

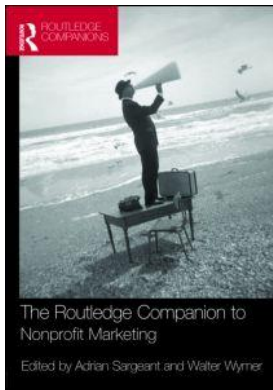
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Adrian Sargeant, Walter Wymer

### **Comprehensive political marketing**

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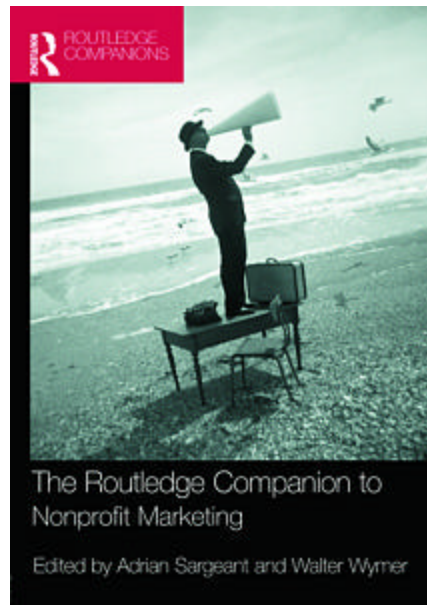
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# 19

## Comprehensive political marketing

Global political parties, strategy and behaviour

*Jennifer Lees-Marshment*

### Introduction

Political marketing is a new, fast-developing area of nonprofit marketing, and like all other areas of non-commercial activity enjoys its fair share of academic debates, ethical issues and practical problems. The study of political marketing historically suffered from the same fate of early business marketing: too much focus on the selling of politics rather than the design of the political product. In the last decade, however, new scholars have applied wider marketing theory to politics in a more effective and illuminating manner. This chapter will set out a comprehensive approach to political marketing, a model of political marketing behaviour for political parties alongside examples of global practice and raise a number of issues and debates within political marketing.

### Comprehensive political marketing

Political marketing, like marketing, previously suffered from the common misconception that it was all about spin doctors and soundbites and political advertisements. Academic study was narrowly focused on election campaigns rather than how parties behave in the years before an election (see Lees-Marshment 2003 for detailed review of this literature as well as Henneberg 2005). More recently, political marketing has been viewed more broadly. Political marketing is about political organizations adapting techniques (such as market research) and concepts (such as the desire to satisfy voter demands) originally used in the business world to help them to achieve their goals (Lees-Marshment 2001a). Like commercial marketing, it is not just about how organizations sell their product. Political marketing is not just concerned with how parties use advertising to persuade voters to support them, or what they do in the official election campaign in the weeks prior to voting day. It is concerned with the influence of marketing concepts (product, sales and market orientation) on behaviour and can be applied to a wide range of political organizations.

In order to ensure that we understand that political marketing is more than just selling, we can take five principles to research. This approach is more comprehensive and enables political

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1 | CPM applies marketing to the whole behaviour of a political organization, not just communication.   |
| 2 | CPM uses marketing concepts, not just techniques: the product, sales and market orientation as well as direct mail, target marketing and market intelligence.                         |
| 3 | CPM integrates political science literature into the analysis.  |
| 4 | CPM adapts marketing theory to suit the differing nature of politics.   |
| 5 | CPM applies marketing to all political organizational behaviour: interest groups, policy, the public sector, the media, parliament and local government as well as political parties. |

Figure 19.1 Comprehensive political marketing: key principles

marketing to have a broader scope and greater utility to political practitioners. Comprehensive political marketing has five main principles (from Lees-Marshment 2003, building on Lees-Marshment 2001a): see Figure 19.1.

With this broader definition comes many more issues and scope for debate. While the selling of political ideas is an interesting topic, it is when discussion moves to how marketing may influence what those ideas are, and therefore policy-making at governmental level, that the democratic implications become more evident. More recent work by scholars has discussed the nature of the political product, strategy, internal political marketing and local political marketing (see e.g. Lloyd 2003, 2006; Ormrod 2006b; Henneberg 2005; Lilleker and Negrine 2002, 2004; Bannon 2002, 2005).

### The Lees-Marshment (2001) political party marketing model

Taking this comprehensive approach, Lees-Marshment developed a model of party behaviour in political marketing. Seeing political marketing more as a *way of thinking* for political parties: how they view the needs and views of voters, and how they behave in relation to that. Although political parties may be argued to be office-seeking, and marketing viewed as a potential means to gain that power, political marketing is concerned with the strategies parties use to develop a political product they offer to voters to win that election and maintain support in office. Comprehensive political marketing is less about how they sell that product, and more about how they design that product in relation to market intelligence, for if you develop the right product that suits voter demands, they will support it without the need for aggressive selling.

The product is basically its behaviour, which encompasses many characteristics, is ongoing, and is offered at all times (not just elections) and at all levels of the party (for a more marketingled definition and exploration of the political product, see Lloyd 2003, 2006). The product includes aspects such as those listed below, although this will vary from one country to another:

- ‡ leadership: powers, image, character, appeal, relationship with the rest of the party organization and with the media;
- ‡ Members of Parliament (existing or candidates);
- ‡ membership: powers, recruitment, loyalty and behaviour;
- ‡ staff: researchers, professionals, advisers, and so on – their role, influence, office powers and relationship with other parts of the party organization;
- ‡ symbols: name, logo and anthem;
- ‡ constitution: formal, official rules;
- ‡ activities: party conferences, rallies and meetings; and
- ‡ policies: those proposed for when in office and those enacted once in office.



Parties using comprehensive political marketing change their product to suit the nature and demands of their market: they become market oriented.

### ***The market-oriented party***

Combining an understanding of marketing as being about behaviour, product development and strategy rather than just selling, and the knowledge that political parties are complex, evolving organizations which need to win elections but also maintain long-term relationships with their voters and members, led to the development of the concept of the market-oriented party (Lees-Marshment 2001). Applying the commercial marketing philosophy of putting satisfying customers at the heart of the business operation, in politics, political parties can also become market oriented. A market-oriented party, therefore, uses party views and political judgement to design its behaviour to respond to and satisfy voter demands in a way which meets their needs and wants, is supported and implemented by the internal organization, and is deliverable in government.

Using this definition, political marketing is used to understand the public, rather than manipulate it. While practice may differ, if marketing is to be used most effectively, parties will seek less to manipulate and persuade opinion, and more to follow it. It places the power in the hands of the masses, rather than elites – but by enabling elites to understand the public more effectively it provides the potential for them to use this understanding to be responsive and representative of the public will. 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 shape opinion. The distinction is therefore in how politicians respond to the intelligence, by following rather than leading public opinion.

This diverges from more traditional views of political parties as organizations who seek to pursue their ideological vision, and who therefore campaign to persuade voters to support their policies. Traditionally, parties were seen to try to change voter opinion to suit what the party offered, rather than change what the party does to suit the voters. Where marketing was used it was in creating the most effective communication to persuade voters to change their minds. Market-oriented politics is about the party changing, rather than the public.

Nevertheless it is not as simple as merely promising to do what the median voter wants. 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 (MOPs) should not all become the same, or assume the characteristics of catch-all parties, or simply move to the Downsian centre-ground.

In order to ensure this, there is a process of activities – known as the market-oriented party political marketing process – which parties should carry out to achieve a market orientation: see Figure 19.2.

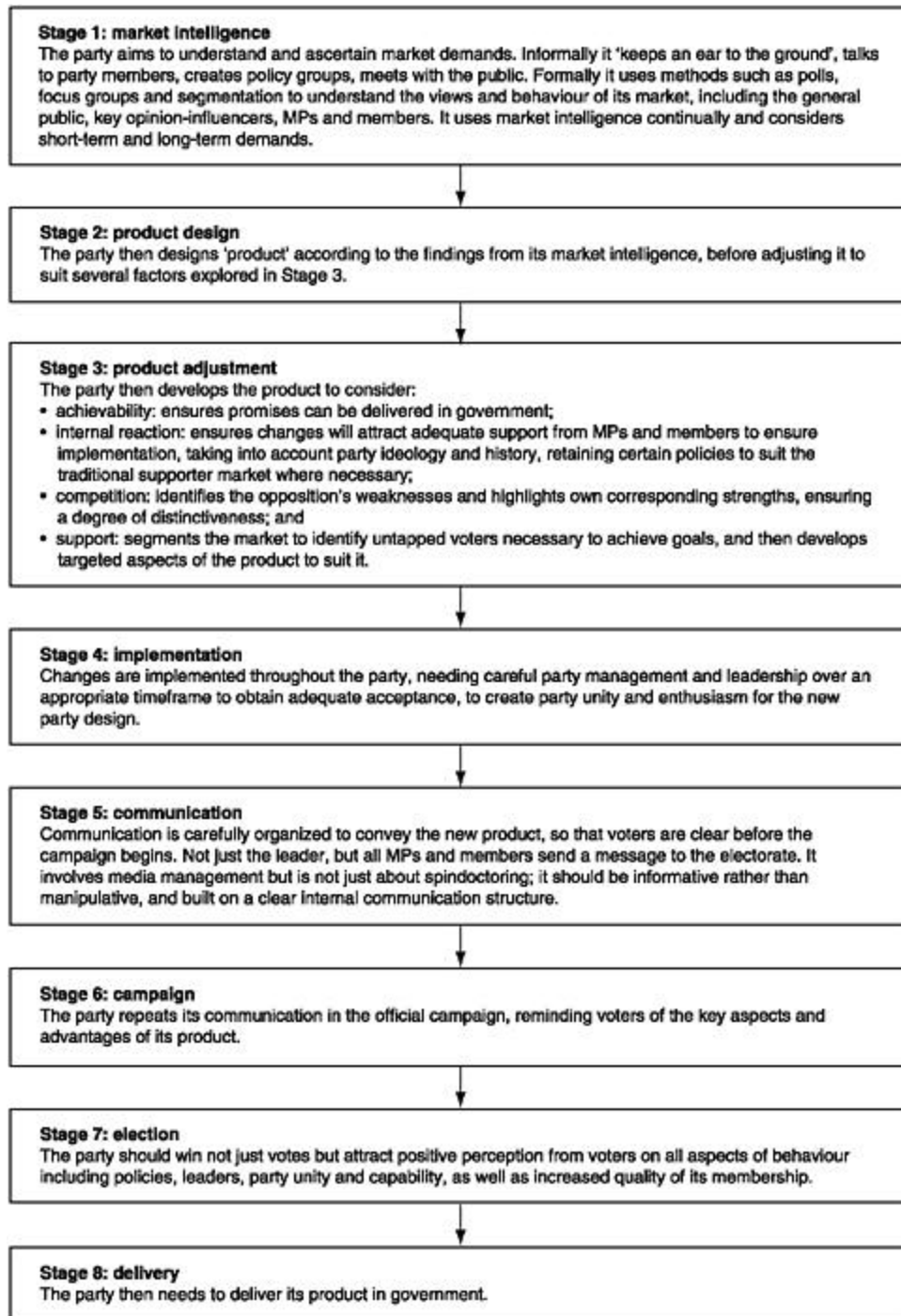
In order to illustrate how this model differs or is similar to practice, we will discuss the example of UK leader Tony Blair in 1997.

### ***UK New Labour market-oriented party***

The best example of an MOP is New Labour in the 1997 UK election. After losing three successive general elections employing approaches which were more elite, party driven and







*Figure 19.2* The political marketing process for a market-oriented party

only used marketing to sell an unwanted product, the party accepted the need to follow rather than try to educate, persuade or lead public opinion. The party elected a brand-new leader, Tony Blair, who fully accepted the need for a market orientation. Full-scale market intelligence was conducted and many aspects of the product altered to suit voters' demands. The new product was communicated so effectively that by the time of the election campaign the party had little to sell: voters already knew what they had to offer. The approach had extremely positive results: Labour won the election with a majority of 179, taking seats normally considered unwinnable and attracting a wide base of support. An overview of the activities involved in the process is provided in Figure 19.3.

### *Sales-oriented party*

The Lees-Marshment (2001) model does however acknowledge that not all parties follow the market-oriented model, and many are prone to adopt a sales orientation. Sales-oriented parties 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 to persuade voters it is right: see Figure 19.4.

In proportional representation (PR) electoral and multiparty political systems there is a greater tendency for parties to be sales oriented, especially for minor parties. Minor parties, with little chance of winning power, will predominantly want to influence the agenda and potential coalition partners, and therefore a sales orientation is 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.

### *Product-oriented party*

Parties may also opt for a more old-fashioned approach and be product oriented, whereby they maintain their elite-driven beliefs and policies but do not put effort into trying to sell this; they simply hope electors will see the merit of their argument. In some rare cases this may be effective for new, single-issue-dominated, short-lived political movements which capture the public mood and respond to a concern other established parties are ignoring. However the desire for long-term survival encourages parties to be sales or market oriented.

### *The market-oriented party as the winner*

The current research view, as with business marketing, remains that major parties generally need to adopt a market orientation in order to win control of government, regardless of the system, because being responsive to and satisfying voters is the best way to gain and maintain their support. This differs from more traditional views of party behaviour as being about leading and changing public opinion, or more conventional views of political marketing.

Practice varies however: while the UK Labour 1997 case fits the model well, as do other examples such as Clinton's New Democrats in 1992 in the USA, and the German SPD (see p. 323), clearly not all parties follow this approach. The George W. Bush-Karl Rove strategy from 2000 to 2008 might be viewed as a more manipulative, sales-oriented approach where market intelligence is used to understand and then persuade voters. Nevertheless, despite the Republican Party's ability to win and maintain control of the presidency, it has suffered losses in Senate and Congress, and public satisfaction with the government declines alongside

growing

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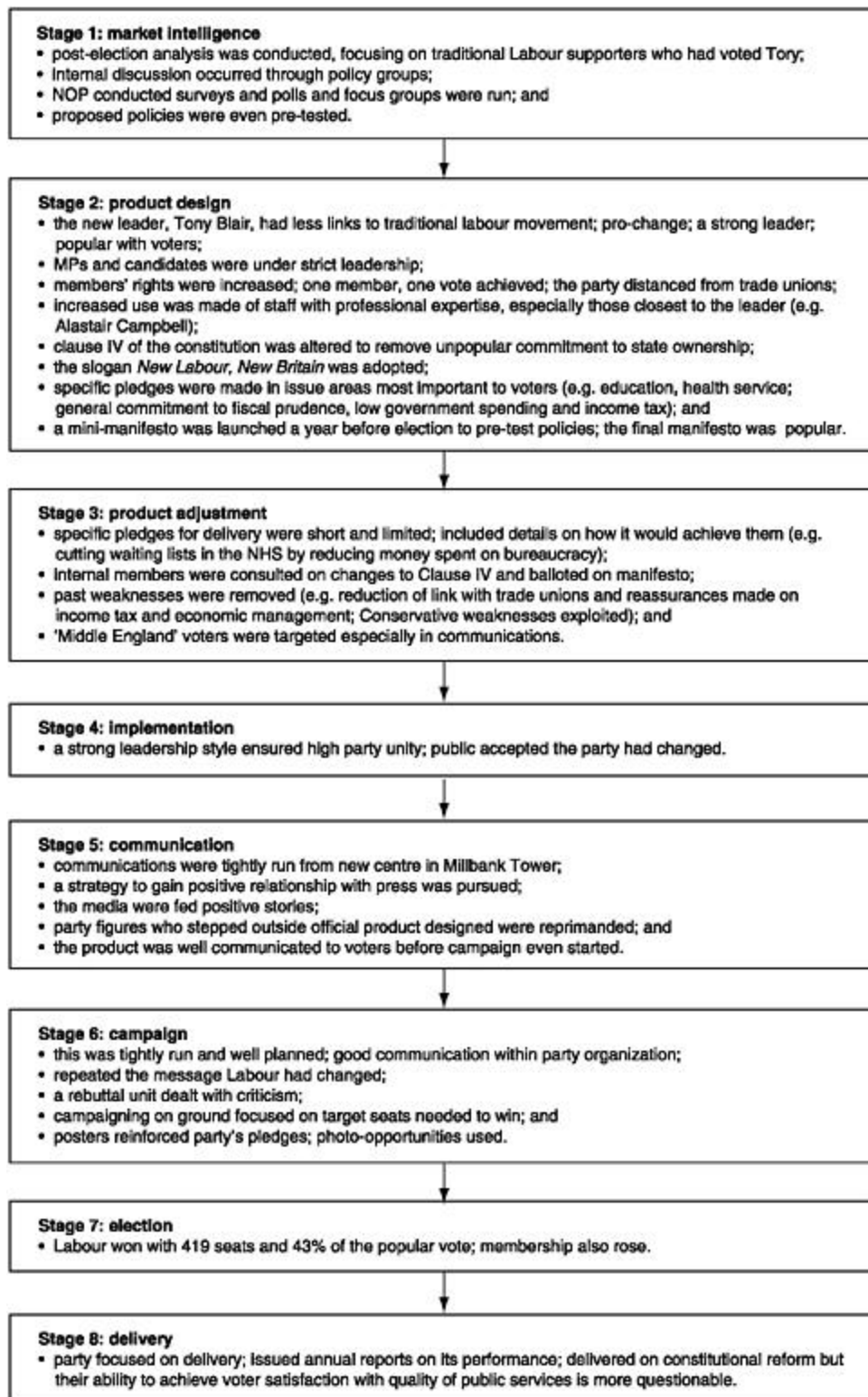


Figure 19.3 UK Labour's marketing in 1997 (based on Lees-Marshment 2001)



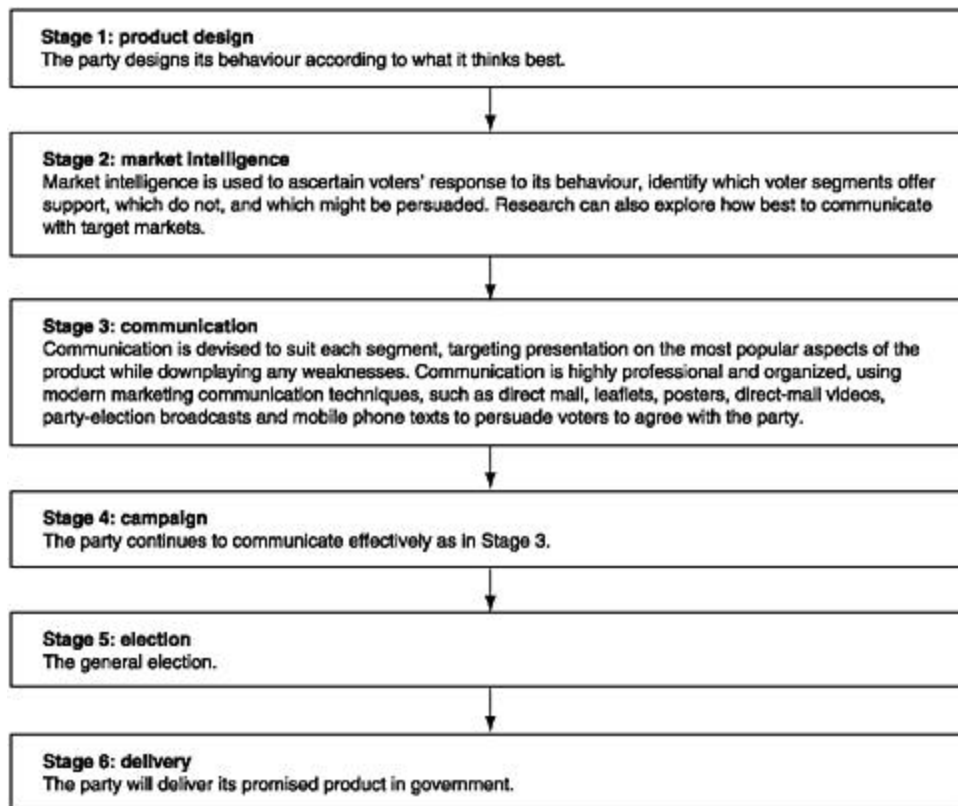


Figure 19.4 The political marketing process for a sales-oriented party

criticism. A more responsive, market-oriented strategy would arguably create more productive voter satisfaction and a more positive appraisal of the Bush presidency.

### *Criticisms of the model*

As with any models, this is not a 100 per cent foolproof explanation and depiction of party behaviour at all times. It has naturally attracted its fair share of criticism (see Ormrod 2006a and Lees-Marshment 2006a for details). One solid weakness is the lack of empirical operationalization of the Lees-Marshment model (see Henneberg 2004). It would be very complex to do this; to test it fully would require a long-scale, well-funded project with access to internal behaviour within a political party, as well as full-scale statistical analysis of all public data about voter perception: access and resources which are not easily obtained. Larger-scale, deeper statistical analysis is needed to provide any sense of 'proof' but even then analysis would need to use the final election-study data available after the final vote and therefore be open to the criticism of still fitting the data to suit the theory. A second fair criticism was that the model was not comparative in its origin: it was very much developed to suit the British context. In politics, just as in business, each country has different rules, systems and organizations which affect the way that marketing is used. However, political marketing in the market-oriented form is happening all around the world, even in countries we might not expect.

## Global political party marketing

### *Global New Labour*

Centre-left parties seem almost to have not only adopted a market orientation, but utilized the same product design developed during that process. First, Tony Blair's UK Labour design was in large part modelled on, or adapted from, the New Democrat strategy espoused first by Bill Clinton in the USA in 1992. Ingram and Lees-Marshment (2002) argue that Clinton used marketing in a market-oriented manner. They relaunched Clinton following the market research carried out in May and June 1992 where findings had indicated that voters viewed Clinton as a slick and privileged politician: the short bio film *A Man from Hope* was developed to counteract this negative perception. Clinton focused on policy concerns of target middleclass voters and traditional Democrat supporters, such as the economy and healthcare. In terms of achievability, considerable effort was put into reducing the number of Clinton's spending pledges and other promises, including his plans for infrastructure spending and deficit reduction, in order to make them more feasible. Clinton adopted the market-oriented concept and produced a responsive, targeted New Democrat design which won control of both the presidency and Congress in 1992.

This model was then adapted by Tony Blair in the UK in 1997, and the German SPD/ Schroder (Lees 2005) and New Zealand Labour/Helen Clark (Rudd 2005). Lees studied the transformation of the German Social Democrats' (SPD) marketing 1995–8, noting the use of market intelligence, professional consultants, direct marketing and target marketing. The SPD made changes in terms of leadership and policy, at least at an overall thematic level, designed convey perceptions of competence and leadership, restored credibility in the party and retained its comparative advantage within social justice. Market intelligence identified four positive aspects that the party then communicated: political change; leadership; innovation; and justice.

In the New Zealand Labour Party, Rudd (2005) noted how the party engaged in internal market intelligence and external quantitative polling (e.g., UMR Insight), utilized management consultants to create strategic plans and subsequently assessed performance against objectives. It responded to market intelligence in policy development, especially in key areas identified as of particular importance to voters, such as health, pensions, jobs, and law and order, as well as the general desire for positive vision and achievable proposals. Copying Tony Blair and the UK Labour Party in response to voter desire for credibility and believable promises, Clark offered clear-cut policy pledges appearing on a 'credit card' in 1999. Like Blair, Clark's pledges were created to suit the target market middle-income New Zealanders and focused on the issues that voters cared most about. The New Zealand Labour Party also copied the UK in making vigorous efforts to tell the electorate that it was keeping its election promises, issuing progress reports and lists of achievements in government. The pledge card was used again by UK Labour and New Zealand Labour in the most recent election in 2005 (Lees-Marshment 2006b).

Clearly, the market-oriented party model has been used around the world by labour parties extremely successfully. A key question will be whether this success can continue – for example, whether the US Democrats can make a return to power by developing a secure, balanced and responsive market-oriented product. There were concerns that the Clinton period in the 1990s left the party with a vacuum of policies, lacking a clear vision or ideology. When Tony Blair left office in July 2007 many questions were asked about the legacy he had left behind, with criticisms that New Labour had not made much of a difference. With the new leader, Gordon

Brown, comes a chance to refresh the product. However, despite an initial increase in polling support, if he is in office for more than a year the public will expect to see either evidence of substantial improvement in delivery of 2005 promises, and/or a fresh proposal for the future. In

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government, parties need to maintain their responsive market orientation by re-engaging in the process to formulate new products for each election.

### *Copying conservatives*

The left-of-centre parties are not the only ones engaged in a game of copying or adapting ideas from each other. More recently we can see examples of parties who reach out to new target markets and balance ideology with the need to reach out to new external target markets. Although an assessment of the Republican Party in its second term, post-Iraq era suggests a more manipulative, sales-oriented approach, George W. Bush did make use of the market-oriented approach to win. Analysis by Knuckey and Lees-Marshment (2005) showed that they employed research to understand the voting behaviour of key segments, as well as voter attitudes towards the parties and candidates. The significant market intelligence endorsed the candidature of George W. Bush whose product as state governor, developed in response to public demands and criticisms of other Republican approaches, set the foundations for a market-oriented strategy which guided the 2000 presidential campaign. Bush was a popular candidate because he portrayed himself as a different type of Republican – a compassionate conservative – and as a different type of politician – a uniter not a divider. He focused on issues which opinion polls showed to be of paramount concern for most Americans in the 2000 election, including where Democrats traditionally had an advantage: education, social security and healthcare. Bush incorporated these with traditional Republican themes: tax cuts, smaller government and a stronger military, but by talking about public services he emphasized new Republicanism. Implementation during the primaries and long campaign involved adjustment in leadership and symbolism as well as policies to respond to internal reaction, competition analysis, public perception of achievability and analysis of the segments he needed to win. Communication was long term, positive advertising was designed to appeal to target groups (women, moderates and independents) because market intelligence indicated they were repelled by negative advertising.

This approach was also copied. Iain Duncan-Smith, who was leader of the UK Conservative Party from 2001 to 2003, adopted many of the concepts used by George W. Bush in 2000 (Knuckey and Lees-Marshment 2005) in the USA, such as ‘No child left behind, Compassionate Conservatism’ and focusing on the vulnerable. However, he was not able to maintain internal support and had to resign as leader in 2003 and this strategy was abandoned. Other recent examples suggest conservative parties are moving away from the market-oriented model. In 2005 the New Zealand National Party’s campaign appeared very similar to that run by the Australian Liberal Party in 2004 and the UK Conservatives in 2005 in terms of its focus on right-wing and negative issues and therefore a sales, not market-oriented approach (see Lees-Marshment and Rudd 2006a, 2006b). As already discussed, George W. Bush’s second election campaign in 2004 and second term in office also suggest a move away from a market orientation to a leadership-driven policy on war and a focus on using marketing purely as a sales method to get voters to vote Republican, rather than using it to develop policies to suit its wants and needs.

### *Comparative analysis*

In terms of the extent to which political parties follow the more specific and complex market-oriented party model, this was first analysed in *Political Marketing in Comparative Perspective* (Lilleker and Lees-Marshment 2005), which illustrated the extent to which political marketing



is being used by parties to determine their behaviour around the world. The Lees-Marshment model was applied to a range of countries (Germany, Austria, Brazil, Peru, Canada, Scotland, Ireland, New Zealand, the UK, the USA) successfully, utilizing all three party types in the market-sales-product-oriented party framework and thereby adding considerably to our understanding of political marketing around the world.

A surprising result was the extent to which new democracies such as Brazil and Peru showed signs of utilizing a market orientation. Cotrim Maciera (2005)'s study of Brazil focused on the Brazilian left-wing party PT – Partido dos Trabalhadores (Workers Party), led by Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva. The analysis showed how the PT changed its behaviour in order to win the 2002 presidential election. Using the recent electoral record to press for change, it employed professionals and utilized quantitative and qualitative research and created a mini-campaign to convey Lula's new approach from the results of survey analysis. Lula dropped more radical lines to become more moderate. Communication avoided radicalism and confrontation, accompanied by subtle but significant changes to his personal appearance. The PT also moved to the centre, its manifesto became less ideological, and together with its coalition partner, PL, its policies became more pragmatic. There was some internal opposition but change was justified due to losing so many elections. Effective support analysis, segmentation and targeting were carried out, developed from market intelligence. Lula had previously alienated female voters, but in 2002 he targeted the female vote, with Lula's wife accompanying her husband on the campaign rallies. The PT also exercised careful competition analysis, learning that, although the Brazilian population was dissatisfied with the government and welcomed change, it would not accept the opposition discrediting everything Cardoso had achieved.

### ***International political marketing: differences in practice***

The comparative party marketing book did note a number of differences between countries, however (see Lilleker and Lees-Marshment 2005). One of these had been predicted: a PR electoral system, by requiring coalition governments, enables smaller parties to adopt a sales-oriented approach and still have influence in coalition. The power of the leader and strength of the party is also an issue – some UK party leaders have tried but failed to follow a market orientation, as they are blocked by internal culture, but in the US presidential system, where there is a separation of powers, that is not an issue. The availability and regulations of funding for political parties affects their ability to conduct market intelligence and utilize professional staff (see Marland 2005). Looking comparatively, it is also important to note that in Stage 7, election, if a market orientation is successful, it will achieve its goals which may be to gain control of government, either solely or in coalition; or just to make advances in seats or an aspect of the policy agenda. For Stage 8, delivery, this may be achieved for smaller parties by delivering greater representation to their members and supporters by entering into coalition, or purely by continuing to influence government through pressure while retaining their radical character. Nevertheless, the Lees-Marshment model was still found to be a useful means of investigating its presence and effectiveness in relation to a range of systemic features and potential causal factors, as noted by Strömbäck and Nord (2005). A forthcoming book entitled *Global Political Marketing*, edited by Lees-Marshment, Rudd and Strömbäck to be published by Routledge in 2009 will attempt to explore the systemic features using more scientifically selected countries: established democracies will include the USA, the UK, Australia, New Zealand, Sweden, Germany, Japan and Greece. Emergent democracies include the Czech Republic, Russia, Hungary, Turkey, Peru, Taiwan, South Korea and South Africa.

Overall, while academics may debate the detail, variance and effectiveness of political market-

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ing, there is no doubt that political parties across the world are using marketing in a comprehensive form. However, political marketing raises many concerns and objections, both from practical and ethical perspectives.

### **Ethical concerns: political marketing and democracy**

Political marketing in the form of a market-orientated party raises many issues. On the one hand, listening and responding to voters' concerns may be democratic. A market orientation may develop into a form of deliberative democracy and market intelligence becomes a new form of political participation. However, others such as Savigny (2004) and Washbourne (2005) are more critical, arguing that there is a need to distinguish between wants, desires, interests and needs; and responsiveness, listening and responding; and to develop the difference between market oriented and market driven (see also Lilleker 2006). If all parties adopt a market orientation and follow public opinion this can reduce the opportunity for new product development, more radical but beneficial policy ideas, and the input of professional, expert (if elite) opinion to develop and produce the best public services and management of the country. The other common criticism, relative to UK New Labour, is that political marketing will always get rid of political ideology. However, UK New Labour can be seen as more of a market-driven rather than market-oriented party: Blair neglected internal analysis and careful implementation, alienating traditional supporters in the process. He also adopted many policies similar to the Conservative Party without making the contribution of Labour ideology clear. A fully market-oriented party engages in a complex balance of different demands (see Stage 3 and Stage 4 of the model). Although identifying voter demands is crucial, any product design needs to be achievable, take into account a party's ideology and history, retaining certain policies to suit the traditional supporter market where necessary; identify the opposition's weaknesses while highlighting its own corresponding strengths, ensuring a degree of distinctiveness in order to segment the market to identify untapped voters necessary to achieve goals, and then develop targeted aspects of the product to suit them. A market-oriented party is not about removing all ideology, or just following public fashion, but about being responsive; respecting voters and reflecting on the party's own behaviour. A market orientation in politics should incorporate judgement, leadership, professionalism and ideologies, so long as they are executed in response to voter concerns. If adopted and utilized comprehensively, it can be a positive force for democracy.

### **Practical issues: delivery and internal management**

Delivery is one of the key potential flaws in the political marketing model. The definition of a market-oriented party is that a party should design its product to suit voter satisfaction. It is an ideal, which is difficult to achieve in practice. It could be that parties do deliver, but voters are not aware of success. Delivery needs to be communicated as well as actioned; for example, when I interviewed Alastair Campbell (2005) he argued that the media deliberately obstruct the link between government and hospitals/the NHS and when government has delivered 'they don't credit the government for it'. My interviews with UK media practitioners have, naturally, defended the media. Gareth Butler (2006), deputy editor of the BBC's Politics Show noted:

what [we] do is spend several minutes analysing the story or the problem, and then have a politician on to talk about it ... [b]ut they don't want to talk

about policy – we don't get

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them to talk about the detailed policy that they're in charge of, that they spend all those hours every day doing. They don't come on for this and believe me we've tried.

Another issue is that parties often fail to manage the introduction of a market orientation: they fail in the implementation stage. The British Conservative Party has battled with the issue twice under William Hague and Iain Duncan-Smith (Lees-Marshment 2004b, 2005b). As one MP said:

William Hague, for the first four years of that Parliament, is a classic example of where he didn't achieve a breakthrough, then the party went back into its comfort zone and appealed to its own traditional supporters. It is not irrational, because William was in a terrible situation where their group that might have supported him felt he was being too left-wing with them and the left-wing press was never going to support him anyway. So he just had no friends at all in the media, and that's a very lonely place. So he went back to the people he could make friends with, but by doing so drove away potential voters.

(Green 2006; see also Lees-Marshment 2001d for further detail)

Here, the differences between politics and business are profound. Will Harris, a business marketer, was director of political marketing for the Conservative Party for one year in 2003. He said that politics is 'utterly, utterly different'; in business you 'spend the whole time trying to get people to write about you; in politics you need to try to stop negative things being written; have to be cagey about what you say' (Harris 2004). 'In politics it's about getting elected once every five years. In business, you get elected every day. Otherwise, you go out of business, and so you think in very different ways. In a political party you could spend the whole day with the administration and not do a single bit of marketing. In politics it is very easy to focus on the wrong things' (Harris 2006). Similarly Archie Norman, a successful businessman who was chief executive of the Conservative Party from 1998 to 1999, said, 'it was a big change coming to this world'; 'had I known I'd have been much more cautious' because politics is a 'management free zone' (Norman 2001). Political marketing in practice is not as easy as in theory, and further work needs to be conducted to investigate the barriers and opposition that get in the way of those who try to make it happen.

## Conclusion

Political party marketing is used by political parties all around the world. It is used to understand the electorate and to inform communication, but more importantly, to inform the political product that parties offer to voters. It is much more than public relations or campaigning. Political marketing involves the use of market intelligence results to formulate a strategy that is responsive to voter demands. If parties adopt the marketing philosophy, they become a market-oriented party, and respond to voter demand, using marketing to decide what policies to offer, rather than sell an unwanted product. This suggests a change in the way parties behave: from leading to following public opinion. The type of marketing used in the commercial world, which places customer satisfaction at the heart of business endeavour as a means to obtain and maintain consumer support, is now being developed within the political arena. This raises many debates as to whether market-oriented politics is good or bad for democracy. This depends largely on whether you think politicians should have more of a leadership role and seek to persuade the public of their point of view, or

seek to elevate the voter to the role of a consumer

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and represent citizens' views without persuasion or manipulation – and that, of course, depends on your view of democracy as much as political marketing.

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