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The Marketing Colonisation of Political Campaigning.

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by Bruce Newman to be published by Sage.**

The Political Market: more than metaphorical allusion.

In a survey of trends and debates in political science Gabriel Almond(1990,p.121) identified five analogies often used in the analysis of political competition. Despite parallels with the military, sporting, theatrical and religious arenas, the conception of a political market has perhaps become the most enduring metaphor for inter-party rivalries. Publication of Anthony Downs' seminal study *An Economic Theory of Democracy*(1957) served to considerably strengthen the comparison. Since then the analogy has derived additional support from the fact that the marketing approach and its tools have invaded the electoral environment in which competitive political organisations must operate. Several influential authorities have sought to develop the concept of the 'political market', most notably the democratic theorist Joseph Schumpeter who observed:

'Party and machine politicians are simply the response to the fact that the electoral mass is incapable of action other than a stampede, and they constitute an attempt to regulate political competition exactly similar to the corresponding practices of a trade association.'
(Schumpeter,1943,p.283)

In seeking to account for the growing popularity and relevance of the market as a metaphor and a tool of analysis for elections in Britain not to mention elsewhere it is necessary to understand the connection between three inter-related theoretical developments. The first involves the emergence of what psephologists have termed 'volatility' and the perception that voters are increasingly exercising a greater degree of 'consumer sovereignty', abandoning their previous supposedly stable partisan allegiances. Secondly transformations in the wider social and economic environment during the course of the 1980s precipitated profound cultural change,

commercialism having colonised many areas of civic life with the philosophy and practices of the market. Politics has not been excluded from this process. Finally the study and practice of marketing has grown considerably over the last decade and now encompasses new developments in the field of non-profit making management. Consequently a good deal of attention is beginning to be focused on understanding and, in selected cases, influencing the practices of organisations such as charities, governmental agencies and political parties.

Politics: the rise of the volatility debate.

British general election results between 1945 and 1970 were characterised by the stability of the main competitors' shares of electoral support. In each of the eight campaigns that took place during this period the two parties of government, Labour and Conservative, obtained approximately 85% of the popular vote between them. It was not until the elections of 1974 that this relatively static pattern of voting behaviour began to alter(Denver,1994,p.149). The catalyst of change was a growth in support for the Liberal and Scottish Nationalist parties. In their search to explain the development of what they termed 'volatility', political analysts began to consider alternatives to a hitherto dominant theory of electoral behaviour which had emphasised the stability rather than weakness of partisan allegiances(Crewe and Denver,1985).

In the 1960s the party identification model of voting helped popularise the notion of a partisan but stable British electorate(Butler and Stokes,1969). Electoral alignments were primarily explained by structural factors. Demographic variables such as age, race and especially class were judged to be the best predictors of voter intention. However the advent of major social change coupled with a serious decline in support for the two major parties during the 1970s helped initiate a debate aimed at understanding the changing pattern of electoral behaviour. Two main alternatives to party identification, the radical and choice models, were offered as explanations for increasing volatility in the 'electoral market'(for details see Harrop,1986). The sum of a sometimes intensive and rather complex debate helped shift the analytical focus of psephology away from the study of factors explaining the steadfastness of voter allegiances

towards consideration of those which helped account for the apparent increase in partisan instability.

The choice model of voting, originally popularised by Anthony Downs(1957), supported the idea of the voter as sovereign consumer in the electoral marketplace(also see Himmelweit et al,1985). Downs' work also gave consideration to the nature of political competition and helped popularise a now familiar adage of modern politics: in order for a party to maximise voter support it is necessary for it to align itself closer to its principal opponents' position. By no means the only interpretation to be drawn from political market analysis, the 'centreground' thesis is nevertheless the most common and continues to condition a great deal of contemporary electoral discourse.¹ Consequently, when faced with defeat, Labour and Conservative leaders are often advised to court the 'centre', 'squeeze the Liberal vote' or appeal to 'middle England/class/income' voters. Even critics of the market model of voter and party behaviour concede that the analogy has had a significant impact on the popular understanding of electoral politics(Wellhofer,1990).

Culture and Economics: the entrepreneurial decade.

The second factor responsible for popularising the importance of political marketing in Britain relates to changes in the social and economic climate that occurred during the 1980s. The election of the Conservative government in 1979 heralded the beginning of a steep decline in UK manufacturing output. By way of contrast the decade also witnessed a major expansion in the tertiary sector, particularly in the marketing services industry. By the end of the 1980s UK advertising as a share of Gross National Product(GNP) was second only to that of the US(Davidson,1992,p.63). The link between politics and advertising was symbolically sealed in the durable relationship that existed between the ruling Conservatives and their advisers Saatchi and Saatchi. This highly publicised partnership helped promote the cause of professional political communications as well as the fortunes of client and agency. The party went on to win a further three elections whilst the firm briefly became owners of the world's largest group of advertising companies(Kleinman,1987). As Davidson points out: 'By the end of

¹ For instance midway through the 1992 election BBC 'Newsnight'(25/3/92) featured analysis by Peter Kellner and Professor John Kay clearly derived from Downs' work. Drawing on the parallel between politics and business, Kellner argued that shopkeepers could maximise their profitability by locating in the centre of a street whilst a competitor would be best served by opening stall next door in order to attract custom from people living in that half of the road. Likewise the hypothesis was extended to political parties and their

the Eighties it was just impossible to talk about politics without talking about communication, about consuming policies...'(Davidson,1992,p.78).

The political right in the guise of premier Margaret Thatcher and her Conservative supporters lauded marketing as an important aspect of modern economic activity. Their opponents were a good deal more sceptical. Historically the left had been unsympathetic to a process seen to be irredeemably imbued with the very capitalist ethos that encourages 'consumer fetishism'(Williams,1981). During the 1980s some socialists began to reconsider the role of marketing, treating it as a serious phenomenon which needed to be analysed within the context of a debate over the politics of consumption. Thus a few critics on the left began to argue that the hitherto dominant producer centred understanding of economic relations obscured the mobilising potential presented by an increasingly powerful consumer movement. Notably in one contribution to the *New Times* manifesto, Frank Mort(1990) argued that because Labour had been constantly associated with the austerity of the 1940s rather than affluence which coincided with Conservative rule between 1951-64, the Party could only hope to succeed if it was able to radically remodel itself and overhaul its popular image in the process.

In the aftermath of the 1992 election defeat, an influential section of the Labour Party sought to re-develop the theme of consumption politics as a popular strategy(see *Fabian Review*, May 1992). In doing so, these thinkers advocated the need to acknowledge the importance of social changes and the necessity of Labour to align itself with the customer against vested interests such as the large banking and finance corporations. Such moves reflected the so-called party 'modernisers' desire to reorientate Labour away from its most obvious association with producer groups in the shape of its allies in the trades union movement(Webb,1995).

Marketing: the development of societal concerns.

The emergence of political marketing analysis has its roots in a debate initiated by a pair of leading management theorists over twenty five years ago. With the publication of their ground

opportunity to maximise support by shifting closer to their main opponent's positions, thereby converging

breaking analysis of non-profit organisations, Philip Kotler and Sidney Levy(1969) found themselves in the vanguard of a group of marketing scholars committed to challenging their subject's traditionally narrow preoccupation with commercial activity(see also Lazer,1969; Lazer and Kelley,1973). In their seminal piece the authors argued that: '...the crux of marketing lies in a general idea of exchange rather than the narrower idea of market transactions'(Kotler and Levy,1969).

Taking up this revised definition, Kotler and Zaltman(1971) identified a new and distinct field of 'social marketing' in the belief that the work of non-profit organisations could benefit from the adoption of an approach pioneered in business. Kotler and his colleagues were by no means the first to advocate the application of marketing in public sector work: as early as 1919 an American conference had been held on the theme of marketing in government(Graham,1994). Nevertheless they succeeded in that they provoked a major discussion of their thesis in a way that previous pioneering work on the same theme had not(Wiebe,1951).

Despite initial criticisms of Kotler and Levy's 'broadening' thesis(Luck,1969; Carman,1973) analysts began to accept the need to study and develop understanding of the non-commercial sector(Nickels,1974; Hunt,1976; O'Leary and Iredale,1976). Consequently, analysis of social marketing has since entered into the subject mainstream(Kotler and Roberto,1989; Elliott et al.,1994). Recent research has focused on a diverse group of public bodies such as charitable, religious and governmental agencies(Crompton and Lamb,1986; Kotler and Andreasen,1991; Fine,1992ed; Tam,1994; Graham,1994). Parallel to these concerns interest has also begun to turn to the question of party politics and, more specifically, how candidates campaign to win elections.

Under conditions of liberal democracy, election campaigning forms the means by which competing party elites persuade the public of their ability and fitness to govern. As such it constitutes an important civic function revolving around voting, an activity which for many in the population forms their only engagement with politics. In Britain mass electioneering developed

with them in the electoral centreground.

during the course of the 19th Century following three major extensions of the franchise in 1832, 1867 and 1884. Modern political campaigning dates from 1918 and the advent of near universal suffrage. By 1928 every adult over 21 was assured of at least one vote, regardless of gender or property qualifications. Since then the nature and media of political communication have changed. Terms such as 'image makers' and 'spin doctors' are now part of the popular electoral lexicon and the phrase 'political marketing' has become a recognised part of academic discourse. A cursory glance at material on the subject in Britain and abroad indicates a steady growth in publications since 1980, and a more marked increase during the 1990s. This is perhaps understandable given the major changes in media, marketing and technology that have taken place during this time.

Studies in American Campaigning.

The literature on election campaigns is dominated by material originating from the United States. Whilst American scholars monopolise debate in several areas of political science, their pre-eminence in the field of political communication is augmented by a unique set of local factors. In short a thriving industry built around elections in the United States services candidates for everything from municipal dog catcher to national president. Such an environment has encouraged the professionalisation of campaigning, perhaps unsurprising given the frequency with which contests for Congressional seats alone take place.² Consequently the scale and number of these elections have provided scholars with ample opportunity to study this particular kind of mass political behaviour.

One of the earliest and most important studies of professional election campaigning appeared in the mid-1950s. Written by American academic Stanley Kelley, *Professional Public Relations and Political Power*(1956) examined developments in political communications including the launch and evolution of the first full service consultancy 'Campaigns Inc' during the 1930s. Significantly his study was probably the first to make use of the phrase 'political marketing'.

² A third of places in the U.S. Senate and all House of Representatives' seats are contested every two years, the presidency every fourth. The phrase professional, increasingly common in the literature, is used here to mean the extent to which specialist advisers and state of the art technologies are integral to the organisation of campaigning.

Four years on, in his other major contribution to the literature, Kelley took a less case specific but nonetheless interesting approach to the analysis of campaigning (Kelley, 1960). The importance of the subject matter in this work was underlined by the presidential race that took place late in the year the second book was published. The narrowness of the 1960 result coupled with the respective professionalism of the campaign teams, particularly the one working for successful candidate John F. Kennedy, was adjudged by some commentators to have been crucial to the electoral outcome. Analysis of the Kennedy strategy formed the basis of Theodore White's respected and acclaimed study *The Making of the President* (White, 1962).

Towards the end of the 1960s analysis of electioneering began to shift from generalities to focus more on the impact media and new technologies were having on strategies. By far the most famous of these studies was *The Selling of the President*, journalist Joe McGinniss' account of the publicity conscious machine supporting Richard Nixon's successful 1968 bid for the White House (McGinniss, 1969). James Perry's pioneering investigation into the changing nature of campaign technology, appropriately called *The New Politics* (Perry, 1968), also made an impression not least in Britain where one senior Labour Party official alerted colleagues to the potential lessons to be learned from the book by warning that candidates: 'will be promoted and marketed like the latest model automobile' (Pitt, 1968). Other important material followed, including *The Election Game* by leading political consultant Joe Napolitan (Napolitan, 1972) and *Boys on the Bus*, Timothy Crouse's (1972) classic study of pack journalism on the presidential campaign trail. Academic material on the burgeoning campaigns industry also appeared, most notably in the form of Dan Nimmo's *The Political Persuaders* (1970) and David Lee Rosenbloom's critical study of the *The Election Men* (1973).

During the mid-1970s a new school of campaign analysis began to come to the fore. Using quantitative methods pioneered by Lazarsfeld and his colleagues in the earliest academic studies of voting behaviour (Lazarsfeld et al, 1944), researchers attempted to measure and assess the impact and effect of political advertising on the electorate. A steady stream of publications attempted to evaluate changes in public reaction to a variety of campaign strategies and initiatives (Palda, 1973; Atkin and Heald, 1976; Kaid, 1976; Patterson and

McClure,1976). In sum these studies suggested that whilst advertising played a minor role in the most important elections, it could have a significant impact on the outcome of less high profile contests. In respect of the latter type of campaign, attention focused on the apparent ability of appeals to influence voters who watched an above average amount of television, possessed lower levels of educational attainment, and had little prior political commitment(Rothschild,1978).

Aside from the development of quantitative based studies, marketing scholars too began to take an interest in electioneering. Foremost amongst these was leading expert Philip Kotler and his colleague Avraham Shama(Shama,1974; Kotler,1975; Shama,1976). Comprehensive textbooks on how to devise strategy and best manage electoral organisations also appeared(Agranoff,1976; Steinberg,1976). These, together with the highly sophisticated strategies deployed on behalf of successful presidential candidates Carter and Reagan, helped reinvigorate interest in campaign analysis. Whilst some chose to concentrate on the important electoral function of television coverage(Patterson,1980), other researchers decided to focus on what were perceived to be the increasingly central roles played by polling research and paid advertising within the political communications process(Perry,1984; Diamond and Bates,1984; Jamieson,1996). More recently another study has attempted to chart and analyse the impact of direct marketing in elections(Godwin,1988).

The growing interest and recognition that professionalism and the mass media have assumed a dominant influence in terms of modern campaigning has gathered a negative reaction from some. In his classic study into *The Rise of Political Consultants*, Larry Sabato(1981) challenges the notion that the growth of the elections industry is necessarily beneficial to American democracy. Similar sentiments underpin more recent work on the subject(Gold,1987; Margolis and Mauser,1989; Jamieson,1992). In contrast to the approach of these studies, other accounts have sought to assess the effect of electoral professionals on more traditional forms of party organisation and strategy(Peele,1982; Luntz,1988).³

³ The definitive study into the effect of professionalism on party organisation has been conducted by the Italian scholar Angelo Panebianco(1988). Related material has also appeared in the leading journal, *Political Communication* and two collections of essays(Nimmo and Sanders,1981; Swanson and Nimmo,1990). It should be added that the launch of titles such as this, together with the burgeoning series

The obvious overlap between politics and marketing apparent in much of the growing literature on American campaigning written in the 1980s has revived management specialists' interest in the subject. In his pioneering work, Gary Mauser(1983) shows how it is possible to use new product development, a tool popular in conventional business, to devise successful electoral strategies. Other scholars including Bruce Newman and Nicholas O'Shaughnessy have developed the literature on political marketing in the United States, offering general overviews of the subject(Newman and Sheth,1985; Newman and Sheth,1987; O'Shaughnessy,1987; Schoenwald,1987; Niffenegger,1989) as well as more detailed case based material on the most recent presidential races(O'Shaughnessy,1990; Newman,1994).

Campaigning in an International Context.

Aside from the growth in specialist literature on electioneering in the United States, several scholars in other countries have begun research into developments in and around their regions. Unlike the American research, which is increasingly sub-divided and focused on specific cases or campaign activities such as polling or advertising, the international literature tends to group the study of techniques together under the generic term 'political marketing'. The fact that several independent scholars from different democracies have recognised the growth of this phenomenon over the last two decades tends to reinforce the belief that there is a major change taking place in the way modern elections are being conducted.

A large amount of the non-American material on political marketing has been produced by researchers in Europe. Several French writers have been to the fore in this development. These include Denis Lindon who completed his study *Marketing Politique et Social* in the mid-1970s(Lindon,1976). In 1980 a group of mainly French scholars including Monica Charlot, Dominique David and Jean-Pierre Piotet convened at Liege University to consider the growing importance of the phenomenon in Western Europe(Piotet et al.,1980). Since then other Gallic academics have been actively researching and writing about the subject(Le Seac'h,1981; Boy et al,1985; Bobin,1988; Maarek,1995), a trend reinforced by the decision of the *Revue de*

of books on the subject produced by Praeger publishers(e.g. Denton,1991), help underline the vibrant state

Marketing Francaise to devote a special edition to politics(Marti,1988). Significantly the 1988 national elections in France and the United States formed the backdrop to a comparative study of presidential campaigning in the two countries(Kaid and Gerstle,1992).

Edgar Wangen has pioneered the study of political marketing in Germany(Wangen,1982). More recently his work has been joined by that of fellow national Martin Wortmann(Farrell and Wortmann,1987; Wortmann,1989). In Italy Gianpietro Mazzoleni has investigated the growth of the phenomenon there(Mazzoleni,1991) whilst a pair of experts have charted developments in Spain(Roces and Rives,1982). Despite being one of the smallest member states in the European Union, Ireland has been well served with analysis by David Farrell, Patrick Butler and Neil Collins(Farrell,1986; Farrell and Wortmann,1987; Butler and Collins,1993).

Other research completed on political marketing includes material from countries as far afield as Canada(Leiss et al,1990), Australia(Tiffen,1989), New Zealand(Denemark,1991) and Columbia(Salazar Vargas,1994). In addition there are several comparative analyses of campaigning. These include *Electioneering*, a study of practices in various countries, edited by David Butler and Austin Ranney(Butler and Ranney,1992). Developments in selected democracies are also featured in another comprehensive collection(Bowler and Farrell,1992). Two books, edited by Lynda Lee Kaid, survey trends in political advertising throughout the world(Kaid et al,1986; Kaid and Holtz-Bacha,1995). This trend towards comparative analysis looks set to continue as the democratisation process continues within Eastern and Central Europe, Latin America and the Far East.⁴

Political Marketing in Britain.

The impact and enduring importance of political marketing in Britain has been most comprehensively documented in the wealth of material which has appeared in the run-up to and

of research in the field.

⁴ The interest of the mainly United States based body of campaign consultants in foreign elections can be detected in the activities of organisations such as the American Association of Political Consultants, International Association of Political Consultants, and the party linked National Democratic and National Republican Institutes. Recently non-American strategists like Sir Tim Bell have also been active advising presidential candidates in countries like Chile and South Africa.

after the 1992 general election.⁵ These pieces include Martin Harrop's(1990) critical review of the subject matter in *Parliamentary Affairs*. Whilst Nicholas O'Shaughnessy(1990) uses a chapter to contrast British and American electioneering, Brendan Bruce(1992) devotes the bulk of his book to studying campaigning in the two countries. A former advertising executive and Director of Communications for the Conservative Party, Bruce draws on his professional experience to observe developments in a book punctuated by sometimes interesting if highly opinionated commentaries. Television producer Laurence Rees covers similar ground to Bruce in parts of *Selling Politics*, a book based on the BBC 'Timewatch' series of the same name(Rees,1992).

The 1990s have witnessed the publication of several important academic commentaries on the development of political marketing in Britain. In *Packaging Politics*, Bob Franklin offers a comprehensive and critical review of the role played by modern media and marketing techniques within the political process(Franklin,1994). Wide in scope, the book outlines the changing nature of broadcasting and press reporting, central and local government public relations and news management strategies, as well as the national and regional parties' campaign apparatus. In *Election Campaigning: the New Marketing of Politics*(1995) Dennis Kavanagh takes a different perspective, concentrating on the professionalisation of electioneering in the post-war period. The bulk of his research considers the strategic evolution of the parties at national level, and the political importance of advertising, polling research and mass media since the 1950s.

Based on her thesis(Scammell,1991), Margaret Scammell's *Designer Politics*(1995) offers an in-depth insight into the way marketing reshaped politics during the 1980s. The book is particularly useful because it analyses changes in both Conservative Party and governmental communication strategies. Separate sections consider the historical perspective as well as the Thatcher leadership. Other work on the evolution of Conservative campaigning has been

⁵ Prior to the 1980s commentary on the professionalisation of election campaigning can be found in Rose's classic 1967 work *Influencing Voters* and the regular 'Nuffield' studies of which McCallum and Readman(1947) was the first in the series. The 1959, 1964, 1992 and 1997 are especially good on analysing the impact of the media and marketing on political communication (Butler and Rose,1960; Butler and King,1965; Butler and Kavanagh,1992; and Butler and Kavanagh, 1997). See also the Cambridge University Press series on political communications which includes Crewe and Harrop(1989).

completed by Cockett(1994). On the Labour Party Wring(1996; 1997a) offers an historical overview comparing and contrasting the organisation's approach to political communication. Webb(1991), Shaw(1994) and Sackman(1996) concentrate on the way in which marketing was used to reshape the party during the critical latter part of Neil Kinnock's leadership which eventually gave rise to Tony Blair and his 'New' Labour party of the late 1990s. Significant assessments of contemporary political communication and marketing in Britain can also be found in Sackman(1992), O'Shaughnessy and Wring(1994), Jones(1995), McNair(1995), Negrine(1996) and Rosenbaum(1997).

Beyond the discipline of political science, a wider academic community has begun to take an interest in electoral behaviour. For their part key management journals such as the *European Journal of Marketing*(Reid,1988; Butler and Collins,1994; Lock and Harris,1996 et al.) and *Journal of Marketing Management*(Smith and Saunders,1990; Wring,1997b) have featured major contributions to the literature on political marketing in the UK. Significantly the first of these titles opted to publish a special issue in 1996 and a panel on the topic featured as a major strand at the 1997 UK Academy of Marketing Conference, the leading national umbrella organisation for the discipline.⁶

Of additional, not to mention symbolic, importance is the increasing interest being paid by the marketing trade press to party political affairs. Given their specialisation, some of this coverage in media such as *PR Week*, *Marketing Week*, *Campaign* and *Marketing* has been less willing to reflect the consensus amongst political correspondents and party professionals when it comes to reporting strategic developments. During the 1992 election this source of coverage offered a welcome rejoinder to some mainstream television and newspaper commentaries which tended to over generalise and promote the view that the main participants' were either wholly competent or, conversely, ineffective.

⁶ Similar panels appeared at the Political Studies Association meetings of 1995 and 1996 and a group of academics have also convened conferences in Cambridge in both these years(see Henneberg and O'Shaughnessy,1996).

Conclusions.

The late twentieth phenomenon of political marketing arises from three converging factors. Firstly within the political sphere there is growing recognition that there has been a marked rise in so-called voter volatility over the last three decades. In tandem with this analysts have become increasingly interested in applying rational choice theory to the study of electoral behaviour. Underpinning such an approach is the view that the competition for votes mirrors that of a business pursuing a share of a consumer market. This in turn derives support from and revitalises the importance of the work of earlier democratic theorists, most notably Anthony Downs and Joseph Schumpeter.

Secondly, industrial change during the 1980s afforded the tertiary service sector an even greater role within the economies of major western countries such as the United Kingdom. This in turn has consolidated and advanced the cultural importance and power of marketing, one of the sector's most important component parts. As a consequence advertising and market research agencies are increasingly exerting considerable influence over society and, more specifically, the political process. Marketing as an approach and set of techniques has become increasingly indispensable to those fighting modern election campaigns.

Finally there has been a significant growth in public sector marketing reflected by an increasing academic appreciation of the importance of management in the non-profit making sector. Politics is a key dimension of this trend. As has been shown in this chapter a number of international scholars working independently of one another have begun to identify and analyse the concept and practice of political marketing. This trend looks set to continue well into the next century.

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The marketing campaign helps the candidate go through the four stages of the political campaign, including everything from the preprimary stage of a politician's defining his own place in politics to his already formed political image at the general election stage. It is natural then that both campaigns are closely connected. The process of a marketing campaign is the foundation of the model because it includes all the marketing tools needed to conduct the candidate through all the levels of the political campaign. The common element of the theories of political marketing presented here is the "POLITICAL MARKETING: RECENT POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS" submitted in the partial fulfillment of the requirement of Master of Business Administration (MBA) of INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL OF INFORMATICS AND MANAGEMENT is based on secondary data found by me in various departments, books, magazines and websites & Collected by me in under guidance of Ms. GEETI SHARMA. 3 Particulars Page no. 1. Marketing 5 2. Political marketing 6 3. Political campaign 18 4. History of Indian politics 21 5. Emergence of political advertising in 22 India 6. Model code of conduct for the guidance of 27 Political parties and candidates 7. General Election in India 2009 34 8. Different media used for advertisements 44 in recent elections 9. Conclusion 55. Keywords: Political marketing, Russian political market, political parties, United Russia, Mass Media, political PR. Political consulting is an integral part of politics and campaigning. Seeing that political activity is now mostly about managing the information flow, the foremost purpose of political consulting is to ensure, at the very least, the politician's presence in it, and at best, to present him in the most favourable light possible. The fact that Russian political marketing is less than three decades old might seem somewhat unusual for such big and powerful country from the perspective of the less experienced onlookers. However, it is only logical given Russia's communist totalitarian past.