

POLITICAL MARKETING IN ELECTIONS AND PUTIN'S CASE STUDY

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Abstract

Contemporary politics has become dominated by the use of marketing strategies, techniques and principles. The phenomena is very debatable and also controversial. The paper studies on political marketing in elections with a case study of V. Putin's.

Firstly, the paper summarizes some theoretical aspects of political marketing such as essence, functions and types of political marketing and history of the development of political marketing. *Secondly*, the author brings in some analysis of political video advertising by V. Putin during the presidential elections in the Russian Federation 2012. *Lastly*, the author gives some of his own remarks about political marketing.

Keywords: Political marketing - theoretical aspects – Putin's case study

INTRODUCTION

The beginning of this century is replete with global changes: from uncontrolled population growth and migration to an immeasurable increase in the amount of information for every inhabitant of the Earth. Undoubtedly, the source of these changes is the total commercialization of human activity, the market economic system, and the deepening of democratic trends in the development of both individual states and society as a whole. The superstructure in these processes is the theory of management, which appeared a hundred years ago and is of decisive importance in the system of economic and political ideology, public and personal consciousness. It is marketing in the broad sense of the word that is developed and refined in the conditions of modern society by F. Kotler (2001) and P. Drucker (2001) and used almost everywhere.

Over the course of one hundred years of marketing, not only methodology and pragmatics have evolved. New areas of application of marketing have also emerged. Recently, politics, one of the oldest types of activities in a civilized society, has become such an area. Contrary to some popular views, this phenomenon is not the result of a simple transfer of the idea of marketing or its inherent tools and technologies into politics - "the full transfer of marketing theory and its application is debatable." The marketing approach, writes Russian researcher I. Nedyak, "began to take shape in the second half of the last century as a managerial and technological proposal to meet the demand of politicians

participating in election campaigns, who did not find the practical advice they needed in traditional academic electoral studies. The "hallmark" of the marketing approach is the focus on solving the fundamental problems of everyday politics, a sensitive response to changes in political demand, and an orientation towards the formation of the latter." (I.L. Nedyak, 2010: 144-155).

Currently, the relevance of scientific understanding of the development of political marketing is due to the fact that there is a real demand for political marketing in the modern political market in the conditions of the formation of a system of democratic elections. There is also an inconsistency in the formation and development of political marketing, which is explained by the lack of highly qualified marketers and political strategists, the strong influence of administrative resources that change "rules of the game" on the political field, the use of "dirty" electoral technologies during election campaigns.

The research hypothesis is that modern political parties and leaders use the same methods and techniques of political marketing in the process of election campaigns.

The purpose of this paper is to study the content and most important areas of use of marketing technologies in modern politics.

Research objectives:

- reveal the essence, functions, and types of political marketing
- trace the history of the development of political marketing;
- analyze political advertising during the presidential elections.

Object of the paper: political marketing as a tool for influencing political processes.

Subject of the paper: marketing technologies in modern politics.

When writing this paper, general logical methods were used, such as analysis, synthesis, comparison, as well as system analysis, structural-functional, institutional, historical research methods.

1. Theoretical aspects of political marketing

1.1 Essence, functions, and types of political marketing

Political marketing is an intellectual (a set of ideas, theories, methods) and purposeful system, consistent political practice, based on a deep and comprehensive knowledge of competition in the political space, needs, interests, expectations in politics of individuals and their communities, features of political behavior, reactions to political influences and the like.

Political marketing (English, from Marketing, sales) is a set of forms, methods, and technologies of research, design, regulation, and introduction into socio-political practice of certain attitudes of public consciousness in order to gain and maintain control over the power market (F.N. Ilyasov 2011: 74).

Activities organized in accordance with the requirements of political marketing include:

- 1) research of public consciousness in order to identify the social and socio-psychological attitudes of the electorate, the political and the ruling government;
- 2) analysis of the socio-economic situation and indicators such as national income, industrial products, living standards of various segments of the population, consumer basket, minimum income, cost of living, etc.;
- 3) analysis of the political situation to achieve political consensus and develop a political strategy, information about the electorate, possible candidates, their popularity and financial capabilities, etc.;
- 4) development of political and economic programs designed to improve the state of the economy and social sphere;
- 5) development of institutional and procedural technologies, methods of making political decisions;
- 6) preparation and use of communication links and channels as a means of influencing the electorate (creating the image of political leaders, forming value orientations, formulating political ideologies, analyzing the reactions of various segments of the population, drawing up regional, demographic, and professional maps) (A. M. Tsuladze 2013: 82).

Marketing consciousness encourages us to consider politics through the prism of subjects of the political market (politicians, government bodies, political parties, etc.), objects of the political market (population, various public groups, public opinion, readers

of print media, television viewers, radio listeners), goods and services operating in the political market (political programs, slogans, ideas, ideologies, radio and television programs, printed materials).

The object of political marketing is political phenomena and communications existing in society; the subject is the relationship of appropriation and distribution of power in the process of production, promotion, distribution, and exchange of political products.

The subjects of political marketing is political institutions (state organizations, political parties, public political associations), ethnic and social communities, individuals who participate in the process of production, promotion, distribution, and exchange of political products (S. F. Lisovsky 2011: 117).

The political marketing system includes:

- Studying people's perceptions of a policy, organization, or idea;
- Clarification of the characteristics of the ideal image that exists in the mass consciousness;
- Planning and implementation of a competitive program actions designed for understanding and active public support of a politician, party, idea (I.L. Nedyak 2010: 68).

Based on the specific features of political activity, the following functions of political marketing are distinguished (V. Bebik, 2016):

- a) formation of an information bank (statistical data, various governmental and non-governmental reports, results of research in economics, politics, psychology, demography, etc.);
- b) developing methods for analyzing and processing information bank data, identifying key indicators that most fully characterize objects and subjects of policy;
- c) assessment and analysis of political market conditions, marketing environment (micro and macro). Microenvironment is a set of forces operating under the direct control or managed by a certain party, social group, leader, etc. Macroenvironment - global factors (economic, social, political, psychological, demographic, etc.);
- d) analysis of the market opportunities of parties, public institutions, ideas, personalities;
- e) development of assessment and forecast models of political demand, the life cycle of policy objects and subjects (parties, programs, ideas), as well as the political behavior of policy subjects.

The main types of political marketing are:

- 1) *state political marketing* - creation and promotion of government programs (economic, social, defense, etc.); reproduction and distribution of administrative and personnel resources of state power; development and promotion of regulations; production and promotion of information products of state media; advertising of government agencies and statesmen, creation of a state

brand; formation of a national ideology; satisfying the need for a government career and status in exchange for political loyalty and the like;

- 2) *party-political marketing* - a branch of political marketing, the theory and practice of the activities of political parties, blocs, unions, movements in the sphere of production, promotion, distribution, and exchange of political products. The main directions of this activity are the creation and promotion of party programs; promotion and distribution of party cadres; lobbying of party interests in government bodies; advertising of parties and party leaders;
- 3) *International (foreign policy) marketing* - relations between states, international political unions, blocs, alliances to establish and distribute zones of political influence, legitimize spheres of geopolitical interests;
- 4) *election marketing* - an area where the services of political consultants, specialists in the field of public relations, political advertising, image-making, specializing in election campaigns are sold and purchased (I. Panarin 2013: 162).

Marketing in politics means focusing activities on meeting the expectations and political preferences of voters. The number of electoral groups covered depends on the specific tasks of the party, candidate or electoral association, level, types of elections, referendums, etc. For example, if a well-known large party is fighting for the opportunity to create a large and influential parliamentary faction, it will be forced to use some marketing methods, and if a new or little-known political association is participating in parliamentary elections, other marketing techniques and technologies will be used.

In many ways, political marketing is similar to marketing in the economic sphere, however, it has certain specific features.

The peculiarity of political marketing is determined by the purpose of its use (the fight for votes). A specific product is one that is promoted in the political market. The use of a set of universal marketing activities involves the development and implementation of special actions that evoke the reactions or ideas desired by politicians ("the guy", "aristocrat", "partocrat", "democrat").

In both political and commercial marketing, the main areas of activities are:

- 1) product, its characteristics, product features. In political marketing, it is the features of the politician's characteristics (age, appearance, clothes, car, marital status, etc.);
- 2) movement of the product to the market, its distribution between all retail outlets. For a politician, this means his personal presence wherever something significant happens (events, gatherings of influential groups, the most visited public places), or the presence of his proxy or corresponding slogans on behalf of this politician;
- 3) determining the price of the product acceptable to the buyer (beyond a certain price threshold the product is not purchased). In politics, a price is associated with a

program of specific actions: if he promises to "establish order in the country" by concentrating all power in his hands, this price is unlikely to be acceptable to the majority of voters;

- 4) sales personnel (a set of sellers presenting the product, advertising it, explaining its advantages, selling it using market technologies). In the political sphere, sales personnel are groups of voluntary assistants to a politician who contact voters (in person, in writing, by telephone) and are ready to vote for him. In this case, the number and qualifications of sales personnel are an important element of success;
- 5) communication policy (activities to promote political goods: presenting the candidate in various programs, electronic media (photos, policy documents), distributing posters and leaflets, giving gifts, etc.) (D.YA.Raigorodsky 2014: 267).

Marketing in the political sphere has its own specifics. If the goal of commercial marketing is to make a profit, then political marketing is designed to ensure a political result: obtaining a deputy mandate; achieving greater social justice; formation of a healthy lifestyle, and the like. Another is the nature of the product in political marketing, which often remains unnoticed: cleanliness and order on the streets, peace in the country, human well-being (the only noticeable absence of this category of goods). They represent a specific product on the political market (to a certain extent, they are a product), the specific buyer of which is the electorate, and the purchasing means are the votes of voters. Therefore, when positioning a product, it is important to comprehensively take into account the needs, demands, interests of buyers, the subjective characteristics of this product, which influence the choice of citizens, taking care of achieving the necessary political result.

The features of political marketing also depend on its subject - a private or state structure. The state structure does not have complete freedom of actions; it cannot focus its activities on market demand, but is forced to be guided by considerations of political expediency. In some areas, the state is and will be a monopolist (defense, foreign policy, internal affairs).

Political marketing is based on the recognition of various political tastes, passions, and beliefs; achieving a political result is carried out on the basis of their consideration, and not through struggle, political coercion, and violence. In a society where politics is formed at the top of the social pyramid, and then political ideas and attitudes are offered to citizens who are forced to "consume" not what they want, but what is implanted in them by the current regime, political marketing is impossible. Where policies are shaped by the political aspirations of citizens, political marketing is inevitable.

Thus, the use of political marketing involves the formation of a bank of socio-political information; development of analysis methods and processing of its data; assessments and analysis of political market conditions (the effects of economic, social, political, psychological, demographic and other factors); analysis

of the market opportunities of certain parties, public institutions, ideas, personalities; development of assessment and forecast models of political demand, life cycle and political behavior of policy subjects; analysis of the effectiveness of political marketing, adjustment of forms and methods of political activity.

1.2 History of the development of political marketing

The theoretical premises of political marketing are built mainly on the theoretical foundation of two disciplines - political science and economics, as well as philosophy, sociology, psychology, etc. Political marketing, like marketing in general, appeared in the United States of America. I believe that currently, we can distinguish four stages in the development of political marketing.

The first stage covers the 30s. twentieth century, when commercial experts entered the US political market public relations. They advised F.D. Roosevelt on the preparation, propaganda, and implementation of the program principles of the "new order". Thanks to their advice, the president very effectively influenced public opinion with the help of the famous "Fireside Chats."¹

G. Truman's spectacular election campaign in 1948 was crowned with an unconditional victory thanks to the use of audiovisual communication, but the turning point of the 40s and 50s. in political communication already characterizes the emerging dominance of television.

Second phase – The 1952 US presidential election was preceded by the first campaign conducted in typical marketing style. T. Reeves developed the following campaign strategy for Republican candidate D.Eisenhower:

- image, in this case the obvious one – a national hero;
- the main theme is "time for change" (after 20 years of Democratic rule);
- moving away from lengthy speeches (the strategy of short communicators appeared as a result of an analysis of the perception

¹ *The fireside chats were a series of evening radio addresses given by Franklin D. Roosevelt, the 32nd President of the United States, between 1933 and 1944. Roosevelt spoke with familiarity to millions of Americans about recovery from the Great Depression, the promulgation of the Emergency Banking Act in response to the banking crisis, the 1936 recession, New Deal initiatives, and the course of World War II. On radio, he quelled rumors, countered conservative-dominated newspapers, and explained his policies directly to the American people. His tone and demeanor communicated self-assurance during times of despair and uncertainty. Roosevelt was regarded as an effective communicator on radio, and the fireside chats kept him in high public regard throughout his presidency. Their introduction was later described as a "revolutionary experiment with a nascent media platform."*

The series of chats were among the first 50 recordings made part of the National Recording Registry of the Library of Congress, which noted it as "an influential series of radio broadcasts in which Roosevelt utilized the media to present his programs and ideas directly to the public and thereby redefined the relationship between President Roosevelt and the American people in 1933."

of long campaign communicators), emphasis on 30-60 second stories;

- addressing the audience directly;
- brevity of the campaign: 3 weeks before the elections, which made it possible to achieve a number of advantages:
 - a) maximize the effect of audience fatigue;
 - b) present the maximum amount of information just before elections;
 - c) deprive opponents of time to react.

Third stage – In European countries, election campaigns have long resisted marketing change, primarily due to the existence of strong, ideologically diverse parties that had relatively stable electorates. In 1969, political marketing appeared in parliamentary elections in Great Britain, and in 1965 in French presidential elections. But it was not until 1959 that the Conservative Party in England first hired an advertising agency to develop an election strategy. In 1979, permanent cooperation was established with the agency Saatchi & Saatchi, which made a significant contribution to another Tory victory. In 1981–1983 M. Thatcher resorted to the help of C. Lawson, who had previously headed the marketing department at the American company that produces Mars chocolate bars.

The most persistent resistance to the use of political marketing came from European left-wing parties. In their opinion, the use of marketing technologies and tools could be perceived by voters as contrary to their ideological principles. As early as 1978, parts of the Labor Party leadership in Great Britain argued that political market research and the use of electoral technologies were unacceptable for a working-class party.

The fourth stage – from the 90s of the last century to the present. It was at this time that political changed in Europe and the development of democracy caused the emergence of political marketing in the countries of the former socialist camp and the Soviet Union. For example, American marketing specialists helped B. Yeltsin in his struggle for the presidency in 1996, and Russian political strategists helped L. Kuchma in 1999.

There are three main approaches to defining political marketing. One corresponds to the engineering understanding of marketing, exhibiting a primarily functional aspect related to persuading voters to vote for a particular candidate or party.

S. F. Lisovsky offers a definition according to which political marketing is a set of "social theories, methods, technologies and practices, the purpose of which is to persuade citizens to support a politician, group or political project" (F. Lisovsky 2011: 72).

A more comprehensive understanding of political marketing is presented in a different approach, similar to F. Kotler's definition, which considers the process of market exchange as the basis of political marketing. English scientists E. Locke and F. Harris believe that the literature on this topic often lacks a broad dimension of political marketing as a specific social process. Political marketing is a discipline that studies the processes of exchange between politicians, subjects, and their environment, as well as among themselves, in particular the positioning of these

subjects in the market and their communication, methods through which their strategies can be implemented, including the study of positions, awareness, and reactions of target groups. The government and law act here both as external regulators of these processes and as subjects participating in them.

Recently, a new perspective on the subject of political marketing has emerged that can be classified as synthetic. Political marketing is a set of economic, organizational, and research activities aimed at meeting the needs of the political market. This is an activity whose purpose is to create a political product, determine its price, distribution channels, and means of promotion to the market.

Political marketing is a continuous dynamic social process that regulates public life and takes place in society. Marketing is not the only mechanism that allows many competing entities to function. His goal is the success of an exchange that brings satisfaction to both parties (V. Musician 2011: 118).

2. A case study: Analysis of political video advertising by V. Putin during the presidential elections in the Russian Federation

The Prime Minister of the Russian Federation V. Putin took part in the 2012 presidential elections of the Russian Federation. If we analyze the course of his election campaign, we can note some points. After the unsuccessful performance of the United Russia Party in the elections to the State Duma, V. Putin during these elections stopped associating himself with this party. The reason for this could be the collapse of their own rating at a time when there were high protest activities in Russia.

It is also worth noting that during the election campaign, V. Putin's headquarters relied on preventing a return to the past. Each election video contained a reference to the nineties with its unstable socio-economic situation in comparison with the current situation in the country. Perhaps this is also due to increased protest activities, because fundamental changes in the country in the minds of citizens always lead to chaos and a lack of stability and confidence. A special role can also be attributed to the skillful play of the election headquarters on the lack of alternative candidates. Putin did not have a real competitor before and during the elections, but the result was important and should have reinforced Russians' trust in the future president.

At that time, the Russian Prime Minister refused open confrontation with his opponents, which was already perceived by many as confidence in his own victory. Putin's interests in election videos were represented by trusted figures of cinema, art, athletes, and other persons known to the Russian audience.

The trusted representatives placed the main emphasis in their story about supporting candidate Putin, first of all, on personal acquaintance with him, on communication and observation of him in unusual and extreme situations, on Putin's personal assistance to them during a difficult period. Among those who called for voting for Vladimir Putin are public opinion leaders: famous athletes

Igor Akinfeev, Andrey Arshavin, Fedor Emelianenko, Tatyana Navka, Evgeni Plushenko; artists Armen Dzhigarkhanyan and Mikhail Galustyan; famous musician Yuri Bashmet; singer Elena Vaenga. *Firstly*, these people are known and respected by different categories of citizens, which made it possible to cover almost the entire electorate. *Secondly*, this is an opportunity to show that many people from among sports, cultural, and artistic figures support this candidate. Political scientist Minchenko believes that "Putin managed to earn points from this by solving one of the main problems that arose during the protests after the December elections - the stereotype that all famous people oppose the authorities" (E. Minchenko 2012: 10).

As already mentioned, V. Putin's political video advertising was based on the techniques of additional evidence and authoritative opinions. In one of the popular videos, theater, and film actor E. Mironov talks about financial support for the new theater project, young athletes talk about the construction of new venues and improved training, the famous conductor V. Gergiev talks about changing attitudes towards Russians abroad. In each of Putin's videos, the emphasis is on his personal qualities: strength of character, self-confidence, honesty, reliability. The most emotional was monologue of the famous actress Ch. Khamatova, who is also a co-founder of the Give Life Charity Foundation. In her monologue, she talks about how the most important thing is the health of children and that V. Putin personally never refused the foundation's requests and always came to the rescue. The main phrase in this video, "Help must be tangible," leads the viewers to the fact that it was direct actions in a particular direction, and not abstract matters, that pushed Khamatova to vote for Putin. It must be said that there is an impact on the emotional component: the actress speaks with tears in her eyes and the topic concerns children with various ailments.

Thus, Putin's election videos are not a rejection of political advertising, but rather an interesting move. Some elements of the image formed by Putin, after the protest movement, were questioned. The advertising campaign involved reinforcing the authority of the future head of state with the opinion of influential citizens; the tasks were to convince citizens of the correctness of the course and refusal to ignore the vote. It cannot be said that it was advertising that gave Putin a high result in the elections, but here it is seen as a response to the protests that took place in the country at that time, to strengthen the legitimation of the future government. In the election videos, you can also see the main method of additional evidence; the candidate was supported by authoritative people known to the average citizen.

The image being built of Vladimir Putin is associated with stability, pragmatism, and establishing order. He appears before voters as a man who builds his own system of actions and outlook on life in the aspect of obtaining practically useful results. The fact that he was able to present four years' worth of work gave him a clear advantage in the eyes of voters over other candidates and significantly reduced the chances of others winning the election.

Putin's election headquarters had to fight for these undecided voters by creating a contradictory image of the prime minister, who

was supposed to combine the images of “Putin The Conservative” and “Putin The Supporter of The Innovative model” (N. N. Saitova 2016: 266).

In conclusion, we can conclude that certain political video advertising techniques were used to promote V. Putin in the 2012 Russian presidential elections.

These are techniques: additional evidence, identification with the crowd, contrast, symbolization, and other advertising techniques associated with the use of representatives of the electorate and scenes and events close to ordinary citizens. The specificity of the 2012 elections is that it took place in the wake of the protest movement in Russia, and each of the candidates was obliged to competently build their election campaign in order to avoid losing votes and mass refusals to vote.

New techniques for presenting and constructing video images are used, computer graphics and modern video effects are widely used, which can predict the use of even more modern technologies and methods in future election campaigns in Russia.

3. Remarks and Conclusion

Political competition is associated, first of all, with the promotion of political goods on the political market - political power, political ideas, organizations, slogans, beliefs, politicians, that is, everything that can be the subject of political exchange between people at the individual and mass levels. All these processes give rise to political marketing. In countries with developed democratic traditions, billions of dollars are spent annually on political marketing. Without marketing activities, any political leader is doomed to failure. Its proper organization, according to some experts, increases chances in politics by about 1.5-2 times. The essence of this activity is to identify and present to social and national groups the positive qualities of a candidate for leadership in which these groups are interested. Using the possibilities of political marketing helps the government balance between different positions, interests, value orientations, and political needs, ensures its stability, consensus development of society, and eliminates the danger of a social explosion.

Political marketing is marketing used in relation to the goals and objectives of political struggle.

Political marketing involves three stages. At the first stage, a social, economic, political, psychological analysis of the scene of action is carried out. The second is the choice of strategy, identifying targets for processing among various groups of voters, choosing a campaign theme, and tactics for using local and national media. Then comes the stage of promoting candidates, or in professional jargon that has already become established, “products.” One of the main places here is occupied by the media.

Political marketing acquired its most complete form in the United States, where the mechanisms and methods of its implementation in the electoral process are being developed in detail. A key place among them is occupied by issues of public opinion, political consultants on the organization and conduct of elections, techniques for creating and “selling” the images of candidates.

Currently, many firms and companies have emerged in the United States, whose role in organizing and conducting various political campaigns is constantly growing.

Nowadays, specialists and consultants occupy one of the central positions in the apparatus of applicants for political posts in all large developed countries. Each major party has its own experts in public opinion polls, radio and television consultants. In addition, political figures and parties, depending on their capabilities, resort to the services of specialists in a wide range of surveys - from organizing and traveling the candidate around the country to distributing advertising literature.

One of the central places in the political marketing system is occupied by advertising. Political advertising is understood as a form of political communication in conditions of choice, targeted impact on electoral groups in a concise, original, easy-to-remember form. It reflects the essence of the political platform of certain political forces, prepares voters to support them, forms and introduces into the mass consciousness a certain idea about the nature of these political forces, and creates the desired psychological attitude towards voting. It is an element of the marketing system, the main component of the marketing communications complex, a set of theories and methods that can be used by political organizations and authorities with a dual purpose: to determine their tasks and their programs and to influence the behavior of citizens.

This paper contains an analysis of political video advertising by V. Putin, which was actively used in the 2012 Russian presidential elections. In each of the videos presented in the analysis, video advertising techniques were considered, on which the candidate placed a certain emphasis. These are techniques: additional evidence, identification with the crowd, contrast, symbolization, and other advertising techniques associated with the use of representatives of the electorate and scenes and events close to ordinary citizens.

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