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POLITICAL BRANDING IN KUWAIT  
INVESTIGATING EXISTENCE AND EQUITY

By

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## **ABSTRACT**

This study examined the existence and the relevance of political concepts in the Kuwaiti political scene. Many indications suggest the relevance and applicability of commercial marketing concepts and tools in the political context. Yet, by examining the literature, one can find a shortage of academic work that sheds light on the study of branding concepts in the political context. This study found that brands structural knowledge does exist in the minds of Kuwaiti voters, using a five-aspects brands model and discusses the implications of that for the practice of future research.

## **INTRODUCTION:**

Many indications suggest the relevance and applicability of commercial marketing concepts and tools in the political context (Kotler, 1982; Kotler & Kotler, 1999; Mauser, 1983; O'Shaughnessy, 1990; Lilleker & Lees-Marshment, 2005). Yet, by examining the literature, one can find a shortage of academic work that sheds the light on the study of branding concepts in the political context (Schneider, 2004). As many scholars suggest, the nature of the new market place sets new rules for marketing practices, such as the shift from a mass communication model to a consumer-oriented model (Copley, 2004). While commercial marketing literature grew in this direction, it is safe to say that the political marketing literature fell behind. There are many important reasons for investigation into this phenomenon. For example, since differentiation is the main component of branding, it could be said that in many cases the number of the candidates running in a particular race, as large as it might seem to us sometimes, is smaller than the number of products competing in any product category. Therefore, differentiation may not have been as critical in these political races as it is in commercial competition. Moreover, as products compete internationally in a globalized market place; elections still are local or national in most cases. As slow as it might seem, political branding literature is growing widely. Scholars are pointing out the importance of political branding concepts as a tool in the political campaigning process (Reeves, de Chernatony, & Carrigan, 2006; Scammell, 2007). In addition, as many examples indicate, practitioners are implementing the concepts of political branding in many political races (White & de Chernatony, 2002).

### ***Why political branding?***

Generally, marketing practices have come under a lot of criticism and skepticism in the political context. On one hand, some scholars consider the effect of marketing in the political context to be negative. According to Beresford (1998) political marketers are concerned in persuading voters instead of genuinely informing them. On the other hand, supporters of marketing techniques in the

political context emphasize that it helps politicians to know the real needs of their voters and fulfill them. According to Reeves, de Chernatony, & Carrigan (2006, p. 419), "political marketing is, in general, a force for good within society, given that political marketing is concerned with the satisfaction of the electorate."

In reality, as in a commercial context, political audiences (voters) are not equally interested and involved in political matters. While some select their candidates after carefully studying positions and character, others do not have the same interest or ability to make an informed decision. Those low-involved voters use what is known in marketing literature as mental-short-cuts or heuristics (Kardes, 2001; Schneider, 2004). Serious candidates are interested in reaching the highly involved voters and persuading them with their positions and ideas. In addition, they should pay attention to the impressions formed in the minds of low involved voters. Also, make efforts to influence those impressions instead of leaving them form haphazardly.

## CHAPTER 1: LITERATURE REVIEW

Marketing practices have been deployed in the political arena for a long time. Growing interests in marketing as a competitive tool in political campaigning can be observed by noticing the increase in budgets spent in elections worldwide (White & de Chernatony, 2002; Schneider, 2004). For example, in the United States of America, the amount of money spent in the presidential elections in 1992 exceeded \$550 million, doubling what was spent for the presidential elections in 1980 (Kotler & Kotler, 1999). In addition to the availability of financial resources, the growth of political marketing is attributed to many other factors such as the ability and willingness of political candidates to modify positions according to polls, research and counselors' advice. Additionally, the decrease voter turnout meant that new and different approaches were needed to motivate political public participation (O'Shaughnessy, 1990). Different disciplines contributed in the efforts to put forward a theory that could help predict and explain the behavior of the voters and how it is formulated. Scholars from political science, communication, sociology, social psychology and consumer behavior disciplines tried to ascertain the most influential factors that affected the voting choice (Newman & Sheth, 1987; McConkey, 2004).

According to Newman and Sheth (1987) American presidential elections prior to 1952 were run directly by the candidates themselves. They were not well-organized, and were structured in a manner that was described as "loose, even haphazard" (Newman & Sheth, 1987, p. 6). After that year, a new approach referred to as the "new methodology" was introduced to the campaigning efforts (Newman & Sheth, 1987, p. 6). "The new methodology incorporated an assessment of voters' needs as well as competitive strategies" (Newman & Sheth, 1987, p. 6). Then in the year 1969, a new approach called the "selling approach" was used by Nixon's team. They intentionally tried to influence and manipulate the perceived image of the candidate through a myriad of communication tools such as media advertising, public relations and personal appearances. It was

during the 1976 elections that campaign efforts evolved towards using marketing research to segment the targeted audience (Newman & Sheth, 1987, p. 6). Studies were conducted to sense and assess the needs of each segment in order to develop a specific message for each.

As in commercial marketing, political marketing, in both practice and theory, entered a new era, an era described by a shift away from a mass communications model towards consumer oriented model (Copley, 2004; Scammell, 2007). According to Keller (2003, p. 230), "The rapid expansion of the Internet has brought the need for personalized marketing into sharp focus. Many maintain that the new economy celebrates the power of the individual consumer." One of the most important and widely used terms associated with the new market paradigm is branding. According to Scammell (2007, p. 176), "if market research, spin, and advertising were the key signifiers of marketed parties and candidates in the 1980s and 1990s, "branding" is the hallmark now."

***Branding definitions:***

Brands and the notion of branding, are the main aspects of the new era of marketing theory and practice. Yet, one of the major limitations of branding knowledge and practice acknowledged by many scholars is the lack of agreement upon what branding should mean and represent (Schultz & Schultz, 2004). According to Wood (2000, p. 662) "The different approaches to defining the brand construct partly stem from deferring philosophies (such as product-plus and holistic branding ...) and stakeholder perspective, i.e. a brand may be defined from the consumers' perspective and/or from the brand owner's perspective. In addition, brands are sometimes described in terms of their purpose, and sometimes described by their characteristics."

Some branding definitions have emphasized the visual element of the brands, such as the definition proposed by the American Marketing Association (AMA) stating that a brand is, "A name, term, design, symbol, or any other feature that identifies one seller's good or service as distinct from those of other sellers. The legal term for brand is trademark. A brand may identify one item, a

family of items, or all items of that seller. If used for the firm as a whole, the preferred term is trade name" (American Marketing Association). Yet, the practice and the literature of branding go beyond that. By now, "It should be recognized that many practicing managers, however, refer to a brand as more than that --defining a brand in terms of having actually created a certain amount of awareness, reputation, prominence, and so on in the marketplace" (Keller, 2003, p. 3). Holland (2006, p. 5) suggests that, "brands are not just about logos (a typical misconception), even though the logo is often the key element in the branding program. The brand goes beyond tangible design elements to something more abstract and far-reaching. As an expression of the core values of your organization, your brand creates expectations and makes promises to your audiences." Other definitions went the other way. While the AMA definition was criticized for concentrating on visuals and considered mainly the tangible aspects of brands, other definitions defined brands only by the abstract aspects of them. An example is the definition proposed by Davis (2000, p. 3), "Brand is a set of promises. It implies trust, consistency, and a defined set of expectations." Other definitions combined both the tangible and the intangible aspects of the brand such as that proposed by Interbrand (2006, p. 14), "A brand is a mixture of attributes, tangible and intangible, symbolized in trademark, which if managed properly, creates value and influence."

### ***Political branding:***

The branding approach is being practiced in political campaigning already. One can find many published works that record and evaluate the implementation of branding practices in the political context especially in North America and Europe (Reeves, de Chernatony, & Carrigan, 2006; Scammell, 2007; White & de Chernatony, 2002). Yet, one can also notice the scarcity of academic works that have considered the branding aspect of political marketing (Schneider, 2004). As in commercial branding, political branding has many relevant benefits to both voters and the campaigners. According to Scammell (2007, p. 187), "The general value of branding to campaigners is both conceptual and practical. It provides a conceptual framework to distinguish and fathom links between the functional

perceptions of parties and leaders (the "boundary conditions") such as economic management, policy commitments and the competence to deliver, and the emotional attractions ("boundary differentiators"), such as "one of us", authenticity, approachability, and attractiveness to the ear and the eye. It brings together the emotional and intellectual, rational and irrational."

Name recognition serves as a primarily brand function in both commercial and political areas. According to Keller (2003, p. 9), "if consumers recognize a brand and have some knowledge about it, then they do not have to engage in a lot of additional thought or processing of information to make a product decision." Hence, in the light of the political complexity, the average voter is expected to use what Schneider (2004, p. 51) calls "informational shortcuts" to facilitate voting decision. In addition, risk reduction is considered a relevant brand function to the political context. According to Hasitschka (1995), "the significance of political brands for *risk reduction* arises from the specifics of the political exchange process, which in sum, lead to a higher perceived risk for voters. In the exchange for their votes, parties and candidates offer the voter a promise of providing values as well as representing their preferences, ideas and interests" (cited by Schneider, 2004, p. 51).

### ***Image studies***

It is important to make the inter-disciplinary connections between the efforts made within different areas of scientific knowledge that constructed some pieces of the phenomenon of interest to this research. One of the issues studied by both marketing and political science disciplines is image. Some scholars would hesitantly define image as the brand itself: "Our common if loose understanding that brand refers to image and reputation is more or less right" (Scammell, 2007, p. 177). Others make the differentiation by referring to image as only the extrinsic aspect of the brand. According to Keller (2003, p. 83), "Brand imagery deals with the extrinsic properties of the product or service, including the ways in which the brand attempts to meet consumers' psychological or social needs. Brand imagery is how people think about a brand abstractly."

Bringing the philosophical debate of what reality is and how it is perceived, it is suggested that image is highly important to the study of voting behavior for many reasons. "Foremost is the simple fact that voters respond to their perceptions rather than to objective realities about campaigns and candidates (Hacker, 1995, p. xii). Kotler (1982) suggests that although political candidates and parties make the efforts to project a specific desirable image of themselves to the voters, the perceived image by the voter does not necessarily match the projected one. Other than the distortion of the communication process, Kotler refers some of the mismatches between the projected image and the perceived one to the differences of cognitive maps of each recipient. In addition, voters are each exposed to various and different information channels that contribute to the final perceptual image formed of the candidate or the party.

### ***Positioning***

The concept of positioning was one of the milestones in the development of marketing literature and practice. It was introduced in the 1972 by Al Ries and Jack Trout when they published their article "The Positioning Era" (Ries & Trout, 2001). The concept of positioning has been an addition to the widely known "4Ps" of marketing (product, price, place and promotion) since it presents a conceptual framework that helps align the "4Ps" more consistently.

Consistent with how image is defined in terms of the extrinsic aspect, "positioning is not what you do to a product. Positioning is what you do to the mind of the prospect. That is, you position the product in the mind of the prospects" (Ries & Trout, 2001, p. 2). According to Interbrand (2006, p. 17), brand positioning is, "the unique, strategic location of the brand in the competitive landscape. It establishes communications to consumers in a way that sets it apart from the competition, ensuring that consumers can differentiate between it and others." Duncan (2004) proposes four positioning strategies: 1) Category positioning, which is when a company invents a new product with no precedent competitors. Such a strategy is highly emphasized by Ries and Trout (2001, p. 19) "The easy way to get into a person's mind is to be first"; 2) Image positioning, which makes

created images the basis of differentiation. Keller (2003) refers to that as non-product-related competitive advantage. He suggests that it is implemented by "understanding consumer motivations and desires and creating relevant and appealing images surrounding their products"; 3) Unique product feature positioning, which is having an exceptional feature to the product or service that sets it apart of competition. This feature could be tangible feature of the product or could be intangible feature like price and; 4) Benefit positioning, which according to Duncan (2004, p. 77), is "based on **Benefits**, *advantages that allow a product to satisfy customer's needs, wants, or desires*" which he categorizes into experiential, functional and symbolic.

Davis (2000) proposes five principles for an effective brand positioning: (1) It should be valued by the current and potential targeted audiences; (2) The brand positioning should be unique and sets the brand apart from its competitor; (3) The proposed positioning must be credible in the eyes of the target audience. That means it should be believable, deliverable, and feasible; (4) A good brand position needs to be sustainable in a sense that it is not easy for competitors to copy it. In addition, sustainability means that enough research is done to make sure that the chosen brand position will remain desirable for the targeted audience through an intended period of time and; (5) The brand positioning should fit the overall organization's objectives. Davis's Principles of effective positioning are summarized in the following figure.

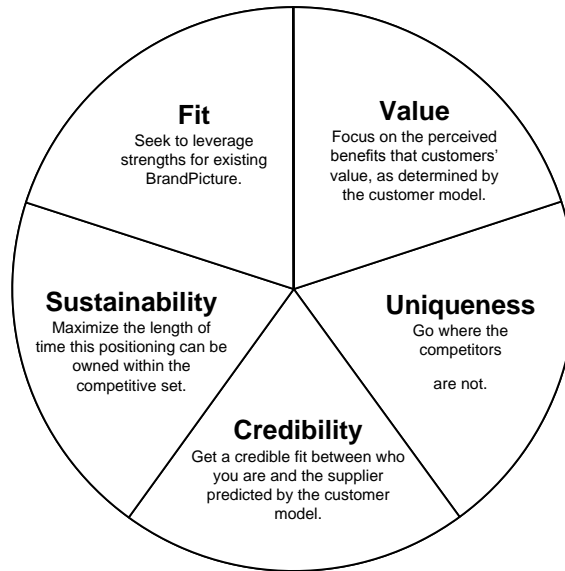


Figure 1: The Five Principles of Effective Positioning (Davis, 2000)

Positioning steps and concepts differ as any marketing practice based on the context. An approach to political candidate positioning is found in the work of Mauser (1983). In his book *Political Marketing: An Approach to Campaign Strategy*, Mauser presents a conceptual framework for candidate positioning based on the work of Volney Stefflre in creating and building a new brand's concepts for introduction to the commercial markets. Mauser (1983) notes that positioning a candidate gives them a better chance to utilize their strengths and take advantage of opportunities had they emerge during the campaigning process. As positioning is so important for candidates who are aiming towards building a political career rather than just winning an election, it is also noted that in order for a conceptual position to help a candidate run an effective campaign the positioning concept should both be popular and believable.

The input of the process of strategically positioning a candidate is an analysis of the candidate and his political situation according to Mauser (1983). The process goes through four steps which start with (1) identifying all the names of the potential or desirable candidates. The names should be identified by conducting interviews with small number of participants. Mauser (1983) estimates the number of the participants appropriate for this step at 20 persons. The sample

does not necessarily have to be statistically representative. Yet, the entire spectrum of the target audience should be represented. Since the process of strategically positioning candidates is constructed of steps that should be performed sequentially, the importance of the names list emerging from this step is the foundation for the upcoming steps of this process.

(2) Mapping voters' perception is the second step of this process. In this step a perceptual map of audience's perceptions of the candidates is drawn. It is done by two sub-steps; first, defining how the target audience segments the candidates and; second, specifying the candidates' attributes that people use to segment them. The two steps are implemented by interviewing a number of participants, estimated by Mauser (1983) to be 60 people. In these interviews, the participants are asked to pair candidates whom they find similar to each other. At this step, no justification of why candidates were paired is required. After this step is finished, the participants are to be asked to justify the choices they made pairing each couple of candidates. Information taken from the first step is used to create spatial models using multi-dimensional scales. A perceptual map is created based on the frequency of each pair of candidates being mentioned together. This map gives the researcher a visual representation of which candidates seem similar from the target audience viewpoint and which do not. Second, the justifications of similarities between candidates acquired from the second step are used to put forward hypotheses about which qualities and attributes are most salient for the target audience. According to Mauser (1983, p. 90) "At this stage all such hypotheses are, of course pure speculations. The challenge is to find clues for strategically positioning candidates in upcoming elections."

(3) Mapping patterns of competition is done according to Mauser (1983) by studying a sample of the population estimated at 200 participants. The participants are asked to rank order the list of the potential candidates acquired in the first step according to their preferences. Then, correlation indices are created from the answers obtained from participants. Using the correlation indices, a perceptual map is created that helps the campaigners to examine which candidates

appeal to which targeted segments based on their age, education or party affiliation. Candidates perceived to be similar to each other will take close positions on the perceptual map.

(4) Evaluating campaign strategies is done by including hypothetical candidates to be rank ordered in the previous step. It is done by creating fictitious names with a brief description of positions or strategies a candidate would potentially adopt. This step provides campaigners with insights on where will their candidate be positioned had he or she adopted such campaign strategy. Mauser (1983) emphasizes that when considering adopting a position or a strategy, campaigners must choose the attributes that attract the audience they are trying to appeal to. Moreover, positions and strategies must appeal to current

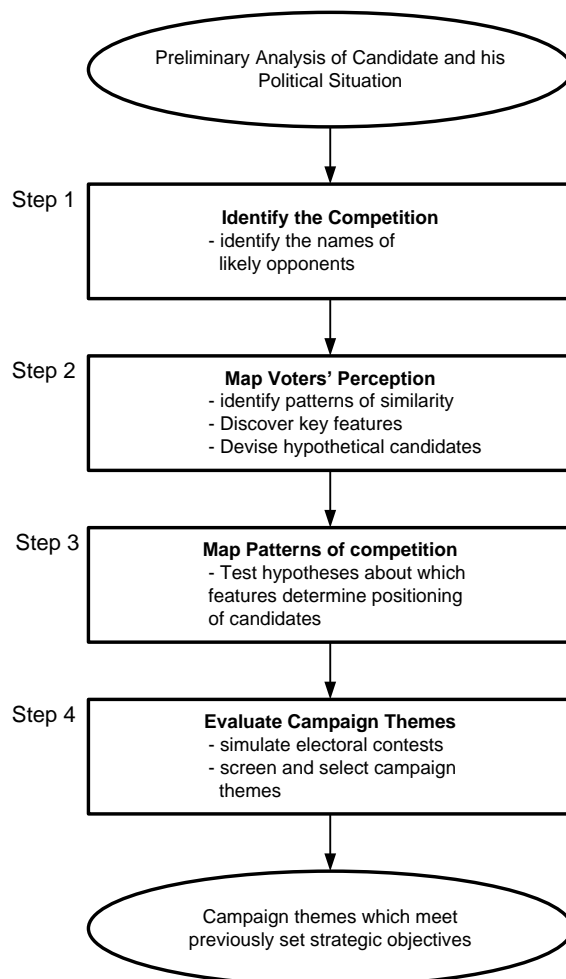


Figure 2: An Approach to Strategically Positioning Candidates (Mauser, 1983)

supporters.. According to Mauser (1983, p. 88), "Candidates, by following the steps above, can generate and screen a wide variety of positioning strategies in any given political contest. This procedure removes much of the uncertainty involved in fashioning political strategy, for it allows candidates to identify the most effective positions and postures to adopt. Once a candidate has decided upon his basic posture or image, he can begin to organize his campaign around that base."

### ***Brand equity***

As mentioned earlier, marketing scholars do not share one point of view regarding what brands are and how they should be defined. Similar disagreement can be found in the literature that attempts to define brand equity. The concept of brand equity emerged as an attempt to define the relationship between the brand and the consumer (Wood, 2000). This relationship has been defined differently among different international marketing schools. According to Interbrand (2006, p. 15), "there are different definitions of the term in different markets. In the UK, brand equity is used mainly to describe market research-based measurement and tracking models that focus on consumer perceptions. In the US, it is used for both research and financially based evaluation models." There are two broad approaches to define brand equity found in the literature. The first one is built around the financial aspect of brands and what they represent from the brand's owner point of view (Schultz & Schultz, 2004). For the purpose of this study, the researcher will focus on the second approach to brand equity, dealing with the effect that brands have on the consumers' decisions and perceptions. The American Marketing Association defines brand equity as "The value of a brand. From a consumer perspective, brand equity is based on consumer attitudes about positive brand attributes and favorable consequences of brand use" (American Marketing Association).

Keller (2003, p. 60) proposes that a "consumer-based brand equity is formally defined as the differential that brand knowledge has on consumer response to the marketing of that brand." The consumer-based definitions of

brand equity emphasize the effects that the perception of a certain brand has on the response of the consumer towards the brand or its marketing messages. As Keller (2003, p. 60) puts it “a brand is said to have positive consumer-based brand equity when consumers react more favorably to a product or the way it is marketed when the brand is identified than when it is not.” Aaker (1991) and Keller (2003) –two highly regarded and widely cited names in this subject- each put forth his own model of brand equity. Both models try to define what goes into and increases brand equity. By examining the two models, one finds many similarities between them regarding content and some differences regarding structure. As Aaker's model appears to be more comprehensive, it is useful to give

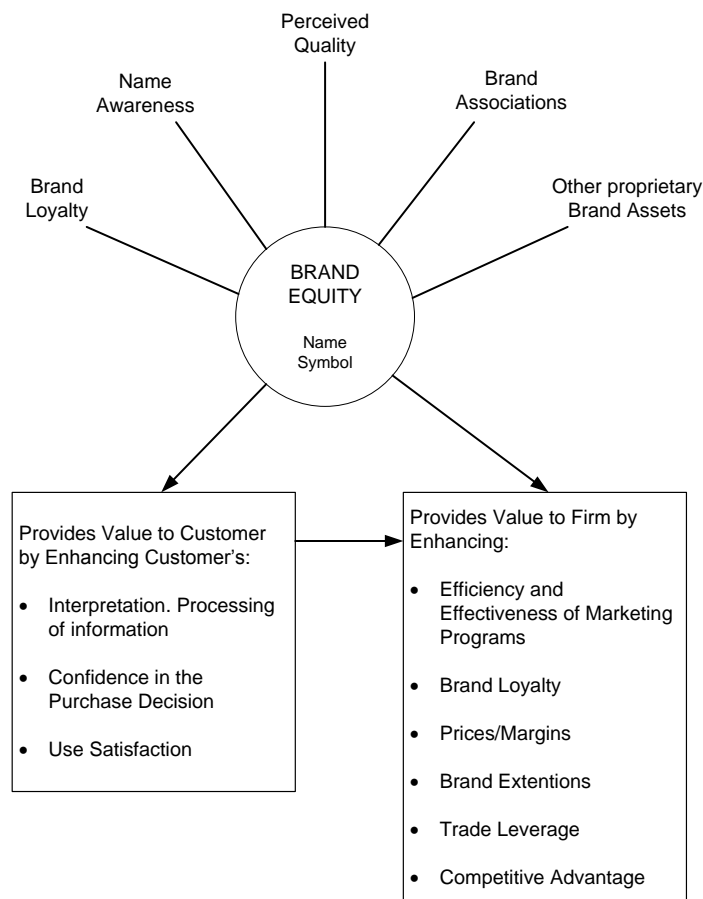


Figure 3: Brand Equity  
(Aaker, 1991)

a summary of this model. Aaker (1991, p. 15) defines brand equity as a, "set of brand assets and liabilities linked to a brand, its name and symbol, that add to or subtract from the value provided by a product or service to a firm and/or to that firm's customers." According to Aaker (1991), brand equity consists of (1) brand loyalty, (2) name awareness, (3) perceived quality, (4) brand associations in addition to perceived quality and (5) other proprietary brand assets, which are illustrated in (Figure 3).

**Brand loyalty:** Loyal customers have a big influence on organizations' performance stability. In addition, , the effort and money required to keep a loyal customer is less than what it takes to attract a new customer. Aaker (1991) notes that loyal customers do not only represent a steady income to the organization, they are considered to be brand ambassadors who expose others to the brand. For that, Aaker considers brand loyalty a big contributor to brand equity.

**Brand awareness:** According to Aaker (1991) a recognizable brand is often perceived as a more reliable one. Both Aaker (1991) and Keller (2003) agree that brand awareness gives the product a better chance to enter the consumer's consideration set. Keller (2003) proposes that brand awareness consists of both (1) brand recognition, which means that the consumer would confirm being exposed previously to the brand and (2) brand recall, which is the customer's ability to recall the specific brand when given the product category.

Aaker (1991) notes that a product's perceived quality influences the consumer's decision. Even if the perceived quality is not based on a real knowledge, the consumer still includes it when considering goods or services. It affects the product's pricing because as the perceived quality increases the consumer will be more likely to tolerate price increases. The perceived quality of a brand also gives the brand's owner the choice to extend the brand to other products.

**Brand associations:** The set of associations to a brand is correlated with brand equity. In some cases, it also gives the brand an advantage over

competitors. According to Aaker (1991, p. 21), " if a brand is well positioned upon a key attributes in the product class (such as service backup or technological superiority), competitors will find it hard to attack." Keller (2003) notes that the power of brand associations depends on three things: (1) The strength of the associations, which means how well these associations are connected in the consumers' minds to the brand's node. It is useful to mention here that according to Kardes (2001) a rich node, which is connected to many associations, does not have the advantage to be quickly activated. Having many associations related to the brand lowers its chances to be the first that comes in the mind of the consumer; (2) Associations favorability is the second component of the association's power. By favorability, Keller (2003) means how relevant, distinct and believable consumers find the associations; and (3) finally, Keller (2003) agrees with Aaker (1991) that uniqueness of associations that are not common among competitors gives the brand an advantage. Such associations according to Keller (2003, p. 73) give the consumers a "compelling reason why they should buy that particular brand."

Other proprietary brand assets: according to Aaker (1991), there are other elements that contribute to the brand equity. One example of this is a unique and distinguished trademark that prevents customers from confusing the product with a competitor. Also, a patent that is exclusive to a brand adds more to the value of brand equity.

### ***Kuwaiti Context***

This study examines the election process in Kuwait. In 2006, a new districts law consolidated twenty-five districts into five, increasing the area and population in which a candidate has to run . Since the year 1980, the Kuwaiti government, after unconstitutionally dissolving the parliament, changed the law of elections' districts. This change divided Kuwait into 25 districts. Through this change, the government wanted to achieve several goals, including limiting the chances of the opposition to be represented in the parliament. Also, it aimed to influence election outcomes so it could pass legislation which was issued by the

government during the absence of the parliament (Alharbi, 2007). For many years, the new districts' system came under a lot of criticism from political activists and parliament members. Not until 2006 were they able to lobby against it and achieve the majority necessary to change the elections districts system to a five districts system.

During the course of the Kuwaiti political life, there has been a unique social network called Diwaneya that have played a major role in all aspects of the Kuwaiti scene. According to Almqamis (1986, p. 13), "since the Kuwaiti democracy is unique within the area of the gulf and the Arabic world, the Kuwaiti Diwaneya emerges as a unique pattern that has important role in our social and political system." The Diwaneya is "that insulated part of the house which in itself forms a social phenomenon or an inherited cultural habit. It is likely to be an informal social organization that characterizes the men's society exclusively. It is a place to exchange opinions about all daily matters like sports, politics, and science. It is also considered an amusement place for spending free time" (Alkandari, 2002, p. 51). The diwaneyas are important for this study because they are where this study takes place. The community of this study will be picked from several diwaneyas in Kuwait, as explained below, in the methodology section.

The new Five Districts system raises the importance of political marketing as it has become more difficult for candidates to reach voters in person given the additional area and number of voters. From the voter's point of view, the number of candidates to choose from was increased by five times on average. Now, marketing techniques are needed to place candidates in unique positions in the minds of voters. Therefore, this study tries to answer the following research questions:

- R1 – Do existing political brand traits apply in the Kuwaiti context?
- R2 - If the answer is yes for the first question, this study serves as an exploratory study to investigate which brand aspect: familiarity, reputation, personality, performance or connectivity, contributes most to the political brand equity in the Kuwaiti environment. Which brand aspect

correlate most with the voting preferences? In what direction and to what strength?

## CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY

To investigate the questions of this study, the instrument used was adapted from the study done by Chernoff Newman and MarketSearch (2007). The study was designed to examine candidates running for the United States presidential elections of 2008. Chernoff Newman and MarketSearch identified five key brand dimensions of product/service branding. These key elements are; brand awareness, brand reputation, brand appeal, brand performance and brand relevance. According to Chernoff Newman and MarketSearch (2007) the brand dimensions were modified to suit the political branding context according to the following table (table 1):

Table 1: Commercial brand dimensions versus political brand dimensions

<b>Product/Service Branding</b>	<b>Presidential Branding</b>
<b>Brand Awareness</b>  How well known is the brand? Do prospective customers think of it first when identifying competitors within the category?	<b>Familiarity</b>  Candidate name recognition and general impressions
<b>Brand Reputation</b>  How do consumers feel about the brand? Does the name generate positive reactions and expectations? How strong is its general image?	<b>Reputation</b>  Favorable versus unfavorable impressions
<b>Brand Appeal</b>  What are the distinguishing qualities or attributes that consumers associate with the brand? How well do these perceptions fit with the brand's strategic positioning?	<b>Personality</b>  Attributes such as "trustworthy, interesting, likable, warm and charming and 'looks presidential'"

Table 1-Continued

<b>Product/Service Branding</b>	<b>Presidential Branding</b>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Brand Performance</b></p> <p>How well does the brand perform in its core business according to customers? How satisfied and loyal are customers? Is the brand performing up to expectations?</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Performance</b></p> <p>Most respect from other countries, most prepared to be president, most relevant experience, most intelligent, best plan for Iraq war</p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Brand Relevance</b></p> <p>How well does corporate commitment to customer service match the brand's image? Do customer contact points with the brand consistently reinforce the brand's positioning?</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Connectivity</b></p> <p>Compassionate, in-tune to the voters of South Carolina, sensitive to the needs of the poor and underprivileged</p>

(Chernoff Newman; MarketSearch, 2007)

Several changes were made to the instrument according to the context of the Kuwaiti elections. The data collection for the study made by Chernoff Newman and MarketSearch was done over the phone. For each question, they asked participants to choose the candidate to which the question applies the most, and to choose the candidate to which the question applied the least. Then an index was constructed by subtracting the most and the least responses each candidate received for each question. Since information will be gathered from participants by handing them the questionnaire, scales were changed to a seven point Likert scales. This will provide us with an interval level of measurement.

In addition, modifications were made to some questions to fit the context of Kuwaiti elections. For example, the question about military spending and the Iraq war, which were part of the performance index, were replaced with questions about the Kuwaiti housing crisis and the Kuwaiti health care system problem. These two issues were the second and the third top priority issues relevant to the Kuwaiti voter according to a study done by the Department of Research and Studies in the National Assembly of Kuwait (2006). This study took place during

September and October of 2006 and was published November 18, 2006.

According to the study, the first priority issue, buying the citizens' debts by the government, occupied this position because of the current campaign promises by candidates. Throughout three different studies done for the same purpose in the last ten years this is the first time this issue appears in the top-ten list of the most relevant issues to the Kuwaiti voter. Therefore, it was not included in the study. The following table provides the questions that each brand aspect consists of in this study.

Table 2: Brand aspects and questions

<b>Familiarity</b>	He is known to me
	I know what he stands for
<b>Reputation</b>	He has a good reputation among people
<b>Personality</b>	He has a likeable personality
	He is trust worthy
	He has a distinguished and interesting personality
	He has the look and appearance of a Kuwait National Assembly member
	He is articulate, he expresses his thoughts and ideas well
<b>Performance</b>	He is intelligent and able to deal with complex issues
	He is respected by the executive branch of the government
	He is able to deal with the housing crisis
	He seems experienced at what he does
	He is able to deal with health care system problems
<b>Connectivity</b>	He is truly companionate to people
	He is sensitive to the needs of people
	He communicates with the people

***Sampling:***

As mentioned earlier, the new districts law divided Kuwait into five districts. Because of resource limitations, one of the five districts was selected, which is known as the third district, as the target for this study. The third district

was chosen because it includes within it areas of different cultural and ethnic backgrounds. Using the Diwanias directory published by Delta-Kuwait, the number of Diwanias in each area in this district was identified according the following table:

Table 3: Number of diwanias in each area

Area	Number of Diwanias
Alkhalidia	108
Alrawdā	187
Alsurra	68
Alodayliah	147
Qurtoba	57
Kaifan	140
Yarmouk	65
Aljabria	38
Janoob Alsurra	18
Khaitan	69

(Delta-Kuwait, 2006)

Using the command RANDBETWEEN in Microsoft Excel, and setting the lower value at one and the higher value at the number of diwanias in each area, and after canceling the repetitive values, a random sample of diwanias in each area was selected. Matching the numbers acquired to the diwanias directory, the name of each diwaneya owner and his contact number and the address of the diwaneya was acquired. By the same order acquired from the sampling process, the owners of the diwanias were contacted and had the purpose of the study explained to them. Then they were asked to voluntarily agree to host the study in their diwanias. For those who approved to do so, on the day the diwaneya is held, the purpose of the study was explained to the guests and they were asked participate voluntarily in this study by taking the questionnaire. The total number of diwanias that approved to participate is 45.

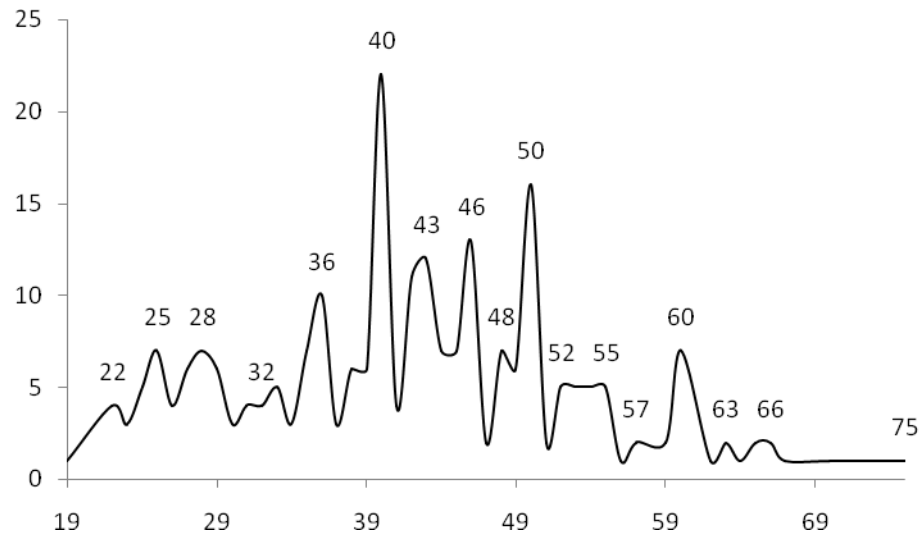
The first wave of questionnaires sent using the random method sums up to 800. The valid responses acquired from this wave were 140. In order to get more valid responses, a second wave was sent out to diwanias of which the host or some of its members were known to the researcher. The second wave sums up to

300 questionnaires and the valid responses was 118. The data gathering took place in January and February of 2008.

### CHAPTER3: RESULTS

The total number of the people who participated in this study was 258. The range of ages was 19 – 75 years. The average age of the sample is 41.73 years. The median age for the sample is 42 years.

Figure 4: Age of respondents



When asked about their political leanings, 16.1% (N=39) of the respondents considered themselves (religious) and 69% (N=167) of the respondents considered themselves (conservatives). While 4.5% (N=11) of the 246 respondents who answered this question considered themselves liberals, 9% (N=22) of the respondents thought that they are not represented in the other choices so they chose (other) and 1.2% (N=3) of the respondents did not know what applies to them, so they chose (don't know). Finally, 16 responses were coded missing for this question.

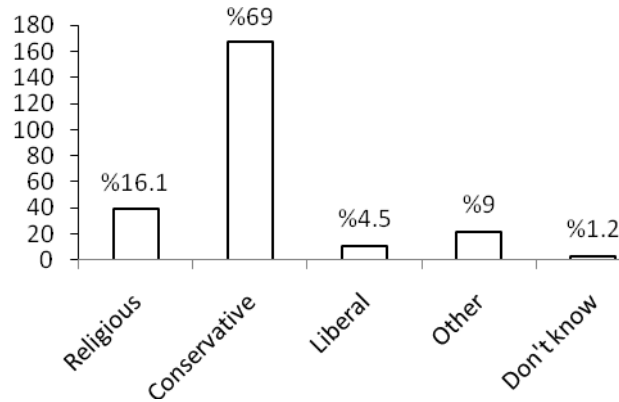


Figure 5: Respondents' political leanings

When asked about their highest degree completed, 6.3% (N=16) respondents indicated that they completed an intermediate degree and 13.9% (N=35) respondents indicated that they completed a high school degree. The majority of 64.9% (N=163) of the respondents indicated that they completed an academy or a university degree and 14.7% (N=37) respondents indicated that they completed a post-graduate degree. The total number of valid responses for this question is 251 valid responses.

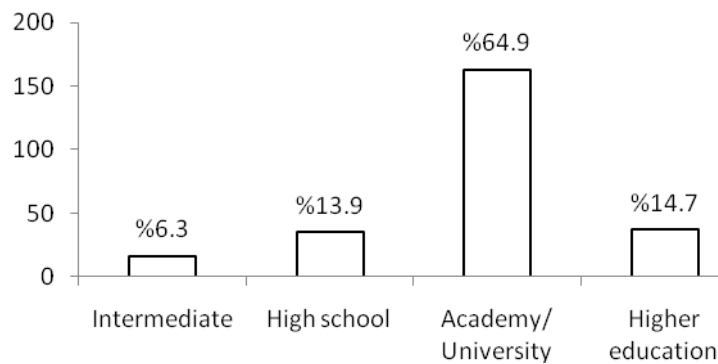


Figure 6: Respondents' highest degrees

When respondents were asked about time spent exposed to television, radio, newspapers and Internet responses were according to the following:

Table 4: Media exposure of respondents in hours per day

	Television	Radio	Newspapers	Internet
Responses	236	235	235	230
Mean	2.77	1.24	1.038	1.55
Mode	2	1	1	0
Std. Deviation	1.83	1.25	0.95	1.67
Minimum	0	0	0	0
Maximum	12	8	6	8

When respondents were asked to identify the areas where they are registered as voters, responses were according to the following:

Table 5: Respondents' areas of voting

Area of voting	responses	Percent
Alkhalidia	9	3.6%
Alrawda	23	9.2%
Alsurra	15	6.0%
Alodayliah	11	4.4%
Qurtoba	14	5.6%
Kaifan	48	19.2%
Yarmouk	9	3.6%
Aljabria	20	8.0%
Janoob Alsurra	24	9.6%
Khaitan	21	8.4%
Other	56	22.4%
Total	250	100%
Missing	8	

It is noticed that the category (Other) in (table 5) holds the largest percentage of respondents with 22.4% (N=56). It could be said that Diwaneya

visitors are not necessarily geographically tied. They could be family members, co-workers or schoolmates who happened to live in geographically different areas but gather in a specific diwaneya every week.

The Cronbach's alpha reliability was used to test the validity of the questions across all the parliament members. The questions from 1 to 16 have a Cronbach's alpha value above .7 which is acceptable for a pre-published work. Questions 17 and 18 were suggested by this study.

Table 6: Cronbach's alpha reliability

	The Question	Cronbach's alpha	N
1	He is known to me	.846	200
2	I know what he stands for	.811	179
3	He has a good reputation among people	.721	174
4	He has a likeable personality	.714	175
5	He is trust worthy	.704	187
6	He has a distinguished and interesting personality	.731	183
7	He has the look and appearance of a Kuwait National Assembly member	.831	188
8	He is articulate, he expresses his thoughts and ideas well	.784	197
9	He is intelligent and able to deal with complex issues	.801	180
10	He is respected by the executive branch of the government	.797	179
11	He is able to deal with the housing crisis	.917	174
12	He seems experienced at what he does	.830	194
13	He is able to deal with health care system problems	.933	172
14	He is truly companionate to people	.821	179
15	He is sensitive to the needs of people	.823	189
16	He communicates with the people	.818	162
17	He deserves my vote	.682	193
18	He will get enough votes to win	.690	173

### One-Sample t-test when test value = Mean

To test the differences in perceptions regarding each aspect of brands, a one-sample t-test was used with the test value of the mean of each aspect. In each of the following tables sever observations fell so close to the mean that our sample size was not large enough to detect a significant difference. For the rest of the observations, a significant difference was detected.

Familiarity aspect:

It is indicated in (table 7) and (figure 7) that the level of familiarity of each parliament member differs from one to another. Respondents did not express their familiarity level with the parliament members based on their overall familiarity with politicians. Instead, data shows that familiarity aspect of brands could detect differences individually. A significant difference is detected in familiarity aspect for all the parliament members at .05 level of confidence except for Saleh Fdalah. Falling too close to the overall mean of this aspect, our observations were not large enough to detect significant difference of Fdala's mean to the overall mean.

Table 7: One-Sample t-test when test value = Mean for Familiarity aspect

Test Value = 4.92				
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference
Ahmad_Sadoon	5.986824	234	0.000	0.645572
Jamal_Omar	-4.61834	226	0.000	-0.58331
Saleh_Fdalah	0.851902	220	0.395	0.106898
Adel_Sarawi	3.542799	227	0.000	0.417399
Ali_Omair	-3.2096	216	0.002	-0.40408
Faisal_Shaye	-4.32296	213	0.000	-0.54401
Faisal_Meslim	3.466296	224	0.001	0.437487
Nasir_Sane	4.965577	230	0.000	0.54069
Waleed_Tubtobae	6.23116	230	0.000	0.705192
Waleed_Osaimi	-10.3662	222	0.000	-1.43597

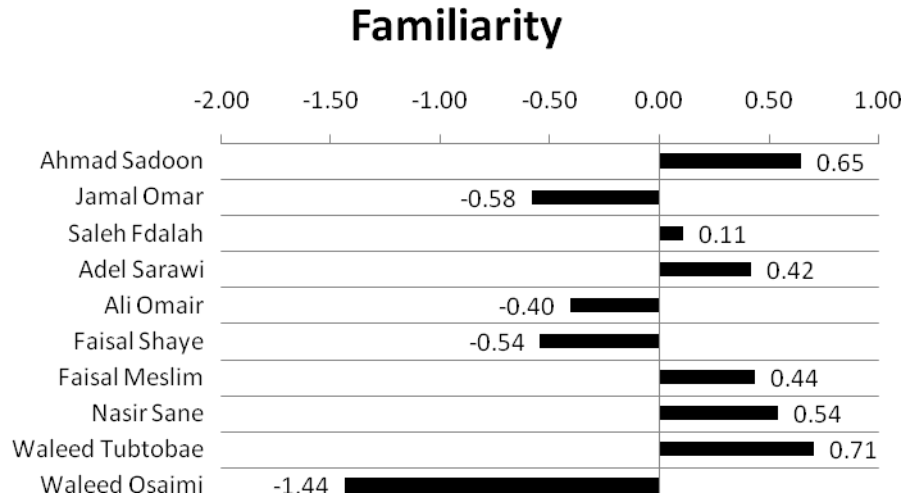


Figure 7: Perceptions differences of Familiarity aspect

Reputation aspect:

The data indicate a significant difference in perception aspect for all the parliament members to the mean at .05 level of confidence.

Table 8: One-Sample t-test when test value = Mean for Reputation aspect

Test Value = 4.78				
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference
Ahmad_Sadoon	4.728215	241	0.000	0.560933
Jamal_Omar	-12.36	239	0.000	-1.65284
Saleh_Fdalah	6.24868	241	0.000	0.680768
Adel_Sarawi	5.621722	231	0.000	0.662102
Ali_Omair	3.131104	219	0.002	0.372917
Faisal_Shaye	-3.00845	216	0.003	-0.36682
Faisal_Meslim	7.024882	225	0.000	0.842144
Nasir_Sane	5.193046	238	0.000	0.602947
Waleed_Tubtobae	3.093955	241	0.002	0.424569
Waleed_Osaimi	-17.2962	228	0.000	-2.17045

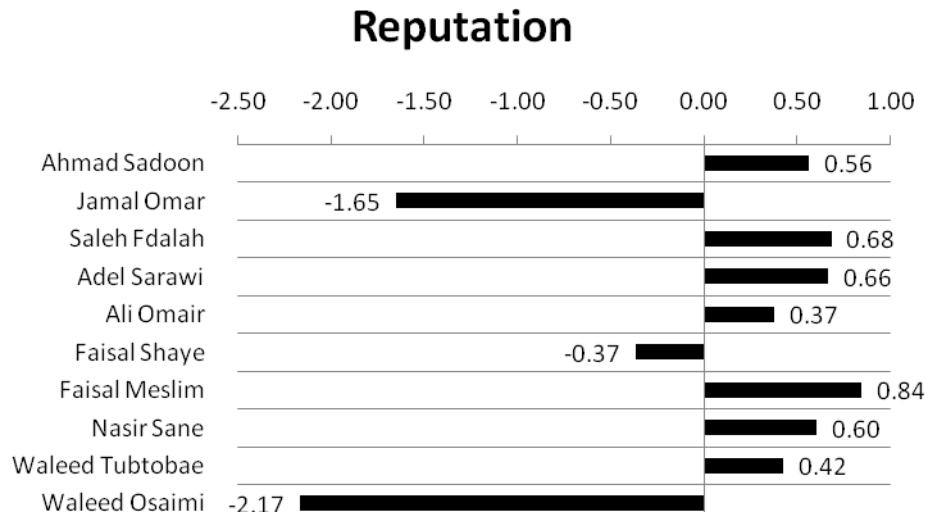


Figure 8: Perceptions differences of Reputation aspect

#### Personality aspect:

Personality aspect of brands is detecting differences in perceptions among parliament members. The difference is significant for all the candidates except for Ali Omair and Waleed Tubtobae. It is useful to mention here that the personality index consists of questions about likeability, trustworthiness, appearance, interesting and articulate personality traits.

Table 9: One-Sample t-test when test value = Mean for Personality aspect

Test Value = 4.78				
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference
Ahmad_Sadoon	8.313695	221	0.000	0.84288
Jamal_Omar	-10.236	209	0.000	-1.13056
Saleh_Fdalah	3.393758	204	0.001	0.378177
Adel_Sarawi	3.792927	206	0.000	0.454826
Ali_Omair	1.531561	186	0.127	0.173915
Faisal_Shaye	-4.26119	192	0.000	-0.47155
Faisal_Meslim	7.184168	198	0.000	0.827429
Nasir_Sane	6.156203	215	0.000	0.647459
Waleed_Tubtobae	1.524831	224	0.129	0.191793
Waleed_Osaimi	-19.4047	197	0.000	-2.0735

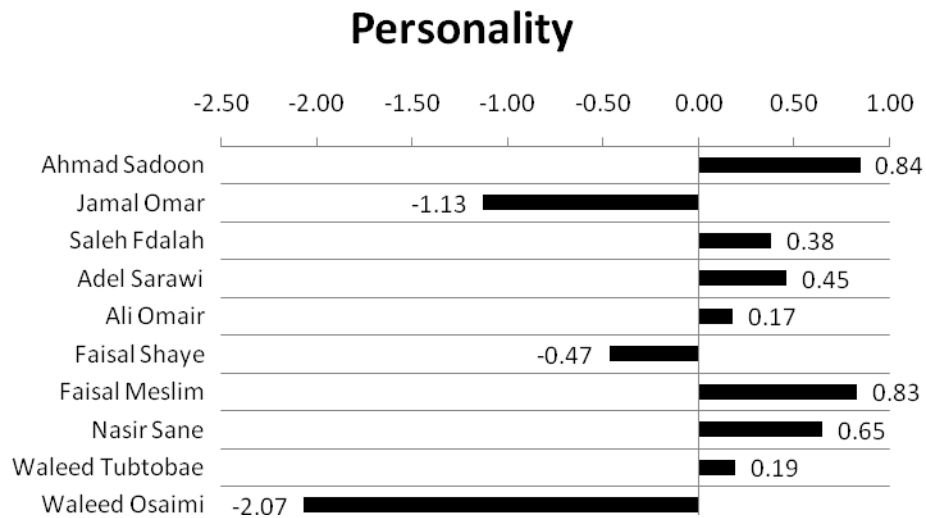


Figure 9: Perceptions differences of Personality aspect

Performance aspect:

In the performance aspect, differences in perceptions were detected among all the candidates expect Ali Omair and Waleed Tubtobae. Both had means so close to the mean that our observations are not large enough to detect significant difference. Detecting significant difference in each brand aspect is proof that branding concepts are likely to apply in political context. It is useful to mention here that performance aspect consists of questions about intelligence, respect, experience and the ability to deal with Kuwaiti housing and health issues.

Table 10: One-Sample t-test when test value = Mean for the Performance aspect

Test Value = 4.65				
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference
Ahmad_Sadoon	8.815964	200	0.000	0.88838
Jamal_Omar	-7.2258	183	0.000	-0.85391
Saleh_Fdalah	4.181662	186	0.000	0.457322
Adel_Sarawi	2.248048	185	0.026	0.275124
Ali_Omair	-0.82352	169	0.411	-0.09744
Faisal_Shaye	-3.78902	173	0.000	-0.40793
Faisal_Meslim	4.751368	184	0.000	0.566632
Nasir_Sane	6.240896	190	0.000	0.651851
Waleed_Tubtobae	0.914246	197	0.362	0.115789
Waleed_Osaimi	-15.5796	178	0.000	-1.80363

## Performance

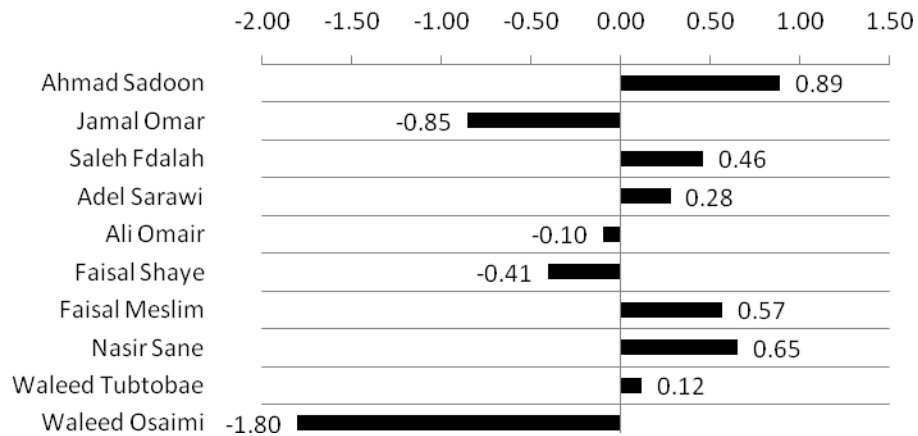


Figure 10: Perceptions differences of Performance aspect

Connectivity aspect:

Connectivity aspect test detected significant aspect through all parliament members except for Ali Omair. The confidence level used here is .05.

Table 11: One-Sample t-test when test value = Mean for Connectivity aspect

Test Value = 4.74				
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference
Ahmad_Sadoon	3.016324	214	0.003	0.356566
Jamal_Omar	-6.02143	197	0.000	-0.78488
Saleh_Fdalah	2.342583	202	0.020	0.276954
Adel_Sarawi	2.040481	197	0.043	0.260575
Ali_Omair	0.913919	182	0.362	0.107708
Faisal_Shaye	-2.56246	186	0.011	-0.29191
Faisal_Meslim	6.801042	193	0.000	0.794974
Nasir_Sane	3.912777	208	0.000	0.412002
Waleed_Tubtobae	3.322374	209	0.001	0.422384
Waleed_Osaimi	-12.8841	178	0.000	-1.80629

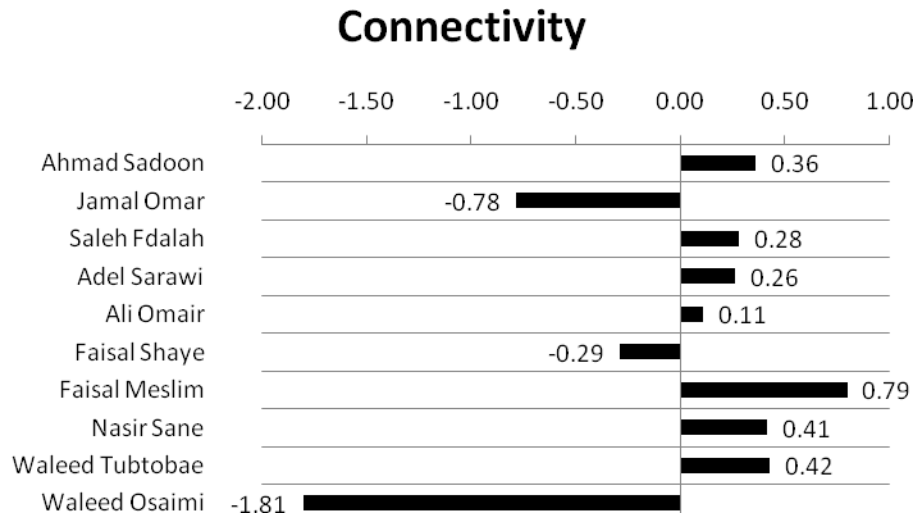


Figure 11: Perceptions differences of Connectivity aspect

The following two tables (table 12, table 13) show the ratio of valid responses to (don't know) responses. It is used to examine how well brands' knowledge structures are established. The larger the proportion of valid responses, the safer it is to say that brand traits are more fixed and clear in the minds of voters. The smaller the proportion of valid answers is an indication that political brands were not able to find its way to the minds of people.

Table 12: Percentages of valid responses to missing ones for each question

Question	valid	don't know	system missing	Mean	Std.
He is known to me	93.1	3.2	3.7	5.13	2.13
I know what he stands for	89.8	5.3	4.9	4.66	2.17
He has a good reputation among people	90.3	5.9	3.8	4.79	2.12
He has a likeable personality	90.4	7.4	2.2	4.59	2.08
He is trust worthy	91.9	5.7	2.4	4.58	2.27
He has a distinguished and interesting personality	91.3	5.6	3.1	4.62	2.16
He has the look and appearance of a Kuwait National Assembly member	92.0	4.0	4.0	5.16	1.99
He is articulate, he expresses his thoughts and ideas well	93.1	3.8	3.1	4.79	2.09
He is intelligent and able to deal with complex issues	89.5	5.9	4.5	4.67	2.13
He is respected by the executive branch of the government	88.3	8.4	3.3	4.81	.199
He is able to deal with the housing crisis	84.3	10.0	5.7	4.21	2.19
He seems experienced at what he does	92.1	4.9	3.0	5.03	2.07
He is able to deal with health care system problems	84.2	11.1	4.7	4.22	2.20
He is truly companionate to people	87.8	8.4	3.8	4.54	2.17
He is sensitive to the needs of people	90.6	5.3	4.1	4.49	2.09
He communicates with the people	83.3	13.4	3.3	4.98	2.01
<b>Minimum</b>	<b>83.3</b>	<b>3.2</b>	<b>2.2</b>	<b>4.21</b>	<b>.199</b>
<b>Maximum</b>	<b>93.1</b>	<b>13.4</b>	<b>5.7</b>	<b>5.16</b>	<b>2.27</b>
<b>Average</b>	<b>88.8</b>	<b>7.3</b>	<b>3.9</b>	<b>4.70</b>	<b>2.00</b>

Table 13: Percentages of valid responses to missing ones for brands' aspects

Aspect	valid	Don't know	System Missing
Familiarity	91.5	4.2	4.3
Reputation	90.3	5.9	5.9
Personality	91.7	5.3	3.0
Performance	87.7	8.1	4.3
Connectivity	87.2	9.0	3.7
<b>Minimum</b>	<b>87.2</b>	<b>4.2</b>	<b>3.0</b>
<b>Maximum</b>	<b>91.7</b>	<b>9.0</b>	<b>5.9</b>
<b>Average</b>	<b>89.7</b>	<b>6.5</b>	<b>4.2</b>

The following table is the result of testing the correlation of voting decision with each aspect of political brands. This study serves as an exploratory study of political brands' equity. One way to investigate that is to find out which brand aspect correlates most with voting decision. The more an aspect correlates with voting decisions, the more it contributes to brand equity.

Table 14: Pearson correlation between voting question and each brand aspect

	Familiarity aspect	Reputation Aspect	Personality aspect	Performance aspect	Connectivity aspect
My vote	<b>0.511</b>	<b>0.703</b>	<b>0.794</b>	<b>0.708</b>	<b>0.753</b>
Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
N	2103	2171	1952	1752	1882

The N of each correlation in (table 14) is the sum of voting observations correlated with each brand aspect across all the 10 parliament members.

## CHAPTER4: DISCUSSION

The first step in studying political brands in any context is answering questions about the existence and the relevance of the brand concepts in that political context. In light of the differences among political systems and social and cultural environments, questioning whether or not political candidates and parties are able to form a real and distinguished knowledge structures in the minds of the people, is a legitimate question across different situations.

- **R1** – Do existing political brand traits apply in the Kuwaiti context?

The answer to this question is going to be broken down into several parts. In order to investigate the existence of political brands in the Kuwaiti context, the significance of the mean scores of the Kuwaiti parliament members is first examined. By examining (table 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11), the data show that the majority of observations are significantly different from the mean of each brand aspect. This implies that parliament members have made real impressions in the minds of the sample and that this is not random.

Another way to examine the existence of brand knowledge in the minds of our sample is by examining the ratio of numbers of valid answers to numbers of (I don't know) responses. This is an indication of how well established the brand structure is in the minds of voters. According to Schneider (2004, p. 45), "As a criteria for the existence of knowledge structures about politicians, the proportion of missing values must then be related to the ten attribute dimensions. The smaller the share, the greater the degree to which knowledge structures are established in the minds of politicians." The data indicate that the majority of observations confirms the existence of brand knowledge structure in the minds of respondents. The "don't know" responses ranged from 4.2% to 9% with average of 6.5%. The valid responses regarding each aspect ranged from 87.3% to 91.7% with average

of 89.7%. This indicates that the brand knowledge structure is largely established in the minds of the respondents.

Another way to examine the first research question about the existence of political brands in the Kuwaiti context is by looking at differences of perceptions among parliament members in all the brand's aspects. The aim is to examine whether those parliament members created different brand structures in the minds of people, or that the respondents evaluated all of them based on their overall evaluation of politicians in general. By testing each aspect of brands with the average score of all parliament members in each aspect as the test value, it is found according to tables 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 and figures 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11, that politicians have different brand knowledge regarding each brand aspect. The data yields a significant difference from the mean except for those who had scores so close to the mean that the number of valid cases is not large enough to prove its significance.

In the light of previous results, it is safe to say that in the Kuwaiti political environment, structured political brand knowledge can find its way to the minds of the people. Different parliament members leave different impressions that can be detected using the brand's aspects developed by Chernoff Newman and MarketSearch (2007). The importance of this study is that it opens the doors for more future research about the topic of brands in the Kuwaiti political context and the extent to which commercial literature could be recalled and used in that context. It was pointed out earlier that political customers (voters) tend to differ in the degree of involvement in politics. Some are High-Involved people and some are Low-Involved. In addition, people look for different things in the political product (candidate or political party). Some look for performance and competence, which Keller (2003) calls a product-related competitive advantage, while other voters consciously or unconsciously are attracted to other qualities, which Keller (2003) calls non-product-related competitive advantages. The importance of branding in the political context is that it can serve as a conceptual marketing framework that combines all the competitive advantages together. It

can put " together the emotional and intellectual, rational and irrational" (Scammell, 2007, p. 187).

- **R2** - If the answer is yes for the first question, this study serves as an exploratory study to investigate which brand aspect: familiarity, reputation, personality, performance or connectivity, contributes most to the political brand equity in the Kuwaiti environment. Which brand aspect correlates most to voting preferences? In what direction and to what strength?

The data indicate that for the participants of this study, the personality aspect of brands correlates most to voting decisions with person product moment of value of .794 followed by the connectivity aspect with a correlation value of .753. The performance aspect correlates to voting at the value of .708. Finally, the Familiarity aspect comes with correlation of .511. These results explain that for the sample of this study, and perhaps for the population too as this is an exploratory study, the performance of the parliament member does not come first regarding voting preferences. According to the results, personal characteristics and qualities have stronger influences on voting decisions. Personal qualities like likeability, appearance, trustworthiness, and interesting personality proved to have more importance than attributes related to the performance of the parliament member like intelligence, experience, and the ability to deal with the two most important issues to the Kuwaiti voter.

As a result of these findings on the actual campaigning level, campaigners should include in their strategies personal qualities as unique selling points for their candidates instead of only focusing on issues. Although Kuwaiti culture might still be sensitive to that, campaigners need to find out a way include that in the map of their message. People want to know their candidates more and need to feel that they are connected to them.

***Limitations:***

- After studying many alternatives of data gathering methods, this study is going to use the cluster sampling method. In Kuwait, there are places where people meet socially called diwaneya in the singular. In almost every street in every populated area, many houses host these gatherings. On average, fifteen to twenty five people gather in each diwaneya at time.
- These diwaneyas are restricted to men only. There is nothing similar available and open to the public in women's society. Therefore, our sample will consist only of men, as the financial resources of this study do not allow other means to reach a probability sample of women in Kuwaiti society.
- It was intended for this study to explore the potential differences between the low-involvement and high-involvement voters. This comparison was not possible, as the majority of the respondents considered themselves active followers of the news and events of local politics.
- Kuwait is divided into five districts according to the new districts law. One of the limitations of this study, which is due also to the limitations of financial resources, is that it is restricted to one chosen district.

***Future Research:***

Political branding is considered an untapped area of research. On the conceptual level, many questions are waiting to be answered by scholars, researchers, and practitioners regarding the applicability limits of commercial branding literature in the political context. In addition, areas where political branding should grow away from commercial branding answering to the different nature of both needs to be identified.

In regards to political branding in Kuwait, the area is wide open for more scholarly contribution. Due to the limitations of this study, the targeted segment was limited to one of the five districts of Kuwait. Future research can examine the phenomenon of political branding throughout the country of Kuwait. In addition, future research can examine the political brands in the light of gender differences.

Moreover, future research can consider answering research questions proposed by previous academic works such as the ones found in the work of Schneider (2004) that deal with brand function in the political context.

## APPENDIX A: THE ARABIC COPY OF SURVEY INSTRUMENT

لأعضاء  
مجلس  
الأمة  
الكويتي

الصورة  
الذهنية

أرجو منك استقطاع جزء من وقتك لحل هذا الاستبيان، المشاركة في هذا الاستبيان اختيارية وليس في الاستبيان أسئلة قد تكشف عن شخصية المبحوث ، الاستبيان سيأخذ ما بين الخمس إلى العشر دقائق لإنهائه، إكمال الاستبيان يعني موافقتك على استخدام المعلومات التي تم تزويدنا بها، يجب أن يكون عمرك على الأقل 18 سنة لتشارك في هذا الاستبيان، سيتم الاحتفاظ بنتائج هذه الدراسة على الأقل سنة من الانتهاء منها، إذا كان لديك أي استفسار يرجى منك مراسلة جاسم القصير على البريد الإلكتروني: [ja06m@fsu.edu](mailto:ja06m@fsu.edu) أو جامعة Florida State University على العنوان التالي:

أخي

الكريم،،،

Office of Research, 109 Westcott Building  
Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL 32306-1330.

أرجو منك عدم التشاور حول الإجابات مع الآخرين من حولك قبل انتهاءك من الأسئلة، وإذا كنت قد شاركت في هذه الدراسة سابقا فلك جزيل الشكر، ونرجو منك عدم المشاركة مرة أخرى حيث أن ذلك سيؤثر على نتيجة الدراسة.

ولك جزيل الشكر

أعرف	1. أرجو منك الإشارة إلى درجة موافقتك على العبارة التالية فيما يخص كل المرشحين التاليين:										
	<b>"هذا المرشح معروف بالنسبة لي"</b>										
	8	أحمد السعدون	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة
	8	جمال العمر	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة
	8	صالح الفضالة	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة
	8	عادل الصرعاوي	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة
	8	علي العمير	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة
	8	فيصل الشايع	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة
	8	ديفصل المسلم	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة
	8	ديناصر الصانع	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة
أعرف	2. أرجو منك الإشارة إلى درجة موافقتك على العبارة التالية فيما يخص كل المرشحين التاليين:										
	<b>"أعرف بوضوح أهم أفكاره ومبادئه"</b>										
	8	أحمد السعدون	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة
	8	جمال العمر	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة
	8	صالح الفضالة	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة
	8	عادل الصرعاوي	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة
	8	علي العمير	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة
	8	فيصل الشايع	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة
	8	ديفصل المسلم	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة
	8	ديناصر الصانع	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة
أعرف	3. أرجو منك الإشارة إلى درجة موافقتك على العبارة التالية فيما يخص كل المرشحين التاليين:										
	<b>"لديه سمعة طيبة بين الناس"</b>										
	8	أحمد السعدون	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة
	8	جمال العمر	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة
	8	صالح الفضالة	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة
	8	عادل الصرعاوي	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة
	8	علي العمير	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة
	8	فيصل الشايع	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة
	8	ديفصل المسلم	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة
	8	ديناصر الصانع	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة
8	ديوليد الطبطبائي	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	
8	وليد العصيمي	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	

4. أرجو منك الإشارة إلى درجة موافقتك على العبارة التالية فيما يخص كل المرشحين التاليين:

### "لديه شخصية محببة"

أحمد السعدون	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
جمال العمر	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
صالح الفضالة	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
عادل الصرعاوي	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
علي العمير	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
فيصل الشايح	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
د. فيصل المسلم	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
د. ناصر الصانع	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
د. وليد الطبطبائي	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
وليد العصيمي	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8

5. أرجو منك الإشارة إلى درجة موافقتك على العبارة التالية فيما يخص كل المرشحين التاليين:

### "جدير بالثقة"

أحمد السعدون	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
جمال العمر	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
صالح الفضالة	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
عادل الصرعاوي	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
علي العمير	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
فيصل الشايح	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
د. فيصل المسلم	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
د. ناصر الصانع	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
د. وليد الطبطبائي	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
وليد العصيمي	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8

6. أرجو منك الإشارة إلى درجة موافقتك على العبارة التالية فيما يخص كل المرشحين التاليين:

### "لديه شخصية مميزة ومثيرة للاهتمام"

أحمد السعدون	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
جمال العمر	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
صالح الفضالة	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
عادل الصرعاوي	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
علي العمير	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
فيصل الشايح	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
د. فيصل المسلم	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
د. ناصر الصانع	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
د. وليد الطبطبائي	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
وليد العصيمي	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8

7. أرجو منك الإشارة إلى درجة موافقتك على العبارة التالية فيما يخص كل المرشحين التاليين:

أعراضي	"مظهره الخارجي يليق بعضو في مجلس الأمة"									
8	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8

8. أرجو منك الإشارة إلى درجة موافقتك على العبارة التالية فيما يخص كل المرشحين التاليين:

أعراضي	"متحدث مميز، يعبر عن أفكاره ورؤاه جيدا"									
8	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8

9. أرجو منك الإشارة إلى درجة موافقتك على العبارة التالية فيما يخص كل المرشحين التاليين:

أعراضي	"ذكي ويستطيع التعامل مع القضايا الشائكة والمعقدة"									
8	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8

10. أرجو منك الإشارة إلى درجة موافقتك على العبارة التالية فيما يخص كل المرشحين التاليين:

### "مُقدَّرٌ ومحترم من قبل الحكومة"

لا أعرف	أحمد السعدون	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	جمال العمر	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	صالح الفضالة	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	عادل الصرعاوي	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	علي العمير	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	فيصل الشايح	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	د. فيصل المسلم	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	د. ناصر الصانع	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	د. وليد الطبطبائي	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	وليد العصيمي	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8

11. أرجو منك الإشارة إلى درجة موافقتك على العبارة التالية فيما يخص كل المرشحين التاليين:

### "لديه المقدرة على التعامل مع المشكلة الإسكانية"

لا أعرف	أحمد السعدون	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	جمال العمر	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	صالح الفضالة	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	عادل الصرعاوي	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	علي العمير	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	فيصل الشايح	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	د. فيصل المسلم	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	د. ناصر الصانع	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	د. وليد الطبطبائي	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	وليد العصيمي	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8

12. أرجو منك الإشارة إلى درجة موافقتك على العبارة التالية فيما يخص كل المرشحين التاليين:

### "لديه الخبرة والمعرفة بعمله كعضو في مجلس الأمة"

لا أعرف	أحمد السعدون	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	جمال العمر	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	صالح الفضالة	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	عادل الصرعاوي	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	علي العمير	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	فيصل الشايح	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	د. فيصل المسلم	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	د. ناصر الصانع	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	د. وليد الطبطبائي	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	وليد العصيمي	أعارض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8

13. أرجو منك الإشارة إلى درجة موافقتك على العبارة التالية فيما يخص كل المرشحين التاليين:

لا أعرف	"لديه المقدرة على التعامل مع مشكلة الوضع الصحي في البلد"									
8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8

14. أرجو منك الإشارة إلى درجة موافقتك على العبارة التالية فيما يخص كل المرشحين التاليين:

لا أعرف	"شخصية متعاطفة بصدق مع الناس"									
8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8

15. أرجو منك الإشارة إلى درجة موافقتك على العبارة التالية فيما يخص كل المرشحين التاليين:

لا أعرف	"يُعبر عن احتياجات الناس"									
8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8

16. أرجو منك الإشارة إلى درجة موافقتك على العبارة التالية فيما يخص كل المرشحين التاليين:

### "يتواصل مع الناس"

لا أعرف	8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8

17. أرجو منك الإشارة إلى درجة موافقتك على العبارة التالية فيما يخص كل المرشحين التاليين:

### "يستحق أن أصوت له"

لا أعرف	8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8

18. أرجو منك الإشارة إلى درجة موافقتك على العبارة التالية فيما يخص كل المرشحين التاليين:

### "سيحصل على عدد كافي من الأصوات ليفوز في الانتخابات القادمة"

لا أعرف	8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8
	8	أعرض بشدة	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أوافق بشدة	8

لا أعرف	19. أرجو منك الإشارة إلى درجة أهمية كل من وسائل الاتصال والإعلام التالية في تشكيل انطباعاتك عن أعضاء مجلس الأمة:									
	8	ليس له أهمية	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	مهم جدا
	8	ليس له أهمية	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	مهم جدا
	8	ليس له أهمية	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	مهم جدا
	8	ليس له أهمية	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	مهم جدا
	8	ليس له أهمية	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	مهم جدا
	8	ليس له أهمية	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	مهم جدا
	8	ليس له أهمية	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	مهم جدا

لا أعرف	20. أرجو منك الإشارة إلى درجة متابعتك للأخبار والأحداث المتعلقة بالسياسة المحلية وانتخابات مجلس الأمة:									
	8	لا أتابع أبدا	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	أتابع عن قرب

21. هل تعبر نفسك:

متدين  محافظ  ليبرالي  آخر  لا أعرف

22. كم من الوقت تقضي يوميا في مشاهدة التلفاز: \_\_\_\_\_ ساعات \_\_\_\_\_ دقائق

23. كم من الوقت تقضي يوميا في الاستماع للإذاعة: \_\_\_\_\_ ساعات \_\_\_\_\_ دقائق

24. كم من الوقت تقضي يوميا في قراءة الصحف: \_\_\_\_\_ ساعات \_\_\_\_\_ دقائق

25. كم من الوقت تقضي يوميا في تصفح الإنترنت: \_\_\_\_\_ ساعات \_\_\_\_\_ دقائق

26. كم عمرك؟ \_\_\_\_\_ 27. ما هي أعلى درجة علمية حصلت عليها:

الابتدائية أو أقل  المتوسطة  الثانوية  معهد أو جامعة  دراسات عليا

28. في أي المناطق التالية أنت مسجل كناخب؟؟

الخالدية  العدلية  اليرموك  خيطان

الروضة  قرطبة  الجابرية  أخرى:

السرة  كيفان  جنوب السرة \_\_\_\_\_

## **APPENDIX B: THE ENGLISH COPY OF SURVEY INSTRUMENT**

### **Political brands**

#### **In Kuwait**

Dear participant,

Please take a few minutes and complete our survey. Participation is voluntary, and all results are confidential to the extent allowed by the law. The survey should take between five to ten minutes to complete. Completion of the questionnaire is implied consent to use the data you have provided. You must be at least 18 years of age to participate. The data will be stored under lock and key on file on campus until one year after the study has been completed. All e-mail correspondence will be kept confidential and will be destroyed one year after the study has been completed. If you have any questions, please contact Jasem Alqaseer at [ja06m@comm.fsu.edu](mailto:ja06m@comm.fsu.edu) or The Florida State University IRB at (850) 644-9694 located at the Office of Research, 109 Westcott Building Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL 32306-1330.

Thank you.

1. Please indicate the degree of agreement with the following statement regarding each of the following candidates:

**“He is known to me”**

Ahmed Al-Sa`adoon	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Jamal Al-Omar	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Saleh Al-Fudalah	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Adel Al-Sara`awi	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Ali Al-Omair	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Faisal Al-Shae`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Dr.Faisal Al-Meslim	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Dr.Nasser Al-Sane`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Dr.Waleed Al-Tabtabae`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Waleed Al-Osaimi	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8

I don't know

2. Please indicate the degree of agreement with the following statement regarding each of the following candidates:

**“I know what he stands for”**

Ahmed Al-Sa`adoon	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Jamal Al-Omar	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Saleh Al-Fudalah	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Adel Al-Sara`awi	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Ali Al-Omair	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Faisal Al-Shae`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Dr.Faisal Al-Meslim	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Dr.Nasser Al-Sane`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Dr.Waleed Al-Tabtabae`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Waleed Al-Osaimi	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8

I don't know

3. Please indicate the degree of agreement with the following statement regarding each of the following candidates:

**“He has a good reputation among people”**

Ahmed Al-Sa`adoon	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Jamal Al-Omar	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Saleh Al-Fudalah	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Adel Al-Sara`awi	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Ali Al-Omair	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Faisal Al-Shae`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Dr.Faisal Al-Meslim	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Dr.Nasser Al-Sane`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Dr.Waleed Al-Tabtabae`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Waleed Al-Osaimi	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8

I don't know

4. Please indicate the degree of agreement with the following statement regarding each of the following candidates:

**“He has a likeable personality”**

Ahmed Al-Sa`adoon	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8	I don't know
Jamal Al-Omar	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8	
Saleh Al-Fudalah	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8	
Adel Al-Sara`awi	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8	
Ali Al-Omair	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8	
Faisal Al-Shae`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8	
Dr.Faisal Al-Meslim	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8	
Dr.Nasser Al-Sane`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8	
Dr.Waleed Al-Tabtabae`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8	
Waleed Al-Osaimi	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8	

5. Please indicate the degree of agreement with the following statement regarding each of the following candidates:

**“He is trust worthy”**

Ahmed Al-Sa`adoon	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8	I don't know
Jamal Al-Omar	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8	
Saleh Al-Fudalah	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8	
Adel Al-Sara`awi	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8	
Ali Al-Omair	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8	
Faisal Al-Shae`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8	
Dr.Faisal Al-Meslim	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8	
Dr.Nasser Al-Sane`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8	
Dr.Waleed Al-Tabtabae`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8	
Waleed Al-Osaimi	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8	

6. Please indicate the degree of agreement with the following statement regarding each of the following candidates:

**“He has a distinguished and interesting personality”**

Ahmed Al-Sa`adoon	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8	I don't know
Jamal Al-Omar	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8	
Saleh Al-Fudalah	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8	
Adel Al-Sara`awi	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8	
Ali Al-Omair	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8	
Faisal Al-Shae`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8	
Dr.Faisal Al-Meslim	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8	
Dr.Nasser Al-Sane`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8	
Dr.Waleed Al-Tabtabae`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8	
Waleed Al-Osaimi	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8	

7. Please indicate the degree of agreement with the following statement regarding each of the following candidates:

**“He has the look and appearance of a Kuwait National Assembly member”**

Ahmed Al-Sa`adoon	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Jamal Al-Omar	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Saleh Al-Fudalah	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Adel Al-Sara`awi	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Ali Al-Omair	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Faisal Al-Shae`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Dr.Faisal Al-Meslim	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Dr.Nasser Al-Sane`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Dr.Waleed Al-Tabtabae`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Waleed Al-Osaimi	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8

I don't know

8. Please indicate the degree of agreement with the following statement regarding each of the following candidates:

**“He is articulate, he expresses his thoughts and ideas well”**

Ahmed Al-Sa`adoon	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Jamal Al-Omar	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Saleh Al-Fudalah	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Adel Al-Sara`awi	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Ali Al-Omair	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Faisal Al-Shae`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Dr.Faisal Al-Meslim	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Dr.Nasser Al-Sane`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Dr.Waleed Al-Tabtabae`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Waleed Al-Osaimi	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8

I don't know

9. Please indicate the degree of agreement with the following statement regarding each of the following candidates:

**“He is intelligent and able to deal with complex issues”**

Ahmed Al-Sa`adoon	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Jamal Al-Omar	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Saleh Al-Fudalah	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Adel Al-Sara`awi	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Ali Al-Omair	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Faisal Al-Shae`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Dr.Faisal Al-Meslim	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Dr.Nasser Al-Sane`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Dr.Waleed Al-Tabtabae`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Waleed Al-Osaimi	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8

I don't know

10 Please indicate the degree of agreement with the following statement regarding each of the following candidates:

**“He is respected by the executive branch of the government”**

Ahmed Al-Sa`adoon	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Jamal Al-Omar	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Saleh Al-Fudalah	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Adel Al-Sara`awi	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Ali Al-Omair	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Faisal Al-Shae`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Dr.Faisal Al-Meslim	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Dr.Nasser Al-Sane`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Dr.Waleed Al-Tabtabae`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Waleed Al-Osaimi	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8

I don't know

11. Please indicate the degree of agreement with the following statement regarding each of the following candidates:

**“He is able to deal with the housing crisis”**

Ahmed Al-Sa`adoon	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Jamal Al-Omar	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Saleh Al-Fudalah	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Adel Al-Sara`awi	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Ali Al-Omair	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Faisal Al-Shae`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Dr.Faisal Al-Meslim	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Dr.Nasser Al-Sane`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Dr.Waleed Al-Tabtabae`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Waleed Al-Osaimi	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8

I don't know

12. Please indicate the degree of agreement with the following statement regarding each of the following candidates:

**“He seems experienced at what he does”**

Ahmed Al-Sa`adoon	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Jamal Al-Omar	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Saleh Al-Fudalah	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Adel Al-Sara`awi	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Ali Al-Omair	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Faisal Al-Shae`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Dr.Faisal Al-Meslim	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Dr.Nasser Al-Sane`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Dr.Waleed Al-Tabtabae`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Waleed Al-Osaimi	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8

I don't know

13. Please indicate the degree of agreement with the following statement regarding each of the following candidates:

**“He is able to deal with health care system problems”**

Ahmed Al-Sa`adoon	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Jamal Al-Omar	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Saleh Al-Fudalah	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Adel Al-Sara`awi	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Ali Al-Omair	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Faisal Al-Shae`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Dr.Faisal Al-Meslim	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Dr.Nasser Al-Sane`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Dr.Waleed Al-Tabtabae`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Waleed Al-Osaimi	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8

I don't know

14. Please indicate the degree of agreement with the following statement regarding each of the following candidates:

**“He is truly compassionate to people”**

Ahmed Al-Sa`adoon	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Jamal Al-Omar	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Saleh Al-Fudalah	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Adel Al-Sara`awi	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Ali Al-Omair	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Faisal Al-Shae`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Dr.Faisal Al-Meslim	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Dr.Nasser Al-Sane`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Dr.Waleed Al-Tabtabae`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Waleed Al-Osaimi	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8

I don't know

15. Please indicate the degree of agreement with the following statement regarding each of the following candidates:

**“He is sensitive to the needs of people”**

Ahmed Al-Sa`adoon	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Jamal Al-Omar	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Saleh Al-Fudalah	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Adel Al-Sara`awi	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Ali Al-Omair	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Faisal Al-Shae`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Dr.Faisal Al-Meslim	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Dr.Nasser Al-Sane`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Dr.Waleed Al-Tabtabae`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Waleed Al-Osaimi	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8

I don't know

16. Please indicate the degree of agreement with the following statement regarding each of the following candidates:

**“He communicates with the people”**

Ahmed Al-Sa`adoon	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Jamal Al-Omar	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Saleh Al-Fudalah	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Adel Al-Sara`awi	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Ali Al-Omair	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Faisal Al-Shae`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Dr.Faisal Al-Meslim	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Dr.Nasser Al-Sane`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Dr.Waleed Al-Tabtabae`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Waleed Al-Osaimi	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8

I don't know

17. Please indicate the degree of agreement with the following statement regarding each of the following candidates:

**“He deserves my vote”**

Ahmed Al-Sa`adoon	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Jamal Al-Omar	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Saleh Al-Fudalah	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Adel Al-Sara`awi	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Ali Al-Omair	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Faisal Al-Shae`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Dr.Faisal Al-Meslim	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Dr.Nasser Al-Sane`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Dr.Waleed Al-Tabtabae`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Waleed Al-Osaimi	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8

I don't know

18. Please indicate the degree of agreement with the following statement regarding each of the following candidates:

**“He will get enough votes to win”**

Ahmed Al-Sa`adoon	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Jamal Al-Omar	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Saleh Al-Fudalah	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Adel Al-Sara`awi	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Ali Al-Omair	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Faisal Al-Shae`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Dr.Faisal Al-Meslim	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Dr.Nasser Al-Sane`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Dr.Waleed Al-Tabtabae`e	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8
Waleed Al-Osaimi	Highly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Highly agree	8

I don't know

19. Please indicate the degree of importance of each communication vehicle regarding forming your opinion about the Umma senate candidates:

TV. and Radio appearance	Not important	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very important	I don't know
Newspaper coverage	Not important	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very important	8
Internet websites	Not important	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very important	8
Election outdoor advertisement signs	Not important	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very important	8
Word of mouth	Not important	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very important	8
Meeting in person	Not important	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very important	8

20. How closely are you following news related to the local politics and the Ummah (senate) election?

Not following at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Closely	I don't know
									8

21. Do you consider yourself to be:

- Religious     
  Conservative     
  Liberal     
  Other     
  Don't know

22. How much time do you spend daily watching Television? \_\_\_ hours \_\_\_\_ minutes

23. How much time do you spend daily listening to the radio? \_\_\_ hours \_\_\_\_ minutes

24. How much time do you spend daily reading newspapers? \_\_\_ hours \_\_\_\_ minutes

25. How much time do you spend daily browsing the Internet? \_\_\_ hours \_\_\_\_ minutes

26. Age: \_\_\_\_\_ 27. What is the highest degree did have you complete?

- Elementary or less     
  Intermediate     
  High school     
  Academy/ University     
  Higher education

28. In which area are you registered as a voter?

- Alkhaldia     
  Alodaylah     
  Yarmouk     
  Khaitan

- Alrawda     
  Qurtoba     
  Aljabria     
  Other:

- Alsurra     
  Kaifan     
  Janoob Alsurra     
 \_\_\_\_\_

## APPENDIX C: IRB APPROVAL LETTER

Office of the Vice President For Research  
Human Subjects Committee  
Tallahassee, Florida 32306-2742  
(850) 644-8673 . FAX (850) 644-4392

### APPROVAL MEMORANDUM

Date: 10/22/2007

To: Jasem Alqaseer

Address: 901 riggins rd APT 1022  
Dept.: COMMUNICATION

From: Thomas L. Jacobson, Chair

Re: Use of Human Subjects in Research  
Political brands and voting behavior in Kuwait

The application that you submitted to this office in regard to the use of human subjects in the proposal referenced above have been reviewed by the Secretary, the Chair, and two members of the Human Subjects Committee. Your project is determined to be Expedited per 45 CFR § 46.110(7) and has been approved by an expedited review process.

The Human Subjects Committee has not evaluated your proposal for scientific merit, except to weigh the risk to the human participants and the aspects of the proposal related to potential risk and benefit. This approval does not replace any departmental or other approvals, which may be required.

If you submitted a proposed consent form with your application, the approved stamped consent form is attached to this approval notice. Only the stamped version of the consent form may be used in recruiting research subjects.

If the project has not been completed by 10/20/2008 you must request a renewal of approval for continuation of the project. As a courtesy, a renewal notice will be sent to you prior to your expiration date; however, it is your responsibility as the Principal Investigator to timely request renewal of your approval from the Committee.

You are advised that any change in protocol for this project must be reviewed and approved by the Committee prior to implementation of the proposed change in the protocol. A protocol change/amendment form is required to be submitted for approval by the Committee. In addition, federal regulations require that the Principal Investigator promptly report, in writing any unanticipated problems or adverse events involving risks to research subjects or others.

By copy of this memorandum, the Chair of your department and/or your major professor is reminded that he/she is responsible for being informed concerning research projects involving human subjects in the department, and should review protocols as often as needed to insure that the project is being conducted in compliance with our institution and with DHHS regulations.

This institution has an Assurance on file with the Office for Human Research Protection. The Assurance Number is IRB00000446.

Cc: Steven McClung, Advisor  
HSC No. 2007.720

## **APPENDIX D: INFORMED CONSENT FORM**

Dear participant,

Please take a few minutes and complete our survey. Participation is voluntary, and all results are confidential to the extent allowed by the law. The survey should take between five to ten minutes to complete. Completion of the questionnaire is implied consent to use the data you have provided. You must be at least 18 years of age to participate. The data will be stored under lock and key on file on campus until one year after the study has been completed. All e-mail correspondence will be kept confidential and will be destroyed one year after the study has been completed. If you have any questions, please contact Jasem Alqaseer at [ja06m@comm.fsu.edu](mailto:ja06m@comm.fsu.edu) or The Florida State University IRB at (850) 644-9694 located at the Office of Research, 109 Westcott Building Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL 32306-1330.

Thank you.

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## **BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH**

Jasem Alqaseer was born on November 2, 1980 in Kuwait. He finished his high school in 1998 majored in mathematics. He completed his bachelor's degree in Mass Communications at University of Kuwait. Experiencing new mind-blowing ideas and exposure to dramatically different points of views about everything has been always the most exciting thing for him. He wishes to keep it this way until the last day of his life.