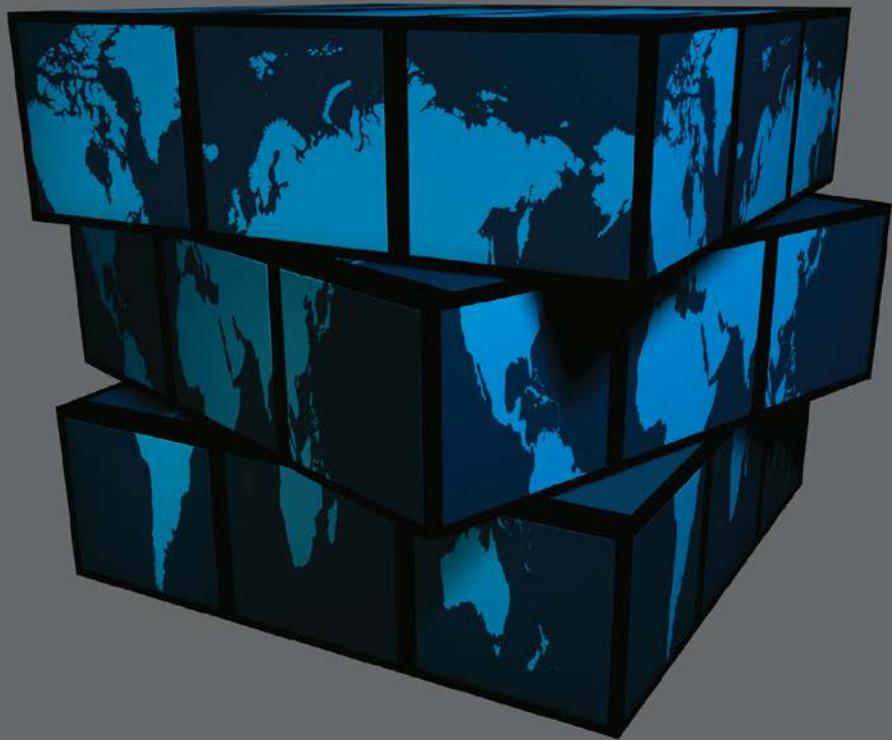


# POLITICAL MARKETING

THEORETICAL AND STRATEGIC FOUNDATIONS



WOJCIECH CWALINA  
ANDRZEJ FALKOWSKI  
BRUCE I. NEWMAN

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ANDRZEJ FALKOWSKI  
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 **Routledge**  
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This book is dedicated to our families:

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## Introduction

Democracy is full of paradoxes. One of its premises is the freedom of citizens, which creates favorable conditions to create more and more sophisticated marketing strategies whose goal is to make the voter vote for a certain political option. We face then a paradoxical situation because a side product of these strategies is the limitation of the voters' choices in their voting decisions; in other words, the developing democracy creates mechanisms that limit democracy.

One may wonder how it might be possible to handle such a situation. First of all, one should discover how social and psychological mechanisms controlling citizens' behavior operate. These mechanisms are the basis of the applied marketing strategies. Thus the main concern of this book is the demonstration that political marketing analysis is virtually impossible without substantial knowledge of psychology. The theoretical and practical knowledge of political marketing is analyzed with particular emphasis on psychological mechanisms of voter behavior. It is obvious that the psychological research in the domain of cognitive and emotional processes is commonly used to create politicians' or parties' images as well as to construct persuasion messages for political campaigns. Such efforts lead to stronger and stronger control of people's attitudes and preferences on the automatic level—that is, beyond their conscious control. Thus, voters do not realize that their behavior is often shaped by those who deliberately use sophisticated marketing techniques.

The present book provides a complete and profound view of political marketing. Apart from instructing readers how to use the research tools of political marketing, it teaches them to understand social and political reality and encourages them to participate in shaping this reality. This is especially important for well-established as well as emerging democracies, in which the dynamic development of information technology, resulting in the devel-

opment of the Internet and new technologies used for wireless multimedia transmission and increasingly available to ordinary people, is creating a new information society. The rapid development of the media and the possibility of reaching each person with information encourage individuals to construct in their minds a certain way of perceiving the surrounding reality.

One might wonder then who may be interested in such constructing. In the first place, it is managers responsible for marketing strategies in business and also political marketing consultants. The first group uses the achievements of modern social science for influencing customer behavior, whereas the other group uses them for influencing voter behavior. The increasingly sophisticated promotional campaigns used by both groups influence the cognitive and emotional spheres of the voters, creating a certain image of reality in their minds. In this way voters become puppets in the hands of the manager who, by controlling their behavior, is limiting their freedom.

The content of the book is put within the theoretical framework of social psychology with particular emphasis on cognitive-emotional processes. Such an approach is especially important in creating the flexibility of the political campaign consultant not only in using the market research tools discussed in detail in this book, but also in creating and controlling the surrounding social reality.

The first chapter presents political marketing as a separate discipline and analyzes current definitions of the field, which leads to proposing our own, original definition of this domain of research in theory and practice. The second chapter introduces an advanced theory of political marketing in the context of existing models. The third chapter is devoted to the marketing tools of segmentation of the voting market and positioning of parties and politicians. Special attention is paid to three positioning methods, the first one based on triangulation, the second on the associative affinity index, and the third on contrast theory of similarity. The following four chapters discuss in detail particular problems related to candidate image, direct campaigns, debates, permanent campaigns, and maintaining relationship with voters. The final, eighth, chapter is a special one. It undertakes the problem of democracy and freedom of citizens which, in a sense, is limited as a result of advanced marketing strategies used to convince voters to vote for a particular political option. It seems that the only way to eliminate such paradoxes is through social education. The increase of political awareness and the popularization of the knowledge of economy and law should ensure that an increasing number of those entitled to vote will start making rational political choices. Popularization of political marketing will, on the one hand, equalize the election chances of all political subjects on the scene and, on the other hand, lead to citizens' becoming less enslaved and manipulated.

The book is aimed not only at students and researchers working in marketing, business, and political sciences. It is also aimed at psychologists, sociologists, and those who are professional in the humanities. It can certainly be helpful to consultants working on political campaigns as well as politicians who would better understand their chances of success or failure.

The completion of this book would not have been possible without the support and constructive editing of several people. We first want to thank Harry Briggs, executive editor at M.E. Sharpe. Harry served as a guiding light throughout the process, providing necessary feedback and excellent leadership. It should be noted that Harry served as the editor on two previous books on political marketing, dating back to 1994, a clear indication of his foresight in the promise of the field. We also want to thank Andrzej Antoszek from Catholic University of Lublin for his careful reading of the manuscript that proved to be invaluable. Furthermore, we want to thank several colleagues for their contribution to the field of political marketing. They organized conferences and wrote important articles and books, all of which had an influence on the subjects and problems we addressed in our book: they include Costa Gouliamos from European University, Cyprus; Phil Harris from University of Chester, England; Stephan Hennebergu from University of Manchester, Manchester Business School, England; Nicholas O'Shaughnessy from Queen Mary University of London; Paul Baines from Cranfield University, England; Dominic Wring from Loughborough University, England; Dennis Johnson from George Washington University, United States; and Wayne Steger from DePaul University, United States. We want to thank Yuanyun Peng (Ella) from DePaul University for her help with the proofreading of each draft of the manuscript. We want to also thank the administrative and editorial staff at M.E. Sharpe for their support of this project. Finally, we thank our families for their continued love and their support of our professional lives.

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# POLITICAL MARKETING

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# 1

## Metatheory in Social Science and Political Marketing

Theory development in political marketing has borrowed from several different social science disciplines. At the very heart of this pursuit is the understanding of human behavior that encompasses the various activities involved in political marketing. The sum total of those activities is put forward in the following definition of political marketing: “the applications of marketing principles and procedures in political campaigns by various individuals and organizations. The procedures involved include the analysis, development, execution and management of strategic campaigns by candidates, political parties, governments, lobbyists and interest groups that seek to drive public opinion, advance their own ideologies, win elections and pass legislation and referenda in response to the needs and wants of selected people and groups in society” (Newman 1999a, xiii).

### **Metatheory in Social Science**

The various activities that encompass the human behaviors related to political marketing will be analyzed in this book in an effort to understand how democracies around the world use these methods to accomplish the many political goals that allow a society to increase the quality of life for its citizens. The theorists from the different social science disciplines that we have borrowed from all approach theory development in a slightly different way, with each approach unique to the study of activities that pertain to the human behavior in question. However, it is possible to study the contribution of a theory in social science by outlining the various functions that theory serves into four different categories: integration, description, delimitation, and generation (see Howard and Sheth 1969; Rychlak 1968). Each of these functions will be described and used to evaluate how a theory in political marketing should be

developed to better understand the technopolitical shift that has taken place in democracies around the world over the past twenty years.

### ***The Integrative Function***

One of the most important parts of theory development in the social sciences is the integration of constructs, propositions, and existing models that seek to explain the phenomenon in question. Perhaps the most important function to use to test a theory in political marketing is its ability to bring together the various constructs that define a discipline made up of two different worlds: politics and marketing. We find ourselves at a very exciting stage of theoretical development in the field of political marketing where scholars from around the world are contributing to the knowledge base of the field on a regular basis (see *Journal of Political Marketing*, published by Taylor & Francis, in its eighth year in 2009). It is not surprising that the research most widely referenced in the field is from two disciplines: political science and marketing. However, it is fair to say that scholars have borrowed from many other disciplines to explain the very wide range of human behaviors that make up the field of political marketing, including, but not limited to, cognitive and social psychology, sociology, advertising, cultural anthropology, economics, management, and political management. Each of these different disciplines seeks to explain and predict the behavior of the many actors involved in the functioning of democracies.

We believe the theoretical structure put forward in this book pulls together the relevant empirical and conceptual findings in several different disciplines that have been tapped to contribute to the current thinking in the field. This statement is made with an understanding that theoretical developments have come from disciplines in democracies around the world. Furthermore, it acknowledges the importance that must be placed on developing theory from empirical works that allow us to bridge the global network of democracies that rely on similar constructs to understand the thinking and actions of the voter in society (Cwalina, Falkowski, and Newman 2008).

### ***The Descriptive Function***

Like other theories in the social sciences, theory in political marketing should be explained by the integration of constructs and propositions that allow one to get an understanding of the human behavior in question. Key to describing the central constructs of the theory in this discipline is the ability to integrate the environmental forces that play a role in shaping the behaviors in question. Because the phenomenon in question can have global idiosyncratic charac-

teristics, it is critically important in the description of theory in this field to account for the broad commonalities that do exist in all democracies around the world. This is perhaps the most compelling aspect of the work presented in this book, which to date has not been accomplished by any other scholar in the field.

We believe the theoretical contribution made in this book moves the field forward because human political behaviors around the world do have many features in common, but at the same time have some unique features. For example, some democracies are driven by governments as opposed to political parties. In other words, governments are so powerful that they are able to pick and choose the political party that is in charge of day-to-day operations of the society. At the same time, in some democracies individual politicians may be put in power without the consent of the government, or a political party may gain control through the sheer power of money and advertising that are used to drive the choice of candidates. Furthermore, it has been well established in the field that the set of activities and actors may vary or stay the same as a democracy moves from precampaign, to campaign, to postcampaign status. Finally, the actual use of marketing tools and strategies can also have a differential impact on the outcome of campaigns depending on the democracy being studied. It is therefore imperative that a theory be developed that describes and accounts for all the conditions that might impinge on the uniqueness of a democracy. We believe our theory can be used to fully describe the human behavior we are studying.

### *The Delimiting Function*

In light of the fact that theory in the social sciences must be limited to a selection of constructs that describe the phenomenon from a specific vantage point, and the fact that we are attempting to provide a theory that has a global reach, the selection of constructs is very important (see Figure 2.6 in Chapter 2). Our goal in this book is not to attempt to explain the unique features of political marketing in each and every democracy around the world, but rather to present an array of constructs and propositions that can give meaning to the common human behaviors and activities that cut across the discipline. The question then arises how we went about selecting those constructs that could give meaning to anyone who might have an interest in this phenomenon around the world. The best answer to this question lies in the fact that we relied on both empirical and conceptual works in the development of our theoretical linkages.

By definition, the field of political marketing is an applied science that relies on the application of constructs that are measured in paper-and-pencil questionnaires. Yes, these measurements come from models and conceptual

frameworks that fit into the phenomenon being studied. Therefore, it is quite possible that the selection of constructs (from empirical studies) in our theory may be limited to the execution of the research carried out and reported in the literature. We are naturally constrained by the relationships that show statistical significance in the reporting of results, and by the modeling that is developed from these research studies. It must also be recognized that there may be constructs that should be included in our theory, but because they cannot be measured, we are limited to their exclusion. This is the nature of an applied discipline and naturally delimits the choice of constructs that describe and explain the phenomenon in question. As the methodological sophistication of a discipline advances through multivariate statistical testing, it becomes possible for theorists to use more rigorous tests to validate the meaning of the constructs and their relationships. Ultimately, it is the ability to predict the human behaviors in question that allows us to extract meaningful explanations and ultimately a choice of constructs to use in our theory. We are of the opinion that we have successfully selected out those constructs that delimit the field.

### *The Generative Function*

The ability to test a theory, and parts of it, is a measure of the generative function. In the social sciences, testing hypotheses that are generated from theory is one measure of the richness of the thinking. The development of our theory in this book is based on preexisting models, some of which have been tested across people, time, and places. However, we have gone a step beyond the traditional thinking in the field by expanding the phenomenon to be tested across global boundaries. For example, we have borrowed from models that have been conceptualized in one country, but never tested. We also have borrowed from some models that have been operationalized in selected democracies, but not in others. Finally, we have also borrowed from conceptual frameworks that have not been tested, but have been compared between countries.

It is our goal to generate much thinking and research from scholars around the world on the subject of political marketing. We expect that to happen because the theory provides for an unlimited number of relationships that could exist between constructs in the model (see Figure 2.6 in Chapter 2). For example, it will be very interesting to see how the strategic use of social networking moves from the United States (as witnessed in the Obama campaign of 2008) to other democracies around the world as the Internet becomes more popular and more economical to use compared with traditional communication tools, such as television advertising. We also expect to see some very interest-

ing research carried out longitudinally within democracies from precampaign to campaign to postcampaign as constructs are more clearly delineated and able to be measured by researchers. This function should serve to advance the field of political marketing in a significant way, and we believe that the theoretical propositions put forward will serve to do that well.

### **Political Marketing as a Separate Discipline of Science and Practice**

Politicians are in the business of selling hope to people. This hope is related to convincing people that it is this particular politician or political party that guarantees, as Jenny Lloyd (2005) puts it, successful management of national security, social stability, and economic growth on behalf of the electorate. From this perspective, the major challenge to political marketing is to connect a politician's words, actions, and vision into a realistic transformation of the electorate's dreams and aspirations (Newman 1994).

According to Stephen Dann, Phil Harris, and their collaborators (2007), political marketing faces four main challenges. First, we need to turn political marketing into political marketing science. Implementing this goal requires, above all, developing background research and core datasets to utilize for constructing advanced insights into the political marketing process. Second, political marketing needs to be modernized. The research agenda for marketers and academics is to test the applicability of the principles in the context of the local political system so as to identify independent and nation-dependent political marketing strategies and campaigns. This step is necessary to develop a general theory of political marketing. Third, we need to define the relations between political marketing, lobbying, and government. Fourth, any theory of political marketing should include changes taking place in modern democracies, especially the shift from citizenship to spectatorship, and assess and point new ways to increase citizen involvement.

Paraphrasing the words of Phil Harris and Patricia Rees (2000, 368), "political marketing needs to regenerate itself and not fear change or ambiguity in its quest to seek the truth. It needs to avoid shibboleths, false and unarmed prophets, learn from history and show passion and courage or be deemed beyond redemption."

### ***Mainstream and Political Marketing***

The first conceptualizing efforts related to political marketing referred to or represented the transferring of classical product marketing to the plane of politics (e.g., Farrell and Wortmann 1987; Kotler 1975; Niffenegger 1988;

Shama 1975), defined by Stephan C. Henneberg (2003) as “instrumental” or “managerial” interpretation of political marketing activities. The starting point for this approach was the assumption that it would be a gross mistake to think that election campaigns have taken on marketing character only in recent years. Campaigning for office has always had a marketing character, and what has only increased in the course of time is the sophistication and acceleration of the use of marketing methods in politics (Kotler 1975; Kotler and Kotler 1999). From this perspective, political marketing was defined as “the process by which political candidates and ideas are directed at the voters in order to satisfy their political needs and thus gain their support for the candidate and ideas in question” (Shama 1975, 793). Applying mainstream marketing to politics was justified by a number of similarities—similarities of concepts (e.g., consumers, market segmentation, marketing mix, image, brand loyalty, product concept and positioning) and similarities of tools (e.g., market research, communication, and advertising). On the other hand, attempts were made to prove that the differences between marketing and politics were only ostensible and that they disappeared under a more thorough analysis (see Egan 1999; Kotler 1975).

One of the consequences of identifying political marketing as product marketing was that candidates or political parties often were compared to particular consumer products, such as toothpaste or a bar of soap, and the media played an important part in popularizing that myth. As Philip Kotler and Sidney Levy (1969, 10) state, “political contests remind us that candidates are marketed as well as soap.” However, as Alex Marland (2003) demonstrates, such comparisons are outdated and hardly appropriate in modern political marketing. The notion that parties and candidates can be promoted in the same manner as soap has become the mechanism for decrying the side effects of political marketing. This outdated axiom still continues to be used by political actors and observers alike. The “selling soap” analogy presumes that candidates are sold with a selling concept rather than promoted within a marketing concept. According to Marland (2003, 106), “only amateur, underfunded, and small-scale election campaign teams are still involved in a selling concept.” Candidates are not “sold”; they are “marketed,” as are realtors (i.e., real estate agents) and other service providers.

This idea is also strongly emphasized by Nicholas O’Shaughnessy (1987, 63): “politics deals with a person, not a product.” Rather, politicians should be treated as vendors hired for a particular period of time—like doctors or lawyers. In other words, political marketing is mainly concerned with people and their relationships with each other, whereas mainstream marketing is often concerned with people’s interaction with products. Therefore, attitude and impression formation in reference to political candidates also has a number of characteristics distinguishing it from consumer brands. The results of a

series of psychological experiments conducted by Sarah Hampson, Oliver John, and Lewis Goldberg (1986) suggest that category membership is fuzzier with persons than in the domain of natural objects. It means, for instance, that the category “politician” is more blurred or less unequivocal than the category “soft drink.” There are many more features politicians are characterized by and the associations with them are less predictable than those with the category of products. Furthermore, the results of neuropsychological research suggest that different brain regions are activated during forming impressions of people and inanimate objects (Mitchell, Macrae, and Banaji 2005). Also, Geeta Menon and Gita Johar (1997) demonstrate that judgments related to nonsocial product experiences trigger processes that are different from those established for social stimuli. Product experiences are inherently less ambiguous than personal experiences, thereby entailing more concrete and less self-referent processing. Judgments of social stimuli (e.g., person, party) are likely to depend on inferred, abstract information (e.g., traits); whereas judgments of nonsocial stimuli (e.g., products) are likely to depend on concrete attributes, which, in turn, leads to the manifestation of positivity effects (tendency to recall positive experiences from the past rather than negative ones) in personal but not product experiences. Menon and Johar (1997) suggest then that consumer researchers need to be cautious when applying knowledge of structure and processes dealing with person memory to the domain of products. Furthermore, the results of John Lastovicka and E.H. Bonfield’s research (1982) suggest that although consumers are likely to hold attitudes about a politician’s stands on familiar social and political issues, attitudes are less likely to be held about familiar branded products, since, in general, consumer products are less involving than social issues.

The above differences suggest that identifying political candidates with consumer brands may lead to errors if mainstream marketing knowledge is directly applied to politics. It does not mean, though, that there are no similarities between these two concepts, but that the differences stress the specificity of human reactions to political objects as opposed to consumer goods. According to Bruce Newman (1994), in reality the candidate is rather like a service provider, whereas parties can be compared with service-providing companies (see also Bauer, Huber, and Herrmann 1996). From this perspective, candidates offer a service to their voters, much in the same way that insurance agents offer a service to their consumers. In this case, the insurance policy becomes the product sold by the agent. Therefore, to convey the impression that the marketing of candidates is similar to traditional fast-moving consumer goods marketing is to oversimplify and minimize the uniqueness of the marketing application to politics.

First of all, as Newman (1994) proves, consumption of soap does not

require nearly as much time and effort in a consumer's decision to buy one brand over another as a voter spends when deciding to cast a ballot for a candidate. As a result, a buyer of soap will be less involved in the acquisition of information than is a voter. Second, by taking note that a candidate really is a service provider, the distinction between campaigning and governing becomes clearer. The actual delivery of a service that candidates offer to the voter does not occur until they begin to govern. Finally, candidates operate in a dynamic environment—fast, changing, and full of obstacles—which present marketing challenges that require flexibility. Like corporations around the world that alter their services to respond to more demanding consumers in the commercial marketplace, candidates have to respond to the fast-paced changes that take place in the political marketplace (Newman 1994). From the perspective of service marketing, G. Lynn Shostack (1977, 79) presents a similar idea: “services are often inextricably entwined with their human representatives. In many fields, a person is perceived to *be* the service.”

### ***Service Marketing and Political Marketing***

These clearly defined differences between political and product marketing suggest that political marketing may have much more in common with service and nonprofit organizations marketing than with product marketing (see Kotler and Andreasen 1991; Lloyd 2005; Scammell 1999). This approach is defined by Henneberg (2003) as “functional” marketing analysis of political management. Service marketing incorporates a whole host of strategic issues that are not applicable in the marketing of products because services have unique characteristics that products do not have. According to Stephen Vargo and Robert Lusch (2004, 2), services may be defined as “the application of specialized competences (knowledge and skills) through deeds, processes, and performances for the benefit of another entity or the entity itself.” Services are intangible (no physical product is exchanged and repeat purchases may be based on reputation and recollection of previous services), heterogeneous (the provision of services is variable—depending on the service provider, the quality of the service can vary), perishable (they are instantaneous and cannot be stored for any length of time), and inseparable (service requires the presence of the producer, and its production often takes place at the same time as consumption—either partial or full), nonstandardized (there is difficulty in consistency of service delivery), and they have no owner (customers have access to but not ownership of service activity or facility) (see Berry 1980; Kearsey and Varey 1998). These characteristics can be referred, to a large extent, to the area of politics (Butler and Collins 1994; Lloyd 2005).

The service-centered view of marketing perceives marketing as a continu-

ous learning process. From this perspective, according to Vargo and Lusch (2004), the application of specialized skills and knowledge is the fundamental unit of exchange. Thus, people exchange to acquire the benefits of specialized competences or services, and not for specific goods. The service-centered view of marketing is customer-centric and market-driven. This means collaborating with and learning from customers and adapting to their individual, dynamic needs. In consequence, “value” is defined by and co-created with the consumer rather than embedded in particular products. In other words, value is perceived and determined by consumers on the basis of “value in use”—the result of the transformation of “matter” into a state from which they could satisfy their desires. The enterprise can only offer a value proposition, and goods are simply a distribution mechanism from service provision (Vargo and Lusch 2004).

These unique service features result in specific marketing problems that need to be resolved by marketing strategists. According to Valerie Zeithaml, A. Parasuraman, and Leonard Berry (1985), these strategies involve, especially, using personal communication (word-of-mouth) tools more than nonpersonal and engaging in postpurchase communications. Furthermore, it is necessary to create a strong organizational or corporate image and not only a particular brand or brand family image. Due to inseparability of service production and consumption, it is necessary then to focus on selection and training of public contact personnel and use multisite locations of providers.

This approach is developed with the concept of perceived service quality (Boulding et al. 1993; Parasuraman, Zeithaml, and Berry 1985), relationship marketing (Grönroos 1994, 1998; Gummesson 2002), and customer relationship management (Boulding et al. 2005; Payne and Frow 2005). Christian Grönroos (1998) introduced the concept of “interactive marketing function” to cover the marketing impact on the customer during the consumption of usage process, where the consumer of a service typically interacts with systems, physical resources, and employees of the service provider. From this perspective, the goal of a company (and political party or candidate too) is to establish, maintain, and enhance relationships with customers and other partners (voters and other political power brokers), at a profit, so that the objectives of the parties involved are met. This goal is achieved by a mutual exchange. Thus, according to Grönroos (1996), three important strategic issues of the relationship marketing approach are (1) to redefine business as a service business; (2) to look at the organization from a process management perspective and not from a functionalistic perspective; and (3) to establish partnerships and a network in order to be able to handle the whole service process. Three tactical elements correspond to these three strategies: (1) seeking direct contacts with customers and other stakeholders; (2) build-

ing a database covering information about customers; and (3) developing a customer-oriented service system.

Grönroos (1997) believes that in every market situation latent relationships always exist and that either the firm or the customer, or both, may choose to activate that latent relationship, depending on their strategies, needs, wishes, and expectations, or choose not to do it. Individual and organizational customers can thus be seen as interested in either a relational (active or passive) or transactional contact with firms. Consumers in an active relational mode seek contact, whereas consumers in a passive mode are satisfied with understanding that the firm is available if needed. In addition, from the firm's perspective, the main thing is not whether a relational strategy is possible or not, but whether a firm finds it profitable and suitable to develop a relational strategy or a transactional strategy. These four modes of consumers (active and passive relational and transactional) and two types of firm marketing efforts (relational and transactional intent/strategy) can be combined into a relationship configuration matrix. Consumer transactional intent independent of the strategies adopted by a company leads to the exchange of product for money, because this creates the value the customers are looking for. In fact, anything else would be a waste of effort. Then, if the consumers are in relational mode (active or passive), they are looking for something in addition to the product to satisfy their value needs. This value goes beyond the product. But if a company adopts a relational strategy, the customer may engage in a long-term relationship.

From this perspective, an integral element of the relationship marketing (but also political marketing) approach is the "promise concept." The key functions related to it are giving promises, fulfilling promises, and enabling promises. A firm that is preoccupied with giving promises may attract new customers and initially build relationships. However, if promises are not kept, the evolving relationship cannot be maintained and enhanced. Therefore, an important element of building stable relations is trust, which is a willingness to rely on an exchange partner in whom one has confidence (Grönroos 1994). This belief in the partner's trustworthiness results from his or her expertise, reliability, and intentionality. In the commitment-trust theory of relationship marketing, Robert Morgan and Shelby Hunt (1994) claim that trust is central to all relational exchanges in relationship marketing with suppliers, internal partners, buyers, and lateral partners (competitors, government, and nonprofit organizations). It is also the foundation of developing relationship commitment, where an exchange partner believes "that an ongoing relationship with another is so important as to warrant maximum efforts at maintaining it"; that is, the "committed party believes the relationship is worth working on to ensure that it endures indefinitely" (23). This commitment has three basic aspects

referring to behavior, affect, and time (San Martín, Gutiérrez, and Camarero 2004). The behavioral dimension of commitment refers to the repeat buying and loyalty of consumers and their investment in the relationship. The affective dimension indicates the extent to which each partner wishes to maintain relations with the other, and the temporal dimension refers to the desire for continuity in the relationship and stability through time.

In the political market, Bauer, Huber, and Herrmann (1996, 156) stress that “when referring to a political party as an association of citizens, it is important to remember that according to the parties’ view of themselves, their services have no ‘consumers.’ Instead, the parties’ efforts are aimed at inducing citizens to put their political ideologies into practice in every aspect of their daily lives.” These authors emphasize that one of the major strategies used by political parties to win support should be reducing voters’ risk and uncertainty by gaining their trust and developing one’s reputation.

However, these clear similarities between service and political marketing do not mean that they are identical. As elements distinguishing political marketing, Lloyd (2005) suggests the following: (1) political outcomes are standardized at the point of “production,” whereas variations arise from the way they are perceived, based upon electors’ experiences and expectations; (2) political outcomes may refer to individuals or groups and they either function independently or sum up; and (3) voters are stakeholders in the resources that create political outcomes.

Besides, it seems that most contemporary voters demonstrate, to use Grönroos’s terminology (1997), passive relational mode, and in most cases they are in transactional mode. It is represented by such phenomena as low election turnout, growing cynicism of citizens toward politics and politicians, and voters failing to identify with particular parties (see Cwalina, Falkowski, and Newman 2008). In this way, citizens no longer seek to develop long and stable relationships with parties. They are rather focused on a short-term perspective. The consequence is candidates’ and parties’ adopting of a transactional strategy: “Vote for us now; what is going to happen later is difficult to predict.”

### ***Political Marketing: A Definition***

Despite many similarities between political marketing and mainstream (product, service, not-for-profit, and relationship) marketing, identifying them cannot be justified. In order to understand the specificity of marketing actions in politics, one should take a closer look at the differences between mainstream and political marketing. A detailed analysis was conducted by Andrew Lock and Phil Harris (1996), who point out seven major differences between the two spheres.

First, those eligible to vote always choose their candidate or political party on the same day that the voting takes place. Consumers, on the other hand, can purchase their products at different times, depending on their needs and purchasing power. Very seldom do the majority of consumers simultaneously want to purchase a certain product. Besides, although one can talk about similarities between opinion polls and tracking measures, the latter often refer to the purchasing decisions that have already been taken, unlike poll questions referring to the future and unknown reality. Besides, declaration of support for political parties is often accompanied by what Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann (1974, 1977) calls a “spiral of silence.” It is related to the fact that some voters are ashamed to reveal their actual political views or preferences. They subject themselves to some form of self-censorship by trying to hide their actual views, although still following them. In this way, their responses included in a poll may be congruent with the responses of the majority (for instance, support for a particular political party), but their behaviors will be congruent with their beliefs (for instance, voting for a completely different political party). The phenomenon of the “spiral of silence” may be one of the explanations of “unexpected” election successes of particular political parties that are heavily criticized in the media. In such cases people seem to follow the rule that it is better to say nothing at all or not to tell the truth rather than get exposed to social isolation and scorn (see Price and Allen 1990).

Second, while the consumer purchasing a product always knows its price—the value expressed in financial terms—for voters there is no price attached to their ability to make a voting decision. Making a voting decision may be the result of analyzing and predicting the consequences of this decision, which can be considered as possible losses and gains in the long-term perspective between elections. In this respect, there is great similarity between postpurchase behavior and voting behavior. In both cases, one may regret taking a particular decision; the product one purchased or the candidate one chose might not meet the expectations of the customer or voter. Of course, one may also feel satisfaction after making a decision. However, it seems that such a state is much more often experienced by customers than voters. Besides, it would be odd if, before going to the polls, voters were informed how much they need to pay to be able to choose a party or a politician, while it is natural that such a price be attached to consumer products.

Third, voters realize that the choice is collective and that they must accept the final voting result even if it goes against their voting preference. Geoffrey Brennan and James Buchanan (1984) even claim that the relation between how an individual voter votes and the final result of the election is hardly relevant. What is really important is the distribution of support across the whole society. In other words, this is a social rather than an individual

choice. This is very different from consumer choices, where the purchasing decision is independent of the attitude toward a given product that other consumers may have.

Fourth, winner takes all in political elections. This is the case in first-past-the-post elections. The closest equivalent to commercial marketing in this case would be gaining a monopoly on the market.

Fifth, the political party or candidate is a complex, intangible product that the voter cannot unpack to see what is inside. Although in commercial marketing there are also products and services that the consumer cannot unpack and check while buying them, the proportion of such packages that cannot be unpacked is much greater in the political market. Besides, consumers may change their minds and exchange products or services almost immediately for others, if they do not like the ones that they have purchased; such exchanges may be quite expensive, though. If voters decide to change their minds, they have to wait till the next election, at least a few years.

Sixth, introducing a new brand in the form of a political party is quite difficult and always remote in time. Furthermore, it always takes place only at the national level. There are many short-lived parties (in Poland, for instance: Center Agreement, Liberal-Democratic Congress, and Solidarity Election Action). Furthermore, in politics there are no supranational parties, although there are transnational groupings in the European Parliament, for instance. In commercial marketing, on the other hand, there are many brands that have acquired international status, including the supermarket chain Géant, for instance, which is present in many European countries, or the Coca-Cola company, which is represented all over the world.

Seventh, in mainstream marketing, brand leaders tend to stay in front. In political marketing, many political parties begin to lose support in public opinion polls after winning the election, because the new ruling party often makes decisions that are not well received by various social groups (e.g., unfavorable budget decisions or tax increases).

In addition, Newman (1994) points out further differences between mainstream and political marketing, stressing that in business the ultimate goal is financial success, whereas in politics it is strengthening democracy through voting processes. Using various marketing strategies in economic practice is the result of conducting market research that promises satisfactory financial profits. In politics, on the other hand, a candidate's own philosophy often influences the scope of marketing strategies. This means that although marketing research may suggest that a politician's chances will improve if she concentrates on particular political or economic issues, she does not have to follow these suggestions if her own conception of political reality is incongruent with these issues. The distinguishing feature of political marketing is

continuous and increasing use of negative advertising, attacking directly rival political candidates (O'Shaughnessy 1987).

Then, Paul Baines, Ross Brennan, and John Egan (2003) emphasize that in the political market, the key form of transaction is the election, which occurs infrequently and does not constitute a legal contract between the "buyer" and the "seller." The most tangible product is the electoral manifesto, but voters have yet to sue their elected representatives for failing to deliver on manifesto promises. It is not clear what price the voters are paying, nor what product they are buying. Furthermore, oligopoly and monopolistic competition predict a high degree of sunk cost expenditure for corporate communications because prices are particularly rigid and firms prefer to compete by almost any other means (notably advertising and sales promotion). In the political market, the very notion of price competition is problematic, so that nonprice competition becomes particularly important.

The differences between mainstream and political marketing are big enough to make one think about developing an independent concept for studying voting behaviors. And despite the fact that, as Lock and Harris (1996) conclude, political marketing is at a "craft" stage, the assumption that there is direct transferability of mainstream marketing theory to political marketing is questionable. They claim that political marketing has to develop its own frameworks by adapting the core marketing literature and develop its own predictive and prescriptive models (see also Dann et al. 2007; Henneberg 2008).

Newman (1994) believes that the key concept for political marketing is the concept of "exchange." When applying marketing to politics, the exchange process centers on a candidate who offers political leadership in exchange for a vote from the citizen. In other words, when voters cast their votes, a transaction takes place. They are engaged in an exchange of time and support (their vote) for the services that the party or candidate offers after election through better government. Aron O'Cass (1996, 38) believes then that "marketing is applicable to political processes as a transaction occurs and is specifically concerned with how transactions are created, stimulated and valued." In this way, marketing offers political parties and candidates the ability to address diverse voter concerns and needs through marketing analyses, planning, implementation, and control of political and electoral campaigns. According to Dominic Wring (1997, 653), political marketing is "the party or candidate's use of opinion research and environmental analysis to produce and promote a competitive offering which will help realize organizational aims and satisfy groups of electors in exchange for their votes."

Baines, Brennan, and Egan (2003) propose a multipart definition of political marketing. It is the means by which the political organization (1) communicates its messages, targeted or untargeted, directly or indirectly, to its support-

ers and other electors; (2) develops credibility and trust with supporters, other electors, and other external sources to enable the organization to raise finances and to develop and maintain local and national management structures; (3) interacts with and responds to supporters, influencers, legislators, competitors, and the general public in the development and adaptation of policies and strategies; (4) delivers to all stakeholders, by means of diverse media, the level of information, advice, and leadership expected and/or required in a social-democratic state; (5) provides training, information resources, and campaign material for candidates, agents, marketers, and/or other local party activists; and (6) attempts to influence and encourage voters, the media, and other important influencers to support the organization's candidates and/or to refrain from supporting the competition.

The emphasis on the processes of election exchanges cannot obscure the fact that political marketing is not limited only to the period of the election campaign. In the era of the permanent campaign, in reality there is no clear difference between the period directly before the election and the rest of the political calendar (Harris 2001a; Newman 1999c). Governing between and in the period of election campaign secures politicians' legitimacy by stratagems that enhance their credibility (Nimmo 1999). Taking this into consideration, Lock and Harris (1996, 21) define political marketing as "a discipline, the study of the processes of exchanges between political entities and their environment and among themselves, with particular reference to the positioning of those entities and their communications. Government and the legislature exist both as exogenous regulators of these processes and as entities within them." Political marketing should thus have strong emphasis on long-term interactive relationships rather than simple exchange. It should also focus on party allegiance, electoral volatility, civic duty, government quality, responsible legislating, or new public management (Bauer, Huber, and Herrmann 1996; Butler and Collins 1999; Collins and Butler 2003; Lees-Marshment 2003).

Based on these differences and similarities between mainstream and political marketing and the concepts proposed so far, we propose our own definition of political marketing: "the processes of exchanges and establishing, maintaining, and enhancing relationships among objects in the political market (politicians, political parties, voters, interests groups, institutions), whose goal is to identify and satisfy their needs and develop political leadership" (Cwalina, Falkowski, and Newman 2009, 70).

### *Political Marketing Orientation*

Together with the development of political marketing and the changes in the voter market, there also took place the evolution of the marketing approach to

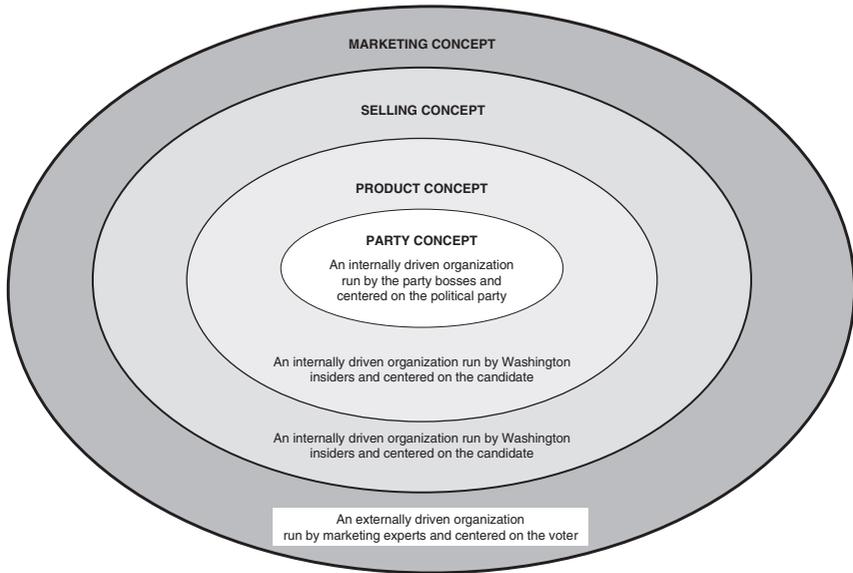
political campaigns. Newman (1994) discusses in four stages how American presidential campaigns have gone from organizations run by party bosses (the party concept) to organizations that have only one goal: to find the best possible candidate to represent the party (the product concept). Next, the organization shifts from an internally to an externally driven operation (i.e., focus on the voter's reaction to the candidate—the selling concept) to an organization run by marketing experts. This type of organization identifies voters' needs and then develops political platforms to meet those needs (the marketing concept). The evolution of the marketing concept is depicted in Figure 1.1.

In *the party concept* the organization has internal focus, which means that it is operated on information generated from the people within the organization and run by party bosses whose only allegiance is to the political party. Grass-roots efforts to get the vote out are at the heart of the power of the political party. The candidates have no choice but to rely on the party bosses within the organization in order to become slated as a nominee. The party concept in political elections was the leading element of voting strategies in former communist countries of Eastern Europe. Any characteristics that were not congruent with the party's political profile destroyed the candidate's electoral chances. Any departures from the party's line were treated as manifestations of disloyalty and usually led to the immediate removal of the politician from office. However, one may have the impression that the majority of Polish voting campaigns are still based on the party way of management. In the United States, presidential elections up through the Eisenhower presidency featured campaign organizations that also followed the party concept.

In time, however, attention shifted from the party to the candidate representing it. The major effort during political campaigns no longer focuses on the party's ideology. Although candidates are usually put up by a particular party, it is their own characteristics that are important for wielding power, and these are emphasized in the electoral strategy. They include, for instance, competence or an ability to run the country's economic policy. This shift was caused by the decline in the number of people who considered themselves partisans and the increase in the number who considered themselves independents (see, e.g., Cwalina, Falkowski, and Newman 2008; Hayes and McAllister 1996; Holbrook 1996; Wattenberg 1991).

Marketing has developed the notion of *product concept* that stresses the importance of manufacturing a quality product. For example, Henry Ford went into manufacturing the Model T Ford with only one idea in mind: to build a quality automobile. Likewise, in politics, the product concept would apply to campaign organizations that have only one goal: to find the best possible candidate to represent the party. In contrast to the party concept in which allegiance is to the party, here it is directed to the candidate.

Figure 1.1 The Evolution of the Marketing Concept



Source: Newman (1994, 32).

Note: The focus of the political campaign or organization has evolved. Once centered on the political party, the political campaign became candidate-centered and then voter-centered.

The next stage in the evolution of the marketing concept involves a *selling concept* in which the focus of the campaign organization shifts from an internally to an externally driven operation. Here the voter's reaction to the candidate's media appearances becomes critical. However, as with the product concept, the focus is still on the candidate. The best example of this concept comes from Joe McGinniss (1969) on the Nixon presidency. McGinniss describes how great efforts were made to sell Richard Nixon to the electorate by relying on media experts. Work went into making Nixon look as good as possible on television by using persuasive appeals in commercials to convince people to vote for him.

The *marketing concept* goes a step further by first identifying consumer needs and then developing products and services to meet those needs. The marketing concept is based on a very different philosophy than the party concept, the main difference being that the marketing concept centers on the voter as the primary focus of the campaign. The delivery of promises once the candidate begins to govern is also pivotal to the philosophy behind the marketing concept. In business, to avoid failure and ensure that consumers

get what they want, companies must address their needs. This same orientation can be found in the political marketplace as well and is used to help the candidate avoid failure and win the election. The marketing concept begins with the voter, not with the candidate. As in the business world, the marketing concept dictates what candidates do, and, as in business, candidates want to create and retain their customers. Several differences between party-driven and voter-driven campaigns have been described in detail by Newman (1994).

A similar approach to the evolution of marketing in politics was proposed by Jennifer Lees-Marshment (2001a, 2001b, 2003) for British political parties. She points out three stages, from product-oriented party, to sales-oriented party, and to market-oriented party.

What is crucial for the specificity of political marketing is defining what “political product” actually is. Patrick Butler and Neil Collins (1994, 1999) believe that it can be described as a conglomerate consisting of three parts: the multicomponent (person/party/ideology) nature of the offer; the significant degree of loyalty involved; and the fact that it is mutable—that is, it can be changed or transformed in the postelection setting. According to Lees-Marshment (2003, 14–15), a party’s “product” is its behavior that “is ongoing and offered at all times (not just elections), at all levels of party. The products include the leadership, MP’s (and candidates), membership, staff, symbols, constitution, activities such as party conferences and policies.”

According to Newman (1994), the real “political product” is the campaign platform. It consists of a number of elements, including (1) the general election program of the candidate based on the political and economic guidelines of the party he belongs to or the organization set up for the time of the elections; (2) his positions on the most important problems appearing during the campaign; (3) the image of the candidate; (4) his reference to his political background and the groups of voters supporting him (e.g., labor unions, associations, NGOs) or the authorities. Such a platform is flexible and evolves together with the development of the voting campaign and changes in the voting situation.

### *Marketing Versus Market Orientation*

Kotler and Kotler (1999) state that to be successful, candidates have to understand their markets—that is, the voters and their basic needs and aspirations—and the constituencies that the candidates represent or seek to represent. Marketing orientation means that candidates recognize the nature of the exchange process when they strive for votes. If a candidate is able to make promises that match the voters’ needs and is able to fulfill these promises once in office, then the candidate will increase voter, as well as public,

satisfaction. It is obvious then that it is the voter who should be the center of attention during political campaigns.

Philip Kotler and Alan Andreasen (1991) maintain that the difficulty in transposing marketing into public and nonprofit organizations is a function of its placement on the continuum from organization-centered (internal) orientation to customer-centered (external) orientation. An organization-centered orientation counters the organization's ability to integrate marketing. From this perspective, marketing is viewed as a marketing mind-set of customer-centeredness and is seen in organizations that exhibit customer-centeredness and heavy reliance on research, are biased toward segmentation, define competition broadly, and have strategies using all elements of the marketing mix.

We want to stress that "marketing orientation" is not the same as "market orientation." "Market orientation" refers to acceptance of the importance of relationships with all stakeholders and aims at being responsive to internal and external markets in which an organization operates. The emphasis here is on building and maintaining stakeholder relationships by the entire organization. Ajay Kohli and Bernard Jaworski (1990, 6) define market orientation as "the organizationwide generation of market intelligence pertaining to current and future customer needs, dissemination of the intelligence across departments, and organizationwide responsiveness to it." Furthermore, the responsiveness component is composed of two sets of activities: response design (i.e., using market intelligence to develop plans) and response implementation (i.e., executing such plans) (Jaworski and Kohli 1993). While this definition of market orientation is concerned with a specific group of organizational behaviors (behavioral approach), John Narver and Stanley Slater (1990, 21; see also Slater and Narver 1994) define it as "the organizational culture that most effectively and efficiently creates the necessary behaviors for the creation of superior value for buyers and, thus, continuous superior performance for the business." It consists of three components: customer orientation (understanding one's target buyers in order to be able to create superior value for them continuously), competitor orientation (understanding the short-term strengths and weaknesses and long-term capabilities and strategies of both the key current and the key potential competitors), and interfunctional coordination (coordinated utilization of company resources in creating superior value for target customers). Furthermore, market orientation has primarily a long-term focus both on the relation to profits and on implementing each of the three components. For businesses, the overriding objective in market orientation is profitability. For nonprofit organizations, the analogous objective is survival, which means earning sufficient revenues to cover long-run expenses and satisfying all key constituencies in the long run.

With politics, according to Robert P. Ormrod (2006, 113; see also Ormrod

2005; Ormrod and Henneberg 2009), political market orientation refers to “all party members’ responsibility for taking part in both development of policies and their implementation and communication.” O’Cass (2001) additionally emphasizes that market orientation is the key mechanism for implementing the marketing concept, while marketing orientation is the underlying mind-set or culture of approaching the operations and processes of the organization through marketing eyes. As such, a marketing orientation is a necessary prerequisite for both being market-oriented and adopting the marketing concept. The essence of marketing is a marketing mind-set of customer-centeredness, which is fundamentally a marketing orientation.

### *Market-Driven Versus Market-Driving Orientation*

Another important distinction for marketing orientation in politics is juxtaposing market-driven versus market-driving business strategies (see Day 1998; Hills and Sarin 2003). The aim of a market-driven organization is to possess a culture that focuses outward on the customer in an attempt to build and sustain superior customer value. Then, market-driving organizations anticipate the changing nature of the market in the future and develop strategies to adapt the organization to ensure long-term success. Hence, a market-driven organization is one that aims to satisfy consumers by responding to their needs, which are derived through market research and market scanning. This suggests that as a longer-term strategic option, the focus on being market-driven leads to managerial complacency in that the focus remains on the existing customer base without being aware of the changing nature of the consumer base in the future. According to George Day (1994, 45), the objective of market-driven organization is “to demonstrate a pervasive commitment to a set of processes, beliefs, and values, reflecting the philosophy that all decisions start with the customer and are guided by a deep and shared understanding of the customer’s need and behavior and competitors’ capabilities and intentions, for the purpose of realizing superior performance by satisfying customers better than competitors.” The market-driven development process combines an understanding of the market situation and technological possibilities with deep insights into customer problems and requirements; it then seeks new opportunities to deliver superior customer value. Market-driven firms are not oriented only to the external customer. They give equal emphasis to the employees who define and deliver the customer value, because employee satisfaction is closely correlated with customer satisfaction. According to Day (1998), market-driven firms achieve and sustain this orientation by making appropriate moves along four interwoven dimensions: (1) values, beliefs, and behaviors; (2) superior market sensing and customer-linking capabilities; (3)

strategic thinking processes that build a commitment to superior customer value proposition; and (4) organization structures, systems, and incentives that facilitate alignment of all aspects and activities with the market.

In the political marketplace, as Peter Reeves, Leslie de Chernatony and Marlyn Carrigan (2006) suggest, there is currently a move toward a market-driven standpoint in that the political parties attempt to design their brands on the basis of the needs of the electorate through market research and polling evidence. Political parties also need to be market-driving in predicting and taking action on longer-term programs that are not immediately important, but will have longer-term consequences. In other words, successful political marketing requires a balanced approach. Driving the market or being driven by it are antagonistic concepts on a continuum, but this is not the case of political marketing orientation. These two dimensions, as Stephan C. Henneberg (2006a, 2006b) demonstrates, constitute the specific strategic posture of a political party and its behavior in the political marketplace: the Relationship Builder (high in market-driving and high in market-driven), the Convinced Ideologist (high/low), the Tactical Populist (low/high), and the Political Lightweight (low/low; in fact it does not participate in the competition).

The Convinced Ideologist (CI) scores high on the leading-scale while its following capabilities are not fully developed. This posture is characterized by a clear focal point for policy-making—implementing ideological postulates. Preferences of voters or opinion shifts are secondary. The CI party concentrates on persuading and convincing voters to follow its proposals, without, however, paying too much attention to how they react to those proposals.

The Tactical Populist (TP) party is characterized by following more than leading. Recognizing the political pulse of the electorate is its most important strategic aim. Therefore, strategic marketing techniques (microsegmentation and concentration on marginal seats and swing voters) are applied to ensure that its political propositions are best fitted to voters' current needs and opinions. It requires employing many electoral professionals—consultants, pollsters, and advisers—and handing over control of the whole campaign to them (see Baines and Worcester 2000).

The Relationship Builder (RB) party scores relatively high on both dimensions of marketing: leading and following. The political offer is developed using political marketing concepts while a clear and trustworthy proposition is created through incorporating brand heritage, such as ideological roots or long-held overarching political beliefs. Furthermore, the RB party is focused on long-term relationships with voters and other players from the political scene.

According to Henneberg (2006a), before and during an election campaign, political parties modify their postures by increasing emphasis on the following-

dimension. But during terms in government, they increase emphasis on the leading-dimension. However, depending on the situation, the ruling party may introduce corrective measures or even change its strategic postures, a shift that is confirmed by the analysis of perceptions of British prime minister Tony Blair, conducted by Henneberg (2006b). Then, being out of office (e.g., in opposition) for a long time increases the likelihood of the adoption of a TP (or RB) approach.

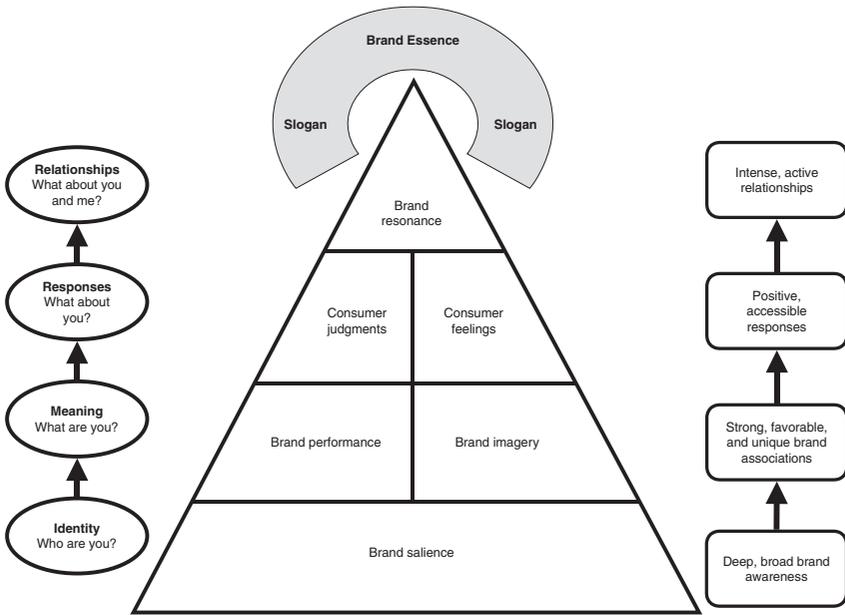
### *Candidate and Political Party as a Brand*

A brand is a multidimensional construct involving the blending of functional and emotional values to match consumers' performance and psychosocial needs. A brand can be defined as "a name, term, sign, symbol, or design, or combination of them which is intended to identify the goods and services of one seller or group of sellers and to differentiate them from those of competitors" (Kotler and Keller 2006, 274). One of the goals of branding is to make a brand unique on dimensions that are both relevant and welcomed by consumers. Success in a market depends on effective brand differentiation, based on the identification, internalization, and communication of unique brand values that are both pertinent to and desired by consumers (de Chernatony 2001). Therefore, it is important to understand the content and structure of brand knowledge because they influence what comes to mind when a consumer thinks about a brand. Consumer brand knowledge relates to the cognitive representation of the brand. Consistent with an associative network memory model, brand knowledge is conceptualized as consisting of a brand node in memory to which a variety of associations are linked (Cwalina and Falkowski 2008b; Keller 1993, 2003).

In the political marketplace—as Leslie de Chernatony and Jon White (2002) stress—a political party can consider itself as a brand, to be developed to offer functional and emotional values to an electorate as part of its appeal (see also Smith 2001). Based on the analogy between a political party and brand, one may use the same marketing tools to develop their integrated images. The brand equity pyramid is a standard tool for understanding a brand's associations and customers' (voters') response. Kevin Lane Keller's brand pyramid (2001) establishes four steps in building a strong brand, with each step conditional on successfully achieving the previous step. The pyramid is presented by Figure 1.2.

The foundation step is establishing identity. It involves creating brand salience. Developing deep, broad brand awareness should ensure identification of the brand with customers and an association with a specific product class or customer need. Salience influences mainly the formation and strength of brand associations that make up the brand image and give the brand mean-

Figure 1.2 **Brand Equity Pyramid**



Source: Adapted and modified from Keller (2001).

ing. Brand awareness is related to the strength of the brand node or trace in memory, as reflected by consumers’ ability to identify the brand under different conditions (Keller 1993). It plays an important role in consumer decision-making because it increases the likelihood that the brand will be a member of the consideration set for purchase. Furthermore, brand awareness also affects consumer choice by influencing the formation and strength of brand associations in the brand image. Therefore, a necessary condition for the creation of a brand image is that a brand node should be established in memory, and the nature of that brand node affects how easily different kinds of information can become attached to the brand in memory.

With political parties, establishing their identities is mainly about positioning a party as left- or right-wing (see Chapter 3). In other words, a party or its members must perform self-identification. This goal can be achieved in many, not mutually exclusive, ways. First, it can be achieved through the party manifesto and its detailed political program. When a party supports social and economic solutions increasing the role of the state over the individual initiative, it locates a party on the left side of the political stage. Stressing the importance of individual initiative, reducing taxes, or emphasizing some

national values may indicate that a party is positioned on the right side of the poetical political stage. Another element connected with developing the identity of a party is choosing its name. In many cases, particularly in Europe, the names of political parties send clear messages to the voters about the beliefs a party represents. Examples include the Democratic Left Alliance, the Polish Peasants' Party, and the League of Polish Families in Poland, the Christian Democratic Union and the Social Democratic Party in Germany, and the Conservative Party and the Labour Party in the United Kingdom.

Another component of building the brand is establishing the meaning of the brand—creating a strong, favorable, and unique brand association. Another goal here is establishing a brand image—that is, what the brand is characterized by and should stand for in the minds of customers. Brand image means perceptions of the brand as reflected by the brand associations held in consumer memory. Brand associations are the other informational nodes linked to the brand node in memory; they contain the meaning of the brand for consumers (Keller 1993). These associations differ according to how favorably they are evaluated. The success of a marketing program is reflected in the creation of favorable brand associations. That is, consumers believe the brand has attributes and benefits that satisfy their needs and wants such that a positive overall brand attitude is formed.

According to Keller (2001), the third step should seek to develop positive, accessible responses to brand identity and meaning. Brand responses refer to how customers respond to the brand, its marketing activity, slogans, and other sources of information—in other words, what customers think (judgments) or feel (feelings) about the brand. The activities within that level of the pyramid are focused on developing positive attitudes toward the brand.

The pinnacle of the pyramid should build strong customer relationships to develop loyalty. The final step of Keller's model focuses on the ultimate relationship and level of identification that customer has with the brand. Brand resonance is characterized in terms of the intensity or depth of the psychological bond that customers have with the brand as well as the level of activity engendered by this loyalty—for example, repeat purchase rates or, during political elections, voting for the same party or candidate in subsequent elections. One of the consequences of building strong relations is also developing a sense of community among customers of a given brand or voters.

The strongest brands exhibit both “duality” (emotional and functional associations) and “richness” (a variety of brand associations or “equity” at every level, from salience to resonance). The more brand elements a brand has, generally the stronger the brand will be. Understanding a brand's equity elements and those of its competitors is the first step in developing effective brand-building.

The vision of the brand is completed by expressing all its components through a brief statement defining brand essence (Cwalina and Falkowski, in press; de Chernatony 2001). Most often it becomes the foundation of a slogan whose major goal is to help one particular brand stand out in the consumer's mind at the point of purchase.

### *Political Marketplace*

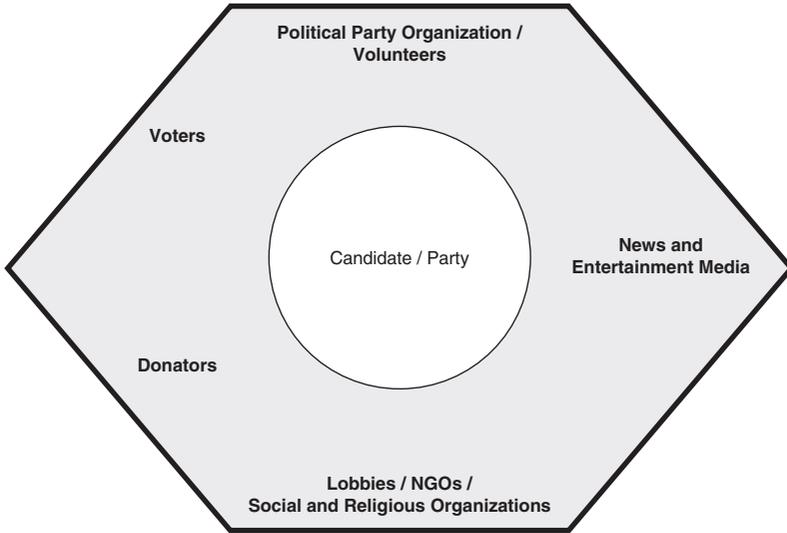
The political arena is very diverse. It consists of groups with various interests, likings, preferences, and lifestyles. Efficient and successful political campaigns need to accommodate this diversity by creating strategies for various market segments. There are issue-oriented voters, but also there are voters influenced by the candidate's personal charm. The politicians often face a difficult task then; they have to build a voting coalition based on and reflecting a certain compromise among various social groups. This requires a lot of skills on the part of the candidate in creating a cognitive map of different opinions, emotions, or interests. Then the candidate has to assign them to particular groups and refer to such a map while constructing information messages in order to establish the foundations of the agreement between various voter groups and the candidate.

Andrew Lock and Phil Harris (1996) point out that political marketing is concerned with communicating with party members, media, and prospective sources of funding as well as the electorate. Similarly, Philip Kotler and Neil Kotler (1999) distinguish five voting market segments playing key roles in organizing political campaigns and establishing a political market:

1. *active voters* who are in the habit of casting ballots in elections;
2. *interest groups*, social activists, and organized voter groups who collect funds for election campaigns (e.g., labor unions, business organizations, human rights groups, civil rights groups, ecological movements);
3. *the media* that make candidates visible by "foregrounding" them during the campaign or keeping them in the shadows of the campaign;
4. *party organizations* that nominate candidates, express opinions about them, and provide the resource base for the campaign; and
5. *sponsors*, who are private persons making donations for the candidate and the campaign.

These factors are graphically presented in Figure 1.3.

Among these five elements, the media are the most important for the success of a political campaign. The media influence the ultimate image of

Figure 1.3 **Factors Influencing the Political Voting Market**

*Source:* Adapted from Kotler and Kotler (1999).

the candidate in the direct process of communication with the voters. The media's influence on voting preferences can be either open or hidden (e.g., Kaid and Holtz-Bacha 2006; Newman 1994). The media's open influence may be demonstrated by their supporting a given political option and sponsoring and publicizing various events connected with the political campaign. The media's hidden influence is represented by the extent to which a given candidate appears in the media. Becoming known to the voters is an important factor that has an influence on voting preferences. The media may also manipulate the message, exaggerating or marginalizing a candidate's position on various social and political issues. They may also shape the candidate's personality and emotional image, highlighting positive or negative features in information programs.

Political marketing campaigns are integrated into the environment and, therefore, related to the distribution of forces in a particular environment (Cwalina, Falkowski, and Newman 2008; Newman 1994; Scammell 1999). It can then be stated that the environment in which marketing and political campaigns take place consists of three fundamental component groups: (1) technological elements (direct mail, television, the Internet, and other means of voting communication, such as spots); (2) structural elements connected mainly with the election law, but also with the procedure of nominating candi-

dates, financial regulations for the campaign, and conducting political debates; and (3) the forces influencing the development of the campaign (candidate, consultants, media, political parties, interest groups setting up political and election committees, polling specialists, and voters).

Each of these elements represents an area where dynamic changes have taken place in the past few decades. These changes facilitate the development of marketing research and are becoming more and more important for the election process. Technological changes, for instance, have revolutionized a candidate's contacts with voters (for example, through email, cable televisions, and cell phones). Structural changes in the development of political campaigns make candidates pay more attention to marketing strategies and rely more on the opinions of the experts developing them.

In order to understand political marketing, one should also understand specific political marketing concepts. Above all, marketing as a process involves creating exchange, where the two sides involved are the candidate or party and the voters or/and other market segments. The majority of political marketing strategies are analyzed with reference to the classic 4Ps (production, price, place, and promotion) marketing model (e.g., Harris 2001a; Kotler and Kotler 1999; Niffenegger 1988; Wring 1997). More extended approaches go beyond the marketing mix, trying to relate it to service and relationship marketing, nonprofit organization marketing, as well as knowledge of political science, communication analyses, and psychology (Baines, Harris, and Lewis 2002; Henneberg 2003; Lees-Marshment 2001a, 2001b, 2003; Newman 1994, 1999c; Wymer and Lees-Marshment 2005).

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