

THEORETICAL ASPECTS OF POLITICAL ADVERTISING

The historical roots and subsequent development of political advertising in the modern world are examined. A definition of this type of advertising is derived based on a review of some of its most important scientific productions. The views of leading theorists of political advertising in the twentieth century are presented. A classification of the main types of political advertising is made.

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Political advertising is one of the most important tools for effective communication between parties and citizens in the modern world. It is also an essential element of the electoral process and an inevitable component of shaping the political image of politicians and parties. Political advertising should, therefore, be studied and analyzed insofar as its application in election campaigns and politics has long since become a regularity. But there is something more: the undeniable political advertising has certain positive values, but their scientific understanding can hardly be argued that we know this phenomenon. However, this important importance of political advertising is not taken into account in the specialized literature, since there are a number of publications that usually consider political advertising in its own right. In many cases, political advertising is excluded from the context of theoretical political marketing, is not scientifically determined, and has traditionally been regarded as merely an additional practical manifestation in current electoral politics. This also leads to a series of deeply incorrect and superficial interpretations of the phenomenon of "political advertising", which almost commercialize the concept of its nature and subsequently discourage people from actually studying it. In this context, we will first look at the historical roots and development of political advertising within political marketing (including its definition) and the views of the leading luminaries of political advertising in the 20th century, and then distinguish between different types of political advertising.

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1. Historical roots, definition and development of political advertising

The emergence and development of political advertising in different societies is a relatively long and continuous process. It is usually thought that it began in the 1920s – 1930s, when the first professionally prepared election campaigns were organized in the United States and Western Europe, in which print and radio political advertising occupied a particularly important place.

Historical facts, however, tell us that the use of political advertising in social and political life dates back much earlier, has its archaic genetic roots, although it is not made by specialist advertisers. For example, the term "political advertising" was first mentioned by Bolshevik leader Vl. I. Lenin, including as "election advertising", as early as 1912 in his article "Political Parties in Russia" (Lenin, p. 269). In the article, he scourges the manipulative nature of political advertising without deriving any definitions or characteristics. His followers, however, underestimate this and strongly reject the term with the well-known ideological cliché "the product of bourgeois propaganda". However, the main symptoms of political advertising can be discovered even before the new era, when politics emerges as a social phenomenon in parallel with the emergence of forms and means of political struggle in the "battle" for power. It is true that the approach to persuading people is fundamentally different from the current (communicative) media invasion during elections, but it is equally as true that even in the cradle of human civilization – Babylon, Greece, Rome and Ancient India are found beginnings of future political communication and advertising.

The germs of advertising political activity in Antiquity are first born through political communication between citizens and the ruling elite. Even in **Ancient Athens**, the political words (as a tool of information), reaches its apogee in the famous oratorical speeches of ancient thinkers who laid the foundations of exquisite political rhetoric, is of particular respect. These primary forms of advertising and influence, though partial, are possible (and used) mainly during the time of remarkable Athenian democracy, even though the information itself then contains considerable manipulation because of the specific power intentions which are pursued.

Original pre-modern forms of political communication can also be found in the social life of **Ancient Rome** (III-I century BC), dating from political activity almighty emperor **Caesar**. Such forms are: parchments drawn up with the words "Daily Public Records" ("Acta Diurna"), which inform the citizens about the actions of the Roman rulers; **the first political poster** – "**Vote for Cicero! He's a Good Man**", as a major advertising tool in the election campaigns then; the continuation (and further development) of the strong rhetorical tradition in antiquity through public political speeches (the speeches of Caesar, for example, from the 1st century BC) and some others. This tentative trend is further developed by M. T. Cicero, who has the unfading glory of one of the proclaimators of political advertising in its classic version (slogan and poster) (Utchenko, 1985, p. 25-35; Kushovska, 1993, p. 324). Or, in the political history of Ancient Rome, there are several basic elements of election campaigns – political speech, advertising posters and political inscriptions, which today are also important tools (and forms) of contemporary political communication (and advertising).

One thing is absolutely certain: the ancient forms of political advertising which are used, apart from their appearance as a fact, are intended to convey manipulative information that cleverly conceals existing power defects (in politics) to persuade people to the contrary, i.e. in the rightness of the policy chosen for the moment. Thus even **in ancient societies** begin to **crystallize a key evolutionary line of political marketing** inevitably pushing through the coming centuries, namely: **political information (such as plain fact) in political communication (as a tools of communication and influence) the political advertising (as a form of communication) and to political manipulation (as a way of pseudo-influence and false influence)** (Manolov, 2001, p. 52-72).

Almost the whole of the **Middle Ages**, no significant achievements were noticed, not much of a marking new peaks in the development of political marketing (and advertising), they were only partial. Because, as is well known, the primacy of Church Theological doctrine is dominant in all social spheres, and it would be a real revolution if someone to attempt to do anti-clerical or other political agitation and activity. And yet, not the cursed and overthrown heretics, but the Roman Catholic Church itself was the first to put into circulation the word "propaganda" for the needs of its theological ideology. And in 1622, Pope Gregory XV created the "Holy Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith," or the renowned College of Propaganda, whose primary mission is to teach Catholic missionaries how to "wash" (and earn) people's minds and hearts according to the dogmas of ruling church dogma. And although in this case, we do not use typical advertising forms, it is sufficient to recall that in this way (with religious symbols) the church-political doctrine of the church is advertised.

We have to note that in the Middle Ages the most common is mouth advertising when criers shout in the streets and market places, and owners of small shops and inns hang a variety of colourful signs to attract customers. And one more thing: in 1629, the first advertising agency was established in France – the "Rennodo Announcement Bureau", which began mass advertising of the so-called "sheets" in the then first printed editions (Ilieva, 1996, p. 11), which, of course, are not many.

Exclusive impulse for further improvement of communication techniques provide several important factors developed in the late of the Middle Ages and the beginning of modern times, such as the advent of printing (1436), and especially the birth of the first newspapers in the second half of the seventeenth century (1831, Gazette de France in France).

The evolution of advertising can be seen in the so-called. The "early-capitalist period" in Europe (17th – 18th centuries), during which the market economy developed. Then advertising becomes an important function of publicity, and emerging parties appoint advertising professionals. Suffice it to recall the creator of the first printed advertisement B. Franklin (USA) and his newspaper "Gazeta" (1729), in which most of the eighteenth and nineteenth century Republicans and Democrats publish their election ads. This is because, according to Bucher's well-known definition, "the newspaper accepts the character of an enterprise producing advertising space in the form of a commodity which is marketed by its editorial department" (Habermas, 1995, p. 283). This is confirmed by the **primacy of political advertising, which was featured in English newspapers in 1805**. Moreover, the election and advertising struggles were so fierce at the time that an "Anti-Government Campaign Responsibility Act" was adopted in 1798 to prevent false, malicious and scandalous campaign activities (Debates 1834-1856: 3776-3777) (incl. and the use of

advertising political compromises). However, the true professional development of political advertising can only be talked about in the era of industrial capitalism, when both the market economy itself and the established public (political) institutions are completely different from before, i.e. contemporary look.

With the creation of photography in the first half of the nineteenth century, another powerful means of political advertising emerged, which, along with the print media, is currently making a huge impact on the electorate during political campaigns. It is no coincidence that the famous Western scientist **Roland Barthes** (1995) emphasizes that "a candidate's photograph expresses (...) his motives, all family, mental and even erotic circumstances, the whole style of behaviour, whose product, example and lure he is" (p. 95). A fact that in our day and age does not lose its "election significance" at all.

By the way, we will note that as early as the "sunset" of the 19th century the old advertising gathering and unprofessionalism in advertising was put to an end at the expense of its institutionalization in the country. The legal foundations for regulating and self-regulating advertising are laid, and as early as 1891 an advertising law was passed in Germany, and in 1906 the Americans approved a specialized federal act that contained strict advertising rules and restrictions. (Doganov, Palfi, 2000, p. 31).

One of the pioneers of political advertising in the world is Franklin D. Roosevelt, who, in 1916, began using this advertising in his own campaign. He published his messages in the "Saturday Evening Post," as well as in some other American magazines, and in 1917 the Congress on the Political Advertising Act was already discussed in the US Congress (Burdjieva, Kaneva, 2007, p. 17).

In the 1920s and 1930s, advertising gradually began to enter the political life of the West through political radio advertising, and since 1920 these advertisements became a regular practice. At the same time, American citizens are constantly campaigning with other election aids, such as leaflets, posters, parades, and rallies. After the end of World War I, mass media in developed countries began to systematically reproduce the image of political leaders among the mass electoral audience. In 1924, US presidential contenders Kelvin Coolidge and his opponent, John Davis, first purchased radio advertising time (to present their political platforms), prompting Americans with interest in listening to the thirty-minute radio debate. It is also noteworthy that even then, in the first political disputes, the logic of the rallying stereotype was strictly followed (Doganov, Palfi, 2000, p. 327-328) – first the presentation of the candidates, then their biographies data, and finally their speeches.

Amid to all of this advertising has accelerated its way into politics, why the number of advertising artists began to participate in the election campaigns of Adolf Hitler and Franklin D. Roosevelt in the 30s of last century. The reason, researchers say, is only one: both drivers are dear children of the first modern heirs at the time – cinema and radio. For National Socialists, for example, Goebbels (after 1924) is gradually changing its strategy of seizing power: first, the advertising accents become conversational, albeit too aggressive; second, the formulated slogans offer the Germans what they really lack – order, goals, authority, etc.; and lastly, everything is organized so that the Fuhrer launches itself as a "star brand". However, despite the pronounced and aggressive political advertising system

remains manipulative propaganda as completely having false advertising product – something that is very characteristic of every totalitarian regime (Doganov, Palfi, 2000, p. 327-328). But if the advertising in Roosevelt's campaigns (especially in 1936) is reduced almost exclusively to the famous advertising texters, then, as we have seen, things are different in Germany. FD Roosevelt's popularity is steadily growing because his political advertising relies on an extremely effective method: patient explanatory work, bringing in personal fascination and influence, a simple and clear explanation for the need for reform, and finally – impressive 'radio talks in front of the fireplace', with which the image of the future president has repeatedly increased. Since the end of World War II, the evolution of political advertising has been steadily continuing through the use of the most modern media at that time – radio. This is happening on June 17, 1948, in the United States, when the first presidential candidate debates took place between opponents Thomas Dewey and Harold Stassen on KEX-ABC Radio Station in front of about 60-80 million listeners (Stoyanov, 2017, p. 34) – something as colossal as political interest in the then-electoral battle across the Ocean.

But the "political advertising" phenomenon was finally introduced to society only in 1952, when for the first time in the United States, Presidential candidate Dwight Eisenhower entrusted professional work on the preliminary campaign of Rosser Reeves advertising agency. This, according to the advertiser D. Doganov, is the first political advertisement, organized from the beginning to the end by the laws of advertising (Doganov, Palphy, 2000, p. 329), which naturally brings Eisenhower's victory over the favourite Adlai Stevenson mainly through the use of videos (for example, the motto of such a video is "Eisenhower meets America"), the main factor behind this victory was the use of new advertising techniques for spending the money that R. Reeves himself successfully applied during the campaign.

"... It's about," Reeves writes, "two mathematical factors. First, television spots against radio broadcast speeches – the spots provide a wider audience. Second, the memories – they have 8 per cent in Stevenson's speeches and 21 per cent – in Eisenhower's films" (Doganov, Palphy, 2000, p. 329).

It should be logical to summarize that the use of political advertising in the 1950s in the United States marks a completely new stage in the overall development of political marketing, because, on the one hand, the barrier to propaganda "propaganda and rallying doctrines" is lowered "(D. Doganov), who have been ruling so far; and, on the other, the decisive launch of modern political advertising (radio and television), which underlies all subsequent election campaigns. In confirmation of this must be pointed out that "the massive influx" of political advertising gradually flooded American continent (in the 60 years of the twentieth century), the countries of Western Europe (over 70s) and the new democracies in Central and Eastern Europe (in the 1990s), as a result of which this type of advertising really became a leader in election campaigns. And like election campaigning, **advertising in politics not only totally invades the political life of modern societies** but also becomes an important element of the work of governments, parliaments, institutions and in general of all state bodies.

These are the main impediments to the evolution of political advertising over the centuries in the United States and in Western European countries, which have given us reason to

carry out its periodization over the centuries. Or, to put it another way, above all; **the views expressed about the evolution** of political advertising are of particular importance also for its **historical stages (and periodization)**, to which little theoretical attention is paid.

According to our view, the stages of development of political advertising can be deduced **by the criterion of "historicity"**, which relatively best and adequately reflects the evolution of this advertising. Depending on this, the main stages of political advertising can be differentiated **into four key stages**:

- 1) **A pre-classical stage**, which is determined by the fact that it is precisely during the period from the III-I centuries BC. to the 1st century of the new age, the first political advertisements appeared during the election campaigns in ancient societies (Athens, Rome, Egypt). This is also the first sub-stage that is indisputable in terms of the origin of advertising in politics. And as far as the second sub-stage is concerned, it is largely sympathetic (which is why we give it in dotted lines), because throughout this period – from the 5th to the 17th centuries, the manifestations of political advertising were rather a propaganda, as much as real political inscriptions, words and advertisements.
- 2) **The classic stage** of the evolution of political advertising – it lends itself to more difficult periodization and evaluation because of the significant "temporal vacuum" in which it (political advertising) develops practically. Yet here we also distinguish between two distinctive sub-stages: one dating from the end of the eighteenth century (when the first newspapers appeared) to the 1920s, during which the first election campaigns (USA, Germany, etc.) were organized on a professional basis.) and expertly prepared print and radio ads appear; and the other sub-stage is in the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s, during which the evolution and use of political advertising spread in political strife between parties (in the US and Western Europe), though temporarily interrupted by WWII.
- 3) **The modern stage** of this periodization, which unfolds from the early 1950s to its end and is characterized by being the most developed and fruitful period, because the phenomenon of "political advertising" it is finally being imposed on the political market in developed countries (both in theory and in practice). It has two main sub-stages: the first is rather pragmatic, since political advertising and its types (print, radio, television, etc.) are widely used in the social life of the West by different political entities; while the latter without any conditionality will be defined as "theoretical" insofar as the theory of advertising (including the political one) is booming during this time (although this sub-stage runs in parallel with the first).
- 4) **And the last, the Internet**, a stage that is completely "born" with our present day, at least is the "peer" of the high-tech 21st century, from the beginning of which we are talking about the introduction of a new phenomenon in the evolution of political marketing (and the market), what an unconditional political internet advertisement is. This extremely modern and popular form (type) of political advertising is the result of the so-called. A "digital revolution" in technology, which makes it impossible without today's successful political and election campaigns.

So, the global conclusion that follows from and implies so far can be summarized in **four** broad directions: **the first is that, since ancient times, the authentic roots of political advertising in all subsequent historical stages until the 20th century grew only as separate (and very initial) forms of election political advertising.** This represents a "history" of political marketing (and advertising), or a stage of laying the primary social, political, and party prerequisites for the development of this advertising marketing from the late 19th and the following 20th centuries. **The second** relates to the fact **that the original varieties (and forms) of some organized political advertisement arose first and foremost in the USA and then in Western Europe (Germany) thanks to the earlier formation and development of political parties and the emerging statehood, and as a result of the institutionalization of election campaigns;** **The third** reflected in the fact **that absolutely all forms of advertising in politics are manifested either partially in specific political practices or during election campaigns, which is clearly evident in the second half of the last century. And the last direction** is related to **the various theoretical studies of political advertising,** which with very few exceptions have been totally developed since **the early 1950s,** when a number of major scientific developments in this field (mainly in the USA and Western Europe).

Despite its dynamic practical development and theoretical coverage in the second half of the twentieth century, the term "political advertising" still remains unclear in some scientific relationships. However, this is also the case with the certainty of advertising in general, which requires that we pay attention to this issue because it is directly related to the definition of political advertising.

As you might imagine, there are a number of definitions of the term "advertising", among which the most popular of foreign authors are the following four: (a) According to **the American Marketing Association (AAM)**, advertising is any paid form of impersonal presentation of ideas, goods or services from a well-established source; (b) According to **the European Association of Advertising Agencies (EARA)**, advertising represents any paid form of controlled influence through the mass media, on the presentation and imposition of goods and services in the interest of an explicit source (Manolov, 2009, p. 278); c) according to **the so-called a "strong" theory of advertising (John Phillips Jones)**, it is an effective tool for influencing buying behavior through a hierarchy of steps, including brand awareness, favorable branding and brand awareness (Zhelev, 2013, p. 34); d) according to western authors **Philip and Christian Palda (2005)**, pre-election (political) advertising can be defined as the efforts of candidates to present themselves to the public through payment to the media, through the propaganda of propaganda posters, and through the use of "by door to door" (p. 367); e) according to **the Russian scientist S. Lisovsky (2000)**, advertising in politics (political advertising) is a form of political communication that, in an election environment, addresses the electoral groups through a specific political platform aimed at forming different psychological influences. On voters (on their feelings, emotions, sympathies, etc.) (p. 15-16); f) according to **American researcher L. Kaid (Kaid, 2004)**, the concept of "political advertising" should be understood in several essential respects: as a communication process propagated through mass communication channels in order to influence political attitudes, beliefs and behaviour; promoting the ideas of parties or candidates in the election campaign; also as a platinum or free form of communication with the electorate (p. 155-157); g) according to the **elite advertiser R.**

Reeves (Hopkins, Reeves, 1994), “as we have already said,“ advertising is the art of introducing an exceptional sales offer in the minds of the largest number of people or the lowest its production costs' (p. 266). Here, as with many other marketing terms and definitions, the definitions are dozens, not to say hundreds, which is why we will express our opinion without ignoring the positive in them (definitions).

It should be summarized that, **in our view, R. Reeves' definition is one of the most accurate and meaningful because of its two main components: the introduction of an (exclusive) proposal in the mind of the individual, as well as the 'sale' of that proposal to as many people as possible.** In this sense, it can be said without exaggeration that R. Reeves's view of advertising is of fundamental methodological importance among most attempts to define political advertising.

The difficulty in considering this theoretical case (such as the certainty of political advertising) is obvious, especially as we know that it has only been developing in Bulgaria for about thirty years. However, this does not prevent our scientists and experts from considering substantively a number of aspects of the phenomenon of political advertising.

In one of the few monograph chapters for political advertising in Bulgaria, the Bulgarian advertiser D. Doganov and the Hungarian F. Palfi (2000) (in their book "Advertising as it is") consider that political advertising pursues the following main goals:

"Promoting and involving the political ideas, programs and platforms of the public; expanding and consolidating the influence of parties, organizations and movements; imposing their leaders and building a positive image; winning votes in elections and referendums, etc." (p. 329) (the emphasis is mine – G.M.), which (goals) are most strongly deployed in election campaigns. In this way, the authors present to us an expanded version of political advertising, some of which can also be interpreted as a certainty – for example, the promotion of more political ideas.

The essence of political advertising according to N. Raleva and Caneva L. (1993) in a simplified form – the nature of political advertising has to orient potential voters in terms of a political situation (p. 81) The purpose is to increase the party's votes. This one is the first thing. Second, as part of the publicity, political advertising contains three basic elements: a source of information in the face of parties and politicians; a written message on the radio, on television through the relevant signs, symbols, slogans, etc.; and the addressee – the voter as the object of influence. That is, political advertising is understood as political marketing. The Bulgarian political scientist T. Burudzhieva (1994) also expresses an interesting opinion, according to which the essence of political advertising is "borrowing a number of techniques of influence, the principles of the expression of the advertising channels and the construction of the message. ..." (p. 188-189) (the emphasis is mine – G.M). At this point, the political scientist elaborates his point of view very well, pointing out that three characteristic features occupy an important place in political advertising: information aimed at highlighting the implementation of the respective political program; suggestion through the use of psychological techniques for influencing voters; and the satisfaction that voters experience from all that the political party (or candidate) concerned presents to them (Burudzhieva, 1994, p. 188-189). In other words, T. Burudzhieva (1994)

substantially substantiates the nature of advertising in politics according to the requirement of election campaigns, in the context of political marketing.

From the views presented for political advertising, several significant conclusions can be drawn: the first is that, in the above three positions, the authors proceed from the certainty of advertising in general, which is transformed into the definition of more political advertising; the second is due to the fact that political advertising is still too timidly distinguished as a phenomenon of pre-election political advertising (in Doganov and Palfi (2000) this timidity is partial; in Ralev and Kaneva (1993) a little more; and in Burudzhieva (1994) – most prominent); and the final conclusion is that in these publications priority is given to the general characteristics of political advertising, while little attention is paid to its specificities.

There are a number of reasons why political advertising is used indefinitely, but I think one of them is significant: **there is no distinction between the terms "political advertising" and "election political advertising", which are two forms of the same content.**

In this context, **contemporary political advertising is in general such advertising, which is used both by political parties, organizations and movements, by state institutions and bodies, by pressure groups and by non-governmental organizations, by different groups of people or individuals (involved in a specific political activity) that aim to promote different political ideas, decisions, programs and platforms.** In other words, the concept of "political advertisement" has much broader parameters (both in scope and in application), which frame all objects of this advertisement, despite the fact that it is used non-permanently, i.e. only when needed.

From these positions, we can also formulate the definition of election political advertising as such specific type of information, which aims to inspire, influence and involve as many voters as possible in the various election platforms (ideas, values, programs) of the respective parties, and to create a positive image of their candidates.

In its **design, development and operation, pre-election political advertising seeks to maximize the electorate's** "certain political action ..." or, as T. Burudjieva (1994) writes, political advertising "relies on the widespread use and exposure of some major groups motives for human activity – economic (mostly financial interests), selfish (instinct for self-preservation, comfort and economy of effort, security, sexual instinct, etc.), altruistic (symptoms, desire to protect, etc.)" (p. 189), which otherwise could not happen if the general rules and mechanisms of advertising did not apply.

An important requirement for the production of quality political advertising is to comply with the established rules for its creation, which are universal in nature. In Bulgaria, they have been synthesized by St. Kirilov (1994) as ten rules for successful advertising, which are:

- 1) **The advertising must be true** – this rule is the most important, because it testifies to the ethics, correctness and inadmissibility of drafted advertisements.

- 2) **The advertising must be understandable** – if this condition is not fulfilled, then the different advertising audience would not feel the advertising power of the broadcast message.
- 3) **The advertising must be attractive** – the important thing here is to keep the user's attention while ultimately being convinced that it is the right choice.
- 4) **The advertising must be unambiguous** – maximum clarity and comprehensibility are needed in this case to get more people involved in its ad charm.
- 5) **The advertising has to meet the needs of the audience** – in the presence of a different audience, the advertising itself should be very professionally prepared to meet the diverse needs.
- 6) **The advertising must create favourable attitudes** – such may be present if the content of the advertisement is complied with so as to have a qualitative effect on the audience.
- 7) **The advertising must strike a balance between the rational and the emotional approach** – it is about effectively “measuring” the logic and the feelings when designing the advertisement, focusing on what the target audience will perceive.
- 8) **The advertising must differentiate us from competitors** – the advertising product should contain something new, original and unique compared to that of our opponents if we are to achieve a lasting positive effect.
- 9) **The advertising must be in accordance with the culture and lifestyle of the audience** – this is important to observe, as there are cases when the ad is "imported" from abroad (not in accordance with the national specifics), and its results are catastrophic.
- 10) **The advertising must take into account the presence of safeguards in the audience**, which means that the maxim of "humanizing the advertising" or avoiding excessive arrogance, intrusiveness and annoyance to avoid the opposite effect applies here. (i.e., people and the audience quickly turn away from it) (p. 17-19).

To these important rules for political advertising can be added at least as much as I read. However, more important is **that the rules should be used professionally (not indiscriminately) and differentiated (and not necessarily all) according to the nature of the election campaign (national, local, etc.), because this is the right approach that can greatly guarantee the desired electoral success.**

Political advertising, like commercial advertising, also uses a whole set of corporate elements, symbols, and signs that are valid only for it. These are called "advertising constants", are applied on an ongoing basis, systematically and comprehensively, and serve as the "identification code" of everyone involved in political advertising. These **advertising constants** are well systematized by the Bulgarian scientist St. Krastev (2000, p. 29-31) and are: **company's name**, i.e a mark that distinguishes it from others; **trade mark** – officially registered and protected by law element of company presentation, used in combination with the name (BSP, NMSS, UDF, GERB); **slogan** – a message used alone or in combination

with advertising means (SDS – “Time is Ours”; BSP – “Stop the Ruin”; NDSV – “Honesty in All”, GERB – “Visible Results”); **company’s block** – a combination of logo and advertising slogan and explanatory label (address, phone, fax); **color mark** – corporate color or color combination (banner of political entity); **reserved font** – formats and fonts specifically selected for company prints that are constantly used by companies (parties and organizations); **company’s documents** – letterheads, envelopes, labels, business cards, invoices, forms, etc., which are shaped with the signs, logo and colors of the company (the party); **company’s conditions** – premises, buildings, offices, signs, etc. of the company, necessarily shaped by its (respectively parties, movements, etc.) symbols; **company’s traditions** (rituals, ceremonies, customs) – promotions, anniversaries, presentations and other important events in the life of the company (party anniversaries, national dates, historical events); **corporate clothing** – compulsory preparation of corporate clothes to be used for work on specific occasions (party hats, scarves, T-shirts, banners, etc.); **company’s vehicles** – cars, buses, trains, airplanes ("Campaign Trains" in the USA; the yellow NDSV’s company bus and the DPS’s purple in our country); and **corporate sound signals and promotional gifts** – protocol souvenirs and more. (the political party badges, chemicals, etc., which are painted with the symbols of their own political party).

It is beyond any doubt that the advertising constants outlined are crucial to the effectiveness of political advertising. However, their importance is much better if they are effectively combined (and put into practice) with the rules of political advertising. Because if the advertising constants are the "flesh" (matter) of advertising in politics, then the rules are the "spirit" (ideas) of political advertising, so their joint use in politics is an important unwritten law in the preparation of election campaigns.

2. Leading theorists of political advertising in the twentieth century

The development of political advertising in the twentieth century does not escape the theoretical coverage of its major problems. This is typical for the second half of the last century, when along with the strong manifestation of various advertising forms in politics, the theoretical developments in advertising in general, including in the specialized literature in our country, evolved. (Such are the theories of contemporary Bulgarian advertising scientists Dimitar Doganov (2000), Svetlozar Krastev (2000), Boyan Durankev (2013), Simeon Zhelev (2013), etc.). For this reason, we will here synthesize contributions to the nature of advertising as a whole and to political advertising in particular of the four recognized scholars in the scientific field – Claude Hopkins (1994), Rosser Reeves (1994), David Ogilvy (2016) and Jacques Seguela (2004).

One of the pioneers in the theory of advertising is the American Claude Hopkins (1994) (1866-1932) – the man, who in his book "Scientific Advertising" (1923) gives a reasoned answer to a number of "theoretical" secrets in the field of advertising knowledge. In fact, the author develops a broad theoretical field that goes from defining advertising, going through its goals, content, psychology, etc. and ending with what the role of art is in advertising.

To the fundamental question "What is advertising?" Hopkins (1994) responds concisely and reasonably: "Advertising is the ability to sell". The principles of advertising are principles of the ability to sell. (...) The sole purpose of advertising is to make sales. The advertising is profitable or not profitable, depending on the actual sales it has generated. (...) Advertising is a multiplied ability to sell. The advertising calls for thousands, the seller talks to one. (...) Every advertisement must be a super seller" (p. 23). In addition, Cl. Hopkins (1994) adds that advertising should always be not complicated, but simplified, not 'fancy', but unpretentious, not wordy, but understandable in order to appeal to as many people as possible.

In general, the great advertiser Claude Hopkins – writes Prof. B. Durenkev (2013, p. 31) – **enriches the theory of advertising** in a number of fundamental relationships: definition of the concept, clarifying the relationship marketing – advertising strategy, the importance of advertising research, the importance of art in advertising, the importance of psychology for advertising creativity, etc. With these developments, Hopkins has long earned himself the name of a classic in advertising, and his book, *Scientific Advertising*, is rightly called "the Bible" of Advertising as the world's first monograph on advertising theory and practice.

The other famous American theorist and practitioner of advertising and the pioneer of television advertising, Rosser Reeves (1994) (1910-1984), made a true "theoretical revolution" with his concept of the so-called "Exclusive offer for sale" (EOS). This concept is crucial for the whole advertising theory therefore not only has not lost its relevance, but today continues to be the alpha and omega of all adman (theorists and practitioners).

In his capital work "Realism in Advertising" (1961), the scientist R. Reeves (1994) very thoroughly and reasonably expands his conceptual views on the nature of advertising and the formulated EOS. According to him, the definitive synthesis of advertising can be summarized as follows: "**Advertising is the art of introducing an exclusive offer for sale to the largest number of people at the lowest cost**" (p. 266). This certainty stems from his development of the EOS, which he draws on three basic pedestals (parts): one is that advertising has to make to the buyer **an offer**; the other is that the offer should be **exclusive** or one that the competitor cannot do because it is inherent in the product being offered; and, lastly, that the proposal must be so strong **as to induce the purchase of new**, millions of consumers (Hopkins, Reeves, 1994, p. 193-194). With this trinity, in the development of the definiteness of advertising, R. Reeves (1994) further elaborates on his conceptual thesis, which has since become the classic definition of the phenomenon of advertising. Moreover, this definition of advertising becomes universal in that it is valid for absolutely all types of advertising, including especially political ones. Summarizing the contributions of R. Reeves (1994) to the theoretical development of advertising, it should be noted that they have complex dimensions, which are: EOS, creativity in advertising, psychological impact (through advertising), advertising, liaison, advertising effect, advertising life, competitive advertising, the difference between EOS theory (advertising argumentation) and brand theory (expression of emotions), etc.

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The rich artistic perception of **R. Reeves**, the essence and meaning of advertising can say much more rational and meaningful things. But we will not miss that no one else, namely him, **remains the founder of political advertising in contemporary political history**. This is mainly due to his theory of EOS, which, especially in political advertising, is still widely used by various political actors in election campaigns around the world.

In the second half of the twentieth century, the star of David Ogilvy (1911-1999), who is the next prominent theorist and practitioner of contemporary advertising. David Ogilvy is called "the genius of advertising". He develops in several works his advertising views, among which is distinguished his monograph "Ogilvy for Advertising" (1983), wherefrom the very beginning he answers the essential question of what constitutes good advertising

According to him, good advertising is one that draws attention to the product, not itself. **That is**, "the advertisement that sells the most ..." and which "... will encourage you to buy the product" (p. 29) (mine is emphasized – G.M.). In support of this claim, the great advertiser D. Ogilvy (2016, p. 134-139) recommends **sixteen helpful pragmatic tips** on advertising quality, which are: 1) brand recognition (people learn the name of the product); 2) displaying the packaging (distinguishing the packaging); 3) food on the go (appetizing food advertising); 4) close-up (mandatory close display of the advertised product); 5) shock start (conquering people with the first frame); 6) when you have nothing to say, sing it (use music as background for advertising); 7) sound effects (positive resonance); 8) voice in a frame or in a frame (better in a frame); 9) captions (the text of the inscriptions should be repeated); 10) Avoid visual tones (showing something not seen before); 11) changing the stage (but without confusing people); 12) mnemonic (describing a visual scheme, repetitions over a long period of time); 13) display of the product in use (if possible to show the final result of the advertised product); 14) everything is possible on television (reproduction by the technicians of the desired); 15) misunderstandings (clear TV ads so they don't misunderstand you); and 16) the big scandal (precise determination of financial costs to prevent money scandals, especially in television advertising). These useful advertising tips are not necessarily a panacea, but they are especially valuable when applied expertly and professionally in the preparation of television advertising. This reflects their universal theoretical and pragmatic value in the production process of different types of advertising. We will also point out another contribution by D. Ogilvy (2016) to "unravelling" the secret of successful advertising, which comes down to the implementation of several essential requirements: recommendations, demonstrations, news, information, layout, headlines, advertising text, and inscriptions (p. 134-139). And while these requirements are developed only for print business advertising, they have their own special value, which always manifests itself with a more lenient mark when there is quality development of the advertising product.

It is curious to note that D. Ogilvy (2016) **literally hates political advertising, which he calls "outrageously dishonest."** Because at a time when television commercials are the deciding factor for who will be the next president of the United States, this (political) advertising is as evil as newsletter forgery (p. 134-139). Obviously, the eminent advertiser denies and does not accept political advertising as an indisputable marketing fact, since it is

clearly manipulative to the electorate. However, this does not at all diminish his overall great contribution to the theory and practice of advertising, for which Ogilvy is rightly called the "genius of advertising" in the world.

In the 1960s and 1970s, a strong "theoretical" impetus in the evolution of advertising in Western Europe was given to the work of well-known French advertiser and image-maker **Jacques Seguela** (2004) (1934). Similar to his colleagues in the United States, whose contributions we have already reviewed, the French specialist pays close attention to the nature of advertising in business and politics. This is particularly evident in his two leading books, "Hollywood Washes Best." Business and Politics Alphabet "and" There were elections once a upon a time... ", in which J. Seguela (2004), relying on American practice (and Hollywood advertising and other techniques), brilliantly develops some of the most successful advertising strategies for election campaigns in European countries. And one more thing: Jacques Seguela (2004) simultaneously manifests himself as a significant advertiser and as a well-known image-maker, which is vividly evident in his work and which we will not consciously "divide" in order not to discount the contributing moments in his views on advertising.

In particular, Jacques Seguela's "stellar algorithm" (2004) finds expression in the maxim "turning a brand-object into a brand- person." Depending on which the brand person should become a star brand through three key factors – physics, character and style. " These factors are crucial for shaping the political image of candidates and for producing quality political advertising, which is why we will pay more attention to their importance.

What does it mean to turn brand-object into brand-person?

According to the advertiser Seguela (2004), while the Old World was counting down to shake up to see who would leave the game, the New World was already calculating and thinking about marketing. In the early 1960s, America sent us its "American Marines" to trade, branding masters with the so-called "Text strategy". And our advertisers threw themselves into mimicking their fashion the way teenage girls had tapped on chewing gums and nylon socks, with the ad going to advertise. Of course, it was quick to shift spontaneity because an avalanche of arguments and tests that eliminated disarming naivete, which was spun headfirst generation of buyers. This is where the intuition comes out of the scene, and the computer chases away the talent. And the time came for the advertisement, which pretended to be journalism and the first slogans that tasted like real advertising. As a result of which mathematicians and theoreticians stormed the vacant places of artists and poets. There were riots both on the street and in advertising. Police batons started splashing! However, you can't too long obey the crowd of figures without going into esotericism. And so, very soon, the advertisement seized its tail, and fortunately, the time of 1968 (p. 40-41)

As is well known, unsuccessful revolutions have the gift of pushing the development of consciousness forward, thus continuing their path further. And here the born by the barricade young advertising involve and start measuring the swamp with stones that paved the way for her first sensual campaigns. Thus, instinctively, they rejected the theories of the rationalists and prevented them from participating in their triumph. Of course, for every success, there are reasons that, although very different, they still look alike. Because they

all belonged to the great saga of dreams (Seguela, 2004, p. 40-41), to which many have aspired.

Of course, it could be expected that after these undeniable victories of talent, the imagination would regain power, but it still allowed him to be caged. And his opponents' motive was that it could only counter the easily intuitive intuition of established theories. Because the new ambition of a person was to achieve pleasure, to feel good in his car, to fit comfortably in his clothes, etc., in two words to feel good in his skin. Therefore, the slogan of the fetish of the past centuries, "I think, so I am", was already read "I am, so I think" (Seguela, 2004, p. 42).

There is no dispute that an era **flew by, in which wealth was hegemonic with its cult – money, its outward brilliance – success, its cause of satisfaction – social status. The verb "I am" appeared on stage and his religion was a pleasure. From that moment on, the man began to strive for self-realization, and his main reward was to merge with society** (Seguela, 2004, p. 42) (mine is emphasized – G.M.).

Such is, according to J. Seguela (2004), the "advertising philosophy" of transforming the brand object into a personality brand that is inevitably linked to and derives from the profound technological changes in the modern market economy of the West, from the powerful development of economic marketing as a science and, of course from the serious changes in the social-psychological layers of the mass public consciousness. And one more thing: these changes give priority to the positive development of the individual, the character and the personality, whereby the leading position is taken by the qualities of man as a "standard for being" in the modern civilized world.

Drawing on the compelling charisma of Hollywood products in cinema and advertising, the Frenchman J. Seguela (2004) also asks the second, no less essential, a question from his algorithm: **How does a brand-person become a star brand?**

The answer to this question is in a synthesized, yet deeply meaningful form, which the French advertiser gracefully reveals through his understanding of what a star is in art, marketing, advertising and society.

Where did the star's overwhelming and enormous power come from? Asks Seguela (2004) and replies: From her triple nature, since the star has three invincible weapons (p. 58-60), which he examines in the following order:

First of all, the star is convincing, because it is its natural function, and it does not need to be possessed by that passion to persuade. Which the old generation of advertisers possessed – it is enough to appear to make us follow it or to think something for us to do. In other words, the star makes us buy it, since that is the point of its existence. Moreover, it is the driving force of its existence. In addition, the star has established itself as the only absolute commodity, and as the only one that can be sold many times over. Because her gestures, image, voice, even the past, above all, generate a net income. Moreover, this huge money machine is almost inexhaustible: the more a star sells, the more one buys, the more every act of consuming it makes it more desirable. Sort of like those fatal women who know how to turn love into an inexhaustible source of insatiable desire. Therefore, no matter how sophisticated, an ordinary commodity can never exceed a certain price, while a star has the

gift of selling us dreams and dreams never have a price. This is the only product that no one is asking for. Because its sale price is limited only by the number of screening rooms.

The second nature of a star is its durability. Because she is endowed with the privilege of remaining immortal. It seems as if there is some mockery of death in the fact that the Pantheon brings together people of art, historical figures and dream heroes. Here, the ability to exist is vital for the star as long as she (the star) reigns for only one day. What is more, only the stable, sound and reasonable are bought on the stock of stars, as well as on the stock exchange. For example, we look at Lolobrigida's breasts, stroking Loren's legs, dreaming of making love with Bardot. But we love Morgan, Schneider or Deneuve. But sex doesn't make love, and it's not enough to be a succulent beauty to be a star. It takes a lot more than a pair of breasts to make your billboard look. Or, to exist, it means playing fifty, one hundred, two hundred roles without the audience getting bored of you; to invest your soul every time without losing it; to surprise every time, but to be left alone; to update without changing. That is, to become master of time, or to exist, meaning never to grow old and never to die (Seguela, 2004, p. 59).

The star's third nature is to fascinate. Communicating and seducing are two character-related skills that are not only very important but also absolutely necessary to build a star.

To persuade, to exist, to fascinate – are there any advertisers who have not dreamed of seeing their brand endowed with this trope of success? In fact, the invention of the star is the most successful example of marketing in all of history. It's normal to use the lessons now, but how does a star form? There is nothing easier because you should ask for the recipe from the great leader Sam Goldwin – the father of Metro Goldwin Meyer and the inventor of the star system. His theory is very simple: to make an ordinary person extraordinary, it is enough to make the three constituents of his personality unique, namely: physics to make him convincing, character to be able to exist, and style to be enchanting. Because stars are not born, they are made. But it takes mind, perseverance, method and talent.

All of this applies to brands as well – concludes Jacques Seguela (2004, p. 60).

Hardly will sound overblown, if we summarize telegraphically, that with **his theoretical work, French advertiser Jacques Seguela (2004) has become one of the most brilliant European theorists of advertising (including, especially political) and of the most significant practitioners of the advertising phenomenon in the past 20th century.** We have to point out this indisputable fact, because there are still few experts who ignore Seguela's achievements, especially in the theoretical field, which is probably one of the reasons for provoking contemporary discussion about political advertising in the modern world.

* * *

In the 1950s, the theory and practice of advertising and political advertising went through a "revolutionary stage" that was not limited to the creativity (and activity) of the prominent Western advertisers so far. During this stage, a huge number of prominent advertising theorists make their huge contribution to the evolution of advertising (including political), like the Americans Bill Burnbach, Leo Burnett, Ted Levitt, the British J. Pierce, Alan

Parker, Ridley Scott, J. Hogarthy, the French M. Bongran, M. Sorel, Jean Dunner, Jean Rene and many others have left a lasting gap in the theoretical interpretation and practical development of the advertising phenomenon from the second half of the last century until now.

The qualities of this classified advertising scheme are indisputable, but one of its greatest achievements is its comprehensive focus and detailed layout, which definitely give it a leading methodological character.

Of course, we neither intend nor can analyze all existing classifications of advertising, so let's just summarize that out of all the above we rely on that for its use in the public sphere, and especially in the political, where different types of advertising have their own differentiation, modifications, purpose and weight.

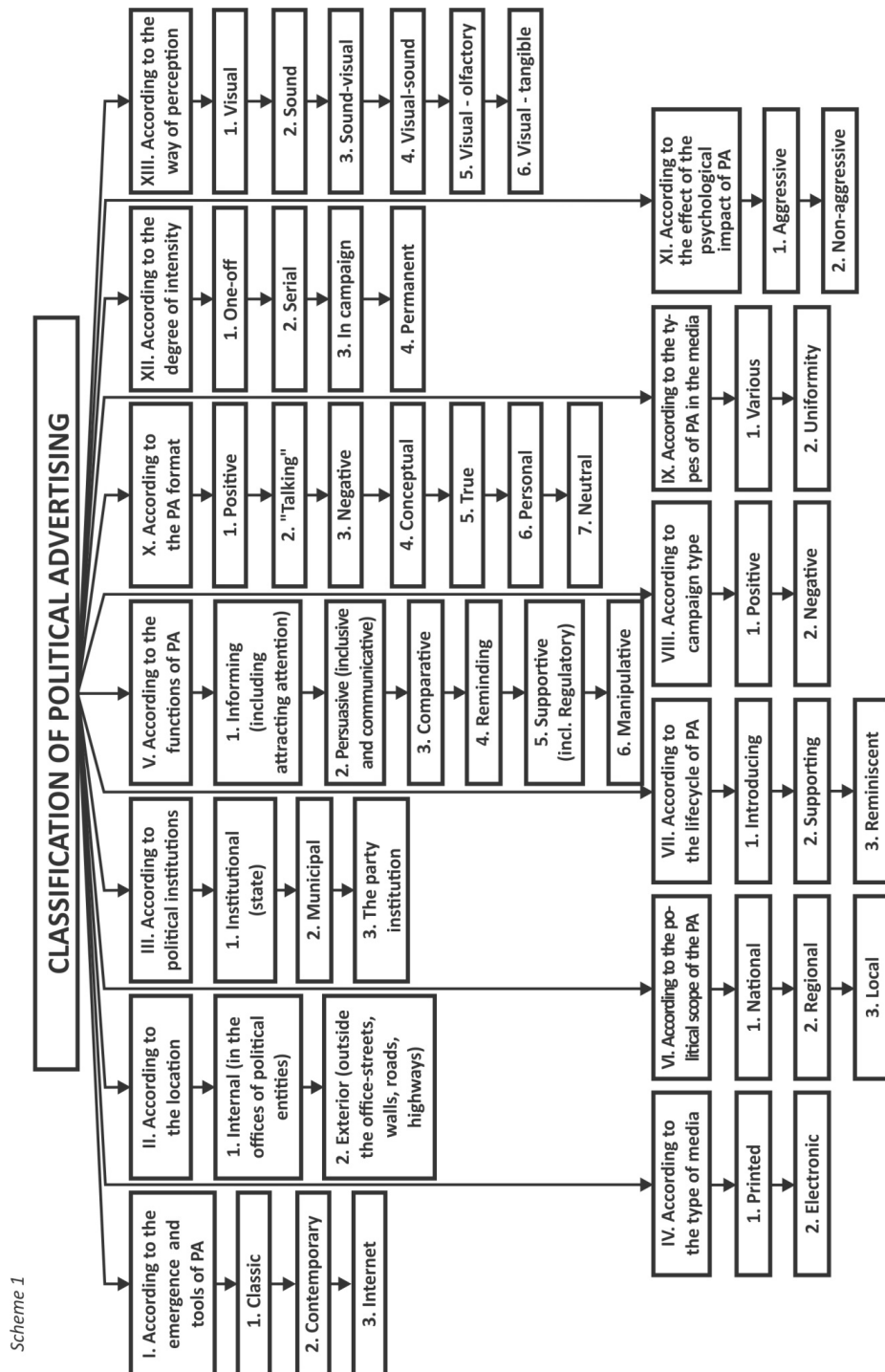
3. Classification (types) of political advertising

As can be expected, the question of types of political advertising still remains negligible. Here are just two indicative examples that strongly support the thesis of inaccurate (and imprecise) attempts to classify political advertising.

The French expert **M. Bongran** (1991) is one of the few political marketing professionals who classifies political advertising as a type of advertising medium in the following order: **first**, official advertising (posters, letters, etc.); **second**, classic advertising aids (print, television and radio); **third**, a poster (in various variants); **fourth**, printed matter (newspapers, leaflets, leaflets, etc.); and **fifth**, audio-visual aids (plates, cassettes, videotapes, videos, etc.) (p. 74-78), by which the classification is generally limited.

This, though true, is far and away not enough, since the author (M. Bongran (1991) does not specify the classification criteria at all, saves the tools and forms of advertising, and finally – repeats the same forms in different units of the classification systems schemes (as is the case with posters and posters) In general, quite a few ambiguities and omissions exist in M. Bongran's (1991) classification of types of political advertising...

The Bulgarian political scientist **T. Burudzhieva** (Burudjieva, Kaneva, 2007, p. 216), using the term "advertising forms", makes the following differentiation of political advertising: First, general forms, which are: **press – announcements**, announcements, paid materials – articles, interviews, extramural debates, reports, photo material; **outdoor print advertising** – leaflets, posters, billboards; television – active advertising, news, debates, press conferences, videos, spots; **radio music** videos, breaks between political discussions, journalistic and journalistic advertising techniques, and more. And second, the main forms of political advertising, such as: **political video** – vision and sound at the expense of speech, rhythm, dynamics (primarily focused on attracting attention); **political spot** – focuses on advertising text, slogan, voice (rather announces, the candidate is fully represented); and a **political billboard** – relatively low cost, the requirement for duration does not exist, repeatability is provided with very little effort, there is a possibility for a wide variety of topics, images and ideas, etc.



Scheme 1

This classification is very meaningful and rich in leading and mainstream advertising forms, but it also suffers from a certain incompleteness, which does not allow for a more complete and complete explanation of most types of political advertising.

Otherwise, things would stand if it were much differentiated, and in this typology more broadly. If we apply a whole set of criteria to help identify **political classification** varieties as accurately and in-depth as possible, we believe it can be divided into **thirteen main types**: by origin and tools; by location; according to the type of political institutions; by type of media; according to the functions of the PA; by territorial scope; according to the life cycle; according to the type of election campaign; by types of PA in the media; according to the format of the communication to the PR; according to the effect of the psychological impact of PR; according to the degree of intensity; and according to the way of perception of the PA (see Scheme 1). Here, however, we will make a fundamental reservation that addresses the important distinction between means and forms in the characterization of types of political advertising, which is: in a sense, means are the channels (communications) by which advertising is transformed into different categories of people and social classes, or whether it is print, television, radio, etc .; and in the other sense, the forms of political advertising are the specific types and types of advertising used by election campaign staffs during the various campaigns. And further, it must be remembered that, since political advertising is less frequently used in election periods, subsequent classification (in most cases) is made on the basis of pre-election political advertising, although it is referred to in the same way as a name.

So there **are several conclusions** to be drawn from the above classifications: **the first** is that some of the classifications are of general use because they are valid for advertising in general (for example, territorial reach, lifecycle) and therefore extrapolated to political advertising, while others are specific to election advertising only; **the second** is of a more specific nature, for example political advertising itself could be differentiated as current and pre-election, which we did not do, since current advertising is much less used as opposed to pre-election; **the third** is related to the ways in which the types of advertising are implemented, which, apart from being different, depend too much on the campaign staffs' orders and, respectively, on the use of various advertising forms, while being very precise (i.e not all together); **the fourth** concerns cinema advertising, which could also be classified as the relevant classical species, provided that it is not forgotten that it still "marched" with success in the first half of the twentieth century; **the fifth** concerns that another broad classification of political advertising (such as that of M. Bongran (1991) – formal and informal but which we consider inaccurate) may apply; **and the final conclusion** directly addresses the new forms of political advertising via the Internet (or, as we defined it, Internet political advertising), which are increasing their importance year by year in election campaigns and are literally revolutionizing, revising and replacing much of the past advertising in politics.

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