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Global Political Marketing

Edited by
**Jennifer Lees-Marshment,
Jesper Strömbäck and
Chris Rudd**



Routledge Research in Political Communication

Global Political Marketing

There is increasing awareness of growing similarities in political marketing practices around the world. *Global Political Marketing* is a comprehensive analysis of why, how and with what effect parties use political marketing in a range of political systems – presidential, parliamentary, two- and multi-party, and established and emerging democracies.

Written by a team of 25 international expert authors, the volume explores the impact of systemic features such as the party and electoral system, analyzing how parties use marketing through 14 detailed country studies. The book explores the notions that political marketing is used by parties to both sell and design political products, that it is by no means confined to the opposition, and that many opinions besides those of the voters are considered in product design, including ideological anchors, expert opinion and party members' input.

The authors also explore how other factors impact on political marketing effectiveness, such as the ability of governments to communicate delivery and stay in touch, the role of the media, and party unity and culture. Finally the work discusses the democratic implications of market-oriented parties, highlighting the need for debate about the relationship between citizens and governments and the prospects for democracy in the twenty-first century.

Including a practitioner perspective as well as rigorous academic analysis, this collection provides the first global comprehensive overview of how political parties market themselves and the extent to which they are sales- or market-oriented. It will be of great interest to all scholars of political marketing and communication, parties and elections and comparative politics.

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Preface

Global Political Marketing is a result of growing political marketing networks facilitated by the UK Political Studies Association Political Marketing group; awareness not just of the utilization of political marketing in an increasingly broad range of countries but the sharing of techniques, product ideas and consultants across countries, and my move to Auckland University and diversification from UK politics to comparative political analysis. Since the publication of *British Political Parties and Political Marketing* in 2001, greater consideration has been paid to the use of strategy by political parties. *Political Marketing in Comparative Perspective* (2005), which I co-edited with Darren Lilleker, was the first attempt to explore the extent to which the market-oriented party was occurring in countries other than the UK. *Global Political Marketing* builds on this but adds many more countries of increasing diversification, as well as the application of a more systematic framework and consideration of causal factors of political marketing behaviour.

One of the wonderful developments of modern academia is the way your work can reach scholars across the world, and this new book comes out of discussions mostly with Jesper Strömbäck whom I first met when he invited me to be one of the guest speakers at a conference he organized in Sundsvall, Sweden in September 2004. Jesper was curious about political marketing strategy despite the lack of MOP type behaviour in Sweden then – a situation since changed during the production of this book. Further discussions, including one held over coffee in Covent Garden in London during the PSA Political Marketing Conference in February 2005 and then on email after I moved to New Zealand in November 2005, brought us to develop the proposal for this book, including another co-editor, Chris Rudd from Otago in New Zealand. I would like to thank the Political Marketing Group for facilitating the global networks this book drew on to complete, including the committee I chaired between 2002 and 2005, and in particular Dr David Dunn, my co-organizer of the 2005 PMG conference in London. I appreciate our publisher Routledge for being open to the proposal and the useful comments made by reviewers. I must thank my co-editors for their work during the past three years. The book would not exist without the work of the authors of each country chapter and I have enjoyed many conversations with them over the past two years, including one over dinner in New York with Anna

Matušková and Alex Braun about practice in the Czech Republic and also the use of marketing techniques around the world. The book is considerably enhanced by the practitioner perspectives provided by Roger Mortimore and Mark Gill, and the political science perspective of Mick Temple. *Global Political Marketing* provides a fresh, comprehensive and more rigorous analysis of the practice of political marketing and will foster continued debate on an exciting if controversial development in political party behaviour.

Dr Jennifer Lees-Marshment, lead editor
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1 Global political marketing

Jennifer Lees-Marshment

Political marketing – the utilization of commercial marketing techniques and concepts in politics – is being used to varying degrees around the world. Many political parties conduct market intelligence in the form of polls or focus groups and use it to inform the way they present their policies to the voting public. However, not only do parties use marketing techniques to sell themselves and their policies, they also use marketing to decide what to offer the public in the first place – what policies to adopt, which leaders to select to best present those policies, and how to best communicate policy delivery. Political marketing, then, is not just about ‘spin’ and public relations during the electoral campaign. It is much more than that. Parties can utilize a range of marketing tools including voter profiling, segmentation, micro-targeting and e-marketing to inform their communication. They can also respond to market intelligence in the way they design the political product they offer, becoming market-oriented rather than primarily sales-oriented.

Whilst the spread of professionalization and modernization in campaigning has been studied extensively (Holtz-Bacha, 2002; Kavanagh, 1995; Lilleker and Negrine, 2002; Plasser and Plasser, 2002) there has never been a systematic and scientific comparative analysis of political marketing behaviour in the sales- or market-oriented sense where the ways in which tools and concepts which are specifically from marketing are considered. Concerns about the effectiveness of political advertising are commonplace, but it is only recently with the proliferation of ‘Global New Labour’ that attention has turned to the influence of marketing on the political party product. Of course, politicians may utilize tools without embracing a comprehensive market-orientation, and this book seeks to explore variance as well as convergence in empirical behaviour. Indeed, the success of e-marketing or virtual networking in the 2008 US presidential election has led parties in other countries to want to copy the new initiative. But it is important to remember that behind the US innovation is market-oriented type thinking; the internet was used not just to sell to voters but to provide engagement mechanisms that are designed to meet volunteers’ varied needs and enable them to participate in politics in the way that suits them rather than the candidate. Bryant (2008) notes how Obama’s presidential nomination bid in 2007–8 offered potential volunteers a specific goal and date (e.g., ‘1.5 million calls by Tuesday’) and made them

actionable and realistic through easy-to-use online tools (e.g., 'click on this button and make 20 calls from this list'). Furthermore there are now a number of well-known world examples of marketing the product, with the most famous being the transfer and adaptation of the product used by Bill Clinton's New Democrats in 1992 to Tony Blair's New Labour in the UK in 1997, to the German SPD and Labour in New Zealand in 1999 with the use of targeting on new markets, and pledge cards to suggest delivery, representing a move away from selling ideologically driven policy to using a voter-responsive strategy. Cross-country similarities continue: in 2007 Australian Labour leader Kevin Rudd's successful campaign was likened to Tony Blair's (*New Zealand Herald*, 2007). In these cases, political marketing is employed *before* the electoral campaign: indeed the aim was to develop a product that people want so that, if successfully achieved, the campaign itself becomes a less important, if not a redundant, exercise.

This intrusion of marketing into the political sphere has stimulated debate about the consequences of voter-led or market-oriented politics for the democratic polity. Not everyone believes that using market intelligence before you decide on policy is desirable; there are concerns about whether the public should be so paramount in deciding how political parties formulate policy and how leaders lead (see Coleman, 2007) or that politicians should segment and target only those sections of society which are likely to influence a close election (see Savigny, 2007 and 2008 for example). A market-orientation is used by business the world over to attain and retain market share, and is the basis of capitalism; but in politics, to decisively shift responsibility to the voter for deciding policy preferences and the suitability of leaders, raises fears of populism and the abandonment of collectivist ideals informed by ideological world views. Abandoning the political direction of a country to the vagaries of the electoral marketplace has significant implications for the functioning of a representative democracy.

Given the potential consequences of Market-Oriented party (Lees-Marshment 2001a, b) behaviour, it becomes very important to understand what causes some political parties to become more market-oriented than others, and what impact this is having on the political system as a whole. The book explores the extent of political marketing, its nature, its utility, its variance across different political systems and its consequences for democracy. It will conduct academic analysis of systemic features that inhibit or facilitate the adoption of professional political marketing techniques and approaches within different nations. It will consider whether the rise of political marketing is related to the professionalization of parties, encouraging the international sharing of ideas and consultants; or to Americanization; or whether it is a natural response to the globalization of political culture and information (Blumler and Gurevitch, 1995; Bowler and Farrell, 1992; Plasser and Plasser, 2002). We also want to know more about the effectiveness of political marketing; to explore the limitations of consultants moving from one country to another without adapting their approach to suit the new environment; to discuss the problems that sales-marketing techniques can cause; and also to raise debate about whether or not the more voter-friendly, responsive market-oriented approach is good for democracy.

Alongside country studies, two chapters provide an academic and a practitioner overview of political marketing, considering not only the utility of academic frameworks and analysis but more normative issues such as whether governments around the world should be responding to public opinion when they decide how to govern, and voters should be treated like political consumers. Political marketing is influencing the way political parties behave, which could have both negative and positive consequences for the relationship between citizen and state, and may vary from one political culture to another. The closing chapter discusses issues such as the effect of political marketing on ideology and members; the problems of focusing on certain segments; and the range of sources politicians respond to, including public opinion, the mitigating effect of the media, difficulties with delivery, and whether political marketing really does make politicians responsive to the public.

In order to ensure this book explores the influence of political marketing on all aspects of the behaviour of parties rather than just short-term electoral campaigning, we will use a model that makes such a distinction and provides an overall framework for party behaviour from one election to the next. Whilst it used to be the case that the common misconception of political marketing was that it was all about spin doctors and sound bites and political advertisements, there is now an understanding that political marketing is more than that. The Lees-Marshment model of a product-, sales- and market-orientation provides both a 'way of thinking' and a stage-by-stage suggested development of party activity to reach that orientation. It looks at how parties create their political product – i.e. their behaviour – including leadership, staff, activities, symbols, candidates and MPs, constitution, policies and membership. Parties 'behave' or 'produce' all the time, not just in election campaigns; therefore, like commercial organizations, as Kotler and Levy (1969) said, 'everything about an organisation talks' – and it talks all the time. Behaviour is ongoing and developmental, both local and national, and includes prospective as well as existing policies, leaders, and MPs (see Lloyd, 2006 for further discussion and an alternative view of the political product). This can make it a complex and ever-evolving being, and perhaps hard to judge. Ultimately what characteristics are important depends on what voters judge to be an issue. For our purposes, we need to examine a wide range of characteristics in relation to voter demands, and therefore the market-oriented concept.

There is now a broad range of marketing theories and frameworks in political marketing (see Savigny, 2009 for a recent literature review and Lees-Marshment's 2009 textbook on political marketing for detailed overview), but this book focuses on orientation to ensure analysis of the extent to which parties respond to public opinion in how they behave as well as well as communicate. There are alternative theories of market-orientation; several scholars have utilized the marketing philosophy and other marketing strategy concepts in political analysis, using different terms (customer-centric, consumer-led, market-oriented, marketing-orientated, voter-responsive) and different models (e.g. Lees-Marshment, 2001a, b; Newman, 1994, 1999; O'Cass, 1996; and Ormrod's 2005 extended political market-orientation model), but the Lees-Marshment (2001a) POP–SOP–MOP

framework enables a greater and richer variety of empirical analysis pertinent to the questions of this book in several ways:

- This framework takes a comprehensive view of political marketing that is broader in scope than previous conceptions.
- The three-orientation framework distinguishes between two very different approaches with divergent democratic implications: the sales- and the market-oriented form of political marketing. Both have potential positive and negative democratic consequences, but very different relationships with voters at their core – one being to persuade and change their minds, the other being to respond to, if not follow, voter views.
- Whilst the MOP concept shares the same historical roots as Ormrod and Newman (all are rooted in the traditions of two disciplines: in political science, the Downsian model of rational-choice (Downs, 1957); and in marketing, Kotler and Levy's initial statement that marketing can be broadened beyond commerce to all organizations), it is very much a party-based framework – it proposes a Market-Oriented Party in the same vein as the Catch-all or Mass Party type models.
- In terms of communication, the sales-oriented concept is broader than standard political communication works (see Strömbäck, 2007 for discussion of the difference).
- Both the SOP and MOP consider a range of behaviour, not just positioning like Butler and Collins (1996); or marketing applied to campaigning/advertising (see Robinson, 2005, 2007; Wring, 1997, 2002).
- The model considers strategy, not just techniques: a complex and subtle political behaviour but with significant implications for electoral outcomes.

The book does not seek to prove this particular model, and aims to avoid a focus on the model where possible, utilizing it more as a framework for empirical analysis than theoretical debate. Nor does the book argue for superiority to others; there is significant benefit in the diverse range of political marketing literature and theory now available, both in political marketing communications (especially Jackson, 2005, 2006; Robinson, 2005, 2007) or market-orientation (see Henneberg and O'Shaughnessy, 2007; Ormrod, 2006, 2007, for further discussion). It is simply that for our purposes the Lees-Marshment model remains the most appropriate. The next section will explore the Lees-Marshment concept of the Market-Oriented Party.

The Market-Oriented Party (MOP)

The basic essence of a Market-Oriented Party is one that will use various tools to understand and then respond to voter demands, but in a way that integrates the need to attend to members' needs, ideas from politicians and experts and the realities of governing (Lees-Marshment, 2001). A Market-Oriented Party uses party views and political judgement to design its behaviour to respond to and

satisfy voter demands in a way that that meets their needs and wants, is supported and implemented by the internal organization, and is deliverable in government. Political marketing is used to understand the public, rather than manipulate it. Parties may use their ideology as a means to create effective solutions to public demands, but party elites try to respond to market demand, rather than trying to influence its opinion.

The market is complex and includes members, related think tanks, and politicians. Needs, not just wants, must be considered, in the long as well as the short term. A market-orientation is not about simply giving people what they want, because a party needs to ensure that it can deliver the product on offer. It also needs to ensure that the new product will be accepted within the party and so needs to adjust its product carefully to take account of this. Market-Oriented Parties will not all become the same, or assume the characteristics of catch-all parties, or simply move to the Downsian centre-ground. Political marketing in this form is not all about following focus groups: that is a parody of political marketing, or a misrepresentation of practice.

The political marketing process and checklist

If parties become Market-Oriented, we expect to see them go through and carry out a process of activities – known as the market-oriented party political marketing process. This was first detailed in Lees-Marshment 2001a, and then developed in Lilleker and Lees-Marshment (2005); Table 1.1 is a checklist for what observers would expect to see a party do if they went through this process:

Table 1.1 The market-oriented party process and checklist

Stage 1: Market intelligence

Theory:

The party should:

- use a variety of methods including polling, focus groups, segmentation, listening exercises and informal gut feel;
- ask what voters want the party to do, in the short- and long-term, not just whether they like the party as it is now;
- continue this from one election to the next;
- include segmentation of a party's market to identify target markets who do not already support the party but might in the future, and understand their demands;
- disseminate this information in the party as widely as is appropriate and interpret it carefully, preferably by objective professionals.

Checklist:

- Does the party conduct market intelligence?
- If so, what methods does it use? (e.g. focus groups, polling, listening exercises, membership consultation, consultation of think tanks)
- What does it conduct market intelligence on? (e.g. what voters would like to see changed, as well as what they think of the party as it currently stands)

(continued)

Table 1.1 Continued

Stage 1: Market intelligence

- When does it conduct market intelligence? (e.g. post-election, before new developments in policy and organization, before creating the campaign, or continually)
 - How accurate/unbiased/representative is the market intelligence? (e.g. are there any weaknesses or strengths in its methods)
 - How are the results disseminated? (e.g. to strategy groups, policy development committees, as well as leaders and campaign committee – or just the leader)
 - Who conducts the intelligence?
 - Does the party respond to this intelligence in campaign formation, or product design?
-

Stage 2: Product design

Theory:

The party then designs product according to the findings from its market intelligence; involving no, little or significant change as led by the results of market intelligence. This is then modified in Stage 2.

Checklist:

- Do the core product aspects relate to voter demand: e.g. does the party have popular policies; does its leader offer the leadership style voters want?
 - Can you see whether the results of market intelligence have impacted on the product design – has anything changed after intelligence?
 - Is there an awareness and desire amongst politicians and party staff to try to change the party in response to vote awareness? This is a market-orientation – difficult to measure – but interviews and/or surveys may suggest it.
-

Stage 3: Product adjustment

Theory:

The party then develops the product to consider:

- achievability: ensures promises are realistic and the party team can deliver them;
- internal reaction: it ensures changes will attract adequate support from MPs and members to ensure implementation, taking into account a party's ideology and history, retaining certain policies to suit the traditional supporter market and also to create a product distinct from that of the competition;
- competition: that it identifies the opposition's weaknesses and highlights own corresponding strengths; is distinctive; and in a multi-part system it will also seek co-operation with appropriate potential partners;
- support: develops targeted aspects of the product to suit target market segments.

Checklist:

- Has the party done anything to ensure its proposals and changes are achievable? E.g. pledge cards to make the product tangible; mechanisms for ensuring delivery in government; realistic economic pricing of policies; creation of a delivery unit to monitor delivery; discussion of the difficulties of governing.
- Do voters see the product as achievable and realistic?
- Has the party done anything to create and portray a team that is capable of delivering?
- Do voters think it is capable of delivering its promises? Do they see it as unified, trustworthy, a good leader, capable of economic management, and honest, for example?

- Does the final product design also meet internal markets to some degree; e.g. are there identifiable policies drawn from the party's ideological traditions or to meet a demand of the members?
 - Is the party distinct in any way to its main competitors?
 - Does the party have any advantages over its competitors; has it sought to increase its strengths against their weaknesses?
 - If in a PR-multi party system, has the party conveyed an ability to co-operate with potential coalition partners?
 - Is the party aware of who the party faithful are, and who its target market is, and is it gearing its product to gain the support of its target?
-

Stage 4: Implementation

Theory:

Changes are implemented throughout the party, needing careful party management and leadership over an appropriate timeframe to obtain adequate acceptance, to create party unity and enthusiasm for the new party design.

Checklist:

- Have members and MPs been consulted on any changes, or had the opportunity to be involved in the process of change and development?
 - Are there any signs of significant internal disquiet?
 - Do the majority of senior political figures seem on board with the new product design?
 - Do candidates and members at local level accept and implement the new product design?
-

Stage 5: Communication

Theory:

Communication is carefully organized to convey the new product, so that voters are clear before the campaign begins; communication techniques are used to inform and to manipulate; media management is practiced where appropriate.

Checklist:

- Did the party formulate a communications strategy that began at least 12 months before the election?
 - Was it informed by market intelligence?
 - Was it targeted?
 - Did it try to inform, or persuade?
 - Did it include positive as well as negative communication?
 - Did it highlight the party's main product changes?
 - Do voters show awareness of the party's new product?
-

Stage 6: Campaign

Theory:

The party reminds voters of the key aspects and advantages of its product with effective organization and management, utilizing effective communication techniques and conveying a positive, effective product to voters.

Checklist:

- Does the party appear united and professional in the campaign to voters?
- Is the campaign informed by market intelligence and targeted?
- Is it a reminder of what the party has already communicated?
- If in a PR system, does the party deal with potential coalition partners effectively?

(continued)

Table 1.1 Continued

Stage 7: Election

Theory:

The party should win not just votes but attract positive perception from voters on all aspects of behaviour including policies, leaders, party unity and capability, as well as increased quality of its membership.

Checklist:

- How did the party do in the election in terms of numbers of votes and seats?
 - Who did the party attract support from?
 - Did it attract its target market?
 - Did it retain its core vote?
 - How was its product evaluated as measured by polls and focus groups on any aspect of their product such as leadership, main policies, unity, economic management, and in relation to the competition?
 - Did it increase its membership?
-

Stage 8: Delivery

Theory:

The party then needs to deliver its product after the election. For major parties who win the election they must deliver on their promises and communicate progress or otherwise, involving careful media management. Smaller or opposition parties will be assessed in terms of their goals, such as their ability to put issues on the agenda, or, within a multi-party system, to work in a coalition, or to provide effective opposition and representation.

Checklist:

- Has the party delivered in government?
 - If a party has gone into a coalition, are they still delivering the product they promised to their members and voters, or have they had to compromise?
 - Are all parties in the coalition receiving credit for delivering on their particular, distinct policies?
 - If in opposition, is the party fulfilling its role? Is it seen as a capable opposition?
 - If a party lost badly in the election, is it showing signs of realizing it needs to listen and learn from the electorate?
-

Stage 9: Maintaining a market-orientation – cyclical marketing

Theory:

To maintain a market-orientation, the party needs to engage in continual political marketing whether in opposition, the sole party of government or in coalition. In government it needs to ensure space and time to think about product design/development for the next election especially as public opinion or the economic situation changes given the realities of government and unexpected developments that occur. In all cases, it is essential that parties maintain the market-oriented concept and continue to conduct market intelligence to inform their future planning.

Checklist:

- Has the party continued to conduct market intelligence?
 - Does it continue to be responsive to voters?
 - If in opposition, is it reflecting on losing the election and beginning to go through the process again?
 - If in government, is the party allowing time for discussion and debate about future developments?
-

The MOP process is a very complex one, difficult in practice, and arguably difficult to measure in analysis, but when parties do appear to follow it to a significant degree – as in the UK New Labour case – they enjoy long-term electoral success, which is why the interest in this particular approach to electioneering. However this may not prove to be the case in all circumstances, as this book will explore. Additionally, smaller parties with different goals may find it more rational, and/or ideologically appealing, to use marketing purely to present their product more effectively without changing their communication. The other main political marketing approach is that of a sales-orientation, which is perhaps easier for parties to adopt.

The Sales-Oriented Party (SOP)

Sales-oriented parties (Lees-Marshment, 2001a, b) aim to sell what they decide is best for the people, utilizing effective political marketing communication techniques. Market intelligence is used not to inform the product design, but to help the party persuade voters it is right. Below is a brief summary of the process SOPs might go through, again with a checklist.

In PR (proportional representation) electoral and multi-party political systems minor parties, with little chance of winning power, will predominantly want to influence the agenda and potential coalition partners, and therefore a sales-orientation can be a rational option to use marketing to present their argument most effectively to the segments most open to persuasion. Like any approach, the use and effectiveness of political marketing depends on the goals of the organization and the nature of the environment.

The Product-Oriented Party (POP)

A POP is the most traditional approach to party behaviour and as such attracts less attention. The main difference between a sales- and a product-oriented party is that it is devoid of awareness and utilization of communication techniques and market intelligence. A product-oriented party argues for what it stands for and believes in. It assumes that voters will realize that its ideas are the right ones and therefore vote for it. This type of party refuses to change its ideas or product even if it fails to gain electoral or membership support.

Few parties will fall into this model, but we may find some in our comparative analysis especially with new parties without much funding for campaigning and intelligence. Parties may also choose to opt for a more old-fashioned approach to maintain their elite-driven beliefs and policies because they believe so much in their argument they assume electors will see the merit of their argument without the need for modern communication methods. In some rare cases this may be effective for new, single-issue dominated, short-lived political movements that capture the public mood and respond to a concern other established parties are ignoring. However we think that the desire for long-term survival tends to encourage parties to be sales- or market-oriented, but comparative analysis in this book will show the extent to which this is true or not.

Table 1.2 The sales-oriented party political process and checklist

Stage 1: Product design

Theory:

The party designs its behaviour according to what it thinks best.

Checklist:

- Do party staff and politicians indicate that their approach to politics is that politicians know best?
 - Do party staff and politicians indicate that their role is to represent party beliefs and ideology, and persuade voters, as opposed to following them?
 - Does the product design have significant elements which do not follow the majority of public opinion?
 - Does the policy-design process show it was designed to include party views rather than the results of market intelligence?
 - Was the leader elected to suit the party rather than the public?
-

Stage 2: Market intelligence

Theory:

Market intelligence is used to ascertain voters' response to its behaviour, and identify which voter segments offer support, which do not, and which might be persuaded.

Research can also explore how best to communicate with target markets.

Checklist:

- Does the party conduct market intelligence?
 - Does it keep the results closely guarded, e.g. limited either to the leader or their inner circle?
 - Is the intelligence focused on how the party is doing in the polls, and how it is perceived, rather than what voters would like to see changed?
 - Has the party segmented the market to identify a target market of voters who might be persuaded to vote for them, as well as the core vote?
 - Is market intelligence conducted to ascertain how best to communicate with the target market and core vote, what communication methods to use, and how to persuade – e.g. to sell the party, rather than change it?
-

Stage 3: Communication

Theory:

Communication is devised to suit each segment, targeting presentation on the most popular aspects of the product whilst downplaying any weaknesses. Communication uses modern but also traditional marketing communication techniques depending on what is perceived to be most effective.

Checklist:

- What communication techniques does the party use? Do they include the latest modern tools?
- Is the communication designed to persuade voters, rather than just inform them?
- Is communication designed in response to market intelligence?
- Do party staff focus on communication rather than policy and other behaviour?
- Has the party enlisted professionals to help with its communication?

Stage 4: Campaign

Theory:

The party continues to communicate effectively as in Stage 3, bringing communication to a crescendo as this is the final sales period, using whatever techniques help persuade undecided voters.

Checklist:

- How effective is the campaign?
 - Does the party try to get its core vote out?
 - Does it focus on its target market(s)?
 - Does it produce any last-minute surprises or gimmicks?
 - Does it engage in attacking and weakening its main opponent?
 - Again, is it informed by market intelligence?
 - Is it organized effectively?
-

Stage 5: Election

Theory:

The party should see an advance in terms of its votes, members, seats and opinion polls, depending on its goals.

Checklist:

- How does the party perform in the election?
 - Do polls and other research suggest that the party is unpopular with voters in terms of some key aspects in its product?
 - Is the party perceived to be ideological and to hold true to its convictions?
 - Is the party perceived to be radical?
 - After the election, does the party win any awards for running a good campaign?
-

Stage 6: Delivery

Theory:

The party will deliver its promised product in government or continue to offer effective opposition and put its issues on the agenda. This will obviously involve careful media management.

Checklist:

- Does the party, if it wins, deliver its product in government?
 - Does it continue to communicate effectively?
 - If it has different goals, does it hold true to its ideals and continue to campaign for those issues after the election?
-

POP checklist:

- Is the party's attitude more traditional?
- Does it firmly believe in its product and think the public will agree?
- Did the party emerge to represent a particular group in society or a particularly strong new issue?
- Does the party lack funds?
- Does the party tend to eschew or avoid full-scale communication?
- Does it neglect or ignore polls and other forms of market intelligence?

A word of caution: criticisms of the Lees-Marshment model

As with any models, it has naturally attracted its fair share of criticism. Ormrod (2006) provides a comprehensive summary of concerns (see also Coleman, 2007; Egan, 2004; Henneberg, 2004; Lilleker and Negrine, 2002; Lilleker, 2006; Moloney, 2004; Savigny, 2004; Strömbäck and Nord, 2005; Washbourne, 2005; and see Lees-Marshment, 2006a, b for response). Some of these points relate to comparative practice of political marketing, which we will address in this book by exploring the impact of systemic features on the use of marketing. Others relate to how to test for an orientation, and this is a very difficult process, but Chapter 2 will go some way towards this and guide a more scientific and systematic analysis in the country studies. Whilst there will however undoubtedly remain critics and sceptics of the Lees-Marshment model, this is not really the focus of this book. The model is purely a means to frame empirical research in a way that will help answer our questions as to the way political marketing is used, its effectiveness, its nature, its relation to systemic features, and the implications for democracy.

The structure of this book

The rest of this book therefore seeks to examine the use of political marketing by parties in the way they behave; to assess to what extent they become sales- or market-oriented; and to explore the issues arising from this in both practical and normative terms. In order to facilitate more objective and scientific analysis, Jesper Strömbäck will outline a comparative political marketing framework which the authors will use in their country studies. Then the book will examine marketing in the United States, United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, Sweden, Germany, Japan, Greece, Czech Republic, Russia, Hungary, Peru, Taiwan and Kenya. By exploring political marketing in established Anglo-Saxon countries, Europe, and emerging democracies, it will also discuss the implications of global political marketing practice for ideology, representative democracy, and citizenship. It will also include two overview chapters, one from an academic, Mick Temple, and another from practitioners Mark Gill and Roger Mortimore, on the implications of political marketing from a broad political science and practitioner perspective, before providing a comparative overview and conclusions about global political marketing.

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