

POLITICAL MARKETING

VOLUME I

SAGE LIBRARY IN MARKETING

SAGE LIBRARY IN MARKETING



30807552

POLITICAL MARKETING

VOLUME I

Political Marketing: Concepts and Theories

Edited by

Paul R. Baines



Los Angeles | London | New Delhi
Singapore | Washington DC

© Introduction and editorial arrangement by Paul R. Baines 2011

First published 2011

Apart from any fair dealing for the purposes of research or private study, or criticism or review, as permitted under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act, 1988, this publication may be reproduced, stored or transmitted in any form, or by any means, only with the prior permission in writing of the publishers, or in the case of reprographic reproduction, in accordance with the terms of licences issued by the Copyright Licensing Agency. Enquiries concerning reproduction outside those terms should be sent to the publishers.

Every effort has been made to trace and acknowledge all the copyright owners of the material reprinted herein. However, if any copyright owners have not been located and contacted at the time of publication, the publishers will be pleased to make the necessary arrangements at the first opportunity.

SAGE Publications Ltd
1 Oliver's Yard
55 City Road
London EC1Y 1SP

SAGE Publications Inc.
2455 Teller Road
Thousand Oaks, California 91320

SAGE Publications India Pvt Ltd
B 1/1 1, Mohan Cooperative Industrial Area
Mathura Road
New Delhi 110 044

SAGE Publications Asia-Pacific Pte Ltd
33 Pekin Street #02-01
Far East Square
Singapore 048763

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN: 978-1-84920-784-3 (set of three volumes)

Library of Congress Control Number: 2010930856

Typeset by Star Compugraphics Private Limited, Delhi

Printed on paper from sustainable resources

Printed and bound in Great Britain by TJ International Ltd, Padstow, Cornwall



Appendix of Sources

All articles and chapters have been reproduced exactly as they were first published, including textual cross-references to material in the original source.

Grateful acknowledgement is made to the following sources for permission to reproduce material in this book.

1. 'Political Marketing: Structure and Process', *Patrick Butler and Neil Collins*
European Journal of Marketing, 28(1) (1994): 19–34.
© Emerald Group Publishing Limited all rights reserved. Reprinted with permission from Emerald Group Publishing Limited via Copyright Clearance Center's Rightslink service.
2. 'Political Marketing: Lessons from the Mainstream', *John Egan*
Journal of Marketing Management, 15(6) (1999): 495–503.
© Westburn Publishers Ltd. Reprinted by permission of Taylor & Francis Ltd.
<http://www.informaworld.com>
3. 'Overview of Political Candidate Marketing', *Philip Kotler*
Advances in Consumer Research, 2(1) (1975): 761–769.
Copyright 1975 by Association for Consumer Research. Reproduced with permission of Association for Consumer Research in the format Textbook via Copyright Clearance Center.
4. 'Political Marketing – Vive La Différence!', *Andrew Lock and Phil Harris*
European Journal of Marketing, 30(10–11) (1996): 14–24.
© Emerald Group Publishing Limited all rights reserved. Reprinted with permission from Emerald Group Publishing Limited via Copyright Clearance Center's Rightslink service.
5. 'Political Marketing and the Marketing Concept', *Aron O'Cass*
European Journal of Marketing, 30(10–11) (1996): 37–53.
© Emerald Group Publishing Limited all rights reserved. Reprinted with permission from Emerald Group Publishing Limited via Copyright Clearance Center's Rightslink service.
6. 'America's Political Market', *Nicholas J. O'Shaughnessy*
European Journal of Marketing, 21(4) (1987): 60–66.
© Emerald Group Publishing Limited all rights reserved. Reprinted with permission from Emerald Group Publishing Limited via Copyright Clearance Center's Rightslink service.

7. 'Political Marketing: Lessons for Political Science', *Margaret Scammell Political Studies*, XLVII(4) (1999): 718–739.
© Political Studies Association 1999. Published by Blackwell Publishers. Reprinted with permission from John Wiley and Sons via Copyright Clearance Center's Rightslink service.
8. 'The Marketing of Political Candidates', *Avraham Shama Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, 4(4) (1976): 764–777.
Reprinted with kind permission from Springer Science+Business Media via Copyright Clearance Center's Rightslink service.
9. 'Reconciling Marketing with Political Science: Theories of Political Marketing', *Dominic Wring Journal of Marketing Management*, 13(7) (1997): 651–663.
Reprinted by permission of Taylor & Francis Ltd.
<http://www.informaworld.com>
10. 'A Model of Primary Voter Behavior', *Bruce I. Newman and Jagdish N. Sheth Journal of Consumer Research*, 12(2) (1985): 178–187.
Copyright © The Journal of Consumer Research, Inc. 1985. Published by University of Chicago. Reprinted with permission from University of Chicago Press.
11. 'The Product, Sales and Market-oriented Party: How Labour Learnt to Market the Product, Not Just the Presentation', *Jennifer Lees-Marshment European Journal of Marketing*, 35(9–10) (2001): 1074–1084.
© Emerald Group Publishing Limited all rights reserved. Reprinted with permission from Emerald Group Publishing Limited via Copyright Clearance Center's Rightslink service.
12. 'A Critique of the Lees-Marshment Market-oriented Party Model', *Robert P. Ormrod Politics*, 26(2) (2006): 110–118.
© 2006 The Author. Journal compilation © 2006 Political Studies Association. Reprinted with permission from John Wiley and Sons via Copyright Clearance Center's Rightslink service.
13. 'Marketing the Political Product', *David M. Reid European Journal of Marketing*, 22(9) (1988): 34–47.
© Emerald Group Publishing Limited all rights reserved. Reprinted with permission from Emerald Group Publishing Limited via Copyright Clearance Center's Rightslink service.
14. 'ACORN in the Political Marketplace', *D.A. Yorke and Sean A. Meehan European Journal of Marketing*, 20(8) (1986): 63–76.
© Emerald Group Publishing Limited all rights reserved. Reprinted with permission from Emerald Group Publishing Limited via Copyright Clearance Center's Rightslink service.

15. 'Effects of Political Advertising', *Charles Atkin and Gary Heald*
Public Opinion Quarterly, 40(2) (1976): 216–228.
Reprinted by permission of Oxford University Press via Copyright Clearance Center's Rightslink service.
16. 'Political Advertising: A Neglected Policy Issue in Marketing',
Michael L. Rothschild
Journal of Marketing Research, XV(1) (1978): 58–71.
Published by the American Marketing Association. Reprinted with permission.
17. 'Strategies for Success from the Political Marketers', *Phillip B. Niffenegger*
Journal of Consumer Marketing, 6(1) (1989): 45–51.
© Emerald Group Publishing Limited all rights reserved. Reprinted with permission from Emerald Group Publishing Limited via Copyright Clearance Center's Rightslink service.
18. 'Money, Mail and Markets: Reflections on Direct Mail in American Politics',
Nicholas O'Shaughnessy and Gillian Peele
Electoral Studies, 4(2) (1985): 115–124.
© 1985 Butterworth & Co (Publishers) Ltd. Reprinted with permission from Elsevier via Copyright Clearance Center's Rightslink service.
19. 'Political Marketing and Party Development in Britain: A "Secret" History',
Dominic Wring
European Journal of Marketing, 30(10–11) (1996): 92–103.
© Emerald Group Publishing Limited all rights reserved. Reprinted with permission from Emerald Group Publishing Limited via Copyright Clearance Center's Rightslink service.
20. 'Marketing and Political Campaigning: Mutually Exclusive or Exclusively Mutual?', *Paul R. Baines and John Egan*
Qualitative Market Research: An International Journal, 4(1) (2001): 25–33.
© Emerald Group Publishing Limited all rights reserved. Reprinted with permission from Emerald Group Publishing Limited via Copyright Clearance Center's Rightslink service.
21. 'Exploring the Positioning Process in Political Campaigning', *Paul R. Baines, Barbara R. Lewis and Sir Bernard Ingham*
Journal of Communication Management, 3(4) (1999): 325–336.
© Emerald Group Publishing Limited all rights reserved. Reprinted with permission from Emerald Group Publishing Limited via Copyright Clearance Center's Rightslink service.
22. "'Market" Classification and Political Campaigning: Some Strategic Implications', *Paul R. Baines, Ross Brennan and John Egan*
Journal of Political Marketing, 2(2) (2003): 47–66.
Published by Taylor & Francis. <http://www.informaworld.com>

23. 'The Application of Marketing to British Politics', *Gareth Smith and John Saunders*
Journal of Marketing Management, 5(3) (1990): 295–306.
Reprinted by permission of Taylor & Francis Ltd.
<http://www.informaworld.com>
24. 'The "Gender Gap" in Voter Attitudes and Behavior: Some Advertising Implications', *Bruce I. Newman and Jagdish N. Sheth*
Journal of Advertising, 13(3) (1984): 4–16.
Copyright © 1984 by American Academy of Advertising. Reprinted with permission of M.E. Sharpe, Inc.
25. 'The Political Marketing Planning Process: Improving Image and Message in Strategic Target Areas', *Paul R. Baines, Phil Harris and Barbara R. Lewis*
Marketing Intelligence and Planning, 20(1) (2002): 6–14.
© Emerald Group Publishing Limited all rights reserved. Reprinted with permission from Emerald Group Publishing Limited via Copyright Clearance Center's Rightslink service.
26. 'Product Attribute-based Voter Segmentation and Resource Advantage Theory', *Paul R. Baines, Robert M. Worcester, David Jarrett and Roger Mortimore*
Journal of Marketing Management, 21(9–10) (2005): 1079–1115.
Published by Taylor & Francis Group. Reprinted with permission.
<http://www.informaworld.com>
27. 'Market Segmentation and Product Differentiation in Political Campaigns: A Technical Feature Perspective', *Paul R. Baines, Robert M. Worcester, David Jarrett and Roger Mortimore*
Journal of Marketing Management, 19(1–2) (2003): 225–249.
Published by Taylor & Francis Group. Reprinted with permission.
<http://www.informaworld.com>
28. 'Building a Political Brand: Ideology or Voter-driven Strategy', *Peter Reeves, Leslie de Chernatony and Marylyn Carrigan*
Journal of Brand Management, 13(6) (2006): 418–428.
Published by Palgrave Macmillan. Reprinted with permission.
29. 'Strategic Political Segmentation: A New Approach for a New Era of Political Marketing', *Gareth Smith and Andy Hirst*
European Journal of Marketing, 35(9–10) (2001): 1058–1073.
© Emerald Group Publishing Limited all rights reserved. Reprinted with permission from Emerald Group Publishing Limited via Copyright Clearance Center's Rightslink service.
30. 'Positioning Political Parties: The 2005 UK General Election', *Gareth Smith*
Journal of Marketing Management, 21(9–10) (2005): 1135–1149.
© Westburn Publishers Ltd. Reprinted by permission of Taylor & Francis Ltd.
<http://www.informaworld.com>

31. 'New Labour: A Study of the Creation, Development and Demise of a Political Brand', *Jon White and Leslie de Chernatony*
Journal of Political Marketing, 1(2-3) (2002): 45-52.
© 2002 by The Haworth Press, Inc. All rights reserved. Reprinted by permission of Taylor & Francis Ltd. <http://www.informaworld.com>

32. 'Spin Doctoring in British and German Election Campaigns: How the Press Is Being Confronted with a New Quality of Political PR', *Frank Esser, Carsten Reinemann and David Fan*
European Journal of Communication, 15(2) (2000): 209-239.
Published by SAGE Publications Ltd. Reprinted with permission.

33. 'Negative versus Positive Television Advertising in U.S. Presidential Campaigns, 1960-1988', *Lynda Lee Kaid and Anne Johnston*
Journal of Communication, 41(3) (1991): 53-64.
Copyright © 1991. Reprinted with permission from John Wiley and Sons via Copyright Clearance Center's Rightslink service.

34. 'Negative Political Advertising: Some Empirical Findings', *Sharyne Merritt*
Journal of Advertising, 13(3) (1984): 27-38.
Copyright © 1984 by American Academy of Advertising. Reprinted with permission of M.E. Sharpe, Inc.

35. 'Political Advertising Believability and Information Source Value during Elections', *Aron O'Cass*
Journal of Advertising, XXXI(1) (2002): 63-74.
Copyright © 2002 by American Academy of Advertising. Reprinted with permission of M.E. Sharpe, Inc.

36. 'Researching Political Markets: Market-oriented or Populistic?', *Paul R. Baines and Robert M. Worcester*
International Journal of Market Research, 42(3) (2000): 339-356.
Published by World Advertising Research Center. Reprinted with permission. www.ijmr.com

37. 'Negativity in the Evaluation of Political Candidates', *Jill G. Klein and Rohini Ahluwalia*
Journal of Marketing, 69(1) (2005): 131-142.
Published by the American Marketing Association. Reprinted with permission.

38. 'Speaking Truth to Power? Pollsters as Campaign Advisers', *Dennis Kavanagh*
European Journal of Marketing, 30(10-11) (1996): 104-113.
© Emerald Group Publishing Limited all rights reserved. Reprinted with permission from Emerald Group Publishing Limited via Copyright Clearance Center's Rightslink service.

39. 'The Dynamics of Voter Behavior and Influence Processes in Electoral Markets: A Consumer Behavior Perspective', *Aron O'Cass and Anthony Pecotich*
Journal of Business Research, 58(4) (2005): 406–413.
© 2003 Elsevier Inc. All rights reserved. Reprinted with permission from Elsevier via Copyright Clearance Center's Rightslink service.
40. 'The Permanent Campaign: The Integration of Market Research Techniques in Developing Strategies in a More Uncertain Political Climate',
Nick Sparrow and John Turner
European Journal of Marketing, 35(9–10) (2001): 984–1002.
© Emerald Group Publishing Limited all rights reserved. Reprinted with permission from Emerald Group Publishing Limited via Copyright Clearance Center's Rightslink service.
41. 'Promoting Distrust? A Chronicle of the 2005 British General Election Advertising Campaigns', *Janine Dermody and Stuart Hanmer-Lloyd*
Journal of Marketing Management, 21(9–10) (2005): 1021–1047.
© Westburn Publishers Ltd. Reprinted by permission of Taylor & Francis Ltd.
<http://www.informaworld.com>
42. 'The Value of Party Election Broadcasts for Electoral Engagement: A Content Analysis of the 2001 British General Election Campaign',
Richard Scullion and Janine Dermody
International Journal of Advertising, 24(3) (2005): 345–371.
Published by World Advertising Research Center. Reprinted with permission.
43. 'Long-term Performance of Political Parties: Towards a Competitive Resource-based Perspective', *Richard Lynch, Paul R. Baines and John Egan*
Journal of Political Marketing, 5(3) (2006): 71–92.
Published by Taylor & Francis. <http://www.informaworld.com>
44. 'The EU Constitution and the British Public: What the Polls Tell Us about the Campaign that Never Was', *Paul R. Baines and Mark Gill*
International Journal of Public Opinion Research, 18(4) (2006): 463–474.
Reprinted by permission of Oxford University Press via Copyright Clearance Center's Rightslink service.
45. 'The Political Brand: A Consumer Perspective', *Gareth Smith and Alan French*
Marketing Theory, 9(2) (2009): 209–225.
Published by SAGE Publications Ltd. Reprinted with permission.
46. 'Friends and Relations: Long-term Approaches to Political Campaigning',
Dianne Dean and Robin Croft
European Journal of Marketing, 35(11–12) (2001): 1197–1216.
© Emerald Group Publishing Limited all rights reserved. Reprinted with permission from Emerald Group Publishing Limited via Copyright Clearance Center's Rightslink service.

47. 'Political Advertising: Why Is It So Boring?', *Margaret Scammell and Ana I. Langer*
Media, Culture & Society, 28(5) (2006): 763–784.
Published by SAGE Publications Ltd. Reprinted with permission.
48. 'Political Advertising and Information Seeking: Comparing Exposure via Traditional and Internet Channels', *Lynda Lee Kaid*
Journal of Advertising, XXXI(1) (2002): 27–35.
Copyright © 2002 by American Academy of Advertising. Reprinted with permission of M.E. Sharpe, Inc.
49. 'The Professionalization of Political Communication: Continuities and Change in Media Practices', *Ralph Negrine and Darren G. Lilleker*
European Journal of Communication, 17(3) (2002): 305–323.
Published by SAGE Publications Ltd. Reprinted with permission.
50. 'Constructivist Mind: False Memory, Freedom, and Democracy', *Wojciech Cwalina and Andrzej Falkowski*
Journal of Political Marketing, 7(3–4) (2008): 239–255.
© 2008 by The Haworth Press. All rights reserved. Reprinted by permission of Taylor & Francis Ltd. <http://www.informaworld.com>
51. 'Marketing the Political Message: American Influences on British Practices', *Paul R. Baines*
Journal of Political Marketing, 4(2–3) (2005): 135–162.
© 2005 by The Haworth Press, Inc. All rights reserved. Reprinted by permission of Taylor & Francis Ltd. <http://www.informaworld.com>
52. 'The Ethics of Political Marketing Practices, the Rhetorical Perspective', *Steve Banker*
Journal of Business Ethics, 11 (1992): 843–848.
© 1992 Kluwer Academic Publishers. Reprinted with kind permission from Springer Science+Business Media via Copyright Clearance Center's Rightslink service.
53. 'The Strategy to Market Fine Gael in 1981', *David M. Farrell*
Irish Political Studies, 1(1) (1986): 1–14.
Reprinted by permission of Taylor & Francis Ltd.
<http://www.informaworld.com>
54. 'An Investigation into the Relationship between Political Activity Levels and Political Market Orientation', *Robert P. Ormrod and Stephan C. Henneberg*
European Journal of Marketing, 44(3–4) (2010): 382–400.
© Emerald Group Publishing Limited all rights reserved. Reprinted with permission from Emerald Group Publishing Limited via Copyright Clearance Center's Rightslink service.

55. 'Machiavellian Marketing: The Development of Corporate Lobbying in the UK', *Phil Harris and Andrew Lock*
Journal of Marketing Management, 12(4) (1996): 313–328.
©1996 The Dryden Press. Reprinted by permission of Taylor & Francis Ltd.
<http://www.informaworld.com>

56. 'Political Relationship Marketing: Some Macro/Micro Thoughts',
Stephan C. Henneberg and Nicholas J. O'Shaughnessy
Journal of Marketing Management, 25(1–2) (2009): 5–29.
© Westburn Publishers Ltd. Reprinted by permission of Taylor & Francis Ltd.
<http://www.informaworld.com>

57. 'Interpreting Discourse: A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Marketing of an Extreme Right Party', *Mona Moufahim, Michael Humphreys, Darryn Mitussis and James Fitchett*
Journal of Marketing Management, 23(5–6) (2007): 537–558.
© Westburn Publishers Ltd. Reprinted by permission of Taylor & Francis Ltd.
<http://www.informaworld.com>

58. 'Selling Terror: The Symbolization and Positioning of Jihad',
Nicholas J. O'Shaughnessy and Paul R. Baines
Marketing Theory, 9(2) (2009): 227–241.
Published by SAGE Publications Ltd. Reprinted with permission.

59. 'The Dark Side of Political Marketing: Islamist Propaganda, Reversal Theory and British Muslims', *Paul R. Baines, Nicholas J. O'Shaughnessy, Kevin Moloney, Barry Richards, Sara Butler and Mark Gill*
European Journal of Marketing, 44(3–4) (2010): 478–495.
© Emerald Group Publishing Limited all rights reserved. Reprinted with permission from Emerald Group Publishing Limited via Copyright Clearance Center's Rightslink service.

60. 'Toward an Ethical Framework for Political Marketing',
Nicholas O'Shaughnessy
Psychology & Marketing, 19(12) (2002): 1079–1094.
© 2002 Wiley Periodicals, Inc. Reprinted with permission from John Wiley and Sons via Copyright Clearance Center's Rightslink service.

61. 'The Wisdom of the War Room: US Campaigning and Americanization',
Margaret Scammell
Media, Culture & Society, 20(2) (1998): 251–275.
Published by SAGE Publications Ltd. Reprinted with permission.

62. 'Does the European Union (EU) Need a Propaganda Watchdog Like the US Institute of Propaganda Analysis to Strengthen Its Democratic Civil Society and Free Markets?', *Johanna Fawkes and Kevin Moloney*
Public Relations Review, 34(3) (2008): 207–214.
© 2008 Elsevier Inc. All rights reserved. Reprinted with permission from Elsevier via Copyright Clearance Center's Rightslink service.

63. 'The "Americanisation" Myth in European Political Markets: A Focus on the United Kingdom', *Paul R. Baines, Christian Scheucher and Fritz Plasser*
European Journal of Marketing, 35(9-10) (2001): 1099-1116.
© Emerald Group Publishing Limited all rights reserved. Reprinted with permission from Emerald Group Publishing Limited via Copyright Clearance Center's Rightslink service.
64. 'Template Revolutions: Marketing U.S. Regime Change in Eastern Europe', *Gerald Sussman and Sascha Krader*
Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture, 5(3) (2008): 91-112.
Published by University of Westminster. Reprinted with permission.
65. 'Measuring the Effect of Political Advertising and the Case of the 1995 Irish Divorce Referendum', *Phil Harris, Andrew Lock and Nicholas O'Shaughnessy*
Marketing Intelligence & Planning, 17(6) (1999): 272-280.
© Emerald Group Publishing Limited all rights reserved. Reprinted with permission from Emerald Group Publishing Limited via Copyright Clearance Center's Rightslink service.
66. 'When the British "Tommy" Went to War, Public Opinion Followed', *Paul R. Baines and Robert M. Worcester*
Journal of Public Affairs, 5(1) (2005): 4-19.
Copyright © 2005 John Wiley & Sons, Ltd. Reprinted with permission from John Wiley and Sons via Copyright Clearance Center's Rightslink service.
67. 'The Labour Campaign', *Dominic Wring*
Parliamentary Affairs, 58(4) (2005): 712-724.
© The Author [2005]. Published by Oxford University Press on behalf of the Hansard Society for Parliamentary Government; all rights reserved. Reprinted by permission of Oxford University Press via Copyright Clearance Center's Rightslink service.
68. 'Political Marketing: The Cause of an Emerging Democratic Deficit in Britain?', *Darren G. Lilleker*
Journal of Nonprofit and Public Sector Marketing, 14(1-2) (2005): 5-26.
© 2005 by The Haworth Press, Inc. All rights reserved. Reprinted by permission of Taylor & Francis Group, <http://www.informaworld.com> via Copyright Clearance Center's Rightslink service.

Editor's Introduction: Political Marketing

Paul R. Baines

Acknowledgements

This work is dedicated to the pioneers of the political marketing discipline, but particularly to my academic 'fathers', Professor Phil Harris, Professor Bruce Newman and Professor Nicholas O'Shaughnessy, eminent mentors, Sir Bernard Ingham and Sir Robert Worcester and academic supervisors, Professor Emeritus Barbara Lewis and (the late) David Yorke. I would also like to thank Delia Martínez Alfonso for persuading me to undertake this project, and her team including Alana Clogan, Alan Maloney and Bhairav Sharma for their patience and support in the production of the manuscript.

Introduction

Political marketing is a sub-discipline of marketing and political science. It has developed in line with commercial marketing and political campaign practice throughout the twentieth century, particularly, but not exclusively, in the West. Although the use of promotional and managerial techniques in political, electoral and commercial campaigning has long existed, the uptake of marketing techniques in political campaigns has rapidly increased in recent decades (Scammell, 1994). Political marketing is, therefore, a relatively new discipline developed in the 1970s (see Shama, Chapter 8) but with much academic progress towards the middle to the end of the 1990s and throughout the 2000s. There are now journals that focus on political marketing such as the *Journal of Political Marketing* and the *Journal of Public Affairs*, both specialist journals that were founded in the early 2000s. There have however been a number of special editions of journals including in *Revue Française du Marketing* (in French, 1978, 2006), the *Journal of Marketing Management* (2005, 2011), *European Journal of Marketing* (1996, 2001, 2010), *Psychology and Marketing* (2002) and *Marketing Theory* (2009). Political marketing researchers hold an annual international conference and have a political marketing special interest group (see www.academyofmarketing.org.uk). The University of Masaryk in Brno, Czech Republic, also holds an annual conference on political marketing.

Political marketing had become increasingly influential towards the end of the twentieth century. Political marketing can be said to have charted its

way from the study and practice of public relations and propaganda but it is not *per se* either of these. It is an iteration of them and therefore contains characteristics of both, and of neither, of them. Edward Bernays, the founding father of public relations, defined the concept of the 'engineering of consent' (Bernays, 1947), the means by which the support of people within democracies is mobilised both for commerce and for political means. His work, which tended at times to mix public relations and propaganda (see Bernays, 1942), can be seen as the prototype – the precursor – of political marketing¹. Kotler and Levy (1969) hinted at the use of public relations in politics (in fact by the Greek military junta in making their coup acceptable to the world in 1967) in their seminal 'broadening the concept of marketing' article, and Kotler again, later in an article about candidate marketing, makes the link between marketing and politics even more clearly (Kotler, 1975) whilst in Europe, O'Leary and Iredale (1976) outline how the marketing mix (i.e. the concepts of product, place, price and promotion) can be applied to politics.

But, whilst the practice of public relations, for example, is concerned with earning and supporting reputation by influencing the opinions and behaviours of an organisation's public (CIPR, 2010), so is political marketing, given its concern with the reputation of political parties and other organisational actors in the political context. In contrast, propaganda suggests what people ought to believe by manipulation of symbols to modify attitudes (Lerner, 1951) and behaviour, but it goes further than this rather dry definition, because the propagandist 'dramatises our prejudices and speaks to something deep and even shameful within us' (O'Shaughnessy, 2004: 4). But political marketing also often uses such an approach, for example, when candidates suggest their opponents are war-mongers (as Lyndon Johnson did successfully to Barry Goldwater in the 1964 American Presidential) or are manipulative and Svengali-like (as John Major tried but failed to do with Tony Blair in the 1997 British general election 'demon eyes' poster advertising campaign). In fact, political marketing has been likened to a marketing-propaganda hybrid (O'Shaughnessy, 1990), particularly in America where negative attack-style campaigning is rife. Nimmo (1996: 45) beautifully describes the negativity of many modern US campaigns:

'There is the paradoxical confluence in contemporary campaigns of an information overload and missing information brought about by symbolic inflation [which] yields campaigns of play, of fanciful engineering, akin to Machiavelli's *fantasia*. Voters sedated by the spirits of campaigning are involved in the play of information ... they are as small children fascinated by a kaleidoscope, seduced by the shifting transitory play and passage of images in a phantom electronic world.'

Political marketing has become more important with the rise of universal voting systems, the development of broadcast media communications (particularly

television in the 1950s onwards) and the development of national opinion polls by George Gallup from the 1930s onwards. Nevertheless, political marketing has not developed in countries ruled by dictatorships (e.g. Burma under its military junta, Iraq under Saddam Hussein), or by communist governments, given their single party focus (e.g. China, the former Soviet Union), in countries where there is no effective political party opposition (as in Mexico under the PRI for many years in the twentieth century) or in countries where the power resides not in the people but in other institutions (e.g. Iran, the world's only theocracy). What has often occurred in some countries, in an attempt to legitimise the power of often corrupt regimes, is the semblance of political marketing (of taking into account, and meeting, the needs of voters), but which is in fact a simulacrum rather than the real thing. Examples include Saddam Hussein's Iraq in 2002² and Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe in 2008³. Nevertheless, political marketing has increasingly moved beyond the West, for example, as we have seen its use in such diverse countries as Thailand (e.g. by former Prime Minister Taksin's, Thai Rak Thai party), Brazil (e.g. in the rise of former President, Lula da Silva) and Turkey (e.g. the rise of the mildly Islamist Justice and Development (AK) Party).

Marketing has also been used in referendum campaigning (Bowler, Donovan and Fernandez, 1996; de Vreese and Semetko, 2004; Harris *et al*, see Chapter 65). Charities and companies (and other campaigning organisations) are increasingly using political marketing techniques to influence legislation and public opinion. As industries have globalised, marketing and politics have intertwined. As such, marketing methods associated with political campaigning are increasingly used by companies to influence legislators and regulators. Although the origins of political marketing began with the description, and practical use, of marketing techniques by political parties, we are increasingly witnessing the use of marketing in other political contexts, not least by governing parties after winning the election, both so that they could stay in favour with their general public and in order to make it easier to win second and subsequent terms in office. This gives rise to the concept of the permanent campaign (see Blumenthal, 1980, for an early discussion of this term and more recently, Nimmo, 1999). Allington, Morgan and O'Shaughnessy (1999), for example, discuss political marketing in the context of the Thatcher government's pioneering programme of privatisation in the 1980s. The lists of shareholders of those newly privatised industries were then used very successfully to target direct mail in subsequent elections. In the commercial world, in order to lobby government and either change legislation or win lucrative contracts, political marketing techniques have also been used, for example, in the campaign to change Sunday Trading law in the UK (Harris, Gardner and Vetter, 1999) and by defence contractors seeking to encourage public support in particular constituencies in order to win public contracts (Andrews, 1996).

The Concept of Political Marketing

Kotler (1982:38) argues that the underlying exchange in political campaigning is the exchange of promises for votes and this process occurs through the communication of programmes, policies and ideas in return for information relating to these policies, ideas and programmes from the electorate. Political parties and candidates also need to transact with publics other than the electorate. Kotler and Kotler (1981) have suggested that political strategists target six markets including voters, the party (e.g. activists), the candidate, interest groups, contributors and the media. They argue that the role of the media is central to communicating with the other five markets. Sweeney (1995) has also outlined how political candidates have numerous audiences, referring to primary and secondary audiences where the primary audience is the voter and the secondary audiences are campaign staff and volunteers, organisations, opinion leaders, the political party, contributors, allies and friends, and the media. Exactly how a political party or candidate targets its public depends on the nature of the electoral and political system in which those entities are operating. For example, in the UK, political advertising is illegal, so parties target messages and policies at the people principally through journalists in the broadcast media and press. This aspect of the political campaigning process is often pejoratively referred to as 'spin-doctoring', although a more precise and descriptive term is media relations, the product is which is fittingly called 'earned' media.

There are currently numerous definitions of political marketing. Four of these are illustrated in Table 1. However, these definitions are largely focused on political marketing as political campaigning, with the exception of the Lock and Harris reference, which is designed to include lobbying. Yet, these definitions do not recognise that political marketing can take in the use of marketing in other political contexts, not least by campaigning organisations such as Amnesty International, or by militaries operating in conflict environments,

Table 1: Definitions of political marketing

<i>Name of author(s)</i>	<i>Political marketing definition</i>
Shama (1975), see Chapter 8	'The process by which political candidates and their ideas are directed at voters in order to satisfy their potential needs and thus gain their support for the candidate and ideas in question.'
Lock and Harris (1996), see Chapter 4	'The study of the processes of exchanges between political entities and their environment and among themselves, with particular reference to the positioning of both those entities and their communications.'
Henneberg (1997)	'Seek[s] to establish, maintain and enhance long-term voter relationships at a profit for society and political parties, so that the objectives of the individual political actors and organisations involved are met. This is done by mutual exchange of promises.'
Wring (1997) see Chapter 9	'The party or candidate's use of opinion research and environmental analysis to produce and promote a competitive offering which will help realise organisational aims and satisfy groups of electors in exchange for their votes.'

or by terrorist groups using marketing techniques to recruit supporters or by companies in building up grassroots political support for a business deal or government contract. In the case of lobbying, it is related to political marketing in two senses: lobbying is the means by which strategists of multi-national corporations influence their macro-environment (and government policy platforms) and in exchange (though not always directly) the means by which political parties obtain their funding (e.g. through conference sponsorship, political donations, loans of officers and money, etc.).

Given the increasingly widening remit of political marketing, and given the nature of this Major Work, we provide a more inclusive marketing-centric definition of political marketing as follows:

Political marketing is the range of activities, institutions and processes used for creating, communicating, delivering and exchanging political offerings that have mutual value for, and between, citizens, governments, companies, special interest groups, nations, and societies at large.

Nevertheless, despite this wider definition for political marketing, we tend to focus in this Major Work on the use of marketing in political campaigns, and provide brief illustrations of how political marketing is being used in other political contexts. This ensures we have a more cohesive debate about the concept.

Political Marketing in Context

Electoral Law, Culture and Political System

The extent to which specific marketing tools can be used in an individual country depends largely upon the nature of that country's electoral, political and media systems. For instance, political marketing in Australia requires different techniques to make allowances for the compulsory voting system. For example, rather than focusing on get-out-the-vote, the focus shifts to one of persuading people to vote for your party, as opposed to another or spoiling their ballot paper. Countries generally also have different electoral law and regulations operating, which impacts on what campaign techniques can be used. For example, in Britain, political broadcast advertising is illegal. Yet, in America, it dominates political communication. Several major factors have been identified by Baines, Harris and Newman (1999) relating to whether or not the campaign is focused on a national or local level or on the party or the candidate, whether political communication is restricted or unrestricted, whether the party or candidate's campaign is supervised by party officials or external consultants and whether the source of fundraising is provided by the government, privately or some combination of the two (see Table 2). In this Major Work, we do not consider the role of fundraising further, despite its