From Political Discourse to Political Advertising
-A Study on the Origins and Evolution of Political Advertising-

من الخطاب السياسي إلى الإشهار السياسي
–قراءة في نشأة وتطور الإشهار السياسي–

Rahma Bendjedid[1]
Sophi Lab – University 8 mai 1945 Geulma
bendjedid.rahma@univ-guelma.dz
Mounia Dahdouh
Sophi Lab – University 8 mai 1945 Geulma
dahdouh.mounia@univ-guelma.dz
Khaled Naili
Sophi Lab – University 8 mai 1945 Geulma
naili.khaled@univ-guelma.dz

Abstract:

In the age of information and communication, people live in a world where they are constantly exposed to various types of advertisements from different sources and means. However, political advertising has become one of the most significant and widely distributed types of advertising, particularly during times of political crisis and election campaigns. Political marketing no longer relies on traditional tools such as political discourse to achieve its goals but has instead focused on the evolution of new marketing tools and media content, such as political advertising. By reviewing the specialized literature, this study on the origins and evolution of political advertising stems from the changes that have occurred in political marketing and its tools, beginning with the era of political discourse and progressing to the present era of political advertising.

Keywords: Political advertising, Political discourse, Political marketing, New information and communication technologies.

ملخص:

يعيش الإنسان اليوم في عالم لا يخلو من التعرض للإشهارات بكافة أنواعها من مختلف المصادر والوسائل، أين صار الإشهار السياسي أحد أهم أنواعها وأكثرها تداولاً لاسيما في فترات الأزمات السياسية والحملات الإنتخابية، ولم يعد التسويق السياسي يكتفي بالأدوات التقليدية كالخطاب السياسي في تحقيق أهدافه بل توجه لإستحداث أدوات تسويقية ومواد إعلامية جديدة تتمثل في الإشهار السياسي. ومن خلال مراجعة الأدبيات المتخصصة فقد جاءت هذه الدراسة باحثة في نشأة وتطور الإشهار السياسي انطلاقاً من التغيير الذي طرأ على التسويق السياسي وأدواته من عصر الخطاب السياسي وصولاً إلى عصر الإشهار السياسي اليوم.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الإشهار السياسي، الخطاب السياسي، التسويق السياسي، تكنولوجيات الإعلام والإتصال الجديدة.

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[1] Auteur correspondant: **Rahma Bendjedid** Email: **bendjedid.rahma@univ-guelma.dz**

1. INTRODUCTION:

Throughout human history, political life has always used various tools and means to achieve its goals and objectives, which are primarily based on the pursuit and preservation of power. One of the most prominent and oldest means is "political discourse," which has been known since ancient times in Greek and Roman civilizations, whether in the form of speeches delivered in public squares, courts, and theaters for the purposes of communication, advertising, and justice, or those in the courts by rulers and kings aimed mainly at managing the affairs of the state.

As time passed and democratic principles and concepts improved, electoral practices emerged and expanded, resulting in a shift in focus and specialization towards the industry of political propaganda and the organization of electoral campaigns that serve the goals of politicians who have not abandoned the use of political discourse as one of the most effective persuasive tools in the political arena to attract and ensure the votes and loyalty of the electorate. However, it has undergone numerous changes that have resulted in the creation of a new practice and concept known as "political advertising."

The urgent and ongoing need for political popular mobilization has necessitated the development of sophisticated and constantly renewed tools for attraction and persuasion that keep pace with the development of the era, mentalities, and intellectual and living patterns of individuals and communities.

As a result, the concept of political marketing emerged in the form and concept that we know today, and its characteristics became clear through its relationship with commercial marketing, importing its means and methods in marketing candidates, building electoral campaigns, and attracting voters. By the 1960s, the methods and means of designing and managing presidential campaigns in the United States had undergone numerous changes. American presidents were the first to use political public relations in the creation and promotion of political discourse, serving as the second side of the political marketing coin[1].

In every historical stage, all political marketing and its aforementioned methods have sought to focus their efforts on creating a political discourse that achieves the desired goal using the most effective persuasive techniques and approaches that are close to the citizen, regardless of time and place. However, due to the technological advancement of media and communication methods, it has faced a rapidly growing problem in recent decades.

Political marketing experts and practitioners have recognized the need to update their methods and tools in order to adapt to changing characteristics and requirements. As a result, they have shifted from solely relying on political discourse to developing new communicative and media materials that are more easily disseminated and traded in this era and thus more likely to have the desired impact.

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[1] إل ساندي مايسل، الإنتخابات والأحزاب السياسية الأمريكية، ط1، مؤسسة هنداوي للتعليم والثقافة، القاهرة، 2014، ص-ص 24-25، بتصرف.

The aforementioned raises the main problematic of this study: **how did the shift from relying on political discourse to creating new materials occur ?** In order to answer this, the following sub-questions have emerged:

What are the factors and reasons that led to this shift ? How did these new media and communication materials emerge and develop ?

2. Study objectives:

- To identify the historical evolution of political marketing through the use of political discourse.
- To review and explain the transformation that occurred in the tools and means used in political marketing and the factors that led to it.
- To introduce alternative tools that political marketing has turned to and to review their emergence and development.

3. Conceptual Framework:

2.1. Political Discourse :

The definition of political discourse varies depending on the field of study and expertise, resulting in a range of associated meanings and concepts. Some consider it to be the techniques and methods of conversation and speech, while others view it as encompassing broader aspects of the entire social system.[1]

Virginie Delmas views political discourse as "any speech that discusses political issues, regardless of its source, whether it is a politician, journalist, or citizen."[2]

The essence of these definitions is that political discourse is not just words but a cohesive structural system that considers logical hierarchy in terms of context and construction. The entity employing political discourse aims to influence society in accordance with its objectives and ideology, regardless of whether it is an official authority, a political party, a media institution, or even an ordinary citizen approaching politics from their simple, colloquial perspective.

2.2. Political marketing :

"Political marketing" has no universally agreed-upon definition[3]; however, we can review some of the most important ones. The Johns Hopkins University Center defines it as "the use of commercial marketing techniques to promote a political product (political ideas, electoral party programs, electoral behaviors, etc.), as its primary goal is to increase acceptance of the idea or to

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[1] علاء مصطفى، السيميائية في الخطاب السياسي، مجلة الباحث الإعلامي، العدد 24- 25، 2014، ص61 بتصرف.

[2] Virginie Delmas, Pour une analyse pluridimensionnelle du discours : le discours politique, revue la linguistique, Vol 48, France, 2012, p 10.

[3] عبد ربه عبد القاد العنزي، صناعة الصورة السياسية في الحملات الإنتخابية، مجلة الباحث الإعلامي، العدد 32، 2016، ص56.

reintroduce desirable behaviors to society[1]." This definition clearly highlights that political marketing is the result of the intersection between the fields of marketing and politics. Although it is still a relatively new and controversial concept, most definitions focus on the application of commercial marketing concepts and methods by political parties in order to achieve their goals.[2]

Perhaps Kotler's definition of marketing was the closest to opening the door for the concepts of social and political marketing because he did not limit it to profit-seeking organizations. Its scope extends beyond tangible goods to intangible entities such as ideas and people... He defines it as "a social and administrative process that allows individuals and groups to meet their needs and desires by exchanging goods and services with others".[3]

2.3. Political Advertising:

According to Jacques Gerstlé, political advertising is the result of an interaction between advertising and politics, in which the latter borrowed some clues from the advertising industry and applied them in the field of political communication, resulting in political advertising.[4]

Political advertising is a marketing activity that "uses modern marketing techniques to influence individuals within society" as well as a political activity "because it deals with how political organizations can engage in a crucial part of political work, namely working in the public sphere (moving to gain and collect support and mobilizing votes...)."[5]

Political advertising is defined by Jassem Alqaseer as "one of the most important means that candidates and political parties can use to communicate with voters, especially when it is necessary to define the party and identify its identity."[6]

According to Sharps Baker, political advertising was developed as a tool used in media campaigns for political marketing[7]. It is also known as an activity that uses all forms of mass communication to organize the number of supporters for a specific political candidate or party, including financial and popular support. Therefore, it is not limited to a single method or approach but employs all available means and methods in the media campaign to achieve the desired outcome.

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[1] مصطفى كشايري، التسويق السياسي عبر الأنترنت : دراسة وصفية تحليلية لمواقع الأحزاب السياسية الجزائرية 2016–2017، أطروحة دكتوراه، كلية علوم الإعلام والإتصال، جامعة الجزائر3، الجزائر، 2018/2017، ص116.

[2] David Dominique, Le marketing politique, Puf edition, Paris,1978, p5.

[3] نوال قرقش، دور التسويق السياسي في تحسين أداء المنظمة السياسية : دراسة حالة عينة من الأحزاب السياسية الجزائرية، أطروحة دكتوراه، كلية العلوم الإقتصادية والتجارية وعلوم التسيير، جامعة حسيبة بن بوعلي، الشلف، 2016/2015، ص–ص5-6.

[4] Jacques Grestlé, la publicité politique : quelques enseignements de l'experience américaine, Hermès la revue, CNRS éditions, Vol 4, France,1989, p 203, edited.

[5] مصطفى كشايري، مرجع سابق، ص–ص 119-120.

[6] Jasem Alqaseer, Political advertising in Kuwait : a functional discourse analysis, doctoral thesis in mass communication, South Carolina university, United states of America,2013, p1.

[7] مصطفى كشايري، مرجع سابق، ص–ص 119-120.

Linda Kid, an American researcher, defined political advertising as a communication process in which the source pays a fee in exchange for the ability to disseminate political messages to a targeted audience with the specific and intended goal of influencing their attitudes, ideas, and behavior.[1] To summarize, political advertising is "any paid advertisement with a political format.[2]" These two definitions highlight the close relationship that exists between commercial and political advertising. Regardless of the difference in the promoted product tangible and material in the former and intangible and intellectual in the latter they both stem from the need to pay for advertising services. This is the key feature that distinguishes advertising from other forms of communication materials.

Our interpretation is supported by a United Nations study, which assumes that the distinguishing criterion of advertising is the purchase of space by the advertiser in one of the media, thereby purchasing an opportunity to reach and influence the audience. Similarly, political advertising is defined as a political advertiser purchasing media space in order to reach a voter audience.[3]

4. The Theoretical Framework :
3.1. Political Discourse :
3.1.1. The emergence and characteristics of political discourse:

The origin and features of political discourse can be traced back to ancient civilizations before The Christ, where they were widely used across different domains. The Greeks, for instance, classified discourse into three categories: judicial, deliberative, and consultative (political)[4], with the latter being the closest to contemporary political discourse. Similarly, political discourse in other civilizations shared similarities with that of the Greeks. In ancient Egypt, for example, discourse was centered around the authority of the king, and political protocols, diplomatic systems, and customs had been established and implemented since the earliest times.[5]

The use of political discourse has extended throughout history as it has been a fundamental and effective tool in establishing and expanding kingdoms and imposing and preserving authority. It has been used to confront colonization, defend the homeland, and encourage military action for expansion. Additionally, it has been used to establish the sovereignty of nations and political

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[1] عبد الأمير عباس حسين، الإعلان السياسي التلفزيوني ودوره في تحديد خيارات الناخب العراقي في الإنتخابات التشريعية 2010 :دراسة ميدانية في محافظة بغداد، مجلة كلية التربية الأساسية، جامعة المستنصرية، المجلد 16، العدد 68، 2011، ص 174.

[2] محمد بن سعود البشر، مقدمة في الإتصال السياسي، مكتبة العبيكان، الرياض، ط2، 2008، ص 126.

[3] Kerim Bouzouita, Impact de la publicité politique en ligne en période éléctorale sur l'orientation du choix des electeurs en Tunisie, Projet d'assitance électorale en Tunisie, Undp organization, 2021, p 10.

[4] شاكر عبد القادر، تاريخ الخطابة عند اليونان والعرب، مجلة اللغة العربية، المجلس الأعلى للغة العربية الجزائر، المجلد 13، العدد 2، 2011، ص 205.

[5] مصطفى النشار، الخطاب السياسي في مصر القديمة، دار قباء للطباعة والنشر والتوزيع، القاهرة، ط1، 1998، ص.ص 40.165.

systems. However, it is rare to find wars or military revolutions that were not preceded or accompanied by political struggle, relying on political discourse through various media.

However, political discourse has evolved significantly in both form and content as a result of a number of factors, the most important of which is the global spread of the ideas of freedom and democracy. This is because ideas are the only way to spread political discourse and open it up to the world in a way that ensures each society maintains its distinct social, cultural, and political characteristics. Furthermore, the struggle for power among various political factions in a given country has transformed political discourse into a unified tool that varies according to the diversity and plurality of the parties and currents active in the political arena.

Since the emergence and widespread use of mass communication, which is closely tied to politics[1], any development in one field has had a direct impact on the other. As media activity expands, so does political and discourse activity, one of its tools. However, political discourse has reached its peak only with the technological explosion of modern communication and media technologies related to the Internet, which have added a completely new and different dimension to traditional political discourse through their non-temporal and non-spatial nature, interactivity, ease of access and retrieval, and other emerging functions.

Political discourse differs from other types of discourse in its formality, which derives from the authority to which it belongs. It is also a transitory discourse, linked to a specific time because of the events and circumstances under which it is delivered, and loses its value and effectiveness once those events have ended. In general, political discourse addresses its audience collectively, bringing the sender and the receiver together and emphasizing their common ground, using simple, clear, and concise expressions that are frequently repeated throughout the discourse to embed them in the minds of the recipients and influence and persuade them.

3.1.2. Political discourse industry and its mechanisms

The focus of political discourse is usually on major issues that affect various segments of society and influence decision-making and policy-making in society and the state. It is a deliberate and value-driven discourse that presents its content with the goal of persuasion and highlights the represented party's one-sided political direction, expressing its position and opinions.

Crafting a powerful and influential political discourse necessitates the use of a variety of persuasive strategies and appeals, as well as a set of carefully designed influence techniques aimed at attracting and convincing the recipient. These techniques are presented in the following two sections:

Verbal techniques of influence and persuasion[2] rely on the use of strong language and a vocabulary of expressive and accessible terms for the public. Repetition is employed in various forms (word repetition, slogans, ideas), in addition to the use of political symbols, mental images,

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[1] محمد بن سعود البشر، مرجع سابق، ص–ص 21–22.

[2] محمد فتحي يونس، صناعة الديكتاتور :دراسة في أساليب الدعاية للقادة السياسيين، دار هلا للنشر والتوزيع، مصر، ص60.

jokes, anecdotes, and other techniques. At times, these techniques rely on deceit and deception, exploiting the social and psychological reactions of the masses by stirring up hatred and creating an enemy myth. They may also take advantage of such opportunities to promote ideas or justify actions.

Non-verbal Persuasion Techniques[1]: These typically involve gestures, signals, and movements with predetermined meanings. They also include all forms of verbal communication that are used to explain, interpret, and illustrate spoken meanings. This category also includes the organizational signals and movements that organize and structure the discourse's sections and stages.

Despite the changes that have occurred in political discourse and its creation throughout history, some characteristics, such as the conditions required for the recipient to be convincing and influential, and the features that the discourse itself must include, such as credibility and eloquence, have remained constant and shared since the ancient Greek civilization. Other aspects, however, have changed, the most significant of which is the improvisation in the delivery of the discourse. Therefore, in modern times, the craft of political discourse goes through three basic stages: the preparation stage, where the discourse is created, its text is edited, and its terms are chosen; followed by the delivery stage, which is the visible stage seen by the audience and broadcast by the media. Then comes the stage of dissemination, in which the discourse and its consequences are spread through various modern media and technological means. It is also the stage where official and unofficial reactions to the delivered political discourse are highlighted.

3.1.3. Its role in electoral campaigns and political marketing:

The significance of political discourse has increased in election campaigns and political propaganda. Proving to be effective in candidate-dependent campaigns, introducing its personality and influence to the people. Similarly, it is beneficial in campaigns relying on a political party since it presents its direction, objectives, and endeavors. Even election campaigns focusing on issues require an official political discourse that specifies their details, positions, and implications.[2]

It is noteworthy from the study of the executive stages of election campaigns[3] that they parallel those of political discourse production which plays a crucial role in the election campaign process. The first stages of campaigns, which involve studying the party and the candidate's position, involve preparing for the discourse. The second stage of campaign organization is the presentation stage, which is made through various means and media, including political discourse. Therefore, it corresponds to the delivery phase. The third and most important stage of an electoral campaign is the dissemination stage, which coincides with the stage of political discourse production that bears the same name. It is significant because it is the stage of decision-making for the last two stages. We

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[1] زهرة وهيب خدوج، لغة الصمت :دراسة في أسرار لغة الجسد وفنوﻧﻬا في عالم الأعمال، ط1، دار الراية للنشر والتوزيع، عمان الأردن، 2015، ص-ص 56-57.

[2] صفوت العالم، الدعاية الإنتخابية، ﻧﻬضة مصر للطباعة والنشر والتوزيع، القاهرة، ط1، 2007، ص 25.

[3] المرجع نفسه.

have explained how the stage of political discourse dissemination is followed by reactions and statements, and how these reactions and positions lead to the campaign's fourth stage: the stage of determination and focus, and finally the stage of resolution and prominence. This focus and decision-making toward resolution are crystallized based on the trends, impressions, and implications of the campaign for the voters' audience.

3.2. Political Marketing :

3.2.1. The emergence and development of political marketing:

The emergence and development of political marketing cannot be traced back to a specific and constant date. As researchers in the fields of media and communication, political science, or even history, we cannot assert that political marketing suddenly emerged and was finally defined in a certain era. Moreover, persuasion and attempting to influence others for the sake of power, expansion, gains, and politics have existed since the dawn of humanity because they stem from human nature and are one of the factors in building civilizations. Political marketing has taken shape as an activity, science, and specialty through various accumulations over time and through evolutionary models that gradually increased with the development of political, social, economic, and cultural systems in human societies. It is associated with commercial marketing, which has also witnessed remarkable development, and both continue to undergo updates and changes continuously[1].

However, from the history of research and studies, we can trace its emergence as a science. We identified that interest in marketing as an intellectual field in marketing literature as having begun in the last two decades of the twentieth century with the development of the concept of social marketing, which focuses on marketing social ideas and issues. This is a relatively new term in the literature of political science[2].

When studying the history of political marketing today, it can be inferred that it originated, developed, and expanded as a result of the convergence of a series of interrelated and sequential factors. It started from the perspective of political science with the emergence of modern democracies and their laws in elections and political practices, and from the perspective of the economic domain as a result of the development of the free market economy and strong economic competition among major companies to promote and market their products in democratic countries where electoral propaganda methods vary and diversify. Furthermore, we cannot overlook the essential role of the field of media and communication sciences in this regard, as the emergence of television, cinema, and other mass communication channels and modern technologies have contributed to their use in election campaigns. These aforementioned factors would not have achieved this development without benefiting from the outputs of social psychology and studies on

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[1] عبد ربه عبد القادر العنزي، مرجع سابق، ص 60 بتصرف.

[2] مصطفى كشايري، مرجع سابق، 117 بتصرف.

public opinion and mass audiences, as well as from intensive and ongoing studies on the applications of marketing and political marketing.[1]

According to some researchers, the stages of the evolution of the political marketing concept can be outlined as follows: the concept of political marketing started with a focus on the process of shifting between voters and candidates, then moved to an emphasis on using the marketing mix to promote political parties to the targeted audience, followed by considering that political parties should be concerned with the marketing position and market segmentation for candidates and parties, and finally, using surveys, public opinion research, and environmental analysis to develop a theoretical model of political marketing.[2]

3.2.2. The emergence of political public relations and its relationship to political marketing:

Political communication generally consists of three main components: the media, the audience, and the political organizations, which represent the politics component. Political organizations include the main players in political communication, such as leaders by virtue of their positions (presidents, ministers, etc.), visible media speakers who address the public, and real decision-makers who do not appear publicly. Political organizations include political parties, pressure groups, secret and terrorist movements, resistance movements, as well as unions, professional and labor associations, and others. The most important and active ones are those that employ political marketing to achieve political objectives, primarily political parties.[3]

However, with the modern technological development of media and communication tools and their significant role today in the political communication process and election techniques, what is known as political public relations has emerged, which has reduced ideological commitment in political parties and caused differences to now lie in programs and policies rather than general orientations.

Political public relations are one aspect of political communication, which includes interaction between the elements of political communication, including communicators, audiences, media, and political organizations. This extends to managing news and media relations, crisis communication, volunteer and financing relations, as well as creating and employing pressure groups. It also involves activating membership in competitive parties, shaping attitudes and fundraising for parties and political campaigns, and electoral campaign activities. The entry of political public relations into the world of politics has brought a qualitative shift in policy and political communication management, as it has become an activity in which many institutions and individuals work. Jobs such as press advisors, media spokespersons, speech writers, event managers, marketing consultants, election campaign managers, and others have emerged. Given the role that political

[1] عبد ربه عبد القادر العنزي، مرجع سابق، ص–ص 61-62 بتصرف.

[2] مصطفى كشايري، مرجع سابق، ص–ص 119-120 بتصرف.

[3] أحمد حسن السمان، الإعلام والسياسة : التسويق السياسي في القرن 21، الدار المصرية اللبنانية، القاهرة، ط1، 2018، ص 96 بتصرف.

public relations institutions have played in the field of contemporary political communication and marketing, it is worth noting that they are divided into two types: government institutions and private agencies for political public relations.[1]

3.2.3. Contemporary political marketing in the modern era:

Political marketing has been designed to influence people's votes in elections, as it differs from traditional marketing where concepts are marketed rather than products or services. However, several similar techniques are employed in marketing products, such as paid advertising, direct mail, and propaganda. It is evident that the infiltration of marketing into politics in recent decades has contributed to the increasing role of political marketing management, drawing the attention of political parties, politicians, governments, interest groups, and lobbying groups to the importance of marketing and developing its mechanisms within the framework of integrated marketing plans. Besides, political marketing has also contributed to improving communication between politicians and voters.[2]

Today, political marketing aims to scientifically identify the needs and desires of voters and plan and execute political and electoral campaigns that meet these needs and respond to these desires[3]. After political marketing has achieved significant success and confirmed its effectiveness in achieving influence and persuasion, it has acquired new characteristics and features to ensure reliability in achieving its results. Hence, continuity has been introduced as a fundamental condition in modern political marketing, imported from the development of concepts of commercial marketing, which is defined as "the sum of continuous processes and activities carried out by various organizations to direct products to the consumer.[4]" In traditional political marketing, this feature was not present as it was only temporary during election campaigns. However, it has become more prevalent in the political arena, especially with the advancement of technology and the widespread use of media.

We have previously mentioned that political communication consists of three main elements: media, the public, and political organizations that employ political marketing to achieve political objectives, with parties being at the forefront, which emerged with the rise of modern Western democracy, and they operate within constitutional means to gain or participate in governance. They perform their functions to reach power within this framework, and when a party takes power, its functions continue with the integration of party and government responsibilities and the management of its functions.

It is supposed that the total number of actors in the political arena is limited to political parties, associations, and the governing authority, including the presidency, ministries, and other state

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[1] أحمد حسن السمان، مرجع سابق، ص.ص 119. 124.

[2] عبد ربه عبد القادر العنزي، مرجع سابق، ص-ص 73-74.

[3] مصطفى كشايري، مرجع سابق، ص 120 بتصرف.

[4] نوال قرقش، مرجع سابق، ص 8 بتصرف.

institutions, both as a team and as individuals. However, the reality of political practice imposes otherwise, where several other institutions and individuals outside official circles participate with the ability to influence, report, and change with the same power as official circles. As for lobby groups, they are older than political parties and have existed since the beginning of governance throughout history. They participate in political battles indirectly without appearing publicly and do not aim to seize power but rather seek to influence those in power, using various direct and indirect methods and tactics. This is because most of their activities are non-political, unlike those of political parties, but their goals are political, and therefore political marketing is one of their tools[1].

3.3. Political Advertising :
3.3.1. Political advertising as a tool of political marketing :

Philip Kotler defines marketing as "an organizational function and a set of processes for creating, communicating, and delivering value to customers and for managing customer relationships in ways that benefit the organization and its stakeholders"[2]. It is noteworthy from this definition that Kotler, one of the foremost experts in the field of marketing, did not limit it to the field of goods and tangible products but described what is being marketed and promoted as value added to consumers.

One researcher represented this idea with a diagram illustrating some examples of the exchanges covered by marketing activity[3]. For example, the car factory pays the tire factory money in exchange for them, blood donors do it for the feeling of satisfaction, and job applicants offer their skills, experiences, and efforts to potential employers in the hope of getting a job. The same applies to the political example, where political candidates offer promises to citizens and voters in exchange for their votes. Besides, the presence of exchange and added value for both parties, rather than the presence of a commodity or service, can be deduced from this. In the case of political marketing, the added value could be a product, money, a service, psychological satisfaction, expertise, opportunities, or political promises and electoral voices.

The political marketing mix contains nearly the same components as the commercial marketing one, with the latter including product, price, distribution, and promotion, whereas the political mix includes political product, political pricing, political distribution, and political promotion. However, political marketing naturally relies on the same means and tools used by commercial marketing and related to the marketing elements mix, with some specificity in the overall methods used based on the similarity in the marketing elements mix.

If commercial marketing relies on advertising, mail, direct sales, discounts, offers, brochures, rewards, tests, sponsors, and partnerships, then political marketing relies on advertising as the most

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[1] أحمد حسن السمان، مرجع سابق، ص.ص 95.109 بتصرف.

[2] المرجع نفسه، ص41.

[3] نوال قرقش، مرجع سابق، ص7.

effective tool for influencing based on the marketing mix, along with other political means such as debates, rallies, and others.

Before delving into the origins and evolution of political advertising and its role in election campaigns, we must first highlight the four elements of the marketing mix, as they are the cornerstone for its creation: product, price, distribution, and promotion[1]

The product in political marketing is the idea, the candidate, or the political party that seeks votes. However, because the electoral process is democratic, pricing is not determined between the marketer and their audience. It is instead decided between the marketer and the candidate, party, or political movement promoting his idea. In political marketing, distribution and promotion are inseparable. The marketer has an intangible moral product that is frequently not distributed physically. Instead, the idea is disseminated and promoted in a coordinated and intertwined manner to achieve the marketing process's goal.

3.3.2. The development and spread of political advertising :

According to some researchers, political advertising in the United States began with the use of handmade posters, leaflets, and printed materials. However, it was not until the development of electronic media[2] that political advertising became the focal point of political campaigns. Political advertising is generally defined as "the communication process in which the advertiser pays a price for the opportunity to present political messages to the public in a media outlet, with a specific goal and purpose, in order to influence their opinions, ideas, and behaviors.[3]" Based on this definition, it is clear that the existence of political advertising as a practice and concept is closely related to the spread of mass media usage. Therefore, we cannot discuss political advertising as we know it today without considering the impact of the mass communication era on its development and evolution.

Despite some historical studies pointing to communication and media activities that overlap with political advertising, either in terms of formal and marketing elements or content, addressing political topics related to candidates or voters, they are mostly classified in their initial concept as political propaganda, political public relations, or political marketing, before political advertising developed and emerged as a separate type on its own.

In the past, political affairs were managed differently from today, and the decision to represent parties or choose candidates was not made directly as it is now, but was subject to many power, financial, and political restrictions and lobbies[4]. However, the spread of mass and electronic media has narrowed the gap between those who aspire to run for office and the electorate. Candidates no longer need the support of major political organizations with their tools and branches to promote or

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[1] للإستزادة حول المزيج التسويقي السياسي أنظر صحراوي بن شيحة وبن منصور عبد الله، استخدام آليات التسويق لصناعة المنتجات السياسية للتأثير على اتجاهات الناخبين، Les cahiers du Mecas، جامعة أبو بكر بلقايد تلمسان، المجلد 10، العدد 1، 2014، ص 13.

[2] Jasem Alqaseer, Op cit.

[3] زينب ليث عباس، الإعلان السياسي في الحملة الإنتخابية، مجلة كلية اللغات، جامعة بغداد، العدد 17، 2007، ص 23.

[4] Jasem Alqaseer, Op cit.

endorse them. Instead, they have turned to modern political marketing techniques that have evolved with the development of modern technologies, reaching what we now call modern political advertising.

The advertising industry, regardless of its field or the product promoted, is not a simple or direct media industry because it goes through several complex and intricate stages. Its creation involves many specialists from various fields, which differs from preparing a media program presented directly by the broadcaster or editing news for a news bulletin to be shown on the air. Even in the age of new media, which has shortened communication chains and required individuals to perform multiple tasks at once, advertisements remain one of the media materials that require a diverse set of skills and a team to produce. Moreover, commercial advertising has flourished and expanded as a result of the development of the levels and skills of advertising agencies, as well as the accompanying studies. Therefore, with the combination of all of these factors, new types of social and educational advertising have emerged, as has political advertising. This is because promoting an intangible personality or idea is much more difficult than marketing a product or service.

3.3.3. Its industry and role in the electoral campaigns :

It is well known among researchers in the field of political marketing, as well as specialists in the fields of communication and political science, that the evolution of the concept of politics has had a direct impact on the growing role of political marketing, whether in terms of its theoretical development or practical political practices. Previously, the concept of politics focused on the idea of power associated with force, limited to the ruling elite who owned the elements of power. However, this concept has expanded to include several categories and layers that have become partners, directly or indirectly, in the political community[1]. In the same context of this evolution that has produced political marketing as a new concept and practice, political advertising has also emerged as a new concept and practice as a result of contemporary stages of theoretical and applied development in politics.

The study of political advertising industry can be divided into two stages today:

The first stage involves comparing and studying the practical aspects of commercial advertising[2] with political advertising. In commercial advertising, advertisers handle the planning aspect, while in political advertising, it is addressed by the political communication and public relations team of the responsible institution (as in the case of the 2020 US presidential campaigns, managed by the campaign teams of either Trump or Biden). On the other hand, advertising agencies are responsible for the artistic aspect of commercial advertising, while specialized advertising or media agencies with expertise in political products are responsible for political advertising.

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[1] عبد ربه عبد القاد العنزي، نظرية التسويق السياسي : المفاهيم و الدلالات في المجال السياسي، مجلة رؤى استراتيجية، مركز الإمارات للدراسات و البحوث الاستراتيجية، المجلد 3، العدد 12، 2016، ص 53.

[2] سامي عبد العزيز وصفوت العالم، مقدمة في الإعلان، مركز القاهرة للطباعة والنشر والتوزيع، القاهرة، 2004، ص 135 بتصرف.

As for the commercial side, which is concerned with advertising companies in the commercial advertising industry, it is absent from the political advertising industry. This is due to the fact that the material counterpart in this case is represented by the voters' voices. The similarity lies in the application of the executive aspect, which is employed in various media types, whether commercial or political advertising. It is worth noting that modern media channels are more prevalent than traditional ones at this stage, especially if the political advertising in question is audiovisual.

Finally, the consulting aspect is overseen by a group of advertising consultants specializing in commercial advertising. As for political advertising consulting, it falls back on the political and planning team of the campaign or candidate's party affiliation, or social and psychological experts, to anticipate potential impacts and effectiveness.

The second stage involves applying the six stages of the commercial advertising industry[1] to political advertising, based on the psychological and social factors that influence consumers or the electorate.

Perhaps one of the most challenging stages in advertising, especially in the era of the abundance of ads that we live in today, is the stage of attention attraction. Consumers are constantly exposed to a huge number of similar, competing, and confusing advertisements. However, attracting attention in political advertising is not difficult for the same reasons because the number of political products and therefore political advertisements is not as large as commercial advertisements. However, the difficulty lies in capturing the attention of the electorate with the content, idea, or personality of the political advertisement, which must be characterized by seriousness, creativity, and innovation in order to achieve that.

In the world of advertising, there are two stages: attracting attention and arousing interest. The former relies on visual elements, whereas the latter emphasizes content and ideas. However, in the realm of political advertising, we find that the first stage includes both attracting and implicit messaging, while the second stage focuses on presenting logical arguments and compelling evidence.

Advertisers aim to identify the benefits of the product or service in order to persuade consumers during the desire stage of commercial advertising. Political advertisers, on the other hand, use this stage to make promises and make positive comparisons that will be realized if the voting public supports them, as this is the beginning of response and persuasion.

Reaching the stage of conviction in advertising a product or service involves shaping positive attitudes towards that product or service in the consumer's mind. This highlights his inclination toward and admiration for its advantages and his preference over other competitors. The same goes for political advertising, where the final conviction of voters about the candidate, party, or program they will support or vote for is formed at this stage.

The response stage is closely related to the preceding conviction stage because it represents the practical execution of the preceding psychological and intellectual conviction. However, it may not

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[1] مسعود حسين التائب، أساسيات الإعلان، المكتب العربي للمعارف، القاهرة، ط1، 2017، ص197 بتصرف.

always be achieved through response, which may take the form of purchasing behavior or subscription, due to some preventing obstacles, such as the unavailability of the service, product depletion, the unsuitability of the price when purchased, or encountering a better product.

Conviction in political advertising frequently results in a positive response and a vote or election for two reasons: Firstly, the absence of the previously mentioned material and service obstacles Secondly, the psychology of individuals and their reactions differ when it comes to political or social orientations, where they rarely change their opinions and positions after being convinced and declaring so. This is within the framework of the pursuit of the self and confirming its value; however, they often tend to strengthen those orientations, support them, and affirm their validity.

One of the main differences between commercial and political advertising is that the former is always ongoing and continuous, as are its results, while the latters findings are occasional and appear during important events such as elections or strikes. This is why commercial advertising emphasizes post-purchase behavior rather than simply eliciting a response or purchase behavior in order to ensure long-term customer loyalty. Political advertisers, on the other hand, do not always place the same value on post-event behavior because the desired impact is often limited to a specific political period or crisis and is only revisited when necessary. Therefore, the political advertising industry typically ends at election time and does not conduct research on post-election behavior or influence.

5. Answering the study questions :

After the conceptual and historical discussion of the study variables and the review of its theoretical elements, we seek to answer the study questions as follows:

Regarding the main question of the study, which is **" How did the shift from relying on political discourse to creating new materials occur ? "**

Political discourse has been an informative medium and persuasive content of political objectives since the beginning of human existence. In ancient civilizations, it was considered a symbol of social refinement and advancement and was not used in political advertising or marketing campaigns like it is today. Rather, it was a tool of power, authority, and enforcement of laws, as well as a means of expansion and maintaining control. Political discourse in that era used to focus on topics such as declaring war and peace, enacting laws that govern society, and the foreign political affairs of nations. However, social, political, and economic conditions in all nations have changed and developed over time, especially after the two world wars and the emergence of new republics that spread democracy with all its electoral, partisan, and pluralistic practices. Political discourse alone is no longer sufficient to achieve the necessary control and influence in the political sphere, as the situation now requires popular and political mobilization based on attracting and convincing people with arguments, evidence, and promises, not by force and war.

As for answering the partial questions that arose, the **"causes and factors that led to this transformation"** can be presented as follows:

- **Historically**: the circumstances that humanity went through and the repercussions of the two world wars on changing the balance of power in the world and the formation of new states, in addition to the crystallization of new concepts and practices with the establishment of the United Nations concerned with human rights, opinion, and expression.

- **Socially**: the new patterns and social systems that have emerged in urban communities are accompanied by social, cultural, sporting, and artistic activities, thus resulting in changing and updating social roles and relationships in societies and groups.

- **Economically**: the development of the economy in most countries in general and the associated increase in living standards and individual incomes, as well as the dominance of liberal thought and free-market activity in the sector and the privatization of all other sectors, including politics and the media.

- **Politically**: the spread of democracy and party pluralism, as well as various political currents, and thus the development of electoral practices, starting from the campaign and mobilization to the ballot.

- **Media**: the development of the field of media and communication in form and content, where mass communication means of various types have spread and have become an integral part of people's lives, especially with the diversity and multiplicity of content that satisfies the tastes and needs of all segments of the masses.

We also clarify regarding the **"The emergence and development of these new communication materials"**, which are meant in our study "political advertising", as follows :

It can be argued that these modern forms of political advertising are a direct and inevitable result of the media revolution brought about by new media, as well as the continuous and ongoing development of modern communication technologies. Especially with the spread of new usage patterns and habits that tend towards individualism and personal media and communication tools. The individual is no longer exposed to mass communication means or traditional media that display political discourse and promote political advertising and other such things. Instead, they connect to the internet through a smartphone or tablet and satisfy all their desires through that device. Therefore, it was necessary for experts in political marketing and campaign managers to develop their tools and political attraction methods in line with the new media and communication style of individuals, both in form and content. Political advertising was the most suitable material to achieve that, as it meets the formal conditions (in terms of duration, media, and references) and implicit ones (related to political or electoral content). The real use of political advertising emerged in the campaign of former US President Barack Obama for the 2008 US presidential elections, as it continued to be used and developed to reach its peak with the explosion of the Cambridge Analytica scandal due to its misuse by former US President Donald Trump in the 2016 presidential elections.

6. CONCLUSION :

Through this study, we shed light on a new type of advertising that is prevalent today: political advertising. We discussed the historical evolution of its emergence and the factors that contributed to its development, starting from the era of political discourse, passing through political marketing and its tools, to political public relations, and finally to political advertising nowadays. At the end of this study, we concluded that political advertising emerged as an alternative to old political marketing tools due to a complex intersection of social, economic, political, and media-related factors. In the end, political advertising remains a relatively new type of media, especially in developing countries, and thus it is a fertile field for studies and research, particularly those related to its creation and impact.

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