will be effective in changing them (Van Ryn & Vinokur, 1990). The intention, perception of behavioural control,

attitude toward the behaviour, and subjective norm each reveals a different aspect of the behaviour, and each can serve as a point of attack in attempts to change it. The underlying foundation of beliefs provides the detailed descriptions needed to gain substantive information about a behaviour's determinants. It is at the level of beliefs that we can learn about the unique factors that induce one person to engage in the behaviour of interest and to prompt another to follow a different course of action.

It is the above argumentation, that is, the significance of beliefs that characterizes the VVbTP as a process an instrument of observation of the Voters' decision-making process, since:

“Values are beliefs linked inextricably to affect. When values are activated, they become infused with feeling. People for whom independence is an important value become aroused if their independence is threatened, despair when they are helpless to protect it, and are happy when they can enjoy it” (Shalom H. Schwartz, 2012).

Hence, through this overview it was aimed, firstly, highlights about the supportive literature with a view an immediate and a more holistic picture of this research part for the reader to be provided; and secondly, an interconnection between the parts of supportive literature and the seven stages of (VVbTP) to be made.

Being more specific, and starting from the First (1st) Stage of the VVbTP, “a *value* is an *enduring belief* that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence”, (Rokeach, 1973, p.5). This is the central idea upon which the process of (VVbTP) is based. Additionally, Schwartz (2006, 2009) describes the conflicts across the value domains by two orthogonal axes (Figure 2.2). This dynamic structure underscores motivational dimensions in terms of two fundamental human problems that require resolution (Rohan, 2000): finding a balance between personal self-interest versus pro-social and pro-environmental interests (person-focus versus

social-focus), and between striving for growth and independence versus resistance to change and preservation of order (growth versus protection). Whereas self-enhancement is focused on self-interest, the values in the dimension of self-transcendence (represented by the values of universalism and benevolence) are concerned with the welfare and interests of others (both near and far) and of nature. Similarly, openness to change underscores independent action and opposes conservation (representing security, conformity, and tradition), which relates to self-restriction, order, certainty, and protection (Schwartz, 2006, 2009). Therefore, the above theoretical background provided the base for the development of the (VVbTP); more specifically, this is the theory upon which the First (1st) Stage in particular, as well as the entire above concept, is relying and eventually was built.

The Intermediate Stage, which is the Second (2nd) Stage of the (VVbTP), describes the outcome of the interaction from the first contact/experience of the individual voter/interviewee with the external environment; basically, it will provide a description of the outcome which will emerge from the interaction between the values "inherited" from the family environment and those of the external environment, either it is friends and relatives, working environment, university environment or society in general. It will also provide the individual voter/interviewee with an acquaintance of the first socio-political discussion and a "smooth" transition towards a more politically oriented discussion. The discussion in this stage will describe both values and norms which provide individuals and groups with guidelines to define the behaviours that are preferred and might even be obligatory, as well as, the states of affairs that are desirable (or undesirable) (Rokeach, 1979). Values, as the criteria for determining what is desirable, are differentiated from norms, which Rokeach (1979) defines as "specific obligatory demands, claims, expectations, rules" (p. 15); this way the individual will shape his/her own "value system" which is an enduring organization of beliefs that concern preferable modes of conduct or end-states of existence along a continuum of relative importance" (Rokeach, 1973, p. 5). The *Principle of Aggregation*, however, appears to play a rather determinant role at this particular stage. In fact, as previously stated, when the behavioural criterion is broadly representative of the

behavioural domain, rather than a single, arbitrarily selected action, strong relations between attitudes and behaviour are observed. As an example, in a study of religiosity (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1974) several instruments were employed to assess attitudes toward religion, and they showed strong correlations (ranging from .61 to .71) with an aggregate measure across all 100 behaviours. That is, individual behaviours performed in a particular context tend to be influenced not only by general attitudes but by a wide range of additional factors. The adaptation of the *Principle of Aggregation* is also reflected in every stage of the concept of the (VVbTP), as well as, in the Intermediate Stage. This can be observed throughout the twenty (20) interviews where the respondents were asked to provide evidence about their family environment, their childhood in general, their school years, their university years, their social environment in general since childhood, and finally their professional environment. Accordingly, a wide range of factors is incorporated in the investigation of the Intermediate Stage. This approach, in turn, through the incorporation of a wide range of socio-political factors, the criterion of broad representation and hence the strong correlation between attitudes and behaviour are ensured. Therefore, the *Principle of Aggregation* has shown that it is very useful to incorporate broad behavioural dispositions in this stage and that these dispositions are reflected equally well in verbal responses and overt actions.

The Stage of Motivations, which is the third (3rd) stage, describes the motivational interest-serving aspect of values in Schwartz's values theory. Originally working with Rokeach's (1973) specific lists of terminal and instrumental values, Schwartz and Bilsky (1987, 1990) identified distinctive groupings of the universally accepted 57 values derived from Rokeach's lists. The groupings are based on the underlying motivational aspects of these 57 values, as well as the compatible and antagonistic interests implied by individual values. The researchers first identified eight and later ten basic and motivationally distinct value domains. These are defined and described in Table 2.3a and connect the motivational factors an individual has to adapt to the personal value system of this individual.

Based on the above argumentation the interviewees were encouraged to provide their intentions through which specific socio-political actions based on their values

would be served. As such, the interviewees were encouraged to provide their considerations that influence their decisions towards a given behaviour based on whether the consequences of their behaviour would be positive or negative, the approval of this behaviour by individuals or groups, and how easy the performance of their behaviour would be. Eventually, these values and their associative evaluations would produce an overall positive or negative evaluation or attitude toward performing a certain behaviour. Consequently, and under this logic, it was why the *Reasoned Action* approach was employed. It was the *Reasoned Action* approach that explains and predicts social behaviour in the sense that people's behavioural intentions are sourcing from their beliefs and lead to the performance of a behaviour. Once a set of beliefs is formed, it provides the cognitive source from which attitudes, social norms, and perceptions of control—and ultimately intentions—are directed in a reasonable and consistent manner. Behaviour, therefore, is based on the information related to the behaviour, and it is in this sense that behaviour is reasoned (Bandura, 1998; Fishbein, 2000; Fishbein, Triandis, et al., 2001; Petraitis, Flay, & Miller, 1995)

The Stage of Attitudes, which is the Fourth (4th) Stage of the (VVbTP), is based on the fact that both values and norms provide individuals and groups with guidelines to define the behaviours that are preferred and might even be obligatory, as well as, the states of affairs that are desirable (or undesirable) (Rokeach, 1979; Schwartz, 1994); that is, these guidelines are reflected by attitudes towards a particular object. According to Schwartz (1994), reflections of the above argumentation in the political field are presented in the section "*Applications of the Value Theory in the Political Domain and correlation with Ideologies*" of the Value Theory. Being more specific, scores on universalism vs. security values are clearly related to the study of political orientations and behaviour. But the value structure also provides a more comprehensive set of associations between value priorities and political orientations. Accordingly, two major dimensions of political ideology can be related to the two basic dimensions of the value structure (Janda, 1980). These are *classical liberalism* and *economic egalitarianism*. The basic value dimension, openness to change vs. conservation, is relevant to people's stance between *classical*

liberalism and *economic egalitarianism*. Associations with self-direction and tradition are most intensive due to that the attainment of core goals is mostly affected by policy related to freedom vs. control. The more a party is focused on individual freedoms at the expense of protecting the status quo, the more the voter for whom self-direction values are of great importance and tradition values of little importance to support it. In addition, the conservation value types, conformity, and security attract parties' supporters that favour the status quo, and the other openness types, stimulation, and hedonism should attract supporters for parties that emphasize freedom.

However, in parallel with the *Applications of the Value Theory in the Political Domain*, the theories of the *MODE model* and the *Reasoned Action* approach are also applied in the Stage of Attitudes. The *MODE model* is applied due to that its applicability relies on the strength that the basic value dimension, openness to change vs. conservation, which is relevant to people's stance between *classical liberalism* and the *economic egalitarianism*; and also, on the *Reasoned Action* approach since the above decision-making process requires a reasonable coherence to be integrated. Additionally, hints of the theory of *Explicit and Implicit Attitudes on Social Behaviour* are also observed mostly on supporters of the political party of *Golden Dawn* (see interview GD14). This happened due to the negative stance of the Greek governments, as well as, of the majority of the media and society.

Values, as the criteria for determining what is desirable, are differentiated from norms, which Rokeach (1979) defines as "specific obligatory demands, claims, expectations, rules" (p. 15); additionally, Jagodzinski (2004) provides support for Bardi and Schwartz's findings by explaining the relationships between collective cultural values, individual value priorities, and behaviour theoretically. The inclination towards the one or the other direction, which is the *personal values*, *social norms*, and *collective cultural values* will be decided by the individual voter; and consequently, this decision will be made in the Fifth (5th) Stage or the Stage of Consequences. However, besides the *Value Theory* in relation to *personal values*, *social norms*, and *collective cultural values* there are other theories that also describe different realities in which the individual voter will be confronted with the

consequences of a political choice. The first theory is the *Principle of Aggregation* since voters must consider as many factors as possible in order to end up in a broad number of factors which will provide as many information as possible; that is, it is very useful to think of broad behavioural dispositions and that these dispositions to be reflected equally well in verbal responses and overt actions as this is already described in the section of the *Principle of Aggregation*. They will also examine all these broad behavioural dispositions in terms of the strength they reflect. Therefore, the *MODE model* will also be involved in this stage. According to the *MODE model*, such activation is reserved for strong attitudes. Since *attitude* is defined as a learned association in memory between an object and a positive or negative evaluation of that object, and attitude strength is equivalent to the strength of this association (Fazio, 1990a), then, automatic attitude activation occurs when a strong link has been established in memory between the attitude object and a positive or negative evaluation. The stronger the attitude, the more the automatic activation and, hence, the accessibility from memory.

The Stage of Consequences is also characterized by reason. Therefore, the *Theory of Reasoned Action* is also involved, which is also the dominant theoretical concept that characterizes the Stage of Consequences. That is, considerations of the likely consequences of behaviour have been called behavioural beliefs (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975), outcome expectancies (Bandura, 1977), or costs and benefits (Becker, 1974). In the political field and in particular, when an individual voter is about to make a political decision, these beliefs and their associated evaluations are assumed to produce an overall positive or negative evaluation or attitude toward performing the political behaviour in question. Specifically, if the perceived advantages of performing the behaviour outweigh its perceived disadvantages, voters are likely to form a favourable attitude toward the behaviour. Conversely, if, the perceived disadvantages outweigh the perceived advantages, a negative attitude, and finally a negative political behaviour is likely to be formed.

The process described whereby people arrive at their political intentions represents a *reasoned action approach* to the explanation and prediction of political behaviour in the sense that people's political behavioural intentions are assumed to follow

reasonably from their political beliefs about performing the particular political behaviour.

In the Sixth (6th) Stage, the Stage of Voting Behaviour, the culmination of the voters' decision-making process, by the final voting decision of the individual voters, is described. Rokeach (1979) recognizes that value systems and prior beliefs guide behaviour in specific situations based on concrete motivations, but he presents no concrete evidence to establish a link between values and behaviour (Rohan, 2000). Meglino and Ravlin (1998) make a clearer connection by summarizing values literature to show that the evaluation of decisions and resulting behaviour is related to individual values. In the Sixth (6th) stage, is where the influence of all the prementioned theoretical domains are involved and end up. It is also important to mention the critical role of the theory of *Explicit and Implicit Attitudes on Social Behaviour*. Accordingly, because of self-presentational concerns, people were presumably reluctant to express their true (negative) feelings (Crosby, Bromley, & Saxe, 1980; McConahay, Hardee, & Batts, 1981). There was also an assumption, for example, that the nature of racial prejudice had changed to become more subtle and nuanced, "milder than the blatant racism of the past" (McConahay, 1986). Also, prejudice might be expressed indirectly and symbolically, for example, as opposition to preferential treatment for minorities (Sears, 1988). Other theorists proposed that racial attitudes had become ambiguous or aversive, containing explicit egalitarian elements as well as more subtle and unacknowledged negative beliefs and feelings (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). The above phenomenon particularly concerns the supporters of the political party of Golden Dawn (the right-wing nationalistic party, see for example the interviews GD12 and GD14) due to media and social disapproval are reluctant to reveal their true political beliefs or intentions.

The Seventh (7th) and last stage of the (VVbTP), which provides the epitome of rationalization of the individual voters' electoral decision-making process, is the Stage of Investigation of Political Parties. In this stage, historic elements related to both political parties and leaders in order for the individual voters' position in the previous stages to be ratified are provided. As such, the rationalization of the (VVbTP) obtains more concrete elements and empowerment. Accordingly,

the *Reasoned Action* approach, as the dominant theoretical domain, explains and predicts political behaviour, in the sense that people's behavioural intentions sourcing from their political beliefs and historical facts, finally lead to the performance of political behaviour. Political attitude and ideology, therefore, is based on the information related to the political behaviour, and it is in this sense that the individual voters' political behaviour is reasoned (Bandura, 1998; Fishbein, 2000; Fishbein, Triandis, et al., 2001; Petraitis, Flay, & Miller, 1995).

The above discussion indicated the existing research in the field of social psychology with particular emphasis on a concept of vital importance such as that of personal values and consequently for the value-based thinking processes, and hence, why political marketing researchers should incorporate it in their research agendas. Therefore, due to the importance of personal values and value-based thinking processes to understand voters' behaviour this research will follow a qualitative orientation. Hence, more information and details about this qualitative manner in the next chapters will be provided.

2.4 Part Three - Conclusions from the Literature Review

In Conclusion, the Literature Review has been presented in three major parts.

The *first part* mainly describes the main core of Political Marketing theoretical background; the *second part* is mainly focused on the Value Theory, as well as, on the Influence of Attitudes on Social Behaviour Theory; and the *third part*, which is the current part, provides an overview and evaluation of the extant Political Marketing research and research gaps, as well as emerging themes.

Hence in the following section an Overview and Evaluation of research in Political Marketing, and emerging Research Gaps upon which this research is based so that the Research Aim, which is the retention of political parties' electoral bases, will be provided.

2.4.1 An Overview and Evaluation of research in Political Marketing, and emerging Research Gaps.

Marketing is about offering of something and the wanting of something which is based on the two main principles; the exchange and reciprocity (Levy S.J., 2002). It consists of individual and organizational activities that facilitate and expedite the satisfying exchange relationships through creation, distribution, and promotion of services and ideas (Dibb et al, 1994) with no exception of yielding profit from these activities to the political organization as well as complying with the marketing concept principles. Kotler (1972), and Kotler and Levy (1969) argued that marketing can be broadened in two significant ways. First, extending it from the private sector into the non-commercial and public sector and second, broadening the exchange to any kind of exchanges. Politics falls within this extended domain due to its exchange character when voters cast their votes for a particular political party or candidate for the services the political party or candidate offers after the election and through better government. Although the application of marketing tools and instruments in politics is nothing new (Baines & Egan, 2001) several marketing scholars agreed that without the adoption of marketing concept in any or all of the marketing functions, is not considered as marketing. Built from this notion, Mauser (1983), Newman and Sheth (1985), and Reid (1988) argued that when political parties or candidates who want to comply with the marketing reality must be in a position to adapt to and satisfy voters' needs by implementing the marketing functions related to the prevailing circumstances (Trustum, 1989, p. 48).

Stephan Henneberg (1995b) argued that, based on a classificational scheme of political marketing, there are four main areas of research, each subdivided into a normative and descriptive sphere. Table 2.7 shows different "research schools of political marketing", using concepts developed by Sheth et al. (1988). All sources have been classified into this scheme. In the micro theory of political marketing, the voter-behaviour school is dominant, although there are also some beginnings of an exchange school. In the area of micro theory, a foundation for managerial application is provided by analyzing the behaviour of individual parties, voters, or other players in the political market. In the normative tradition, the rational/public-

choice theory dominates, inspired by approaches of political economy (Brennan and Lomasky 1993).

Table 8

Table 2.7: Research Schools of Political Marketing Source: (O’Shaughnessy and Henneberg 2002)

Level of Aggregation		Level of Analysis	Theory of Political Marketing	Theory of Political Marketing Management	Political Marketing Management
micro	normative	descriptive	Voter Behaviour School (Exchange School)	Communication School Management School	
	macro				
	descriptive				

In the descriptive area, these approaches are subsumed under the “positive Political-economy” umbrella (Alt and Shepsle, 1990). However, marketing-related models of party or voter decision-making are very rare. Although many political-science studies of voter behaviour can be subsumed here (Columbia as well as Michigan school and psychological/socio-psychological models), these conventional studies are supplemented by very isolated cases of holistic and political management-related analysis (e.g. Himmelweit et al 1985; Popkin 1994; Sniderman et al. 1991; especially Newman and Sheth 1987, and Reid 1988). This micro theory level characterizes one of the main shortcomings in research on political marketing theory.

The second area of neglected research problems can be found on the *macrolevel* of the *theory of political marketing* (the same can be said for the *theory of political marketing management*). In the normative cell, ethical problems of political marketing and aspects touching the theory of democracy are covered (e.g. the ethical repercussions of the use of specific political marketing instruments, or

possible problems and developments in the area of the theory of democracy in connection with the use of the marketing concept in the political competition) (e.g. Banker 1992; Denton 1991a, 1991b; Fowler 1995; Franklin 1994; Michalos 1991; O'Shaughnessy 1989/90). This can be subsumed under the heading of political macro marketing (Meade and Nason 1991). The descriptive macrolevel is of less interest as a focus of research: the characteristics of political market-its underlying players and processes as well as the competitive interactions as a whole (a political systems school of political marketing) are the main subject of only some publications; furthermore, definitional attempts and framework theories of political marketing have been covered (e.g. Axford and Huggins 1995; Hasitschka 1995; Newman 1994a; O'Shaughnessy and Wring 1994; Wangen 1983; Wortmann 1989). However, the *theory of political marketing management* is much better covered by research activities. A significant number of publications can be found here (most of them concerned with micro-topics). Two main schools have "institutionalized" themselves: a communication school and a management school. In the normative cell, all aspects of political marketing management instruments and, less comprehensive, strategies are focused on political marketing research (e.g. Mauser 1980, 1983; Worcester 1996), political marketing strategies (e.g. Butler and Collins 1996; Newman 1994a), and political marketing instruments (e.g. O'Shaughnessy and Peele 1985). Even more frequent are, however, descriptive studies concerning election campaigns, with a bias towards communication and news-management aspects (e.g. Boll and Poguntke 1992; Farrell and Wortmann 1987; Harrop 1990; Kavanagh 1995; Newman 1993; Scammell 1995).

A brief evaluation has to follow this enumeration. Specific interest is on gaps in the research web, especially those that endanger the development of political marketing into theoretically sound and methodologically rigorous discipline. As seen in the subsection above, although the area of political marketing management has been covered relatively comprehensively, other areas have not been tackled with the same vigor. Nevertheless, even in managerial research on political marketing, there are structural deficiencies; for example, the conceptual/terminological problems between marketers and other involved researchers, the suboptimal coverage of strategic aspects, and the bias towards communication instruments/functions

(Butler and Collins 1996; Henneberg 1995b, 1996c). According to O'Shaughnessy and Henneberg (2002), improvements in these areas are, however, not imminent if the theoretical foundation is neglected, as has been done so far. This is a strong argument for a conceptual foundation of the managerial analysis of political marketing (be it descriptive or prescriptive) in a theoretical and definitional framework (as has been provided for this study by this chapter). Two prominent research areas need improvement on the level of the *theory of political marketing*: the mentioned theoretical framework and the understanding of the main exchange partners-for example, in the electoral market, the electorate. Only if knowledge about the motivations, determinants, and processes of voters' rationalization (or "irrationalisation"), that is, voters' thinking processes are available is it possible to develop, analyze or criticize political marketing management. This argument by Henneberg and O'Shaughnessy (2009) indicates the attitudinal/behavioural nature of the existing research gap which is also the orientation and focus of this research.

Moreover, research in political marketing indicated a fast development mainly due to the dynamic development of marketing applications by political parties and candidates. The cause of this rapid development was not because of the technological drivers, especially in the media arena (Newman, 1994a; Newman, 1994b), but also due to a weakening of political 'cleavage-systems' (Palmer, 2002) and consequently lower levels of party identification (Ware, 1996; Henneberg and Eghbalian, 2002), to higher electoral volatility (Perloff, 1999), as well as, more competitive pressure in the political market through non-electoral competition (Lees-Marshment, 2001), less differentiation between political offers, and a general professionalization of political management activities (Panebianco, 1988). These reactions of the political actors compelled the research on political marketing to become an established sub-discipline of marketing, especially in France, the UK, Germany, Australia, as well as the USA (Perloff, 1999). However, an assessment of political marketing research indicated significant shortcomings. Persistence on the marketing instruments' usage in campaign situations, as well as, on communication, market research tools, and other political marketing instruments that have been well analyzed and compared, about the contingencies of their usage, dominates the political marketing research. This, however, has been accomplished on a descriptive

level. Prescriptive studies are rare. As such, political marketing 'theories' have not been developed in-depth. Furthermore, an impoverishment of political marketing has emerged since many political marketing studies lack deep 'managerial' interpretation of marketing (Sheth et al., 1988; van Waterschoot and van den Bulte, 1992; Webster, 1992; O'Malley and Patterson, 1998), and an orientation towards the 4Ps and the marketing mix. This impedes research in political marketing from new developments of marketing theory, that is, on conceptual or epistemological orientation (Henneberg, 2004). For example, relationship marketing, a considerably new and important concept in marketing theory (particularly in the marketing of services), did not attract the same attention in political marketing (Dean and Croft, 2001; Scammell, 1999; Bannon, 2003; Henneberg, 2002, 2004).

Furthermore, political actors believe that marketing has become an essential part of political management in many situations. The major reason for it is that, political science (or other related disciplines) has not even conceptualized topics such as segmentation, brand management, or strategic capability management, and that they could be easily used as tools of management and marketing theory, and explain political phenomena that political science would not be able to explain. Additionally, political marketing theory can integrate an initially descriptive understanding of political marketing management with a prescriptive theory, that is, one that can help political actors to apply political marketing management techniques effectively and efficiently (Henneberg, 2002).

That is, political marketing theory must provide an understanding of politics through a marketing-oriented epistemology and also as a way of knowing politics which has to be seen as part of methodological pluralism. That is, methodological decisions must be taken about the 'appropriateness' of certain positions against a *specific* phenomenon. This could only be achieved through the explanatory capacity or the employment of different epistemological approaches concerning a specific situation or a given object. Therefore, a political marketing theory of politics would not dominate upon but complement other (e.g. political science) theories. It would be more appropriate in explaining certain elements of political life borrowing elements from other disciplines while they would not be covered in the same depth,

rigor, or quality (Hunt, 1983). Hence, epistemologically speaking, a ‘theory of political marketing’ can be considered as a ‘sense-making framework’.

This requires a marketing-oriented understanding of political actors, especially voters (Bartle and Griffiths, 2002), beyond the ‘convenient consideration’ of how voters actually ought to behave and make decisions. The thinking process and reasoning of the voters should attract research attention as part of dyadic relationships, which is a significant requirement for the entire marketing spectrum (Henneberg, 2004). A solution for this gap would be provided by Relationship Marketing (Grönroos, 2000; Gummesson, 2002), and being more precise Political Relationship Marketing (Henneberg and O’Shaughnessy, 2009), through which bilateral sustainable marketing propositions would be developed. An immediate consequence of this would be the shift of research focus from a more quantitative orientation of psephology to a more qualitative understanding of a marketing-oriented voting behaviour theory (Bartle and Griffiths, 2002).

Such a research agenda, based on an epistemological understanding of political marketing theory opens up another issue, (Arndt, 1978): that of ‘conceptual imperialism’ and overreach (Wring, 1999; O’Shaughnessy, 2002). In fact, in a pluralistic environment, many new insights are gained emerging from the interaction between different theoretical constructs such as the *value theory* which has been “borrowed” for the accomplishment of the current research. Due to this, marketing theory needs to accept and engage with other disciplines, in a collaborative way, for research analysis; this is the basic requirement of political marketing which is considered as a conjunction of other disciplines. Hence, marketing, as an eclectic methodological mix of other disciplines, should not strive for hegemony to explain political phenomena. Instead of it marketing should ‘show relevance’ through other theories, such as the value theory, and disciplines, such as social and individual psychology. It is this relevance that would make researchers of any discipline to consult them in their search for knowledge in politics (Henneberg, 2004). Currently, the field of political marketing research is in a considerable distance away from this aim; being more specific, the dominant approach in political marketing remains instrumental the instrumental/managerial paradigm, despite criticism (Bannon, 2005); that is “If, for example, we move to a more value-based politics, as we seem

to have done in the US, relational concepts represent a useful way of exploiting this, since values may embody a more effective basis for sustained relationships than do appeal to economic self-interest.” (Henneberg and O’Shaughnessy, 2009, p. 23).

By the above argumentations, the necessity of the current research as a new theoretical proposition was articulated. However, more specific evidence must be provided through contemporary research activities for the research gaps to obtain more factuality and precision. This has been made by reviewing the political marketing research for the 1996-2018 time period. Highlights of this review and the main research gaps are provided in the next paragraphs.

In 1996 research was focused on strategic analysis, social propaganda, corporate lobbying, and the application of marketing management techniques to referenda (special issue of the *European Journal of Marketing*); in 2001 was focused on gender in electoral decision making, branding of candidates and parties, segmentation strategies in electoral campaigns and agenda-setting and lobbying through to US presidential campaigning, as well as, the “Americanization” of politics in Europe.

In the 2010 special issue of the *European Journal of Marketing*, the reputation of political leaders and political parties were investigated by Gary Davies and Takir Mian, 2001, and Wojciech Cwalina, Andrzej Falkowski and Bruce Newman; the domains of trust of citizens-voters (Sherman E., Schiffman L., Thelen S., and 2008), the concept of political market orientation (Ormrod R., 2003; and Robinson C., 2007), and the impact of trust, and cynicism in the 2005 UK General Election campaign by Janine Dermody, Stuart Hanmer-Lloyd and Richard Scullion were also investigated; Alan French and Gareth Smith examined how voters view the political brand by analyzing their mental maps; the ideological messaging and its impact on the general debate on “radicalization” was explored by Paul Baines, Nicholas O’Shaughnessy, Kevin Moloney, Barry Richards, Sara Butler, and Mark Gill. Also, political branding research based on consumer behaviour was made by Marcus Phipps, Jan Brace-Govan, and Colin Jevons; and the various methods of voter surveys during a campaign were explored by Joseph Ben-Ur and Bruce Newman.

In 2009, an edition on how the power of the Internet can be harnessed and used to the advantage of political campaigns was published by Costas Panagopoulos; how televised debates transformed the British General Election campaign of 2010 was

explored by Paul Baines & Phil Harris (2011); and broad themes related to strategies presented through the Obama 2008 presidential campaign was made by Jenifer Lees-Marshment (2012), as well as, how the image of a politician is related to people's feelings by Andrzej Falkowski & Wojciech Cwalina, (2012) explained. William J. Miller (2013), explained the success of the Obama campaign and his utilization of new media technology. In 2014, Paul Baines, Ian Crawford, Nicholas O'Shaughnessy, Robert Worcester & Roger Mortimore (2014) focused on the party leaders' images during the 2010 British election, and research on branding during the period 2007 was made by Darren G. Lilleker (2015). The technological breakthroughs used by the Obama presidential campaigns in both 2008 and 2012 by Bruce I. Newman (2016), and Jeff Chester, Kathryn C. Montgomery (2017), explained digital strategies and technologies of political operations; also issues of the contemporary digital campaign was contrasted by Joel Penney (2017). In 2018, social media marketing addressing the new segments of the population was made by Merlă Vladimir (2018); Michael Parsons & Martyn Rowling (2018) explore social media concerning political relationship marketing; the lack of word of mouth (WOM) was explored by Tamgid Ahmed Chowdhury & Shahneela Naheed (2018).

From the above briefing as well as from the section *A Review of the existing research in Political Marketing* a high concentration of research is observed on issues focused on lobbying, branding of candidates and parties, campaigning (particularly on the Obama 2008 presidential campaign), the "Americanization" of politics in Europe, reputation, trust, political market orientation, imaging, new media technology (particularly technological breakthroughs used by the Obama presidential campaigns), contemporary digital campaigning, and social media political marketing. This high concentration of research focus on the above issues verifies the argumentation of Stephan Henneberg and Nicholas O'Shaughnessy (2009) that the research persistence by then on the above issues is still existing, to a significant extent, till today.

More specifically, Stephan Henneberg and Nicholas O'Shaughnessy (2009) emphasized on gaps by arguing that:

1. The momentum of the research agenda is set by new (managerial) developments in the political marketplace (Baines et al. 2003). This also means that there is

considerably more “description” than “prescription” going on in the literature (Henneberg 2004). More prescriptive theory building is asked for in political marketing to escape purely descriptive studies anchored in existing and ossified paradigms. While “*explaining events is logically before explaining facts*” (Elster 1989 p. 3), political marketing needs more of the latter.

2. “Currently, research on political marketing does not, in the majority, utilize *state-of-the-art* marketing theory and the underlying multiplicity of schools that have become prominent in marketing.” (Henneberg and O’Shaughnessy, 2009)

3. The last US Presidential Election in 2004, though planned as a campaign structured around political and personality themes, became, in the end, a referendum on values (see for example *The Washington Post* 8th November 2004; *The Guardian* 5th November 2004; *The Economist* 2nd October 2004).

4. In short, by “listening” as well as “initiating”, by “leading” as well as “following”, organizational entities must forge meaningful relationships with their stakeholders (Henneberg 2006). This will be made by Relational Marketing which is a theory chosen because of the importance of relationships within social exchanges (Gummesson 2002).

5. Solidarity is created through the attraction of the like-minded, where we meet people like ourselves; there is a commonality of values and these must include political values as a basis of affiliation and attraction (O’Shaughnessy 2004).

6. It is clear that Political Relationship Marketing in general has massive untapped potential in the political context. Yet it is no absolute panacea for modern parties’ problems. As O’Malley and Tynan (2000) point out, there remains a real difficulty in creating emotional bonds via technology-mediated interaction (Henneberg and O’Shaughnessy, 2009).

7. “There are other more prosaic reasons why Political Relationship Marketing must now be treated very seriously, in the practical sphere and also by research in political marketing. If for example, we move to a more value-based politics, as we seem to have done in the US, relational concepts represent a useful way of exploiting this, since values may embody a more effective basis for sustained relationships than do appeals to economic self-interest.” (Henneberg and O’Shaughnessy, 2009)

Reflections of the above gaps as developments emerged in the Greek political field are reflected in the tables illustrating the election results of the 4th of October 2009 election results (Table 1.1), the 6th of May 2012 election results (Table 1.2), and the 25th of January 2015 election results (Table 1.3).

In particular, the summary of the 4th of October 2009 election results (Table 1.1) was:

Panhellenic Socialist Movement 43.92%,
 New Democracy 33.48%,
 and SYRIZA (Coalition of the Radical Left)

Table 9

Summary of the 4 October 2009 Hellenic Parliament Election Results

Party	Leader(s)	Votes	%	+/-	Seats	+/-
Panhellenic Socialist Movement	George Papandreou	3.012.373	43.92	+5.82	160	+58
New Democracy	Kostas Karamanlis	2.295.967	33.48	-8.38	91	-61
Communist Party of Greece	Aleka Papariga	517.154	7.54	-0.61	21	-1
Popular Orthodox Rally	Georgios Karatzaferis	386.152	5.63	+1.83	15	+5
Coalition of the Radical Left	Alexis Tsipras	315.62	4.60	-0.44	13	-1
Ecologists Greens	Six-Member Committee	173.449	2.53	+1.48	0	-
Democratic Revival Anticapitalistic Left	Stelios Papathemelis,	30.856	0.45	-0.35	0	-
Cooperation for the Overthought	D. Desilas et al	24.734	0.36	+0.04	0	-
Greek Ecologists	Dimosthenis Vergis	20.019	0.29	-	0	-
Popular Association-Golden Dawn	Nikolaos Michaloliakos	19.636	0.29	-	0	-

Union of Centrists	Vasilis Leventis	18.278	0.27	-0.02	0	-
	Emmanouil Voloudakis	10.682	0.16	-	0	-
Communist Party of Greece (Marxists-Leninists)	Gr. Kostantopoulos et al	10.213	0.15	-0.10	0	-
Democrats	M. Meletopoulos	7.611	0.11	-	0	-
Marxists-Leninists Communist Party of Greece	Antonis Papadopoulos et al	5.506	0.08	-0.03	0	-
Workers Revolutionary Party	Sabatai Matsas	4.536	0.07	-	0	-
Organization for the Reconstruction of the Communist Party of Greece	Ilias Zafiroopoulos et al	1.652	0.02	-0.01	0	-
Panagrarian Labour Movement of Greece	M. Tzalazidis	1.376	0.02	-	0	-
Smoking Groups for Art and Artistic Creation	Nikos Louvros	1.355	0.02	-	0	-
Light-Truth-Justice	Konstantinos Melissopoulos	867	0.01	-	0	-
Independents	-	277	0.00	-	0	-
Friends of Man	K. Stamoulis	8	0.00	-	0	-
Regional Urban Development	Nikolaos Kolitis	8	0.00	-	0	-
Old Republic	A. Daskalopoulos	3	0.00	-	0	-
Valid Votes		6.858.342	97.36			
Invalid Votes		143.658	2.04			
Blanc Votes		42.479	0.60			
Totals		7.044.479	100	-	30	-
					0	
Electorate and Voter Turnout		9.933.385	70.92			
Source: Ministry of Interior, Public Administration, and Decentralization, with all precincts reported 06:53, 07 October 2009 (UTC)						

Table 2.8: Summary of the 4 October 2009 Hellenic Parliament Election Results

The summary of the 6th of May 2012 election results (Table 1.2) was:

Panhellenic Socialist Movement 13.18%

New Democracy 18.85% and

SYRIZA (Coalition of the Radical Left) 16.79%, and

Table 10

Summary of the 6 May 2012 Hellenic Parliament Election Results

Party	Leader(s)	Votes	%	+/-	Seats	+/-
New Democracy	Antonis Samaras	1.192.103	18.85	-14.62	108	+17
Coalition of the Radical Left-Unitary Social	Kostas Karamanlis	1.061.928	16.79	+12.19	52	+39

Movement						
Panhellenic Socialist Movement	Evangelos Venizelos	833.452	13.18	-30.74	41	- 119
Independent Greeks	Panos Kammenos	671328	10.62	-	33	+33
Communist Party of Greece	Aleka Pappariga	536.105	8.48	+0.94	26	+5
Popular Association-Golden Dawn	Nikolaos Michaloliakos	440.966	6.97	6.68	21	+21
Democratic Left	Fotis Kouvelis	386.394	6.11	-	19	+19
Ecologists Greens	Six-Member Committee	185.485	2.93	+040	0	-
Popular Orthodox Rally	Georgios Karatzaferis	182.925	2.89	-2.74	0	-15
Democratic Alliance	Dora Bacogianni	161.558	2.55	0	0	-
Recreate Greece	Thanos Tzimeros	135.960	2.15	-	0	-
Action-Liberal Alliance	Stefanos Manos/Grigoris Valianatos	114.066	1.80	-	0	-
Anticapitalist Left Cooperation for the Overthrough	21-member committee	75.416	1.19	+0.83	0	-
Social Agreement	Louka Katseli	60.552	0.96	-	0	-
The Coalition of Democratic Revival and United Popular Front	Stelios Papatthemelis, D. Kazakis	58.170	0.92 0.61	- -	0	-
I Don't Pay Movement	Vassilis Papadopoulos	55.590	0.88	-	0	-
Union of Centrists	Vassilis Leventis	38.313	0.61	+0.34	0	-
National Unity Association	Nikos Alikakos	38.286	0.61	-	0	-
Pirate Party of Greece	Ioannis Panagopoulos	32.519	0.51	-	0	-
Society-Political Party of the Successors of Kapodistrias	Michail Iliadis	28.514	0.45	+0.29	0	-
Communist Party (Marxists-Leninists)-Marxists-Leninists Communist Party of Greece	Four member committee	16.010	0.25	+010	0	-
Workers' Revolutionary Party	Savvas Matsas	6.074	0.10	+0.03	0	-
Liberal Party	Manolis Kaligiannis	3.618	0.06	-	0	-
Independent Candidates	-	3.008	0.05	+0.05	0	-
Organization for the Reconstruction of the Communist Party of Greece	Three member committee	2.565	0.04	+0.02	0	-
Organization of Internationalist Communist of Greece	Three member committee	1.783 799	0.03 0.01	- -	0 0	- -
Dignity: Alliance of the Independent Candidates	Panagiotis	335	0.00	-	0	-

National Resistance Movement	Theodoropoulos Ippokratis Savouras					
Panagrarian Labour Movement of Greece	M. Tzalazidis	302	0.00	-0.29	0	-
Panathinaikos Movement	George Betsikas	18	0.00	-	0	-
Greek Ecologists	Dimosthenis Vergis	3	0.00	-0.29	0	-
Regional Urban Development	Nikos Kolitsis	3	0.00	-	0	-
	Valid Votes	6.324.136	9.764			
	Invalid Votes	114.769	1.77			
	Blanc Votes	35.913	0.59			
	Totals	6.476.818	1000. 00	-	300	-
	Electorate and Voter Turnout	9.945.818	65.10			
Source: Ministry of Interior, Public Administration, and Decentralization, with all precincts reported 06:53, 07 October 2009 (UTC)						

Table 2.9: Summary of the 6 May 2012 Hellenic Parliament Election Results.

The summary of the 25th of January 2015 election results (Table 1.3) was:

Panhellenic Socialist Movement 4.68%

New Democracy 27.81% and

SYRIZA (Coalition of the Radical Left) 36.34%

Table 11

Summary of the 25 January 2015 Hellenic Parliament Election Results.

Party	Votes	%	+/-	Seats	+/-
Coalition of the Radical Left	2.246.064	36.34	+9.45	149	+78
New Democracy	1718064	27.81	-1.85	76	-53
Golden Dawn	388447	6.28	-0.64	17	-1
Potami	373.868	6.05	New	17	-1
Communist Party of Greece	338.138	5.47	+0.97	15	+3
Independent Greeks	293.371	4.75	+2.76	13	-7
Panhellenic Socialist Movement	289.482	4.68	-7.60	13	-20
Movement of Democratic Socialists	152.230	2.46	New	0	-
Union of Centrists	110.826	1.79	+1.50	0	-
Teleia (Apostolos Gletsos)	109.483	1.77	New	0	-

Popular Orthodox Rally	63.692	1.03	-0.55	0	-
Front of the Greek Anticapitalist Left	39.485	0.64	+0.32	0	-
Greens-Democratic Left	30074	0.49	-5.76	0	-17
Marxist-Leninist Communist Parties of Greece	8.033	0.13	+0.01	0	-
Democratic National Reform Union	7.608	0.12	New	0	-
Greek Peoples' Democratic Liberation	4.789	0.08	New	0	-
Workers' Revolutionary Party	2.441	0.04	New	0	-
Organization of international Communists of Greece	2.206	0.04	New	0	-
Independent Candidates' Party	1.414	0.02	+0.02	0	-
National Resistance Movement	619	0.01	0.01	0	-
Ground breaking Orthodox Solidarity Front	105	0.00	New	0	-
Greek White Movement of Today's Ideology	87	0.00	New	0	-
Panagrarian Labour Movement of Greece	27	0.00	0.00	0	-
Valid Votes	6.181.274	97.64			
Invalid Votes	114.703	1.81			
Blanc Votes	34.809	0.55			
Totals	6.181.274	100.0	-	300	-
		0			
Electorate and Voter Turnout	6.330.786	63.87			
Registered Voters	9.911.495				
Source: Ministry of Interior, Public Administration, and Decentralization,					

Table 2.10: Summary of the 25 January 2015 Hellenic Parliament Election Results.

Hence, taking into consideration the above research gaps this thesis will be focused on:

1. More prescriptive theory building to escape purely descriptive studies; this will be made by the employment of other disciplines such as the field of *social psychology*.
2. Utilize *state-of-the-art* marketing theory by introducing a new methodological approach namely *Voters' Value-based Thinking Processes* rendering this thesis a methodological Ph.D.
3. Creating *emotional bonds*, as a *Micro-issue* of PRM, not via technology-mediated interaction but instead of it by *state-of-the-art* and particularly via a new methodological approach.
4. Create *meaningful relationships* for both the political party as well as the electorate (as a *Macro-issue* and *Micro-issue* of PRM respectively).

5. This will be made through image associations elicited from the commonality of values between a political party and the electorate for an *image of trustworthiness* (Morgan and Hunt 1994; Henneberg and O'Shaughnessy 2009), as a *Macro-issue*, and as a base for Political Relationship Marketing to be established.

2.4.2 Emerging Themes from the Literature.

This chapter has reviewed the literature concerning the field of Political Marketing, and particularly Political Relationship Marketing, as the main research focus. The gaps in extant literature were identified. Consequently, the themes which will be discussed in this thesis are:

1. Identification of voters' personal values,
 2. Common values between political parties and the targeted segments,
 3. Elicitation of image associations based on these common values,
 4. Development of positioning strategies,
 5. Sustainability of political parties and retention of their electoral base,
- and
6. The introduction of the (VVbTP) as an inductive process for developing *grounded theory*.

Our purpose is to further the literature of Political Marketing, and particularly Political Relationship Marketing, for the research aim finally to be served. The study will follow the qualitative paradigm. This will be accomplished, firstly, through sustainable exchange relationships (*co-operative approach*), and secondly, commonly shared values (*shared values and goals approach*) between the political parties and the targeted segment(s). For the above purpose to be better served the *Voters' Value-based Thinking Processes* has been developed. The particular process is based on the theoretical background described in sections 2.3.1, and 2.3.2. As such the Greek voters' personal values will be investigated; this renders (VVbTP) a personally relevant instrument. The investigation of the voters' value-based thinking processes is an intermediate objective that leads to the elicitation of the Greek voters' image associations which is the third objective of this research

study. The elicited image associations will be value-based products upon which the common values of political parties and Greek voters will rely; consequently, the background upon which strategic positioning proposition(s) will be based as well as the research aim, that is, the retention of the political parties' electoral bases, finally, will be achieved.

Chapter Three: Personal Views and Experience

3.1 Introduction

According to Creswell (1994), a qualitative researcher is encouraged to acknowledge his own understandings and view of the world and to communicate this clearly in the thesis. One of the most prominent ontological and epistemological advantages of qualitative research is to grasp respondents' points of view and values in advance of a method, data collection, and analysis. In this section, the researcher is to be used as an instrument of inquiry by taking advantage of the intimate acquaintance with his own culture (McCracken, 1988). McCracken (1988) named this stage as Review of Cultural Categories which is concerned with the relationship between the researcher's own culture and his target study of interest (See figure 4.3); that is, the object of this "step" is to give the investigator a more detailed and systematic appreciation of his personal experience with the topic of interest (Merton et al., 1956: 4); it is also to draw out of one's own experience related to the topic (Agar, 1983a).

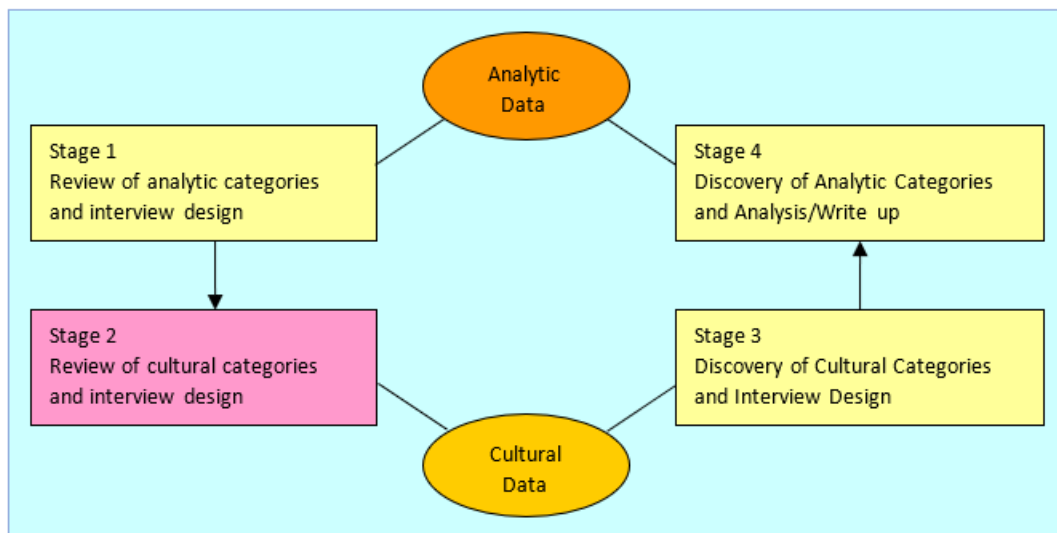


Figure 3.1: Stage 2 Review of Cultural Categories and Interview Design

Figure 7

According to McCracken (1988), there are three purposes which the cultural review aims at. The first is to prepare for questionnaire construction. It is an opportunity to identify cultural categories and relationships that have not been considered by the scholarly literature. Once identified, these categories and relationships become the basis of a questionnaire formulation. Due to this purpose a process based on an inductive approach for developing grounded theory, the *Voters' Value-based Thinking Processes*, has been developed. Some questions that should be answered include:

“What should I look for?”, “How will it be configured?”, “What will be connected to what?”, “What is the best and least obtrusive way to ask about it?”, and most important: “What questioning strategy would most likely elicit what the researcher knows about this subject?” (McCracken, 1988, p.33).

The second purpose is to prepare for the “delving into” that will occur during data analysis. The interviewer will examine the data which will be selected after the integration of the interviews and will make correlations with cultural categories that will be emerged. The investigator listens to the self to listen to the respondent. These correlations will lead to the classification of the electorate and a more accurate and focused segmentation for electoral decision-making issues.

The third purpose of this strategy is to establish the “distance” that has been referred to throughout the long interview. Only by knowing the cultural categories and configurations that the investigator uses to understand the world is he in a position to provide an independent explanation. This clearer understanding of one's vision of the world permits a critical distance from it.

Moreover, the second step of the *Long Interview* seeks to engage the investigator in two processes: familiarization and defamiliarization. Without the first, the listening skills needed for data collection and analysis are impoverished. Without the second, the investigator is not in a position to establish any distance from his own deeply embedded cultural assumptions.

This thesis is based on the understanding of the cultural matters that are sourcing from Greek voters' electoral decision-making process. It is by drawing on the researcher's understanding of how he sees and experiences Greek voters' electoral decision-making process that he can supplement and interpret the data he generates. As the researcher is Greek who grew up in Greece and the target respondents in data collection are Greek citizens, he resides and works within the Greek culture that he is deeply familiar with. Hence the *long interview* can be used as a significant tool for data collection in conjunction with the researcher himself as an instrument of inquiry.

It is, therefore, necessary to form this review in line with the research questions; that is:

Research Question 1: How can the Greek voters' personal values be identified?

Research Question 2: How can the Greek voters' value-based thinking processes be observed and described?

Research Question 3: "How can image associations be elicited, from voter' value-based thinking processes?"

Research Question 4: How can voters' value-based thinking processes impact the positioning strategy process and its formulation for retention of a political party's electoral base to be achieved?

as have been described in Chapter One: Introduction, and according to the *Voters Value-based Thinking Processes* which is a logical development from the discussions evolved between the researcher and Greek citizens.

3.2 My Personal views and experience

My Acquaintance, as a researcher, with Greek Culture, and consequently with the interviewees', was significant since I reside in the same environment and I live with

the same experiences of life; therefore, significant specificity and detailed description could be achieved and attained.

Hence, this review will commence with the first question or

Research Question 1: How can the Greek voters' personal values be identified?

That is, the first Cultural Category which will be emerged in this research study will be that of *Personal Values*.

My acquaintance, as a researcher, with the interviewees was characterized, firstly, by the two extremes of *social justice* and *individual beneficiality*, and secondly, by *protection* and *private initiative* as the other two extremes; which are in line with *Schwartz's Value Dimensions* (Figure 2.2); that is *Social-Focused* and *Person-Focused*, and *Protection* and *Growth* respectively.

The above verifications, according to the Value Theory of Schwartz, are expressed by the properties of *openness to change*, *self-transcendence*, *conservation*, and *self-enhancement*. In the Greek cultural environment, the above properties are expressed by *Social Changes*, *Social Justice*, and *Family-Protection*, and *Personal-Progress* respectively.

It was found that after this acquaintance I stand in between *openness to change* and *self-transcendence*; this is expressed as *Social Changes* and *Social Justice* according to the Greek social standards.

The second (2nd) Research Question that arises as a logical development of the *Voters Value-based Thinking Processes* is:

Research Question 2: How can the Greek voters' value-based thinking processes be observed and described?

The Greek people are characterized as quite sociable individuals which are strongly interested in social issues such as social justice, social equality, and equality in social treatment; although the Greek society is still characterized by social classes (upper, middle, and working-class). They also like to be concerned with political issues; and more specifically, with discussions of socio-political character. Freedom of expression is a major element that characterizes their nature. However, this freedom of expression is mitigated by an after civil war (1945-1949) remembrance which still shadows many Greek generations thereafter. This fact raises the requirement of certain familiarity among interlocutors. This justifies the existence of the Second

(2nd) Stage (the *Intermediate Stage*) of the VVbTP. Consequently, the experience I attained from discussions, was an outcome of life-long socialization with Greek citizens who reside in Greece and consist part of the electorate; hence, my acquaintance due to this is characterized by specificity and detailed description based on discrimination of the interviewees' *personal* and *social environment*. The *personal environment* is described mostly as *decent people, sociably educated, coming from what is generally considered as a "good" family*. The *social environment*, however, is described as *a bad society*, characterized by *a lack of contemporary education*, and *lack of solidarity* during the era of economic crisis. There is also a strong belief of *interconnection between social and political environments*, which is also described as *a corrupted political environment or status*. Additionally, my acquaintance about the Greek Society's Motivational Factors (*Stage of Motivations*) seems to be in line with the individuals' personal values. Most individuals expressed themselves in a quite robust manner about their political position (*Stage of Political Attitudes*) within the "political spectrum" which was rationalized and connected with their personal values. It seems that a significant role in this played the family environment of the individuals; that is, the "inherited" values and beliefs sourcing from their families. Also, most individuals seem that usually went through a serious reconsideration (*Stage of Consequences*) of their final decision making (*Stage of Voting Behaviour*). Moreover, most individuals had to offer historical elements concerning the Greek political parties and their leaders; contributing this way to the rationalization of their political positions and cast of voting.

My familiarity with the Greek culture led to the description of the Voters' Thinking Processes, which created the basic preconditions for the third research question to be answered accordingly. More specifically, by the image associations emerged from the discussions I had with Greek citizens the third research question which is:

Research Question 3: "How can from voters' value-based thinking processes image associations to be elicited?"

was also covered.

Accordingly, most image associations revolved around the two extreme pairs of *Social-Focused* and *Person-Focused*, and *Protection* and *Growth*. Hence, specificity and detailed description of image associations due to my acquaintance gained, such as:

“be-loving family”, “harmonic relations”, “to respect the fellow men”, “unhappy family environment”, “high sensitivity in honesty issues”, “individual progress”, “moderate evaluation of family environment”

Which concern image associations of the First (1st) Stage (*The Stage of Personal Values*).

Also, a detailed description of image associations based on discrimination of the interviewees' *personal* and *social environment*, which concerns the Second (2nd) Stage (*The Intermediate Stage*), such as:

“Greek people as a society with values”, “the university as a basic instrument of change in value system”, “memoranda as imposed policies”, “‘solidarity’ as a missing value from Greek society”, “changes should be focused on ‘education’”, “Crisis of values”, “corruption as the major cause of the economic crisis”

was provided.

For the Third (3rd) Stage or the *Stage of Motivations* the elicited image associations were:

“Understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and nature”, “security”, “Personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards”, “the family”, “participate in the decision-making process”, “Responsibility of choices”, “Independent thought and action: choosing, creating, exploring”.

Which are in line with Schwartz's Value Theory indicated in Table 2.2a: Schwartz's Ten Basic Values.

For the Fourth (4th) Stage (*The Stage of Political Attitudes/Ideologies*) and based on the Greek citizens' position within the “political spectrum” the following image associations were selected:

“Central right political ideology”, “left”, “Socialistic wise”, “between central-right and right”, “I would locate myself in the ‘right’ side”, “I am a socialist”, “It would be ‘left-winged’ but not ‘radical left’”.

The Fifth (5th) Stage (*The Stage of Consequences*) a deep concern of the Greeks citizens about whether congruence or incongruence between political attitude and political behaviour should happen was done; accordingly, the following image associations were selected:

“unrepentant about her ‘partisan rebellion’”, “confirmation of ‘ideologically oriented voting behaviour’”, “she regretted punitive voting”, “his political choice was to restrain the emigration problem”, “the value system must be safeguarded”, “I return in the political area that represented me”, “diversion will be directed in a ‘relative’ party”.

The image associations of the Greeks’ voting (*Sixth (6th) Stage: Voting Behaviour*) is characterized by certainty and rationalization:

“SYRIZA”, “New Democracy”, “consistent voter of Communist Party of Greece”, “Golden Dawn”, “SYRIZA as a most recent electoral choice”, “SYRIZA as ‘voting behaviour’”, “‘the communist party (KKE)’ as a voting choice”, “consistent voter of ‘Golden Dawn’”, “PASOK as the cast of the vote”.

Moreover, significant image associations were provided during the discussions I had before the commencement of the research with Greek citizens about historical evidence related to political parties and their leaders (*Seventh (7th) Stage: Investigation of Political Parties*).

More specifically, about SYRIZA: *“positive opinion for SYRIZA”, “SYRIZA cannot implement its ideological background”, “a government of good intentions”, “Inexperienced and fake”, “dangerous lack of substance”.*

About New Democracy: *“positive stance against Kostas Karamanlis (the younger)”, “it has contributed to the country”, “corruption and arrogance for New Democracy”, “party of ‘barons’”, “New Democracy as neoliberal”.*

About Golden Dawn: *“patriotic political party”, “Golden Dawn as a reaction against the political system”, “Golden Dawn is nationalistic party although it has some Nazi supporters”, “negative connotation for GOLDEN DAWN practices/behaviour”, “Golden Dawn as a Nazist party”.*

About KKE: *“patriotic past”, “the Communist Party as a fake revolutionary party”, “KKE as a dogmatic and ‘stuck’”, “KKE values as not applicable”, “Only talking and practically they do nothing”.*

About PASOK: *“1981 as a good period for PASOK”, “PASOK held responsible for ‘memorandums’”, “entire lack of honesty”, “PASOK as a decisive factor for the economic destruction of the country”, “PASOK as responsible for the economic and the moral abjection”.*

About POTAMI: *“a party of goodwill”, “Stavros Theodorakis as a man of the ‘media lords’”, “the ‘RIVER’ as a party of big entrepreneurs and media lords”, “The RIVER as a corrupted and pseudo-intellectual party”, “POTAMI as an ‘interweaved’ party with businessmen and media lords”.*

About ANEL: *“patriotic elements”, “ANEL as an opportunistic political party”, “ANEL as a populist extreme right party”, “Divergence between declarations and actions”, “tolerance towards ANEL due to support to SYRIZA government”.*

About the Union of Centrists: *“Vasilis Levendis as a man of goodwill”, “the UNION of CENTRISTS and its leader as a funny case”, “Union of Centrists as a ‘cartoon’”, “UNION of CENTRISTS as a disdain of the political process”.*

My familiarization and acquaintance with the Greek culture led to the elicitation of Image Associations through the VVbTP; this covers the Third (3rd) Research Question and creates the background upon which the Fourth (4th) and last Research Question

is covered, which is “How can voters’ value-based thinking processes impact the positioning strategy process and its formulation for retention of a political party’s electoral base to be achieved?”.

The elicitation of Image Associations through the VVbTP signals the creation of a basic platform of value-based image associations. When this platform of Image Associations is accomplished, it will lead to the development of a positioning proposition aiming at the retention of the political parties’ electoral bases, which covers the Fourth (4th) and final Research Question.

Due to my familiarization with the Greek culture, as well as, after the discussions I had with Greek fellow citizens, certain observations have been made. The first one is the determinant role of Personal Values in peoples’ lives and also the socio-political context.

The second observation was the determinant role of the Family Values or the values “inherited” from the individuals’ families and which have been adopted by the individuals. This observation indicated a variation in the degree of acceptance of these Family Values; that is, some individuals indicated a high degree of acceptance of Family Values, some of them a moderate, and some very low. Initially, this signals the emergence of three cultural categories; I named these categories “*Loving Family*”, “*Tight Bonds- Bad Environment*”, and “*No bonds- Bad Environment*”; this indicates that starting from “*Loving Family*” which represents the “positive stance” towards “*Family Environment*” we reach the other end which is the “negative stance” represented by “*No Bonds- Bad Environment*”. It was found that I am classified under the category of “*Loving Family*”.

The third observation was that by the progress of a discussion with Greek citizens, and more specifically, the evolvement of their Thinking Processes my interlocutors were gradually classified in other cultural categories. This was particularly observed after the integration of the First (1st) Stage (*Personal Values*) of the *Voters Thinking Processes* and in particular after the Second (2nd) Stage (*The Intermediate Stage*). These other cultural categories were oriented towards the *Social-Focus* and *Person-Focus* extremes according to *Schwartz’s Value Dimensions* (Figure 2.2); they were

named *Social Sensitivity* and *High Individuality* respectively. There was, however, a third cultural category that had also been emerged and was named *Strong Attitudes*. This third cultural category represented individuals with very strong attitudes towards an object; this was expressed as a high congruence between their political ideology and voting behaviour towards the political party which represented the particular ideology. After the discussions, I had with Greek citizens which were evolved according to the concept of Voters' Value-based Thinking Processes it was obvious that the Greek electorate was classified under the major Cultural Categories of "*Social Sensitivity*", "*High Individuality*", and "*Strong Attitudes*" which also operate as major segments upon which an image-based Positioning Proposition would be made. It was also found that, as the researcher of this thesis, I am classified under the category of "*Social Sensitivity*".

3.3 Conclusion

Based on my acquaintance with the Greek culture, the impression sapped in my mind is that the issue of Personal Values will always stand as an issue of high determination for socio-political objectives. After the numerous discussions I had with Greek fellow citizens, it seemed that the VVbTP is a logical development of their electoral decision making; part of this logical development were the research questions which were covered narratively. As consequences of this development are, firstly, the cultural categories of "*Loving Family*", "*Tight Bonds- Bad Environment*", and "*No bonds- Bad Environment*" which stand as indicators of the degree of acceptance of family values; the second development is that by the progress of the *Voters Value-based Thinking Processes* the Greek electorate was classified under the major Cultural Categories of "*Social Sensitivity*", "*High Individuality*", and "*Strong Attitudes*" which will also operate as major segments upon which an image-based Positioning Proposition will be made.

Chapter Four: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

For the appropriateness and validation of research, research questions must be in line with proper methods; in other words, methods must be chosen carefully for the research questions to be served in the right manner. Consequently, in this section, the research strategy and design will be described.

Punch (2005, p. 39) provides a research model which is based on:

- 1) Framing the research in terms of research questions
- 2) Determining the necessary data to answer those questions
- 3) Designing research to collect and analyze those data
- 4) Using the data to answer those questions.

The above model provides the base upon which the research design and strategy of this research study should rely on.

More specifically, in the present study, a qualitative approach was preferred over the quantitative one. Qualitative paradigms are concerned with the collection and analysis of information in various forms, mainly as non-numeric as possible (Krauss, 2005). It enabled a view of the problem, and solutions and potential dilemmas to be taken. It tends to focus on exploring in as much detail as possible and aims to achieve depth and breadth.

Being more specific, the methodology of this research study is relying on the concept of the *Voters' Value-based Thinking Processes*, which is the basic research instrument; this concept is based on an inductive approach for developing *grounded theory* (Glaser, B., and Strauss, A., 1965, 1967; Glaser, B., 1978; Straus, A., and Corbin, J., 1998; and Gioia et al., 2012). The basic source of the particular concept is the Personal Value Systems of individual voters. The VVbTP, relying on the epistemological paradigm, draws its origins from the Value Theory (Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz, 1992, 2006, 2009) which is the basic theoretical background upon which the first (1st) stage of the particular concept is based and consequently the other

stages are affected; as well as, the Influence of Attitudes on Social Behaviour Theory, and in particular, the Principle of Aggregation (De Fleur & Westie, 1958; Himmelstein & Moore, 1963; Linn, 1965; Rokeach & Mezei, 1966; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1974; Werner, 1978; Weigel & Newman, 1976), the MODE model (Fazio's 1986, 1990a, 1995; Fazio & Towles-Schwen, 1999), the Reasoned Action Approach (Becker, 1974; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975; Bandura, 1977; Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980), and the Explicit and Implicit Attitudes on Social Behaviour (Crosby, Bromley, & Saxe, 1980; McConahay, Hardee, & Batts, 1981; McConahay, 1986; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; Sears, 1988; Devine's 1989; Devine, Monteith, Zuwerink, & Elliot, 1991). Through VVbTP, close observation and detailed description of the Greek voters' thinking processes is achieved, in a way that the question of how the Greek Voters make electoral decisions is explained.

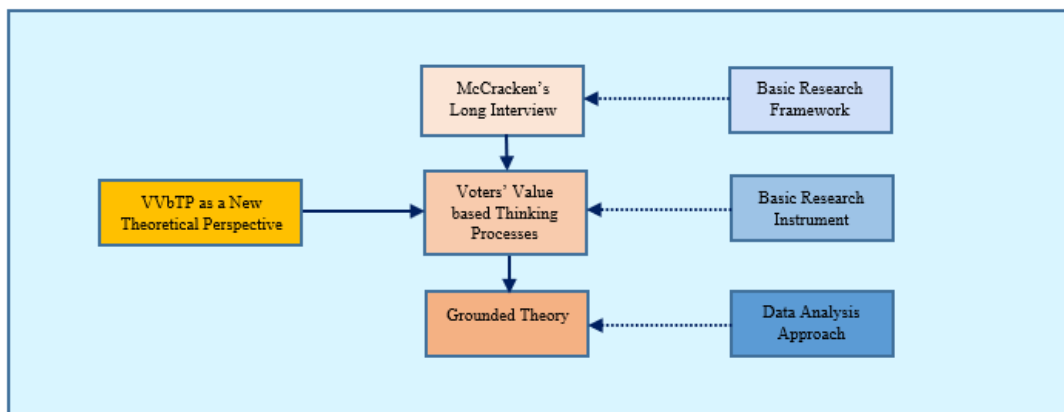


Figure 4.1 The Major Methodological Framework and explanation (McCracken, VVbTP, and Grounded Theory)

Figure 8

The general research framework is based on the *Long Interview* qualitative methodology (McCracken, 1988).

The *First Phase* of McCracken's Long Interview refers to the literature review and research gaps which has already been presented in Chapter Two: Literature Review; in the *Second Phase*, the researcher is aimed to be used as an instrument of inquiry by taking advantage of the intimate acquaintance of his own culture (McCracken, 1988). According to Creswell (1994), the qualitative researcher, is encouraged to acknowledge his own understandings and view of the world, and to communicate this in the thesis. The *Second Phase* of McCracken's (1988) long interview has already

been presented in Chapter Three: Personal Views and Experience. The *Third Phase* consists of the main part of this section (see Figure 4.2). In particular, the *Third Phase* is covered in detail in section 4.3 which is the main section of this chapter; the questionnaire construction and interview procedure also attract the main focus of the *Third Phase*; further explanation will be provided in the next sections.

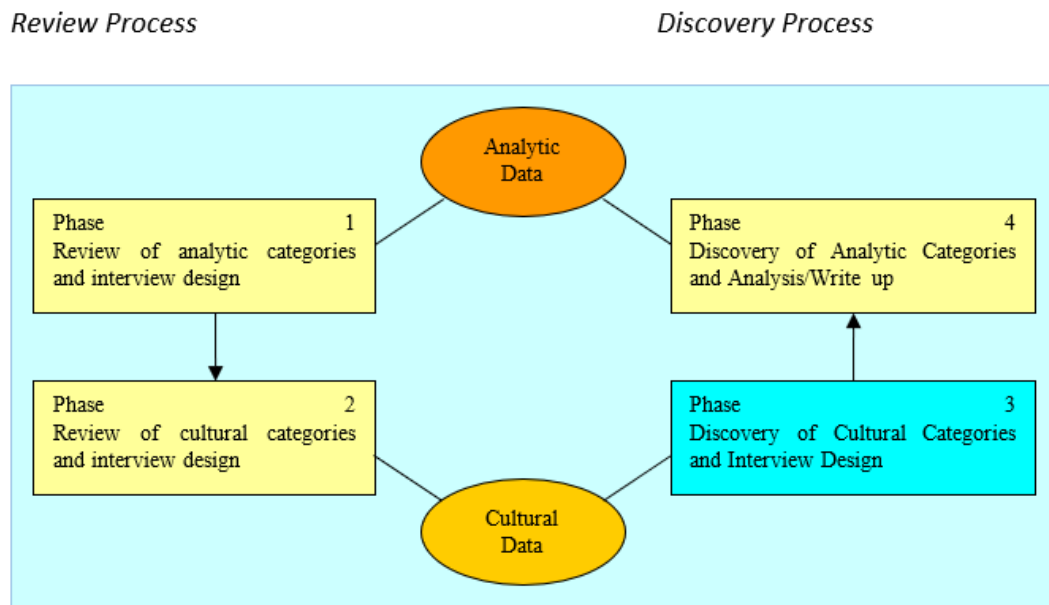


Figure 4.2: Stage 3 Discovery of Cultural Categories and Interview

Figure 9

Each interview is conducted between the researcher and one single interviewee; and for this, twenty (20) long interviews have been made. In the stages of Data Collection and Data Analysis, the VVbTP will be employed; this will be made by breaking the voters' thinking processes into smaller parts, and as such more detailed investigation and depth will be provided.

This chapter will explain the research philosophy in section 4.2 at first. After the comparison of positivism and collectivism, it was found that this research relies on the constructivism continuum. In turn, the Research Design, Strategy, and Approaches will be described, as well as the Existing Methodological Approaches and their Drawbacks about the Proposed Research Method. Additionally, the Advantages

of the Proposed Research Method will be explained. A Prestructuring of this Qualitative Study will also be provided for a more holistic picture to be created

4.2 Basic Research Philosophy

Research philosophy refers to the way that the researcher thinks about the development of knowledge (Saunders et al. 2007). A paradigm can be defined as the “basic belief system or world view that guides the investigation” (Guba and Lincoln, 1994: 105). There are two different major philosophical paradigms in social science including positivism and constructivism. They are two opposite extremities in the continuum of paradigms which lie at the two ends of the research philosophy dimension (Morgan, L. D., and Spanish, T. M., 1984). The ontology and epistemology of this thesis reality are seen as a social construct and provides an understanding of how social reality is created.

4.2.1 Positivism

Positivism is a term indicating ‘a philosophy of strict empiricism –the only genuine or legitimate knowledge claims are those founded directly on experience (Schwandt, 2001: 199)’. In positivism, studies are objectively independent of their authors. The knowledge is formed and verified by tests of direct observations. Positivist research needs to be value-free. Researchers’ values cannot impact the research.

There is one single reality in positivism and that single reality should be objectively understood. Positivism is a socially closed system. The researchers in positivism usually have hypotheses or assumptions which will be scientifically measured. They are likely to use the philosophical stance of the natural scientist. Positivists are ‘working with an observable social reality and that the end product of such research can be law-like generalizations similar to those produced by the physical and natural scientists’ (Remenyi et al., 1998: 32). Therefore, their research hypotheses are based on the existing theories for further development of theories. Also, as the objective social reality is always focused on positivism, ‘the research is undertaken, as far as

possible, in a value-free way' (Saunders, et al. 2007: 103). Positivism usually works from scientific principles that can analyze phenomena in terms of variables but the researcher is independent of that being researched. Therefore, research using positivism is usually highly structured with quantitative data.

4.2.2 Constructivism

Constructivism, sometimes named interpretivism, is a more open system. In the social sciences, constructivism can be traced back to the earliest philosophical arguments over foundations for knowledge. It is a particularly elusive term with different meanings depending on the discourse in which it is used' (Schwandt, 2001: 30).

In constructivism, authors form the knowledge through the meanings of the phenomena of interest. They collect the target data by interacting with the subjects of phenomena. Constructivists can be seen as anti-essentialists or anti-positivists who assume that what is taken to be self-evident is the product of complicated discursive practice (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). They are preoccupied with related concerns in reaction to the effort to develop a social science. Fuss (1989: 3) explained this as: "what is at stake for the constructionist are systems of representations, social and material practices, laws of discourses, and ideological effects. In short, constructions are concerned above all with the production and organization of differences, and they, therefore, reject the idea that any essential or natural givens precede the process of social determination".

According to Denzin and Lincoln (1994: 125), "constructivism means that human beings do not find or discover knowledge so much as construct or make it". The authors added that constructivists "emphasize the pluralistic and plastic character of reality –pluralistic in the sense that reality is expressible in a variety of symbol and language systems; plastic in the sense that reality is stretched and shaped to fit purposeful acts of intentional human agents". Therefore, constructivists are active in the construction of knowledge to make sense of social experience.

The constructivists should recognize that their values are an extremely important part of the research process. They need to consider reflexively how their values impact the research process. Besides, there is no fixed yardstick from the study in constructivism.

This thesis has been influenced by constructivism, which has been chosen as the research philosophy because the researcher has acted as a constructivist in the data collection and data analysis. The paradigm of constructivism was adopted in this thesis because of the ontological and epistemological assumptions and the nature of the research questions that we're investigating.

4.2.3 Constructivist Ontology

Ontology simply means what is the nature of knowledge. It refers to what reality is and what exists in some world. Ontological constructivists believe that there is no one fixed social reality, reality is continually evolving and changing (Vasilachis de Gialdino, 2009). The reality, therefore, is a subjective phenomenon that is co-created between the researchers and the respondents, which can only be subjectively understood.

In general, this thesis is qualitative research that is based on the constructivist ontology which posits that there is no objective reality. Multiple realities exist by different people who hold different ontological assumptions of the perceived world. The theoretical lens used in this research plays a crucial role in selecting the research method because of the ontological assumptions which (are also known as the "underlying belief system") (Dobson, 2002: 2) underpin the use of the qualitative methodology. Researching "investigating the Greek voters' value-based thinking processes" necessarily needs to take the multiple realities into account. Different Greek voters' values impose important influences on the issue of evaluating Greek voters' value-based thinking processes to construct different meanings that are from their cognitive systems.

4.2.4 Constructivist Epistemology

Epistemology refers to the relationship we have with reality concerning how we come to know about what reality is (Guba and Lincoln, 1989). The epistemological relationship we hold with reality is one which is an individual interpretation and of consequence deeply value-laden. There is therefore no absolute truth. Individuals can only offer subjective interpretations of phenomena, given that constructivism argues against any objective measurements. One person's interpretation is just as valid as another person's interpretation. Thus, there are multiple perceptions of multiple conceptualizations of reality.

According to constructivist epistemology, the research refers to the meaning-making process. The complexity of meaning in evaluating Greek voters' value-based thinking processes has much to do with how meaning is attributed to different Greek voters. Erikson (1963) divided the importance of meanings into two types: common meanings and unique meanings. Common meanings are usually addressed by positivism while unique meanings are usually addressed by constructivism. One common meaning which applies to a group may also have a unique meaning to some group members. For instance, personal values may have a unique meaning to some voters' thinking processes who decide to vote in the future. Moreover, the trend that more and more citizens abandon their political preferences that traditionally used to maintain may have a unique meaning for these citizens as well as for the Greek political parties. Therefore, critically understanding unique meanings are important for constructing the meaning process step by step with many influences.

In the interview process, respondents state the subjective meanings of their life experiences and attitudes toward evaluating the Greek political system or Greek political parties. These meanings were varied and multiple, which were formed through interaction with cultural norms that operate in their lives. As much as possible respondents' views led the researcher to assess the impact of Greek voters' personal values on Greek voters' thinking processes rather than narrowing meanings into what Greek voters vote.

The epistemological and ontological assumptions discussed above are consistent with the methodology that has been chosen for this research. This qualitative thesis

aims to understand the complex nature of the Greek voters' value-based thinking processes and in particular the role of each stage of these thinking processes. Thus, it was expected not to have a priori conceptualization of the phenomenon because such conceptualization should emerge after the interviewing of target participants of interest.

4.3 Research Design, Strategy, and Approaches

To achieve internal validity, research questions must be aligned with appropriate methods and methods should follow questions (Punch, 2006). In the next section, insights into the research design, strategy, and approaches that follow from the research questions are provided as they apply to this dissertation.

To determine the relevant theoretical concepts, the appropriate literature was reviewed in the initial stage of the research. The basic purpose of literature review was first, to describe through the extant theory the core issues of Political Marketing, and the peculiarities that make it a diverse and exceptional field. Additionally, the literature review serves the purpose of identifying the existing research gaps and needs for further development of the field of Political Marketing.

Thus, as relevant with the research questions and basic element of the VVbTP the *voters' values*, although part of a different theoretical domain, is described. This renders the VVbTP a value-based concept. By this act, the identification of *common shared values* between voters and political parties through the close observation of voters' value-based thinking processes is aimed. Accordingly, the elicited image associations will be based on *common shared values* between voters and political parties. As such, the *common shared values* will consist the basic element of the image associations upon which proposed positioning strategies will be built.

Consequently, due to these *common shared values*, and according to Literature Review (section: The role of Political Relationship Marketing in the current research) *sustainable exchange relationships* (Newman, 1999; Morgan and Hunt, 1994; Vargo and Lusch, 2004; Nahapiet and Ghoshal, 1998), and *long-term equity* (Caprara et al., 2006), and hence, the required conditions for retention of the political parties' electoral bases can be achieved.

Hence, this research provides a practical solution to political parties, and political marketers, as well as to campaigners who want to gain a deeper understanding of the phenomenon of voting behaviour through a full scale description of *Voters' Personal Values* and their *Value based Thinking Processes* for important insights such as classification criteria for voters' segmentation, and image associations to be elicited, and finally, based on these associations, image based positioning strategies to be made.

4.3.1 The existing methodological approaches and their drawbacks related to the aim of the proposed research method

Rokeach (1973) is considered as the "first mover" and the author that appears to be the one who introduced the value theory; he provides a clear delineation of the concept of values in his assumptions about human values, which are reflected in many other conceptions:

- 1) The total number of values that a person possesses is relatively small;
- 2) All people everywhere possess the same values to different degrees;
- 3) Values are organized into value systems;
- 4) The antecedents of human values can be traced to culture, society and its institutions;
- 5) The consequences of human values will be manifested in virtually all phenomena that social scientists might consider worth investigating and understanding. (p. 3)

Rokeach (1973) defines that a "*value* is an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence." (p.5)

Values are organized into value systems in which "a *value system* is an enduring organization of beliefs that concern preferable modes of conduct or end-states of existence along a continuum of relative importance" (Rokeach, 1973, p. 5). Though, Rokeach recognizes the existence of value systems and he proposes no particular structure for them (see also Rohan, 2000). Both values and norms provide individuals and groups with guidelines to define the behaviours that are preferred and might

even be obligatory, as well as the states of affairs that are desirable (or undesirable) (Rokeach, 1979). Values, as the criteria for determining what is desirable, are differentiated from norms, which Rokeach (1979) defines as “specific obligatory demands, claims, expectations, rules” (p. 15).

While the role of values in guiding behaviour is taken for granted by many management theorists (i.e. Hambrick & Mason, 1884; Mintzberg, Lampel, Quinn, & Ghoshal, 2003), there is little agreement regarding the nature of the link between values and behaviour in general (Bardi & Schwartz, 2003; Meglino & Ravlin, 1998).

Rokeach (1979) recognizes that value systems and prior beliefs guide behaviour in specific situations based on concrete motivations, but he presents no concrete evidence to establish a link between values and behaviour. Meglino and Ravlin (1998) make a clearer connection by summarizing values literature to show that the evaluation of decisions and resulting behaviour is related to individual values.

In their study about the nature of personal values, Bain, Kashima, and Haslam (2006) found that human values involve beliefs that arise from definitions, conventions, and artefacts that are created by humans to serve specific functions and purposes. They found that the importance that individuals and groups place on individual values is related to beliefs about human nature. This has implications for how individuals react in value-laden situations.

While various theoretical frameworks have been proposed to understand values, two central values theories have emerged over the past decades: Rokeach’s conception of values and the Schwartz values theory. Both continue to provide the basis for much of the management-related research regarding values. Schwartz’ theory on values is influenced by both Rokeach and the work of Kluckhohn, an anthropologist and social theorist (Schwartz, 1996). Schwartz’ value theory is frequently used in research on behaviours or attitudes in terms of the underlying values held by an individual or group. This argumentation has reflections in the political field as well (Barnea & Schwartz, 1998; Feldman S., 2003; Rokeach 1973, 1979; Tetlock, 2000; Zaller, 1992).

Analysing and building on the work of other value theorists as well, S.H. Schwartz summarized five main features that are common to all conceptions of values:

a) Values are beliefs. These beliefs are tied to emotion and not to objective ideas.

b) Values are a motivational construct. That is, they refer to desirable goals that are worth striving for.

c) Values transcend specific situations. The abstract nature of values distinguishes them from norms and attitudes, which refer to more specific actions, objects or situations.

d) Values guide selection or evaluation (of actions, policies, people, and events). In this way, values can be understood as standards or criteria.

e) Values are ordered by relative importance to one another. Individuals hold values in ordered systems that include priorities. The hierarchical nature of values also differentiates them from attitudes and norms (Schwartz, 1992, 2006, 2009; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987).

Schwartz (2006) defines *values* as “desirable, trans-situational goals, varying in importance, that serve as guiding principles in people’s lives” (p.1) and sees values as derived from three universal human requirements: (a) needs of the human organism based on biology, (b) requirements for social coordination among individuals, and (c) requirements that result from the needs for survival and welfare in groups (Schwartz, 2009, 1992, 2006b; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987, 1990).

The motivational interest-serving aspect of values is central to Schwartz’s value theory. Originally working with Rokeach’s (1973) specific lists of terminal and instrumental values, Schwartz and Bilsky (1987, 1990) identified distinctive groupings of the universally accepted 57 values derived from Rokeach’s lists. The groupings are based on the underlying motivational aspects of these 57 values, as well as the compatible and antagonistic interests implied by individual values. The researchers first identified eight and later ten basic and motivationally distinct value domains. These are defined and described in Table 2.2a.

Schwartz and Rokeach both assume that these basic values are valid across all cultures. Various scholars have confirmed the validity of this assumption, as well as the comprehensiveness of the ten basic values across cultures (Schwartz, 1992, 1996, 2006; Schwartz & Bardi, 2001; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987, 1990; Schwartz & Boehnke, 2004; Schwartz & Sagiv, 1995).

Several researchers have been able to confirm the Schwartz’s value theory and the structure of value dimensions in international samples. Fontaine, Portinga, Delbeke,

and Schwartz (2008) studied data from 38 countries, finding that, across samples, Schwartz' values theory and the two-dimensional configuration is robust. It reflects "the average structure of the values domain across cultural and social groups" (p.359). The postulated quasi-circumplex structure of values was originally defined through the use of spatial plots. Later, Multi-Dimensional Scaling (MDS) and Similarity Structure Analysis (SSA) were applied in which the structure was confirmed, using more than 200 samples from 60 countries (Mohler & Wohn, 2005; Schwartz & Boehnke, 2004). Schwartz and Boehnke (2004) also confirmed the structure using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA). Using data from the European Social Survey (ESS), which includes a 21-Item Schwarz's portrait values questionnaire, Mohler and Wohn (2005) were unable, however, to fully confirm the universal structure of values across all samples.

According to Joseph A. Maxwell (2005) quantitative approaches help to ensure the comparability of data across sources and researchers and therefore are particularly useful in answering variance questions, questions that deal with *differences* between things and the explanation for these differences. Qualitative approaches, in contrast, allow the researcher to focus on the *particular* phenomena studied; they trade generalizability and comparability for internal validity and contextual understanding and are particularly useful for understanding the processes that led to specific outcomes, what Huberman and Miles (1988) call "local causality". Therefore, the adaptation of the quantitative paradigm is considered as inappropriate for this research which is the *in-depth investigation of the value-based thinking processes of the Greek voters*.

The above description constitutes the group of researchers that represent the *quantitative school* of value-based research. There is another stream of researchers, however, which have conducted value-based research and they represent the *qualitative school*. This stream is mainly represented by Tom Reynolds and Jerry Olson and reflected through the *Means-end approach* which will be also described through the next paragraphs.

According to John A. Howard and George E. Warren (2000) many, perhaps most of the ideas introduced in academic marketing since the 1950s or so have originated in other disciplines, especially economics, psychology, and sociology; and one

interesting aspect of the means-end approach is that it is largely home grown in that most of its development has occurred within the marketing discipline. Many argumentations have been introduced since then in how the means-end perspective to consumers could be useful in marketing. The means-end approach was one of the issues that attracted the interest of many academics and practitioners since then.

In the mid-1970s, Tom Reynolds and Jon Guttman became interested in means-end ideas. They were interested with the idea that people think at different levels of abstraction, and therefore, consumers do not always think about products in terms of physical attributes. This focus on product attributes was common in the ubiquitous research on multi-attribute attitude models in vogue at the time. In contrast, the means-end approach suggested that consumers think about and make purchase choices at more abstract levels such as consequences (benefits or risks) that the product provides. In some cases, consumers might even consider the personal values the product could help them achieve.

Reynolds and Guttman developed their ideas about means-end chains in an impressive stream of publications. On their vision, a means-end chain was a cognitive structure of meaning that connects product attributes to the consequences of product use. They felt these chains of meaning were critical to understanding both how and why consumers make purchasing decisions. Thus, the means end approach represents a more personalized, more emotional, more personal, more idiosyncratic vision of how consumers think and make decisions about which products to buy to satisfy their needs.

By the mid-to late-1980s, other researchers had become interested in the means-end- approach and were publishing papers about it, some of which were critical. Several of these authors-Chuck Genger, Klaus Grunert, and Jerry Olson- are represented in this volume. More recently, other researchers also represented in this volume began doing means-end research-Hans Baumgartner, Suzanne Beekman, Loel Cohen, Rik Pieters, John Rossiter, Piet Vanden Abeele, Beth Walker, Luk Warlop, and Steve Westberg.

More recently, however, the publication rate increased considerably in the 1990s as more researchers became interested in means-end chains from a scholarly perspective.

Despite its practical bent, the means-end approach does have strong roots in various theoretical concepts, mostly in psychology. Some foundational areas include Kelley's Personal Construct Theory, Rokeach's value theory, and associative network theory from cognitive psychology. As sources of inspiration, ideas, and methods, these areas have nourished the means-end approach and contributed to its development. However, despite the progress since the 1970s, the means-end theory remains to be fully and formally explicated.

Moreover, Tom Reynolds and Jerry Olson (2001, Preface, p. xvi), argue that although more than 20 years after its introduction, many people do not understand the means-end approach or appreciate its advantages. It is therefore necessary more effort to be done to help business managers and academic researchers understand the means-end perspective and how it is operationalized and to demonstrate how to use the means-end approach to develop better marketing and advertising strategies.

There are several possible reasons for the rather slow growth of interest in means-end theory and its applications acknowledged by Reynolds and Olson, 2001, Preface, p. xvi.:

1. Essentially the means-end approach is a qualitative method, although it is more structured than many qualitative methods. Most market researchers are comfortable with quantitative methods, but fewer researchers feel comfortable using qualitative methods. In particular, some researchers are uncomfortable with the high amounts of subjective interpretation they must perform in using the means-end approach.

2. The means-end approach requires in-depth, one-on-one interviews with consumers, which can last from 1 to 2 hours. Analysis of the interview data requires extensive effort in coding (summarizing and categorizing) and interpreting the meanings of the results. Perhaps the high amount of effort in data collection and analysis explains the reluctance of some to use the means-end approach.

3. To date, it has been rather difficult for researchers to learn about the means-end approach. Many details concerning the other involved methods have not been discussed. The theoretical foundations of the means-end approach have not been well articulated, either.

4. Some researchers question the reliability and validity of laddering interviews in producing useful data. In particular, the repeated question probes used in laddering (“Why is this important to you?”) seem too aggressive or too leading to some researchers.

5. Another problem concerns a lack of clarity about the theoretical foundations of the means-end approach. Because of few researchers have dealt with theoretical issues and because much of the published work on means-end chains has an applied tone, many researchers feel the approach is merely an application technique with little or no theoretical value. Thus, the theoretical underpinnings of the means-end approach remain somewhat obscure.

6. Finally, managers have not always been able to see how they can use the customer insights gained from the means-end approach to solve particular marketing problems.

From the above description it appears that any value-based research endeavour could not be prised for an entire success; and although they have been carried out by pioneering academic personalities, they all carry considerable drawbacks with regard the aim of this research.

4.3.2 The advantages of the proposed research method

In particular, the question of human behaviour has been at the very heart of philosophical inquiry since the ancient Greek era to the present day. Philosophers

throughout history have endeavoured to reach an understanding of such issues as the nature of human values, and how they impact human behaviour.

Since then a considerable contribution of value-based research has been accomplished which has attempted to reach the best possible outcome of the particular research area, as it has been described in the previous section or that of “The existing methodological approaches and their drawbacks”. That is, the emphasis that has been observed in research has meant that the concept has been investigated in an attempt to capture its essence, both towards the wrong direction (quantitatively) and the wrong manner (means-ends approach), in a way that its contribution to other disciplines or sub-disciplines such as Political Marketing was unsuccessful.

This led to the affirmation that value-based research has never advanced beyond the consideration of things upon which *in depth investigated sustainable exchange relationships* are based (Henneberg and O’Shaughnessy, 2009).

It is understood that eliciting data for a value-based thinking process to be described by simply asking respondents to define their values by employing a quantitative research approach is unlikely to lead to an insight into what the description of a value-based thinking process may be; neither this could be achieved by employing a qualitative method such as the Means-End Approach due to its aggressive style particularly for political issues.

Therefore, another form of investigation was necessary to be developed and employed which would have a qualitative character for an in-depth investigation on the description of *all the stages of the voters’ value-based thinking processes* to be investigated in full scale and depth.

The significance of the proposed research method lies on the potential to observe and describe in detail each stage of the *value-based thinking processes* of the Greek voters, by eliciting at the same time the *equities* or *dis-equities* from each stage.

Additionally, after the accomplishment of Data Collection, through the VVbTP, the process of Data Analysis will follow; in turn, classification/segmentation of the interviewees will be made according to the categories that will emerge after the Data Analysis based on the interviewees’ *perceptions* and *value based image associations* of each stage; accordingly, the interviewees’ personal values render the

elicited image associations a personally relevant outcome. Relying on the above value-based image associations positioning strategic options will be proposed.

As such, attention will be directed to the roles of beliefs, attitudes, norms, perceived behavioural control, and intentions as important antecedents of specific behaviours; this will make possible the clarification and understanding of the characteristics of political situations and problems, and will lead to sustainable exchange relationships with their electoral base.

For investigators interested in predicting, understanding, and changing specific behaviours, this research approach has provided a useful conceptual framework. It has directed attention to the roles of beliefs, attitudes, norms, perceived behavioural control, and intentions as important antecedents of specific behaviours.

However, the *reasoned action approach* has its limits. In particular within the political context inaccurate information can produce unrealistic beliefs, attitudes, and intentions; unanticipated events can lead to changes in intentions; and strong emotions in a behavioural context can activate beliefs and attitudes that cannot be anticipated. This according to McCracken's *The Long Interview Method* must be isolated and so the researcher will have the opportunity to probe without causing biased situations. This argumentation will be explained extensively during the description of McCracken's *The Long Interview Method*; moreover, the strong emotions within the political context that can activate beliefs and attitudes can provide significant inferences for this research particularly in a possibility of diversion behaviours from parties representing political beliefs (Bardi & Schwartz, 2003; Bilsky & Schwartz, 1994; Caprara et al., 2004; Roccas, Sagiv, Schwartz, & Knafo, 2002).

Additionally, theorists have suggested that the effect of broad implicit attitudes on specific behaviours depends on the nature of the behaviour (*spontaneous* or *deliberative*) and on such individual differences as motivation to control prejudiced reactions. It is only when the behaviour is *not consciously monitored* or when motivation to control prejudiced reactions is relatively low that implicit attitudes are expected to predict behaviour. This is supported by the theory of *implicit and explicit attitudes*, (Cunningham, Preacher, & Banaji, 2001; Dovidio, Kawakami, Johnson, Johnson, & Howard, 1997; Fazio, Jackson et al., 1995;

Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998; Karpinski & Hilton, 2001; Wittenbrink, Judd, & Park, 1997); in parallel the, the requirement of the researcher from the interviewee to provide prompt answers will secure the element of *spontaneous* and *not consciously monitored* behaviour from the interviewee. The element of *spontaneous* and *not consciously monitored* behaviour will also be protected by the adaptation of vignettes (Alexander and Becker, 1978) in such a way an opportunity of “disguise” to the interviewee will be provided.

Besides the research description that has been provided in the above sections a more detailed explanation must be provided about the background on which the particular research is based. This will be made in a form of *prestructuring* which will allow a description of data collection and data analysis. Consequently, first the concept of *prestructuring* will be described and then its constituencies.

4.3.3 Prestructuring a Qualitative Study

One of the most important issues in designing a qualitative study is how much a researcher should attempt to prestructure his/her methods. Structured approaches can help ensure the comparability of data across sources and researchers; they are therefore particularly useful in answering variance questions, and questions that deal with *differences* between things and the explanation for these differences. Unstructured approaches, in contrast, allow the researcher to focus on the *particular* phenomena studied; they trade generalizability and comparability for internal validity and contextual understanding and are particularly useful for understanding the processes that led to specific outcomes; this is what Huberman and Miles (1988) call “local causality.” They also point out that prestructuring reduces the amount of data that someone has to deal with, functioning as a form of preanalysis that simplifies the analytic work that is required. Finally, it is worth keeping in mind that the researcher can lay out a *tentative* plan for some aspects of the study in considerable detail, but leave open the possibility of substantially

revising this, if necessary. Emergent insights may require new sampling plans, different kinds of data, and different analytic strategies.

Accordingly, four main components of qualitative methods are distinguished:

1. The research relationships that are established with those the researcher will study.
2. Sampling: what times, settings, or individuals will be selected to observe or interview, and what other sources of information will be decided to use.
3. Data collection: how someone will gather the information that will be used.
4. Data analysis: what the researcher will do with this information to make sense of it.

It is suggested to think of all these components to be considered as involving *design* decisions—key issues that should be considered in planning a study and that someone should rethink as being engaged in it.

By the above proposed method and the background upon which is based the stages of the *VVbTP* of the Greek electorate and its particular characteristics are going to be described. This will lead to a deeper understanding of the stages of *VVbTP* which are finally integrated with decisions related to political choices.

In the next sections more information about the proposed method is provided.

The research strategy relies on the qualitative paradigm. The particular research method was made in a way the data collection to be accomplished through a discussion manner on specific thematic units of a questionnaire which would have a semi-structured form and would cover all the spectrum of the voters' thinking process. This would allow the researcher to move back and forth in a way that would be able to repeat the same question in a disguised manner to identify if consistency exists in the provided answers and secure the reliability and coherence of the received answers. The verbatim manner that the answers will be provided will cover the objectives of this research and mostly will lead to the extraction of key words

and expressions which will provide indispensable information for image-based positioning strategies as marketing solutions for political organisations.

Moreover, one principal component of the study was the in-depth investigation of *the thinking processes of Greek voters*, which connect their *value systems* with their political choices.

If a quantitative inquiry approach had been adopted, it would be based on the testing of a theory to determine whether the predictive generalisations of the theory held. This paradigm was not adopted as being suitable since the study had no intention of any theoretical testing. Also, by adopting the quantitative paradigm the researcher's values are omitted from the study since it relies upon the reporting of 'facts' from the evidence gathered in the study.

Further exploration led to the belief that the focus of this study should reflect the fundamental assumptions and characteristics upon which the qualitative mode of inquiry rests. This decision was based on the principles of qualitative inquiry focusing on, and being primarily concerned with:

- 1) Processes, rather than outcomes
- 2) Meanings of how people make sense of their lives' experiences and their structure of the world,
- 3) Inductive processes in which the researcher builds abstractions, concepts, and theories from details; and
- 4) The researcher to be the primary instrument for data collection and analysis through fieldwork and the observation and recording of behaviour in its natural setting.

Most importantly, inductive logic will prevail in the study in which 'categories will emerge from informants, rather than identified *a priori* by the researcher' (Patton, 1990). This information which is gathered from the experiences of the respondents

and assists in the exploration and interpretation of the Greek voters' electoral behaviour could not be readily achieved through a quantitative perspective.

The paradigm is constructivist (Bryman and Bell, 2007). Through this research an attempt to make sense out of or interpret experience from the perspective of those who live it will be made. The specific experiences of Greek voters are the focus of our interest in this study.

Additionally, it is believed that data collection and data analysis must be a simultaneous process in qualitative research. It is a process of inductive reasoning (Bryman and Bell, 2007), thinking and theorising, not fundamentally a mechanical or technical process. More specifically, whereas *deduction* entails a process in a manner of:

Theory > observations > findings

with *induction* the connection is reversed:

Observations > findings > theory

Throughout analysis, it is attempted to gain a deeper understanding of what has been studied and it is undertaken to continually refine interpretations as a basic element of data analysis (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). This is done by making comparisons (*comparative analysis*).

“Comparisons at the property and dimensional levels provide persons with a way of knowing or understanding the world around them. People do not invent the world anew each day. Rather, they draw on what they know to try and understand what they do not know. They take the properties of one object and compare them to those of the other. And in that way, they discover what is similar and different about each object and thus define the objects (p.80).”

That is the former is compared with the new. The outcome which will emerge will be compared with next; and the new outcome with the one after the next, and so on.

The core of the research method will be supported by the *value theory*, developed by Schwartz, as well as, the *theory of reasoned action* and *explicit and implicit behaviour*, described by and Ajzen and Fishbein.

Moreover, parts of the value-based thinking processes of the Greek voters' (Stage of Consequences) are to be explored via vignette scenarios. These vignettes will be developed on the bases of real-life events and judgements according to Greek voters' value-based thinking processes. That is, situations which challenge their value systems and which require decision making and judgement for which the consequences may not be readily evident (the stages of these processes are illustrated in Figure 4.3).

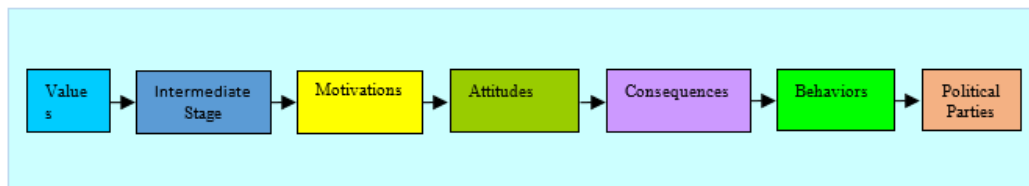


Figure 4.3: The description of values-behaviours interconnection as the end-users' thinking process (Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz, 2006; Ajzen and Fishbein, 1980).

Figure 10

According to Alexander and Becker (1978), the vignette more closely approximates a real-life decision making or judgment making situation. "Vignettes are short descriptions of a person or a social situation which contain precise references to what are thought to be the most important factors in the decision making or judgment making processes of respondents" (Alexander and Becker, 1978:94). Since a given political dilemma is presented to the respondents, they are then required to respond to a given situation in line with their personal values whilst at the same time the focus of the question is disguised and any perceived bias toward social acceptability is minimized (Fritzsche et al. 1995).

The central tenet and primary contribution of the point of view offered here are: the successful implementation of this particular research method to strategy depends on the realization that *meaning* is everything. Image-based Positioning is about meaning. The analysis of voters' perceptions as the end-users of the political product offering which drives decision-making behaviour should be framed as a study of meaning. Therefore, the development of strategic Image-Based Positioning involves

understanding how visual and/or verbal elements contribute to generating the desired meanings in the mind of the targeted voters' group. To achieve both meaning and accuracy the interviewees must be encouraged to express themselves in a verbatim manner. The verbatim description which will be accomplished for every stage of their thinking process will provide a full description of the interviewees' choices.

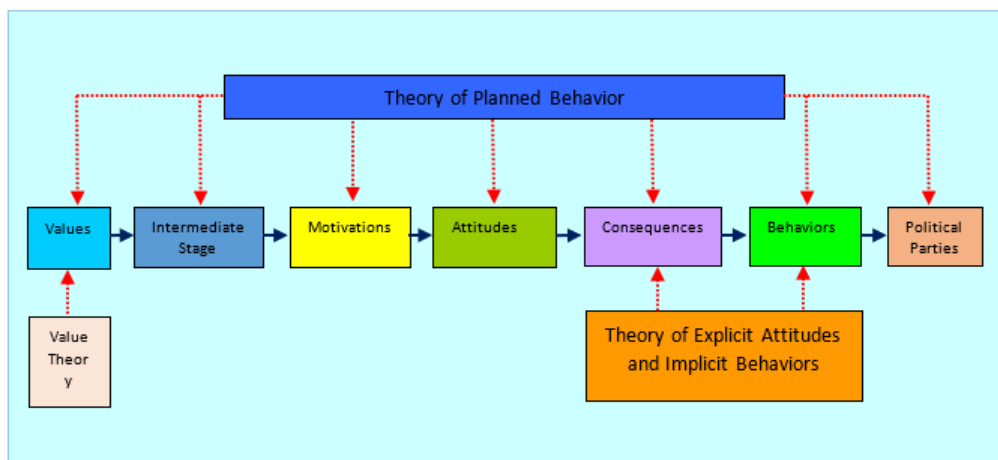


Figure 4.4: Validation of Values/Behaviours interconnection with *Reasoned Action and Explicit Attitudes and Implicit Behaviours* Theories

Figure 11

Comparisons between choices, meanings out of verbal descriptions, and key phrases that will lead towards the determination of the optimal position for the political product offering will also be made. Moreover, through the interconnection of adjacent answers and categories, equities sourcing from key phrases of outweighed impact will be selected; these keywords and phrases will be represented by *codes* which will be the components upon which an image-based positioning will be built and proposed.

In turn, a more specified description of the research method will be provided.

More specifically, qualitative paradigms are concerned with the collection and analysis of information in various forms, mainly as non-numeric as possible (Krauss, 2005). It enabled a view of the problem, solutions, and potential dilemmas to be

taken. It tends to focus on exploring in as much detail as possible and aims to achieve depth and breadth.

The *Long Interview* qualitative methodology claimed by McCracken (1988) was used in this thesis. The “long interview” is considered more efficient than ethnography by some researchers because it does not entail long periods in an organization, community, or the company of a group. Unlike a focus group interview that needs several interviewees to discuss some topics, it is conducted between the researcher and one single interviewee. The long interview is concerned with individuals’ mental world and allows the researcher to step into the mind and identify how individuals experience their life as they do themselves. Therefore, in collaboration with the concept of *Voters’ Value-based Thinking Processes*, it can develop a deep understanding of the respondents’ “world”.

This section will explain the philosophy of the particular topic at first. Then, the four-stage method of inquiry advocated by McCracken (1988) will be explained.

4.3.4 Reasons for Using McCracken’s Long Interview and the Four-Phase Method.

It is necessary to understand the construct the respondents use as a basis for their opinions and beliefs about a particular matter or situation. Therefore, it is hard to imagine a study of Greek *Voters’ Value-based Thinking Processes* on political object evaluation that does not provide any inquiry into how voters define their personal values, how they experience a political object evaluation and the salient assumptions that operate in every social situation which may impact how *Voters’ Value-based Thinking Processes* influence political practices and in particular how reactions of political organizations should be evolved. The *Long Interviews* assist in building a deeper understanding of the organizing ideas of Greek voters’ personal values’ influences and how these ideas enter into Greek voters’ views about Greek political parties. It also allows the researcher to see how Greek voters’ personal values effects work as a constituent of the individuals’ daily experience.

The description of the *Four-Phase Method* will provide a better understanding of the contribution of *Long Interview*.

According to McCracken (1988), the core of the long interview is the four-stage method of inquiry which includes the following stages:

- Review of analytic categories
- Review of cultural categories
- Discovery of cultural categories
- Discovery of analytical categories

4.3.4a Phase One: Review of Analytic Categories

The first stage was named by McCracken (1988) as a *review of analytic categories* which was based on a review of the literature related to the relevant topics of value theory, the theories of implicit and explicit attitudes, and the theory of reasoned action. Gaps in the literature were identified and initial knowledge was constructed within this stage. The review of the analytic category refers to a process of exhaustively reviewing literature for critical idea collection and to aid in the construction of an interview questionnaire for later stages. It does not only provide a framework for the research of value-based studies in the context of political marketing, but also allows this research to be placed in the particular context by comparing what has been done in the literature of political marketing, and also additional comparisons to be made for the second stage.

4.3.4b Phase Two: Review of Cultural Categories

The second stage aims to use *the researcher as an instrument* of inquiry by taking advantage of the intimate acquaintance with his knowledge and experience (McCracken, 1988) and his close involvement in the investigation of the *Greek Voters' Value-based Thinking Processes*. Therefore, it is concerned with the

relationship between the researcher's understanding and the target study of interest. The researcher's personal views and the experience become the way of breaking down the complexity of the research that informs how to design the interviews for the next stage.

4.3.4c Phase Three: The Discovery of Cultural Categories

The third stage can be seen as a *data collection process* which includes questionnaire construction and interview procedure. Questionnaire construction in this study is semi-structured which has three parts including biographical questions, grand tour questions, and the main questions designed based on the previous stage (i.e. the review of culture category). The interview procedure continued until the data was sufficient enough to gain theoretical saturation (Glaser and Strauss 1967). For this reason, twenty interviews were conducted.

4.3.4d Phase Four: The Discovery of Analytic Categories

Data analysis is the last stage of McCracken's (1988) Long Interview Methodology. McCracken (1988) named this stage as Discovery of Analytic Categories. The data collected from long interviews are the main sources of information. Although 'absolute rules' do not exist for qualitative data analyses, there are two general guidelines to follow. *First*, the analytical method must serve to analyze the research questions generated at the very beginning of the study (Patton, 1990); and *secondly*, data analysis must contain an explanation. According to Geertz (1973) and Denzin (1989), such data explanation is the first task in qualitative analysis, as the discipline and rigor of qualitative analysis depend on presenting solid explanatory data in such a way that a reader will be able to understand the text and draw interpretations.

Under these two guidelines, the presentation of data in this section is made by directly quoting verbatim extracts from the voters' responses in the interviews, and then commenting upon these remarks about the extant literature.

Given the nature of the data, it is neither feasible nor appropriate to present it in a raw and unrefined manner, such as in transcript form. Instead, it has been subjected to analysis and organization. To make data analysis serve the specified research purposes, voters' responses have been organized into seven parts or the seven stages of their value-based thinking processes.

Moreover, since the interviews were semi-structured, a cross-case analytical procedure (Patton, 1990) is considered appropriate in presenting the data. Accordingly, a thorough investigation of the dialogues that will take place with twenty (20) interviewees Glaser, B., and Strauss, A. (1965, 1967), Glaser, B. (1978), Straus, A., and Corbin, J. (1998), and Gioia et al. (2012) inductive approach for developing *grounded theory* was employed. This would be accomplished through a coding system based on three stages; that is, *Open Coding*, *Axial Coding*, and *Selective Coding*. Accordingly, one theoretical category, with major categories and their subcategories, and their properties and dimensions would be developed (Strauss and Corbin, 1998; and Gioia et al, 2012). A more detailed presentation of the previously briefly described manner of data collection and analysis will be presented in Chapter Five: Data Collection and Data Analysis.

4.4 Data Collection

McCracken (1988) named the data collection process in the long interview as *Discovery of Cultural Categories*. Questionnaire construction and interview procedure are two major parts in this phase.

4.4.1 Questionnaire Construction

The questionnaire construction is McCracken's (1988) terminology. In this thesis, however, the questionnaire construction was not based exclusively on McCracken's (1988) *Long Interview*. Additionally, the concept of *Voters' Value-based Thinking Processes* (VVbTP) was employed in the inception of the stages of Data Collection and Data Analysis. More specifically, it is claimed that the particular concept,

named *Voters' Value-based Thinking Processes*, consists of a new theoretical perspective, which is also the main contribution of this thesis, and which provides extension and depth, in general, as well as in McCracken's (1988) Long Interview. This is achieved, firstly, by breaking in small parts the voters' decision making, or the *Voters' Value-based Thinking Processes* for electoral decisions, and secondly, by the employment of *Grounded Theory* practices (Strauss and Corbin, 1998; and Gioia et al, 2012).

More specifically, the interview questions are in the semi-structured format to gain a qualitative understanding of the underlying reasons and motivations of the electorates' evaluation of political issues. The semi-structured approach allowed the researcher to probe for in-depth information. It was consequently unrealistic to have a complete question list before the interviews. Indeed, it was expected that on many occasions, questions would arise from participants' responses. However, the purpose of this study does require some degree of planning for the interviews; consequently, this led the questionnaire to be based on thematic units that would be accompanied by a small number of central questions; the rest of the questions will take place in a discussion manner and would depend on the interviewees' responses. The purpose of the interview is specific: to identify and describe the electorates' value-based thinking processes in a full scale; that is every stage of the voters' thinking processes or the stages of

- personal values,
- intermediate stage
- motivations,
- attitudes,
- consequences,
- voting behaviour, and
- investigation of political parties

will be described in a verbatim manner; and by the employment of *inductive research* for the development of *Grounded Theory* (Gioia et al, 2012), which was accomplished through *Open, Axial, and Selective Coding* techniques, more thoroughness and precision was succeeded for the elicitation of image associations.

According to the above argumentations, the questions set should be designed to understand the following:

1. The value system that the respondents inherited from their family if the particular value system still satisfies them or not, what is their new value system, and what was the cause that led towards the shift of this new value system (if any).
2. What perceptions they had from the interaction they had with their family, friends, and social environment, as well as the impact of the Greek Social and Political factors on it.
3. What was or were the motivational factors that led him/her towards the adaptation of this new value system.
4. What is their political attitude within the political-ideological spectrum?
5. If they take under consideration the consequences of their political attitude have these consequences ever caused any diversions between their political attitude/ideology and their voting behaviour?
6. What was the determinant factor related to their voting behaviour in the recent elections?
7. How the interviewees based on historic data personally evaluate the Greek political parties, their leaders and leading members, the national economy, internal affairs, foreign policy, immigration, welfare policy, education, and defence policy.

It is noted here that the above would only serve as a guide for the interviews. The questions may or may not follow the order as presented. Moreover, other questions were used as prompts according to participants' responses during the interviews.

4.4.2 Biographical Questions

Questionnaire construction is an interview preparation process. Before the interview began in earnest, respondents were requested to answer a set of biographical questions. Answers to these biographical questions allow the researcher to record each respondent's descriptive details. As McCracken (1988: 34) states:

“Collecting these details in this way helps both to cue the interviewer to the biographical realities that will inform the respondent's subsequent testimony and to make sure that all of this material is readily at hand during analysis”.

The information collected by the biographical questions included:

Biographical Questions

Today's Date:

Place:

Time:

Interviewer's Name:

Subject's Name:

Sex:

Birth Date:

Age:

Respondent's Education:

Highest level:

School:

The university selected for higher education is:

Other Information

4.4.3 Grand Tour Questions

The forthcoming questionnaire consists of unobtrusive and nondirective questions – also known as “grand-tour” questions (McCracken, 1988). The grand-tour questions are open-ended questions that could allow some scope for the respondents to set the direction of the interview. The grand-tour questions include:

1. Can you describe your family or your family environment?

2. Did you feel happy within this environment?
3. Can you describe your family's social environment, and what were the influences of this environment on your family's attitude towards society?
4. Have you received any kind of "education" from your parents that would identify the social orientation you should follow later on?
5. Have you ever heard about human values or the human value system?

4.4.4 Main Questions

The pre-planned interview topics outlined from previous chapters were used to form some predetermined interview questions. Some "floating prompts" (Spradley, 1979; Werner and Schoepfle, 1987; McCracken, 1988) were also used for further discovery of respondents' answers. The important categories from the value-based thinking processes literature review include a detailed description of the seven stages of the voters' value-based thinking processes, determinants of image association that will emerge from each stage, the relationship and interconnection between the image associations of each stage, image associations about the other political parties, and finally evaluation and determination of the most dominant stage in terms of significance, according to the interviewees' judgment, together with its image associations.

4.4.4a Part One: The Stage of Personal Values

In this stage, information about the respondents' family environment was extracted and what were the first influences related to values of the family; and also, to what extent these values were adapted or differentiated. Additionally, planned and contrast prompts were provided or the value cue-related information was addressed in each question with relevant prompts. The questions for the particular stage as well as Planned Prompts and Contrast Prompts are the following:

Table 12

Table 4.1: Interview Question Topics (1) Respondents Value System

Categories	Category Questions	Planned Prompts and Contrast Prompts
(1) <i>Respondents Value System</i>	Q1: Can you describe your family environment? Can you identify and describe your family's value system?	- Any examples? - Why? - Can you discuss this?
	Q2: Did you accept this value system?	- Why? - Can you discuss this?
	Q3: Have you modified this value system?	- Any examples? - Why? - Can you discuss this?

4.4.4b Part Two: Intermediate Stage

Additionally, a set of preparatory questions for the next stage or the stage of motivations were made; that is, the Intermediate Stage is the stage where the interviewees will be prepared to pass from a discussion of generally social character to a discussion through which the first step towards a discussion of political character will commence. This will be made by questions such as: "Can you describe your social environment?", and "Is the current political status responsible for the current social environment/conditions?"

Table 13

Table 4.2: Interview Question Topics (1) Respondents' Value System/Preparatory Questions for the stage of Motivations

Categories	Category Questions	Planned Prompts and Contrast Prompts
<i>Respondents' Value System/Preparatory Questions for the stage of Motivations</i>	Q5: Can you describe your social environment (friends-family-relatives-community-state)	- Any examples? - Can you discuss this?
	Q6: How happy are you with the current social environment and social conditions?	- Why? - Can you discuss this?
	Q7: Should they be changed and in what extent?	- Any examples? - Why? - Can you discuss this?
	Q8: In what sections of the society or the social environment should these changes take place? > >[Extensive Discussion]	- Any examples? - Why? - Can you discuss this?
	Q9: Are these changes/modifications connected to your personal values? Can you	- Why? - Can you discuss this?

	provide any explanation?	
	Q10: Is the current political status responsible for the current social environment/conditions? [Discuss]	- Why? - Can you discuss this?

4.4.4c Part Three: The Stage of Motivations

In this stage, the reasons for expressed political reforms that should take place in the current political situation, if any, are provided. An effort to connect these reforms with the respondents' value system is also attempted. In general, the reasons that motivate the respondent towards the political reforms and consequently political orientations are going to be described and keywords or phrases that would lead to image associations are also requested from the respondent.

Table 14

Table 4.3: Interview Question Topics (2) Respondents' Motivations

Categories	Category Questions	Planned Prompts and Contrast Prompts
(2) Respondents' Motivations	Q1: Which are the political reforms that should take place according to your judgment?	- Could you provide some examples? - Are these related with your daily life?
	Q2: Can you discuss and describe the motivational factors that make you believe that these reforms	- Can you provide any explanation for it? - Are these related to your personality traits?

	should be accomplished?	
	Q3: Are these reforms connected to your personal values that have been previously described?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How do you understand the interconnection between your personal values and these political reforms? - Do you think that these reforms can satisfy your personal values? - Can you discuss this? - presentation of Table 8 to the respondent or <i>The Schwartz' Ten Basic Values</i>, the presentation will concern the 2nd column, that is 1st and 3rd columns must be hidden.

4.4.4d Part Four: The Stage of Political Attitudes

In this stage, the position of the respondent about the current political situation will be investigated. In the beginning, the respondent's position about the current social situation in the country will be investigated, and then an attempt to interconnect the social with the political situation will be attempted. An attempt to interconnect the respondent's political position with his/her, to some extent, reformed (after the emergence of new informational cues) value system will also take place.

Additionally, keywords and phrases which will describe the stage of attitudes will be elicited.

Table 4.4: Interview Question Topics (3) Respondents Attitudes

Categories	Category Questions	Planned Prompts and Contrast Prompts
(3) Respondents Attitudes	Q1: Did the <i>social status</i> have any impact (positive/negative) on your personal value system?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Did your social environment have any impact on your personal values? - Can you discuss this?
	Q2: Did the <i>political status</i> have any impact (positive/negative) on your personal value system?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Did your friends or life experience exert any influence on your political position? - Were your values influenced by the political system?
	Q3: What is your political position towards the past and/or the present political status?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What do you believe about the political status of the last forty years (<i>the metapolitefsi</i>)?
	Q4: Where do you politically place yourself due to this? > Is this related with your personal values? >	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Can you describe your political attitude towards the current political situation? - Can you provide a reason for which you have this political position? - How do you connect this with your values

4.4.4e Part Five: The Stage of Consequences

In this stage, any suspensory situation either is political, social, financial, or any obligatory factor or any condition that would influence the respondent positively to be directed towards this or an opposite political choice will be investigated. Also, keywords and phrases that could describe the particular positive or negative consequences will be elicited.

Table 16

Table 4.5: Interview Question Topics (4) Respondents' Consequences

Categories	Category Questions	Planned Prompts and Contrast Prompts
(4) Respondents' Consequences	Q1: Are you always consistent with your political attitude?	- Have you ever voted for a political party which stands for another political position
	Q2: Do you usually consider the consequences of your political attitude?	- Do you usually think about what will happen after a political choice you have made?
	Q3: Did you ever find that your political attitude and political choice were contradictory to one another? [Extensive Discussion]	- Have you ever voted for a party of different political ideology? - What has made you do that?

4.4.4f Part Six: The Stage of Voting Behaviour.

This is the last stage of an individual's thinking process. It contains only one question which requires a prompt answer.

Table 17

Table 4.6: Interview Question Topics (5) Respondents' Voting Behaviour

Categories	Category Questions	Planned Prompts and Contrast Prompts
(5) <i>Respondents' Voting Behaviour</i>	Q1: What did you vote for in the last elections?	- <u>[Prompt Answer > 1- 2 seconds]</u>

4.4.4g Part Seven: Investigation of the other Political Parties

Although the investigation of the five stages of the voters' thinking processes has been integrated, part six is necessary so that image associations about the rest of the political parties are elicited. In this way more objectivity will be gained since the respondent will not provide information about the political party of his/her preference.

Table 18

Table 4.7: Interview Question Topics (6) Evaluation of other Political Parties

Categories	Category Questions	Planned Prompts and Contrast Prompts
(6) <i>Evaluation of other Political Parties</i>	Q1: How do you evaluate the rest of the political parties? 1) New Democracy? 2) SYRIZA 3) The Golden Dawn- Peoples' Association	- In general? (positive, negative, neutral) - In specific? (economic policy, internal affairs, social/health, education, emigration)

	4) Potami 5) Communist party of Greece 6) Independent Greeks 7) Panhellenic Socialist Movement – Democratic Alliance 8) Union of Centrists	...other issues) - Comment on their ideology? - Comment on their organizational structure and capabilities?
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4.4.4h Part Eight: Evaluation of the five stages in terms of significance

This stage will reflect the highest significance according to the respondents' judgment and at the same time will provide the elements/image associations upon which political messages will be built.

Table 19

Table 4.8: Interview Question Topics (7) Evaluation of the five stages in terms of significance

Categories	Category Questions	Planned Prompts and Contrast Prompts
<i>(7) Evaluation of the five stages in terms of significance</i>	Q1: Which of the seven (7) stages reflected the highest significance? Could you rate it in a scale of 1 to 10? [Make an extensive discussion]	- could you provide a key word? - could you give me a name for it?

4.4.5 Why has Grounded Theory been employed?

It is believed that for this thesis a significant tool to provide richness and potential for discovery in qualitative research is *Grounded Theory*. Gioia et al (2012) provided a

systematic approach to new concept development and grounded theory articulation; accordingly, this approach has been designed to bring “qualitative rigor” to the conduct and presentation of inductive research. Therefore, in the following sections there will be made an attempt to explain *Why Grounded Theory*, as an inductive approach of data analysis, has been employed for this research.

To provide a solid answer for the above question there are two points to be investigated. How could an inductive study with “qualitative rigor”, (1) be developed while still retaining the creative, revelatory potential for generating new concepts and ideas for which such studies are best known, and, (2) how can inductive researchers apply systematic conceptual and analytical discipline that leads to credible interpretations of data and also help to convince readers that the conclusions are plausible and defensible? These two questions were the prime motivators among qualitative researchers for developing approaches to inductive research designed not only to surface new concepts, but also to generate persuasive new theories (Gioia & Pitre, 1990).

In qualitative studies, one of the main consequences is construct elaboration. *Constructs* are abstract theoretical formulations about phenomena of interest (Edwards & Bagozzi, 2000; Morgeson & Hofmann, 1999; Pedhazur & Schmelkin, 1991).

By “*concept*” we mean a more general, less well-specified notion capturing qualities that describe or explain a phenomenon of theoretical interest. Put simply, *concepts are precursors to constructs* in making sense of social environments—whether as practitioners living in those environments, researchers trying to investigate them, or theorists working to model them (Corley & Gioia, 2011). Gioia et al (2012) argued that persistence on refining existing constructs too often leads to the employment of wrong tools for improving understanding. What is required instead, are some new tools. For this work, these *new tools are new concepts*. For it, an approach would be required that captures concepts relevant to the human experience that would be adequate at the level of meaning to the people living that experience, and adequate at the level of scientific theorizing about that experience. This would be the strong social scientific tradition of using qualitative data to inductively develop “grounded theory” (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Strauss & Corbin, 1998)

which provides deep and rich theoretical descriptions of the contexts within which phenomena of real living conditions occur (Gioia et al, 2012).

Ground Assumptions

A crucial and actionable assumption that must be employed is that the people (as voters) constructing their social realities are “knowledgeable human beings,” and they know what they are trying to do and can explain their thoughts, intentions, and actions. As such, the informants’ interpretations are foregrounded and initially researchers are rendered in the role of those whose main role is to give an adequate account of the informants’ experience. This does not presume to impose prior constructs or theories on the informants as some sort of preferred a priori explanation for understanding or explaining their experience. This means that extraordinary efforts are made to give voice to the informants in the early stages of data gathering and analysis and also to represent their voices prominently in the reporting of the research, which creates rich opportunities for discovery of new concepts rather than affirmation of existing concepts. If interview protocol was designed around existing theory and terminology, it would have missed a key aspect of their sense making by imposing preordained understandings on their experience. It is also assumed that researchers are pretty knowledgeable people too—that they can figure out patterns in the data, enabling to surface concepts and relationships that might escape the awareness of the informants, and that they can formulate these concepts in theoretically relevant terms. These assumptions prove the need for working out procedures that not only guide the conduct of the research itself in a way that imposes qualitative rigor, but also encourages the presentation of the research findings in a way that demonstrates the connections among data, the emerging concepts, and the resulting grounded theory.

According to Gioia et al (2012), for the satisfaction of the above requirements it was necessary to devise an approach that allowed for a systematic presentation of both a “1st-order” analysis (i.e., an analysis using informant-centric terms and codes) and a “2nd-order” analysis (i.e., one using researcher-centric concepts, themes, and

dimensions; for the inspiration for the 1st- and 2nd-order labeling, see Van Maanen, 1979).

The Development of Groundwork

The guiding role of the research question and the interview. Like almost all good research, this approach depends on a well-specified research question (How can image based positioning strategies be developed for retaining the political parties' electoral bases?). Also, like all good qualitative research, the heart of these studies is the semi-structured interview—to obtain both retrospective, as well as, real-time accounts by those people experiencing the phenomenon of theoretical interest. This is called by Morgan (1983) “research as engagement”; it is also engaging research—especially for the informants, as an endeavor of balance to protect the informants' interests while, at the same time, to serve research requirements by diplomacy and discretion.

It must also be recognized that the interview questions may require modifications with the progression of the research following where the informants lead in the investigation of the guiding research question.

Part of this development occurs during the research that discovers them, so long as researchers are prepared to make the required adjustments in a way that this would lead to analyses, especially in terms of organizing the data into 1st- and 2nd-order categories to facilitate their later assembly into a more structured form.

The analysis.

As several qualitative/interpretive researchers have noted, the interviewing and the analyses is simultaneous process (Langley, 1999; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Locke & Golden-Biddle, 1997). A significantly big volume of informant terms, codes, and categories emerge early in the research (a process akin to Strauss and Corbin's [1998] notion of *open coding*). In this *1st-order analysis*, that dominates faithful adhering to informant terms, little attempt is made to distill categories, so the number of categories tends to explode on the front end of a study (Strauss and Corbin's, 1998).

As the research progresses, similarities and differences among the many categories emerge (similar to Strauss and Corbin's [1998] notion of *axial coding*); this is a process that eventually reduces the volume of categories to a more manageable number. Labels or phrasal descriptors then are provided. It is at this point that the inductive researcher can (and must) think at multiple levels simultaneously (i.e., at the level of the informant terms and codes and the more abstract, *2nd-order* theoretical level of themes, dimensions, and the larger narrative—answering the important question “What’s going on here?” theoretically). Developing tentative answers to this question by way of a “gestalt analysis” (Gioia & Chittipeddi, 1991) leads to the formulation of other questions, as subsequent interviews pursue subjects that are increasingly focused on concepts and tentative relationships emerging from the interviews to date (via a process that Glaser and Strauss [1967] termed “theoretical sampling”).

In this *2nd-order analysis*, it is searched whether the emerging themes suggest concepts that might help to describe and explain the observed phenomena. The focus is on nascent concepts that don't seem to have adequate theoretical referents in the existing literature (e.g., “identity ambiguity” from Corley and Gioia, 2004) or existing concepts that “leap out” because of their relevance to a new domain (“optimal distinctiveness” from Gioia et al., 2010). Once a workable set of themes and concepts is in hand (what Glaser and Strauss [1967] termed “theoretical saturation”), it is investigated whether it is possible to distill the emergent 2nd-order themes even further into 2nd-order “aggregate dimensions.”

When the full set of 1st-order terms and 2nd-order themes and aggregate dimensions are emerged, then the basis for building a *data structure* perhaps the most significant step in the entire research approach has been developed. The data structure not only allows to present data into a sensible visual manner, it also provides a pictorial description of progress from raw data to terms and themes in conducting the analyses—key components of rigor in qualitative research (Pratt, 2008; Tracy, 2010). In this way, the act of forming a data structure compels the researcher to begin thinking about the data theoretically, not just methodologically. This data structure, however, does not capture relationships among the 2nd-order themes (a step that comes later in the theorizing process). Instead, this “stepping-

up” in abstractness lays the foundation for balancing the deep embeddedness of the informant’s view in living the phenomenon (Corley and Gioia, 2004).

Coincident with the data gathering and after the initial stages of analysis, careful attention is required in emergent data, themes, concepts, and dimensions and the relevant literature, not only to see whether findings have predecessors or ownership, but also whether new concepts have been discovered. It is, however, significant to mention that there is value in semi-ignorance or, if you prefer, enforced ignorance of the literature. This is because, considering the literature leads to prior hypothesis bias and the research might turn from “inductive” to “abductive” research, in that data and existing theory are now considered in tandem (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2007). Of course, researchers are never completely uninformed about prior work in a way that this could be characterized as deliberate ignorance. Some combination of knowing and not knowing amounts to another fine balancing act that leads to discovery without reinventing the already invented.

From Data Structure to Grounded Theory.

The *data structure* is in fact a rather important for any grounded research attempt; it is, however, a static picture of a dynamic phenomenon, which needs to turn into a motion picture. Due to this, it is necessary to keep a front-and-centre focus on the ultimate goal which would be to build a vibrant inductive model that is grounded in the data (as exemplified by the data structure), one that captures the informants’ experience in theoretical terms. The resulting grounded theory model, then, should be one that shows the dynamic relationships among the emergent concepts that describe or explain the phenomenon of interest and one that makes clear all relevant data-to-theory connections (thus allaying the usual concern that qualitative research too often does not show just how data relate to theory).

The key question for inductive researchers, as model builders, is how to account for not only all the major emergent concepts, themes, and dimensions, but also their dynamic interrelationships. In describing the evidence of this work in classic boxes-and-arrows terms, this process leads to assembling all these boxes with a special focus on the arrows. It is the arrows that “set everything in motion” (Nag et al., 2007). A reader should be able to look at the grounded theory model and see that

the essential concepts, themes, and/or dimensions contained in the data structure are well represented in the model, and that the relational dynamics among those concepts are now made transparent.

Because of our intimate knowledge of the data, by considering the relationships among the emergent concepts, we enable the possibility of theoretical insights that would not be apparent simply by inspecting the static data structure itself.

The section describing the grounded theory development shows the transformation of the static data structure into the dynamic inductive model. The writing in the Grounded Theory section articulates and weaves together the workings of this investigation to produce a dynamic inductive model that describes or explains the processes and phenomena under investigation. It is in this section that any “deep structure” (Chomsky, 1964) in the concepts is present, but also the “deep processes” (Gioia et al., 2010) and their interrelationships.

With the argumentations provided in the above sections an effort to answer the question *Why Grounded Theory* was employed for the data processing of this research was made. It has been attempted to articulate an approach by tracing out some of the features of an evolving methodology designed to enable both creative imagination and systematic rigor in conducting qualitative, grounded theory research. It is concluded that yet if still at a relatively early stage in conceptualizing research processes in the field of Political Marketing, then it is imperative that should remain open to new concept as well as new theory development options. It is clear that should employ approaches or methods that can generate new concepts and grounded theories via qualitatively rigorous inductive studies.

4.4.6 Interview Procedure

Interviews were conducted until theoretical saturation was achieved (Glaser and Strauss 1967). Twenty long interviews were conducted that involved interaction between the researcher and the respondents, to obtain information from the respondents. Interviews were conducted to probe the information based on the research aim and objectives. To acquire adequate information, respondents must be

knowledgeable in the area of the research topic from one hand, but on the other hand for a variety of representations to be achieved respondents from various backgrounds were accepted. Additionally, since the interview has a semi-structured character and it has been conducted in a discussion manner the order of questions and the question wording was sometimes modified according to the responses received at different stages of the interview.

4.4.7 Selective, Purposeful, and Theoretical Sampling

Sampling is a very complex issue in qualitative research as there are many variations of qualitative sampling described in the literature and much confusion and overlapping of types of sampling, particularly in the case of *purposeful* and *theoretical sampling*. The terms *purposeful* and *theoretical* are viewed synonymously and used interchangeably in the literature. Many of the most frequent misinterpretations relate to the disparate meanings and usage of the terminology. Lack of shared meanings and terminology creates confusion and increases the production of studies with weak methodologies. Based on Coyne I.T. (1997) the critical issue of *purposeful* and *theoretical sampling* is discussed in the next sections. In qualitative research sample selection has a profound effect on the ultimate quality of the research. Researchers have been criticized for not describing their sampling strategies in sufficient detail, which makes it difficult to interpret findings and affects replication of the study (Kitson et al. 1982). Several researchers have criticized qualitative reports for the 'mixing' of methods and confusion of theoretical perspectives (Baker et al. 1992, Becker 1993, Stern 1994).

The need for clearly defined theoretical and philosophical underpinning in qualitative research methods may reflect a common concern with establishing rigor in qualitative studies (Lowenberg 1993, Sandelowski 1993, 1995). What is important about method undervaluation is that sampling is one of the issues that is misinterpreted. Indeed, in a review of grounded theory research, Becker (1993) found that many of the studies 'had borrowed pieces of grounded theory method but had not clearly adhered to the critical components' (p. 254). Theoretical

sampling in particular was one of the critical components to which the studies did not adhere.

The impetus for this issue arose from the researchers' experience of being confronted with a plethora of literature on sampling which often used the terms 'purposeful', 'selective' and 'theoretical' sampling interchangeably.

Selective and Purposeful sampling

Schatzman & Strauss (1973) stated that *selective sampling* is a practical necessity that is 'shaped by the time the researcher has available to him, by his framework, by his starting and developing interests, and by any restrictions placed upon his observations by his hosts' (p. 39). Schatzman & Strauss (1973) suggest that after several observation visits to the sites, the researcher will know who to sample for the study. They proceed to discuss sampling of time, locations, events and people. In their discussion of sampling people, they state that the researcher selects people according to the aims of the research. Categories such as age, gender, status, role or function in organization, stated philosophy or ideology may serve as starting points. This description of selective sampling sounds similar to Patton's description of *purposeful sampling*. According to Patton (1990), the 'logic and power of purposeful sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases for study in depth. Information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research, thus the term *purposeful sampling*' (p. 169). *Selective sampling*, therefore, may be seen to mean *purposeful sampling*. Schatzman & Strauss (1973), however, point out that as the study progresses, new categories may be discovered which would lead the researcher to more sampling in that particular dimension. Some may argue that this sampling in a 'particular dimension' because of an emergent category sounds very similar to what happens in *theoretical sampling*. However, in later writings on grounded theory, Glaser (1978) emphatically states that 'theoretical sampling is not what Leonard Schatzman has aptly termed "selective sampling" which is a frequently used sampling method in qualitative analysis' (p. 37). Glaser (1978) makes the distinction that *selective sampling* refers to 'the calculated decision to sample a specific locale, according to a preconceived but reasonable, initial set of dimensions (such as time, space, identity

or power) which are worked out in advance for a study. The analyst who uses *theoretical sampling* cannot know in advance precisely what to sample for and where it will lead him' (p. 37). This description of theoretical sampling, it may be argued, does not distinguish exactly what is different about theoretical sampling.

The next section will review writings on *theoretical sampling* to provide clarification on this type of sampling.

Table 20

Table 4.9 Various examples of qualitative sampling

Straus and Corbin 1990	Theoretical Sampling-Three Stages
	open sampling
	Relational and variational sampling
	Discriminate sampling
Patton 1990	All sampling is purposeful-15 strategies
	Extreme or deviant case sampling
	Intensity sampling
	Maximum variation sampling
	Homogeneous samples
	Typical case sampling
	Stratified purposeful sampling
	Critical case sampling
	Snowball or chain sampling
	Criterion sampling
	Theory based or operational construct sampling
	Confirming and disconfirming cases
	Opportunistic sampling
	Purposeful random sampling
	Sampling politically important cases
Convenience sampling	
Morse 1991	Four types
	Purposeful sample
	Nominated sample
	Volunteer sample
	Total population sample
Sandelowski et al. 1992	Selective sampling
	Theoretical sampling
Sandelowski 1995	All sampling is purposeful-three kinds
	Maximum variation
	Phenomenal variation
	Theoretical variation

Theoretical sampling

Theoretical sampling seems to have originated with the discovery of grounded theory, which was first developed by the sociologists Glaser & Strauss in 1967, as a rigorous method of analyzing qualitative data to produce a theory. It must be noted at this point that Glaser & Strauss' description of *grounded theory* has been criticized for using quantitative terminology, and for using sociological language that is incomprehensible to other disciplines (Stern 1985, Keddy et al. 1996). In defense of Glaser & Strauss's seminal work, it may be suggested that because the grounded theory was so revolutionary for its time, the method had to be couched in a language that could be easily understood and acceptable to quantitative methodologists. At the time Glaser & Strauss were writing about the discovery of grounded theory, the verification of theory through quantitative research was the prevailing paradigm.

The central focus of the grounded theory is the development of theory through a constant comparative analysis of data gained from theoretical sampling. Glaser (1978) defines theoretical sampling as 'the process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes, and analyses his data and decide which data to collect next and where to find them, to develop his theory as it emerges. This process of data collection is controlled by the emerging theory, whether substantive or formal' (p. 36). Thus, the specific focus of grounded theory on theory generation adds an important dimension to data collection.

Commenting on the Variations of Selective, Purposeful, and Theoretical Sampling.

Strauss & Corbin (1990) concur with Glaser's definition of *theoretical sampling*. They state that theoretical sampling means 'sampling based on concepts that have proven theoretical relevance to the evolving theory' (p. 177). Strauss & Corbin (1990) elaborate on the process of theoretical sampling by describing open sampling, relational and variational sampling, and discriminate sampling. Briefly open sampling is 'sampling those persons, places, situations that will provide the greatest opportunity to gather the most relevant data about the phenomenon under

investigation' (p. 181). Relational and variational sampling involves 'moving from situation to situation, gathering data on theoretically relevant categories. Another way is to purposefully choose persons, sites, or documents that maximize opportunities to elicit data regarding variations along dimensions of categories, and that demonstrates what happens when changes occur' (p. 186). Finally, within discriminate sampling, the researcher chooses 'the sites, persons, and documents that will maximize opportunities for verifying the storyline, relationships between categories, and for filling in poorly developed categories' (p. 187).

Accordingly, the process of theoretical sampling is very similar to previous descriptions discussed earlier (e.g. Chenitz & Swanson 1986, Glaser 1992, Becker 1993). This may have been Strauss & Corbin's intention, as they state that many researchers find theoretical sampling confusing and need guidance on how one proceeds with this type of sampling. On the other hand, it could confuse the issue of theoretical sampling by using different terminology. Glaser (1992), in his criticisms of Strauss's writings, stated that 'he fractures the concept (theoretical sampling) and dilutes its meaning by defining open sampling, relational and variational sampling, and discriminate sampling, all of which occur anyway, I believe, and offer no methodological help' (p. 102).

Discussion

It seems from the above discussion that all sampling in qualitative research is a purposeful sampling. Thus, the sample is always intentionally selected according to the needs of the study. In this research study the selection of the sample, which consists of voters of Greek citizenship, was made from the researcher's social environment. Therefore, there was a relative acquaintance between the researcher and the participants. This choice was made for the sake of deeper investigation, to ensure the *trust* between the researcher and the participants is achieved, supported by constant comparative analysis till theoretical saturation is realized. Consequently, up to this point, the selection could be characterized as purposeful. Beyond this criterion the selection was random. That is, the participants were selected with no further criteria. In every one of the twenty (20), interviews characteristics of the

participants such as gender, age, education, and marital status were mentioned as *Biographical Questions* according to McCracken (1988).

However, there are many variations of sampling contained within purposeful sampling as evidenced by Patton's list of 15 kinds of sampling. It may be combined in the one study as all variations of sampling may be seen as purposeful sampling. Thus, theoretical sampling is just one kind of purposeful sampling. It is clear from the descriptions of theoretical sampling that it is a complex form of sampling dictated by the data and the emerging theory. It is mainly used in grounded theory studies as it is closely linked to constant comparative analysis and theoretical saturation. Hence, a significant raised issue is that some writers seem to see all *purposeful sampling* as being always *theoretical*. This is quite misleading, as it is clear from the descriptions of theoretical sampling that it is a variation *within* purposeful sampling. This seems to be the distinction between purposeful and theoretical sampling. It could be argued that all qualitative research studies contain both purposeful and theoretical sampling. For example, in this thesis, a sample of ten (10) interviewees/voters, who have experienced the recent or past election period(s), may purposefully be selected. The sample is not varied according to the emerging theory, rather it is selected for the information-rich data that it can yield on the phenomenon of voters having experienced election period(s) and Greek politics. This type of sampling may be referred to purposeful sampling. If, however, we decided with the progress of the study to choose interviewees/voters who had shown partisan "desertion", then these data are analyzed and the next interviewees/voters are selected according to the needs of the developing categories ("partisan deserter" or "disciplined voter") and emerging theory. The full range and variation in a category rather than a variable is sought to guide the emerging theory. Thus, the data control further sampling and this means that data analysis and sampling are done concurrently. It is variation according to the emerging categories, rather than phenomenal variation or any other kind of variations. Hence, the emergence of the categories "partisan deserter" or "disciplined voter" render after this the sampling process a *theoretical sampling* process. Consequently, the *Voters' Value-based Thinking Process* (VVbTP) as a model of investigation is classified under Schatzman & Strauss's (1973) and

Patton's (1990) approach of *Selective or Purposeful Sampling*. Moreover, Glaser (1992), and Strauss and Corbin (1990, 1998) positions about *Theoretical Sampling* are equally important for this research, while they are not considered antithetic or that they impeded the research question; in this thesis, it is argued that since "fracturing the concept (theoretical sampling)" and "dilute of its meaning by defining open sampling, relational and variational sampling, and discriminate sampling" (Glaser, 1992; p. 102) does not affect comparative analysis and theoretical saturation, neither the development of theory.

From the above discussion, it may be concluded that theoretical and purposeful sampling are different types of sampling. Purposeful sampling is not always theoretical sampling. Theoretical sampling is a purposeful selection of a sample according to the developing categories and emerging theory. Initial decisions are based on a general subject or problem area, not on a preconceived theoretical framework. The process is controlled by the emerging theory. Criteria are those of theoretical purpose and relevance — not of structural circumstances (Glaser 1967 p. 48). Groups are selected to generate as many properties of the categories as possible that help to relate categories with each other and with their properties. Joint collection, coding, and analysis of data are essential and the criterion for judging when to stop sampling the different groups pertinent to a category is the category's theoretical saturation. Theoretical sampling may therefore be seen as a variation within purposeful sampling. It seems that there is a problem with the esoteric terminology used to describe the grounded theory. It may be suggested that Glaser & Strauss (1967) never intended a rigid adherence to their terminology, as they stated 'because this is only a beginning, we shall often state positions, counter-position, and examples, rather than offering clear-cut procedures and definitions' (p. 1). Indeed, Glaser (1992) stated that 'in short, theoretical sampling in grounded theory is the process by which data collection is continually guided' (p. 102).

4.4.8 Twenty Long Interviews

The interviews took place in a mutually agreed upon time and place. During the interviews, refreshments were provided and short breaks were given as requested. To assure that reliable and valid data was obtained, the interviews applied techniques suggested by McCracken (1988), Mason (1996), and Flick (2006) as summarized below:

- Never lead the discussions or indirectly pose a question so that it shapes leading responses;
- Never force a response by forcing a respondent's thinking process or distorting reality;
- Always note the respondent's body languages and utterance;
- Apply different ways to motivate respondents to discriminate carefully among the series of desirable options; and
- Never use complicated questions.

4.5 Reliability and Validity

The reliability and validity of the data obtained in this thesis are strengthened because it has met the qualitative criteria of credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability suggested by Lincoln and Guba (1985).

4.6 Credibility

First, as the researcher of this study, I can understand the phenomena of interest from the respondents' original data. Secondly, although many subjective views emerged from the discussion manner of the interviews with respondents, it has always been avoided by the researcher to impose his understanding of their responses. The credibility was achieved by about two hour's engagement in each long interview. The data obtained can demonstrate the logical chain of evidence.

4.7 Transferability

The results are transferable within the population that this study has been accomplished but the particular research manner/mode is also applicable beyond the bounds of political marketing. This is because Greek voters may pose similar attributes and may share some similar views of Greek Culture. This is described in *Personal Views and Experience* and is classified under the same particular Cultural Categories.

4.8 Dependability

The interviews were audio-recorded which has assured the thoroughness of data documentation. Therefore, the data collected is stable and consistent over time. Moreover, as discussed in the previous section, the *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory* by Strauss and Corbin (1998) was used because of its high dependability.

4.9 Confirmability

The Confirmability of this thesis has gone through three additional validity procedures within the qualitative lens and paradigm assumptions suggested by Creswell and Miller (2000). These three validity procedures include the audit trail, researcher reflexivity, and thick description. First of all, the example data matrices as shown in Appendix 1-7 provide a clear audit trail. Additionally, the study's internal validity is also enhanced through the use of a semi-structured questionnaire. Secondly, the researcher reflexivity was achieved by my review of cultural categories which is illustrated in Chapter Three. Thirdly, a thick description was achieved through the use of verbatim quotations in the Appendix_Dialogue_Coding_SYR_09 to illustrate the main arguments. As described by Lincoln and Guba (1985), it is a path of acquiring external validity.

In the next section, the aspects of the research philosophy of this thesis, the four-stage method suggested by McCracken (1988), and how the data will be collected has explained. Following this, in the next section, the data collected will be analyzed. It refers to stage four of the method of discovering analytic categories and analysis write up (McCracken 1988). It will include the data analysis of the 20 long interviews. One of the most salient concerns that arise is that for every either business or social research or research in general ethical considerations emerging about the manner the research will or must be accomplished. It is, therefore, necessary, although in brief, the appropriate background about this issue to be provided.

4.10 Research Ethics

Discussions about the ethics of business and management research bring us into a realm in which the role of values in the research process becomes a topic of concern. However, it is also useful to look at the way that researchers within the social sciences, hence including political marketing, more generally have dealt with ethical research issues – for example, the Social Research Association (SRA) in *Ethical Guidelines*: www.the-sra.uk/ethicals.htm, the British Sociological Association (BSA) in *Statement of Ethical Practice*:

www.britisoc.co.uk/new_site/index.phd?area=equality&id=63, and the American Psychological Association in *Ethical Principles and Code of Conduct*:

4.11 Conclusions

In this chapter, the methodology of the research study which is relying on the *Voters' Value-Based Thinking Processes* was presented. The particular concept is sourcing from the Personal Value Systems of individual voters; this makes VVbTP a personally relevant concept. The general research framework is based on the “long interview” qualitative methodology (McCracken, 1988).

The paradigm of constructivism was adopted in this thesis because of the ontological and epistemological assumptions and the nature of the research questions which were investigating.

In general, this thesis is qualitative research based on the constructivist ontology which posits that there is no objective reality. Accordingly, conducting research like “investigating the Greek voters’ value-based thinking processes” necessarily needs to take multiple realities into account. Different Greek voters’ values impose the important influences on the issue of evaluating Greek voters’ value-based thinking processes to construct different meanings which source from their cognitive systems. Additionally, Epistemology refers to the relationship we have with reality concerning how we come to know about what reality is (Guba and Lincoln, 1989). The epistemological relationship we hold with reality is one which is an individual interpretation and of consequence deeply value-laden. According to constructivist epistemology, research refers to the meaning-making process. The complexity of meaning in evaluating Greek voters’ value-based thinking processes has much to do with how meaning is attributed to different Greek voters. The epistemological and ontological assumptions discussed above are consistent with the methodology that has been chosen for this research. Hence, this qualitative thesis aims to understand the complex nature of the Greek voters’ value-based thinking processes and in particular the role of each stage of these thinking processes.

Although part of a different theoretical domain, the *voters’ values* comprise the basic elements of the concept of *VVbTP*. This renders the concept of *VVbTP* a value-based concept. By this act, the identification of *commonly shared values* between voters and political parties through the close observation of *VVbTP* is made. Accordingly, the elicited image associations will be based on *commonly shared values* between voters and political parties. As such, these values will consist of the basic elements of the image associations upon which proposed positioning strategies will be built. Consequently, the substantial offering and the essence of this particular research method is that political marketers will be able to observe on a full scale the *Value-based Thinking Processes* of the electoral groups; accordingly, closer observation of the voters’ thinking processes can be made, more accurate value-based image associations can be elicited, more accuracy in voters’ perceptions sourcing from these image associations can be provided, and finally more precision in segmentation can be achieved.

In section 4.3.1, the existing methodological approaches and their drawbacks in relation to the aim of the proposed research method are addressed.

Additionally, in section 4.3.2 the advantages of the proposed research method have been described; as well as the Reasons for Using McCracken's Long Interview in section 4.3.4.

The questionnaire construction which is described in section 4.4.1 was not based exclusively on McCracken's (1988) *Long Interview*. Also, the concept of *VVbTP* was employed at the inception of the stages of Data Collection and Data Analysis. Moreover, through the particular concept (*VVbTP*) a new theoretical perspective will emerge. This will be presented at the end of Data Analysis.

Finally, in section 4.10 the ethics of business and management research and the role of values in the research process becomes a basic topic of concern in this thesis. This is accomplished by employing the approach of the Social Research Association (SRA) in *Ethical Guidelines*: www.the-sra.uk/ethicals.htm, the British Sociological Association (BSA) in *the Statement of Ethical Practice*:

www.britsoc.co.uk/new_site/index.phd?area=equality&id=63, and the American Psychological Association in *Ethical Principles and Code of Conduct*: www.apa.org/ethics/code2002.html.

Concluding, this chapter has explained the aspects of the research philosophy of this thesis, the four-stage method suggested by McCracken (1988), and how the data would be collected. Following this, in the next chapter how the data collected is being analyzed based on *Grounded Theory* development (Glaser, B., and Strauss, A., 1965, 1967; Glaser, B., 1978; Straus, A., and Corbin, J., 1998; and Gioia et al., 2012) will be presented. It refers to phase four of the method *Discovery of Analytic Categories and Analysis/Write up* (McCracken 1988). It will include the data analysis of the 20 long interviews. The differences among the findings from the long interviews will be addressed at the end.

Chapter Five: Data Findings and Data Analysis

5.1 Introduction

The long interviews can result in a wealth of knowledge that is less likely to emerge from an impersonal questionnaire which is usually adopted in quantitative methods of investigation. One of the primary reasons for the use of long interviews rather than questionnaires is to explore a diverse set of responses derived from interviewees of Greek citizenship who have exercised their right to vote in national elections, they live in Greece, and therefore they are familiar with both the Greek culture and the Greek politics. According to McCracken (1988), this chapter refers to Phase Four, that is, Discovery of Cultural Categories and Analysis/Write Up (Figure 5.1).

The data collected from long interviews are the main source of information. In line with the assumption that 'absolute rules' do not exist for qualitative data analyses there are two general guidelines to follow: *First*, the analytical method must serve to analyze the research questions generated at the very beginning of the study (Patton, 1990); and *second*, data analysis must contain an explanation that according to Geertz (1973) and Denzin (1989), the reader must be able to understand the written text and draw interpretations. Accordingly, a social scientific approach of using qualitative data to inductively develop "grounded theory" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Gioia et al, 2012) has been employed.

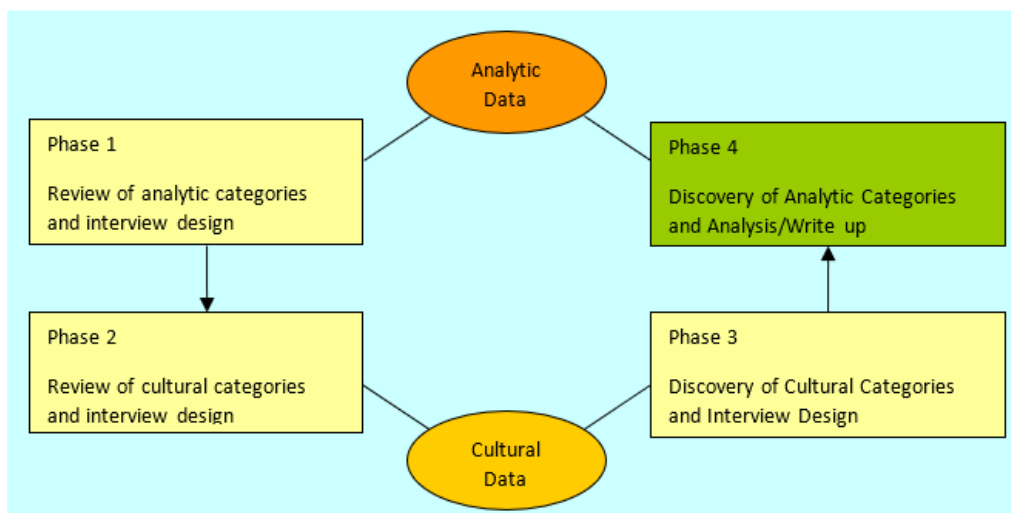


Figure 5.1: Stage 4 Discovery of Analytic Categories and Analysis

Figure 12

Symbols were used for reducing large amounts of data into a smaller number of analytical units. To do that, symbols of (1), (2), (3), and (4) were used and written after each influence identified. Examples are shown in the Table 5.1.

Table 21

Table 5.1: Examples of Coding by Symbols

Transcript	Coding by Symbol	Expanded Meaning
<i>“That the struggle must be directed towards the betterment of the peoples’ living conditions, with tolerance and respect for each other, and all people to have some common basic elements” (Stage of Motivations</i>	Betterment of the peoples’ living conditions (1)	The Betterment of the peoples’ living conditions is a determinant motive for the political orientation the respondent will follow in the third stage (3 rd) that is, the stage of Political Attitude.

<p>from the concept of <i>Voters' Value based Thinking Processes</i>). From the interviewee PAN 13 (p.10 of the transcript PAN 13)</p>		
<p><i>"I would locate myself in the left side of the political Geography" (Stage of Political Attitudes</i> from the concept of <i>Voters' Value based Thinking Processes</i>). From the interviewee KKE 05 (p.13 of the transcript KKE 05)</p>	<p>Left Political Attitude (2)</p>	<p>The 'Left' self-identification provides the reasoning for choosing the Communist Party of Greece in the next stage; that is, the stage of Voting Behaviour.</p>
<p><i>"I voted for the party of New Democracy" (Stage of Political Behaviour</i> from the concept of <i>Voters' Value based Thinking Processes</i>). From the interviewee ND 02 (p.18 of the transcript ND 02)</p>	<p>New Democracy (3)</p>	<p>The party of New Democracy as the choice (political behaviour) of the interviewee ND 02.</p>

Moreover, abbreviations were also used in the data analysis. Examples are shown in Table 5.2. The data was sorted to provide the basis for the last stage of writing up.

Table 5.2: Examples of Coding by Abbreviations

Transcript	Codes by Abbreviation	Meaning
<i>“PASOK (The Panhellenic Socialist Movement) is mainly held responsible for the destruction of the country”.</i> From the interviewee GD 14 (p. 25, of the transcript GD 14)	GD 14-PAN (Neg.) Responsible for the Destruction.	The Panhellenic Socialist Movement is held responsible for the economic downhill of the country.
<i>“Of course, I voted for PASOK”.</i> From the interviewee PAN 13 (p. 18, of the transcript PAN 13)	PAN 13-5 (Pos.) I voted for PASOK	This symbol indicates the positive position of the interviewee PAN 13 in the 5 th stage, that of Political Behaviour.
<i>“New Democracy is a neoliberal party”.</i> From the interviewee PAN 13 (p. 22, of the transcript PAN 13)	PAN 13-ND (Neg.) Neoliberal	‘Neoliberal’ is a characterisation which when provided from a person of central-left or left ideology is considered as negative.

5.2 The Process of Data Analysis

Data Findings of the Greek Voters’ Value-based Thinking Processes: A first Step - The Analytic Stage.

The following sections present the findings of the intensive study of the investigation of the *Greek Voters’ Value-Based Thinking Processes* (Fazio 1986, 1990a, 1995; Fazio & Towles-Schwen, 1999; Eagly & Chaiken, 1998; Bandura, 1998; Fischbein, 2000;

Fischbein, Triandis, et al., 2001; Petraitis, Flay, & Miller, 1995; Crosby, Bromley, & Saxe, 1980; McConahay, Hardee, & Batts, 1981; Devine, Monteith, Zuwerink, & Elliot, 1991) in order to make inferences for the formulation of a positioning strategic proposition that will lead to loyalty conditions or *long-term equity* (Caprara et al. 2006) and consequently the retention of political parties' electoral bases. These address the four issues of concern which aim to answer the research questions as presented in Chapter One (Introduction):

Objective 1: How can the Greek Voters' Personal Values be identified?

Objective 2: How can the Greek Voters' Value-Based Thinking Processes be observed and described?

Objective 3: How can from Greek Voters' Value-Based Thinking Processes image associations be elicited?

Objective 4: How can Greek Voters' Value-Based Thinking Processes impact the positioning strategy process and its formulation for retention of a political party's electoral base to be achieved?

In turn, in the next sections the way that data have been collected and elaborated, as well as, the objectives that will be accomplished through it will be described. More specifically, this chapter (Data Analysis) refers to Phase Four, which according to McCracken (1988) is the *Discovery of Analytic Categories and Analysis/Write Up*. That is, the Fourth Phase will be used for the *Data Analysis* of the collected data. Based on the VVbTP and *for Data Collection and Data Analysis* to be accomplished *Grounded Theory* through concepts, categories, subcategories with their properties and dimensions will be developed; in turn, image associations will be elicited with a view to a positioning strategic proposition for the retention of the electoral bases will be conducted.

For this purpose, an inductive approach for developing *grounded theory*, credited to Glaser, B. (1978), Glaser, B., and Strauss, A. (1965, 1967), Straus, A., and Corbin, J. (1998, 1990, 1997 [Eds]), and Gioia et al (2012), was employed. Accordingly,

the *Data Analysis* will be focused on the major areas of *Open Coding*, *Axial Coding*, and *Selective Coding* (Straus, A., and Corbin, J., 1998) and consequently closer observation of the voters' decision making, through each stage of the VVbTP, will be achieved.

More specifically, this effort was based on an *inductive approach*, since in this field theory development work is often designed and executed according to the precepts of the traditional scientific method, which often leads to engagement in progressive extensions of existing knowledge as a way of discovering new knowledge. This orientation, however, most often trains the researchers' attention on refining the existing ideas used to navigate the theoretical world. Such an approach—perhaps most of the time —has dominated the conduct of theory and research in the field for many years. Yet these widely accepted precepts do not encourage the kind of originality that would be satisfactory for theorizing in the theory development work (Corley & Gioia, 2011). This is due to the fact that the basic concern with this traditional approach is that “advances in knowledge that are too strongly rooted in what we already know delimit what we can know” (Gioia et al, 2012, p. 16).

The Analytic Process

In the interview process, respondents' opinions about the Greek politics were asked. This was a description of a value-based decision-making process which was evolved in seven stages of the VVbTP.

The interview has commenced with the investigation of the role of the respondents' family environment on the formation of their *personal value system*.

In general, respondents tended to have positive views of their family environment despite some moderate and negative evidence about this from a small number of respondents. In particular, there were two (2) respondents who kept a moderate position, and also one (1) respondent who kept negative position against her family environment. In most of the interviews, however, the respondents' views were positive. This was observed particularly when interviewing the respondents in the first (1st) stage; that is, the stage of *personal values*, in the very beginning of the

interview; this was largely credited to the high influence received from most of respondents' family environment and particularly from their parents' personal values. As a consequence, three categories have emerged from the investigation of the first (1st) stage of the interview. These are the categories of "Loving Family", "Strong Bonds-Bad Environment", and "No Bonds-Bad Environment". The above categories also explain why most respondents have accepted their parents' personal values. They also indicate the dimensionality or the degree of influence or acceptance that has been received from their family environment, starting from the "Loving Family", as the mostly accepted, and "No Bonds-Bad Environment" as the least.

In general, respondents tended to indicate high sensitivity in social issues mostly characterized by "honesty" and "respect towards the fellow man". This social orientation characterizes the vast majority of the respondents, regardless the categorization of their value systems (Schwartz, 2006). In particular, eighteen (18) out of twenty (20) respondents are subscribed according to this inclination.

By the progress of the process of *Open Coding*, and more specifically by its integration, three major categories gradually emerged; that is, the categories of "Social Sensitivity", of "High Individuality", and "Strong Attitudes". The numerically dominant category with nine (9) respondents classified under it is the category of "Social Sensitivity"; the second one is the category of "Strong Attitudes" with seven (7) respondents in it, and the third category with four (4) respondents was the category of "High Individuality".

Most respondents held a negative perceived image about the Greek political system, which was mainly expressed by the former two dominant political parties of "New Democracy" and the "Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PA.SO.K)". It has also been observed a significant number of incongruences between the respondents' political ideology and their voting behaviour; this has been mostly expressed by a choice of an ideologically adjacent political party. Therefore, it is concluded that the respondents, which are Greek citizens and voters, maintain negative image associations about the Greek political system and the major Greek political parties. These image associations have been selected through a mechanism of observation of the Greek voters' electoral decision making which is the *Voters' Value based*

Thinking Processes. The elicitation of such image associations will be discussed in detail in the next sections.

The process of Data Analysis will commence with *Open Coding*; it is named *Open Coding* because to uncover, name, and develop concepts, we must open up the text and expose the thoughts, ideas, and meanings contained therein. Without this first analytic step, the rest of the analysis that follows could not occur. Broadly speaking, during *Open Coding*, data are broken down into discrete parts, closely examined, and compared for similarities and differences. Events, happenings, objects, and actions/interactions found to be conceptually similar or related in meaning are grouped under more abstract concepts termed *categories*. Closely examining data for both differences and similarities allows for fine discrimination and differentiation among categories.

5.2.1 Open Coding

Before the deep data analysis commences there was a basic precondition that should be accomplished. This is the process of *conceptualization*.

Gioia et al (2012) argue that in a social study, one of the main consequences is that we most often focus our attention on construct elaboration. Constructs are abstract theoretical formulations about phenomena of interest (Edwards & Bagozzi, 2000; Morgeson & Hofmann, 1999; Pedhazur & Schmelkin, 1991). A construct, however, is usually formulated so that it can be measured; its primary purpose is to delineate a domain of attributes that can be operationalized and preferably quantified as variables. Constructs and variables have the advantage of allowing parsimony and some semblance of consensuality as there is engagement in the ambitious and ambiguous work of trying to make sense of social worlds. In this thesis, it is posited that *construct development and measurement* sometimes blinds the researcher to the arguably more important work of *concept development* in social study. A “concept,” is a more general, less well-specified notion capturing qualities that describe or explain a phenomenon of theoretical interest. Put simply, concepts are precursors to constructs in making sense of social worlds; at the same time

researchers, while living in those worlds, either try to investigate them as practitioners or to model them as theorists.

While recognizing and appreciating that social studying via construct elaboration and measurement has served well in the relatively short history of the field, there remains the sense that something is missing—something that hinders the ability to gain a deeper knowledge of social dynamics. That something has to do with understanding the essence of the social experience, and perhaps especially the processes by which this experience unfolds (Langley, 1999). An intensive focus on process requires an appreciation of the nature of the social world and how to know (and can know) that world. In this thesis, it is argued that the single most profound recognition in a social study is that much of the world that is dealt with is essentially socially constructed (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Schutz, 1967; Weick, 1969/1979). Studying social construction processes requires to focus more on how social members go about constructing and understanding their experience and less on the number or frequency of measurable occurrences (Gioia et al., 2012).

For that reason, it is believed that focusing too much on refining existing constructs too often amounts to sharpening the wrong tools for gaining understandings. What is needed instead are some new tools. In this work, those new tools are new concepts. How then one might discover and develop the kinds of concepts that can better capture the social phenomena? Doing so requires an approach that captures concepts relevant to the human social experience in terms that are adequate at the level of meaning of the people living that experience and adequate at the level of scientific theorizing about that experience. To accomplish both aims, a systematic inductive approach to concept development should be devised. The strong social scientific tradition of using qualitative data to inductively develop “grounded theory” (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Strauss & Corbin, 1998) provides deep and rich theoretical descriptions of the contexts within which social phenomena occur.

In addition to the basic assumption that the world is socially constructed, another crucial and actionable assumption is also employed: that the people constructing their social realities are “knowledgeable agents,” namely, that these people know

what they are trying to do and can explain their thoughts, intentions, and actions (Gioia et al, 2012). The consequence of this latter assumption for the conduct of research is profound. For one thing, it foregrounds the informants' interpretations and initially grants the researcher the role of the *reporter* whose main role is to give an adequate account of the informants' experience (Gioia et al, 2012). That is, it is not presumed to impose prior constructs or theories on the informants as some sort of preferred a priori explanation for understanding or explaining their experience. This means that extraordinary efforts are made to give voice to the informants in the early stages of data gathering and analysis and also to represent their voices prominently in the reporting of the research, which creates rich opportunities for the discovery of new concepts rather than the affirmation of existing concepts. This is true because if the interview protocol had been designed around existing theory and terminology, a key aspect of their sensemaking by imposing preordained understandings on their experience would be missed (Gioia et al, 2012).

Some fundamental assumptions about the researcher as an instrument of inquiry are also made. It is assumed, for instance, that he is a pretty knowledgeable individual too—that he can figure out patterns in the data, enabling to surface concepts and relationships that might escape the awareness of the informants, and that he can formulate these concepts in theoretically relevant terms (Gioia et al, 2012).

Since qualitative research has a long and “venerable history”, especially in terms of its ability to be revelatory (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), it was confronted with long-suffering due to the criticism that it does not adequately justify its assertions, leading to some troubling skepticism about whether qualitative researchers are engaging in creative theorizing based on rather thin evidence.

The resolution, however, after this struggle ended up with the devising of an approach that allowed for a systematic presentation of both a “1st-order” analysis (i.e., an analysis using informant-centric terms and codes) and a “2nd-order” analysis (i.e., one using researcher-centric concepts, themes, and dimensions; for the inspiration for the 1st- and 2nd-order labeling, see Van Maanen, 1979). Taken together, the in-parallel reporting of both voices—informant and researcher—allowed not only a qualitatively rigorous demonstration of the links between the

data and the induction of this new concept sense giving but also allowed for the kind of insight that is the defining hallmark of high-quality qualitative research.

This particular approach, recommended by Gioia et al (2012), builds on the process referring to *microanalysis* (Strauss & Corbin, 1998), which focuses more on the discrete *analytic tasks* rather than on procedures and techniques as such. The *analytic tasks* include naming concepts, defining categories, and developing categories in terms of their properties and dimensions.

For example, the word “family” (1st stage of interview SYR 09: *loving family*) has the same connotation whether speaking about a *nice environment, love for each other, trust to parents and/or brothers and sisters, security, comfort, tranquillity* and so on. Although the objects might differ somehow, each has the specific property of being connected with *a loving family*. When we think about any of these objects, respondents imagine an environment of trust, comfort, consisting of and created by nice and loving people. Therefore, a named or labeled thing is something that can be located, placed in a class of similar objects. Anything under a given classification has one or more “recognizable” (actually defined) properties (characteristics). The attributes that have been classified under *a loving family* are all positive:

- *nice environment*
- *love for each other,*
- *trust to parents and/or brothers and sisters*
- *security*
- *comfort, and*
- *tranquillity*

What is less apparent when we classify objects is that a classification implies, either explicitly or implicitly, the action that is taken with regard to the classified object. *A loving family* consists of a nice environment based on *love for each other, trust to parents and/or brothers and sisters, security, and comfort* (1_Aggregate Excerpt of First (1st) Stage (Personal Values)).

The act of naming or labelling is an action for creating the initial and most basic background of the most substantial part of data analysis for the development of *grounded theory* which is a deeper analysis that will follow in the next sections. In order to discover new things in data and to gain greater understanding, more of the detailed and discriminated type of analysis called *microanalysis* must be made. This form of analysis uses the procedures of *comparative analysis*, the asking of questions, and makes use of the analytic tools, such as *memos*, to break the data apart and dig beneath the surface. Accordingly, a range of potential meanings contained within the words used by respondents and develop them more fully in terms of their properties and dimensions are discerned (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p.109).

Therefore, the features that enhance qualitative rigor actually begin with this approach to analyses, as described by Gioia et al (2012), especially in terms of organizing the data into 1st- and 2nd-order categories to facilitate their later assembly into a more structured form. During this initial part of the particular approach, a significant number of informant terms, codes, and categories emerge early in the research (a process akin to Strauss and Corbin's [1998] notion of open coding). In this 1st-order analysis, which tries to adhere faithfully to informant terms, little attempt to distil categories is made, so the number of categories tends to explode at the front end of the study. There could easily be 50 to 100 1st-order categories that emerge from the first 10 interviews, and the sheer number of categories initially becomes overwhelming (Gioia, 2004).

This process will begin from the First (1st) Stage or the Stage of Personal Values of the VVbTP and will be presented right after this.

Data analysis of the First (1st) Stage (Personal Values)

In general, respondents tended to have positive views of the family environment. This is why the first thing that strikes the reader here is the phrase "loving family". This is a term that almost for all respondents (SYR 01, ND 02, SYR 03, ND 04, KKE 05, SYR 09, KKE 10, GD 11, GD 12, PAN 13, GD 14, ND 15, SYR 17, SYR 18, IND 19, SYR

20;) represents a positive attribute. For example, it is a “holy thing” (“family is a holy thing”) for the respondent SYR 17 (p.01); or a “big hug” (“‘big hug’ from parents”), “serenity” (“family serenity”), “prosperity” (“family prosperity”), and “love, protection, mutual respect” (“family environment as love, protection, mutual respect”), for the respondent SYR 01 (p.01)). It represents an environment that could never be compared with a better one neither it could be replaced by another one. It implies also that the people who were held responsible for these incomparable environmental conditions were the parents. This was actually the reason for the parents being as “big hug” (“‘big hug’ from parents”, SYR 01(p.01)). In turn, the respondent SYR 01 attributes “honour to father and mother” (“attribution of honour to father and mother”, SYR 01 SYR 01 (p.01)). This attribution of honour is due to the unforgettably carefree years and the happy, safe, and full of love environment they had created for her and that by no other person could that be created. Consequently, this leads the particular respondent, as well as every other respondent, to project feelings of love, respect, and most of all trust towards parents! This is, in short, what a “loving family” reflects for almost all respondents; this is also the reason that due to love, respect, and most of all trust towards parents the respondent SYR 01 and the vast majority of respondents were led to:

- “adaptation of family values”, SYR 01(p.01));
- that family values were “kept strictly”, SYR 01(p.01));
- and also, that family values were kept “as cresset”, SYR 01(p.01)).

Therefore “loving family”, which makes also a category with “nice or loving family environment” and “love, respect, and trust” as subcategories and properties respectively, is matching to the vast majority of respondents.

It is, however, important to mention that among the twenty respondents there were three (3) respondents that have not been submitted under the category of *the loving family*. These three respondents comprised the category of *tight bonds-bad environment*. Part of the responses of the interviewee GD 06 is used due to the high interest they provide. The particular category besides the family of an unhappy

couple with two children that although the two parents were unhappy (“parents were not a happy couple”, GD 06, p.01), they were honest people (“parents were honest people”, GD 06,p.01), the family was valuable for them (“‘family’ was a valuable issue for parents”, GD 06, p.01), the cohesion of family was rather important for them (“cohesion of the family for parents was a first-degree issue”, GD 06, p.01), parents sacrificed their entire lives for their children (“parents did not ‘give any space’ for their personal happiness”, GD 06, p.02), and as an outcome of all this effort was an unhappy family environment which, despite that fact, was against their own will. This family story which although has left a negative feeling and an unforgettable memory to a woman in her fifties (’50s) has also created a great deal of “respect” and “trust” towards her parents. It is very important to remember that the elements of “respect” and “trust” were two significant prerequisites for a “happy family environment” and additionally for acceptance or rejection of the family’s value system. Consequently, due to this, the interviewee GD 06 accepts in a significant degree the parental value system which additionally has a “social sensitivity” orientation; moreover, “honesty” is a rather important issue for her as well as the category with “no tolerance in lying”, GD 06 (p.03) as a basic property of the particular category. Therefore, the positive attributes of the above category are:

- parents were honest people
- *family* was a valuable issue for parents
- cohesion of the family for parents was a first-degree issue
- respect
- trust
- no tolerance in lying

and the negative attributes are:

- parents were not a happy couple
- parents did not ‘give any space’ for their personal happiness

There is, however, one (1) single respondent (the respondent IND 16) who formed a separate category by herself. This is the category *No Bonds-Bad Environment*. This category describes an also unhappy family with very loose links between family members which, although it was a family with a very high level of education, the relationship among family members was bad. Politicization and left ideology dictated the family's value system ("politicization as value system"), of the respondent IND 16, (p.01); accordingly, the respondent IND 16 characterized the family environment in a rather hesitating manner as "moderate" ("moderate evaluation of family environment"), IND 16 (p.01). Later on and by the progress of the interview, she argued that she does not want to characterize the particular environment ("I don't want to characterize it"); which seemed as "possible negative stance against the family environment", IND 16 (p.01); and then again in order to cover up the conspicuously bad family situation and environment she argued that there was respect towards parents ("there was respect towards the parents"); which seemed as "possible negative stance against parents", IND 16 (p.01). She also argued that there was not any value system imposed from parents ("there were no 'parental tutorials' about values"), IND 16 (p.01), and that values were passed by actions ("values were passed only by actions"), IND 16 (p.01). In contrast with this she made her value system later on ("she formulated her own value system later on"), IND 16 (p.02) through the interaction she had with the community ("interaction with the community, and reading as a source for shaping her value system"), IND 16 (p.02). Consequently, the respondent IND 16 is classified in the major category of "high individuality" and the subcategory of "person-focused" ("standing on 'person-focused'"), GD 12 (p.04) with ("the value system was in line with her own interest"), IND 16 (p.02) which reflects a significant degree of individuality as a basic property of the particular category.

From the above descriptions it seemed that the attributes of the provided image associations from respondents have started being differentiated and take different forms; that is, they take different orientations. More specifically, the emerged attributes follow two orientations: the one of "social sensitivity" and that of "high individuality"; and although very early for such judgments and statements yet, it could be alleged that these are two major categories within the research findings.

These two major categories are supported by secondary categories; that is the two categories of “honesty” and “respect towards others” (attributed to the respondents SYR 01, ND 02, ND 04, KKE 05, GD 06, SYR 07, KIN 08, SYR 09, KKE 10, GD 11, GD 12, PAN 13, GD 14, ND 15, SYR 17, SYR 18, IND 19, SYR 20) which could be also considered and classified as subcategories under the major category of “social sensitivity”; and on the other hand the subcategories “standing on ‘person-focused’” GD12, (p.04) and “I am moving towards ‘Growth’” GD12, (p.04) or “individual progress” GD 14, (p.01), “boost your-self towards development” ND 15, (p.04), and (“the value system was in line with her own interest”), IND 16 (p.02) which are classified under the major category of “high individuality”.

The Stage of Personal Values is based on the Value Theory developed by Shalom. H. Schwartz (Schwartz, 1992, 2006, 2009) and it is described in the Chapter of Literature Review. Table 5.3 provides a description of the above argumentations.

Table 23

Table 5.3 First Stage: Example of Major Categories

Major Category: <i>social sensitivity</i>	Major Category: <i>high individuality</i>
Attributes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • honesty • respect towards others 	Attributes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • standing on ‘person-focused’ • I am moving towards ‘Growth’ • individual progress • boost yourself towards development • the value system was in line with her own interest

Data analysis of the Intermediate Stage

It is necessary to recall that the *intermediate stage* initiates the respondents into an abstract socio-political dialogue; beginning from the respondents’ opinion about their environment (personal and social) a gradual acquaintance with a socio-political discussion is achieved; the respondents are asked about their personal and social environment, that is their families and friends, and the Greek society; according to

this way a comparison between them is to be made; and finally the respondents are asked about the relation between the social and political status and the ways of influence from the one towards the other. *Political Status* is an expression which stands for the after the dictatorship Greek bipolar political system.

Accordingly, a comparatively small number of respondents, that is, SYR 01, ND 04, GD 06, and GD 11 kept a positive attitude towards their personal environment, which is their friends and family; however, they also kept a critical attitude against the Greek society. Particular opinions of personal environment expressed by the above respondents were all positive and described as:

- “I received good treatment and support from friends”, SYR 01(p.06)
- “my personal environment is a lot better”, ND 04 (p.04)
- “her family are people with values”, GD 06 (p.05),
- “high sense of responsibility from her parents”, GD 06 (p.08);
- “her personal environment is located around the value of ‘respect for the fellow man’”, GD 11 (p.04).

A limited number of respondents expressed a positive stance towards the Greek Society; this is described by the following opinions:

- “Greek people are people with values”, GD 06 (p.05);
- “No other country has offered to the refugees what Greece has offered to them”, GD 12 (p.06-07)
- “Greeks have good attributes”, GD 14 (p.06).

However, a significant number of respondents have been expressed negatively for the Greek Society; this argumentation is supported by the following opinions:

- “bad social behaviour”, ND 02 (p.06)
- “society as self-focused and careless about the fellow man”, SYR 03 (p.05)
- “more selfish”, ND 04 (p.04)
- “Greek society as hypocritical”, KIN 08 (p.03)
- “Greek society as conservative”, SYR 09 (p.04)
- “people now are not humanitarian and friendly due to crisis”, PAN 13 (p.05)
- “the ‘surroundings’ is not always unreservedly trustworthy”, ND 15 (p.06)

It is however the comments (received from SYR 03, ND 04, KKE 05, SYR 09, GD 11, PAN13, ND 15, SYR 17, SYR 18, IND 19, SYR 20) that could be considered as properties of the previously mentioned argumentation (negative comments about the Greek Society) that increase its dimensionality and significance; more specifically:

- “Lack of solidarity”, SYR 03 (p.05-06)
- “deterioration of social status due to economic situation”, ND 04 (p.04)
- “lack of solidarity”, ND 04 (p.05)
- “individualism as a damaging element for society”, KKE 05 (p.04)
- “there is no solidarity”, KKE 05 (p.04)
- “there is no solidarity”, SYR 09 (p.04)
- “lack of ‘respect for the fellow man’ could allow the emergence of bad things”, GD 11 (p.05)
- “financial ‘squeeze’ leads to indifference for social environment”, PAN 13 (p.05)
- “individualistic mentality”, ND 15 (p.06)
- “meritocracy as a major problem of the Greek society”]; IND 19 (p.03)
- “the Greek society as ignorant community of its history”, SYR 20 (p.12)

A considerable number of respondents (SYR 01, KKE 05, KIN 08, SYR 09, IND 16, SYR 17, and SYR 18) have also provided comments which are focused on the connection between society and political status; this argumentation is supported by the following comments:

- “negative characteristics must be credited to both social and political environment”, SYR 01(p.07)
- “the political status as responsible for the social status”, KKE 05 (p.06)
- “we allow the political system to act in an authoritarian manner”, KIN 08 (p.05)
- “there are elements of political exploitation of the Greek society”, SYR 09 (p.04)
- “Greeks tolerate the political system”, IND 16 (p.04)
- “Greeks as responsible for electing dishonest politicians”, SYR 17 (p.10-11)
- “the political status as responsible for any pros and cons of the social status”, SYR 18 (p. 10)

Finally, eighteen (18) out of twenty (20) respondents provided negative comments about the political status. This is illustrated by the following comments:

- “political corruption as a major problem”, SYR 01(p.08)
- “social changes imposed by force”, ND 02 (p.03)
- “There is a lot of corruption”, SYR 03 (p.07)
- “they opened the borders and a lot of ‘foreigners’ came in”, ND 04 (p.05)
- “the previous political situation as responsible for the ‘memorandums’ era”, KKE 05 (p.06)
- “mismatch between political promises and political actions”, GD 06 (p.07)
- “no social care from the state”, SYR 07 (p.05)
- “MPs as peoples’ manipulators”, KIN 08 (p.06)
- “In general, the political system is morbid”, SYR 09 (p.07)
- “strait accusation of the current political status as corrupted”, KKE 10 (p.06)
- “the Greek Statistical Service played an illegal role on the issue of debt”, KKE 10 (p.11)
- “the political status does not allow politicians with values to survive”, GD 11 (p.08)
- “the current political situation is against my personal values”, GD 12 (p.10)
- “Greek politics are imposed from abroad”, GD 14 (p.08)
- “corruption as the major cause of economic crisis”, SYR 18 (p.08).

By integrating the data analysis of the Intermediate Stage, it can be argued that the first observation that emerges is that comparatively a small quota of the respondents (SYR 01, ND 04, GD 06, and GD11) indicates a positive stance towards their personal environment. Personal environments are characterized as *micro-conditions* [i.e., closer to the source of action/interaction]. On the contrary, the major environment such as the Greek Society is characterized as *macro-condition* (Anselm Strauss and Juliet Corbin, 1998, p.131). This quota, dimensionally speaking, would be considered negligible since this is a small part of the sample. It was, however, necessary to be mentioned due to that, directly or indirectly, most of the respondents maintain the same stance against their personal environment; and this happens due to that *micro-conditions*, such as the personal environment are addressed to interpersonal relations; on the contrary, *macro-conditions*, such as the Greek social environment, are addressed to the socio-political level where mismatches in socio-political choices may exist. Hence, there is an interconnection

and a rationale with what is observed in the direct negative comments of a significant quota of the respondents' ND 02, SYR 03, ND 04, KIN 08, SYR 09, PAN13, and ND15; there are also indirect negative comments provided by the respondents SYR 03, ND 04, KKE 05, SYR 09, GD11, PAN13, SYR17, SYR18, IND19, and SYR20.

A significant quota SYR 01, KKE 05, KIN 08, SYR 09, IND16, SYR17, and SYR18 maintains a negative stance for both; that is, the social status as well as the political status using as basic rationale the interaction between them; that is, the social status is responsible for electing and maintaining such a political status; and on the other hand, that the political status takes advantage of the social status in order to act as such.

Finally, the negative stance of almost all the respondents against the Greek Political Status can be observed. This is mainly credited to its most prominent attribute which is "corruption".

Data analysis of the Stage of Motivations

For the Analysis of the *Stage of Motivations* to be accomplished a particular technique was necessary to be employed; that is, Table 3.1 of "Schwartz's Ten Basic Values" (see Chapter Three: Literature Review, 3.2.2. Introduction to Schwartz' Values Theory) was presented to the interviewees by erasing the left column; that is, the column of the "Basic Values". So, what the interviewees were observing was the central column, that is, the one of the "Central Motivational Goals", and the right column or one of the "Representative Values". This act was made, basically, for the genuineness of the "personal values" of the respondents to be verified. More specifically, the first three basic values are classified under the quarter of "Openness to Change" (Figure 3.1: The Schwartz Value Dimensions). So, it would be rather simple for the respondents to make a choice. On the contrary by removing the left column, the one of "Basic Values", the respondents were obliged to increase their focus and attention, and read carefully the middle column, which is the "Central Motivational Goal", and provide an answer that matches to their "Personal Values". More specifically, the particular technique was mainly employed so that congruence

between the respondents' *Personal Values* and *Central Motivational Goals* is verified (Table 5: Schwartz's Ten Basic Values).

This technique led to a total mismatch quota of two (2) out of twenty (20) interviews (GD 12 and IND16); that is:

- "Understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and nature", GD 12 (p.15);
- "Independent thought and action: choosing, creating, exploring", IND 16 (p.08).

These answers don't match with the attribute of "personal focus" and the category of "high individuality" that these two respondents are classified according to their personal values.

There was also a quota of "direct matching" (ND 02, SYR 03, KKE 05, KIN 08, PAN 13, ND 15); that is, matching between the personal value of "openness to change" as a first choice or answer and the "Central Motivational Goal"; which are:

- "Independent thought and action: choosing, creating, exploring", ND 02 (p.13)
- "Personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards", SYR 03 (p.12)
- "security", KKE 05 (p.10)
- "Independent thought and action: choosing, creating, exploring", KIN 08 (p.07)
- "'Independent thought and action: choosing, creating, and exploring' as first motive", PAN 13 (p.09)
- "Independent thought and action: choosing, creating, exploring", ND 15 (p.10).

Also, the rest twelve (12) out of twenty (20) respondents provided an "indirect" matching; these are answers provided as the second or third choice of the "Central Motivational Goals" which were matching with their personal values; that is:

- "Personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards", SYR 01(p.11)
- "choosing, creating, and exploring, ND 04 (p.10)
- "Preserving and enhancing the welfare of those with whom one is in frequent personal contact", GD 06 (p.10)

- “Personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards”]; SYR 07 (p.09)
- “Independent thought and action: choosing, creating, and exploring”, SYR 09 (p.10)
- “Independent thought and action: choosing, creating, exploring”, KKE 10 (p.14)
- “Understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and nature”, GD 11 (p.12)
- “Safety, harmony, and stability of society, of relationships, and of self”, GD 14 (p.10)
- “Independent thought and action: choosing, creating, exploring”, SYR 17 (p.16)
- “Independent thought and action: choosing, creating, exploring”, SYR 18 (p.13)
- “Understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and nature”, IND 19 (p.07)
- “Understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and nature”, SYR 20 (p.19).

Besides the “Central Motivational Goals” that may be considered as ‘motivational categories’ there are other attributes that have been emerged through the answers that have been provided by the respondents that could be considered as properties of the particular ‘motivational categories’; these can be found in 3_Aggregate Excerpt of Motivations.

Accordingly, the interconnection, and coherence among the stages of the voters’ thinking processes were verified, the rationale of the respondents for choosing a particular set of values is enforced, and the genuineness of the provided answers was ensured.

Data analysis of the Stage of Political Attitudes

Our intention through the stage of political attitudes is to identify the political ideologies of the respondents. That is, to identify whether the respondents are ideologically positioned on the “right”, the “central”, or the “left” politico-ideological spectrum. Reaching the particular stage of the voters’ thinking processes is a gradual and careful effort which has started from the initial stage, which is, the “stage of personal values” in order finally to reach the “stage of political attitudes” following a “smooth” and careful manner; this is a stage of high importance since it reflects the

essence of the deepest thoughts, experiences, and perceptions an individual could maintain about the political environment about current and past political developments. This required a careful verbal handling until the ideological position of the respondents finally was elicited. Sometimes the researcher's assistance was required if inability of the respondents to describe their political beliefs was noticed as in the stage of political attitudes of the respondents GD 06 (p. 11), SYR 07 (p.13), KKE 20 (p.20), GD 11 (p.15), GD14 (p.16), IND 16 (p.11), SYR 17 (p.20), IND 19 (p.09). In particular IND 16 (p.11), and IND 19 (p.09) that is, two respondents that are characterized as politically *indifferent* persistently refused to provide a reliable answer and to facilitate the interview! It was also important to continually remind the respondents that this is not a discussion about voting choices but instead about ideologies (this can be found in Aggregate Excerpt of Political Attitude Stage).

More specifically:

The following attributes are some examples of main categories of *Political Attitudes*;

- “central-right political ideology”, ND 02 (p.14)
- “central right”, ND 04 (p.12)
- “Left”, KKE 05 (p.12)
- “‘socialist left’ as his political position”, SYR 07 (p.14)
- “‘central left’ as political attitude”, KIN 08 (p.11)
- “‘central-left’ political ideology”, SYR 09 (p.11)
- “I would locate myself in the ‘right’ side”, GD 11 (p.15)

More specifically the following attributes are examples of *subcategories* and *properties* of the stage of political attitudes:

- “development of middle class”, ND 02 (p.15)
- “Decrease of wages as the reason of profit reduction”, KKE 05 (p.12)
- “‘Left’ means ‘to have all the fingers equal’”, GD 06 (p.11)
- “elimination of class inequality”, SYR 09 (p.11)
- “immigrants make the ‘rich’ become richer”, GD 12 (p.18)

The findings of the Stage of Political Attitudes-Ideologies are in line with S. H. Schwartz Value Theory, as well as with Caprara et al. 2006. Accordingly, the centre-

right campaigned mostly on entrepreneurship and business freedom. Consistent with this platform, respondents identified the leader's image with energy. The centre-left campaigned mostly on solidarity, social welfare, education, and tolerance for diversity. Respondents identified the leader's image more with friendliness and openness. In parallel, the self-reported personalities of centre-left voters were higher in friendliness and openness than those of centre-right voters; the latter personalities were higher in energy (and conscientiousness).

Data analysis of the Stage of Political Consequences

The particular stage, that of the political consequences, is the stage all voters would reconsider the very important issue of casting his/their vote, which is described right after this; and is the Stage of Voting Behaviour. The respondents, in the current stage, will reconsider whether they will remain "faithful" to the political party which represents their political ideology or they will divert due to the fact that the particular political party was inconsistent with its political promises and commitments. Consequently, the respondents revealed the rationale of their voting behaviour;

- Accordingly, some of them will do this in a straight forward manner like: "unrepentant about 'partisan rebellion'", SYR 01(p.17), and
- "no regrets", SYR 01(p.17)

and some of them more hesitantly like:

- "there is no complete ideological representation from any political party", ND 04 (p.14);
- "There must be bilateral consistency in political ideologies", GD 14 (p.20);
- "It cannot be only the citizen to be consistent and the political party to do whatever it likes", GD 14 (p.20);
- "'shift' has nothing to do with political values", GD 14 (p.20);
"'rebellion' due to a new vision", ND 15 (p.14);
- "'rebellion' due to contradiction of expectations", ND 15 (p.14);

- “new ‘stream’ led to political experimentation”, ND 15 (p.13): “I return in the political area that represented me”, ND 15 (p.14).

The emerging stances of the particular stage will start confirming the interconnection between the respondents’ political attitude, their voting behaviour, and mostly their personal values. That is, through these attributes there will start being apparent the relation and interconnection of the particular attributes, and consequently, the categories that they represent, with the First (1st) Stage or the stage of Personal Values. Accordingly, the particular attributes, and consequently their categories, will start being classified, firstly, under major categories such as the one of “social sensitivity” and that of “high individuality”; they will also be classified under other categories which will emerge by the progress of data analysis.

More specifically, it has been observed that violation of the value system of respondents classified under the category of “social sensitivity” has been made. This has been caused by very strong stimuli which in most cases are “corruption” or “lack of morality”. By closer observation of the dialogues, and consequently of attributes, of the respondents classified under the major category of “social sensitivity” there can be observed that: the attributes classified under the group of “social sensitivity”, which are mostly based on the values which have been received from the family environment, are rather strong for most of the respondents. It is rather characteristic the quote of the respondent SYR 17 about family values i.e. “‘family values’ as more important than those received from the social environment”, SYR 17 (p.12), (2_Aggregate Excerpt of Intermediate Stage). It can also be observed that in all cases of the violation of the value system there is a mismatch between political attitudes and voting behaviour. The above argumentation is theoretically based on the *reasoned action approach*. Perhaps because it provides a useful framework for understanding and predicting a wide variety of behaviours, the *reasoned action approach* has stimulated a great deal of interest and research. Many investigators (e.g., Eagly & Chaiken, 1998; Kiesler, 1981; Petraitis, Flay, & Miller, 1995) have noted that the theories of *reasoned action and planned behaviour* have produced very encouraging results, providing “the most complete informational analysis of

attitudes and, of equal importance . . . a coherent and highly useful model of the relationships among beliefs, attitudes, and behaviours” (Petty & Cacioppo, 1981, p. 204). It is also connected with the concept of *causality*. Most research on the theories of *reasoned action and planned behaviour* are connected with this concept. Evidence regarding *causality* is available in several theory-based behaviour change interventions (e.g., Bamberg, Ajzen, & Schmidt, 2003; Brubaker & Fowler, 1990; Fischbein, Ajzen, & McArdle, 1980; Fischbein, Hennessy, et al., 2001; Jemmott, Jemmott, Fong, & McCaffree, 1999; Sanderson & Jemmott, 1996; Van Ryn & Vinokur, 1992).

The attributes that have been selected for the particular category of respondents, besides those that have already been mentioned, can be found in the 2_Aggregate Excerpt of Intermediate Stage.

By the progress of data analysis, the category of “strong attitudes” which is linked to “disciplined voters” has been emerged. This category has been created by a new group of attributes which has been emerged during the Stage of Political Consequences. In this particular category, there are classified attributes sourcing from dialogues of respondents (or the respondents ND 02, ND 04, KKE 05, KKE 10, PAN 13, SYR 17, and SYR 20) that indicate partisan discipline and congruence between *political attitude* and *voting behaviour*. This is a category of political behaviour that is activated under the assumption of the existence of strong political attitude-ideology. More specifically according to the MODE model, such automatic or spontaneous activation is reserved for strong attitudes. Specifically, *attitude* is defined as a learned association in memory between an object and a positive or negative evaluation of that object, and *attitude strength* is equivalent to the strength of this association (Fazio, 1990a). Thus, automatic attitude activation occurs when a strong link has been established in memory between the attitude object and a positive or negative evaluation. The stronger the attitude, the more likely it is that it will be automatically activated and, hence, be chronically accessible from memory.

The political attributes selected for the particular category of respondents, besides those already mentioned, can be found in 4_ Aggregate Excerpt of the Stage of Political Attitudes.

Attributes related to violation of the value system of the “high individuality” category of respondents are sourcing from dialogues with respondents that are influenced by a high rate of motivation (or “high individuality”). This is theoretically supported by the study of Schuette & Fazio (1995), showing that the moderating effect of attitude accessibility on the attitude–judgment relation depends on motivation.

The attributes selected for the particular category of respondents, besides those already mentioned, can be found in 4_ Aggregate Excerpt of the Stage of Political Attitudes.

By the above argumentations and comments, the Stage of Political Consequences has been integrated and therefore we can proceed to the critical Stage of the respondents’ Voting Behaviour.

Data analysis of the Stage of Voting Behaviour

By the integration of the above stage, that is, the Stage of Political Consequences, we have reached the most critical point of the voters’ thinking processes; that is, the Stage of Voting Behaviour. This is due to the fact that the Stage of Voting Behaviour is the consequential outcome of all the previous stages. Starting from the first stage as the main source of the voters’ behavioural outcomes and depending on the stimuli that will be received, either positive or negative, strong or weak, there will be the corresponding evolvments and directions of voters’ decision making with regard to their political electoral preference; either it is the direction of diversion or that of congruence between political attitudes and voting behaviours. That is, beginning from the Stage of Personal Values as the source of an individual’s deepest source of thoughts and beliefs that influence determinately all attitudes and behaviours, we reach the next stage, the Intermediate Stage whose basic aim is the familiarization of the interviewees with the socio-political space and consequently socio-political discussion. Right after this in the Stage of Motivations, the congruence between the Personal Values and the Motivations are identified, and in turn, in the Stage of Political Attitudes, the political position or the ideology of the interviewees will be elicited. The Stage of Political Consequences could be considered as the stage

reconsideration of all the previous stages and argumentations and the individual voter will think either rationally or emotionally about his/her final political decision which will be expressed by the casting of his/her vote. As in the Stage of Consequences, the attributes of the Stage of Voting Behaviour are similarly classified in the same three categorical attributes; that is, the “social sensitivity”, the “strong attitudes”, and the “high individuality”.

In the category of “social sensitivity” the following attributes are classified:

- “SYRIZA”, SYR 01(p.17)
- “In 2012 he voted for SYRIZA”, SYR 03 (p.16)
- “Golden Dawn”, GD 06 (p.14)
- “SYRIZA as most recent electoral choice”, SYR 07 (p.19)
- “KIDESO as voting behaviour”, KIN 08 (p.15)
- “SYRIZA as ‘voting behaviour’”, SYR 09 (p.14)
- “Consistent voter of ‘Golden Dawn’”, GD 11 (p.18)
- “SYRIZA as voting behaviour”] [In vivo code, SYR 18 (p.20)
- “I don’t remember”, IND 19 (p.10).

In the category of “strong attitudes” the following attributes are classified:

- “New Democracy”, ND 02 (p.18)
- “For New Democracy”, ND 04 (p.14)
- “Consistent voter of Communist Party of Greece”, KKE 05 (p.14)
- “‘The communist party (KKE)’ as voting choice”, KKE 10 (p.32)
- “PASOK as cast of vote”, PAN 13 (p.13)
- “SYRIZA as voting behaviour”, SYR 17 (p.23)
- “SYRIZA as voting behaviour”, SYR 20 (p.25)

In the category of “high individuality” are classified the following attributes:

- “‘The Golden Dawn’ as voting behaviour”, GD 12 (p.22)
- “‘Golden Dawn’ as voting behaviour”, GD 14 (p.22)
- “‘New Democracy’ as ‘voting behaviour’”, ND 15 (p.17)
- “Resist to answer”, IND 16 (p.17)

Accordingly, the three developed major categories can be classified under the three models of voting behaviour as described in Chapter Three: Literature Review, The Theory of Political Marketing.

More specifically, in this research, we argue that none of the three major categories can be classified in an absolute manner in one of the models of voting behaviour, or the *Socio-Psychological (Michigan) Model*, the *Economic*, and the *Marketing* model. The Socio-Psychological (or Michigan) model considers the voting decision as a complex one, and places more emphasis on “descriptive realism” than an abstraction per se (Campbell et al. 1960; Butler and Stokes 1974), by identifying a wide range of potential explanatory variables and organizing them into a logical “causal order” (Miller and Shanks 1996). Accordingly, voters may temporarily desert the party when propelled by “short-term” forces, such as unpopular policies or an attractive party leader (Miller 1991). This fits more to the major category of “*social sensitivity*”.

On the contrary, Economic models operate mostly under the neoclassical economic theory or what is referred to as the “political market”. Likewise, it is based on analogies such as: that parties can be modelled as profit-maximizing entrepreneurs and voters as utility-maximizing consumers (Downs 1957). Voters are regarded as “trading” their votes in return for favours (a higher standard of living) from the parties. Therefore, this inclines towards the major category of “*high individuality*”.

Moreover, Marketing models also recognize that just as consumers buy products to express the sort of persons they are (or would like to be), so they might vote in order to express themselves. Thus, a middle-class manager might vote Labour express solidarity with his working-class family, while a working-class voter may vote Conservative to express aspirations to upward mobility. But on the other hand, the Michigan model recognizes that Party Identification represents an enduring *emotional* attachment to a political party. The increasing strength of identification is associated with a tendency to support one’s party, to exhibit an interest in politics, and to be politically informed (Campbell et al., 1960 pp. 142-144). Therefore, the major category of “*Strong Attitudes*” can be classified under both Michigan and the Marketing models.

Data analysis of the Stage of Investigation of Political Parties

If the Stage of Political Consequences could be considered as the stage of initiation in the rationale of the respondents’/voters’ thinking processes then the Stage of

Investigation of the Political Parties is a stage that leads in a deeper, more concrete, and complementary part of it. By the integration of the respondents'/voters' opinion about the political parties of the Greek Parliament, we will be able to go deeper into analysis and elicit elements in relation to their political positions; in addition to this the respondents will not only rationalize their positions in relation to their political attitudes as well as their voting behaviour; they will also support these positions by facts and elements selected out of the past of both the political parties; and acts and history of their political leaders as well as political personalities related with the perceptions and image associations the respondents kept in their minds. This will lead towards the accomplishment of the third objective which is the elicitation of image associations of the respondents. It will also set up the basis for the accomplishment of the fourth objective of this research which is the development of image-based positioning propositions through the VVbTP.

The selection of attributes for the Stage of Investigation of Political Parties is evolved according to the two previous stages; that is, according to the Stage of Political Consequences and the Stage of Voting Behaviour. More specifically attributes will be also submitted under the three major categories; that is the "social sensitivity" group of attributes, the "strong attitudes-disciplined voters" group of attributes, and the "high individuality" group of attributes.

In the first group, that is the "social sensitivity" group of attributes, attributes which have been selected from the respondents SYR01, SYR 03, GD 06, SYR 07, KIN 08, SYR 09, GD 11, SYR 18, and IND 19 are classified.

In the second group, that is the "strong attitudes-disciplined voters" group of attributes that have been selected from the respondents' ND 02, ND 04, KKE 05, KKE 10, PAN 13, SYR 17, and SYR 20 are classified.

In the third group, that is the "high individuality" group of attributes that have been selected from the respondents' GD 12, GD 14, ND 15, and IND 16 are classified. In turn, the attributes will be classified and presented according to the previously mentioned three major groups-categories, for each party, the respondents have expressed; they are also classified under the groups *in general, ideology, economy, ministry of interior, emigration, education, healthcare, ministry of defence and Political*

Leader/International Institution/Centre of Power or as they are presented in the Aggregate Excerpt of the Stage of Investigation of Political Parties. More specifically, most of the respondents expressed a negative stance towards the parties of the former bipolar system; that is, about the political parties of Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) and New Democracy which were characterized as “corrupted” and responsible for the “memorandum era” (except the respondent PAN 13). The governing political party of SYRIZA was characterized negatively mostly from the supporters of New Democracy; SYRIZA received moderate comments for its economic policy from the respondents characterized by “central left” political orientation; however, SYRIZA has received negative comments about its “immigration policy” from most of the respondents and particularly from those characterized by “central right” and “right-wing” political ideology; it has also received negative general comments from PAN 13 (PA.SO.K), and the supporters of the Communist Party (KKE 05 and KKE 10). The Golden Dawn received negative comments mostly from the respondents characterized by “central left” and “left” political orientation; and moderate and positive comments from former supporters of New Democracy (SYR 01) and supporters of Golden Dawn. Most of the respondents characterized KKE “as an anachronistic political party”; POTAMI “as the party of media lords”; ANEL “as opportunist”; and The UNION of CENTRISTS “as a funny political party”. More details about the Stage of Investigation of Political Parties can be found in 7_Aggregate Excerpt of the Stage of Investigation of Political Parties.

Concluding in Open Coding

Up to now through the process of *microanalysis* (Glaser, B., 1978; Glaser, B., and Strauss, A., 1965, 1967; Straus, A., and Corbin, J., 1998, 1990, 1997 [Eds]; Charmaz, K., 2006) we came up with the presentation of the first emerging categories which had an immediate character; that is, they have been created and presented without any processing; these are the categories of “loving family”, “Tight Bonds-Bad Environment” or “No Bonds-Bad Environment”; There have also been presented highlights of the newly developed major categories of “Social Sensitivity”, “High

Individuality, and “Strong Attitudes”. With this information, we can begin to explain what properties individual voters have in common and enable them to have a common attitude such as the property of “Loving Family”, and what might happen to that attitude, say, if one of those properties were to change in to “No Bonds-Bad Environment”. More specifically, “Loving Family”, “Tight Bonds-Bad Environment” or “No Bonds-Bad Environment” represent the degree of acceptance of family values with “Loving Family” to represent the highest degree of acceptance and the “No Bonds-Bad Environment” the lowest. This would lead to the integration of *Open Coding*. However, yet major categories or subcategories with their properties and dimensions have not been created. This will lead to the next stage of the Data Analysis which is *Axial Coding* which will be presented in the next section.

5.2.2 Axial Coding

Axial coding is the process of relating categories to their subcategories, termed “axial” because coding occurs around the axis of a category, linking categories at the level of properties and dimensions (Straus, A., and Corbin, J., 1998).

In *Axial coding*, categories are related to their subcategories to form more precise and complete explanations about phenomena.

A phenomenon can explain what is going on. A subcategory is also a category, as its name implies. However, rather than standing for the phenomenon itself, subcategories answer questions about the phenomenon such as when, where, why, who, how, and with what consequences, thus giving the concept greater explanatory power.

For example, ‘Loving Family’ is a category of the first (1st) stage (personal values) which is met in most of the interviews, such as, in SYR 01, ND 02, ND 04, KKE 05, KIN 08, SYR 09, KKE 10, GD 11, GD 12, PAN 13, GD 14, ND 15, SYR 17, IND 19, and SYR 20; if we stand back and ask ourselves ‘what is going on here?’; then the answer might be:

- “‘Big hug’ from parents”, SYR 01(p.01)
- “Nice family”, KKE 05 (p.01)
- “harmonic relations”, SYR 09 (p.01)

- “love and respect for parents”, KKE 10 (p.02)
- “very tightly connected family”, GD 11 (p.01)

Accordingly, the above answers received from the respondents SYR 01, KKE 05, SYR 09, KKE 10, and GD 11 seem to be elements that increase the explanatory power of the category “Loving Family”; they might, consequently, be considered as properties of the above category since there is no space for further analysis of the particular responses.

In this section, we describe the logic behind *Axial Coding* and demonstrate how to link data at the property and dimensional levels, forming dense, well-developed, and related categories that have been emerged during the VVbTP.

More specifically and according to Gioia et al (2012), as the research progresses, the research is focused on similarities and differences among the many categories, a process that eventually reduces the germane categories to a more manageable number. Then labels or phrasal descriptors are provided to those categories (preferably retaining informant terms). It is at this point that researchers are treated as *knowledgeable agents* who can think at multiple levels simultaneously (i.e., at the level of the informant terms and codes and the more abstract, 2nd-order theoretical level of themes, dimensions, and the larger narrative—answering the important question “What’s going on here?” theoretically). Developing tentative answers to this question leads to the formulation of other questions, as subsequent interviews pursue subjects that are increasingly focused on concepts and tentative relationships emerging from the interviews to date (via a process that Glaser and Strauss [1967] termed “theoretical sampling”).

In this 2nd-order analysis, the research is in a stage that belongs firmly in the theoretical realm, asking whether the emerging themes suggest concepts that might help to describe and explain the observed phenomena. Particular attention is focused on nascent concepts that don’t seem to have adequate theoretical referents in the existing literature (e.g., “identity ambiguity” from Corley and Gioia, 2004) or existing concepts that “leap out” because of their relevance to a new domain (“optimal distinctiveness” from Gioia et al., 2010).

To be more specific, we will proceed to the *Axial Coding* process of the First (1st) Stage (Personal Values):

Axial Coding of the First (1st) Stage (Personal Values)

The first category that comes up in the First (1st) Stage (Personal Values) as already mentioned seems to be the category “Loving Family” with the following attributes

- “‘big hug’ from parents”, SYR 01(p.01)
- “nice family”, KKE 05 (p.01)
- “harmonic relations”, SYR 09 (p.01)
- “love and respect for parents”, KKE 10 (p.02)
- “harmonic relations with one another”, PAN 13 (p.01)
- “unified family with no authoritarianism”, GD 14 (p.01)
- “loving family”, ND 15 (p.01)
- “family is a holy thing”, SYR 17 (p.01)
- “good relationship within family”, IND 19 (p.01)
- “a loving family”, SYR 20 (p.02)

to be the properties of the category “Loving Family”. Accordingly, most of the respondents (SYR 01, ND 02, ND 04, KKE 05, KIN 08, SYR 09, KKE 10, GD 11, GD 12, PAN 13, GD 14, ND 15, SYR 17, IND 19, and SYR 20) are submitted under the particular category.

However, “Loving Family” does not seem to be the only category that emerges from the initial part of the investigation of the First (1st) Stage (Personal Values). The respondents SYR 03, GD 06, SYR 07, and SYR 18 seem to be classified under a different category. More specifically:

The respondent SYR 03 argued that he had an “oppressive father”, SYR 03 (p.02). The category “oppressive father” seems to be the dominant one, and “living compromisation”, “distance from religion in early university years”, and “modern and libertarian modification of his value system” seem to be the outcomes due to “oppressive father”; consequently, these are properties of the category “oppressive father” according to the responses of SYR 03.

Similarly, the respondent GD 06 argued that she lived in an “unhappy family environment”, GD 06 (p.01). The category “unhappy family environment” seems to be the dominant one, and “not a happy family atmosphere”, “parents were not a happy couple”, “parents were honest people”, “*family* was a valuable issue for parents”, “personal happiness and satisfaction for parents was a secondary issue”, and “cohesion of the family for parents was the first-degree issue” seem to be the outcomes of the category “unhappy family environment” and consequently its properties.

Similarly, the respondent SYR 07 argued that “father was absent”, SYR 07 (p.01). The category “unhappy family environment” seems to be the dominant one also in the Excerpt of First (1st) Stage (Personal Values), of SYR 07 and “dominant role by mother”, “father was absent”, and “due to work, style, behaviour” seem to be the outcomes due to “unhappy family environment” and consequently its properties.

And finally, the respondent SYR 18 argued that “a transferred pressure from society to parents and at the end to children”, SYR 18 (p.01). The category “a transferred pressure from society to parents and at the end to children” which refers to the respondent SYR 18 seems to be the dominant one and “education was a value that has been kept”, “reconsideration of value system when contacting the out of family social environment”, “very few elements of family values are kept”, “the element of personal life is not related to family’s value system”, “independent”, and “I wanted to be free” seem to be the outcomes due to “a transferred pressure from society to parents and at the end to children” and consequently its properties. The particular category can also be classified under the category “unhappy family environment”. The main attributes of the previously described categories seem to be the “unhappy family environment” and a “family coherence”; that is, “strong bonds” among family members. Hence, most appropriately this big category could be named “strong bonds-bad family environment”.

It seems, however, that there is another category that refers to one single respondent; that is, the respondent IND 16 and it is the category ‘No Bonds-Bad Environment’. This category is characterized by the total disconnection of the individual with the family value system and readjustment of the newly emerged value system according to the current and most salient needs of the individual; these

are formed every time according to every time newly developed environmental circumstances. This can be observed from the 1_Aggregate Excerpt of the First (1st) Stage (Personal Values):

Q. Was there trust and respect, either on the part of the parents towards you or from you towards the parents?

R. I don't know. I don't want to characterize it.

This is an indirect negative stance against her family environment. The above respondent also forms another category which is described not only by “bad family environment” but also by “rejection of the family environment” from the respondent IND 16; and consequently with “no bonds” between the “bad family environment” and the respondent IND 16.

In conclusion, under the first category, which is “Loving Family”, are classified most of the respondents (SYR 01, ND 02, ND 04, KKE 05, KIN 08, SYR 09, KKE 10, GD 11, GD 12, PAN 13, GD 14, ND 15, SYR 17, IND 19, and SYR 20). The properties of the particular category indicate love, respect, gratitude, and almost full acceptance of the family values.

In the second category, that is, “Tight Bonds- Bad Environment” are classified the respondents SYR 03, GD 06, SYR 07, and SYR 18. The properties of this category indicate a partial acceptance of the family value system or a moderate stance towards the family environment.

Under the third category, that is, “No Bonds-Bad Environment” is classified only the respondent IND 16; this category is characterized as a bad family environment. This led to total disapproval of the family's value system, and readjustment of her value system according to newly emerged environmental factors.

These three categories (‘Loving Family’, ‘Tight Bonds- Bad Environment’, and ‘No Bonds- Bad Environment’), however, can be classified under another, more abstract, major category which could be named “Family Environment”. Dimensionally speaking these three categories could be considered as the dimensions of the major

category “Family Environment” or the degree of acceptance of family values; that is, starting from “Loving Family” which represents the *positive stance* towards “Family Environment” we can reach the other end, that is, the *negative stance* which is represented by “No Bonds-Bad Environment”.

A determinant role for the formation of the individual voters “personal values” is exerted by the “external environment”; that is, the “personal environment” which consists of friends, relatives, neighbors and so on; and the “social environment” which represents the society in general. Attributes such as:

- “distance from religion in early university years”, SYR 03 (p.02)
- “modern and libertarian modification of his value system”, SYR 03 (p.03)
- “interaction with the community, and reading as source for shaping her value system”, IND 16 (p.02)
- “a transferred pressure from society to parents and at the end to children”, SYR 18 (p.01)

are representative examples of this interaction. This initial part of *Axial Coding* of the First (1st) Stage (Personal Values) is also illustrated by Figure 5.2

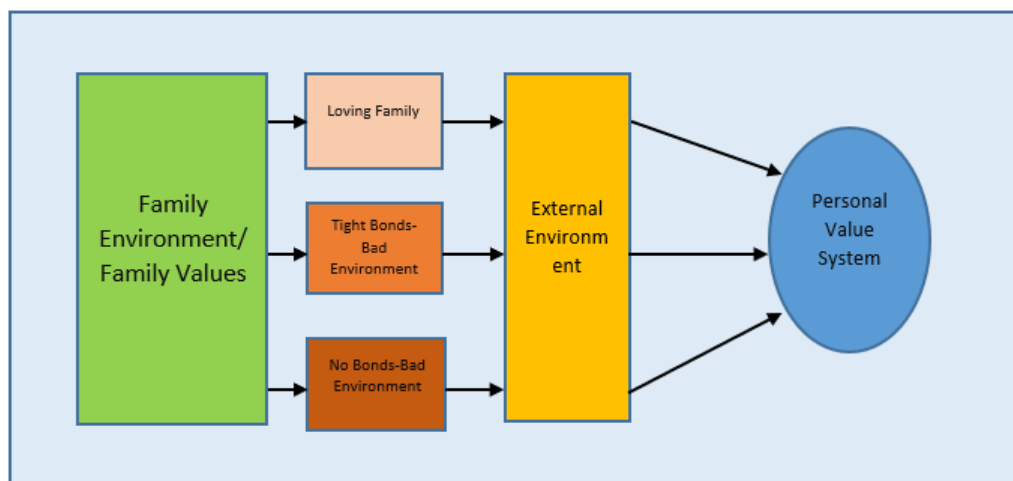


Figure 5.2: The major category ‘Family Environment’ with its Properties and Dimensions.

Figure 13

Apparently, there is not any connection between the major category of “Family Environment” and the categories of “social sensitivity”, “high individuality”, and “strong attitudes”. However, a closer observation in the next face of the dialogue (Aggregate Excerpt of First (1st) Stage (Personal Values)) will indicate that the “family values” of the majority of the respondents’ (SYR 01, SYR 03, GD 06, SYR 07, KIN 08, SYR 09, GD 11, SYR 18, and IND 19) have “social focus”. That is, they care about social justice (“justice” and “equality”, SYR 07, p.02), support towards the fellow man (“love offering”, KIN 08 (p.01); “respect for the elders”, SYR 09(p.01); “respect towards the fellow man’ as a priority”, GD 11 (p.01)); and the majority of them are against “corruption” and “lying” (“honest public employee life”, SYR 01(p.04); “no tolerance in lying”, GD 06 (p.03)) which are common attributes with their family value systems.

Similarly, the major category of “high individuality” (1_Aggregate Excerpt of First (1st) Stage (Personal Values)) is characterized by the attributes of “personal focus”, such as: “standing on ‘person-focused’”, GD 12 (p.04); “self-development and progress”, GD 14 (p.04); “boost your-self towards development”, ND 15 (p.04).

Comments about the major category of “strong attitudes” will also be provided in the Stage of Consequences.

One more comment that increases the significance of the major category “Family Environment” is that the categories “Social Sensitivity”, “High Individuality”, and “Strong Attitudes” are implications of the major category “Family Environment”; therefore, indirectly, these three categories are rendered subcategories of the major category “Family Environment”. Consequently, this can be described in Figure 5.3:

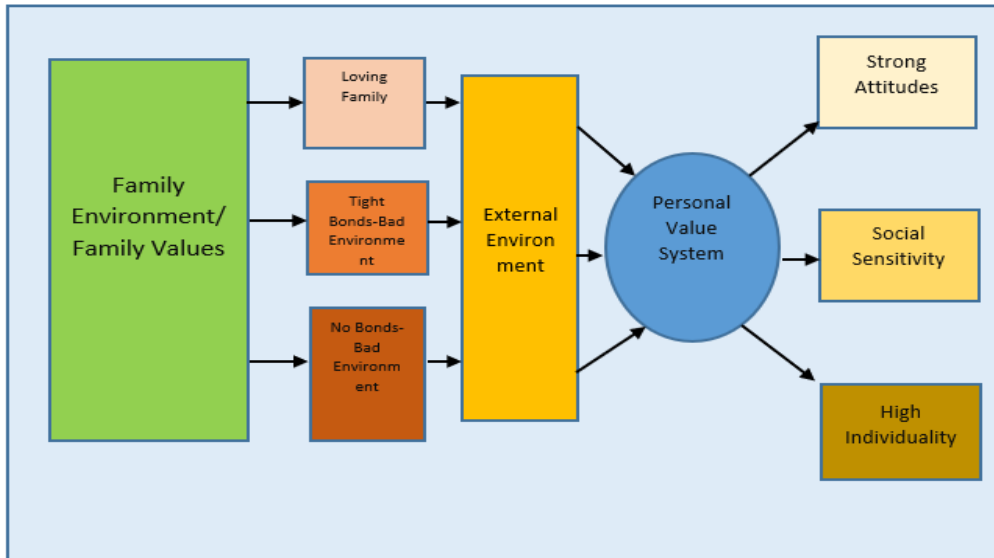


Figure 5.3: The major category “Family Environment” with its Properties and Dimensions.

Figure 14

Axial Coding of the Intermediate Stage

The Intermediate Stage is a stage of gradual initiation and familiarization of the respondents with a socio-political discussion. The critical role of the Intermediate Stage, however, is based mainly on the explanatory power that offers during its *Axial Coding* through the properties and dimensions of the emerging attributes that have been already described in the process of *Open Coding*, and particularly in the paragraph of *Data Analysis of the Intermediate Stage*. More specifically:

The respondents’ “Personal Environment” is quite similar to their “Family Environment”; it could be argued that there is a mutual impact between the respondents’ “Family Environment” and “Personal Environment”; and “Family Environment” is submitted under their “Personal Environment” or that the “Personal Environment” is influenced by their “Family Environment” and its properties; for example:

- “personal environment is located around the value of ‘respect for the fellow man’”, GD 11 (p.04).

Most respondents have provided positive comments about their “Personal Environment”, such as:

- “received good treatment and support from friends”, SYR 01(p.06);
- “personal environment is a lot better”, ND 04 (p.04);
- “her family as people with values”, GD 06 (p.05);
- “high sense of responsibility”, GD 06 (p.08);
- “personal environment is located around the value of ‘respect for the fellow man’”, GD 11 (p.04).

The “Greek Society”, stands for the respondents’ “external environment”. Accordingly, respondents are classified into two distinct groups: those respondents which maintain a “positive stance towards the Greek Society” which is described by properties such as:

- “Greek society as a society with values”, GD 06 (p.05);
 - “there is solidarity and humanitarianism”, GD 12 (p.06),
- and those respondents who maintain a “negative stance towards the Greek Society” which is described by properties such as:

- “bad social behaviour”, ND 02 (p.06);
- “society as self-focused and careless about the fellow man”, SYR 03 (p.05);
- “more selfish”, ND 04 (p.04);
- “the Greek society is hypocritical”, KIN 08 (p.03);
- “the Greek society is conservative”, SYR 09 (p.04);
- “people now are not humanitarian and friendly due to crisis”, PAN 13 (p.05);
- “the Greek society is not always unreservedly trustworthy”, ND 15 (p.06).

From the above evidence, it is implied that due to the bigger number of respondents submitted under the category of “negative stance towards the Greek Society” its dimensionality and consequently its significance is increased.

Moreover, from the discussion about the interaction between the “Greek Society” and the “Political Status”, a significant part of the respondents expressed negative comments about the interconnection of the “political and social status”. The properties, expressed by the respondents’ argumentations, reflect an indirect

negative stance towards the “Greek Political Status” and an indirect responsibility of the “Greek Political Status” for the negative properties of the “Greek Society”.

More specifically, the discussion that has been evolved particularly about the “Greek Political Status” reflects an even more negative stance that the respondents maintained about it. For example:

- “The political status is responsible for the social status”, KKE 05 (p.06);
- “we allow the political system to act in an authoritarian manner”, KIN 08 (p.05);
- “there are elements of political exploitation of the Greek society”, SYR 09 (p.04);
- “Greeks tolerate the political system”, IND 16 (p.04);
- “Greeks as responsible for electing dishonest politicians”, SYR 17 (p.10-11);
- “exploitation of the Social by the Political Status”, SYR 18 (p. 10).

In conclusion, through the above argumentations, sourcing from the section of *Data Analysis of the Intermediate Stage*, comments about the “personal environment” or *micro-conditions*, provided from the respondents SYR 01, ND 04, GD 06, and GD11 have been provided. Additionally, the *macro-conditions* (Strauss and Corbin, 1998), that is the outcome emerged from the interaction between the Greek Social Status and the Greek Political Status, were also discussed. From the above discussion the direct negative comments of a significant number of respondents (ND 02, SYR 03, ND 04, KIN 08, SYR 09, PAN13, and ND15), and indirect negative comments (from SYR 03, ND 04, KKE 05, SYR 09, GD11, PAN13, SYR17, SYR18, IND19, and SYR20) have been provided. Also, a significant number of respondents (SYR 01, KKE 05, KIN 08, SYR 09, IND16, SYR17, and SYR18) maintains a negative stance for both, that is, the Greek Social Status and the Greek Political Status; and that almost all the respondents maintain a negative stance for the Greek Political Status which is mainly characterized by “corruption”.

Axial Coding of the Stage of Motivations

In this particular stage, the “Central Motivational Goals” (Schwartz, 2009, 1992, 2006b; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987, 1990) sourcing from the Axial Coding of the Stage of Motivations are investigated.

Accordingly, a “total mismatch quota” between Personal Values and the Central Motivational Goals has been identified for two (2) out of twenty (20) respondents (GD 12 and IND16).

There has also been identified a “direct matching” quota from six (6) out of twenty (20) respondents (ND 02, SYR 03, KKE 05, KIN 08, PAN 13, ND 15); that is, matching between the “Personal Values” i.e. “openness to change” and the “Central Motivational Goal” i.e. “Independent thought and action: choosing, creating, exploring”, ND 02 (p.13); “Personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards”, SYR 03 (p.12); “security”, KKE 05 (p.10); “Independent thought and action: choosing, creating, exploring”, KIN 08 (p.07); “‘Independent thought and action: choosing, creating, and exploring’ as the first motive”, PAN 13 (p.09); “Independent thought and action: choosing, creating, exploring”, ND 15 (p.10).

There has also been identified an “indirect matching” from the remaining twelve (12) out of twenty (20) respondents; that is, the second or third choice of the “Central Motivational Goals” were matching with their personal values. More specifically:

- “Personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards”, SYR 01(p.11);
- “choosing, creating, and exploring, ND 04 (p.10);
- “Preserving and enhancing the welfare of those with whom one is in frequent personal contact”, GD 06 (p.10);
- “Personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards”, SYR 07 (p.09);
- “Independent thought and action: choosing, creating, and exploring”, SYR 09 (p.10);
- “Independent thought and action: choosing, creating, exploring”, KKE 10 (p.14);
- “Understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and nature”, GD 11 (p.12);
- “Safety, harmony, and stability of society, of relationships, and of self”, GD 14 (p.10); “Excitement, novelty, and challenge in life”, SYR 17 (p.16);
- “Independent thought and action: choosing, creating, exploring”, SYR 18 (p.13);
- “Understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and nature”, IND 19 (p.07);

- “Understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and nature”, SYR 20 (p.19).

From the Data Analysis of the Stage of Motivations, a “direct” or “indirect” matching between the two stages could be observed. New inferences have emerged from the *Axial Coding* of the Stage of Motivations and particularly from the three new categories of respondents; that is, “total mismatch quota”, the “direct matching”, and the “indirect matching” as well as their respective “Central Motivational Factors” as their subcategories with their properties for each of these subcategories.

These elements empower the explanation about the role of the Stage of Motivations concerning the First (1st) Stage (Personal Values) as well as for *Voters’ Value-based Thinking Processes* in general. More specifically it is upgraded as a checkpoint of crosscheck between the First (1st) Stage (Personal Values) and the “Central Motivational Factors” (Schwartz, 2009, 1992, 2006b; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987, 1990) in order coherence and interconnection to be verified. However, and most importantly, through the emerging properties of the subcategories “Central Motivational Factors,” the respondents render the Stage of Motivations as a stage of readjustment between them and their Personal as well as their Major Social Environment.

Axial Coding of the Stage of Political Attitudes

The Fourth (4th) Stage (Political Attitudes) represents the political will of respondents and their political self-determination within the politico-ideological spectrum. Up to this stage, it can be observed that the emerging evidence from the previous stage is in line with the VVbTP; besides matching, for most of the respondents, between their Personal Values and their “Central Motivational Factors”, there is also a matching between their Personal Values, their “Central Motivational Factors”, and the emerging up to now major categories of “Social Sensitivity” and “High-Individuality”.

More specifically, during the investigation of the Stage of Political Attitudes, all respondents were positioned according to their ideological beliefs. Accordingly, ideological positions such as

- “central right political ideology”, SYR 01(p.14)
- “Left”, KKE 05 (p.12)
- “between central-right and right”, GD 06 (p.11)
- “‘central-left’ political ideology”, SYR 09 (p.11)
- “‘socialist left’ as political position”, KKE 10 (p.20)
- “‘Left’ political ideology”, PAN 13 (p.11)
- “‘left-winged’ as political ideology”, SYR 20 (p.21)

were provided.

However, through the Stage of Political Attitudes, most respondents provided interesting comments about salient issues related to their Personal Values, and Greek and International Politics. More specifically speaking:

- “negative stance towards globalization”, ND 02 (p.14)
- “development of middle class”, ND 02 (p.15)
- “redistribution of income cannot be achieved within this political system”, SYR 03 (p.13)
- “Capitalists are not benefactors”, KKE 05 (p.12)
- “the “right” ideology recognize the differences among people”, GD 06
- “‘social justice’ as key word for ‘political attitude’”, SYR 09 (p.12)
- “patriotism has no hue”, GD 12 (p.18)
- “patriotism does not mean fascism”, GD 14 (p.16)
- “the ‘central right’ concentrates more political views”, ND 15 (p.13)

A significant number of respondents also expressed negative comments about the Greek Political Status during this stage:

- “negative stance towards the political status”, SYR 01(p.14)
- “negative stance towards the political system”, ND 04 (p.12)
- “resistance against the political status”, KKE 05 (p.12)

- “‘Disappointment’ as key word for relationship between your ideology and the political status”, KIN 08 (p.11)
- “Negative stance against the political status”, SYR 09 (p.11)
- “the political status was always in confrontation with my personal values”, SYR 17 (p.20)

Moreover, two respondents (IND 16 and IND 19) provided unclarified ideological positions:

- “central political ideology”, and “economic freedom but at the same time protectionism to the more vulnerable”, IND 16 (p.11); and
- “the ‘centre’ as political ideology”, and “the ‘central’ political ideology represented by stable values”, IND 19 (p.09); “the ‘stable values’ as humanitarian features, social policy and opportunities for private initiative”, IND 19 (p.09).

Axial Coding of the Stage of Political Consequences

During the section of *Data Analysis of the Stage of Political Consequences*, in the stage of *Open Coding*, a thorough analysis of the dialogues that have been evolved with all the respondents has been made; during this analysis, the respondents have provided the very basic elements with respect to the rationale that stands for congruence or incongruence between their Political Attitudes and Voting Behaviour, and their Personal Values as the basic source of these positions.

During the *Axial Coding of the Stage of Political Consequences*, the attributes elicited from the dialogues with the respondents classified under the already emerged categories of “Social Sensitivity” and “High Individuality” will be provided. This will be made in an “axial” manner.

Additionally, during this stage a new major category will emerge; this is the category of “*Strong Attitudes-Disciplined Voters*” which has been based on the attributes that describe the positions of the respondents' ND 02, ND 04, KKE 05, KKE 10, PAN 13, SYR 17, and SYR 20.

More specifically, this process will commence with the description of the attributes that have been elicited from the process of *Open Coding of the Stage of Consequences* of the respondents classified under the major category of “*Social Sensitivity*”; that is, the respondents SYR 01, SYR 03, GD 06, SYR 07, KIN 08, SYR 09, GD 11, SYR 18, and IND 19.

It seems that all the respondents of the particular category are characterized by sensitivity towards the common good or the benefit and wellbeing of the society and the fellow citizen. This is the highest value that characterizes them; and any perceived violation of social justice, of the common good, or lying to disorient the fellow citizen is a serious reason for negative reactions to being raised against the violator(s) of this value. Due to this a punitive attitude has emerged, which caused a serious gap in the relationship between the particular category of respondents and the violator(s). In politics, it is apparent that such reaction is expressed as “partisan rebellion” and incongruence between the Political Attitude and Voting Behaviour towards the leadership of the political party and the political party itself.

More specifically, this diversion happened due to the violation of the particular category of respondents’ dominant value which is the “Social Focus”, and its properties which are “honesty” and “not lying”; instead of this the particular category of respondents was confronted with “corruption” and “lying”.

Accordingly, the above respondents were led to “partisan rebellion” which is expressed by the following attributes:

- “unrepentant about my ‘partisan rebellion’”, SYR 01(p.17)
- “corruption as a reason for incongruence between voting and ideology”, GD 06 (p.13)
- “I voted for other parties in the past”, SYR 07 (p.16)
- “I left a political party that I served for thirty (30) years”, KIN 08 (p.13)
- “punitive voting although not expressed politically”, SYR 09 (p.12)
- “inconsistency in voting behaviour”, GD 11 (p.17)
- “diversion happened although very rarely”, SYR 18 (p.18), and
- “divergence due to ‘punishment’”, IND 19 (p.10)

One respondent has also expressed “persistence in ‘abstention’”, SYR 03 (p.15), although a former supporter of SYRIZA and of the “left” ideology; this is due to “voting for less bad is a trap”, SYR 03.

The main observation from the discussion with respondents of the major category of “Social Sensitivity” in this as well as in the other stages was “corruption” which is the main property and main cause of “partisan rebellion”: “corruption as a reason for incongruence between voting and ideology”, GD 06 (p.13).

However, one of the main attributes of the particular category, in this or in other stages, is the attribute of “negative stance towards the political status” which has been observed almost in all the discussions that have been made with all the respondents: SYR 01 (p. 17), SYR 03 (p.15), GD 06 (p.13), SYR 07 (p. 16), SYR 09 (p.12), GD 11 (p.18), SYR 18 (p.18), and IND 19 (p.10). The respondent IND 19, in particular, added that “corrupted politicians should be punished”, IND 19 (p.10). An exception was noticed only by the respondent KIN 08 who argued that “we cannot put the blame for everything on the politicians”, KIN 08, (p. 13).

The second most significant category which has also been emerged during the process of *Open Coding* is the major category of “High Individuality”. This category of respondents is also based on the Value Theory of S. Schwartz and it is characterized by “personal focus”; and it consists of the respondents' GD 12, GD 14, ND 15, and IND 16. The major properties of the particular category of respondents concentrate their focus on attributes of beneficial nature. All the respondents which are submitted under this major category have, either currently or in the past, also indicated inconsistency in their political choices and incongruence between their Political Attitudes and Voting Behaviour. This particular behaviour emerges when the personal interests or beneficial status of the particular category of respondents is violated. More specifically, this is described by the following attributes:

- “I am standing on ‘person focus’”, GD 12 (p.21)
- “‘shift’ has nothing to do with political values”, GD 14 (p.20)
- “‘rebellion’ due to contradiction of expectations”, ND 15 (p.14)
- “I would act according to my own interest”, IND 16 (p. 14)

It is, however, significant to provide parts of the dialogue with the respondent GD 12 so that how his keen attitude towards emigration has emerged and how he uses his vote for certain things to be achieved: “my political choice was with a view to restraining the emigration problem”, GD 12 (p.21), and so that the “illegal emigrants” are “cleaned up”, GD 12 (p.21). Moreover “ideology was an insignificant factor for voting behaviour”, GD 12 (p.21) and that “voting for ‘Golden Dawn’ cause ‘huge difference’”, GD 12 (p.21); however, “‘Golden Dawn’ is not responsible for ‘huge difference’”, GD 12 (p.21); and by being more specific “the solution of the problem was provided for the ‘Golden Dawn’ not to swell”, GD 12 (p.21).

The “negative stance towards the political status” was also a major characteristic of all the respondents classified under this major category.

The third and last major category will be the “*Strong Attitudes-Disciplined Voters*”, which has been emerged during the *Axial Coding* of the Stage of Political Consequences; the “*Strong Attitudes-Disciplined Voters*” is based on the MODE Model and it is credited to Fazio 1990a, and which already has been described in the Chapter of Literature Review; in this category, there are classified respondents that indicate partisan discipline and congruence between political attitude and voting behaviour; under this major category there are classified properties emerged from discussions made by the respondents ND 02, ND 04, KKE 05, KKE 10, PAN 13, SYR 17, and SYR 20. Specific attributes of this category of respondents are:

- “confirmation of ‘ideologically oriented voting behaviour’”, ND 02 (p.16)
- “political attitude almost always consistent with political choices”, KKE 05 (p.13)
- “consistent with his ideology”, KKE 10 (p.04)
- “congruence between voting and ideology till now”, PAN 13 (p.11)
- “most of times she casts an ‘ideological vote’”, SYR 17 (p.22)
- “I vote according to my ideology”, SYR 20 (p.23)

The respondent ND 04 although has argued that “there is no complete ideological representation from any political party”, ND 04 (p.14), and she has “loose links with political a party”, ND 04 (p.14), and that there is “the possibility of partisan ‘rebellion’”, ND 04 (p.14) is classified under the particular category due to the fact that up to now she has been a *Disciplined Voter*.

By the integration of the *Axial Coding* process of the Stage of Political Consequences, we can proceed to the Axial Coding process of the Stage of the respondents’ Voting Behaviour.

Axial Coding of the Stage of Voting Behaviour

In the section of *Data Analysis (Open Coding) of the Stage of Voting Behaviour* explanations about the significance of the particular stage concerning the voters’ thinking processes have already been provided. However, during the *Axial Coding of the Stage of Voting Behaviour* more solid proof and explanatory power for the emerged inferences from the section of *Data Analysis of the Stage of Voting Behaviour* will be gained. Therefore, in line with the section of *Data Analysis (Open Coding) of the Stage of Voting Behaviour*, the *Axial Coding of the Stage of Voting Behaviour* will similarly be classified under the three major categories; that is, of “Social Sensitivity”, “High Individuality”, and “Strong Political Attitudes”. More specifically:

Under the major category of “Social Sensitivity,” the following responses have been received as voting choices of the respondents submitted under this category; consequently, the political parties will comprise sub-categories under which the voting choices will be submitted. More specifically:

- “SYRIZA”, SYR 01(p.17) which is classified under the sub-category [‘SYRIZA’].
- “I did not vote”, SYR 03 (p.16), and “in 2012 he voted for SYRIZA”, SYR 03 (p.16) property which is classified under the sub-category [‘SYRIZA’].
- “Golden Dawn”, GD 06 (p.14), which is classified under the sub-category [‘Golden Dawn’].

- “SYRIZA as most recent electoral choice”, SYR 07 (p.19), property which is classified under the sub-category [‘SYRIZA’].
- “KIDESO”, KIN 08 (p.15), which is classified under the sub-category [‘KIDESO’].
- “SYRIZA”, SYR 09 (p.14), which is classified under the sub-category [‘SYRIZA’].
- “Golden Dawn”, GD 11 (p.18), which is classified under the sub-category [‘Golden Dawn’].
- “SYRIZA as voting behaviour”, SYR 18 (p.20), which is classified under the sub-category [‘SYRIZA’].
- “I don’t remember”, IND 19 (p.10), property which is classified under the sub-category [‘Indifferent’].

Under the major category of “High Individuality” the following responses have been received:

- “‘The Golden Dawn’ as voting behaviour”, GD 12 (p.22), property which is classified under the sub-category [‘Golden Dawn’].
- “‘Golden Dawn’ as voting behaviour”, GD 14 (p.22), property which is classified under the sub-category [‘Golden Dawn’].
- “‘New Democracy’ as ‘voting behaviour’”, ND 15 (p.17), property which is classified under the sub-category [‘New Democracy’].
- “resist to answer”, IND 16 (p.17), property which is classified under the sub-category [‘Indifferent’].

And under the major category of “Strong Attitudes-Disciplined Voters” the following responses have been received:

- “New Democracy”, ND 02 (p.18), property which is classified under the sub-category [‘New Democracy’].
- “for New Democracy”, ND 04 (p.14), property which is classified under the sub-category [‘New Democracy’].
- “consistent voter of Communist Party of Greece”, KKE 05 (p.14), property which is classified under the sub-category [‘KKE (Communist Party of Greece)’].
- “‘the communist party (KKE)’ as voting choice”, KKE 10 (p.32), property which is classified under the sub-category [‘KKE (Communist Party of Greece)’].

- “PASOK as cast of vote”, PAN 13 (p.13), property which is classified under the sub-category [‘PASOK’].
- “SYRIZA as voting behaviour”, SYR 17 (p.23), property which is classified under the sub-category [‘SYRIZA’].
- “SYRIZA as voting behaviour”, SYR 20 (p.25), property which is classified under the sub-category [‘SYRIZA’].

This was the integration of the Axial Coding process of the Stage of Voting Behaviour. The last part of the *Axial Coding* process will be the *Axial Coding of the Stage of Investigation of Political Parties*.

Axial Coding of the Stage of Investigation of Political Parties

Axial Coding of the Stage of Investigation of Political Parties will be made under the classification of the three major categories; that is the major category of “social sensitivity”, the major category of “strong attitudes-disciplined voters”, and the major category of “high individuality”.

In the first group, that is the major category of “social sensitivity”, which are classified attributes that have been selected from the respondents SYR01, SYR 03, GD 06, SYR 07, KIN 08, SYR 09, GD 11, SYR 18, and IND 19.

In the second group, that is the major category of “strong attitudes-disciplined voters” are classified attributes that have been selected from the respondents ND 02, ND 04, KKE 05, KKE 10, PAN 13, SYR 17, and SYR 20.

In the third group, that is the major category of “high individuality” are classified attributes that have been selected from the interviewees GD 12, GD 14, ND 15, and IND 16.

In turn, the responses and argumentations will be used for attributes to be elicited for each party that each respondent maintains, under sub-categories such as *in general, ideology, economy, ministry of interior, emigration, education, healthcare, ministry of defense, and Political Leader/International Institution/Centre of Power*;

these sub-categories can be found in the 7_Aggregate Excerpt of the Stage of Investigation of Political Parties.

More specifically, the following key attributes were elicited for each political party:

- ND: “corruption”,
- PASOK: “corruption”
- SYRIZA: “try harder/yet unhappy people”
- GD: “problematic political style”
- KKE “obsolete”
- POTAMI: “corrupted”
- ANEL: “contradictory”, and
- Union of Centrists: “funny”.

From the previously described *Axial Coding* process it is observed that once a workable set of themes and concepts is in hand (and the culmination of the theme and concept development process leads to what Glaser and Strauss [1967] termed “theoretical saturation”), whether it is possible to distill the emergent 2nd-order themes even further into 2nd-order “aggregate dimensions” is investigated.

The integration of the full set of 1st-order terms and 2nd-order themes and aggregate dimensions implied that the basis for building a *data structure* has been also integrated (see Fig. 5.2 and 5.3)—this is perhaps the pivotal step in the entire research approach. The data structure not only allows to configure the data into a sensible visual aid, but it also provides a graphic representation of how progress is made from raw data to terms and themes in conducting the analyses—a key component of demonstrating rigor in qualitative research (Pratt, 2008; Tracy, 2010). In this way, the act of constructing a data structure compels the researcher to begin thinking about the data theoretically, not just methodologically. This does not mean, however, that the *data structure* should capture relationships among the 2nd-order themes (a step that comes later in the theorizing process). But this forced “stepping-up” in abstractness does lay the foundation for balancing the deep embeddedness of the informant’s view in living the phenomenon with the necessary view which is

often required to draw forth significant theoretical insights. Hence, our key criterion for assessing the analysis is provided by the example of Fig. 5.2 and 5.3.

Coincident with the data gathering and after the initial stages of analysis, the research focus also begins to move between emergent data, themes, concepts, and dimensions and the relevant literature, not only to see whether what is found has precedents, but also whether new concepts have been discovered. At this point, it is necessary to mention that in this thesis it is assumed that there is value in semi-ignorance or “enforced ignorance” of the literature (Gioia et al, 2012). Up to this stage in the research, it is assumed that the literature is not known in great detail, because knowing the literature intimately too early “puts blinders” on the researcher and leads to prior hypothesis bias (confirmation bias). Upon consulting the literature, the research process might be viewed as transitioning from “inductive” to a form of “abductive” research, in that data and existing theory are now considered in tandem (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2007). Of course, the researcher is never completely uninformed about prior work, either, so one might also term this stance as “willing suspension of belief” or witting (as opposed to unwitting) ignorance of the previous theorizing in the domain of interest. Some combination of knowing and not knowing amounts to another fine balancing act that allows for discovery without reinventing the well-ridden wheels (Gioia et al, 2012).

With the integration of *Axial Coding of the Stage of Political Parties* the integration of the process of *Axial Coding of the Voters Thinking Processes* has been integrated. Consequently, we can proceed to the next step which is the process of *Selective Coding* for the *Central Theoretical Category* to be elicited.

5.2.3 Selective Coding

Selective coding is the process of integrating and refining the theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). In *Open Coding*, the analyst is concerned with generating categories and their properties and then seeks to determine how categories vary dimensionally. In *Axial Coding*, categories are systematically developed and linked with subcategories. However, this is not

accomplished until the major categories are finally integrated to form a larger theoretical scheme that the research findings take the form of theory. *Selective Coding* is the process of integrating and refining categories (Strauss and Corbin, 1998).

Accordingly, as important as the data structure might be, and as much energy spent into developing it, it is nonetheless a static picture of a dynamic phenomenon, and process research doesn't actually investigate processes unless the static picture—a photograph if you will—can be made into a motion picture. Therefore, a front-and-centre focus on the ultimate goal of building a vibrant inductive model that is grounded in the data is kept, one that captures the informants' experience in theoretical terms. The resulting grounded theory model, then, should be one that shows the dynamic relationships among the emergent concepts that describe or explain the phenomenon of interest and one that makes clear all relevant data-to-theory connections (Gioia et al, 2012).

The key question, in this stage, is how to account for not only all the major emergent concepts, themes, and dimensions, but also for their dynamic interrelationships. Speaking in classic boxes-and-arrows terms, this process amounts to assembling the constellation of boxes with a special focus on the arrows. It is the arrows that “set everything in motion” (Nag et al., 2007). A reader should be able to look at the grounded theory model and see that the essential concepts, themes, and/or dimensions contained in the data structure are well represented in the model, but also that the relational dynamics among those concepts are now made transparent. Figure 5.4 shows the grounded model generated by the data structure.

More specifically, in the next paragraphs the process of *Selective Coding* will be described and accomplished in parallel, and through the current research findings the major emergent concepts, themes, and dimensions, but also for their dynamic interrelationships.

In extent to the above argumentation, the first step in integration is deciding on a Central Category. *Central Category* represents the main theme of the research. Although the *Central Category* evolves from the research, it is also an abstraction. In

an exaggerated sense, it consists of all the products of analysis condensed into a few words that seem to explain “what this research is all about”. For example, returning to the concept of *Voters’ Value-based Thinking Processes*, we might conceptualize the essence of the outcome of the data analysis of this research as being *The Voters’ Value-based Thinking Processes Reformed*. This explanation is our interpretation of what the research is all about, and what the salient issues or problems of the participants seem to be.

Criteria for Choosing a Central Category

Central Category has analytic power. What gives it that power is its ability to pull the other categories together to form an explanatory whole. Also, *Central Category* should be able to account for considerable variation within categories. Strauss (1987) provided a list of criteria that can be applied to a category to determine whether it qualifies:

- It must be central; that is, all other major categories can be related to it.
- It must appear frequently in the data. This means that within all or almost all cases, there are indicators pointing to that concept.
- The explanation that evolves by relating the categories is logical and consistent. There is no forcing of data.
- The name or phrase used to describe the central category should be sufficiently abstract that it can be used to do research in other substantive areas, leading to the development of a more general theory.
- As the concept is refined analytically through integration with other concepts, the theory grows in depth and explanatory power.
- The concept is able to explain variation as well as the main point made by the data; that is, when conditions vary, the explanation still holds, although the way in which a phenomenon is expressed might look somewhat different. One also should be able to explain contradictory or alternative cases in terms of that central idea (p. 36).

Techniques to develop the Central Category

Several techniques can be used to facilitate the identification of the *Central Category* and the integration of concepts. Among these are *writing the storyline*, *making use of diagrams*, and *reviewing and sorting memos* either by hand or by a computer program (if one is being used). The first option, which is, *writing the storyline*, is the choice that will be adapted in this thesis due to the more descriptive and narrative style it can provide.

To understand how a *storyline* is evolved it should begin, first, with the *Identification of the Story* and, second, with the *Description of the Story*.

The story arises in Greece during the Memorandum Era.

Identification of the Story: In this thesis, which is classified under the qualitative paradigm, twenty (20) in-depth interviews with adults of various ages who participated in a national electoral process one or more times at least have been made. The research interest was on why these twenty (20) participants indicated this or, in the past, another electoral choice to make inferences about their future voting behaviour. The respondents were looking back; thus, they had more distance or perspective of what it was all about, and because of that distance, they were able to present their story with more insight than they probably would have had if interviewed during the actual time of electoral period and under the pressure of electoral campaigning. Their looking back and talking about it from a “present” perspective is perhaps why the following *Description of the Story* has come up.

Description of the Story: The *Description of the Story* will be accomplished in five parts that signal five critical stages for the respondents respectively. (1) What keeps striking us about these interviews is the smooth connection and transition from the *values* of the respondents’ family environment until their *electoral behaviour*. It seems to be a kind of a journey, a developmental phase in their lives that marks the passage from childhood to a very critical manifestation of their adulthood such as that of exercising their electoral rights. (2) They learn about themselves, gain acceptance from their peers and their environment, and position themselves as members of society after a reevaluation of their *family values* under the influence of

their social environment. Accordingly, this interaction between the respondents' *family values* and their personal and social environment led to the development of their *personal value system* which seemed to be determinately influenced by their *family values*; and in a way that in most cases the *family values* operated as a compass for their future behaviour. (3) There was also an interaction between respondents' values and political environment or political status. After this interaction between the respondents' values and their environment, they also position themselves within the "political spectrum" in a way that they identified their political ideology. (4) It also seemed that due to this interaction between the respondents' values and their environment a predictive behaviour emerged; within this predictive behaviour, their electoral behaviour was also incorporated. (5) Finally, through these twenty (20) in-depth interviews, which were based on the process named VVbTP, the Central Category or *The Voters' Value-based Thinking Processes Reformed*, has been developed; by the above conceptualization, a close and thorough observation of the way voters reach their final value-based electoral choices is described.

Moving from Description to Conceptualization

Once the essence of the research was grasped, then a name to the central idea may be provided and other concepts could be related to it. Because there were threads/issues about the way that the individual voters think to make political decisions, from where the source of this thinking process came, and how this thinking process evolved in memos but no real name for it, a concept should come up that captured the essence of this process. Initially, the central idea decided to be conceptualized as "the Voters' Thinking Processes".

The central idea was conceptualized as such since the basic aim was to observe closely the thinking processes of the Greek voters through which they finally end up in electoral decisions. This aim was based on the assumption that these thinking processes of the Greek voters would be *value-based*, since *personal values* are

considered as the deepest source of any evolved human behaviour (Feather, 1975; Rokeach 1968, 1973, and 1979).

Of course, the emerged data must fit this central idea; so, the next step is to write the story again but this time using the existing categories. By using concepts, the linkages among them were also built. The statements by which the concepts were connected and their similarities to the features of the paradigm were introduced in the section on Axial Coding.

Although not necessarily written as “these conditions are associated with this phenomenon or process” or “this action leads to this outcome,” relationships such as these are implied.

Also, the relationships are evolved in a linear form. This is credited to the fact that the VVbTP has a linear form by itself; this happens since it is a logical development of the Voters’ Thinking Processes; and these are sourcing from both the discussions the researcher had with Greek fellow citizens, and with the interviewees. So, paths of associations were gradually evolved, with all sorts of intervening variables entering into the analytic picture and influence the path of action.

More specifically, in the 3rd Chapter (My Personal Views and Experience) it was argued that a qualitative researcher is encouraged to acknowledge his understandings and view of the world and to communicate this clearly in the thesis (Creswell, 1994). One of the most prominent advantages of qualitative research is that it enables the researcher to grasp respondents’ points of view and values in advance of the method, data collection, and analysis. As such, the researcher is rendered an instrument of inquiry by taking advantage of the intimate acquaintance with his own culture as well as of the respondents (McCracken, 1988). McCracken (1988) named this stage *the Review of Cultural Categories*, and it is concerned with the relationship between the researcher’s own culture and his target study of interest (See figure 4.3); accordingly, the understanding of the cultural matters sourcing from Greek voters’ electoral decision-making process is described as a logical development of the respondents’ sequential life development based, *firstly*, on that voters are “knowledgeable agents,” namely, they know what they are trying to do and can explain their thoughts, intentions, and actions (Gioia et al, 2012). This

means that extraordinary efforts should be made to give voice to the informants in the early stages of data gathering and analysis and also to represent their voices prominently in the reporting of the research, which creates rich opportunities for the discovery of new concepts rather than an affirmation of existing concepts (Gioia et al, 2012); and *secondly*, that researchers are pretty knowledgeable people too—that they can figure out patterns in the data, enabling them to surface concepts and relationships that might escape the awareness of the informants, and that they can formulate these concepts in theoretically relevant terms (Gioia et al, 2012). Hence, the researcher himself becomes an instrument of inquiry (McCracken, 1988), since the researcher is Greek who grew up in Greece and the target respondents in data collection are Greek citizens, and that he also resides and works within the Greek culture that he is deeply familiar with. As such he was rendered the best possible instrument that could describe the voters' value-based thinking processes.

The above argumentation allows drawing on the researcher's understanding of how he sees and experiences Greek voters' electoral decision-making process that he can supplement, and interpret the data he generates.

Part One (1): Family Environment/Family Values.

This process will commence with the description of the concept of *Family Environment* and *Family Values*. The basic question for all respondents in this particular stage is described by the following example:

Question: As far as concerns your family environment, as far as you can remember, you were a family; with your brother; as far as you can remember did you perceive any values or value system from your family environment? Imperceptibly in the beginning and then more consciously; things that passed from the parents; which could not be identified right from the beginning; were there any things you can recall?

Respondent: *Yes; to be honest; to respect our parents; not to harm other people; mainly to be honest and with our behaviour not to harm anyone else (1_Aggregate Excerpt of First (1st) Stage (Personal Values), SYR 18).*

The elicited attributes from the above answer of the respondent SYR 18 are:

- “to be honest”,
- “to respect our parents”,
- “not to harm other people”, and
- “respect other people”.

It was somehow like this the way that all interviews commenced in order to, mentally, enter the respondents’ family environment; that is, where all family values, beliefs, and initial information related to social issues were provided. It was the first attempt to identify the basic social inclinations of the respondents, as well as the first education and rules of social behaviour which were concentrated and provided through the family value system and which were inherited from the family environment. ‘Honesty’, ‘morality’, ‘respect towards others’, ‘progress’, and so on were some of them.

One of the next questions was: “Did you love your parents?” This question would identify the degree of acceptance of the family values from the respondents; that is, the dimensionality of family values. “Love towards parents” indicates the approval of parents as personalities and consequently the degree of acceptance of family values. Imagine the other extreme of “Love towards parents”. That is the non-existence of love and respect towards parents. This position towards parents from the respondents would lead towards rejection of family values; such as in Excerpt of First (1st) Stage (Personal Values), IND 16 (p.01).

Hence, the question “Did you love your parents?” operated dimensionally with regard to the degree of acceptance of family values from the respondents. This dimensionality is expressed by the categories “loving family”, “strong bonds-bad environment”, and “no bonds-bad environment”; where “loving family” and “No

bonds-bad environment” are the two extremes of this dimensionality. These three categories are also subcategories of the major category “family environment”.

Part Two (2): The External Environment.

The last part of the First Stage (‘Personal Values’) and the Second Stage or the “Intermediate Stage” of the Voters’ Thinking Processes are substantially the stages in which the respondents provide the first information about their environment; either this is their personal environment or the social environment.

This is where the interaction between the family’s values, ideas, and beliefs, and on the other hand the values of others start being confronted and compared with each other.

This confrontation could be considered as the first clash between *Social Norms* received from the external environment and the undeniable, till then, the family’s values.

It could also be described as a confrontation between self and personal characteristics, and personal or social environment.

A confrontation such as this could be described by the following examples and corresponding attributes:

First (1) Example: 2_Aggregate Excerpt of Intermediate Stage, SYR 09.

Question: *Are all of these changes on the social level that you have suggested related to the value system you have inherited from the family or they are related to the relocation you make later on when you went to study in Thessaloniki?*

Respondent: *Look, the family set up some basis; however, I consider that after a certain point one part was credited to the university and because the science of law is a political science and it had a lot to give me in relation to this direction, but beyond this, it was a matter of what each one of us wanted to see; if you want to read, if you were interested in the political history of the country; I basically believe that culture within or out of a university exerts a great impact; that is you receive some elements from the family and from the environment you live in.*

Hence, the most significant attributes that emerge from this dialogue are:

- “the family set up the basic core of value system”
- “the university as a basic instrument of change in value system”
- “culture within or out of a university exerts a great impact”
- “family and environment as basic instruments for change”

Second (2) Example: 1_Aggregate Excerpt of First (1st) Stage (Personal Values), SYR 18.

Question: *...you had received a basic core...you had received a basic package of values from home if you prefer! Gradually when you start going to the secondary school...lyceum, and particularly in the university, this is where the large displacements are noticed! Were there any displacements?*

Respondent: *...yes, and particularly when I started working [“freedom when start working”];*

Firstly, for me it meant nothing to be within some standards socially accepted; I could say that I was never interested in that; that is, ‘who are they to judge me?’ I did not care about it at all; I had seen this rather young;

Hence, the most significant attribute that emerged from this dialogue is:

- “neglecting of socially accepted standards in a rather young age”

Third (3) Example: 1_Aggregate Excerpt of First (1st) Stage (Personal Values), IND16.

Question: *Besides politicization, which we will talk about later on, was there any sort of compass; I mean some basic principles which prevailed? (Principles) mainly of a social character; that is, what kind of obligations you may have against yourself, people close to you, the family etc. This is more or less the way you can see this.*

Respondent: *No, there were no ‘parental tutorials.’ It was only by actions.*

Question: *Did you formulate your own value system later on?*

Respondent: *Yes, sure.*

Question: *Did your family play a role in that or was it more your own...?*

Respondent: *It was my own (choices).*

Question: *Do you mean your interaction with the community, your friends...?*

Respondent: *(Yes) with the community, and all the things that I used to read ...*

- “there were no ‘parental tutorials’ about values”
- “values were passed only by actions”
- “she formulated/formulates her own value system later on”
- “value system was her own choice”
- “interaction with the community, and reading as source for shaping her value system”

These three examples correspond to the three subcategories “*loving family*”, “*strong bonds-bad environment*”, and “*no bonds-bad environment*” respectively; and they indicate how these interactions separately for each subcategory evolve.

In conclusion, the attributes:

- “the university as a basic instrument of change in value system”, “culture within or out of a university exerts a great impact” and “family and environment as basic instruments for change” are properties of the subcategory “*loving family*”;
- “freedom when start working”, and “neglecting of socially accepted standards in a rather young age” are properties of the subcategory “*strong bonds-bad environment*”, and
- “there were no ‘parental tutorials’ about values”, “values were passed only by actions”, “she formulated/formulates her own value system later on”, “value system was her own choice”, “interaction with the community, and reading as source for shaping her value system” are properties of the subcategory “*no bonds-bad environment*”.

Of course, there are plenty of additional properties that are related to the three subcategories “*loving family*”, “*strong bonds-bad environment*”, and “*no bonds-bad environment*” which can be found in the dialogues with the respondents that are classified under the above subcategories.

Part Three (3): The Three Major Categories.

The attributes that differentiate the respondents, and consequently the electorate, from each other vary; by grouping them according to their attributes, three major categories have emerged; that is, the categories of “Social Sensitivity”, “High Individuality”, and “Strong Attitudes-Disciplined Voters”.

For each group of respondents, however, the way of passage to the respective major category was different.

A critical condition that determined the types of respondents was the interaction with the “external environment”, either personal or social; the outcome from this interaction was finally conceptualized as *personal values*.

The “external environment” created a context out of which the different types of respondents emerged. It was the interactional condition that was created when the respondents’ “family values” contrasted with the *Social Norms* of the “external environment” for a new situation that of “personal values” to emerge.

This interaction between “family values” and “external environment” led the respondents towards their passage and classification into the respective groups or major categories as an outcome, and which we conceptualized as “Social Sensitivity”, “High Individuality”, and “Strong Attitudes-Disciplined Voters”.

There are, however, questions such as what is going on there, how it is evolved, how we reach the three major categories, how these three major categories are described, which are raised after this.

More specifically, the respondents during and after the “intermediate stage”, which could be considered as a hint about the existence of the “external environment” that would be confronted with their “family environment” and “values”, were initiated into a new stage of the interview and the concept of *the voters’ thinking processes*; this was, the stage of “motivations”.

In the “stage of motivations,” a double-check and verification was made, on whether the respondents were consistent with their personal values about the *Central Motivational Goals*, substantially; accordingly, only two (2) out of twenty (20) indicated incongruence between their personal values and their motivational factors. The “stage of motivations” also provided rationalization of the respondents’ “personal values” position in contrast to the “external environment”. It also verified self and a reminder about how the respondents’ “personal values” are expressed in real life.

In short, through the stage of motivation, what attracts the respondents towards a particular value system or structure was verified.

The next stage or the “stage of political attitudes” could be considered as a continuation of the “intermediate stage”. This is because the “intermediate stage” was the stage that connected the social environment and status with the political one; this is why most of the respondents considered the social and political status as “communicating vessels” (KKE 05); the “intermediate stage” was also a preparatory stage that would lead to the stage of “political attitudes” and towards a political discussion which was the main purpose after this. Accordingly, the main contribution of the stage of “political attitudes” was the ideological positioning of the respondents within the political spectrum and its correlation with their personal value system.

The next stage is the stage of “consequences”; due to the criticality of this stage and to enhance clarity, it would be better to recapitulate what has been accomplished up to this point.

Hence, beginning from the first (1st) stage or the stage of values, a determination of ‘family values’ was made; and more specifically by the question “did you love your parents” a passage towards the acceptance of ‘family values’ as a belief system was verified. At the end of the first (1st) stage respondents were classified in one of the three categories “loving family”, “strong bonds-bad environment”, and “no bonds-bad environment”. In the next stage, that is the “intermediate stage”, the “family values” were contrasted with the “external environment” and *Social Norms*, and an interaction between them was made so that the respondents’ “personal value system” finally is formed; also, gradually an interconnection between the social and

political status as well as familiarization with a political discussion was made for the first time. In the third (3rd) stage, or the stage of “motivations”, verification was made, on whether the respondents’ “personal values” were related to the corresponding “Central Motivational Goals”; the fourth (4th) stage or the stage of “political attitudes” was the self-positioning of the respondents in the political spectrum. In almost all respondents a linear relationship and interconnection were verified, between the “political attitudes”, the family environment and values, and the emerged “personal values” after an interaction with the “external environment”.

Recapitulation provided the reader with a *fast track* observation of how the “thinking processes” of the respondents gradually evolved to reach the critical stage, as stated before, of the “consequences”; in short, the stage of “consequences” is the stage in which the respondents will re-evaluate their final decision; that is, on whether they would be emotional or rational voters; or disciplinary voters; or they would divert from their political ideology and eventually would not choose the political party which, officially, represents their political ideology.

Therefore, reaching the fifth (5th) stage or the stage of “consequences”, the rationale that characterizes the final political decision, expressed in the next stage, which is the respondents’ “political behaviour”, will be evolved.

The sixth (6th) stage or the stage of “political behaviour”, will be the final stage after which the respondents will be classified according to their “personal values”, their “political attitude”, and after the deep consideration of this “political attitude” through the stage of “consequences” in one of the three major categories: the “Social Sensitivity”, the “High Individuality”, and the “Strong Attitudes-Disciplined Voters”. Accordingly, and when the voters’ “personal values” are violated, the respondents of the category of “Strong Attitudes-Disciplined Voters” did not indicate any negative reaction towards the political parties that represent their ideologies; and hence, congruence between “political attitude” and “voting behaviour” was verified. On the contrary, the incongruence between “political attitude” and “voting behaviour” for the respondents classified under the categories of “Social Sensitivity”, the “High Individuality” was observed.

The seventh (7th), which is the last stage, is the “stage of investigation of political parties”. This stage will provide more support and detailed information about the rationale of the respondents’ political position in general; that is, about their political attitude, voting behaviour, and the way they perceive the political situation of the country and politics in general.

This comprises the integration of the “*storyline*” and at the same time the integration and description of the *Central Category*; that is, *The Voters’ Thinking Processes Reformed* which, basically, consists of all the products of analysis condensed into a few words that seem to explain “what this research is all about”. Through this synthesis, the stage of *Selective Coding* has also been integrated.

This is illustrated in Figure 5.4.

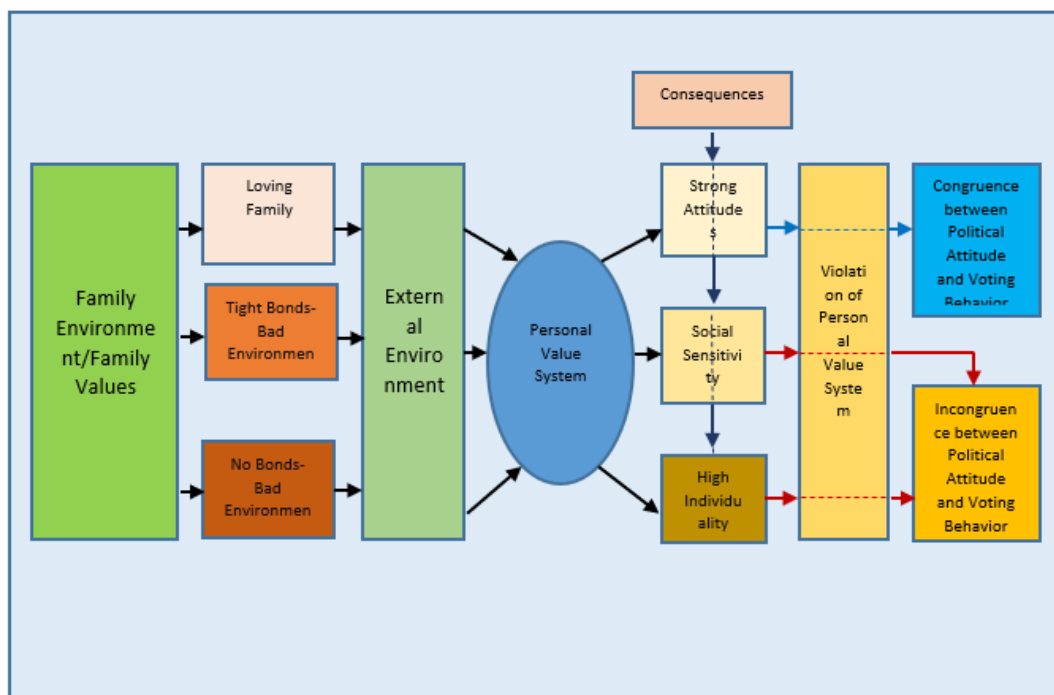


Figure 5.4: Illustration of the Research’s Central Category the “Voters’ Value based Thinking Processes Reformed”.

Figure 15

5.3 Conclusion and Discussion

In Chapter Four: Methodology, comments about the disadvantages of other methods, as well as, the advantages of the method proposed by this thesis, in the sections “The existing methodological approaches and their drawbacks concerning the aim of the proposed research method” and “The advantages of the proposed research method”, have been provided. This, however, has been made with respect to the method adopted in this thesis in comparison with other methods, and the introduction of the VVbTP as a newly developed research instrument which was used in parallel with an inductive approach based on the background created by Glaser, B. (1978), Glaser, B., and Strauss, A. (1965, 1967), Straus, A., and Corbin, J. (1998, 1990, 1997 [Eds], and Gioia et al (2012) for the development of *Grounded Theory*.

In this section, however, there will be a discussion which will take place after the elicitation of Data Findings and Data Analysis. This attempt will compare and contrast findings with the extant literature which will show how and why this thesis is original. This discussion will be based on four (4) distinctive points.

The *first point* is concerned with argumentation that, this thesis is relying on the qualitative paradigm over the quantitative one. The main argument for this which was provided in Chapter Four: Methodology was that qualitative paradigms are recognized a) as instruments of collection and analysis of information in various forms, mainly as non-numeric as possible, b) it enabled a view of the problem, and solutions and potential dilemmas to be taken, and c) it tends to focus on exploring in as much detail as possible and aims to achieve depth and breadth (Krauss, 2005). Besides the above generalization, the main reason this approach was developed was provided by Gioia et al (2012); it was recognized that in this field theory development work is often designed and executed according to the precepts of the traditional scientific method. This often leads to engagement in progressive extensions of existing knowledge as a way of discovering new knowledge. This orientation, however, most often leads researchers on refining existing ideas used to

navigate the theoretical world. However, these approaches do not encourage the kind of originality of theorizing which is attempted to be achieved (Corley & Gioia, 2011) in this thesis. In this thesis it is posited that with this traditional approach “Advances in knowledge that are too strongly rooted in what we already know delimit what we can know” (Gioia et al, 2012).

The *second point* is concerned with the qualitative paradigm and its major representative as a value-oriented research approach which is the *Means-End Approach*. The major drawbacks of this approach acknowledged by Reynolds and Olson (2001, Preface, p. xvi.) are a) that some researchers are uncomfortable with the high amounts of subjective interpretation they must perform in using the means-end approach, in contrast with the VVbTP model which is a value-based rendering the particular model a personally-relevant to the end-user research instrument.

b) Some researchers question the reliability and validity of laddering interviews in producing useful data. In particular, the repeated question probes used in laddering (“Why is this important to you?”). Neither this could be achieved by employing a qualitative method such as the Means-End Approach due to its aggressive style particularly for political issues.

Being more specific, the Means-End theory and Laddering Approach does not satisfy the qualitative standards of this thesis as a value-based approach since values are identified in the end of the interview making the particular approach to indicate a more product-based inclination. Laddering involves a tailored interviewing format using primarily a series of directed probes, typified by the “Why is that important to you?” question, with the express goal of determining sets of linkages between the key perceptual elements across the range of *attributes (A)*, *consequences (C)*, and *values (V)*. These association networks, or ladders, referred to as perceptual orientations, represent combinations of elements that serve as the basis for distinguishing between and among products in a given product class (Reynolds and Olson, 2001, p. 25). For example, the following ladder, starting with a basic distinction between types of snack chips, represents part of the data collection from a single subject in a salty-snack study:

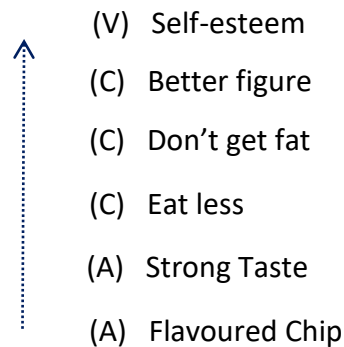


Table 5.4: Linkages between the key perceptual elements across the range of attributes (A), consequences (C), and values (V) (Reynolds and Olson, 2001, p. 25)

The level (A) or the level of attributes, which is the starting point, refers to the product level.

In contrast, the VVbTP concept commences by the investigation of the respondents' value system right from the beginning of the interview; this is done starting from the description of their *family environment* making the investigation even more deeply rooted, and providing as such safer ratification of the respondents' value systems. Moreover, the VVbTP by being value-based is rendered at the same time a *personally relevant* concept.

The *third point* about this research is the exceptionality and/or uniqueness of the *Voters' Value-based Thinking Processes Reformed* central category as a new theoretical proposition based on a) it foregrounds the respondents' interpretations as the people who construct their societal realities and they are "knowledgeable agents," which has already explained in the Third Chapter, and b) the consensus that researchers are also "pretty knowledgeable people too" (Gioia et al, 2012, p.17).

In addition to the basic assumption that the social world is socially constructed, we employ another crucial and actionable assumption as well: that the people constructing their societal realities are "knowledgeable agents," that is, they know what they are trying to do and can explain their thoughts, intentions, and actions. The immediate consequence of this for the conduct of research is that it foregrounds the informants' interpretations and initially casts the researchers in the role of basic

report-instrument whose main role is to give an adequate account of the informants' experience. This means that extraordinary effort is made to give voice to the informants in the early stages of data gathering and analysis and also to represent their voices prominently in the reporting of the research, which creates rich opportunities for the discovery of new concepts rather than the affirmation of existing concepts.

However, there are some fundamental assumptions about the researcher(s) as a significant instrument(s) of inquiry that must be made. It is assumed that researchers are *pretty knowledgeable people too*—that they can figure out patterns in the data, enabling concepts and relationships to be surfaced that might escape the awareness of the informants, and that can formulate these concepts in theoretically relevant terms.

In the *fourth point*, it is argued that studying social construction processes implies that the main focus is required more on how societal members, such as voters, go about constructing and understanding their experience and less on the number or frequency of measurable occurrences (Gioia et al, 2012, p.16). That is, what is really needed instead are *new tools*. These new tools are *new concepts* for better discovering and developing social phenomena. Doing so an approach would be required, which captures concepts relevant to the voters' experience. Such concepts should be adequate at the level of meaning of the people living that social and political experience, and adequate at the level of scientific theorizing about that experience described by Gioia et al (2012). To accomplish both aims, a systematic *inductive approach* for developing "grounded theory" was devised (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Gioia et al. 2012) in order deep and rich theoretical descriptions of the contexts within which social and political phenomena occur to be elicited. The particular devised approach for developing "grounded theory", as described by Gioia et al (2012), working in parallel with McCracken's Personal Views and Experience (Third Chapter) for the concept of VVbTP, provided the last and most significant advantage and at the same time

element of the originality of this research thesis against the extant literature and which is explained in the fourth and last element of this discussion.

The above four distinctive points that this discussion was focused provided the elements of proof that compares and contrasts findings with the extant literature which shows how and why the thesis is original. Being more specific, points one (1) and two (2) provided proof of the advantages of this thesis with the already existing research, and points three (3) and four (4) provided proof of uniqueness and/or originality. And although the proposed research approach based on the background created by Glaser, B. (1978), Glaser, B., and Strauss, A. (1965, 1967), Straus, A., and Corbin, J. (1998, 1990, 1997) [Eds], and Gioia et al (2012) for the development of *Grounded Theory* might not provide the best explanation, the conceptualization, the *Voters Value-based Thinking Processes* (VVbTP), of what is going on, seems to fit the data and offers an interpretation of “what the research was all about”. Other categories logically fit with the Central Category (*Voters Value based Thinking Processes Reformed*). The conceptualization also provides an explanation for the dimensional extremes; that is, regardless of ideological orientation-political attitude, partisan identity, age, or sex. Being more specific, the dimensionality is described by the categories “strong bonds-good environment”, “strong bonds-bad environment”, and “no bond-bad environment”.

Moreover, three major categories have also emerged, which also stand for three major segments of the electorate, and which are the categories of “Social Sensitivity”, “High Individuality”, and “Strong Attitudes-Disciplined Voters”. During the data analysis, it has been found that when a violation of the respondents’ value system was made, two indications have emerged; firstly, congruence between political attitude and voting behaviour has been indicated from the respondents submitted under the major category “Strong Attitudes-Disciplined Voters”; and secondly, the incongruence between political attitude and voting behaviour has been indicated from the respondents submitted under the major categories “Social Sensitivity” and “High Individuality”. The major cause that led to incongruence

between political attitude and voting behaviour of respondents is mainly credited to the attributes of “corruption”, “illegal immigration”, and “globalization”.

Chapter Six: Positioning Political Parties

6.1 Introduction

Positioning, a term made popular by Ries and Trout in 1972 with *Positioning: The Battle for Your Mind* is defined as designing and executing a marketing strategy to form a particular mental representation of a product in the consumer's mind (Peter & Olson, 1999). Because these representations comprise an array of image and characteristic associations, the positioning offers marketers the potential to meaningfully differentiate their product offering in the marketplace, or the political field, because it provides to end-users, and consequently to voters, reasons to choose a product offering or a political proposition.

But identifying the right combination of images and characteristics to associate with a product offering is an extremely difficult task given the number of possible variations that exist and the competitive pressures in the marketplace.

This task becomes even more difficult when it is related to the field of political marketing. This is because of the multidisciplinary character of political marketing, since, it comprises several other disciplines such as psychology, sociology, anthropology, political science, and ultimately marketing as the discipline with the dominant role.

Political marketers, consequently, are confronted with an even more difficult task due to this multidimensional character of political marketing. Each broad classification contains additional subtypes as numerous as the personal choices of individual voters themselves. The critical question for the political marketer is "which positioning is best?" and "how can a political offering be positioned, or repositioned, to motivate more voters towards a particular political choice?"

Positioning, above all else, and generally, must strive to differentiate a product offering as special and superior to the competition. To do this, the position must be based on the same criteria that individual voters use when choosing a product offering in a given category. This is the most direct path to gaining success in the political marketplace and *long-term equity* (Needham, C., 2006; Popkin, S. L., 1994; Sniderman, P.M., Brody, R.A. and Tetlock, P.E., 1991; Tomz, M. and Sniderman, P.,

2005; Tybout, A.M. and Sternthal, B., 2005; Wyer, R.S. and Srull, T.K., 1989; Zaltman, G. and Coulter, H.,1995; Zeithaml, V., Parasuraman, A. and Berry, L., 1990) for the political product offering, which is also the ultimate aim of this research study. Thus, effective positioning begins with understanding individual voters because the position must become an integral part of their political choice process.

The path through the *Voters' Value-based Thinking Processes (VVbTP) Reformed* which has been employed in this research study enables political marketers to look at their political offerings through the individual voters' eyes; this will enable political marketers to see the political offerings in terms of the individual voters' decision-making processes or electoral criteria.

The purpose of this chapter is to improve the previous knowledge of the political marketing field, to provide political marketers with insights based on the wealth of real-world research experience. By using the research designs, interview techniques, and data analysis procedures presented in this research study, a political marketer can better understand the voters' personally relevant decisions that influence their political choices. Then they can use this understanding to position their political propositions for greater political marketing success.

The concept of *Voters' Value-based Thinking Processes Reformed (VVbTP)*, reflects a perspective related to individual and social psychology, besides marketing, which is the dominant discipline for the particular research study. The particular concept's focus is relying on the relationships between the seven stages of the *VVbTP Reformed*; more specifically on linkages between nodes, which substantially stand for image associations based on the electoral rationale of the voters; above all this rationale since it is value-based has a personally relevant character. More specifications about it will be provided in the next sections.

6.2 Interpretation and Strategic use of Excerpts of Coding.

This section has been made for the reader to be facilitated in the use of simple and Aggregate Excerpts that describe dialogues that took place between the researcher

and the interviewees which can be found in the Appendices. As such, the reader will be able to understand how codes are connected with image associations elicited from the interviewees' perceptions evolved from these dialogues.

More specifically, the resultant Excerpts of Coding from an analysis of a category are provided with verbatim examples classified under each code. In the Excerpts of Coding patterns of meaning (Strauss and Corbin, 1998) are evolved from individuals' utterances which provide personal relevance to political product distinctions.

The significant concept nodes which represent the most frequent associations are presented in the Aggregate Excerpts.

The Excerpts of Coding are classified under each stage of the voters' thinking processes. For each stage, there is one corresponding Excerpt. The first excerpt provides codes related to the acknowledged Family Values; the second Excerpt provides codes related to the interaction between family values and the external environment which is evolved in the Intermediate Stage; the third Excerpt provides codes related to the rationale of the acknowledged family values evolved in the Stage of Motivations; the fourth Excerpt provides codes related to Political Attitude or Ideology of the individual voters; the fifth Excerpt provides codes related to the Consequences emerged due to the individual voter's political ideology or the immediate positive or negative outcomes, an individual voter attaches to his/her ideology represented by a political party. The sixth Excerpt represents codes related to his/her final Political Choice; and finally, the seventh Excerpt, the Investigation of Political Parties, represents codes which describe the detailed rationale of the political ideology and electoral behaviour of the individual voter; in the Investigation of Political Parties also data sourcing from the individual's past related to his/her values, personal life, and beliefs are provided; the seventh stage reflects the rationale of the attitude and behaviour through perceptions the individual voter maintained for Greek politics; consequently interconnects all the stages of the individual voters' thinking processes; therefore, it describes relationships between these stages. However, the most clarified relationships are provided through the question "how is this connected to the previous stage and mostly with your personal values?" after the end of each stage. In such a way rationalization of the answer is

provided, as well as, interconnection with the stage of values and consequently with the previous stages.

The connections between nodes represent personal meanings (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). These links are the key to understanding and using the Excerpts of Coding. This is true for two reasons. First, being able to identify the connections between concepts in the mind of the individual voter is essential to understand the perceptual basis for decision-making. This represents the core insights offered by an in-depth understanding of the individual voter. Second, once a positioning strategy is determined, the creative task essentially involves developing words, images, and symbols that will make the desired connections in the mind of the individual voter. Thus, focusing on the connections between concepts is essential to both understanding and using voters' thinking processes research.

It is, however, significant to be mentioned that for interpreting the voters' thinking processes the emerging data was connected to the unique pathways of meaning through all the stages of *VVbTP Reformed* as perceptual orientations or perceptual segments; such segments are the categories of *Strong Attitudes*, *High Individuality*, and *Social Sensitivity*.

Making Positioning Decisions based on Excerpts of Coding Pathways

Each of the perceptual orientations discussed as segments (*Strong Attitudes*, *High Individuality*, and *Social Sensitivity*) should be evaluated as a potential political product positioning option. More specifically this will be accomplished by using a combination, firstly, of *objective* data sourcing from the interviewees' data provision; and secondly, from the researcher's *subjective* judgment on whether the individual interviewee(s) would be classified under the major categories of *Strong Attitudes*, *High Individuality*, and *Social Sensitivity*. This results in a strategic framework from which positioning options can be developed.

Basically, three options emerge. *Option One* which will be described in the next section will connect the respondent's value system focused on the "respect to the fellow man" with the category "remuneration as happiness". The other two options,

where *Option Two* which describes the development of new meanings essentially by forming a meaningful connection between two as yet unrelated concepts (Ries and Trout, 2000, p. 79), and *Option Three* which describes the creation of a new meaning by adding a new attribute descriptor to the individual voters' lexicon (Ries and Trout, 2000, p.79).

Option one involves grounding a positioning by establishing ownership of a meaning, essentially creating a stronger link between an attribute of an object, that is, of a political party, with a more abstract level (see Positioning Political Parties, Section: *The Concept of Voters' Value-based Thinking Processes Reformed as an Orientation for defining Image*, Table 6.1) such as the personal value level represented by "respect to the fellow man" and which is classified under the major category/segment of *Strong Attitudes*. An example of this positioning option is described in the excerpt of the stages of voters' thinking processes of the interview KKE 05, in section Open Coding Aggregate Excerpt of First (1st) Stage (Personal Values, [p. 01-02].

The particular interviewee KKE 05 is classified under the major category/segment of *Strong Attitudes*; his personal values were focused on the "respect of the fellow man"; KKE 05 (p.02). From the intermediate stage emerged the need for change which would be accomplished by "education", and "solidarity" KKE 05 (p.07); in turn, the major motivational factor emerged from the Stage of Motivations was provided by the argument that more happy people would be more productive people; this was expressed by "remuneration as happiness", KKE 05 (p.09); his political attitude was described as "Socialistic wise", and "Left", KKE 05 (p.13); and in the next two stages (the Stage of Consequences and the Stage of Voting Behaviour) the particular interviewee indicated congruence between "Socialistic wise" Political Attitude and the choice of the Communist Party of Greece as Voting Behaviour respectively. This is a representative example of the major category/segment of *Strong Attitudes*.

Therefore, one positioning option to build a strong association here would be to connect the value system focused on the "respect to the fellow man" with the

“remuneration as happiness” and eventually the collapse of capitalism with the “Socialistic wise” and the Communist Party of Greece; that is:

“respect of the fellow man” → “education” and “solidarity” → “remuneration as happiness” → “consistent voter of Communist Party of Greece”.

The above interconnections link the value of “respect to the fellow man” with the provision of a decent income for the citizens or “remuneration as happiness” and the Communist Party of Greece as the owner of this position.

The net result from this is a strategic positioning option which communicates a message towards the individual voters under the major category/segment of *Strong Attitudes*; the meaning of this message is that “remuneration as happiness” through “education” and “solidarity” is a linkage and a discriminating characteristic which satisfies the higher-order needs (see Positioning Political Parties, Section: *The Concept of Voters’ Thinking Processes Reformed as an Orientation for defining Image*, Table 6.1) they have with respect to “positive connotation for the socialist-left”. This is a strategic positioning option for the political party of KKE (the Communist Party of Greece).

It is, apparent that the interview dialogues and excerpts offer more than individual voters’ insight. It is a framework to contrast current positionings and to develop “what if” scenarios, which ultimately can become strategic options. Similar to the skill required to develop and select representative interview dialogues and excerpts, the development of strategy cannot be done by any form of an advanced algorithm. It also requires clear and very often creative thinking.

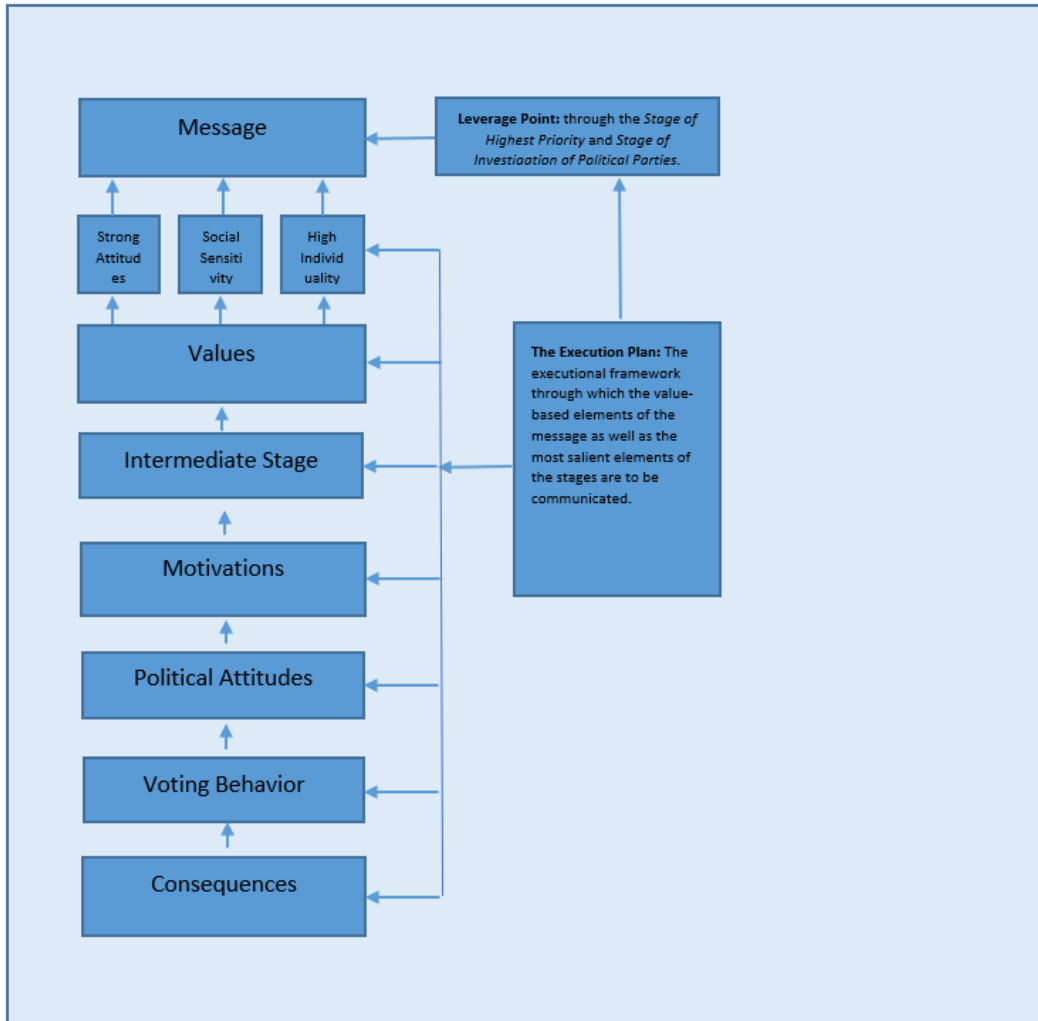


Figure 6.1 The Voters' Thinking Processes Reformed as a Strategic Positioning Option.

Figure 16

6.3 Translating Image Research to Image based Positioning Strategies

The process of positioning could start with a product, a service, a company, an institution, or even a person. Even our own selves. However, positioning is not what someone can do to a product. Positioning is what can be done to the mind of the prospect. That is, how the product can be positioned in the mind of the prospect.

A definition of this could be: "*How you differentiate yourself in the mind of your prospect*" (Al Ries and Jack Trout, 2000).

Several authors are stressing that the positioning concept through the advertising function may be equated, at least in part, to the creation and management of product imagery. Image consists of the product's subjective understanding of things, i.e., of what someone believes to be the true about something, likes or dislikes, about it. Thus, the use of image parallels the definition of product image in advertising, and consequently positioning, and market research. As with product image, political image does not exist apart from political objects (or their symbolic surrogates) that stimulate political thoughts, feelings, and inclinations. In sum, an image is a human construct imposed on an array of perceived attributes projected by an object, event, or person. Thus, for instance, a candidate's image consists of how voters perceived him; and perceptions are based upon both the subjective appraisals made by the voters and the messages (utterances, attributes, qualities, etc.) transmitted by the candidate (Newman 1994, pp. 91-92).

Obviously, the particular author is not the first one to come upon this way of looking at the positioning concept through the advertising function. One might refer back to Ogilvy's (1963) *Confessions of an Advertising Man* for the recommendation that image should be the basis for developing sound advertising strategies.

The reason of existence for this point of view has not changed since it was first put into practice—the majority of product classes are comprised of products which do not differ from each other in any significant way. Therefore, advertising aims to enhance product or service attributes and their relative importance for how the consumer sees himself or herself, essentially providing psychological benefits through the image-creation process (Ries and Trout, 2000).

Consequently, in this chapter an integrated positioning proposition will be introduced through which the concept of *VVbTP Reformed* will contribute to the selection of image associations for political product offerings in the Political Marketing environment. For this proposition to be accomplished, firstly, definitions of image and approaches for studying image are reviewed. After a review of the

concept of *VVbTP Reformed* research implementation techniques are discussed. Then an illustrative example is provided which demonstrates how the research findings can be directly translated into the specification of image-based positioning proposition, through the detailing of a consumer/voter-research-based strategic framework.

Definitions of Image

In order to move beyond the basic posture that images add value to products, one must consider defining and operationalizing images. Obviously, this is necessitated due to the fact that the way image is defined determines the manner in which research to understand image is designed, executed, and, ultimately, translated to the creative process. To illustrate, consider the various ways in which image has been translated into an operational framework:

1. General characteristics, feelings, or impressions (Jain & Etgar, 1976-1977)
2. Perceptions of products (Lindquist, 1974; Marks, 1976)
3. Focus groups (Morgan, 1997)
4. Beliefs and attitudes (May, 1974; James, Durand, and Dreves, 1976; Hirschman, Greenberg, and Robertson, 1978)
5. Brand personality (Arons, 1961; Martineau, 1958)
6. Linkages between characteristics and feelings/emotions (Oxenfeldt, 1974-1975)

Let us consider each of these in turn as the basis of defining image.

General Characteristics

Does this term simply mean descriptive phrases such as “decaffeinated coffee” or “cold water detergent?” Or, are the feelings and impressions which are derived from thinking about a product what image is all about? For example, if one mentions

Johnson's baby powder, it is the image of the warm feeling you get when you think of the loving, caring relationship between a baby and his or her mother? If so, the closely tied link between a product and these emotions and feelings would appear to be a good beginning toward defining image.

However, this also suggests that general characteristics of a product are a bit too rigid or descriptive of the physical nature of the product itself to be useful in defining the more personalized emotion-laden components of the image that could be applicable in the political environment for a political product offering.

Perceptions of Products

Obviously, this is a very general way of defining an image. In this context, the perception of a product represents the image of that product. This conceptualization seems too broad in defining image, although it represents the basis for multidimensional scaling's contribution to positioning strategy development (Percy, 1976; Seggev, 1982).

Focus groups

Focus groups (Morgan, 1997), although more qualitative in approach, also stem from this point of view, yielding as it were respondents' general opinions or perceptions of a product or other stimulus object.

Beliefs and Attitudes

Although this perspective is somewhat more specific than perceptions, attitude leans heavily on evaluation, whereas beliefs lead us to think about standard measurement paradigms (viz. Likert or semantic differential scales) and models (Day, 1973) that are thought to reflect an image. Beliefs themselves can be defined in a number of ways (Fishbein, 1967) suggesting a considerable latitude in actually defining how an image should be thought of.

The attitude-and-belief orientation of defining image has led to the use of multiattribute attitude models (Wilkie & Pessimier, 1973) that focus on attributes that are assumed to underlie preference, which in turn act as a surrogate for choice

behaviour. Boyd, Ray, and Strong (1972) based their advertising strategy formulation procedure on such an attitudinal framework.

This approach, of course, necessitates determining which choice criteria are used to evaluate products, thereby allowing these characteristics to be changed (added to, subtracted from, increasing, or decreasing the importance of). In general, approaches such as these restrict image to consisting of product characteristics, one primary reason being the inability of paper-and-pencil procedures to effectively deal with more personal orientations.

Brand Personality

The notion of personifying the brand with characteristics we use to describe individuals certainly does suggest personal bonds of greater meaning than beliefs about product attributes. Yet, without a more general framework to know how these characteristics derive their meaning, we do not know the relation of these characteristics to those of the product or the product's degree of differentiation with respect to its competitors. Kover (1988) presented some interesting strategic applications in this area, essentially working backward by establishing the typologies of consumers by the assumed personality of a mix of brands across categories. Unfortunately, the strong emphasis on interpretation in this case, as well as making sure to look at the appropriate product classes, does not make this as methodologically rigorous an approach as one might desire.

Linkages between Characteristics and Feelings and Emotions

This definition seems to combine some of the best features of the prior definitions while including the notion of the connections between perceptions.

Thus, when you think about a product (or political product offering), some feature of it typically comes to mind. This feature itself brings something else to mind, which in turn brings yet another thought to mind. For example, take a moment and consider the *VVbTP Reformed* and particularly the first (1st) stage.

What comes to mind? Now use your initial response as the stimulus. What does that bring to mind? The reader following this demonstration should be going through a sequential process of elicitation, tracing the sequence of associations in memory

(more specifically, how was the stage of the family environment and values connected with the second stage, the intermediate stage; how the individual interacted with his/her personal or external environment and reached the formation of personal values.....). Apparently, the linking of concepts undoubtedly has descriptors in it which in no way relate directly to the stage of voting behaviour. What has happened is that concepts imply other concepts, producing a sequential form reflecting memory linkages which are put forth as the fundamental components of an image. These views are not dissimilar from two major theories of memory, levels of processing (Craik & Lockart, 1972) and spreading activation (Collins & Loftus, 1975). The distinction that does serve as a point of diversification from the traditional memory theories is the focus on the sequential nature of the process (the *Voters' Thinking Processes Reformed*), as elements which derive their meaning in terms of their connection to self since the particular process is a personal value-based process. This connecting of key elements with self-relevant attributes affords a translation of the meaning of the political product offering to personally-relevant descriptors which provide the basis for the image.

In defining the image as stored meanings an individual has in memory, and by relating these stored meanings to a sequential memory process, one can suggest some research directions which go beyond those suggested by earlier definitions. Two aspects of this definition are significant at this point. First, what is called up, or stored in memory—the content—provides the meanings we attribute mostly to image; that is, a perceptual viewpoint. Second, the organization or connections which represent the relationships, or what causes particular classifications such as the major categories/segments, or meanings to be called up or linked to one another, is the structural component (the *Voters' Thinking Processes Reformed* as a process). Apparently, if we can determine the process of personally-relevant connections associated with a particular political product offering, we can conduct meaningful research on an image that will contribute to creating more effective advertising strategies, and, ultimately, political product positionings. Basically, then, we need to understand the types of cognitive representations individual voters maintain with respect to the political product offering. Once the process corresponding to the political product offering can be isolated, what remains is to

determine the relation of the component parts of interest to the political product offering. That is, to what differentiating characteristics it is related, and more importantly, what linkages can be made to the personal lives of individual voters to best maximize the political product offering's perceptual position or image.

The Concept of Voters' Value-based Thinking Processes Reformed as an Orientation for defining Image

The *VVbTP Reformed* is a concept which describes the value-based thinking process of an individual voter to end up with an electoral decision. Values are important beliefs people hold about themselves and their feelings concerning others' beliefs about them (Rokeach, 1968). It is values that determine the relative desirability of consequences.

Embodied in the *VVbTP Reformed* is a concept of levels of abstraction (Gutman & Reynolds, 1979). Put simply, *levels* refer to a way of categorizing the contents of associations about a political product offering which extends from the personal value level to specific aspects of a political product offering. More specifically, one way to operationalize levels of abstraction is to think in terms of a value-based thinking process for a political decision starting from the value level and finally reaching the political decision, as shown in Table 6.1.

Table 25

Table 6.1 Levels of Abstraction

<i>Specific</i>	Seventh (7 th) Stage Investigation of Political Parties
	Sixth (6 th) Stage Political Behaviour
	Fifth (5 th) Stage Consequences
	Forth (4 th) Stage Political Attitudes/Ideologies
	Third (3 rd) Stage Motivations
	Second (2 nd) Stage Intermediate
	First (1 st) Stage Values
<i>Abstract</i>	

Although the stage of the final decision is the Sixth (6th) Stage, the *Seventh (7th) Stage*, as well as, the *Most Significant Stage*, according to the individual interviewees' judgment, is also taken under consideration due to the significant enhancement they provide to the final message. First, this is because the *Seventh (7th) Stage* or Investigation of Political Parties, provides a description related to the history of political parties and their leaders; and second, because the *Most Significant Stage*, according to the individual interviewees' judgment, is a significant component for the creation of the final message since the *VVbTP Reformed* is a value-based and consequently a self-based concept; the *Most Significant Stage* is defined by the interviewee when he/she is asked at the end of the interview "which was the most significant stage for you?"; and hence, whatever is related to the personal choice of the individual voter is considered as a significant element for the construct of an image-based positioning strategy made through an individual's perceptions.

Again, the key point to be made is that some system of categorization by levels is required so that aspects of the political product can systematically be related to important aspects of self. Conceptualizing the contents of associations in this manner aids us in probing into the nature of the sequential form of the contents of the individual voters' associations within categories of political product offerings.

Accordingly, the stages of individual voters' thinking processes conceptualized as levels of abstraction represent a meaningful way of organizing the contents of memory about a particular political product offering; that is, its sequence of association or image. Furthermore, these components or levels are linked to one another to form an associational, and at the same time, a sequential process representing an image. In this context, the seven stages of the *VVbTP Reformed* linkages function as the fundamental units of analysis in understanding image. Such structures provide useful research concepts for understanding end voters' orientations for the image; thus, providing a way for developing image-based positionings.

Alternatives for studying Image

Standard approaches in practice today for gaining insight into both the content and organization related to product images, and serving essentially as extensions of the already existing theoretical background, are *focus groups*, *standard attitude and usage survey methods*, and *perceptual description techniques* (Reynolds and Olson, 2001). More specifically, focus groups are related to understanding end-users' own words in an unstructured format, except for a directional outline, therefore permitting basic orientations and feelings to emerge. This satisfies the need to uncover the contents of an image. The major drawback of the use of this approach for studying images is the failure of the standard content analysis to reveal, in a systematic manner, the organization or mental association that reflects the links between the various concepts elicited. That is, by simply labelling the various concepts elicited, the researcher has no real information for the individuals' interrelationships, nor any structure to provide a basis for critical analysis. Secondly, the group environment also has to be questioned for how freely, accurately, and comfortably respondents will discuss higher value levels (such as family environment, family values), which represent the personal level at which image is seen to operate.

The problems related specifically to the use of attitude models, for studying image, centre on the fact of their use of a predetermined set of objects that are not guaranteed of either being important to respondents, or even of being expressed in terms meaningful to the respondents. Additionally, the classification of objects generally lacks delineation as to the levels of abstraction, that is, the stages of voters' thinking processes, of the objects (Myers & Shocker, 1981). Moreover, the linkages between objects are not dealt with directly; they are rather inferred by analysis based on assumptions that are typically unrealistic, reflecting the compositional structure of the attitude model used.

An alternative is a methodology that addresses both the problems of predetermined items and the prespecified analytical framework, in a manner of multidimensional scaling; this alternative involves the direct scaling of dissimilarity judgments obtained from an individual into a multidimensional space which denotes the relative

differences between products. The underlying rationale is that these spatial distances reflect the true differentiation, which are the image differences of one's perceptions for a particular product class. In this context, the primary problem with the scaling approach stems from the inferential process that the researcher must go through in interpreting the resulting space.

Although analytic methods do help give insight to this problem, the lack of a model reflecting the relational linkages tends to make the interpretation highly subjective.

An attempt, which has been made towards the solution of this problem by the Means-End Approach (Thomas Reynolds and John Gutman, 1988) for studying images referring to a *political object*, is considered also as inappropriate due to the "why is this important to you" questions right from the beginning of the interview. This would create a climate of insecurity and lack of comfort for the interviewees in the same way that the group environment does in a *focus group*; this is due to the rather sensitive nature that a discussion about a *political object* would always contain. The major objective in a discussion such as this is psychological tranquillity and trust towards the researcher to be attained; and with "why is this important to you" questions right from the beginning of the interview and throughout it, this cannot be ensured. Hence, the Means-End Approach is considered inappropriate for this kind of research.

Implementation of the concept of Voters' Value-based Thinking

Processes Reformed as an instrument for studying an image

If it is intended to have a better way of uncovering what goes on in the electorate's minds, given the theoretical issues detailed previously, the following would seem to be required. First, the analytic frame of reference would be on the individual level; that is, we have to understand the individual voter before we can understand the group or the massive electorate. Second, the technique should draw on the individual voter's language. Third, the analysis should permit content classification by some version of the meaning of the stages of abstraction, as well as, a sequential form of relationships, so that the contents of an image can be divided into meaningful groupings or major categories/segments. And, fourth, relationships

between levels or stages (personal value stage, intermediate stage, motivation stage, political attitude stage, stage of consequences, voting behaviour stage, and the stage of investigation of political parties) need to be directly provided, rather than inferred, so that we can understand the emerging structure of an image.

The remainder of this section presents a perspective that addresses all of the above research issues; these issues have been already thoroughly described in previous sections of this research study. It is however important to mention that the intent here is to uncover the basic distinctions an individual voter uses to classify political product offerings. Accordingly, the respondent is asked to provide specific answers starting from the abstract, or the first (1st) stage, the *family values*, and to go through the rest till he/she reaches the most specific one, or that of *voting behaviour* as well as the stage of *investigation of the political parties*, which is the seventh stage or the last one; these, together with the *most significant stage*, provide significant supporting material for the rationale itself of the individual voters thinking process.

In such a way a series of relationships connecting the individual voters' family's and personal values, with social environment (intermediate stage), motivations, political attitudes, voting behaviour, and finally, the history of the Greek political scene, through the investigation of political parties and their leaders, is thereby uncovered. Although this technique is not complex, it does offer interesting analytical possibilities as well as some interesting qualitative data.

A simple counting procedure between adjacent elements culminates in tables constructed of the connections or relationships between significant and common content elements (described by codes, categories, properties, and dimensions) yielded from the investigation of the *VVbTP Reformed*. This results in tables describing the key elements of each stage. Each distinct keyword or code is interpreted as a possible perceptual orientation.

Hence, the "exploration" of the voters' value-based thinking processes satisfies the content as well as the structural requirement by uncovering the linkages or relationships between the content elements. The particular analysis of Greek voters' thinking processes yielding the latent pathways or dominant political orientations across respondents, results from a joint analysis of the frequency of connections

between significant and common content elements. Remaining, then, is the translation of the data collected through this research framework into positioning strategy.

Although there is a significant contribution from both academics and practitioners related to advertising through positioning strategies there is a considerable gap on how to interpret the specification into a framework that creative staff can use to develop executional ideas. The attributes/image associations selected from the interview dialogues and excerpts, although grounded in individual voters' meanings, appear to be inadequately interpretive for the creatives; that is, the primary reason underlying this surface interpretation is due to the failure of the creative staff to adequately explain the relevance of the meaning of a concept; whereas meanings are defined as "the connection between two concept nodes (Strauss and Corbin, 1998), served as the basis for the development of strategic options". Understanding the critical associative aspect of meaning offers significant potential to solve the strategy-to-creative translation problem which currently exists (such an example which is a case of *the connection between two meanings* (Ries and Trout, 2000) can be found in Appendix (C)_Interpretation of Strategy for Creatives).

By the above-mentioned example, an effort was made to satisfy the content as well as the structural requirement by uncovering the linkages or relationships between the content elements. In the next section, however, an example will be presented which will concentrate all the above-presented requirements in order, based on the above requirements, a positioning strategic proposition to be made.

6.4 Illustrative Example

Political parties can be used to demonstrate the application of these research techniques for developing strategic opportunities translated by the individual voters into personal identifications, which represent an image. This is because political parties possess a history, and political leaders, as well as senior members, are people exposed very much, easily and most of the time deliberately, to the 'public opinion'; this is a reason which provides opportunities for image development. Accordingly, a research format could be structured using significant attributes that emerged from

interviews conducted with and from interviewees'/voters' experiences, which could yield discriminating distinctions such as attributes selected from dialogues referring to the political party of PASOK.

These descriptors which consist of an integral part of a typical value-based attitudinal-behavioural investigation, offer a satisfactory perspective as the higher level of personal values ultimately reach a more specific level, or that of voting behaviour, which mediates these perceptions.

Apparently, and given the initial focus of this discussion of an image, this type of input might seem limiting when the research intends to give direction to both marketing strategists and creatives.

As mentioned previously, the *VVbTP reformed* as pattern can be initiated by ascertaining a preferred descriptor for each distinction as a starting point and by following up all the way the pathway (such as a series of attributes that follow each other in an associative and sequential manner) it culminates in a final destination; this final destination would be final descriptor (or code).

Let us examine the political party of PA.SO.K as a separate case for this; through this option, our objective will be "*Repositioning PASOK*"; so, let us observe the following dialogues and emerging attributes. The dialogues have been selected from four interviewees; one is a consistent voter of PASOK, while the other three have joined other political parties (Aggregate Excerpt of First (1st) Stage (Personal Values), [p. 07-09]). These four dialogues made by the interviewees PAN 13, KIN 08, SYR 09, and SYR 18 will be sequentially presented.

Emerging Insights related to "Repositioning PASOK".

For the accomplishment of this option, which is "*Repositioning PASOK*", an array of attributes referring to different topics and objects is provided right after this. The rationale for these separate descriptions will be provided in the next paragraphs. Firstly, attributes referring to the political party of

SYRIZA, as major competitor and in the same time the party which has attracted the major electoral sourcing from PASOK, are provided:

“SYRIZA is inexperienced, ignorant, and anachronistic” → “SYRIZA is ignorant, and irrelevant due to lack of governing experience” → “SYRIZA recruits irrelevant people for the required volume to form a government” → “SYRIZA made big compromises to form a government” → “SYRIZA betrayed its values” → “SYRIZA inconsistent with its declarations” → “SYRIZA as inconsistent political party” → “SYRIZA as dishonest political party” File PAN 13, p.15.

The second quotation refers to the concept of political ideologies both from a consistent PASOK member (PAN 13) and a “renegade” (KIN 08):

“Ideologies are political benchmarks!” PAN 13, p.16.

“Approval of PASOK ideology as it is in the constitution and not in practice!” KIN 08, p. 25.

“Positive stance towards PASOK ideology” SYR 18, p. 27-28.

The third quotation refers to general comments about PASOK also from a “renegade” (SYR 09):

“Moderate stance for the 1981 era of PASOK” → “moderate stance for the health care policy of PASOK” → “moderate stance for education policy of PASOK” ...

and SYR 09 continues by:

“1981 brought a relief and people could express themselves freely” → “economic cliques is what PASOK was characterized after 1981” → “The final mark for PASOK is

negative” → “PASOK is a catastrophic political party” → “PASOK is a political party which attracted dishonest people” → “PASOK is a corrupted political party” SYR 09, p. 20-21.

The fourth quotation refers to general comments about PASOK also from a “renegade” (SYR 18):

“Moderate stance for PASOK policy of interior” → “moderate stance for PASOK policy of education”

and SYR 18 continues by:

“Negative stance for PASOK economic policy” → “negative stance for PASOK healthcare policy” SYR 18, p. 27-28.

“Repositioning PASOK (or the Panhellenic Socialist Movement)” is a positioning option that is going to be accomplished in three facets. More specifically this will be based (1) on *ideology*, (2) the *history* of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), and (3) *background* provided by Ries and Trout (1972), *Positioning: The battle in your mind*.

In order this positioning option to be accomplished the dialogue and the emerging attributes which have been emerged from the discussion with the interviewee PAN 13 are going to be used. The particular interviewee has been selected because she is a representative type of interviewee classified under the major category or segment of “Strong Attitudes”. This major category or segment (of “Strong Attitudes”) posits a strong focus on political *attitudes/ideologies* as a major characteristic. This has been indicated throughout the data analysis; it is also demonstrated in the

above quotations of emerging attributes by the file PAN 13, p. 15-16, as well as, by the positive stance towards PASOK's ideology in the files KIN 08, p. 25, and SYR 18, p. 27-28 which are former PASOK supporters. Therefore, consistency or inconsistency in an ideology represented by a political party would cause a positive or negative meaning and consequently image associations respectively for the particular political party. More specifically for PAN 13, the initial sequential association of emerging attributes is:

Consistency in ideology → "left" → welfare policy → keeps people happy and secure.

Therefore, the emerging meaning that comes out of the respective sequential associations is provided by the following pathway:

Ideological consistency → congruence between ideology and voting behaviour → PASOK → welfare policy → keep people happy.

Therefore "ideological consistency" is one element which has to be kept in mind for the positioning option of "Repositioning PASOK".

The next element which is going to be used for the "Repositioning PASOK" option is the particular political party's *historical background*, by first mentioning Ries and Trout's (1972), *Positioning: the battle in your mind* argument:

"To be successful today, you must touch base with reality. And the reality that really counts is what's already in the prospect's mind" (p.05).

Consequently, the *history* of a political party, a former part of the country's bipolar system, such as the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) is in fact part of the

reality in the prospects' mind. So, this reality must not be neglected if the leadership of this party wishes to gain the most possible outcome for the success of any strategic endeavour.

More specifically speaking, the founding of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement begins during the period of dictatorship under the name *Panhellenic Anti-Dictatorial Movement* (PAK), as well as, under the leadership of Andreas Papandreou and when its founding members used to be in exile; most of them used to reside in France, Sweden, Italy, as well as, in the USA. During that period the activities of the *Movement* were characterized by intense anti-dictatorial struggles that have been recorded indelibly in the political history of the country and the minds of its supporters.

In the aftermath, that is, after the dictatorship era and in particular in 1981 the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) was nominated as the dominant party in the electoral preference of the people in Greece and it was called to govern the country.

The 1981 era of PASOK governance was characterized as a period of significant concessions towards the people:

“During the first years of PASOK government I think the freedom of the citizens was not affected; the meaning of this is during the first years of ‘metapolitefsi’ and until 1981 there were very small steps taken for the betterment of the freedom of the society; the system of junta still had an influence; people which had been characterized as ‘lefts’ had not been restored completely yet; 1981 brought relief to all of them to be able to express themselves freely, and indeed it brought a relief; however the “Movement” later on had been influenced by economic cliques, and all those things ... you know what ... it is not necessary to say it again. The final mark for PASOK is negative. There were people in there who caused big damage to the Greek State. There were however good people in there too; but they were expelled and remained those who knew how to operate in the proper manner and to know how to ‘eat’ (steal) and to feed those who should be fed!” SYR 09, p.20.

Moreover:

Question: *The fifth in the row is PASOK; what about it?*

Respondent: *Destructured! I believe the people did not forgive us! They held us responsible for all these unpleasant developments! It is in a stage of restructuring; I believe they blame PASOK for much more than they should! PASOK made a lot of work and this has been forgotten! It has made a lot of overthrows; it won many national elections; it offered the country a lot of things!*

Question: *Was there any corruption?*

Respondent: *Yes, there was; and a lot; and I believe plenty of the middle-class members were corrupted; even in the public mechanism!*

Question: *What about specific policies such as economy, Ministry of the interior, health care, education, and immigration?*

Respondent: *A lot of things have been done in what concerns the freedom of citizens; I cannot say the same about the economy; we also did a lot for the healthcare; PAN 13, p.21.*

That is, in the 1981 era of PASOK governance people had enjoyed significant social and political freedoms as well as opportunities through job creation both in the private and mostly in the public sector. These were considered as significant opportunities for professional settlement for people coming from the lower socio-economic classes. As an additional implication this led to an economic relief and development of the lower strata from one hand; and on the other hand to big public deficits, firstly due to high corruption of the PASOK members and governments in general; secondly due to the large and costly public sector; and third due to the very bad agreements with the borrowers (Pirounakis Nicolas, *The Public Sector in Greek Society*, 1997).

Nowadays, in the minds of the vast majority of the people, PASOK has been recorded as a “corrupted political party”. However, both the current PASOK supporters (PAN 13), as well as the former ones (SYR 07, KIN 08, SYR 09, SYR 17, SYR 18) keep contradictory opinions about this political party. That is, in parallel that PASOK was a “corrupted political party”, both current and former supporters are feeling nostalgic about the immediately after 1981 PASOK governance era (PAN 13, SYR 07, KIN 08,

SYR 09, SYR 17, SYR 18). These two categories, of the *current* and *former* PASOK supporters, of the electoral base, is actually where the current proposed positioning option will be focused.

So the quotation of this description sourcing from the political history of the Panhellenic Socialist Party (PASOK) consists the second element upon which the proposed positioning option about “Repositioning PASOK” will be based (see also Reis and Trout, 2000, *Positioning: The Battle in your Mind* and in particular *Positioning the Catholic Church*, p. 199, as a relative example).

The third element upon which “Repositioning PASOK” as a positioning option is going to be based is part of the background offered by Reis and Trout, 2000, *Positioning: The Battle in your Mind* and in particular “Repositioning the Competition”, (p. 77).

That is, “Repositioning the Competition” implies removal of the competition’s image association(s) from the mind of the prospect and then coverage of the emerging gap with own image association(s); that is “Repositioning PASOK” image association(s) via relevant message. More specifically:

“Because there are so few creneaus to fill, a company must create one by repositioning the competitors that occupy the positions in the mind. In other words, to move a new idea or product into the mind, you must first move an old one out.” (p.78)

.....

“Once an old idea is overturned, selling the new idea is often ludicrously simple. As a matter of fact, people will often actively search for a new idea to fill the void.” (p.78)

In order to facilitate our understanding an example referring to a pharmaceutical product will be brought forth; that is “Repositioning Aspirin”, (p.79):

"For the millions who should not take aspirin," said Tylenol's ads. "If your stomach is easily upset... or you have an ulcer... or you suffer from asthma, allergies or iron-deficiency anaemia, it would make good sense to check with your doctor before you take aspirin." (p.79)

Bayer tried to fight back with an advertising campaign that took issue with the Tylenol claims; which was not a good idea. It legitimized the Tylenol message. The prospect thought:

"If Bayer aspirin is so worried about Tylenol that they have to run a million-dollar advertising campaign to refute those claims, there must be something to the notion that aspirin causes stomach bleeding." (p.79)

"Aspirin can irritate the stomach lining," continued the Tylenol ad, "trigger asthmatic or allergic reactions, cause small amounts of hidden gastrointestinal bleeding."

"Fortunately, there is Tylenol. . ." (p.79)

As far as the Greek political marketing reality [is concerned], the “competition” or the most significant competitor of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) and the one which used PASOK as the main source for attracting voters is SYRIZA; that is, the ‘left’ political party which climbed from about three per cent (3%) to the percentage of voting portion that “catapult” SYRIZA in the first position of the voters’ electoral

preference and ultimately, with the “Independent Greeks” parliamentary support, was led to government. Hence, it would be the most logical thought for the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) to focus its repositioning tactic against SYRIZA, which is the main “exploiter” of its electoral base, since SYRIZA’s largest bulk is composed and covered by former PASOK unhappy supporters. The main cause of this unhappiness is “corruption”, as it can be observed in excerpts and aggregate excerpts.

So, the first part of emerging attributes refers to the first element which is related to the ideological part of a political party and the consistency which must exist within a political party concerning its ideology:

“Ideologies as political benchmarks” → “You don’t abandon your ideology” → “SYRIZA ideology is far away from their actions” → “No ideology for SYRIZA”.

This pathway describes the first part of repositioning SYRIZA for any positive association to being removed from the prospects' mind and an available gap to be created; that is to remove any image association of SYRIZA as an honest political party due to its “ideological inconsistency”.

The enlargement of the gap and removal of any positive element from the mind of the prospect will continue by the demonstration of more negative elements about SYRIZA described by the following emerging attributes:

“SYRIZA is inexperienced, ignorant, and anachronistic” → “SYRIZA is ignorant, and irrelevant due to lack of governing” → “SYRIZA recruits irrelevant people for the required volume to form a government to be made” → “SYRIZA is secularized political party” → “SYRIZA made big compromises to shape a government” → “SYRIZA is inconsistent with its declarations” → “SYRIZA is an inconsistent political party” → “SYRIZA betrayed its values” → “SYRIZA is a dishonest political party”

The sequence of image associations that emerged from this quotation is:

Due to that “SYRIZA is ignorant, and irrelevant due to lack of governing” and because “SYRIZA recruits irrelevant people for the required volume to form a government to be made”, this, in turn, led to “SYRIZA made big compromises to shape a government” as well as in inconsistency with its declarations “SYRIZA inconsistent with its declarations”; which is finally translated to “SYRIZA betrayed its values” and consequently to the conclusion that “SYRIZA is a dishonest political party”.

This pathway is meaningful due to the fact that “compromisation to shape a government” led SYRIZA to “inconsistency with its declarations” and finally that “SYRIZA is a dishonest political party”.

Up to this point the three elements for repositioning the “competition”, which is SYRIZA as a major competitor of PASOK, have been described; more specifically these are, the ideological part, the history of PASOK, and background selected from Ries and Trout (2000), *Positioning: The Battle in your Mind*.

So, the next step for the strategic option “Repositioning PASOK” is to fill the newly emerged gap which is now available after “Repositioning the Competition”. This act, as the next step to be made, will be based in two parts: firstly, to select the appropriate emerging attributes which yield the best possible image associations for the prospects’ minds upon which the positive image associations for PASOK to cover the available gap; and secondly, renaming PASOK. Renaming PASOK would be a necessary action that would cut-off PASOK from its “sinful” past and at the same time would keep the connection of the newly emerged political party with image associations related to the positive part of its history.

More specifically, the first step to be made is to select these emerging attributes based on the interviewees’ perceptions which yield the best possible image associations which could cover the empty, for now, place in the prospects’ mind left from “repositioning the Competition”; which is from SYRIZA.

One thing which must be avoided in order to reach the best possible outcome is the possibility to position the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) as an “honest” political party since all the interviewees perceive PASOK as a “corrupted political party”; this includes current and former supporters of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), as well as, supporters of other political parties as it can be observed in all files, excerpts, and aggregate excerpts. Hence, the next best choice available for our assignment is the “1981 era”; and more specifically speaking the properties of the “1981 era” as provided from PAN 13, SYR 09, and SYR 18.

“During the first years of PASOK government I think the freedom of citizens was not affected; the meaning of this is that during the first years of ‘metapolitefsi’ and until 1981 there were very small steps for the betterment of the freedom of the society; the system of junta still had an influence; people now which had been characterized as ‘lefts’ had not been restored completely yet; 1981 brought relief for all of them to be able to express themselves freely, and indeed it brought a relief;” SYR 09, p.20.

And

Question: *What would you say about their ideology?*

Respondent: *...firstly, it is positive ...I used to vote for them too...*

Question: *What about the other policies...such as the economy...*

Respondent: *...No! About the economy I would not say good things about them!*

Question: *...about the ministry of interior?*

Respondent: *...Eeehhh...they try hard...there, some things had been made; I would say that ‘some steps had been made’... about democratization ...*

Question: *...and about education?*

Respondent: *...there they did a little bit better than New Democracy...without solving the problem of the 'small shops' (the trade of private tutorials and schools)!*

Question: *What about healthcare?*

Respondent: *...in the beginning with ESY (National System of Health) it was good; then it fell in the system of doctors/professors and this ended up!*
SYR 18, p.27-28.

Moreover

Question: *The fifth in the row is PASOK; what about it?*

Respondent: *Unstructured! I believe the people did not forgive us! They held us responsible for all these unpleasant developments! It is in a stage of restructuring; I believe they blame PASOK for much more than they should! PASOK made a lot of work and this has been forgotten! It has made a lot of overthrows; it won many national elections; and it offered the country a lot of things!*

Question: *Was there any corruption?*

Respondent: *Yes, there was; and a lot; and I believe that plenty of the middle-class members were corrupted; even in the public mechanism!*

Question: *What about specific policies such as the economy, Ministry of interior, health care, education, and immigration?*

Respondent: *A lot of things have been done in what concerns the freedom of citizens; I cannot say that for the economy; we also did a lot for them;*
PAN 13, p.21.

The above dialogues attributed to SYR 09, SYR 18, and PAN 13 are classified into two major categories/segments; the first two, that is SYR 09 and SYR

18 to the major category/segment of “Social Sensitivity”, and the second one, that is PAN 13 to the major category/segment of “Strong Attitudes”; that is our prospect, this time, covers two major category/segments; that of “Social Sensitivity” and the one of “Strong Attitudes”; both categories, which cover the three interviewees, have indicated an inclination or positive stance towards the “1981 era”. This can be indicated by the following emerging attributes:

1981 brought a relief to all of them to be able to express themselves freely, and indeed it brought a relief; SYR 09, p.20.

...Eeehhh...they try hard...there, some things had been made; I would say that ‘some steps had been made’... about democratization ... SYR 18, p.27-28.

...there, they did a little bit better than New Democracy...without solving the problem of the ‘small shops’ (the trade of private tutorials and schools)! SYR 18, p.27-28.

...in the beginning with ESY (National System of Health) it was good; then it fell in the system of doctors/professors and this ended up! SYR 18, p.27-28.

From these two respondents that are classified under the major category/segment of “Social Sensitivity,” we will focus on the emerging attributes

“1981 brought a relief”, SYR 09, p.20,

and

“they try hard...there, some things have been made”

"I would say that 'some steps had been made'... about democratization" ... SYR 18, p.27-28

"...in the beginning with ESY (National System of Health) it was good", SYR 18, p.27-28

Moreover,

The codes provided from PAN 13, who is classified under the major category/segment of "Strong Attitudes", reflect an entirely positive stance towards PASOK; they basically "praise" the past of PASOK.

"people did not forgive PASOK"

"PASOK is held responsible for all unpleasant developments"

"PASOK receives unfair treatment from people"

"PASOK's work has been forgotten"

"freedom of citizens and healthcare as major attributes of PASOK;" PAN 13, p.21

The pathway that emerges from the above emerging attributes yields the following image associations:

"PASOK is held responsible for all unpleasant developments" as well as of "unfair treatment from people" since "PASOK's work has been forgotten"; and that the

major contribution of PASOK was *“freedom of citizens and healthcare”*. Therefore, the image associations of the above pathway seem to be compatible with *“1981 brought a relief”* due to the similarity of perceptions and image associations or properties that have been provided previously from SYR 08 and SYR 18.

The next step to be made is to rename PASOK. The PASOK administration and leadership have already renamed the party in *“Movement of Change”* (shorted in Greek abbreviations KIN.AL.). This, according to the position held by this thesis, is not the right choice. This is because it reflects a total disconnection of PASOK as a political party with its history and past. The Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PA.SO.K) indeed had a *“sound”* past; this argumentation posits both a positive and a negative side; starting from the second part, which is the negative one, it is associated with a lot of scandals, which are economic, social, and political. This is the bad side, which made this political party be detested and most of all to be characterized as a *“corrupted political party”*. On the other hand, and this stands for the positive side, the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) had created a great past, which was associated with significant struggles for democratic freedoms, welfare policy, and decent living standards for the poor strata. However, the most significant issue related to PASOK is that the particular political party, as part of the former bipolar system, was representing the *“other pole”*; that is, given that the bipolar system was based on a central-right and a central-left pole, PA.SO.K was representing the central-left pole. This covered a whole political side or territory; the central left side which historically exists in the politics of the Hellenic State almost a century till now; and this political party under this name covered this position or image associations in the minds of the Greek electorate in general for about forty (40) years not only of these political supporters they *“reside”* in the central left political territory. This name is associated with history. Hence, it is implied that abandoning a political brand name, which has existed for so many years and bears such historical elements and hence image associations, is certainly a more serious and complicated issue.

In this thesis it is posited that the name of this political party must not be totally disconnected from its past; that is, its good historical past; which is the *“1981 era”*.

This particular era is associated with, first, an ideology, and a bundle of policies that were congruent with the central left (socialist) ideology; and as prementioned with the beliefs and dreams of a whole political segment. The position of this thesis is that expressions such as “Socialist Movement” must be kept intact. The word “Socialist” identifies itself with the socialist ideology; “Movement” is a word that classified the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) not as a conventional political party but instead as a socialist revolutionary movement. It also identifies itself with a bundle of socialist policies in line with its ideology, and moreover with its supporters, which are the people of the central left ideological segment. Therefore, it is stressed that the part “Socialist Movement” must remain intact in the brand name of this political party. What could be replaced was the word “Panhellenic”, which is implied since it appeals to the Greek citizens. The word “Panhellenic” could be replaced by the word “New”; which would result in the “New Socialist Movement”. The word *new* is very often used both in consumer and services markets, in order to relaunch a product or service. “New” is associated with innovation of a product or service; it is also associated with “re-composition”; that is, removal and/or addition of new elements or properties of a product or service. “New has been used in the political marketing area as well. A sound example related to “New”, as a concept in the political marketing area, is the case of “New Labour” (see “New Labour: The Party as a Product” by John Bartle in Nicholas J. O’Shaughnessy and Stephan C.M. Henneberg, *The Idea of Political Marketing*, 2002, p.61-62). More specifically John Bartle argues:

“Tony Blair’s task was more than the production of a new set of policies or providing that he could run the economy better than the Conservatives. He could change policies, he could improve Labour’s competences, but he could not rewrite Labour history. Instead, he had to restore the voters’ trust in Labour-by placing as much distance between itself and the negative associations of “Old Labour”. He needed to create an image of “change” and “modernization”, just as Wilson did in 1964. He, therefore, removed some symbols of “the past”-such as Clause IV-that were cherished by party members.

.....

Another part of Blair's strategy is the language he uses. He is very "inclusive"-emphasizing that Labour is a national party with something for everybody. He claims to speak on behalf of "middle England", "the middle class", "the victims of crime", "the unemployed", "industry" "small business" and "one nation". The defence of minorities is placed firmly in the context of community and responsibility so that he avoids setting the party in opposition to "majorities". He emphasizes "New Labour" at every opportunity-signalling a clear break with the past".

.....

Blair has also identified certain aspects of life, such as law and order and job security, that are of deep concern to voters. Like Schumpeter's political entrepreneur, he has simply transformed Labour's image on the "law-and-order" issue. Traditionally, Labour has been regarded as "soft" on law and order, while many of its voters have been authoritarian. In its language, Labour appeared to be more sympathetic to the criminal than the victim and more concerned about civil rights than securing convictions. Indeed, the very fact that Blair talks about crime as an important issue represents a fundamental shift. Equally, he has identified job security as an important issue, rather than focusing on the narrower issue of unemployment. His is a deeply majoritarian language."

There are many things in common; "New Labour" as a proposition for changing the brand name of the "Panhellenic Socialist Movement" (PASOK) to "New Socialist Movement" which is at the same time a significant part of "Repositioning PASOK" as a strategic option.

Table 26

Table 6.2 "Things in Common" (policies) between New Labour and New Socialist Movement (PASOK).

<i>"New Labour"</i>	<i>"New Socialist Movement (PASOK)"</i>
Labour is a national party with something for everybody	New Socialist Movement (PASOK) is a national party with something for everybody

"the middle class"	"the middle class"
"the victims of crime"	"victims of corruption"
"the unemployed"	"the unemployed"
"industry"	"industry"
"small business"	"small business"
"one nation"	"one nation"

In the field of Political Marketing there are no common recipes; however, what is observed here, is a set of common problems between the two countries which have been coped with successfully from one of them. The so "tired Hellenic Middle Class"; which is substantially the "victims of crime"; the "unemployed"; the suspiciously destroyed "industry" of Greece from hostile taxation; the "small business" as the base of a free economy for free people; and the politically so frightening expression of "one nation" which would unite and attract around the "Movement" all Greeks! The changes in this "recipe" are very limited; as a matter of fact, the only one to be avoided is the word "fairness" instead of "socialist" as Tony Blair did; this cannot be accepted since it is a significant ideological attribute, which has been emerged and thoroughly supported by elements from the dialogues with the interviewees (KIN 08, SYR 09, PAN 13, and PAN 18). Hence, the socialistic identity of the "Movement" must be kept. All the rest could be successfully employed.

Therefore, the pathway with the relative image associations could be:

"New Socialist Movement (former PASOK) has abandoned the "sinful past" and it is directly connected with its socialist ideology; which is a national party with "something for everybody" such as for the "the middle class" which are "the victims of crime" as well as "the unemployed", the suspiciously destroyed "industry" of Greece, and the "small business" as the base of a free economy for free people. This signals a "return to the 1981 era", the era of welfare policy, decent living standards, and an appeal to the electorate of the central left political segment; and all these because we are "one nation"!

The above pathway will also be the base for the Execution Plan of the strategic proposition *“Repositioning PASOK”*. The following table also describes the above strategic proposition including some more elements such as the Stages, starting from the *Value Level* to the *Voting behaviour* and the final *Message*.

Table 27

Table 6.3 The strategic option “Repositioning PASOK”

<i>Level of Abstraction</i>	<i>Strategic Components</i>	<i>Positioning Strategy</i>
Specific	Message	“Return to our roots”
	Voting Behaviour	New Socialist Movement (instead of PASOK)
	Consequences	Ideological Consistency for Social Left Policies
	Political Attitudes/Ideologies	Central Left for social justice
	Motivations	Understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people
	Intermediate Stage	Solidarity, Change in Education System
Abstract	Values	“Respect to fellow man”

Hence, the strategic option *“Repositioning PASOK”*, as it has been evolved after these steps, links: the Value Stage *“respect to fellow man”*, the Intermediate Stage *“solidarity, and change in education”*, the Stage of Motivations *“Love and understanding the fellow man”* SYR 09 and *“Betterment of living conditions”* PAN 13, the Stage of Political Attitudes/Ideologies *“Central Left: for social Justice”* (SYR 09), *“Left: for overthrows for the peoples”*, *“Central Left: for democratic socialism”* PAN

13, the Stage of Consequences “Ideological consistency for central left policies”, and the Stage of Voting Behaviour “New Socialist Movement”.

Moreover, it links the Execution Plan with the abandonment of the “sinful past”, its direct connection with its socialist ideology; that it is a national party with “something for everybody” such as for the “the middle class” which is “the victims of crime” as well as “the unemployed”, the suspiciously destroyed “industry” of Greece, and the “small business” as the base of a free economy for free people; which signals a “return to the 1981 era”; the era of welfare policy, decent living standards, and an appeal to the electorate of the central left political territory; and all these because we are “one nation”; the Leverage with “democratic freedom”, and “decent level of life” (the “decent level of life” is associated with moderate commitments due to the exit from Memorandums and reduction of austerity measures); and finally, it links the Message which would be “Return to Our Roots”. This message is short, and in line with Ries and Trout's position, and it reflects an image association connected with change and the positive side of the “*Old PASOK*” and in particular the “1981 era”.

It can be observed that this strategic specification, although it deals with the Execution Plan for the strategy, keeps the distance from any specification which would infringe the purview of the creatives. It is important that management will be able to supply direction to creatives, while at the same time leaving them free space to create advertising within this framework. This act of imaging consists of specifying the elements (stages, Execution Plan, Leverage, and final Message) which are to be linked together in the advertising and the underlying rationale for that linkage. This also provides a target framework in which creatives can execute, as well as, an objective or standard against which the results can be assessed.

6.5 Conclusion

By the above presentation, and particularly in section 6.2, we went through the *Interpretation and Strategic use of Excerpts of Coding*, as well as, *how Positioning Decisions based on Excerpts of Coding Pathways* could be made.

In section 6.3 the translation of *Image Research to Image-based Positioning Strategies*, with *Definitions of Image* covering imaging approaches such as *General Characteristics, Perceptions of Products, focus groups, Beliefs and Attitudes, Brand Personality* and *Linkages between Characteristics and Feelings and Emotions* was described. The *Concept of Voters' Thinking Processes Reformed as an Orientation for defining Image*, as well as, *Alternatives for studying Image*, and the *Implementation of the concept of Voters' Thinking Processes Reformed as an instrument for studying Image* were also described.

In section 6.4 *Strategy Translation for Creatives*, with the party of Golden Dawn-Peoples' Association as an *Illustrative Example* provided a pathway for creatives; and finally, by the *Emerging Insights related to "Repositioning PASOK"* the final positioning proposition was made.

After this presentation could be argued that working only with simple attributes of a political product offering is not the way to understand the components of an image. The personalized translations and connection of image associations of all Stages of the *VVbTP Reformed* should be identified. The more successful we are at developing a framework to distinguish across all the Stages of the *VVbTP Reformed* as a value-based concept, the more valuable our research will be in aiding the image-development process. The real key to understanding image lies in understanding linkages or connections between the Stages of the *VVbTP Reformed*, which define the perceptions the individual voters view the world and subsequently develop preferences for different political product offerings.

Effective linkages can be established for political product offerings only when we can gain a perspective on how the political product offering relates to the personal-value systems of individual voters. By viewing the concept of *VVbTP Reformed* image associations between its stages, we can achieve this perspective. Moreover, the research process suggested here simply provides people in creative positions with a concept in which they could focus their efforts.

This makes the *VVbTP Reformed* an effective medium for identifying the pathway for competitive advertising and consequently positioning strategies.

By the integration of Positioning as a proposition for *long-term equity* we have covered the fourth and most significant objective which is:

Objective 4: *“How can voters’ value-based thinking processes impact the positioning strategy process and its formulation for retention of a political party’s electoral base to be achieved?”*

This is because the concept of the *VVbTP Reformed* is self-relevant since it sources from the personal values of the individual voters’ thinking processes. Personal values are a higher-order element of the self and the personal belief system of an individual; hence it operates in the long-term base when a decision is made for a particular objective such as the retention of the political parties’ electoral bases (Caprara G. V., Schwartz S., Capanna C., Vecchione M., Barbaranelli C., 2006; Caprara, G., & Zimbardo, P., 2004; Caprara, G. V., & Cervone, D., 2000; Schwartz, S. H., 1992, 1994, 1996, 2006a).

Chapter Seven: Conclusions

7.1 Introduction

After the chapters of Data Collection and Analysis, the last chapter followed, which was the chapter on Positioning. The chapter Data Collection and Analysis provided the findings of the analysis of data collected for the study which were used so that positioning options are developed and proposed. This chapter will draw conclusions and managerial implications based on what has been found in this research study. Firstly, the summary of the findings regarding the research questions will be provided (section 7.2). Then following these conclusions, key points in Relation to Literature Review (section 7.3) and the Research Contribution (section 7.4) will be discussed. Furthermore, the Managerial Implications (section 7.5) the Research Limitations (section 7.6) will be highlighted, and future study directions will be proposed (section 7.6).

7.2 Summary of the Study

The basic research question was based on the observation of permanent decrease, mainly, of the major political parties' electoral bases. This could be, mostly, observed in the two major political parties of the bipolar political system.

The above observation created the main challenge for the development of this thesis, whose major aim was the retention of the political parties' electoral bases.

To accomplish this aim, the creation of sustainable exchange relationships between political parties and voters should be achieved. This would be made, by the detailed observation and understanding of the electorates' decision-making processes, through four research questions:

Question 1: "How can the Greek voters' personal values be identified?"

Question 2: "How can the Greek voters' value-based thinking processes be observed and described?"

Question 3: “How can from voters’ value-based thinking processes image associations be elicited?”

Question 4: “How can voters’ value-based thinking processes impact the positioning strategy process and its formulation for retention of a political party’s electoral base to be achieved?”

However, for the above research questions to be covered, a mechanism for close observation of the voters’ decision-making process should be structured. This led to the development of the concept of Voters’ Value-based Thinking Processes. The particular concept is the main research instrument for “breaking” the voters’ decision-making process into seven parts. This, in turn, led to the elicitation of details, which stand for the properties of voters’ decision-making. As a result, a significant increase in political marketers’ understanding of voters’ decision making was achieved.

The above concept or the Voters’ Value-based Thinking Processes, besides a newly developed research instrument, is also a new theoretical proposition which ended up by offering significant theoretical and practical insights and which will be briefly described in the next sections.

Through the concept of Voters’ Value-based Thinking Processes, political image associations were elicited in order, finally, image-based positioning strategies to be developed and lead to long-term equity or retention of the political parties’ electoral bases.

More specifically, by the adaptation of the concept of Voters’ Value-based Thinking Processes particular attention has been paid in the investigation of the First (1st) Stage of the interview, which is the stage of the interviewees’ Personal Values. For the majority of the interviewees, the values “inherited” from their family environment were also adopted by them. However, slight removals from the basic core of these “inherited” values have been observed particularly right after the Stage of Values, that is, the Intermediate Stage; at this particular stage the interaction

between the interviewees' "inherited" family values with their environment was described till their personal value system, finally, was formed.

Consequently, up to this point the interviewees' personal values which was the First (1st) Research Question:

"How can the Greek voters' personal values be identified?"

has been covered.

In the stage of Motivations, most of the interviewees indicated a considerable degree of reliability (all of the interviewees except the GD 12, and IND16), that is, concurrence between interviewees' values and Motivational Factors. These Motivational Factors are related to the basic value "respect for the fellow man". Most of the interviewees indicated high priority in the "respect for the fellow man". It is implied that "respect for the fellow man" regardless of the political position of someone is a value of high priority in Greek society and it leads to the extraction of relative image association from it.

The fourth (4th) stage described the political attitudes (ideologies) of the interviewees' thinking processes. Most of the interviewees indicated a strong relationship between political attitudes and personal values.

Findings are more interesting, however, after the investigation of the fifth (5th) stage, which was the stage of Consequences. Most of the interviewees indicated strong relationships with their basic values. They also indicated high rates of congruence between Political Ideology and Consequences. However, a significant number of the interviewees indicated incongruence between their political ideology and voting behaviour, which is the sixth (6th) stage.

In the stage of the evaluation of other political parties, image associations have been elicited about all parties. Hence, with the accomplishment of the investigation of the seven (7) stages, the interviewees' thinking processes have been closely observed and described. The selection of image associations through tracing of their perceptual pathways has also been accomplished. Additionally, the identification of the most significant stage with its 'keywords and phrases' has also contributed to the

selection of image associations; accordingly, the second (2nd) and third (3rd) questions, which are:

Question 2: *“How can the Greek voters’ value-based thinking processes be observed and described?” and*

Question 3: *“How can from voters’ value-based thinking processes image associations to be elicited?”*

have been covered.

In Open Coding and particularly the section of Development of Categories, the emergence of the categories “Loving Family”, “Strong Bonds-Bad Environment”, and “No Bonds-Bad environment” have emerged. The above categories are also considered as subcategories of the major category “Family Environment”. The dominant attribute in most interviews after the emergence of these categories was “social focus”; that is, most of the interviewees indicated “social focus” and “respect for the fellow man”. The dimensionality of the above attribute is reflected by the “Loving Family”, “Strong Bonds-Bad Environment”, and “No Bonds-Bad environment”; the extreme positive pole of this dimensionality is the “Loving Family”, and in turn the extreme negative pole the “No Bonds-Bad environment”.

By the progress of the interview processes, three more categories were developed; that is, the “Social Sensitivity”, the “Strong Attitudes”, and “High Individuality”. The three categories also stand for the three major segments the electorate is classified. The above categories also consist of a segmentation concept that is going to be used for two major strategic positioning options to be accomplished.

More specifically, the first strategic positioning option has been made to position the political party of Golden Dawn-Peoples Association. This option aims in the description of a positioning option that describes the connection between two

meanings (Ries and Trout, 2000) and would also assist the creative staff so that the final creative outcome is in line with the strategic part of the positioning option.

In the second option, that is, “Repositioning the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK)”, an image-based positioning proposition has also been conducted. This led to the formation of an “Execution Plan”, and the development of a final “Message” such as “Return to Our Roots”. It is the personal relevance or the sourcing from the respondents’ personal value system which made the particular positioning option, to yield long term equity and consequently retention of the electoral base (Caprara Gian Vittorio, Schwartz Shalom, Capanna Cristina, Vecchione Michele, and Barbaranelli Claudio, 2006, “Personality and Politics: Values, Traits, and Political Choice”, *Political Psychology*, Vol. 27, No. 1).

The integration of the positioning process covered the Fourth (4th) and last question which was:

Question 4: “How can voters’ value-based thinking processes impact the positioning strategy process and its formulation for retention of a political party’s electoral base to be achieved?”

7.3 Research Contribution

This thesis has contributed to Political Marketing studies by filling gaps of literature in a way not previously attempted. This is credited to the concept of Voters’ Value-based Thinking Processes Reformed which consists of a new theoretical perspective. Also, it has enriched the qualitative research studies and the epistemological approach by providing insights to political marketers through a positioning proposition which culminates in long term equity for political parties, and consequently, in the retention of their electoral bases.

The contribution of this thesis is described in two parts. *Firstly*, on the description of existing gaps and major drawbacks and weaknesses of the Political Marketing field; and *secondly*, based on the identified gaps and major drawbacks, to address the research offerings provided by this thesis.

Hence, *firstly*, in the major gaps in the extant literature of Political Marketing studies summarized in Chapter Two: Literature review it was found that:

- Value based Political Marketing qualitative studies are under researched
- Drawbacks of the existing Political Marketing qualitative studies are identified
- Value based Political Marketing studies in Greece, both qualitative and quantitative, are also under researched.
- Political Marketing research studies in Greece following the qualitative epistemological approach is under researched.
- Value based Political Marketing studies with respect to the retention of the political parties' electoral bases are rare, particularly in Greece.

More specifically, this thesis has contributed to the extant literature by addressing the existing gaps and major drawbacks of a developing field such as Political Marketing. First, the main research contribution is to enrich the Political Marketing studies from the perspective of improvement on the level of the *theory of political marketing*. That is, the understanding of the main exchange partners such as the political parties, and the electorate; while it enriches the literature of political marketing research by addressing a bilateral problem (Levy, 2002). The identification of this gap led towards a bilateral strategic marketing offering, creating, as such, sustainable exchange relationships (Kotler P. 1984, 1991; Kotler P. and Armstrong G., 1996; Levy, 2002).

Secondly, through this research major drawbacks have been addressed, such as persistence on the marketing instruments' usage in campaigns and communication, as well as market research tools and other political marketing instruments. Such tools and instruments have created a research "over-contribution" in the particular political marketing research area, which although has been accomplished on a descriptive level. Additionally, an over-simplification of 'managerial' interpretation of marketing, and an orientation towards the 4Ps and the marketing mix has impeded

the development of Political Marketing (Sheth et al., 1988; van Waterschoot and van den Bulte, 1992; Webster, 1992; O'Malley and Patterson, 1998).

Thirdly, in the Greek political environment, the first use of the term *Political Marketing* appeared in a short monograph written by a career diplomat, Panayiotis Theodorakopoulos (1999), which dealt with the projection and promotion of the Greek national image in influential centres of power in the USA. Additionally, a significant contribution from governmental political marketing to political marketing in elections, one encounters the work of Yannis Loulis. Loulis has written several books with considerable importance for political marketing. His first book (1999), introduced Dick Morris' strategy of triangulation to the Greek readership. The following two books introduced the concept of the "middle ground" in the context of Greek electoral contests, the one book (Loulis, 2001) relying on public opinion polls and the other (2004) basing the analysis on focus group inputs.

Concerning quantitative research, informative pieces tracking Greek public opinion diachronically can be found as well as a discussion of methodological issues produced by the Institute of polling firm V-PRC (1999; 2000; 2002).

Also, important books in political communication have been produced (Papathanasopoulos, 1997; Demertzis, 2002a; Panagiotopoulou, 2003) which touch only tangentially key issues in political marketing.

The above argumentations indicate a significant absence from new developments of marketing theory, that is, mostly towards the qualitative paradigm and epistemological orientation (Henneberg, 2004).

As a consequence of the above research gaps and drawbacks, the following research offerings have emerged:

First (1st), *Voters' Value-based Thinking Processes Reformed* as a new theoretical perspective for closer and more detailed observation and understanding of the

voters' electoral decision making. This was made a) by analyzing and building on the work of other value theorists and by the definition of *values* provided by Schwartz (2006) as "desirable, trans-situational goals, varying in importance, that serve as guiding principles in people's lives", and b) by employing an approach that "captures concepts relevant to the voters' experience that are adequate at the level of meaning of the people living that social and political experience, and adequate at the level of scientific theorizing about that experience" according to Gioia et al (2012). For both of these aims, a systematic *inductive approach* to concept development was devised to *inductively* develop "grounded theory" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Strauss & Corbin, 1998), which provided deep and rich theoretical descriptions of the contexts within which social and political phenomena occur. This particular devised approach for developing "grounded theory", was described by Gioia et al (2012), and it worked in parallel with McCracken's *Long Interview Method*.

The second (2nd) significant offering that the current research study provides through the qualitative research paradigm and the epistemological perspective is *depth*. This is accomplished through seven (7) value-based stages supported by the theoretical background offered by Rokeach (1973), Schwartz (1992, 1994, 2006), Schuette & Fazio (1995), Fazio (1990a), Fazio & Williams (1986), Fazio (1990b), Gutman & Reynolds (1979); while on the other hand there is no such a deep qualitative investigation in the field of Political Marketing; moreover, in the qualitative paradigm in general, Laddering and Means-End Theory by Gutman (1982), Gutman & Reynolds (1987) is based on three (3) stages: the stage of Attributes, the Stage of Consequences, and the Stage of Values, as the last in the row.

The third (3rd) significant offering that the current research study provides the qualitative research paradigm and the epistemological perspective is *personal relevance*. Based on the Value Theory by Rokeach (1973), and Schwartz (1992, 1994, 2006), the concept of *Voters' Value-based Thinking Processes Reformed* has been developed to provide a personally relevant research tool. This is done in a way in which, through the particular concept, more personally relevant image associations can be elicited.

The fourth (4th) significant offering that the current research study provides the qualitative research paradigm and the epistemological perspective is *continuity and interconnection*. Through the question of *how this is connected to your personal values and the previous stage*, the interviewee provides the means to connect one stage with the previous one and mostly with his/her personal values.

The fifth (5th) and significant offering that the current research study provides the qualitative research paradigm and the epistemological perspective is the *decrease of subjectivity*. This argumentation is connected to the third (3rd) offering, that of *personal relevance*; while subjectivity is the main drawback of the qualitative paradigm, due to the personal involvement of the researcher (Strauss and Corbin, 1998), its limitation had not been observed as a qualitative and epistemological research offering within the Political Marketing field; such a limitation of subjectivity also has not been offered yet by any other qualitative research study.

The Sixth (6th) research offering of this thesis is the concept of *Voters' Value-based Thinking Processes Reformed* as a new and more detailed segmentation proposition, which has been achieved by the employment of the *Grounded Theory Technique*; accordingly, the researcher can reach the smallest piece of information which may stand for a property providing as such enhancement in understanding.

The Seventh (7th) and last research offering is the creation of an atmosphere of *tranquility and trust* which was an imperative element for a successful expedition of the interviews. Tranquility was the element that would lead to the emergence of *trust* between both sides: the interviewee and the researcher. *Tranquility and trust* are two elements that provide significant diversification and exceptionality to the current interview and the method adopted for this research study. On the other hand, there is a sound absence in qualitative research related to the political marketing field, through the epistemological perspective that offers the above mentioned positive pre-conditional elements which characterize an interview environment for the interview to commence successfully. Laddering through the Means-End Approach by Reynolds T. J. and Olson J. C. (2001), and Gutman J. (1982) is considered as inappropriate for a qualitative investigation related to the Political Marketing field due to the *"why is this important to you"* question right from the

beginning of the interview, and due to the sensitivity, that any political issue is characterized.

In turn, through the concept of Voters' Value-based Thinking Processes Reformed this thesis enriches the extant Political Marketing theory by offering as theoretical propositions, firstly: three emerging subcategories or the "Loving Family", "Strong Bonds-Bad Environment", and "No Bonds-Bad Environment" offer a classification of the interviewees in terms of properties which reflect qualitative elements of the family environment; and, secondly, they reflect the dimensional characteristics of the particular subcategories since they describe the degree of acceptance of family values of respondents.

As a consequence, the above subcategories led to the development of three (3) major categories or the major categories of "Social Sensitivity", "High Individuality", and "Strong Attitudes". These major categories have been developed by considering the "Social Sensitivity"/ "High Individuality" and "Strong Attitudes", the two major poles, as a major factor of modification. That is, in case of violation of the Personal Value System the more inclination towards "Social Sensitivity" and "High Individuality" the more the possibility of incongruence between Political Attitude/Ideology and Voting Behaviour; on the contrary the more inclination towards personal values of the category "Strong Attitudes" the more the possibility of congruence between Political Attitude/Ideology and Voting Behaviour.

Moreover, by the integration of the 'storyline' during the process of Selective Coding in Chapter Five: Data Collection and Data Analysis, the concept of The Voters' Value-based Thinking Processes Reformed was developed as the Central Theoretical Category of this research study.

Based on the above theoretical developments the pathway and the background to elicit image associations sourcing from the personal values of the respondents was provided, rendering as such, both, the above concept as well as its derivatives personally relevant products. Additionally, the above-mentioned major categories, that is, "Social Sensitivity", "High Individuality", and "Strong Attitudes" operated as detailed segments upon which different positioning propositions were made.

7.4 Managerial Implications

Political Marketing in Greece is in a state of media-based campaigning (Prodromos Yannas, 2002). Since the 1990s and moving up to the present, pollsters, advertising agents, media consultants, marketing specialists, and image-makers have occupied central stages in the conduct and analysis of Greek election campaigns.

Internationally, few will even doubt the primacy of the image in election campaigns. In today's political contests, politicians must pay attention to both the substance and the form of politics. To accomplish this task and be elected, they need the assistance of professional experts who would help them to develop the winning strategy. On a global scale, academic analysts are witnessing the ascendancy of "image" politics, the increased professionalization of political communication, and the adoption of campaign-style and practices, which rely heavily on the mass media to appeal to voters (Scammell, 1998, p. 251). Greek politicians and political parties are not an exception to this trend of employing outside professional expertise for the conduct of election campaigns.

This sources, firstly, from the lack of medium to long term horizon strategic planning, which in turn ends up in lack of information systems, and lack of data collection and analysis, and consequently isolation of the political party from the electorate's daily based needs and political reality. This in turn impedes strategic planning of a political party which mathematically leads to a lack of control of retention of the electoral base. The above ascertainties led managerial implications related to the above emerged political marketing problems to be highlighted.

The most significant managerial implications of the research findings are, *firstly*, the need for understanding that political parties and the electorate are two main exchange partners; and *secondly*, the requirement for a qualitative epistemological approach to be employed as a solution for the Political Marketing research problem. The stakeholders of the Greek political scene involved in political developments should accept this solution as a long-term value option. A further practical implication for stakeholders of the Greek political parties would be enhanced by

strategic propositions relying on more focused information being provided by those actively involved in daily life, which are the Greek citizens; and consequently, the interviewees of the current research study.

The Data Collection and Analysis have provided three major categories which are “Social Sensitivity”, “High Individuality”, and “Strong Attitudes” and which also stand for three major segments respectively. These categories yielded personally relevant image associations upon which a positioning proposition has been developed. Also, two examples have been provided for a better exemplification of the positioning proposition to be made.

Therefore, the findings of this study have significant implications for Greek political parties, the Greek government, and generally any power centre or institution related to qualitative data collection and analysis. Therefore, this thesis points out the significance of accurate information that could be provided to the involved stakeholders for the evaluation of a political objective.

Managerial Implications to Greek Political Parties

As the Greek political parties’ positive image associations have been elicited, in turn, political parties can take the opportunity and reintroduce themselves and increase their market share within the Greek political market. In this case, the Greek political parties with positive image associations perceived by the interviewees or Greek voters should devise processes to accentuate their image-based positioning propositions. Based on these image-based positioning propositions marketing communication campaigns should stress the positive image associations of the political parties to the related segment or major category. Data collection and analysis have shown three major categories; two of them, “Social Sensitivity” and “High Individuality” have shown incongruence between Political Attitude/Ideology and Voting Behaviour when a violation of their value system occurs; while the other one (“Strong Attitudes”) has shown congruence. This political behaviour, as well as, the rationale which dictates this behaviour should be taken under consideration by political parties.

Managerial Implications to Greek Government

The Hellenic Governments should take advantage of the above-proposed information emerging from the Data Collection and Analysis; they must also comply with the recommended positioning proposition; first, because it relies on a limited subjective data analysis; and secondly, the recommended positioning proposition should be characterized by more “social focus”. This is an imperative demand, firstly, because it is a common desire of almost all the emerged categories, according to data analysis; and secondly, this is encouraged by the exodus from the memorandum era and the austerity measures.

Managerial Implications to Power Centres and Institutions

Personal values are addressed to deeper self-beliefs and desires. They are not associated only with political beliefs or issues.

Basic personal values refer to the broad goals to which people attribute importance as guiding principles in their lives (e.g., tradition, benevolence, hedonism).

Basic values, as elaborated below, apply across domains and situations. As such, they underlie and are broader than the political values and attitudes typically examined in research on voter preferences. Basic personal values are a crucial grounding of ideology. If they explain voting patterns, political leaders could use them to go beyond left-right and similar ideological dimensions to more complex readings of the range of the public’s basic value priorities. They could segment the public based on fine-grained value priorities, not traditional group memberships (Caprara G. V., et al, 2006, p.02). Therefore, they comprise a wide range of utilities. This ascertainment renders the concept of *Voters’ Value-based Thinking Processes Reformed* as an instrument of a wide range of data collection and analysis.

7. 5 Research Limitations

There are a few limitations of the qualitative interviews. *First* of all, the interviews can sometimes confuse especially when the respondents lacked understanding of

the meaning of interviewer's questions or conversely where the interviewer lacked understanding of their answers during the interview (Wimmer and Dominick, 1997). Such confusion occasionally took place in the data collection process which led to certain difficulties in the stage of data collection.

Second, the data collection process was very time-consuming. The average time spent in each interview was about two and a half hours. Moreover, at least two weeks were required for the transcription and translation of each interview.

Third, a qualitative study has the drawback of difficulty of replication (Bryman, 2008). Since the interviews in this study were semi-structured and largely reliant upon the skills of the interviewer, it is hard to conduct a true replication. It is not possible to implement an absolute replication because there is no exact criterion to be followed. The researcher is the only instrument of data collection, therefore, what had been observed and heard and also what had been decided to be addressed is in accordance to the researcher's predilections. The culture of the researcher can largely affect the data collection and data analysis process (McCracken, 1988; Bryman, 2008).

Fourth, the questions and answers were sometimes provided spontaneously without any extended reflection during the interviews. Therefore, the synchronous character of qualitative research method may lead to certain data missing at the level of depth and detail (Wengraf, 2001). It became difficult to pick up the missing data after the interviews.

Fifth, the interviews were conducted within two to two and a half hours; the longest interview conducted by interviewing the interviewee GD14 took two (02) hours and forty-two (42) minutes. The interviews cause a considerable fatigue for the individual under investigation.

7. 6 Implications for Future Research

This thesis, due to its qualitative epistemological orientation, is characterized by an explanatory attitude, but requires further examination through additional research.

This is what epistemology requires. Future studies could extend this research to a different or wider objective of the investigation of the Greek electorate's thinking processes, and different periods of the Greek political life.

Applicability of the concept of the *Voters' Value based Thinking*

***Processes Reformed* in other qualitative research areas and objectives**

For a deeper understanding of the concept of the *Voters' Value-based Thinking Processes Reformed* (VVbTP) replicating the study in other research objectives becomes necessary. Since epistemology requires a pluralistic environment (Wring, 1999; O'Shaughnessy, 2002), many new insights are gained from the interaction between different theoretical constructs, such as the Value Theory. Also, this argumentation is reinforced due to the wide applicability of the Value Theory in a multitude of different objectives.

Moreover, further studies can investigate the electorate of different countries instead of Greece with a view in an investigation of their thinking processes. Also due to the wide range of applicability of the Value Theory (Caprara G. V., et al, 2006, p.02), it renders the concept of *VVbTP* applicable to other disciplines and objectives. Hence, any government could use the concept of *VVbTP* for any social and/or political investigation with respect to a particular object. Similarly, the concept of *VVbTP* could be used for any investigation in the service industry. In a case such as this, the particular concept could be renamed in *End Users' Value-based Thinking Processes Reformed* which renders the concept more inclusive in terms of its applicability. This would probably lead to the emergence of new major categories and subcategories; however, the basic concept will remain the same (Strauss and Corbin, 1998).

This would be of significant value both to academic research and to the data analysts of particular industries and segments.

Implicit Attitudes and Prejudged Behaviours, and Non-Verbal Behaviour and Communication.

It is the position of the current research that managerial implications should source from emerging phenomena of the current research, as such has been observed during the interview's IND 16 and IND 19. During these interviews the particular interviewees indicated a lack of coherence in the rationale of the answers they provided; "I did not vote for anyone; I preferred to go to a wedding" (IND16), and in the question "what did you vote in the last elections" the interviewee IND 19 replied, "I don't remember". These two answers are considered as irrational, incoherent, and false; therefore, this phenomenon requires further investigation; that is, on "matching" between implicit attitudes and behaviour correlation (Cunningham Preacher, & Banaji, 2001; Dovidio, Kawakami, Johnson, Johnson, & Howard, 1997; Fazio, Jackson, et al., 1995; Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998; Karpinski & Hilton, 2001; Wittenbrink, Judd, & Park, 1997).

Some years ago, Ajzen and Fishbein argued that "renewed challenge to the hypothetical relation between attitudes and behaviour can be discerned, particularly in the domain of prejudice and discrimination (Fiske, 1998), by describing the study of the *explicit attitudes* and *implicit behaviours* of Whites towards African Americans." Work in this field has led investigators to argue that expressions of stereotypical beliefs and prejudicial attitudes have declined significantly over the past decades (e.g., Dovidio, 2001; Schuman, Steeh, Bobo, & Krysan, 1997);

What has been emerged from the above Ajzen and Fischbein's argumentation about attitudes of Whites towards Black African Americans is that research on implicit attitudes and behaviours proved to be inadequate for providing integrated solutions on congruence between implicit attitudes and behaviours. It is the position of this research study that the above problem could be covered through research evidence sourcing from nonverbal behavioural and communication studies of correlation and incorporation of Gerald Zaltman and Robin Higie Coulter (1995) study; To be more specific, the Zaltman Metaphor Elicitation Technique is designed to surface the mental models that drive consumer thinking and behaviour and characterize these models in actionable ways using consumers, metaphors.

Moreover, Marcus et al (2000) and Affective Intelligence Theory (AIT), and the impact of emotions and reason on, both, the preconscious and conscious level would also create a significant prospect if integrated with VVbTP in the elicitation of latent needs. More specifically, in Affective Intelligence Theory (AIT) a basic argument is that in a normal wakeful state multiple affect - eliciting appraisals are active at the same time, generating rapid shifts in strategic assessments of the world allowing early control over those actions that are then underway. Because these appraisals occur well before conscious awareness, only those that are sufficiently robust and persistent become subjectively available (see Marcus et al (2000) and Affective Intelligence Theory (AIT), Chapter Two: Literature Review).

It is suggested that the above propositions are promising means for improving advertising/positioning research.

Moreover, despite the technical advances, both quantitative and qualitative, significant challenges persist in understanding end-users' explicit attitudes and implicit behaviours; as well as thoughts, feelings, and behaviours.

In particular, Political Marketing research methods need to improve in ways that:

1. Provide a deeper understanding of end-users as a basis for advertising/positioning and other marketing decisions.
2. Do a better job of eliciting latent and emerging needs.
3. Provide better guidance for capturing end-users, attention, and further engaging their thought processes.
4. Help codify and organize nonverbal data better.
5. Facilitate the presentation of findings by researchers in ways that they resemble more closely the end products that must be developed, e.g., visual advertising.

The above argumentations lead to the conclusion that for an audience to process and understand a message and then think about a purchase, the message must

capture rational and emotional meanings that are intermixed at multiple levels of thought (Damasio, 1994). The message must also resonate not only with surface knowledge but also with deeper meanings associated with the topic of interest. Thus, developing effective advertising/positioning propositions requires research methods that open windows into the end-users' mind and that access relevant rational and emotional issues and their interplay. Although many quantitative and qualitative methods are useful in understanding how to communicate with existing and potential end-users, advertising/positioning practitioners continue to search for and experiment with alternative methodologies.

Our purpose is through these propositions to find a research tool designed to (1) translate eliciting elements in useful information that drive voters as end users thinking and behaviour, and (2) use this information in actionable and constructive ways that drive voters/end users, thinking and behaviour.

Moreover, comparative research sourcing from different issues emerging from the current research study could be conducted. Such comparative research will be meaningful for further understanding of bilateral issues that concern both political parties and the electorate might be useful for predicting future trends in political marketing strategic requirements as well as requirements in other fields.

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Appendices

Appendix (A)_Consent Form

Researcher's Declaration

In order this research to be accomplished it is necessary to make you aware of a number of matters relating to the data that is provided from you, and how it will be managed.

It is my intention to use typists to transcribe the data that you provide in this interview. The audio-typists may be typists employed by the University of Salford, and/ or postgraduate students at the University of Salford and/ or external persons to the University of Salford.

To ensure a high-quality research project, I may involve other academics or postgraduate students at the University of Salford in the data analysis process. In such cases, I may allow other academics at the University of Salford to see and have access to your data, in order to complete the data analysis process.

I will however remove your name from any of your data that other University of Salford academics have access to.

I will not disclose the names of the individuals who have taken part in the study (other than to the transcriber), although I will use anonymised quotations (from interview transcripts) in publications and disseminations. When the data is used for the basis of dissemination, all data will be reported in an anonymised manner. Publication and dissemination are broadly defined to include academic journals, e-journals, books, conference proceedings / presentations, practitioner journals, presentations, interviews, teaching, internet web sites and systems, and any other relevant form of dissemination as determined by the researcher.

Participant's Declaration.

It is important, as the individual who will be interviewed, to declare I have read and understood the project information sheet, and I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project.

I agree to take part in the project and that taking part in the project will include being interviewed and recorded (audio).

I understand my personal details such as phone number and address will not be revealed to people outside the project.

I understand that my taking part is voluntary; I can withdraw from the study prior to dissemination and I do not have to give any reasons for why I no longer want to take part

Do you have any objections to this? Yes / No (Delete as appropriate)

CHRISTOPHER CHRISTOPOULOS

ARISTOTELOUS 66, 15562 ATHENS, GREECE

Tel: 00302106529872

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E-mail address: christopherchristopoulos@yahoo.gr

Name of participant	[printed]	Signature	Date
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Researcher	[printed]	Signature	Date
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Appendix (B)_Ethical Issues

As a first step of approach towards the individual that would participate in the particular research contributing by the provision of information concerning his personality and daily life was the following letter or the *Participant Invitation Letter*:

“Since the decade of fifties, the major part of voters of the, so called, *western world countries* are used to vote for the same political party in a sequential manner. However, since the beginning of nineties, there has been observed a gradual but permanent decrease in voters’ loyalty and consequently a problem in the retention in the parties’ electoral base, a phenomenon attributed to the plethora of information provided by the media, which in turn has provided to the electorate more information about electoral opportunities; Meanwhile, the recent developments in the Southern European Countries’ economies and particularly Greece’s as a representative example have contributed even more to the loyalty decline of voters and led it to terrifying levels.

This raised an increased interest from both academics and practitioners to be focused on the issue of the retention of the political parties’ electoral base from the political marketing point of view. The most salient and additionally most critical point of this issue is the interaction between the political parties and the electorate, and being more specific the conceptualisation of the electorates’ real needs which the political parties are invited to satisfy.

As a researcher occupied within the field of political marketing I would like to inform you that, through this research, an effort to identify the needs that source from the electorates’ real personalities, an aspect initially introduced by the ancient Greek philosophers, so that a mechanism of identification of the boundaries between the political parties governmental impact and the citizens’ needs and wants is developed. This is considered as a determinant step forward towards the betterment of our democracies since political parties will be aware why the citizens as the end users of the political product rejected or approve them.

Therefore, with the assertion that the anonymity of any participant will be a basic presupposition for the accomplishment of this research, I invite you to participate in this effort by the provision of your experiences sourcing from real life events and way of living, so that the step forward that could be achieved through this research is relied on elements of truth and reality.

I sincerely thank you for your contribution.

Christopher Christopoulos”

Full Contact details

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Additional information to the interviewee was also provided by the *participant information sheet/letter*:

“This dissertation is concerned with the intersection of the topical areas of personal values, how voters’ personal values influence both strategy process and its outcomes in the formation of segmentation/positioning strategies within the political environment, and the developing field of political marketing, so that retention of political parties’ electoral base is achieved. The research strategy is based on a qualitative approach to discovering the value profiles/priorities of voters. Working

on voters' thinking process, we are also going to trace the reasoning and correlation of personal values with voters' political behaviour. Also, by the identification of value priorities we are going to build on image making since leader's image and party's image are basic components of the political product offering.

Rokeach's, Schwartz's, and Rohan's theory provides the main basis for understanding the theoretical topic of personal values. The qualitative method which is going to be used has been employed for Greek Voters' electoral behaviours to be interpreted. As a result, an approach showing the impact of personal values on strategy process towards the retention of the electoral base is proposed.

However, and besides the information provided before, I would like to make you aware of a number of matters relating to the data you give, and how it will be managed.

Do you have any other questions regarding the way your data is managed?

Each interview will last for around 1 hour and will be audio recorded so as to enable verbatim transcription. The collected data thereafter will be analysed.

For the purposes of transcription, the researcher will obtain permission from the interviewee for data to be transcribed by the researcher himself.

In any case, the contact details of the researcher which will be available for the interviewees are as follows:

First name: CHRISTOPHER

Family name: CHRISTOPOULOS

Address: ARISTOTELOUS 66, 15562 ATHENS, GREECE

Tel: 00302106529872

Mob: 00306936418266

E-mail address: christopherchristopoulos@yahoo.gr ”

Additionally, ethical issues that concern protection of the interviewees’ personal data and any information related to the interview that has been provided is an issue of high confidentiality and it requires the creation of a protected environment for the individual under investigation; in this manner, the sense of tranquillity and security that will be perceived from the individual will contribute both in the protection of the interviewee and the appropriate development of the interview. Hence, the letter of the first agreement between the researcher and the interviewee that was provided was the following:

“The aim of the research is to gain a better understanding of the relationship between the political choice of an individual and the profile of his/her personal values.

Please note that, although this investigation is concerned with your own personal values, these values will not be judged or evaluated in any way.

All responses for this investigation will be treated completely confidentially.

While responses are important, the investigation has been set up to ensure that it is not possible to match responses to individual respondents. This is because the information from you will be used only in aggregate form. Every effort is being made to ensure that the information you provide is secure, private, and confidential. Neither your name nor any other element will be used in any reports which result from this study unless you have given your permission.

Please provide as many answers as possible without spending too much time thinking about each item. There are no so called “tricky questions”.

Regarding personal values, please note: Individual values are not considered as “good” or “bad”. However, different values have different levels of importance for different individuals. Personal values direct individual behaviour and have a

motivational character. In the same way, value orientations or profiles cannot be categorized into “good” or “bad” types”.

Interviewee’s Name

Researcher’s Name

Signature.

Signature.

However, besides the information provided before, it is necessary the interviewee to be aware of a number of matters relating to the data that is provided, and how it will be managed. This would be accomplished by the *Consent Form*:

“It is important, as the individual who will be interviewed, to declare I have read and understood the project information sheet, and I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project.

I agree to take part in the project and that taking part in the project will include being interviewed and recorded (audio).

It is my intention to use my self to transcribe the data that you provide in this interview. Do you have any objections to this? Yes / No (Delete as appropriate)

To ensure a high-quality research project, I may involve other academics or postgraduate students at the University of Salford in the data analysis process. In such cases, I may allow other academics at the University of Salford to see and have access to your data, in order to complete the data analysis process. Is this okay? Yes / No (Delete as appropriate)

I will however remove your name from any of your data that other University of Salford academics have access to. Is this okay? Yes / No (Delete as appropriate)

I will not disclose the names of the individuals who have taken part in the study (other than to myself as transcriber), although I will use anonymised quotations (from interview transcripts) in publications and disseminations. When the data is used for the basis of dissemination, all data will be reported in an anonymised manner. Publication and dissemination are broadly defined to include academic journals, e-journals, books, conference proceedings / presentations, practitioner journals, presentations, interviews, teaching, internet web sites and systems, and any other relevant form of dissemination as determined by the researcher. Is this ok? Yes / No (Delete as appropriate)

I understand that my taking part is voluntary; I can withdraw from the study prior to dissemination and I do not have to give any reasons for why I no longer want to take part.

I understand my personal details such as phone number and address will not be revealed to people outside the project.”

CHRISTOPHER CHRISTOPOULOS

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Name of participant [printed]	Signature	Date
_____	_____	_____

Appendix (C)_ Interpretation of Strategy for Creatives

To illustrate, consider the “love for the nation and the fatherland” as potential strategy, which appeared as a positioning option for the political party of Golden Dawn-Popular Association. The particular example, although it refers to an extreme political party such as Golden Dawn instead of a centrist one, provides a sound case of *connection between two meanings* (Ries and Trout, 2000), essentially forming a meaningful connection between two as yet unrelated concepts; using the Excerpt of Intermediate Stage, GD 11, one example would be to connect “*nationalism*” to “*respect the fellow man*”.

Note that the Linkages between stages here (Figure 6. 2) are provided on the far-right column and the key Strategic Elements are presented in the central column of the figure; moreover, the Components of Advertising Strategy are presented on the left column of the figure. What is missing here is the concept of meaning; for it is the creative goal to create meanings which will make the political product offering personally relevant to the individual voters.

The key point to serve the creative process for a solution for the problem to be provided is the associative aspect of meaning between any two given concepts; that is, the connecting linkages between meanings of two stages and consequently the interconnection between all stages.

To develop meanings, one must focus on the connecting lines between the concepts which reside in each stage; and in turn to examine the possibility the desired meanings to result through the in between connecting lines. This task directly opens a significant pathway towards the accomplishment of the creative process. Consequently, the next step would be to develop executional ideas, scenarios, symbols, or feelings which would develop the association between two concepts or stages in the mind of the individual voter. Hence, the next determinant step to be made is to identify what would cause this desired connection; so once ideas are created for each of the three key strategic connections between the concepts/stages

(an example can be seen in the right column of Fig. 6.1), the provision of these ideas can be made by creating specific 'boxes' which contain these ideas and intervene in order to deliver the desired meanings; this would be an executional plot which includes all of the key meanings.

“‘Respect the fellow man’ as a priority” → “nationalism is not a bad thing” → “to protect my country is not a bad thing” → “if you ‘respect others’ you don’t conquer them” → “the wellbeing of the citizens, and in extent of the fatherland” → “I would locate myself in the ‘right’ side” → “‘ideological consistency’ as key phrase for the stage of ‘consequences’” → “Golden Dawn” as voting behaviour.

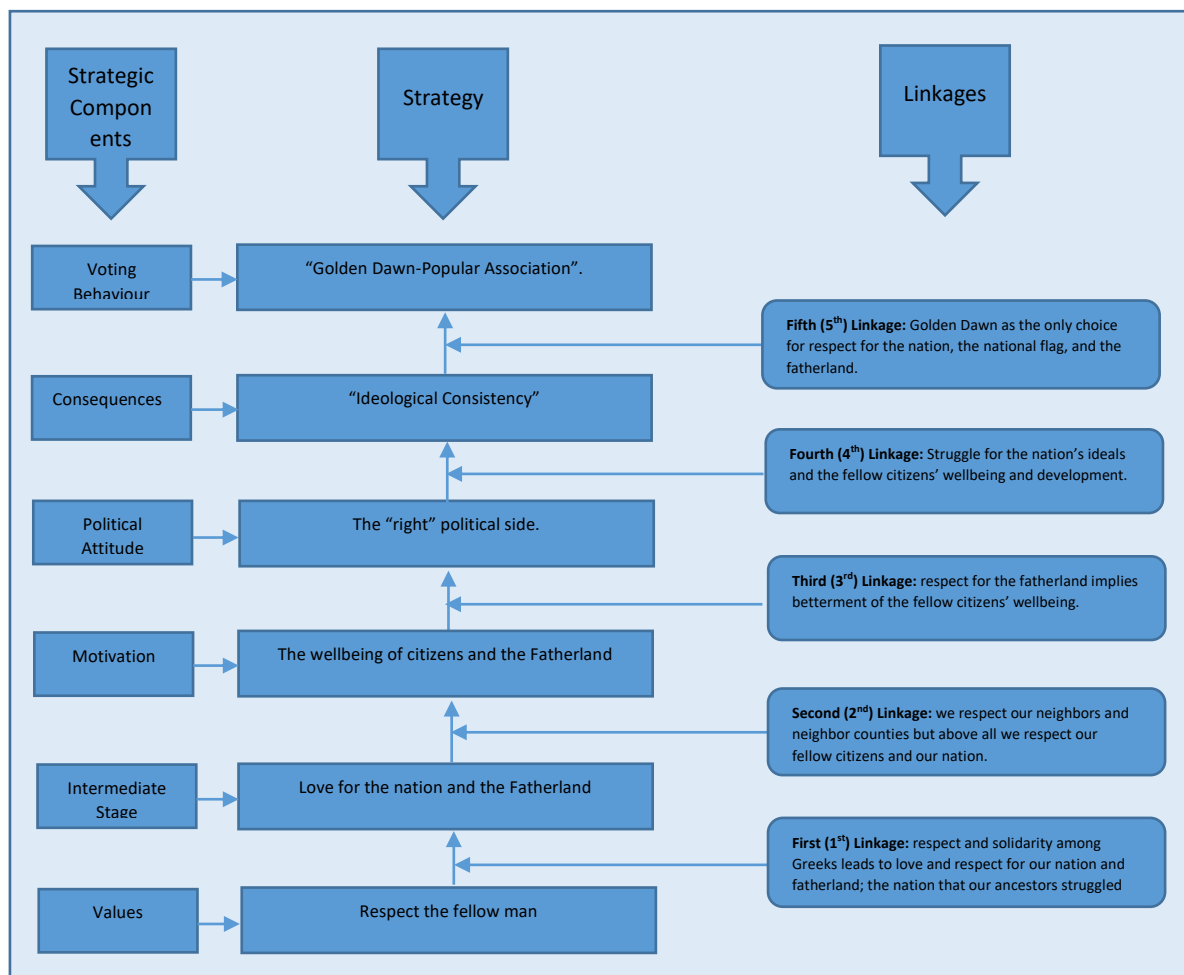


Figure 6.2 Example of Interpretation of Strategy for Creatives.

Figure 17

The initial form of strategy translation seen in Fig. 6.1 represents the basic underpinnings which would create the desired connection. The goal is to generate specific ideas thereby expanding the creative concept. For example, the “First (1st) Linkage” linking the Value Level to the Intermediate Stage could be enhanced by showing spot projecting a meaning of “respect the Greek fellow man and the Greek nation”. Using the Greek flag in front of an ancient Greek monument, such as the Parthenon, might accomplish this, since the national flag represents a significant *national symbol*. The “Second (2nd) Linkage” between the Intermediate Stage and the one of Motivation can be exemplified by linking the “love for the nation” or “nationalism is not a bad thing” → “to protect my country is not a bad thing” → “if you ‘respect others’ you don’t conquer them” with the motivational element “the wellbeing of the citizens and in extent of the fatherland” demonstrating a school with students during a tutorial, a factory during a daily operation, and a family during time of relaxation at home. This is an example that brings the strategic concept closer to life. The “Third (3rd) Linkage between the Stage of Motivation and Political Attitude can be made by linking “the wellbeing of the citizens and in extent of the fatherland” with the “I would locate myself in the ‘right’ side” of the ideological position demonstrating a man and a woman smiling and showing love and affection in their faces while looking at the national flag. The Fourth (4th) Linkage between the Stage of Political Attitude and the Stage of Consequences connecting the ‘right’ side political ideology with the ‘ideological consistency’ as key phrase for the stage of ‘consequences’ can be made by demonstrating a political debate with the political leader(s) of Golden Dawn during political speeches of content consistent with the elements of patriotism and love for the nation and the fatherland. For the Fifth (5th) Linkage, bridging the Stage of Consequences to the Stage of Voting behaviour, a visual demonstration of the symbol of Golden Dawn and the national flag seems like a fairly good executional idea.

Obviously, the above sample of creative idea presented is merely an example that might not be characterized as the best choice. However, it is an idea which serves to demonstrate how the creative process can bring to life the strategy elements provided attributes/image associations emerging from an interview. The creative

contribution is ultimately the tangible result of the positioning strategy and has to be worked in equal rigor as the development of strategic options, and also as a good choice to communicate meaning. Consequently, thinking as such offers significant potential to focus in the creative process.

1_Aggregate Excerpt of First Stage (Personal Values)

Aggregate Excerpt of First (1 st) Stage (Personal Values)
Codes, Page
<p> [“‘big hug’ from parents”], SYR 01(p.01) [“dissent family environment”] [in vivo code], SYR 01(p.01) [“harmonic relations”], SYR 01(p.01) [“tight connections”], SYR 01(p.01) [“family environment as love, protection, mutual respect”], SYR 01(p.01) [“kept family values rather strictly”], SYR 01(p.01) [“attribution of honor to father and mother”], SYR 01(p.01) [“Self-respect”] [in vivo code], SYR 01(p.01) [“dignity, pride, egoism”] [in vivo code], SYR 01(p.01) [“Self-respect and dignity”] [in vivo code], SYR 01(p.01) [“maintain my personality”] [in vivo code], SYR 01(p.02) [“indulgent”] [in vivo code], SYR 01(p.02) [“honest public employee life”], SYR 01(p.04) </p> <p> [“prevailing moral perception”] [in vivo code], ND 02 (p.01) [“not applicable value system” and “negative connotation” for the “Greek society”], ND 02 (p.02) </p> <p> [“Christian Orthodox”] [in vivo code], SYR 03 (p.01) [“modern and libertarian modification of his value system”], SYR 03 (p.03) </p> <p> [positive stance against ‘family environment’], ND 04 (p.01) [“morality values”] [in vivo code], ND 04 (p.01) [“become a better person”] [in vivo code], ND 04 (p.01) [“to respect the fellow men”] [in vivo code], ND 04 (p.01) [“think about personal life”] [in vivo code], ND 04 (p.01) [“think about your future”] [in vivo code], ND 04 (p.01) </p> <p> [“nice family”] [in vivo code], KKE 05 (p.01) [“although with ‘differences’ the family was still being ‘nice’”], KKE 05 (p.01) [“we didn’t have problematic parents”] [in vivo code], KKE 05 (p.01) [“there were no deprivations”], KKE 05 (p.01) [“they provided a ‘space’ for self-disposition”], KKE 05 (p.01) [“a value system focused on the ‘respect of the fellow man’”], KKE 05 (p.02) </p> <p> [“parents were not a happy couple”] [in vivo code], GD 06 (p.01) [“unhappy family environment”], GD 06 (p.01) [“parents were honest people”] [in vivo code], GD 06 (p.01) [“‘family’ was valuable issue for parents”], GD 06 (p.01) [“cohesion of the family for parents was a first degree issue”], GD 06 (p.01) [“support towards the members of the family, and the wider family”] [in vivo code], GD 06 (p.01) [“motherland”] [in vivo code], GD 06 (p.01) [“‘motherland’ value as a family tradition”], GD 06 (p.02) [“acceptance of family value system”], GD 06 (p.02) [“parents did not ‘give any space’ for their personal happiness”] [in vivo code], GD 06 (p.02) [“honesty as very important issue”], GD 06 (p.03) [“high sensitivity in honesty issues”], GD 06 (p.03) [“no tolerance in lying”], GD 06 (p.03) [“confirmation of acceptance of family values”], GD 06 (p.03) [“my family was religious”] [in vivo code], GD 06 (p.03) [“differentiated from being religious”], GD 06 (p.03) </p> <p> [“dominant role by mother”] [in vivo code], SYR 07 (p.01) [“father was absent”] [in vivo code], SYR 07 (p.01) [“due to work, style, behaviour,”] [“negative stance towards father”], SYR 07 (p.01) [“thinking person”] [in vivo code] [“positive connotation for mother”], SYR 07 (p.02) [“‘justice’ and ‘equality’ as significant values”], SYR 07 (p.02) [“approval of value system”], SYR 07 (p.02) </p> <p> [“‘strong connection between family members’ as a family value”], KIN 08 (p.01) [“‘no lies’ as a family value”], KIN 08 (p.01) [“‘money is not everything in life’ as a family value”] [in vivo code], KIN 08 (p.01) [“not entire acceptance of value system”], KIN 08 (p.01) [“love offering”] [in vivo code], KIN 08 (p.01) [“morality stance of life”] [in vivo code], KIN 08 (p.01) [“I should not lie”] [in vivo code], KIN 08 (p.02) [“‘expressed myself in a more free manner’ as a way of differentiation from family value system”], KIN 08 (p.02) </p> <p> [“dissent family environment”] [in vivo code], SYR 09(p.01) [“harmonic relations”] [in vivo code], SYR 09(p.01) [“love the parents”] [in vivo code], SYR 09(p.01) [“respect for the elders”] [in vivo code], SYR 09(p.01) </p>

["health issues"] [in vivo code], SYR 09(p.01)
 ["be modest"] [in vivo code], SYR 09(p.01)
 ["don't say lies"] [in vivo code], SYR 09(p.01)
 ["don't touch other peoples' money"] [in vivo code], SYR 09(p.01)
 ["divine laws' as a negative connotation for the local society that she obviously does not accept"], SYR 09(p.02)
 ["contact with a larger environment and reception of new ideas and experiences led towards change of 'divine laws' of the local society of Chios"], SYR 09(p.02)
 ["changes in issues of personal relationships"], SYR 09(p.02)
 ["open to new ideas and situations"] [in vivo code], SYR 09(p.03)

["delinquency' as major father's concern for children"], KKE 10 (p.01)
 ["still being a 'loving family'"], KKE 10 (p.02)
 ["love and respect for parents"], KKE 10 (p.02)
 ["adaptation of same family atmosphere"], KKE 10 (p.02)
 ["working person since he was fifteen"], KKE 10 (p.02)
 ["very small changes in the family's value system"], KKE 10 (p.02)
 ["work, justice, principles' as major values"] [in vivo code], KKE 10 (p.02)

["be-loving family"], GD 11 (p.01)
 ["parents try to impose value system by using themselves as example"], GD 11 (p.01)
 ["very tight family"] [in vivo code], GD 11 (p.01)
 ["respect towards the fellow man' as a priority"], GD 11 (p.01)
 ["morality as the main driver"] [in vivo code], GD 11 (p.01)
 ["if I had a family, I would raise it in the same way"] [in vivo code], GD 11 (p.01)
 ["no removals from family value system"], GD 11 (p.02)
 ["no diversion from 'morality norms and respect towards others'"], GD 11 (p.02)
 ["small shift from 'strict Christian morality'"], GD 11 (p.02)

["very nice family environment"], GD 12 (p.01)
 ["Respect towards others"] [in vivo code], GD 12 (p.01)
 ["Respect towards the elders and people with special needs"] [in vivo code], GD 12 (p.01)
 ["entire acceptance of parental value system"], GD 12 (p.02)
 ["change in 'relation' to religion perspectives"], GD 12 (p.02)
 ["from 'moderate right' to 'moderate left' and now 'right wing' political position"], GD 12 (p.02)
 ["the 'socio-political situation' as major cause for political relocations"], GD 12 (p.02)
 ["travelling and reading' as major causes for partial shifting from parental value system"], GD 12 (p.03)
 ["There were plenty of political 'shifts'"] [in vivo code], GD 12 (p.03)
 ["standing on 'person-focused'"] [in vivo code], GD 12 (p.04)
 ["and I am moving towards 'Growth'"] [in vivo code], GD 12 (p.04)
 ["continues reconsideration"] [in vivo code], GD 12 (p.05)
 ["I want to be educated as much as I can"] [in vivo code], GD 12 (p.05)
 ["I try to develop few things about myself right now"] [in vivo code], GD 12 (p.06)

["god family"] [in vivo code], PAN 13 (p.01)
 ["harmonic relations with one another"] [in vivo code], PAN 13 (p.01)
 ["father as honest person"], PAN 13 (p.02)
 ["respect the other people"] [in vivo code], PAN 13 (p.03)
 ["consistent with our obligations"] [in vivo code], PAN 13 (p.03)
 ["elements of patriotic tradition"], PAN 13 (p.03)
 ["could not react to an imposed value system"], PAN 13 (p.03)
 ["behavioural difference between two sexes led her towards feminism"], PAN 13 (p.03)
 ["the father was inconsistent with equality values"], PAN 13 (p.03)
 ["unconsciously educated from family to become a 'political being'"], PAN 13 (p.04)
 ["she became a trade unionist"], PAN 13 (p.04)
 ["value constants prevent from large value diversions"], PAN 13 (p.04)
 ["Respect for the fellow man and justice for all' as central idea of first stage"], PAN 13 (p.04)

["unified family with no authoritarianism"], GD 14 (p.01)
 ["individual progress"] [in vivo code], GD 14 (p.01)
 ["focus on children's education"], GD 14 (p.01)
 ["respect towards others' as a fundamental value"], GD 14 (p.02)
 ["parental admonition of consulting character"], GD 14 (p.02)
 ["adjustments based on current living conditions"], GD 14 (p.02)
 ["basic core of value system remained intact"], GD 14 (p.02)
 ["conservation' for protection of self and family"], GD 14 (p.04)
 ["self-development and progress"] [in vivo code], GD 14 (p.04)
 ["self-transcendence without erasing your values"] [in vivo code], GD 14 (p.04)
 ["patriotism as an important element"] [in vivo code], GD 14 (p.04)
 ["All peoples have their own history, beliefs, and culture to safeguard"] [in vivo code], GD 14 (p.04)
 ["I cannot accept some others to impose me things"] [in vivo code], GD 14 (p.04)
 ["must be flexible and elastic"], GD 14 (p.05)

["loving family"], ND 15 (p.01)
 ["respect towards parents"], ND 15 (p.01)
 ["honesty and morality"] [in vivo code], ND 15 (p.01)
 ["honesty and morality as a Cosmo theory"], ND 15 (p.02)
 ["such a man could not behave in lower standards"] [in vivo code], ND 15 (p.02)
 ["self-respect"] [in vivo code], ND 15 (p.02)
 ["self-respect as the other extreme limit"], ND 15 (p.02)
 ["I will not be demeaned lower than I believe"] [in vivo code], ND 15 (p.02)
 ["respect to fellow man"], ND 15 (p.02)
 ["matching' as a prerequisite for 'respect to fellow man'"], ND 15 (p.02)
 ["There were many 'shifts' in value system"], ND 15 (p.02)
 ["70% of parental values did not fit on him"], ND 15 (p.02)
 ["70% of rejected parental values were sourcing from people that were not 'matching' with him"], ND 15 (p.02)

["My parents had 'narrow' conceptions"] [in vivo code], ND 15 (p.02)
 ["reevaluate all these and keep what was mine"] [in vivo code], ND 15 (p.02)
 ["rebuilding' my self-confidence"] [in vivo code], ND 15 (p.02)
 ["whatever I have is built in 'solid bases'"] [in vivo code], ND 15 (p.02)
 ["you direct life"] [in vivo code], ND 15 (p.03)
 ["boost your-self towards development"] [in vivo code], ND 15 (p.04)
 ["the individual must not remain static"] [in vivo code], ND 15 (p.04)
 ["you must progress"] [in vivo code], ND 15 (p.04-05)

["moderate evaluation of family environment"], IND 16 (p.01)
 ["I don't want to characterize it"] [in vivo code] ["possible negative stance against family environment"], IND 16 (p.01)
 ["there was respect to the parents"] [in vivo code] ["possible negative stance against parents"], IND 16 (p.01)
 ["politicization as value system"], IND 16 (p.01)
 ["there were no 'parental tutorials' about values"], IND 16 (p.01)
 ["values were passed only by actions"], IND 16 (p.01)
 ["she formulates her own value system later on"], IND 16 (p.02)
 ["value system was her own choice"], IND 16 (p.02)
 ["interaction with the community, and reading as source for shaping her value system"], IND 16 (p.02)
 ["possible shift from value system"], IND 16 (p.02)
 ["perhaps basic core of value system remained intact"], IND 16 (p.02)

["respect the elders"] [in vivo code], SYR 17 (p.01)
 ["family is a holy thing"] [in vivo code], SYR 17 (p.01)
 ["'honesty' as basic value"], SYR 17 (p.03)
 ["strong reaction when realize that politicians are not honest"] [connection with the category of 'honesty'], SYR 17 (p.03)
 ["shifts in value system after lyceum"], SYR 17 (p.04)
 ["now she is very distrustful"], SYR 17 (p.05)
 ["social orientation of value system"], SYR 17 (p.05)
 ["self-improvement due to social recognition"], SYR 17 (p.05)
 ["strong sense of social duty as major attribute of the family's value system"], SYR 17 (p.06)
 ["sincerity"] [in vivo code], SYR 17 (p.06)
 ["the out of family environment' as a place of readjustment of the personal value system], SYR 17 (p.06)
 ["family values were stronger"], SYR 17 (p.09)
 ["values that emerged from social environment were not that strong"], SYR 17 (p.09)

["to be honest"] [in vivo code], SYR 18 (p.01)
 ["to respect our parents"] [in vivo code], SYR 18 (p.01)
 ["not to harm the other people"] [in vivo code] ["that is 'respect to other people'"], SYR 18 (p.01)
 ["to be educated"] [in vivo code], SYR 18 (p.01)
 ["education was a value that has been kept"], SYR 18 (p.01)
 ["reconsideration of value system when contact the out of family social environment"], SYR 18 (p.02)
 ["very few elements of family values are kept"], SYR 18 (p.02)
 ["mostly 'respect toward others'"], SYR 18 (p.02)
 ["the element of personal life is not related to family's value system"], SYR 18 (p.02)
 ["independent"] [in vivo code], SYR 18 (p.02)
 ["I wanted to be free"] [in vivo code], SYR 18 (p.02)
 ["I wanted to be free' as the most important value"], SYR 18 (p.03)
 ["freedom when start working"], SYR 18 (p.03)
 ["neglecting of socially accepted standards in a rather young age"], SYR 18 (p.03)

["good relationship within family"] [in vivo code], IND 19 (p.01)
 ["honesty"] [in vivo code], IND 19 (p.01)
 ["respect to others"] [in vivo code], IND 19 (p.01)
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 ["to protect entrepreneurship, the family, and the values of the citizen"] [in vivo code], GD 14 (p.16)
 ["Patriotism, development, and protection of the citizens' values and of the nation"], GD 14 (p.16)

["against extreme political ideologies"], ND 15 (p.12)
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["economic freedom but at the same time protectionism to the more vulnerable"], IND 16 (p.11)
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["the political status was always in confrontation with my personal values"] [in vivo code], SYR 17 (p.19)
 ["honesty is not 'status'"] [in vivo code], SYR 17 (p.19)
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 ["old slogans used from any government under the control of 'political status'"], SYR 17 (p.19)
 ["acceptance upon the 'nature' of 'political status'"], SYR 17 (p.19)
 ["the political status was always in confrontation with my personal values"] [in vivo code], SYR 17 (p.20)
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 ["equality of people' as one basic component of political attitude"] [in vivo code], SYR 17 (p.20)
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 ["left' as political attitude"] [in vivo code], SYR 17 (p.20)
 ["central left' as political attitude"] [in vivo code], SYR 17 (p.20)
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["left' political ideology"], SYR 18 (p.16)
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 ["no it is not 'punitive'...it is disappointment"] [in vivo code] ["negative connotation for SYRIZA government"], SYR 18 (p.16)
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 ["The small business is the mainstay in our country"] [in vivo code], IND 19 (p.09)
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 ["big companies work in impunity"] [in vivo code] ["negative connotation for big companies"], IND 19 (p.09)
 ["Theoretically' she is located in the centre"] [in vivo code], IND 19 (p.09)

["'central left' or 'central right' depending on social policy"] [in vivo code], IND 19 (p.09)

["'left-winged' as political ideology"] [in vivo code], SYR 20 (p.21)

["It would be 'left-winged' but not 'radical left'"] [in vivo code], SYR 20 (p.21)

["'left-winged' in a sense of progressive"] [in vivo code], SYR 20 (p.21)

["I am not for the 'centre'"] [in vivo code], SYR 20 (p.21)

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<p>["unrepentant about her 'partisan rebellion'", SYR 01(p.17) ["certainty about her 'partisan rebellion'", SYR 01(p.17) ["no regrets"] [in vivo code], SYR 01(p.17)</p> <p>["confirmation of 'ideologically oriented voting behaviour'", ND 02 (p.16) ["'central-right' is always less bad"], ND 02 (p.16) [extreme example], ND 02 (p.16) ["simulation with an extreme example"], ND 02 (p.16) ["comparison of the political system with those of other countries"] ["negative connotation for 'political system'"], ND 02 (p.16) ["negative hint for the political system"], ND 02 (p.16) ["simulation with an extreme example"], ND 02 (p.16) ["narrow electoral choice"] ["negative connotation for the political system"], ND 02 (p.16) ["abstention as a reaction for corruption"], ND 02 (p.16) ["persistence in abstention as a reaction for corruption"], ND 02 (p.17)</p> <p>["persistence in 'abstention'", SYR 03 (p.15) ["a small party will not 'get in' the parliament"], SYR 03 (p.15) ["my vote does not value anything"] [in vivo code], SYR 03 (p.15) ["trapped by the bipolar system"] [in vivo code], SYR 03 (p.15) ["my vote will be wasted"] [in vivo code], SYR 03 (p.15) ["a small party will not 'get in' the parliament"], SYR 03 (p.15) ["increase of partisan power is controlled by the political system and the 'foreign factor'"] ["negative connotation for SYRIZA government"], SYR 03 (p.15) ["negative stance against the political status"], SYR 03 (p.15) ["voting for less bad is a trap"] [in vivo code], SYR 03 (p.15) ["the system is maintained"] [in vivo code], SYR 03 (p.15) ["Why should I eat breadcrumbs"] [in vivo code] ["negative hint for SYRIZA government and the political status"], SYR 03 (p.15) ["One of the same things"] [in vivo code] ["negative hint for SYRIZA government and the political status"], SYR 03 (p.15) ["I feel entrapped"] [in vivo code], SYR 03 (p.15) ["the picture is clearer"], SYR 03 (p.15) ["I don't participate in it"] [in vivo code], SYR 03 (p.15) ["One of the same things"] [in vivo code], SYR 03 (p.15)</p> <p>["there is no complete ideological representation from any political party"], ND 04 (p.14) ["weak partisan identity"], ND 04 (p.14) ["loose links with political party"], ND 04 (p.14) ["possible partisan 'rebellion'"], ND 04 (p.14) ["coercion"] [in vivo code], ND 04 (p.14)</p> <p>["political attitude almost always consistent with political choices"], KKE 05 (p.13) ["inconsistency took place in secondary issues"], KKE 05 (p.13) ["inconsistency was due to instability of party's implementation of policies"], KKE 05 (p.13) ["there is no consistency... there is relevance"] [in vivo code], KKE 05 (p.13) ["disagreement in the way of implementing policies"], KKE 05 (p.14) ["radical behaviour"], KKE 05 (p.14) ["example of radical behaviour"], KKE 05 (p.14)</p> <p>["voting choice is related to the values I profess"] [in vivo code], GD 06 (p.12) ["negative hint for PASOK as a catastrophic party"], GD 06 (p.13) ["differentiation between voting behaviour and political ideology"], GD 06 (p.13) ["applicability of policies as a significant factor of voting choice"], GD 06 (p.13) ["a socialistic party acting as a 'right' political party"], GD 06 (p.13) ["corruption as a reason for incongruence between voting and ideology"], GD 06 (p.13) ["'left' as a possible choice"], GD 06 (p.14) ["confirmation of 'left' as a possible choice"], GD 06 (p.14) ["lack of trust towards the leader"] [in vivo code], GD 06 (p.14) ["Mitsotakis as a leader of no trust and no patriotism"], GD 06 (p.14)</p> <p>["vote as a 'hope' for betterment"], SYR 07 (p.16) ["SYRIZA as contradictory choice to 'left' ideology"], SYR 07 (p.16) ["his voting philosophy is not in line with his personal values"], SYR 07 (p.16) ["free period for government"], SYR 07 (p.16) ["SYRIZA government cannot get read the old situation so fast"], SYR 07 (p.16) ["'this ship must turn' as a basic aim of voting"], SYR 07 (p.16)</p> <p>["she would be consistent with ideology"], KIN 08 (p.13) ["she would be free to express her political ideology"], KIN 08 (p.13) ["I left a political party that I served for thirty (30) years"] [in vivo code], KIN 08 (p.13) ["no change of ideological background"], KIN 08 (p.13) ["people as personalities stopped representing me and my values"] [in vivo code] ["negative connotation for PASOK"], KIN 08 (p.13)</p>

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 ["voting although not expressed politically"], SYR 09 (p.12)
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 ["she regretted for punitive voting"], SYR 09 (p.12)
 ["she voted for New Democracy in order to prevent the election of PASOK"] ["negative connotation for New Democracy and PASOK"], SYR 09 (p.12)
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 ["not influenced by big words"] [in vivo code], SYR 09 (p.14)
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 ["focus and control on 'production'"], KKE 10 (p.04)
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["his political choice was in order to restrain the emigration problem"], GD 12 (p.21)
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 ["ideology as an insignificant factor for voting behaviour"], GD 12 (p.21)
 ["voting for 'Golden Dawn' might have 'other consequences'"], GD 12 (p.21)
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 ["I could vote for SYRIZA if I felt a respect for them"] [in vivo code] ["negative connotation for SYRIZA"], PAN 13 (p.11)
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 ["It cannot be only the citizen to be consistent and the political party to do whatever it likes"], GD 14 (p.20)
 ["'shift' has nothing to do with political values"], GD 14 (p.20)
 ["'shift' towards the 'centre' is not fair"], GD 14 (p.20)
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 ["In extreme cases you must change"] [in vivo code], GD 14 (p.20)
 ["corruption and 'shift' are both important"], GD 14 (p.22)
 ["more important I thing is corruption"] [in vivo code], GD 14 (p.22)
 ["political 'shift' as 'infernal' and sneaky"] [in vivo code], GD 14 (p.22)

["new 'stream' led to political experimentation"], ND 15 (p.13)
 ["I return in the political area that represented me"], ND 15 (p.14)
 ["once or twice a 'rebellion'"], ND 15 (p.14)
 ["'rebellion' due to a new vision"], ND 15 (p.14)
 ["'rebellion' due to contradiction of expectations"], ND 15 (p.14)
 ["the earlier 'rebellion' due to revolutionary ideas"], ND 15 (p.14)
 ["very skeptical and distant from personal values"], ND 15 (p.15)
 ["the child should rely on its own capabilities and expertise"], ND 15 (p.15)
 ["speak from a secure position"], ND 15 (p.15)
 ["confronted with a clash with my personal values"] [in vivo code], ND 15 (p.15)
 ["(30%) I would yield"] [in vivo code], ND 15 (p.15)
 ["Perhaps it could happen"] [in vivo code], ND 15 (p.15)
 ["personal values are 'compass'"] [in vivo code], ND 15 (p.15)
 ["I am not a rock"] [in vivo code], ND 15 (p.15)
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["individualistic behaviour"], IND 16 (p.14)
 ["parties don't diverge that much"] [in vivo code], IND 16 (p.14)
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["indecisive"], SYR 17 (p.22)
 ["I have been in this position in the trade unions' elections"] [in vivo code], SYR 17 (p.22)
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["most of times consistent with ideology"], SYR 17 (p.22)
 ["father or husband could cause an inconsistency"], SYR 17 (p.22)
 ["as far as now she was consistent with political ideology"], SYR 17 (p.22)
 ["helped' by people of New Democracy before"], SYR 17 (p.22)
 ["however, I could not vote for New Democracy"] [in vivo code], SYR 17 (p.22)

["significant electoral experience"], SYR 18 (p.17)
 ["I never vote for 'right'"] [in vivo code], SYR 18 (p.18)
 ["diversion happens very rarely"], SYR 18 (p.18)
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["consistent in relation to voting process"], IND 19 (p.09)
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 ["voting behaviour in big divergence from ideology"], IND 19 (p.10)
 ["I don't think they offered anything to the people"] [in vivo code] ["negative connotation for bipartisan political system (PASOK and New Democracy)"], IND 19 (p.10)
 ["corrupted politicians should be punished"], IND 19 (p.10)
 ["laws should be applied to them too"] [in vivo code] ["negative connotation for bipartisan political status"], IND 19 (p.10)
 ["ideological voting"] [in vivo code] ["negative stance for 'beneficial voting'"], IND 19 (p.10)
 ["what is best for the country is also best for the child"], IND 19 (p.10)
 ["what he thinks is right' as way of voting"], IND 19 (p.10)

["I used to vote according to my emotions"] [in vivo code], SYR 20 (p.23)
 ["Now I read all the party programs"] [in vivo code], SYR 20 (p.23)
 ["programs give you a hard time because they lie"] [in vivo code], SYR 20 (p.23)
 ["I try to find out what kind of lies each of them tell"] [in vivo code], SYR 20 (p.23)
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