# The effect of media in political election: Comparative case of 2009&2013 general elections in Albania

by

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# **Approval Page**

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I certify that this thesis satisfies all the legal requirements as a thesis for the Master of Science (MSc) degree.

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I certify that I have read this study that is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the Master of Science (MSc) degree.

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# **Abstract**

The aim of this thesis is about the influence that media has in peoples life but in this case it will see the influence that media has during the campaigns. How has media changed in Albania from communism period in democratic period? How this change has effected in peoples life?

Furthermore it will show what strategies are used during campaigns. How important is political marketing and media in the elections of 2009-2013? Although an analysis will be done for two main parties which are Democratic Party and Socialist Party and what marketing has they done during elections of 2009-2013. In the end will see the positive and negative points for these two elections.

As a conclusion it will be seen the most important element is in the political marketing strategy to win the elections. Regarding to the analysis and data that are taken to the official websites will get a clear idea about the points that are mention before. Although it will be a comparison of two campaigns to see the strategy that the Party have done during the campaigns

Keywords: Media, Political Marketing, Campaign, Democratic Party, Socialist Party, Elections

**Abstrakt** 

Qëllimi I kësaj teze është rreth ndikimit që ka media tek je ëtt e personave por në këtë rast do të

shikohet ndikimi I mediave gjatë fushatave. Si ka ndryshuar media ne Shqipëri nga periudha e

kominizmit deri në demokraci? Si kanë ndikuar ky ndryshim tek njerzit?

Për më shumë do të shikohet cfarë strategjie është përdorur gjatë fushatave.Sa e rëndësishme

është marketingu politik dhe media në fushatat e 2009-2013? Gjithashu do te behet dhe një

analizë për dy partit kryesore të cilat janë Partia Demokratike dhe Partia Socialiste dhe cfarë ka

bërë marketingu gjatë zgjedhjeve 2009-2013. Dhe së fundmi do shikohen gjërat pozitive dhe

negative e tëdyjave zgjedhjeve.

Si konkluzion do të shikohen elemenetet e rëdësishme të strategjis ne marketingun politik për të

fituar zgjedhjet. Duke u bazuar në keto analiza dhe data që janë marrë nga faqet zyrtare do të

krijohet një ide e qarte për pikat që janë permendur më siper. Gjithashtu do të bëhet nje krahasim

i dy fushatave per te parë strategjin qe kanë përdorur partit gjatë fushatave.

Fjalet Kyce: Medi, Marketingu Politik, Fushata, Partia Demokratike, Partia Socialiste,

Zgjedhjet.

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## **Declaration Statement**

- 1. The material included in this thesis has not been submitted wholly or in part for any academic award or qualification other than that for which it is now submitted.
- 2. The program of advanced study of which this thesis is part has consisted of:
- i) Research Methods course during the undergraduate study
- ii) Examination of several thesis guides of particular universities both in Albania and abroad as well as a professional book on this subject.

Jonada Pasmaçiu

September, 2015

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#### **List of Abbreviations**

Partia Demokratike: PD

Partia Socialiste: PS

#### INTRODUCTION

"The merited future of Albania in the European Union depends from a strong and independent media" This is what the previous US Ambassador in Albania, Mr. Arvizu declared last year on the International Day of the Freedom of Media. Commissioner for the EU enlargement, Mr. Fule, as well as many high ranking EU representative, have re-enforced the role of media, especially in transition countries like Albania, during election period. According to them, the democratic process of the elections depends heavily on the freedom of media.

Media development in Albania has been in the center of attention of internationals during the last decade, and for reasonable reasons, since today's media is globally so much developed that it is considered a fourth power. Media of today does not only inform or advertise. Media of today has the power to influence processes and choices. Media of today can create images, role models that can affect societal changes.

In this framework, this study analyses the power of media, with a specific focus on political marketing in Albania. The study takes in account the overall influence of media and its role in society. Historical development, which in the case of Albania it is not so rich and mainly influenced by Western neighborhood media culture, is taken also in account. The study reflects how the true media development started after 1990's, since during communism period media was controlled by the state and most of the information had political essence - how the party was working for the country. Such culture, of course, affected people's perceptions in the beginning of 1990's. People were skeptic about the information that were given to them, but with the passing of time media managed to become one the most reliable institutions by youngster (Youth Study, 2011). During these decades media has changed in a professional way even in the legislation from; however still media independence regarding political influence remains a concern.

Moreover, the study correlates media with the political marketing in Albania. Before, people did not pay much attention to the political marketing, but regarding to the last decade it has been seen a development in this field. This phenomenon has given it focused more on practical aspects than in theoretical aspect according the articles that are written. According to Albanian History, after 1944 (Communism Reign), there did not exist any political marketing since it was not seen as a needed strategy for the actual regime. This was due to the absence of the independent political subjects that could have been considered as competitor on during elections. For the Albanian political system, political marketing is still new to its concept, since it has been only lately that parties are using its techniques in campaigns. The development of political marketing in Albania was seen more after 2000. The first elections were done in March of 1991; this was a new page for political communication and political marketing. During the democracy have been 6 electoral processes which are seen sophisticated techniques to convince the voters and also they used European experience during the campaigns. The 2001 election campaign in Albania, was the first elections that implemented political marketing and so on this continued even the next elections. In 2005 parties started to get connection with some well-known companies about marketing, so this companies will be responsible about the marketing part during elections.

Also the development of media during democracy period brought a positive effect in the development of political marketing. According to the law media should keep 'distance' from politics, they have should be unbiased when they give information for them parties. But it is seen that media aren't 100% correct with this rule, because some channels may express their preferences for their favorite parties. (Fuga, Media, Politika, Shoqeria, 2008)

Media has definitely become one sophisticated form to organize electoral elections; this is a big step to help the election moving in the right direction. By experience, mass media has let the political community in shadow and has made people dependent on mass media itself. In election campaign media affects political debate sections, and thus the entire quality of the electoral process. Media has the ability to be political actor on their own since it reports directly to the people what is going on; it gives to campaigners the possibility to buy space for their advertisement (so that they can reach more people and more rapidly), or it can even transmit propaganda selectively, by refusing the small parties advertisement.

It is essential that the media plays an active role during elections time, ensuring that tensions and conflict are minimized or eliminated. Elections are the hallmark of any representative democracy, allowing the people to choice their leaders and policies and yet to create ground for competitive processes, which if not constructively managed, could potentially destabilize the societies. Taking in account only national elections, the study exactly focuses on the role of media in Albania in sensitizing the electorate and the rest of the citizenry on the proper conduct of elections. In a democratic regime the media is expected to be the 'voice' of people, not the 'voice' of power. Through media government can communicate with people and through media people can raise communication with government. Thus, mass media is a road between traditional society transitions toward a modern society.

The problem that this study also arises is the lack of guidelines of political marketing in Albania. After an analysis of the generally known functions and guidelines of political marketing all over the world democracies, a comparison with Albania case shows a lack of such culture. For example, paid political advertisement is allowed in the media.

The study is finalized with a concrete, mostly quantitative, comparison of two national elections (2009, 2013) of the main parties, SP and DP. Such analyze shows the sophistication of the electoral campaign during these last years (using slogans, songs, contracting freeing specialized companies), but also the increase in expenditures for such campaign. Working with this study, it was experienced the difficulty in data and information gathering, showing lack of transparency from political parties, but also lack of investigative media.

# Methodology

The methodology of this thesis contains the information from specific articles, analysis and books. The collections of the information for statistical part are taken from official online databases; websites and reports that are for only for that sector. During the research it is in purpose to clarify:

- > The power of media in society
- > The evolution of media in Albania
- > An analyze about political marketing
- > The political Marketing in Albania
- ➤ The collaboration of social media during the elections of 2009-2013
- ➤ An analyze for elections of 2009-2013

# Chapter1- Media, it's importance & historical perspective

#### 1.1 Written Media

Written media is one important key for the people to be informed. There are some places like Britain and Holland, where written media is very powerful in their country. Although in some countries newspaper (written media) are not very important. In some places like Holland, Franc and Italy they do not have national newspaper with 'bombastic' titles, but in Sweden, England and Germany these national newspapers are more readable form the people. The market of written media in West Europe has been more stable in these last ten years. Meanwhile, in the other part of Europe this market has not been stable enough. Many of the written media companies have been bankrupt or have changed the strategy to get the attention from the people.

Rules for the written media during election are not very specific. Lately, the right to be informed allows spreading the information to the people. In some countries there are rules that protect the human rights, in this way they can prevent the abuse of freedom speech. If a journalist takes the information from the public they can transmit the information so also the other can see the point of view from the people. So the newspaper companies must be equal when they give the information for the candidates, their opinion must be unbiased. Usually, paid political advertisement is allowed in written media. In some countries if paid political advertisements are not allowed, parties give a big amount from their budget to interfere with media. Nowadays many people use electronic news to be updated with the latest events and information. (Lange, 2003)

#### 1.2 The Importance of Media

Since the transmutation of the radio which was half century ago, the economic focus of the media had a close relation with the movement of the situation to change the order of the society. Media and sociology has been the part of finding out the meaning of modern cultural surroundings. The modern situation has been seen as rumor, news trend and fashion. Mass media let political community in shadow and make people to depend on mass media itself.

People get in consideration the media to create their concepts, while they get information for emotional charges, and get image for their hero etc. Media effect in human life directly and indirectly by words, news and advertisements. So the economists and politics have a closed relation with media because their target group is the people. For them, it is seen as a communication bridge with people. By getting their attention in a short period of time through media they accomplish their purpose. (Gitlin, 2003)

## 1.3 The influence of Media

There exist three area to analyze the influence that media has during elections. Those are: the influence that media has for the campaign structure; the relative power of media, campaign communication. The perception that people have for political campaign is that media is the most important element and that voters are victims of the television. From media people are getting the information about how are preceding the elections; what are doing the candidate to get the voters' attention etc. So there is to get a connection between the candidate and voter media is the one keeps the relation between them. News that is transmitted during elections covers 15% (television) and 13% (newspaper). Media significantly influences who will be the leader of the elections. Meanwhile, people are getting the information not only from TV or newspaper but although from other social network. Because of this, the candidates try to spread their work and to do marketing even from Facebook, twitter etc. Most of young people are updating themselves from these kinds of applications, but on the other hand the development of technology has brought an easy connection between people and everything else. (Stuckey, 2010)

#### 1.4 History of Media Market in Albania

There are not enough studies about the evolution of media in Albania. The development of the media has come many years later than the other European countries. From an historical point of view, mass media is analyzed in four important elements: purposes and their communication needs; communication technologies in distance; forms of social organization that enable the production and distribution media; organism forms of leadership by the public interest. These elements do not have close relation with each other. Anyway the development of media means a level of thinking and free expression. One important element that helps the communication to be developed is to have an open society. The history of modern media dates back in the same time with the printed book. The press gradually influenced the content of the books by bringing changes and also influenced the printing of pamphlets. The development of the press not only

affected the content of the book, but also in the stimulation of the idea of professional authors. (Fuga, 2012)

Before 1990s Albania was a communist country and media was controlled by the state. Most of the information had political essence, about how the parties are working for the country and also media did not have the right to give information from other countries. All the information that should be written transmitted in radio or TV first of all should be controlled. The situation changed when democracy came in Albania, even though the country was in a transition situation. The development of media started after 1990's and this thing brought Albania more closely with medial culture. It is developed under the influence of Western media culture, mainly to neighboring countries. Television has been a way to communicate with the audience. In Albania during communism isolation has affected in self-perception of person, meanwhile during the chaotic transition has affected positively in the perception of the people. In the beginning people were skeptic about the information that were given to them, because they had a different perception about media but in the end they saw that things were not same like before. Nowadays the 'public' have the right to give an opinion for what is happening and although they can talk about their issues, or injustice that are happening with them. People can get their information not only by Television or newspaper but also from other social network. (Miftari & Sallova, 2013)

In the communism period people were 'blinded', they believed the information that they hear from their parties and trusted to them. After the democracy people started to learn also about the manipulation that media does. So transparency of media was very important for people. In 1990's there was not a clear situation between government and media. In this year when there was a Ministry Information, there has been no specific body within the government responsible for media. Lately the Ministry of Innovation can present proposals or new law regarding the technical aspect. During a decade media changed in a professional way even in the legislation from. A concern is about media independence regarding political influence. There exist so many factors that have influenced media during legislation process which are: media market, the political struggle in the country and the general democratization level in the country. It is seen that media has a close relationship with politics and economics. They are connecting with each other but also there exist so many problems behind the scene.

According to the reports by having behind social and legal norms, media has not sufficient freedom to express the information. But they are positive with the role of media and putting it an important position because it is a sector which contributes in protecting the human right by comparing it with the other sector. Regarding to EU Progress Reports shows that economy effect on media market, not enough place of work for journalists. (Londo, 2013)

In 2004 in Albania entered digital television which brought a big change to the development of media. This new 'technology' gave to the people a bigger vision for many things. Now people are updated with the shows, news, documenters, movie from other countries. Also media sector in Albania tried to have a professional work like other developed countries. Meanwhile social media is more favorable for the moment. Nowadays media companies have open their webpage and loading their information there so people can be updated online. Many editors admit that their online news is more preferred from people than printed news. This may happen because the information is free and also many emigrants try to be updated with Albania actuality. (Londo, Zhvillimi i Medias Dixhitale, 2012)

#### 1.5 Social Media in Albania

The development of media in Albania in 1990 has brought Albanian more closes with medial culture. It is developed under the influence of Western media culture, mainly to neighboring countries. Television has been a way to communicate with the audience. In Albania during communism isolation has affected in self-perception of person, meanwhile during the chaotic transition has affected positively in the perception of the people. Nowadays the 'public' have the right to give an opinion for what is happening and although they can talk about their issues, or injustice that are happening with them. Media plays an important role in human life, by changing the thought of the people and also by informing them in different fields. Media in Albania has now has been in progress until nowadays and people are more well informed about their country and with the world. (Miftari & Sallova, 2013)

#### 1.6 Role of Media in Society

Media play an important role in society; it has become as necessary as other living things. The idea of media is to inform the people about the current situation that his happening, about fashion, the way of living etc. It has brought drastic changes to the people in the way of living

their life. Media can improve social situations as it influences many part of our life like: our social, political, economic and cultural one.

By getting the information through media, people can get updated with what is going on in the world, from the news and information they can take decision about certain things and make judgments regarding different issues.

Media gives to the people:

- 1- Information
- 2- Education
- 3- Entertainment
- 4- Advertising
- 5- Correlation of part of society

Young people are more 'affected' with the media information. From the information they get they change the way of living and try to copy. (Shakeel, 2010)

Even though many people do not admit that media influence their mined, or they can change their opinion from some information that they hear through some social network, it is seen people are influenced by mass media. When they see a product in advertisement they start to use it, or support a particular political party.

From the studies that are done for this topic there are four theories about influence of mass communication. (Paul, Singh, & John, 2013)

- 1- Individual Differences Theory: In this theory it is focus in the formation of the person's character. Environment will affect the attitudes, values and beliefs at the person.
- 2- Social Categorization Theory: This theory is based on income, education or religion. Regarding to this theory people has certain traits from the same way of living. But they response to the messages that they receive from mass media.

- 3- Theory of Social Relations: Related to this theory people are not directed affected from mass media. They are more influenced by the message that they take from the other contacts or through relationships.
- 4- Theory of Cultural Norms: According to this theory media influence individual attitudes. For media to create a new culture should improve the old one. Although mass media can change the cultural norms that already exist.

Media has change the way of living and can expand the horizons of thoughts. In Albania as it is mention before when people lived in an isolated word in communism period they were not updated for many things, and that information that they hear were manipulated from the government. When Democracy came, with it came the freedom of media. In Democracy the media is the 'voice' of people, not as a dictatorship where the media was the 'voice' of power. Through media government can communicate with people and through media people can raise communicate with government. The mass media is a road between traditional society transitions toward a modern society.

Media can influence in public mindset and raise people's aspirations. But when changes happen during the road people lose their culture and forget about their tradition because their focus is more in living a modern life. Through mass media the spreading of the information is done in a rapid way. This is one of the reasons why the companies try to show their products through media, or why candidates for politics want to show their work through it. From media many people are updated and the other can get their objects done more rapidly. The lifestyle of society has shifted from a traditional life to a modern one, since the change of attitude and demand of many directions of the society in general.

#### 1.7 Mass Media during Election

Media is an important element during campaign elections, from it people can be update what is happening with the progress of the candidate and from it people can change their choice for vote.

Media transmit all the time the propaganda that are done during the campaign. They are
reporting directly to the people what is going on. Campaigners buy space for their
advertisement so in this way they can reach more people and more rapidly.

- The media can transmit propaganda selectively, by refusing the small parties advertisement. Meanwhile media has the ability to be political actors in their own right.
- The media can transmit propaganda in traditional formats. Newspapers show the campaign message in news columns and advertisement and although a detailed transcript.
   Television and radio present the interviews, panels' shows and debates but the magazines shows the summaries and interviews.
- Media shows campaign propaganda in the context of materials that they themselves
  prepare it. They give their own idea who they want to wins by giving the reports of the
  campaigns and the public policy issues. (Kelley, 2009)

#### 1.8 Relation of Media with Political Marketing in Albania

Media is definitely one sophisticated form to organize electroral elections; this is a big step to help the election moving in the right direction. Persons, Society and States should be open to communicate with each-other. Those who want to be chosen must be clear with their purpose and goals of their work. The responsibility of media is to report everything in a proper way, to be sure that news are correct and be objective with what is happening. So they must treat each party equally because if they don't it is against the law. Media has the ability to change the final results. Author Paul Lazarsfled, has drawn attention to small effects of election campaigns, it has admitted that the electorate can move up to 10% of the votes of voters. In Election Campaign media plays an important role, they affect in the political debate section, in the quality of the entire electoral process. Although through advertisement they can create a good image for their parties. In different places, the television advertisement is done in different ways, which has in purpose to show their objective.

Media can play a specific role by being part of election and reporting to the people for the progress that will be during elections and also by informing them for:

- Learning to the voters their democratic rights
- Reporting for every step of elections
- Transmitting the messages that candidates give during elections

- Creating opportunities to parties to debate with each other
- Reporting the voting results (Haxhiu, 2010).

The development of political marketing in Albania was seen more after 2000. The first elections were done in March of 1991; this was a new page for political communication and political marketing. During the democracy have been 6 electoral processes which are seen sophisticated techniques to convince the voters and also they used European experience during the campaigns. Also the development of media during democracy period brought a positive effect in the development of political marketing. According to the law media should keep 'distance' from politics, they have should be unbiased when they give information for them parties. But it is seen that media aren't 100% correct with this rule, because some channels may express their preferences for their favorite parties. (Fuga, Media, Politika, Shoqeria, 2008)

Changing the media, political and social structure, they have resulted in a gradual modification traditional style and political communication strategies. Even in Albania political and social structure changes has brought other changes on legislation. Television, newspapers and radio are transmitting all the prepared material about politics which is a phenomenon that is seen in campaign of 2005.

According to the reports of OSCE, media has been unbiased during electoral campaign of 2013. So according to OSCE, 53% of the news has been focused positively to PD (Democratic Party) and 28% to PS (Social Party). Appear relatively balanced against the two big parties Top Channel and Vision Plus, while for the new coverage on the government has often been negative. News 24 and Ora News are shown more neutral with the information for the parties. (OSCE, 2013)

The reports below shows that in Albania media is freer to express their self. But during the years this freedom has been under a pressure.

Figure 1- Freedom of Media in Albania

Country	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Bosnia and	37	21	33	19	34	36	39	47	58
Herzegovina									
Croatia	69	54	56	53	41	45	78	62	68
Macedonia	51	49	43	45	36	42	34	68	94
Albania	34	50	62	80	87	79	88	80	96
Serbia	85	77	65	45	67	64	62	85	80
Kosovo	n.a.	n.a.	100	70	60	58	75	92	86
Montenegro	85	77	65	45	58	53	77	104	107
Turkey	115	113	98	98	101	102	122	138	148

Source: Reporters sans Frontiers, Press Freedom Index 2003-2011

In this conditions, policies should give more priority to television media, social media as a direct marketing more effective communication in electorate.

Even though there is a crash between politics and media they are connected with each other. Politicians have seen that without media, voters cannot hear their voice. Political parties are taking care for their image that they will present to their public activities; meanwhile they are communication with their voters through social network. According to the law election campaign should be started one month before of the day of vote. But candidates started with their campaigns earlier. During electoral campaign candidates are using a lot social network to communicate with the voters this isn't seen before. The candidates are being active in Facebook, Twitter etc., by posting everything that they are doing or are going to do in the future. This has brought an evolution for transmitting their messages to the citizens. (Muka, 2013)

Many people think that political beliefs may be manipulated by the media. A rational viewer see different reports about his/her candidate and party and in the end make a comparison about this reports that media has transmitted to them. Meanwhile a non-rational viewer does not pay the right attention to the news reports of the media sources. These take their decision according to their opinion that they have and do not try to make an analysis to see if they are right or wrong. Regarding to the two different theories the first one is called long-run prediction and the other one is short-run prediction. (Vigna & Kaplan, 2007)

# **Chapter2- Political Marketing**

#### 2.1 Political Market Orientation

In order to have a clearer view over political party, it is initially needed to do a market-oriented, so to realize this it must include the information generation, dissemination, member participation and in the end strategy implementation. All of these points are bonded together (Ormrod & Henneberg, 2008).

- Information Generation: In order to finish the objective successfully first of all it is needed to find the right information about the issues that voters have and what they need. O'Cass (1996) mentions as an important point the information generation behavior for political marketing orientation. Although, the external information that are taken in institutes are important for behavioral traits of Political Marketing Orientation (PMO).
- Information Dissemination: To spread the information for their goals is another important strategy for the candidates. This can be done in an informal or a formal way. This is a way to implement the strategy successfully in political marketing.
- Member Participation: Another element of political marketing strategy is the tactics, advertising, the candidate selection process, getting the right negotiations. In decisionmaking process are involved inactive members and also associated institutions (which include trades with socialist parties).
- Consistent Strategy Implementation: In political campaigns it is mentioned also the
  reactions that parties or candidates have during the activities that they organize.
  Consistency strategy includes the implementation of the party election strategy. The
  actions of the candidates should be coordinated so in this way the strategy can be
  accomplished.

#### 2.2 4P's of Political Marketing

Phillip B. Niffenegger (1988) was the first one who made a comparison of marketing mix with the political marketing. He has mentioned that political marketing has 4 P's to get the attention of the voters. First of all the candidates should create a strategy to see what voters needs and in the

end to analyze how they can take their focus. So to do this the candidate implements 4 P's which are:

- Product: This is one of the most important elements in the marketing mix. In this case the product is how the candidate presents his self and his party to the voters. The candidate shows his promises to the voters through political marketing, advertisements and with the public activities which are related with the candidates. After the candidate offers his 'product' many of the voters creates an idea about him and his/her parties. So after the voters create the image of the candidate they decide for whom to vote.
- Promotion: Advertising is seen as one of the most recognizable communication element for people. The promotional mix is separated in two groups which are as 'paid' media and the 'free' one.

Paid media includes all way that are used for advertisement, which are poster, broadcast, telephone or marketing mail. Although a kind of mix communication are designs, slogan and party colors.

Free media covers the advertisement that parties do not buy. So they do not have control on to promote their product through media. Parties sometimes try to get the attention of the media through their organization that they do for their people.

- Placement: Strategic marketing tries to show a message with the volunteer job that are selected to show a right image for the candidate. This includes the activist that tries to give brochure, register the voters and meanwhile try to collect funds for the candidate program. Therefore, the goal for the candidate is to select more votes, so to do this he/she must be in many places during elections to convince the voters.
- Price: This part refers to the total cost that the candidate will put during his job. There are included the economic costs such as: taxes or reducing the budget. Even though it is made a comparison between economic and politic field, the last point is not clear enough regarding in between the choice of consumer and the choice for politic. (Wring, 1997)

#### 2.3 Political Marketing Guidelines

During the elections of 2010 in United Stated, Newman has mentioned 10 political marketing guidelines, which are as follow: (Johansson, 2010)

- 1- Understand what voters are looking for
- 2- Marketing is all about making an emotional connection with people
- 3- We live in an age of manufactured images
- 4- Use one central vision to connect the candidate's issues and personality
- 5- Talk about voters' concerns
- 6- Voters constantly want change
- 7- Market yourself to the media
- 8- Avoid verbal gaffes at all costs
- 9- Get support from party elites
- 10- Perform well in debates

Regarding these 10 important points, Newman made a detailed analysis for the candidate. For example, in the first point honesty is an important element that candidate should have. At the second point the candidate should have a strong personality and to be likeable for the voters. The other one is that the candidate should create a right image for the voters. To have good results during the polls, candidate should lead the people by showing compassion to the work, to be trustful to them etc. At the other point, the candidate should have good communication skills and to show to their people a clear vision that he/she has. For example, Obama used the vision 'Yes we can!' Although in the 5'Th guideline the voters' issues should the first concern for the candidate. Meanwhile, in the next point still voters are suspicious to the candidates because they remember the unfulfilled promises previous years. The 7th guideline shows how they should expose themselves so the voters can notice them. They should part of talk shows, to do interviews and to show confidences in their goal for the future. In the guideline 9 it is also

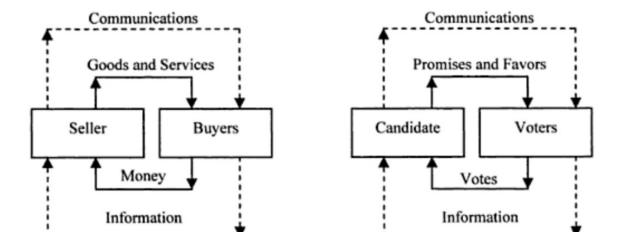
important for the candidate to have the support of the party elite. For the candidate this will bring advantages. Although, the 10<sup>th</sup> point shows the importance that the performing debate has for the candidate. So this last challenge will help them to get the final goal. (Johansson, 2010)

# 2.4 Implications for Political Marketing

Political marketing has been identified in two different ways: the first one which is more specific is about analyzing the marketing activities in politics and the other one which is wider is to have knowledge about politics. Therefore, both of the points are important to have a successful end. According to the discussion of the ontology and epistemology, there are found four important concepts: exchange character of political marketing, a selected market environment, the social focus of political system in other system and the last one is the relation of political marketing and politics, by basing to the ethics. Political actors are not in the same page to see in the right point of marketing applications for their political exchange situation. Some candidates or parties have implemented the 'follower'- mentality, by using the political marketing management. (Henneberg, 2004)

Figure 2- Business Marketing vs. Political Marketing

A. Business Marketing



B. Political Marketing

## 2.5 The Triadic Interaction Model of Political Exchange

In this section, it is going to be analyzed the role of political marketing exchange theory and its influence upon different actors. The concept of marketing exists to political world as a political marketing and in order for it to be understood better, there needs to be known the political marketing exchange theory. As the word itself "exchange" means an interaction between two or more actors influencing mutual interests, in politics it is seen in three different forms: voter and candidate where the candidate gives the candidate the right to represent them in the parliament, the interaction between the representatives elected, which includes negotiations, and lastly the government enables to the voter of what was offered initially.

It is said that political campaigns' exchanges are closer as they are usually thought, with the concept of commercial exchanges. The core difference is the issue, which in this case, political area. These exchanges are directly linked to political campaigns, such as candidates fulfilling the promises of a proper governing after gaining the vote of the public.

The current issue over marketing research is said to be characterized, as we mentioned in the beginning, by three important interactions in political world.

Electoral Interaction is mainly seen as the focus since what happens during the elections period, bears the greatest consequences in a long term period. It depends on how successfully the campaign is organized, which is expected to result on gathering the majority of votes and later on, based on this votes, the candidates will be granted a place in the parliament or government ( these are the two other components of exchange happening in political exchange marketing). Whereas, the Parliamentary interactions, is seen as an inside issue, dealing mostly with decisions and legal frameworks concerning the public's interest, it is followed by Governmental Interactions. Here, it exist an interaction between the Government and the citizens. In this case, the government's duty is to enable to the voter his offers and keeping his promises as they were during the campaigns. Voters have a fundamental role in all these interactions, especially to the government, since he has the power to react to government ruling, through their feedbacks, which come in the form of a vote.

Thus, in order for political marketing to be accepted as a broader concept in marketing, there needs to be understood of how this area works, who are its components and what can be the consequences.

#### 2.6 Weaknesses and Criticism about Political Marketing

It is not really important to analyze how the press has influenced the method of marketing, but the issue needs to be focused more toward the analyzing of how the techniques used in marketing influence voter, the public and how they are engaged in such issues. The role of marketing in politics is to find a rational explanation for the behavior of the voter and party. It shows explanation of such behavior through means of marketing and the tools used for strategic analysis. There can be seen usual techniques which are used for promotional purposes and ways it is transmitted. He arranges this in a logical and clear order within the concept of marketing. It leads to the creation of political changes and how they try to adapt to the modern campaigns, which are directly linked with the development of the media.

According to the studies political marketing has 4 weakness points.

- 1- *Difficulties of Definition*: Virtually all the political marketing researchers would accept that there is no any clear definition of political marketing. There is a fact that parties do not approach their potential customers with an open slate. It is clear that political marketing is matching between what voter wants with internal wants and goals of party.
  - However, there is a difference between the notion of market as general and as political marketing. As Sackman states that marketing is built upon a paradox: it starts with the satisfaction of the producer's own interests. But this case is not found in the political marketing. At political marketing, according to Henneberg, political marketing is a positive thing for the society because the voters and the parties create a long term relationship.
- 2- Inadequate Explanations of Electoral Success: A marketing perspective sees which of the party or candidate will be willing to win. It is very useful in analyzing the campaigns in different aspects of marketing such as product development, positioning, market segmentation, targeting and promotion. Even though this cannot be said 100% because it

- is a kind of impossible to get in a final conclusion. But let's mention the fact that political marketing has its focus not only in long term for campaign and but also in short term.
- 3- *Difficulties of Testing Marketing Models*: This point is another weakness in political marketing studies. They try to analyze the psychology of the consumer to see their voting behavior. Even though Newman has tried to analyze the candidate campaigns, there has been no post-election test model for political science models of voting behavior.
- 4- Ambiguity of Evidence of Deliberate Marketing: The starting point of being used of political marketing from parties can be considered as documentary and interviews sources and it comes to now with survey campaigners and content analyses of trade literature. Investigations overwhelmingly point out the application of business methods and technologies in political management. However, surveys in the recent years have shown that there is a little direct evidence of engagement with marketing theory and less knowledge of marketing concept. (Scammell, 1999)

## 2.7 Political Marketing Process Models

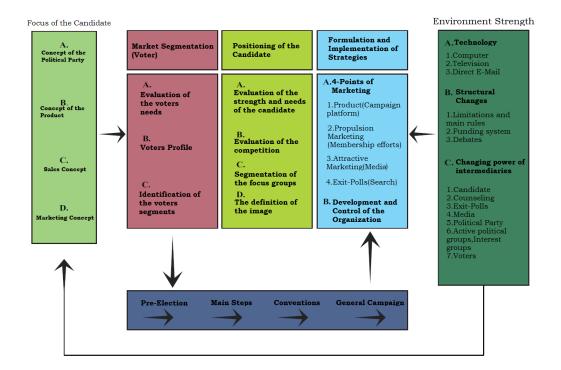
Before, people did not pay much attention to the political marketing, but regarding to the last decade it has been seen a development in this field. This phenomenon has given it focused more on practical aspects than in theoretical aspect according the articles that are written.

According to the Butler and Collins (1994) the political marketing includes the structural and process characteristics of it. The techniques and approaches which control the marketing activity are mention as a process characteristic but the products, the organization and the market are included at the structural characteristics. By mention product it means the person and party, loyalty to the party. The market to be fulfilled needs social confirmation. Meanwhile the organization has preoccupation about negative perceptions of marketing. According to the process characteristics it involves the advertising, news and media attention and political polls and votes. Butler and Collins are against of analyzing the political science and marketing as one. They say that marketing has his focus on campaign strategy and the political part is involved more on institutional relationship and public policy.

Newman (1994) creates a relation between marketing and political part of a campaign. The marketing campaign part is the most important one for this model. It includes three steps: the voter segmentation, the candidate positioning and strategy formulation and implementation.

By dividing the voters into groups it can be easier for the candidate where to target his message. Another important key is that candidate positioning process, so he can see his strength and weakness so to manage the position to their voters. The political product is the part of campaign which is based how the candidates lead his campaign to get the attention of the voters. Push marketing involves how campaign workers try to transmit the message of their candidates to the voters and also a group of volunteers try to be involved in campaign. Pull marketing it is about the promotion and the involvement of mass media. Through mass media the candidates can give their message to the people and 'drag' them to vote (Sharpe, 2012).

Figure 3- Political Marketing- Newman Model



Maarek (1995) says that the political marketing is the formulation of candidate's strategy by creating the line of the campaign. By collecting the public opinion, analyzing them in the end the candidate will get the campaign target and objectives. Media is very important in this part because it may contribute in the development of the campaign.

Wring (1997) give his focus on the relation of the candidate and the voter. His model is based on the 4 P's of marketing. The market includes supporters and opponents and the product includes the image of the party and the leader.

Harris and Lewis (2002) have based the model on Baines (1999). To unify the message of political parties first of all it must be a good relation between local campaign activity and with the project of the national party. It is also required to collect data to the voters to see their opinion and what they want for the future of the country so the candidate can be focus more in the problematic issues that the people see. (Tsianti & Rees, 2008)

Table 1- Comparative Political Marketing Models

Aspects of the political marketing process	Baines et al (1998)	Maarek (1995)	Newman (1994)	Wring (1997)
Campaign focus	No	No	Yes	No
Environmental focus	No	No	Yes	Yes
Fund-raising strategy	No	No	No	No
Competitive analysis	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Segmentation of voting districts	Yes	No	No	No
Segmentation of voters	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Co-ordinated campaigning	Yes	No	No	No
Candidate/party positioning	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Supporting industry infrastructure	No	No	Yes	No
Race differences	No	No	Yes	No
Post-election analysis	Yes	No	No	No

# Source 1- Baines, Newman and Harris (1998)

Those which are part of political marketing models are considered to be special marketing model mostly for the purpose of the campaigning. It must be considered that political marketing is not seen only in some parts of theoretical but it still continue to be developed furthermore.

According to the researches is said that this theoretical part will continue to be in progress, will face the need of the evolution of political societies.

# **Chapter3- Political Marketing in Albania**

#### 3.1 Political Marketing in Albania

According to Albanian History, after 1944 (Communism Reign), there did not exist any political marketing since it was not seen as a needed strategy for the actual regime. This was due to the absence of the independent political subjects that could have been considered as competitor on during elections, since Partia e Punes se Shqiperise (Albanian Labor Party) was considered as the only political power in Albania; this kind of regime continued until the beginning of 1990s.

After 1990s, political pluralism started to arise all over Albanian territory, and therefore political subjectivism started to feel the need to inform the public about the state of political environment during that period, which was getting more and more competitive through the usage of the means of media.

For the Albanian political system, political marketing is still new to its concept, since it has been only lately that parties are using its techniques in campaigns. Along with it, the information and political participation has become easier to be transmitted and it is starting to feel the need for further studies on the function of offering the best products for the voters.

On the focus of attention which might as well be considered as cliché, is the fact that the most used technique is the "promises", which are mostly transmitted through media. It was not long time ago that the political subjects did not have clearer programs or written documents, of which there could have been done any comparison and therefore, later to have better conclusions over the ruling parties. (Fuga, Historia e medias dhe Mediatizimi i Historis, 2012)

The latest change in the way that elections are organized, including media or other ways of promotions, has created a gap on the relations between the parties and elections.

During the 2001 election campaign in Albania, were the first elections that implemented political marketing and so on this continued even the next elections. In 2005 parties started to get connection with some well-known companies about marketing, so this companies will be responsible about the marketing part during elections.

According to Endri Fuga lecture at Epoka University he mentions that political marketing is an important key for the campaign to continue in a proper way. Political marketing are divided in three parts which are: Personalities, Issues, Tribal.

1-Personalities: People vote to the candidate who is more familiar to them and has a good personality according to them. People identify the personality of the candidate through his/her attitude, communication and values that have. So this is very personality of the candidate it is important element which may convince the voter for their decision to vote him/her.

- 2- Issues: Many of the citizens try to talk about their issues through media even through protests. So in this away candidates knows about the actual problem that are concerning to the people and they show a specific concern about this issues to help them. By this point the candidate can take some points from the voters.
- 3- Tribal: Voting as a tribe it is applied during Albanian elections. Most of the voters have the tendency to vote the party of which their family or close friends vote. So the voters still continue to vote the party even though during the years the candidate continues to change. (Fuga E., 2015)

Electoral campaigns showed a 'hard' competition with political subject, and this brought to the voters suspicious. In this process 64 political parties participated, which were separated in two coalition, one was the Left with 34 parties (ASHE- Aleanca per Shqiperine Europiane) and the Right with 25 parties (APMI-Aleanca per Punsim, Mirgenie dhe Integrim).

Although in this process were also participated some independent parties such as; Aleanca Kuq e Zi and Fryma e Re Demokratike (Black & Red Aleanc and New Democratic Spirit). During the voting process were register 3'271'885 Albanian citizen but only 1'744'261 voted in the voting day so this mean around 53.21% were participated. (Guide, 2013)

Socialist Movement for Integration singed a contract with 'Greenberg Quilar and Rosner Guiner and Research' company, with an amount around 599,3000 Lek. Socialist Movement for Integration even in the next campaigns of 2013, signed contract with the foreign companies for the management part. (Rosner, 2015)

During the elections of 2013, Social Parties has a contract with 'Alstair Campbell' Company, meanwhile they did not took in consideration the advice from Crespi Brothers, Italian company which were in the previous election of 2009. Democratic Party in 2013 elections, contracted with Tony Podesta companies, 'Podesta and Patton Boggs'. (Lita, 2013)

Furthermore, reports of Central Election Commission shows the budget and the expenses that Political Parties had offer to the foreign companies regarding to the election campaign of 2013. Regarding to this budged they have Social Party contracted the 'Kondiment Group Gmb' company with an amount 7,874,685.00 LEK, according to the contract the expense of this Party was 80,000 Euro. In 2009 when Social Party (PS) had a contract with the American Company 'Arthur J. Finkelsteing Assocites Inc. S.A their expenses were 83.000 \$. (Auditing, 2014)

Democratic Party (PD) which lost the election of 23 June of 2013, according to the reports they have spent less in 2013 than in 2009. Democratic Party had a contract with 'Q4 Public Relations and Penn, Schoen and Berland Associates' with an amount of 44,882,548 LEK and for advertisement they spent 28.595.160 Lek. In 2013 Democratic Party regarding to the official reports of KQZ they had a contract with 'Myrpfy and Vogel and Mellman Group' which the Party spent 14.156.963 Lek and for publicity 7.069.530Lek. (Fjerza, 2014)

Everything must be organized and election campaign should have a strategic plane to get finalized their objective, which is getting enough vote to win the campaign. It is important for the candidate to transmit a right and clear message to their people. This can be done through television, billboard, radio etc. So the message that the candidate wants to say it must be transmitted though advertisement in a proper way to skip the misunderstanding from the people.

#### 3.2 The Function of Political Marketing

#### 3.2.1 Functional Perspective

These 8 functions show how marketing requirement uses them to make this Political Function more successful. Some appreciate marketing as a positive phenomenon but some have many critics about it. In the functions that will be mention above will be discussed the exchange of political parties and the electorate in the 'electoral market'. (Henneberg S. C., 2003)

1. *Product Function*: In order for an exchange to happen there must be two main actors acting in the market: supply and demand. In the political case, the supply is what the party or the candidate is willing to offer to the public. In this situation the product's concept is linked to the image of the candidate. Thus, the voter analyzes the characteristics of the candidate and then he decided whether he is worthy for the vote. On

contrary, (Butler & Collins, 1999), argue the complex nature of the political product. According to them, this product is composed of two components: the political party or the candidate and its fundamental ideology. Both of these components, including also other elements, are interconnected and can be offered separately. (Less-Marshment, 2003), stresses the idea of oriented behavior of management toward the product, of course, including the other elements inside a party. On the other hand, (Brennan, 2003) has shown more interest about the connection between the voter and the party and includes another element as loyalty toward a party. This element tends to change according to the interest and experience of the voter. On contrary, (Palmer, 2002) argues the ideology, by saying that the political supply does not express any significant meaning for the voter; it might just as well be considered a something more symbolic. Accordingly to these statements, about the topic of the main political product can be considered as a promise mechanism. Here are included various characteristics such as the character of the candidate, party's mission and vision and other behaviors driven by the nature of different people. Parties should pay attention to these elements in order to manage the situation and bring it to their favor. It may come as a full package of electoral promises, which later on, might as well fulfill them or change the situation.

2. Distribution function: This function is closely linked to the conditions and the availability of the exchange supply with the interested party, in this case, the political product offered to the voter. It can be seen from two perspectives: transmission of the election and transmission of the political supply. The distribution of the campaign ensures to the candidate the feedback for all the elements that he's offering and information regarding his position in this campaign. There are included his positioning thorough different means of media, such as news, election ads, party's conferences, debates in different TV channels etc. In this way he makes sure that his message is being distributed in the correct form and it is following his ideology. According to Palmer, when it is mentioned the political offer, there is being referred to the political promise. This function serves right when the political party, or the candidate himself, has legal rights to fulfill his promises and owns the exact instruments in order to act later. The offer is significantly dependent on the way that the candidate manages its advertisement, on the ways that he uses to promote it.

- 3. Cost function: Cost function remains still one of the most difficult elements to have a formula or a theory about. In economics, the client pays the value of cost in order to justify the product and approve the value of the offer. Accordingly to Wring, perceives the price mostly as a psychological issue. Therefore, it is offered to the voters the "price of hope" which is linked and gets to hit on the nationality feeling, economical status, psychology and moreover insecurity. The way that it can be managed and how the feedback is received, still remains unknown in the marketing literature. Hennenberg, describes the cost function in the field of political marketing, as the management of the actual barriers toward the behavior of the public. Adjusting the price is considered as part of the cost. This might be considered profitable later, since it may secure the vote or the belief of the voter later on the Election Day. Thus, there must be less cost while distributing the message among the public, in order to win their support later.
- 4. *Communication function:* Communication is seen as the fundamental element of the political marketing. He plays an important role on the transmission of the objectives of the candidate. Hennenberg agrees upon this theory, but on the other hand, he argues that this might limit the boundaries of the political marketing from other authors (Henneberg S. C., 2004). Mostly, communication function deals with messages transmitted in the shortest and clearest way possible as publicities, short speeches with the public etc. Communication function interacts with the distributing function.
- 5. *News-management function*: In this function, communication is important, but is not in the focus of the objective. The importance is dragged toward the intermediation, the one who delivers the message. In this case is media. Wring addresses to this communication channel as "free media", which is linked to the management of the publicity and not always managed by the party itself. Harris describes this kind of activity as "spin", which focuses on the relationship with the general public. The ones, who distribute the news, are mostly journalists or other opinionates and they use distribution channels such as media. Another case might be the fact that this situation can be mostly impacted rather than managed.
- 6. *Fundraising function*: In the trade dimension, the fundraising means something that involves elements such as price and cost. The party and his candidate are dependent

somehow on the number of memberships, financial aids, free services etc. In USA, these kinds of activities are considered as fundamental for the political marketing.

- 7. Parallel- Campaign management function: This function deals with the demand of a certain organization toward the activities that the party manages and this relationship is seen as something that continues in a parallel form. The support that they get from other organizations is seen as very beneficial from the managerial staff inside the party, since it can increase the chances that the voters will trust their ideology and promises.
- 8. *Internal-cohesion management function*: Besides the management of the outward elements, it must be also well managed the internal cohesion structure of the party. This kind of function is closely linked to the relationships that the staff has with each other, that the party has with other activists, how support do they have from other agencies etc. According to Hennenberg, this function plays a critique role in the assurance of the internal stability of the party. This comes as a matter of fact, since the party needs to have a good administration and therefore build a good image in the outer orientation. (Henneberg S. C., 2003)

As it is mention before Political Marketing in Albania was not used before. The election in communism period and in the beginning of the democracy did not use a strategic plan for political marketing during elections. But with the development of media and technology people were more informed and they saw that marketing had an important element in every field not only for elections.

Although candidates from the two main parties which were Democratic Party (PD) and Socialist Party (PS) signed contracts with some well-known international companies, to do the strategic plane for political marketing of the elections 2009 and 2013.

Many studies are done for this field, many of the theories and analyses are implemented from the managers or from companies which work in this area. All the functions that are mention previous are taken in consideration when political marketing for elections were done. Every element is implemented when it is done the strategic plane.

By having a plane for the campaign, it is more easy for the candidate and the Party to proceed, because they know where to focus and which road they have to take to achieve their goals to win the campaign.

#### 3.3 The Influence of Youth in Politics

In the last elections youth generation has been very active in participations of election campaigns. Albania according to Eurostat it is mention as the place were young people are with a high percentage. It is seen that most of the young people beside their participation in election are seen although as a higher amount of the voters. (Eurostat, 2013)

According to the studies and researches the results has shown that 24-25% of the voters are loyal to their parties, even though the candidate are not same during the years they still vote their Party. (Krasniqi, 2012) One of the reasons why young generation are more active in participation of campaigns, is because they access with social media is higher than other ages. They are more in contact with the technology and try to spread their information and their opinion with their friends and although with other people. Youthful electorate segment is 27.5% of all political market.

Youth were the main target group for political parties, because they see through them power, energy, education and how they can effect to the society. Young generation is more open to the new thing and they want to change their place so it can be a better one. Through the technology and education they are every day updated with what is going on around them and around the world, from this they know what is the better for their place. They see the candidates and parties with a skeptic and analytic way so in the end they want to have a clear idea for whom to vote for.

In Albania are many organization, foundations, associations, activist groups for youth which their focus is to support the young generation decisions. This are:

- Albanian Student Network in World
- Albanian Youth Council
- Albanian Youth Parliament
- Plus Action

- Gender Alliance for Development
- Albanian Centers on the Rights of Children
- Albanian Association of Undated Nations

Although there are some national organization and donators that are operating in Albania, which want to support the development of the youth rights. These organizations are:

- European Council, Directorate of Youth and Sport
- International Organization of Francophone
- CEI (Central European Initiative)

In Albania there are also Youth Parties Forums like FRESSH; LRI; FRPD and Youth of the New Democratic Spirit Forum (Forumi Rinor I Frymes se Re Demoktratike) (Shqiperi, 2003)

FRPD- Forumi Rinor Demokratik (Democratic Youth Forum) was established in 1991 and their members were a group of students. For the creation of this organization they had so many difficulties because there was a debate if Democratic Party had to have a youth organization. This organization was approved because the Party needed a support from a young organization and although this was an advice from some foreign experts form European Democratic Union. The members of this organization must be those people which are although member of PD, and the age to give independent decisions was from 17-28 years old. Here are some Leaders of the organization of FRPD:

- Ridvan Peshkepia(1991-1992)
- Arben Lika(1992-1993)
- Afrim Krasniqi(1998-2000)
- Gent Strazimiri(2000-2001)
- Sokol Olldashi(2002-2009)

After this year it hasn't been any other Leaders for FRPD organizations. The role of this organization was very important during election period.

Forumi Rinor I Frymes se Re Democratike(Youth of the New Democratic Spirit Forum): In this organization joint those young people who were disappointed with the other Party, those who have been part of FRPD and also those who was their first time in Political Organizations. This was established in 30 April 2012 with the Leader Gazment Oketen. Later the leader of FRD was ex-President Bamir Topi. (Fryma e Re Demokratike, 2015)

FRESSH: was established in 1992 from a group of young ones, with a goal to be one of the biggest organizations. FRESSH was approaching the Albanian mentality and the European concept of democracy. This organization was a member with the full right in IUSY (International Union of Socialist Youth) and in ECOSY (European Social-democrat and Organization Social Youth). FRESSH has the structure of Socialist Party in Albania. (Shqiperi S. p., 2008) The leaders were:

- Ilir Zela(1991-1992)
- Pandeli Majko(1992-1996)
- Ilir Meta(1996-2000)
- Monika Kryemadhi(2001-2002)
- Gjergji Koja(2002-2005)
- Megi Ajtyresa(2006-2012)
- Elisa Spiropali(2012-..)

LRI: this was created in 2004, which was the new origination with LSI (Levizja Socialiste per Integrim) partnership. Leader of this was Endrit Braimllari from 2013. It is a voluntary union of youth on the base of ideas, conceptions, and common political interest to give their contribution to make their country a better place. (LRI, 2012)

## Chapter4- The effect of media in political election: Comparative case of 2009-

## 2013 general elections in Albania

Both Parties has used 4P's of Marketing during the campaign which is one of the most important theories for the Marketing field.

- Product: The product is how the candidate presents his self and his party to the voters. The candidate shows his promises to the voters through political marketing, advertisements and with the public activities which are related with the candidates. After the candidate offers his 'product' many of the voters create an idea about him and his/her parties and then they decide who to vote. Both Parties has shown their promises to make Albania e better place, through their promises and goals the voters create an idea.
- Promotion: Advertising is seen as a bridge that connects voters with the candidate. The promotional mix is separated in two groups which are as 'paid' media and the 'free' one.

Paid media includes all way that are used for advertisement, which are poster, broadcast, telephone or marketing mail. Although a kind of mix communication are designs, slogan and party colors.

Free media covers the advertisement that parties do not buy. So they do not have control on to promote their product through media. Parties sometimes try to get the attention of the media through their organization that they do for their people.

But Social and Democratic Party has used paid media. Their focus in marketing part was very important because they wanted to attract the voters' attention in every moment.

• Placement: Strategic marketing tries to show a message with the volunteer job that are selected to show a right image for the candidate. This includes the activist that tries to give brochure, register the voters and meanwhile try to collect funds for the candidate program. Therefore, the goal for the candidate is to select more votes, so to do this he/she must be in many places during elections to convince the voters.

Price: This part refers to the total cost that the candidate will put during his job. There are

included the economic costs such as: taxes or reducing the budget. Even though it is

made a comparison between economic and politic field, the last point is not clear enough

regarding in between the choice of consumer and the choice for politic. For ex: Social

Party promoted Progressive tax and Democratic Party promoted 10% tax of the product.

4.1 Election Campaign of Democratic Party and Socialist Party 2009

Democratic Party and Socialist Party are the two main Parties in Albania, which have been rival

for a long time. PD has been in power for a long time but PS never gives up winning the

elections. In this chapter it will see a comparison between this two Parties and what Political

Marketing did they use to get the final decision of the voters.

**4.1.1 Parliamentary Elections of 2009** 

It is seen a progress in Election Campaign in Albania, when everything is well-organized. There

are webpages from the institutions which shows the reports about the election (how they will

proceed or not), media is transparent with the news and it is protected by low etc.

elections of 2009 is: (OSCE, Parliamentary Elections 2009, 2009)

Mission at glance

Head of Mission: Ambassador Audrey Glover (UK)

Core team of 14experts based in Tirana

26 long-term observers deployed throughout the country

400 short-term observes requested from OSCE participating States

Mission Schedule

8 May: Mission Opens

16-17 May: Deployment of long-term observers

25 June: Briefing of short-term observers

26 June: Deployment of short-term observers

45

o 28 June: Election Day

o 29 June: Press conference of preliminary finding and conclusions

#### 4.1.1. Democratic Party

According to the Independent Auditor (Lavdimir Fusha, 2009), the financial statement of the party is divided into several categories whereas: funds from the state's budget and funds or gifts from supporters and memberships. Official Banks where the funds could go or withdraw of money could be done were two: BKT and Credins Bank. The transactions were all done through the official currency in Albania which is ALL. If the money were deposited in foreign currency (Euro, USD), they were converted in ALL with the official exchange rate at that time.

Therefore financial statements for the income and expenses during the 2009 elections were divided into two groups: The ones performed by the Central Office of PDSH and the ones performed by other Offices in localities.

The results obtained by the financial statements were as follow:

- a) Total Income: Total income consist firstly of its own resources which had the value of 50.255.554 ALL. On the other hand, Public Funds counted 16.573.342 ALL.
  - a.1) Sponsorship: Sponsorship contained mostly physical persons rather than juridical ones. The central office gathered 26.760.000 ALL and on the other hand the funds coming from localities were 53.095.180 ALL.
- b) Total Expenses: Total expenses that were done from the Central Office were 102.939.889 ALL, whereas on other offices counted 53.855.678 ALL.
  - b.1) Media Expenses: Taking in consideration the total expenses done from this Party, the value reached 28.595.160 ALL, which is a considerable amount going only for promotion purposes. PD launched a song titled "Shqiperia po ndryshon" (Albania is changing), where a lot of famous singers were part of it. This song was put on replay in every office around the cities to promote the value of the Party and be in publics' mind.
  - b.2) Other Expenses: A large importance during the campaigns has gained the Concerts where famous Albanian singers were invited. Solely for this purpose, it was spent around

1.800.000 ALL and around localities it was spent 3.241.860. Other means of advertisements were Billboards, T-shirts, Flags, SMS, Rents, Open forums etc.

Collaborations with foreign companies as organizers for the campaign were chosen Penn, Schoen and Berlannd Associates (PSB), a well-known consulting company in such political events. This company uses a strategy known as "Winning Knowledge" (Penn Schoen Berland, 2015), and it is part of the famous WPP Group, which are considered as leaders in marketing area, advertising and branding. This company has worked in the role of a consulting strategy company for the former Persident Bill Clinton, former Mayor of New York Michael Bloomberg and also for the former Prime Minister of Britain Tony Blair.

The Party's Slogan 2009 was "Albania is changing", same as the song that was launched during the campaign. They wanted to transmit that with this that Albania is changing through Democratic Party. The red part of the slogan has the design of the flag and red color is the traditional color and the blue part means the power.

Figure 4- PD Slogan (2009)



During the opening of the campaign it was given a large importance to the coming projects regarding the road constructions, building highways, improving transportation and the opening of 160 thousand job places. Of course, on focus was the road to European Union, which Albania was striving to get its consideration as a candidate country. (PMB, 2009)

On the other hand, it was stressed the role of the women in Albanian society and the laws that would protect and improve their lives in the coming years. (Gazeta55, 2009) Some of the precautions that would be taken toward Albanian woman would be: organizing awareness campaigns against types of cancer being present in women, offering protection, help and punishing violence inside the family, legislation against human trafficking (especially to women and young girls) and moreover their emancipation inside the society.

### 4.1.1.b Socialist Party

Officially the campaigns for the Election Day were announced to start on 28<sup>th</sup> of May until 28<sup>th</sup> of June (2009). Social Party has extended its expenses during the month of May-July 2009, and also after this declaration period, due to the delay on some supplier's payments.

Accordingly to Audit report (Mihail Ziu, 2009), the following results were obtained from financial statements:

- a) Total Income: Total Income that Socialist Party had in its disposal were around 93.607.440 ALL. Most of its income were provided by the party itself, counting 73.059.100 ALL. On the other side, it obtained from the state budget 13.693.204 ALL. There is also a value of 6.855.136 ALL given by sponsors. The sponsors had the right to do transactions in two banks: BKT and Credins Bank. According to Law there is a limit amount of expenses that shall not exceed 1.000.000 ALL, which was not respected by sponsors.
  - a.1) Sponsorship: As any other campaign, Socialist Party has collaborated with foreign and domestic companies to maintain a successful outcome after the Election Day. Among the 17 Donators were "Condor" Shpk, Tirane with a value of 5.000 Euro, "Arela " Shpk ,Tirane also with 5.000 Euro, Shoqata e Investitoreve Italiane ne Shqiperi with 1.967 Euro and other juridical or physical persons.
- b) Total Expenses: Total Expenses were 101.746.870 ALL, which is in full compliance to the Law of Albanian Constitution. Expenses covered mostly the activities organized for promotion purposes and media publicity. They amount 67.056.776 ALL, which is around 66% of the total fund of the campaigns.

- Media Expenses: There are 65.242.261 ALL are spent only for advertisement through Television and 1.814.515 ALL for radio. The larger amount of money went toward the Top Channel as a Television, 28.004.130 ALL and regarding the radio, the higher amount was paid to Top Albania Radio with 750.115 ALL. Considerable amount of money went also toward music, such as there were singers invited during campaigns presentations, there were CDs produced and these counted 660.000 ALL. During this time this Party launched a song called "Cohu" (Get Up), on collaboration between the "West Side family" group and the leader of the Party Edi Rama. Mr. Rama had prior collaboration with this group in 2003 which brought success for the party.
- Other expenses were done toward Billboards, Flags, Petroleum, Communication,
  Consulting etc. Totally counted 11.874.751 ALL, whereas only by Road Labels
  were spent 11.142.751 ALL, as the largest amount among the mentioned
  activities. In this group there are some specific expenses done directly to the
  campaign such as rents, T-shirts, service, opening and closing of the campaign,
  which in total were 8.760.591 ALL.

Regarding the collaborations with foreign companies which would help with the organization of the campaign, PS chose "Kidron Strategies" company, which is led by an American-Israelite, George Birnbaum. This company business is to deal directly with the management and organization of different campaigns and other political activities. George Birnbaum was the CEO of "Worldwide" company, which was well known in both USA and Israel. He was the organizer of the campaign of the America's former Presidents: Richard Nixon, Ronald Reagan, and the former Prime Minister of Israel Benjamin Netanyahu. (Sulçe, 2009)

In 2009 the Slogan of PS was "Bashkë për të ardhmen" (Together for the future). Social Party wanted to transmit that together they will make the changes for a better future for their country. So the candidate needs also the support of the people to do these changes.

Figure 5- PS Slogan (2009)



On the opening of the Campaign from the Socialist Party, his leader Edi Rama chose "Qyteti Studenti", as the organizing place. (Top Channel , 2009) He chose to start from the youth, in the place where two previous decades the big revolution against communism regime started. During this event Mr. Rama promised an Albanian more likely to the EU countries, with higher standards and larger development.

#### 4.1.2 Summary of the Campaign (2009)

During the campaigns different deputies according to localities, promised and introduced the philosophy of the party to the public. They explained how they differ from their opponent, by declaring reforms toward education, thus it being the priority of the PS, along with the employment and especially among the youth. (Boja, 2009)

As we can see from Audit results of both parties (PD and PS), there may be noticed some changes in calculation style, due to the different Auditors that they had decided to choose.

Although, going through these results it does not mean that their value is accurate enough to be trusted, since Albania is known for its Political Crisis during this period and which is still uncertain nowadays. This statement was supported by important media in Albania such as Top Channel (Top Channel, 2009), Vizion Plus (Vizion Plus, 2009) after the Election Day.

The Democratic Party used a really strong philosophy, which was considered as an advantage for them, since they were already on power for 4 years and had several improvements during this period. Therefore, the voters were not supposed to give their vote to the other party, if they already saw progress with the present one (PD).

Media has played a significant role during the elections period. According to ODIHR (ODIHR, 2009), only two of the 5 media operators have respected the decision of offering the same time length for each party, during the electoral publicity in their television. According to statistics TVSH (Televizioni Shqiptar), has given on disposal to PD 57%, while to PS 27%. Top Channel has given only 37% to PD and 34% to PS. The interesting fact here is that, according to the study, Top Channel had given more positive vibes to PS in comparison to PD. News 24, has given almost an equal time for both, 40% to PD and 41% to PS. Vizion Plus gave to PD 46% and PS only 32%. TV Klan resulted on giving 58% to PD and just 25% to PS. Since media is said to have a large impact on campaigns during elections time, there was seen some favors done from the televisions toward the Parties. As we saw above with Top Channel, there are also other facts such as News 24, had dedicated 64% of its time giving positive vibes to PS and on the other hand 39% were reflected as negative toward PD. None of the operators respected the decision of transmitting other small parties that were part on 2009 elections.

We can see from the slogans that the meaning is something regarding the future. PD's slogan is understood as something continuous, meaning that PD made changes during its governance and that these changes will continue to happen. On the other hand, PS tried to give a message regarding also the future, but this future to be hold together the public's participation.

PD was more focused toward advertisement through the distribution of t-shirts and hand bands with the party's logo, music and the involvement of the youth in its forums. The other party, PS chose a more direct way to promote itself, by being more in touch with the public, by firstly visiting citizens and listen to their suggestions and promising better governance.

Regarding the launching of the songs from both Parties, shows a way from the Party to come closer to the public, using music as a way to give a message for the elections and entering directly to the psychology of the voters, especially the youth.

Albania was used on seeing the Candidates having a formal dress code during the campaigns, but as the time changed, also the strategy of the leaders changed. They started being more practical

during their presentations, in order to be more familiar to the public and be seen as someone who

cares about the public's interest rather than their interest. (Tocila, 2009)

On June 28, 2009 the winner of the Election Day was announced to be Democratic Party, with

his leader Sali Berisha and for the first time he would share its power with LSI, the party that PD

(Panorama, 2009) The publication of the results was directly done was in coalition.

electronically from the official site of KQZ, which would publish every result that came from

localities live. (OSCE, 2009)

4.2 Election Campaign of PD and PS 2013

Even though the official election campaign data were in 24 May of 2013 many of the candidates

started before in an indirect way this campaign. They try to be very careful with their image to

the public by doing some changes for a better lifestyle for the voters. During the month of

election campaign the agenda of the candidates will be very busy. Election Campaign of 2013 is

seen as one of the campaign that are invested more, comparing with the previous ones.

Although candidates are trying to get attention of the voters by communicating with them

through social media by posting everything that they are doing for the people and the progress of

their work. (Muka, Fushata Eletorale nen ndikimin e teknologjive & mediave te reja, 2013)

In this election the Parties has based their Political Marketing with the 'copy' style. Something

new that is seen in this campaign is they have used 'town halls' that means that candidates

communicate with a group of citizens.

For the election of 2013: (OSCE, Parliamentary Election, 2013)

Mission at a glance

Head of Mission: Conny B. McCormack (United States)

15 core team experts from 14 participating States based in Tirana

30 long-term observed, deployed throughout the regions

Mission schedule

52

o 15 May: Opening press conference

o 21 May: Deployment of long-term observed

o 19 June: Arrival of short-term observers

o 20 June: Briefing of short-term observers

o 21 June: Deployment of short-term observers

o 23 June: Election Day

o 24 June: Press conference on preliminary findings and conclusions

o 27 June: Departure of short-term observes

o 5 July: Departure of long term observers

o 9 July: Departure of the core team

Table 2-Summary of 2013 Albanian Election

Albanian Election 2013 - Summary	
Type of Elections	Parliamentary
Election Date	23 June 2013
Start of Election Campaign	24 May 2013
End of Election Campaign	21 June 2013
Electoral Districts	12
Parliamentary Seats	140
Candidates	7,127
Eligible Voters	3,271,885
Certified Political Entities	68
Political parties	66
> Independent	2
Candidates	
Coalitions	2
Election Administration:	
Commissions of	
Electoral	89
Administration Zones	
➤ Ballot Counting	12211
Centers	89
Voting Center Commissions	5 500
Commissions	5,508

#### **4.2.1 Socialist Party**

For the election campaign Edi Rama had hired Tony Bler for political marketing to have the right strategy for the winning. Meanwhile Albanian agencies have been worked with the advertisement of the Party. (Mendick & Likmeta, 2013). They won this election because of a strict strategy that they used, having clear ideas and their target voters were young generation with a desire for better change for their country.

*Slogan:* In the election of 2013 slogan of this Party was something different which was an Eagle with a word Rlindja (Renaissance) and with small letters it is written the year of change, this means that Albania will Renaissance in 2013 by Social Party. Because they will do positive changes and the country will Renaissance. (Progni, 2015)

Also flags and billboards are seen in the road and the brochures are spread in citizens houses. The young people which are part of volunteer job in campaign wear T-shirts with the logo of the party and had their plastic bracelet with the word Renaissance.

Figure 6- PS Slogan in 2013



*Media:* Socialist Party in their political advertisement their focus was on what are they going to change for the good of this country and also some other ad was about the accomplished Promises that the other Party had done before. According to the marketing specialist the advertisement can be transmitted 15 times per day. Although experts says that in Albania media has a big effect in the citizen opinion. (Bedalli, 2015)

According to the low during the elections they obligate state and private media to give all the new and objective information to the citizens. Press is supervisor for political developments during the campaigns. (Shkreli, 2013) The existence of the media is to give publicity to the campaign and democratic election, by communication with the people with important situation that the country have. The voters should be well informed about the contribution of the candidate that will do to solve the situations.

The table shows the hour of transmission of all the shows, advertisement and everything that have political subject. (Zgjedhore, 2013)

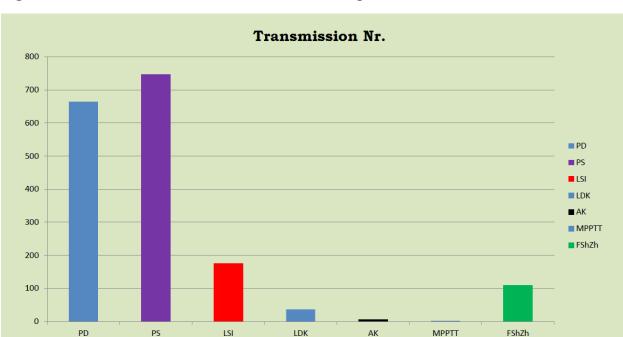


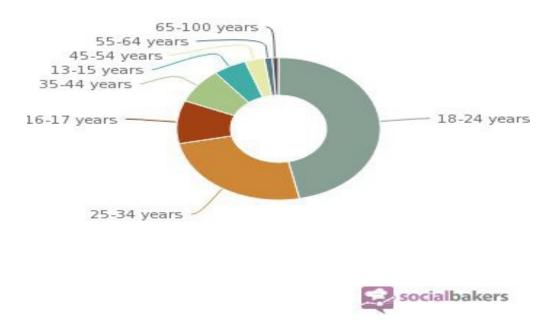
Figure 7- Transmission hour dedicated to Election topic

Strategy of Socialist Party: Social Party has done 56 rallies and 112 individual meetings. They tried to transmit to the people that this new party will help the country to move forward, and although they mention negative things for the Democratic Party that with them the country had financial crises and the corruption is high. Edi Rama started to visit around the country with their campaign bus with their logo and their color, his purpose is to talk with the people why they should vote for Socialist Party and mention the undone work from Democratic Party. With the Social Party they will open new place for work and will offer professional education to the citizen that wants to work, the living cost will be reduce for 95% of the people by taking off the taxes and rising investment for the development of rural zone. Different from the other party socialist promotes Progressive Tax which means that the citizens with lower incomes will pay less than those with higher incomes; also there will be no taxes for the basic food and medications. (NDI, 2013) During the campaigns they have done a list for the people 100 reasons why they should 'say no' to the Democratic Party government. Although on other important point of the strategy of the campaign is the meeting of Edi Rama with European and American official because he is satisfied the Western support. Their goal is to make Albania a better place,

to increase the GDP, eliminate corruption, increase the level of education etc. so by improving many this points Albania has a possibility to be part of European Union (Armakolas, 2013)

Social Network: It is seen that in the campaign of 2013 social network has was an important element for the political strategy. The leaders of the Parties were very active in their webpages like Facebook, Twitter. Every day they posted the progress of their work during the campaign, their opinion for some certain issues and how they will support the citizens. In the further figure statistics from 'socialbakers' will show the distribution of Edi Rama's fans and the number of people that are talking about the topics of his posts. (SocialBakers, 2013)

Figure 8- Age of Edi Rama's social media supporters



The figure shows that the age 18-24 are more active in social network and also age 24-35. This group was the target group of Socialist Party, because from the internet young people are directly informed with the activity of Edi Rama, and they spread their information with their friends and give their comment and opinion and also if their friend is with another party they will try to influence their friend's opinion. (Fjerza, 2014)

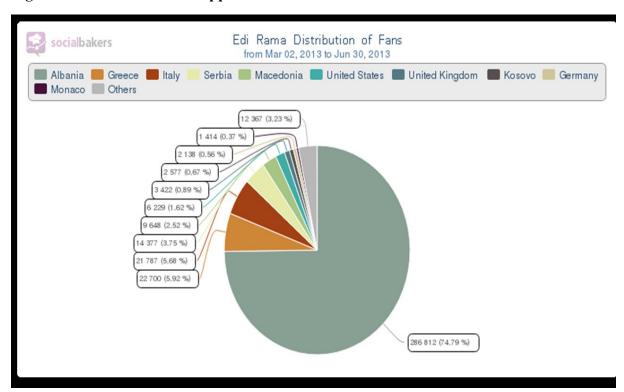


Figure 9- Edi Rama's total supporters from different nationalities

In the figure leader of Socialist Party does not have fans only in Albania but also outside it. Most of them are Albanian emigrants which want to be well informed about the candidates for the election of 2013. Although in the Election Day many of the emigrants have come in Albania to vote for their candidate.

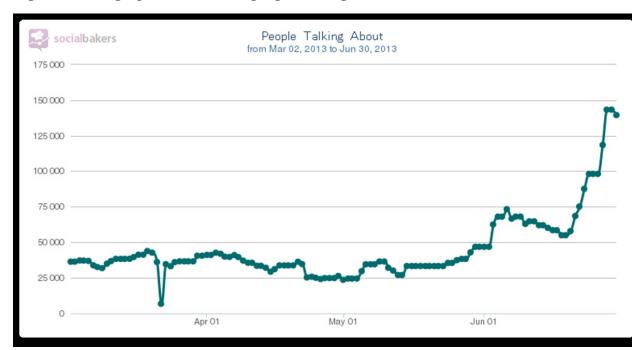
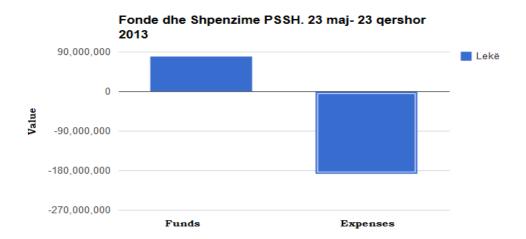


Figure 10- The graph of number of people talking about Edi Rama

In the last figure shows the citizens' interest by commenting, posting and sharing the Posts that Edi Rama did in his page. From the beginning of April until June which was the month of campaign the interest of the people is growing.

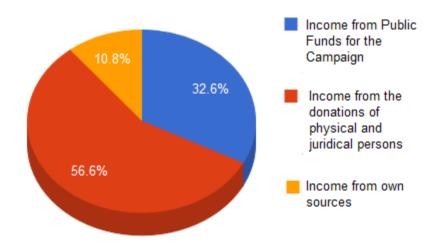
Expenses of Social Party for Election Campaign of 2013: Social Party has funds around 88 million Lek (approximately 741 467\$). According to the official financial reports spent twice more. The total amount for the campaign is 187 million Lek or 57% are not covered by funds. (CEC, 2013)

Figure 11- Total funds and Expenses of PS



Although PS (Social Party) have benefited from state budget fund worth about 26 million Lek. Private Donors has given for campaign 45.3 million Lek. This party has 53 Donor which has given 56.58% of the funds. Meanwhile Party has their own funds to cover the expenses of the campaign with 10.81% or with an amount 8.6 million Lek. (CEC, 2013)

Figure 12- Sources of Income for PS



#### **4.2.2 Democratic Party**

Democracy Party has governed in Albania for 8 years, Sali Berisha was the leader. People had supported this party because they supported democracy because they didn't want to experience of the communism period. For the campaign of 2013 they hired Tony Podest an American consulate this means that American company is doing the marketing plan for the campaign. (A.Andelman, 2013) Even though they lost the campaign and Sali Berisha

Slogan, Colors: The slogan for the campaign of 2013 was 'We are the Change, Forward'. Democratic Party used two colors for the campaign traditional and power this are the characterization of blue and red color. (Bedalli, 2015) By this it means that they have brought positive changes during them governance and they will continue with this. Many flags, billboards are seen in the road even in some citizens' houses which were fan of the party had the flags of Democratic Party.

Figure 13- PD Slogan in 2013



*Media:* Democratic Party has invested a lot during this campaign in media comparing with the other parties. This party has done 25 advertisement which has been shown 2000 times or let's say26hr. They have spent 120 million LEK and PS have spent 80 million Lek. Most of the people that prefer Democratic Party are Middle Ages, even though other social network is more used nowadays most of the people are traditional and prefer to get informed by television and newspaper.

Television 'ABC News has transmitted 7 hours add, Top Channel 2 hours and Klan TV more than 4 hours. Democratic Party has paid for 10 million Lek for Top channel and ABC news and 35 million for Klan TV.

During the campaign Democratic Party has done 85 concerts, 91 meetings and 55 inaugurations. (Tema, 2013)

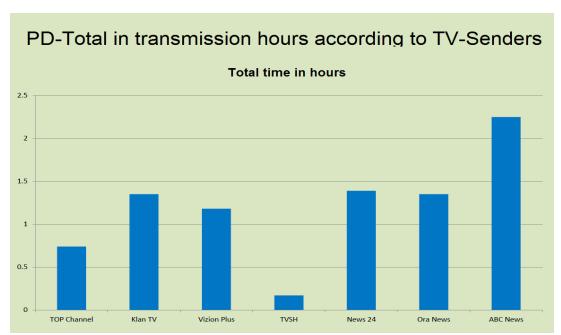


Figure 14- PD Total transmission hours

Strategy of Democratic Party: According to the experts Albania is being followed by the concept based on leadership. Sali Berisha has chosen to 'play' with 'town hall'. During his campaign it was easy to see his experience, energy and his ability to communicate with people. (Bedalli, 2015) The content advertisement were about the changes that this party has made for their country, like being part of NATO, infrastructure of the road Tirane-Elbasa, increases of wages, investment in education Visa liberalization etc.

It is seen that in the both Parties that one of the important goal is to make Albania part of European Union. The promises about next 4 years will be: create 250,000 new jobs, contract with foreign investitures and will apply flat tax (10% tax) for businesses and for personal incomes. Beside that tax and fiscal reforms will continue to be priority to the party it is mention that Democratic Party will although continue to make investment in different sectors like agriculture, tourism and technology. (Armakolas, 2013)

Social Network: Sali Berisha has not skipped other elements for the marketing of campaign; he has used Facebook and Twitter also. In his webpage he tries to share the work of his party that they are doing for a better country. Although he shares his opinion about the other rival Party that their work is not enough and they are not in the right road to full field their duty for their country. Like the other Leader both of them try to share their opinion about everything and to mention negative things about the rival Party. From the Social Backers are shown the number of Sali Berisha Fanses which give their comments and suggests in his shares. (SocialBackers, 2013)

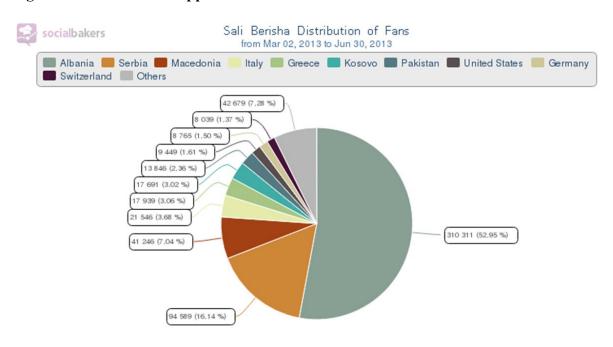


Figure 15- Sali Berisha Supporter's Nationalities

The figure above shows a high interest from the fans which share the post that are done by the leader of Democratic Party. During the month of election it the figure shoes a progressive rise, when in one day there may be 3000 shares of the posts. (SocialBackers, 2013)



Figure 16- Sali Berisha Social Media Activity

Expenses of Democratic Party for Election Campaign of 2013: Democratic Party collected 94.5 million Lek from the funds which means approximately 900 000 \$. Official Financial reports shoes that Party has spent 96.6 million Lke (920 098 \$). This means that Democratic Party has spent 2.1 million Lek more. (CEC, 2013)

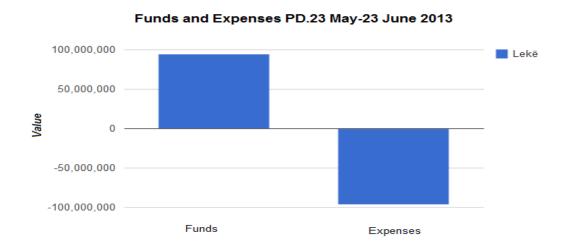
Newman has mentioned 10 political marketing guidelines, which are as follow: (Johansson, 2010)

- Understand what voters are looking for
- Marketing is all about making an emotional connection with people
- We live in an age of manufactured images
- Use one central vision to connect the candidate's issues and personality
- Talk about voters' concerns
- Voters constantly want change

- Market yourself to the media
- Avoid verbal gaffes at all costs
- Get support from party elites
- Perform well in debate

All these points are taken in consider during Albania Elections. Newman points are considered very important so they implemented in the elections.

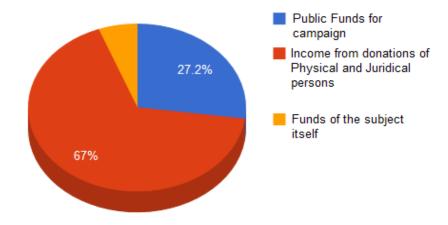
Figure 17- Funds and Expenses for PD in 2013



Democratic Party has benefited from the state budget 27.2% of the amount that have provided from the funds. Private Donors has given for the campaign 63.3million Lek or 67% from the fund's total. Party has used their personal funds to cover the expenses of the campaign with an amount 5.5 million Lek (5.79%). (CEC, 2013)

Figure 18- PD Fund Sources

# Democtratic Party ,Electrolar Funds Structure, Campaign 23 May-23 June



#### Conclusion

Media has the power of changing the rotation of the situation. The evolution of media and the effects that it has, many different sectors are 'collaborating' with media to influence the people opinion. Through media people can change their lifestyle, can spread their horizon through the information that are given, can change their decision about the Party that they want to choose etc. The aim of this thesis is to see the progress of the elections in a different point of view, by analyzing the campaign marketing.

Although during the campaign media is considered as one of the most important element to share the message to the people, by media they can get attention of the people and convince them to vote for their party. Through the advertisements, shows etc. they try to give the right message to the people. Meanwhile people tries to get informed even from other social network and try to think more carefully about the choice that they are going to make.

During communism period people trusted everything about what media said but nowadays things has changed because people are more informed and they know that media is used to 'manipulate' the people opinion or choices.

In elections of 2009-2013 in Albania it is seen that Party has given an important space to media for their political marketing in campaigns. Particular funds are used only for the media expenses (advertisements, the transmutation hours etc.). In the last decades it is seen that the political marketing in campaigns are in progress. They pay the right attention to campaigns and take it very serious the marketing part. In 2009 the Democratic Party used a really strong philosophy, which was considered as an advantage for them, since they were already on power for 4 years and had several improvements during this period. Therefore, the voters were not supposed to give their vote to the other party, if they already saw progress with the present one.

Media has played a significant role during the elections period. According to ODIHR only two of the 5 media operators have respected the decision of offering the same time length for each party, during the electoral publicity in their television. Since media is said to have a large impact on campaigns during elections time, there was seen some favors done from the televisions toward the Parties. As we saw above with Top Channel, there are also other facts such as News 24, had dedicated 64% of its time giving positive vibes to PS and on the other hand 39% were reflected

as negative toward PD. None of the operators respected the decision of transmitting other small parties that were part on 2009 elections.

One of the weakness point of Social Party during the elections of 2009 was that they were focused to mention to the voters the 'uncompleted goals' of Democratic Party, in this was they forgot to focus in their own goals. They had to convince the voters what are their goals for the future of Albania. And although Social Party didn't 'collaborate' a lot with media as the other party did. Their idea is to have a direct contact with the voters, but in this was the information will not spread so fast and not everyone will hear about.

In the elections of 2013 Socialist Party tried to show the uncompleted work of Democratic Party when they were during their governance. By this they wanted to make people to reflect more about who will be the future leader. Meanwhile they were focused more to show their goals for Albania.

Although in the two campaigns (2009-2013) the main parties contracted foreign companies to do the marketing structure part. So this means that campaigns are taken very serious and also are hired people which are specialized in the field of campaign marketing. So the campaigns were done with a European Standard and also there were some foreign persons which observed the Elections and in the end gave a detailed report to the European Union. From this report it is going to see if Albania has done any progress and if still exist corruption during it.

In the last campaign of 2013 part of the marketing strategies were also the colors that they were going to use for their logo, the participation in media by doing improvements for the Albania, by using a lot social media and also their personal Facebook by having a direct contact with the people. The candidates had strong competitions between them because one party was in the governance for a long time and they had to convince to the voter that they still have to stay because positive things will come for the future of their country. In the other part the other candidate tried to transmit a new party should come to governance to bring new and positive changes for Albania.

There exist three area to analyze the influence that media has during elections. Those are: the influence that media has for the campaign structure; the relative power of media, campaign

communication. The perception that people have for political campaign is that media is the most important element and that voters are victims of the television.

Media play one of the most important roles in both of the campaigns, by showing everything that both parties did. The development of media during democracy period brought a positive effect in the development of political marketing. According to the law media should keep 'distance' from politics, they have should be unbiased when they give information for them parties. But it is seen that media aren't 100% correct with this rule, because some channels may express their preferences for their favorite parties During the elections were done many shows with political topic, by reminding to the voters the weakness and the strong points of the both parties. By inviting the candidates in their shows and asking about the points that the people are more concern for the future of Albania and also meanwhile to analyze the candidate, so in the end they could be more clear for their decision.

In the further elections people will wait more from the candidates and will always want the occupation from them during the campaigns. Media will always be a bridge for the communication of people and government.

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